

Developing and Sustaining NGOs in Tanzania  
Challenges and Opportunities in the New Millennium

By

Prof. Andrew Kiondo\*  
University of Dar es Salaam  
Political Science and Public Administration Department

and

Prof. Fidelis Mtatifikolo\*\*

University of Dar es Salaam  
Economics Department

February, 1999

\* Contact:

P.O. Box 35046  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania  
Phone: 255-51-410348,  
0811-334941  
Fax: 255-51-410357  
E-mail:

\*\* Contact

P.O. Box 35045  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania  
Phone: 255-51-410226  
Fax: 255-51-410227  
E-mail: mtati@uchumi.udsm.ac.tz

## Table of Contents

### Section One: Introduction and Overview:

- 1.1 Introduction and Study Outline:
- 1.2 Concepts as Used in Tanzania

### Section Two: The NGO Movement in Tanzania:

- 2.1 Overview of History of NGOs in Tanzania:
- 2.2 Administrative Arrangements and the Legal Framework:
- 2.3 Types of NGOs and Circumstances Behind their Establishment:
- 2.4 Typical Evolution and Other Forms of Establishment:
- 2.5 The Prototype Organogram and Profile of a Typical NGO in Tanzania:

### Section Three: Networking in the NGO Movement

- 3.1 Reasons for Networking
- 3.2 Networking and the ("Natural") Life Cycle of NGOs:
- 3.3 Who Owns Networks? Cooperative vs Exploitative Networks:
- 3.4 The Role of Umbrella Organizations and Support Units:

### Section Four: Interlocking in the NGO Movement

- 4.1 Conditions for Interlocking:
- 4.2 Cooperative and Exploitative Interlocking:

### Section Five: The Challenges of Sustainability in the Movement:

- 5.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of NGOs:
- 5.2 The Role of Government and the Donor Community
- 5.3 Resources and Sustainability

### Section Six: What Future for the NGO Movement in Tanzania? The Potential in the New Millennium

- 6.1 Growth: From Quantity to Quality
- 6.2 Evolving NGO-State Partnerships
- 6.3 NGOs and the Donor Community
- 6.4 Evolving Recognition, Accountability and Transparency
- 6.5 A Short Sum-Up

### References

## Section One: Introduction and Overview:

### 1.1 Introduction and Study Outline:

This paper is about NGOs in Tanzania. The focus is on initiating and sustaining this part of the Civil Society in view of its growing significance especially in the broad area of 'people's welfare' and, in particular, in the various initiatives with regard to the fight against poverty. It has been inspired by some recent and on-going studies by the Authors on related aspects of Constraints and Challenges facing the NGOs in developing countries (Kiondo 1992, 1992a; Mtatifikolo, 1997, 1997a, and Mtatifikolo and Comoro, 1997). More recent initiatives and on-going studies by these Authors include an exercise in the global context of a project "Civil Society and Governance" (Kiondo, 1999) and a Graduate Course on "NGOs and Social and Economic Development: Theory, with Applications to Tanzania" recently conducted by one of the Authors in Bremen University, Germany (A Paper on the Experiences from that Assignment is cited as Mtatifikolo, 1998).

In the details here we first characterize the status of "the Movement" to date. In addition to this introductory section (which gives the study outline and operationalizes the Concepts as used in Tanzania) there are six sections. Section Two briefly traces the history of the Movement in Tanzania, as well the current Administrative and Legal Framework. In the fight for survival for these NGOs various initiatives are noted, and one strand uses the notion of Networking, discussed more fully in section Three, whereas in some instances various aspects of Interlocking (again discussed fully later below) are more discernible (this is covered in section Four). Developmental Challenges are discussed in section Five, followed by coverage of the Potential and Future of the Movement in the new Millennium (section Six), which is also the final section.

Some of the major revelations include the following: First, it is noted that the Movement is still at its infancy in the modern sense of the evolution of free civil society. In tandem with other developments in society in the era of globalization the NGO movement is growing fast in size, in complexity, in the variety of services it offers its clientele, and in its network and outreach programmes internally and in partnerships with foreign based voluntary sectors.

The developmental challenges (the second set of revelations) are seen to range from questions of sustainability, to controls and accountability, to transparency, to networking and evolving partnerships, and even to perceived antagonistic cooperation with the state in matters of 'delivery of development'. The third major revelation is that the potential for its future role in society is substantial, especially if it can address concrete questions of resource mobilization and utilization (including accountability and transparency), capacity building and training needs, and strike a balance for mutual trust and cooperation with the state. The state itself is still in a learning process (the fourth revelation), trying to understand the 'new' civil society and accept it as a development partner as regard resource and responsibility sharing, and the need to create an enabling environment for the sector to deliver its entrusted mandate.

## 1.2 Concepts as Used in Tanzania

This part of Section One borrows heavily from Mtatifikolo (1998) who worked with these concepts in "classroom environment" and, therefore, had the time to sift through the various definitions and operationalizations of such concepts as used not only in Tanzania but in many other nations.

### Non Governmental Organization:

A Non Governmental Organization (NGO), as a concept, refers

to a private, not-for-profit, volunteer organization established for the purpose of fostering some objectives determined by the founders. The term private means the entity is not governmental (tautology!) and in its daily routines it operates outside the mainstream system of government bureaucracy, rules and regulations. In other countries (eg. the USA) NGOs are typically called "Private Volunteer Organizations" (PVO), possibly to avoid the naming of such organizations using 'negation' (i.e., naming them by 'what they are not', rather than 'what they are'). As a movement it is simply called the Private Voluntary Sector or Movement.

The second feature is that the entity be established and operated by persons voluntarily, out of the owners' and operators' perceived need for such an entity. No pressure from outside is expected to dominate establishment or operations. The third feature is that the entity be a 'joint venture', bringing people together in formation and operation. In the specific case of Tanzania there is a lower bound for the number of members.

#### **Community Based Organization:**

Community Based Organizations (CBOs) are loose associations, usually unregistered and unrecognized beyond the 'community' (Village or Ward) in which they serve, operating at small scale and in more elementary activities in small communities. Organizationally they are more infant, and they may be affiliated formally or informally to established NGOs or other established forms of legal 'Organizations'. In the elementary form they may involve money changing hands, mutual labour support, or some informal rotating credits and savings. CBOs may evolve to become NGOs, Cooperative Societies, Lobby Groups, Financial Entities or Companies.

#### **NGO Umbrella Organizations:**

These are NGOs that are registered as affiliations of other NGOs with legal provisions (in their constitutions) that specify

the nature of such affiliation, the administrative formalities, the reporting links, the controls and balances, resource flows and the like. These may be regional, national or international in operations and registration. In more recent developments in Tanzania loose CBOs are seen to evolve 'umbrella' forms in the name of District or Ward Development Associations which are in turn registered as formal NGOs, with the members being these loose CBOs.

#### **Networking:**

Networking is a common feature of NGOs especially for the mature and stable ones. This refers to linkages, vertical or horizontal, among NGOs, between NGOs and Umbrellas or between NGOs and CBOs. Networks may take the elementary form of just exchanging or sharing information to more formal links in resources, planning and operations, with a view to rationalize activities. 'Outreach' programmes are also seen to exist as another form of networking. In the NGO nomenclature and as used here outreach refers to the 'extension service network' of an NGO to organizations and entities at lower levels, normally to CBOs, or directly to its 'clients and beneficiaries'.

#### **Interlocking:**

Interlocking is a recent concept in the nomenclature of linkages which is derived from the 'Evolutionist Theory of Institutional Development'. In its elementary definition it refers to a situation of (forced) linkages between institutions, represented by their actors, which are influenced primarily by high transaction costs and strong market imperfections. As used in the NGO literature it refers to the links that are "imposed on" a small CBO or NGO so that such an entity is forced to enter a binding, in some cases contractual, arrangement (to interlock) with stronger partners for it to survive as a viable entity.

These concepts find operationalization in the sections that follow.

## Section 2: The NGO Movement in Tanzania:

### 2.1 Overview of History of NGOs in Tanzania:

The history and current status of civil society (NGOs being a very significant component) is the subject of an on-going exercise as reported in Kiondo, 1999. In that preliminary output the author notes that the historical development of civil society in the country reflects the changing social, economic and political environment that has taken place from the colonial period to the present. Three phases are identified: the colonial period, the post-colonial period up to 1990, and the period after 1990 when the country entered the era of broad liberalism in all fronts (economic, political and social development). During the colonial period the emergence and formation of the civil society was influenced by an attempt by colonial masters to engineer significant changes in the economic roles of their colonies while exerting control over social and political processes in the colonies. In spite of such controls, however, three broad based civil society organizations emerged: in politics of independence (TAA/TANU), in organized labour (TFL) and in agriculture (the Cooperative Movement). In the sense we use the concept of NGOs in this paper these were not typical NGOs (and they fit in the exclusion phrase of the legal framework in Tanzania).

After independence control over civil society continued, and when the country went "One Party" the previously autonomous civil society organized around Labour (TFL) and peasantry (Cooperatives) was gradually "integrated" into the mainstream of the State Machinery (as reorganized affiliates of the Political Party). Expansion of free civil society organizations was restricted, and Kiondo, 1999, notes that between 1961 and the late 1970s only 7 NGOs were formed, the number rising to 18 towards the end of the 1980s.

From the mid 1980s it had become evident that the role of the state as the sole (or even primary) provider and controller of all social and economic activities was disintegrating, as part and parcel of the global wave to market economies, coined in recent nomenclature as globalization. Civil society, as a result, seeing the new liberalism and the inertia of the state, has since then taken up the challenges by organizing into such entities as the NGOs to spearhead development outside the state system's mainstream. Thus, while the decade of prior to liberalization (1971-80) saw the formation of 18 NGOs (registered with TANGO) the decade of initial liberalization efforts (1980-90) saw the formation of 41 new civil society organizations (Kiondo, 1992). By 1992 there were about 100 District Development Trusts alone, not to mention the other standard NGOs and civil society organizations which are currently recorded at about 9000 (see Mogella, 1999).

Two Tables below show the formation of NGOs in the period from colonial times to 1990. The tables are self explanatory and confirm what we are saying in relation to the growth (in numbers of NGOs) of the NGO Movement for the period specified.

Table 1: Formation of NGOs in Tanzania Colonial Vs Post Colonial Periods, before 1990 (in numbers and Type)

Type of NGO	Colonial Period	Post-Colonial Period	Year unknown	Total
1. Environmental	0	6	0	6
2. Professional	<del>1</del>	16	<del>15</del> 6	<del>22</del> 23
3. Quasi-Governmental	0	4	1	5
4. Religious	3	4	14	21
5. Social Services	6	27	18	51
6. Women	0	5	3	8
7. Youth	1	4	10	15
No specific category	8	0	34	<del>42</del>

TOTAL	<del>18</del> 19	66	86	<del>163</del> 171
-------	------------------	----	----	--------------------

Source: Kiondo 1992:69.

Table 2: Classification of NGOs in Tanzania by Type and Year of Formation (1919-1990)

Type *	Year not specified	19-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	Total
1.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	6
2.	6	0	<del>1</del> 1	0	0	0	5	11	23
3.	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5
4.	14	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	21
5.	18	2	1	<del>1</del> 1	2	6	7	14	51
6.*	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	8
7.*	10	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	15
nes*	34	0	0	0	<del>8</del> 8	0	0	0	<del>42</del> 42
Total	86	2	12	1	6	7	18	41	<del>173</del> 171

Key: \* Column as for Table 1 above for 1 to 5. 6 is Women and Youth, 7 is International, nes is Others (not elsewhere specified).

Source: Kiondo 1992:62

## 2.2 Administrative Arrangements and the Legal Framework:

In Tanzania (Mainland) the registration of NGOs is governed mainly by the Societies Ordinance, 1954 (Act number 11). The Ordinance defines a Society as any club, company, partnership or association of ten or more persons, whatever its nature and objects. Under the Ordinance are excluded the following: Limited Companies, Cooperatives, Trade Unions and, in latter amendments to the Ordinance, Political Parties. The entities so excluded are covered by separate laws. Current practices require that NGOs be registered (by the Registrar of Societies in the Ministry of Home Affairs) to become legal entities, even as in the original Ordinance societies could also be exempted from registration and

still operate as legal entities. It is on record that some NGOs, especially those established as Trusts (e.g., Trust Funds, Education Trusts, etc.) may be registered by the Attorney General (Through the Attorney General's Chamber). A few NGOs are registered as Partnerships or Companies, and thus under the relevant Statutes. The Statutes that establish them or under which such NGOs are registered determine the rule of the games they play in social life.

Comments and suggestions continue to emerge on the nature and formalities for registering NGOs in Tanzania (Mtatifikolo and Comoro, 1997). The fact that some NGOs are able to get registration at windows different from the formal legislation (i.e., typically the Ministry of Home Affairs under the Societies Ordinance) means that double standards and inconsistencies cannot be ruled out, on account of the differences in procedures, requirements and the vetting mechanisms.

However, on the positive note, it is clear that with a government machinery in place (even involving different windows) it means that NGOs will be registered and operated as NGOs and not anything else. Claims abound even from other countries that in the absence of some formal procedures NGOs have been established and operated under different manifestos, such as politics, religion, fundamentalist cults, or even businesses, to avoid the normal regulations and sanctions meant for these other forms of social organizations.

A draft legislation on NGOs in Tanzania to replace the 1954 law was said to be in place by late 1997. At the time of writing this paper it was noted that the Government had issued draft number 4 of the National NGO Policy for public discussion. On the basis of this Policy, an Act will be sent to the Parliament for legislation.

## 2.3 Types of NGOs and Circumstances Behind their Establishment:

### Classification of NGOs:

Generally, all NGOs are concerned about "development", however defined at the local level, and many specify their target group as the 'vulnerable and disadvantaged' in society. There are social services NGOs (almost everywhere), economic services NGOs (in a majority of cases) and some attempting to combine both. Social services cover education and health typically, but also social welfare and the environment are included in this count. Other NGOs are focused on disadvantaged populations like the disabled, the orphans, the mentally retarded and the street children. The extent to which the same (designated beneficiaries) are the actual and true beneficiaries varies from one NGO to another even in the same location, and one would have to do detailed research to establish this.

The PMO's Office keeps a record of NGOs, and in a publication in May 1995 (The Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania by 31st December 1994) it was noted there were, among different types of NGOs, three Umbrella NGOs in Mainland Tanzania, namely the Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO), the Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSCDE) and the Rukwa Region Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (RANGO), a regional Umbrella NGO. The former two are national in coverage. In Zanzibar the Association of NGOs, Zanzibar (ANGOZA), is the Umbrella Organization

On the other hand the stand-alone (non-umbrella) local NGOs were listed under eight groups, as follows, with their number as at end of 1994 as given in the Directory: (i) Economic Services NGOs, 198, (ii) Environmental NGOs, 64, (iii) Health Services NGOs, 43, (iv) Professional/Educational Services NGOs, 98, (v) Social

Services NGOs, 106, (vi) Women's NGOs, 56, (vii) Youth NGOs, 26, and (viii) Religious Organizations NGOs, 155. Foreign based NGOs are simply listed as International NGOs Based in Tanzania without classification. Many of the international NGOs are, however, in the social and professional/education services. There were 64 international organizations NGOs in 1994.

The Directory of 1995 was putting the list of all NGOs in Tanzania Mainland then at 813, itself presumed to be a gross undercount. This was the second Directory, the first one having been published in 1993, which put the count at a little over 200 only. Even with the fact that some NGOs had not formally registered the new count (of over four-fold) was representing, among other things, the fast registration in the period end of 1992 and end of 1994. Indeed, the Directory itself, claiming to be representing all NGOs covered under the Law that governs them (under the Registrar of Societies), argues that the increasing number of registered NGOs manifests the growing role and importance NGOs are assuming in the social and economic development of the country.

#### Circumstances Behind Establishment:

Most NGOs indicate that their formation was intended to address a specific set of problems affecting a distinctive group or community. The most commonly cited reasons include poverty alleviation at the community level, employment generation for the unemployed youth, income generation for the advancement of the disadvantaged groups (e.g the disabled), economic employment and advancement of women, and concern for the environment.

In Tanzania most regions register a combination of at least the first three issues. Many of those registered in the other windows, namely the Trusts (or Trust Funds) registered under the Attorney General's Chamber and the Companies or Businesses (under

the Treasury's Company Ordinance, but not Limited Companies), are involved in real development (education or income generation), beyond welfare and relief. They typically belong in the second (some in the third) generation of NGOs following the NGO Nomenclature (First Generation: Relief and Welfare; Second Generation: Small Scale Self Reliant Local Development; Third Generation: Sustainable Systems Development). Borderline cases are notable too.

#### **2.4 Typical Evolution and Other Forms of Establishment:**

##### **1. From CBOs, spearheaded by "Benevolent Intellectuals":**

Some NGOs directly grew from CBOs. NGOs focussed on (particularly) the economic improvement of Women's CBOs can be identified in most major urban centres, conspicuously so where there is a strong Community Development Office (a government office) at Municipal or City level, or some 'benevolent intellectual' who has been instrumental in organizing them. Such have been identified in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Arusha, Moshi, Dodoma and Iringa. These appear to have capitalized on the groups of women which were already struggling against the economic hardships. As CBOs most of their operations were in economic-survival services or some elementary income generating activities (such as petty trading in foodstuffs, beverages, hard drinks and in clothing), gradually moving to viable commercial income generation activities that are organized in more formal ways. These are seen to easily attract support from outside once formally registered under local 'umbrella' NGOs.

One question that cannot be answered with certainty is the specific circumstances surrounding the mushrooming of NGOs in the country as a whole, but more specifically in cases where several seem to address the same issue. This has been established for many areas in the country (e.g., many Environment NGOs in DSM, Mwanza

and Mbeya towns, many Disadvantaged Groups' NGOs in Iringa, Dodoma and DSM, many CBO networks in Arusha, . . . . , and the list is endless). The main concern certainly gravitates around Government and the role of Donors, and the whole "presumed" idea that the local as well as central government cannot deliver as well or as much as the multiplicity of NGOs and CBOs which are normally "grassroots" in nature and form. This is observable particularly with regard to "issue-specific" or "thematic" NGOs that address a prescribed (and narrow focus) concern, such as Environmental Degradation, Health Epidemic, Unemployment, Income Generation, Local Level Poverty, and the like. In this case it is easy to trace emerging, but still localized, Umbrella Organizations as part of Networking or Interlocking involving loose CBOs and NGOs.

However, there is also the irony that some of the NGOs which claim to have established their operations because the government would and does not deliver are seen to be even more wanting in resources, in organizational philosophy, in networks, and in accountability (i.e., more incapable). We cannot, therefore, discount the possibility of individual motives behind this presumed government incapacity to deliver.

## **2. International Extensions and Affiliates:**

Other NGOs are extensions or affiliates of international NGOs. The NGOs affiliated to international organizations (International NGOs, Intercity Sistership Networks, Major International Religious Denominations, etc) or those operating on a large enough scale that links them directly to CBOs and International NGOs, have strong organizational setups. Proximity to centres of international transactions facilitates the growth and maturity of NGOs in Tanzania. Indeed, Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Moshi appear to have some of the strongest NGOs, on account of such proximity and exposure. Elitist networks, Support Units for NGOs, and proximity to potential and actual donors, and to donor headquarters at

national level are repeatedly cited as potential "assets" in NGO development and maturation. On the other hand, for the Donor community this kind of affiliation or outright extensions of the international NGOs is seen to facilitate the sometimes need to bypass, supplement or offer an "alternative window" to reach the grassroots. This helps avoid the (usual) bureaucracy of dealing with the official instruments or intermediaries, thereby enhancing timely delivery and maximum benefits. It is also seen in some cases to attract activism/participation at local level, not to mention that sometimes these may be the only way through which to reach such grassroots.

#### **2.5 The Prototype Organogram and Profile of a Typical NGO in Tanzania:**

Like in the literature of establishment of voluntary organizations (used mainly in the literature associated with the formation of Local Authorities in Tanganyika under the British Administration) NGO formation is expected to follow the principle of the three Cs, namely Cash, Consent and Competence. It is required that the founders will have enough resources (Cash) to run the affairs stipulated in the NGO's Constitution, that they will have the required skills within their reach (Competence) and that their organization must be a result of their own voluntary decisions (Consent) and not imposed from outside. In this vein the culture associated with establishing an NGO in Tanzania specify the following as the listing of captions for a typical NGO Constitution:

- (1) Title, Commencement, Objectives and Activities
- (2) Establishment, Coverage, Membership, Composition and Committees
- (3) Organogram and Office Bearers
- (4) Powers, Duties and Reporting Links
- (5) Meetings and Proceedings
- (6) Resources and Financial Provisions
- (7) By-Laws, Sanctions and Discipline, and
- (8) Miscellaneous Provisions.

The recommended Constitution is meant to guide designers of a prospective NGO so that the evolved NGO:

- has a very clear vision and clear obtainable goals and objectives.
- has charted out properly how the objectives will be attained in terms of activities.
- has determined all work that has to be done, and that this is detailed and related to the ultimate objectives.
- has divided the total workload into activities that can logically and comfortably be performed by individuals that constitute the members and office bearers. Each job should be detailed in terms of depth and scope.
- has determine the requirements in terms of resources to run the Organization and its activities (as well as the means to mobilize such resources) as a unified and harmonious whole.
- has prepared a mechanism for monitoring effectiveness of each Actor and making periodic adjustments in order to enhance effectiveness and efficiency; and.
- \* has a mechanism for rewarding good performance and penalizing inefficiency, lack of accountability and indiscipline.

### Section Three: Networking in the NGO Movement

This and the next section below discuss two major processes seen to characterize NGOs as they strive to grow and mature, and thus attain (and maintain) self reliance over time. These processes relate to formation of Networks and/or Interlocking Relationships amongst themselves and with other 'development agents'. The concepts were defined in section one above, and the operationalization here is meant to highlight their implication for sustaining the Movement in the new millennium.

#### 3.1 Reasons for Networking

Networking is a common feature of NGOs especially for the

mature and stable ones. This refers to linkages, vertical or horizontal, among NGOs, between NGOs and Umbrellas or between NGOs and CBOs. Networks may take the elementary form of just exchanging or sharing information to more formal links in resources, planning and operations, with a view to rationalize activities. 'Outreach' programmes are also seen to exist. In the NGO nomenclature and as used here outreach refers to the 'extension service network' of an NGO to organizations and entities at lower levels, normally to CBOs, or directly to its 'clients and beneficiaries'.

The following is a short rundown on the reasons for networking:

- (1) Limited Information available to individual NGOs: In this case information generation and dissemination becomes a common issue for many NGOs operating particularly in the same line of activities
- (2) Limited Resources: Networking may be justified for resource mobilization for the member organizations (e.g., to know the sources of skills, finance, technology, etc. may require effort beyond the ability of an individual NGO, hence the need to establish networks and share the costs and benefits)
- (3) The demands of skills and training: research and training beyond the capacity of a single NGO will require pooling of efforts and resources. In any case, the economically optimal size for such activities in capacity building may require large NGOs or many CBOs coming together in networks
- (4) The demands for recognition as a force: Networking will provide a forum for dialogue, lobbying or as the point of intervention. In deals with external actors the Network may speak with one voice, especially if it has a legal mandate (i.e., legally constituted).

### 3.2 Networking and the ("Natural") Life Cycle of NGOs:

Literature on the life cycles of NGOs identifies three stages for these NGOs in their drive to maturity, namely the gestation stage, the institutional development stage and the consolidation

and transfer stage. Each such stage is associated with specific forms and strengths of networking. The gestation stage is the more embryonic, and networks are normally loose associations among the weak CBOs and NGOs, or between such weak units with some "big sister/big brother". At this stage small units search for identity, resources, information and competence. They can be manipulated or exploited outright through 'interlocking' as they link up with the more established ones. On the other hand the strong NGOs may use the embryonic units in subcontracting or delegation of some elementary activities to them. Examples could be the umbrella NGOs such as RANGO trying to network with their member NGOs in the region.

For the units that grow up and break through the next stage of institutional development arrangements may involve more formal and legally binding networking. Networks may be issue specific, in which case the forum would provide for discussion among NGOs that consider it to be their relevant theme (e.g., environment). In this case the form of networks will be in sharing information, sharing resources and establishing legitimacy for the force that is addressing a particular issue. Mutual benefit and nonexistence of exploitation, and interactive deals characterize this form of mature networking. One case in point could be the women groups which meet under TGNP to share their experiences and chart out plans for their work programmes.

Mature NGOs at the third stage (of consolidation and transfer) evolve outreach and extension programmes in addition to the other formal, legally binding networks. Within its context an NGO at this stage gets involved in expansion of its relations and transfers of learning to other spheres (generally to other lower level NGOs and CBOs). In the specific field of resource mobilization and resource use it is to be noted that at this stage the NGO is 'financially stable'. Many NGOs at this stage create structures that provide for sustained financial viability (e.g.,

credit schemes for its clientele, revolving Funds or even formal financial services and institutions). The networks they develop with lower level NGOs may be exploitative; by this time these mature NGOs have 'turned the tables' and become the 'big sisters/brothers'. A close example of this type of networking is rare in Tanzania but north-south NGOs partnerships could be some of the relevant examples.

### 3.3 Who Owns Networks? Cooperative vs Exploitative Networks:

Networking may be judged exploitative if the links are "imposed on", for instance, a small CBO or NGO so that such an entity is forced to deal with stronger partners for it to survive as a viable entity. The argument flows as follows : in general CBOs and elementary forms of NGOs are grassroots (the gestation period in the theory of life cycles of NGOs), and they may survive up to a point. Then the combined influence of population pressure, market integration, state intervention and the erosion of traditional authority structures force changes, and the units are forced to join networks. The networks may be formed through evolving bigger and stronger units (joining hands) or through formal and binding contractual arrangements (taking the form of subcontracting activities sometimes) with bigger 'brothers' or 'sisters'. In this latter case the big brothers/sisters will normally dictate the activities of the network.

Networking, just like interlocking (discussed in the next section below), may also be necessary to create a needed minimum threshold for participation in certain activities. An informal CBO or non-mature NGO may lack the legal basis for entering contractual arrangements that are sophisticated in detail, in resource use or in operations because such sophistication generally requires some formal accounts to be in place (for accountability and transparency). Operations in the small scale sector or in informal unregistered activity may involve, or even require, membership in

a social group, a community or a village in which strong ties of solidarity exist for purpose of rationalizing and benefitting from scale economies. Networks may thus evolve this way, and such networks, though still largely informal, are also known to facilitate the evolution of NGOs to mature forms (i.e., to facilitate evolution into the second stage: of institutional development). This development is more cooperative than exploitative.

The second, argued also under 'interlocking' later below, simply sees the evolution of extended family networks as being sufficient to evolve CBO and elementary form NGOs into maturity. Here the role of formal financial and other frameworks is seen in the context of providing for a learning experience, and the networks may initially begin their own informal networks along lines of the formal credit systems without formal engagement with them. The evolution of these elementary forms relying on mutual support into formal credit systems, CBOs, ROSCAs or NGOs can be seen in this vein. At these elementary stages the role of personal trust in the framework of extended family networks is critical, and no exploitation need manifest itself. At higher stages (consolidation and transfer) networks become more formal, with a non partisan market touch. Thereafter they may network or enter 'outreach programme arrangements' with more formal institutions such as banks, credit societies, cooperatives and companies.

One can thus judge that networks may be owned or/and manipulated by the more established NGOs if they link them with the more elementary forms of NGOs. If such networks are by CBOs or NGOs not at significant variance with one another in their level of maturity they provide for a partnership of operations. At the levels of consolidation more outreach may be conspicuous and it need not be exploitative.

### 3.4 The Role of Umbrella Organizations and Support Units:

This is explained by a sample listing of objectives of some umbrella organizations. The Tanzania Association of Non Governmental Organizations (TANGO) and the Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSODE) are used for this. Tango was established in 1989 (February 14th) with the broad objective as stated " ... geared towards advocating and providing service to other NGOs who are its members". Four specific objectives are then singled out, namely (1) to act as a unifying organ between its members (2) to establish among its members a forum for coordination and systematic exchange of information (3) to encourage the carrying out of studies and programmes on matters of common interest and (4) to establish consultancy services and training programmes in order to sustain activities of constituent NGOs. Currently TANGO has a widely circulated newsletter "SEMEZANA" which disseminates important information to its members.

TACOSODE was established in 1965 (February) and is affiliated to the International Council on Social Welfare in Vienna, Austria. The broad objective is on matters of social development. Seven specific objectives are singled out (1) to promote and strengthen professional competence and organization capability of NGOs (2) to facilitate and promote cooperation and collaboration among NGOs and between them and the Government on social development issues (3) to develop and implement a training programme for NGOs and provision of short term technical assistance (4) to encourage and facilitate cooperation among NGOs in formulation and advocating policy proposals that encourage social development of Tanzania (5) to promote and facilitate cooperative approaches to research and evaluation (6) to facilitate information gathering, storing and exchange and (7) to provide consultancy and liaison services.

The summary objectives above show that umbrella organizations

may play several roles in (i) information generation and dissemination (ii) resource mobilization for the member organizations (iii) research and training (iv) consultancy services and (v) provide a forum for dialogue, brainstorming or simply discussion of issues of common interest. In discussions with other NGOs, the government or donors such umbrella NGOs may be the point of intervention (or a forum for constituent members to provide a common stand) or a lobbying force. This is also true of regional NGOs whose scope may be with reference only to the territory they represent. The case of the Rukwa Association of Non Governmental Organizations (RANGO) is indicative. The regional umbrella organization has one singled out objective of facilitating and coordinating the work of local NGOs in Rukwa region.

Support Units usually concentrate on consultancy provision, training, and information gathering and dissemination. In this case they play roles that are slightly less than those of typical umbrella organizations.

#### Section Four: Interlocking in the NGO Movement

Interlocking is a new concept in the long nomenclature on linkages which is derived from the 'Evolutionist Theory of Institutional Development'. In its elementary definition it refers to a situation of (forced) linkages between institutions, represented by their Actors, which are influenced primarily by high transaction costs and strong market imperfections.

##### 4.1 Conditions for Interlocking:

As used in the NGO nomenclature it refers to the links that are "imposed on" a small CBO or NGO so that such an entity is forced to enter a binding, in some cases contractual, arrangement (to interlock) with stronger partners for it to survive as a viable entity. The argument flows, just as in the case of networking, as

follows: since CBOs and infant NGOs are grassroots, they may survive only up to a point, mainly as a function of some traditional systems of community management. The combined influence of population pressure, market integration, state intervention and the erosion of traditional values directly threatens their survival. The units are thus forced to interlock through evolving bigger and stronger units or through formal and binding contractual arrangements (taking the form of subcontracting activities sometimes) with bigger 'brothers'.

The second strand noted for networking holds also for interlocking. Thus interlocking may also be imposed on account of a needed minimum threshold for intervening in an activity. Informal CBOs and unregistered NGOs may lack the legal basis for entering contractual arrangement with, say, a foreign supporter who would want formal accounts to be in place before forwarding formal support (for accountability at home too). Operations in the small scale sector or in informal unregistered activity may involve membership in a social group, a community or a village in which strong ties of solidarity exist vis-a-vis the external world. This is an example of horizontal interlocking. Vertical interlocking involves NGOs at different stages of maturation in the so-called natural life cycle of NGOs, possibly operating in the same line of 'business'.

#### 4.2 Cooperative and Exploitative Interlocking:

Two developments may evolve here over time. One is the informal contractual arrangements and interlinked deals as ways of overcoming incentive problems. If financial deals are involved, and in the absence of formal collateral for guarantees the lenders are forced to interlock (in the sense of market links) to accommodate possible risks of dishonesty or simply the fact that the business culture that honours credit deals is yet to take roots. In such a case exploitation is possible by the credit

takers if they can blackmail the lenders to give credit as a matter of necessity. However, it is much more likely for the lenders to exploit the credit takers if such credit is a matter of life and death for the CBOs to exist as viable social and economic entities!. It may also be accommodating the undeveloped markets, which are normally full of risks. Such (legally binding, though still largely informal) interlocking is also seen to facilitate the evolution of NGOs to mature forms (in some cases at faster pace as the culture of business must evolve fast as markets expand).

The second strand in the developments simply sees the evolution of extended family networks as being sufficient to evolve CBO and elementary form NGOs into maturity. Here the role of formal financial and other frameworks is seen in the context of providing for a learning experience, and the networks may initially begin their own informal networks along lines of the formal credit systems without formal engagement with them. The evolution of UPATU (or "Michezo, Kupeana" and other elementary forms) into formal credit systems through mutual support, into CBOs and gradually to ROSCAs can be seen in this vein. Processes take the evolution through learning, without necessarily being integrated into the formal systems especially at the elementary stages. At these stages the role of personal trust in the framework of extended family networks is critical, and no exploitation need manifest itself.

Many NGOs directly grew from CBOs, following this second strand.

#### **Section Five: The Challenges of Sustainability in the Movement:**

Following the discussion in the two section above on two primary processes (Networking and Interlocking) used to create conditions for a sustainable NGO Movement we turn to highlight the major challenges of sustainability that face the movement

today. The strengths and weaknesses in the Movement are covered first, to put the discussion in context. This is followed by three subsections addressing the role of the state and the donor community, the chronic resource constraints in the Movements, efforts at networking and interlocking notwithstanding, and the overriding problem of capacity building (particularly training) typical of all infant Movements.

### 5.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of NGOs:

The development and sustainability of NGOs derives from their strengths (absolute and relative) in the areas they have chosen as their domain. It is also a function of their involvement in strategic areas which attract external and stakeholder support (logistical and financial) such as in poverty eradication, addressing the plight of vulnerable groups (disabled, unemployed youth, elderly, unemployed women), the environment and gender balances and empowerment.

The strength of an NGO may be seen in its organization structure and how much it delivers as purported in its Constitution, which is, in turn, operationalized through an Action Plan. Another way of looking at the strength of an NGO is to examine its networking capacity and financial supporters. NGOs with a good capacity for project write-ups do better. The same is true of those NGOs with strong international networks of supporters and funders.

The strengths of others are from the vantage point of their location, proximity to other well established organizations and structures of the government, as well as financial and other links with some international organizations. Examples of the strong NGOs (with or without strong international links) include PRIDE TANZANIA based in Arusha, the Eastern Africa Support Unit for NGOs (EASUN) also based in Arusha, the Mennonite Economic Development

Association (MEDA) based in Dar es Salaam, Poverty Africa based in Dar es Salaam, SEDA in Arusha too, and CARITAS Tanzania. Others with strong local orientation include advocacy NGOs such as Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Tanzania Women Legal Association (TAWLA), Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, and related NGOs, especially in the area of Human Rights. Many more are strong but these are simply cited for purpose of amplifying the diversity in operations, in locations and in the management and networking.

Most of these NGOs (especially PRIDE, Poverty Africa, CARITAS, MEDA and SEDA) have strong market and enterprise committees and micro-macro economic organizational setups which facilitate their credit systems. They are also strong in macro and micro financing of CBO activities.

The weaknesses of NGOs revolve around their incapacity to reach the target population, to realize their plans and to have their programmes working. Another area of weakness relates to the failure of NGOs to function as viable entities. This reflects more on the inability to mobilize resources and to maintain a feasible accounting system. Some NGOs, especially in the distant regions (Ruvuma, Rukwa and Mbeya have been studied recently) are lacking in the most basic of things: a structure or an office to operate from.

Another area in which many NGOs are seen to be weak is communication. This also involves lack of awareness of what the others are doing and, most of all, lack of networking to strengthen and reinforce one another's objectives.

Moreover, another pattern is observable: that the further away an NGO is from the two centres (i.e the hub of NGO and government activities in Dar es Salaam, and the "international municipality" of Arusha) the weaker they were. Opportunities of being aware of

sources, structures and sub-structures of support are known by several NGOs and CBOs based in the two major towns. Such are lacking in distant areas.

## 5.2 The Role of Government and the Donor Community

The state's role should be seen in relation to availing the opportunities for the open market which has created the enabling environment for a rapid proliferation of NGOs, CBOs and other development and relief "agents". It is also to be seen in enacting laws and regulations which govern the formation and operation of the various networks of NGOs and CBOs in the country. In this case NGOs can be seen, by the state, to be a transparent and equal partner in development. To what extent this is true is food for thought and for analysis. Voices abound on mistrust and claims of crowding out, of lack of transparency and of competition over resources amidst overlapping mandates between government agencies and NGOs, to a point where serious dialogue is deemed necessary as the Movement grows in size and complexity. It is said a Proposed National Policy on NGOs, said to be in Draft form since 1997 is yet to come out formally. This should be able to address some of the perceived mistrust (much of which is said to be unwarranted).

Donors on the other hand facilitate the operation of NGOs mainly through resources (financial and human) availed to the local communities as aid, mostly channeled through the Movement. In some cases international NGOs operating in Tanzania have been seen to help local NGOs even as they mainly concentrate on activities of their own. In this case the local NGOs capitalize not only on the established experience of the international NGOs but also directly benefit from their "outreach and networking" programmes.

It should be noted, however, that some local NGOs may be donor driven in their establishment, although the majority of such NGOs would only appear as shadowy driven. Such cases exist where donors

may have wanted to avoid the use of the government bureaucracy in their development aid programmes in preference for NGOs. This required that they first strengthened the NGOs (or even intermediated in their establishment), which could in turn be used as the functional conduits.

### 5.3 Resources and Sustainability

Many local NGOs are severely starved of resources. However, a few, especially those with very strong international ties don't seem to face some serious problems. At the same time information regarding their financial sources for many NGOs is normally not made available. Some of the resource starved NGOs which are located in regions distant from both Dar es Salaam and Arusha do not even have an office or physical contact address. Sustainability for them is thus problematic. Indeed under such circumstances even their legal status could be questioned.

Sustainability is also a problem for many service oriented NGOs. Several of the same, for example, have even had their memberships in Umbrella NGOs revoked or suspended because of financial problems (inability to meet even the annual fees, etc., often cited as a severe constraint). This is less so for NGOs involved in basic and sustainable income generating activities.

### 5.6 Capacity Building: Training

The areas in which most NGOs and CBOs need training efforts can be consolidated in a short list as follows:

1. Management: Including General Management, Resource Management, Personnel Management and Financial Management
2. Group Formation and Management: Including Organization and Formation of CBOs, Mobilization of Groups, Focussed Group Formation and Discussions Organization, Organizational Behaviour

3. Law and Legal Procedures: Including Negotiation and NGO Initiation Skills, Constitution Writeups, Law of Contract, Legal Proceedings, Relevant Laws and their Interpretations for Societies, NGOs, Companies, etc.,
4. Checks and Controls on Resources for Business: Including Basic Accounting, Book keeping, Audit, Cost Accounting, Financial Accounting, Budgeting
5. Resource Mobilization: Including Negotiation Skills, Preparation of Financial Requests, Fund Raising Techniques, Resource Planning and Accounting
6. Project Management: Project Feasibility Study Writeups, Project Appraisal, Project Plans and Action Plans, Project Implementation and Monitoring.
7. Specific Tailor-made Case Studies of Project Writeups in Income Generation Activities; Including at least the following, Animal Husbandry, Poultry, Large Scale Commercial Farming, Vegetable and Fruit Farming, Carpentry and Wood Products, Masonry, Shops, Tailoring, Knitting, Food Stalls and Restaurants, Grain Milling, Fisheries and Fish Ponds, Afforestation Projects, Irrigation Farming, Petty Trading, Bee Keeping, Tree and Vegetable Nurseries, Salt Making and Management, Beauty Salons, Brewing, Beverage Preparation, Charcoal Making, Brick and Tile Making, The Service Industry (escort services, car wash, field guide, tour management, etc.), Tourism, Transport Management, Lumbering and Wood Marketing, Basic Motor Servicing and Repair.

Several options are proposed and used for conducting training, namely:

Short Courses of 2-6 weeks duration in specified locations  
In-house Training by Visiting Resource Persons in NGO centres  
Study Tours for Selected Beneficiaries to "successful" cases.  
These are used in combination, and venues can be organized as to minimize costs and maximize representation.

#### Target Groups:

Training is normally proposed for the following beneficiaries:

1. The Target groups for the said NGOs (i.e., the beneficiaries as designed in the NGO Constitutions)
2. Management of NGOs

3. Founding Fathers/Mothers, Patrons and Stakeholders
4. CBOs served by, or serving, the specified NGOs
5. Government Officials overseeing the NGO Movement
6. Officials of the Umbrella NGOs

These may be organized into (i) Top Management, (ii) Middle Management, (iii) Support Staff and (iv) the Grassroots beneficiaries. Courses may be Tailor-made for each of the four levels, respectively.

#### Section Six: What Future for the NGO Movement in Tanzania? The Potential in the New Millennium

It is increasingly becoming clear that the NGO Movement globally can be viewed as one in a Triad of Development Agents (the other two being the Government and the Private Business Sector). Major shifts are being noted in the Developed world in terms of the NGO-State links, in terms of the Movement's relations and partnerships with the State and the NGOs in the Developing world, and in relative emphasis accorded to the Movement generally in terms of access to resources and the accompanying responsibility being delegated to the Movement in Development and Advocacy. In this context the Movement can be seen as having a great potential globally in sharing the delivery of development (and in possibly benefitting from the rewards of development). For the case of Tanzania the future is reflected upon from four major perspectives: the sheer growth over the recent past, the evolving State-NGO Partnership, Partnerships with the NGOs in the Developed Countries and the resultant resource flows, and Evolving Recognition, Accountability and Transparency. Brief notes follow on each, as part of our concluding section of this study.

##### 6.1 Growth: From Quantity to Quality

In characterizing the Movement earlier it was remarked that registered NGOs grew in number from around 200 in 1992 to over 800

at the end of 1994 in a country that is only about 30 million in population, and in an area of only about 945 thousand square kilometers (in terms of administrative regions there are 20 such units called simply Regions, and about 120 Districts). Whereas part of the rise was the inclusion of previously unregistered or unrecorded NGOs, itself a positive development as it enhances knowledge and transparency, it is evident that growth was a result of actual new initiatives.

Moreover, the set includes a mixed bag; from small units, to mature ones, and to those which have established themselves as permanent and sustainable. The international NGOs operating in the country listed at 64 in number in 1994. This is a large number too, especially as a possible source of learning experience by the new comers, not to mention possible sources of resources in finances, in skills and in networking possibilities within the country. In their totality the NGOs in Tanzania represent all the 'generations' usually associated with the growth of the Movement: Relief and Welfare, Small scale self reliant Economic Enterprise preoccupation, and the Mature and Sustainable NGOs. In relation to life cycles of NGOs one sees all stages represented: the Gestation stage (mainly CBOs and other Mutual Support Organizations), the Maturity stage (mainstream NGOs already involved in serious business of advocacy and delivery of development using own resources supplemented by external support), and the Consolidation and Transfer stage (by NGOs that have grown to be sustainable themselves and also sources of finance, skills and other support to others through credit, outreach and networking programmes).

The numbers are likely to give way to quality in due course, especially as the young NGOs grow, involve in networks and are included in, particularly, the National Income Generation Programme (NIGP) and other national and international initiatives. Here the role of international NGOs will be indispensable, in relation to transfer of skills, resources and the technocracy of managing civil

societies for advocacy and development objectives.

## 6.2 Evolving NGO-State Partnerships

The air of mistrust is gradually clearing as convergence is done via compromise. With the coming of liberal systems in the mid 1980s it immediately became fashionable to 'think independent' as an NGO if you were not affiliated with TACOSODE, the then government sponsored Umbrella Organization since 1965. With the establishment of TANGO in 1989 the feeling was that this would be the 'liberating umbrella organization', and so those in the former associated it with the Opposition, after all the former was government sponsored. NGOs that did not wish to be implicated in the perceived state-civil society antagonism went it alone and decided to stay unaffiliated (also an official window, since affiliation was no longer a requirement for registrations). Today TANGO, TACOSODE and unaffiliated NGOs sit together to deliberate issues of development and advocacy, the traditional roles of the NGO Movement, not Politics or Political Patronage. So, currently they are partners in development.

Recent initiatives see the evolution of a National Policy on NGOs, the evolution of a new Legislation, and, particularly, the launching of the NIGP whose one of its major components is the Project of Umbrella NGO Development and Training. In a recent Policy Seminar organized under the aegis of the NIGP's NGO Project (February 1998), with the Theme: "DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES FOR TANZANIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE CHALLENGES FOR THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS" four major topics were discussed, linking together the government, the official business community, the NGOs and intellectuals. They addressed the following:

1. Establishing, Developing and Sustaining NGOs: Legal, Institutional and Regulatory Framework
2. The Role, Challenges and Opportunities for NGOs in Economic

and Social Development

3. Interlocking, Networking and Vertical/Horizontal Linkages among NGOs, CBOs and Other Voluntary Sector Institutions
4. State-NGO "Partnership" in Development: Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century

A paper was developed for each topic and discussed at the Seminar, and the Proceedings to that Seminar are a critical input in the evolving Policy on NGOs (one of the Authors of this study was also involved in the development of the Papers for the Seminar; see Mtatifikolo, 1997, 1997a).

### 6.3 NGOs and the Donor Community

At the same time as the State and local NGOs are involved in some serious dialogue to chart a common agenda for sharing responsibilities and resources the International NGOs continue to be invited (and are responding fast) into the mainstream of development initiatives, especially with regard to provision (even at commercial operations) of merit goods (education and health in particular) and the classical welfare and relief support. Some operations, now liberalized and done in private initiatives, were strictly reserved for Government and its Agencies before the advent of liberalization and adjustment, especially in some aspects of education and health service provision.

Donor funds are channeled either through the state or, now increasingly, directly to the international NGOs based in the country and to their local networks; and the government is having to come to grips with the increasing possibility of its being crowded out in some operations (local and professional level social service provision) as this 'other window' is opened wider in resource flows. Silent discontent is evident as it loses out both on its intermediation in resource flows from the donors and on

'clout and popularity' in areas where the civil society is seen to deliver more and better.

There have even been citations that the government should address also the logic for direct budgetary vetting in support of these seemingly private initiatives in areas that are considered as primarily the responsibility of the state (social service and welfare, the environment, support for vulnerable groups, etc). As the NGO Movement matures these will be topical issues for discussion with the government of the day, especially with regard to sharing responsibilities and resources in the delivery of development.

#### **6.4 Evolving Recognition, Accountability and Transparency**

Registration is a first formal step to recognition of the Movement, and this is already seen to be in full swing since the early 1990s. It is also on record that the very logic of a formal NGO Constitution and Action Plan as requirements for registration means that the basic inputs for an Accountable and Transparent system are put in place right from the initiation of the NGO. On the other hand professionalism and other aspects of capacity building are being promoted by the NIGP Project on NGO Development, especially the Training component. A Training Needs Assessment was done in 1997 (in a study involving one of the Authora of this study) and formal training was already in full swing for NGOs in the country as at mid-year, 1998.

Almost all funding agencies and NGOs involved in outreach and credit programmes insist on credible financial and other accountability and transparency as a prerequisite to formal engagement with prospective intermediating NGOs or CBOs. This works to augment the discipline and create a lasting culture, just as the same are the watch-words (Accountability and Transparency) in the nomenclature of globalization.

## 6.5 A Short Sum-Up

To sum up the paper we make observations that will provide the framework for continued policy dialogue to address the developmental challenges and potential of the NGO Movement in Tanzania in the New Millennium as follows:

To recognize the need to foster those Development Strategies which will work to enhance the role of the Voluntary Private Sector constituting the NGO Movement.

To recognize that government will need to continue to create an enabling environment for the NGOs to perform, and to deal with issues of governance and support in the provision of basic social services and merit goods

To recognize Aid Fatigue as becoming endemic and that Economic and Social Development will need to be more and more inward-looking, relying on the civil society organized around their NGOs and CBOs. The NGOs and CBOs will, in this vein, have to rely on local resource mobilization and avoid dependence on Northern NGOs and the Donor Community

To recognize the Power and Potential of Community and Grassroots Organizations, and the NGO Movement as a whole, in identifying developmental needs and taking action to find solutions

To recognize the limits of such localized initiatives (if too localized) and the need to develop formal partnerships and networks, legal and sustainable instruments, the NGOs and other Civic Societies, to spearhead development initiatives; and,

To recognize the need for an environment of Trust and working Partnership in development between the various Actors: namely, the Government, the NGO Movement, the Donor Community and the Grassroots.

## A Short Bibliography

- Assad, M.  
The Role, Challenges and Opportunities for NGOs in Economic and Social Development; Report to ESAMI, Arusha, Tanzania. July, 1997.
- Assad, M.  
State-NGO "Partnership" in Development: Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century; Report to ESAMI, Arusha, Tanzania. July, 1997.
- Bebbington, A and G. Thiele, (eds), with P. Davies, M. Prager and H. Riveros,  
NGOs and the State in Latin America: Rethinking Roles in Sustainable Agricultural Development, Routledge, 1993.
- Bonsor, Charles F.  
"The Role of NGO in Economic Development: A State - of - the Art International Research Conference, in Role of NGO in Economic Development, pp 1 - 9 (n.d.).
- Bratton, M.  
The Politics of Government - NGO Relations in Africa, World Development, Vol. 17, No. 17, pp 569 - 587, 1989.
- Bratton, M.  
Non-governmental Organizations in Africa: Can They Influence Public Policy?, Development and Change, Vol. 21, pp 87 - 118, 1990.
- Brett, E.  
Voluntary Agencies as Development Organizations: Theorizing the Problem of Efficiency and Accountability, Development and Change, Vol. 24, pp 269 - 303, 1993.
- Brinkehoff, D and A. Goldsmith,  
Promoting the Sustainability of Development Institutions: A Framework for Strategy, World Development, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp 369 - 383, 1992.
- Chitiga-Machinguta, Rudo, M.  
"Networking Among NGO in Africa", in Voices of Africa, pp 65-69 (n.d).
- Clark, John,  
"The State and the Voluntary Sector", in Human Resources Development and Operations Policy, the World Bank HRO Working Papers No. 12, October, 1993.

- Drabek, Anne Gordon,  
"Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGO" World Development The Multi-Disciplinary International Journal Devoted to the Study and Promotion of World Development Vol. 15 Supplement Autumn 1987 - Pergamon Press.
- Edwards, M and D. Hulme,  
Too Close for Comfort? The Impact of Official Aid on Nongovernmental Organizations, World Development, Vol. 24, No. 6, pp 961 -973, 1996.
- Farrington, J and Bebington, with K.Wells, and D. Lewis,  
Reluctant Partners? NGOs, the State and Sustainable Agricultural Development, London, Routledge, 1993.
- Fisher, J.  
Is the Iron Law of Oligarchy Rusting Away in the Third World?, World Development, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp 129 - 143, 1994.
- Garilao, E.  
Indigenous NGOs as Strategic Institutions: Managing the Relationship with Government and Resource Agencies, World Development, Vol. 15, No. 15, Supplement, pp 113 - 120, 1987.
- Kanyinga, K  
The Social - Political Context of the Growth of Non - Governmental Organizations in Kenya, in Gibbons, P. (ed), Social Change and Economic Reform in Africa, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 1993.
- Kiondo, A.  
NGOs, Integration and Democracy: A Highlight of Possible Links in the African Context: TAAMULI, Vol. 3, 1-2. 1992.
- Kiondo, A.  
Structural Adjustment, Political Pluralism and Participatory Politics in Tanzania: The Central Role of NGOs: TAAMULI, Vol. 3, 1-2. 1992a.
- Kiondo, A.  
Political Culture and Participatory Processes. In Political Culture in Tanzania. REDET Publications, 1992b.
- Kiondo, A  
Structural Adjustment and Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania: A Case Study, in Gibbons, P. (ed), Social Change and Economic Reform in Africa, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 1993.
- Kiondo, A.  
The History and Corrent Status of Civil Society in Tanzania:

Input to the Civil Society and Development Project, the Case of Tanzania. Interim Report, February 1999.

Korten, D.

Third Generation NGOs Strategies: A Key to People-centered Development, World Development, Vol. 15, No. 15, Supplement, pp 145 - 159, 1987.

Lusignan, Guy de,

"Local NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa: Few Stories on their Role in the Development Process" in, The Role of NGOs in Economic Development pp 29 -48 (n.d.)

Masoni, V.

Nongovernmental Organizations and Development, Finance and Development, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp 38-41, 1985.

Meyer, C.

Opportunism and NGOs: Entrepreneurship and Green North-South Transfers, World Development, Vol. 23, No. 8, pp 1277 - 1289, 1995.

Meyer, C.

A Step Back as Donors Shift Institution Building to the "Private" Sector, World Development, Vol. 20, No. 8, pp 1115 - 11126, 1992.

Mogella, F.

The Civil Society and Governance Project: A Profile of Civil Society Organizations in Tanzania, (Interim Report) - February 1999.

Mtatifikolo, F.

Establishing, Developing and Sustaining NGOs: Legal, Institutional and Regulatory Framework; Report to ESAMI, Arusha, Tanzania. July 1997.

Mtatifikolo, F.

Interlocking, Networking and Vertical/Horizontal Linkages among NGOs, CBOs and Other Voluntary Sector Institutions; Report to ESAMI, Arusha, Tanzania. July 1997a.

Mtatifikolo, F.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Tanzania: Status, Developmental Challenges and Potential. Bremen University, Germany, ENRO Programme (Mimeo as Teaching Material). 1998.

Mtatifikolo, F. and C. Comoro,

Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania: Situational Analysis and Training Needs Assessment. (In 4 Volumes); Report to ESAMI, Arusha. (February 1997).

Musengimana, Simeon

- Victims of Their Success: Local NGOs Become the Prey of Northern "Developers", in Voices of Africa, pp 39 - 58 (n.d).
- Oldale John A., and N. Rukia Hayata,  
An Assessment of Management Training Needs for the Local and Regional NGO Community, - For The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Ould-Daddah, Turkia  
 "The IIAS Director General's Speech: The Role of NGOs in Economic Development "State of the Art", in Role of NGO in Economic Development, pp 11- 14 (n.d.).
- Platteau, J.P.  
Small-Scale Fisheries and the Evolutionist Theory of Institutional Development, In Inge Tvedien and Bjorn Herseug, eds. Fishing for Development: Small Scale Fisheries in Africa; The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1989.
- Sanyal, B.  
Antagonistic Cooperation: A Case of Nongovernmental Organizations, Government and Donors' Relationships in Income - Generating Projects in Bangladesh, World Development, Vol. 19, No. 10, pp 1367 - 1379, 1991.
- Sen, P.  
NGOs Self-evaluation: Issues of Concern, World Development, Vol. 15, No. 15, Supplement, pp 161 - 167, 1987.
- Shao, I  
The Role of NGOs in Africa: The Case of Tanzania, Paper presented at a Seminar on the Role of NGOs 30th May to 1st June, 1995, at the Training Centre for Development Cooperation, Arusha, Tanzania, 1995.
- Shirima, Liberatus, L.  
"Socio-Economic Growth and Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania - Participatory Assessment Study of the Voluntary Sector Poverty Alleviation, (IFM), May 14 - 20, 1995, Arusha.
- Sibongile Jamela,  
 "The Challenges Facing African NGOs: A Case Study Approach" in Voices of Africa, pp 16 - 27 (n.d).
- Smith, B.  
An Agenda for future tasks for international and Indigenous NGOs: Views from the North, World Development, Vol. 15, No. 15, Supplement, pp 87 - 94, 1987.
- United Republic of Tanzania:  
 Tanganyika Ordinance and Subsidiary Legislation 1954 No. 11  
Societies Ordinance 1954

United Republic of Tanzania

The Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania by  
31st December, 1994, Office of the Prime Minister and First  
Vice-President, 1995.

Vivian, J.

NGOs and Sustainable Development: No Magic Bullets,  
Development and Change, Vol. 25, pp 167 - 193, 1994.

Wellard, J and J. Copestake, (eds),

NGOs and the State in Africa: Rethinking Roles in Sustainable  
Agricultural Development, Routledge, 1993.

World Bank,

Questions and Answers on Issues of NGO Concern, (n.d.)

-----