



Political Handbook & NGO Calendar 2008

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**FRIEDRICH
EBERT** 
STIFTUNG

Dear Partners, Friends and Interested Readers,

Karibu 2008! Welcome to the year 2008!

As in the previous years the "Political Handbook and NGO Calendar 2008" will deal with political themes and topics of national and particularly of regional importance, such as the new East African Community integration process (Chapter 8). Besides, this issue will bring the readers a Calendar and a "tool box" (Chapter 10).

At FES we will continue to have a bearing on peace, good governance, development and poverty reduction, as well as on promoting gender equality and social rights, improving awareness on the need to protect the living environment and to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS. These are all parts of the promoting and protecting the human rights.

Closely related to the aim of reducing poverty and promoting economic development is the agreed cooperation between the African Caribbean and Pacific States, ACP and the European Union, EU. The conditions regulating this cooperation are described in the *Cotonou Agreement* and in the documents of the ongoing negotiations towards the signing of the Economic Partnership Agreements, EPAs.

The EAC signed "a framework agreement" with the EU, on the 27th November 2007 as a first step towards a full Economic Partnership Agreement. Tanzania was a driving power in this process, say the experts and the media. This framework agreement is not the end of the trade negotiation process, rather the beginning. Both parties agreed to continue the negotiations in 2008 and to conclude "a comprehensive EPA not later than July 2009" (Chapter 7).

Political, economic and social policies and programmes of governments and civil society organizations are man-made. Behind good results or performance of groups, institutions, or even states are women and men who are committed to good leadership imbued with sound competence, ethical behavior, and social responsibility. With the Young Leadership Training Programme, YLTP VII, FES will continue to contribute to capacity building for young leaders in Tanzania (Chapter 5).

Politics, policy making and leadership training do not happen in a vacuum, they are not value free. On the contrary: political and socio-economic thoughts and activities should be based on a foundation of historical experience and forward looking pragmatism framed by a political vision. FES, as the political foundation close to the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, and to the Socialist International, SI, follows the political philosophy of Democracy and Social Justice. It subscribes to principles and values of Freedom, Justice and Solidarity. Therefore it is natural that FES cooperates with other social democratic organizations and parties of common interest to form a strong alliance of progressive powers. The active participation of the SPD at the CCM Party Congress in Dodoma in November 2007 was a clear sign of this relationship of solidarity. Discussion and dialogue to work out answers to our common challenges as well as to resolve any differences of opinion among ourselves will continue (Chapter 9).

I would like to thank our many contributors to this 2008 issue for their work, with very special thanks to Dr. Azaveli Lwaitama, Lars-Christian Treusch and the Coordinator Angela Ishengoma.

The staff of FES Tanzania wishes you and your family a healthy, prosperous and peaceful 2008.

Peter Häussler, Resident Director FES Tanzania

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Calendar 2008

Overview 2008

January 2008						
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March 2008						
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September 2009						
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December							January							February						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
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Dec. 07 - Jan. 08

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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
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14th - 20th

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3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
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21st - 27th

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Jan. 08 - Feb. 08

28th - 3rd

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7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
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7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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Feb. 2008
4th - 10th

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Feb. 2008

11th - 17th

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31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3							1	2
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
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January							February							March						
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31	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3					1	2	3
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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Feb. 2008
18th - 24th

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Feb. - Mar. 08

25th - 2nd

February							March							April						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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Friday 29

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Saturday 1

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Sunday 2

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February							March							April						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3					1	2	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
25	26	27	28	29			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				

week
10
Mar. 2008
3rd - 9th

MARCH

Monday 3

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Sunday 9

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week

11

Mar. 2008

10th - 16th

February							March							April						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3					1	2	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
25	26	27	28	29			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				

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Friday 14

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Saturday 15

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Sunday 16

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February							March							April						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3					1	2	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
25	26	27	28	29			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				

week
12
Mar. 2008
17th - 23th

MARCH

Monday 17

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week

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Mar. 2008

24th - 30th

February

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29		

March

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

April

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

Monday 24

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Saturday 29

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Sunday 30

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March							April							May						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2	31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

week
14
Mar. - Apr. 08
31st - 6th

MAR / APR

Monday 31

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week
15
Apr. 2008
 7th - 13th

March							April							May						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3	31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

Monday 7

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March							April							May						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2	31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

week
16
Apr. 2008
14th - 20th

APRIL

Monday 14

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week
17
Apr. 2008
21st - 27th

March							April							May						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3	31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

Monday 21

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Saturday 26

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Sunday 27

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April							May							June						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4							1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

week
18
Apr. - May 08
28th - 4th

APR / MAY

Monday 28

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Sunday 4

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week
19
 May 2008
 5th - 11th

April							May							June						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4							1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Monday 5

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Saturday 10

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Sunday 11

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April							May							June						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4							1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

week
20
May 2008
12th - 18th

MAY

Monday 12

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Saturday 17

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Sunday 18

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week

21

May 2008

19th - 25th

April							May							June						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4							1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Monday 19

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Saturday 24

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Sunday 25

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May							June							July						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4							1	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31			

week

22

May - June 08

26th - 1st

MAY / JUNE

Monday 26

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week
23

June 08
2nd - 8th

May							June							July						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3 4						1		30	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31			

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May							June							July						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4								30	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31			

week
24
June 2008
9th - 15th

JUNE

Monday 9

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week
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June 2008

16th - 22nd

May							June							July						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3 4						1	2	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31			

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Saturday 21

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Sunday 22

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May							June							July						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4								30	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31			

week
26
June 2008
23rd - 29th

JUNE

Monday 23

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Saturday 28

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Sunday 29

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week
27

June - July 08

30th - 6th

June							July							August							
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	
						1	30	1	2	3	4	5	6						1	2	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	

Monday 30

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Tuesday 1

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Wednesday 2

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Friday 4

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Saturday 5

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Sunday 6

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June							July							August						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2	30	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

week
28
July 2008
7th - 13th

JULY

Monday 7

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Tuesday 8

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Saturday 12

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Sunday 13

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week
29

July 2008

14th - 20th

June							July							August						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2	30	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Monday 14

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Wednesday 16

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Thursday 17

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Friday 18

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Saturday 19

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Sunday 20

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June							July							August						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2	30	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

week
30
July 2008
21st - 27th

JULY

Monday 21

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Saturday 26

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Sunday 27

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week

31

July - Aug. 08

28th - 3rd

July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

Monday 28

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Wednesday 30

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Saturday 2

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Sunday 3

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July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

week
32
Aug. 2008
4th - 10th

AUGUST

Monday 4

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Saturday 9

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Sunday 10

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week

33

Aug. 2008

11th - 17th

July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

Monday 11

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Friday 15

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Saturday 16

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Sunday 17

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July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

week
34
Aug. 2008
18th - 24th

AUGUST

Monday 18

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Saturday 23

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Sunday 24

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week
35

Aug. 2008

25th - 31st

July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

Monday 25

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Friday 29

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Saturday 30

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Sunday 31

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August							September							October						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5		
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31		

week
36
Sept. 2008
1st - 7th

SEPTEMBER

Monday 1

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Sunday 7

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week
37
 Sept. 2008
 8th - 14th

August							September							October							
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31			

Monday 8

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Saturday 13

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Sunday 14

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August							September							October						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5		
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31		

week
38
Sept. 2008
15th - 21st

SEPTEMBER

Monday 15

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Sunday 21

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week

39

Sept. 2008

22nd - 28th

August

September

October

August							September							October							
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31			

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Friday 26

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Saturday 27

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Sunday 28

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September							October							November						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30						27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

week
40
Sept. - Oct. 08
29th - 5th

SEPT / OCT

Monday 29

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Saturday 4

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Sunday 5

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week

41

Oct. 2008

6th - 12th

September

October

November

September							October							November						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5								1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30						27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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Saturday 11

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Sunday 12

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September							October							November						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30						27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

week
42
Oct. 2008
13th - 19th

OCTOBER

Monday 13

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week
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Oct. 2008

20th - 26th

September							October							November						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5								1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30						27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
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Oct. - Nov. 08

27th - 2nd

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Nov. 2008

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	29	30	31				

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
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Nov. 2008
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Nov. 2008

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
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17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
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3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
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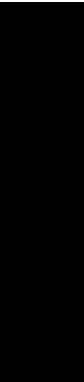
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1 - Overview



SOME BASIC FACTS AND FIGURES

Geography

Total area	945,087 sq. km
Land area	886,037 sq. km
-Mainland	883,600 sq. km
-Zanzibar	2,500 sq. km
Water area (includes the islands of Mafia, Pemba and Zanzibar)	59,050 sq. km
Total land boundaries	3,861 km
Coastline	1,424 km
Highest Point: Kilimanjaro	5,895 m
Natural resources	hydropower, tin, phosphates, iron ore, coal, diamonds, gemstones, gold, natural gas, nickel, uranium

Land use

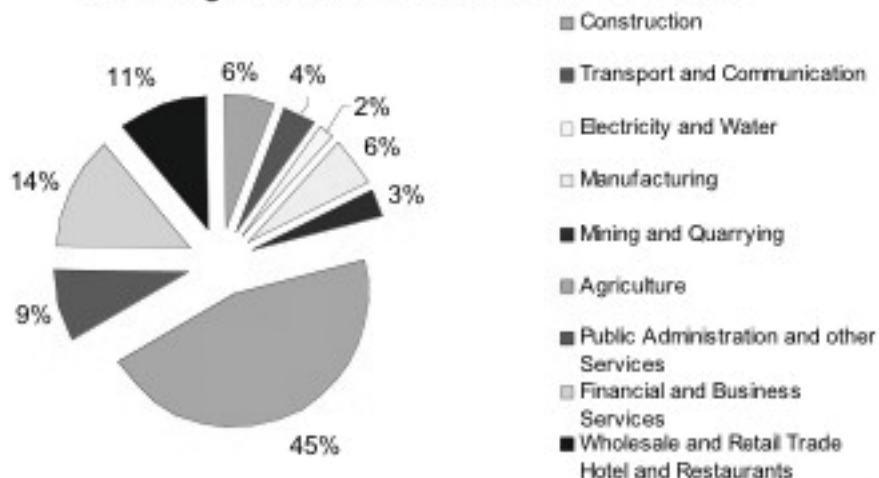
Arable land	4,23%
Permanent crops	1,16%
Irrigated land	1,840 sq. km
Permanent pastures	40%
Forests & woodlands	38%
Other	18%

Population

Population (estimated)	39,384 223 (July 2007)
Population growth rate	2,091%

Estimated population in 2015	45,6 million
Urban population	23,8%
Population density	44 per sq. km
Median age	17,7 years
Population < 15	43,9%
Population > 65	2,8%
Ethnic groups, religion & languages	
Ethnic groups	Mainland - African 99% (indigenous), other 1% (consisting of Asian, European and Arab) Zanzibar - Arab, African, mixed Arab and African
Religions	Mainland - Christian 30%, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 35% Zanzibar - more than 99% Muslim
Economy	
Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)	19
Exports (Mill. US\$)	1,723.0
Trade balance	-2,141.1
Internet users (per 1000 people)	9
<i>Source: Human Development Report 2006, Bank of Tanzania 2007</i>	

Percentage Sector GDP for Current Prices 2006



Source: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS): 2007

Gender related indicators

Seats in parliament held by women (% of total)	30,4
Estimated earned income, female (PPP US\$)	569
Estimated earned income, male (PPP US\$)	781
Women in government at ministerial level (% of total)	15,4%

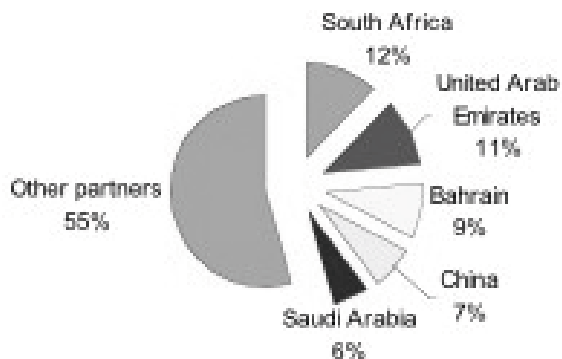
Source: Human Development Report 2006

Tanzania Trade in Goods with the World 2006

Imports

Partner Title	Trade Value	Percentage
South Africa	\$ 546,760,142	12,32%
United Arab Emirates	\$ 500,910,716	11,28%
Bahrain	\$ 409,350,149	9,22%
China	\$ 308,604,817	6,95%
Saudi Arabia	\$ 252,812,901	5,69%
Other partners	\$ 2,421,073,264	54,53%
TOTAL	\$ 4,439,511,989	100%

Tanzania's import partners 2006



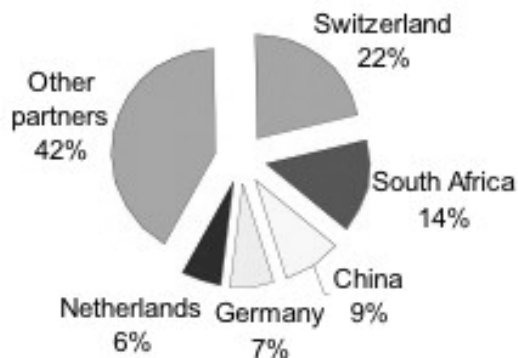
Tanzania Trade in Goods with the World 2006

Exports

Partner Title	Trade Value	Percentage
Switzerland	\$ 367,234,299	21,73%
South Africa	\$ 241,825,205	14,31%
China	\$ 150,300,648	8,89%
Germany	\$ 112,716,756	6,67%
Netherlands	\$ 102,068,420	6,04%
Other partners	\$ 715,718,075	42,35%
TOTAL	1,689,863,403	100%

Source: <http://comtrade.un.org/db/ce/ceSnapshot.aspx?r=834>

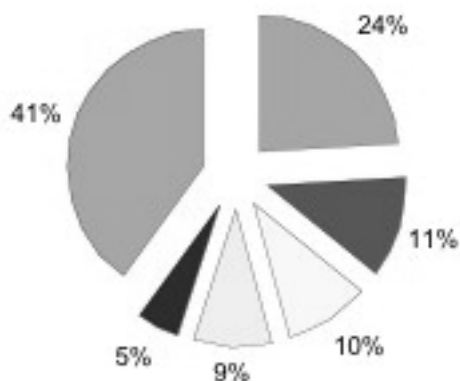
Tanzania's export partners 2006



TOP IMPORTED COMMODITIES 2006

Mineral fuels, mineral oils and products of their distillation	\$ 1,076,375,228
Machinery and mechanical appliances; parts thereof	\$ 509,678,924
Vehicles other than railway or tramway rolling stock	\$ 445,595,688
Electrical machinery and equipment and parts thereof; sound recorders and reproducers, and parts and accessories of such articles	\$ 405,218,413
Animal or vegetable fats and oils	\$ 222,246,732
Other commodities	\$ 1,780,397,004

Imported Commodities 2006



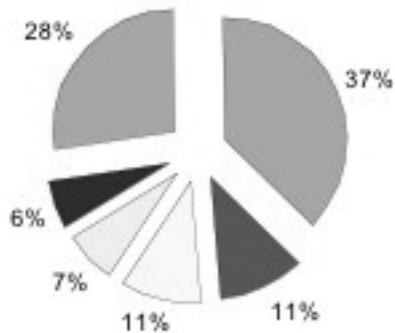
- Mineral fuels, mineral oils and products of their distillation
- Machinery and mechanical appliances; parts thereof
- Vehicles other than railway or tramway rolling stock
- Electrical machinery and equipment and parts thereof; sound recorders and r ...
- Animal or vegetable fats and oils
- Other commodities

TOP EXPORTED COMMODITIES 2006

Natural or cultured pearls, precious or semi-precious stones	\$ 627,643,209
Fish and crustaceans, molluscs and other aquatic invertebrates	\$ 187,130,326
Ores, slag and ash	\$ 179,760,988
Coffee, tea and spices	\$ 117,711,183
Tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes	\$ 106,699,932
Other commodities	\$ 470,917,765

Source: <http://comtrade.un.org/db/ce/ceSnapshot.aspx?r=834>

Exported Commodities 2006



- Natural or cultured pearls, precious or semi-precious stones
- Fish and crustaceans, molluscs and other aquatic invertebrates
- Ores, slag and ash
- Coffee, tea and spices
- Tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes
- Other commodities

NEWS ABOUT MINIMUM WAGE

After the government has announced the minimum wage levels for the private sector employees, the responses of the society are positive. A house-girl working in Mwenge, Mariam Hassan, was quoted by the Guardian (October 11, 2007) as expressing her relief since before she used to earn as little as Tsh 30,000/=. So Tsh 65,000/= is at least a relief of her burden in caring for her family. A barmaid Husna Ramadhani quoted by Mwananchi newspaper (October 9th, 2007) said that she will now be able to get the necessary needs with less problems.

NEW MINIMUM WAGE (TSH) LEVELS

350,000/=: Workers in aviation services
 300,000/=: Clearing and forwarding
 230,000/=: Telephone companies
 200,000/=: Drivers & Conductors
 250,000/=: Media institutions doing business
 150,000/=: Media institutions providing religious services

105,000/=: Big security companies
 80,000/=: Small security companies
 120,000/=: Big hospitals and pharmacies
 80,000/=: Dispensaries and laboratories
 150,000/=: Manufacturing industries
 80,000/=: Small factories
 65,000/=: Agriculture sector
 225,000/=: Water and marine services sector (workers on passengers and cargo ships)
 196,000/=: Workers on fishing ships
 300,000/=: Porters
 150,000/=: Employees in five star hotels
 80,000/=: Employees in small hotels
 90,000/=: Housemaids in diplomatic missions
 65,000/=: Housemaids
 350,000/=: workers in minerals sector

Sources:

The Guardian newspaper, Tuesday October 9, 2007 and <http://ippmedia.com/ipp/guardian/2007/10/09/100057.html>

2 - Governance

POWER, ACCOUNTABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA: A Proposal for Alternative Initiatives for Consolidation of Governance Reforms in Tanzania

By: Max Mmuya, University of Dar es Salaam

INTRODUCTION

Tanzania has been taking numerous reform measures since the mid 1980's with varied results. The year 2007/2008 is thought to be an appropriate point at which one could make reflections regarding the realization of the envisaged goals of the reforms particularly in order to carry the previous efforts further. It is for this reason that we opted to present an abridged version of the results and recommendations of a study on Monitoring Power around which over the year of 2006/07 we had the opportunity to engage in¹. The main objective of the study was to investigate why things work the way they do inspite the various reform efforts. In this regard the effort was to analyze and understand the political and institutional factors that shape development outcomes. The hope was that the results would make analysts and policy-makers more aware of the political conditions in which specific reform initiatives are being implemented. To that extent, the study was envisaged to offer a more informed and balanced perspective on threats and opportunities,

strengths and weaknesses associated with the policy process in Tanzania. The findings were also expected to make policy analysts and decision-makers more sensitive to the social and political realities that, in the end, determine how far specific reforms or policy interventions may go.

The study assumed that "power" was an important variable the way things work. The variable was therefore disaggregated into long-term determinants; Structures and Institutions, short-term variables; and Human agency. These aggregates of power were studied by examining the impact that the use of power occasions with respect to the taking of development initiatives. On the structural/institutional side, the "constitution" of power and the "distribution" of power were examined. On the human agency side the "exercise" of power and the "control of power" were examined.

Under this framework, a survey instrument was applied on a variety of categories of "Well Informed Persons" (WIP) to investigate four distinct and different points in the policy process: Agenda-setting, formulation, implementation and effects. On Effects of Power two questions were raised,

¹ Max Mmuya (2007) Monitoring Power a Consultant's Report submitted to SIDA

that is achievement and process of carrying out development initiatives.

POWER CONFIGURATIONS AND RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA: STUDY FINDINGS

The broad findings from the study suggest that there is a triangle of power with key angular actors in Tanzania. These actors are, the Development Partners (DPs), the Tanzanian State and Non-State actors in their various organizations. Of these actors, the findings suggest that the DPs are critical political actors having influence all the way from national agenda setting to the outcome of policy implementation. As other studies have previously shown², besides the DPs predominance, the study confirms that there is more mutual bondage between the DPs and the state in Tanzania to the extent that the two can sideline local populations, including their organs of representation, notably the parliament.

The study has also brought out the finding that, although the state in Tanzania has developed mutual working relationship with the DPs, it always is averse and suspicious of the somewhat “easy” relationship that seems to exist between non-state actors and the very Development Partners it goes along with.

Inside the Angular Actors

While three angular actors were isolated, the study findings do suggest

that in each of the angular vertexes, there are varied fractions of players. The Development Partners for example, have a variety of agencies that interact differently (sometimes in competition and at other times in opposition) with the Tanzanian State and the Non-State actors. A broad thrust in development assistance is for example, that some DPs decide on supporting Tanzania on the basis of DPs’ “own interest” while others do so on the basis of “foreign needs”/recipients’. Such differences notwithstanding, it has been established that the Development Partners are critical actors in the development assistance regime. Various fractions exist with these vertexes and these fractions have a bearing in the way they relate amongst themselves as well as with the DPs.

Inside the Tanzania State

For the purpose of the objectives of this summary paper, there is need to present some detailed information on the findings in respect of the state in Tanzania. The Tanzania state has been the major object of the reform process involving at least three major areas: Building of an effective state (Stateness), enhancing Good Governance and promoting Democracy. In definitional terms,

- Stateness meaning a sovereign entity with institutions vested in formalized practices and government capacity to set an agenda and implement policy towards the realization of goals, or simply, government effectiveness

² DFID (2005) Understanding Patterns of Accountability in Tanzania

- Good Governance implying the development of institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies/officials underlined by the principles of Accountability, Transparency, Responsiveness, and Rule of law, and,
- Democracy focusing on the more political dimensions of governance with reference towards specific requirements which include³ first, free, second, fair, and third, competitive elections; citizenry freedoms that make them truly meaningful for example freedom of expression; alternative sources of information, and Institutions that ensure that government policies depend on the votes and preferences of citizens.

In relation to the main subject above, what do the findings from the study say with regard to the power configurations within the Tanzanian state and to what extent do the identified power configurations so identified have a bearing on the reform initiatives that focused on it.

Among the Key Findings

First, there is the recognition that the state in Tanzania has lost sovereignty in so far that it does not have ownership of its own programs. This rhymes with what was earlier recognized from the study that there is donor dominance when it comes to Agenda Setting and all through

to implementation. Relatedly, the findings show that although the state has all the trappings of a modern one, its institutions are far from being effective and the behavior of the bureaucracy is motivated more by patronage than rational and policy considerations. It was suggested that these tendencies account for the many cases of slippage in policy implementation.

Second there is the change of grid of power within the state. This was recognized as a drift of the centre of power toward the President's Office and even more noticeably to the Ministry of Finance (MoF). The state in Tanzania is not holistic. It is "some preeminent agencies" This trend was identified as reflecting the increased role that the Ministry of Finance plays as a "docking site" of development aid. Its direct connection to the DPs enhances the Ministry's status and influence

Third, there is the preeminence of the Executive over Parliament. The findings were very explicit on this aspect emphasizing the point that the executive would only consult with parliament as a matter of formality rather than be motivated by genuine desire to seek opinion which the executive can act on. Because many parliamentarians belong to the ruling party they feel frustrated by this neglect of their institution and there has been an increase in extra-parliamentary party caucus sessions to reconcile differences and maintain party coherence in the public whenever such tensions have taken place.

³ Robert Dahl - Democracy and its Critics

Fourth, there is the issue of the overlapping of the structures of the State and of the Party in office. The latter is not only dominant. There is also a lot of overlap with party officials and loyalists serving in government positions at central and lower levels. This arrangement limits both vertical and horizontal accountability. Vertically, citizen voice can not be sufficiently articulated or can simply be stifled; and horizontally, the expected checks and balance between the arms of government become constrained as well.

In summary, with regard to the effect of the reform around the state the findings simply suggests that looking back to the time of the study since reforms were instituted, while some positive trends could be identified, power relations in Tanzania were yet to evolve into the “modern” form. They were underlined/informed largely by tradition, informal relations away from being inspired by structural transformational drives and enshrined in a legal regime.

Power in Tanzania was seen to be dispersed, contradictory and arbitrary. Its face was at times harsh, at another time merely latent, unpredictable and discretionary.

The public bureaucracy was seen as weak, among other considerations, because of lack of organic link between it and organs of public representation and the mass of civil society, but also because of the way power around the public bureaucracy is constituted and exercised.

POWER ACCOUNTABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA

The study hypothesized that beyond technocratic and/or managerial considerations, power configurations are important in development initiatives. It was suggested that the way power is used “affects good governance and what power accomplishes presents the development record”. Thus the follow up questions were: how is power used in Tanzania and what is the effect of the way the power is used? Also, what has been the way power has been so configured and accomplished in Tanzania? How close or far away has the spirit of development been accomplished? The findings from the study speak a great deal on the two major issues thus.

Looking at Tanzania around the issues of state effectiveness, accountability and development it is abundantly clear that the way power is constituted, controlled and exercised has significant bearing on the three aspects of reform around the state. A few clippings from the study findings can serve as an illustration.

Power and Policy Formulation

One important finding on how power affects policy is that within the government, the emerging trend is that while there are power checking mechanisms, these are only formal. In reality there is no follow up on the issues from attendant reports. In other words the concerns, suggestions and recommendations are left to

fall through and unattended. The explanation behind the trend, as per the findings is that a) the state in Tanzania is yet to evolve into a policy state and b) the bureaucracy is yet to become a formal one. Informality informs the way state matters are handled

Power and Policy Implementation

Other highlights of the findings were related to the major question of policy implementation.

Observations included:

- A lack of enforcement capacity leading to serious slippage of policy intentions;
- A reluctance on the part of central organs to delegate authority;
- Whenever delegated, authority tends to be too dispersed and thus ineffective;
- Non-state organizations are too few and far apart to constitute a critical mass for aiding in public policy implementation;
- Too much personal arbitrariness among government officials when it comes to deciding on ways and means of implementing policy.

If one were to seek explanations for the trend, power analysis also assists the understanding of the trend. One of these is that the institutions of the state are not vested in formalized practices that assure implementation and follow up of the implementation. Besides, another explanation for the trend can come from the findings that the Executive can ignore the public and organs of their representation.

Distribution of power and Policy Effects

On distribution of power, the effort was to find out how far the government system itself and the way power is distributed affects the outcome of policies.

A number of issues were brought out on this aspect. The predominant view expressed was that while state power helps get things done, it remains insensitive to rights and matters related to accountability. This is to suggest, as the subject entails, that the way policies are carried out within the existing government system does not have positive consideration for the enhancement of rights in the democratic sense.

A NEW GENERATION OF INITIATIVES

The study on monitoring power has led us to accept the proposition that power is an important variable in most if not all transformation initiatives. Power is both a problem and a solution to the problem. The way power is constituted, controlled and exercised can frustrate development or facilitate its realization. For the current subject, in order to realize the envisaged goal of enhancing governance, it is recommended to reconstitute the moulds and uses of power around two institutional structures: the State and Civil Society. But due to the need for brevity of the paper, we deliberately spare the transformation initiatives round the Civil Society cluster to another setting.

Enhancing Governance Around the State

Dissecting the Problem around the State

It came out of the study that areas/issues under the state which required transformations are a) Fusion of state entities that should otherwise be separate and discrete and b) Distinction/Pre-eminence accorded to an element of the state among several other elements. We respectively refer to these as “**Dual Fusions**” and the second as “**Dual Pre-eminences**”.

The fusions and pre-eminences are seemingly the same but conceptually and strategically different in their transformation handling. Fusion simply implies *unification* which in the transformation handling will require its own type of strategy to resolve the implied power problems and solution. Pre-eminence implies *distinguishing or highlighting* one among several elements which will require, again a distinct strategy to handle the underlying problem.

The Dual Fusions

Dual fusion 1 refers to the collapsing of Executive, Legislative and Judicial elements of state into one power mould. The identified implied problem here is that the fusion of the Executive with Legislature and with the Judiciary defeats the cardinal principle of functional autonomy and the mediation roles of the powers of one organ over the other two organs of government. In which case, horizontal accountability cannot be enforced. If horizontal accountability

is not enforceable obviously the reform agendas above will fall through.

Suffuse

Dual fusion 2 entails the overlapping/pilling up of offices and officials of two (or more) governance institutions into one power mould. Under fusion 1, the three organs (often referred to as branches) belong to one entity, the government. Under fusion 2 reference is to a much broader institution of governance whose elements may include governmental and non-governmental entities. In the case of the current study in Tanzania, we have identified these elements to include, besides the branches of government, the party in office. But they could include, Non-state actors if they are co-opted into one power mould, such as the media, the religious, etc.

From the study, this fusion was identified as involving government offices and officials on the one hand and the ruling party’s offices and officials on the other. The fusion practically has meant that at anyone activity or role execution by an official or formal organ, for example the Head of state, a Minister, Parliament, a City Council meeting or the Party’s National Executive Committee (NEC), one cannot easily distinguish to which office and official the given role or function executed would be attributed.

The state and or the dominant party subsumes one into the other thereby making the units that are derived from the party, such as the parliament and lower levels peoples’ representatives’

organs such as councils, including the much smaller parties lose voice.

The Dual Pre-eminences

Pre-eminence 1 again at the level of the state, was identified as involving the “ Distinction of the Executive branch high above the other organs of state, that is the Judiciary and Parliament.

Pre-eminence 2 at the broader governance level involves the upholding of an organ of governance, in this case the Party in office not only as dominant but also as ‘Supreme’ over, may be the government, other Non- State actors such as the religious, media, academic, etc.

The implication of a power arrangement that is based on systems of dual fusion and dual pre-eminence countervails efforts at the realization of the three main reform agenda’s surrounding the state: stateness, good governance and democracy.

Transforming the Dual Fusions and Dual Pre-eminences

Transformation of the state requires two major pronged action: transformation of the dual fusions and dual pre-eminences and the second is the devolution of state powers and assets.

Transformation of the Dual Fusions and Dual Pre-eminences

Both fusion and pre-eminence call for the following actions.

a) Streamlining Roles and Functions of the organs of the state with the explicit direction towards the realization of

the cardinal principle of autonomy of the institutions and capacity to exercise effective oversight over one another. This has been referred to as Separation of Powers.

b) Decongesting of Public Offices and Officials of both the state and party organs and assigning autonomous duties and roles.

Devolution of state powers and Assets

The second transformation of the State calls for devolution of state powers and assets from central to local and private organs. Power must go to the hierarchically lower state organs of the state to allow for focus, ownership and, ultimately, accountability. Additionally, devolution calls for transposing of the state to citizen bodies and individuals, for example the Parliament and district/municipal Councils.

Agencies for the Transformational Process

Under previous reform efforts, numerous initiatives have been put in place to address the problems around the state with limited results. We would like to argue that the limited results emanated from the little appreciation of the centrality of the power analysis of the problem. Power was the problem and power is the key to the resolution of the problem. This leads to the suggesting that the next generation of initiatives for handling the problem of *fusion* and of *pre-eminence* as dissected above, should involve the invoking of agencies of power that can appropriately act, effectively negotiate and if necessary

impose sanction, etc. on power lines that nourish on fusion and on pre-eminence. In our estimate, these agencies include impersonal structural forces and deliberate human action.

Structural Transformational Agencies

Structural transformational agencies include all those law like impersonal forces that lead to creating alternative and independent power sites and that lead to subjecting fusion and pre-eminence to differentiation, multiplicity and rearrangement of power blocks. Capitalism (and not Crony Capitalism) has proven to embody these transformational capabilities.

Human Agencies

Under the human agencies, one can identify two categories of the human agencies: local and foreign (development) partners. The preoccupation here is to “build Power”, alternative power. Human agencies refer to purposive and calculated efforts of persons who seek to promote change.

The thrust of the human agency is to build power with which to handle the problem of power. We are assuming that like-minded persons, outside the existing power moulds can come together thereby increasing size and voice. On this, we are not oblivious to the difficulties of forming coalitions of citizen groups. It however is an inescapable proposition that “quantity” or “size matters” as does quality also matter. The effort, in any

event, is to increase the proportion of power in order to have more power with which to surge pressure on existing power.

Most local initiatives that have been “lone” in their activism have easily been dismissed away as “*irresponsible truants*”, “*power hungry sycophants*” draped with numerous other disparaging referents. It is high time that local actors build coalitions of Citizen Groups (NGOs, The Media, Willing Political parties etc.) to increase voice, thereby build power. Increased voice on effective government, good governance and democracy can alter the power structure in key areas such as agenda setting, agenda implementation, policy effect, human rights, etc.

Development Partners

The development Partners were identified in the study as having considerable power in Tanzania. To that extent DPs power can strategically be invoked and applied as a resource with which to alter the adverse power arrangement through the following conscious efforts.

- Imposition of targeted sanctions to address problems of fusion and conferment of pre-eminencies
- Support meaningful voices
- Support through intervention (legal and technical) tendencies at promotion of crony capitalism carried out in a transnationalisation context involving local business and political elites and their international partners.

TANZANIA CABINET AND PERMANENT SECRETARIES

Sources: *Tanzania Information Department, August 2007*
http://www.tanemb.set/tanzania_ministries_and_contact_.htm
(Valid as on the 9th of December 2007)

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Notes

FREE MARKET ECONOMY AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN TANZANIA

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Introduction:

The international community is increasingly concerned about corruption and its corrosive effects on economies and societies¹. Evidence is growing in rich and poor countries of the costs of corruption and its effect on foreign direct investment, growth of local entrepreneurs, protection of the environment, the poor, public policy, and the informal social pact between government and governed. A wide range of anti-corruption activities have been launched with support from the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA), the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and others. Corruption can be most simply defined as the abuse of public office for private gain. While corruption can take many forms, including corruption entirely within the private sector, the current concern is with corruption in the public sector or at the interface between the public and private sectors. In corruption cases, two parties are usually guilty—the briber and the bribe-taker. While investigating and sanctioning corrupt practice is critical, an emphasis on enforcement and punishment will not achieve sustainable results unless accompanied by efforts to address underlying causes². Systemic corruption is a symptom of public

sector breakdown, which should be addressed as part of a broad strategy for improving public sector performance. Part of that strategy entails strengthening key institutions of the public sector, principally the Executive branch, but also the Judicial and Legislative branches. It also involves reviewing policies to eliminate, when possible, policies that give rise to economic rents. Furthermore, combating corruption is not an end in itself, but part of a broader goal of creating a more effective government.

Re-Thinking the Mwalimu Nyerere era anti-corruption strategies

The Leadership Code was part and parcel of the Arusha Declaration that was adopted by the National Executive Committee of the then ruling Party (TANU) in Arusha on 29th January 1967.³ Though it was made public on 5th February 1967, the Declaration, and the Leadership Code in particular, reflected to a very large extent, Nyerere's commitment to build an egalitarian society. Before and immediately after independence in 1961, Nyerere had noted and warned against pomposity and ostentation amongst TANU (and later on government) leaders. (Nyerere 1966:223-226). In February 1966, while addressing Mafia district residents, he totally disapproved of

the practice of leaders owning big farms:

“We do not want such a situation to arise. We have stopped TANU leaders from owning farms. We have taken similar steps with other leaders.... Yesterday we were all poor. If we hear you have a big farm, we shall ask you how you got it.” (Nyerere 1968: 141-2).

He rationalized this by arguing that a leader owning a big farm cannot have time to fulfill effectively the duties of his office; and further that such a leader will end up hiring labour and thereby become an exploiter which was contrary to TANU policies. He preached frugality, introduced salary cuts and a system of progressive taxation. The adoption of the Leadership Code was the result of this philosophy of egalitarianism.

I shall, however, show that the Party has not succeeded to block the development of a privileged, propertied class and has also failed to purify the body politic. Despite all attempts at bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, Tanzania to-day has more inequality than at any other time since she became independent.

The Leadership Code:

Initially, when the Code was adopted, it was taken to cover senior party and Government leaders, including members of Parliament, and leaders of local authorities. However, later it became clear that the definition of a leader or public officer depended either on his official title (e.g. member of the Party National Executive Committee,

Member of Parliament, member of a local authority or leader of an ujamaa village); or else on the amount of a person's annual salary. Government, Party and Parastatal employees in receipt of a monthly salary of above one thousand and sixty six shillings, sixty seven cents (equivalent to approximately US\$ 1,606/67 at that time) were automatically covered by the Leadership Code. When this amount was fixed in 1973 it was aimed at covering Government and parastatal employees in high and middle levels.

A leader contravenes the Leadership Code if he does any of the following things:

- a) if he is a beneficial owner of any share in any company incorporated or established in the United Republic or elsewhere or of any interest in any such share;
- b) if he or his spouse holds the office of a director in any company incorporated or established in the United Republic or elsewhere otherwise than as a nominee of the Government or a local authority or of any statutory corporation or of any company of which the majority of ordinary shares are held by the Government, a local authority or a statutory corporation;
- c) if he or his spouse is the beneficial owner of any house or other building which, or any portion of which, is the exclusive occupation of some other person in consideration of payment of rent, fee or other valuable consideration whatsoever, other than lawful deductions from the

wages payable to a domestic servant in respect of occupation by him of any portion of such house or of any quarters attached thereto;

- d) if he or his spouse is in receipt of two or more salaries;
- e) if he or his spouse, being a person engaged in any trade, business, profession or vocation, employs any workman for the purposes of, or in connection with, such trade, business, profession or vocation.

On top of Leadership Code the National Executive Committee of the Party adopted in November 1974 a Leadership Code of Conduct. The Code of Conduct stipulates that a leader shall be a person who:

- a) respects people;
- b) constantly strives to understand, explain and implement the policies of the Party;
- c) is a diligent worker;
- d) always generally cooperates with his colleagues;
- e) is always in the frontline in the implementation of programmes which have been decided by the people;
- f) always strives to be of exemplary behaviour both in his words and deeds, and in particular, he shall not be a loiterer or an addict of excessive consumption of alcohol.

Any person categorized as a leader has to sign a declaration that he will abide by the conditions stipulated by both the Leadership Code and the Code of Conduct.

In 1973 a Committee for the Enforcement of the Leadership Code was formally established by an Act of Parliament.⁴ It consists of a Chairman and not less than two and not more than three other members. It has powers to enquire into any alleged or suspected breach of the Code by any public officer. It is supposed to conduct its business in private. It is empowered to use the police to arrest people who do not respond to its summonses voluntarily. After enquiring into any alleged breach of the Code, the Committee submits a confidential report of its findings to the President.

Following an amendment to the Act establishing the Committee for the Enforcement of the Leadership Code in 1987⁵, the Code was extended to cover Zanzibar also. The “committee” was dropped in favour of “commission” and the composition of the Commission was expanded to include “not less than three and not more than five other Commissioners of whom at least not more than half Commissioners (shall come from) the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar”.

Although the Bill establishing the Committee was unanimously supported in the Parliament in 1973 the Committee has generally been ignored by the people. It has not enjoyed any popularity like the Permanent Commission of Enquiry for example. Indeed, when interviewed by the Sunday News in February 1982, the Chairman of the Committee was reported to have complained that Party organs were not reporting

suspects to the Committee as expected.

*"We in the Commission have realized that in the past five years of CCM's existence, it is only the CCM Chairman and the Party Vice Chairman who handed suspects to the Commission in order to establish if they really violate the Code. Under the Constitution, we are supposed to get the names of suspects from Party organs duly discussed. We never got such cooperation."*⁶

Most people who were punished for violating the Code were the ordinary members of CCM including branch and district functionaries. The most common punishment was expulsion from the Party. Even then, it would appear that the number of such cases had considerably dwindled in the 1980s when compared to the 1970s. This should by no means be taken to indicate that leaders were complying more with the Leadership Code than in the 1970s. In actual fact the opposite was the case.

The Reality:

In the spirit of the Arusha Declaration, the income gap in the public sector was narrowed from 18.8:1 in 1962 to 15.7:1 in 1966, and by 1984 the gap stood at 4.9:1⁷. This was achieved through two ways: first through the taxation system, and secondly by increasing the low income bracket salaries at a higher proportion than those at higher levels.

In the mid 1980s there was a clear shift in the economic policies of the country from putting emphasis on

small scale and communal production in agriculture to the encouragement of large scale farms. Large tracts of agricultural land were leased to individuals and corporations and credit facilities were provided to the creditworthy. Some estates were denationalized and private individuals were invited to purchase them. Trade was liberalized and exchange control restrictions were considerably relaxed. All these were unthinkable at the height of the Arusha Declaration. To cap it all the 'second phase' government of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi signed the IMF conditions in 1986 after prolonged bargaining. There was a clear encouragement and support for private initiatives to revive the economy. By 1988 the state was openly inviting foreign firms to participate in joint ventures with local entrepreneurs.

What are the implications of this turn of events in the enforcement of the Leadership Code? First, the so called "local entrepreneurs" include and will continue to include "Leaders" as defined in the Leadership Code. Even where such leaders are not directly involved in various forms of entrepreneurship, they will invariably end up servicing the interests of such entrepreneurs. This was realized by the National Executive Committee of the Party in 1988, when it warned against the danger that the emerging local millionaires would turn the leaders into a committee to service their interests and that, with their money, they would pick people to contest Party elections and ensure their elections to leadership positions.⁸

In this case; in understanding corruption in Tanzania requires appreciation of the country's political and economic history since Independence. Such a history, however, will not be attempted here—rather, suffice it to say, Tanzania followed a socialist path of economic development for over twenty years, and a political regime, characterized by single-party rule for even longer. Under socialism, corruption spread because of low and declining civil service wages, combined with excess demand for public services; economic distortions arising from inappropriate policies; excessive regulation and inefficient public enterprises; and over-extension of Government programs. These factors stifled competition and efficiency, and weakened Government's internal control and the budget's credibility for managing spending. Inevitably, informal rules began to replace formal rules and, as the WR makes clear, accountability was inadequate across the public sector. The public administration controls broke down, encouraging the spread of corruption. Simultaneously, single-party rule inhibited growth of civil society institutions as countervailing sources of political power, reducing checks and balances in the system.

Secondly, trade liberalization can rightly be linked with the phenomenal increase in corruption, racketeering and smuggling offenses.⁹ Smuggling of cash crops and minerals out of the country, illegal dealings in foreign exchange and poaching, have not spared people in the public service. There is no way that these crimes

could have flourished so successfully without the involvement and participation of people who are the subject of the Leadership Code.

On the other hand, the Leadership Code itself is seen as responsible for the existence of all these vices. According to Mazrui:

*"To discourage Party officials from owning another house, or from buying shares in a company or sometimes even from buying land, is to narrow the officials range of legitimate options for enhancing his income. This might work if his income improved in other ways, or even remained constant in real terms. But in Tanzania this has not been the case."*¹⁰

Mazrui concludes that in the light of hostile economic realities (inflation, falling production and living standards), public employees "may feel that the economic walls are closing in and they must puncture the system one way or another".¹¹ The 1980s has also witnessed phenomenal embezzlement of public funds and property by employees.

Some individuals have tried to find more acceptable means of generating extra income within the existing limitations. Some public employees and professionals have taken to activities such as poultry keeping, dairy farming and different types of businesses. Whatever the case, this practice has also negatively affected their performance of work. It seems illogical to underpay a surgeon or a university professor for example, and to expect him to supplement his income by keeping pigs, instead

of doing something in the line of his profession.

In some public enterprises different types of tax free allowances are paid, particularly to senior executives to mitigate their economic hardships. However, some professionals have found it much easier to quit the country altogether. For example, I have learnt from reliable sources that from 1984 up to the beginning of 1989, 196 qualified physicians left the country for greener pastures elsewhere. The University of Dar Es Salaam is one of the hardest hit institutions in losing its qualified academics to other Universities in Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe and others within and outside Africa.

It is also true that many of those who seem to make it notwithstanding the existing problems accumulate property illegally or in contravention of the Leadership Code. Corruption in its different forms would probably top the list. Even fresh graduates are now attracted to a particular job less because of a seemingly attractive salary than for opportunities of michuzi (privileges & benefits) such a job carries. Indeed, corruption has been the principal source of accumulation of wealth by the ruling class in all post-colonial African countries.

As Kameir and Kursany (1985) correctly argue, corruption has to be viewed “as a principal mode of financial accumulation for a particular social class or classes rather than simply an instance of individual criminal behaviour”. Describing the struggle

against corruption in Tanzania as a case of “heroic failure”.¹² Mazrui has observed that:

“Tanzania to-day has more bribery and corruption, less dedication to the work ethic, greater indifference to productivity, more cynicism about political leaders and a more pronounced acquisitive drive than it had when the Arusha Declaration affirmed its dramatic ideological blueprint in 1967”.

It is a serious contradiction that as the country and the masses of the people get poorer, corruption continues to thrive as a means of assuring rapid richness for a tiny minority in a country purporting to be engaged in socialist construction.

The Verdict:

The Party’s efforts and expectations to frustrate the development of a privileged, properties class and to purify the body politic have been far from being successful. Inequality and inequity is now far more entrenched than at any other time before.

Referring to the Leadership Code in 1986, Nyerere, the Party Chairman, remarked that the Code was intended “to help Party members to avoid some of the temptations which go with leadership, and thus to be, and to be seen to be, more socialist in their behaviour”.¹³ He blamed some of the post Arusha Declaration problems on some of the leaders “who were not really socialist”. A year later, addressing the Party National Conference at Dodoma (Kizota) he openly admitted that economic

differences among Tanzanians were beginning to be conspicuous.¹⁴ He added that “more noticeable to people suffering economic hardships (as not honest people now do) is the beginning of real individual wealth in a poor country like ours”. Cautioning delegates on the dangers of this development, he said:

“Both our steps to move towards greater equality and greater justice, and the trust of the people in their leaders, have begun to be looked upon with suspicion by some people... There is growing up a felling among the people that between the words and actions of leaders there is a gap which is getting wider.”

According to Nyerere, even during retirement, a leader should continue to lead a socialist life:

“If leaders retire, and immediately get the capital to begin a capitalist enterprise, they are not breaking the law; but it is not surprising if the people express some doubts about their previously expressed support for Ujamaa, and ask themselves: how is it that in a socialist country they so quickly get all the money they need for such an enterprise? And it is this kind of thing which gives birth to cynicism about leaders who have not retired. Their commitment to building socialism and equality also begins to be questioned.”

From the second half of the 1970s onwards it has increasingly become clear that Tanzania’s socialist rhetoric and her policies are moving in opposite directions; “and that the

gap between goals and achievements is consequently getting wider as time goes by”.¹⁵ In fact even the socialist rhetoric and sloganeering of the late 1960s and early 1970s has considerably subsided. As we have seen, policy changes introduced in the 1980s including trade liberalization have seriously compromised the country’s commitment to socialism. The Party Chairman has tried to rationalize this as a temporary retreat in the following words:

“In any struggle, when the forces against you become too strong, you make a tactical retreat. There is no disgrace in that. What is important is not the fact of retreating, but the fact of not surrendering and of organizing the retreat in an orderly manner so that you will be able to regroup, and later counter-attack and advance in the direction you wish to go.”¹⁶

Of course this automatically begs the question as to what are the chances of regrouping and counter-attacking under the prevailing conditions?

As we have argued, all post-colonial African countries experience the problem of corruption which is unaffected by any ideological inclination of any given country. Such corruption is deep rooted in the social formation of these countries. In these countries there is a general absence of the civil service ‘work-ethic’, characterized by lack of work discipline, stealing of public property and nepotism. (Hope 1987: 127–144).

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

- Political corruption has become the main feature in competitive politics, especially in transitional democracies. Mobilization of resources is one of the major tasks of political parties in order to reach out to the electorate and seek political support in elections.
- The Legislation to protect the integrity of the political process in which the electoral process is subsumed, is inadequate and found wanting in ensuring control of activities of political parties including political finance and campaign funding.
- Political corruption is widely spread in the public sector because of lack of control legislation in which the activities and processes in the political domain become subject of strict control, especially to check the power and influence of money politics and the relationship of political parties and politicians and private interests.
- Corruption in the electoral process is mainly defined and perceived by voters in terms of money politics. Issues of misuse of power and state resources or of non-monetary nature are secondary
- As money politics has become dominant in the political domain, inequality between political parties (key actors in electoral politics) has assumed exponential proportions. The ruling party (CCM) gets the bulk of public

subsidies (over 80%) and again the bulk of private donations (over 90%). Thus there is formal equality of political parties but not real equality on the ground in terms of all the actors to have equal opportunities and possibilities of carrying out their political activities to reach out to voters unhampered.

- There is limited pro-active strategy to combat corruption in the political strategy because opposition parties are too weak in terms of parliamentary representation and the ruling party is advantaged by the status quo.

CAVEATS IN LEGISLATION AND EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT

- It is difficult, for the Tanzanian government with few resources and with law enforcement officers not trained in modern techniques of forensic auditing to the monitor sources of income and expenditures of political parties. Most, if not all political parties operate as secret societies, especially in relation to political finance and campaign funding. Much of what is submitted to The Registrar of Political Parties as Annual Audit Reports is done as a matter of course in order to fulfil the legal requirements. There are a lot of unreported contributions by the way of cash. The sources of such as contributions are not reported. It could be drug money or proceeds from crime.

- The Parliament in February 2000 amended the elections Act of 1985 by inserting in section 98(2) of the Act a provision to the effect that, “anything done in good faith as an act of normal or traditional hospitality shall be deemed not to be treating.” Treating is regarded as an illegal act in the elections, but the amendment of the election law to sanction traditional hospitality is an indirect way of accepting treating.
- The idea of putting a ceiling on campaign expenditure was contested by some interviewees from the point of view that many candidates do not have a lot of money to spend and the idea of putting a ceiling on electoral campaign funds only looks at the wealthy few and that is discrimination. Some leaders of political parties interviewed were of the view that the public authorities responsible for enforcing political parties Act and Electoral Law and regulations should only be concerned with cases of candidates who use illegally obtained money for political purposes. It was contended that it would be difficult for concerned authorities to monitor the ground situation and ascertain real as distinct from campaign expenditures that are not real since the government does not have trained personnel and resources to enforce the laws made to protect the integrity of the political and electoral processes.
- Furthermore, several pieces of legislation including the Election Campaign Act No. 3 of 1993

section 32, Act No. 7 of 1992 section 22, and Act No. 11 of 1994 (section 8) do allow for door to door canvassing. This canvassing is usually done at night, and this practice, as the 2000 elections show, was used to distribute bribes and to organize religious or ethnically motivated meetings. Door to door campaigns were used to engender corruption in the electoral process because of primordial loyalties and extensive political patronage networks, which characterize the terrain of Tanzania politics.

Faced with such contradictions, the immediate concern of the state should be to encourage people to produce or acquire wealth through legal means instead of closing such opportunities as per the Leadership Code. The Leadership Code looks even more curious in the context of Tanzania where the state pays its employees salaries below the poverty line. Limits to private ownership or individual entrepreneurship become relevant where the state can guarantee the individual's economic and social security. Otherwise making individual entrepreneurship illegal may lead to a more serious situation of illegality. Under the present conditions the major preoccupation of the state should be proper remuneration and motivation of employees in the public service. This should then be followed by strict enforcement of civil service and other relevant regulations like the Leadership Code of Conduct and other relevant campaigns such as “accountability”. Such measures

will suffice to get rid of leaders who have become inefficient as a result of being over-committed in their private dealings; instead of paying attention at present to a Leadership Code whose enforcement looks like witch-hunting.

ENDNOTES

¹ World Bank, *Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank*, September 1997.

² Robert Klitgaard, who has written extensively on corruption and economic development relates the scope of corruption (C) to the presence of monopoly power (M), discretion (D), and accountability (A), in the formula: C=M+D-A. See Robert Klitgaard, "International Cooperation Against Corruption" in World Bank/IMF, *Finance and Development*, March 1998, pp. 3-6.

³ Contained in Nyerere (1968:231-250) - He was then both Party Chairman and President of Tanzania

⁴ Act No. 6 - The Committee for the Enforcement of the Leadership Code Act, 1973

⁵ Act No. 2 - Committee for the Enforcement of the Leadership Code (Amendment), 1987

⁶ Sunday News, 14th February, 1982

⁷ Bank of Tanzania statistics reported in Daily News, 13th February, 1989

⁸ Sunday Times, 17th January, 1988

⁹ For detailed discussion see Shaidi (1988)

¹⁰ Lecture given by Prof. Ali Mazrui at the University of Jos (Nigeria), reproduced in Africa Events, Vol 2, No. 5/6, May/June 1986. pp. 62-68

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ali Mazrui, op.cit.

¹³ Speech given at the University of Dar es Salaam when accepting an honorary D.Litt. degree on 13th September 1986, printed in Daily News, 22nd September 1986

¹⁴ Opening speech, printed in Daily News, 23rd October 1987

¹⁵ J.K. Nyerere, Speech given at the University of Dar es Salaam, op.cit.

¹⁶ Ibid.

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3 - Non-State Actors

THE ROLES OF NON STATE ACTORS COORDINATION COMMITTEE (NSAs - CC) IN TANZANIA

By: Abubakar M. Ali, Chake Chake Pemba

Background

The Non-State Actors Coordination Committee (NSAs-CC) is formed of seventeen candidates, fourteen of them representing constituencies and the rest three others is a team of experts on either Cotonou partnership agreement issue or those related to non- state actors.

This committee was appointed at a two days NSAs feedback workshop held at Oceanic Bay Hotel, Bagamoyo between 30th October and 1st November 2006. This committee is a replication of what was known as Non-state actors Task force group (NSAs-TFG) which was mandated by the first big workshop held at Kunduchi beach hotel between 8th and 9th February 2005 to develop a support programme. This is a result of consultations and a mapping study conducted throughout Tanzania to see how the NSAs meet their founding objectives. This group was mandated to work for one year to come up with the proposed programme to support their initiatives and report back to the same.

All these two big workshops were convened jointly by the National Authoring Officers office (Ministry of Finance of the United Republic of Tanzania) and the European Commission Delegation in Tanzania.

It can now be realized that the first committee (Task Force Group) was to prepare the programme while the second one (Co-ordination Committee) is vested to guide the implementation of a programme with specific laid down roles and obligations as per the agreement signed by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Delegation of European Commission on 1st November 2006 before the official closing a feedback workshop. The programme is first of its kind and it is one of the new arrangements under the ACP and EU agreements.

The programme

The non-state support programme which was developed through TFG consultation country wide is elaborated here under.

The overall objective

The overall objective of the programme is to empower non-state actors to contribute to the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and processes at all levels in an organized manner. Thus, the programme will facilitate a deepening and broadening of public participation in development processes. This will in turn nurture a culture of accountability, transparency

and civic responsiveness in the national development process.

Specific objective

The programme seeks to facilitate improvements in technical and institutional capacity, and strengthen networking and information sharing among NSAs in order to nurture an informed dialogue with the government and the wider public. The programme will avoid duplication of ongoing efforts but seek to complement other interventions and functions as learning platforms for NSAs- Government engagements at all levels, and in various sectors and policy environment.

What results does the programme aim to achieve?

The programme aims at achieving four result areas, as follows:-

Result area One:

The institutional and technical capacity of NSAs is strengthened so that they engage more effectively with each other, with the Government, with the Parliament and with international development partners.

How will it be achieved:

Trainings will be offered to address capacity needs. Capacity building will preferably be based on experience, tools and best practices that are nationally available. These trainings will aim at a medium-term improvements in the quality of contributions to policy dialogue and longer term gains in terms of improved collaborations at horizontal levels.

Learning platforms around policies reforms or other pertinent issues will be organized at the initiatives of NSAs. Furthermore, peer review mechanisms will be introduced for NSAs to improve internal governance and engagements with others.

Result area Two:

Improved communication and information to enhance collaboration and networking among NSAs at and between all levels.

How will it be achieved:

Policy resource centers will be supported with the objective of responding to the demand for information by the NSAs at all levels. The policy resource centers will not only gather information, but will also make the information accessible to NSAs and other interested individuals and organizations. They will also initiate and contribute to productions of popularized versions of development policies and strategies and to civic education initiative. Information from the international arena for a will also be made available. Support will be provided to effectively link up the resource centers.

Result area Three:

Consolidated mechanism to facilitate engagement and structured dialogue between the Government and NSAs.

How will it be achieved:

This objective aims at improving the quality of the dialogue between the NSAs and the government. Mechanisms must facilitate the division of labour between NSA platforms and a non-

imposed and non-arbitrary selection of representative organizations. It is also envisaged to facilitate discussions around rules of engagement in policy dialogue. The programmes will also facilitate reflections and discussions on the future of the NSA Coordination Committee (NSAs-CC) .

Result area Four:

Conditions created for NSAs to fully participate in the programming, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of European Commission supported programmes.

How will it be achieved:

Tripartite meetings between NSAs, European Commission (EC) in Tanzania and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania will be organized in relation to the sectors that have received EC funding in the past, or potentially could benefit from the same, to explore ways of structuring NSAs involvement in the programming, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the 10th European Development Fund(EDF) cooperation programme. A technical assistance facility will provide funds for demand driven policy research and initiatives that can increase public accountability

The programme implementation

The programme implementation will be carried out under three tiers, namely the Programme Steering Committee (PSC), the NSAs Coordination Committee (NSAs-CC) and the Programme Management and Facilitation Unit (PMFU), with

each one having her different roles and functions that are clearly defined in the appraisal document.

The roles and functions of the NSAs Coordination Committee

In order to make the NSAs support programme a success, the Coordination Committee is formed with the following roles and functions.

- It will function as the reference point and the interlocutor for all NSAs in this programme.
- It will have an advisory function to the PMFU on the overall programme, on the development of the concepts and direction / structure of , and implementation of the individual programme activities(including the concept for the operation of the policy resource centers and its partners up country, the themes for the learning platforms, etc....)
- To facilitate the creation of synergies with other initiatives and interventions, and do this with a concern to avoid duplication of efforts.
- To actively collaborate in the dissemination of information on the programme and assist with the distribution of relevant programme outputs through the channels of the respective constituencies and networks of the NSAs Coordinating Committee members.
- To agree or disagree on eligibility/ selection and evaluation criteria for organizations and networks /association to benefit from the individual activities for tenders

and calls for proposals initiated by the PMFU.

- Because of her roles and functions, the NSAs Coordination Committee will be meeting monthly and can either convene need extra ordinary meetings when felt necessary or will make electronic meetings if prompt resolutions are to be made.

Status of the programme

After the support programme was signed between the United Republic of Tanzania and the European Commission on 1st of November 2006 in Bagamoyo, the startup stage commenced. This stage started by orienting the Co-ordination Committee on their roles during the implementation of the programme. This was followed by a staff recruitment process which involved advertisement of the post, short-listing of applicants and then interviewing of the short-listed candidates. This process has

come to the final selection of the would be Programme Management and Facilitation Unit (PMFU).

According to the process so far reached, the programme was to eventually start not later than the third quarter of the year 2007.

Conclusion

Having realized the importance and impact so far envisaged from the Non-State-Actors support programme, I am appealing to all stakeholders to make a thorough follow-up of the programme implementation and see in which result area can they cheep-in. This will make the whole process truly owned by the constituencies and not the committee alone.

I strongly believe that this programme will stimulate the NSAs to participate in policy dialogue through the enabling environment to be provided by the programme.



HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IMPROVEMENTS THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION: A case of WAT – Human Settlements Trust

By: Tabitha Siwale, WAT-Human Settlements Trust, Dar es Salaam

Introduction

Human settlements improvement is of a big concern both internationally and at national level. Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, states clearly that “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for their health and well being including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services”. The Istanbul Declaration and the Habitat Agenda of 1996 together constitute a new social contract towards improving human settlements conditions in the world’s cities, towns and villages. Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals is on improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers globally. The United Republic of Tanzania is a signatory to all these declarations. In 1967 Tanzania stated in the Arusha Declaration that housing is one of the basic needs like water and clothing. Consequently Tanzania Mainland passed a National Land Policy of 1995 and a National Human Settlements Development Policy of 2000 to guide the country in the development and improvement of human settlements. The overall goals of the National Human Settlement Policy are: To promote development of human settlements that are sustainable and

to facilitate the provision of adequate and affordable shelter to all income groups in Tanzania.

WAT – Human Settlements Trust (here after referred to as WAT) was established on July, 28th 1989 as a national non-governmental, non-profit making organization (NGO). The organization was formerly known as Women Advancement Trust (WAT) and had to change its name in 2005 in response to comments made by WAT Stakeholders and other members of the public that the name was portraying that the organization was for women only and did not reflect the work done by WAT for both men and women (gender) in the development and improvement of human settlements.

Since its formation, WAT has been advocating gender equality, equal rights in access to land, property ownership, adequate housing, inheritance and other related issues through training and education using booklets, fliers and brochures and encouraging self reliance among women. WAT is also actively involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

WAT’s overall goal is: To empower low and middle income communities particularly women to participate

fully and effectively in all aspects of Human Settlements Development.

The vision of WAT is: To see a society living in improved human settlements as a result of its activities in low and middle income areas by 2025.

WAT's Mission is: To promote adequate and affordable shelter with secure tenure of low and middle income earners particularly women through:

- Community mobilization and sensitization
- Awareness creation
- Empowering individuals, housing groups and cooperatives
- Capacity building through provision of technical support, lobbying and advocacy

WAT has chosen to voice the hopes and concerns of low-income groups, particularly women, with regards to access to secure tenure of land and affordable shelter, towards all other stakeholders because of the following reasons:

The first reason is that, in Tanzania despite the fact that women are the major actors in productive and reproductive activities, they are poorer than men. Of the total population 51.6% are women and they comprise about 54% of the economically active population in rural area. Customary laws, traditional values and the multiple roles women play have hampered the advancement of women in different fields of development and have also perpetuated poverty among women. Although women contribute

most of the labour in productive activities, they have little access to the income generated as men continue to dominate decision making not only within the household but also at the national level. As well, the low level or lack of education contributes a lot to the problems that face women in Tanzania.

Women were and to a great extent still are today, unaware of their rights. All too frequently women were and still are often denied their rights to land and housing ownership. The second reason why WAT is actively involved in improving living environment is because unplanned and unserviced settlements are growing very fast due to various reasons including the rapid population increase of up to 4.5% per annum as a result of rural urban migration and natural increase, change of urban boundaries including rural fringes without providing services, shortage of surveyed and serviced plots, land speculation and lack of capital for the majority of urban residents as a result of poverty. Settlements of this nature are very dangerous for people's lives.

Human Settlements

Human Settlements refers to areas where organized human activities take place, and they are not simply housing or merely physical structures of a city, town or village. They are an integrated combination of all human activity process – residence, work, education, health, culture, leisure etc. and the physical structures that support them. (Global Report

on Human Settlements 1986-by HABITAT).

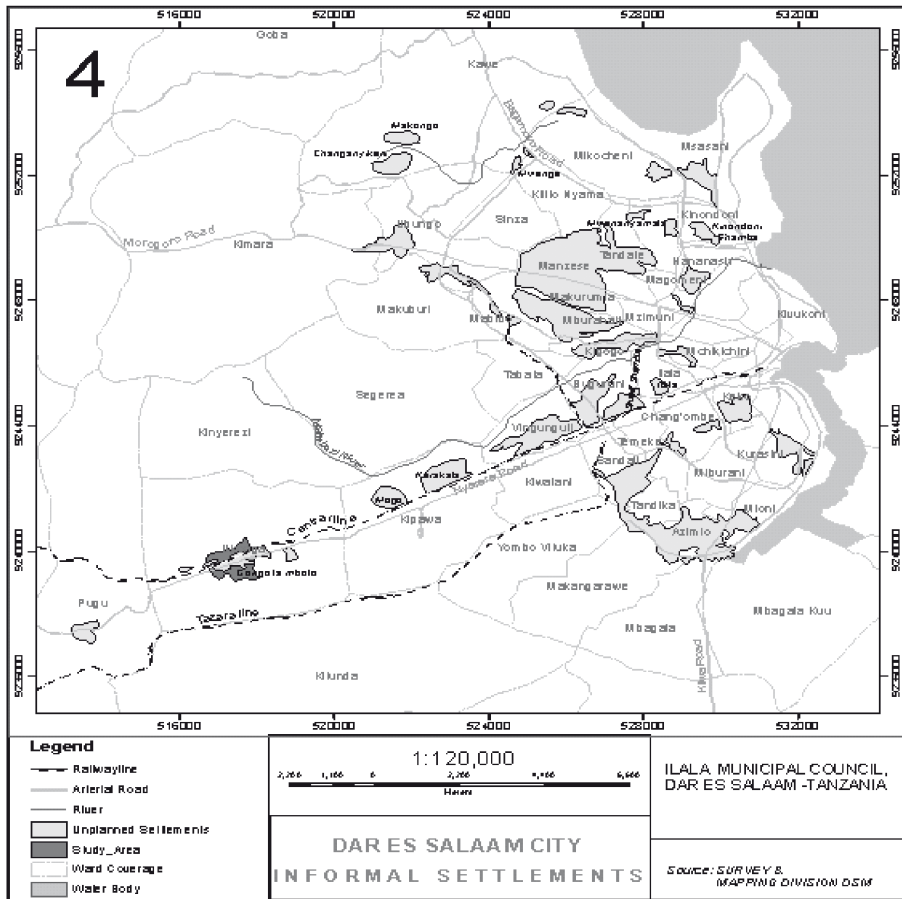
In Tanzania, like in other East Africa states, urbanization is a big challenge, not only because of its social and economic significance but also because of its high rate of increase (averaging 8 percent per annum) and lack of effective mechanism to manage its outcomes. A typical example is the pressure on urban services, infrastructure (water, sewerage and drainage) and housing brought about by fast urbanization. The 1978 and 1988 national census and the population census of 2002 show that a bigger share of urbanization is a result of rural urban migration as well as high rates of natural population increase. Most of the migrants, including incumbent urban dwellers, live in un-serviced parts of towns with environment conditions which threaten their own life and health.

Attitudes and policies which perceived urbanization as an inevitable process, impact in the process and thus provide not only challenges but also opportunities to many stakeholders including central and local governments, bilateral and multilateral donors, civil society organizations and local communities as well as individuals.

Growth of unplanned settlements

The inadequacy of shelter delivery systems to cater for the urban population has led to an extensive development of squatter or unplanned settlements. Studies conducted by the University College of Lands and

Architectural Studies in 1995 under the Urban and Housing indicators programme indicate that nationally about 70 percent of the urban housing stock is found in these settlements. Dar-es-Salaam city has about 70-75% of the total City population and occupy more than 10,000 hectares. The unplanned and unserviced settlements exist in different locations where some are located within 2 to 10 kilometers from the city centre. These accommodate the majority of low-income households like Mwananyamala, Hanna Nassif, Manzese, Keko and Jangwani. Some are located on marginal lands such as valleys, quarries, waste dumping areas and steep slopes that are subject to periodic floods (Kironde and Rugaiganisa 2002; Kombe and Olima 2002) these settlements include Mtoni, Vingunguti, Kunduchi, Mburahati, Jangwani, Kijitonyama Kwa Ali Maua, and others are found along the Msimbazi river valley. Yet more others are located around the city sub-centres of Julius Nyerere International Airport (Kipawa) Ubungo (Mabibo and Kimara) Mwenge (Mlalakuwa) and Namanga (Msasani bonde la Mpunga). Additional unplanned settlements are located in the city peripheries like Kunduchi, Tegeta Ukonga, Kigamboni and Kawe. These accommodate the majority of medium and high-income households. (Cities Without Slums Workshop Papers 2007).



Dar-es-salaam City: Informal Settlements – light grey colour

Major challenges appearing in all urban centres and rural settlements in Tanzania include:

- Prevalence of urban and rural poverty in a situation of unprecedented urbanization and widening gap between demand and supply of services. For example, one of the outcomes from the high growth rates is the challenge of meeting demands for shelter in both urban and rural areas
- Urban and rural management deficits brought about by weak institutional arrangements accompanied with weak institutional arrangements and further more accompanied with insufficient resource for shelter provision in urban centres
- Inadequate and deteriorating infrastructure services is among the most pressing and difficult problems facing housing development in Tanzania.

Causes of Informal Settlements

Causes of informal settlements in Tanzania include: Lack of effective and comprehensive housing policy, scarcity of surveyed plots, high cost of building materials, high building standards and regulations, distance from work place, bureaucracy in both central and local government, a hundred percent tolerance by government and municipal officials. Poverty is said to be just one of major causes of informal settlements.

Challenges for women

As stated above many women are not aware of their rights. In addition to this there is lack of transparency at family level; participation in decision making is still very minimal for most families. Discriminatory laws for example laws of inheritance including laws and practices based on religion as well as traditional attitudes.

Other challenges for women living in informal settlements include lack of basic services such as water, sanitation, drainage, health outbreaks such as cholera, typhoid, and tuberculosis and overcrowding in the house. Lack of roads for accessibility is another big challenge for women living in informal settlements. All these need immediate attention to save women from all these problems.

Formal Housing supply

There is a big gap between the supply and demand for housing which has been widening with time. The demand for units of conventional

housing in urban areas in 1998 was estimated to be more than 1,500,000 units. It is currently estimated to be above 2,200,000 units (National Human Settlements Development Policy, 2000).

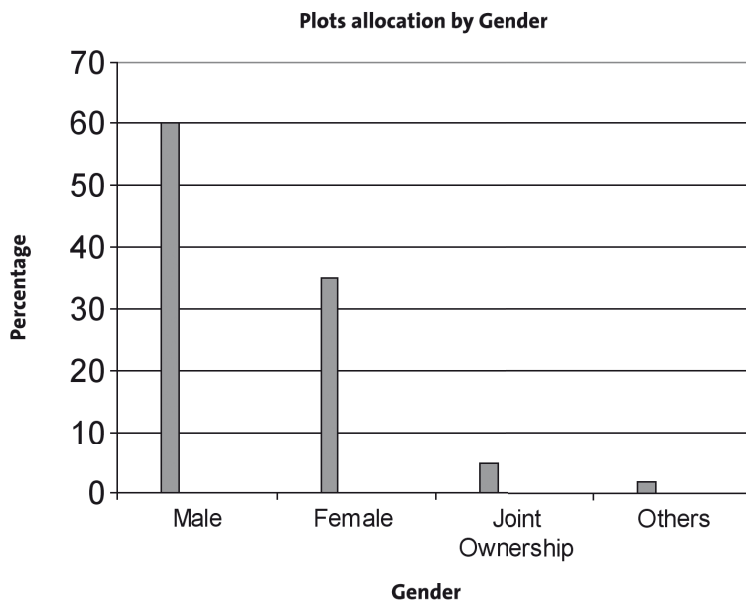
The proportion of urban population in unplanned settlements varies from 40 to 75 percent depending on the size of the urban area. The shortage of surveyed plots on which to build residential accommodation is the result of the rising population and the inability of the government to clear third party interests in the areas earmarked for plot survey. To solve this problem the government surveyed more than 32,000 plots between 2002/2003 – 2005 /2006, (Workshop Paper by Sarah Kyessi of Ministry of Lands Housing and Human Settlements). However, nearly all these plots have already been allocated to developers.

Gender issues in the Dar-es-Salaam 20,000 Plots Project

My organization made a follow up to see how women fared in the allocation of the 20,000 plots according to gender. The results are very encouraging as it was found out that the project has excelled in creating an environment in which land can officially be allocated to women. It has paved the way for operationalisation of the Land Policy of 1995 and the new Land Act No. 4 and 5 of 1999 which stipulate that land allocation should not discriminate on the basis of gender/women. So far, the available statistics show 32% of all the plots have been allocated to

women as displayed in the following chart.

Gender Analysis for the Whole Project (20,000 plots)



Source: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development

Housing Finance

Tanzania has no credit facility particularly for low and middle income facilities. Tanzania Housing Bank (THB) collapsed in 1995 due to: Operational and managerial problems, poor capital base and poor funds mobilization strategies.

Currently there are only two commercial Banks that have provide mortgage lending since 2002: Azania Bank Limited and United Bank of Africa. Low and middle income families use non loan sources such as salaries, informal incomes,

contributions from friends, relatives and from inheritance.

WAT started mobilizing groups to form a WAT savings and credit cooperative Society (WAT – SACCOS). The main objective when the SACCOS started was to facilitate provision of small loans for housing to low and middle income communities. WAT – SACCOS has grown in number of membership, savings and loans. Membership stands at 5,638 members out of whom 3,108 are women and 2,406 are men. There are also 54 women groups, 36 groups of men and 36 institutions.

WAT Role and Positioning

WAT has worked and will continue to work with low and middle income communities and grassroots organizations, local governments, central government, academic and research institutions, and international organizations to fight against discrimination and improve communities' living standards, alleviate poverty among members of our groups with a special focus on women for reasons mentioned above. Other civil society organizations that work in housing development include Habitat for Humanity, and Tanzania Women Land and Environment (TAWLET)

WAT - Rolling strategic plan (2006 - 2008)

In order to achieve our mission a second strategic plan was prepared by WAT management team and was approved by the Board of Trustees in 2005. WAT involvement in the improvement of Human Settlement is stated in the first objective of the Rolling strategic plan which reads: **Human settlement improved.** The objective has three sub-objectives:

- i) Housing cooperative sub-objective which is:
To empower low income communities, particularly women and youth, to build and improve their living conditions by providing education, training, technical assistance on land rights, adequate and affordable housing construction through self-help approach and to participate in the imple-

mentation and monitoring of the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR) ensuring that adequate and affordable housing remain a priority in the implementation of the strategy

- ii) The second sub-objective is on informal settlements which reads: To assist communities in the informal settlements achieve secure tenure and improve housing conditions and environment
- iii) The last sub-objective is on housing finance which states: Saving and credit services which are self reliant in relation to housing improvement

In implementing the three sub-objectives, WAT uses different strategies such as mobilizing housing coops/groups and organizing exchange visits, providing education/training on construction skills, housing rights, policies and affordability, strengthening coalitions and alliances as well as providing technical assistance for building materials and construction.

Strategies used in upgrading informal settlements include mobilizing and creating awareness on security of tenure, and ensuring the regularization procedures laid down by government are followed. Also communities are mobilized and sensitized on waste management as well as in housing up grading.

Strategies for housing finance include undertaking studies to determine group/cooperative level of affordability, establishing a mechanism on housing facilities for loan disbursement,

putting in place savings and loan monitoring mechanism and lastly, training housing cooperatives/groups before and after loan disbursement.

A participatory approach is used for all groups whereby all interested stake holders engage themselves in policy formulation and implementation i.e. community members give final decision on the projects to be carried out and on their communities' role during the implementation stage. Local government officials make sure that the project is implemented according to the laws and regulations that are in force in the area they cover. Municipal councils and central government make approvals and make sure that laws and other procedures are followed and ensure that basic services are provided as stipulated in various policies. Funding partners also have a big role to play particularly in giving financial support. WAT-Human Settlements get financial support from two funding partners, Rooftops Canada and the Norway Federation of Cooperatives Housing Association (NBBL) of Norway. WAT is very grateful to its funding partners.

Main achievements of WAT to-date

One of the achievements was when WAT successfully lobbied for the right of women to acquire and own land. This was done jointly together with the Gender Land Task Force that was formed for that purpose and WAT was a member of the Task Force. This is now clearly stipulated in the land laws of 1999. Another general achievement happened in 2005 when WAT together with members of Habitat

Forum Tanzania successfully lobbied for shelter issues to be included in the Strategy for Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction. Shelter was not mentioned in the previous strategy.

Other achievements include five housing cooperatives/groups that have been formed namely:

- i) Nala Makazi housing group which is in Nkhuhungu West, Dodoma.** The group has 114 members; 67 women and 47 men. It is engaged in construction of residential houses for themselves. 42 houses are under construction.
- ii) Bandari housing cooperative** has 82 members, (26 women and 56 men). They were allocated 80 government plots, 40 of which are located in Tuangoma and the other 40 plots are in Chamazi. The two areas Toangoma and Chamazi are in Dar es Salaam, Temeke Municipal. They have built ten houses up to lintel level and have produced ten thousand bricks for housing construction.
- iii) Magohe Housing cooperative** which is in Kinondoni Municipal cooperative is one of the oldest groups that WAT has been working with. It has 18 members, 13 women and 5 men. Their objective is to build residential houses. They bought a piece of land from a land lord and paid for the survey work. They borrowed money from Shelter Loan Revolving Fund for which they finished repayment of the loan they took. The group has 26 plots and has produced 1,000 bricks

at the site. Three members are eager to start construction. The majority of the members are of very low income thus very slow in starting implementation of their project.

iv) **Makazi Bora Housing group.** It has 50 members, 35 women and 15 men. The group is composed of formal and informal workers. They were allocated 39 plots in 2004, 26 of which are in Mivumoni near Twiga Cement

factory in Kinondoni Municipal and the remaining 13 plots are in Mwanagati which is in Ilala Municipal. Seven houses are under construction. Two core houses have been constructed at Mivumoni in Kinondoni Municipal and another one is being constructed at Mwanagati in Ilala municipal. These are used as model houses to show case how houses can be built stage by stage.



A core house (phase one of a bigger house) built by a member of Makazi Bora group with technical assistance from WAT. Photo taken by WAT.

Achievements in upgrading informal settlements

Hana Nassif which is in Kinondoni Municipal, 4 kilometers only from the city centre. Two projects are being implemented by WAT in Hana Nassifu:

- i) Regularization and security of tenure and
- ii) Housing improvement. A needs assessment was conducted in 2003 to find out the pressing needs of the residents in upgrading their settlement. The needs assessment report showed that community members preferred formalization and security of tenure projects to be conducted before improvement of houses. Thus layout plans were prepared by experts from University College of Lands, Architecture and Surveys (UCLAS). The plans were then submitted to Kinondoni Municipal authorities and later on to the Ministry of Lands for approval. The approval was obtained in May 2006 and survey work started in August 2006 to December, 2006. The survey work was conducted by a private surveyor. Each house owner is supposed to contribute Tshs. 30,000/= for survey work. To date community members have paid Tshs. 17,500,000/= out of 30,000,000/= currently identification of plot owners is in progress. This exercise will lead to community members getting title deeds for their plots and thus attaining security of tenure. We expect title deeds to be issued to house owners before the end of 2007. In order

to speed up survey work WAT collaborated with Property and Business Formalization Program (MKURABITA) where WAT borrowed some funds to pay the surveyor. The contributions from the house owners is collected and paid back to MKURABITA.

Mkuhana group. The group is in Hana Nassif and was asked if they would like to start upgrading their houses while the exercise of regularization was going on. 24 members, 10 women and 14 men agreed to form a group called Mkuhana. WAT helped the group to assess their houses to establish cost of upgrading for each house. 9 out of 24 houses have been upgraded. The group members who have finished upgrading their houses are now getting higher house rent compared to what they were getting before. Besides house owners will be able to use their houses as collateral when borrowing money from banks once they get their title deeds.

Shelter Loan Revolving Fund: The fund was created by WAT in 1998 with financial assistance from Rooftops Canada. The main objective was to set up a housing loan facility for housing cooperatives/groups which are mobilized by WAT.

Since 2003 Norwegian Federation of Cooperatives Housing Association (NBBL) and Rooftops Canada have been contributing towards this fund through basket funding. Currently the fund stands at Tshs. 50 Million (US \$ 40,000). The total amount loan disbursed to-date is TSh. 70,145,655 million equivalent to US\$ 55,103.

The number of beneficiaries is 67 individuals and 3 groups.

Why is WAT in the lending business?

WAT has engaged itself in the lending business because it mobilizes low and middle income communities to build adequate and affordable shelter. These people cannot get access to credit through existing commercial banks because the banks believe that low and middle income people are not worth lending to.

WAT gives loans to organized groups and individuals who have been mobilized by WAT. WAT shelter Loan Revolving Fund Lending policy is to give small loans. Tshs. 3 million being the highest amount that one can get. Interest rate is 1.5% monthly on declining balance. Terms vary with the size of loan and repayment capacity of borrower. WAT provides group loan as first loan with a maximum term of one year. Deposit required for all loans is 25% saved over 3 to 6 months. Collateral includes 25% deposit, two guarantors for individual loans and lodging a title deed with WAT.

Challenges:

- Scaling up work of improving human settlements needs huge commitments from all stakeholders,
- Inadequate financial and technical capacity,
- Lack of capacity in local authorities for carrying out human settlements improvement effectively,

- Lack of basic services: water, electricity, access roads etc,
- Lack of borrowing and repayment culture among most of the low and middle income earners,
- Lack of a continuous monitoring system,
- Very few civil society organizations are engaged in the field of human settlements improvement.

Lessons learnt

Working in human settlements with low and middle income groups has many challenges. One of the challenges is that it is difficult to produce quick results because of their financial low capacity. Housing delivery is expensive and it takes a long time.

Communities need technical support to facilitate effective housing development. For all categories of the market, there is a need for technical support to facilitate control over site and house plans, financing, the construction schedule and procurement methods. Thus technical support for WAT is highly recommended.

Surveyed plots are still not readily available in spite of the 32,000 plots which were surveyed by government in recent years. More affordable plots should be surveyed for low income communities. Sufficient high density plots of 300 square meters should be surveyed to cater for demand by people who can not afford to pay for big size plots.

Future plans

WAT needs to scale up provision of its services. The organization is currently planning to start working on a housing estate at an area called Kibada which is in Dares-Salaam, Kigamboni, where we expect that 120 houses will be constructed by housing cooperatives and individuals. We also plan to start working in another area of informal settlement known as Midizini in Manzese area, Dar-es-Salaam. WAT is seeking for guarantee funds which the organization can use for building capital formation and build capacity for lending to clients. Awareness creation will be conducted continuously on all aspects of human settlements improvement.

Conclusion

Improving Human Settlements is a huge task which needs concerted efforts by many stakeholders. WAT will be very grateful to get more support from both central and local government. WAT will certainly appreciate to get financial and technical support from the donor community based in Tanzania and from abroad. A call is also made to civil society organizations to participate fully and effectively in the development and improvement of human settlements for the low and middle income earners so that their living conditions may be improved and poverty levels reduced.

Notes

4 - Women

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN TANZANIA - THE ROLE OF GENDER ACTIVISTS

By: Mary J. Mwingira,

Tanzania Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO), Dar es Salaam

INTRODUCTION

Among the critical issues of concern in as far as gender equality and equity is concerned is the issue of the participation of women leadership and decision making positions. According to the Beijing Platform for Action the political empowerment of women was one of the twelve critical areas that member states of the United Nations including Tanzania, made commitments to implement. It is also a fact that for many enlightened people, gone are the days when we used to think that the best place of women is in the home and that they are just "to be seen and not to be heard". Article 3 of the Constitution recognizes that both women and men have the right to participate in leadership at all levels. The Gender and Women development Policy of 2000 states that Tanzania values human rights and equality as enshrined in the Constitution of the United Republic of 1977 as amended in 1984. Under article 3 the freedom of both women and men is recognized and the need for the nation to safeguard equality and participation in public activities and national leadership is stressed.

Tanzania is a signatory to a number of Charters, Declarations and Conventions on Gender equality and

Women's empowerment at international, regional, sub-regional and national levels. At the international level they include the United Nations Human Rights Charter, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW) the Beijing Platform For Action of 1995 and previous UN Women Conferences declarations. At the regional level Tanzania has signed the AOU Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Gender Parity declaration in which member states have committed themselves to make sure that there is 50% representation of women in leadership and decision making positions. At the SADC level Tanzania is a signatory to the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. In 2005 before the General elections, Tanzania ranked 3rd in the number of Women representation in the Parliament.

THE SITUATION ANALYSIS

The General Elections of 2005 resulted in a considerable increase in the number of women's representation in Parliament. There are more than 97 women MPs in the current Parliament which includes 75 Special Seats members. Of these 6 were appointed full ministers and 10 deputy ministers. At the regional commissioners

level there were 3 women and 18 men in 2006 compared to 2 in the previous year. This shows that there is still much to be done in this area even to reach the 30% target.

According to the Gender and Women Development policy it is acknowledged that Tanzania has not fully utilized the freedom and opportunities offered to increase the number of women representation at various levels and introduce inclusive policies in different sectors. There are still elements of gender discrimination in the process and non-supportive attitudes and practices. Because of such a situation women do not adequately contest for leadership positions and do not participate effectively in decision making at the different levels in society. Rural women of Tanzania who constitute 80% of the labour force and about 60% of food producers are excluded from deciding on the products of their labour because they are under-represented in various development committees. Causes for the under representation include lack of experience in the political sphere especially the tactics, lack of finances since most women do not have economic and financial power, lack of confidence and negative cultural attitudes. In the past also the leadership positions granted to women were more in the traditionally accepted sectors like community development, women and children's affairs, and other social welfare sectors. However for Tanzania it is justifiable to say that Tanzania is now taking the right steps towards the attainment of the political empowerment of women. An analysis of the increase in the number of women rep-

resentation under affirmative action in the Union Parliament reveals that there were 37 women special seats in 1995 out of 267, 47 out of 285 in 2000, and 75 in out of 322 in 2005.

THE ROLE OF GENDER ACTIVISTS IN PROMOTING THE ELECTION, NOMINATION AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Specific Areas of Involvement

The involvement of gender activists in Tanzania is herein discussed in eight specific areas. These are:

- ❖ Building the capacity of women contestants in assertiveness
- ❖ Advocacy work especially through the production of peoples manifestos before General Elections which also place high priority in ensuring equality and equity in leadership at village, ward, district and national level and the placing of women in key decision making sectors and ministries
- ❖ Empowering women and men through their various networks and organizations to overcome traditions that continue to discriminate against women and attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate the consideration of political and other leadership as a men's domain.
- ❖ Engaging in civic education on gender sensitive elections especially stressing the right of both

men and women to equally participate in contesting for elections through constituencies, wards and local government at all levels. Gender activists are also engaging in denouncing discriminatory and dehumanizing language towards women contestants during campaigns and by elected as well as appointed leaders during the course of leadership.

- ❖ Auditing and monitoring the progress of the commitment by the political parties to include women in top positions in their respective parties and in parliament, and local government.
- ❖ Supporting women contestants at national and sub-national levels in accessing financial resources, other resources for campaign work and with the necessary information on best experiences

and tactics for fighting gender violence in elections form other places and countries.

- ❖ Providing legal empowerment and support to women leaders with limited capacity in this field and providing human rights education.
- ❖ Fighting against stereotyping and negative judgment especially on the performance of women in leadership positions, and commending them for good work.

THE MAIN ACTIVISTS

It is important to recognize that there are various activists engaged in the above mentioned activities at both national and sub-national levels. However in here we will discuss the role played by the following organizations:

	Organization	Activities and areas of involvement
1	Feminist Activist Coalition (Fem Act)	Preparation launching and dissemination of People's Manifestos on Elections including presentation of strong position on gender equality and equity in leadership processes and interventions 1995, 2000, and 2005 Support to women constants in campaigning (Financial and material resources) especially in 2000 elections
2	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)	Training of Women contestants on assertiveness and confidence building. Training of Trainers for Intermediary Gender networks leaders on gender and political empowerment. Technical support to the Ministry of Gender and Development on the attainment of gender parity in leadership Commissioning research and producing advocacy information to lobby decision makers (Key Advocacy Issues emerging from Beijing +10 Asseesment)
3	Tanzania Media Women Organization (TAMWA)	Media Advocacy and awareness creation on the importance of Women's participation in leadership and the elimination of gender violence in electoral and other processes. Training of contestants on confidence building and how to overcome gender related barriers.

	Organization	Activities and areas of involvement
4	Taaluma Women Group (TWG)	<p>As an organization of Professional Women working with grassroots women and youth in communities Taaluma Women Group has been involved in Civic education for women and communities both before the 2000 and 2005 General Elections. In 2000 TWG had a special programme of training women aspiring for local government elections to get the positions of village leadership and ward council membership. In collaboration with TEDG they participated in Civic Education programme with specific focus on women empowerment in political leadership</p> <p>In 2005 TWG was one of the Civil Society organizations which succeeded in securing funding from the basket fund coordinated by UNDP for Civic Education in Kilindi and Mbinga Districts TWG also supported one of their members to contest for the special seats under the affirmative action. The TWG supported candidate got the highest votes at primary nominations done by NGOs in 2000 although later on the relevant party decided to give the position to the candidate who was the fourth in the primary nominations.</p> <p>In its training and follow up activities in the regions TWAG undertakes continuous civic education for the outreach groups and communities.</p>
5	The Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC)	<p>The centre is more involved in legal literacy but as a member of FemAct, LHRC was the lead organization in the constitutional review process. The work included identifying gender gaps and proposing a more effective implementation of the constitutional provisions including that of non-discrimination in political participation and other types of leadership</p> <p>LHRC is also one of the three NGOs which took up and won the case of abolishing hospitality in elections by contestants, a practice which was breeding corruption in elections and somehow inhibiting women to contest because of their limited financial capacity and decisions</p>
6	Women Legal AID Center (WLAC)	<p>As an organization which provides legal assistance WLAC also supports cases of women who are unfairly treated in elections. It also prepares shadow reports on the progress of implementing the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and other commitments thus alerting government to take action on CEDAW and the implementation of Governments commitments including placement of women in leadership positions.</p>
7	Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group (TEDG)	<p>Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group TEDG is a think tank group for the churches and in particular the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT). The issues of democracy and political awareness are among the priority agenda. The main work is advocacy and in all the three multiparty elections TEDG has been among the very active organizations in civic education on free and fair elections. TEDG facilitates church leaders in issuing statements emphasizing fairness and equity and in 2005 TEDG produced khangas and other campaign material reminding voters to also vote for women.</p>

	Organization	Activities and areas of involvement
8	Christian Council of Tanzania Gender Desk	The Women's wing of the CCT has a special program of advocating for women's effective participation in leadership. Several women have come up to contest in the 2005 local government and General elections especially at the village and ward levels. Testimonies by those women who tried showed that the terrain is not so conducive for the women but all the same the CCT Gender desk continues with assertiveness training as part of its empowerment programme
9	The Leadership Forum	This is an organization that encourages and trains young women and men to build confidence in holding leadership positions. Gender equality is one of its core values.
10	Tanzania Association of NGOs (TANGO)	As an umbrella organization TANGO' role is to support the other activists groups. TANGO does so by participating in The Fem Act activities. TANGO also works with its District and regional NGOs partners supporting them to do continuous civic education. In collaboration with CARITAS Tanzania Women and Development section, and TGNP, TANGO has had a six years programme focusing on enhancing gender awareness at district level. This training process has resulted in a number of women contesting and some of them being elected as councilors and Members of Parliament. In the 2000 elections TANGO was the coordinator of the process which led to getting the special seat MP under the NGOs.

Motivated by the Beijing Platform for action and other declarations and conventions on women's empowerment, these organizations have since then included the political empowerment of women in their programmes by undertaking both joint and individual steps in advocating for the increased and enhanced participation of women in leadership at various national and international levels. That is why we are now witnessing at the moment increased representation of women in

local government, increased number of women ministers and deputy ministers in key ministries, the appointment of Tanzanian women high positions at the United Nations like that of the Under Secretary to the UN and leader of UN Habitat and the increasing number of women Permanent Secretaries and those occupying Executive positions in Government agencies and NGOs. This can partly be attributed to the struggles led by gender activists in the country.

Paralegal Members Selected to Decision Making Bodies

Paralegal Unit	Paralegal Member	Sex	Post	Status of the Post
Arusha	Grace Soka	F	Councilor	Special Seat
Mbeya	Florence Kyendesya	F	Member of Parliament	Special Seat
Shinyanga	Joyce Masunga	F	Member of Parliament	Special Seat
	Ester Makune	F	Councilor	Special Seat
Kigoma	Mashavu Mabula	F	Councilor	Special Seat
	Sakina Kabeza	F	Division Secretary	Appointed
Tanga	Johari Shaaban	F	Councilor	Special Seat
Mwanza	Maria Hewa	F	Member of Parliament	Special Seat
	Maimuna Yusuph	F	UWT Chairperson	Elected
	Hamisa Abasi	F	CCM Branch Leader	Elected
	Salum Bala	M	Councilor	Elected
Kibaha	Mohammed Kiaratu	M	CCM Chairperson	Elected
	Mtoro Katele	F	Councilor	Special Seat
Lindi	Zena Mwizagu	F	Councilor	Elected
Mtwara	Verena Mahundu	F	UWT Regional Chairperson	Elected
Songea	Devotha Likokola	F	Member of Parliament	Special Seat
	Fatma Missango	F	Councilor	Special Seat
	Siwajibu Gama	F	Councilor	Special Seat
Dodoma	Dodoma Sarah Mgoli	F	Councilor	Special Seat

Source: Women's Legal Aid Centre, Dar es Salaam, August 2007

5 - Youth

BUILDING A BETTER TANZANIA: Perspectives and Demands of Youth in Tanzania under the Fourth Phase Government

By: Godfrey Emiliano Sansa, University of Dar es Salaam

Introduction

Tanzania like many other developing countries has a fairly youthful population comprising of more than 40%. Indeed, it is also estimated that the youth comprise of more than 60% of the Tanzania's total workforce. It is a mixed group of population found in rural and urban areas, employed and unemployed, of those without formal schooling, dropouts, primary school leavers, form four and form six as well as college and university graduates.^a The concept of youth varies from one community to another depending on customs and traditions, social behaviour and their location. In this discussion youth will connote any person (man and woman) with both civic and political rights to participate in political processes falling between the age of 15 and 35 years.^b Youth constitute an important segment of Tanzanian Society and very often people speak of them as the pillar of the nation and potential resource (workforce) for development.^c It is therefore the single most potent force on Tanzanian political scene which no leader, political party or government can have the courage to ignore!

Prelude to the Fourth Phase Government

We learn from the history of Tanzania that the youth have been a very potential group in socio-economic and political development of the nation. The role and significance of the youth can be traced, as far back as 1950s and 1960s, during the struggle for independence. Youth participated in the struggle for independence as individuals and as leaders or members of various social, economic, cultural, political and other civil organizations. Many leaders and members of various organizations in Tanganyika and Zanzibar were youths.^d They tirelessly devoted themselves individually and directed their respective associations or groups in seeking freedom, rights and justice from the colonial government. They later formed and or joined political parties and ultimately fought for political independence. There is no dispute that, it is from the contribution of the above leaders who were less than 35 years then, that nearly more than 35 million Tanzanians today, are proud of living in a peaceful nation. We are not suggesting that elders have done nothing in as far as Tanzania's development is concerned, but we are insisting on the fundamental role that the youth have historical-

ly been playing in the -development of this country.

The period between 1961 and 1965 was the transition and turning point in the status, role, position and scope of participation of the youth in the development processes in Tanzania. During this period, the then ruling party (Tanganyika National Union -TANU) and its government, faced great challenges from various civil organizations following its failure to fulfill the demands and interests of these organizations as promised during the struggle for independence. Issues like employment, good pay and the working environment, Africanization of the civil service and the like are said to be the source of the challenges. In fear of losing position and legitimacy, TANU and its government decided to do away with all independent and challenging civil organizations by co-opting them, transforming and replacing them with state created organizations or proscribing them. Among the groups which suffered from that action were youth associations, such as University Students Associations and even young people in various civil organizations like Workers Associations. The youth became affiliated to the party under the TANU youth league and later Chama Cha Mapinduzi (C.C.M) youth organization. Maximum controls of civil associations were reached after de-jure adoption of one party political system in 1965.^e Other associated socio-economic reforms like nationalization of major means of production and villagization affected the status and role of the youth in development too.

Generally, the post independence socio-economic and political processes reconstructed the youth as “subject” citizens^f. They were economically, politically and socially marginalized and excluded from the mainstream development processes. Economically the youth were dispossessed of ownership and control of resources from family level to state level. Politically they were confined to party-wings and reduced to mere political instruments of the party, political leaders and the state. They were not considered as potential agents of social, economic and political change and often called “taifa la kesho” meaning “the nation of tomorrow” as opposed to the purported “taifa la leo” (the nation of today) which was composed of the elders! Therefore anti-youth socio-economic and political institutions and structures were created to respond to that unfortunate stereotypical ideology, making youths’ socio-economic and political marginalization an order of the day.

From late 1970s to mid 1980s Tanzania experienced an unprecedented and severe socio-economic and political crisis. The crisis was associated with, among other things, government’s poor management of resources and public affairs severed by unaccountability, corruption and excessive exclusion of citizens in mainstream development processes. Due to that and pressurized from both internal and external forces, the Tanzanian government was forced to initiate economic and later political and social liberalization which began in the mid 1980s and took momentum in early 1990s.^g

Therefore, after almost 27 years of what may be characterized by some as authoritarian monoparty regime, the youth like other categories of people in the country expected things to change. They expressed their desire to the introduction of multiparty system which was expected to widen the opportunity and create enabling environment for them to participate in political processes. According to Nyalali commission's results on the determination as to whether the country should go multiparty or remain single party, large part of the 20% of respondents who preferred multiparty system were relatively the youth aged between 18 and 35 years. They were ready to push for the reform processes with the intentions of leading the new political system.^h

Table 1: Age group category of the respondents who supported the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992

Age Groups (Years)	Total percentage (%)
18-30	33.1
31-40	29.6
41-55	22.0
Over 55	15.7

Source: Mmuya(1998) Tanzania political reforms in Eclipse. pp. 30-31.

These changes opened up again a space for various actors including the youth, who were previously silenced by the mono party regime, to reorganize and come out openly to criticize the government. This was the beginning of the rejuvenation of the youth agency in socio-economic and political

processes in the country. The adoption of plural politics in 1992 marked the end of de-jure mono party regime and provided the youth with alternative avenues through which they could express their demands and feelings towards the government and its development policies, strategies and plans. In other words, the role and status of the youth were slowly beginning to change. Taking advantages of cracks and vacuums (political, economic and social spaces) created by those transformations, youth gradually started moving towards socio-economic and political centres demanding full recognition as agents of social change.

In general youth started demanding for economic reintegration (especially issues of sustainable employment), the social reintegration (access to quality education and recognition of their agency and potentiality as drivers of social change) and political reintegration (through greater participation in policy and decision making processes) and in leadership of the country. They were demanding the right and acceptance as equal agents in social economic and political changes as well as entitlement to the benefits arising from those changes.

Despite the fact that , these economic political and social brought some economic, social and political achievements the new regimes, often failed in meeting the youth demands and expectations that had been one of the prime reasons for the economic, social and political liberalization processes, that is, "promoting youth civic engagement and effective participation in leadership and other po-

litical processes, employment opportunities, quality and accessible education, drug abuse and protection from infectious diseases. For instance, not much attention was paid to the youth until 1996 when for the first time, the government adopted the first National Youth Development Policy aiming at promoting youth development and alleviation of their problems through participatory approach (i.e. by including them in planning, policy and decision making as well as policy implementation processes). Very little by way of policies and other socio-economic and political development strategies were adopted for youth development.ⁱ

Although there is the right to employment, many youth who complete their studies at various levels, are not given access to it in the formal sector because of the weak economy. It is also difficult to work in the informal sector due to problems in securing capital, work implements and work premises. In addition, some of the youths who work in domestic places, and those who are employed by private enterprises e.g. in bars and in restaurants are lowly paid despite the long working hours (more than 8 hours a day) thus denying them the right to earn appropriate wages. According to MKUKUTA it is estimated that among the unemployed people in the country more than 60% are the youth. Interestingly, unemployment is worse among the youth, including the educated ones. There is also an increase in HIV and AIDS prevalence among youth, limited access to higher education and political leadership positions.^j

Further more, the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the eighties and subsequent reforms which insisted on the shrinking of the already inadequate public services have left a legacy of massive youth migration from rural to already overcrowded, under-resourced and under-serviced urban areas in search of better lives, public facilities and livelihoods. This wave of rural-urban migration partly instigated also by lack of provision of public services and limited or lack of economic opportunities in rural areas. This phenomenon has persisted to date, with more youth leaving rural locales in search of 'greener pastures' in cities like Dar es salaam, Arusha and Mwanza.

As discussed earlier, just like in the era of mono party political system, the late 1990s and early 2000s of multiparty politics saw youth continuing being used as community mobilization for the government activities and political mobilization vehicles for their respective political parties. Actually they have continued being confined to party youth wings as preparatory camps for future leadership positions in the party and government. More seriously, very few female youth emerged as leaders or representatives in decision-making organs.

For example, after the 2000 Local government elections in Dar es salaam Municipal councils, among the 97 both elected and special seat councilors, only 3 (3.1%) were youth. And interestingly, no youth councilor was elected or nominated in TEMEKE and KINONDONI municipal councils.^k

Table 2: Councilors in Dar es Salaam city after the 2000 Local government elections

Municipal Council	No. of Councilors		Sex		Age Category	
	Elected	S/ Seat	Male	Female	15-35	Over-35
Temeke	24	8	22	10	0	32
Ilala	22	6	18	10	3	25
Kinondoni	27	10	25	12	0	37
Total	73	24	65	32	3	94

Source: Municipal councils' statistical records

Therefore, despite of their potentiality and centrality to societal interactions and socio-economic and political transformation, the youth were often placed at the margins of the public sphere and major political, socio-economic and cultural processes even after 1990s and early 2000s reforms. This situation continued making them helpless and vulnerable to political, economic and social development tribulations. Thus, the modus operandi of (manipulated) negative youth participation in formal political and decision-making processes hardly changed significantly in the past one and half a decade. The youth were mobilized when they are needed and subsequently returned to their economically and politically marginalized positions, especially in post-election contexts, where old generation leaders negotiate post-election privileges for themselves and the youth are left to become subjects of the regime in power. Given the above situation, the youth were negatively perceived as threats to old generational leadership, rather than equal and potential agents of socio-economic and political development of the country.

It is from the realization of that marginalization that the youth started looking for the opportunity to express their demands and feelings to the government and society in general and for the first time in the history of multipartism in Tanzania, the 2005 general elections whether planned or unplanned provided that historical moment. At least one would say, youth got the opportunity to express their demands and feelings as well as re-define their perspectives over the government and the government and political leaders recognizing the value of youth in their political comings and goings.

Youth and the Fourth Phase Government: Change or Continuity?

Youth Perspectives

A perspective of a particular category of citizens of any country is partly a function of one of the dimensions of political culture called political feelings. Feelings towards the government entail among other things, political perception of the impact of that government to the demands and problems of the citizens concerned.

¹ The citizens may have negative or positive perception toward the government depending on the impacts of the government's decisions, policies, and strategies over the daily lives and future of those citizens. When citizens feel no any positive impacts the government can make towards fulfilling their demands and solving their problems or that, policies and actions of the government affects negatively their lives and compromise their future, they will have *negative perspective towards* that government and feel themselves "subjects" of all government development initiatives. When the opposite is the case, citizens tend to have *positive perspective* towards the government and feel themselves "citizens" who are responsible and part of all government development initiatives.

According to the Baseline Survey of Tanzania's political culture conducted in 1994 that was meant to test, among others, the citizens feelings towards the government, over half of the respondents interviewed (about 54.8%) who were youths aged between 18 and 35 years expressed *negative feelings*. According to that survey the negative feelings was due to the problems youth faced such unemployment, bare education, [political exclusion] and abject poverty. Those problems forced them to brush against the government, which was considered of having no mercy on them and made them victims of the system. Secondly most of the youth were predominantly rural engaged in agriculture and pastoralist activities. The deterioration of these sectors (due to government economic mismanage-

ment) affected them much than any other section of the society, hence forcing them to associate the government with cause for their sufferings. This youth negative perspective over the government seems to have dominated the first decade of multiparty regime in the country.^m

Generally, because of the unfortunate socio-historically constructed and perceived stereotypical image of youth as liabilities to socio-economic and political development and victims of policy neglect, the youth seemed to have lost trust to the past governments. The 2005 general elections rejuvenated their trust and used as an opportunity to see the situation changing in favour of their demands.

The 2005 general elections and the youths' demands

It was very clear from the minds of leaders of both opposition and ruling party (CCM) that the youth were at the center of any success to 2005 general elections both to individual candidates and to political parties. Recognizing that potentiality, almost all political parties put the youths' demands at the forefront of their elections' agenda.

For instance, while addressing delegates of the CCM's extraordinary presidential nomination conference on May 4, 2005, at Chimwaga – Dodoma, the then party chairman President Benjamini Mkapa urged the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi to open up for young leadership. Acknowledging the generational leadership gap in the government and in the party,

president Mkapa insisted the need for the party to adapt to the changing circumstances and hence asking the delegates to nominate a young party contestant who was popular with the young generation in the country. He insisted further that, although CCM was the oldest party (in terms of years of leadership in the country and leadership composition) the party was supposed to bridge the existing leadership generational gapⁿ. He was reported to have said:

“.....Chama cha Mapinduzi should march with the times by deliberately opening up its leadership to new blood. If we recycle ourselves, election after election our young people will loose faith in us, believing the generation gap cannot be bridged and hence try their luck with opposition parties....”^o

He insisted again that it was necessary to appreciate the composition of the electorate in Tanzania which is dominated by young people:

“Let us ask ourselves what young Tanzanians want from their leaders. If we give them what they want or what will give them hope for the future, they will continue voting for our party and candidates. If not, they will drift to the opposition.”^p

The admonition given by President Mkapa was revealed during Intra-Party nomination processes in which about 50 former CCM members of parliament lost some badly and some won in a very small margin. As it was reported:

“.....at least 50 CCM Members of Parliament lost, some badly in the nominations that took place between 1st – 3rd and 4th – 6th August, 2005. Among them were few ministers and influential long-serving Members of parliamentsome won in a very small margin....”^q

There might be different opinions on the reasons for the failure of these elderly contestants. But no one can dare to ignore the contribution to that rejection made by the youth whose agenda was to see pro- young or young generation leadership in the fourth phase government and who had massively registered as voters. It was an expression of their demand for leadership change.

The CCM party recognizing the demands and the youth feelings towards the fourth phase government nominated Mr. Jakaya Kikwete (considered to be a young leader) its presidential candidate. Jakaya Kikwete identified himself as a young leader and associated with youth problems. The youth in the ruling and opposition parties associated themselves with him. Many accompanied him in campaigns and attended his campaigns in multitude. His political slogan of “*new zeal, new vigor and new speed*” reflected the need for young leadership and symbolized young generation and new blood who considered being able and ready to cope with new social economic and political changes both nationally and internationally.

In campaigns all political parties promised to address the problems facing youth in the country. For ex-

ample, CCM promised to create 1,000,000 new jobs within the period of five years and CUF promising 500,000 new jobs every year. Individual presidential candidates expressed their concern for youth problems too. The CCM candidates Mr. Jakaya Kikwete, had his campaign mainly centering and focused on various issues including creating employment opportunities for the youth both in formal and private as well as informal sector, expansion of the enrolment in education system and revamping as well as developing industrial sector. NCCR-Mageuzi presidential candidate Dr. Sengondo E. Mvungi promised to address problems of youth employment and education, the same was to Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba a CUF presidential candidate, Freeman Mbowe of CHADEMA and others.[†]

In general, the 2005 General Elections were peculiar in the way they reflected the aspirations and concerns of the youth in the country. It was indeed the turning point to the history of youth agency in Tanzanian politics and the leadership propensity to youth problems and demands. The youth perceived the fourth phase government a “pro-youth government” and they have been very free to express their likes and dislikes unlike in other past governments. It is during and after these elections, when one may argue, that youth started to have positive feeling towards the government. The here is whether the fourth phase government will be able to maintain the positive feelings and trust it has gained.

Pro-youth initiatives in the fourth phase government

From what can be seen as recognition of the youth support in putting the Fourth Phase Government in power and as obligation to fulfill the promises made during the campaigns, the government leaders have made some changes which seem to reflect youth demands. One example is that there is now quite a number of youth members of parliament. Other examples include: appointment of young district commissioners, appointment of young deputy ministers, expansion of health and education employment, setting one billion Tanzanian shillings for youth development in each region and initiation by the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Youth Development, of youth community based volunteering camps as a mechanism for mobilizing youth and encouraging them to engage in community development activities. On the other hand, the ruling party CCM and many opposition parties have youth wings and have appointed youth into leadership positions in their respective party organizations.

However, there are still many incidences which indicate that the issue of solving past problems of the youth is very difficult than one would expect. For instance very few youth were nominated and elected during the 2005 general elections. In Dar es salaam Region, out of 417 people who contested for councillorship in 72 wards, only 152 (36.5) were youth aged between 21 and 35 years. In Dodoma Region contestants were 423 in 143 wards but youth were 65

(15.2%) only. But what is interesting here is that, opposition parties nominated many youth than the ruling party. But many young contestants from the opposition lost as compared to the ruling party.

Table 3: Number of young chancellorship contestants representing their political parties in the 2005 general elections for Dodoma and Dar es Salaam Regions

(Source: The National Electoral Commission, 2005)

contestants who fell between 21 and 35 years of age. Again all young contestants from opposition parties lost, except for Kigoma North Constituency where Mr. Zitto Kabwe from CHADEMA Party won. Again all young contestants from the ruling party CCM won the elections indicating that legacies of monopartism and insular party-partisanship still dominant among the youth and the Tanzanian society in general. This persuaded some to argue that the multiparty system does not favour the political advancement of youth.

No.	Party	REGION					
		Dodoma			Dar es Salaam		
		Young contestants	Total contestants	Percentage (%)	Young contestants	Total contestants	Percentage (%)
1	CCM	4	148	2.7	4	72	5.5
2	CHADEMA	14	66	21.2	22	57	38.5
3	CUF	21	100	21.1	12	72	16.7
4	DP	9	22	49.9	1	3	33.3
5	FORD	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	JHAZI	0	0	0	14	28	50
7	D-MAKINI	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	NCCR-M	3	12	25	4	19	21
9	NLD	0	0	0	8	14	57.1
10	NRA	0	0	0	0	1	0
11	OOT	0	0	0	2	3	66.6
12	SAU	3	7	42.8	6	18	33.3
13	TADEA	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	TLP	10	64	15.6	14	26	58.8
15	UDP	1	4	25	7	24	29.1
16	UMD	0	0	0	8	12	66.6
17	UPDP	0	0	0	10	21	47.6
18	CHAUSTA	0	0	0	40	47	85.1
	Total	65	423	15.3	152	417	36.5

In the parliamentary elections young contestants were below 20% of all contestants from all political parties. Participation of the youth in the parliamentary elections was very minimal. It is only 17.5% out of 1226

Table 4 Number of young parliamentary contestants representing their political parties in the 2005 general elections

S/n	Party	No. of Young contestants	Total contestants	Percentage (%)
1	CCM	10	232	4.3
2	CHADEMA	27	145	18.6
3	CHAUSTA	20	61	32.8
4	CUF	30	213	14.0
5	DP	7	46	0.1
6	FORD	1	11	9.0
7	JAHAZI ASILIA	7	55	12.7
8	DEMOKRASIA MAKINI	9	16	56.2
9	NCCR-MAGEUZI	10	71	14.0
10	NLD	10	29	34.5
11	NRA	9	27	33.3
12	PPT-MAENDELEO	7	16	43.7
13	SAU	20	53	37.7
14	TADEA	10	34	29.4
15	TLP	14	116	12.0
16	UDP	11	38	28.9
17	UMD	1	21	4.7

Source: The National Electoral Commission, 2005

Furthermore, the destruction by urban authorities of various areas used by the youth for informal small business in cities of Dar es salaam, Mwanza and Arusha in 2006 on the claim that these areas were illegally used for business and which was strongly protested by the youth to the extent of forcing the Prime Minister Edward Lowasa to stop the exercise for six months and which continues to be the source of conflict between the urban small business youths and the government; the university students' strike against the cost sharing policy of the higher education between on April 15-16, 2007; and the controversy emerged on the processes of youth application for the one billion

shillings allocated by the government to each region for youth development, indicates the possibility of change in the seemingly initial positive feelings

of the youth towards the fourth phase government. The question we are asking is whether the fourth phase government will change the situation or continue to commit the same historical sin!

Conclusion

In this article we have tried to demonstrate that though the youth have been considered the pillar of the nation and important resource for social economic and political development, they were often placed at the margins of the public sphere and major political, socio-economic and cultural processes, which led them to have negative feelings towards the past three

phase governments. Youth were not considered as potential agents of social, economic and political change and often called *"taifa la kesho"*. The socio-economic and political reforms undertaken so far are yet to produce undutiful results indicating a danger that the youth in Tanzania will continue to play a marginal role in economic political and social development processes.

Although we saw the youth coming very strong during the 2005 general elections as voters who constitute a significant force which can have an impact on the election results, they have not fully appreciated their numerical strength and power to influence and make a difference in development policies and decisions making processes. They have remained divided and easily manipulated by their respective political parties or individual elderly political leaders

For the fourth phase government, it important to note that, the youth demands and aspirations cannot be achieved without providing them with civic and political space for them to positively and substantially participate in mainstream decision-making and related activities in the political, economic and social spheres. The call for *"bringing-the-youth-back"* can not be achieved through simple emotionally pleasing slogans. It requires scrupulous regime reconstructions which offer opportunities for transforming Tanzanian society and its economic and political institutions and processes so that they can reflect youth concerns and demands. However, the challenge of effective and mainstream

participation of youth in the country must go beyond political rhetoric, electioneering, community volunteering and superficial inclusion of youth in some few leadership positions, to addressing the more fundamental issues which relates to the nature, notion and architecture of Tanzanian socio-economic and political systems which continue to marginalize them.

For example, while much emphasis has been rightly paid to the political dimensions of the problem, more attention is equally needed on the economic and social front. There is an added challenge of transforming anti-youth tendencies and division of youth on parochial party interest basis. Young leaders in Tanzania, like many others in Africa, feel the plausibility and possibilities of political futures diminishing because of lack of appreciation of their leadership value, threats from their own political parties and leaders and the limited entry points into economic and political space, often due to their illiquidity, institutional bottleneck, nomadic lifestyle and age.

It should be warned that, to continue marginalizing this vast majority of Tanzania's population from shaping their and the future of their societies, will be to further undermine or postpone prospects for the durable and sustainable socio-economic and political development of the country which Tanzania has so desperately searched for and so urgently needs.

ENDNOTES

^a URT (1996); The National Youth Development Policy

^b 2 Sansa, Godfrey (2002) Youth Participation in Decision making Bodies , Local councils in Tanzania : A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Social sciences in partial fulfillment for the requirement of undergraduate degree in Political science and Public administration of the University of Dar es salaam

^c Ibid.,

^d It is argued that, Mzee Rashidi Kawawa started playing the role of a leader when he was still a student and t the age of twenty-seven he was among the leaders of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and on the 22nd January 1962 he was sworn in as prime minister of Tanganyika. In 1954 the person who Tanzanians have come to honour as “the Father of the Nation” (Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere) led the Tanganyika African Association (TAA),” a political organization that eventually changed its name into Tanganyika Africans National Union (TANU) when he was 32. In Zanzibar, first president Sheikh Amri Abeid Karume led a small but dynamic labour movement among dockworkers when he was 33 years old. Former President Aboud Jumbe became a leader of Zanzibar National Union also at the age of 33. The late Ahmed Abdulrahman Babu began active politics at the age of 35. Retired Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary General Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim was a diplomat in his late teens.

^e Lionel Cliffe (ed) (1967) One Party Democracy: The 1965 Tanzania General Elections, African Publishing House , pp.10-11

^f Subject citizens are those citizens with subjective or passive political culture. They have very wear orientations towards self recognition as potential actors in the system .This occurs because of the historical and other associated socio- economic and political constructions of their identities and roles in that system. In general, subject political culture tends to emphasize obedience and obligations over competence and rights. See also, Mushi, S.S. “Background to the Survey and the Civic culture method” in Mushi S.S, Mukandala R, & Baregu, M.L (eds)(2001) : The Tanzania’s Political culture : A Baseline survey. Dar es salaam, Dar es salaam University Press, pp 4&5

^g Sansa, Godfrey (2004) The Mode of Transition to Democracy and its Impact on Multiparty Poltics in Tanzania: A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts (Political Science and Public Administration) in the University of Dar s Salaam (unpublished)

^h Mmuya(1998) Tanzania Political Reforms in Eclipse. pp. 30-31.

ⁱ URT (1996) The National Youth Development Policy

^j URT (2005): National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP or commonly called MKUKUTA)

^k Sansa , Godfrey (2001), *ibid.*,

^l Liviga, A.J. “Feelings towards the country, government and politics” in Mushi S.S, Mukandala R, & Baregu, M.L (eds)(2001) : The Tanzania’s Political culture : A Baseline survey. Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam. University Press, p 82

^m *Ibid.* pp 86-90.

ⁿ TEMCO (2005) A Report the Preparation of a Permanent Voters’ Register for Tanzania Mainland for 2005 General Elections See also The Guardian , May 5, 2005, pp.1&2 and Mtanzania; May 5, 2005, p 4

^o *Ibid.*,

^p *Ibid.*,

^q The Guardian, August 8, 2005 pp. 1&2 and Mwananchi August 10, 2005. pp.1&2

^r NEC (2006): The 2005 Presidential , Parliamentary and Councilors’ Elections Report See also TEMCO (2006) Election Monitoring Report for 2005 General Elections and Chama cha Mapinduzi (2005), Mafanikio ya Serikali ya Awamu ya Tatu (1995-2005) na Utekezaji wa Ilani ya Uchaguzi ya CCM ya Mwaka 2000. Makao Makuu ya CCM, Dodoma.

YLTP; HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN THE LEADERSHIP TRAINING

YLTP is an acronym for the Youth Leadership Training Program (YLTP) which in a nutshell, is a leadership training program organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). It trains youth from different socio-cultural and political backgrounds in Tanzania. The youth are brought together and trained on various aspects of Leadership. The YLTP program was launched in 2000 with the intention of contributing to the efforts towards the creation of good, capable and reliable leaders. Now we are implementing YLTP VII!

Each program runs for one year and draws participants from different institutions. A large number share of the trainees are recommended by institutions that are directly dealing with youth matters; the other trainees are usually selected from partner organizations. Generally the trainees who participate in the training program are from political parties, government institutions, non governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, religious organizations, students' organizations and media institutions. The program also draws participants from disadvantaged groups.

Regarding the male and female representation it is policy that at

least 40% should be females. Since the inception of the program the number of female trainees has been increasing at a steady rate. It should be noted that since 2005 to date both males and females share an equal representation of 50%.

The main objectives of the Program are;

- *To equip the trainees with leadership skills and knowledge through education and training so as to build their capacities and sharpen their principles in order to become capable and reliable leaders.*
- *To create a networking atmosphere among the trainees and the institutions from which they come.*
- *To support efforts towards the promotion of good governance within the institutions and at national level.*

YLTP is a multi disciplinary training program based on the idea of participatory learning. The program focuses on themes drawn from *Politics & Public Administration, Political Economy & Business Administration, Media & Communication Skills,*

Administrative Law, Research Methodology, Management Skills and Facilitation Skills. On aspects of Gender and HIV/AIDS, the program explores these concepts as cross cutting issues linked to these other themes.

Apart from the thematic areas the program also puts emphasis on: knowledge relating to a variety of disciplines in the global context because a leader has to be widely informed; it also puts emphasis on a good leader's techniques and instruments; a leader needs to work efficiently and productively. The training addresses also critical aspects of leadership and promotes the need to inspire leaders to view themselves as servants.

The program is privileged to have a wide range of highly qualified trainers and tutors from prominent academic institutions as well as civil society. The pool of trainers and tutors use a diversity of teaching and training methods. They use also standard training methods of instruction such as lectures, seminars, role plays, case studies, video shows etc.

It is the primary goal of the FES to unlock the skills, nurture and enable young leaders to discover and make use of their potential in order to be able to face the contemporary leadership and management challenges in their respective organizations and at the national level.

In order to achieve this and to smoothen the running of day to day activities, the secretariat introduced a Code of Conduct which young leaders had to adhere to. The code of conduct aims at shaping the behaviour and attitude of the trainees. It is the belief of the Foundation that with a pool of qualified trainers and tutors, a detailed curriculum and a comprehensive code of conduct, a contribution to the preparation of knowledgeable, socially committed, accountable and reliable leaders would be made!

For more information about the program visit the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) website <http://tanzania.fes-international.de/> or consult the YLTP secretary via email: amon.petro@fes.or.tz

Notes

6 - Economy

Capital, Economic Growth and Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania

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Introduction

Tanzania is now implementing a National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) or *Mpan-go wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umasikini Tanzania* (MKUKUTA) in *Swahili*, which is aimed at promoting economic growth and poverty alleviation in the country. However, the literature shows that economic growth and poverty alleviation can only be achieved if there is adequate accumulation of capital. Capital accumulation is an important engine of growth around the world. The build-up of human, financial, foreign, and social capital promotes intensive growth for given real capital (Gylfason 2002). The aim of this paper is to examine the nature of human, financial, foreign and social capital build-up in Tanzania and its potential role in promoting economic growth and alleviating poverty. The question this paper seeks to answer is to what extent does the aforementioned assets for growth contribute to that growth and poverty alleviation in Tanzania. The paper takes a normative approach and relies primarily on documentary analysis and secondary data obtained from various studies and reports.

Human Capital Accumulation in Tanzania

Human resource development, or human capital, is important for the development of the country generally, and, in particular, for checking the intergenerational transfer of poverty in poor countries like Tanzania. The provision of adequate and good quality education and health services is of particular importance. The accumulation of capital is realized by building the capabilities of the people through investments in education and health care.

Theory and empirical evidence suggests that education is important for growth in the sense that it improves the labor force and thus enabling workers to use existing capital more efficiently. More and better education tends to speed up the rate of technological progress, which spurs growth (Gylfason 2001; 2003). Apart from promoting economic growth, by improving human capital, and physical capital through technological progress, more and better education financed by public expenditure reduces inequality in the distribution of income and thus promoting social capital (Gylfason 2003:577).

Enhancement of Tanzania's competitiveness in the knowledge based high technology global economy, crucially, depends on having a well-educated labour force. Apart from increased enrolments and completion rates at various levels of education in the country, the quality of education offered in the country's education systems is crucial for economic growth and global economic competitiveness.

Furthermore, apart from improving the labor force, having an educated labor force is a necessary condition for the migration of labor from low-paid work or self-employment in agriculture to better paid jobs in manufacturing, trade, and services. The historical experience shows that successful industrialization is a *sine qua non* in economic development. While Tanzania's services sector is expanding rapidly, its manufacturing sector has remained stagnant at around fifteen percent of GDP since the adoption of market reforms in the 1980s. This means that labor is moving from agriculture to services without making a stopover in manufacturing, as is common in the development process of many countries (Mhamba 2003). However, the Tanzania population is not sufficiently equipped to work in the booming service sector due to education limitation. Consequently, most of the primary school leavers moving to urban areas end up in the informal sector and mainly in petty trading.

The 2004 Demographic and Health Survey shows that only 27.7 percent and 29 percent of the Tanzanian female and male population have com-

pleted primary education respectively. Only 5 percent of the population have completed secondary education and higher. Furthermore, data shows that there is generally very low share of value added accruing to the educated labour (finished secondary education and higher) in the economy in Tanzania. Only 0.5% of value added by labour accrues to educated labour in the primary activities, 6% in the industrial activities and 16.3% in the services sector (Levin and Mhamba, 2005). Investing more in quality education to enhance the country's human resources capital is indispensable if Tanzania is to realize its economic growth and poverty alleviation goals.

The education sector budget has fluctuated over the last 12 years between 15.3% of total budget in 1995/96 to 19.8 percent in 2006/07 and has remained below 4 percent of GDP with the exception of 2002/03 and 2003/04 when the education budget was 4.0 and 4.3 percent respectively. The largest proportion of the education sector budget goes to primary education (over 60 percent), followed by tertiary education, which receives around 20 percent of the education sector budget (Figure 1). Apart from suffering poor quality, the education system suffers from inadequate resources and unmotivated teachers. This is mainly because some critical inputs to ensure sustained provision of quality of education lag behind the increasing enrolment. The focus so far has been on quantity of education; however, anecdote evidence shows that the quality of education offered is low in the sense that chil-

dren learn much less in school than the curriculum states they should learn. This low quality is not entirely surprising because the rapid expansion of primary and secondary education has strained the countries' financial and human resources. The budget allocated for training teachers is relatively low compared to the budget allocated for other activities in the education sector (Figure 1).

tion, policy makers in Tanzania have to make strategic choices between focusing on primary education, vocational training, secondary and tertiary education. Trade, and other services like financial services, and telecommunications, which contributes the largest share of GDP in the services sector, requires a literate labour force. Tanzania stands a better chance to compete within East

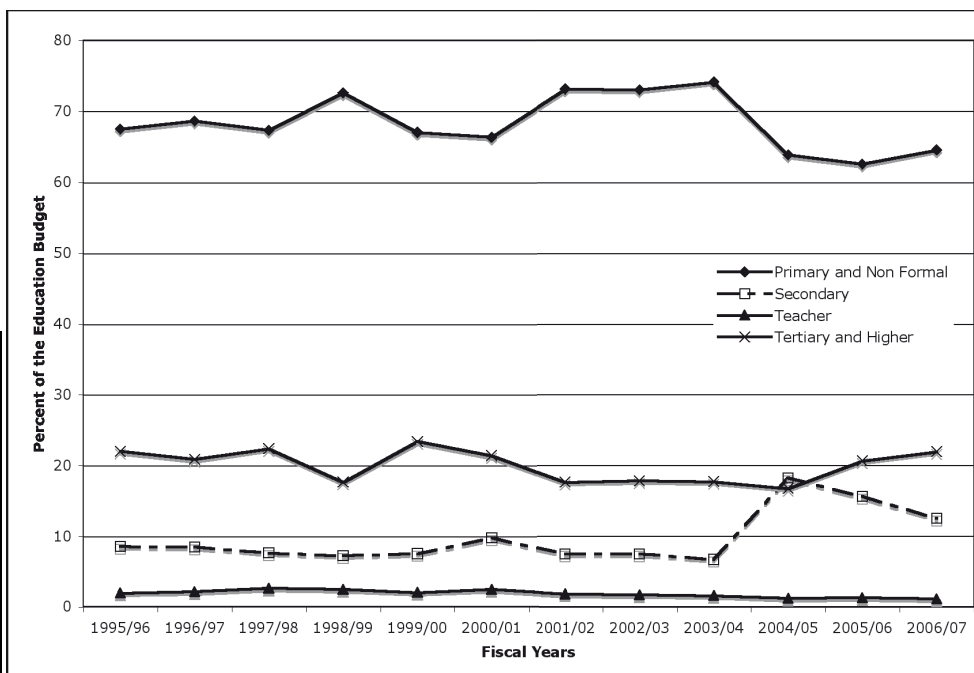


Figure 1: The Distribution of the Education Sector Budget

Tanzania is experiencing a shift in production structure from traditional agriculture into services (Table 1.1). Though the services sector like agriculture is labour intensive, it however requires a semi-skilled and skilled labour force. In order to compete in the modern technology driven global economy, apart from quality educa-

tion, policy makers in Tanzania have to make strategic choices between focusing on primary education, vocational training, secondary and tertiary education. Trade, and other services like financial services, and telecommunications, which contributes the largest share of GDP in the services sector, requires a literate labour force. Tanzania stands a better chance to compete within East

Table 1.1: Percentage of GDP

		1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
1	Agriculture	49,1	48,9	48,2	48,0	47,5	46,7	46,4
2	Mining	2,0	2,1	2,2	2,5	2,7	3,0	3,2
3	Manufacturing	8,4	8,3	8,3	8,3	8,4	8,6	8,8
4	Construction	4,3	4,5	4,6	4,8	5,0	5,2	5,5
5	Trade, Hotel and Restaurant	15,9	16,1	16,4	16,5	16,6	16,8	17,0
6	Transport	5,3	5,4	5,4	5,4	5,5	5,4	5,4
7	Other services	14,8	14,7	14,8	14,5	14,3	14,2	13,7
	All Services (5+6+7)	36,0	36,2	36,6	36,4	36,4	36,4	36,1

Source: Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2004/05

The main challenges facing the education sector is to increase the number of people in the country who have completed primary education and those who have completed secondary education. Furthermore, the provision of quality education in the country is of paramount importance if the country is to be in a better position to take advantage of the modern economy in a globalizing world. Human capital development is also crucial for the consolidation of democracy in the country. Limited human capital development in Tanzania is one amongst the major constraints in the consolidation of democratic tendencies, good governance¹, economic growth and consequently poverty alleviation.

Apart from education, the capability of the labor force depends on the health of the country's population. Tanzania has a fairly well developed

¹ Anecdotal evidence shows that, vote trading has become a common practice during elections. Poor people exchange their rights to vote for the right political candidate for money, a small gift or a bottle of beer.

health care delivery system. The health system in Tanzania has two major components; the public and the private health care systems. The public share is 56%, the private share is 44% (which includes Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) 30% and private for profit 14 %). The system works at four levels; the community where we find village health posts, the ward where we have a dispensary serving approximately 10,000 people and a health center at the division level serving approximately 50,000 people. The district hospital serves between 250.000-300,000 population and as we move further to the regional level we have a regional hospital serving approximately 1,000,000 people. At the zonal and national level are the consultant/ referral hospital. Currently in Tanzania there are a total of 4,679 dispensaries (public and private); 481 health centres; 219 hospitals divided into 74 district hospitals, 17 regional hospitals, 8 Consultant/ Referral hospitals, the rest are FBO (75) and private (45) hospitals. Giving

a total of 5,379 health facilities as at the end of 2005.

Despite these developments in the health care system, ill health is still a major constraint to economic growth and poverty alleviation in Tanzania. The Health facility based data compiled in the Health Statistics Abstract in 2002 shows that the leading 5 killer diseases among the population aged 5 years and above were malaria (22%), clinical AIDS (17%), tuberculosis (9%), pneumonia (6.5%) and anemia (5.5%). Life expectancy at birth stands at 51 years and the infant and child mortality rate (per 1000 live births) stands at 153.

Tanzania mainland is estimated to have about 1.2 million people living with HIV/AIDS with a prevalence rate of 7% (THIS report, 2003/04). The same data source shows high prevalence among the economically active population and among the educated and wealth quintile of the population. HIV prevalence among the general population aged 15 – 49 years stands at 7% which is equivalent to the national average². Prevalence also varies by residence (10.9% among urban and 5.3% among rural populations), by education (5.3% for those with no education to 8.2% for those with secondary education or more), by wealth (3.4% in the lowest wealth quintile to 10.5% in the highest quintile), and by region (from 2% in Manyara and Kigoma to 13.4% in Iringa and 13.5% in Mbeya). Furthermore, Prevalence is relatively higher among women (7.7%) than that in men (6.3%) and among young women aged 15 to 24 years is 4% compared to 3% among young men.

² Results from the Tanzania HIV/AIDS Indicators Survey (THIS), 2005,

HIV/AIDS is high in the areas that are contributing a significant proportion of the GDP; this includes: Dar es Salaam that contributes the largest proportion of GDP from manufacturing, Mbeya and Iringa, which are the major producers of food in the country. Most likely HIV/AIDS intensified by increasing the mobility of people in the process of marketing agricultural products following the liberalization of agricultural marketing. HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are low in areas, which in general are relatively backward economically and particularly in agricultural production, which is the mainstay of the Tanzanian economy.

The combination of illiteracy and sexuality may limit the effectiveness of all the measures in place to curb the spread and impact mitigation of HIV/AIDS in the country³. Curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania is crucial for maintenance and for enhancement of the Human Resources Capital of the country. Priority areas on HIV/AIDS responses should not be focussed only on impact mitigation. More efforts need to be focussed on rising awareness and HIV/AIDS information to the people especially the youth. In this respect, offering quality education to the Tanzanian population is more than likely to offer significant contribution to the prevention of HIV/AIDS.

³ According to the THIS youth tend to have multiple partners. The average age of sexual debut is immediately at puberty, but often before +/- 13 years for girls and +/-14 years for boys and 20 % of all girls have had intercourse by age 15 and 68 % by 18 ; 30% of primary school pupils, 60% of secondary school students and 70% of out of school youth are sexually active.

Water and sanitation are important determinants of health especially in the sub Saharan African countries. Statistics from the government reports shows that accessibility to water in the country is increasing⁴. However, despite the fact that statistics in show encouraging achievements towards access to tape water, access to tape water in Tanzania does not necessarily guarantee access to clean and quality water. Taped water in Dar es Salaam city for instance is always brown with a significant amount of mud. By 2025, Tanzania wants all people to have access to clean and safe water. However, due to population pressure, per capita water availability (cu m) shows a decreasing trend over time (Table 1.2).

Realization of this goal urgently requires putting water resources conservation measures in place now. Unfortunately, this is an area, which is not adequately addressed through concrete policy measures.

In addition to that, evidence from the former Ujamaa villages shows that the provided water supply facilities by the government through bilateral support from the Swedish International Development Agency SIDA, have either been left un-maintained or vandalized by the members of the community and are currently not working. This again is an area where the development of the country's human capital through provision of quality education to build people's capabilities becomes an important undertaking.

Table 1.2: Water Availability per Person in Tanzania and SADC

	Total Annual Renewable Fresh Water Available (cu km/yr)	Per Capita Water Availability (cu m)			Water Scarcity Index*		
		1995	2000	2025	1995	2000	2025
Tanzania	89	3,134	2,745	1,587	2	2	3
SADC	1,784.8	10,151	8,922	5,449	1	2	2

* Water Scarcity Index 1 Adequate 2 Quality and dry season problem 3 Water Stress
 Source: SADC, IUCN, SARDC, World Bank and SIDA (2002); Tables 2.1 page 25 and 2.2 page 26

Financial Capital and Investments

The role of financial development on investments and economic growth is widely acknowledged in the theoretical and empirical literature⁵. The

Government of Tanzania has created a good investment climate to attract foreign investors. Steps taken to encourage foreign investment include

⁴ Water sector Public Expenditure Reviews (PER) for various years

⁵ Among others includes, Odedokun M.O., (1998),

Bencivenga, V.R., and Smith, B.D., (1991); Shaw, E.S., (1973); Galbis V., (1977).

creation of an attractive package of incentives for investors and easing bureaucratic requirements⁶. As a result, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Tanzania has increased steadily in the last five years. Tanzania is formally open to foreign investment in all sectors, although a successful investor must overcome many procedural barriers.

The aggregate level of investment in Tanzania has increased in the early 2000s by over 3% (Table 1.3). Contributions to this increase have proportionately taken place both through public and private investments. Within, the private sector, as indicated in Table (1.1) most of the investments are taking place in the mining sector and construction industry which are showing an increase in terms of share in total GDP and in growth rate (Table 1.4).

Tanzania is still dependent on natural capital in the production of export goods. The bulk of export goods from the country constitutes of agricultural products and minerals. Most of the foreign direct investments coming into the country concentrate in natural resource extractive activities i.e. minerals, fishing and forestry. This phenomenon is changing the export pattern of Tanzania from primarily cash crops, which for decades have been the major export commodities of the country, to minerals and fisheries products. The export of minerals

6 The Tanzania Investment Center (TIC), established by the Tanzania Investment Act of 1997, is a focal point for all investors and performs all liaison work. The TIC provides certificates of incentives on approved projects that have a minimum investment of US \$300,000 if foreign owned and US \$100,000 if locally owned. In 2004, TIC registered 454 investment projects (worth over US \$1 billion), up from 372 in projects in 2003.

has increased following the increase in gold mining in the country. Currently the export share of minerals is more than 52 percent while that of agriculture is less than 40 percent. Manufacturing contributes around 7 percent of the value of export earnings⁷.

Historical experience however shows that for most countries that are rich and dependent on minerals and other natural resources, economic growth over a long haul tends to be slower than in other countries that are less well endowed⁸. The mining sector employs only a small proportion of the country's labor force. It therefore contributes very little to households' factor income earnings and thus to poverty alleviation. The government receives insignificant revenue from the mining sector. The current president of Tanzania has often aired the need to renegotiate the mining contracts⁹.

Furthermore, foreign investments in trade, especially wholesale and retail trade is destroying the local Medium and Small Scale Enterprises (SME), which in addition face difficulties accessing credit from the domestic commercial credit markets. Over time the import of finished consumer goods from China, Dubai and South Africa has been on the increase, and is posing a stiff competition to the locally

7 Government of Tanzania, 2004, Economic Survey, Presidents Office, Planning and Privatization. Dar es Salaam.

8 For OPEC as a whole, GNP per capita decreased by 1.3 percent per year on average during 1965-1998 compared with 2.2 percent average per capita growth in all lower- and middle-income countries (Gylfason 2001:848).

9 See the African Newspaper January 1, 2006; Daily News January 20, 2006; Sunday News July 7, 2006, Dairy News July 11, 2006.

produced goods¹⁰. Apart from fueling unemployment especially among the unskilled and semi-skilled labor force, the trend jeopardizes efforts to reduce poverty among the households, as it is increasingly difficult to diversify from agriculture to local consumer food processing and other non-agricultural production activities in both rural and urban areas.

Table 1.3: Tanzania Mainland: Savings and Investment Relationship (1999-2004) at Constant 1992 Prices Tanzanian Shillings (Million)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total Investment	263,760	315,529	322,546	385,902	451,224	481,260
Government Investment	52,735	107,983	105,893	152,837	179,002	176,300
Private Investments	211,025	207,546	216,653	233,065	272,222	304,960
Savings	90,675	197,716	220,668	279,792	305,900	296,485
Savings-Investment Gap	-173,085	-117,813	-101,878	-106,110	-145,324	-184,775
GDP (at market price)	1,697,338	1,792,562	1,897,846	2,013,451	2,134,521	2,286,364
Total Investment	15.5	17.6	17.0	19.2	21.1	21.0
Government Investment	3.1	6.0	5.6	7.6	8.4	7.7
Private Investments	12.4	11.6	11.4	11.6	12.8	13.3
Savings	5.3	11.0	11.6	13.9	14.3	13.0
Savings-Investment Gap	-10.2	-6.6	-5.4	-5.3	-6.8	-8.1

Data Source: Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2004/05 (Computation by Author)

10 The emerging South African Super Markets (Shorprite and Game) in Dar es Salaam city for instance, and the Chinese wholesale and retail traders in the city area of Kariakoo which are stocked with products from mainly South Africa, China and other Asian countries is the illustrative case.

Table 1.4: GDP Annual Growth Rates by Economic Activities

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
GDP	4.0	4.7	4.8	5.8	6.2	5.7	6.7
Agriculture	1.9	4.1	3.4	5.5	5.0	4.0	6.0
Mining	27.4	9.1	10.9	16.6	15.0	18.0	15.6
Manufacturing	8.0	3.6	4.8	5.0	8.0	8.6	8.6
Construction	9.9	8.7	8.4	8.7	11.0	11.0	11.0
Trade, Hotel and Restaurants	4.7	6.0	6.5	6.7	7.0	6.5	8.0
Transport	6.2	5.8	6.1	6.3	6.4	5.0	6.2
Other Services	3.0	4.0	5.4	3.6	4.9	4.6	3.4

Source: Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2004/05

Besides, the privatization of commercial Banks has resulted into the allocation of credit on commercial basis, which consequently, has attracted commercial bank lending to activities with relatively better returns. This has worsened availability of credit for agricultural production and marketing. The availability of credit for agriculture has been further worsened by the collapse of Ujamaa villages, as well as farmers' cooperative societies and unions which acted as collateral for farmers (Mhamba, 2004). Generally, the poor people in the country are bypassed by the investment opportunities ushered in by market liberalization.

The Potential Role of Trade and Foreign Capital

Trade is one of the necessary conditions for the developing countries to achieve potential for economic growth. Developing countries have limited research and development

(R&D) and have to import new technology, embodied in capital goods, from the world market (Yin and Yin: 2005). Trade is increasingly becoming characterized by rapid product development, new product technology and strategic market alliances. However, most of the sub Saharan African countries have been bypassed by the opportunities gained in the globalization process.

While other countries especially the Asian countries, are diversifying their economies into high technology production of goods and services in order to take advantage of opportunities offered by the globalization process, Tanzania is getting spoilt by "mother nature" i.e. relying on what is offered by the natural environment. The study by Gylfason (2004 (b)), in which a number of countries are analyzed, shows that natural resource dependence tends to crowd out foreign capital, social capital, human capital, physical capital and

financial capital thereby impeding economic growth.

There is a great scope for Tanzania to benefit by increasing investments in capital and modern technologies in the transport and communication sector¹¹. Tanzania enjoys a comparative advantage to other East African countries in transport and communication as it is surrounded by 6 landlocked countries i.e. Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo; Zambia and Malawi. Further improvements in airports; cargo handling facilities at the ports and improvements in roads and railways connecting to these countries could enhance earnings to the economy and stimulate further increase in factors earnings from the primary sectors generally.

Investing in the generation of electric power is another potential areas with respect to investments in physical capital to stimulate economic growth and poverty alleviation. Besides frequent power cuts and power rationing, the slow pace in the growth in manufacturing sector in Tanzania is also contributed by higher electric power tariffs. Investing in generating electric power from coal, which is readily available in the country, could reduce higher power tariffs and thus contribute to the increase in the share of manufacturing to the country's GDP.

Human capital development in Tanzania is one of the most neglected in the world. Potential benefits to economic growth and poverty alleviation could also be realised by allocating such resources, for instance to free healthcare services in rural areas

11 See Levin and Mhamba (2005) for a detailed analysis

and among the poor people in urban areas¹². Human capital development could also be enhanced through allocating such resources to promote research and development (R&D) in the country's higher learning institutions, which is another neglected area.

Social and Political Capital Role in the Process of Economic Growth in Tanzania

The continuing deterioration in the cultivation and growth of nationalism and the spirit of altruism that was cultivated from the mid 1960s to the mid 1980s weakens the contribution of social capital to economic growth and poverty alleviation. Increasingly individuals are losing the spirit of nationalism, which has for long being the main source of national heritage of peace and social cohesion. Self-interest and *liaises fair* in the part of politicians and high ranking government executives is one of the contributing factor to the deterioration of the social fabric that has held the nation together for a long period of time¹³.

One of the most characteristic features of economic development in Tanzania under structural adjustment has been the upsurge in so-called informal sector activities (Wuyts 2001:424)¹⁴. In an informal

12 Access to essential medicine in the country is constrained by the introduction of cost sharing on the health sector amid poverty. For more insights on this, see among others (Mhamba et. al. 2006).

13 This is evident for instance from the dubious mining contracts, that the president in January 2006 ordered the responsible ministry to have them reviewed.

14 The informal or second economy is usually defined as consisting of economic activities that are unregis-

economy, transaction costs are high due to information asymmetry, lack of trust and cumbersome enforcement of contracts or business transactions¹⁵. Besides, such environment creates incentives for both political and economic agents to renege, shirk, steal, or cheat. Apart from constraining production and access to essential goods and services especially among the poor people, this environment reduces the potential benefits of trade in promoting economy growth.

Democracy, good governance and the rule of law are some of the important elements that constitute political capital. Democracy is an important ingredient in fostering economic growth and reduction in poverty as it increases social cohesion and with it economic efficiency and growth. Democracy is an important ingredient in the glue that holds society together and keeps it working well and smoothly (Gylfason 2004 (a)).

Tanzania is one of the countries in sub Saharan African countries, which have enjoyed significance democracy and peaceful replacement of governments. It has, so far, held three general multi-party elections and three times *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) has emerged the winner. However, there is little evidence that shows that these achievements in the democratic front, has been translated into increased capacity of the Tanzanian people to challenge *self-interest* in political decisions making and contribute to development policy evolution. Though policy-making process is done through a con-

tered and exist outside state regulations (Engberg-Petersen et al., cited in Wuyts 2001:424)

¹⁵ See North, (1991).

sultative process, the effectiveness of consultative workshops, which are currently the main *modus operandi* in policy formation processes, is however, very questionable. Green (2003:135) points out some of the bottlenecks of the stakeholders' workshops in informing policy in Tanzania as follows:

i) *Limited power of participants to influence*: To influence workshop outcomes, participants need to be in a position where they have authority to influence, and to be conversant with the skills of manipulating discussion and its representation. Unfortunately, stakeholders workshops in Tanzania's development culture assume a particular institutional form and are conducted in a fairly standard ways, in line with the professional expectations both of the development facilitators who specialize in their operation and of the category of what might be referred to as professional participants, those employed in professional capacities in development agencies and the public sector and whose work in maintaining aid-dependent administrations involves participation in workshops (Green 2003:132).

ii) *Skewed representation of participants*: even where representatives of beneficiary groups are present in a workshop setting, they are likely to be fewer in number than the professional groups and, given the etiquette of hierarchy and power in Tanzania, will be less likely to speak critically before those represent-

ing themselves as government and donors.

iii) *Workshops as inherently imitated platforms for output management:* the tight organizational structure of facilitation and the construction of workshops as a site for the management of outputs ensure that workshops produce highly limited visions.

Despite all these constraints, Tanzania still is in a better position to realize rapid economic growth and poverty reduction. What is needed is the political will to systematically address elements of *self-interest* behavior among the decision makers and government executives and ensuring that the spirit of altruism is created and maintained in the young generation through the education systems. Besides, purposeful efforts must be put in place to ensure that further development of the informal economy is constrained.

Conclusion

The major challenge that politician and policy makers in Tanzania have to address in order to achieve the envisaged economic growth and poverty alleviation in the MKUKUTA, is to remove all the major constraining factors to the accumulation of the different types of assets highlighted in this paper. Improving the quality of human capital in Tanzania is indispensable if the country is to tap the opportunities offered by the modern global economy in achieving rapid economic growth and poverty alleviation. Efforts need to be focused on enhancing the quality of human cap-

ital through increasing the number of those who are completing quality secondary education and tertiary education. This is important to enhance Tanzania's competitiveness in the global economy. Apart from enhancing efficiency in the production of goods and services, investments in quality education, will increase the returns of the current efforts to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of death due to the other killer diseases.

A radical change needs also to take place in the way foreign capital generally and particularly government borrowed foreign capital is used. Public investments from this source of capital should be focused on putting in place new investments in real capital and in maintaining the existing ones. Besides investments in education and research and development (R&D) to enhance the accumulation of quality human capital, potential areas for investments in this respect should also include investments in physical capital especially the port facilities, transport infrastructure, and power generation.

Further investments are needed in the strengthening of rules and regulations and mechanisms to enforce them. This is important for facilitating the development of social capital and political capital as these play a decisive role in reducing transaction costs in the economy as well as the enhancement of democracy and good governance in the country.

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7 - Trade between EU & ACP states

TOWARDS THE END OF THE EPAs NEGOTIATIONS: Prospects and Challenges for Tanzania

By: Agnes G. Mwakaje, University of Dar es Salaam

Introduction

The ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, known more commonly as the Cotonou Agreement, is a comprehensive aid and trade agreement signed in Cotonou, Benin on 23 June 2000 between 77 ACP countries and the EU. Its central objective is to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty in the ACP countries while contributing to sustainable development and to the gradual integration of ACP countries into the world economy.

The Cotonou Agreement provides the framework for the negotiation of new reciprocal and WTO-compatible trading arrangements between the EU and the ACP. ACP countries are able to enter into such arrangements individually, or as part of a group where the latter building upon regional integration schemes. The agreement is centered on five 'pillars':

- Comprehensive political dimension
- Participatory approaches
- Strengthened focus on poverty reduction
- New framework for economic and trade cooperation

- Reform of financial cooperation.

Negotiations towards the new reciprocal Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and other alternative trade arrangements commenced on 27 September 2002, and are scheduled to be concluded in the year 2007 when non-reciprocal preferences will be withdrawn. The EPAs are mandated to enter into force from 2008 until 2020.

In Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA) countries EPAs negotiations are taking place under their regional integration bodies which are:

- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS),
- Southern African Development Community (SADC),
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC).

These regional bodies have their own integrative blueprints. However, one element that is common in them is a vision of facilitating greater intra-regional trade through the development of a free trade area (FTA), which will allow the free flow of goods throughout the region.

Tanzania is under EPA-SADC configuration. The other members are Ango-

la, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and South Africa. SADC launched their negotiations with the EU on the 8th of July 2004, in Windhoek, Namibia.

As we are approaching towards the end of these negotiations there are those who hold the opinion that EPAs will be detrimental to the economies of ACP States while, on the other hand, there are those who hold the opinion that EPAs could be a useful mechanism for accelerating the economic development and regional integration of the ACP regions (Pearson 2004). This Article presents the prospects and challenges for Tanzania.

Prospects

EPA is deepening Regional integration towards custom union which theoretically is good for the economy of the ACP countries. Trade has been a key and constant component in the long-standing relationship between the European Union (EU) and ACP. Trade can improve the allocation of domestic resources, increase the efficiency with which they are used, help bring new technology, increase incomes and increase investment. To benefit from these, Tanzania and many other ACP countries have been involved in trade reforms, reform of export oriented policies aiming at enabling competitive and stable exchange rates, and outward oriented regional integration and a cooperative/consultative relationship with the private sector. Successful implementation of such policies is likely to boost Tanzania's trade in the SADC region and with EU.

The EC has proposed that the development assistance it provides to the ACP countries through the European Development Fund (EDF) be integrated with the EPAs trade reforms in order to build ACP competitiveness to trade as the market opening takes place. In addition, the EC has also proposed to keep EPA-related assistance under constant review in order to assess its effectiveness in building the supply capacity of the ACP countries, as EPAs are being negotiated and implemented.

Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) reduction and elimination in other member countries e.g EAC or SADC will have positive impact on agricultural and non-agricultural intra exports. Within the region this will mean increased agricultural GDP, production and change in trade pattern.

This outcome will enhance integration of trade in the SADC/EAC economy. This will also mean enhanced international integration and enhanced economy growth. Overall, this may lead into improved living standards of Tanzanians.

On the other hand, Tariff and NTBs reduction and elimination may lead into less tariff revenue i.e reduced government budget income and affects the GDP of the country. Again there might be reduction in production that may affect further the economy of Tanzania.

Challenges

The eventual outcome of EPA negotiations, and how EPAs will benefit from these negotiations will depend to a large extent on how well prepared the

Tanzania side in ACP-EPA negotiations are and how well they conduct these negotiations with the European Commission (EC). One of the big challenges is about the shortage of capacity in trade policy formulation and evaluation, shortage of knowledge of the technical issues which underpin world trade today and shortage of negotiators skilled in trade matters among Tanzania players' regional economic groupings and private sector organisations.

SADC has a heterogeneous economic structure with three categories of economic development levels; Least Developed Countries (LDCs), non-LDCs and a developed country. South Africa as a developed country accounts for 75 % of the regional GDP, thus the recently signed EU-South Africa TDCA poses great challenges to these categories as pertaining to the regional negotiations. Tanzania being not only one of the least developed countries in the region, but also too, with inadequate negotiations capability is likely to have no influence on the negotiations process. Rather it may remain a decision-made taker.

One of the implications of the reciprocity condition in the EPA is that the SADC countries will have to open up their economies to imports from Europe. It is reasonable to say that the trade effect of the EPA on SADC would be felt more on the import side than exports. This is because most of the countries (including Tanzania) already have unutilized trade preferences with the EU mainly because of the rules of origin of the EU side.

Thus, the EPA will place European imports as a major competitor against domestic production as well as put EU imports at an advantage relative to non-EU trading partners. More imports from EU than exports are likely to worsen the balance of payment (if necessary measures are not taken) of countries like Tanzania.

Tanzania like many ACP countries suffer from a wide range of supply constraints which include poor transport, electricity and telecommunications infrastructure, weak institutional capacity (e.g. customs and policy-making bodies) and a shortage of human resources. These factors are the hindrances in the expansion of ACP exports to the EU in response to the support provided by preferences.

The extent to which each group can contribute to the negotiations agenda depends on two main factors, i.e. the degree of institutionalization of NETT and the ability of the group (to mobilize information and analyse issues, formulate its position, participate in national consensus building meetings, participate in actual EPA negotiations, etc.). In Tanzania the proposed and adopted negotiations structure contained two levels, i.e. the National EPA Technical Team (NETT), and the National EPA Steering Committee (NESC). Together, NETT and NESC formed the Tanzania EPA Negotiating Team (TENET), which was supposed to mobilize/disseminate information through consultative/dissemination workshops, stakeholders interviews, etc. Moreover, it was anticipated that, at the national level, NETT, the na-

tional TNF responsible for WTO negotiations, and NESC would work under a common framework. However, structures to properly manage such negotiations are a problem. Because of the inadequate development of the national trade negotiating institutions, the role of Tanzania's NSAs in contributing to the SADC-EPA negotiations has been sub-optimal. In this respect Tanzania is likely to participate as recipient of others decisions in the region.

Tanzania has a dual membership, the SADC and EAC. It is not clear how the agreement of Kenya and Uganda in EAC will affect or complement to the Tanzania's negotiations in the SADC. Tanzania has developed its own Poverty alleviation strategy (PSRP) or Mkukuta, it is not clear to what extent would the negotiations with EU-ACP address these PSRP/Mkukuta initiatives goals.

Other Challenges

How to manage the expected losses of fiscal revenue if Tanzania happens to be a loser in the EU-ACP countries;

How to cope with more competition expected to be entailed under the principle of reciprocity of the EPAs;

What should be done?

ACP exports to the EU are hindered by a range of non-tariff measures including Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures (SPS), standards and rules of origin. Since EU cannot change its rules of origin to trade with ACP, EU may need to build capacity in the ACP

countries if the real trade between the two blocks is to be realized. This capacity should focus on Human, Structural, Finance and Technical aspects.

ACP countries need to develop their human and institutional capacities in order to be able to secure the best possible terms in negotiations. Training is crucially needed for ACP officials involved in or working with the ACP negotiating teams, with regard to general policy analysis and negotiating techniques, and specific topics and issues to be negotiated with the EU. Training is to be seen in terms of direct backstopping for the negotiations and in relation to the development of trade capacity building in the longer term.

There is need for a coherent approach to WTO assistance and capacity building in particular. To this end, capacity building activities should go beyond workshops capacity building programme in support of the preparation of Economic Partnership Agreements. The principal objective of the Programme is to provide support to ACP countries, regional integration organisations and private sector organisations and other non-state actors in their preparations for the negotiation of EPAs with the EU.

There should be harmonization of agreements between the different sub-regional blocks (EAC, COMESA, SADC). For example ESA & SADC countries' should harmonize areas of divergence in their EPA negotiating positions.

ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS: European Union and EAC reach historic agreement on market access

By Douglas Carpenter, Counsellor, Economic Affairs, EC Delegation in Tanzania, 27 November 2007

The European Commission and East African Community Partner States (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda) concluded today the negotiations of a framework agreement, which will guarantee duty free and quota free access to the EU for goods exported by EAC States with the only significant transition arrangements being for sugar and rice. Hon Basil Mramba, Minister of Industry, Trade and Marketing, signed for Tanzania.

In order to ensure that the agreement complies with both Parties' commitments in the World Trade Organization, the EAC States will also gradually open their markets to goods from the European Union over a period of 25 years. After 15 years, 80% of the exports from the EU will enter the EAC market free of duties. This covers mainly industrial inputs and capital goods. About one fifth of EAC trade will be completely excluded from any market liberalisation requirements.

The agreement is a first step towards a full Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), which will establish a strategic trade and development partnership with the objective of promoting regional integration and also the integration of the EAC in

the global economy. The negotiations will continue next year, with a view to concluding a comprehensive EPA not later than July 2009. The Parties have agreed to work together to define and address the development needs associated with the EPA in order to promote sustained growth, strengthen regional integration and foster structural transformation and competitiveness to increase production, supply capacity and value addition of the EAC.

In a separate development, the EC has also today announced the signature of an agreement with EAC and COMESA to introduce a Regional Integration Support Mechanism, worth €78 million. This mechanism will help countries to deal with fiscal losses arising from tariff reductions and will also be used to address some key non-tariff barriers to trade. The EPA process will not end with the signature of market access agreements. It will continue with intensive discussions on the "supply-side" constraints such as transport and energy, and on trade-related issues such as investment and services which are crucial to growth and development. EPAs need to build a solid trading platform for traders and investors, and in so doing for development.

Background issues

1. The negotiations

For the last few weeks, following an agreement of ministers of all five East African Community countries, EAC has been preparing a proposal on future market access conditions for European goods entering EAC markets.¹ Tanzania has played an active role in these discussions.

The EC/EAC market access talks were held in line with World Trade Organization rules and are intended to provide the centrepiece of an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). EPAs form a key pillar of the Cotonou Agreement signed by EU and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries: their primary purpose is to link trade and development, through managed liberalization in line with World Trade Organization standards, and also through addressing those supply-side constraints which restrain competitiveness and growth (transport, health and safety standards, etc).

The EC and the EU Member States continue to believe that EPAs will put EU-Africa trade relations on a firm, modern, structured and sustainable footing. Nowhere are the potential benefits greater than for EAC, an economic centre of gravity and a rare functioning Customs Union in sub-Saharan Africa. EAC's growth potential depends upon marketing its existing degree of integration at a

¹ The talks do not cover access to EU markets: this is because, with the exception of Kenya, EAC countries already enjoy duty-free quota-free access to the EU for almost all their goods.

global level, upon creating economies of scale, and at the same time upon addressing some critical constraints, notably in infrastructure, services and institutional capacity.

2. Funding

There has been a clear call for substantial resources to accompany the EPA process. Relevant funding issues are as follows:

- The 10th European Development Fund (EDF) has increased by nearly a third compared to the ninth. There has been a huge increase of regional envelopes within it to a total of €1.78 billion. These will help to support the widening and deepening of EAC and other regional organizations.
- The EC focuses on addressing quality issues: capacity-building, fiscal losses, trade facilitation and Sanitary & Phyto-Sanitary (SPS) (eg health and safety norms), as well as infrastructure. In other words, helping ACP countries to produce products that can compete on both quality and price.
- The European Commission is already the largest donor of trade related assistance globally. The European Commission will raise its overall spending on aid for trade to €1bn annually by 2010. EU Member States have committed to match that annual €1bn target by the same year. These funds are used to help develop the capacity to trade in partner countries by providing training and technical

assistance, supporting private sector development, meeting health and safety standards for export, and facilitating regional market building. Half of the €1 billion per year from 2010 that Member States have committed to give to aid for trade will go to ACP.

- Locally, the Tsh 900 billion national programme of EC support to Tanzania under the 10th EDF, which will be launched in 2008, is heavily focused on trade issues. Around 90% of the programme is dedicated to macroeconomic aid, support to the transport sector and a trade and agriculture focal area aimed at pro-poor growth. This demonstrates the long-term commitment of the EC to form an enduring partnership with the Government of Tanzania, civil society and the private sector in the growth and competitiveness cluster of MKUKUTA. It is also evidence that EPA and development funding go hand in hand.
- The Regional integration Support Mechanism (see below)
- Finally, the EU (Commission and Member States) supports the development of infrastructure in Africa for around €2 billion per year and has launched an EU Infrastructure Partnership for Africa to develop interconnectivity. It also set up, on 24-25 October, an Infrastructure Trust Fund with the European Investment Bank (EIB). In its initial phase, the Trust Fund will receive grants for €87 million

from the EC and Member States, while the EIB agreed to mobilise up to €250 million in loans.

3. The Regional Integration Support Mechanism – a new instrument of €78 million from the EDF

The objective of the programme is to alleviate poverty in the Eastern and Southern Africa/Indian Ocean region (ESA/IO) by supporting the economic integration process through the consolidation of the COMESA Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the implementation of the COMESA and EAC Customs Unions, by assisting them in meeting their regional integration commitments.

The mechanism should particularly assist in the fiscal adjustment process of those EAC and COMESA countries who liberalise their tariffs vis-à-vis other member countries joining the two areas, and those who adopt or move towards the Common External Tariff of a regional Customs Union and are prepared to make commitments to eliminate an agreed list of non-tariff barriers over the course of a defined period.

The project is based on the 9th EDF Regional Indicative Programme for the Eastern and Southern Africa and Indian Ocean Region, which includes EAC. The Programme states that a number of countries in the region may find themselves in a situation in which they are willing to continue to implement economic reform measures, but are not able to do so, for reasons of short-term budgetary constraint and other adjustment costs resulting from the contraction of import-competing and/or export

sectors faced with loss of trade preferences. The project aims exactly at cushioning these short term trade and custom's revenue losses and at improving in the medium/longer term more competitive productive structures.

The project is complementary with other on-going programmes by supporting EAC and COMESA countries in pursuing their trade liberalization programmes while minimizing their transitory budgetary constraints resulting from budget revenue losses.

The major expected results of the project are:

- The reduction of internal tariff barriers among all ESA-IO Member States;
- The application of Common External Tariffs;

- The reduction of the list of exemptions and sensitive products of countries within a shorter period than if no support is provided;
- Reduction of Non-Tariff Barriers² encouraging trade within the region to increase noticeably;

The cost of the project amounts to €78 Million from the EDF with a contribution from the ESA-IO member States of €7.7 Million. The estimated implementation period is 5 years (of which 3 years for budgetary support). The implementation mechanism is a Contribution Agreement with COMESA and a Memorandum of Understanding with the EAC.

² The list of Non-Trade Barriers (NTBs) identified by COMESA are categorised in eight groups: quantitative restrictions, export and import licensing, foreign exchange licensing, stipulation of import sources, prohibition of imports, advance import deposits, conditional permission for imports and special charges for acquiring foreign exchange.

Notes

WHY ARE THE EPAS AN ISSUE FOR TRADE UNIONS

By: Hezron J. Kaaya, Researchers, Academicians & Allied Workers Union (RAAWU), Dar es Salaam

On 20th to 21st September 2007 the National Executive Committee of the Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA) thoroughly discussed the negotiation stage reached on trade agreements between ACP and EU countries. The committee discussed the issue following the presentations made by Cotonou Agreement experts basing on the following areas:

- The whole concept of the then new Cotonou Agreement as deliberated on and signed in 2000, with Tanzania being one of the countries that signed the agreement.
- Participation of Non-Governmental Organizations including the trade unions as stipulated in the agreement.
- The stage of negotiations that has been reached since its commencement in 2002.
- The stand of ACP countries especially members of East African Community (EAC) towards the signing that agreement on 31st December, 2007.

In the course of discussion on the above areas, the TUCTA committee realized that:

The Government has not been transparent about the Cotonou Agreement, (for this matter EPA negotiations) to civil society organizations and citizens in general. Only that the Ministry of Trade has been taking the negotiations forward leaving out of the picture the views of the main stakeholders including the Trade Unions.

It was further noted that about 76 ACP countries which are known to be the poorest in the world (including Tanzania) are under pressure to sign free trade agreements with Europe, facing threats of tariff increases if an agreement is not in place by 31st December 2007.

The TUCTA committee noted that Europe has rejected the alternative proposals tabled by the developing countries, and that this is a typical sign of the undermining of the principle of partnership. Instead, Europe insists that if an agreement is not signed by 31st December 2007 tariffs will be raised on exports from developing countries, jeopardizing jobs and income for farmers and workers.

The TUCTA committee concurred with the expert's opinion which shows that many of Europe's current proposals would be detrimental to development

in developing countries. Some examples were cited, including:

- Proposal to cut tariffs will undermine food security and local manufacturing.
- New intellectual property rules will limit developing countries access to educational materials, technology and even seeds for farmers.
- New competition rules would work in favour of large corporations, suppressing the local initiatives.
- New rules on services could reduce poor people's access to critical services such as banking and telecommunications and make developing countries more vulnerable to financial crises:
- New rules on government procurement would hinder governments of developing countries from using their expenditure to stimulate local development.

Why is "EPA" an issue for Trade Unions

Trade Unions are typically concerned about employment, the quality of jobs, wages and working conditions including working hours, Safety and Health at work, job security etc.

At the last WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Trade Unions highlighted the plight of workers in Export Processing Zones (EPZs). Since then, a combination of factors such as the end of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) and the dominance of

China on world markets, have put even further pressure on workers in EPZs, most of whom are women! The women are the primary victims of the exploitation that characterizes EPZs. The exclusion by governments of EPZs from national labour legislation, as well as other forms of privileged treatment for export production, is a distortion of WTO principles as it means that production for domestic market is taking place on less favourable terms than that for exports.

Further more, the tariff reductions are likely to lead to company closures and unemployment if they are implemented too fast and thus the level of imports rise suddenly. The current state of the global clothing and textiles industry is an example of this.

Trade liberalization increases the openness of competition. This poses more pressure on workers and can aggravate working conditions in the form of lower wages, trade union repression, longer working hours and unsafe work places. This makes it necessary for trade unions to influence the content of trade liberalization (e.g. EPAs) in the short term and fight for a different development friendly approach, based on a human development agenda in the longer term.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE

After the thorough discussion the Committee came up with the following recommendations which also took into consideration the view of other

social organizations in East Central and Southern Africa, as well as academicians and other institutions which sympathize with poor countries in the world.

a) *Resource Development*

- Trade Unions feel strongly that if EPAs are to benefit the EAC, SADC or ESA regions for that matter, it is vital that supply-side constraints are dealt with so that producers can be empowered to enhance their capacity to trade.

b) *Coherence with regional integration policy*

- The national and regional (block) development strategies of the EAC, SADC or ESA countries should be central to determining the substantive details of EPAs.
- This is together with observing ILO conventions and the Labour laws of particular states.

c) *Signing of EPAs by December 31st 2007*

- Given that the scope and details of EPAs are not yet agreed, the Committee noted that comprehensive EPAs may not be concluded by 31st December 2007. Trade Unions are therefore proposing that a phased approach for, conclusion of EPAs be pursued starting with market access and development by then deadline and then the other remaining parts within a period of 6 to 12 months. The Everything But Arms (EBA) should be part of the negotiations and be legally binding.

- Trade Unions are opposing the pressure being put on ESA and SADC governments to sign an incomplete agreement simply to avoid losing existing market for their products in the EU but not because the agreement to be signed is generally good for their countries.

- Trade Unions feel strongly that more time is needed for the society to be enlightened on EPAs and especially Workers Organizations, Parliamentarians and the Society at large.

d) *Moving the process forward*

- In the event that a comprehensive EPA is not agreed upon at the end of the calendar date, TUCTA is of strong concern that trade may be disrupted and therefore implore upon the EU to extend the negotiations without bringing down the preferences currently enjoyed by the ESA and SADC exporters in the EU market and undermining the substance of the negotiation.

e) *Signing of EPAs*

- Trade Unions are of the opinion that EAC countries should reunite by harmonizing both SADC and ESA- EPA templates into forming an EAC-EPA Text for the region to agree with the EU. We therefore support the decision by the sixth Summit of EAC Heads of state for deeper exploration of how to operationalise the EAC- EPA. We noted that EAC -EPA is not possible without the political will

and hence ask EAC governments and Trade Ministers to show the highest political will to positively take forward the Summit's decision.

- TUCTA also recommends the formation of a cumulative group to urgently further the decision by the Summit and address the practical issues towards developing EAC- EPA.

f) *Development Benchmarks*

- The development benchmarks must be integrated in both EPA Texts with specific provisions allowing for periodic monitoring and reviews of EPA implementation and taking of corrective measures should EPAs not deliver on the agreed goals, measures which may include complete derogation of liberalization commitments.
- The development benchmarks should include a provision on the EPA negative impacts for mitigation measures to address, for instance, revenue loss by EAC governments.

g) *Alternatives*

- The TUCTA committee noted that such options as Everything But Arms (EBA) and General System of Preferences (GSP+), are not only appropriate alternatives for LDCs and non-LDCs respectively but play an important role of taking off the current pressure to conclude an incomplete agreement by giving both parties ample time

to agree to an EPA which will be truly developmental.

h) *Decent work principles i.e.*

- Labour standards, social protection, productive employment and social dialogue must be included in such trade agreements.

CONCLUSIONS

Given the short-time period remaining and the remaining problems with Europe's proposals it is impossible to reach an agreement that addresses the needs of developing countries by 31st December 2007. To prevent a rushed conclusion that would undermine development, it is crucial that Europe changes its approach, and respect the ACP alternative proposals. Trade Unions have challenges to build up technical knowledge, learn to speak the language of trade negotiators and to identify sensitive sectors and products in terms of employment and development. Since there is a lack of impact studies that analyse the effect of trade on the quality of employment, trade unions need to voice their views on these agreements to make sure that they do not contain too many restrictions and ensure the right protections. Since it is true that not many trade unions took the issue of EPAs seriously, workers are to be enlightened on EPAs for them to articulate their views on these agreements.

8 - Regional Integration

THE GENERAL OPINION OF THE PUBLIC IN TANZANIA TOWARDS THE FAST-TRACKING PROCESS OF THE EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION (EAF)

By: TumainiMungu Peter, University of Dar es Salaam

Introduction

An impressionistic picture on the general opinion gathered from the Tanzanian public on the Fast-tracking process of the East African Federation (EAF) is hereby presented. Fast-Track EAF was put forward and endorsed at the Special Summit held in Nairobi in August, 2004. That Summit resolved to expedite the process of integration so that the ultimate goal of political federation is achieved through a fast-tracking mechanism. Following that proposal, national committees were formed in the three EAC member countries by then, namely Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda with the goal of collecting public opinion on fast-tracking EAF.

In Tanzania, a Presidential Committee was appointed to conduct public opinion poll and the instruction from the President was that they should complete and submit the report of the results of the poll by the end of May, 2007. As per the terms of reference for conducting the public opinion poll, the national committee in Tanzania and in other respective countries had to gather views from a cross-section of all stake holders, including ordinary citizens, NGOs, politicians and academicians. That task has been accomplished in Tanzania and the

report of the same was submitted to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania on the 9th of July, 2007.

The impressionistic picture presented herein are based mainly on reports from two studies conducted in this year, 2007, on EAF, namely, the Tanzania's Presidential Committee study report mentioned above and the Steadman group report as will be described below in the methodological section.

Background to the idea of Fast-tracking EAF

It is important to note that the proposal regarding the need to fast-track the EAF has not come abruptly. Historically, the background for the EAC goes as back as 1947, during colonial period when the East African High Commission which was constituted by an Order in Council of the British Government. That history remained alive and evolved in the pre-independence era when nationalist leaders from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda supported the inauguration of the East African Common Services and pressed for a political federation. Indeed, the late Mwalimu Nyerere, the first President of Tanganyika and later on Tanzania is affectionately remembered for offering to delay the

prior independence of his country in 1961 until Uganda and Kenya gain independence on the same date so as to facilitate the establishment of the EAF right at independence.

But it was not until 1967 that the EAC took off with the three newly independent states, namely Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Even though soon after the EAC began to function, it became apparent that ideological differences between its leaders would bog it down. By and large, historical record shows that prospects of an EAF began to fade fairly rapidly as Uganda and Tanzania realized their increasing in-ability to keep pace in development with Kenya, where nearly all international companies chose to locate their East African branches. It is important here to note that, such practice was an obstacle inherited from the past colonial development pattern which favored Kenya greatly at the expense of the other two EAC member countries.

Consequently, in 1977, the uneven benefits from the operation of EAC as well as differences among the leaders, lack of political goodwill and other factors compounded to break the EAC. Despite the collapse of the EAC by then, the integration debate continued to resurge. That led to the signing of the mediation agreement for the division of EACs assets and liabilities in 1984, under which the three member states agreed to explore areas of cooperation. Ultimately, those efforts led to revival of the EAC with the signing of the new treaty in 1999 in Arusha, Tanzania, creating a formal regional bloc. In another

development, in June 2007, two other countries, Burundi and Rwanda, fulfilled the necessary conditions and were officially admitted to the EAC. Meanwhile, the possibility of other countries in the Great Lakes Region joining the community has been left open as the fast-tracking process proceeds.

Methodology for the public opinion tracking

Newspapers reports in the Daily News, the Citizen, the African, Mwananchi, Majira and Tanzania Daima are relied upon in the discussion on sources of opinions presented and the opinions themselves. The selection criteria for those newspapers were purposefully based on their significant and serious coverage of the public opinion polls in continuous series during all the time of the opinion- tracking process.

It is also important to note that the reports from the mass media which were covered by those newspapers were mainly from two main studied on EAF fast-tracking process which were conducted in the year 2007. These were first, the Tanzania's Presidential Committee public opinion poll which was for the period of six months and the second was the East Africa social, political, economic and cultural barometer, which was conducted by the respected Steadman group and it only, took one month. The main difference between the two sources of the public opinion polls are important to note namely that, while the Tanzania's Presidential Committee focused its study on Tanzania only, the Steadman's group

studied all the three EAC member states. Also in terms of sample size, Tanzania's Presidential study covered a large study sample of 65,000 and the study area that covered all the 26 regions of both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar, while the Steadman's group had a study sample of 500 people from each EAC member states of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda selected from only the main capitals of those countries namely Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Kampala respectively.

The general public opinion on EAF fast-tracking idea

The general results of the Tanzanian public opinion on fast-tracking EAF as gathered by the Tanzania's Presidential Committee shows that the proposal to speed up the federation has been discouraged by the majority of people in Tanzania with the opposition particularly open in Zanzibar.

Statistically, the Tanzania's Presidential Committee findings revealed that 76 per cent Tanzanians are found to be against fast-tracking EAF while about 21 per cent Tanzanians supported the idea for various political, economic and social reasons. It was also reported that 3 per cent Tanzanians were totally opposed to the idea.

Similarly, with differences in the figure of the percentages, which seems to result from the relative differences in study sample size and study area, the Steadman's group public opinion polls results revealed the same findings as the Tanzania's Presidential Committee. Those interviewed by the

Steadman's group were asked to state if they knew of the EAC, whether they supported its formation and if they were also receptive of Burundi and Rwanda joining the community. The results of the survey as released on 6th July, 2007 indicated that a significant figure of 46 per cent of Tanzanians did not even favor the EAC despite talks of transforming the bloc into a fully fledged political federation. That is notably a bigger number in relation to only 16 per cent Ugandans who do not favor the bloc while in Kenya only 10 per cent were against the idea.

Likewise, 41 per cent of the respondents in Dar es Salaam said they were strongly opposed to the EAC and another 5 per cent indicated they were a little bit not in favor. The Steadman's group report notes that: "In Kampala 13 per cent were strongly opposed and another three per cent were still unconvinced. Kenyans were the most enthusiastic about EAC with just nine per cent strongly opposing the arrangement and one percent less unconcerned". "The report further observed that even before the results of the exercise to collect public views on the fast tracking of the EAC federation was yet to be revealed, it is thought that a majority of Tanzanians would shoot down the idea as opposed to those in Kenya and Uganda"¹.

Although the opposition to the idea of fast-tracking the EAF was supported by various political, economic and social reasons, other views were also given strongly criticizing such opposition. Among such views was the observation that the whole process towards EAF has been misled by

political power ambition by leaders. One of the prominent and respected academicians in Tanzania Professor Issa Shivji, in an exclusive interview by Majira Newspaper of 15th July 2007, was reported arguing that the founding fathers of the idea of African Unity, the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania, when talking about African Unity were guided more by the belief that Africa should be one. African nationalism and brotherhood were the top priority and they believed in a more political federation as a means to strengthen Africa in the fight against neo-colonialism and imperialism than by the economic benefits of such unity.

Professor Shivji emphasized that Mwalimu Nyerere believed first in African brotherhood than in economic benefits, thus complaining that currently there was no EAC leader who took the view that Pan-Africanism should be the foundation of EAF, since all of them are emphasizing more on the prospective economic benefits which according to Professor Shivji, are not the foundation of the EAF if motivated by African mentality and perspective.

Professor Shivji argues that, consequently, members of the public, following suit in terms of the dominant mentality are also against EAF basing themselves on arguments relating to economic reasons such as loss of local employment positions to the citizens from other EAC members. In opposition to that mentality Professor Shivji, poses the challenge on why are the same citizens not worried

about many foreigners who are either Europeans or Indians who dominate EAC local economies and other EAC members states that are willing to provide their land for mercenaries for imperialist from capitalist countries but worry about fellow citizens from EAC who are their neighboring brothers and sisters.

Concluding remarks

By and large, the findings revealed by Tanzania's public opinion polls on fast-tracking EAF may be interpreted as confirmation of concerns raised by the Tanzanian public on areas where they still have little trust in their fellow neighbors within the community. The fact that the fast-tracking idea has not won the support of even 50 per cent of Tanzanians out of all 26 regions of Mainland and Zanzibar cautions decision makers in Tanzania and other EAC members not to undermine or disregard such concerns raised at any costs.

For instance, the findings that 75 percent of Tanzanians interviewed in the Mainland did not favor the fast-tracking idea while 79 percent of Tanzanians interviewed from Zanzibar also opposed the idea need to be given a due respect and consideration. But the most significant point to note from the results of the public opinion polls in Tanzania is the fact that 80 percent of all those interviewed were reported to have had a good awareness of the meaning of a federation.

Meanwhile there no doubt that historically the majority of Tanzanians have demonstrated a steadfast and

overwhelming affection and support of both EAF and African Unity at large, the fundamental concern which clearly remains to be an important agenda to resolve by coming up with realistic means to achieve that goal and definite clear indicators justifying the time bound span to realize that

goal. There is no doubt that such a challenge remains the immediate task ahead towards EAF now.

ENDNOTES

1. The Citizen newspaper; front page lead story, 9th of July, 2007 "EAC least popular in Dar.

Notes

9 - Special Event: Party Congress of CCM

STRENGTHENING OUR PARTY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPD AND CCM

Speech by the Representative of the SPD, Honourable Bruni Irber, MP at the CCM-Party-Congress in Dodoma, 3rd of November 2007 (Excerpts)

Hon. Chairperson , Dear Friends,
It is a great honour and a personal pleasure for me to represent the Social Democratic Party of Germany – SPD – here at the Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party Congress in Dodoma. The Chairperson of the SPD, Hon. Kurt Beck, and the board of members of our party congratulate you on this event and send all of you cordial greetings of solidarity and best wishes for fruitful and vibrant discussions, to prepare CCM to face the challenges of globalisation and to contribute to a socially and economically balanced society to all Tanzanians. We also encourage you to continue with the politics of peace and understanding that have contributed significantly to stability in the region.

The purpose of my visit is to contribute to the growing relationship between SPD and CCM. Let me therefore recall the founders of the international liaison of our parties, your “Father of the Nation”, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere and our “founder-father” of the unified Germany, Willy Brandt. Their political friendship was established in the 60’s, while Willy Brandt was Germany’s Chancellor and Julius Nyerere Tanzania’s President.

Our two internationalists are extraordinary politicians and perceived as icons. In the 80’s and 90’s they have developed a vision of politics that was based on democratic and socialist values and on humanity. Their

strong commitment to a political and economic partnership and fair North-South cooperation and relationship is exemplary. Their standing for solidarity as a basic human value and their fight for social justice give us enormous moral responsibility in following their steps.

We - Social Democrats - want to empower and enhance the European social model. The European way may be a good model for a peaceful and fair globalization and the politics of the European Union could be a meaningful precursor. We understand Europe in this sense: a peaceful powerhouse that uses its great economic importance and its growing political influence for more fairness in the process of globalization. The international economic competition should not lead to a worldwide negative impact on wages and worsening working conditions, smaller social benefits and lack of environmental norms. The international capital should not elude itself from its social and ecological responsibility and its tax liability. Therefore we want to strengthen the mandate of the European Parliament, which must be able to decide in all fields of European politics.

We want a social EU with a labour law that regulates standards for, as examples, minimum wages and the freedom to strike. Workers’ participation in companies operating in Europe has to be guaranteed and further developed.

We - Social Democrats in Europe - strive for a standard minimum taxation of European corporations. Thus we can prevent a downward spiral of competing low taxes and unfair competition due to the search for the cheapest business location.

To enable developing countries to have a fair share in international trade we want the industrial countries to open their markets and to abolish many of their subsidies. These steps have to be coordinated and standardized. For that, we need a global body for economic, social and environmental politics to be operating under the auspices of the UNO.

We see African states more confident, dynamic and optimistic. The continent sees its importance and relevance in the international scene growing as new regional solutions to regional challenges succeed.

Social democratic Africa-politics has a long tradition in partnership, dialogue and quest for common interests on the basis of freedom, justice and solidarity. We Social Democrats continue to support this tradition and your efforts toward a policy of self-sufficiency. Our German Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Development Cooperation consistently support this approach, aiming at a fair partnership in a framework of self-reliance. Examples of that are the development partnership NEPAD, the building of the African Union – AU - and the strengthening of African regional organizations. A further mutually promising political perspective in the same direction could be a strategic partnership between the AU and EU. Such partnership could encompass AU peace missions, AU human rights court, the Pan African Parliament, NEPAD and the G8 Dialogue.

We support these efforts and we acknowledge our own responsibility as

part of a rich country in the face of violent conflicts and global challenges. We, the Social Democrats, strive particularly for a globalization with a “human face”. We try to shape globalization socially. We push towards the enforcement of workers and employees’ rights and ecological standards. We want fair trade and an increase of development cooperation values to 0.7% of our GDP by 2015 and a further poor countries’ debt relief.

We support all efforts to make African States equal partners on a global scale (within the UN, WTO, World Bank, IMF).

In this context, the G-8 summit in Heiligendamm/Germany in 2007 has marked a significant step forward: Due to our efforts Africa was set in the very centre of the summit agenda. Of course we are aware of the fact that no single conference ever will be able to solve the problems of a continent with nearly 1 billion inhabitants. But Heiligendamm has shown that the 8 industrialized countries are ready to act and willing to keep their promise to double the funds for development cooperation in Africa until 2010. And so Germany is planning to increase its share of development cooperation funds from 4.5 billion up to 5.25 billion Euros in 2008.

We want to stress the importance of the African continent for Germany and Europe, because Africa’s development is also fundamentally aligned with our own development. We Germans or Europeans are your closest neighbors and we depend on each other. We – SPD and CCM – have a common interest in those social democratic principles. Wherever we differ, we should discuss and debate to find or work out solutions for our common benefits. Let us keep this in mind, when we meet again for the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon!

The Tanzanians trust Chama Cha

Mapinduzi to address the national problems and contribute to face international challenges in the interest of the people and of social balance. The last elections have proven that people want CCM in the leading role. The friendship between our two parties is of great importance for the German

Social Democracy, and is based upon common values of freedom, justice and solidarity. We can only shape social democracy together, in a strong alliance of progressive powers.

Honorable Chairperson, Dear Comrades! Asante sana!

RE-VISITING THE CCM 8TH NATIONAL CONGRESS IN DODOMA

By: Wilman Kapenjama, Dar es Salaam

The Chama Cha Mapinduzi had its 8th National Congress in Kizota, Dodoma, from the 3rd to the 5th November 2007. The major objectives of this congress were a) to elect the party's national leadership for the tenure of 2007-2012; b) to amend the party's constitution; c) to discuss the party's past five year-development report and d) to analyze the reports on the implementation of the 2005 CCM manifestos for the Union Government and the Government of Zanzibar.

Over 1900 delegates from all over the country attended, as well as representatives of 15 sister political parties from Eastern and Southern Africa (such as ANC, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU-PF, NRM, UPC); Asia (the Communist Parties of China, Vietnam, and Korea), Latin American and Caribbean (the Communist Party of Cuba) and Europe (Germany's SPD).

The message from the Chairperson of the party, H.E President Jakaya Kikwete, focused on major social-political aspects of the party's activities and of national development in Tanzania. Great emphasis of his speech was about corruption during the party's internal elections. The Chairperson said he was sadly surprised by the new unethical tendencies in the party where those

who are contesting for party positions offered bribes to the voters so as to get elected. This situation was cause of grave concern because people who are rich increase their possibility of being elected, regardless of their ability to lead. President Kikwete also mentioned that giving priority within the party to those who have money was not only unethical but it was and indeed it is also threatening in-party democracy, as well as causing fragmentation in the party. This could eventually cause the party to lose the trust of the voters, which could lead to an end of the party or the party unity.

Other critical aspects of Tanzania's development were also addressed by the national Chairperson and by other speakers from sister parties. Among those were the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources in the country, especially minerals. There was emphasis on the need for national strategies and policies regulating how Tanzanians could encourage the mining investors while letting the population to benefit more. The Chairperson highlighted the need to address other environmental challenges in the country.

Other relevant topics mentioned by the speakers during the Congress were the need to promote women's participation

in senior leadership positions in the government and the party and the imperative need to improve social services delivery, such as the availability of antiretroviral therapy for HIV/AIDS and the corresponding increase in the number of people who undergo counseling and testing for HIV. The party mentioned these as priority areas in its health policies.

Further issues addressed were the need to extend the water supply and the roads' network both in rural and urban areas, and the need for primary and secondary education quality improvement. CCM also proposed the privatization of the railways for better services delivery.

At the end of the Dodoma Congress, 85 members were elected to the National Executive Committee, of whom 20 were men from Tanzania Mainland, 20 men from Zanzibar; another 20 were women (of whom 7 were from Zanzibar and 13 from the Mainland), yet another 10 were from the CCM's parents' association (of whom 6 were from the Mainland and 4 were from Zanzibar). They also elected 15 members from CCM's Youth League (of whom 9 were from the Mainland and 6 from Zanzibar).

The Congress elected H.E Jakaya Kikwete as the National Chairperson for the coming five years together with two Vice Chairpersons, Hon. Pius Msekwa for Tanzania Mainland and Hon. Abeid Amani Karume for Tanzania Zanzibar. After these elections, the National Executive Committee met and nominated the members of the Central Committee of the CCM for 2007-2012. Below is the new Central Committee of CCM:

Central Committee 2007-2012

1. Hon. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete
2. Hon. Pius Msekwa
3. Hon. Amani Abeid Karume
4. Hon. Yussuf Rajab Makamba (MP)
5. Capt. (Rtd) George Huruma Mkuchika (MP)
6. Hon. Salehe Ramadhani Ferouz
7. Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein
8. Hon. Edward Ngoyai Lowassa (MP)
9. Hon. Shamsi Vuai Nahodha (MHR)
10. Hon. Ali Hassan Mwinyi
11. Hon. Benjamin William Mkapa
12. Hon. Rashid Mfaume Kawawa
13. Dr. Salmin Amour
14. Hon. John Samwel Malecela (MP)
15. Capt (Rtd) John Zephania Chiligati (MP)
16. Hon. Amos Makala
17. Hon. Bernard Kamilius Membe (MP)
18. Hon. Kidawa Hamid Saleh (MP)
19. Hon. Samwel John Sitta (MP)
20. Hon. Pandu Ameer Kificho (MHR)
21. Hon. Anna Abdallah (MP)
22. Hon. Rostam Aziz (MP)
23. Dr. Mohamed Gharib Bilal
24. Hon. Pindi Hazara Chana (MP)
25. Hon. Andrew Chenge (MP)
26. Dr. Maua Abeid Daftari (MP)
27. Hon. Samia Suluhu Hassan (MHR)
28. Hon. Mohamed Seif Khatib (MP)
29. Hon. Haji Omar Kheri (MHR)
30. Dr. Abdallah Omari Kigoda (MP)
31. Hon. Abdulrahman Omari Kinana
32. Hon. Anne Semamba Makinda (MP)
33. Hon. Fatuma Said Alli Mchumo
34. Hon. Zakia Hamdan Meghji (MP)
35. Hon. Omar Yussuf Mzee (MP)
36. Hon. Emmanuel John Nchimbi (MP)
37. Hon. Ali Ameer Mohamed (MP)
38. Hon. Yussuf Mohamed Yussuf

10 - Useful Tools

Internet and e-Mail

The Internet

This is a computer network that joins other networks together e.g. those of academic and government institutions, schools, libraries and corporations, making them seem to be just one network to the user, who sits in front of her / his computer at home, in the office or at an “internet cafe”. The Internet provides access to information stored in different computers all over the world and it also provides the opportunity to engage in discussions and to share ideas and research with people connected to the network.

To access the Internet you need a computer with the adequate software, a telephone-line and a modem (modem = contraction of modulator / demodulator) to link your computer with the telephone. You also need to subscribe to an “internet provider”.

World Wide Web (www)

Through the Internet, you can access the www. This is the name given to the apparently seamless “web” of many geographically separate sources of information. The mass of data available is overwhelming. There is no guarantee that it is accurate, up-to-date or even meant to be helpful. Anyone with access to the internet can publish her / his own material and make it accessible on the web. Internet users must therefore approach websites with a very critical mind.

A web is distinguished by the prefix `http://` in its address, which you should write on the top of the page of your “browser” software (e.g. Netscape, Internet Explorer, ...). Each website has a unique address, known as URL. The FES Tanzania address is **`http://tanzania.fes-international.de`**

Take care when writing the web addresses for they are sensitive to

punctuation and spaces (there are no spaces in electronic addresses), and are normally written in lower case.

Search engines and websites

When you are looking for information you might already know the website to look in and its address. If you do not know where to look, then you will have to use a search engine. A search engine helps you find information. To access the search engine you write `http://` and the name of the search engine,

e.g. `www.google.com` OR `www.altavista.com` OR `www.yahoo.com`. These addresses open the websites of Google, Altavista and Yahoo. When you access a search engine, you will have to type some key words in the space provided. The search will be based on those words you chose as the most important ones. Here is the secret: what sort of key words should you use, and how to combine them?

1. *Be specific!*

The more specific your search is, the more likely you will find what you want. For example if you want to know how many international treaties Tanzania has signed, you should write “Tanzania international treaties signatories” or you should even write “how many treaties Tanzania has signed?” You will be surprised at how often this works!

2. *Use the symbol + to add*

If you want to be sure that the pages you will find contain not only one or another word you typed, but all of them, you should use the symbol +. For instance, you want to find pages where there are references to President Mkapa together with references to Mwalimu Nyerere. You should then type: `+Mkapa+Nyerere`. You can narrow down your search by adding more specific words.

3. *Use the symbol - to subtract*

If you want all the pages related to those key words but not the ones referring to a specific subject, you can use the symbol -. Using the above example, you want to reference to President Mkapa and Nyerere, but do not want reference to Ujamaa, you can type: +Mkapa+Nyerere-Ujamaa.

4. Use quotation marks to keep expressions together

If you want to find references to a special combination of words, you will have to write those words in quotation marks. For example, if you type +President+Mkapa, you will get sites that make reference to those words together or separated. But if you write "President Mkapa", you will get only the reference where both of the words appear in that same order.

5. Combining all of it

Try to use the different signs to be specific. For example:

+ "President Mkapa"
+ "Mwalimu Nyerere"
+ development
- "international cooperation".

Here are the names of a few search engines:

- Google (www.google.com)
- Altavista (www.altavista.com)
- Yahoo
- Lycos
- AskJeeves
- HotBot
- InfoSeek
- MSN

You can also enter a search engine and search for specific search engines, for example, + "search engines" + Africa.

Some of the specific search engines for Africa are:

- Mosaique.com
- ClickAfrica.com
- Orientation Tanzania
- Woyaa.com

- Ananzi.com
- Zebra.co.za
- Siftthru.com
- Searchenginewatch.com
- Fishboo.com

E-Mail

This refers to electronic mail as opposed to airmail or surface mail (today popularly known as "snail mail"). You can send messages to anyone with an Internet account, and it can include not only text, but also pictures and spreadsheets. Incoming messages are stored in your mail-box on your internet provider until you access it. E-Mail is delivered very fast, in a matter of seconds or a few hours. This depends amongst other things on the amount of data being transferred and the quality of telephone lines and that of your modem. The cost of sending e-mail depends on the amount of data and therefore the length of time it takes to send it from your computer to the local server. It is relatively cheap: sending e-mail to the other side of the globe is not more expensive than sending one to a computer next door.

To send and receive e-mails you will need a dedicated program, such as Outlook Express, Microsoft Outlook, Eudora, Pegasus and others. You will have your own electronic address and will send your message to another address. If you have a connection to an internet provider you will receive an address which is composed of two parts: your-login-name + the symbol @ + the name of the internet provider. FES Tanzania's electronic address is **info@fes.or.tz**

Chatting and conferencing

The Internet provides the possibility of communicating directly with others "on-line". In other words the people chatting or holding conference are at their computer and are on the internet at the same time.

How to Buy Desktops for Your Business

By: Vipul Shah, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Shopping for computers for business use, is a far different experience from shopping for a PC for your home. When you're buying a home system, you try to get the fastest, biggest, and best of everything, adding on features, peripherals, and software until you run out of cash and the bank will not lend you anymore. But when you're buying PCs for business, the question quickly becomes, how much can you live without? In other words, you want a desktop that has everything you need and nothing that you don't at a competitive price.

The basics

Most of the buying decision is a game of specifications, with processor, memory, and hard disk size being the most prominent. Don't fall into the trap of paying for too many megahertz. The latest Pentium 4 processors, which boast speeds in excess of 3GHz, are overkill for the vast majority of business applications. In fact, many business users will get by just fine with a slower Celeron chip, even though these (along with AMD processors) tend to be less popular in business. You're better off investing in extra memory and upgrading to 256MB or even 512MB of RAM.

Home PCs need expansive hard drives because they rapidly become cluttered with MP3s, digital photos, and home videos. But at work, a standard 40GB drive offers plenty of space for most users. Don't believe us? Look at it this way: you could prepare a different 10MB PowerPoint file every day (we know some managers who have tried), and you'd still have plenty of room after five years.

If you're working with video or large graphics files, however, you'll need a little more power in your system. In addition to lots of memory (512MB is a minimum for graphics applications), you'll want a larger hard drive, FireWire and USB 2.0 connectors, and a separate graphics card with its own memory as opposed to one integrated on the motherboard.

Necessary extras

Regardless of the applications you're running, there are a few features you'll want in any business PC. An integrated Ethernet adapter for networks is a must-have, and you'll be hard-pressed to find a desktop nowadays without one.

We also recommend opting for a TFT LCD monitor rather than a CRT monitor. These flat panel monitors are increasingly popular because they use only a small amount of desk space, display sharp images, and are easy on the eyes. The price on TFT monitors is relatively high because of limited production and rapidly increasing demand. If your budget doesn't allow it, opt for a good 17 -inch CRT display instead.

If your business needs upwards of 20 desktops, you should consider a managed PC such as the HP Compaq Evo, the Dell OptiPlex, or the IBM NetVista. These desktops include several features designed to make them easier and less expensive to deploy and manage. They use similar hardware and software, which lasts for long periods of time, minimizing the need to upgrade. The components are designed so that you can swap them out quickly and easily. And they can be monitored and managed remotely using included software. Many managed PCs also come in small form-factor designs-perfect when space is tight.

Buying advice

As important as what you buy is how you buy it. The PC market changes at a blistering pace, so don't worry too much about model numbers. Instead, buy from a vendor you trust. The best thing you can do when purchasing multiple PCs

is buy them all at once and get them from the same vendor. (If you can get servers, printers, and displays from the same source, all the better.) Even better, purchase identical desktop models. Not only will you get a discount, you'll have interchangeable components when something falls apart down the road.

Basic system maintenance

By Carl Vancil

One of the most common questions I have been asked has been, "Why is my computer so slow?" This has been followed closely by, "What can I do to speed up my computer?"

The answer can be as varied as the number of computers with the problem. The solutions can range from some simple maintenance to hardware repair/upgrades or even a combination. Here are some common things you can do to improve system performance.

1. Run a thorough scan disk

Errors in the files on your harddrive can reduce performance as can a hard drive that is developing physical errors. Scan disk will repair many of the file errors on your hard drive. Running the thorough scan disk will also check the hard drive for physical errors. Remember, depending on the size of your hard drive this can take a lot of time and you cannot do anything else at the same time. The best time to run scan disk is when you do not need to use the computer.

2. Delete temporary files from your hard drive

Temporary files are usually the files left over after installing a program and can be safely deleted.

3. Clean your internet browser cache

Cache files are those left over from your browsing experience. They mostly consist of images that your browser had to download in order to display on a web page you are viewing.

4. Defrag the files on your hard drive

Defrag arranges the files on your hard drive so that they can be accessed more efficiently. This has two advantages. One, your system operates more efficiently. Two, your hard drive will last longer because it will not have to work as hard to access files.

5. Perform a virus scan

Many viruses use so much of your system's resources that they will greatly degrade performance. Some will even crash your system completely. Make sure your virus definitions are up to date and run a complete virus scan of your system. This should be done weekly.

6. Check your system for spyware / adware

Many websites install spyware/adware on your system without your knowledge. These can be as simple as cookies that track where you surf to actual programs that give others access to your computer. There are many utility programs that you can download to scan for these files.

7. Clean the dust out of your computer

It seems too simple but just having a dirty computer can slow it down. If there is an excessive buildup of dust inside your computer, it will cause a heat buildup. This heat buildup will degrade performance as well accelerate wear and tear on the parts inside your computer which can lead to the premature failure of a critical part. Remember to unplug your computer before opening the case. Also, remember to NOT bump any of the internal parts with the vacuum to prevent damage.

These steps are something that we can all try if our system is running slow. If these do not get the performance of your system back to where you think it should

be then a few more things can be tried. Many utility programs will perform deep checks on your system's registry as well as look for missing shortcuts and even missing Windows files.

Another possibility is that there are too many programs starting when you turn on your computer. In Windows 98SE or XP (both home and pro) this is easy to check using the msconfig utility. From the 'run' command type 'msconfig' and hit the enter key. This will bring up the Windows Configuration Utility where you can check what is starting with Windows and it gives you the option of turning off the auto startup of many programs. In other versions of Windows (95, NT, 2000) it would be best to have someone with a good working knowledge of the Windows Registry service your computer.

If all this fails then you may need to reformat your hard drive or upgrade hardware. Remember too that you always have the option of taking your system in to a qualified service technician. Sometimes spending a little extra money will save you hours and hours of headaches or worse yet, the loss of data.

HOLDING A WORKSHOP, SEMINAR OR CONFERENCE

Planning and Budgeting

1. Develop the idea

Identify:

- The main objectives
- The target group
- The intended outcome

Write the outline.

2. Develop the program

Decide:

- Which topics

- The time frame
- The organisational style (conference, lectures, working groups)
- How much time is needed for the various elements, not forgetting recreation
- Who will act as resource persons
- Whether or not to seek media coverage of the event

Try to involve participants in developing the program.

3. Calculate the budget

- Preparatory meetings
- Hall charges
- Catering

- Refreshments during sessions
- Accommodation
- Travel
- Stationery
- Secretariat/organising team
- Reception (if necessary)

4. Income and expenditure

Record all income - donations, participants' fees etc.

Record all expenditure, remembering to keep receipts for each item

Organising

1. A checklist

- Book the venue & accommodation
- Hold preparatory meetings
- Prepare PR (public relations) activities if relevant
- Make agreements with resource persons
- Prepare the invitations
 - State the objectives clearly
 - Give information about the program, venue, dates, resource persons and participants
 - If participants have to do homework beforehand, make this clear
 - Explain financial and other conditions clearly
- Make the necessary travel arrangements
- Hold a joint session with all resource persons
- Prepare the necessary materials, forms, documents
 - Stationery
 - Registration forms
 - Claims forms for allowances
 - Printed program
 - Papers and teaching materials
 - Workshop documentation

2. Terms of reference for resource persons

- Discuss subject, objectives and duration of their input

- Explain how these fit in to the overall objectives and program for the workshop
 - Discuss the desired method of presentation
 - Give information about the venue and the facilities / equipment provided for the workshop
 - Request a written paper and or hand-outs if they are considered necessary
 - State the terms of payment for the persons services
- Try to hold preparatory meetings with resource persons.

Implementing

1. Arrival

Organisers should be in place well before the participants

- Check the venue and the technical facilities needed
- Give resource persons a final briefing
- Prepare for the registration of participants
- Display the program and other documents, if relevant

2. Registration

3. Welcome

Explain:

- Subject of the meeting
- Who are the organisers and sponsors
- Objectives
- Logic and timing of program
- Methodological approach
- Expected outcome

4. Holding the sessions

• Handle transport claims etc. during tea breaks only

5. Departure

Collect all that is necessary before people leave

- Signed registration forms/list of participants

- Signed allowance claims
- Original detailed invoices and receipts for venue, food, drinks, accommodation, travel, stationery etc.

6. After the event

As soon as possible take care of

- Accounting
- Report writing
- Any other follow-ups needed

Notes

8 TIPS ON HOW TO SUCCESSFULLY CHAIR A CONFERENCE

1

It is the conference chairperson's responsibility to see that the atmosphere during the discussion is always friendly, communicative and fair.

2

The conference chairperson introduces the topic in an objective and informative way. He/she formulates the discussion goals for each item on the agenda. During a discussion, he/she must not initially express his/her own opinion or assessment as this would bias the discussion.

3

The chairperson speaks as little as possible in order to give maximum time to the conference participants. Conference chairmanship principally entails raising questions and giving the word to different speakers.

4

Questions from the chairperson should always be designed to stimulate dialogue and consequently should never be answered by the chairperson himself/herself.

5

Preference should be given to open questions (W-questions: who, why, where, when, etc.) and information questions. Closed questions (which can only be answered with a "yes" or "no") can be fatal to a discussion.

6

Should a discussion peter out it is up to the chairperson to get it moving again by means of (open) questions, thought-provoking remarks and a summary of the proceedings so far.

7

The chairperson should make interim summaries to emphasize the thread of the discussion. At the close, the chairperson gives a general summary and his/her evaluation as to which of the goals formulated at the outset have or have not been achieved.

8

At the end of the conference, it is also up to the chairperson to formulate and delegate tasks to individual participants. Nobody ought to leave the conference without precisely knowing:

- a. what has been achieved in today's discussion,
- b. what is my specific assignment until the next conference/meeting,
- c. where and when is the next conference/meeting?

HOLDING EFFECTIVE INTERNAL MEETINGS AND PLANNING SESSIONS

Starting the meeting

1. Who is chairing the meeting?
(It is best to have agreed on this in advance.)
2. Who is going to write the minutes?
3. If the agenda has not been prepared in advance, then the chairman, (you), should collect the issues that need to be discussed from the participants. They should be written up on a board or a flipchart, so that everyone can see them. Remember the issues that might have cropped up at the previous meeting.
4. In collaboration with the participants decide how much time it will take to discuss each issue. Confirm at what time the meeting has to close. Ask if anyone has to leave early.

5. Then ask participants which issues they wish to concentrate on at the meeting and which ones can be postponed (if necessary). After that ask which issue should be dealt with first, second, third and so on. This should not take more than five minutes!

During the meeting

1. Follow the agreed agenda, discussing the issues in turn. The chairperson or moderator must see to it that the agreed time frame is adhered to. If this proves difficult, then the group must be asked to decide whether to continue the discussion of the issue

in question and therefore extend the meeting, or whether to stop the discussion and continue it at an agreed time.

2. Never move on to the next issue before making a decision on the one being discussed.

Closing the meeting

1. Quickly repeat the decisions that have been made.
2. Decide when and how the minutes will be distributed.
3. Decide who will chair the next meeting.
4. Close the meeting at the agreed time.



Source: Bridging the Gap: A Guide to Monitoring and Evaluating Development Projects by Bernard Beugnot & Jonathan Hampshire

PROJECT OUTLINES

Should be short, clear and promising.

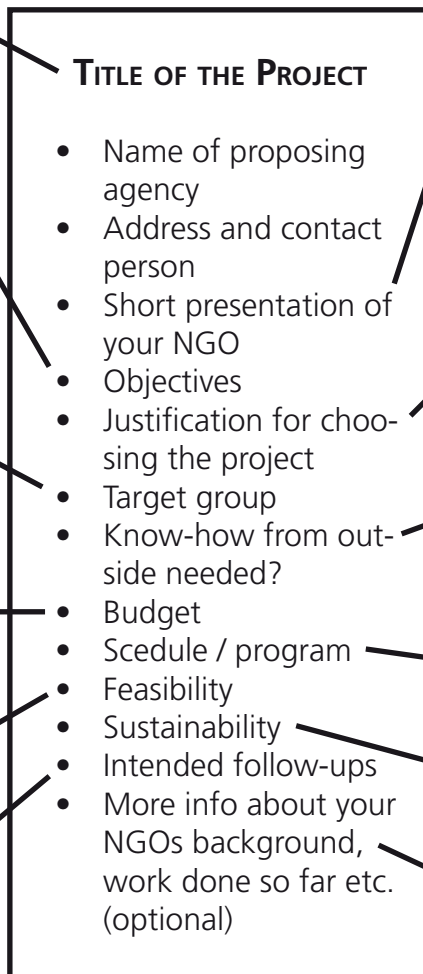
Those who really know what they want can usually do with 2-3 objectives. Be as concrete as possible.

Who takes interest in this project? Who shall be involved? Who profits from the project and how?

Detailed list of expected expenditures (personnel material, travel, etc.)

Do you foresee any prohibitive difficulties or problems?

Any workshops about maintenance and organisation of the project?



Explain briefly aims, general objectives, former projects!

Convince the reader of the need for this project! Explain the idea of the project and how you want to fulfill the objectives, describe the Impact!

Do you need to contact other persons to fulfill your objectives? Specify their capacities or know-how!

Be precise about the venue, duration, methodology!

Which further impact does it have?

By whom? List names.

✓ Practical advice

- use white, clean sheets of A4 - paper
- present your project in a typewritten version if possible
- write on one side of the paper
- make sure you have a clear structure
- attach a covering letter

THE STRUCTURE OF YOUR SPEECH

The aim of a discursive is to convince the listeners of the correctness of the speaker's opinion on the subject in question. Such speeches should not last longer than 30 minutes.

How do you most effectively structure such a speech?

AUDIENCE RELATED INTRODUCTION (max. 1 minute)

- Create the right atmosphere for the speech by referring to the audience, the venue, the occasion, etc.

SUBJECT-RELATED OPENING REMARKS (max. 3 minutes)

- Begin with a provocative proposition, a rhetorical question, a current event, etc.

PREVIEW THE MAIN POINTS OF YOUR SPEECH (max. 1 minute)

MAIN BODY (max. 20 minutes)

- Discuss the current situation/the facts/the problem.
- Discuss a variety of possible solutions.
- Discuss the pros and cons of these solutions.
- Present your own evaluation.
- Prove the accuracy of your assessment.

SUBJECT-RELATED CONCLUSION (max. 4 minutes)

- Summarise the main argument in a maximum of three points.

AUDIENCE RELATED CONCLUSION (max. 1 minute)

- Close your speech by, for instance, thanking the audience for their attention.

Source: H. Hess: Party Work in Social Democratic Parties

ARGUMENTATION TECHNIQUES

Good argumentation techniques are always beneficial. Your chances to win others over are higher if you can:

- present effective arguments and
- refute your opponent's arguments.

PRACTICAL TIPS

- Try to understand the position of your counterpart first, then react to it.
- If your counterpart's argumentation is weak, repeat your own good arguments.

- If you are interrupted, insist on the right to finish what you were saying.
- Anticipate your counterpart's arguments by including them in your own argumentation.
- Use the persuasive power of examples. Ask your counterpart to provide concrete examples of how to apply his theories.
- Expose generalisation and inaccuracies.
- Stick to the facts of the issue.
- If somebody evades the issue, return to the subject.

Source: C. Schulte, 1997, *Talking Politics (and being understood)*: Kampala, Fountain Publishers



Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere during an interview with the German magazine "Der Überblick" in Hamburg in April 1999.

HOW TO USE BLACKBOARDS AND FLIPCHARTS

Blackboard

Useful in gatherings of up to 25 people.

+ It is easy to write information & easy to correct it.

- Information is wiped off, it disappears and it is hard for participants to retrieve.

TIP If the chalk squeaks - this always makes participants uncomfortable - break the chalk and continue writing using the broken end.

Flipchart

Useful in gatherings of up to 35 people.

+ Sheets can be prepared in advance. Information can be displayed for a long period by removing sheets from the flipchart and posting them on the wall.

TIP Useful for a wide range of information e.g. displaying the day's agenda, important overviews, central statements, flowcharts, participants' contributions.



- Do not write down too much: concentrate on key issues only.
- Give the audience time to copy the contents of the presentation OR give it to them as a hand out afterwards. If you intend to distribute a handout, tell the participants so. Otherwise it is likely that they will spend time making unnecessary notes.
- Do not talk with your back turned to participants (e.g. while writing on the blackboard or flipchart).
- Do not stand in front of your presentation - the participants will get irritated at not being able to read what is written.

THE CHECK LIST FOR GOOD IMPLEMENTATION OF ACTIVITIES

1. Important: plan step by step. What should be done first?
2. Consider all improbabilities, and plan alternatives.
3. Fix deadlines for you and for your partner.
4. Follow-up the results before the deadline.
5. Keep an eye on the indicators to be achieved.
6. Hire assistants, delegate, mobilize people.
7. For seminars & workshops, check everything in advance on loco.
8. Take care of the documentation (dates of receipts, use of materials, tasks of people involved ...)
9. Support partners in the learning process. Sell the idea "on-the-job learning".

10. Take care of the financial settlement and reporting as soon as possible.

11. Evaluate with the partners the achievement of objectives and indicators. Write recommendations. File documents. Release important papers. Inform other related institutions.

12. Write a reminder for following-up the results sometime later. Document it.

13. Keep your colleagues informed and updated.

Source: Workshop Report Management Skills for Decision-Makers - August 1999

TWELVE STEPS TOWARDS CONFLICT RESOLUTION

1. Understanding the conflict

- its type
- its sources
- its intensity
- its impact

2. Identifying the parties to the conflict

- whether bilateral or multilateral conflict

3. Identifying the issues involved

4. Determining the method of resolution

- Conflict prevention: Preventive diplomacy
 - Conflict resolution: Negotiation
 - Direct negotiation between the conflicting parties.
 - Assisted negotiation: Use of a third party.
- Mediation/Facilitation
Conciliation
Good offices
Arbitration

5. Determining the mechanism of resolution

- The actors/agents
 - States
 - NGOs
 - Individuals: Eminent personalities
 - Inter-governmental organizations

6. Determining the venue and dates for negotiation

7. Negotiating rules of procedure

8. Setting the agenda

9. Launching the substantive negotiations

10. Reaching a compromise agreement

11. Implementing the negotiated settlement

12. Guaranteeing and monitoring the implementation of the agreement

TIME MANAGEMENT - SELF MANAGEMENT

Most people bristle at the idea of becoming a slave to time: "The Swiss have clocks, but we have time", said a wise old man in Bhutan. A certain degree of time and self-management is nonetheless necessary if you wish to be effective and to achieve your goals.

Many people rely on their memory as their management tool, but most find that at some point their memory lets them down. "Sorry, I forgot" is not an uncommon statement. This is not necessarily a catastrophe, but in some instances forgetting can have unfortunate consequences. You might lose an important contract, you might lose your job, you might even lose your husband/wife to-be!

RULE 1: Write things down - use a diary and a calendar, (e.g. the FES diary/calendar)

- Keep a "things to do" list.
- Enter all your appointments and deadlines, putting in a reminder maybe a week before the deadline falls.

- Review your appointments and deadlines regularly, informing those implicated in good time if you want to change them.

- Plan your week: Make the "things to do" list, get an overview over your appointments and deadlines.

- Plan your day.

- At the end of each day and at the end of each week make a review. Did you do all that you had planned to do? Did you meet your deadlines? Did you attend the scheduled meetings? Were you late? Why?

RULE 2: Be realistic about what you can manage to do

- Do not get overloaded: you have to be realistic about what you can overcome in the given amount of time.

- Prioritise: decide what are the most important issues.

- Say no, if the task is beyond what you are capable of doing.

- Remember to make time for your private life - family, friends, hobbies and your own relaxation. This is where you renew your energy.

WHAT IS PUBLIC RELATIONS?

Public Relations (PR) is about relations between an organization - be it a business enterprise, a political party or an NGO - and the public. Such relations exist, whether we want them to or not. It is therefore wise to consider what image you wish the public to have of your organization and to work consciously on the promotion of that image.

An organization manifests itself to the public in many ways. It can be through its propagated political aims, the behaviour of its representatives and members, its public statements and activities, the

atmosphere at its public meetings and press conferences, its transparency and its accountability.

The traditional "tools" of a public relations officer are:

- press conferences • publications • leaflets • posters • press releases • public events

These tools must be used carefully. A public meeting held without being well prepared or a badly designed and written publication may do more harm than good!

PREPARING AND RUNNING A PRESS CONFERENCE

A press conference is an event to which members of the press are invited for a briefing by the host organisation or personality. The briefing is followed by an opportunity for the journalists to ask questions.

Often press conferences are held when the subject matter is intricate and further questions from journalists are expected and desired.

If the information/news to be given at the press conference is not sufficiently interesting, relevant or “meaty” for the invited media’s readers/viewers, then it is likely that the journalists will not show up.

Preparation

- Are the objectives clear and is the topic well defined?
- Which media are to be invited? Remember, TV & radio may have special needs.
- Is the time/date well chosen and convenient for journalists? Does it allow them to meet their deadlines? Does it coincide with other important events?
- Who will chair the conference?
- Who will act as the organisation’s spokesperson/s?
- Is the opening statement well prepared?
- Are the major arguments well supported in the written handouts?
- Check the venue: make sure that there are enough chairs, tables and lights.
- Have handouts ready, e.g. press release. You might prepare a press

folder that includes the most important statements, a report and background material.

Invitation

- The headline must clearly indicate the host organisation, the name of the person responsible and how to contact him/her.
- State the subject matter clearly. (Who did/does what, when, where, why and how.)
- Provide information about the speakers.
- Provide details about the venue, time and date.
- Send out/deliver the invitation at least a week in advance.
- Send out a reminder one or two days before the event.

Running it

- Ask journalists to note their names and which media institution they represent on a prepared list. This is useful information for making follow-ups.
- Make the written handouts available for journalists when they arrive.
- The chairperson opens the conference and introduces the speakers and subject.
- The key presenter makes his/her statement clearly and concisely, and relates them to the handouts.
- The chairperson moderates the question and answer session.
- Answers must be brief, clear and concise. It is good to give practical

examples to illustrate the message you want to give.

- Speakers must remain relaxed,

friendly and forthcoming even when provoked.

A PRESS RELEASE

This is one of the most useful mediums through which an organization can make itself and its views known to the public. The contents might be:

- Statements on pertaining issues.
- Reports on activities or events you have organized.
- Announcements of forthcoming events.
- Reactions to statements made by others.

PROS AND CONS

Issuing a press release is a relatively cheap way of creating awareness about one's stand. However, badly written press releases and those dealing with unimportant issues will annoy the recipients and may create negative feelings towards your organization.

HOW TO WRITE IT

- The headline must state clearly the name of the organization issuing the release and the subject matter.
- State the most important themes first.
- Make clear why you are issuing the press release at this particular point in time.
- The journalist must be able to pick out relevant information easily and quickly.
- Use a typewriter or word processor, double-space and use only one side of the page.
- Give information about how to contact the person responsible: name, address, telephone, e-mail address.

PARTICIPATORY IMPACT MONITORING AND EVALUATION

By Constanze Pfeiffer, Freiburg, Germany

1. WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT?

It is not only important to implement activities but also to learn about the perceptions of and the consequences for those people involved in the interventions. Through participatory impact monitoring and evaluation you find out if your project is still on track or if things need to be changed. More importantly, you learn not only what people think about your activities but if your work has initiated any changes, and if so what kind of changes.

2. WHAT ARE THE KEY TERMS?

What is Monitoring?

Monitoring is a repeated observation, reflection and correction of activities. It allows us to observe change in order to get a better picture of what is happening. There are two main types of Monitoring:

1. Monitoring of activities: Involves the observation of activities with regard to the intended project activities, for example workshops or production of training materials.
2. Monitoring of impacts: Impact Monitoring is done to find out whether a project initiated changes, which contribute to achieve the project's objective. Impact Monitoring is crucial since it investigates further than monitoring of activities what has been achieved.

Monitoring should include those people, who are involved in the project, because they know their situation and problems best. Since people may be biased because they are too close to the project, outsiders can additionally come in.

What is Impact?

Impact means mid- and long-term changes attributed to a certain factor or intervention. Impact can be positive or negative, intended or unintended, planned and unplanned.

What is Evaluation?

Evaluation is based on the information discovered during monitoring. Data from monitoring formats are summarized, compared, analysed and interpreted. Evaluation can be internal or external. This means evaluation is done either by a member of your organisation or by an independent person who is an outsider to your organisation. Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages. During internal evaluation the evaluator can use his/her insider knowledge and avoid misunderstandings, however, this might lead to biased reports. External evaluators are more neutral but they need to backstop results with all people involved, in order to make sure that there are no misunderstandings.

What are Indicators?

Indicators are “pointers”, “signs” or “markers” which are “related to” certain changes and which can be felt, seen and questioned.

Quantitative Indicators:

They use measuring or counting (e.g. number of people that took part in the training) and give us exact numbers

Qualitative Indicators:

They describe in words only (e.g. participants of the training find the trainings useful and apply their knowledge accordingly) and therefore give us descriptions about opinions, experiences etc.

It tells you what needs to be covered. First, you should be clear about your objectives and your expected impact; then decide on appropriate methods, the interview partners and those who will collect information. One example: A monitoring matrix focusing on a women's rights project.

3. WHAT TO CONSIDER WHEN MONITORING AND EVALUATING?

When planning monitoring and evaluation, a matrix is a very helpful tool.

Broad objectives	Training of paralegals
Expected impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities will access information of their rights and if needed claim their rights
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of trainings conducted • Number of participants trained • Cases recorded by paralegals at community level • Clients feel satisfied with paralegals <u>and</u> use their services
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews/Focus group discussions • Records
Who can give information?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paralegals • Communities
Who can collect information?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paralegals • Project management unit

4. WHAT TOOLS TO USE IN ORDER TO LEARN ABOUT CHANGES?

divided by sex and age) and comparing them over time.

There are two types of methods: quantitative and qualitative ones. It is highly recommended to use a combination of both methods.

4.1 Quantitative methods

Statistics

Record keeping is very helpful to track down changes by collecting numbers (e.g. number of the participants of a workshop

Questionnaires

Questionnaires consist of open (describing in own words) and closed questions (choosing given answers/categories) focusing on a specific topic. They start with information on the interview partner (e.g. sex, age, economic and educational status) before proceeding with questions related to the addressed topic.

4.2 Participatory qualitative methods

Introduction

In order to learn from local people about their conditions, experiences and problems, a set of participatory data collection methods named “Participatory Rural Appraisal” (PRA) was developed. Up to now, new methods are still being added to the list of participatory data collection methods. PRA can therefore be understood as a growing tool-box of participatory methods. PRA is based on several very important principles:

- Learn from the locals at the site, face-to-face in the local context
- Be relaxed and not rushed, listen and do not lecture
- Use the different PRA methods in a flexible and innovative way
- Use several methods and compare their results in order to look at findings from different angles

Gender perspectives

During planning- and implementation stage, Gender aspects need to be covered in order to learn about different perceptions of women and men (e.g. additionally broken down by social and age group). Depending on the cultural setting, the discussions should take place in either single-sex or mixed groups.

Tools

Most of the PRA methods use visualisation techniques which allow for visualising conditions, problems and experiences of local people. Useful tools are:

Qualitative interviews

Qualitative interviews play a key role in the PRA approach. There are several ways of conducting an interview with systematically or randomly selected:

- Groups of women and/or men
- Individuals

Interviews rely heavily on questions. That

is why questions:

- Need to be clear, simple and relevant
- Need to consider the target group (e.g. gender sensitive)

Focus group discussions

Group discussions often provide a useful addition to the information gathered in one-to-one interviews. Instead of interviews, discussions are held with groups on various topics, e.g. whether the project has led to any changes and if so what kind of changes.

Before/after comparison

This method compares situations and conditions before the beginning of a project with the current situation. In this context, it is important to find out whether the situation has changed since the project began and if so, why.

Case studies

Case studies of individual women and men in the target group provide information on their lives and on changes that resulted from the project.

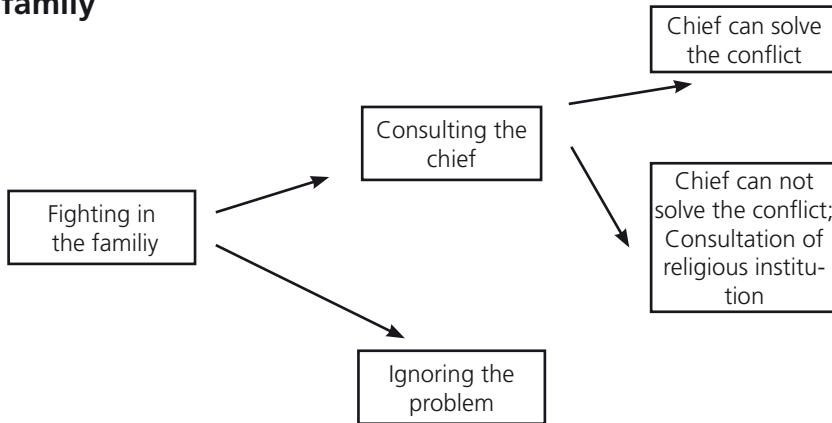
Observations

The intention is to observe the lives of the target group and to gain a better understanding of their perspectives, experiences and problems.

Diagrams

Often, some people in the target group are illiterate, and it has therefore proved useful to illustrate certain aspects by using visualisation techniques. Hereby, diagrams are a helpful tool. During meetings with the participants, processes are initiated that enable them to discuss certain issues and to illustrate these by using diagrams. For example, to obtain information on specific consequences of an intervention or action, so-called flow charts can be used.

Example : Fighting in the family



Ranking techniques

Ranking techniques can help to reveal certain aspects of the target group's problems and preferences and what criteria apply to their choice. The aim is to discuss various aspects and to rank their importance. Hereby, participants assign values (e.g. 5 = most important, 1 = least important). The aspects to be assessed when using ranking technique are best collected during brainstorming sessions or interviews held beforehand.

Role exchange

Here, men analyse the situation of women and vice versa. This method can serve to open people's eyes on both sides. A change of view often enables men to perceive for the first time how live is for women and vice versa.

Source:

Germann, Dorsi & Gohl, Eberhard (1995): Participatory Impact Monitoring. Eschborn: Gate/GTZ.

Juliane Osterhaus & Constanze Pfeiffer (2003): Monitoring-Guidelines for partner organisations of the GTZ sector project 'Strengthening Women's Rights'. Eschborn: GTZ.

Notes

Notes

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The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung¹, or FES, was founded in 1925 as a political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected President, Friedrich Ebert, who died in that year. Ebert, a Social Democrat of humble origins, had risen to hold the highest office in his country despite considerable opposition from his political adversaries. He assumed the burden of the presidency in a country which was crisis ridden following its defeat in World War I. His own personal experience led him to propose the establishment of a foundation with a threefold aim:

- to further a democratic, pluralistic political culture by means of political education for all classes of society.
- to facilitate access to higher education for gifted young people by providing scholarships.
- to contribute to international understanding and co-operation in order to avert a fresh outbreak of war and violent conflicts wherever possible.

Today, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is a political non-profit making, public-interest institution committed to the principles and basic values of social democracy in its educational and policy-oriented work.

Development Co-operation

In the Foundation's offices in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania approximately 80 German staff and 600 local nationals are involved in projects in the fields of economic and social development, socio-political education and information, the media and communication and in providing advisory services.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung sees its activities in the developing countries as a contribution to:

- the improvement of political and social framework conditions
- the democratisation of social structure
- enhancement of developing countries' position in the International Trade arrangements
- the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender
- the strengthening of free trade unions
- the improvement of communication and media structures
- regional and international media co-operation
- regional co-operation between states and interest groups
- the resolution of the North-South conflict

This calendar is intended to provide not only an individual tool for purposes of time planning but also a day-to-day handbook for quick reference on issues that may be of interest to the people in Eastern Africa and to those who are politically active.

¹ Stiftung is the German word for „foundation“

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North-South Dialogue: Julius Nyerere, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania and Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

WILLY BRANDT:

„International co-operation is far too important to be left to governments alone.“