

Religions and Development Research Programme

The Development Activities, Values and Performance of Non- governmental and Faith-based Organizations in Magu and Newala Districts, Tanzania

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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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Glossary and acronyms

AIC	Africa Inland Church
BADMA	Bustani Aden Magu
BAKWATA	Muslim Council of Tanzania
BALUKTA	Baraza la Ukuzaji Kurani Tanzania
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CSO	Civil society organization
FBO	Faith-based organization
FCH	Foundation of Children Hope
FCS	Foundation for Civil Society
KKKT	Evangelical Lutheran Church Tanzania
LGA	Local Government Area
MACSONET	Magu Civil Society Organization Network
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania (National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty)
<i>miradi</i>	group projects
MVCs	Most Vulnerable Children
NEWNGONET	Newala NGO Network
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Fund for HIV/AIDS
<i>sadaka</i>	voluntary charitable giving encouraged by Islam
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TACOSODE	Tanzania Council for Social Development
<i>ujamaa</i>	African socialist policies, literally 'familyhood' in Swahili
<i>ujamaa vijijini</i>	resettlement villages intended to permit collectivized agriculture and provision of services and facilities
WARSHA	Muslim Writers Workshop

Summary

In Tanzania, a 'civil society sector' with roles in governance and development is a recent, largely externally-driven phenomenon superimposed on previously existing social and religious organizations. Civil society organizations (CSOs) are imagined to be 'close to the poor' and therefore better at implementing 'development' activities and playing a role in democratization. This study examined the position and role of religious organizations within a wider range of CSOs at the local level in two rural districts (Magu, prosperous, largely Christian, and Newala, remote, poor, largely Muslim), to assess whether faith-based organizations play a significant and distinctive role in development.

The traditional Christian churches (especially Catholic, Lutheran and Anglican) established educational and health facilities during the colonial period and continue to have a major role in service delivery (e.g. 13 per cent of dispensaries, 22 per cent of health centres and 40 per cent of hospitals in 2006). In addition, they and other churches have established projects or organizations for other development purposes. Only the largest of these organizations can raise significant funds from their own and their parent churches, enabling them to take some independent initiatives. Although significant in national terms, their facilities are thinly and unevenly spread over the country – they do not have any sizeable facilities in Magu or Newala. Provision of educational and health services by Muslim organizations is mostly small scale.

During the period of one-party rule, autonomous civil society organizations were rarely permitted, but since political liberalization in the early 1990s, a civil society sector has been aggressively promoted through international spending and targeted programming. Today, larger CSOs are mostly branches of international NGOs; the majority of CSOs are small and revolve around a founding person or small group of people.

The research in Magu and Newala found that

- CSOs are mostly small and almost entirely dependent on external donors, with much of the funding stream in the five years prior to the study linked to
 - HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, disbursed through TACAIDS (Tanzania Commission for AIDS), or
 - Welfare support for Most Vulnerable Children (poor children and orphans), especially USAID funding distributed through Pact (an American organization) to CSOs via District Councils.

- By 2009, most CSOs in the districts studied (including FBOs) saw these as their key areas of work, even though many had been established to undertake other activities. Supply-driven funding has led to increased numbers of CSOs and competition between them for small grants to undertake similar activities.
- While formal registration is required to access funds, no expertise in the relevant area (HIV/AIDS or MVCs) appears to be required. Where specialist knowledge or skills are needed, implementation tends to be sub-contracted to other organizations or local authority staff.
- There are fewer organizations associated with Islam than those linked to the main churches, although BAKWATA, the government-supported Muslim umbrella organization, has assumed a role in promoting projects that can obtain international donor funding.
- In such a donor-driven and aid-dependent context, the assumed boundaries between CSOs, NGOs and FBOs are blurred and the different types of organization have similar development aims and activities, while most of those involved in NGOs are religious adherents. FBOs do not appear to be especially close to the poor or to have a special religiously informed view of development.
- It is difficult to assess whether religious values lead to different developmental outcomes or FBOs' contribution to the achievement of development objectives, first because there are few institutional settings in which religious values are not influential and second, because the funding available to CSOs, including FBOs, is for intangibles (HIV/AIDS awareness) or short-term.

Donor support has been central to the evolution of the civil society sector, including FBOs: capacity building and criteria for accessing funding favour those organizations that fit an international template, determine which organizations are active (those that succeed in obtaining funding) and largely determine their activities (those for which funding is made available).

Implications for donors, government and FBOs include

- Donors should re-assess
 - (a) their support to the formation of a civil society sector with shallow roots in Tanzanian society, especially if it is at the cost of improving government capacity.
 - (b) the use of competitive bidding processes for short-term grants for donor-specified activities.
- In contexts of high religious adherence and aid dependence, FBOs do not appear to have distinctive approaches to development, so there may not be grounds for prioritizing them in allocating funds for local development activities.
- FBOs should appreciate the potential outcomes of increased compliance with standard requirements and donor dependence for their independence and distinctiveness.

1 Introduction

In recent years, interest in faith-based organizations as development actors and partners has increased. However, systematic evidence on their supposed advantages (and possible disadvantages) is lacking. Nor is it clear whether they have distinctive characteristics and approaches, with different (especially more pro-poor) outcomes, from secular civil society organizations. The objective of this research was to compare the operations and impacts of organizations that are faith-based with other civil society organizations working in development. Such comparisons are not straightforward. In Tanzania, as elsewhere (Hearn, 2001), assumed categorical boundaries between state and civil society and between religious organizations and other development actors are not clear-cut in practice (cf Schatzberg, 2001; Chatterjee, 2004; Robins et al, 2008).

Civil society engagement in Tanzanian development is an emergent phenomenon not easily captured by the analytical models which inform development policy and political analysis, at the same time, through funding streams and so on, creating the institutional forms of civil society engagement in development. In this research, therefore, the institutional forms of civil society and Faith Based Organizations in Tanzania are viewed as partly constituted through politics and policy, rather than purely as normative institutional forms that evolve as part of an assumed political transition. In other words, the starting point for the research was that neither the existence and forms of the organizations nor what they and others construe as 'development' could be assumed at the outset. Instead, the study sought to identify actors' conceptions of their organizations and of development to gain insights into how they engage in and perform development. Such an approach understands that what constitutes development is politically determined and contingent. As this analysis will demonstrate, in Tanzania developmental action currently includes engagement in 'sensitization', providing community support for vulnerable children, policy consultation and participatory expenditure tracking. What is notable is that these activities are understood as developmental irrespective of whether their outcomes contribute to the achievement of human development.

1.1 Aim and objectives of the study

The study in Tanzania was undertaken as part of a wider international comparative study of the activities and performance of religious or faith-based organizations (FBOs) and 'secular' non-governmental organizations (NGOs) aimed at understanding whether and in what ways religious organizations have distinctive characteristics, adopt distinctive approaches to development and achieve distinctive outcomes.¹

The specific objectives of the work in Tanzania were:

- i. To understand the history of and relationships between FBOs and NGOs and between them and their evolving institutional contexts at local, national and international levels, in order to identify whether FBOs make a distinctive contribution to development.
- ii. To compare the development aims, values, activities, organizational characteristics and perceived performance of FBOs and NGOs.
- iii. To assess the perceived outcomes and effects of FBO and NGO activities.
- iv. To identify the implications of the findings for the achievement of development objectives.

As will be described in the subsequent section, the study was concerned to identify the reality of civil society evolution and engagement in development activities in typical Tanzanian districts. Rather than focusing on selected prominent FBOs and NGOs, therefore, the research was carried out in two contrasting districts: largely Christian Magu in the north west of the country and mainly Muslim Newala in the south west. Both districts have been influenced by recent attempts to develop a 'civil society sector', with massive donor support. This report analyses the characteristics and roles of civil society organizations in the two districts, distinguishing between faith-based and other kinds of organizations, and explores the ways in which externally driven initiatives are locally appropriated and the links between civil society and, government and development as it is locally defined.

The paper is divided into five sections. Section 1 outlines the background and approach to the research; Section 2 describes the context of civil society in Tanzania; Section 3 analyses the findings in each district; Section 4 considers the outcomes and effects of NGO and FBO engagement in development activities; and Section 5 presents some conclusions and discusses the implications of the research findings for development policy in Tanzania and elsewhere.

1.2 The methodological approach

This research did not start by identifying and selecting NGO and FBO projects judged appropriate or interesting for in-depth research according to pre-defined criteria. Such a purposive sampling strategy would require a level of country-wide detailed information about NGOs and FBOs that is not yet available in Tanzania. It would also reinforce assumptions about the institutional forms that NGOs and FBOs take, and about the development work that they do. Further, it would be unlikely to find

comparable social services or projects provided by faith and non-faith institutions in the same locality, unless research was undertaken in an urban or well-served rural area (such as Kilimanjaro). The majority of Tanzania's rural population do not yet enjoy such a level of choice in accessing services such as health and education, although the recent growth of English-medium primary schools in urban areas and some rural district headquarters suggests that this may be changing, at least for local middle classes.

Instead the study took the district as the unit of research. Tanzania is divided into 26 regions and approximately 100 districts,² each with at least one council (also known as Local Government Areas). Lower levels of local government (divisions, wards and villages) feed into the LGA structure. The district is the organizational basis for local government and civil society. For the purposes of this study, the district unit provided the best opportunity to look at the development work done by the key local development providers (the state, NGOs and FBOs) and the relations between them within a geographically manageable unit. Consequently, while nationally religious organizations make an important contribution to health and education services and there are no doubt examples of interesting and/or successful NGO and FBO development projects scattered across the country, we did not set out to explicitly capture success stories. Instead we set out to understand what was happening in terms of development activity in two rural districts and to relate this activity back to the research questions for this component. The advantage of this approach is that the questions themselves, and the assumptions (about development and religion) on which they are based, are thrown into critical relief. The disadvantage is that the research did not generate detailed 'case study' material on specific NGOs or FBOs and their projects, because these did not exist in the places where the research was conducted.

Magu and Newala districts were chosen because they offer contrasts in terms of the primary religious affiliation of residents, the extent of their incorporation into the national civil society scene and the extent to which they are affected by problems of poverty. Both districts have Civil Society Organization (CSO) networks which are supposed to co-ordinate their members' activity in the district. The two districts are arguably representative of the majority of places in rural Tanzania that have not benefitted in the long term from large-scale missionary activity.

The research was conducted by four people over a total period of 13 weeks in 2009. Green and Mercer made a two-week preparatory visit to Dar es Salaam and one of the rural districts (Magu) in April 2009 to conduct preliminary meetings with a range of key stakeholders from the CSO sector, including representatives of FBOs, and relevant government officials. The main phase of the research was undertaken between July and September by Green, Mercer and Mesaki in Magu, and Mercer and Nambunga in Newala.

The research methods used were qualitative, employing interview and observation techniques with CSOs, including NGOs, CBOs and FBOs, local residents, religious leaders, and local government officials. Due to the time constraints and the number of CSOs in both districts, the researchers aimed to speak to as many representatives of active CSOs and faith institutions as possible. Selected CSO activities were observed. These included a condom-distribution exercise by Magu Youth Development Network in Magu and an anti-AIDS/HIV stigma workshop conducted by Newala NGO Network in Newala. A list of interviews and visits is given in Appendix 1.

2 The Tanzanian context

This development of civil society in Tanzania, the evolving characteristics of the faith traditions (primarily Islam and Christianity) and ideas about their role in society and politics, and the changing configuration of 'development' policies and actors are contextual elements that are vital to understanding the specific dynamics of the districts studied. These elements are intertwined, and are discussed in this section under eight headings.

2.1 The development of civil society in Tanzania

The civil society sector in Tanzania has emerged relatively recently in its current organizational form, largely as a response to the conjunction of political liberalization and donor funding, which has created a policy structure in which certain funded activities are conditional on the inclusion of civil society organizations. Magu and Newala exemplify the ways in which ideas of civil society and non-state actors have been brought into what are defined as development relationships over the past century. The particular history of Tanzania as a state founded on development and international intervention is important here. Under the League of Nations Mandate Tanganyika, as a protectorate administered by Britain (1922-1961), was explicitly governed towards development objectives. Economic modernization coupled with social transformation through the medium of community development was the backbone of colonial policy. Community development models founded on ideas of group projects (*miradi*), collective activity and local responsibility were later adopted by Julius Nyerere's socialist programming (Jennings, 2008). As will be seen below, the continued central place and legitimacy of community organizations and groups engaged in small scale *miradi* (today classified as development activities) is a consequence of this history, as is the place accorded to group formation in the development strategies of government and civil society organizations alike.

Tanganyika's status as a protectorate administered by a colonial government within a colonial context in which precedents for service delivery and administration were established through contracting with non-state providers was also significant. In contrast to the German model, which relied on a private company for the management and administration of a colony for economic development, the British system in this instance attempted to consolidate ethnically-based administrations to self govern local areas under indirect rule, in conjunction with strong oversight from colonial civil servants (Iliffe, 1979). Following a model established in other colonies and building on the kinds of work that missionary orders were already undertaking in the country, through the expansion of 'bush' schools for example,

the colonial government entered into contractual relations with Christian missions for the provision of basic education through a grants-in-aid system (Green, 2003a). Health services evolved within a similar framework, in which missions provided basic and higher-tier services in locations where there were no government facilities, mostly outside the urban areas (Munishi, 1995; Tripp, 1992). On the eve of Independence, an estimated 70 per cent of African primary school children attended schools run by religious organizations, and 55 per cent of African secondary students were enrolled at religious (mostly Christian) schools (Munishi, 1995). Areas of mission activity which were not directly supported by government, but which contributed to the government objective of an educated population whose habits were being transformed for modernization, included girls' domestic science schools, model farms, vocational training centres and women's groups (Green, 2003a).

The model of service delivery and community development established during the colonial period persisted after Independence in 1961 throughout the socialist period, during which the majority of ex-mission churches continued to provide basic services, despite the government's attempt to become the main service provider. From the late 1960s until the early 1980s, Tanzania undertook what has been termed Africa's socialist experiment, known as *ujamaa* or 'familyhood' in Swahili (Coulson, 1982; Havnevik, 1993). With the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the country's first president Julius Nyerere ushered in a one-party state model in which all independent, productive and private organizations were brought under the control of the ruling party, the CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi). This included civil society institutions such as trade unions, co-operatives, and women's, youth and parents' organizations. Religious institutions managed to retain some degree of autonomy, although in some areas they too were closely aligned with the state (for example through state subsidies for mission schools).

Nyerere's *ujamaa vijijini* policy, which between 1968 and 1975 moved 70 per cent of the population into 7-8,000 *ujamaa* villages (Schneider, 2007) for the purpose of collective agriculture was partly designed to facilitate rural social service provision. However, success was mixed. The churches, in particular, remained important health providers throughout the 1970s, since government was simply not able to extend health services to the entire population. The government's target was to provide a health centre for every 50,000 people by the year 2000; but by 1994 it had achieved one centre for every 98,190 people (Munishi, 1995). Some church-run facilities were taken over, including the Kilimanjaro Christian

Medial Centre (owned by the Lutheran Church) and the Bugando Hospital (owned by the Catholic Church), while others became 'designated' government facilities. In education, all non-public secondary schools were nationalized in 1971, including private trust fund and mission schools. Seminaries, religious organizations, the Tanzanian Parents' Association (TAPA) and marketing co-operatives were the only non-state actors permitted to provide secondary education services (Munishi, 1995). All primary schools were taken over by government during the *ujamaa* period, with the goal of achieving Universal Primary Education by 1977. According to Samoff, the government was more successful in education than in health:

Primary school enrolment was doubled, some 37,000 new classrooms were constructed, and 40,000 new teachers were trained between 1973 and 1977. By the early 1980s, nearly all Tanzanian children could find school places (Samoff, 1987, p 339).

The perceived relative 'weakness' of Tanzania's current civil society is often explained with reference to the *ujamaa* period, during which popular participation was to be channelled through the state rather than through independent civil society institutions. Government structures were designed to link each household to the state, ostensibly to facilitate participation at the grassroots level; many note, however, that it became a direct form of state control from the centre down to the individual (Tripp, 1992). It is true that only 17 new NGOs registered with the Ministry of Home Affairs during the period 1961 - 1978 (Kiondo, 1993). However, to assert that civil society only began to flourish in the 1990s following political and economic liberalization is to work with an impoverished notion of what civil society is and neglects the ongoing existence of religious institutions, as well as burial societies, home associations and cultural groups, all of which existed in the pre-independence period (Mercer et al, 2008).

The conditions for the growth of Tanzania's current formalized civil society sector were in place by the early 1990s, following the economic and political liberalization ushered in by structural adjustment. Many of Tanzania's development donors have since been actively engaged in building the capacity of civil society in line with the broader governance agenda. Originally outlined by the World Bank (1989) but now broadly subscribed to by other western donors, the governance (or 'good governance') agenda assumes that development is achieved by the effective interaction of state, market and civil society, wherein civil society, represented by formal NGOs and pressure groups, represents the interests of the poor, contributes to service delivery and development activities, and holds government to account (Abrahamsen, 2000; Kelsall, 2002; Lange et al, 2000). Since Tanzania's existing civil

society did not match this model, new and recognizable institutions, in the form of formal NGOs, were thought to be required.

In the mid-1990s much was made of the apparent 'withdrawal of the state' (Kiondo, 1995) from service provision in Tanzania, as anti-state rhetoric seemed to consolidate among development donors in favour of civil society actors. However, the government's on-going decentralization policies, collectively known as the Local Government Reform Programme, have more recently shifted service delivery back to public providers. According to this policy discourse (see e.g. URT, 2007), support for civil society organizations is not intended to facilitate service delivery or small scale projects but to enable them to render public provision more effective through policy engagement, advocacy and ensuring accountability (Harrison, 2008; Lange, 2008; Snyder, 2008). To this end, the country's new NGO policy (2002), conceived within the paradigm of a specific role for civil society in national development, was explicitly designed to foster the promotion of a national network of civil society organizations within a vertical structure with district, regional and national apex organizations. The result is a civil society sector operating in a range of activities categorized as developmental because they fit within current policy frameworks, but which may have only tangential impacts on human development outcomes.

2.2 New roles for religions

Against this background, religious organizations, notably Christian churches, have retained an engagement in development activities through the continuation of service delivery functions established under the previous regime of contracted service provision (see also Mallya, 2010). The available national data for health services by provider (Appendix 2, Tables 1-3) demonstrate, first, that government remains the most important provider of dispensaries and health centres, and the second most important provider of hospitals (89 government compared to 90 faith-based). Second, a few regions are well served by faith-based providers as a result of historical missionary activity (particularly Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Iringa, Dar es Salaam and Mbeya). The two districts under consideration here (Magu in Mwanza and Newala in Mtwara) fall towards the middle and bottom of these statistics, although the figures for Mwanza region are generally higher than Mtwara's because of Mwanza's status as Tanzania's second city. Nevertheless, the characteristics of these two districts underline the historical geographical inequality in faith-based social service provision in Tanzania.

Nationally, secondary education provision has changed substantially over the last decade as a result of the government's expansion drive, in which every ward is to have a community secondary school. The most recent available data predate this initiative and indicate that across the country there were 428 government secondary schools and 374 non-government schools (including 'private' schools and 'seminaries') (URT, 2000a). No comparable data were available for primary provision. The majority of formal educational services are provided by Christian churches, although there is no national data available that disaggregates provision by denomination. *Madrasas*, which provide Quranic education, are also widespread. Although Islam has much deeper historical roots in the country than Christianity, especially in the coastal areas, their numbers grew alongside the spread of mosques, particularly between 1920 and 1960 (Becker, 2008). Becker characterizes rural *madrasas* in southern Tanzania as "small, poor, and often transient" (2008, p 115).

Christian churches are also involved in longer-established development sectors, with local level projects in areas such as the environment or micro-enterprise, particularly for women, not unusual (Mercer, 2002). Some of these projects have eventually assumed a separate identity as independent civil society organizations rather than faith-based organizations although, as this research will show, issues of religious affiliation and faith continue to influence the ways in which some of them operate (see below).

However, the faith sector is now changing. Newer evangelical and, in some parts of the country, Pentecostal churches are becoming engaged in local service provision, most frequently concerned with children or water. In Dar es Salaam, the Efatha Pentecostal Church runs a micro-finance bank, although in 2009 the Development Entrepreneurship Community Initiative (DECI), a pyramid scheme run by Pentecostal Church pastors, was under government investigation for alleged massive fraud.³ Newer evangelical and Pentecostal churches also provide for the moral and spiritual needs of own adherents, as demonstrated by research into some of the largest such churches in the country, including Hasu's (2006) work on the Full Life in Christ Church and Dilger's (2007) work on the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship Church, both of which are in Dar es Salaam. HIV/AIDS has been a particular area of teaching and support (Dilger, 2007). Less research has been conducted on Muslim institutions, but Becker reports a brief visit to a reformist Muslim (Ansuari Sunna: see below) educational centre in the suburbs of Dar es Salaam, which had recently held an HIV/AIDS seminar (Becker, 2007).

Christian organizations are only just becoming engaged in the emerging advocacy and policy influencing domains of what is constituted by government and donors alike as legitimate civil society activity. Their engagement, particularly the mainstream non-Pentecostal denominations, is currently being promoted by some development organizations as part of what might be termed 'the faith-based agenda', of which this research is arguably part.

2.3 Religious boundaries

In Tanzania there is a strongly articulated religious discourse associated with public service, development and voluntary participation (Schatzberg 2001). The vast majority of Tanzanians are adherents of the two major religious traditions. This means that, in practice, there is no clear boundary between distinct 'faith' organizations, and those with no explicit religious orientation. Religious affiliation is also significant in terms of political power and this is reflected in the civil society sector, which is predominantly associated with adherents of the main Christian churches and the expanding or aspirational middle class (cf Hearn, 2001; Swidler and Watkins, 2009). The political exclusion and peripheralization of Islam⁴ is reflected in the development of the civil society sector and donor support, which has to date predominantly been aligned towards areas and organizations with connections to Christianity. Christianity, particularly in areas that have long-established ex-mission churches, is associated with higher levels of educational attainment, access to employment in the government service and higher levels of prosperity, for example in Mbeya and Kilimanjaro. Islam, in contrast, is associated with the 'Cinderella regions' of the south, as well as poor parts of urban areas (Becker, 2008; Iliffe, 1979; Seppälä and Koda, 1998). This situation has had implications for Tanzanian politics since independence (Campbell, 1999; Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Rasmussen, 1993; Mukandala et al, 2006).

The perceived poor organization of Muslims in Tanzania is often given as the reason for their relative lack of representation in national civil society forums. The state-sponsored Islamic organization BAKWATA (Muslim Council of Tanzania), established following the Tanzanian government's disbanding of the East African Muslim Welfare Organization in 1967, enjoys the greatest legitimacy in the eyes of the state, but is regarded with suspicion by those who see it as a government strategy to control Muslims (Becker, 2006; Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Liviga and Tumbo-Masabo, 2006; Rasmussen, 1993). BAKWATA is associated with the Sufi *Qadiriyya* order. Other organizations (such as

WARSHA, BALUKTA and Ansar Sunna)⁵ have to date had neither the membership, longevity and legitimacy nor the will to engage with national civil society structures. BAKWATA-affiliated mosques and conservative Islamic groups are now seeking a credible role in national development through involvement in the kinds of activities and services that convey developmental legitimacy. A notable change in recent years is the emergence of newer Islamic organizations that draw their doctrinal inspiration from Wahhabism. Such reformist organizations are both radical and conservative, and do not map neatly on to new ways of doing development, as the discussion of Newala below demonstrates. While doing fieldwork in southern Tanzania in 2002, when the Wahhabist reformists referred to as Ansar Sunna were attracting considerable attention, Becker (2008) noted that a women's *madrassa* had been started in Rwangwa District, and that a Muslim secondary school was planned by BAKWATA in Lindi. Becker interprets these self-conscious efforts at 'development' by BAKWATA Muslim groups as a specific response to the perceived challenge presented by the Ansar Sunna and their reformist teachings. Indeed a renewed interest in Islamic education was apparent among young active Muslim men of different reformist sects in Newala.

2.4 'Development' in the age of partnership

Between the late 1990s and the formulation of the new national NGO policy in 2002, the civil society sector was aggressively promoted through international spending and targeted programming. This was justified through a combination of the governance agenda and arguments about the perceived positive relationship between social development and social capital as generated through formalized and recognizable civil society organizations (Narayan and Pritchett, 1999; Putnam, 1995). Key donors supporting this process, including the World Bank and DFID, fostered the evolution of disparate organizations into a visible sector that would need a policy to regulate its operations and a funding stream that could ensure that it engaged in the anticipated way with state and non-state actors. These policy directions were encouraged and endorsed by the international NGOs which had proliferated in Tanzania since liberalization (Mercer, 1999).

These donor-driven processes, beginning in the mid-1990s, are extremely significant for determining what is now recognized in Tanzania as the civil society sector and indeed what constitutes 'development' as a designated sphere of activity. What development is perceived to be shifted during this period away from 'national plans' towards 'national visions'. These visions see poverty reduction

as achievable through restricting state interventions to core activities, while more liberalization is the indirect instrument through which the reforms will achieve ambitious poverty reduction targets (Harrison, 2008).

The global development templates which informed these aspirations were promoted through a massive increase in international donor financing during this period.⁶

The paradigm of conditionality also shifted, through the adoption of the poverty reduction strategy approach associated with HIPC from the mid-1990s (Mercer, 2003). The poverty reduction strategy, which in its second (and third) generation was renamed with the Swahili acronym MKUKUTA, gave increasing place to civil society organizations as policy brokers with an accountability function, at the same time as donor spending brought these organizations into being or helped them to consolidate themselves.

2.5 Institutionalizing civil society in Tanzania

Oxfam in particular was critical in promoting 'local' NGOs through capacity building, training and support. Key players from within the international NGO community were behind the promotion of the CSO sector's role in policy influencing, a conditionality of the poverty reduction strategy process. This gave these organizations access to policy processes at the same time as global civil society and its Tanzanian exemplars were calling for an increased focus on representation and accountability as means of including the poor. The drive to secure the political space occupied by self-defined civil society led to the eventual establishment of the donor-funded NGO Policy Forum in 2003.

Political space required secure funding in a context where national commitment to civil society was weak. Very few Tanzanian civil society organizations are membership-based or self-financing. The majority are wholly dependent on donor funding. The supply-driven dimension of the entire civil society sector in Tanzania, as in other countries, has implications for the kinds of activities that these organizations undertake, their values and their organization. Key to the proliferation of the sector was the establishment of the Foundation for Civil Society (see below) as a mechanism through which nationally dispersed organizations operating across districts could apply for project funding.

Other key institutional developments at this time included the development of the new NGO policy in 2002. This was important in providing a revised framework through which NGOs could be registered and protected as actors in development and the political process. The process of policy development was perhaps most significant in terms of its facilitation of district umbrella networks. As part of the policy process, regional and district seminars were held across the country, at which local organizations, where they existed, supposedly contributed to the formation of the NGO policy, although the policy itself was in fact based on similar examples from elsewhere. These regional structures of funded participation in turn promoted the formation of district and regional civil society umbrella organizations, as in Magu and Newala. The regional structures set in place the networks at regional and district level, some of which have since been supported by donors with an active capacity building agenda, such as SNV (Netherlands Development Organization). These networks are important interstitial players in district development scenes, providing a link between district authorities and civil society organizations and a stage on which civil society engagement in the development process is enacted and made visible.

2.6 The Foundation for Civil Society

The Foundation for Civil Society grew out of a previous donor-funded initiative (initially designed by DFID), which had the explicit aim of growing the local civil society sector, with a view to its engagement in policy and advocacy work, nationally and in Dar es Salaam. Alongside international donor NGOs (such as SNV and PACT), which are also reliant on international donor and government funding, and act in turn as donors to local organizations in Tanzania, it is responsible for the expansion of a number of enterprises that specialize in capacity building for the civil society sector.

The Foundation became autonomous in 2003. It is managed by a board of Tanzanian citizens and funded through a basket mechanism to which key donors contribute, in 2008 including DFID, Swiss Development Cooperation, Irish Aid, the Dutch Embassy, the Norwegian Embassy, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); although by 2009 only five of these donors were still supporting the FCS (FCS, 2008; interview, FCS, 12.09.09).

The FCS supports the extension of a sub-national civil society sector operating in defined areas of good governance and capacity building, but excluding service delivery. Accordingly, the FCS' mission is:

To provide grants and other capacity building support to civil society organisations to enable citizens including the vulnerable and poor (economically disadvantaged) to: access information and understand their rights, laws and policies; engage effectively in policy monitoring and dialogue on poverty reduction; contribute to social development and to constructively hold the government and private sectors to account on matters of social development (FCS, 2008).

The availability of small grants, of which the smallest is approximately £2,500, has massive potential for impoverished organizations to professionalize their activities and, for many, to begin activities in their chosen area. Foundation funding is extremely attractive to small organizations, along with the capacity building support it offers to potential applicants through workshops in regions and districts. Between 2003 and 2008, the Foundation supported 1,305 projects nationally across four focus areas: safety nets (30 per cent), governance (27 per cent), policy (23 per cent) and advocacy (20 per cent)⁷ (FCS, 2008).

2.7 Consequences of the capacity model

A consequence of this is a template approach to the development of civil society organizations promoted through standardized capacity tools and organizational grids. For example, the NGO handbook of one of the national NGO umbrella organizations, Tanzania Council for Social Development (TACOSODE) outlines the building blocks of civil society organizational form: a vision, a mission, formal leadership positions, and a defined membership. The result is some 2,400 nationally registered organizations (URT, 2000), an unknown number of nascent organizations that are yet to be registered⁸ and an ambiguous often unpopulated void between mission and activity (Dill, 2009).

The basic problem is the proliferation of organizations and the lack of clear activities in which they are to engage. This is partly due to the supply driven nature of the civil society policy in Tanzania, as in other African countries, in which various donors have sought to achieve governance and accountability objectives through the promotion of civil society as a formal sector consisting of recognizable organizations. Growth in the Tanzanian civil society sector is only partially a result of indigenous

demand for these organizational forms. Where demand exists, and has long existed, for groups and organizations for development in Tanzania it has come into being through incentivization around funding or credit accessible through recognized organizations. This form of civil society associated with development funding streams presents a clear contrast with other forms of indigenous civil society, which have waxed and waned since at least the early twentieth century (such as dance societies, rotating credit groups, burial societies and home associations; see Brennan, 2002; Iliffe, 1979; Mercer et al, 2008; Ranger, 1975).

Instead, groups and organizations are often the projects of bigger projects. That is, they are an output of a donor-designed civil society support programme. They are also vehicles through which members' own 'projects' for development can be achieved (Green, 2000; Mercer, 2002). As in other countries where civil society has been promoted at the same time as public sector opportunities have contracted, civil society organizations become arenas where the interstitial middle classes congregate in a bid to access influence and resources (Hearn, 2001; Swidler and Watkins, 2009).

The tendency for organizations to base their activities on funding rather than mission is not new in Tanzania, but it is accentuated by current policies and funding priorities. The result is a civil society sector at district level that consists of a small number of structurally similar registered organizations competing with others for funding opportunities across a number of sectors. These organizations tend not to be membership based, but to consist of one or a small number of core individuals who derive salaries and expenses from funded projects but who otherwise 'volunteer'. Successful organizations tend to have been formed as a result of other projects through which their volunteers have learned how to bid for and manage funds and developed operational expertise.

District civil society is organized through umbrella networks that perform a gate-keeping function and (ostensibly) liaise with LGAs through forums introduced as part of the Local Government Reform Programme. Formal sector faith organizations such as Christian churches may or may not choose to be part of the umbrella organisation, although they are likely to have been influential in the establishment of smaller non-faith-based CSOs that are active in the districts. Muslim organizations tend to be outside the formal civil society networks with the exception of BAKWATA which, in operating dispensaries and HIV testing, is seeking recognition on the basis of service delivery functions. Smaller Pentecostal churches and congregations also tend to be outside this formally recognized civil society sector.

2.8 Recent drivers of expansion: AIDS and MVC funds

This process has been intensified in the past few years with the increased availability of funding for specialized development activities around HIV and AIDS. According to the Tanzania HIV and Malaria Indicator Survey (TACAIDS et al, 2008), the national HIV prevalence rate is 4 per cent, but it is highly geographically variable across the country. The highest prevalence rates are found in Iringa (16 per cent), Dar es Salaam and Mbeya (9 per cent), while the lowest rates are found in Arusha, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, and Manyara (2 per cent in each). Regional figures for Mwanza (5.6 per cent) and Mtwara (3.6 per cent) disguise rural-urban differences within each region, since urban rates tend to be higher than rural (9 per cent compared with 5 per cent).

Regardless of the geographical variation, an increased amount of HIV/AIDS funding has been specifically directed at civil society organizations for community interventions in support of vulnerable children and community sensitization around risk, infection, testing and treatment. Because HIV/AIDS is designated a 'cross-cutting' issue, activities which support it are not confined to specialist sectoral organizations. This has created opportunities for a range of civil society organizations to access the AIDS funding stream, even if they are working in other sectors.

The HIV/AIDS funding stream has emerged largely as a result of the US President's Emergency Fund for HIV/AIDS (PEPFAR), and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. CSOs have been enrolled into the spending of this money because they are considered to be 'closer to the poor' and more able to deliver locally-relevant services and/or information (Seckinelgin, 2007). This approach is not confined to Tanzania, but is part of a broader development agenda of civil society inclusion and devolution to community organizations and beneficiaries. In Tanzania, the money for HIV/AIDS is disbursed to CSOs via the national AIDS commission TACAIDS, which is responsible for coordinating the Tanzanian Government's response to the AIDS epidemic. Over the last decade TACAIDS has released funding to district councils (via regional NGOs) to support CSOs to undertake HIV/AIDS activities in rural communities, particularly information campaigns about the spread of the disease.

In recent years the category of 'Most Vulnerable Children' (MVC) has also emerged as a target group for development funding that can be spent via NGOs. MVCs are children affected by HIV/AIDS and

severe poverty in their families (perhaps as a result of the death of a parent, because they are caregivers, or because they are themselves infected). The MVC category is a Tanzanian response to the UNICEF category of OVC (Orphans and Vulnerable Children), support for which is a required component of national AIDS strategies. In 2008 the Government of Tanzania produced the National Costed Plan of Action for Most Vulnerable Children, which outlines the kinds of social welfare support that children identified as MVCs should receive. At present, most MVC programmes are delivered by a group of international NGOs, the largest of which is Pact, an American non-profit corporation funded by USAID. Pact contracts district-based NGOs to deliver support to those children identified as MVC (see discussion of NEWNGONET in Newala, below). Funding for CSOs is available for MVC work from a number of other donors as well. A key component of support to children affected by HIV and AIDS is that it should be delivered in and through community structures as suggested by UNICEF's Framework for the Care and Support of Children Affected by HIV and AIDS. MVC programming in Tanzania, as indeed globally, is then premised on the existence of what types of organisations are recognized as appropriate community level institutions. This, combined with current policy prioritization of civil society forms, ensures that local organizations have a role in the implementation of MVC programmes.

In recent years, this situation has created massive opportunities for the expansion of local formal civil society organizations, and in particular for increased differentiation between those which access funding and hence become development actors and those which are unfunded and hence do not undertake any activities. The result is a situation at local level where two or three NGOs develop skills in obtaining funding and managing activities that enable them to undertake activities and to 'professionalize' their 'volunteers'. As the funding they obtain may well be for activities different from those that they were originally established to undertake, they contract expertise from local government or other NGOs in order to undertake the activities for which they have won funding. It is not uncommon for organizations originally established to work on tree planting and conservation, for example, to become engaged in AIDS education. For example, a Magu NGO with expertise in water was engaged in civic education and HIV sensitization and another which had originally specialized in elder rights and housing was engaged in the distribution of insecticide treated mosquito nets. Unfunded organizations generally continue to exist on paper and perhaps have occasional meetings, even an office, but without funding and with very few members they do not undertake activities.

3 The development activities of civil society and religious organizations in Magu and Newala

In this section, the findings of the study will be presented for each district in turn, by outlining the characteristics of civil society, describing the religious organizations engaged in development in more detail, and finally examining the development activities in which civil society organizations are involved, with particular attention to the activities being undertaken by religious organizations. As will be seen, there are both similarities and differences between the districts, so first, a basic description of the local context will be provided.

As noted in Section 1.1, the districts studied lie at opposite ends of Tanzania: they have different levels of prosperity and different religious compositions. It is difficult to be precise about the latter because data on religious affiliation are not collected in Tanzanian censuses. Magu is a predominantly Christian district with, according to local estimates, some 75 per cent of the population defining themselves as Christian. The remaining quarter consider themselves to be adherents of traditional religion. Fewer than five per cent are Muslim. Newala in contrast is a predominantly Muslim district.

3.1 Magu District

3.1.1 *The attributes of Magu District*

Magu District is situated approximately 50 km east of Mwanza, Tanzania's second biggest city, located at the hub of the East African regional economy centred on Lake Victoria. This economy, based on the industrial production and processing of fish and a vibrant commercial mining sector, as well as the production for export of cattle, vegetables and rice, is strengthened by the transport infrastructure of air, lake and road which connects Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to each other and internationally.

Magu District is predominantly agricultural but operates as a peri-urban spoke to the economic hub of Mwanza, which is also the locus of higher tier health, finance and education services. It has a population of 416,113 (URT, 2002), with 37 per cent living below the poverty line in 2000/01 (URT, 2005).

The majority population of Magu District are Sukuma, although there is considerable in-migration from neighbouring northern regions of Tanzania. The majority of residents are affiliated to a range of Christian churches, the largest of which is the Roman Catholic Church, which has been present in the region since the 1890s. There are large numbers of Christian denominations as well as many smaller

Pentecostal churches (see below), some of which were established very recently and have a tenuous relationship with other churches.

Magu is not only a centre of religious diversity and of old and newer religious organizations. Its relationship to Mwanza and to the development mainstream means that it has large numbers of CSOs. These range from the development organization of the Catholic Diocese (CARITAS) and parish groups to newly established advocacy organizations. A civil society umbrella network (MACSONET) was established in 2007.

3.1.2 Civil society in Magu

The district umbrella organization, Magu Civil Society Organization Network (MACSONET), had 56 members in 2009. Distinguishing between different types of organization, however, is not straightforward and does not map neatly on to standard NGO/FBO typologies (e.g. Clarke, 2006). Indeed, MACSONET understands all of its members in terms of the generic category 'CSO' (Civil Society Organization), and we follow this self-definition in the discussion below. An initial attempt by the coordinator to identify active NGOs and FBOs suggested that MACSONET is made up of 16 NGOs, 17 CBOs and four FBOs. This typology distinguishes between NGOs, which are more likely to have staff and to have obtained national-level registration, and CBOs, which are membership-based organizations registered at District level. In practice, however, organizations referred to as NGOs included small CBOs, branches of large international NGOs (e.g. Aide et Action), NGOs formed by a local MP (e.g. Community Development and Relief Agency), NGOs operating as cooperative businesses (e.g. Magu Agricultural and Livestock Development Organization), progressive farmers' groups (e.g. Rural Initiative Relief Agency), and umbrella organizations such as Magu Youth Development Network, which was established by UNICEF to unite all youth groups in the district. The definition of 'FBO' was even more problematic. The four FBOs referred to include specific projects established by religious organizations (Anglican Youth Care Programme, Bujora Children's Centre established by the African Inland Church), independent CBOs (Upendo), and the local branch of a coordinating organization (BAKWATA). There was further confusion as to how MACSONET members such as the Roman Catholic Church, KKKT (Evangelical Lutheran Church Tanzania) and the Seventh Day Adventists should be categorized, since, although they were faith-based, they were not considered to have specific 'projects'.

The majority of CSOs in Magu were small and personalized, in the sense that they revolved around, and were entirely reliant upon, a founding person or small group of people. CSO work, when it needed to be done, was carried out by such founding members, who often described themselves as volunteers. Most had full-time jobs or businesses to run, apart from their involvement with the CSO. The term 'CSO' usually denoted that the organization had complied with the legal requirements for NGO status in Tanzania: they had a constitution, aims and objectives, were registered at the national or district level, had a bank account, and had premises. Some had built or rented offices, emblazoned with the CSO name or logo, while others operated out of a leader's private business premises.

At the time of our fieldwork, many of the NGO offices were closed most of the time. This reflects the fact that most of the NGOs in Magu are entirely donor-dependant, swinging into life periodically when donor funds arrive for a specific activity or project. Rather than thinking of these NGOs as stable organizations, it is more useful to think of them as dormant structures which come to life as a result of intermittent success in capturing donor funds.

3.1.3 Religious organizations

Among the religious institutions present in the district, some are independent, while others are part of a more complex local, national or international structure. They include the Roman Catholic Church, KKKT, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the African Inland Church, the Methodist Church, the Salvation Army, Jehovah's Witnesses' Kingdom Hall, various Pentecostal churches (including Calvary Assemblies of God, Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania, New Apostolic Church, Pentecostal Assemblies of God, and Full Gospel Bible Fellowship), and a number of mosques. All have at least one place of worship in the district, most often in Magu Town, although some of the more established institutions have a wider network of places of worship across the district.

The larger institutions are active in a limited amount of service delivery, although consumers of services have little choice, since the services they provide are often the only option in a given location, apart from within Magu Town. In education, the Roman Catholic Church has two primary schools, one of which is English medium (in Magu Town). The African Inland Church has an English medium school in the village of Mbulima, and the Methodist Church an English-medium primary school in their compound just outside Magu Town and two tailoring schools (one in their compound and the other in

the small town of Kahangara). The Pastor reported that neither of the latter schools was full (interview, 27.07.09). In Magu Town, the AIC and KKKT churches both have kindergartens funded by Compassion International, an international Christian FBO based in the USA. The Salvation Army also does some work with disadvantaged children and orphans (with funding from USAID). BAKWATA is connected to the 15 mosques across the district, each of which undertakes their own educational work, such as providing support for orphans and running *madrasas*. However, the government remains the most important service provider in education, with 80 pre-primary schools, 188 primary schools, and 22 secondary schools, while the private sector is a relatively minor provider, with seven pre-primary, six primary and three secondary schools (Magu District, 2006).

In health, the African Inland Church has a small hospital on the border with Bunda District and a dispensary in the village of Mbulima. The Roman Catholic Church has a dispensary (in the village of Mwanangi), and BAKWATA has a dispensary and HIV voluntary testing centre in Magu Town (inactive at the time of research, awaiting further donor support). There is one government hospital, five health centres, and 46 dispensaries, including two private dispensaries in Magu Town (Magu District, 2006).

3.1.4 Development activities

Beyond these limited service delivery roles, and despite the variety of organizational forms in the CSO sector in Magu, there is nevertheless remarkable uniformity in terms of development aims and activities among CSOs, including the religious institutions. This is evident from the similarities in stated aims and objectives listed in CSOs' constitutions (which include alleviating poverty, empowering women, providing services to most vulnerable children, and fighting HIV/AIDS), as much as from the actual activities undertaken.

In 2009, the most common activities among all CSOs in terms of projects completed and for which further funding was being sought revolved around HIV/AIDS and Most Vulnerable Children (MVCs). This is in direct response to the emergence of these two donor funding streams in Tanzania over the last five years, as detailed above, following which the number of CSOs in Magu District had increased, as new CSOs were established in order to capture some of this funding. Even the religious institutions had broadened their activities to reflect the changing availability of funding from international donors. Some used existing structures as vehicles for spending such money (e.g. the Catholic Church of St

Bernadetha Parish had obtained TACAIDS money to run one-off HIV seminars), while others established discrete 'projects' under the umbrella of the church (e.g. the AIC kindergarten project which is funded by Compassion International).

The outcome in Magu District is that the majority of CSOs see HIV/AIDS and MVCs as their key area of work, even if previous projects had dealt with different issues (such as the environment, water, or women's empowerment). This meant that a relatively large number of local organizations were competing against each other to win small amounts of funding to do the same thing. There was very little specialization or diversity among CSOs.

This can be seen most clearly in the case of the TACAIDS funding for community HIV activities. In 2008 small amounts of TACAIDS funding were distributed through District Community Development Offices across the country. In Magu, local CSOs were invited to apply for this money, whereupon the District Community Development Department undertook a survey of CSOs in order to identify recipients. CSOs were measured against the following criteria: evidence of registration and possession of a constitution, an office and a bank account. The District Community Development Office then selected seven CSOs to receive funding: Bustani Aden Magu (BADMA), the Bujora AIC Orphanage, the Catholic Church St Bernadetha Parish Kahangala, Foundation of Children Hope (FCH), Huruma Peace Mercy Foundation (HUPEMEF), Ihushi Development Centre (IDC) and Rural Initiative Relief Agency (RIRA). As is evident below, experience or knowledge of community work on HIV/AIDS was not a criterion for receiving funding.

BADMA is a CBO registered at district level. It was established in 2003 by eight founder members, including local teachers and retired workers. It has no permanent donor and these founder members essentially 'volunteer' for specific activities. Its key founder member is employed in Mwanza by an environmental NGO. When BADMA was established, it was originally concerned with environmental issues, HIV, poverty reduction and malaria. It has done some tree planting work. In 2008 it received Tsh2.1 million (approximately £1,000) TACAIDS money for an HIV project, which was undertaken in Sukuma Ward of Magu District. Uniforms, books, shoes and other school equipment were distributed to 40 MVCs identified by the Council as in need.

According to the District Community Development Office, Bujora Orphanage had received Tsh1.5million (approximately £750) in 2008, but when visited in 2009 the Orphanage appeared to be no longer operational.

The Catholic Church St Bernadetha Parish, Kahangala, on the main road between Magu and Mwanza, reported that it had done various kinds of 'good Samaritan' community support work over the years. In 2008 it was given Tsh3.2million (approximately £1,500) TACAIDS money to conduct 3-day HIV training workshops for local catechists (what HIV/AIDS is, how to avoid it, and how to do home-based care) and another 3-day training course for about 70 local students. Since none of the parish staff possessed the relevant HIV knowledge, the actual training was sub-contracted to local experts from the District Community Development Office and the District Hospital.

Foundation of Children Hope (FCH) is a small CSO based in Magu Town. It has a large office that is for the most part empty and closed. It registered in 2006 as an NGO, with the aim of providing MVCs in Magu with education, health care, homes and shelter. To date, it has supported seven MVCs. There are five founder members, but no staff, and no permanent donor, although it has received money from the District Social Welfare Department to buy shoes and uniforms for the children. In 2008 FCH received Tsh2million from TACAIDS to conduct HIV seminars. Three seminars were delivered in three villages near Lake Victoria (each attended by 30 people drawn from the fisheries and hospitality sectors). The seminars were delivered by experts from the District Hospital and the District Community Development Office, in addition to one of the founding members. In 2009, they were applying for the next round of funding.

Huruma Peace Mercy Foundation (HUPEMEF) is a CBO registered in the District since 2008. It is directed by the pastor of the local AIC Church in Kisesa, a small town located half-way between Magu Town and Mwanza city. In 2008, HUPEMEF was given Tsh6million (approximately £3,000) from TACAIDS, which was used to distribute supplies of maize, salt and kerosene to 300 local HIV positive residents.

Ihushi Development Centre (IDC) split off from a bigger NGO in 2005 to become a CBO. It has six founder members and 13 paid staff, and is funded by SIDA. It is a membership CBO with about 290 members organized into 16 income-generating groups that received starting capital from IDC. It also

has a training school for tailoring, carpentry and masonry that takes 35 students a year. In 2008 it received Tsh5 million (approximately £2,500) from TACAIDS to be used to help people with HIV; school uniforms were made for local MVCs and maize distributed to HIV positive residents.

Rural Initiative Relief Agency (RIRA) was established by eight middle class farmers and registered as an NGO in 2002. It is essentially a cooperative and training NGO that encourages other farmers to form groups to learn progressive farming ideas and to do business; by 2009 there were 65 groups in Magu. RIRA has also taught cooperative business and farming to groups at Moshi Cooperative College, and is part of a larger pastoralist project funded by CARE. In 2008 it was given Tsh2.7 million (approximately £1,300) TACAIDS money to distribute basic needs goods to HIV positive people in Magu.

3.2 Newala District

3.2.1 *Attributes of Newala District*

Newala is sparsely populated, inhabited by some 183,930 people (URT, 2002). Situated in the south of the country along a poor road several hours from Mtwara Town, it has long been peripheral economically (Seppälä and Koda, 1998). Newala's major exports are cashew nuts and unskilled male labour, particularly young men, who migrate for several years to the urban areas of Masasi, Mtwara or Dar es Salaam. The proportion of the district population living below the poverty line in 2000/01 was 43 per cent (URT, 2005).

Newala's peripheral status is reflected in its religious affiliation. Islam has a long history in the urban centres of the south, which were centres of Arab trade. The widespread rural adoption of Islam is more recent, spanning some three generations (Becker, 2008). Islam is evolving due to the influence of doctrinal debates, partly shaped by reformist and Islamist teachings from Saudi Arabia but also informed by East African Muslim scholars (*ibid*).

Until recently, the peripherality of Newala was reinforced by its tangential relation to development initiatives in the country. The district was brought into the development map under President Mwinyi in the late 1990s, when NGOs were encouraged to establish operations in the southern region. The largest development intervention was the Finnish participatory development project Rural Integrated

Project Support (RIPS). The NGO scene in Newala was dominated in the 1990s and early 2000s by the Newala Development Foundation, a District Trust Fund run by members of the Newala elite resident both locally and in Dar es Salaam. Established in 1986, the foundation raised money among members of the elite connected to the district, as well as donors and local taxation, to support the construction of secondary schools (Kiondo, 1995; Mercer et al, 2008). Indeed, Newala had no secondary school until the Newala Development Foundation established Newala Day Secondary School in 1989.

However, as we detail below, government and donor initiatives aimed at spreading CSOs to the Tanzanian countryside seem to have kick-started a wide range of small, local elite-led CSOs, mostly based in Newala Town. This growth was spearheaded in 2003 by the establishment of the district CSO network, Newala NGO Network (NEWNGONET), which is plugged in to national structures through Mtwara Region NGO Network (MRENGO) and a plethora of national civil society consultation exercises. The current civil society entrepreneurial spirit is reflected in the success of local CSOs in obtaining funding from TACAIDS, the body responsible for the government's fight against HIV/AIDS, and the Foundation for Civil Society (see below). Indeed, civil society has been one of the few growth areas in the district in recent years.

3.2.2 Civil society in Newala

The district CSO umbrella in Newala, NEWNGONET, had 22 members in August 2009, up from 11 in 2003. Of these, none could be described as FBOs. However, religious institutions are active in Newala, including BAKWATA and a large number of mosques, the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Church (which had established an FBO, Tumaini, dealing with HIV), KKKT, and the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania. In some villages smaller churches could be found, such as the Seventh Day Adventists and The New Church of the Prophet. There was also one international NGO, Action Aid, which had a permanent staff (who were actually located in neighbouring Tandahimba District).

The majority of the population in Newala is Muslim, and every village has at least one mosque. The BAKWATA District Secretary was unsure of the numbers of mosques and *madrasas* in Newala, but as an indication, the BAKWATA District Secretary of Tandahimba (a district of similar size with a slightly denser population), counted 232 mosques and 125 *madrasas* in that district. Historically, most

mosques have been connected to the BAKWATA network, however loosely. The main mosque in town (generally referred to as Msikiti Mkuu) was established about 100 years ago (interview, main mosque, 28.08.09). A larger replacement mosque is currently being built behind it (using local *sadaka* contributions) in order to better accommodate the large numbers of worshippers attending Friday prayers. In addition, in Newala Town and in every village visited as part of this research, there was also at least one Sunni (or Ansuari) mosque, indicating the growing influence of versions of Wahhabi reformist Islam that have been spreading across Tanzania since the 1980s (Becker, 2008). Outside of Newala Town, all of these mosques were small and recently formed (or built). Currently the largest mosque in Newala Town is a Sunni mosque which was built in the 1970s.

In contrast to Magu (see above), the religious institutions in Newala are generally less engaged in the formal 'civil society sector'. This is because there are fewer churches in Newala, and as Magu demonstrates, churches are more likely to have specific development 'projects' attached to them. In Newala, where there are many more mosques than churches, this lack of engagement with formalized civil society can be attributed to the tendency for individual mosques to run their activities, such as *madradas* and women's education classes, independently. Those which are part of the BAKWATA network, however nominally, have simply not yet seen any need to and/or benefit from joining NEWNGONET. For other institutions, such as the Daarul-Furqaan Islamic Foundation (DAIF), which has a *madrassa* and is connected to the large Sunni mosque in town, other networks are more important. Described by local Muslim leaders as an FBO, DAIF was not registered with NEWNGONET or the District Administration. It was however connected to a national Ansuari movement with transnational linkages through the *madrassa* teacher, who had moved to Newala to establish the *madrassa* in 1995 following five years' Islamic training at Chan'gombe Islamic Centre in Dar es Salaam, where he had been taught by scholars from Saudi Arabia, Iran and Egypt.

There were signs that this distance from the civil society sector was beginning to change. For example a new FBO, the Newala Islamic Development Community (NIDC) had recently registered with the District Administration. NIDC is the brainchild of a group of young Muslim men, some of whom had been active in secular civil society organizations in other districts, and some of whom had received Islamic education in Dar es Salaam and elsewhere. They were essentially concerned to bring their knowledge of civil society and of Islam to Newala. They described themselves as followers of AI

Sunna Waljamaa, a moderate *Qaddiriyya* Islamic sect. At the time of the study they had not undertaken any projects because they had only registered in February 2009. However, they were planning to write a grant proposal to the Foundation for Civil Society, which is interesting because it indicates a new form of Islamic 'FBO' that is moulding itself in the shape of formalized civil society institutions. However, the propensity to engage in recognizable 'development' activities has as much to do with individual preferences as with particular kinds of religious institutions. So for example, in neighbouring Tandahimba District, the enterprising sheikh at the BAKWATA district office reported that they had established a CBO in 2002 (BAKWATA AIDS Project, BAPROS), in order to capture some of the HIV/AIDS funding that had begun to trickle down to the districts via TACAIDS. In contrast, the BAKWATA office in Newala had not taken any similar initiatives.

3.2.3 Development activities

Religious institutions in Newala play an even more limited role in service provision than those in Magu. There are nursery schools owned by the Catholic and Anglican churches, the main mosque and a small Ansuari mosque in Newala Town, as well as many *madrasas* connected to the mosques. However there are no primary or secondary schools owned by religious organizations and no English medium schools in the district at all. Indeed, Newala is generally poorly served in terms of health and education (Mercer et al, 2008). The government is the most important provider of health and education services, running all the health facilities in the district (the district hospital, three health centres and 23 dispensaries; just one health centre is privately run), eleven secondary schools (a twelfth is run privately by the Newala Development Foundation), and 113 primary schools (Newala District, 2006). The CSOs in Newala were concerned with a range of activities such as women's income-generation, agricultural support to groups of farmers and support to the disabled. All were dependent upon donor funding, and thus CSOs reported that they were often engaged in some form of HIV/AIDS awareness activity regardless of the original aim or target group of the organization.

The two most common activities in 2009 related to HIV/AIDS and MVCs. In the few years prior to the study, half of NEWNGONET's members had undertaken some kind of HIV activity. As with the HIV funding stream, the MVC funding stream has created a glut of CSOs 'specializing' in MVC issues – in fact many CSOs roll HIV and MVCs together, or apply for funding for both kinds of activity and implement whichever project is successful in obtaining funds.

A similar process for applying for TACAIDS money had taken place in Newala as it had in Magu, although in Newala the CSO survey was undertaken by the District Planning Office in conjunction with the secretary of NEWNGONET. The first round of TACAIDS funding in 2006 received 70 applications, 24 of which were funded. In the second round in 2008, only 14 CSOs were funded because there were concerns about CSOs' financial accountability. CSOs in Newala used the money for very similar activities to the CSOs in Magu. In the 2006 round of TACAIDS funding, for example, NEWNGONET received Tsh2,185,000million (approximately £1,100) to do a 2-day training seminar for representatives of 17 CSOs in Newala on 'Knowing the truth about HIV/AIDS'. The training, delivered by the District AIDS Co-ordinator and a District Accountant, included information on the spread and prevention of HIV, care of sufferers and fighting stigma, as well as report writing and financial reporting. The 17 trained CSOs, with money from TACAIDS (between Tsh1-4 million each), subsequently undertook various HIV education seminars for different sectors of the community (traditional healers, orphans, People Living with HIV/AIDS, community leaders). In 2007, NEWNGONET received a further Tsh8 million (£4,000) to train 18 representatives of local CSOs on 'Mainstreaming HIV in development and social activities'. The facilitators came from the district hospital, and from an NGO that had received similar training from CARE in the neighbouring region of Lindi. As part of this training package, NEWNGONET devised a workplan for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS into daily CSO activities. However, at the time of the research, the impact of this training was considered by NEWNGONET to have been minimal, since most CSOs do not have funding for ongoing activities into which HIV activities can be mainstreamed.

One of the CSOs which received NEWNGONET's first training on HIV was CHAKUMUMA (*Chama cha Kuzuia Maabukizi ya VVU/Ukimwi Mashuleni*; Party to reduce the spread of HIV in schools), a local branch of a national NGO which was registered in 2003. The branch in Newala was established by members of another Newala CSO, Shikum, following their participation in a CHAKUMUMA training seminar in Mtwara. It participated in the NEWNGONET training because it was awarded Tsh2.9 million TACAIDS (£1,450) money to train teachers and students on HIV awareness and prevention in Luchingu Ward in Newala. The 'parent' CSO, Shikum (largely made up of the same people), is a Newala branch of an NGO based in Mtwara that started in 2001. It also received TACAIDS money in 2006 to carry out HIV seminars in Kitangari and Maputi wards. In 2009 it was awarded Tsh4.9 million (£2,450) from the FCS to run anti-stigma workshops in the same two wards. Other CSOs which had received TACAIDS money included NEFA (Newala Farmers Association), an NGO registered in 2000.

NEFA is a membership organisation, which advocates on behalf of local farmers and works with small groups of farmers to encourage entrepreneurship, with some funding from Action Aid Tanzania. It was awarded Tsh2 million (£1,000) by TACAIDS for HIV/AIDS training in three wards in Newala, although the training was delivered by experts from the district hospital and local government departments.

In contrast to Magu, religious institutions did not apply for TACAIDS money for HIV activities in Newala. However, some institutions had participated in various training sessions. For example, the pastor of KKKT in Newala Town had attended a 2-day training workshop on HIV/AIDS for religious leaders, run by TACAIDS at the district hospital. The aim of the training was to encourage religious leaders to spread knowledge and awareness about HIV/AIDS prevention among their congregations. This raises the immediate challenge of the different approaches to this question taken by religious institutions and the Tanzanian government. Although the government message is ABC (*'Acha kabisa, Badilisha tabia, tumia Condom'*: abstinence, change behaviour, use a condom), religious leaders prefer to focus on delaying sexual activity and faithfulness to a marital partner. They generally do not support the use of condoms. For example, the HIV awareness training which BAPROS (the CBO established by the district BAKWATA office in Tandahimba) undertook in 2006, which trained village *shehe*, Village Executive Officers and Ward Executive Officers, used government staff from the District Health and Social Welfare Departments to deliver the training, which they did for three days each in eight wards. Prior to the training, however, BAKWATA leaders told the government trainers not to talk about condoms.

Aside from HIV funding, the other popular activity among CSOs in Newala at the time of the research was support for MVCs. The case of the district CSO umbrella organization, NEWNGONET is interesting here, as it is currently the only CSO in the district operating a time-bound project (an initial two-year contract) and to have a paid part-time staff. Originally established as an umbrella network, NEWNGONET had nevertheless been chosen by Pact to be the local implementer for its MVC programme (*Jali watoto*, 'Care for the children'). Pact felt that NEWNGONET was the only local CSO with the capacity to deliver the project. Pact provides short training courses on project management to NEWNGONET, and decides how many MVCs can be supported in each village (in Newala this was 23). The actual support to the MVCs, which includes one-off items like school fees, school uniforms, and some food, and ongoing 'psycho-social support', is delivered by volunteers from the villages, who

are paid £5 a month by Pact (via NEWNGONET). The volunteers receive short training courses from NEWNGONET (each of up to four days, for which they are paid £5 a day) in child and orphan-related social work. NEWNGONET essentially acts as the link between the volunteers and Pact, collecting data on the MVCs who are enrolled in the programme, and providing Pact with expenditure and MVC data on a quarterly basis.

Other funders also support work with MVCs. In order to qualify for funding, a CSO must claim to represent a particular group of MVCs. There has thus been a lot of enterprising MVC 'counting' or 'collecting', with stories of 'people from an NGO' turning up in villages to take down the names of their MVCs, but who are never seen again; and others who go into schools and take details, as well as photographs, of MVCs. CSO offices in Newala town heave with files listing the details of MVCs. In some instances, one MVC receives support from two different CSOs.

4 The outcomes and effects of NGO and FBO activities

First, in this section, some issues relevant to attempts to assess the outcomes and effects of NGO and FBO activities in the two case study districts are identified, before concentrating more specifically on the place of religious bodies in the organisational landscape and the role of faith in their thinking about development.

4.1 Civil society and the outcomes and effects of development activities

The developmental effects of NGOs and FBOs in Magu and Newala Districts are difficult to assess, since the outcomes of the kinds of activities in which they are mostly engaged – education campaigns, one-off projects, and distribution of basic needs to targeted groups – are not easily ‘measured’. In practice, what has emerged is a relatively new and distinct ‘CSO sector’, which includes NGOs and FBOs, which have been enrolled as development contractors in ways different from the recent past, when NGOs were cast as alternative providers of services such as health and education (Kiondo, 1995). In the two districts studied, very few are involved in activities to support community development or sustainable livelihoods and these are dependent on donor funding and general support, often from international NGOs. The current set of policies and funding priorities have cast CSOs as deliverers of a series of intangibles (in a human development sense). FBOs – at least the more established institutions – have maintained their historically important service delivery role (around health and education), although their importance relative to government in the districts studied is limited.

However, the evidence is that currently all kinds of CSO, whether faith-based or not, are strategizing to fit their activities into current donor priorities of HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention and support for MVCs. Because these are constructed as ‘cross-cutting issues’, no apparent expertise is required and any CSO, regardless of its original ‘mission’, can apply for funds. In both Newala and Magu districts, there is now a real ‘orphan problem’ in the sense that co-ordination all the various efforts to support orphans is problematic. In Newala alone, various MVC initiatives are being undertaken by Pact and NEWNGONET, KKKT (funded by the Christian Council of Tanzania), Tumaini (funded by TACAIDS, local politicians and the Clinton Foundation), and local CSOs (funded by the Tanzania Social Action Fund). In Magu the District Social Welfare Officer was attempting to co-ordinate all of the CSOs’ activities, but in Newala no such attempt was being made. There were stories of MVCs receiving

support from more than one CSO. However, because such projects were money- and time-bound, the support available comes to an end with each discrete project.

4.2 The place of religious bodies in the organizational landscape

Christian and Islamic organizations are integrated into this NGO-ization of the countryside in different ways. Islamic institutions, particularly individual mosques, have been more distanced from the formal CSO sector, although there are signs that this is beginning to change, with the emergence in Newala of new, young and professionalized Islamic FBOs that self-consciously mimic CSOs and clearly connect themselves to the national CSO sector through workshops, and district and regional networks. BAKWATA is clearly close to the national CSO sector, as demonstrated through its access to the funding available for CSOs. However, there is very little difference between self-proclaimed faith-based Islamic and Christian and secular CSOs with respect to the types of activities for which they are applying for funding. Current policies and funding streams for AIDS and support for MVCs dominate the sector.

Furthermore, there is a blurring of the lines between the state, CSOs and FBOs. The sub-contracting of Local Government Authority staff by CSOs to deliver HIV 'knowledge' to rural communities is perhaps the starkest example. The TACAIDS funding stream clearly demonstrates the ways in which assumed boundaries between 'CSOs' and 'FBOs' dissolve in a context dominated by donor money. In practice, there is little difference between the development activities of CSOs and FBOs. All recipients of TACAIDS money used it to deliver one-off training, workshops, seminars and 'sensitization' in a few villages in the district. The amounts of money received were small, and activities were oriented towards telling people in villages how to prevent the spread of HIV, mostly through the government's ABC message, although the religious institutions did not advocate the use of condoms, even if, as detailed above, they did not deliver the training themselves.

It is also difficult to separate out a 'religious' sector populated by discrete institutions. Rather, individuals based in a range of institutions are using faith-based strategies – beliefs, methods or institutions – in new and innovative ways. For example, in the same way that CSOs in general provide a means for the reproduction of the middle classes in rural towns, so too are new opportunities provided by new religious institutions, including those that speak in the language of development as an

aspect of evangelical mission (cf Bornstein, 2005) and those that enable people associated with to bridge between different domains of power and influence.

Churches which regard development activities as means of evangelization are often branches or offshoots of small-scale Pentecostal churches, are run under the authority of an inspired pastor and are largely autonomous from structures of ecclesiastical authority. They may establish small-scale projects to support church members, particularly projects that can be situated within evangelical discourses. A case in point is the Church of Nazarene, a small new church several kilometres from the main road in Magu, which operates a borehole to provide water for church members, as both a development good and in response to a biblical injunction, as Christ said that water is the stuff of life. In addition to the borehole, the church is embarking on a project to provide training in small businesses to local people. Although at the time of research it had not yet obtained funding for this venture, it had begun to build a shelter for holding the workshops and training courses which have become part of the established institutional architecture for development activities even in rural parts of Tanzania (Green, 2003a).

This church is interesting for other reasons concerning the blurring of boundaries between domains of influence and power, a phenomenon noted in accounts of politics in Africa, which identify, for example, 'straddling' across positions of influence as a strategy for consolidating political power (Bayart, 1994). Whereas in the past such straddling entailed seeking influence through holding a position of formal governmental authority on the one hand and using 'traditional' channels on the other, contemporary strategies seek to simultaneously develop positions in religious organizations, local government and the civil society sector. Most senior local government staff members in Magu were involved in or trying to become involved in local civil society organizations. Members of the local elite were also influential in religious congregations. The Nazarene Church, for example, was founded by a local former political 'big man', who had diversified his activities after being deselected as the CCM candidate for ward councillor after twenty years in the post. After meeting a pastor from the Church of Nazarene at a training workshop, he reported that he had 'found God again', and had duly built a small church on some of his land, where he worships with about 40 other converts (interview, 26.07.09).

4.3 The role of faith in the approaches adopted by religious organizations

In Magu and Newala, although some of the organizations in the districts are recognized as FBOs, in fact faith was important to nearly all the organizations in different ways, from the institutional to the personal. The founders of FCH and BADMA, for example, both considered their personal faith to be central to their desire to foster development, although neither organization was registered as an FBO. Some organizations that started out as FBOs, for example the Anglican Youth Care Programme, operated in actuality as secular CSOs, in this instance training young men in carpentry and running as a cooperative. Faith in the sense of an individual's belief in God informed the practice of the members of this organization insofar as it legitimated collaboration across the religious divide, but it did not determine the activities of the organization. Similarly, Christian belief in the Garden of Eden story was used by members of an environmental CSO, Magu Food Security, which is working on HIV and AIDS, to justify their categorization as an FBO, even though they are now engaged in wholly secular activities.

The salience of belief to development outcomes should not be overstated. Faith is fundamental to social practice in Tanzania and religious affiliation is an important dimension of personal identity. Faith in terms of what people believe and their value systems may inform action, particularly in certain kinds of Protestantism which are strongly oriented towards understandings of the agentive individual. Such a relationship between faith and agency may inform action.

However, it does not necessarily contribute to effective organization. While individuals in Magu reported that they regard development as a project of improvement for the nation as a whole and perhaps also of benefit to the less fortunate, there is nothing to suggest that faith or religious affiliation makes the activities of religious organizations distinct or contributes to their effectiveness. Both faith and non-faith organizations depend on external funding and, with the exception of larger Christian organizations that are part of wider structures, do not set their own development agendas. Where efficient organizations have managed to work out ways of undertaking development activities that reflect their theological aspirations, as in the case of the Methodist Church in Magu, their success was related less to the beliefs on which the action was based than on the competence and pragmatism of the organization.

The Methodist Church in Magu was a missionary church from Kenya and the pastor and core staff were Kenyan at the time of the study (interview, 27.07.09). It was reported that the church was building up a congregation slowly. It uses faith as a starting point to legitimate practical engagement in the world, believing that body and spirit are connected and that the needs of the body have to be addressed before spiritual needs can be dealt with. This philosophy informs the approach of the church to community service, which aims to meet local needs for key services in health and education, as well as income generation through vocational training. It was reported that the majority of users of the services provided by the church are affiliated to other churches. Both development activities and service delivery are regarded as a Christian duty, but this does not mean that they are provided free of charge. The aim underlying the service delivery activities is to recover costs and ensure sustainability. The Methodist Church reported that it builds on its long history internationally and in East Africa to replicate successful models of service delivery. It uses its networks to secure funding from within the Methodist community, enabling it to embark on its own initiatives in areas where it has consolidated expertise. In general, the approach of the Methodist Church towards its engagement in service delivery appeared to be rational and coherent, largely because it does not depend on the whims of development funding.

The relative importance of body and spirit was not confined to Methodists but was referred to by all the churches when explaining their position with respect to development and service delivery. In general, mainstream churches such as the Roman Catholics and Anglicans, reiterated the prioritization of the body that the Methodist pastor outlined, as did some of the more mainstream Assemblies of God congregations. These organizations were keen to promote activities that would improve the living conditions of their congregations (and others) and enable beneficiaries to become more spiritually engaged. Those churches that prioritized the spirit were generally less interested in development activities or the provision of services. The most extreme of the Christian churches did not undertake any projects for their congregations, not even the nursery schools and orphan care which have come to dominate the local Christian and civil society scene.

Moreover, there were examples of organizations that had confused the faith and development agendas in almost millenarian fashion, such that faith in an organizational form became the basis of their relationships with their members and beneficiaries, who had come to expect spiritual and financial returns.

This was exemplified by Feed and Tend International (FTI), an FBO which in Magu defined itself around the MVC agenda as part of an evangelization mission and which had raised contributions from its members who were village residents in the expectation that substantial international funding would be forthcoming (interview, 30.07.09, and visit, 03.08.09). FTI is an NGO registered in 2000, which arrived in Magu in 2005. It is part of a wider network of local missions operating within an overarching organizational frame, explicitly constituted as a missionary organization of which the international dimension consisted of going out in the world to evangelize. Development and social services are regarded as a means to evangelize. According to its constitution and regulations, which are written in English, FTI aims to “meet the needs of the total person” and to further “integral human development, ...through sharing with the poor and oppressed.” Feed and Tend International aims to provide

...educational services, bible colleges, seminaries, public libraries and training institutions; social services - hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, youth centres, children and aged homes, hostels, restaurants, disabled homes; relief services - food, tents, clothes, building material, water equipment, operation of fishing, agricultural and livestock farms; mining, low cost houses and other poverty alleviating programmes and projects.

The organization claimed to work solely in support of the MVC agenda, providing clothes, food and school fees for selected orphans in villages across the district. It had constructed buildings and listed the names of MVCs designated as beneficiaries of support, but had failed to initiate any additional activities at the time of the study, despite the fact that 800 members had contributed Tsh10,000 each the preceding year (visit, 03.08.09).

FTI not only merges evangelical aspirations with a civil society form, it also produces civil society documentation in the form of a mission statement and programmes of activities. Moreover, in Magu, FTI is not understood by its members in biblical terms but as an aspirant development NGO which has relations with international donors.

The organizational innovations characteristic of FTI were not replicated across the Pentecostal churches, which tend to focus more on the church as organizational form than on the need to create new organizations. As noted above, these churches are also less likely than the mainstream denominations to engage in formal development activities. This was either because they prioritize the development of the individual's spiritual resistance, as in the Assemblies of God Church, which views

dealing with Evil as a precondition for development, or because they prioritize the development of individuals as Christian persons. For example, the Seventh Day Adventist church in Magu encourages its members to work hard and be responsible, to become fluent in English and to inform themselves of world affairs, rather than engage in development projects. Arguably, the kinds of activities that these churches promoted were enabling of individuals' strategies for achieving their own aspirations. Certainly, where these churches promote a perspective of individual agency empowered through belief rather than subject to external forces, they are seen by adherents as offering a means of acting effectively in the world, a mode of engaging as an agent with what Hart (2001) has termed 'small d' development as immanent process rather than the 'big D' of the formal development institutions.

5 Conclusions and some implications for development policy

The findings from this research have implications for the current models through which development is imagined and implemented in Tanzania and elsewhere. It shows clearly how the forms of civil society that emerge as development actors in countries which do not have a strong tradition of civil society organizations with forms amenable to development contracting, such as Tanzania, are determined largely by development priorities and funding streams. Further, the resultant civil society sector is consolidated through services and markets which come into being to support its expansion and to use up donor funds.

In Tanzania FBOs are not necessarily separate from NGOs or CSOs regarded as secular: they are simply part of a non-state sector which is imagined to be 'closer to the poor' and therefore better at implementing 'development' activities. In practice, this has meant that FBOs and CSOs have been enrolled as contractors providing public education campaigns and support for vulnerable children, activities that themselves have been recast as 'development', in accordance with current policy priorities.

Where faith organizations seek to become engaged with what is currently defined as development in Tanzania, they have to conform to certain organizational forms. Consequently, some faith organizations establish CSOs as projects that can then become autonomous CSOs, which maintain relationships with their faith origins but which aim to operate in very similar ways to CSOs that are not associated with any particular faith organization.

It is likely that, as certain religious organizations become more policy savvy and seek to adapt the basis on which they engage with development in order to have more influence, their action strategies and organizational forms will increasingly resemble secular organizations. This is clearly evident in the current interest being shown by church organizations in Dar es Salaam in the policy influencing agenda – perhaps again reflecting donor priorities around the value of consulting CSOs and citizens on policy and the place of faith (see Taylor, forthcoming). Such transformations seem less likely to occur at district level, where the scope for advocacy is limited and also because there is strong resistance to what would be perceived as religious favouritism in district politics in Tanzania.

The research shows that where development agendas are externally driven and civil society is driven by supply-side factors, religious organizations are not very different from other civil society organizations. Religious affiliation does not appear to contribute to particular closeness to the poor, organizational effectiveness or taking innovative positions on what development is.

On the other hand faith, in terms of the values of individual actors engaged in civil society organizations, religious or otherwise, does have an impact on their stated motivations. This impact in Tanzania is generally strongly moral and inclusive, legitimating approaches that include members of all faith groups and religious affiliations. This reflects the place of religion in Tanzanian popular culture more generally and conforms to the longstanding place accorded to religious ideology in Tanzania's discourse of national development.⁹

Whether or not faith adherence and religious values and beliefs lead to different kinds of development outcomes is open to question, partly because the majority of Tanzanians claim some kind of religious motivation and partly because, as a result, there are no institutional settings in which religious attitudes do not have some kind of influence.

Development policy based on an assumption of some kind of qualitative difference between FBOs and CSOs in Tanzania will simply incentivize the institutionalization of assumed difference, when what exists is similarity, and when poor policy instruments around community programming and civil society are largely responsible for the limited outcomes of development interventions, not the attributes of civil society organizations. Evaluations and assessments that examine the long-term outcomes and impacts of interventions and do not simply focus on progress and financial management are more likely to produce useful insights into the complex outcomes of donor spending.

More faith is certainly not the answer. Less faith, in the sense of less blind faith in positive development outcomes resulting from specific institutional forms and standard practices – such as sensitization, group formation, rotating credit and so on - would foster a more critical perspective and help Tanzanian citizens and their organizations to develop their own approaches to priority issues.

Notes

- ¹ The research built on earlier and ongoing work that first, reviewed existing material on some aspects of the relationships between religions and development in Tanzania (Mhina, 2007; Mallya, 2010), and second attempted to develop an overall picture of the development activities of FBOs (Leurs et al, forthcoming).
- ² It is difficult to be precise about the number of districts in Tanzania. According to the website (dated 2004) of the Prime Minister's Office - Regional Administration and Local Government, the figure is 106 in Mainland Tanzania http://www.pmoralg.go.tz/regional_profiles/index.php, while a number of other more recent sources in the Tanzanian media suggest that there are 98 districts. In addition, new districts are often created in the run-up to elections.
- ³ "DECI reaps 14bn/- from gullible", Daily News, 8th April, 2009
- ⁴ See, for example, Bakari (2007).
- ⁵ WARSHA (Muslim Writers Workshop), established in 1982, brought together Muslim scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam; Ansar Sunna (also known as Ansuari), a reformist movement connected to the Ansar Muslim Youth Centre established in Tanga since at least 1979; and BALUKTA (Baraza la Ukuzaji Kurani Tanzania) (Becker, 2008; Tambila, 2006).
- ⁶ According to data for 2007 from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, external aid accounted for 40 per cent of the national budget and 80 per cent of the development budget (http://www.mof.go.tz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=185).
- ⁷ Projects in the area of safety nets "support organisations implementing projects that seek to mitigate the impact of social disadvantages among vulnerable groups of the Tanzanian society. This is achieved by ensuring that there are mechanisms through which their concerns can be voiced and that they are able to effectively participate in development processes"; governance entails supporting civil society actors "who are involved in helping and empowering citizens to become aware of their rights and duties, in ensuring that the Government, Public and Private institutions function in a transparent and efficient manner are accountable to the people they serve and respect human rights and the rule of law"; projects in policy are "promoting citizen participation in policy processes including policy dialogue as well as monitoring of policy implementation towards reduction of poverty"; while advocacy involves supporting "initiatives by civil society organisations to build strong links, credibility and voices among their constituencies such that they can effectively articulate their concerns to relevant authorities. The expected outcome is a creative, imaginative, active and lively civil society, which effectively contributes to making a lasting difference in the development of Tanzania" (FCS, 2008, p 3).
- ⁸ Numbers of NGOs vary according to which definition of 'NGO' is used (i.e. whether or not community-based organizations are included), as well as which directory or government office is taken as the source. However, all estimates show growth since the 1990s. The Government of Tanzania registered 813 NGOs in 1995, while independent sources suggested that in 1997 there were as many as 1,800, including non-registered organizations (Mercer, 1999). The 2000 government NGO directory lists 2,400 (URT, 2000b), but other sources suggested the number was 8,499 (Lange et al, 2000).
- ⁹ Both Muslims and Christians were active in the nationalist movement prior to independence. After independence, President Nyerere's belief that ethnicity and religion had no role to play in a secular socialist agenda of nation-building was coupled with attempts to harness the efforts of all religious groups to assist in the achievement of development goals and overcome Muslim educational disadvantage (by investing in publicly provided education and nationalizing Christian schools). Although there were political tensions between Muslims and Christians, on the whole daily life was tolerant. Tensions have increased since the 1980s, for a variety of reasons, but generally political mobilization along religious lines has been resisted (Campbell, 1999; Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Mukandala et al, 2006; Rasmussen, 1993; Westerlund, 1982).

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Appendix 1

List of interviews and visits

1 Magu

Interviews:

MACSONET Co-ordinator, (Magu CSO Network), Magu Town, 22.07.09

Community Development Office, Magu Town, 23.07.09 and 04.08.09

MAPERECE, Magu Town, 23.07.09

Deputy Chairman, MALDO (Magu Agricultural and Livestock Development Organization), Magu Town, 24.07.09

Chairman, VIFESA (Victoria Feasible Development Alternatives, 24.07.09

Member, UPENDO, Magu Town, 24.07.09

Chairman, NABROHO (National Brotherhood Society for the Aged), Nassa, 25.07.09

Pastor, Church of Nazarene, Nassa Village, 26.07.09

Reverend, Methodist Church, Magu, 27.07.09

Founder, Church of Nazarene, Nassa, 26.07.09

Aide et Action, Magu Town, 28.07.09

MAYODEN (Magu Youth Development Network), Magu Town, 28.07.09

Pastor, Calvary Assemblies of God Church, Magu Town, 28.07.09

Magu Food Security, 28.07.09

Anglican Youth Care Programme, 28.07.09

Feed and Tend International, 30.07.09

CODRA (Community Development and Relief Agency), Magu Town, 30.07.09

Roman Catholic Church, Magu Town, 31.07.09

Nyanza Cooperative Union, Kahangala, 01.08.09

Village Executive Officer Kahangala, 01.08.09

Roman Catholic Church, Kahangala, 01.08.09

WAWATA (Catholic Women's Association), Kahangala, 01.08.09

Faith Ministry, Kahangala, 01.08.09

RIRA (Rural Initiative Relief Agency), 01.08.09

Ward Executive Officer, and Furaha Magesa Monella, Village Executive Officer, Ramadi, 02.08.09

Vijana Nje Ya Shule (Youth Out of School), Kabita, 02.08.09

IEPYA (Inua Elima Pendo Yatima), Magu Town, 03.08.09

District Medical Officer, 04.08.09
African Inland Church, Magu Town, 04.08.09
Foundation of Children Hope, Magu Town, 05.08.09
BADMA (Bustani Aden Magu), Magu Town, 05.08.09
District Social Welfare Officer, Magu Town, 05.08.09
District TASAF Co-ordinator, Magu Town, 05.08.09
HUPEMEF (Huruma Peace Mercy Foundation), Kisesa, 06.08.09
Ihushi Development Centre, Ihushi, 06.08.09
Village Executive Officer, Ihale Village, 07.08.09
Ihale Village TASAF Committee member, 07.08.09
Ihale Village Chairman, 07.08.09
Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses, Magu Town, 08.08.09
Salvation Army, Nassa, 08.08.09
Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania, Magu Town, 10.08.09
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania Community Development Officer, Magu Town, 10.08.09
Seventh Day Adventist Church, Magu Town, 10.08.09
CARITAS, Mwanza, 10.08.09
CARE Tanzania, Mwanza, 10.08.09

Visits made:

Seventh Day Adventist Church, Magu Town, 25.07.09
Roman Catholic Church, Magu Town, 26.07.09
Feed and Tend International, Ilungu, 03.08.09
MAYODEN condom distribution, Busega Division, 09.08.09
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, community development projects, Sukuma Ward, 12.08.09

2 Newala

Interviews:

NEWNGONET (Newala NGO Network), Newala Town, 18.08.09
District Executive Director, Newala, 18.08.09
Council HIV/AIDS Coordinator, Community Development Office, Newala Town, 19.08.09
Newala Development Foundation, Newala Town, 20.08.09 and 27.08.09
Assistant District Administrative Secretary, Newala Town, 20.08.09
District Community Development Officer, Newala Town, 20.08.09
Newala Islamic Development Community, Newala Town, 21.08.09
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, Newala Town, 21.08.09
MAPAMBANO, Mcholi village, 23.08.09
Mcholi Village, 23.08.09
BAKWATA, Newala Town, 24.08.09
CHAKUMUMA (Chama cha Kuzuia Maambukizi ya VVU/Ukimwi Mashuleni), Newala Town, 25.08.09
SHIKUM, 21.08.09 and 25.08.09
District Planning Officer, Newala, 25.08.09
NEFA (Newala Farmers Association), 25.08.09
TASAF Newala Office, 25.08.09
NEWORA (Newala Women's Rights Association), Newala Town, 26.08.09
NEYONE (Newala Youth Network), Newala Town, 26.08.09
Care and Treatment Clinic, Newala District Hospital, Newala Town, 27.08.09
Anglican Church, Newala Town, 27.08.09
NEWNGONET, Service Volunteer for Makote Ward, Newala Town, 28.08.09
Newala Family Group, Newala Town, 28.08.09
Main Mosque, Newala Town, 28.08.09
Roman Catholic Church, Newala Town, 29.08.09
NEWNGONET Service Volunteer, Chiwhindi Village, 30.08.09
Village Most Vulnerable Children Committee member, Chiwhindi Village, 30.08.09
Shehe, Chiwhindi Village, 30.08.09
District AIDS Co-ordinator, Newala Town, 01.09.09
WISE (Women in Social Entrepreneurship), Newala Town, 02.09.09

Dr Rehema Nchimbi, Newala Town, 02.08.09
Community HIV/AIDS Facilitator, Newala Town, 02.08.09
Tumaini Group, St Joseph's Catholic Church, Newala Town, 03.09.09
Newala Islamic Development Community, 03.09.09
Action Aid Tandahimba, Newala Town, 04.09.09
Former Mkapa Fellow, Newala District Hospital, 04.09.09
Tupendane Malatu group, Malatu, 07.09.09
Imam, Malatu mosque, 07.09.09
Service Volunteer, Malatu, 07.09.09
Chairman Azimio SACCOS, Malatu, 07.09.09
Headmaster Kitangari Secondary School, Kitangari, 08.09.09
Ukombozi, Kitangari 08.09.09
MWAVINE TASAF group, Mchemo Ward, 09.09.09
NEWORA women's group, Lengo village 09.09.09
NEWNGONET Service Volunteer, Lengo village, 09.09.09
Chairman, Newala District Council, Newala Town, 10.09.09
Civil society rep, formerly of NDF, Newala Town, 10.09.09
Nambungu village, 11.09.09
Nambungu village, 11.09.09
Nambungu village, 11.09.09
Mosque teacher, Ansuari Mosque, Newala Town 11.09.09

Visits made:

Anti-stigma training, NEWNGONET Jali Watoto programme, Mcholi I Ward, 22-23.08.09
Tumaini Group, St Joseph Catholic Church, Newala Town, 29.08.09
WORTH meeting, Pact programme, Newala Town, 04.09.09

Appendix 2

Health facilities in Mainland Tanzania

Table 1: Number of dispensaries by region and type of ownership, Mainland Tanzania, 2006

Region	Type of ownership			Private	Total
	Government	Faith-based	Parastatal		
Kilimanjaro	152	66	10	96	324
Kagera	167	26	6	11	210
Tanga	197	26	0	25	248
Rukwa	164	19	3	8	194
Shinyanga	223	19	5	47	294
Pwani	155	18	14	36	223
Dodoma	201	30	11	16	258
Manyara	83	23	3	20	129
Mbeya	238	41	9	30	318
Ruvuma	148	32	0	11	191
Tabora	132	21	3	15	171
Kigoma	170	13	2	21	206
Mwanza	232	21	19	60	332
Lindi	146	5	7	4	162
Morogoro	165	51	11	29	256
Arusha	101	55	4	42	202
DSM	59	53	7	270	389
Iringa	220	74	4	19	317
Mtwara	140	11	1	12	164
Singida	117	27	4	7	155
Mara	138	27	10	22	197
TOTAL	3,348	658	123	801	4,940

Source: Annual Health Statistical Abstract Tanzania Mainland 2008

Table 2: Number of health centres by region and type of ownership, Mainland Tanzania, 2006

Region	Type of ownership			Private	Total
	Government	Faith-based	Parastatal		
Kilimanjaro	21	6	1	8	36
Kagera	17	4	0	2	23
Tanga	21	8	0	2	31
Rukwa	19	8	0	0	27
Shinyanga	25	2	1	1	29
Pwani	16	1	0	3	20
Dodoma	18	2	0	1	21
Manyara	4	6	0	0	10
Mbeya	20	9	0	2	31
Ruvuma	16	6	0	0	22
Tabora	36	22	0	1	59
Kigoma	15	4	1	1	21
Mwanza	31	7	0	0	38
Lindi	15	1	0	1	17
Morogoro	22	5	3	3	33
Arusha	16	5	1	8	30
DSM	5	6	4	12	27
Iringa	22	15	0	0	37
Mtwara	12	3	0	1	16
Singida	13	1	0	1	15
Mara	15	4	1	2	22
TOTAL	379	125	12	49	565

Source: Annual Health Statistical Abstract Tanzania Mainland 2008

Table 3: Number of hospitals by region and type of ownership, Mainland Tanzania, 2006

Region	Type of ownership			Private	Total
	Government	Faith-based	Parastatal		
Kilimanjaro	5	9	0	4	18
Kagera	2	10	1	0	13
Tanga	5	4	0	2	11
Rukwa	2	2	0	0	4
Shinyanga	5	1	0	2	8
Pwani	5	1	1	0	7
Dodoma	5	2	0	0	7
Manyara	4	2	0	0	6
Mbeya	7	8	0	2	17
Ruvuma	3	6	0	0	9
Tabora	4	3	0	0	7
Kigoma	3	2	0	1	6
Mwanza	6	6	1	1	14
Lindi	5	3	1	0	9
Morogoro	6	4	2	1	13
Arusha	3	7	1	0	11
DSM	4	3	0	20	27
Iringa	5	6	1	3	15
Mtwara	4	1	0	0	5
Singida	3	6	0	0	9
Mara	3	4	0	0	7
TOTAL	89	90	8	36	223

Source: Annual Health Statistical Abstract Tanzania Mainland 2008

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