

Faith Based Organizations and Development in Tanzania

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Abstract

Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) have attracted growing attention in international academic and policy studies concerning the role of the non-profit sector and the role of religions in development. Supported by important international research organizations, donor agencies and government development bodies, these studies are seeking to establish the contribution of hitherto inadequately recognized non-governmental sectors and actors to poverty alleviation and development among large, mostly marginalized, populations. This paper examines FBOs as important development actors in the non-profit sector in Tanzania. More importantly however is the fact that to a very large extent FBOs in Tanzania are local institutions. They do receive some international assistance as well as being influenced international discourse on a number of issues, yet by and large the control is local and they operate guided by their own internal logic. While the academic and policy discourse on the non-profit sector is relatively recent, starting especially in the late 1980s, FBOs in Tanzania have been active for more than a century. The paper examines both the traditional and current roles of FBOs in the country with the view to establish their contributions in meeting the challenges to development in Tanzania today. It draws on analytical frameworks found in the study of the non-profit sector and civil society organizations as well as the concrete experience of religions and FBOs in the development process in Tanzania.

Introduction

The term Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) is used to refer to organizations or institutions in the non-profit sector that are linked to religions and faiths. Needless to say if faith was to be the only criterion distinguishing these

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organizations then their list would be endless. The definitional problematic is similar to that of NGOs. If the only criteria identifying them were not being controlled by governments then their list would include a whole range of clandestine and criminal organizations. In the end The United Nations decided to recognize as NGOs only those which will not be constituted as a political party, which will be non-profit making and non-criminal (Willets 2006).

FBOs have recently attracted growing attention as the “third sector” or as the non-profit sector or in the general civil society sector. It is in that angle that FBOs are effective contributors to development which concern the majority, but essentially the poor and marginalized. FBOs on one hand identified in terms of affiliation with a religious body. On the other FBOs can be seen as social services agencies and non-profit institutions.

Defining FBOs is seen as problematic partly because they are diverse in their mission, organizational forms and the extent of affiliation to their religious or belief systems. They come in many different shapes, sizes and natures. (Marshall 2007). In this paper we wish to examine the contribution of faiths and religions to development. That way we attempt a distinction between developmental activities from purely clerical activities. Such a distinction is informed by the discourse of civil society. We recognize that FBOs are guided by specific religious or faith ethics. We take such ethics into account without going deep in the theological and philosophical premises involved. We believe however that purely clerical or theological activities can't be considered to be part of civil society activities because they are not civilian and public, rather they belong to the private realm of specific believers.

It is therefore generally recognized that FBOs need to go beyond proselytism and engage in development activities before they can qualify to be termed civil society organizations. Marshall defines development in this context as work centered on longer term societal and economic change which aims to fight poverty and promote social justice (Marshall 2007). In addition to development activities FBOs can engage in relief activities following natural or manmade emergencies. Even in relief work the separation of aid work from proselytism is considered to be crucial. That separation is insisted upon in a code of conduct of the International Red Cross and its Muslim equivalent, the Red Crescent. (Marshall 2007)

In Tanzania the State makes a distinction between the two roles of religions, preaching and pursuing development. FBOs can only be registered as NGOs if they are engaged in development activities and not only in preaching (URT 2002.) We realize that while having a water tight definition of FBO is very difficult because they can engage in a wide variety of activities. We however believe that it is important to focus on both their faith ethical side as well as their non-profit and developmental characteristics. In this paper we therefore see FBOs as non-state and non-profit organizations linked to religions or faiths and engaged in development and at times in relief activities.

FBOs in the context of Tanzania

While FBO is a recent organizational concept, the activities of religious organizations in service and development activities in Tanzania can be traced back more than a century ago. Their organizational structures and functional distinction might have not been as elaborate as is expected of FBOs today yet they marked the engagement of religions in development activities beyond their preaching activities. Those early precursors include such Christian missionary organizations as the Anglican University Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), the Lutheran Evangelical Mission Society (EMS) and Catholic Benedictan and White Fathers. All these were established in the 1880s (Tambila and Sivallon 2006). These organizations were engaged in preaching and establishing Churches but they also established schools and health facilities. Muslim philanthropy can also be traced far back. An Asian Muslim trader, Sewa Haji for example built the first African Hospital in Dar es Salaam in 1893 (Mhina 2007b).

FBOs in Tanzania are linked to the Christian and Muslim Religions because in with African Traditional Religions (ATRs) assistance is part of everyday life in society. In that regard FBOs in Tanzania have therefore their genesis in foreign hegemonic religions that have been linked to dominant exploitative systems, the Arab slave and caravan trade for Islam and European colonialism for Christianity. Over the years that stigma has waned as Tanzanian believers took control of their religious denominations replacing external religious influence into a partnership of religious organizations of different nations.

The struggle for local control was generally linked to the nationalist movement. For Muslims such struggles played out in such places like Bagamoyo and Bukoba and later in the The East African Muslim Welfare

Society (Tambila and Sivallon 2006). Among Christian denominations it usually took the form of appointment of local Bishops. Sometimes the transfer went on smoothly but at times there were some conflicts. It was the case for example with the North East Lutheran Diocese in the Usambaras where the German Bishop was highly contested (Fiereman 1990).

The Historical experience of Christian FBOs

Christian charity and philanthropy is guided by “the commandment of love of God and love of fellow human beings”. As the Secretary General of the Tanzania Episcopal conference (TEC) puts it “religious institutions are called upon to bring good news to the poor through their commitment and dedication to eradicate poverty” (Mhina 2007b p.14). Nevertheless, as it has shown in so many instances philanthropy is not only based on benevolence. At the same time not all Churches are engaged in benevolent activities. It is therefore important to examine the practice of Christian religions and FBOs as they engage Tanzanians.

Tanzania currently has many Christian denominations and each year new churches are emerging. Yet for almost a century there were only a few mainstream Churches in the country. The early Churches were Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Moravian and a few Pentecostal Churches. It is important though to observe that these mainstream Churches were divided to competing organizations from different Northern countries. In the Catholic Church there were French white fathers, German Benedictines and others from United States, Britain and Ireland. Lutheran organizations came from Germany, USA and Scandinavian countries. English Anglicans competed with Scottish Presbyterians (Tambila and Sivallon 2006: 226).

Christian denominations launched modern education and health services in Tanzania, partly as a way of getting believers. While the Colonial State provided social services in towns and plantation areas in most remote towns and rural areas those services were largely provided by Christian Churches (Mhina 2007a). Realizing the importance of such services to their enterprise the colonial State subsidized mission schools and hospitals on condition that they employed professionally qualified teachers and doctors (Mushi, 2006, Possi, 2006).

The question is whether those services were provided by FBOs as a distinct organizational form. The organizations that were providing health and education services were referred to as Voluntary Agencies (VAs). The extent

of their organizational distinction from other church activities was not always very clear. What is important is that Churches went beyond preaching and provided social services, professional training and other outreach programs. These services were either provided by semi autonomous departments or by organizations created for such purposes. We can refer to these organizations as precursors to modern FBOs contributing to development through providing the traditional services of education and health which transformed societies and improved the lives of a substantial number of individuals and communities.

Some of these organizations were affiliated to International Christian Organizations. The Churches joined such world federations as the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the Federation of Episcopal Churches for the Anglican Church. Foreign assistance from Europe and United States was significant in financing FBOs and social services. It included capacity building, through physical infrastructure and training. Many future leaders of the Churches and FBOs were trained abroad through scholarships.

With the years such assistance has remained but it has declined significantly. The Catholic Bishop of Lindi has recently highlighted the point during a ceremony marking the partnership between the Church hospital of Nyangao and the Lindi Rural Council (CSSC 2009). Many Christian FBOs are funded locally by local believers and through cost sharing.

The extent of Christian services during colonialism was very significant. It has been indicated that before Independence 70% of African primary school children went to schools administered by religious organizations and so did 55% who attended secondary and technical schools. In the health sector by 1958 religious organizations, mostly Christian, owned 42% of all hospital beds while the government owned 58%. In terms of primary health care, 81% was provided by Christian health facilities while government health facilities provided 19% of such services (Mvungi 2008).

Historical Experience of Muslim FBOs

Kroessin has argues that under Islam vehicles for redistributive justice are Zakat, Sadaq and Waqf. Zakat is one of the five pillars of Islam. Voluntary Sadaqah is regarded as individual devotion that is given directly to the destitute beneficiary. This includes assisting the destitute during the holy fasting month of Ramadhan and at the end of it. Waqf is a pious foundation established by endowment. Funds generated by Waqf are allowed to be

utilized in all aspects of Charity work such as construction of mosques, shelters, orphanages, refugee camps and hospitals (Kroessin 2007).

Islamic support often stresses direct charity. There are therefore many acts of charity which occurs at mosques and during Ramadhan that would be undocumented. Zakat and Waqf however provide avenues for development and relief activities. The principle of Waqf is particularly suited for long term assistance. There is limited information on Waqf activities on Mainland Tanzania. There is more information on Waqf information in Zanzibar where there is a Waqf and Trust Property Commission. It was established since 1906 as a Government institution during the Arab supremacy and started operations the same year. It has office in both Unguja and Pemba (Mvungi 2008).

During the colonial period in Tanzania there were a number of Muslim FBOs which emerged to provide social services. The Muslim league, Muslim Relief Services and the Shia Ismaili Muslim services by the Aga Khan were established. The later was the most elaborate provider of Muslim social services. It became the pillar of the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMS) which was established in 1945 (Tambila 2006). At the same time in some areas Muslims established local FBOs to run social services, especially schools. Most notable were in Kilimanjaro in Same (Usangi) and Moshi District (Machame) and Bukoba.

At the eve of Independence the Muslim network of schools and hospitals was by far less important in size compared to the Christian network. This led to fear among some Muslims that the Independent State would be dominated by Christians. One Muslim organization AMNUT even called for a delay of Independence so that Muslims could catch up (Illife 1979). The leading nationalist party promised to address the situation after Independence. Indeed the first President would keep his word and nationalize most Christian schools so that all could get access to them.

Independence, Socialism and FBOs

The ruling party which came to power after Independence was a mass party representing a popular nationalist movement. The new State and its leadership however faced a number of challenges of expectations, among them the challenge from some Muslims who demanded that the gap in education be bridged. The manner this challenge was tackled led to some misunderstanding between the two hegemonic religions and its FBOs. With

hindsight we can say that the actions taken by the State were bold with significant impact.

While the State accepted the Muslim challenge it realized that the problem was greater. Illiteracy at Independence was around 85% of the total population (Mushi 2006). The new government therefore committed itself to educational policies and strategies aimed at limiting observed inequalities in education and employment. The government passed the education Act of 1962 which aimed at regulating the provision of education. It abolished all discrimination in the provision of education "Any child of any religious affiliation could secure admission to any government or government aided school without reference to his/her race and religion and without fear of being religious indoctrinated (Mushi 2006).

This can be seen as move to redress the difference between Christians and Muslims in access to social services, especially education and health. The result was that after Independence the relation between the Government and Christian FBOs was somewhat turbulent. Their schools were nationalized starting with primary schools in 1964. By 1970 all Church secondary schools and Teachers colleges were nationalized (CSSC). This was done by a Catholic President targeting especially catholic schools after that Denomination rejected his request to allow non-Christians to attend their schools as it was the case with Anglican and Lutheran schools (Mhina 2007b.)

In 1971 the Government nationalized two biggest FBO owned big multipurpose Hospitals. These were the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC) in Moshi owned by the Lutheran Church and Bugando Hospital in Mwanza owned by the Catholic Church. These were turned into Zonal consultancy hospitals, second and third only to the National hospital at Muhimbili in Dar es Salaam. All had medical training schools which were taken up by the Government.

Ironically some of the supposedly beneficiaries did not appear to appreciate the concrete steps taken by the Government to reduce the gap. Some Muslims were not satisfied with steps taken and their political agitation was centered on EAMWS where there was a tug of war for control. It was between the pro-ruling party committee members and incumbent leaders of the organization, whose Chairman was a Kenyan who showed no respect for the government and frequently threatened to unleash the power of Muslims against it. At the same time the Ismaili who provided the funding for the

social services run by the organization would not relinquish control. The government reacted by banning EAMWS in 1968 and expelled its non-Tanzanian leaders (Mhina 2007b).

The nationalization of the services and the banning of EAMWS went together with centralization of power of the State following the establishment of a single party rule in 1965 as well as the establishment of socialist policies in 1967 where service provision was seen as the prerogative of the State. The above period laid down the basis of State-FBO relations in Tanzania. Once FBOs avoided political agitation and silently allowed themselves to be engaged by the State as partners in development, then the relationship was amicable. If on the contrary they contested government positions, then they faced hostile action from the State. Thus while the two biggest church hospitals were nationalized by the State, most of Church hospitals were not nationalized. Indeed for a long time 19 of these hospitals were Designated District Hospitals in those Districts where the government did not have a government hospital. In such a situation ownership would remain with a particular Church denomination but the government would provide important running costs and appoint the District Medical Officer who would be located at that Hospital.

The State's image of FBOs is that of organization providing important social services especially those targeting the poor. Once they did that they would be in the good books of the State. Once however FBOs engaged in the expressive function, then the attitude of the State changed.

Locating FBOs in current development discourse

The role of FBOs in Tanzania has changed since the entry of liberalism with its structural adjustment programmes. As the State ended its monopoly in the provision of social services and invited the private sector to provide such services. It had to revamp its collaboration with FBOs so as to reach the poor and those in remote areas who couldn't be reached neither by the government nor by the for profit private sector. The two Church hospitals which had been nationalized were returned to its owners and so were some of the nationalized schools and tertiary colleges. FBOs whether domestic or international are also solidly part of the non-profit sector and as such they can engage in many activities. The Johns Hopkins comparative Non-profit sector study came with a variety of activities and many key fields in the sector. The fields identified were 11, these included culture and recreation, education and research, health, social services, environment, development

and housing, civic and advocacy, philanthropic intermediaries, international, religious congregations, business and professional unions and others (Salamon and Solsolowski 2004).

These are categories for the non-profit sector and civil society as a whole, FBOs however are likely to be engaged in some fields more than in others. They provide a variety of human services. FBOs are very active in providing tangible services such as healthcare, education and other social services. They are also often engaged in the community building function, here FBOs are often engaged in creating bonds of trust and reciprocity that can be regarded as social capital. The other function is that of advocacy, which goes beyond political and policy concerns to include the broader expressive function which refer to providing vehicles through a variety of sentiments and impulses are voiced (Salamon et al 2004.). For Tanzanian FBOs engagement in the expressive function is a recent phenomenon following the marginalization of many ordinary citizens by globalization and the ascendancy of domestic corruption which came with it.

Current FBOs in Tanzania and their new tasks

FBOs in Tanzania have over the years made very significant contributions in the category of traditional social services especially in education and health. In this domain contributions have included provision of such services as training of professionals to manage institutions providing those services. More recently FBOs have increasingly been involved in other fields dealing with improvement of economic conditions. Currently FBOs are especially engaged in economic empowerment, especially in the areas of microfinance and skill training, which often favours women and the youth, the two groups most marginalized by liberal economic reforms. Even more recent is the involvement of FBOs in expressive and advocacy activities mentioned above (Mhina 2007a).

In the analysis of the contribution of FBOs to development in Tanzania we are faced by the question of their categorization. We could use a typology approach based of functions and the activities covered by FBOs such as education, health or environment, as is usually done in the analysis of NGOs. With FBOs it is however also important to look at their linkages to religions and faiths because these influence greater part the character of such organizations. Denominational, ecumenical or inter-faith issues affect the nature of FBOs.

Important also is the role of FBO umbrella or apex organizations which influences individual organizations at policy level. The linkage to apex organizations has also implications on governance structures as well as the decision making structures of individual FBOs. Apex organizations equally have influence on the relationship between international FBOs or donors with national religious institutions. This applies to denominational and ecumenical Apex organizations.

In this paper we therefore look first at the biggest, the most active and the most influential FBO Apex organizations in Tanzania. There are many active FBOs at community level which however are not widely known due to limited research in the area. It is true however that FBO Apexes of specific denominations have much influence on community and congregational level FBOs. This is however more true for Christian denominations where hierarchy is often not contested than with Muslim denominations where Apex organizations have less influence on individual mosques and faith organizations and are often contested.

Among Christian denominations there is a big difference between traditional mainstream churches and the recent churches which are often linked to charismatic individuals. The new Christian organizations have not been very active in development activities. The only significant development actor among the new FBOs is World Vision. It came to Tanzania in 1981 and describes itself as the largest aid and development organization in Tanzania. (WVT2009). It difficult to verify such a claim because the total amount of funds used is not given. However it is unlikely to reach the magnitude of such official aid agencies like DANIDA of Denmark and NORAD of Norway. World Vision Tanzania (WVT) is part of World Vision International (WVI) which is a Christian relief, development and advocacy organization which works with children, families and communities in the quest to overcome poverty and injustice (WVI 2009).

WVT is involved in community development, disaster relief and advocacy. In operates Area Development Projects (ADPs) which are funded through child sponsorship. Different donors sponsor children in the ADPs creating in the process a link through the child with the wider community. World Vision Tanzania (WVT) has 69 ADPs in the Country, each covering several villages. WVT approach communities that are poor and needs help and empower the people to solve their own problems with their support. Most of the support goes to well building, water pumping, soil cultivation and agricultural

techniques, all seen as critical to the self-reliance of a community (WVT 2009).

It can be said that WVT is a significant aid FBO which is directly controlled by the International FBO. The largest service provider FBOs are however local to Tanzania. WVT services cannot for example compare in magnitude with the services provided by the Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC), an ecumenical body which coordinates Catholic and Protestants education and health services.

The Tanzanian FBOs however do get assistance from “northern” FBOs but this is controlled by mainstream Christian denominations. Consequently in order to look at the largest and most influential FBOs it is important to look at Apex Organizations at denominational and ecumenical levels. There is a Muslim Apex organization in Tanzania. Its creation was however directly influenced by Tanzanian government which was averse to having an organizational vacuum among the Muslims who were already agitating the State. This organization was contested by some Muslims from the beginning.

Apex FBOs in Tanzania

Apex organizations are very important because they represent numerous NGOs and represent their interests and give policy guidance. This is even more significant for FBO Apexes as they represent not only interests of the numerous FBOs under them but also the authoritative higher religious values guiding their work. These Apex organizations are also important for creating faith and interfaith networking and solidarity as well as creating links with international organizations.

The most powerful FBOs are linked to the mainline Christian Churches, The Catholic Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT), the Anglican Church of Tanzania. (ACT), the Moravian Church and The African Inland Church. These Churches have given base to the two most important FBO Apexes in Tanzania, the catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the protestant Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT). Together they have created CSSC, the ecumenical umbrella body mentioned above.

The Pentecostal Churches have struggled to form an apex organization. Agreement among the numerous Pentecostal Churches has been difficult to come and they have split. To date one faction the True Pentecostal Church of

Tanzania (TPCT) is trying to establish a social service FBO with limited success. (TPCT 2009)

The Tanzania Episcopal Conference

TEC is a powerful official organization through which the Catholic Church is legally recognized in Tanzania. It is a representative body of 30 Dioceses. It was established in 1956 and was registered as a society by the registrar of societies in the 1967 and as a trustee by the Registrar general in 1975. It has a rotating Presiding Bishop and Secretary General of the Secretariat.

Apart from being an Association of Catholic Dioceses, TEC, especially its Secretariat, is the Coordinator of a number of highly influential lay Catholic Organizations as well as of International development and relief organizations with Tanzania chapters, such as The Catholic Relief Organization (CARITAS).

TEC as a Secretariat deals with policy issues of the Catholic Church and policy advocacy issues on government public policies. It also deals with coordination of programs which cover all Dioceses, such as HIV programs. It is also responsible for networking in ecumenical and inter-faith organizations as well as dealing with the Government and International FBOs (Mvungi 2008).

Apart from the Secretariat with its departments there are a number of national lay Catholic FBOs working under the auspices of the National Council of Catholic Laity (NCCL). These are made up of lay Catholics as citizens engaged in activities beyond pure proselytism. The question here would be whether these can be regarded as civil society organizations because they are informed by catholic ethics. We believe that so long they are dealing with clear citizen collective good issues they are civil society organizations. They cease to be so when they are engaged in advocacy for purely catholic clerical positions, such as opposition to birth control.

Such a fine line is faced when looking at the Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT). It was formed by former members of the Tanzania Young Catholic students. CPT registered an NGO in 2005 and had a membership of around 2000 (Mvungi 2008). It is significant in that it plays an advocacy role and seeks to influence public policy. Sometimes such zeal to influence policy along catholic ethics is resented. Some Muslims regard the Catholic Church and its FBOs as overly influential.

Another FBO which is significant is the Catholic Women of Tanzania (WAWATA). This lay women national organization plays an important role in gender issues and mobilizing resources through credit associations. It has mobilized many catholic women in the Country. Its activities are less controversial as its programmes involve women from other religions. (Mvungi 2008, Bakari 2008)

Another FBO at the national Secretariat level is Caritas Tanzania, which is the national chapter of Caritas International. Despite the link to the International Organization it is hierarchically under TEC. Apart from these national Catholic FBOs there are numerous FBOs at Diocese level which in collaboration with chapters of international FBOs are running a network of education and health services. TEC as an Apex FBO has been able to use its secretariat to effectively coordinate a number of influential catholic FBOs. However such efficiency has raised eyebrows about the influence of the Catholic Church.

The Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT)

The Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) took the current form in 1964 although it had a precursor organization of 1934. This is an apex organization for Protestant Churches. The four biggest Churches in CCT are Lutheran, Anglican, Moravian and African Inland. There are also smaller Churches and Christian organizations making up a total of 30 members. The bigger Churches have also their denominational Apexes. ELCT for example has a Secretariat which represents 24 Lutheran Dioceses. It has a Directorate of social services which includes Departments of health, education and women. The Health department for example is responsible for 20 hospitals and many other health facilities, accounting for around 15% of all health services in the country (ELCT 2009). ELCT gets support from Lutheran FBOs from Northern countries. As a result it has established the Lutheran Mission Cooperation (LMC) as an instrument for coordinating the interaction between ELCT and its northern partners. CCT as an umbrella group coordinates the policies and strategies of members churches as they engage other actors, including the State. Unlike TEC which is made of one Christian denomination CCT has many denominations. It is an FBO which has influence but less so than TEC because each denomination has FBOs which are influenced at policy level by its headquarters and secretariat. The importance of CCT lies in its relationship with TEC especially in its partnership in the ownership of CSSC.

The Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC)

This is the most powerful FBO in Tanzania in terms of social services delivery. It is an elaborate organization with many activities. These include; harmonizing church policies relevant to the provision of social services, facilitating strategies in the education and health services, monitoring social sector programmes, managing funds borrowed, granted, generated or allocated through the Commission and strengthening technical services in education, health and other social services. Since CSSC is owned by both TEC and CCT, the board of Governors of the Commission include six members from CCT and six members from TEC. The five core members of Board of trustees are the Presiding Bishops of CCT and TEC, The Secretary Generals of CCT and TEC and the incumbent Director of CSSC. CSSC coordinates the Churches' education and health sectors. In the education sector the Churches under CCT and TEC operates 65 primary schools, 220 secondary schools, 154 Vocational training centres and 3 Universities. It should be noted most of Church schools had been nationalized by 1970 and therefore most of these were built after 1990s.

In the health sector CSSC coordinates about 40% of all health services in the country. In terms of numbers it coordinates more than 700 health facilities which include 88 hospitals, 68 health centres and over 600 dispensaries. Among the 88 hospitals 2 are consultant and teaching hospitals and 24 are designated District hospitals and 1 specialised hospital (CSSC 2009). In terms of numbers Church hospitals have always slightly outnumbered government hospitals but the government leads in terms of number of hospital beds (Mhina 2007a).

BAKWATA and Muslim Faith Based Charitable/ Development Organizations

The Official Muslim Apex FBO is The Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA) has remained contested among the Muslims. As a result there have been attempts to establish alternative organizations. BALUKTA was established in 1991 but had its certificate cancelled in 1993 when its followers attacked pork butcheries and its owners. Another Muslim apex bodies formed are the Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations (Baraza Kuu) and the Council of Imams (Shura ya Maimamu). These have failed to dislodge BAKWATA partly because of the support by the government and partly because Muslims are divided on the question of a unified hierarchy (Tambila and Sivallon 2006).

In terms of social services it has a number of secondary schools and health facilities but these are limited (Bakari 2008). It is also important to remember as mentioned above that Muslim philanthropy often goes directly to those targeted who are needy people. Mosques therefore play an important role in Muslim assistance to the poor. International Muslim philanthropy plays an important role in building Mosques which often goes with assistance projects focused on needy groups. The mainstream Churches on the other hand have a tendency of separating congregation activities with development FBOs which are semi autonomous. In a way Christian organizations fits in with a westernized model of FBOs more clearly than Muslim organizations.

There are however a number of Muslim philanthropic FBOs engaged in development activities. They include the African Muslim Agency (AMA). It is an International Sunni FBO involved in providing education, health services and water drilling for free. It currently covers four Regions of Tanzania; Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Morogoro and Dar es Salaam (Mvungi 2008).

Shia Muslims, who are mostly Tanzanians of Asian Origin, have FBOs which are effective in social services given the limited number of Tanzanian of Asians origin. The Aga Khan Trust, The Al Muntazir organization and the World Islamic Propagation and Humanitarian Services (WIPAHS) are cases in point (Mhina 2007b, Mvungi 2008).

Inter faith organizations

Interfaith organizations have emerged recently and are mostly engaged in advocacy and conflict resolution. An example of an interfaith organization is the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), Tanzania Chapter. It was formally registered in 2000. It organized the World Religion Day on 16th January 2000. It is mainly a peace building rather than a development FBO. (Mosha 2007)

FBOs and challenges of Development in Tanzania

The main challenges to development in Tanzania are both domestic and international. Domestically there barriers to State reforms as well conflictual tendencies in the society. From the international arena there is domination and impact of globalization and the neo-liberal hegemony. The Tanzania State is reforming but changes are slow and there is corruption which contributes to higher levels of poverty and large sections of the population are marginalized. FBOs are called upon to provide important social services

but also find themselves obliged to engage in advocacy in favour of marginalized groups.

FBOs and Social Services

The first important contribution of FBOs is the provision of social services especially in the education and health sectors. These are traditional services and in Tanzania they are dominated by traditional Church FBOs and some Muslim FBOs mentioned above. The 1990s saw a number of changes. Structural Adjustment Programmes prescribed systematic withdrawal of the state in the provision of social services. Faith was placed on the private sector and the new NGOs. In practice the private sector was limited in coverage and focused mostly the urban areas. The new NGOs provided some new services, such as information on certain health conditions but could not provide solid social services through concrete education or health institutions. So the government realized that it were still the traditional FBOs which had the capacity to provide such services. Consequently some of the nationalized institutions in education and health were returned their Christian owners.

Muslim FBOs do provide social services but their system is not as elaborate as the mainstream Christian network. The number of Muslim Secondary schools has increased significantly as a drive to reduce the gap between Muslims and Christians in education. Health services are however more limited, provided by such charitable organizations as the Aga Khan Trust.

In the provision of social services it is however important distinguish between for-profit and non-profit activities. We recognize FBOs as non-profit organizations. Most faith based social services are non-profit in the sense that there is no distribution of profit to shareholders. The profit which is obtained is ploughed back into providing the services. That's why such services are exempted from taxation by the government. It does not mean though that the services are provided free of charge. Clients pay for the services but not at for profit rates. Usually the difference is offset by local and external donors. Only the indigent get free service (Munishi 2004).

In the Muslim FBO, the Aga Khan Trust, there are both for profit services and non-profit activities. The Aga Khan Hospital is a fully Capitalist enterprise and the profits are paid to the owner. The non- profit activities include community and joint health programs with the government or the UN (Mhina 2007a).

FBOs social services have always come to the assistance of the poor. Religious organizations believe that the best way to help the poor is to educate their children and to provide health services to them especially, when they couldn't pay due to illness. Some were therefore allowed to pay back once they got well.

Today FBOs are faced with new types of marginalized groups, such as the homeless, drug addicts and those affected by emergencies like famine. Finding solutions for these groups is complex and difficult to achieve. Hunger is becoming a more regular occurrence, Caritas Tanzania (CT) for example, has a permanent department on emergencies and it deals mostly with famine cases within Tanzania.

Economic Empowerment

The introduction of neo-liberalism in Tanzania brought in much needed reforms at macro level. The economy based on public enterprises had failed due to inefficiency and corruption. Vested interests and political patronage was the order of the day and no attempts at reforms could succeed in a system where selfish individual appropriation of collective property prevailed. Privatization of the parasitic and dysfunctional public enterprises therefore became inevitable. The liberal reforms however were only successful at the Macro level, especially in the finance, commercial and service sectors. The productive sectors were marginalized and Tanzania's capacity to produce and manufacture declined. The country largely became a market for external commodities and a provider of natural resources extracted recklessly and sold cheaply. The agriculture sector declined due to limited investment and unreliable weather. Consequently many Tanzanians became sidelined in the mainstream of the economy.

It is government policy give priority to the private sector. Yet no distinction is made between the capitalist sector and small producers and entrepreneurs. In reality it was the corporate capitalist sector which benefitted from private sector policies. The domain of ordinary Tanzanians is that of small producers and entrepreneurs. Survival usually comes through groups or associations. Microfinance as a way of mobilizing small scale savings therefore becomes very important. FBOs and other CSOs are important actors in that domain through facilitation of groups which mobilize their resources through Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS). The added importance of SACCOS is that women play an important role in them.

Both Christian and Muslim FBOs are as a consequence active in mobilizing for microfinance and microenterprises. One of the most effective FBO in this domain is the Catholic women organization WAWATA which has a national network for microfinance among lay women. There are however numerous small FBOs at the level of Mosque or Church congregations organizing SACCOS. These have succeeded in mobilizing financial resources. The only major weakness is the limited avenues for investment and lack of entrepreneurial creativity which lead to the repetition of identical commercial activities at the expense of profitability. In the agricultural sector FBOs have assisted in productive programmes which mobilize members from different religions. Programmes dealing with dairy cattle have been popular. An example being the Lutheran Heifer Credit Scheme where one gets a cow free of charge and pays back by giving the first calf to the programme so that another person can get a cow.

FBOs and Advocacy

The traditional role of FBOs in Tanzania and elsewhere was to engage in the provision of social services mostly to the disadvantaged and to engage in relief work. Most were not engaged in advocacy issues which meant that their relationship with the state was often non-conflictual. The Johns Hopkins non-profit sector comparative study had indicated that many FBOs engaged in traditional service delivery were not engaged in the expressive function (Mhina 2007). The situation has changed rather fast because of the feeling that the work of FBOs is being rendered ineffective because government policies and action on the poor. FBOs as well as religious leaders are engaged in advocacy in a number of areas.

The first is the concern International domination and the marginalization of Tanzania and its people most of whom are poor. FBOs have been in the forefront against the global dominance of neo-liberalism. A conference which was organized by ELCT with assistance from LWF in 2002 on the New Partnership for African Development expressed for example reservations about the uncritical embrace of neo-liberalism. The conference included the participation of other religious leaders such as Anglicans and Muslims. They for example urged the government to avoid indiscriminate privatizations of financial institutions that provide credit to ordinary people and public utilities (Mhina 2007). Both International and local FBOs believe they have

responsibility to mobilize against global economic domination which marginalize the poor of the third world by the millions.

FBOs also engage in advocacy against corrupt leaders. They realize that outside domination passes through greedy leaders. As the Secretary General of TEC put it religious institutions in Tanzania need to influence the choosing of priorities in spending public resources and in the way scarce funds are used for the benefit of the greatest number. FBOs therefore need to advocate pro poor policies, support human rights and justice including distributive justice (Sichalawe 2006).

For a long time the relationship between FBOs and the government was described as good. It was the view of the Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT). It indicates that the government respects religious organizations engaged in development. Some stress is beginning to emerge as some politicians have criticized the Catholic Church of taking political positions especially in their criticism of corruption. A recent controversy is a document produced by the Catholic Church and used by CPT on the criteria of selecting good leadership in the 2010 elections. The position however is not unanimous because other leaders believe the document talks of principles of choosing leaders and not the religion of the candidates.

Conclusion

The paper sought to examine the role of FBOs in the development efforts of Tanzania. Since FBOs are related to religions, their role in development is complex and the boundaries between development and clerical work are difficult to draw. This is not a theological study nor does it reduce religion to a sociological category. We believe that people are driven by their religious beliefs and ethics to engage in activities beneficial to their communities.

Development efforts aimed at the collective good are the product of such activities. We however make a distinction between issues of revelation and those aimed at development. Our attention has been on faith organizations dealing with development issues and not those engaged only in preaching. The former can qualify to be civil society organizations while the latter are purely clerical and their activities are restricted only to their believers as they seek the heavenly kingdom. We also linked FBOs to the non-profit sector. Religions over the year have concerned themselves with the poor and the marginalized. This trend continues with new types of marginalized groups. FBOs are therefore important actors in the non-profit sector. As is the case

with civil society there are many local FBOs which have not been covered by research. These are particularly located at congregational level. That level however mostly deals with short term philanthropic assistance. Development activities need to be institutionalized and hence its important that FBOs have elaborate medium to long term goals.

In that regard the role of FBOs in the development efforts of Tanzania has a long history, through colonialism and after Independence. Many people of different religious persuasions have benefited from FBOs social services. Christians however benefitted more leading to some Muslims to agitate for the State to redress the situation. The result was that the nationalist State took steps to redress the situation through the nationalization of all Christian schools and two of their biggest hospital institutions.

Under socialism the State sought to provide free school and health services. However the economic base could not sustain such services. FBOs health services remained needed in many areas of the country. With Structural Adjustment Programmes which reduced the role of the state in the provision of social services, the role of FBOs in the provision of traditional social services was enhanced because the prescribed private sector could not reach the majority, especially the poor. The NGOs are in such other areas such as women, children and environment and can conduct their activities only through donor funding. FBOs on the contrary play a critical role both in traditional in social services and other areas such as economic empowerment of the poor and the marginalized. In addition FBOs have taken up the expressive role through advocacy and policy influence because they believe there is a global and a domestic system which need to be reformed before one can be effective in dealing with poverty.

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