UNIVERSITY OF KOCAELI
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
LABOUR ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
SOCIAL POLICY PROGRAMME

ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (CSOs) ON FINANCING SOCIAL PROTECTION AND REDUCING POVERTY IN ZANZIBAR

PhD THESIS

SALUM RASHID MOHAMED

KOCAELI, 2021

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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the role of CSOs on financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. The study focused on assessing four research areas: 1) the quality of interventions in terms of design and coverage; 2) targeting of beneficiaries and their efficiency; 3) institutional capacity and financial sustainability; and 4) coordination and linkage. It used an in-depth comparative case study research design to study the four CSOs (2 FBOs (MICO and ACA) and 2 NGOs (ZASO and ZACA)) selected for data collection. Findings show that in relation to the first area FBOs have many programmes that target poverty but are poorly designed compared with NGOs, and missing potential nutrients for realizing poverty reduction. The coverage is generally very low, but is lower among NGOs than FBOs, and is concentrated in rich/urban districts. On the second area, targeting of of beneficiaries was inefficient in reaching the real poor and did not adequately observe national and social protection standards. Graduation based on the improvement of their wellbeing is also not applied and there was clear domination of charity- and needs-based approaches in their service delivery. In relation to the third area, although all organisations have sufficient number of workers, with clear understanding of their missions and objectives, they lack capacity to design effective programmes. Some organisations provide sufficient benefits, covering between 21.8% and 121% of BNPL, but benefits are not regular and reliable for some organisations. Dependence on foreign funding is too much (over 90%), threatening financial sustainability of those programmes.   The last area reveals absence of proper coordination mechanism for social protection activities. The relation between the CSOs and the government is good but not between the CSOs interventions and the national social protection system. However, it appears that CSOs can increase their contribution on poverty reduction once the identified gaps are addressed because of having sufficient infrastructural and institutional capacity. The study contributes to filling in the knowledge gap and clarifyies the existed misperception on their power to finance social protection and reduce poverty in Zanzibar.

Key Words: CSOs, Social Protection, Poverty, Zanzibar

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Zanzibar'daki sosyal korumanın finansmanı ve yoksulluğun azaltılması konusunda STÖ'ların rolünü incelemiştir. Çalışma dört araştırma alanını değerlendirmeye odaklandı: 1) tasarım, uygulama ve kapsam açısından müdahalelerin kalitesi; 2) yararlanıcıların hedeflenmesi ve verimlilikleri; 3) kurumsal kapasite ve mali sürdürülebilirlik; ve 4 koordinasyon ve bağlantı. Veri toplama için seçilen dört STÖ'yı (2 İnanç Temelli Organizasyonlar (İTO) (MICO ve ACA) ve 2 Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (STK) (ZASO ve ZACA)) incelemek için derinlemesine karşılaştırmalı bir vaka çalışması araştırma tasarımı kullandı. Bulgular, birinci bölge ile ilgili olarak, İTO'ların yoksulluğu hedefleyen ancak kötü tasarlanmış birçok programa sahip olduğunu ve yoksulluğu azaltmayı gerçekleştirmek için potansiyel besin maddelerini kaçırdığını göstermektedir. Kapsam çok düşüktür, ancak STK'lar arasında İTO'lardan daha düşüktür ve genellikle zengin alanlarda yoğunlaşmıştır. İkinci alanda, yararlanıcıların hedeflenmesi, gerçek yoksullara ulaşmada yetersiz kalmış ve ulusal ve sosyal koruma standartlarını yeterince gözetmemiştir. Refahlarının iyileştirilmesine dayalı mezuniyet uygulanmadı ve hizmet sunumunda hayırseverlik ve ihtiyaç temelli yaklaşımlar üzerinde açık bir hakimiyet vardı. Üçüncü alanda, tüm kuruluşların görevlerini ve hedeflerini net bir şekilde anlayan yeterli sayıda çalışanı olmasına rağmen, etkili programlar tasarlama kapasitesinden yoksundu. Ayrıca, bazı kuruluşlar, Temel İhtiyaçlar Yoksulluk Sınırının% 21,8 ila% 121'ünü kapsayan yeterli yardım düzeyi sağlar, ancak bazı kuruluşlar için faydalar düzenli ve güvenilir değildir. Dış finansmana aşırı bağımlılık çok fazla (% 90'ın üzerinde) ve bu programların mali sürdürülebilirliğini tehdit ediyor. Son alan, sosyal koruma faaliyetleri için uygun koordinasyon mekanizmasının bulunmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. STÖ'ler ile hükümet arasındaki ilişki iyidir ancak STÖ'ların müdahaleleri ile ulusal sosyal koruma sistemi arasında değildir. Ancak, yeterli altyapı ve kurumsal kapasiteye sahip olmaları nedeniyle, belirlenen boşluklar giderildikten sonra STÖ'ların yoksulluğun azaltılmasına katkılarını artırabilecekleri görülmektedir. Çalışma, bilgi boşluğunun doldurulmasına katkıda bulunuyor ve Zanzibar'da sosyal korumayı finanse etme ve yoksulluğu azaltma gücüne ilişkin var olan yanlış algıyı netleştiriyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: STÖ'ler, Sosyal Koruma, Yoksulluk, Zanzibar

ACRONYMS

ACA	Al-Noor Charitable Agency for the Needy
ACSC	African Civil Society Circle
ANGOZA	Association of Non-Governmental Organisations in Zanzibar
BNPL	Basic Need Poverty Line
CBA	Charity-Based Approach
CTCs	Care and Treatment Centres
DESW	Department of Elders and Social Welfare
FBOs	Faith-Based Organisations
FPL	Food Poverty Line
HBS	Household Budget Survey
IGA	Income Generating Activities
ILO	International Labour Office
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
MDA	Ministry, Department and Agencies
MICO	Muzdalifa Islamic Charitable Organisation
MVC	Most Vulnerable Children
NBA	Needs-Based Approach
NGOs	Non-Governmental, Organisations
NSPS	National Social Protection System
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PSSN	Productive Social Safety Net

RBA	Rights-Based Approach
RGoZ	Revolutionary Government of Zanz8bar
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
THRDC	Tanzania Human Right Defenders Coalition
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United State of America
VSLA	Village Savings Loans Associations
ZACA	Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement
ZAFELA	Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association
ZAMWASO	Zanzibar Muslim Women Aids Support Organisation
ZANGOC	Zanzibar NGO Cluster for HIV/AIDS
ZAPHA+	Zanzibar Association of People Living with HIV/AIDS
ZASO	Zanzibar AIDS Association and Support of Orphans
ZBPRA	Zanzibar Business and Property Registration Authority
ZLCS	Zanzibar Legal Service Centre
ZSPP	Zanzibar Social Protection Policy
ZUSWA	Zanzibar University Social Workers Association

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INTRODUCTION

Zanzibar is an archipelago in the Indian Ocean, some 30km east of the African Mainland. It consists of the islands of Unguja and Pemba[1] and several islets. Zanzibar acquired its independence on the 12th January 1964 following the Revolution[2] that put local people in control of the government and the state. The Union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika formed the United Republic of Tanzania, which came into being on 26th April 1964. Tanganyika merged its government into the Union government, while Zanzibar retained with its own, with autonomy in non-Union matters. Poverty and social protection areas are among sectors that Zanzibar enjoys its complete independence.

Like in many other African countries, poverty remains one of the biggest challenges in Zanzibar and Tanzania at large. About 30.4 percent of people in Zanzibar are living below basic needs poverty line and 10.8 percent below food poverty line (OCGS, 2016). Zanzibar is known to have dual system of laws giving importance of both universal and religious (Sharia) laws. This means that the influence of religion in Zanzibar is significantly high and so social protection and poverty reduction strategies should acknowledge the contribution of religious organizations and other non-state actors in providing social welfare and protection services to the poor and vulnerable peoples.

Many Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) and others in Zanzibar depend on Zakat and other charity funds (from within or outside the country) to finance their interventions. Zakat forms one of the main pillars of Muslim faith. As such it represents a socio-economic act of worship that is expected from each and every Muslim. It thus

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[1] There is no historical explanation as to when these two islands came into union. It is generally known that people of these two islands have been living and working together and interacting with each other since their existence. Historically, it is also known that people of these two islands came from different parts of the African mainland, especially from parts of Tanzania mainland, as well as from other islands in Indian Ocean such as Comoro Islands etc.

[2] The Zanzibar Revolution was held by local people, under the leadership of Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), on the night of 12th January 1964 to remove from power the Sultan of Oman and his government that was made mainly by Arabs and ignored local Africans. The aim of the revolution was therefore to end the discrimination of local people by foreigners and take over the control of the government and the state.

represents both a personal commitment but also an obligatory social institution which has a big potential for governing the social welfare of the society. CSOs are said to play an important role in providing social welfare services and support poverty reduction efforts in the isle. However, their work in the development of Zanzibar has not yet been empirically proven to identify the actual role and contribution they make in the overall social protection system and reducing poverty and vulnerability in the country.

The Revolutionary government of Zanzibar (RGoZ) has developed social protection policy as a strategy to reducing poverty and vulnerability and safeguard interests of the poor and most vulnerable people in the country. The policy identifies private sector, CSOs, NGOs and FBOs, as potential stakeholders for the provision of social welfare and protection services to the poor. It defines social protection as "a set of actions by government and non-government actors, that aim to improve the quality of life in Zanzibar by reducing poverty, vulnerability and deprivation, providing protection against shocks, improving access to essential services, enhancing social inclusion, and promoting equal rights and opportunities for all" (RGoZ, 2014:14).

Meanwhile, the policy clearly identifies Zakat as among potential sources of funding noncontributory social protection interventions in the country. Many FBOs receive Zakat money to finance their programmes. However, no solid evidence is available to inform about the role of these organizations on financing social protection interventions and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. At the meantime, some CSOs are known to utilize different opportunities at their disposition, including foreign donor funding to run their organisations and finance their programmes. Researches show that many CSOs in Africa, including Zanzibar, rely heavily on foreign funding for their operations (ILO, 2010; ACSC, 2016). This creates another insight to examine these foreign donations' impact on national policy through CSOs.

On the other hand, increasing number of NGOs and FBOs has raised coordination challenge for the responsible institution and sector Ministries, Departments and Agencies (ILO, 2010). Most of the institutions are located in the urban areas but their interventions are scattered over the country. So far, there is no adequate information on the availability

of a proper mechanism to coordinate these interventions and make them count in the national social protection system.

This study therefore looks at the role and contributions of these institutions (NGOs and FBOs) on financing social protection system and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. It closely examines case study organisations' activities, capacities and the values that shape their conceptualisation of poverty. It also reveales the similarities and differences between CSOs poverty reduction activities and official social protection in Zanzibar, and discusses how their approaches to poverty reduction can be understood in relation to the national social protection system in the country. As elaborated in the methodology, the study also used case studies approach to examine the validity of CSOs as vehicles for poverty reduction and social protection financing. Finally, it discusses the relationship between these organisations' poverty reduction activities and examines the role they play in financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. A key purpose of this critical investigation of CSOs approaches to poverty reduction is to explore more broadly their wider implications for development theory and practice by assessing whether they can contribute to existing knowledge on the CSOs contribution to poverty reduction and development.

CHAPTER ONE

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

CSOs in Zanzibar have existed since long time ago and its number got increased in recent decades. CSO role on poverty reduction has been studied by many authors that study CSOs and their contribution to development and have been said to play crucial role on development. However, this role is not shared equally among different categories of CSOs or at the same level in all countries of the world. This brings in the importance of country specifc contex on defining the role these institutions play on poverty reduction and development.

This chapter presents background about the study and its context in order to build a case for its development. It begins by presenting objectives of the study, which by itself is subdivided into main and specific objectives. The chapter than presents the rational and significance of the study before elaborating the statement of the problem which justifies the reason behind this theme. Finally, the chapter presents the research questions and sub-questions before providing an overview of the entire study as presented in this report.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

CSOs in Zanzibar are present at different levels, from community to the national levels. They generally appear in diverse forms; as religious based such as Islamic organisations in the forms of mosques or Christian ones in the churches, community based organisations (CBOs), NGOs, and other forms of grouping. They engage themselves in different forms of activities ranging from environmental protection, sport groups, and service delivery to the poor to advocacy activities (ILO, 2010).

This study intended to assess the role of CSOs that provide social welfare and protection services on financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. It precisely aimed at understanding the contribution of these social institutions, particularly

NGOs and FBOs, on financing poverty targeted interventions and the role they play on reducing poverty in the isle. The study had the following specific objectives:-

1. Assessing whether poverty targeted interventions by different CSOs are of good quality in terms of the way they are designed and implemented and the coverage, so as to be considered for the national social protection system;

2. Looking into the targeting of beneficiaries and how rigorous it is with respect to the national and social protection standards;

3. Assessing whether the institutional capacities in terms of financial and administrative resources are adequate to manage, finance, sustain and deliver the programmes;

4. Assessing coordination and linkages of CSOs' interventions with the national social protection system and among actors themselves;

1.3 RATIONAL AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This study presented an original research which addresses a majour gap on CSOs and their role to poverty reduction in Zanzibar. On the one hand, the RGoZ developed the Zanzibar Social Protection Policy (ZSPP) to safeguard interests of the poor and most vulnerable in the country. Indeed the policy acknowledges the role and contribution of non-state actors, including NGOs and FBOs which mainly depend on Zakat, Sadaka (charity) and donor funds, to finance their social protection interventions. The policy considers CSOs as among potential sources of financing noncontributory social protection interventions in the islands. Meanwhile, the policy opens rooms for further researches to explore the magnitude and the volume of these organizations and the extent to which they can finance social protection and support poverty reduction efforts.

On the other hand, both the Zanzibar Vision 2020 and the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (ZSGPR) recognize Zakat, Sadaka and CSO financing as among possible areas having significant impact on poverty reduction in Zanzibar. However, no detailed research has been conducted to identify the real role of these non-

state organizations managing those funds and their contributions within the national social protection system and poverty reduction in the country.

Moreover, the study on the role of Zakat and sadaka fund managed by Wakf and Trust Commission has given us a lesson. While the government placed a lot of hope on financing noncontributory social protection and reducing poverty through Zakat Fund's money, this study has proven quiet different story (Mohamed, 2014). This has necessitated for a broader study to cover the entire arena of the CSOs, which, to some extent, also rely heavily from donation and zakat money from within and outside the country.

This study therefore provides an evidence based knowledge to the Government of Zanzibar, particularly the Ministry responsible for social protection, and other stakeholders to understand the actual value of CSOs that provide social welfare services and their contribution on financing social protection and poverty reduction. It also helps to explore the conditions under which if fulfilled can deliver better outcomes in reducing poverty and vulnerability in Zanzibar. This study also addresses a number of challenges that impede realization of maximum impact of their interventions on poverty reduction and recommends new options to change the situation.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Zanzibar is known to have many CSOs - FBOs, NGOs and other organizations - that are not state owned, providing social welfare and protection services to the poor and the needy. The NGOs mapping exercise by the ILO (2010) showed that there were 92 NGOs engaged in social protection provision and running over 146 programmes in 2010 in Zanzibar. This number has probably increased significantly during the last few years due to increased inflows of foreign donor funding in previous decade and the government engagement of CSOs in the management of socio-economic affairs (ILO, 2010; Mago et al., 2015). Their existence has been acknowledged by all national development frameworks in Zanzibar (ZSGPR, Vision 2020 and ZSPP), however, no detailed research has been carried out to assess the impact of their work in reducing poverty and identify how much they contribute in the national social protection system, how best they can contribute to poverty eradication and the conditions under which should be operated in

order for these institutions to deliver the best outcomes in supporting poverty reduction efforts. This reality has been supported by the ILO study (2010) which acknowledged the presence of difficulty in obtaining a comprehensive picture of numbers of the population covered, the scope and depth of provision due to absence of systematic information on the subject. Low exploitation of the area may probably result into the government and other stakeholders having wrong information about the power of CSOs in supporting the non-contributory social protection and reducing poverty in the country.

An excellent example can be demonstrated through the Zakat Fund established by the government in 2012. In the same way, development frameworks also identified Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC), the national government institution for collection and redistribution of Zakat funds in Zanzibar, as being one of the potential sources of funding for the poor and the needy, and so contributing in the social protection system and reducing poverty in the country. However, the assessment of Wakf and Trust Commission has shown that it cannot contribute much in the national social protection system and poverty reduction efforts unless significant reforms are undertaken (Mohamed, 2014). The study has shown that WTC covers less than 1 percent of all poor people in Zanzibar and the fund is not sustainable at all. At the men time capacity gap and lack of appropriate strategies for the collection and the redistribution of zakat were identified as among key challenges hindered the attainment of fund's objectives. To some extent, this has put in question the statements that Zakat can be a potential source of funding to support poor people and poverty reduction in general.

Moreover, while most NGOs and FBOs depend on Zakat and external finance it is vital to assess their impact for appropriate consideration at the national level. However, donor funding to CSOs also pose another important issue to consider in a research. The issue of the influence of foreign donors and their institutions to the national policies through these local organisations which are the recipient of supports is also important. In a study by Bassey (2008) was stated that in pursuit of solutions to developmental problems facing the African continent, the donor community is increasingly regarding NGOs as an important agency for empowering people thereby leading more effective and sustainable local development services than those promoted by the government (Bassey,2008; in

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Mango et al, 2015). This may justify the increased likelihood of foreign donors inserting their influence to the national policies through our local organisations.

All these have driven a need to undertake a detailed and rigorous research as my PhD thesis to find out if and to what extent these social institutions (NGOs and FBOs) are beneficial. The study builds on a knowledge base for the government, policy makers, NGOs, FBOs and social activists on the situation and provides strategies on how to improve and integrate the agenda in the national system for better outcomes.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

This research aims at answering one main reseach question: *"To what extent do CSOs contribute to financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar?"* In general, the study looked at the general picture on the role or contribution made by interventions of CSOs on reducing poverty in Zanzibar. It includes understanding of value addition and the conditions under which these actors/ institutions operate their activities and how those activities relate to the national social protection system and target the poor and most vulnerable member of the Zanzibar society. It also involved assessing whether those interventions are of adequate quality and value to be considered in the national social protection system and the contribution they make in reducing poverty of poor people they serve and the overall poverty in Zanzibar. In a more specific way, in order to be able to answer this main question, the study struggled to answer the following four sub-questions (also referred to as research questions) based on the specific objectives presented above; these are:

Research question 1: How meaningful are poverty targeting interventions by CSOs in terms of the way they are designed, implemented and their coverage?

This question looked at the nature of the interventions or activities implemented by different organizations, the kind of programmes they implemented and their design, and how these differed or related to social protection/national standards. It also looked at their coverage, in terms of the number of beneficiaries of different programmes as standalone and as collective, against the current poverty rates in Zanzibar. In this question the comparison also was made on the way CSOs differed in their design and

implementation of their programmes. The question also explored options that should be considered in the design and implementation of the CSO activities and programmes in order to maximize impact on poverty reduction.

Research question 2: How rigorous is targeting of beneficiaries of programmes run by CSOs, with respect to the national standards?

This looked at the way selected CSOs recruited beneficiaries of their programmes. It examined targeting criteria and procedures in place to identify programme beneficiaries and how they related to the national and social protection standards. It also assessed the current targeting process and methods used by different actors to identify programmes beneficiaries, and critically analyzed their efficiencies towards reaching the poor and most vulnerable. The study also explored any possibilities of mismatch between religious perspective on who is the poor (for the case of FBOs) and the national and social protection standards. It also elaborated the best way to consolidate all these factors and proposed targeting method(s) and mechanism that observe interest of all sides and increase impact on poverty reduction. This was proposed following the assumption that poor targeting has adverse effect on programme impact (Samson et al, 2006).

Research question 3: Are institutional arrangements and capacities (financial and administrative) of CSOs adequate to manage, finance and sustain social protection programmes?

The question focused on assessing the existing administrative arrangements of the selected institutions and their programmes, government interventions in managing and supporting them, as well as looking at capacity of these institutions, in terms of technical and human resources to deliver poverty targeted programmes. The question also looked at the financial capacity of institutions to finance poverty targeted interventions. It included exploring sources of funds and how sustainable they were, the benefit levels provided and how adequate they were in relation to prevailing Poverty Lines used in Zanzibar. It also explored the financial accountability within organisations themselves and within the national social protection system. Mango and colleagues (2015) argue that many developing countries have embraced the intervention of NGOs as alternatives for

poverty alleviation. However, the strategies used are seemingly facing sustainability challenges hence the need to focus on what needs to be done to achieve sustainability. (Mango et al, 2015).

The question will also explore the influence of foreign support to NGOs and FBOs on the national social policy agendas. This is particularly important considering the notion that most of CSOs depend on foreign funds to run their activities (ILO, 2010).

Research question 4: How are poverty targeting interventions by CSOs coordinated and linked to the national social protection system?

This question looked at the linkages between interventions across institutions themselves to avoid duplication of efforts and with the government. How these institutions and their interventions are coordinated to make them countable within national system and national poverty reduction efforts. The study explored the current challenges to coordination and how best the government and institutions themselves can address them in the future. It also assessed the government capacity and existing arrangements to monitor and supervise CSOs and their interventions. Lack of coordination of CSO activities has been mentioned as one of the key challenges that need to be addressed by the national social protection policy in Zanzibar (Devereux et al, 2012; RGoZ, 2014).

1.6 THESIS OVERVIEW

This thesis report is composed of nine chapters. Chapter two outlines the conceptual framework for the thesis. It begins with discussing the meanings and definitions of civil society as discussed by various authors. The chapter uses De Tocqueville's model to define civil society by locating it as third sector that is separate from both the state and the market. It emphasizes the associational nature of civil society and highlights its essential function to act for common good by addressing the common interests of the target groups. It also derives the definition of CSO as used in this thesis, which basically highlights fulfilment of a number of criteria. The chapter then examines the meaning of NGO and FBO as components of CSOs and in view of demonstrating the existing differences between the two. The chapter then moves on to discussing the meaning of poverty, both based on the general understanding and based on Islamic

understanding of the concept. Here the thesis adopted definition of poverty, which is based on a multidimensional understanding, and that takes into account both absolute and relative understanding of the concept. It then moves to evaluating the contribution of CSOs to poverty reduction and development based on the theoretical review of the literature. Finally, the chapter ends by exploring the meaning of social protection and its linkage with poverty reduction. It also highlights some fundamental areas which form basis for analysis in the research finding chapters. The purpose is to provide theoretical insight of each of the area to establish a common understanding of the reader on the same. These areas include targeting of beneficiaries, benefit levels and their adequacy, management of social protection programmes, coordination of social protection and the role of social protection in poverty reduction.

The third chapter provides an overview of the situation of CSOs, poverty and social protection in Zanzibar based on the literature. The first part of the chapter presents the situation of CSOs in Zanzibar. It highlights their historical development which was the result of political and economic changes introduced by the government in the mid 1980's and 19090's, as well as the availability of donor funding to support CSOs in the delivery of services to the community, especially after the withdrawal of the state in the provision of some social services. The chapter continues with the description of the current status on CSOs, which highlights the current legal environment that supports CSOs and the different levels of CSOs available at different levels in Zanzibar. Then, influences of foreign organizations to the development of CSOs is well examined to also see the impact of foreign funding on CSOs. The role of CSOs is also examined with specific focus on Zanzibar, based on the researches conducted there. The second part of the chapter maps out the poverty problem in Zanzibar by outlining the main characteristics of poverty and those who live in it, as well as its social and geographical distribution. The chapter moves on to highlighting the causes of poverty in Zanzibar, which are mainly associated with the rural-urban factors, household composition, deprivation of basic services, income insecurity and other factors. Part two is concluded by evaluating government responses to poverty, which among other things include developing various policies and programmes that aim to address multidimensional poverty, as well as provision of pension benefits to

older people to insure income security. The final part of this chapter elaborates about social protection in Zanzibar. It highlights the historical development of social protection from after independence in 1964 to the recent days; the current system, consisting of four main pillars; and finally presents an overview of measures taken by the government to improve social protection in the country, which among others include the development of the comprehensive national social protection policy.

Chapter four presents and critically discusses the methodological approach employed in this thesis, namely the qualitative comparative case studies method. It then presents the criteria adopted in the selection of the four case study organisations involved in this study. The chapter then discusses the data collection methods, especially participant observation, interviews and document review, and also indicates the steps taken to enhance validity of the research, including triangulation. The remaining part of this chapter discusses about data recording and analysis methods applied in this study, including thematic analysis and logical analysis methods. Ethical issues and how they were taken care of are also presented here before providing critical overview of the advantages and limitations of the methodology used and the way it facilitated or impeded the study. The research plan is also presented at the end of this chapter.

The next four chapters present the analysis of data gathered during the fieldwork for this thesis to reach the main conclusions and answer the research questions of this study. Chapter five provides detailed description of the four case study organisations and the kind of programmes they run. It begins by locating the case study organisations and their surroundings, background, vision, mission and objectives. Then, it presents the nature of interventions and programmes implemented by each case study organisation, including their coverage. The chapter also highlights the internal arrangements put in place by the case study organisations to facilitate their operations. Later, the chapter provides a comprehensive comparison between the two categories of our case studies (FBOs and NGOs) and the linkage between the programmes and poverty reduction. Finally, the chapter discusses the three main approaches to service delivery, namely the charity-based, needs-based and rights-based approaches and the way these approaches

were reflected in the CSO operations. In general, this chapter answers the first research questions outlined in this chapter above.

Chapter six discusses about targeting of beneficiaries and its efficiency. It includes critically discussing targeting procedures and criteria used to identify beneficiaries and their efficiency in reaching the right recepients. The chapter also interrogates on whether the targeting of the case study organisations is really poverty targeting. The rest of the chapters explores about the grievance and complaints mechanisms and the graduation and exit protocols applied by the case study organisations in their programmes. This chapter answers the second research question which argues about the rigour in targeting of programme beneficiaries with respect to the national and social protection standards.

Chapter seven presents the findings on institutional capacity and financial sustainability. It begins by looking at staff knowledge and capacities, in terms of number of staff, levels of education and their professional areas of specialization. It then looks at the benefit levels offered by different programmes of the case study organisations and their adequacy vis-à-vis the poverty lines. Sources of funding of all case study organisations were also explored before moving to discussing the impact of external financing on CSOs sustainability. This chapter answers the third research sub-question outlined earlier in this chapter.

Chapter eight discusses about coordination and linkages of social protection programmes by the case study organisations. The chapter begins by exploring the existing coordination mechanisms put in place by the case study organisations and or the government to coordinate CSOs interventions. The chapter then looks at the linkage between the CSOs interventions and the national social protection system, so as to see their complementarity. It also looks at the relation between CSOs and the state to see if there is any alarming situation between the two which can adversely affect their operations. Finally, the chapter explores the relation between the CSOs themselves and how this relation can affect their operations.

The concluding chapter of the thesis begins by summarizing its main findings, and then outlining the main findings with specific research questions. The chapter is also being

extended to revealing the misperceptions related to the role of CSOs on poverty reduction in Zanzibar as expressed by various national development frameworks in the country. The misconception outlined by this study is that there is a significant gap between what is supposed to be effective players of poverty reduction and social protection financing and the actual role the case study organisations performed in their operations. Finally, the chapter outlines a number of areas which need more improvement in order to make the CSOs sector play its expected role on both poverty reduction and its contribution to the national social protection system.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents conceptual framework for this thesis. As seen in the previous chapter, this thesis has an overall research objective of assessing the extent to which CSOs contribute to financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. This objective was realized by analyzing the four specific research objectives. The first objective investigates the extent to which the poverty targeted interventions by CSOs are meaningful in terms of the way they are designed, implemented and their coverage. In the second objective, the thesis investigates the rigor in targeting of beneficiaries of CSOs programmes with respect to the national and social protection standards of identifying beneficiaries of poverty targeted programmes. In the third, an investigation of institutional arrangements and capacities of CSOs, both financially and administratively, and their adequacy to manage, finance and sustain social protection programmes is made. The final research objective investigates the coordination of poverty targeted interventions by CSOs and their linkages to the national social protection system. Therefore, to serve these research objectives, the conceptual framework for this thesis outlined in this chapter provides an extensive elaboration and the meaning of all key concepts involved in this study, namely; civil society organization, which includes non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs); poverty and social protection concepts, in order to build a common understanding of the terms as they are used in this study and as discussed by other authors. The chapter then moves to understand the relationship between the three concepts through a review of the approaches adopted by CSOs to poverty reduction and the role of civil society in the national social protection system.

2.2. MEANING OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Reaching agreed boundaries for civil society is difficult because it depends on one's understanding of other related concepts such as state, market and family as well as other social institutions and realms (Munkkonen, 2009). The return of the concept of civil society as a key concept in political and development theory came in the 1970s to explain the organized movements that appeared in Eastern Europe in protest against the ruling communist regimes (Khalil, 2014). Since then, civil society has been defined differently by different authors and institutions. In his research Khalil (2014) considers CSO as a sphere that shares three main characteristics: (1) It is located as a separate entity that is not a part of neither the state nor the market; (2) It is formed out of a body of associations and organisations rather than a loose domain of active individuals; and (3) It functions as an active promoter of the interests of individuals that belong to its associations in ways that would facilitate the positive goals of power distribution and enhancing participations rather than being used to consolidate power or to exclude others.

The above definition seems to be appropriate for this study in the general sense, given that there is no specified definition of CSOs in the so far reviewed official documents in Zanzibar. However, in many places in the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (ZSGPR) there is a mention of CSOs and a reference to NGOs and FBOs in the brackets. This means that in the official usage of the term it is usually referred to these two types of organisations. This can explain, on the one hand, why this study has also placed NGOs and FBOs at the centre of the study on CSOs. A definition of each sub-division of CSOs is provided in this part to help establish similarities and differences between them. However, before looking at these sub-components of CSOs and in order to build better understanding of the concept, it is important to further highlight each of the three characteristics of CSOs outlined above.

First, civil society is a sphere that exists outside the state and the market. The organisations covered in this thesis were established and managed by independent individuals that are not part of the state or its formal institutions. These organisations are not seeking any economic profits making them not part of the market. Relevant to this thesis, De Tocqueville included religious organisations in his views of civil society. He

believed that the values found in and endorsed by religion are essential for the building of democracy (Graebner, 1976). This inclusion was met with its own critiques from those who shared De Tocqueville's views on the location and associational nature of civil society. For example, Diamond (1994), who defined civil society as "an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the state, excluded individual and family life, inward-looking group activity (e.g. for recreation, entertainment or spirituality) […] and the political efforts to take control of the state" form civil society (Diamond, 1994:5). However, this critique can be dismissed for this thesis because such a description of religious organisations as "inward-looking" ignores spiritual organisations, such as mosques and Christian charities that perform outward-aiming activities, which have been widely recognized, especially in Africa (Azarya, 1994).

The second aspect of this thesis's definition of civil society is its associational nature, which is a common character in all organisations that were studied in this thesis as shall be seen later. Alexis de Tocqueville spoke about associational nature of civil society in his two volumes titled Democracy in America (1938). That was later pushed forward as a result of the vast advancement in the scope and size of the work of registered community organisations, as well as the developments in regulations that lead to many definitions of civil society being narrowed down to concentrate only on the associational elements of the concept (Davies and Hossain, 1997). In addition to its applicability to the study of organisations in this thesis, an associational view of civil society is important here because it enables the understanding of civil society's role in political participation, and it shows how civil society can represent the interests of the wider groups that stands behind its organisations (Hyden, 1997). Such a view of civil society also makes it easier to separate out organisations such as political parties that state their target as reaching power, and therefore taking control of the state (Parekh, 2004). The thesis distinguishes between political parties, and politically-focused civil society organisations that act in public sphere to influence, and perhaps change, political practice without aiming directly for power (Edwards, 2009). Finally an associational understanding of civil society also allows the elimination of organisations that are formed and controlled by the government in order to act as agents for state-planned development (Azarya, 1994).

Still on the associational aspect of civil society, at least three out of four case study organisations by Khalil (2014) can be described as community-based organisations. His study bases its definition of such organizations on the work of Frances Kunreuther (2011) on grassroots organisations where he distinguished them into three main characteristics. First, they are mostly composed of volunteers as opposed to paid staff. Second, they are locally focused in terms of tackling issues within their local communities. Finally, they are less hierarchal with a limited number of levels within their organizational charts.

The third and final aspect of civil society's definition in this thesis is its aim for promoting the interest of individuals by widening their participation, achieving a balanced distribution of power in society and curbing what might be the hegemonic tendencies of the state and the negative consequences of uncontrolled free market competition. All the targeted organisations for this thesis work for poverty reduction. They do that by associating together as individuals through their organisations to correct what is an apparent failure of the state and market in tackling the problem of poverty, which all match with the De Tocquevillian view of civil society. Moreover, civil society acts for a common interest that is essentially good. This is important to light because although civil society is a "sphere […] in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interest" (Ambeir, 2004:22), this common interest is not always "good" as Gramsci (1971) argues.

Instead, it might involve political, ideological or financial interests of civil society organisations or the groups these organisations might be representing (Bratton, 1996). This view that refuses to idealise civil society is rejected by those who do not recognize violence or evil that could be committed by civil society. For example, Fine (1997) argues for the exclusion of those who engage in such acts from civil society's definition. In response, this thesis argues that there remains a ceiling to the degree of violence that may stem from civil society. Criminal activity and physical violence that go against the principles of society, and are performed by associations like the Mafia or terrorist organisations are not considered part of civil society (Edwards, 2009). However, civil society can still commit violence of lesser severity. Beyond that, the role of civil society has been debated between liberal views that view it as a form of "system maintenance" working to protect the values and the institutions of democratic societies (Howell and

Pearce, 2001), and others who have chosen to focus on the role that civil society plays in development.

On the choice of terminology, it is important to mention that this thesis chose to refer to the organisations it is studying as "Civil Society Organisations" because the term CSOs is arguably more comprehensive, and less exclusive, than the other (Khalil, 2014). It therefore includes both NGOs and FBOs which are the focus of this study and which are described below as components of CSOs.

2.2.1 Meaning of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Definition of what NGOs are constituted of vary depending on the context and the institution involved. There is no general definition of the term non-governmental organization in international law (Lindblom, 2005:36). She argues that each area of law that relates to NGOs comes with its own definition which is different from another in the context of international law. However, based on her own perspective she used a definition implying that an NGO: 1) is 'non-governmental', meaning that it is established by private initiative, is free from governmental influence, and does not perform public functions; 2) has an aim that is not-for-profit, meaning that if any profits are earned by the organization they are not distributed to its members but used in the pursuit of its objective; 3) does not use or promote violence or have clear connections with criminality, and 4) has a formal existence with a statute and a democratic and representative structure, and does normally, but not necessarily, enjoy legal personality under national law.

These elements of the definition are shared by many other authors on the field when defining what NGO is. For example, Bebbington and Thiele (1993) adopted the definition that considers NGO as a non-profit and voluntary citizens' group which is organized as a local, national or international level. This study agrees with the definitions provided and are being used throughout the study. The difference will be in the target group of NGOs. This study focused on those NGOs that provide social protection services to the poor and most vulnerable. It should also be noted that NGO can be national or international. This study only focused on national NGOs in the mentioned area of operation.

There are also different groups of institutions and authors who define NGOs in somewhat other ways, whether inclusive or not of the elements outlined in the previous definition. Sohel et al. (2007) define an NGO as "a legally constituted organization created by national or legal persons that operates independently from any government and a term usually used by government to refer to entities that have no government status" (Sohel et al., 2007:3). The NGO phenomenon among its multifaceted categorization and definition has an underlying notion of bringing about some forms of change. Lang (2013) constructively summarizes this in her work by outlining shared characteristics of NGOs as "not related to government; not for profit; voluntary; and pursue activities for the common good instead of just for their members", all of which take the form of either service provision or advocacy of public policy (Lang, 2013:12).

NGOs sprung up and increased since World War II, despite the previous long formation of voluntary groups for survival, commercial, spiritual, cultural and other purposes (Bebbington and Thiele, 1993). The United Nations in 1945 was the first to use the term NGO when it made a distinction in its charter between the participation of intergovernmental agencies and non-government associated groups (Lindblom, 2005; Lang, 2013). In recent times, when we hear or think about voluntary actions, the first concept that comes to mind is NGOs. From media broadcasts about disaster assistance, to mere billboard advertisement of the hungry looking and deprived child, screams NGO! This is because all charitable related actions are associated with the works of NGOs. Although the popular term is NGO, the terminological database of describing charitable and aid-related actions is immensely diverse.

In their work on NGOs and development, Lewis and Kanji (2009) put forward that, the different terms used sometimes reflect the different types of NGOs. An example is the important distinction usually made between grassroots or membership NGOs, composed of people organizing to advance their own interests; and intermediary NGOs, made up of people working on behalf or in support of a marginalized group (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). Other authors also assert the importance of making a distinction between developmental NGOs and membership-based organisations, especially when assessing transformative potential. Thus, emphasizing the difference in their defining attributes

(Banks et al., 2015:708). Further studies also show that based on the ideas of world institutions, NGOs are classified as the third sector, amongst the first and the second sectors, being government and profit business respectively (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). This third sector comprises of several organisations whose social functions are categorized between government and the market. Lewis and kanji (2009) to further project the diversity of terminologies used in the third sector, outline list of names for NGOs, to reflect a range of different but comparable labels within different contexts, traditions and cultures. It should however be noted that the main focus of this work is not to diversify labels of NGOs, but explore their role in poverty reduction.

Despite the different levels of NGOs, they all still have a similar driving force, which is to pursue the interest of the poor. The important point is not the level of their operations, but their level of impact in the lives of the poor. The fact that the outputs of these NGOs may differ due to differences in their level of operations and capacities cannot be disputed. However, in spite of all these, the activities of NGOs contribute to improving the lives of the poor all over the world (Levis and Kanji, 2009). However, it may be useful to know how much they contribute to poverty reduction in a specific context so that proper measures can be taken to fill in the setbacks.

2.2.2 Meaning of Faith-based Organisation (FBO)

Defining FBO seems to be less contradicting thing in a quick view. Many researchers on FBOs characterized them with the state of an organization being connected with an organized faith community either in the form of a particular faith ideology, drawing of staff, volunteers or leadership from a particular faith denomination (Clarke and Jennings, 2007). Other qualities that qualify an organization as 'faith-based' are religiously-oriented mission statements, the receipt of substantial support from a religious organization or initiation by a religious institution (Omobolaji, 2012:3). But this is not the only view point, particularly if poverty concept is put in play.

FBOs emerged as significant contributors of development and poverty reduction work worldwide in the late 20th century (Clarke, 2007). Despite that, FBOs remained under-researched (Edwards, 2009) and the literature on them remained confined to

specific topics, which included little on poverty reduction. Examples include the works of Scheitle (2010) on Christian organisations, Kilmer (2010) on emergency relief, Flanigan (2010) on conflict resolution, and Chapman (2012) on religious movements. Berger (2003), explained the absence of poverty in FBOs literature to the absence of an agreed upon definition of FBOs. Finding such a definition then collides with the problematic areas around the concept of 'faith' itself. The first of these is the overlap between faith, spirituality and religion. Miller (2011) separates religion and spirituality. He says that "religion is an institution that evolves over time and involves specific beliefs, rituals and organizational forms, whereas spirituality refers to the ways in which individuals experience a transcendent dimension in their lives – what they refer to as God, a divine presence or an alignment with a sacred path and a way of life" (Miler, 2011:259). Bano and Nair (2007) agree that faith is more of an "amorphous category" extending beyond the existing religion, which explain why is widely used across FBOs literature instead of religion. Faith is a more comprehensive concept, which is more capable of accommodating and explaining a wider set of activities and attributes by FBOs.

A second problematic area faced when defining FBOs is the often ambiguous link between faith and CSOs. There are many organisations, such as Edhi Foundation, the biggest humanitarian welfare organization in Pakistan, where its leaders and staff would state when interviewed that their main motive is their faith. However, they would not consider their organization to be faith-based organisation (Bano and Nair, 2007). This shows the vague boundary between faith as a personal motive for working with civil society and faith as basis for particular development practice that sees FBOs as a separate category of CSOs. Some have claimed that the main difference between FBOs and Non-FBOs is that the former are more dependent on volunteerism in their human resources, although the structures and activities of both types of organisations working on poverty reduction have been to a large extent similar (Ebaugh et al., 2003). Berger (2003) argues that there is no fully secular or organization. Instead, there is a degree to which religion is involved in every organization. For him the whole idea splitting CSOs into FBOs and secular organisations is irrelevant when compared to the role of religion in development or what he calls the "pervasiveness" of religion.

While all the above point of view on the meaning of FBOs can claim legitimacy, this thesis will therefore resolve the conflict between them by resorting to the definition of FBOs adopted by Clarke and Jennings (2007) who define a faith-based organization as 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith'. This understanding of FBO is adopted in this study, but with more focus on Islamic FBO due to Islam being the dominant religion in Zanzibar and so most of FBOs operate under Islamic principles. However, this does not mean that other FBOs do not exist at all. There are many other faiths of minority of believers in Zanzibar such as Christian faith, etc. In the same way, FBOs are also considered as subset of CSOs, just like NGOs, as they fulfil all the characteristics of CSOs outlined above, with the addition of being faith-related.

With these characteristics, FBOs are still far from being a specifically narrow subject. There have been many attempts to form a typology of FBOs, most of them are different from one another, which shows the extent of diversity within FBOs (Mahajan and Jodhka, 2009). To mention one of them as an example, Clarke (2006) divided FBOs into five categories, which is the typology that appears in many of the religion and development programme working papers. These are: 1) representative organisations that aim to bring together members of a certain religion as a group within a society; 2) development FBOs that have activities aimed at achieving development-related goals such as health care, education or job creation; 3) faith-based sociopolitical organisations, that conduct activities such as advocacy with a sociopolitical agenda; 4) missionary organisations that aim to spread the belief in a religion or faith; and finally, 5) radical terrorist or illegal organisations.

However, the further breakdown of FBOs into such categories is not significant because Clarke has noticed that with the exception of the last category, all other four perform some degree of poverty reduction activities, which does not stand out as highly distinctive. The role of FBOs in poverty reduction dates back to the heritage of Christian organisations and Muslim endowments that have provided social assistance for centuries (Lunn, 2009). More recently, international donors have been funding FBOs conducting

poverty reduction activities for decades, especially organisations affiliated with churches and mosques in Africa (Clarke, 2006).

To sum up, from the survey of the literature on FBOs and their contribution to poverty reduction and development conducted here, it is possible to arrive at the following analytical conclusions that are relevant for this thesis. First, FBOs can be located as a component of civil society. They mainly satisfy the criteria of identifying CSOs with regards to their position between state and market, their associational nature and their objectives. However, they are far more diverse to be studied as a unit. Second, FBOs poverty reduction activities in general adopt a basic needs approach to poverty reduction, which is inspired by religious teachings of various faiths that command the faithful to care for the poor and reduce their suffering. This means that FBOs in general would not consider poverty as a multidimensional concept. Third, FBOs are conservative when it comes to addressing the root causes of poverty. This is mainly the result of the spiritual links between themselves and their beneficiaries. Such links make FBOs in many ways more efficient and more compassionate in their service delivery quality. However, they also raised the barrier of expectations on the side of beneficiaries meaning they expect more immediate response to their poverty, rather than long term processes of tackling the causes of poverty. Fourth, faith can be a double-edged weapon for development. It has a positive impact on the capabilities of FBOs. It makes them more capable of securing volunteers and funding. However, in many cases it might hinder their impact on development, especially on the long term. This happens either because faith can divert FBOs' attention towards its own agendas, or because its teachings can contradict some of the values and practices of conventional development practice. At this stage, the thesis can move to narrow its focus further as it tackles the special case of Islamic Civil Society.

2.2.3 Role and Approaches of CSOs on Poverty Reduction

The role and approaches of CSOs in recent history can be taken back after World War II, when development activities were carried out by governments and international inter-government organisations (Hossain, 2001). Until the 1960s, the work of CSOs was limited to some small philanthropic and faith-based non-governmental organisations that provided assistance and advocacy for those who were left without professional assistance

(Mitlin et al., 2007). In the beginning of the 1970s, trickle down theories of development were providing doubtful and the efforts of delivering development were proving to be beyond the capacity of governments in developing countries (Mander, 2005). In response, the basic needs approach to development appeared as the International Labour Office (ILO) questioned the validity of tackling poverty only by monetary means. Instead, it highlighted the necessity to satisfy a list of basic needs for the poor that included both material and non-material ones (Ghai, 1981).

The role of CSOs began to appear more important in delivering those needs. Their small size, high flexibility, the better access they had to local expertise and resources (Michael, 2004) and their lower operational costs (Riddell et al., 1995) have all granted them a comparative advantage appeal in relation to state-run organisations. This conception of CSO role to poverty reduction is in line with another approach to CSOs role which argues that NGOs use two approaches in helping the poor to climb out of poverty: supply-side and demand-side (Clarke, 2007). In a similar sense, Fowler (1997, in GSID, 2007) identifies two types of NGO tasks: micro-tasks and macro-tasks. From the supply-side or micro-tasks approach, NGOs provide various basic public services to the poor. It is argued that especially in countries where government lack public services, NGOs play a significant role in the direct provision of social and economic services. In general, NGOs emerge and play the roles as service providers.

Unlike the supply-side approach where NGOs directly provide services to the people, the demand-side NGOs play indirect roles. The demand-side role of NGOs can be seen as being an articulator of the people's voice. NGOs mobilize and clarify the demand for services, from both the government and the market, so that the people are able to achieve its development goals. In the context of service delivery, generally, NGOs seek to improve the access of the people to the services provided by the state. NGOs also engage in policy advocacy to influence public policies concerning the poor people.

In line with this approach, NGOs have developed various strategies to influence the process of public policy making and to control the implementation of development programmes or projects. This is also an area into which NGOs have been moving during

the 1990s when they revised and re-strategized to move away from direct service delivery and prioritized policy advocacy and lobbying (Peters et al., 2009). In deed the increased inflow of foreign funding motivate this study to investigate the possible influence to national social policy through local CSOs.

These two approaches are not mutually exclusive. In the recent trends, NGOs combine the two approaches for increasing their efficacy to reduce poverty. In practice, NGOs can function on both the supply and the demand sides and even forge the linkages between the two sides. The latter is emphasized by Fowler (1997) by arguing that it is necessary for NGOs to make a linkage between micro-tasks consisting of provision of goods, of social and of financial services, capacity building, process facilitation, and fostering linkages, and macro-tasks consisting of policy advocacy, lobbying, public education and mobilization, monitoring compliance, and reconciliation and mediation (Fowler, 2007 in GSID, 2007).

Although the Basic needs approach, which was influenced by charitable tradition of civil society, has provided CSOs with better knowledge of needs of the poor, it left the poor on the passive end of the process without a voice in what assistance they receive or how they receive it (Korten, 1990). Most importantly, it left the poor little to look forward to in terms of emerging out of poverty as it tackled the symptoms rather than the causes of poverty.

This criticism of the basic needs approach led to the asset building and livelihoods approach, proposed in Sen's work. Sen's work that defined poverty as a lack of capabilities influenced the introduction of multi-sectoral community-based programmes to provide long-term development aiming at reducing poverty by tackling its root causes (Bhattacharya, 1995). CSOs began to work directly with the poor by organizing and helping them to have a say in the policies that affect them (Riddell et al., 1995). The emphasis was on strengthening communities in a way that they could serve as assets for the poor (Korten, 1990). This was then taken forward to building financial assets for the poor. In Bangladesh, the implementation of programmes aiming at the mobilization of "socially homogeneous functional groups" was a majour element in the strategy of the

Grameen Bank founded in 1977 (Bhattacharya, 1995). This paved the way further for credit provision, which became a dominant feature of CSOs poverty reduction work in the following two decades (Riddell et al., 1995) together with capacity building activities (Edwards and Hulme, 2000).

The rights-based approach (RBA) emerged in the 1990s from the human rights agenda that was adopted during the UN global summits that took place during this period (Molyneux and Lazar, 2003). The approach departs from its suggestion of an alternative definition to poverty, one that sees it as "a denial of human rights and human dignity" (Van Rensburg, 2007:165). It means not having a good primary school or health centre to go to, not having access to safe drinking water or adequate sanitation, insecurity, powerlessness, exposure to violence and discrimination and exclusion from the mainstream of society. It also means not having a voice in decision-making, living at the margin of society and being stigmatized (Van Rensburg, 2007).

Poverty reduction by the RBA is therefore not restricted to taking the poor over a threshold or a poverty line. Instead, it is about fulfilling their lacking economic and social rights. This lack of economic and social rights is a result of the lack of political and civil rights, which means that poverty reduction requires work that takes into account the realization of the latter rights as a prerequisite to obtain the former (Harris-Curtis, 2003). The RBA aimed at widening stakeholders' participation beyond taking part in specifying their concerns and setting their priorities into being part of the actual decision making on how to meet their needs (Nayamu-Musembi and Cornwall, 2004).

Civil society's implementation of the RBA was not always apparent. When the approach first appeared, many NGOs had been already using elements of it in their poverty reduction work, such as empowerment and participation (Vene Klasaen et al., 2004). However, the RBA was aiming for more. It was aiming to achieve self-realization and self-respect for the poor through making them aware of their political, economic and social rights as well as equipping them with the skills they need to participate in society in order to make them realize these rights (Molyneux and Lazar, 2003). On the ground, CSOs used the approach by linking poverty to issues such as accountability, law and citizenship

(Lewis and Kanji, 2009). It is important though to note that the RBA does not disregard service delivery, which still makes a majour component of right-based CSOs' work either through providing basic needs or asset building. However, service delivery at these organisations acts only as a mean rather than an end (Mander, 2005). That being said, many CSOs worldwide still adopt RBAs only as far as their rhetoric is concerned while they continue to prioritize service delivery in their work, which leaves the RBA in such cases as nothing more than some "meaningless slogans" (Uvin, 2007).

On the other hand, among other things, CSOs are expected to play critical roles in attaining Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set by the UN in 2016. Their role ranges from participating in supporting localization of the SDGs in countries, identifying important development priorities to proposing solutions and policy priorities (ACSC, 2016). African Civil Society Circle (ACSC) (2016) has identified four main areas through which CSOs must work to localize these goals: giving a voice to the poorest and most marginalized citizens, serving as agents of accountability, acting as a service provider and monitoring progress through data collection and reporting.

2.2.4 CSOs and Political Mobilization and Democracy

Poverty reduction entails a political element whether it is the RBA to development (Nayamu-Musembi and Cornwall, 2004) or needs-based social protection (Munro, 2008). Therefore, considering the role of civil society in political mobilization is relevant to the study of its role in development and poverty reduction. That becomes even more relevant at times of change, as in the cases of general elections and changes of leaderships at different levels of government.

In the literature, the use of the term political mobilization and democracy or democratization tend to dominate the political role of civil society. Huntington (1993) believes that civil society is a key for understanding the transformation to democracy. It can also be a key to understand political change in general whether it was to democracy, or any other forms of government (Khalil, 2014). As Rudolph (2000) argues, the relationship between civil society and democracy can be either positive or negative. Therefore, it is not necessary that civil society leads to democracy. Religious organisations

in particular have played contradicting political roles. In many cases in history, they have worked through their advocacy and community service activities to legitimize various existing political and social merits. On the other hand, there were cases when they have challenged these merits and managed to change them.

De Tocqueville (1938) and Putman (1993) provided two of the leading theories on the agency of civil society to democratization. De Tocqueville (1938) highlighted the impact of "social mores, political culture and habits of collective action" on political change. For him, CSOs provided venues for representation, developing political culture and collective action. This role was as important as the role played by estates of the realm in establishing democracy in Europe. He theorized that associations transfer individuals from the level of narrow primary associations (family clans or neighbourhoods) to bigger groups. This occurs as they develop their civic culture by realizing the need to be dependent on others as they move towards fulfilling their interests by teaching themselves that they are parts of that work for collective interests. De Tocqueville was referring to CSOs as "schools of democracy" (Warren, 2001) that teach community members how to act politically for their interests.

Putman (1993) followed on that as he was concerned with the social context in which institutions have operated (Howell and Pearce, 2001). He specified how dependency within associations resulting from social and economic inequalities makes it harder to achieve the establishment of the democratic civic culture. He noted that democratization (political mobilization) could not be founded within vertical ties. He explained that the failure of CSOs in Southern Italy to achieve political change was due to the chains of dependency and vertical relations that resulted from the social structures that prevailed there. This is in contrast to North Italy, where ties within CSOs tend to be horizontal rather than vertical allowing association members there greater freedom of movement and therefore greater chances of being mobilized.

CSO role does not end with inputting the policy development. CSOs also have important role to play during implementation of these policies, especially with regards to monitoring and political dialogue. It is the task of civil society to strengthen political

dialogue, to make the voices of the poor people heard, and ensure that their concerns are taken into account by the responsible political leaders and government officials (OECD, 2003).

2.2.5 CSOs and Policy Involvement

In the literature, a number of authors have discussed how CSOs can best influence policy-making. Although all authors recognize that a variety of different factors can undermine or enable CSOs' impact on policy-making, some of them give more prominence to external factors, such as the political context (e.g. political culture, legal environment, corruption, etc.), while others give more importance to internal factors such as CSOs' expertise, networks and mobilization capacity (Lorenzo and Finn, 2007).

According to some authors, the policy impact of CSOs is heavily dependent on the political context within which they operate (Grugel, 1999). For instance, the political context might lead to different types of engagement/disengagement between CSOs and political actors (Edwards, 2004). Some of the academic literature on policy influence specifically stresses the role of linkages between CSOs and decision-making institutions and investigates the importance of, among others, policy networks (Marsh, 1998; Marsh and Smith, 2000), epistemic communities (Hass, 1991) and advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999).

On the other hand, CSOs have been drown playing different roles at different levels in poverty policies. OECD (2003) explains about the role of civil society as being very key in the formulation of the poverty eradication plans and policies. Uganda represents a good example in which proper engagement of civil society actors had significant impact in the review of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) during 2000s. CSOs engagement not only influence the review process but also the content of the plan itself. CSOs are considered as having the wealth of information and knowledge about local issues which turn to be potential inputs for developing more realistic plans (OECD, 2003).

Looking at the case of new democracies in Eastern Europe, some have suggested that the way in which CSOs try to 'capture' policy-makers is affected by the formal or

informal rules of engagement between government and civil society (Pleines, 2005). In a similar vein, Coston (1998) has proposed a typology of NGO relationship with government to help classify different modes of influence on policy processes, ranging from NGOs that are wholly alienated from formal policy processes and concentrate on what they can achieve on their own terms, to NGOs that are completely aligned with government's positions (Coston, 1998).

In terms of internal factors, some observers have focused their attention on issues such as capacity building, know-how and mobilization capacity as key factors affecting CSOs' influence on policy processes. For some, CSOs' policy influence is based on the specific activities undertaken by CSOs and their niche expertise (Najam, 1999). For others, CSOs' legitimacy and competence are crucial factors to explain CSOs' influence on policy processes (Brown, 2001). Similarly, some have maintained that it is the capacity to generate information, call upon symbols and powerful actors (Keck and Sikkink, 1998) and the moral position vis-à-vis global political powers (Anheier et al., 2001) that increases the policy influence of transnational civil society and its watchdog role. Obviously, CSOs' influence on policy and their strategies also depend on the different stages of the policy-making process. Several authors have emphasized how, for instance, steering the political agenda of government requires approaches and skills that are different from those necessary to provide input in the drafting process of a piece of legislation or to monitor the implementation of a specific law (Pollard and Court, 2005).

Based on this approach the political context is an important element to take into consideration when it comes to influencing policy. Political consideration, institutional pressures and vested interests influence greatly the ability of CSOs to influence policy, as do the attitudes and incentives among officials, local history and power relations (Coston, 1998). Political strategies and power relations are sometimes clearly related to specific institutional processes and, therefore, CSOs can exploit institutional channels to contribute to policy-making. Yet, in most cases, institutional arrangements prove not to be as crucial as personal contacts to policy-makers and other stakeholders. In this regard, it is important for CSOs to emphasize on the links between communities, networks and intermediaries (e.g. the media) in affecting policy change.

Moreover, it is important that CSOs learn to collect evidence and utilize it to influence public policy. CSOs produce evidence and gain knowledge of social phenomena every day through their activities and experience. Yet, if CSOs do not acquire research skills that allow them to organize evidence in a consistent way, their knowledge might be of little use in influencing policy processes. Probably, CSOs' research capacity can benefit from establishing coalitions among themselves and from networking with other actors in society.

Finally, the approach emphasizes the impact of external forces and donor actions on research/policy interactions (Pollard and Court, 2005). In some countries, international processes (such as the European Union's enlargement processes) or donors' programmes can have an enormous influence on the capacity of CSOs to impact political processes and generate research-based evidence to affect their activities to affect policy. In brief, civil society role on policy influence and poverty reduction involves combination of all those factors (external factors – political context and internal factors), but also understanding the poverty profile of the area they are working so that they can build a case. The section below describes poverty and its relation to CSOs.

2.3 MEANING OF POVERTY

Poverty is a highly "contested" concept (Alcock, 1997) that is hard to contain within the boundaries of a tight definition. This is demonstrated by numerous approaches to defining poverty. These approaches reflect different views of what constitutes the "good world" or the "good life" (Laderchi et al., 2003). Different cultural, economic and political backgrounds and influences have a direct impact on individuals' definitions of poverty, especially as most of those who write about it from theoretical perspective have never experienced it themselves (Lister, 2004). This section examines the main debates shaping contemporary poverty literature before arriving at a multidimensional definition of poverty, which will be taken forward by this thesis.

In the early 20th century, poverty was simply seen as the lack of income (Booth, 1889 in Holman, 1978). This view was the product of a cash-based economy, where money was the tool that provided goods and services required for human wellbeing. This

approach was criticized firstly for being "too narrow" on the basis that the lack of money was not what causes deprivation, but rather the lack of goods and services provided by money (Whelan, 1995); and secondly for ignoring the non-economic aspects of deprivation (Townsend, 1979). Rowntree (1937 and 1951) widened the scope of this single-dimensional approach to poverty by defining the concept in terms of the physical needs of individuals including nutrition, shelter and clothing and excluding non-physical needs, such as security or leisure. This debate continued through the course of the twentieth century until the introduction of a definition of poverty in terms of deprivation of basic needs (Whelan, 1995). These needs were not limited to physical goods such as adequate housing, sufficient nutrition and access to health care (Dowler et al., 2001). Instead, they were also extended to include social needs such as education, neighbourhood, security, protection against loss of assets and safe air and water (Dean, 2010; Spicker, 1993). Other single-dimensional views of poverty considered it as a lack of assets or resources needed to secure human needs. Needs here were recognized only as a result of poverty rather than being a description for it (Spicker, 2007).

Sen (1983, 1985 and 1999) introduced the capability approach, which marked a paradigm shift in the understanding of poverty (Lister, 2004). In his approach, Sen argued that deprivation of basic needs and shortages in income, although important, are not what constitute poverty. Instead, poverty is the inability to live in dignity, and enjoy self-respect and social inclusion. The lack of these "functionings" results from the disadvantages the poor experience in their capabilities, which are the degree of freedoms they have to make choices that would lead them to enjoy the functionings they desire. Income here is important, but only as it assists with the acquisition of commodities, which are goods and services such as proper education, health care, housing and utilities. Those commodities are the inputs that each individual can convert into functionings using their capabilities. The capability of each individual to make this conversion depends on factors such as their age, sex and level of disability. In summary, poverty for Sen is a deprivation in functionings that results from a lack of capabilities.

Sen's theory challenged income and consumption as single dimensions for understanding the meaning of poverty. It opened the way for considering poverty from

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multidimensional angle that assesses it from three separate analyses, but interrelated dimensions. These dimensions are viewed from a "quality of life" point of view including economic well-being – covering the physical resources determining the material quality of life, capabilities – covering the ability, strength or resourcefulness to produce the inner quality of life, enabling one to enjoy the freedom needed to achieve valuable functionings, and social inclusion – covering resources needed to determine the social and relational quality of life with significant bearings on securing economic well-being and freedom (Sen, 1999; Udaya, 2008).

This thesis adopt the above multidimensional definition of poverty. In addition to its ability to capture poverty from different angles, which reflects the complex nature of the concept, the multidimensional approach is also useful in analyzing the various approaches of CSOs to poverty reduction (as discussed earlier in this chapter). According to Udaya (2008), an individual or a household is defined as experiencing poverty when they are considered poor in light of one or more of the above three dimensions.

The other important debate on this point is that between absolute and relative definitions of poverty. The absolute understanding of poverty was advanced by orthodox economists who based their views of poverty around the notions of "survival" and "subsistence" (Lister, 2004). They believed that basic needs are any goods or services that the majority of individuals would identify as necessities for their well-being (Doyal and Gough, 1991). Rist (1980) agreed, but argued that subsistence levels would vary between different groups depending on their cultural, geographic, historic or social backgrounds. By contrast, the relative view of poverty appeared in the 1960s as a response to the welfare state concept that swept over the western world after World War II (Beresford and Croft, 1995). Townsend (1993) explained relative poverty as being the condition whereby people cannot obtain, at all or sufficiently, the conditions of life – that is, the diets, amenities, standards and services – which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behavior which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society (Townsend, 1993:36).

Lister (2004) unpacks this view of poverty by showing that its "relative" notion revolves around two interrelated categories of meaning. The first is how it understands human needs between being either "objective and universal" or "socially constructed". The latter, with which Townsend agrees, believes that needs vary between one group to another. For example, the amount of food consumed by an individual and the components of such amounts differ from one culture or society to another. Needs are also not restricted to physical ones. Lister adds the human need for a certain degree of accessories or luxuries, such as entertainment or holidaying. The second category of meanings embedded in Townsend's relative definition of poverty includes how human needs would be compared once they are determined. This comparison could be based on either historic basis between current and former experiences, cross-society basis between one society and another, or inter-society comparisons between various economic and social classes within a single society. To put this debate in the context of the multidimensional understanding of poverty adopted in this thesis, an absolute understanding of poverty becomes significant in determining the qualities of life that define each of the three dimensions of poverty, which are physical needs, capabilities and social inclusion. However, understanding poverty itself would still occur in relative terms (Udaya, 2008).

2.3.1 The Meaning of Poverty Based on Islam

The understanding of poverty in Islam revolves around three themes: in terms of deprivation from basic needs; in terms of having rights to alms and dignity; and in terms of being attributed to variety of causes. This section briefly discusses around these three themes. Understanding the Islamic conception of poverty will help us better understand the nature of interventions of FBOs which mostly follow Islamic teaching in Zanzibar.

First, let us check the definition of poverty in Islam by examining how it is mentioned in the Qur'an, Islam's holy book and the supreme source of Islamic thought and legislation. The Qur'an used two terms to describe those who suffer from poverty. The first is the term *Al-Fuqara'a*, which is the Arabic word for "the poor" (Ali, 2001). The other term is *Al-masakeen*, which is translated as "the needy" (Ali, 2001). Al-Razi (1973) explained that the "needy" are those who are poor to the extent that they cannot afford the fulfilment of their basic needs. On the other hand, he defined the "poor" as those

who own the minimum limit of subsistence, but cannot afford other life needs. The majority of Islamic scholars who tackled this topic, such as Al-Qaradawy (1977) and Al-Sadr (1981), have adopted this linguistic-based definition of poverty, which reflects a basic-needs understanding of the concept.

The second explanation is similar to what Poppers (1991) calls "persistent poverty" or what Spicker (1993) calls "diswelfare", where poverty is seen as part of the natural order of societies. It is where the normal mechanisms of economic activities will always leave some people at the bottom of the scale as much as it would raise others to the top. We can see this view reflected in Islamic literature by the use of Arabic term *Rizq* to describe income. This Qur'anic term refers to the goods granted by God (Al-Razi, 1973), which reflects the belief that how much a person earns is determined not only by how much that person is efficient, but also by how much God would grant or facilitate.

Finally, the third explanation comes from a continuous emphasis on the greed of human beings who keep mounting money while depriving the poor and the needy. The abolishment of usury (Al-Qaradawi, 1977) and the repetitive despicable descriptions in the Qur'an of those who offer it and profit from it, strongly indicates the extent to which such practices, common within the pre-Islamic Arabian society, are seen as a main reason for poverty spreading in a society. Poverty here comes as a natural result of the lack of God's blessings on transactions that do not follow the religious ethical and moral code (Hussein, 1968). Therefore, responsibility for poverty is shared by the whole society (Qutb, 2000). The poor are responsible to keep trying to emerge out of their dependency for as long as they can. The wealthy are responsible for staying away from greed and unethical economic activities, such as the practice of usury and trade monopolies, which allegedly leave other people disadvantaged and vulnerable to poverty. Wealthy members of society are also responsible for paying their alms. However, poverty is inevitable and it will continue to exist, which means that dealing with it happens by attempting to reduce it rather than to eradicate it (Khalil, 2014).

In summary, Islam defines poverty from a single-dimension basic needs perspective. However, Islam's explanation of poverty shows a realization of the

complexity of the concept. This explanation has three levels beginning with internal individual causes, then moving to external structural ones, and finally arriving at a divine-instated order of the universe. These views of the meaning, and causes of poverty, are based upon the way poverty was mentioned in the Qur'an. However, Islam recognizes that the poor are entitled to a divine-given right to a certain share in the wealth of better-off members of society. The satisfaction of this right is what leads to the state of social justice in Islam.

2.3.2 Evaluating the Contribution of CSOs to Development and Poverty Reduction

On the theoretical side, CSOs have offered the only serious alternative to government-led development despite failing to turn this into a serious challenge as was hoped for in the early 1990s (Lewis and Kanji 2009). CSOs contributed to development by lobbying and advocating for reform in numerous development-related fields, such as global governance and global terms of trade (Edwards 2008). Civil society has also introduced innovative ideas that had a significant impact on the understanding of poverty and development over the past two decades. Those include participatory, gender, right-based and environmental approaches to development, which were all mainly advocated by CSOs (Lewis and Kanji 2009). The value of this contribution could not be undermined despite the criticism received by some of these approaches (Hickey and Mohan 2004)

In practice, CSOs' provision of basic services, such as health care, education and social assistance, remain of crucial importance to millions of people around the world who depend on civil society as a useful, and in many cases their only safe network against poverty (Racelis 2008). CSOs have also been playing a vital role in replacing government efforts in the delivery of humanitarian aid and relief in conflicts and natural disasters (Lewis and Kanji 2009). Moreover, civil society has been responsible for the introduction of legislations that tackled poverty, land rights and political participation, for example the People Empowerment Ordinance in the Philippines (Racelis 2008). Finally, in addition to the above mentioned efforts by conventional CSOs, informal self-help groups and schemes, especially in Africa, have assisted millions of people to survive poverty avoiding the pressure of foreign aid and its implications (Lewis 2002).

Against these limited successes, there have been several failures. By their considerable dependence on foreign funding, CSOs have been criticised for increasing the dependency of developing countries on major donor organisations. Moreover, foreign donors have been accused of using civil society to undermine the state in developing countries in favour of the private sector, which has further weakened the states in these countries (Lewis and Kanji 2009). This has allegedly helped donors to push forward elements of structural adjustment programs, such as privatisation, either by forcing CSOs to source their own activities to private sector firms, or by employing their development work to reduce the negative consequences of economic liberalisation on poor people (Tvedt 1998). Even on the internal organisational level, CSOs have easily surrendered to donor-imposed culture of reporting, which left them mainly on the receiving end of policy decisions with little influence on the procedures, theories and frameworks that were imposed on them (Hickey and Mohan 2004).

The relationship with donors is not the only source for civil society's misfortunes with development. The failure of CSOs to have a decisive impact on the development front was also seen as a result of issues related to CSOs themselves. Tvedt (1998) pointed out that many CSOs were clearly operating with the aim of fulfilling the wishes of donors to gain organisational growth, while others such as faith-based organisations, had their own agendas on which development was not necessary a priority. Evidence has also shown that CSOs often fail to reach the poor either because they are urban-biased (Riddell et al 1995), or because they lack legitimacy due to their external funding (Molyneux and Lazar 2003). Other studies highlighted the failure of CSOs to coordinate efforts with each other, which meant that much of their work was not cost-effective (Goodhand and Chamberlain 2000). Finally, CSOs have been accused of undermining the role of local governance by increasing dependency on their services (Collier 2000).

All these factors may form a base for explanation of the reason why poverty still exists, and is relatively high in some regions of the world, despite the increased number of CSOs. It is in the same spirit that further studies on CSOs and their impact to poverty are still required to identify and pinpoint key areas that still need reforms with CSO sector in order to increase their efficiency in poverty reduction and development.

At this stage, we have defined both civil society and poverty as viewed by this thesis and as discussed by other authors. Now, let us look at the concept of asocial protection to see how it relates to this subject.

2.4 MEANING OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Social protection is defined differently depending on the interest and wishes of the defining agency or country. Different countries have developed different definitions of social protection. Malawi, for example, defines social protection as constituting policies and actions that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of poor and vulnerable people (Devereux, 2002). Zanzibar, on the other hand, developed its own definition which pays attention on the involvement of both state and non-state actors in the provision of social protection and welfare services to the poor and vulnerable people in the country. However, both definitions involves aspects of poverty and vulnerability as among key concerns of social protection.

In the same way, institutions such as ILO, UNICEF, World Bank and others have developed their own definitions of social protection, which, in one way or the other, differ from one another. The ILO, for example, defines social protection as "all measures providing benefits, whether in cash or in kind, to secure protection inter alia, from (a) lack of work-related income (or insufficient income) caused by sickness, disability, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, old age or death of family member; (b) lack of access or unaffordable access to health care; (c) insufficient family support, particularly for children and adult dependents; (d) general poverty and social exclusion (ILO, 2010) while UNICEF considers it as "the set of public and private policies and programmes aimed at preventing, reducing and eliminating economic and social vulnerabilities to poverty and deprivation (UNICEF, 2012).

Samson et al (2010) define social protection as any public actions, carried out by the state or privately, that address risk, vulnerability and chronic poverty. Conway et al. (2000) on their side define social protection as "public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society" (Conway et al. 2000:5).

Based on Samson et al, (2006), social protection rests on three pillars – social insurance (individuals pooling resources to provide support in the case of a shock to their livelihoods), social assistance and the effective protection of minimum standards in the workplace. However, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) proposed transformative approach to social protection which takes into account broader scope of social protection. Their approach defines social protection broadly, as the set of all initiatives, both formal and informal, that provide: social assistance to extremely poor individuals and households; social services to groups who need special care or would otherwise be denied access to basic services; social insurance to protect people against the risks and consequences of livelihood shocks; and social equity to protect people against social risks such as discrimination or abuse (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

Types of social protection programmes depend on their objectives and the risks they cover. The widespread typology of social protection that is accepted for the developing world includes programmes for social insurance (contributory programs, principally pensions), labor markets (for example job training), and non-contributory social assistance programs (or social safety nets) which include humanitarian and disaster relief programs, cash transfers, food stamps, school feeding, in-kind transfers, labor-intensive public works, targeted food assistance, subsidies and fee waivers (Fiszbein et al., 2013). Social insurance and labor market programs tend to benefit higher income groups, whereas social assistance programs generally (but not exclusively) focus on the most poor and vulnerable (Fiszbein et al., 2013).

The objectives of these various social protection programs and their scale vary from country to country. Run by governments, NGOs or donors, these programs are typically designed to protect vulnerable households and individuals, help the poor and promote employment, while increasing social cohesion and reducing inequality. Social protection programs address different needs of different groups; hence it is no surprise that many countries adopt different forms of social protection, but some components are almost universally accepted as part of the social protection architecture. For example, by the year 2013 cash transfers were used in practically all developed, developing and emerging countries around the world and close to 1 billion people were covered by this

type of protection (World Bank, 2013). School feeding programs exist in 78 developing countries in the world and cover 270 million children (Fiszbein et al., 2013). Public works at scale exist in over 50 countries (World Bank, 2013).

But how do these programs compare to the size of population? Data from household surveys assembled by the World Bank in the resource called ASPIRE give a sense of coverage across countries (Fiszbein et al., 2013). Even though all developing countries seem to have some form of social protection, less than one half of the population benefits from it. Also, social protection of any sort reaches less than a quarter of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2013). Despite South Asia's longer history of locally owned safety net programs, just over one third of population (and slightly more- 40 percent of the poorest quintile) is reached by any sort of social protection (Fiszbein et al., 2013). Many countries have incomplete social protection systems with important instruments missing. But in some countries, such as Romania, Mongolia, Chile or Thailand, social protection covers close to 100 percent of their poorest and most of the population (Fiszbein et al., 2013). It may be important to briefly check on some of the key elements which are important determinants of effective social protection programmes, namely; targeting of beneficiaries, benefit levels and their adequacy, management of programmes and coordination of social protection.

2.4.1 Targeting of Beneficiaries

The main benefit of targeting the poor is that it potentially saves money by reducing the "inclusion error" of universal programmes – the distribution of transfers to people who are not poor. Effective targeting makes sure scarce resources go to those who need them most (Samson et al, 2006). Universal programmes provide benefits to everyone within a certain category (older people, children, people with disabilities, all citizens), while targeted programmes aim to identify the poorest within these groups to benefit from the programmes. The question of which option will reduce poverty more, social transfers targeted to the poor or transfers provided universally? Has been a majour debate in social transfer programmes. However, since the study is more about CSOs and their role to poverty reduction, I will not aboard this question and instead I will concentrate on poverty

targeting exploring different mechanisms or methods used for targeting social transfer programmes around the world and Africa in particular.

In many cases targeting modalities are intrinsic to the intervention – supplementary feeding targets undernourished children, pension targets the elderly, public work projects use self-targeting (Devereux, 2002). In this case the choice of instrument dictates the type of targeting, and the problem of selecting targeting mechanism does not arise. It should also be noted that rarely, if ever, is a single targeting method used: typically, a combination of mechanism is used to divide the population into eligible and ineligible groups. For example, the first level of targeting may be geographic – transfers are made to people residing a defined area.

Targeting mechanisms can be grouped into four broad approaches:-

1. Individual/household assessment: a method in which an official (usually a government employee) directly assesses, household by household or individual by individual, whether the applicant is eligible for the program. It is the most laborious of targeting methods (Samson et al, 2006). The gold standard of targeting is a *verified means test* that collects (nearly) complete information on a household's income and/or wealth and verifies the information collected against independent sources such as pay stubs or income and property tax records. Other individual assessment methods are unverified means test and proxy means test.

2. Categorical targeting: refers to a method in which all individuals in a specified category – for example, a particular age group or region – are eligible to receive benefits. This method is also referred to as *statistical targeting, tagging, or group targeting*. It involves defining eligibility in terms of individual or household characteristics that are fairly easy to observe, hard to falsely manipulate, and correlated with poverty. Age, gender, ethnicity, land ownership, demographic composition, or geographical location are common examples that are fairly easy to verify (Samson et al, 2006).

3. Self-targeting: the program has universal eligibility, but the design involves dimensions that are thought to encourage the poorest to use the program and the non-poor not to do so.

4. Community-based targeting: where communities are directly involved in identifying beneficiaries, using eligibility criteria of their own devising. However, strictly speaking it is a channel rather than a mechanism for beneficiary identification (Devereux, 2002):

2.4.2 Benefit Levels and Their Adequacy

How adequate are social protection transfers? Do programmes provide sufficient resources to the recipients to alleviate their poverty and avoid unfavorable coping strategies? These are the main questions to consider in the analysis of level of benefit for poverty targeting social transfer or any social protection programme. There is a large variation across countries under this point. Countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia tend to provide generous support averaging 53 percent of the consumption of people who receive it, while countries in Latin America seem to be calibrating their benefit systems to the scale of poverty gap and transfer on average 27 percent to the income of beneficiaries (the average poor person in these countries is about 25 percent below the poverty line) (Fiszbein et al., 2013). In Africa and developing Asia extreme values can be found, but for most countries with emerging systems it is very low (Fiszbein et al., 2013). The lowest adequacy (less than 10 percent) regionally is South Asia and the Middle East and Northern Africa.

Identification of adequate levels of benefits to be provided in social transfer programmes in most countries in developing world is based on the consideration and the balance between the three factors; namely affordability, adequacy, and acceptability of the benefits (Samson, et al, 2010). Affordability responds to the question how much the government/institution can pay as benefit in a programme?, considering the economic circumstance of the country or the organization (for the case of CSOs). Adequacy refers to the level of consumption replacement provided by a social protection programme. It answers the question what percentage of beneficiary's consumption is covered by the

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benefit provided? Finally, acceptability refers to the level of the society, including political representatives, to agree on the level of benefit provided by a programme.

Samson, et al. (2006) went further with the long list of factors which need to be considered in identifying appropriate benefit level of social protection programme. They argue that determining the appropriate level of benefits requires an understanding of the politics, the social profile of poverty, the socio-economic status of beneficiaries and their livelihood strategies, the capacity of government and the fiscal position of the country. The determination of the appropriate benefits level requires significant economic and political trade-offs, reflecting the priorities of policymakers and their political economy constraints (Samson, et al, 2006).

To conclude this discussion, the report on human right approach to social protection (Sepulveda and Nyst, 2012) suggests that the level of benefits delivered through the social protection system must be of adequate amount and duration to enable beneficiaries to enjoy an adequate standard of living. While States should bear in mind the need to expand the coverage of existing social protection schemes, benefits must be high enough to enable people to afford the goods and services they require to realise at least minimum essential levels of their economic, social and cultural rights.

2.4.3 Management of Social Protection Programmes

The term "manage" in social protection, particularly social transfers, which CSOs mostly design and implement, has been defined by Samson et al (2006) to refer to the entire set of management arrangements required for identifying the type of social transfer appropriate for a country's social and political context and then designing and implementing an effective programme or set of programmes. This definition of management is applicable at all levels (from national to grass root) and is a base for both governments and CSOs that wish to implement social protection programmes with greater impact on poverty reduction. Literatures establish strong linkage between management of social transfer programmes and the social and policy context of a given society.

Effective management of social transfer programmes requires a careful consideration of the interaction between the social and policy context and the management

of the programme. Particularly in the early stages – when the appropriate programme is identified and designed – policy planners must thoroughly assess the social, economic and political factors. An understanding of the country's poverty profile provides essential information guiding the choice of the programme – and whether and how to develop an appropriate targeting mechanism. Policy goals will affect the shape of the programme. Social and economic factors will affect the affordability and consequently the scope of the programme (Samson et al, 2006). In this respect it is important for the management of programmes run by CSOs to appropriately consider all of these factors if they are to complement government efforts in poverty reduction and across other sectors.

This is also important considering that programme design incorporates information about the social and policy context and determines the initial implementation of the programmes. Learning by doing – and particularly by monitoring and evaluating on an ongoing basis – provides feedback that is essential for informing the implementation process. Implementation also affects the social and policy context. Successful programmes reduce poverty, promote human development and stimulate economic growth. This social and economic change boosts the policy environment and often promotes programme sustainability and expansion. In addition, effective monitoring and evaluation can lead to more immediate improvements in the policy environment – when policymakers clearly see the intervention's successful impact, they are more likely to support and expand the programme (Samson et al, 2006).

Based on that explanation, good management arrangement, comprising of all its majour elements, namely; selection of programme, design, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment of a programme is paramount in order to build effective social transfer programmes aimed at providing social protection to the poor and reduce poverty in a country. However, all these elements are in constant interaction with number of factors including policy, social and economic factors which also affect programmes in number of ways. The management arrangements of social transfer programmes reflect the social and policy priorities of government. The policy environment and social and economic structural factors influence and constrain the design and implementation of the programme. Programme design, on its turn, largely determines implementation, which

over time has an impact on social and economic factors – particularly poverty, vulnerability, human development and economic growth. Monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment reflect programme implementation – and can provide feedback for improving delivery. In addition, positive social and economic impacts as well as effective evaluations can strengthen the policy environment – and lead to further programme expansions.

2.4.4 Coordination of Social Protection

Social protection systems must also be assessed and understood relative to the existence of other social programmes and policies since they need to be closely coordinated for the social protection system to be more effective. Multi-sectoral coordination often involves ensuring that social protection instruments are coupled with effective supply-side interventions – typically in health, education, nutrition, child protection and rural development (Samson et al, 2006). When properly coordinated, social protection can serve as a catalyst for expanding access to services and can contribute to equitable sector outcomes. This is particularly clear when social protection addresses demand-side barriers to accessing critical services such as education, health or nutrition. If the coverage and quality of services is not adequate, the impacts of social protection efforts may be limited. For instance, in the case of empowerment programmes, although interventions such as assets and capital transfers are recognized as critical to address economic vulnerability among households, equitable outcomes can be potentially enhanced if market barriers for the produced goods and services are also addressed (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

From a macro perspective, social protection interventions by themselves cannot address all issues related to poverty and/or exclusion. Their impacts and contribution to inclusive growth and poverty eradication are maximized with parallel investments in complementary institutions and interventions (Devereux, 2002). The impacts of social protection partly depend on the extent to which these interventions are linked to the complementary institutional framework and wider social and economic policies in place such as efforts to ensure gender equality (World Band and UNICEF, 2013). In other words, social protection systems have the potential for maximizing outcomes and impacts

if they are conceived as integral components of national development and poverty reduction strategies, linked with complementary programmes (e.g.: livelihood promotion, labour market and intermediation programmes, food security programmes, etc.) and macro policy determinants (macroeconomic stability, economic growth, etc.).

In addition, it is argued that, defining roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders (including CSOs) and coordinating their actions is important to avoid gaps, overlaps and inefficiencies in the development and implementation of social protection interventions (Samson et al, 2010). Coordinating different institutions is required to answer people's multiple needs regarding social protection (such as food, education, child support grants, income support and vocational training). Delivery, coordination and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are implemented all over the world to make social protection floors a reality for all. Coordination in this respect involves three levels (Fiszbein et al., 2013):

- Horizontal coordination at the policy level to ensure that all ministries and other stakeholders share the same social protection vision and objectives;
- Horizontal coordination at the operational level to ensure that stakeholders' activities are aligned and harmonized; and
- Vertical coordination between the policy level and operations to facilitate information and financial flows.

Nationally defined social protection system should be developed through a strong and inclusive coordination effort at the policy level to reach a common understanding of national goals, priorities and development strategies. Major objectives of the coordination effort at the policy level are to define the national floors and create a road map for its implementation. In the same way, the delivery of social transfers has to take place in close proximity to the people, including those in rural and remote areas, in order to ensure accessibility for the most vulnerable groups in society. Other functions, like the identification of vulnerable groups or the adjustment of benefits to local needs and constraints, also require the involvement of subnational layers of the administration. Coordination at the operational level should happen among the subnational

administration, but must also encompass de-concentrated divisions and agencies, social partners, CSOs and development partners working at the local level (Fiszbein et al., 2013; World Band and UNICEF, 2013; Samson et al, 2010).

2.4.5 The Role of Social Protection on Poverty Reduction

As indicated earlier, social protection involves primarily measures to address poverty and vulnerability facing people in a given society. This role can be demonstrated in number of ways. Fiszbein et al. (2013) demonstrate how the impact of social protection on poverty and inequality can be estimated. They argue that social protection affects well-being through three channels of impact: first, direct reduction of income poverty through transfer of purchasing power to the beneficiaries, but also two other less direct channels, namely insurance/protection against risk or shocks, where the longer-term poverty consequences of a shock often decrease the lifetime poverty of the beneficiaries allowing them to recover better from these shocks; and investment income as additional returns or income from productive investment, and employment generated through the participation in social protection programs.

Obviously, these three channels are co-existent, and any social protection program has effects on poverty and inequality along all three channels. For example, income security due to the receipt of regular transfers encourages beneficiaries to invest in higher risk but also higher return activities, or overcome market failures allowing them to invest in their human capital.

Beyond its role as a policy framework addressing poverty and vulnerability, social protection embodies and extends alternative approaches to economic and social development. Over the past few decades, national governments, development partners and international organisations have focused on increasing investments in social transfer programmes, including social pensions, grants for children and families, public works schemes and other programmes. These initiatives have documented substantial impact in achieving the Millennium Development Goals and other social and human development impacts (Samson et al, 2010). Social transfers not only tackle income poverty; they also provide effective support for broader developmental objectives. Households in developing

countries spend social transfer income primarily on food, improving nutritional outcomes. In many countries, social grants are distributed largely to women, promoting empowerment and more balanced gender relations. Better household living standards facilitate education and improve health outcomes – particularly for women and children. Social transfers also play a role in the protection strategy for those afflicted by HIV/AIDS, malaria and other debilitating diseases (World Band and UNICEF, 2013).

In addition to their vital social contribution, social transfers can support critical economic objectives. Many of the world's fastest growing economies over the past several decades have built social protection into their policies at early stages because of its potential to increase productivity and contribute to stabilising domestic demand (Samson et al, 2010). The failure to provide appropriate social protection limits prospects for growth and development at the very foundation of society because household poverty undermines children's nutrition and educational attainment, limiting their future prospects. Poverty traps individuals and households – even entire countries –stifling human dignity and eroding potential. Poverty reproduces itself generation after generation, challenging policymakers to take imaginative and bold steps to transform their nations. Social protection is increasingly acknowledged as an effective tool to reduce this inter-generational poverty (Samson et al, 2010).

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed about the conceptual framework for this thesis. It included exploration and discussion on the three main concepts, namely; CSOs (comprising of both NGOs and FBOs), poverty and social protection. The stance of this thesis on the definition of CSO is that it considered CSOs as a sphere that shares three main characteristics, namely; that is located as a separate entity that is not a part of neither the state nor the market; that it is formed out of a body of associations and organisations rather than a loose domain of active individuals; and that it functions as an active promoter of the interests of individuals that belong to its association. Based on this understanding, the definition of both FBO and NGO was then discussed as subcomponents of CSOs. CSOs appeared to also play significant role in poverty reduction, political mobilization as well as policy

engagement to influence decision making. This role has positioned CSOs to occupy significant place at both national and international levels.

Poverty on the other hand, was discussed based on both single and multidimensional perspective. This thesis adopted the multidimensional understanding of poverty as proposed by Sen (1999), which considers poverty from multiple angels which assess it from three separate but interrelated dimensions, namely; quality of life; capabilities; and social inclusion. This definition reflects the complex nature of poverty and is also useful for analyzing the various approaches of CSOs to poverty reduction. The debate on poverty has also been extended to absolute and relative definition of poverty. The Islamic definition of poverty has also explored to reflect the understanding and approaches of FBOs to poverty reduction.

Finally, the chapter concluded by exploring the concept of social protection and its relation to poverty reduction. Different institutions have shared their views on what social protection constitutes, but most of those attached the role of social protection with addressing poverty and vulnerability facing people in their lives. Here the components that build social protection programmes were also explored, including targeting of beneficiaries, benefit levels and their adequacy, management of social protection programmes and coordination.

CHAPTER THREE

3. CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS, POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN ZANZIBAR

3.1 INTRODUCTION

After outlining the conceptual framework for this thesis, this chapter moves on to describe the past and present situation for civil society organisations, poverty and social protection in Zanzibar. The chapter opens by outlining a detailed description of Tanzanian CSOs, including its history and general characteristics up until recent days. The second part of the chapter is concerned with the scale of poverty phenomena in the country, including its main causes. It also discusses and briefly evaluates the main interventions that have been adopted in an effort to reduce it. The final part of this chapter presents the social protection system in Zanzibar, including the historical development, main features and the place of CSOs within it.

3.2 CSOs IN ZANZIBAR

This section provides general information about CSOs in Zanzibar. It briefly describes the historical development of CSOs in the country and the influence of foreign organizations to the development of CSOs. It also presents the current situation of CSOs and their role in development of Zanzibar.

3.2.1 Historical Development of CSOs in Zanzibar

The evolution of CSOs in Zanzibar has a long history. Evolution of the CSOs in Tanzania and Zanzibar is a biblical phenomenon. They are said to be as old as colonialism in Africa (Abdallah and Uki, 2018). As the CSOs have a root to the rise of colonial civic movement, a number of social movements, cut across linguistic and ethnic lines and thus did to sports clubs and dance societies. The Africans were barred from joining these societies by the colonialists for fear of political activities as they developed a well-

organized network with branches in all major towns. Along with that, urban migrants also formed ethnic associations to endow with them communal services and loans. Other CSOs continued to be established for political view such as labor association, which as well established different branches and were successful.

By 1965, CSOs were absorbed with trade unions into the Ruling Party following the transition of Tanzania into One Party State. The suppression of the Civil Society Associations arose after the Tanganyika Independence where such Societies started to go against the New Government. This state of conflict is said to have caused some Federations to be replaced with others, which could be controlled under the single party system. During this period, CSOs in both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar did not enjoy any freedom and development. All activities of the existed unions were under and controlled by the ruling party and so no independent organisation existed at the time. Dudley (1979) refers to this period as the period of complete absence of CSOs and trade union activities in Tanzania. Only religious groups, charity organisations and relief foundations were allowed to operate, because their activities were not considered political (Babeiya, 2011).

Following the worsening of the economy during the 1980s, privatisation and the rapid downsizing of the public sector were widely implemented under the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF and the World Bank. In Tanzania (including Zanzibar), structural adjustment led to increased funding for civil society organisations. Foreign donors' funding strategies emphasized the strengthening of the 'third sector' instead of state institutions, which were seen as inefficient and corrupt. After the change of leadership in 1985, and along with the steps toward multi-party democracy in the beginning of 1990s, CSOs were given new space and they were now seen also by the state as important for community development (Abdallah and Uki, 2018; Dudley, 1979).

The numbers of CSOs started to rise rapidly. Some writers had established that CSOs in Zanzibar had mushroomed and formed into networks in 1990s but they have not been able to influence policy decisions yet (Abdallah and Uki, 2018). CSOs continued development at community levels and at national level creating networks of organisations with considerably structured office and organisations. It is based on this development that

in 1995 the Zanzibar House of Representatives enacted the first law to regulate the affairs and conducts of CSOs in Zanzibar. However, it is still argued that the period of mushrooming of CSOs is now over. Instead, there is competition of the 'survival of the fittest', as donor funding to CSOs is again decreasing and demands to show the impacts of their work are becoming stronger (Babeiya, 2011).

3.2.2 The Situation of CSOs in Zanzibar

The nature of government, constitutional setting and legal system in Tanzania has an impact on civil society, particularly in the way CSOs are treated in the laws of the two constituent entities of the Union that is, Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar respectively (Abdallah and Uki, 2018). The regulation and control of CSOs does not constitute part of the "union matters" mentioned in the Union Constitution. Each constituent part of the Union therefore has its own system of laws concerning non-profit organisations and institutional arrangement for the management of the CSOs.

The Constitution of Zanzibar of 1984 guarantees human rights and freedom such as freedom of association and of assembly; of free speech; and of worship, all of which impact on non-profit activity. Article 20 of Constitution of Zanzibar guarantees the freedom of every person to freely and peaceably assemble, associate and cooperate with other persons, express views and publicly, but subject to the "law of the land". It also guarantees both the positive freedom of forming or joining associations or organisations as well as the negative freedom of not being forced to join such associations or organisations. However, the Article 24(2) (e) of the Constitution gives the government a legitimate power to limit the exercise of the guaranteed rights and freedoms by enacting laws or taking reasonable action, which may abridge or even violate such rights or freedom (Abdallah and Uki, 2018).

In terms of actors, there is much diversity of actors in Zanzibar. The sector includes very different kinds of groups, from those of local women who have come together to support each other to international agencies that pay enormous salaries to their top-level employees in the local terms. Similarly, the civil society sector comprises of both voluntary groups without paid workers and well-established organisations that have tens of paid employees. A major part of Tanzanian civil society consists of informal groups

and small community based organisations (CBOs), professional associations and trade unions, as well as numerous FBOs. In terms of numbers, local CBOs and informal groups may be the main actors, but there are no exact numbers available, because a substantial part of these groups are not officially registered. CBOs and informal civil society groups have much influence on people's lives, and even more so in the remoter rural areas. Usually, these smaller organisations operate at grass roots level, particularly with the poor, disadvantaged and marginalized people, in helping to improve their social situation and living conditions. However, NGOs (despite being quite new) and FBOs are the most common form of CSOs in Zanzibar (RGoZ and UNICEF, 2018).

With regard to their influence on people's daily life, religious or faith-based organisations may be the most important ones in Zanzibar and Tanzania at large. Most FBOs are Muslim or Christian based organisations, since these are the two majour religions in the country. The power of FBOs lies in providing services for people. For instance, they run orphanages and dispensaries, and their role in providing health and education services remains especially strong (Babeiya, 2011). They also engage in providing direct support to orphans and most vulnerable children and their households (RGoZ and UNICEF, 2018).

In addition to local NGOs, there is a relatively small but influential group of international NGOs working in the country. International NGOs play an important role as the 'capacity builders' of civil society, and they often function as donors of local organisations. Furthermore, international NGOs are important players in policy and advocacy work. The agendas and priorities of international NGOs affect local organisations, and their partner selection strategies have tended to strengthen merely the urban based elite organisations, instead of less 'modern' organisations that work remote rural areas (Gilboy and Tejeda, 2018). This is to say that there is a considerable divide in the presence of CSOs between rural and urban areas. Most NGOs are urban based, with Zanzibar town being their primary hub. Also the region is better off economically compared to other regions, it attracts investors, and there are more job opportunities than in other areas. The poorer regions, such as Micheweni and others tend to have far fewer registered NGOs operating in the countrywide scale.

On the other hand, CSOs are highly donor dependent in terms of their revenues (Gilboy and Tejeda, 2018). This, of course, is not very healthy for the sustainability of the non-profit sector in the country. This is mainly due to the fact that the Government cannot legally support civil society organisations through subventions from the Treasury funds (Devereux et al., 2012; RGoZ and UNICEF, 2018). Consequently these organisations are forced to rely on charitable donations, from external sources to fund their various social and development activities, thus making them dependent on donors, which threaten their own sustainability and freedom of action. The influence of donor funding to CSOs is further elaborated in the following sub-section.

3.2.3 Influence of Foreign Organizations to CSOs Development

As in many Southern countries, in Zanzibar and Tanzania in general, foreign donors have had a significant impact on the formation of modern civil society. The governments of rich industrialized countries and multilateral institutions (especially the World Bank and IMF), had a leading role in the liberalization processes that were started in Tanzania's political and economic spheres in the 1980s. Liberalisation did not only create space for the modern type of civil society but also created a demand for services provided by CSOs, when state's role as service provider was diminished. On the other hand, as foreign funding to CSOs had increased the state perceived CSOs as competitors over the available funds. This is evident in the HIV/AIDS sector (Gilboy and Tejeda, 2018).

Foreign or international donors continue to have a substantial or even vital role in funding local CSOs in Zanzibar. This is most evident among registered NGOs, of which about 90% are funded from foreign sources (ILO, 2010). In addition to the Northern governments' aid agencies and multilateral development institutions, also international CSOs have been, and still are, influential actors in funding Tanzanian civil society. In addition to providing funding, international CSOs link Tanzanian CSOs to other foreign funding sources (Babeiya, 2011). Generally, like mentioned above, there is no domestic financial support available from the Zanzibar government for CSOs.

Despite the flows of funding from abroad, most local CSOs are struggling with scarce resources. This is most acute among those CSOs that are not situated in or do not have links to urban centres where contacts with donors are usually made. Donors still tend to steer more funding to urban-based organisations that are familiar with 'NGO jargon', and are thus able to produce proposals and reports that are required by international development organisations. On the other hand, many CSOs are faced with a challenge of translating the needs of the local community to the priorities of the donors and government (ILO, 2010). As a result, some CSOs use consultants to write their proposals and reports, which can result in quite absurd outputs. However, this does not necessarily mean that such CSOs lack activities, commitment or actual impact on a grass roots level.

Despite criticism and recent efforts towards more participatory decision-making between donors and local CSOs, many donors still tend to set or affect CSOs' priorities and shape their organisational structures (Gilboy and Tejeda, 2018). This may be unintentional. Too often, CSOs do not have resources that would enable them to focus on certain themes or issues consistently (Devereux et al., 2012). Trying to comply with conditions set by their donors keeps many CSOs jumping from one issue to another. This can lead to problems with the expertise needed on different issues and focus groups. Thus, most CSOs would prefer more open and flexible funding for their work. Project-bound funding is generally perceived as rigid and more likely to favour the donors' agendas. Nevertheless, there have been signs of changing attitudes and improvements leading to more equal partnerships, which are based on an idea that both parties agree on specific benefits that they bring to the relationship. This has already decreased the need for compromises that local CSOs have had to make.

Legislation allows a CSO to make profit but this has to be invested in the CSO's own activities and cannot be shared among its members. Some of the more established NGOs have started to sell consultancy services, especially to foreign donors by such things as providing them with information on local issues or other services. Another income source for many CSOs is interest from micro-credits. However, there is generally a lack of local funding sources that are sustainable and ethical.

Today the CSO sector is an integral and important part of the national economy. The state has been worried about the direct channels through which funds are allocated to CSOs without informing the relevant state authorities. Demands have been made that the donor funding to CSOs should be reported to governmental bodies.

Lack of skills in financial management, lack of bank accounts and existing accounting systems sometimes create unintentional 'mismanagement' of finances. Sometimes the CSO leaders are in the midst of conflicting loyalties that result in using the money of the CSO for their extended family. There has also been the phenomenon of government civil servants establishing NGOs in order to have access to the available development funds, for example in the HIV/AIDS sector. According to the sources of this summary, however, the gross misuse of funds is usually not a major problem among Tanzanian CSOs although some examples of misuse can be named.

3.2.4 The Role of CSOs in Zanzibar

Based on historical background of Tanzania, CSOs emerged as direct providers of social services to the society, particularly the poor. This approach was the result of two factors: the economic situation of the mid 1980's and 1990's which characterised by economic crises and worsening of people's lives. CSOs had to appear and play a complementary role in providing support to poor people who had no other means of survival. This was also facilitated by the intervention of the World Bank and the International Monitory Fund (IMF). The second factor was more of political, originated from the government restriction and control over the civil society activities. CSO was hardly established and those lucky ones were not allowed to engage in some other activities. In this way they had to confine themselves in service delivery in order to get validity of their existence. This has also been evidenced by the Tanzania Education Network (TEN) (2009) report. According to this report, historically, CSOs in Tanzania have been known with majour two stages of roles:

- a service delivery phase (from the pre-independence era to early 1990s) during which CSO work focused on charities, self-help initiatives, and working through government-set systems; FBOs established and ran schools and they continue to do so today; and

- a shift from service delivery to largely influencing policies and advocating for change (since late 1990s to-date).

CSOs are also believed to play important role in promoting democracy and policy making in Tanzania. The Civil Society Index project in Tanzania documented that some CSOs have been at the forefront of lobbying and advocating for democratic policy decisions. However, on a research by CIVICUS (2011) in the same project found out that only 17% of respondents who answered the question on the civil society actions to promote democracy said that the role was significant, 48.9% said the role was moderate and 5.9% said civil society has an insignificant role in promoting democracy. This could mean that a weak role is played by CSOs in promoting democracy in Tanzania.

Similarly, CSOs participation in the policy process has been increasing significantly but with some challenges surrounding it. The number of CSOs participating in the policy processes is not representative enough compared to the actual number of CSOs. However, this is mainly the question of financial resource and time (which normally too scarce to involve all organisations at all stages and levels) but policy makers have been using this as an excuse to reduce CSO participation in policy process. In a study by Engel (2010) found out that respondents from government and donor sector were of the opinion that it is difficult to decide who to invite to represent the civil society sector because the sector is not centrally and hence not strongly coordinated in their view. Both government and donors, and also some within the civil society sector, favour stronger coordination to facilitate the selection process as to which organisation and/or individuals to invite to represent the civil society sector according to the limited number of spaces available. The limited participation can also be explained by the geographical disparity of NGOs across the country. It is practically impossible to reach every organisation in the country.

The role of CSOs has been acknowledged in various policy documents and government plans. A good example is the National Social Security Policy which declares that "the government shall declare an enabling environment for other institutions such as NGOs, charity organisations, families and mutual assistance groups to supplement

government efforts in the provision of services" (URT 2003). On the other hand, ZSGPR identified CSOs as having the following roles: to build local capacity and empowering communities, participate in monitoring and evaluation at national and community level, mobilize and enhance community participation as well as community resources for poverty reduction, advocate for accountability of its members and government to the people and ensure that cross-cutting issues are included and implemented in the sectoral and district plans.

Reflecting on the role of CSOs the Civil Society Index Tanzania Report (2011) presents 6 roles through which CSOs in Tanzania are expected to perform:

1. Political roles: This could include, but is not limited to, augmenting and influencing change (policy, development, lobbying and advocacy for a particular cause); playing a part in elections (civic/voter education and election observation); election funding; pressure and interest groups.
2. Democratic roles: watchdogs of the state against abuse of power; human rights education; litigation on behalf of the vulnerable; nurturing of democratic norms and processes; breeding grounds of democratic leaders.
3. Economic and developmental roles: avenues for free economic associations (such as production, consumers, savings and credits).
4. Educational and informational roles: avenues of knowledge generation and dissemination.
5. Socio-cultural roles: social and cultural groupings.
6. Sports and recreational roles.

In support of the watchdog's role of the government, CSOs are also believed to make significant efforts to make the government accountable and avoid abuse of power. However, their role is not always direct and vivid. They sometimes use different strategies to achieve this goal. As wrote in Hearn and Mapunda (2012) CSOs work "behind the scenes", bringing ordinary citizens together to demand action and they also work publically and sometimes in consultation with political parties and parliament to bring about change from within. But the effectiveness of many of these CSOs in their work to

achieve greater accountability of government is of concern to some people (Sundet, 2010, Dyer, 2011 as cited in Hearn and Mapunda, 2012).

It can be seen from the literature that, from its service provision approach in mid 1980s and early 1990s CSOs supported building more equitable society by empowering the poor and vulnerable through antipoverty interventions and social service delivery. The advocacy and policy change has widened up the role of CSOs to influencing policy change and foster development. Through this approach they have been active in representing the interest of people in making sure that government policies and programmes reflect the current needs of people. In this way CSOs have been one of the majour fighters of people's rights and interest in diverse areas. They have therefore facilitated building of the four pillars of governance in Zanzibar: transparency, accountability, participation and the rule of law.

3.3 POVERTY IN ZANZIBAR

This section provides an elaboration about poverty in Zanzibar, including the description of poverty trends in Zanzibar, its causes and government response to reduce poverty in the country.

3.3.1 Poverty Description in Zanzibar

The latest publication of the 2014/15 Household Budget Survey provides a comprehensive and updated profile of poverty in Zanzibar. It also allows a comparison with findings from the previous survey in 2009/10, so that trends over the half-decade can be identified.

The Household Budget Survey defines two poverty lines: the Food Poverty Line (FPL) (also referred to as extreme poverty) and the Basic Need Poverty Line (BNPL). People living below the food poverty line are unable to meet their minimum food consumption needs. People living below the basic needs poverty line cannot meet a broader range of consumption needs, including food, clothing and shelter. Both poverty lines are estimated in monetary terms, with the basic needs poverty line used to define 'the poor' (OCGS, 2016).

Based on 2014/15 HBS basic needs poverty line stands at 30.4 percent while food poverty line stands at 10.8 percent. This means that 30.4 percent of the Zanzibar population (approximately 443,540 people) is living on less than TZS 53,377 (US$ 24.26[3]) a month, and approximately 157,133 people are living on less that TZS 38,071 (US$ 17.31) a month. As compared to 2009/10, there has been an improvement in both measures. Both basic need and food poverty lines fell from 34.9 percent and 11.7 percent in 2010 respectively. However, while the poverty rate has dropped, mainly due to population growth, the actual number of basic needs poor people has remained virtually unchanged the actual number of food poor people has increased over the last five years (OCGS, 2016).

By both measures, poverty is higher in rural than in urban areas. Basic needs poverty currently stands at 40.2 percent in rural areas and 17.9 in urban areas. There is a slight increase in poverty level in rural areas in 2015. In 2009/10 the rural poverty headcount rate stood at 39.5 percent. The food poverty headcount is over three times higher in rural areas (15.7%) than in urban areas (4.5%), and the urban-rural disparity has widened slightly since 2009/10. This is surprising since rural households are more likely to be engaged in food production and are therefore less dependent on markets than are urban residents. On the other hand, farmers in Zanzibar are often engaged in cash crop production (e.g. spices) rather than food crops, so they might need to purchase imported staple foods (RGoZ, 2012).

Poverty in Zanzibar is also geographically concentrated, as revealed by high degrees of variation across Zanzibar's 10 Districts. By District, the basic needs poverty headcount in 2014/15 ranged from a low of 14.6 percent (Magharibi) to a high of 69.0 percent (Micheweni). Compared with 2009/10 survey year, poverty in Micheweni has increased for 11.9 percentage point. Micheweni had the highest food poverty rate (32.6%) in 2014/15 and occupied the second last position in 2009/10 survey year, and Magharibi continued to lead with the lowest food poverty rate in 2014/15. Again, the range of food poverty rates across Districts is extremely wide, from 3.5% in Magharibi to 32.6% in

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[3] The exchange rate is set at US$ 1 = Tsh. 2,200 throughout this document.

Micheweni (see table 1). The wide variation in poverty headcounts suggests that important lessons can be learned from understanding why some Districts have very low rates while others have very high rates.

Table 1: Basic Need and Food Poverty Headcount Rate by District, 2009/10 and 2014/15

Districts	Basic Need Poverty Headcount		Food Poverty Headcount	
	2009/10	2014/15	2009/10	2014/15
Kaskazini A	27.9	20.0	5.0	4.4
Kaskazini B	26.3	23.3	6.9	7.0
Kati	25.5	25.1	7.9	7.2
Kusini	21.9	26.3	4.1	6.0
Magharibi	27.5	14.6	6.9	3.5
Mjini	24.8	19.2	5.2	5.0
Wete	50.8	47.7	21.1	15.7
Micheweni	57.2	69.0	20.3	32.6
Chake	38.8	51.6	20.1	24.4
Mkoani	47.4	52.4	20.7	21.0
Total	**34.9**	**30.4**	**11.7**	**10.8**

Source: 2014/15 Household Budget Survey (OCGS, 2016:71)

Between the two islands of Zanzibar (Unguja and Pemba), by both measures poverty is higher in Pemba than in Unguja. Across the Zanzibar's 10 districts the 4 districts in Pemba hold the highest poverty rates. Poverty is also increasing in Pemba compared to Unguja. Unguja Island, having started with a lower poverty rate in 2010 (26 per cent), reduced it further to 18.4 percent by 2015. Pemba Island had a poverty rate of 48.5 per cent in 2010, but the situation has deteriorated further with poverty rate reaching 55.4 percent in 2015. With the exception of Mkoani, both basic need and food poverty line in the remaining districts in Pemba have increased in 2014/15 as compared to 2019/10 HBS. This, together with district and urban-rural disparities, has implication to social protection and poverty reduction efforts, not only for the government but also CSOs which provide social protection services to the poor.

The main drivers of such a reduction in poverty are attributed to increase in returns to both the education and economic activity of the poor. Household businesses, followed

by both the nonfarm sector and agriculture, have become more productive in recent years, inducing improvements in the economic situation of the poor. The decline in poverty has also been driven by an increase of returns to secondary education, which is coupled with improvements in the educational levels of the household's head and his/her spouse. While a large household size and the number of children continued to constrain households' well-being, their negative impact seems to have declined. The latter is apparently driven by a higher engagement of spouses in non-farming activities and an expansion of their returns. The improvements in ownership of and returns to assets, essentially cell phones, further contributed to welfare gains and poverty reduction (World Bank, 2017).

In terms of multidimensional poverty - which is measured through 5 dimensions: education, housing condition, access to basic services, living standard and assets ownership – the incidence of deprivation, which informs on the prevalence of multidimensional poverty, stands at 44 percent in Zanzibar. The proportion of the population suffering from severe deprivations is 17 percent in Zanzibar. Also, an important part of Zanzibar's population remains at risk of falling back into multidimensional poverty with a high vulnerability rate of 30.9 percent.

Rural populations are experiencing higher multidimensional poverty and deprivations than their urban counterparts. There are also large disparities in multidimensional poverty between the geographic regions of Zanzibar. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is significantly higher in Pemba than in Unguja. Multidimensional poverty seems to be significantly high in West Unguja and very high in North Pemba. While this pattern is in line with the pattern of monetary poverty observed previously – i.e. high poverty rates on the island of Pemba and low poverty rates in West Unguja – the gap between the different regions is less important in the case of multidimensional poverty. Such situation suggests that the interregional disparities in monetary welfare indicators (e.g., income and consumption) are larger than the disparities in living conditions and other nonmonetary aspects of welfare, such as education, access to basic services, housing conditions, and so forth (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2017).

In addition, poor segments of Zanzibar's population are experiencing high deprivations in a number of important dimensions of well-being, including first and foremost in access to electricity and efficient cooking fuels, followed by sanitation and consumption. More than 80 percent of the (multidimensional) poor of Zanzibar are deprived in access to consumption, electricity, efficient cooking fuels such as gas, kerosene or charcoal, and improved sanitation; and more than 40 percent of them are deprived from improved dwelling conditions such as improved walls and floors. Moreover, around one-third of the poor population remains deprived in school attendance, meaning that at least one school-age household member (7 to 15 years old) is out of school.

Finally, Zanzibar is mostly deprived in access to basic services and consumption, while deprivation in education and assets ownership remains relatively low. The contributions of access to basic services and consumption to multidimensional poverty have the highest share, each one accounting for around one-third of multidimensional poverty. A more detailed set of social-economic indicators on Zanzibar is attached with this report on Annex 3.

3.3.2 Causes of Poverty in Zanzibar

Poverty in Zanzibar is the result of number of factors. The World Bank report on Zanzibar Poverty Analysis established that poverty in Zanzibar is mainly concentrated in rural areas and among large households with many dependents, among households where the head of the house has a low level of education, and among households with poor access to infrastructure (World Bank, 2017). The poverty rate consistently increases as the number of people and children within the household increases. Over half of the households with five or more children under 14 years old lived in poverty compared to only 16 percent of those with two children or less.

Also, working in poorly paid sector is among causes of poverty in Zanzibar. Based on Poverty Assessment report, poverty was the highest among agricultural workers (the sector believed to be having the poorest pay in many developing countries). It was around two times higher than among households that worked in the services and trade sectors, and over 14 percentage points higher than among those employed in construction and

mining. This is also accompanied by the level of education which also appears to be one of the causes of poverty in Zanzibar. There was also a considerable gap in poverty levels between households whose heads had secondary or higher education, and households whose heads only had primary or lower level of education (World Bank, 2017).

In Pemba the aggravation of poverty is largely due to the deterioration of households' returns and local conditions (World Bank, 2017). Pemba's rural areas are remote and disconnected from urban centres, as opposed to Unguja where rural areas are reachable from the capital and thus experience an economic spillover. Communities in Pemba that are furthest from urban centres have experienced the largest increase in poverty in Zanzibar. Some improvements in human capital coupled with an expansion of cell phone ownership and an increase of their returns occurred. However, these improvements were largely offset by the decline of household returns in Pemba, particularly in the southern part. This decline was largely due to the aggravation of the effects of poor sanitation conditions and limited access to health centers on households' productivity. Local geographic conditions – probably access to roads and quality of public services – combined with higher exposition to climate shocks seemed to also deteriorate, negatively affecting productivity and returns, and further aggravated poverty (World Bank, 2017; RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018). The poor also have limited access to mobile banking and to savings and credit cooperative societies (SACCOS), which are lending institutions for rural micro entrepreneurs (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018). All these factors make it even more difficult for Pemba Island to break the poverty cycle.

High youth unemployment is another cause of poverty in Zanzibar. Youth (15 -24 years) unemployment rate stood at 16.2 percent in 2014/15 HBS. This increase dependency among household heads. This is particularly evident considering that many people in Zanzibar decide to have many children as a mechanism to ensure care and support when they grow young (Devereux et al., 2012).

On the other hand, the Zanzibar Social Protection Policy (2014) categorized the main drivers of poverty and vulnerability in Zanzibar into three categories: 1) Income insecurity – which is caused by several factors, including low cash income, low food

production, unemployment and high levels of informal employment and self-employment;
2) Vulnerability to shocks – which is caused by low coverage of social security, no universal pension, high prices for imported food, and other risk factors; and 3) Low utilization of basic services – including lack of nutrition education, low use of ante– and post–natal care services, and no child protection services, partially as a consequence of social exclusion (RGoZ, 2014).

3.3.3 Government Response to Poverty in Zanzibar

The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is committed to eradicating absolute poverty, having adopted the Zanzibar Development Vision 2020, which recognises the need not only for higher household incomes but also for "increased access to basic services, expanded social security, stronger democratic institutions and citizen participation. The Vision 2020 emphasizes development of a social security system to meet the basic needs of vulnerable groups in society, including the elderly, widows and orphans" (UNICEF, 2009:9). To combat poverty, the government in Zanzibar has been running number of policies and programmes, ranging from free delivery of basic services to fee waving/exemption and designing of special programmes that target the poor.

Historically, after the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) was established under the Ministry of Improving the Standards of Citizen and the Rights of Employees, with the role of providing social welfare services to the poor and those in need. The services provided at the time were mainly in the form of cash transfers to the poor and vulnerable groups, payment of monthly pension and lump sum pension to retirees and workers compensation (DSW Profile, 2014). This department still exists till today, but of course, with more specialized function confined on the welfare of the society, considering that poverty reduction requires multidisciplinary approach and so many ministries, department and agencies have a share in the fight against poverty.

The government also, is implementing the third Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (ZSGPR III) which contains national commitments toward development. The strategy incorporates the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in its development agenda (RGoZ, 2017). The main theme of the Strategy is "economic growth

and social development for the well-being of all". The key areas of the Strategy are as follows:

a) Enabling sustainable and inclusive growth;
b) Promoting human capital development;
c) Providing quality services for all;
d) Attaining environmental sustainability and climate resilience;
e) Adhering to good governance principles.

Various Ministries, Departments and Agencies translate these areas into policy. For instance, providing quality services for all is integrated into the National Health Policy (Ministry of Health) and the Zanzibar Education Policy (Ministry of Education). The government, for years, implemented fee waivers and exemptions for poor people and children from poor households in health care and education. Through these policies poor people who could not afford to pay medical charges in public health care facilities and children who could not afford to pay school contributions were exempted from paying the charges. This was implemented for years by both the ministry responsible for health and the ministry responsible for education until recent years with the introduction of universal free health care and universal free education in Zanzibar.

Through the ministry responsible for social welfare and social protection, the government is implementing the Zanzibar Universal Pension Scheme which provides monthly cash benefits to older citizens aged 70 years and above. The scheme intends to provide minimum income guarantee to older people and hence reduce poverty level among older people and their households. The ministry is also implementing other programmes in relation to poverty reduction, such as small cash transfers to extremely poor households and most vulnerable children (Devereux et al., 2012). The ministry also administers cooperative funds which provides interest free loans to individuals and groups for business purposes. The fund has enabled thousands of people (including the poor) and groups to acquire soft loans to finance their income generating initiatives.

In addition, the RGoZ in collaboration with the government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is implementing the Productive social safety net (PSSN) which

provides cash benefits to extremely poor household in both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. Over 34,601 poor households have been reached in Zanzibar (RGoZ, 2016).

Through the ministry of agriculture, the government is implementing the agricultural input subsidy programme which provides fertilizers, seeds and other agricultural inputs in 50 percent subsidized rate (Devereux et al., 2012). This enables farmers, particularly the poor ones to acquire fertilizers and other inputs in cheaper than the market price, and hence increase productivity of their farming while maintaining the low costs of production. All these form part of the government efforts to reduce poverty in Zanzibar. However, as shown in the description of poverty above, more efforts are required to further reduce poverty in the country.

3.4 SOCIAL PROTECTION IN ZANZIBAR

This section provides an elaboration about social protection in Zanzibar. It highlights the historical development of social protection and the current system and finally presents an overview of measures taken by the government to improve social protection in the country. The historical development was judged important to be included here to show the trend and direction of social protection and match with the measures taken since after independence.

3.4.1 Historical Development of Social Protection in Zanzibar

Zanzibar's commitment to social protection derives from its international, regional and national commitments with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which provides for the rights of every person to social protection and the ILO Convention 102 which sets out the Minimum Standards of social security benefits (RGoZ, 2014). The history of social protection in Zanzibar takes us back to 1060s after the revolution and the instalment of the new government under the leadership of the first President of Zanzibar Hon. Abeid Amani Karume. During this time the government implemented number of social protection interventions, including the following:

- Construction of new residences for the people. Modern residences were being established in every centre of the islands, in both Unguja and Pemba and in urban

and rural areas. These residences intended to improve the quality of residence for the people of Zanzibar and increase their wellbeing.

- Provision of cash benefits to the poor and those in need of support. The scheme was established in 1966 and administered at district and shehia levels. The scheme exists till today and recipients now receive 5,000 TZS (US$3.8) a month, increased in 2007 from 500 TZS (US$0.38), the original amount when the scheme was introduced. A total of 11,124 people receive this benefit in both Unguja and Pemba (HelpAge, 2009).

- Provision of free education and health care to all children and citizen respectively. Free education enabled children from poor families to have equal opportunity to attend school and acquire education that would allow then to combat poverty. In the same way free health care intended to build strong and healthy Zanzibar society that would enable active participation in social and economic development of the country.

- Establishment of elderly homes and children home (state orphanage) to care for older people and children who have no one to care for and those suffered from leprosy. A total of four elderly homes were build (2 in Unguja and 2 in Pemba), but only three are operational currently, and one state orphanage located in Unguja island.

- Distribution of free hectors of land to every household to ensure ownership of land and proper engagement in agriculture. This did not only stimulate agricultural development (which was the main economic activity) but also promote equality among people.

- Provision of retirement benefits to civil servants administered by the Ministry of Finance.

All the above interventions were implemented without having formal social security system based on international best practices. Provision of social security in an

organized way based on international standards started in 1998, following the establishment of ZSSF under the Zanzibar Social Security Fund Act No. 2 of 1998, which was subsequently amended by the Zanzibar Social Security Fund Act No. 9 of 2002, and then re-enacted by Act No. 2 of 2005. No formal social security system for the overall population existed prior to 1998, with public sector workers being the only segment of the population to benefit from pension coverage (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018). This was the biggest step towards building contributory social protection system. From this date all employers and workers employed in the formal sector are obliged to contribute to mandatory schemes run by ZSSF.

The final event in development of social protection in Zanzibar is the development of the Zanzibar Social Protection Policy (ZSPP), which among other things involved building capacities of stakeholders about what social protection is and its role on poverty reduction, and defining social protection based on Zanzibar context. For the first time in the history of social protection in Zanzibar, social protection is given an operational definition. The ZSPP defines social protection as "a set of actions by government and non-government actors, that aim to improve the quality of life in Zanzibar by reducing poverty, vulnerability and deprivation, providing protection against shocks, improving access to essential services, enhancing social inclusion, and promoting equal rights and opportunities for all" (RGoZ, 2014:14).

The policy has an overall objective of establishing a comprehensive social protection system that meets the needs for income security, risk management and access to basic services for all Zanzibaris, thereby contributing to a more equitable society (RGoZ, 2014:14). It also has four specific objectives which are:

- To contribute to minimum income security for all by providing social transfers to extremely poor Zanzibaris who are unable to provide for themselves and have no other means of support;

- To ensure that all Zanzibaris have adequate protection against life-course shocks and livelihood risks, by installing effective safety nets and extending social security coverage;

- To progressively extend access to basic social services such as education, health care, social welfare and child and other protection services, and ensure that their quality will not be compromised.

- To strengthen multi-sectoral coordination of all stakeholders working on social protection.

In this respect, this policy document therefore defines the social protection system that we have today in Zanzibar, and which all stakeholders, including CSOs strive to implement. Some policy dissemination interventions were carried out, though it is not evident if all stakeholders were adequately reached.

3.4.2 Current Social Protection System in Zanzibar

As outlined above, the current social protection system of Zanzibar is described by the ZSPP put in place by the government in 2014. Based on the ZSPP, but also based on the social protection analysis report (2018) social protection system is made up of four pillars: social assistance, social insurance, social welfare services and labour market programmes. Each of these pillars will be dealt separately by looking at the current social protection programmes implemented in Zanzibar.

Social assistance is one of the main pillars of the social protection system in Zanzibar. Social assistance programmes are defined as non-contributory benefits provided either in cash or in kind. Social welfare services are sometimes also considered part of social assistance, since they are intended to support poor or vulnerable people. Social assistance can appear in many programmes including: (1) Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs); (2) Unconditional Cash Transfers (UCTs); (3) social pensions; (4) in-kind transfers; (5) school feeding; (6) public works; (7) fee waivers and targeted subsidies; and (8) other social assistance programmes. All of these programs are implemented in Zanzibar. For example, the PSSN programme alone consists of at least four components:

(i) Unconditional cash transfers: the basic cash benefits provided to all eligible registered households, and the second is a Variable Conditional Cash Transfer for households with children to serve as an incentive for households to invest in their children's human capital.

(ii) Conditional cash transfers: the cash benefits provided to only households with children, and which is subject to participants' compliance with a set of activities. These conditions are of Health Compliance and Education Conditionality Compliance. Considering the average household size of 5.6 individuals, CCTs and UCTs together currently support about 15 per cent of the population of Zanzibar (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018).

(iii) Public works: Any household enrolled for the CCTs or UCTs component can also earn seasonal income under public works. It is implemented twice a year based on rainfall. Public Works offers 15 guaranteed days of paid work per month for four months to enrolled households targeted under the PSSN. The daily wage rate is the equivalent of Tsh 2,300 for 60 days. Thus, a household can earn additional income of Tsh 138,000 in a year. Participation in public works is paid on the basis of attendance and the effective completion of tasks.

(iv) Livelihoods enhancement: this involves forming groups (amongst beneficiary households) of no more than 15 members. Through those groups, the beneficiary households participate in saving and investment activities. The Livelihoods Enhancement programme started in 2016, and is operational in 126 shehias (wards). A total of 1,151 groups have been formed with 16,037 beneficiary households, of which 15,508 are female and 649 are male. Generally, the beneficiaries are already involved in various economic activities within their households such as small businesses, including handcrafts.

There is also the Zanzibar Universal Pension Scheme (ZUPS) that provides cash benefits to all persons aged 70 years and who are residents of Zanzibar. This programme aims to help older people by providing cash transfers to support consumption. ZUPS is providing TSh 20,000 per month to each beneficiary (equivalent to US$9). The delivery mechanism is cash, distributed via pay points set around the islands. This programme is the second largest pillar of Zanzibar's social assistance and is fully funded by the government using tax revenue. Other small-scale programmes exist such the school

feeding programme implemented by the Ministry of Education, which covered 5,376 students in 2016 (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018).

Social insurance in Zanzibar is comprised of two separate pension systems. The Zanzibar Social Security Fund (ZSSF) administers the national social security benefits for both public and private sector employees, while the Ministry of Finance and Planning oversees the Retired Civil Servant Pension Scheme (RCSPS) which provides additional pension coverage for retired public sector workers. ZSSF offers four types of benefits: old age pension, invalidity benefits, survivor's benefits and maternity benefits. The old age programme includes a 'gratuity' (lump sum benefit) and an 'old age pension' (annuity pension benefit). Eligibility criteria for the old age pension includes the attainment of the voluntary (55 years) or mandatory (60 years) retirement age, and the accumulation of at least 60 months of contributions to the ZSSF. Currently around 16 per cent of working age population in Zanzibar is making contributions to ZSSF (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018).

The Retired Civil Servant Pension Scheme (RCSPS) has higher coverage than the national contributory pension scheme, partly due to the significantly lower retirement age (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018). RCSPS appears to be, for civil servants, a top-up of the old age (retirement) benefit and can be considered a component of the overall compensation package of public employees. The RCSPS differs from the national contributory pension scheme in a number of aspects. The voluntary retirement age for RCSPS is 55 years, and the mandatory retirement age is 60 years. No pension is paid to those who continue working from 55 to 60 years of age. The average monthly pension payout of the RCSPS was TSh 40,000 in 2016.

In addition, there is a Workers' Compensation Scheme administered jointly by the Department of Elders and Social Welfare and the Labour Commission, governed by the Workers Compensation Act, 2005. Section 24. This scheme provides benefits to workers in case of work injury following the fulfilment of the requirements established by the law.

Social welfare services are also provided in Zanzibar by both the government and CSOs. There are at least four areas through which social welfare services are provided.

(i) Most Vulnerable Children programme is the largest initiative, and it has two components. The first aims to create a web-based database of vulnerable children. It will be piloted in Magharibi A, Magharibi B and Wete districts. The second component under development focuses on building a database of the NGOs currently working in Zanzibar that are providing cash or in-kind transfers or services. This programme supports children under the age of 18 years who are suffering from severe deprivation and who do not have access to adequate healthcare, food/nutrition, shelter, HIV/AIDS services and/or early childhood development services. Beneficiaries are identified based on criteria set by the DSW and identified by the committee at the shehia/ward level and then recorded in the Most Vulnerable Children MIS. There are children who are receiving support from CSOs using this system.

(ii) Elderly Protection Programme: This programme supports abandoned elderly people above the age of 60 years who live in very poor conditions and have no family help or assistance from the community. They are provided with shelter and other basic needs such as food and medication. A cash transfer on a monthly basis is also provided, ranging from TSh 20,000 to TSh 40,000. Three homes are currently operational to take care of the elderly in Zanzibar.

(iii) Orphanage centres: This programme takes care of neglected children and orphans from birth to 18 years of age, providing them with food, shelter, health and education. There are about 50 children currently in 7 official orphanages (6 in Unguja and 1 in Pemba).

(iv) Rehabilitation services for children in or at risk of conflict with the law: This programme deals with children between 12 and 18 years of age who are involved in criminal cases. They are provided counselling and receive training to help them integrate with the community.

Labour market programmes in Zanzibar exist, but they are few and small scale. Besides the PSSN public works component – which could be categorized as a labour

market programme – there are two labour market programmes currently functioning in Zanzibar. Both target the youth.

(i) Economic Empowerment: This programme is designed to support and build entrepreneurial capacity especially among youth, helping them to engage in profitable businesses that will create employment and later will contribute to the economy through taxes. The beneficiaries are provided with training to develop their business ideas and, after graduating, some of them are provided with startup capital up to a maximum of TSh 5 million, depending on the type of business. The coverage of the Economic Empowerment programme is limited but has been growing lately.

(ii) Enhanced Employability Training for Youth: This programme was launched in 2017. It intends to strengthen youth skills to enhance their employability. The programme will be implemented in two phases.

3.4.3 Measures Taken to Improve Social Protection in Zanzibar

Measures to improve social protection in Zanzibar can be categorized in three: development of the national framework for social protection, increased budget allocation and designing and implementing new social protection programmes.

- The first important measure taken to improve social protection in Zanzibar was to develop the national social protection policy (ZSPP) in 2014. As explained earlier, the policy set out the national system for social protection and put together resources and stakeholders working on the sector. The policy also outlines key poverty and vulnerability concerns of all groups across life cycle stages and set strategies for stakeholders to address them. Before this framework, social protection programmes were implemented but without any national coordination mechanism between them.

- Increasing budget for social protection in Zanzibar can be taken as another important step toward improving social protection system in the country. The Zanzibar social protection budget analysis (2018) states that spending on social

protection in Zanzibar has been increasing steadily in the past few years, doubling over the course of four years. The increase was primarily due to the expansion of social insurance spending. By 2015/16, social assistance spending began to increase. For example, PSSN spending in Zanzibar expanded from 0.07 per cent of the GDP in 2013/14 to 0.33 per cent in 2015/16, contributing to a significant increase in social assistance spending in Zanzibar. However, spending on social welfare services and labour market programmes remains very low (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018).

- Designing and implementing new social protection programmes contributes to the government efforts to strengthen social protection in the country. In April 2016 the government started implementing universal pension scheme we mentioned earlier. Implementation of this programme justifies not only the willingness of the government to supporting older people but also the government commitment to improve social protection system in Zanzibar. The government spent TSh4.9 billion (0.19 per cent of GDP) on the programme in 2016. This is around 35 per cent of total social assistance spending, making it the second largest social assistance programme in terms of spending (RGoZ & UNICEF, 2018).

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed about civil society, poverty and social protection in Zanzibar. It has elaborated the current situation and its development in the three areas but with specific focus on Zanzibar context. CSOs in Zanzibar evolved as a result of economic and political changes introduced in the mid-1980s and early 1990s following the interventions by IMF and World Bank in the structural adjustment programme and liberalization policies. This marked the beginning of foreign donor dependence by the local CSOs. Before that CSOs activities were very limited and absorbed within mono-party political system to avoid political and social pressure from them. Currently, CSOs are administered under the Zanzibar Societies Act No. 6 of 1995 and enjoy their freedom, though with the government given the power to control their activities, but at the same time restricting financial support from the government. Despite all this, CSOs are historically known for

their work in the delivery of social services to the poor in communities and policy involvement.

Poverty in Zanzibar appears to be relatively high in all measures despite its decline in the recent years. The basic needs poverty line remains at 30.4 percent while the food poverty line at 10.8 percent of the population. By both measures poverty is higher in Unguja than in Pemba and in rural than in urban areas. In terms of multidimensional poverty which measures 5 dimensions of welfare (incidence of deprivation) stands at 44 percent. The chapter also explored number of factors which contribute to this high poverty rates in the country, including household size, working in poorly paid sector, high youth unemployment, income insecurity, low utilization of basic services and others. It also presented and discussed measures taken by the government to respond to poverty, including developing and implementing programmes that target specific groups with specific vulnerabilities.

Finally the chapter discussed about the social protection system, including its historical development and status. The historical development outlined the key programmes and interventions taken by the government after independence in 1964. These interventions included establishment of programmes that target poor people and developing social protection policy, which lays down the current national system. The current social protection system has been outlined within the social protection policy and consists of four main pillars, namely; social assistance, social insurance, social welfare services and labour market programmes. The chapter concluded by outlining measures taken to improve social protection in Zanzibar.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section explores the methodology used in generating the data and its subsequent analysis for the research. The study used the in-depth comparative case studies approach as principal research method. However, before going further into the details of how this method was used in this research, it may be useful to explain a bit what this method is all about. After this elaboration the chapter presents the criteria used in the selection of case studies, data collection methods and ethical considerations. The chapter finally explores the advantages and limitations of the research methodology used, before presenting the plan followed in the execution of this study.

4.2 THE IN-DEPTH COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES APPROACH

The In-Depth comparative case study approach is a research strategy that involves a close and in-depth investigation of certain units, situations or phenomena over a period of time (Hartley 2004). In this approach a researcher is required to spend an extended period of time investigating each case study. On one hand, this is advantageous because it allows the establishment of trust, and the formation of connections and relationships that allow a deeper understanding of the research objects, and on the other hand it compensates the researcher for the absence of a representative sample of the studied population (Khalil, 2014).

Since this method requires the researcher to spend extended period of time, the researcher spent about four to five weeks investigating each case study, moving from one case to the other. During this time the researcher observed day-to-day activities and interacted with various actors, formally and informally, within each case study organization. At the meantime a range of qualitative research methods were used to gather data, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and document analysis.

Rigorous data analysis methods were also applied to ensure credible findings were obtained from the data.

The in-depth comparative case study approach was chosen in preference to a wider selection of cases or other methods that would have covered many more organizations because these other methods would have failed to produce the detailed data essential for answering the research questions of this thesis (Khalil, 2014). For example if survey was adopted as a main research strategy for a thesis with this research agenda would fail to explore observations and concerns that might emerge during the research process (Aldridge and Levin 2001: in Khalil, 2014).

On the other hand, other qualitative methods such as interviews have already been used in other researches close to the subject of this study. For example the study by the International Labour Office (ILO, 2010) used survey method for the mapping of the noncontributory social protection provision in Zanzibar. The same study combined a literature search with focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews using open-ended questions to a selected group of individuals in order to arrive at a general assessment of the situational analysis on Zakat and other religious provision in Zanzibar. Despite the fact that these studies did not have the same subject, there exists some similarities between them. In addition, inadequate availability of data on the subject necessitated the use of a technique that would allow extensive collection of data to fill in the gap. This method appeared to be more suitable to reach this objective.

However, while opting for case study approach over other approaches one has to be aware of the potential setbacks and criticisms, so that they are prepared in advance to address them from the start. There are two majour criticisms mentioned in the literature. The first one is concerned with accusations of biases that result from personal preferences, emotions or encounters of the researcher (Harrison et al. 2017) since they are left freely to interpret observations and findings they obtain (on multiple levels and over a long period of time). Researchers' subjective views may influence the selection of the studied cases and also the recording and analysis of the observed findings. However, it is important to highlight that while surveys amongst other quantitative methods (Dale 1998)

may seem more scientific, they still involve their own share of biases such as the choice of benchmarks, analysis methods and the interpretation of different numeric patterns within the results. This leaves them in no advantage position in comparison to case studies as far as subjectivity is concerned.

The second criticism of the case study approach is about its inability to provide a base for the establishment of scientific generalization (Khalil, 2014). Yin (1994) responded to this criticism by raising the question of whether generalization was indeed required in case studies research. Case studies for Yin do not only aim at providing theoretical examples to explain broader categories but also aim at a deeper understanding of the particular cases studied. This view is particularly applicable to this thesis since it does not search for any new theory of CSOs contribution to poverty reduction. Instead, the focus is on studying the extent by which organisations such as the ones studied in this research, contribute to poverty reduction by CSOs and what can be learnt from these particular organisations.

Comparative analysis method was used as a technique that allowed better triangulation of the subject. This technique was used to compare the implementation of social welfare interventions and approaches used by the institutions under study. It was also used to compare approaches used by Faith Based Organizations, which highly inspire Islamic way of doing things, with other actors (NGOs) and the best practice on social protection on how to design and deliver poverty targeted programmes for better outcomes.

4.3 SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES

This study included four case studies from CSOs operating in Zanzibar, based on pre-established criteria. The main purpose for multiple case studies was to widen the scope of data and to cover as many areas as possible of the work of the different types of CSOs as well as to compare between the two types of CSOs that exist in the field. By this approach, adequate data that helped to better investigate the subject and increase the quality of findings was collected. It also helped to capture the influence of different settings in their operations. Amongst the four case study institutions, two were from the list of NGOs and the remaining two from the list of FBOs, as stipulated in organization's

respective registration status and actual operations. This distribution was adapted to create equality between the two types of CSOs and enable fair comparison between the two. The selection of case studies considered the following criteria:

1. All the case studies had to be of the same size to allow better comparison between them;
2. They had to be working on service delivery (in cash or in-kind) to members of the society at national level;
3. They must have regular activities directed to poverty reduction;
4. The CSOs administrators had to be willing to grant the researcher access to data sources including administrative reports, permission to attend meetings, accepting to be present during activities and facilitating access to donors and recipients for interviews;

Based on the above criteria a list of case study organizations in which the study was carried out, together with the brief description of their main activities is presented in the table 2 bellow. The detailed description of their activities and programmes is provided in chapter five.

Table 2: Case study organisations involved in the research and their main activities

Type	Sn	CSO Name	Main activity
FBOs	1	Muzdalifa Islamic Charitable Organisation (MICO)	Provision of direct support to orphans, the poor, widows and other community support
	2	Al-noor Charitable Agency for the Needy (ACA)	Provision of direct support to orphans, poor, and other community members.
NGOs	3	Zanzibar AIDS Association and Support of Orphans (ZASO)	Support orphans with HIV/AIDS, home based care programme and running orphanage home for children with HIV.
	4	Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement (ZACA)	Running psychosocial support programme for most vulnerable children and their households.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The study used methods that ensured collection of quality data, and practically applied other techniques such as triangulation to achieve this goal. The data collection methods used in the collection of data for this study are elaborated here under.

4.4.1 Participant Observation

This method was used to collect data from the daily activities of the case study organizations. These activities included meetings formally organized by the organizations, field activities (such as distribution of meat or other in-kind transfers, assessing and identifying programme beneficiaries, monitoring of projects etc.), interactions between staff members at office settings and between staff members and their beneficiaries, and the existing climate of relationship between the case study organisations and the government or other CSOs.

By definition, participant observation is a research method in which the researcher is involved in social interaction with the informants within the milieu of the latter (Taylor and Bogdan 1998 in Khali, 2014). The method is based on the first-hand experience that researchers could get from living themselves within the context of their research objects. This increases the reliability of the research findings because it becomes difficult to deceive the researcher in contrast to what might be done with a total outsider (Neuman, 2014).

However, it is argued that participant observation does not necessarily require researchers to participate in the activities they are observing. Instead, researchers are allowed to choose their level of participation anywhere between being complete participants and complete observers (Bryman, 2012). In this thesis, the choice was of the latter, i.e. the researcher was a complete observer. This was to avoid the main drawbacks of participant observation.

The method is criticized for its potential to suck-in researchers into deep involvement with objects of their research to the extent that it may form human relations and emotions that could affect the objectivity of data analysis (Bryman, 2012). Choosing to be a complete observer allowed me to focus more on analyzing what was happening on

the field rather than directing my attention to the issues related to participation in CSOs' activities.

4.4.2 Semi-structured and informal interviews

In addition to observation, semi-structured interview and informal interview methods were used to collect data from case study organizations' staff, beneficiaries, as well as other key informants from relevant government ministries and agencies.

In some cases, informal interviews had to be used within contexts other than the case studies' headquarters or official environments, such as during break hours, on the way to the field or other unorganized settings outside the office, where informants could find friendly surroundings. Informal interviews are said to facilitate gaining trust of informants, because of the absence of the pressure that can be felt during official questioning session (Khalil, 2014). Interviews were utilized as an effective tool to gather data that offered explanation of valuable observations recorded from the field by trying to understand motives and justifications of these observations.

The categories of key informants that were interviewed in each case study organization is listed below:-

1. Organization board members (at least two members, including the chair person);
2. Organisation's staff members, including the director;
3. Organisation's members (if any);
4. Beneficiaries of the services rendered by the organization;
5. Donors.

On the other hand, in order to get extra information on the subject the key informants from line ministries were consulted using the same data collection technique but with different set of questions. The government Ministries, Departments and Agencies that were interviewed included the Ministry responsible for Social welfare, especially the department of Elderly and Social Welfare (DESW); the government registrar's office which is newly mandated to register NGOs and FBOs; the Zanzibar Business and Property Registration Authority (ZBPRA), the institution previously used to register CSOs before the reform; and the Wakf and Trust Commission, the offices responsible for monitoring

FBOs and religious affairs in Zanzibar. Interview guide for each group of interviewees and the interviews detailed information are presented on the Annex 1 and 2 below.

4.4.3 Document Review

Documents were used as a useful source of information for the study. However, given that this area has not been adequately researched, administrative data and reports from the case study organisations were explored to collect more information required for the study. Documents such as profile documents, activity reports, beneficiary records, targeting guidelines, work plans, assessment reports, strategic documents and other documents available at the case study organisations were reviewed and analyzed. This also helped, in some extent, to validate the data that was collected from the interviews. Other documents produced by the government and some international organisations such UNICEF and others were also reviewed, with the motive of compering the standards and the general approaches of the case study organisations toward poverty reduction.

4.4.4 Triangulation Research Design

This techniques allows the researcher to learn more on the subject from different angles of observation or by observing the same phenomenon or issue from multiple perspectives. Triangulation is based on the idea that looking at something from multiple point of views improves accuracy (Neuman, 2014). It allows the researcher to be confident that he/she has an accurate picture developed from the multiple measures used compared to relying on just one, especially if each measure offers a similar picture. However, differences between the measures stimulate questions as well (Neuman, 2014). A part from cross-validating the data, triangulation also helps to capture different dimensions of the same issue/phenomenon (Hartley, 2004). According to Neuman (2014) triangulation can be of measures, observers, theory or methods. Each one plays the same role and can be applied depending on the research interest.

Based on our research interest triangulation of methods was applied. The aim was to give a more comprehensive information on the subject by comparing and observing the data from different data collection techniques. Through this approach participant

observation, semi structured and informal interviews as well as review of administrative documents were employed during data collection exercise to enhance triangulation.

There was also triangulation of data sources, as suggested by Khalil (2014), in which data is collected from different respondents in a maximum number possible to avoid dependence of data from one or few people. Triangulation of data sources was applied through interviewing all staff members of the case study organisations as well as exploring other respondents outside the case study organisations, including recipient of the services and responsible government offices. This helped to strengthen not only the quality of data but also the validity of analytical conclusions that have been drawn from the data analysis.

4.5 DATA RECORDING

Data for this thesis was divided into two parts. The first part concerned data that was gathered from formal interviews. This data was recorded in hand-written notes and computerized later within 24 hours after their gathering. Interview transcripts were then categorized into five groups (one for each case study and the fifth category for the key informants from the government offices) and were coded accordingly, using letters and numbers. For example, letter A referred to the first case study and letter E to the government respondents' category. Each interviewee in each category was given a number, from 1 representing the first interviewee, to the last depending on the number of interviews in each case study or category.

The second part concerned data that was gathered from the field observation and informal interviews or discussions with informants. This data was recorded based on the date and place of occurrence. They were also collected manually and computerized soon after their gathering.

It should be noted that computer and voice recording technology was not used to record events and conversations during the time they occurred to ensure security and avoid fear from the part of respondents. There is strong belief that recoding using technology during interviews for example make respondents uncomfortable (Khalil, 2014).

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

The analysis was more of qualitative. It was conducted with respect to the research questions and their flow. This approach helped to ensure coverage of issues as well as created good organization and coordination of the work itself. It was also meant to facilitate the reading for the readers. Two approaches were used in data analysis.

4.6.1 Thematic analysis

Data analysis was done using thematic approach in which the data is disintegrated in to themes. Bryman (2012) defines a theme as:

- a category identified by the analyst through his/her data;
- that relates to his/her research focus (and quite possibly the research questions);
- that builds on codes identified in transcripts and/or field notes; and
- that provides the researcher with the basis for a theoretical understanding of his or her data that can make a theoretical contribution to the literature relating to the research focus.

However, he also presents the challenge of thematic analysis as having no promising results due to its lack of familiarity among researchers. Having known that, and as a way to ensure better analysis of data was done, a framework for thematic analysis was adopted. This framework enabled systematic identification and analysis of the data.

Table 3: Framework Approach to Thematic Analysis

Themes / Interviewee	Main theme:			
	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 2	Subtheme 3	Subtheme 4
Interviewee 1				
Interviewee 2				
Interviewee 3				
Interviewee 4				
Interviewee 5				
Interviewee 6				

Source: The National Centre for Social Research, UK (Bryman, 2012:579)

Bryman (2012) describes this framework as a matrix based method for ordering and synthesizing data. He adds that the idea is to construct an index of central themes and subthemes, which are then represented in a matrix that closely resembles an SPSS spreadsheet with its display of cases and variables. The themes and subthemes are essentially recurring motifs in the text that are then applied to the data. The themes and subthemes are the product of a thorough reading and rereading of the transcripts and field notes that make up the data. This framework is then applied to the data, which are organized initially into core themes, and the data are then displayed in terms of subthemes within the matrix and for each case.

4.6.2 Logical Analysis Method

Logic models are based upon the establishment of hypothetical causality relations between various events; and then examining if the actual events captured with the data has matched the hypothetical model or not (Khalil, 2014:93).

This method was useful in analyzing data in relation to the activities, actions, environmental settings and or other aspects of the case study organisations to determine their effectiveness as agents for poverty reduction. It helped in building logical explanations of some behavior or aspects of the case studies. Williams (1981) describes logical explanations as taking the form of a set of premises held by one or more informants, including a definition of their practical situation, from which a set of consequences in their thought and behaviour follow, subject to conditions for (a) excluding rationalizations (b) supposing consistency with the operation of higher-order premises outside those considered, and (c) accepting the investigator's understanding and translations of informants' language.

Logical analysis method was also used to examine the influence of actors, including staff, donors and beneficiaries on the actual performance of each organisation or the influence of events and actions on the operation of the organisation. The method was also used to analyze the relationships between case study organisations and the government departments or other CSOs operating on the same field.

In general, the use of multiple methods to collect and analyze data are encouraged and found to be mutually informative in case study research where together they provide a more synergistic and comprehensive view of the issue being studied (Harrison et al., 2017; Bryman, 2012; William, 1981).

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Measures to ensure ethics were put in place, including acquiring permission to undertake the study from both the responsible government authority – the Office of the Chief Government Statistician, and the respective case study organisations. This was done in written form and through official communication channels, for both ethical consideration and avoidance of future constraints.

All research participants were well informed and expressed their consent prior to the commencement of the interviews. The data was treated in a way that protected confidentiality and enhanced anonymity of the participants involved in the study, as well as been stored in a secure place. All field notes and transcripts were coded during recording to ensure anonymity.

4.8 ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section presents the points of strength of the research methods applied for this thesis, as well as the main concerns or limitations that could have impacted on the methodology if not resolved. Starting with the strengths, this research did not suffer from any problems resulting from discrimination of anytime. The concern that researches tend to suffer a lot when the researcher belongs to a different ethnic group, nationality or religion other than those of the studied organisations and communities (Shaffir, 1991) did not happen because, I am Tanzanian born and living in Zanzibar since birth, with experience of over eight years of working with the government and CSOs, including some of the case study organisations. This has given me a significant comparative advantage regarding accessibility to the data in the field. Also, my background meant that I was not seen by the case study organisations and their beneficiaries as a stranger. Instead they were more willing to help as their fellow compatriot and colleague studying for a high degree in abroad, who may one day help them in return. In addition, my cultural background

helped me in understanding the customs and the habits of the local people, which translated the ability to understand the language, gestures and meanings that would have been difficult for a stranger with foreign background to understand.

On the other hand, there were couple of obstacles during the field process. The first obstacle was related to selection of the organisations from which the study would be carried out. It appeared that some of organisations proposed earlier for the study could not qualify for the study during the field work. Two organisations out of four proposed earlier had to be changed because they did not comply with some of the criteria established earlier. It appeared that the two organisations were no longer providing any services (cash or in-kind) due to lack of funds. Initially these organisations were running cash transfer programmes that supported thousands of beneficiaries. To address this challenge, alternative organisations which adequately complied with all the criteria were taken on board.

The second challenge encountered during the field exercise was in deed the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic. In Zanzibar, the first COVID-19 case was found on 17th March 2020 and increased progressively until by the end of June 2020 when the government announced to have no new transmissions. Although there was no lockdown in Zanzibar and Tanzania at large, we cannot completely ignore its subsequent impact on the lives and behaviours of people in the society. ZACA was the only organisation amongst the four which reduced its working hours to reflect conditions put forward by donor. This is why the time spent at ZACA was a little bit longer compared with other organisations. There was no organization which stopped its activities because of COVID-19. Therefore, I believe that this shortcoming together with the previous one did not affect the study in any way.

4.9 THE RESEARCH PLAN

This section outlines the main stages that were followed in order to arrive at the destination of this thesis. Some of these stages cut across all other stages, such as the literature review, which began right from the inception to the final point made on this thesis.

1. The literature review: The work in this thesis started with a thorough literature review that covered several areas related to the research questions. These areas included:

   a. The conceptual framework, which involved exploration of other works on the concepts of poverty, social protection, civil society organisations, particularly NGOs and FBOs, and poverty reduction approaches practiced by civil society organisations;

   b. The concepts of poverty and civil society in Islamic thought and their relationship to the conceptual framework on poverty and civil society mentioned above. It was important to provide an understanding of the theoretical framework that might have shaped the work of FBOs in Zanzibar;

   c. The historical development and the current status of CSOs in Zanzibar and Tanzania at large, with particular focus in service delivery and approaches to poverty reduction.

2. Preparation of field work: this included getting clearance from the Office of the Chief Government Statistician for the exercise, refining and translating data collection instruments into Swahili language as well as communicating with the relevant organization where the study was conducted. Several CSOs were visited to assess for the fulfilment of criteria for qualification to be part of the study.

3. Conducting the field exercise to collect the required data: In January 2020, following the selection of the in-depth case study approach, after selection of the case study organisations and obtaining necessary approvals from respective government authorities in Zanzibar, fieldwork for this thesis began for all case study organisation, one after the other. The fieldwork involved spending 4 to 5 weeks in each case study to collect data using the methods elaborated earlier. I was based on the offices of the case study, just like any normal worker of the same throughout the time designated to each case study. A desk was provided to facilitate my daily works and integration. In some case studies, works were carried

out on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays. For example, at MICO working days and time were Mondays to Fridays, from 8:00am to 4:00 pm and Saturdays from 8:00am to 1:00pm. However, in-kind distribution and cash payment activities at MICO, ACA and ZASO often took place during weekends. During my field in each case study I used to witness staff meetings (except for ZASO where meetings took place at the Founder's home and outside working hours), monitoring activities and other activities that put in contact with their beneficiaries such as cash payment, in-kind distribution activities, meat distribution etc. The fieldwork ended in May 2020. However, each case study was visited a few times after field work to witness some activities left pending during my work at the organisation, and/or to ask for either documentation or clarification of some aspects of their work to fill in any gap noticed in the later stages of research process.

The first two days of work on each case study was reserved for introduction to the organisation, including getting to know people and their behavior and getting a general scope of the organisations in terms of history, activities and programmes taking place and the general information about key stakeholders, including staff members and beneficiaries. This was done to ensure that I had sufficient background to plan interviews for those at the office and those who required home visits. This approach was very successful as it helped me to manage my work well and being able to study the entire organisation within planned time.

4. Data analysis and report writing: this involved applying the methods of data analysis described above and then putting the research findings on a report.

It should be noted that this plan included most of activities carried out after the development of proposal but did not take into account those carried out before such as the preparation of research proposal. Research proposal gives a researcher a theoretical/hypothetical road map that would guide the process with the assumption that everything would go on as planned. The above description provides the actual occurrence of actions as carried out by the researcher.

4.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has elaborated the research methodology opted for this study. The study is a qualitative research type which has used the in-depth comparative case study approach as the main approach, which guided the research methods for this thesis. The chapter then highlighted on the criteria that were used in the selection of the four case study organisations, which included size of organisation, service area, regularity of activities and the willingness to participate. After that, the chapter presented the methods used in the collection of data, with participant observation and interviews being the most emphasized ones. The chapter also elaborated the methods used for data analysis, a couple of ethical concerns as well as advantages and limitations of the adopted research methodology, and finally the followed research plan for the entire thesis.

The main point to highlight from this chapter is the significance of qualitative research method in providing data for in-depth understanding of the various phenomena represented by the case studies. Another key point to highlight is the importance and contribution of local background on the research. In this study, the researcher's background and experience working with CSOs and government has facilitated integration and acceptance of researcher in the case study organisations as well as in the collection of required data. The following chapters begins to present the thesis findings by providing a detailed description of all four case study organisations and their poverty reduction activities.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CASE STUDY ORGANISATIONS: BACKGROUND, INTERVENTIONS, COVERAGE AND IMPLEMENTATION ARRANGEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the case study organisations and their interventions based on the data collected between 13th January and 16th May 2020. This explanation serves two purposes. The first is to familiarize the reader with the four case study organisations so as to understand the similarities and differences between them before moving to analyzing the key areas of the research that respond to the key research questions. The second part of the chapter serves to present the various interventions implemented by the case study organisations and their coverage so as to establish their relationship with poverty reduction. This part therefore answers the first research question that argues on the nature of interventions and their coverage, description of which will also pave the way for analysis of other chapters and research questions of this thesis.

The chapter begins by elaborating the locations where each case study organisation is based and their surroundings. This part familiarizes the reader with different conditions the case study organisations have to work under and their specific characteristics that may affect organisations' operations. The chapter then moves to looking at the background and legal status of the case study organisations to reflect the associational nature of the organisations in coherence with the definition adopted earlier in chapter 2. After that, the chapter examines the vision, mission and objectives to get clearer picture on the direction of each organization and visualize their possible areas of operation and scope. Then, the chapter provides a detailed description of the activities and their coverage. Here the base for further analysis is provided in relation to the programmes of CSOs and their linkage with poverty reduction. Implementation arrangements is presented in a more comparative

approach to see the similarities and differences among the case study organisations. Finally the chapter concludes by looking at the application of the three approaches, namely; charity-, needs- and right-based approaches, by the case study organisations.

5.2 LOCATION AND SURROUNDING

Muzdalifa Islamic Charitable Organisation (MICO) is located at Sebleni Shehia in Amani area within the Urban District of Zanzibar. The organization holds its headquarters in a rented building occupying two floors (first and second floors). It also has a warehouse/store located at Mtoni area within the West "A" district. Before this address MICO used to be in different places within the same district, but with smaller space which could not allow hiring of more staff (Interview A1, A20). The office is located within an area where concentration of economic activities such as timber industries and shops are moderate and is close to Amani – Mwembeladu main road. The social environment was very good due to high frequency of people. Most of people who visited the office were prospective beneficiaries, i.e. people who came to ask for different kinds of support from the organization. There were also people who came for business purposes since the office also holds some business activities. MICO is believed to be one of the most known CSOs with many charity interventions in Zanzibar (interview A20, E9).

Al-noor Charitable Agency for the needy (ACA) is located at Mtoni Kidatu Shehia in the West "A" district. Its headquarters is situated on the upper floor of the Swahaba Mosque, close to Amani – Mtoni main road. The mosque was built by ACA as a charity and so extended to one floor to enable the organization set its own offices. The mosque is also considered as being the biggest and most known in the area. The district where ACA is located is characterized by relatively high population and mixed economic activities, including agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, manufacturing, hospitality and others (Magharibi A District Profile, 2017). Socially, the office is located at a place where there is high frequency of people, partly because of its existence on a mosque building but also because of holding several other activities that stimulate interaction with people, such as running of school in the neighboring building, running of several other training programmes such as computer and foreign language courses etc. All these factors contribute to making the office environment very busy and more sociable. Almost every

day there were number of visitors who came to the office for demanding services from one of the business programmes or those from the mosques who came to just greet and pass sometimes with the office personnel.

Zanzibar AIDS Association and Support of Orphans (ZASO) is located at Mwanakwerekwe Shehia close to Mwanakwerekwe Cemetery in the West "B" District. The organization's offices are situated in a rented house with three rooms and a reception venue. The socio-economic nature of the area was quite similar to that of the area around ACA, except at ZOSO it was calmer and had lesser movements of people. This may be because of 1) ZASO's office being closed most of the time; 2) the office being found interior part of the area away from the main road and surrounded by residencial houses; and 3) the office having no many activities that requires beneficiaries and people to come and follow the services from the office. However, during the distribution of in-kind support, which occurred at the office, the high frequency of people (mostly beneficiaries and their next of keen) was witnessed. At the meantime, the organisation held another office (also rented) within the same district, at Kwarara area where one of the programme was being implemented. Originally, this office was supposed to be for that particular programme alone, but because of inactivity of the headquarters, this office was used as a sub-office for the entire organization (Interview C3). However, during the time of investigation, social environment of this office was also very limited, partly because of the nature of the programme implemented but also because of the COVID -19 pandemic that necessitated social distancing.

Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement (ZACA) is located at Jangombe area within Urban district of Zanzibar. The organization possesses its own office building, comprising of three office rooms and one conference room. The building was still new and had one commercial room rented to a business man in order to generate income for the organization. The building is surrounded by residential houses as well as commercial ones. The area however, is known to have relatively high crime rate and drug abuse. During construction of the office building, for example, there occurred several incidences of stealing some construction materials (Interview D3; D4; D5). The social environment of the organization was limited. Few people visited the office, either for the purpose of

making follow-ups of their programme with the organization or for greetings (these are mainly former beneficiaries or friends and family members of the staff). It was said that before COVID - 19 outbreak in the country the office was very busy because of regular trainings and meeting sessions with beneficiaries and or their volunteers (Interview D1, D5).

It should be noted that although the four case study organisations were located in three different districts, they are all situated in the urban area of Zanzibar, with relatively small distance from one another. Regionally, they are all in the same region (Urban-West region).

5.3 BACKGROUND AND LEGAL STATUS

MICO is a non-profit, non-governmental and faith-based organization established in 1999 and got registered in August 2001 under the Societies Act No. 6 of 1995, with official registration number 157. This organization came into existence once Ustadh Farouk Hamad Khamis cooperated with a team of his friends who studied in Saudi Arabia and Sudan and other humanitarian service people to make a team that formed MICO (MICO Annual Activity Report, 2017). Its main focus was to provide relief and support for the helpless people in communities. The organization was formed following the good hearts of the founders to trying to finding solutions to the problems facing many people in society, as well as based on extended experience of the founders on how to run NGOs and solicit funds from donors (Interview A20). Most of the top leaders of this organization started as members of other NGOs of the same nature before (Interview A11). MICO also holds a voluntary registration from the Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC), the government organization responsible for the supervision of religious activities in the country. This registration allows MICO to be recognized by the WTC and benefit from support (usually in-kind) provided by the same (Interview A22; E9).

ACA started on a small project basis providing social assistances to the poor and the needy across Zanzibar Islands since the early 1990s. Through hard work, commitment and the generous support of many people and well-wishers its operations grew over the years to the extent of requiring official registration for the organization to acquire legal

status (ACA profile; Interview B1). In September 2003, ACA was officially registered by the RGoZ as a charity organization with certificate registration number 253, under the Societies Act No. 6 of 1995. From its humble beginnings to its growth as full registered charity ACA has passed through a number of mutations, ranging from developing and implementing small charity programmes to bigger and longer term programmes that serve business purpose and investments.

ZASO was established in 1995 and got registered on 19th September 1996 under the Zanzibar Societies Act No. 6 of 1995 with registration number 24. ZASO is concerned with AIDS orphans below the age of 18. The aim is to support these children physically and morally in order for them to enjoy their lives like other normal children. The idea of dealing with HIV/AIDS children and then forming this NGO came from its founder, Ms. Rukia, who together with some colleagues who worked together in the health sector realized the increased demand for care of children infected and or affected by HIV/AIDS (Interview C1). It should be noted that during this time HIV/AIDS was a new phenomenon in the country and so no many people were full aware of the disease. What they knew was only that this disease is dangerous and so any one with it used to be isolated and stigmatized. Realizing this reality the founder took initiative to form the organization with specific focus on children who were HIV positive. Later, the organization took on board vulnerable children who shared households with those HIV+ and other vulnerable children within communities.

Like other CSOs, ZACA is a non-profit, non-governmental organization established on June 1, 1997 and registered on May 26, 1998 under the Societies Act No. 6 of 1995, with registration number 63. Its main focus was to support orphans and most vulnerable children, educating young people under 24 years of age on life skills, health education and prevention against HIV infections, substance abuse and early pregnancy. ZACA was established in the period when CSOs were very few in number in Zanzibar. During this period it was said that there were no NGOs working on the area of children and protection of most vulnerable children in particular, thing which pushed the founders (Ms. Kidawa and other colleagues) to establish one (Interview D2).

5.4 VISION, MISSION AND OBJECTIVES

MICO's vision is "To be unique organization where Muslims through development support are empowered and accessed. The organization exists to support Muslim community and cooperating with them to participate in the planning of disasters and calamities preparedness, relief and rehabilitation activities" (MICO Report, 2019). This vision is translated in to the mission of "glorifying God (the almighty Allah) by serving people, assisting and helping the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups of people in obedience and accordance with the revelation of Allah – from the teachings or guidance in the wholly Quran and the authentic *Hadith* and *Sunna* of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) to be signs of God's (the Almighty Allah's) continuing PEACE, LOVE JUSTICE and EQUALITY in order to achieve lasting improvement in the quality of their lives" (MICO Report, 2019). MICO operates under the following seven objectives:

1. To give and provide direct help/ general assistance, care and services to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups of people, including but not limited to orphans, disabled children, street children, people with disabilities, widows etc. so that they may grow, live and lead normal lives.

2. To provide humanitarian relief services and emergency assistance to disasters and calamity victims (including refugees) to help them repair the damages and rebuild their lives.

3. To help seek and make voices of the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups of people heard through advocacy for their causes.

4. To help educate/sensitize the public on the importance of helping the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

5. To educate and/or run education programmes for all people regardless of their religious believes, sex, tribe, race, nationality etc. This includes assisting disadvantaged youths and others in getting sponsorship for further studies both at home and abroad.

6. To give medical care and general health services through running hospitals, dispensaries, health care centres, medical stores, pharmacies etc. to all mankind.

7. To help promote peace, love, justice and equality (in the country) and to the world peace in general which are essential for human, social and economic development based on Islamic faith in accordance with the revelation of Allah (the almighty).

ACA, on the other hand, has a mission "to break the vicious chains of poverty and powerlessness through education". With a strong emphasis on Muslim faith and principles, it has several key programmes and initiatives that provide sustainable self-transformation and refinement. Based on the practice observed at the organization, this mission was realized through the operationalization of the following objectives:

1. To provide support to orphans, poor households and other vulnerable people and communities in Zanzibar;
2. To help promote availability of clean and safe water through charity projects to communities and individual self-financed projects;
3. To educate society through running of school and various courses as well as Islamic radio station so as to contribute to building better society in Zanzibar;
4. To contribute to strengthening Islam and build Islamic behavior through facilitation of Pilgrimage activities, construction of mosques and Islamic schools (madrasas), radio education and other religious programmes;

On the side of ZASO, the vision is to have "a society in which AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children in Zanzibar are free from stigmatization and without fear of violation, abuse and humiliation. All of them will have high level of protection, support, participation and development" (ZASO Profile Document). Its main goal/mission is "to empower AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children and their caretakers through material and psychological support, home based care services, peer education and economic empowerment through Income Generating activities. ZASO works under the following four objectives:

1. To provide support for the physical and social wellbeing of AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children.
2. To mobilize and educate the community on the needs to live with AIDS orphans.
3. To collaborate with legal institutions.

4. To educate the community about AIDS.

Finally, ZACA's vision envisaged at creating children and youth friendly society in Zanzibar. This vision is being translated by the mission statement which focuses on "contributing to the improvement of most vulnerable children's condition and promotion of positive behavior change of youth in Zanzibar through advocacy, trainings, provision of psychosocial support and enter education" (ZACA Profile Document). The goal is to attain a level of awareness where the society adhere to all children's and youth's rights and respect those who are in poor living conditions and or high risk. This goal can be realized through the implementation of the following objectives:

1. To conscietize the public on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, with emphasize on the articles related to child labour, sexual harassment and children under difficult conditions;
2. To collect and disseminate information on problems facing children and youth;
3. To assist in providing materials and psychosocial support to most needy children and/or youth;
4. To provide educational support to most vulnerable girls students;
5. To provide life skills trainings to children and youth;
6. To provide adolescent sexual reproductive health education, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse and gender mainstreaming to children and youth through peer education;
7. To support children's initiatives through formation of clubs/ organisations and environment protection;
8. To collaborate and work with relevant local, national and international institutions with similar objectives.

5.5 PROGRAMMES /ACTIVITIES AND THEIR COVERAGE

The case study organizations had different activities ranging from service delivery to advocacy and capacity building. This can easily be seen from the vision, mission and objectives of some organizations among those presented above. However, there is clear similarities on the nature of interventions between the two institutions within each category of our case study organizations (FBOs and NGOs). Short presentation of each

case study organisation's programmes will help understand the kind and nature of interventions and whether (or which of) those programmes can be considered in poverty reduction efforts, based on the way they are designed. The kinds of programmes and their activities implemented by each case study organization have been elaborated bellow.

5.5.1 MICO Programmes and Their Coverage

MICO ran at least 9 programmes, within which several projects and activities were carried out to fulfil each programme objectives. In general, programmes available at this organization were of three nature: pure charity programmes; business programmes and mixed programmes, i.e. programmes with both elements of charity and business. The description bellow will help differentiate between them, and provide more information regarding whether they had any linkage with poverty reduction.

1. Orphans care programme: this programme involves provision of both cash and in-kind support and other activities to orphans. MICO believes that children suffer a lot when they lose their parents and especially so when fathers are gone. MICO uses Islamic definition of who is an orphan. Islam defines orphan as being anyone below the age of 15 who lost his/her father (Interview A1; A18; A21). MICO established this programme in order to cater for the needs of orphans. Every year MICO undertakes a number of activities in relation to relieving orphans and their households. It has its own database (however developed and administered by donor) of registered orphans of which they take care of children's livelihood and education through cash transfers which help beneficiaries and their households in attaining some basic necessities, including education and health care. Other interventions included in this package are distribution of in-kind gifts such as meat and clothing materials and commemoration of the Orphan's Day. This celebration usually involves get together of different stakeholders including orphans themselves and their families, MICO staff, government officials and donor organisations (mainly from abroad). The events carry different themes every year to advocate for care and support to orphans, and are often held at environments where children can feel safe and enjoy (MICO, 2017; A1; A22). The programme covers all districts of Zanzibar with a total of 1167 beneficiaries, but of course with

different number of beneficiaries across districts. However, not all of them get the opportunity to participate some of the interventions mentioned earlier. For example, the orphans get together event usually involves orphans living in Unguja Island and mostly in urban areas, those from other places such as Pemba Island cannot participate these events due to distance barrier. This is an excellent example of the types of instruments that can be used to combat poverty and vulnerability. This is specially so when programme design and targeting are well designed to meet and maximize impact on poverty reduction.

2. *Kurban* programme: this programme involves slaughtering animals and distributing meat to different groups and communities. MICO established this programme some years ago following the inflow of donors who required to offer animals to slaughter for various purposes. In most cases animals are slaughtered to fulfil spiritual desires such as sacrifice of religious festivals (Eid El Hajj) and child well-bringing offerings. Among sub-activities involved in this programme include collecting animals from different parts (mainly from Mainland Tanzania) to the slaughter areas, slaughtering exercise which includes also examination of meat and finally distributing the meat to the people in communities. Based on the explanation from the staff, the programme covers areas in both Unguja and Pemba, and the distribution is usually made in rural and or peri-urban areas based on poverty levels and where access to food support is limited (Interview A3; A16). During my field work at the organisation it occurred once to implement this programme in Unguja Island, where 34 cows were slaughtered and meat distributed to two communities and to over 30 MICO staff. The two communities benefited were Kinuni Shehia located in the West "B" district within Urban-West Region and Mkwajuni village in North "A" district within North region of Unguja Island. About 140 households received 2 to 3 kilograms of meat in each area. This coverage is too small considering the number of villages which could be potential beneficiaries of the programme. However, during the high season for this programme (usually during Eid Al Hajj when Muslims are required to implement *Sunna* of the Prophet Muhammad by slaughtering animals) MICO slaughters

hundreds of cattle and distributes to all villages in Unguja and some villages in Pemba (Interview A16, A18, A22). For example, in 2019 high season, 480 animals were slaughtered, including 400 cows and 80 goats (Interview 16). This number is very big to be offered at one time in Zanzibar, however, the question whether the meat reaches the right people is a matter that will be discussed in chapter 6. The programme representes an example of the types of interventions that could contribute to food poverty reduction in the country.

3. Ramadan programme: this programme involves feeding people during the holy month of Ramadan. There are two ways through which this programme is being implemented: *Iftar* - feeding people in groups with cooked food and giving people food packages. In the former MICO prepares cooked food and put together a number of people, usually in one location or a village to offer them food during the breaking of the fasting. The programme is designed in such a way that it serves all believers in a given area, usually central mosque of the selected area. Since the programme is tied up with specific month, I did not have a chance to witness it as the month of Ramadan was not yet to arrive. However, reports confirm the existence of such a programme in the previous years. For example in 2019, *Iftar* programme was implemented in eight days during the month of Ramadan (Interview A16; MICO 2019 Annual Report). The programme is implemented on area basis and each covers between 300 - 500 participants. However, for 2020 it is obvious that the *Iftar* programme could not be implemented due to Covid -19 outbreak. In the later MICO prepares packages comprised of food items such as rice, sugar, cooking oil, dates etc. and distributes them to specific groups in communities, such as the poor, orphans, widows and older people. In 2020, the food packages were distributed in North "A" district, among other places and benefited over 1000 beneficiaries in the region (Interview E9; ZBC TV News Hour on the 7th May 2020). In general, the Ramadan programme can be a good example of programmes that can better support people and help to reduce poverty. However, proper design has to be put in place to make sure that those in need get the benefits. This is particularly important because during this month prices of both

food items consumed during Ramadan and clothing are very high and so making the life expenses unmanageable for the poor and those close to poverty line.

4. Water supply programme: this is the one concerning about drilling wells and building water systems in communities. It was established before 2018 but was strengthened after the coming of new machine in 2018. The purpose of this programme is to enable MICO to execute water supply projects on its own and provide the service to individuals and communities through service charge. The programme is sub-divided into two kinds: those water wells under charity to communities and those for business to private individuals or communities. The former is carried out following the existence of donor who wish to support such a project, and so benefiting communities do not pay for its costs. Initially, this type of wells used to be completely free for the community members in terms of the construction cost. All they had to do was purchasing the water tank that is placed on top of tower for water storage. However, from the year 2019/2020, MICO introduced a new policy that required benefiting community to contribute in some of the activities such as accommodation of technicians and their allowances and participating (volunteering) in the construction of towers for the tank. The reason behind this new policy was to reduce the burden of cost on the side of donors and create a more convincing environment for many people to donate (Interview A19). Despite all that, the programme still is beneficial to communities where availability of clean and safe water is a challenge since it reduces significant portion of the costs should one do it entirely privately. On the side of business projects MICO receives orders from clients who wishe to drill wells in their own houses and communities. In this case an individual or community has to pay the costs determined by MICO. MICO believes that even the rates charged for the wells under business category are very low compared to the market price. This is good for those people who want to do it privately but does not necessarily mean that it's good for poverty reduction.

5. Women economic empowerment project: this is a new programme established in 2019 with the aim of providing capitals to women for creating income generating

activities and enable them better manage their lives (Interview A17). The programme was established following demands from many people in the past and the existence of donor willing to support. The programme was designed in such a way that beneficiaries reimburse certain percentage of the amount they received. The aim was to create a programme that will revolve and benefit many more people in the future. However, this aim could not be achieved because beneficiaries did not keep their promises to repay their expected share. In addition, some beneficiaries did not use the support for the business as expected. This was particularly the case for those who received certain percentage of cash in their support for the purpose of establishing business, instead they spent the money for nonbusiness purposes (Interview A17). This can be considered the biggest failure of the programme from both beneficiaries and organization sides. In terms of coverage the first implementation covered a total of 25 beneficiaries, most of them from Urban West region and West "A" district in particular. There is no clear explanation as to why such a concentration within the same region but we can only assume that the office being in the region gave an advantage for people around it to benefit more than others. On the other hand, the continuation of the programme is dependent upon the success of the previous phase, however, based on the explanation above the actual implementation puts in question the possibility of implementing it in the near future. Indeed the motive of the programme is good and coincides with poverty reduction strategies, but then the coverage, design issues and actual implementation may require further investigation to qualify it for effective poverty reduction.

6. Health programme: this programme concerns about provision of health care services to people. The aim of this programme was to provide health care services to orphans and vulnerable people, but later extended to entire community around the facilities (Interview A12; A22). It appears in three forms. The first one is the running of dispensaries or health care centres, which operate as private entities with clients paying user fee. This did not preoccupy much of our time during the field work as it is for the wellbeing of the organization and not for the people. The

second is provision of health insurance cover for a small number of orphans under their care, through the establishment of orphans' health care fund. The fund was established following request from some of the guardians of the orphans who benefit from the Orphans programme. Because of this, the fund receives its revenue from the periodic contributions of members after the paydays. Through this fund some children received health care services free of charge in specific clinics and few cases were even sent to Dar es Salaam for better health care in the past (Interview A2; A15). The final one is the outreach programmes which involves provision of mobile health care services to people in villages and hard to reach areas. In this category, MICO organizes a team of doctors and other health care workers to camp in one or more areas to offer free of charge services to community members. Though this kind of programme was said to be few and rarely implemented.

7. Education programme: this is concerned with provision of education through running of schools. MICO owns three schools: nursery, primary and secondary schools. All of them registered under private schools and so students enrolled there are supposed to pay tuition and other fees, just like any other private school. The education programme was established following demands from parents/caretakers and well-wishers for their children's education. It was reported that, some parents and guardians amongst those who receive orphans' benefits requested MICO to open schools so that their children could benefit from both programmes. Because of this there were a number of orphans (300 in nursery, primary and secondary schools) who were also registered in these schools and use the benefits from the orphan's programme to pay their tuition fees (Interview A12; A15). MICO took advantage of support provided for the construction of school buildings from donors (IHH) to make its own school programme. This program, however, was later taken as an investment programme for the organization but currently is being run under deficit (Interview A6; A15; A18 & A21). This is because despite the schools being private their operation contains some level of charity, where students whose parents are poor and unable to pay for the fees are not removed from school,

particularly those who are orphans and not receiving support from MICO (Interview A15). In this way, school income (through fees) has declined. MICO also offers 5 scholarships for non-orphans from poor households. However, the quality of education provided by MICO schools is said to be lower compared to other private schools (Interview A12; A23). This is contributed by a number of factors including low qualification of teachers caused by poor recruitment procedures, poor administration and lack of incentives and motivation for teachers. For example during my fieldwork at the organization teachers had worked for over 3 months without being paid their salaries. This delay of payment, however, was caused by the delay of transfer of fund from donors who support most of orphans who were studying there.

8. In-kind gifts programme: this programme offers in-kind benefits to different groups. The programme was established following the existence of donors who were willing to provide material support to different groups in communities, including women, children, older people and people with disabilities. Materials provided includes clothes, soaps, food packages (but different from the ones offered during the month of Ramadan), school materials, furniture, etc. I was lucky enough to witness distribution of in-kind support under this programme during my field work at the organization. In this exercise donor representatives from Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and USA came to join MICO in the distribution of materials. At least 7 communities/shehias and 3 institutions benefited from soap and clothes provided in this programme. During COVID -19 outbreak, MICO also distributed soap to Kidimni village, in the Central district, to support community members to prevent themselves from Corona Virus (ZBC TV News hour 24th March 2020). This programme represents one of the ways that can help to reduce multidimensional poverty in communities, however, improvements on areas related to the quality of materials and the environment in which programme is implemented have to be made, so that beneficiaries can really benefit and enjoy the support provided (Observational note taken at Bumbwisudi distribution point on 21st January 2020).

9. Schools and mosques construction programme: the programme concerns about construction of mosques, schools and even madrasas for communities. Like some other programmes, this also started following the existence of donors who were willing to support construction of mosques, Islamic schools/madrasas and other buildings designed for basic social activities. In such activities MICO organizes all the ground works including identifying areas where the building will be constructed, clearances from government authorities and engaging constructors and supervising the project. All the assets produced in these projects are handed over to the communities concerned, some times to the government and some buildings are taken by MICO itself to run as business investments. There are number of construction projects implemented under this programme, many of them in Unguja. In 2017 for example a total of 2 mosques were constructed (MICO, 2017). During my field work at the case study organization there was no such an activity going on but an initiative to implement such a project in Pemba was under way. The same initiative has been launched in Dar es Salaam (Interview 21). Based on MICO's view this programme helps reduce social and spiritual vulnerability and indirectly promote social development among people around the created assets.

5.5.2 ACA Programmes and Their Coverage

On its side, ACA runs at least 10 programmes implemented under four separate departments. But most of them implemented under charity department (those related to charity). These programmes appeared in three forms outlined earlier: charity programmes; business programmes and mixed programmes. There is more less clear separation between these departments but with single coordination point/ secretariate. Description of each programme and the activities carried out in each is provided bellow. However, it should be noted that there is clear resemblance of some programmes between ACA and those presented at MICO. So some elaboration will be skipped here to avoid repetition.

1. Orphans programme: this programme resembles with the one at MICO, except it has got some more components in its design and implementation. The programme was established following the existence of individuals who were willing to support

a number of children in need of support. ACA was charged to identify and collect all necessary information on the prospective beneficiaries and later manage the programme on the field. In this programme ACA makes cash transfers and Eid (religious festivals) clothes to registered orphans. Like MICO, ACA uses Islamic definition of who is an orphan and so no difference between their conceptualization. They also offer meals for the same category of orphans under their support through their *madrasas*. The objective of the meal is to improve nutrition and health of orphans, increase social integration among themselves and build psychological profiles of the children. The meal is provided every week or at least twice a month in circulation basis around the areas where their beneficiaries are located. These children also receive several gifts such as Eid gifts (in the form of cash), meat, and food packages, especially during the month of Ramadan. During religious festivals, all orphans are called to come to the office for collective celebration together with their parents/guardians and receive their Eid gifts. In terms of coverage, a total of 481 orphans currently receives the benefits from this programme. However not all of them receive all kinds of gifts provided, since the number include orphans from both Unguja and Pemba. For example, the meal provided in Unguja is not provided in Pemba because supported orphans are not in institutions (madrasas). This makes the meal provision exercise difficult. Also, the get together of all beneficiaries during Eid days does not include beneficiaries from Pemba. This also means that there is divergence between the way the programme is implemented in Unguja and Pemba. It was unfortunate that during my field work only one components of this programme was implemented: meal for the orphans, implemented in different dates at Ndagaa, Kinuni, Nyarugusu and Chuini. However, interviews with some beneficiaries and their guardians confirmed the existence of the remaining components.

2. Community support cash transfer programme: this programme is about provision of cash benefits to the entire community at Kizimbani Village/shehia. Since 2011 ACA has been implementing this programme following the desire of donor to supports the community after visiting it and witnessing poverty situation of

community members. Through her own efforts, the donor identified all residents of the village and sent the list to ACA for final verification and payment. Since then, ACA has been implementing the programme with the money from the same donor. The aim is to provide some relief for this poor community during the days when expenditures are very high so that they can cope with it. The programme covers 700 beneficiaries in over 140 households, all from the same village. Originally, the programme intended to cover all residents of the targeted village, but because of poor understanding of some community members, some refused to be registered. However, after the first payment, many went back to the office to ask for registration. During my time at the case study organization I went to the village with the team to identify additional candidates to be added to the programme. The donor wanted to add some 50 more beneficiaries to the programme and so ACA had to go to the village for identification. No payments was made because it only happens once a year. However, it was confirmed that benefits were provided regularly to all beneficiaries. This is a good example of poverty related programme, however, this does not mean that it has no shortcomings. Issues related to targeting are most common in such kind of programmes, but this is the subject of the coming chapter.

3. Ramadan programme: this is a programme implemented in the form of food packages during the month of Ramadan. Originally, this programme was provided in the form of cooked meal to groups of people in mosques during the month of Ramadan, but because of Cholera outbreak in 2002 the programme had to change to food packaging. Due to high efficiency in the provision of packages the organization then decided to continue with this arrangement since then. Based on this new arrangement, the food is not provided to every one present at the distribution point but instead to the household. So, each household in the selected area receives the package irrespective of their circumstances. The programme covers all districts in Unguja and Pemba, however, the number of packages offered is always not enough to cover everyone. In 2020 for example, when I was at the organization initiatives for the packages to be distributed during the then coming

Ramadan was already underway, since the month was approaching. Over 8,000 packages were getting prepared by the sellers and some more were expected following the availability of verbal promises from individual donors (Interviews B7; B13). The programme provides a lot of support to many people, particularly in rural areas where mostly implemented (Interviews B22; B23). As mentioned earlier, this is an example of the instrument that can be used to reduce poverty as it helps people to meet their needs during the time of high expenditure. The question of how efficient the instrument is in supporting the poor and hence reducing poverty however, requires a proper analysis of how the targeting is made and its efficiency in reaching the real poor, but this is not the subject of this chapter.

4. Madrasa and mosques construction programme: like the one described above this programme is the same. In this programme, ACA finds the money from donors to build mosques and or madrasas for communities whose need is clear and justifiable. ACA has its own construction company to execute these kinds of projects, even though this section looks a bit isolated and independent from the organization. The charity division usually receives and mobilizes funds from donors and then initiates the projects. Once the construction project is well defined and approved the project then is forwarded to the engineers for practical implementation. The construction company is engaged and the charity division's role is to monitor and supervise the projects, including reporting the progress to all parties. Some of these madrassas and mosques remain under the supervision of the organization while others are offered to their respective communities. The programme covers all districts in Zanzibar, but the proportion of coverage is higher in Unguja than in Pemba. During the field works I got an opportunity to visit one of the sites where a mosque and madrasa together were constructed at Kisauni in the West "B" district. The programme was established in the efforts to create public assets that will help bring Islam and Islamic knowledge and behavior forward. This purpose is also complemented by the distribution of *Mas-haf* (Quran book) to public institutions and communities across the isles. In *Mas-haf* and other books distribution exercise carried out on the 27th February 2020 at Makunduchi,

over 750 *Mas-haf* and 1280 Quran teaching books were distributed to all mosques, madrasas and schools in the South district of Unguja. From its nature, programmes of this kind do not seem to have direct connection with poverty reduction since they do not directly target poor people materially. However, taking in to account the role these institutions play in forming people (like the case of madrasas for example) and the social economic role within the surroundings, they can still be discussed under our subject. Of course this is also dependent upon the way these particular institutions fulfil those roles. This will be discussed more in detail in the coming chapters, but the initial indicators qualify their roles. The fact that some of mosques and madrasas are constructed in communities where poverty is high is an indicators of acceptability. Even those constructed in other areas where community members are not very poor offers significant opportunity for poor people to establish their income generating activities taking advantage of the existence of these assets, particularly the mosques.

5. Education programme: ACA also has education programme which appears in three forms. The first one concerns about running primary school located at Mtoni Kidatu Shehia, next to the ACA headquarters. The school started receiving students in January 2019 but has not yet secured full registration. It started with 94 students in 2019 and by February 2020 it had a total of 136 student in both Nursery and Primary levels. It is operated as private school, with students paying tuition fee. There is no exemption of fee payment so far but the plan is to offer a 25% discount to each orphan registered there (Interview B3). The second form of this programme concerns about conducting short trainings. This sub-programme offers trainings in foreign languages such as English and Arabic, and computer use enhancement skills such as Microsoft Office and maintenance. These courses are fee based and receives students from all ages, including adults. The final form of this programme is offering scholarships for higher learning. The first two are completely privately managed, where individual are required to pay fee while the last one is a charity. There are a number of student (however, very few) who got their studies supported under this programme. Although, there was no clear

number of students supported by this programme the photographic presentation inside ACA's office testify this. This testimony, however, indicates two things: First, those cases were supported some years back and that there are no current or at least recent cases at all. Second, many (if not all) supported students had direct connection with the organization, such as being a worker of ACA, its allied institutions or a family member of ACA staff, etc. this last sub-programme is a typical intervention for poverty reduction in the sense of social protection as it offers an opportunity for those disadvantaged ones to advance their livelihoods. Nevertheless, screening of those beneficiaries is crucial to realize the aforementioned objective.

6. *Udh-hiya* programme: this is the same as *Kurban* programme at MICO, the difference may be in the way they designed their programmes and their size. ACA's perspective attaches the programme with business in it and it's small in size. They slaughter goats instead of cows and distribute the meat to people in communities. The reason behind the preference of goats over cows is rooted from the kind of donors they have. ACA receives orders of slaughtering from individual donors and not institutions which can mobilize more resources to finance bigger projects. It is therefore easier and cheaper for the donor to sponsor one or two goals than cows which appear to be over five times more expensive. *Udh-hiya* programme involves purchasing goats and sell them in a higher prices to donors who are willing to slaughter. The buyers of goats give ACA the responsibility of slaughtering and distributing the meat on their behalf, ACA on its part perform the responsibility as required by the donors without additional administration costs for slaughtering and meat distribution. This is to say that the amount donors pay to buy the animals are inclusive of everything. Therefore, double benefit are obtained by ACA; that of realizing business profit for the organization and that of feeding their beneficiaries (recipients of meat). In terms of coverage, the programme is implemented in both islands but the size of coverage is different, where Unguja receives more than Pemba. I was lucky enough to witness implementation of this activity during my field work at the organization. A total of 9 goats were

slaughtered and the meat distributed to over 40 poor households at Ndagaa village in the Central district of Zanzibar.

7. Small business programme: this programme concerns about provision of entrepreneurship skills and capitals necessary to enable individuals and groups establish business and income generating activities. Both, capital in cash (smaller amount) and in-kind (in the form of working tools) are provided by the programme depending on the nature of the business activity engaged by the recipient. In some cases, the programme, first, offers training for those who want to engage themselves in activities that require skills development, such as opening of workshop, electricity technician etc. The programme was still very new. It was established in early 2019 and has been implemented only in Unguja Island. Only 7 beneficiaries benefited from the programme, all from the same island. From its nature, the programme is an excellent example of an instrument which could have significant impact on poverty reduction should the programme increase its coverage. Beneficiaries believe that the support received from this programme helped them a lot to stand up on their own feet and enabled them better manage their lives (Interview B29; B38; B39). However, it has been observed that most of the businesses established under this programme are still very young and so may be a little bit early to count for sufficient benefits.

8. Water drill programme: this is one of the busiest units in the organization. The description on this programme is similar to the one provided in MICO on the same, except the details may be different. At ACA this programme has gained its celebrity as a business programme in which individuals and communities contract ACA to drill and build water systems in their respective areas with agreed fee. Many water well projects implemented there were of this type and so realized the business purpose of the programme. However, there happened to have some few projects implemented under charity in which individual donors paid ACA to drill a well or a series of wells and their systems. In these kinds of projects ACA are able to meet both charity objective, through the established projects benefiting vulnerable communities, and business objective, since the money for the

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construction of wells circulates within the organization and realize profit. During the field word at the organization I witnessed many clients coming to the office to ask for information and submit orders for the construction of wells in private basis.

9. Radio programme: This programme is concerned with running and managing programme aired through Radio Annoor. Radio Annoor was established based on Islamic orientation, and so its operations and programmes are confined within Islamic teachings. The programme was the practical implementation of the desire of the founder and the general director of ACA Mr. Nadir, who wished to establish such a station for building Islamic behavior in the country. The radio has indeed been one of the leading stations for the provision of both spiritual and universal education, in Zanzibar. It is reachable in both Unguja and in Pemba through 93.30 FM and 93.35 FM respectively, and involves programmes that unify people of all ages. Traditionally, the radio was supposed to be a business programme, but due to its nature (being Islamic oriented) it does not attain business objectives. Also, the founder of the programme did not align it with making business profit but more on serving the society as driver of positive change (Interview B2). In this respect the programme has been running under very hard financial conditions to the extent of calling upon Muslims and their leaders to rescuer it financially.

10. Hajj Trust: this is a business programme established in 2017 with the aim of providing opportunity for those who wish to perform Pilgrimage (Hajj) to do so using ACA. The role of ACA is to coordinate and organize Pilgrimage trips to Makka and facilitate pilgrims to well engage themselves in the performance of this fifth pillar of Islam. This programme is completely a business activity and so did not gain strong attention during the field work. Also because during the field there were no routine activities on this programme since the season for the pilgrimage preparation was not yet to arrive. In later days it was reports that this year (2020) there was no any activity on this programme because of restrictions imposed following COVID-19 pandemic.

11. In addition to that, there was also a mention of health project which once got implemented and still exists in the organisation's plan, but this only occurs occasionally. This programme usually involves holding health camps and operations to patients suffering from different diseases and normally hosted in public hospitals. The latest intervention in this area occurred in 2013 where eye clinic and surgeries were carried out at Chake Chake Public Hospital in Pemba. It also included procurement of an Ambulance to KMKM Hospital located at Bububu Zanzibar. Since the programme has not been implemented quite long time a gone, less attention was accorded to it.

5.5.3 ZASO Programmes and Their Coverage

ZASO's programmes and activities can be categorized into three categories: advocacy, capacity building and service delivery. The first one involved programmes or activities within programme that aims to influence decision on matters pertaining to orphans and most vulnerable children and HIV/AIDS. There were no interventions implemented under this category during my field work at the organization. The second category concerns about programmes and interventions that focus on providing knowledge, skills, tools, equipment and other resources necessary to enable beneficiaries and their households to establish and or develop their social and economic activities more competently. These activities gave beneficiaries a change to combat poverty and better manage their livelihoods. This category occupied a significant place in ZASOs' activities in the past but again was not implemented during my time at the organization. However, memories were still in the heads of some beneficiaries visited (Interview C19; C20; C21). The final category existed, and is what is being presented here under and consist of three majour areas.

1. Material support to orphans programme: this programme involves provision of different materials to beneficiaries. Based on the explanation given (Interview C1) it is sub divided into three major components: food relief project which provides food packages to beneficiaries. The relief project aims at improving the health and wellbeing of children infected by HIV through improved nutrition. The type of food provided changes depending on the time of provision. For example, during

the months of Ramadan the types of food provided are different from the food offered in other months, to reflect common foods consumed in Ramadan based on Zanzibar society. In the same way, the packages involves different food items during festivals and special days to help beneficiaries attain the special food needs (usually more expensive than normal food) of those days. This project started in December 2018 and has been evaluated and re implemented every after 6 months. The food items provided are rice, flour, sugar, milk flour, nutrition flour, eggs, cooking oil and soap. The project covers a total of 100 beneficiaries with over 50 percent coming from Urban-West region where poverty rate is low. With that small number of beneficiaries, the programme was being implemented in Unguja Island alone. I was lucky enough to witness practical implementation of this programme. A part from the materials, beneficiaries from far areas were provided with transport allowances to cover the transport cost.

The second component of material support programme is the provision of Eid clothes to children, where new clothes are given to beneficiaries to help them meet their clothing need during these religious festivals when all people, particularly children dress new clothes. This component, however, has no specified donor and so its implementation is conditional to availability of funder (Interview C3). Both food packages and provision of clothes were implemented in April 2020 during my field work at the case study organization and were supported by the same donor. In this exercise ZASO provided food items and clothes to their beneficiaries. ZASO's office was used as distribution point where beneficiaries went to collect their benefits. All beneficiaries who received food packages also received clothes. This is to say that both components had the same beneficiaries. The last component of this programme is about provision of school materials to children every year. The programme provided significant support to some beneficiaries in a number of Shehias across all districts in Unguja. Over 80 children (HIV+ and MVC) from over 13 Shehias in Unguja benefited from this support. However, there was no trace of this programme during the field visit. Based on the explanation from beneficiaries and the staff, the programme (in the

form of regular provision) ended in 2017, and since then only ad-hoc provisions are made when irregular donors occur to support children (Interview C1; C17, C22).

2. Running the orphanage centre: this programme is still under development and has not yet secured complete registration from responsible government authority. The centre provides a home for over 28 children who are HIV+ and benefit from almost all necessary services that a child must have to grow up well, including: (1) education: all school age children go to school. The centre has its own bus to take them to and from school every day. It also has special teacher who offer additional classes and Quran classes to children after school; (2) Health care: children receive better health care than the one they received back home (Interview C25; C26; C27). There is a doctor who looks after the health of the children at the centre. The doctor is supposed to spend at least two hours a day to examine and take care of the health issues of the children. Also, out of 28 children who are being cared at the centre 10 have health insurance and the remaining are on the way to get one. It was explain that the situation of many children before coming to the centre was characterized by high viral load (some up to 100,000 while the optimum level for children is supposed to be below 20,000), many other diseases and health problems while others required operations to fix their health problems (Interview C6; C25; C26; C27). It was reported that one child died two weeks after entering the centre because of the poor health condition he had (Interview C27); (3) Birth certificate: ZASO struggled to make sure that all children had their birth certificates. This was particularly necessary considering that most of children had no birth certificates when they entered the centre and so issuing health insurance was not possible. It is because of the same reason that till the time of this study ZASO could not provide insurance to the majority of children in the centre; and (4) clothing etc. Most of these children suffered from multiple vulnerabilities; that of being poor, being orphan (of one or both parents) and that of being HIV+, which means being socially isolated and stigmatized (Interview C25; C26; C27). Also observation made during field visits to some beneficiaries' homes confirmed this situation. The

programme represents a good example of social welfare programmes that can meet both social welfare and poverty reduction objectives.

3. Another important programme is the social reality tour programme which involves exposing visitors from outside the country to visit poor households in their reality/locality. The primary objective of this programme is to convince the visitors, through exposition of social reality, to build kindness to the families and establish longer term ties and support between the visited households and the visitors. ZASO uses this opportunity to send visitors to very poor families and with high demand of support so that those kind-hearted visitors could easily wish to support them (Interview C24). At the meantime, visitors are advised to carry some gifts for the visited household so that they can sympathize them during their visits, and all of them agreed by offering cash and in-kind support (interview C24; C3). There were cases where families continued to receiving support from their visitors for years after their departure (Interview C3; C24). However, this programme had not been receiving visitors for about six months at the time of my visit to the organization. No specific reasons put forward for this pause as they all agreed that it was supposed to continue because there were no administrative costs involved. In the same way, COVID-19 pandemic emerged at the beginning of 2020 might had also contributed to an automatic stoppage in the later stage, because, all visitors participated this programme came from abroad, either as tourists or other status.

Other programmes of this organization included income generating activities (IGA) which provided trainings on entrepreneurial skills and capitals (in cash and in-kind) to children in clubs, youths and parents/guardians so as to engage in the production of income to support their livelihoods; and Home based care programme which provided healthcare services to patients and victims of HIV/AIDS in their homes. Both programmes were no longer implemented but were part of the previous projects and earned great impact in supporting people and communities and certainly reducing poverty of beneficiaries.

5.5.4 ZACA Programmes and Their Coverage

Like the case of ZASO, across ZACA's projects history, activities could also be categorized into three: advocacy, capacity building and service delivery. This is basically because ZACA and ZASO are of the same nature, both belonging to NGOs category. The difference could be seen from the types of projects implemented and the way they were designed. By the time of this study, both capacity building and service delivery were implemented by ZACA under one project, each forming separate component of the same project. Advocacy component can only be traced in the activity history of the organization but did not exist during the study.

The only programme implemented by ZACA was Psychosocial Support Project. The main objectives of this project is to: increase community awareness on support for the most vulnerable children (MVC); increase community psychosocial support provision to the children with psychological problems; improve economic conditions of the orphans and MVC and their households; and provide maternal health education to young children and MVC (ZACA 2018 report). Our main focus in this programme was all elements related to improving economic conditions of the children and/or their households. The project started in 2016 as a pilot and was initially agreed to be implemented in nearest districts only. Later, scaling up was made in terms of the number of activities to be carried out in the project but not in terms of the coverage of more areas. There are three interesting areas under this: entrepreneurial skills development trainings and the subsequent cash benefits provided to children's clubs; the entrepreneurial skills development trainings, equipment/tools provision to graduates and its multiply effect; and cash benefits provided to parents' saving groups created and their associated impact on both members and community at large, especially the MVC. Each of the three subcomponents of the programme is detailed bellow.

The first component is the capacity strengthening to children clubs. Under this component the project first establishes children clubs in all areas of operation. The clubs consist of MVC, particularly orphans and those from poor households in the area and other children as well. The clubs were established following the acceptance of the respective Shehia authorities and the sensitization sessions to both shehia committees and the parents

as well. Also few volunteers are found amongst community members and get trained on the various activities to be carried out within the clubs and the overall management of the clubs. These volunteers are the caretakers of the clubs and liaise them with both shehia administration and ZACA. Clubs are established through collective meetings of all children in the area to perform certain psychosocial support activities and strengthen self-worthiness and awareness. In the letter stage, the clubs through their representatives receive entrepreneurial skills for two purposes: to enable them create and manage income generating activities that will generate regular income to the club; and to enable them train other members of the club who did not receive the training so that everyone can acquire the skills and fully participate in the production activities. Through this way the multiply effect of the project was also maximized. The basic capital, in the form of cash and or tools was provided by the project so that barriers could be eliminated. ZACA established 4 children clubs in four different shehias, all within the Urban-West region. Each club consisted of 60 to 250 children of between 6 to 18 years of age. This number was even higher during the startup of clubs but tended to diminish as days went along because of absenteeism and self-removal from the clubs. I was lucky enough to visit three of the four clubs during my field work at the case study organization.

The second component of the project was on the provision of entrepreneurial skills and equipment to young people graduated from children's clubs. This component takes graduates from children's clubs (those above the age of 18) and register them in vocational training schools on courses of their choice. The project covers all the costs including all payable to the collage and transport costs. In addition, the project also provides capital in the form of tools and equipment based on their areas of specialization. The most common specializations where most people engaged in were computer technician, electricity technician, tailoring, decoration skills and hotel and hospitality courses. Graduates of such courses received things like computers, electricity tool box, sewing machines, decorators and ovens and other kitchen utensils respectively. The recipient of this project were also required to train at least four children from the children's clubs or amongst the graduates of the club who did not receive the scholarship. The purpose of this was to multiply the impact of the project across the key beneficiaries. Over 20 young people from the four

areas where the project was being implemented benefited from this component. However, not all of them managed to stand up and proceed with the business activities they engaged in. In an interview with one of beneficiaries of this project he outlined that one of the challenge of this project was that there was no follow up of graduates after leaving schools. Some completed their studies and did nothing after wards. This reduces the efficiency in the attainment of the project objectives (Interview D9).

The last component of this project focuses on the capacity building of parents and service delivery to MVC themselves. This components involves provision of entrepreneurial skill to parents of MVC and later organizes them in groups of 30 members to form what they calle Village Savings Loans Association (VSLA). The costs for the entrepreneurial skills are fully covered by the project, and the VSLA acts like a bridge that links the skills developed and the practical implementation. It offers a mechanism for the parents to acquire loans that can be used to create or improve their income generating activities of their choice. The VSLAs are designed in such a way that everybody can afford to pay the number of credits required in a week or month. They also received additional amount of money from ZACA to enrich their groups' funds so that they can create better income generating activities. The groups are also designed to incorporate service delivery to MVC. Each member has to register at least two MVC who receive the service from the group. This is to say that there is special money, from the return on investment, allocated to supporting MVC of the area where the VSLA is located. The children each member carries have to be MVC and so if the members are not poor they must register children from poor households, even though they are not related. In this way, they successfully ensure that service delivery to MVC remained at the centre of this component as well. Across the four shehia where project was being implemented there were 14 VSLAs established, all carrying the same design and following the same guidelines from ZACA. Of course success of these groups varies but many VSLA members speak of it very positively (interview D5; D11; D12; D15).

If we take a close look of the project described above we can see that the project contains lots of creativity in its design. It managed to put in place structures and system that can last longer and hence maximize its impact on poverty reduction. However, the

very low coverage, in terms of the areas the project is being implemented and even the number of beneficiaries in some components may still remain a challenge in the attainment of poverty reduction at national level.

A part from that ongoing project, ZACA has also implemented a number of projects in recent years, some of which had significant impact on supporting communities, though not necessarily directly linked to poverty reduction. Some of these projects include: capacity building of organization (2014) which involved building capacity of ZACA staff in terms of knowledge and skills development in different areas; Zanzibar Malaria Elimination Programme – Sealing up Impact of Malaria Elimination in Zanzibar (2010 – 2014) which involved provision of mosquito nets and sensitize communities on malaria prevention and control; Urban childhood consultation in Stone Town (2011 – 2012) which investigated childhood situation in the central town of Zanzibar, etc. (ZACA Profile Document).

5.6 INTERNAL IMPLEMENTATION ARRANGEMENTS FOR PROGRAMMES

This part highlights arrangements put in place by the case study organisations to facilitate implementation of their programmes. It shows that across the four case study organizations there was division of labour among workers in different departments of the same organization but implementation of activities and programmes carried out within each organization was generally collective. Although, there was small difference between one another, particularly among FBOs, in the way and level of seriousness of the arrangement in the implementation of their activities. ACA, for example, was believed to have more serious arrangements for the distribution of items, and followed more strict procedures compared with MICO. For the case of NGOs it was clear that only few staff members implemented most of activities, making the division of labour unnecessary most of the times.

The common arrangement put in place by all four case study organizations was well the use of volunteers in their activities. Each CSO had a number of volunteers whom they called upon the existence of massive work that required additional work force. With the exception of ZACA which used volunteers in daily basis as embedded within the

project design, other case studies used them during periods with more works which surpassed the capacity of the existed workers.

Also, MICO had tendency to allocate specific number of beneficiaries of the orphans programme for each of its staff during implementation of majour programmes and activities. Everyone was responsible for the payment (during the pay days) and oversight of his/her beneficiaries. All staff members and some volunteers participate the payment activity. This same arrangement was applied during other activities which involved distribution of items in several points. Each member of the organisation was allocated at specific distribution point to making sure that all preparations and the distribution itself goes well.

In addition to that, there was the question of participation of donor representatives during implementation of some activities such as distribution of materials. This was witnessed during the field work at MICO and ZASO, where respectively during distribution of in-kind materials and the food packages donor representatives were present and participated the exercises. The role of donor representatives in those exercises included:

⇨ Initiation of the distribution exercise. Both MICO's in-kind gifts and ZASO's food package distribution exercises were initiated by donor representatives. They handed over the first few packages to beneficiaries to indicate the official opening of the exercise.

⇨ Verification of materials before being transferred to beneficiaries. At MICO donor representatives visited the warehouse where the items were stored to check if the materials to be transferred to beneficiaries were the same as planned. At ZASO, the representative even participated the purchase of the food items transferred.

⇨ Meeting with other stakeholders who partnered with them. This occurred at MICO where donor representatives met with stakeholders (Zanzibar Prison and SOS Children's Village). The meetings explored areas they supported (through MICO) and the way the support provided could be used to benefit the intended beneficiaries.

⇨ Validation of distribution exercise and setting future projection. Representatives at MICO also had the role of observing the exercise and share their recommendations to their head offices with regards to transparency in the exercise. This enabled MICO to securer more support from that donor in the coming year following good recommendation of the representatives who attended previous activity (Interview 21).

However, attendance of donor representatives in the implementation of these activities was not an arrangement desired by the case study organisations but imposed by the donor community itself (Interview A10; A21; C1). The positive side of this arrangement is that it helped in building trust between implementing organisations and their donors (Interview A21).

5.7 THE LINK BETWEEN CASE STUDY ORGANISATIONS' INTERVENTIONS AND POVERTY REDUCTION

The nature of interventions of the case study organisations was characterized by a number of factors which need further attention to be able to judge whether they are poverty sensitive or not. This will be taken forward and discussed in subsequent chapters. This section analyzes the linkage between the interventions of the case study organisations and poverty reduction. The findings show that interventions of case study organisations take three forms in relation to poverty reduction. Those directly related with poverty reduction; pure business interventions; and those using poverty reduction pretest to realize business objectives. The presentation here is generalized across all three categories with particular emphasize on those directed to poverty reduction, in one way or the other.

In the first category there is direct relation between the interventions of the case study organisations and poverty reduction. In this category, many programmes can be found that target people of specific groups with specific vulnerabilities. In most cases, programmes that target orphans, MVC, poor households, widows and other vulnerable groups fall under this category. For example, all case study organizations targeted orphans, however, with varying degree of priority. MICO and ACA have specific cash transfer programmes confined to orphans while ZASO and ZACA do not have specific

programmes for orphans but consider orphans as being more vulnerable compared to non-orphaned children and so, pay special attention to orphans in the selection of their programme beneficiaries. At the meantime, while FBOs direct their reasons for the preference of orphans over other groups to religious basis (i.e. Islam insists believers to support orphans and offers more rewords to those who care for them), NGOs direct their reasons for prioritizing on orphans to the levels and number of vulnerabilities these children face based on their circumstances. In this view, orphans are believed to face more vulnerabilities compared to non-orphaned children.

A number of studies have shown that orphans are more vulnerable than non-orphans with respect to number of areas of their wellbeing. In terms of school attendance, a study carried out in 10 sub-Saharan African countries concluded that orphans are less likely to be enrolled in schools than non-orphans with whom they live with. The same study also found that orphans who lived with distinct relatives and unrelated care givers had lower school enrolment than those who lived with a close relative (Case et al., 2004). In addition to that, a descriptive study of 40 nationally representative household surveys in sub-Saharan Africa observed that orphans were considerably less likely to attend school than non-orphans, and double orphans were most likely of all to be disadvantaged in schooling (Monasch and Boerma, 2004). Another study whose data taken from five sub-Saharan African countries found that orphaned children were less likely to be attending the appropriate grade level for their age (Bicego et al. 2003). This study also noted that double orphans were particularly disadvantaged, and that the loss of a mother was more disadvantageous for schooling than the loss of a father. The disadvantage was more pronounced for primary education than secondary education. Also, most studies on orphanhood and education also found that the disadvantageous effects of parental loss on children's education are significantly more important in the event of maternal death (Mishra and Simona, 2008).

Despite the large number of studies documenting the detrimental effects of parental loss on the education of orphaned children, not all studies have found adverse effects. For example, Ainsworth and Filmer (2002) identified a considerable variation in the effect of orphanhood on school attendance, including higher school attendance rates

for orphans than non-orphans in some countries. Another study in rural Zimbabwe found no difference between orphans and non-orphans in primary school completion rates, although maternal orphans (but not paternal or double orphans) were less likely to complete primary school education than non-orphans (Nyamukapa and Gregson, 2005). Parikh et al. (2007) found no significant differences in educational outcomes between orphans and non-orphans living in the same household. However, the results of this latter group of studies should be interpreted with caution since they are generally based on small samples or on highly localized populations, where community supports system may be in place to mitigate the effects of orphanhood on children's educational outcomes (Mishra and Simona, 2008).

In terms of nutritional status and health wellbeing, studies on the consequences of parental illness and death for their children's health and nutritional status are scarcer than studies on how orphanhood affects children's education, and they have mixed results (Mishra and Simona, 2008). A few studies have unequivocally documented the potential consequences of orphanhood on children's psychological well-being and emotional health. In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, Makame et al. (2002) found adverse psychological consequences of orphanhood, such as anxiety, sense of failure, pessimism, and suicidal tendency. In Uganda Atwine et al. (2005) found much higher levels of anxiety, depression and anger among orphans than among non-orphans. In Rwanda, Thurman et al. (2006) found that orphans living in youth-headed households were significantly more likely than those in adult-headed households to report emotional distress, depressive symptoms and social isolation.

Apparently, the findings of these different studies in sub-Saharan Africa justify the preference of orphaned children over non-orphaned by the case study organisations. By both religious and scientific view points, orphans are more likely to be poor and vulnerable than non-orphaned children, and so supporting orphans is a significant step towards reducing poverty and vulnerability. However, historically, children in sub-Saharan Africa, and Zanzibar in particular, have often been cared for by extended family members including grandparents, uncles and other relatives. This tradition of child fostering has become an essential copping mechanism and a solution to orphanhood problem (Mishra

and Simona, 2008; HelpAge, 2009). In this respect, identifying those orphans really in need of support was crucial for CSOs programmes to maximize their impact on poverty reduction.

On the other hand, there were also programmes that supported provision of social services to communities. These programmes were implemented by MICO and ACA and included water supply to communities and in some indirect ways the construction of mosques and Madrasas. Water supply programmes supported households, especially women, in areas with no access to safe water. These programmes ensure availability of safe water in nearby areas and so reduce both the distance from the point of water availability and the time spent to search for water or save money to buy it. In the context of poverty, poor people in those communities got more time to engage themselves in their daily income generating activities. The mosques and madrasa construction programmes provide poor people with the space and the market for their small businesses and homemade or agricultural products. These assets also sometimes carryout activities such as zakat (alms), sadaka (charity) and other gifts, especially during religious festivals, which directly benefit poor people in their localities.

5.8 CHARITY-BASED, NEEDS-BASED OR RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES

Charity-based approach is the prevailing approach for dealing with social problems, such as poverty. The approach is based on the assumption that those helping the poor know what their needs are and can satisfy those needs through the provision of donations of money, food, clothing, shelter and medical care (Dufvenmark, 2015). This approach was used as a potential model for dealing with social problems for many years, however, it was criticized for a number of reasons. Firstly, while it alleviated immediate suffering, it did not address the underlying systemic problems nor did it develop sustainable solutions for dealing with the problems of the poor and the needy (Gabel, 2016)). After the beneficiaries' immediate needs were catered for, the poor and needy continued to be poor and needy and were increasingly dependent on the donation to meet their needs. Secondly, the model perceives beneficiaries as being vulnerable individuals who require the assistance of others rather than rights-holders in vulnerable situations who

could identify their own needs and actively participate in the process of resolving the social problem they face (Gabel, 2016; Maschi, 2016).

Needs-Based approach was an approach or a model raised following the criticisms of charity model explained above. In the mid-20th century, practitioners began to use the needs-based approach to trying to address the shortcomings of the charity model. This approach emphasized the participation of beneficiaries in development projects, in the identification of their needs and the means to alleviate these needs and those in a position to assist them (Gabel, 2016).

Despite the good intention of addressing the challenges raised on charity approach, this model also has its weaknesses. Firstly, the approach failed to address the problem of the image of the poor and needy. The image of beneficiaries continued to be an image of poor vulnerable people. Secondly, the approach did not imply any obligations on stakeholders to uphold the rights of beneficiaries. And finally, stakeholders only met the needs of beneficiaries when resources were available (Gabel, 2016)

Rights-Based Approach (RBA) on the other hand is a conceptual framework and methodological tool for developing programmes, policies and practices that integrate the rights, norms and standards derived from international law (Dufvenmark, 2015). Like the needs-based, this model come to address the weaknesses identified in the needs-based approach. The model emerged as a new approach to addressing social problem with the Declaration of the right to development, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1986. Article of the declaration states that: "The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized." This declaration gave a strong boost to the RBA to development and marked a new era because it rooted the development in the human rights, rather than in the provision of charity or addressing the needs of vulnerable people. The basic principles of this approach includes: universality, non-discrimination and equality, indivisibility, interdependence and interrelatedness, participation, rule of law and accountability.

Adoption of RBA can serve various purposes for the CSOs. It can help strengthen CSOs efforts to finding supporters and donors at international level. Adherence to the international human rights standards and principles may legitimize efforts and provide pre-assurance of the programme impact on poverty reduction. Also, as to the discourse of the RBA, a focus on rights, duties and root courses dynamics of poverty lead toward programmes and projects that are better equipped to have lasting impact on poverty. Both purposes highlights awareness of and responsiveness of the best practices of CSOs to poverty reduction and development (Maschi, 2016). RBA can also give good justification of shifts in funding allocation from direct service provision to policy analysis, advocacy and project evaluation. These political roles of CSOs would empower them to be the watchdog of the government's duties toward rights-holders. In general, there exists significant differences between the three approaches, ranging from goals they aim to achieve, accountability, power relationships to the types of situation or problem they respond to. Table 4 bellow summarizes the differences between charity-, needs-, and rights-based approaches.

Table 4: Comparison Between Charity-, Needs-, and Rights-Based Approaches to Social Issues

	Charity-based	**Needs-based**	**Rights-based**
Goals	Assistance to deserving and disadvantaged individuals or populations to relieve immediate suffering	Fulfilling an identified deficit in individuals or community through additional resources for marginalized and disadvantaged groups	Realization of human rights that will lead to the equitable allocation of resources and power
Motivation	Religious or moral imperative of rich or endowed to help the less fortunate who are deserving of assistance	To help those deemed in need of help so as to promote well-being of social members	Legal obligation to entitlements
Accountability	May be accountable to private organization	Generally accountable to those who identified the need and developed the intervention	Governments and global bodies such as the donor community, intergovernmental

			organisations, international NGOs, and transnational corporations
Process	Philanthropic with emphasis on donor	Expert identification of needs, its dimensions, and strategy for meeting need within political negotiation. Affected population is the object of interventions	Political with a focus on participatory process in which individuals and groups are empowered to claim their rights
Power relationships	Preserves status quo	Largely maintains existing structure, change might be incremental	Must change
Target population of efforts	Individuals and populations worth of assistance	Disadvantaged individuals or populations	All members of society with an emphasis on marginalized populations
Emphasis	On donor's benevolent actions	On meeting needs	On the realization of human rights
Interventions respond to	Immediate manifestation of problems	Symptomatic deficits and may address structural causes	Fundamental structural causes while providing alleviation from symptomatic manifestations

Sources: Gabel, 2016; Maschi, 2016

Having highlighted all the three approaches traditionally used in addressing social problems, now let us discuss about application of these approaches by the case study organisations. We can see from the analysis that majority of case study organisations used mixed approaches of charity and needs-based depending on the nature of the programmes. All in-kind transfer programmes at MICO and ACA, for example, applied charity based approach to service delivery. In their approach, they identified areas where materials would be distributed without proper involvement of the beneficiaries themselves. Also, the type of materials to be distributed did not necessarily reflect the actual needs of

intended beneficiaries. All case study organisations distributed items they received from donors, instead of items needed by beneficiaries based on their specific circumstances.

On the other hand, the needs-based approach was used in water supply and construction programmes at MICO and ACA, in food relief project at ZASO and Psychosocial support project at ZACA. In these programmes we could see clear divergence between the approach used in material distribution and the one used in these programmes. In the later, beneficiaries were involved in the identification and execution of projects. For example the water supply programme at MICO requires beneficiaries to participate in the execution of projects and maintenance of the assets to ensure sustainability of the products created. At ZASO, the food relief project offered food packages to reflect the demands of beneficiaries, however, this was taken from a general idea that people living with HIV/AIDS are in grater needs of good nutrition in order to maintain their health. There was no other evidence demonstrating the rationale behind the provision of food packages and whether the provision was derived from the needs of beneficiaries. In the same way, ZACA involved communities (including poor people who were the primary beneficiaries of the project) during implementation of their project. This could be considered as good quality to qualify for the application of needs-based approach. However, there is also a concern around whether the provision by VSLAs to MVCs was real beneficiaries' needs-driven. Both situations signal the need for the case study organisations to review and improve their approaches to service delivery.

Across all case study organisations, there was no use of the RBA, except of course in the business programmes, which did not occupy much of our interest in this study. The reason behind this complete abandonment of the approach may be attributed to: 1) the low capacity (both financially and technically) of the organisations to provide services based on RBA; 2) the state being the principal duty-bearer makes CSOs relying more on the government in service to the poor and considering themselves as secondary actors plying only complementary role after the state.

5.9 A GENERAL COMPARISON BETWEEN FBO AND NGO INTERVENTIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATION TO POVERTY REDUCTION

Looking at the programmes, their designs, coverage and the way they were implemented, we can see some of the indicators that highlight the role the programmes can play on poverty reduction in the country. We can also identify the existing difference between CSOs themselves and between FBO and NGO categories.

First of all, it is clear that FBOs run more and bigger programmes than NGOs. Both MICO and ACA had more than 9 active programmes each, some of which could be categorized as charity (poverty focusing) while others were not (business oriented). Their programmes were also long term and, except for the new ones, all had existed for more than 5 years. Contrary to this, NGOs had fewer active programmes and were all under project basis, i.e. had start and end time based on the projects life cycles. While ZASO held 1 project subjected to evaluation every 6 months and 1 programme which had not yet secured registration, ZACA had only one project with 4 components and which required annual reapplication for its continuation. Although this situation increased efficiency within the two organisations it reduced visibility and their impact on poverty reduction. Both size and number of programmes have implication on poverty reduction, where bigger and many integrated programmes help reduce poverty better.

In terms of programme designs, there seems to be clear difference between the case study organisations, particularly between the FBO and NGO categories. Both MICO and ACA have programmes with more or less similar design. Their designs are simple and reflect relatively high degree of flexibility. This is partly because of their capacities in designing such programmes but also because of under estimation of local environment. Too simple and high level of flexibility in programmes imply lack of seriousness in targeting the poor and during implementation, and reduce efficiency of programmes. Based on the local context these organisations were operating, they were supposed to design more strict programmes with more strict mechanisms in order to achieve better outcome of their programmes (Interview E3; E5 &E6). The fact that the orphans care programmes at MICO and ACA consider orphanhood alone as the only criterion for selection indicates failure in targeting of beneficiaries. In order for the programme to be

pro-poor, additional criteria such as consideration of poverty levels had to be added to insure that the programme address poverty and orphanhood instead of orphanhood alone. The national guidelines for the identification of most vulnerable children and their households, who are eligible of social assistances, identify orphanhood as one of the criteria but which needs to be tested for other poverty indicators (RGoZ, 2010). This was indeed observed during field work where many of the visited programme beneficiaries in both organisations could be judged as not eligible should the national criteria be applied. Other programmes can fall under the same explanation given that most of them follow universal approach. In this way outcome of programmes on poverty reduction seems to be very minimal considering that significant portion of the benefits goes to non-poor.

Unlike FBOs, ZASO's and ZACA's projects are well designed to reflect the desired impact on poverty. This design, however, does not necessarily reflect capacities of these institutions but of their donors. Both programmes are proposed and designed by donors and the implementing CSOs had no influence over them. ZACA for example implemented Psychosocial Support Project supported by WeSeeHope. This same project was being implemented in more than three countries with similar design (Interviews D2; D3). The project is small but has got the best design of all other CSOs under study. Similarly, ZASO's Food Relief Project was designed and supported by ComfortAid through Nyota Foundation. Donor domination in these projects, however, highlights lack of control of the implementing organizations over the projects. In terms of the impact on poverty reduction these programmes are likely to have bigger impact, if they were of the same size as those of FBOs, since the bigger portion of the benefits is directed to the right beneficiaries. For example, it was explained that the situation of many children before joining ZASO's care centre was characterized by high viral load (some up to 100,000 while the optimum level for children is supposed to be below 20,000), many other diseases and health problems while others required operations to fix their health problems (Interviews C6; C25; C26; C27). This very risky situation was reduced once children got into the centre. Currently, all children living at the centre are in good health with bellow the optimum viral load level (Interviews C23; C27).

In terms of coverage of programmes MICO and ACA respectively have higher coverage compared to ZASO and ZACA, in terms of number of individuals supported in each programme. The trend is still the same if considered in terms of geographical areas covered. While ZASO and ZACA are limited in few districts and regions of Unguja Island, MICO and ACA extended majority of their programmes to all districts in both Unguja and Pemba islands. MICO has got sub-office which deals with all operations in Pemba. However, despite this coverage across districts there is inequality in the distribution of benefits across districts in all case study organisations. Some districts receive less proportion of benefits compared to others. More importantly, there is no relation between poverty levels of districts and the amount of benefits allocated to them. Data shows that by both measures poverty is higher in Pemba (55.4%) than in Unguja (18.4%) and all 4 districts in Pemba hold the highest poverty rates. A poverty targeting programme has to allocate more resources to the poorest areas first. This means that more resources have to be allocated to Pemba for poverty reduction. However, this is not the case. At MICO, for examples, out of 1167 beneficiaries of Orphans care programme only 149 (12.77%) were from Pemba, and less than 10 percent is allocated to Pemba for the in-kind programmes (Interview A16). At ACA only 35 (7.28%) orphans out of 481 were from Pemba. At ZASO over 50 percent of Food Relief project beneficiaries were from Urban and West districts where poverty rates are low (19.2% and 14.6% respectively). At ZACA the project covered only 4 shehias out of over 384 available in Zanzibar and all located in Urban and West districts only. This over concentration of poverty interventions in rich districts may be one of the contributing factors of increased poverty in Pemba.

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has analyzed programmes of the case study organisations in terms of their design and coverage. The aim was to see whether CSOs programmes have good design and sufficient coverage to be considered for the national poverty reduction strategy. This chapter, therefore, among other things answered the research question 1 which seeks to understand about the mentioned points. The chapter began by giving short description on the locations and surroundings of each case study organisation. The aim here was to familiarize the reader with the socioeconomic characteristics of the areas where the case

study organisations were found. It then went on highlighting the background and legal status, mission, vision and objectives and programmes implemented by each organisation and their coverage. It also analyzed the linkage between the case study organisations' interventions and poverty reduction in a more comparative way between FBOs and NGOs. It finally discussed about the charity-based, needs-based and right-based approaches in relation to the programmes by the case study organisations.

It appears that for long time, there have been debates on the role of CSOs in supporting society to address poverty and vulnerability. Yet, CSOs continue their existence in Zanzibar (and elsewhere) with increased challenges on funding their programmes and sustainability. Generally, it could be seen from the discussion that CSOs continue to perform their historic role of delivering services to the society but with decreasing efficiency on poverty reduction. CSOs run many programmes but poor design and very low coverage still limit their impact on poverty. However, this is not equal to saying that there is no need of having CSOs, instead we need to have them improved in terms of capacity to design good poverty targeting programmes and ensure financial support that will enable them extend their coverage and sustain their programmes.

Case study organisations have confirmed that there are also differences between FBOs and NGOs in the way they design their programmes, their size and the number of programmes implemented. FBOs tend to have bigger and longer lasting programmes but more poorly designed, while NGOs take advantage of the skills and capacities of their donors to design better projects but with smaller life span and very low coverage in terms of number of beneficiaries. Both situations imply poor performance in the share of poverty reduction at national level. Also, FBOs tend to have more active programmes implemented at a time compared to NGOs. Very few and small programmes within an organisation negatively affect visibility of that organisation which in turn affect the entire civil society sector.

Therefore, to directly answer our first research sub-question which seeks to understand how meaningful poverty targeting interventions by CSOs in terms of their design and coverage are, it is clear that the programmes by these organisations are not

sufficiently meaningful, both in terms of design and coverage. However, the levels differ between FBOs and NGOs in both indicators. In terms of programme design, NGOs seem to have better programme design compared to FBOs. This is the result of donor engagement in the programme design. In terms of coverage, FBOs appeared to have bigger coverage and longer lasting programmes than NGOs, which translates the existence of sustained donors to support their interventions. All in all, both FBOs and NGOs require substantial improvement in the above areas in order to occupy their rightful place within the national social protection system and poverty reduction.

However, for a better understanding of the role of CSOs on poverty reduction, a need for investigating targeting of beneficiaries of these CSO programmes is paramount. The study will have to clarify whether the case study organizations use proper targeting mechanisms and criteria in the selection of their beneficiaries so that we can establish whether their programmes and interventions are really poverty targeting. The coming chapter will focus on this issue.

CHAPTER SIX

6. TARGETING OF BENEFICIARIES AND ITS EFFICIENCY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, brief description of interventions of the four case study organisations and their relation with poverty reduction was provided. We have also seen the differences between the interventions of the CSOs belonging to the FBO category from those belonging to NGO category. In this chapter, thorough review of the targeting mechanisms and procedures put in place by the case study organisations in the identification and registration of their programme beneficiaries is undertaken. This includes analyzing the rigor and the criteria used in targeting programme beneficiaries and their relation with both, national standards and poverty reduction objectives.

The chapter begins by looking at the targeting and its efficiency across case study organizations. Under this headline targeting procedures, criteria and their efficiency are discussed together with exploration of the question whether the targeting of these case study organisations was really poverty targeting. The chapter then continues by looking at grievance mechanisms that allowed beneficiaries and the public to claim for the benefits or present their concerns about the programmes. It finally analyses the graduation and exit mechanism available and the criteria used to get beneficiaries out of programmes, before presenting concluding remarks for the chapter.

6.2 TARGETING AND ITS EFFICIENCY

There are two approaches through which transfers can be made to beneficiaries: universal and targeting approaches. These approaches are usually decided at very early stages of programme design and involves number of factors, including political, social and economic factors. Universal approach involves provision of benefits to everyone in a given segment of the population. Targeting refers to the process of identifying households

or individuals who are qualified as poor so that they can be included in social transfer programmes. The main benefit of targeting the poor is that it potentially saves money by reducing the inclusion error (error of including other people who are not poor) of universal programme – the distribution of transfers to people who are not poor. Effective targeting makes sure scarce resources go to those who need them most (Samson et al, 2010). Given the scarce resource to most CSOs, targeting of beneficiaries is always paramount in their programmes if they wish to maximize the impact of their programmes on poverty reduction. For better understanding of the targeting and its efficiency it is important to look at the procedures and criteria used by the case study organizations to reach the poor and the level of efficiency achieved.

6.2.1 Targeting Procedures and Their Efficiency

In general, there were at least four targeting methods used by the case study organisations to identify areas and beneficiaries of their programmes: geographical, categorical, individual/household poverty assessment and self-targeting. Many programmes of case study organisations used geographical targeting, involving selection of geographical areas for the distribution of transfers. This was the first level of targeting in many programmes which used selective approach in the identification of beneficiaries. Sometimes this method was combined with other methods in the secondary stage. In this way, geographical targeting was initially applied to identify places to implement a programme and then applied other techniques, such as individual poverty assessment, to select programme beneficiaries. Good example was the *Udh-hiya* programme implemented by ACA in which the first level involved selection of village (Ndagaa village), among many, for the distribution of meat. The second level involved selection of households that received meat, also among many households available in the village. For a household to receive meat, it was supposed to meet poverty criteria (household poverty assessment) deemed appropriate in that particular community. This method is very common in poverty targeting interventions which prefer selectivity over universalism in Zanzibar and other developing countries.

At MICO the *Kurban* programme used the geographical targeting to identify villages for the distribution of meat (Kinuni and Mkwajuni villages) and in-kind transfers

(Sebleni, Bumbwisudi, Bandamaji and other villages) and then the universal approach was used to distribute the materials. In the universal approach all people/households in the targeted villages or at least all people who were available at the distribution point received the benefit, irrespective of their poverty situations. Within this organisation, there was a difference from the way meat was distributed and the way other in-king transfers were distributed. The meat was distributed to every household representative present at the distribution point (geographical targeting plus universal approach). In the distribution of other in-king transfers, such as clothes, individual poverty testing was done by the area leader to identify poor individuals, then, all qualified individuals were called to the distribution point to receive their transfers (geographical targeting plus poverty assessment). However, there were several complaints from the side of beneficiaries and other community members on the way this targeting by area leader (Sheha) was done (Interviews A20; A36). Other people believed that many Shehas were biased and could not be trusted to conduct such kind of activities (Interview A37). Observation made at the distribution points also noted presence of a number of people who were seemingly not poor. This means that the possibility of high inclusion error was highly envisaged in their in-kind distribution programmes.

ZACA, on the other hand, used geographical targeting in the selection of shehias where their project was being implemented and then used national database available at district and Shehia levels to obtain lists of MVC. The selection of areas considered two factors: 1) availability of high number of MVC in the shehia; and 2) its experience to work in those areas (Interviews D3; D4). As mentioned earlier, four shehias were targeted - Kwaalinato, Karakana, Chuini and Shakani. The process for the identification of MVC who could receive services from one of the components of their project involved submission of request to the district and shehia offices. The office then gave ZACA the list and permission to proceed with the exercise. This list was obtained from the national MVC database administered by the Department of Elderly and Social Welfare, and shared with districts and shehias (Interviews D3; D4). The definition of MVC is provided within the national guidelines for the identification and registration of most vulnerable children in Zanzibar. Based on these, an MVC can be identified through examination of a number

of characteristics presented in sub-section 6.2.2 bellow. The national MVC identification process uses Individual/household poverty assessment and community based targeting to identify beneficiaries of social transfer programmes. From this perspective, ZACA was the first and the only CSO (among the studied ones) conforming to the national standards for the identification of MVC.

There was also an application of categorical targeting, which usually involves establishing easily-identifiable attributes that characterize poor individuals or households and providing the benefits to those who share those traits, such as children, older people, widows and people who live in low-income areas (Samson et al, 2010). Categorical targeting was used by all case study organisations. MICO and ACA used it in their orphans programmes in which only children orphaned by their fathers were qualified for the programmes. In both organisations the process involved prospective beneficiaries to submit death certificates of their fathers and their own birth certificates. The purpose of these documents was to enable the office and donors verify the condition that made a child an orphan (death of the father) and the age of the child. While ACA accepted children up to the age of 15 MICO set age limit to 18 years, and in both, children were supposed to attend school and or madrasa (for ACA alone). However, observation made at MICO at the pay point (08/02/2020) indicated that there were several beneficiaries who surpassed 18 years of age. The explanation shared was that they were on the way to remove them from the programme but donors were not ready to do so (Informal discussion note on 8/02/2020; Interviews A27; A40). This symbolizes inefficiency not only in targeting of beneficiaries but also in the management of programmes in general.

In addition to that, while the primary purpose of the programme was to help children meet their educational and health care needs (Interview A15), some of these beneficiaries were not attending school and others had been over 18 for many years. Some beneficiaries had even got married but were still receiving the benefits (informal discussion noted at the pay point on the 08/02/2020). This was one of the majour issues around MICO's orphans cash transfer programme. On the side of ACA, things were much better on the efficiency of targeting compared to MICO. It was very strict in monitoring age eligibility and school and madrasa attendance as required by the programme itself.

Proper actions were taken when beneficiaries crossed either of those lines (Interviews B4; B5; B8). However, limitations could be found on the process applied to get those beneficiaries. ACA only targeted those orphans registered in their Madrasas. All beneficiaries had to pass through the madrasa constructed and sponsored by ACA. So, if beneficiary got out of Madrasa because of any reason (such as change in residence) he/she got dismissed from the programme. The challenge here was that not all areas had madrasas sponsored by ACA to allow orphans to join them and get into the programme. This process of targeting, however, was abandoned in Pemba. Having no sponsored madrasas in Pemba ACA obliged to register orphans from their localities without passing through institutions (madrasas), but the coverage in Pemba was extremely lower compared to Unguja.

ZASO also used categorical targeting in both its programmes. It categorically targeted children who were HIV+. The process involved collecting beneficiaries from three sources: ZASO's children inherited from previous programmes; through ZAPHA+ - a partner NGO that dealt with HIV/AIDS; and through Care and Treatment Centres (CTCs). In all three sources, there were children of different capacities (poor, non-poor etc.) but all with common characteristic: living with HIV. ZASO, however, targeted more children from poor households so that they could help them meet their basic necessities and reduce the number of challenges they faced. Children with HIV, particularly those from poor households, are believed to have many challenges including high viral load caused by poor nutrition and inadequate medical care, being an orphan which leads to having no proper parenting – many beneficiaries at ZASO were orphaned by either parent, especially father, - social stigma and discrimination etc. (UNICEF, 2006). All of the above challenges have negative consequences on the welfare and development of children affected or infected by HIV/AIDS. It should also be noted that, in its generality, children living with HIV are categorized as MVC within the definition established by the government guidelines. However, the level of vulnerability defers from child to child based on their specific circumstances they are found in. Poor children with HIV are more vulnerable than those who are non-poor. This means that when trying to help children with HIV one should also be cautious with poverty targeting so that those who need most

get the benefits. ZASO also used household poverty assessment to identify beneficiaries of their programmes (Interviews C3; C4; C6).

ZACA's project used categorical targeting in the implementation of children's clubs component. Generally, the project targeted MVC in those selected shehias but because of the nature, all children were allowed to join the clubs. Clubs offered the following benefits, among others, to children and the community at large:

- Clubs helped children build confidence and self-awareness through life skills and other trainings provided to them;
- They also provided children with mechanisms of reporting and discussing various ill deeds (including abuse and maltreatment) that occurred in their lives;
- Through clubs MVC got supported materially through the fund established under their cause;
- Some members of clubs got trained on entrepreneurial skills and helped design income generating activities;
- They reduced number of street children and increased proper use of children's time through engagement in productive activities of the clubs;
- They reduced child abuse among themselves as well as from their adult relatives through increased awareness offered through the clubs; etc.

According to ZACA children's clubs were designed in such a way that children who were most at risk benefited more from the clubs. It installed a mechanism through which most children received different trainings and skills in order to benefit all children, including MVC, within the club (Interviews D3; D4; D6).

In addition to those methods, there was also the use of Individual/household poverty assessment which, by definition, normally involves testing a person's or household's means for survival, a process often referred to as means testing (Samson et al, 2006). Usually, this involves interviewing applicant for a social transfer, and requesting information on income, assets and family relationships. Verifying this information is expensive, but so is the failure to do so: unverified means testing is susceptible to substantial under-reporting of incomes and assets (Samson et al, 2010). Proxy means

testing provides an alternative form of individual assessment: instead of targeting based on income, it employs more easily observed indicators associated with poverty, such as household demographics, characteristics of the household, durable goods and productive assets (Samson et al, 2010). From professional point of view, it was clear that applying verified means testing was not feasible for the case study organizations as they lacked resources and technical capacity, and so the option used by the case study organizations was applying the proxy means test.

As shown above, the proxy means test method was used in various programmes as a secondary technique to identify the poor – ACA's meat distribution exercise, MICO's in-kind transfer programme etc. However, there was no single organization which developed a list of those indicators (proxy) used to evaluate beneficiaries. A part from ZACA, which applied the list of MVC from the national registry, other organisations created their hypothetical criteria to differentiate the poor from non-poor. This is to say that individual poverty assessment was carried out based on the perception and desire of the person involved in carrying out the assessment. The absence of standard guidelines used for assessment and identification of programme beneficiaries within each organization put in question the efficiency in the targeting of their programme beneficiaries. ZACA, the only organization which tried to use national data at the beginning of its project, also failed to continue with the same during later stages of implementation, particularly with regard to benefits provided by VSLA and even children's clubs.

The final technique used in targeting of beneficiaries by the case study organisations was what we can refer to it as self-targeting. Traditionally self-targeting refers to the targeting embedded in programmes that are designed to be attractive primarily to the poor. In self-targeting programmes the non-poor are supposed to voluntarily choose to forego the potential benefit, either because of the costs of participating, the resulting stigma or the associated conditions (Samson et al., 2010). In relation to the case study organisations this method was used in somewhat different way from this definition. In their perspectives they did not embed the self-targeting in their programme designs but the way they obtained beneficiaries of some of their programmes reflected the voluntary

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participation of beneficiaries, i.e. beneficiaries had to define themselves as poor and in need of support and then submit their requests to respective organization. However, this was not evident to everyone given the behaviour of people and poverty profile of Zanzibar. A chance for the non-poor to participate – to identify themselves as poor and send their requests for support – was not entirely isolated.

MICO and ACA for example used this approach in the identification of beneficiaries of the women economic empowerment programme and the small business programme respectively. In both programmes they relied on the list of applicants who submitted their requests for support to their organisations. In a general sense, the act of submitting a request for support can be considered, in this context, as a self-targeting, since under normal circumstances an individual cannot do such an act if he/she is not in great need. Based on this reality then I qualified this as a self-targeting. However, like I said earlier, this cannot entirely be trusted since non-poor who have different behavior may consider themselves poor and so demand for the help. Having known that both institutions undertook verification of applicants before the benefits were transferred (Interviews A22; A27; B16). It should be noted that both MICO and ACA had tendency of receiving requests from different people asking for different types of support, whether the organization had a programme related to their needs or not. These organisations then kept these records for their future use in case needed. Both programmes that used this method were new in both organizations and so did not need new applicants but only reviewed already exited ones.

6.2.2 Criteria and Their Efficiency

The case study organisations used different criteria in the identification of their programme beneficiaries depending on the nature of programmes. Cash transfer programmes used different criteria compared with other programmes. Also, there were some differences between criteria used by FBOs and those used by NGOs. MICO and ACA used orphanhood of a child as the only criterion in the identification of beneficiaries of orphans cash transfer programme. The nature of this programme, in deed, suggested the criterion to be used. They practically follow Islamic definition of who is an orphan, according to which only a child orphaned by father is considered as orphan. The majour

question that we should ask ourselves here is whether this criterion is enough to qualify a child as poor and so in need of social assistance. The answer, without a doubt is of course no, it is not enough if we want to maximize impact on poverty reduction. The reason is that there are many orphans who are not poor, they have all necessary environments for them to grow and meet their potentials, including meeting all necessary needs such as good shelter, food, education, health care and parenting.

The RGoZ, through the department of Elderly and Social Welfare, established guidelines for the identification of MVC and their households. These guidelines offer a set of criteria to be used for the assessment and identification of MVC and their households, to qualify them as potential beneficiaries of social assistance programmes that target poor people. The guidelines define MVC as being any child below 18 years of age and who meets the following conditions (RGoZ, 2010):

1. Children from very poor families;
2. Orphans;
3. Children living with sick parents (including those living with HIV);
4. Children who are unable to meet access to essential livelihood items;
5. Abandoned children (these are children who have been abandoned by their biological parents, left in the care of either very poor and or sick mothers – biological/stepmother, very old/poor and or sick grandparent, or other member of extended family living in destitution;
6. Children born out of wedlock;
7. Children suffering from violence, abuse and/ or neglect and exploitation;
8. Teenage girls with children out of wedlock;
9. Children from divorce families living with one of the biological parent and or step parent;
10. Children with disabilities;
11. Children living in a household with only an elderly care giver (60 years and above) with significant unmet needs (shelter, assets (e.g. lack of bedding, chairs, and other necessary household equipment) and children lacking clothing and school uniforms);

12. Children with chronic illnesses (including HIV) with significant unmet needs;

13. Children of drug addicts; and

14. Children abusing drugs.

It can be seen that being an orphan is one of the criterion outlined in the list, however, the guidelines acknowledge that some of the criteria set in the above definition work in combination with others. For example, being an orphan does not automatically make a child an MVC, born out of wedlock does not make a child an MVC if the mother or other guardians have sufficient resources to take care of the child. The guidelines clearly stipulate that this definition of MVC excludes orphans who have alternative care from care givers who are not vulnerable and it includes all other children who are not orphaned but live in destitution and in most disadvantaged and precarious situations (RGoZ, 2010). This means that poverty assessment is essential in all situations in order to judge whether a child is eligible for social assistance programme, not just being an orphan. Households which meet some of the criteria described above are also qualified as poor and in need of social assistances.

The other cash transfer programme implemented by ACA to the community used different criterion in the selection of both the village and its beneficiaries. As mentioned earlier, the benefiting village was identified by the donor herself and so the criteria used are not clear, in the researcher's opinion. However, it was reported during interviews that, the donor was touched by the poverty situation of people after visiting the village (Interviews B7; B17). There is no doubt that there were many other poorer villages than that, but because of the limited knowledge of poverty by areas this village was a bit lucky to be selected by the donor. In a typical poverty targeting programme this programme would have been implemented in a different area with higher poverty rate than Kizimbani. During the field work at the case study organization I was lucky enough to get the chance to visit the village and participate in the prospective beneficiary identification exercise. Based on my personal observation, poverty levels of the village are moderate compared with other areas. The village is rich in agriculture following a good fertile soil and has good tourist attractions because of having several spice farms which are very potential for tourism. The village is also within the Urban-West region (which has the lowest poverty

rate in Zanzibar) and not very far from the urban centre, which all mean relatively low poverty rate. So, to put it clear, we could say that the donor's wish was the only criterion used to select the village for the programme.

Different criteria were used in the selection of beneficiaries of other programmes within these FBOs. For example, water supply and mosques and madrasas construction programmes were needs-based. It means that the implementing organization assessed the needs of constructing such an asset in a given village or community. They looked if there was no similar asset in the neighborhood and if the construction of new one would add any value to the surrounding community. The need-based criterion was also used (in smaller amount) in the selection of villages for the implementation of in-kind distribution such as meat, food packages, used clothes and other materials. In these programmes both MICO and ACA used this criterion as the principal one but also complemented with the existence of their representatives, i.e. people close to or well known by the respective organization (Interviews A11; A19; B4; B19; Observation made on 21/01/2020, 5/02/2020, 29/03/2020). This tendency in some ways seemed to dilute the purity of the decision to implement programmes in a more open and independent way as it gave some villages/communities more chance to benefit from these programmes than others. In this respect the existence of representatives was used as a first level criterion but not the basic one since the community had to fulfill the other criterion. In some cases, the position of criteria was reversed, i.e. identifying the need first and then find a representative.

There was also a slight difference in the way MICO and ACA operated in their selection. While MICO relied more on the established networks with individuals to allocate some of their programmes, ACA implemented those programmes in areas where institutions were already established by them, i.e. in those communities where ACA implemented mosques and or madrasa construction projects, whether still in their supervision or not. This is to say that at ACA chances of receiving frequent benefits of various programmes were higher in areas where Mosques and or Madrasas had been constructed by ACA in previous years. This implied that other communities which had not received any such kind of asset might wait for longer period for them to receive

benefits from ACA, particularly when the resources/materials provided were scarce. This, of course, applied to MICO as well but with lower degree.

On the side of NGOs each case study used different approach and different criteria to get beneficiaries of their programmes. ZASO used one specific criterion to identify its project beneficiaries – being a child infected by HIV/AIDS – since the project supported children with HIV. It received beneficiaries of both programmes from four sources: from the list of children supported by ZASO in previous projects; from ZASO's social workers available in different regions; from ZAPHA+; and from CTCs. According to ZASO, these were the only mechanisms that could be used to identify children with HIV. The multiple approaches to identifying beneficiaries were adopted to ensure that the right beneficiaries were reached (Interviews C2; C3). It should be noted that identifying people with HIV is not possible using normal assessments as used by CSOs to identify poor people because of hiding nature of the disease. To identify the infected people one needs to go to where they can be found. On the side of ZACA, the criterion used was the number of MVC in shehia. ZACA looked at shehias with the highest number of MVC in the district to enable establishment of children's clubs. The clubs were primarily supposed to include MVC so that they can benefit from the clubs and other structures that were included in the project. In this respect targeting shehias with more MVC was necessary to meet project objective. The lists of MVCs were obtained from government authorities responsible for children affairs and district offices through Shehia authorities.

6.2.3 Is Targeting Really Poverty Targeting?

The question whether approaches used by case study organizations for targeting their programme beneficiaries were really poverty targeting requires further examination of their processes and how efficient they are in reaching the real poor. Kwakwani and Son (2006) argue that in order to understand the impact of a programme on poverty reduction we can examine the pro-poorness of the programme. The programme is defined to be pro-poor if the poor receive greater absolute benefits than the non-poor. This means that the pro-poor programmes should achieve greater poverty reduction compared to a counter-factual situation where everyone (non-poor) receives exactly the same benefits from the programmes (Kwakwani and Son, 2006). This is also to say that perfection in targeting is

extremely important so that CSOs could maximize impact of their programmes on poverty reduction. However, perfect targeting – a situation where only the poor get all the benefits of the programme – is practically not possible because it is difficult to determine people's income and consumption accurately (Samson et al. 2010). It is based on this impossibility that some case study organisations used other socio-economic indicators to identify the poor (proxy targeting or proxy means testing).

Looking at the CSOs' targeting, many programs failed to target/reach the real poor. However, there were differences on efficiency between these CSOs and between NGO and FBO categories. Starting with FBOs programmes, it could clearly be seen that the orphans programme in both institutions did not adequately cover the real poor. The fact that both programmes paid attention to the orphanhood as sole criterion for selection automatically eclipsed the need for checking poverty indicators during registration of beneficiaries. This was certainly the case since identification of those beneficiaries was done at the office instead of at beneficiaries' places of residence. At MICO for example, prospective beneficiaries sent their applications to the office and waited (sometimes for years) for a call when the process was completed and ready to receive the benefit. In this way it was not possible to undertake proper poverty assessment, which usually requires an assessor to visit home environment and collect all the available evidences that can prove whether applicant is adequately poor, based on the established guidelines, and so can be registered into the programme. Absence of home based assessment also facilitates cheating and falsification of documents from the side of applicants. Only 1 out of 7 orphans programme beneficiaries paid home visit during the field work at MICO appeared to qualify as poor, while all of them qualified as orphans based on the definition. It was also observed that significant number of beneficiaries were not children at all (aged 18 or above) and many others had apparent well-off indicators such as wearing fancy clothes, owning expensive smart phones etc. (Observation made on 8th – 9th February 2020 during the payment at Amani Stadium Zanzibar).

At ACA, the situation was more or less the same. The only difference was the way they took in their beneficiaries, but in terms of poverty targeting of their orphans programme the same trend persisted. ACA received beneficiaries from Madrasa under

their support. Every year Madrasas submitted the list of new students who were orphaned so that they could be registered to the programme, irrespective of poverty levels on their households. This is to say that, there was no orphaned student (except new ones waiting for the New Year to begin) in madrasas who was not receiving benefits from the orphans programme (Interviews B5; B6; B8). Out of 16 beneficiaries paid home visit during the field work at ACA only 5 appeared to be poor, 1 over 18 years and 10 beneficiaries appeared non-poor. In this respect, both MICO and ACA orphans programmes need to undertake majour reforms in their targeting systems to ensure that beneficiaries who are not only orphans but also poor and age appropriate are taken into the programme. This would increase the share of benefits going to the poor and those in need and hence increase their efficiency on poverty reduction.

In addition to that, both MICO and ACA orphans programmes targeted individuals instead of households. Based on the nature of these programmes, i.e. the fact that they target orphaned children, targeting individuals could mean allocating much resources to certain households with many orphans while leaving many others with nothing. It was observed that in both case study organisations many beneficiaries shared households with others. This means that many households had more than one beneficiaries, each receiving the same amount of benefits, making households with more beneficiaries receiving more benefits in total. At the meantime, there are hundreds of applications waiting for the chances to get registered to the programme (Interview A1). This was of course the design error but the good design could include setting the standard benefit level for each household with one beneficiary and add certain percentage of the benefit to each additional beneficiaries for those households with more than one beneficiaries. Alternatively, this programme could simply be directed to households with orphan(s) instead of individual orphans themselves. This would maximize number of beneficiaries of the programme and increase efficiency in the use of resources at both programme and beneficiary levels. The same design error was found in the ACA's community support programme which provided benefits to entire village and all members of every registered household. In this programme no household had 1 member, less households had few members (2-3), but some few households were reported to have 20 members and each

received the same amount (Interview B8). This could represent the worst form of cash transfer programme design by CSOs in Zanzibar.

Programmes that offered in-kind benefits such as Ramadan, in-kind gift and *Kurban* programmes at MICO, Ramadan and *Udh-hiya* programmes at ACA and materials support programme at ZASO had targeting systems different from the ones used in cash transfer programmes explained above. In these programmes, targeting usually had to involve at least two levels. The first level involved identifying geographical area where the benefits were distributed (geographical targeting) and the second level involved identification of beneficiaries eligible for receiving the benefits. At this level, two approaches could be used, either universal approach where everyone in the selected area received the benefit or selective approach which involved provision of benefits to those fulfilled specific criteria, usually poverty criteria. Each of the two approaches has its own benefits and costs. The benefit of using universal approach is that all people/households in a selected area receive the benefits and so maintain equality in the provision of benefits. It is also administratively easier to run universal programmes than targeted ones (Samson et al., 2010). The cost of universal approach is that it requires a lot of financial resources because of giving the benefit to everyone (even to those who don't need it). This approach is often recommended when resources are not scare and or when poverty rate in a given area is extremely high to the extent that targeting will be a waste of resources and time (Devereux et al., 2015). On the other hand, the main benefit of targeting the poor is that it potentially saves money by reducing 'inclusion" error of universal approach. Effective targeting makes sure scarce resources go to those who need them most (Samson et al., 2010). The main cost of targeting is indeed the inclusion and exclusion errors. This is to say that targeting the poor is always imperfect as it always involves the two types of errors. Targeting efficiency is therefore not measured by looking whether there is an error or not, but by looking at the levels of those targeting errors in a given programme (Devereux et al., 2015).

Both MICO and ACA used geographical targeting at the first level. Effective programmes have to target areas where poverty and vulnerability is high. This is usually done by comparing statistical information on poverty across the country to identify the

poorest regions. This was not adequately happening among the case study organizations. Consideration of specific characteristics of selected areas was encouraged but not always poverty focused. In the distribution of in-kind transfers, MICO used universal approach at the second level. In the distribution of meat and clothing materials, MICO selected few areas based on its experience working on the areas, then distributed the items to all people available at the distribution points. The selection of those areas was not based on poverty levels at all. At ACA, after geographical targeting, which also did not consider much on poverty levels of areas, both selectivity and universalism were applied in their programmes. In the meat distribution exercise ACA selected Ndagaa Village because they had a representative there not because the village was the poorest in the region. It then selected few households which were really poor to distribute the meat. At this second level of targeting, the organization successfully reached the real poor since all the beneficiaries who received the benefit were apparently very poor and in need of support. The *Ramadan* programme, however, used universal approach after the geographical targeting, which also did not adequately take in to account poverty levels of areas (Interview B7).

Other programmes such as water supply and mosques and madrasa construction programmes at MICO and ACA required different considerations compared to programmes that offered cash or in-kind benefits to individuals/households. These programmes created assets which were beneficial to the entire community. In this case geographical targeting was applied following the need-based approach. Both MICO and ACA implemented construction projects in places where there were no such assets in villages. For example, the mosque and madrasa construction project I visited during the field work at ACA was located at interior part of peri-urban of West "B" district, where the village was still knew and had no such an asset in the neighborhood. On the side of water supply programmes the targeting of the needy villages (villages with no access to safe water) was done through geographical targeting approach. Both institutions managed to reach needy areas for most of their water supply projects. That is why most of these projects were implemented in rural areas where availability of clean and safe water was still a challenge. Data shows that availability of clean and safe water in Zanzibar has increased from 60 percent in 2015 to 72 percent of people in rural areas in 2020 (CCM,

2020). In urban areas availability of clean and safe water is much better, where the number of residents receiving the water has increased from 80 percent in 2015 to 87 percent in 2020 (CCM, 2020). MICO and ACA were believed to effectively trying to reach the remaining 28 percent of people in rural areas and 13 percent in urban areas who were not yet receiving clean and safe water. In general, both mosques and madrasa construction and water supply programmes at MICO and ACA were effective in reaching the needy areas.

At ZASO, both programmes did not follow such targeting processes because beneficiaries had very specific characteristic, and were available at specific areas. ZASO's programmes supported children with HIV who were not identifiable by assessing their environments, so their beneficiaries were taken from centres where those children could be found. The selection of those in great need/ poor was then performed to come up with the right beneficiaries of their programmes. Home visits undertaken during the field work at ZASO confirmed the high poverty level of most of visited beneficiaries. So, the answer to the question whether the programme reached the poor is definitely obvious. Majority of beneficiaries of its programmes had multiple vulnerabilities – that of being HIV+, being poor and many of them were orphans of either one or both parents. Importance of supporting children with HIV over other children is clear. Many studies have shown the impacts of HIV/AIDS to children and their wellbeing. HIV and AIDS affect virtually every aspect of child development and jeopardize the enjoyment of children's rights. They undermine health and schooling, reinforce marginalization and deprivation, and place the burdens of loss, fear and adult responsibility onto the shoulders of children. Supporting children with HIV is important because of other key effects of HIV and AIDS that these children may face, including: deepening gender inequality; damaging psychosocial development of the children; and social isolation and exclusion of children, among others (UNICEF, 2006b). Most of these side effects of HIV/AIDS were confirmed to have faced many children supported by ZASO (Interviews C2; C3; C22; C23).

On the side of ZACA, the identification of areas where the project were being implemented considered number of MVC available in the area. Based on the nature of its programme ZACA needed to work on shehias where number of MVC was high so that

they could establish children's club as one of potential components of its project. So, selection of areas had to fulfill this requirement. Now, the question is how did ZACA come to identify those MVC? And the answer is of course, it got the list from the government. As mentioned earlier, the government, through the Department of Social Welfare holds a database that contains all necessary information on MVC of all areas where MVC identification exercise was completed. This information was also available at district level and stakeholders were free to use it at any time. In this respect, ZACA represented few CSOs that effectively used available resources in their work. This is to also say that in greater extent the targeting of beneficiaries at ZACA succeeded to reach the poor during the initial stage of their project. However, possibility of having non poor could not be entirely eliminated. For example, some (many) members of the visited children clubs and VSLAs were not poor (Observation notes taken on 24/04/2020 and 02/05/2020 at Karakana and Kwaalinato Shehias respectively).

6.3 GRIEVANCE AND COMPLAINTS MECHANISM

Complaint or a feeling that someone among beneficiaries or community members has been treated unfairly in a programme is very common in many programmes. Well-designed programmes put in place mechanisms to ensure that not only complaints are well tracked but also well taken care when they are reported. This includes giving people a chance to address their concerns or any dissatisfaction about the programme in a timely and more organized way (Wood, 2011). A grievance mechanism refers to the process for receiving, investigating and responding to and closing out of complaints or grievances from affected stakeholders in a timely, fair and consistent manner (Transparency International, 2016).

Nowadays, smart programmes develop grievance and redress complaints systems to capture any kind of dissatisfaction from both sides of workers and beneficiaries. Grievance enables beneficiaries and other stakeholders to air their complaints about dissatisfaction of any aspect of the programme which intern increase programme efficiency (Wood, 2011). However, this appears to take no importance on the side of CSOs under study. The study showed that none of the four case study organizations had put in place any such a mechanism, in its simplest form. Channels to report complaints are many,

and may include email addresses, online and offline reporting tools, hotlines, personal conversations, SMS reporting and mobile applications. The reporting mechanisms should be tailored to the needs of potential users. For example, a walk-in office or a phone message service would be more accessible for the communities the case study organisations were working with. In its simplest form, the case study organisations could put in place a mechanism which embraces the following characteristics to facilitate access for their beneficiaries:

⇨ The service is free of charge – complainants should not be required to pay anything to use the service;

⇨ It is easily accessible to beneficiaries and seeks to reduce the barriers for persons in fear or people with special needs to access the mechanism;

⇨ It provides a range of contact options. All methods are carefully being considered, depending on the availability of appropriate infrastructure among communities;

⇨ It allows for submission of complaints anonymously.

⇨ It is auditable and transparent.

In the then current setting, there was an opportunity for beneficiaries to go to the office to express their concerns but did not offer them sufficient space to express complaints. Because, there was no specific arrangements recognized by beneficiaries that could be used to address complaints. The result of this, anonymity was not possible and so beneficiaries could not submit their serious complaints of fear of being expelled from the programme (Interviews A9; A20). All what beneficiaries could do was to ask when the payment was and whether they were still in the list of beneficiaries or not, given the extended delay of payment (Observation made on 25/01/2020 at MICO).

A good grievance and complaints mechanism would help the case study organisations achieve the following:

⇨ Creating a safer environment for the most vulnerable members of a community;

⇨ Demonstrating that the organisation recognizes, promotes and protects beneficiaries' rights, including the right to comment and complain;

⇨ Acting as an 'early warning system' to prevent, mitigate or resolve tensions and problems before they escalate into more serious issues that will require extra resources to solve – for example, to quickly identify and deal with any cases of corruption or abuse;

⇨ To promote community empowerment and participation in organisation decisions that affect them;

⇨ To build and maintain good relations, trust, transparency and dialogue between the organisation and the community/ their beneficiaries;

⇨ To support programme monitoring – specifically, to identify weaknesses and areas for improvement in programme activities and staff behavior;

⇨ To comply with external requirements for certification, application of standards and best practices;

Absence of grievance mechanisms among the case study organisations could be translated as missing all the above advantages, which adversely affect both, the quality of their programmes as well as the impact they could achieve on poverty reduction.

6.4 GRADUATION AND EXIT

In the development discourse, graduation means leaving a social protection programme after reaching a wellbeing threshold, once the participant has acquired a set of resources that is expected to equip them for a higher-income future livelihood (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2015). This is desired way of graduation in social protection. However, it is not the only way to graduate from a programme. Beneficiaries can also stop receiving benefits because of a change in their personal characteristics other than their poverty status, or because the programme only runs for a fixed time period. For example, South Africa's Child Support Grant delivers cash transfer until the child graduates into the adulthood in their eighteenth birthday. Or if a programme offers benefits to school attending children, beneficiaries get out of programme the moment they quit schools. Getting out of programme is another characteristic of good social transfer programmes, especially after reaching a certain wellbeing threshold. This is particularly important for those programmes delivering cash benefits to beneficiaries. Graduation allows extension of coverage of programme to reach more people in need of support.

When some beneficiaries get out of the programme their places are supposed to be filled-in by others who were not benefiting from the programme. This is particularly important when programme concerned is either too small or the resources are too inadequate to cover all in need (Devereux et al., 2015). All CSOs programmes were of this type - they were small in size, covering a very limited number of beneficiaries and were resources constrained- highlighting the great need of serious graduation protocols.

Under the graduation model, cash transfer programmes have to adhere specific design features right from its inception. Following graduation model, programme select extremely poor to receive a sequenced package of support that includes regular cash transfer for a specific period, and/or productive assets such as livestock that can generate future streams of income even after cash transfers stop. Participants in this kind of programmes are encouraged to save and apply for small loans, and they may also receive incentive trainings and coaching (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2015). The purpose of these trainings and coaching sessions is to inform beneficiaries and build their capacities on the best ways to spend the money they receive from the programme and how to transform the cash in to sustainable income generating investments. In this way, beneficiaries can fulfill their needs as well as jump out of poverty in a more sustainable way, and in the shortest period possible (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2015).

It can be seen from the analysis of the CSO programmes that none of the case study organisations applied graduation approach in the design of their programmes in the way described above. However, this did not mean that there was no graduation at all. MICO and ACA had cash transfer programmes which could potentially use graduation approach to maximize coverage and their impact on poverty reduction among beneficiaries. Cash transfers are expected to: (1) stabilize household consumption, (2) protect assets from being sold to meet basic needs, and (3) relieve liquidity constraints, allowing households to make productive investments (Ellis et al., 2009; Devereux et al., 2015). But this is not enough to achieve transformative impact on poor people's livelihoods. The promotion of savings and access to small loans strengthen resilience to shocks and protect the assets transferred against being sold as copping strategy following a shock, while trainings in income-generating activities plus coaching in life skills is

considered as X-factor of graduation model programmes (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2015). All case study organisations with cash and in-kind transfers practiced graduation differently (using characteristic change of beneficiaries instead of change in their poverty levels) with also varying degree of seriousness in its application.

At MICO, graduation was almost inexistent. Although orphans programme set an exit when beneficiaries left schools, this was not effectively being implemented. There were several beneficiaries above the age of 18, and some were not even attending school but were receiving the benefits (Observation made on Payday on 8th – 9th February 2020 at Amani Stadium). In addition to that, MICO itself had no mandate and capacity to remove any beneficiary from the programme, it could only propose the removal of some beneficiaries to the donors. It was therefore up to the respective donor to decide whether to exit those beneficiaries or not. It was explained that the reason of having good number of beneficiaries above the eligibility age (18+ years) and those out of schools was because of delay from donors (Interview A1). At MICO, the decision to propose for the removal of a beneficiary was based on the following three conditions: poor academic development of the child, caused by serious problems such as dropping out of school; getting married; and exceeding 18 years old. Amongst the four donors supporting the orphans cash transfer programme at MICO only one donor underwent regular review of its list of beneficiaries to exit those who surpassed eligibility qualifications (Interview A1).

At ACA, graduation from orphans programme occurred when beneficiaries either dropped out of or changed madrasa or exceeded 15 years of age. This policy was seriously implemented in this programme, such that there were no beneficiaries out of their madrasas (for the case of beneficiaries in Unguja) and fewer beneficiaries above 15 years receiving the benefits. However, other programmes that offered cash benefits such as community support programme did not have graduation at all. This means that since the programme was established in 2011 there was no beneficiary who got out of the programme for other reasons a part from death. This led many other prospective beneficiaries who did not enter the programme in the first registration exercise to wait for a long period to get in to the programme. Like at MICO ACA did not hold any power to

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remove beneficiaries from the programme, it could only recommend removal of some beneficiaries to the donor.

At ZASO, graduation was done every six months for the food relief project. Better off children were removed from the programme together with those whose response to going to collect their benefits was low. The process to exit them however, was not entirely dependent on ZASO, but the intermediate institution responsible for coordinating the project – Nyota Foundation – based in Dar es Salaam. ZASO's role was to propose the list of those who did not respond to the calls for exit. Luckily, upon request, the permission of removing them was always granted (Interview C3).

At ZACA, there was no proper arrangement for graduation and exit. First of all, the nature of the project itself did not require a well-defined mechanism for graduation, except for the children's club component. In this component, exist was based on age. Once members of children's club reached 18 years of age they had to get out of clubs. Based on club design, graduation based on improvement in psychosocial and economic conditions was not considered as among factors for graduation since the clubs invited participants from all segments of the society amongst children (poor, non-poor etc.). Also, in an unexpected way exit was more in the form of self-withdrawal, in which many children who were members of clubs decided to get out of clubs on their own. As indicated earlier, all clubs started with hug number of participants but got reduced gradually as some of them lost interest to participate the clubs. There was no any graduation arrangement for the MVC supported through VSLA. Apparently, this required more coordination and organizational skills which did not exist.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has analyzed targeting approaches of the case study organisations and their efficiency in reaching the poor and supporting poverty reduction. The purpose was to see how rigorous was the targeting of programmes of the case study organisations with respect to the national standard and the best practices in the social protection field. The chapter also discussed different mechanisms put in place by the case study organisations in relation to grievance and complaint procedures and graduation and exit. The chapter

began with the description of targeting of beneficiaries and its efficiency. Here the methods and procedures used by the organisations were analyzed in view of determining the level of efficiency in reaching the real poor. At least four targeting methods were used by case study organisations to identify areas and beneficiaries of their programmes: geographical, categorical, individual/household poverty assessment and self-targeting. Many programmes of case study organisations used geographical targeting as first level targeting, followed by other targeting methods, mainly individual poverty assessment at second level.

The chapter, then, went on examining the criteria used in targeting and whether those criteria related to the national criteria. The findings showed that with the exception of ZACA the remaining case study organisations did not entirely comply with the national guidelines in their selection criteria. The cash transfer programmes by FBOs targeted mainly orphans based on religious understandings, instead of poverty levels of beneficiaries. In general, compliance with the national standard on targeting was very minimal among the case study organisations. There is also no internally developed and well prepared criteria for the identification of beneficiaries of most of programmes. This opened room for bias, favoritism and recruitment of ineligible candidates in the selection of beneficiaries.

In terms of grievance and complaints mechanisms, there was no any mechanism in place to allow beneficiaries and community members to freely and anonymously submit their concerns about the programmes. However, beneficiaries in all case study organisations could send their concerns directly to the offices within each organization. In terms of graduation and exit, there was no graduation model based on poverty levels of beneficiaries applied by any case study organisation. The only graduation existed in some organisations was based on breaking eligibility criteria, such as dropping out of school/madrasa and or exceeding the age limit. There was no poverty consideration in the graduation process of the case study organisations.

To answer the research question 2, the chapter concludes that targeting by the case study organisations lacked the rigor in relation to both social protection and the national

standards, particularly in cash transfer programmes administered by FBOs, which mainly targeted orphans instead of poor orphans based on the national guidelines. The criteria and the procedures used by these organizations were not adequately pro-poor and so inclusion and exclusion errors are high in their programmes. Because of this, their programme impact on poverty reduction is estimated to be lower than it could be.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses about capacities of the case study organizations to deliver social protection programmes and achieve the intended objectives. The analysis of this chapter was made with the assumption that institutional capacity is key for designing and implementing social protection programmes, for both the government and non-state actors (ILO, 2010; Samson et al., 2010). Sustainability of both institutions and programmes is also highly dependent on the capacity, especially financial capacity, of the institution to ensure that programmes remain active and reach intended targets.

This chapter answers the research question 3 which argues whether the case study organisations had adequate capacity, both financially and administratively, to deliver social protection programmes. It therefore looks at it in terms of organizational capacity as well as financial capacity. Organizationally, it looks at staff knowledge, their capacities, tools and equipment required to run the daily operations. Financial capacity looks at the benefit level and its adequacy, sources of funds and the impact of external funding to sustainability of CSOs operations.

7.2 STAFF KNOWLEDGE AND CAPACITIES

Staff quality and engagement is one of the most important factors for the success of any organization. Management of staff, their knowledge and capacities are important in creating and sustaining competitive advantage for the institution. In fact, one of the variables that distinguish successful organisations from unsuccessful ones is the ability of the successful organisations to make job/position fit in accordance with their knowledge and capacity (RGoZ, 2011). This process requires going through a number of steps, including:

- ⇨ The right articulation of business purpose;
- ⇨ Articulation of duties and responsibilities, as well as competences and experience for each job position;
- ⇨ Modality of hiring process;
- ⇨ Deployment of employees;
- ⇨ Learning and development;
- ⇨ Performance evaluation process;
- ⇨ Training and continued learning; and
- ⇨ Rewards and motivation

Only one step (business purpose) received greater attention of the case study organisations. In this, it was clear that all case study organisations had a purpose to achieve, that was articulated in their vision, mission or objectives of each organisation. These objectives were well communicated and understood by the staff members, which also helped in shaping their organisation structures and deployment of workers. Modality of hiring and deployment of staff existed only to some extent. Among the steps that received less or no attention from the case study organisations were learning and development, performance evaluation, and training and continued learning. Rewards and motivation took place more among FBOs but was less among NGOs. Apart from salaries, FBOs had tendency of offering in-kind benefits to their workers and volunteers during implementation of programmes that offered in-kind benefits, such as in-kind gifts, kurban and Ramadan programmes at MICO and Udh-hiya and Ramadan programmes at ACA. At ZASO, despite having a programme that offered food packages to beneficiaries, provision of packages to staff members was not possible due to insufficiency of items (Interview C3). At ZACA, this was not practiced at all as project did not involve regular provision of cash or in-kind benefits from the office directly. Some of these elements are discussed further in several areas of this chapter to offer proper elaboration and linkage with the respective points.

Staff knowledge and capacity was also discussed in three main areas: number of workers available to execute all tasks in each organization, knowledge and experiences of the staff and capacities of staff and organisations to deliver the programmes. In terms of

number of staff, all CSOs under study had sufficient number of workers committed to executing the tasks. Table 5 bellow presents number of workers engaged in daily operations in each case study organisation.

Table 5: Number of Workers Engaged in Daily Operations by CSO and Gender

	MICO	ACA	ZASO	ZACA
FEMALE	8	1	4	3
MALE	8	6	3	1
TOTAL	**16**	**8**	**7**	**4**

Source: Researcher's field report

It should be noted that the number of workers presented in the table above represents those workers directly involved in the implementation of activities related to poverty reduction or charity. Staff under business brunch is not included there. In deed if all were to be included MICO and ACA would have over 50 workers each since many of their workers were employed in schools, dispensaries and other business initiatives.

Compared with their normal workload, this number was enough to adequately execute all daily operations of their programmes. However, there were times when workloads were really very intense and that number was not enough at all. In this respect alternative approaches were used by each organisation. As expected, all case study organisations used the same approach – employing volunteers to fill in the gap. For example, during slaughtering exercise at both MICO and ACA at least 5 volunteers were engaged in each organisation to support the exercise. MICO used volunteers during in-kind distribution to communities; slaughtering and meat distribution programme and cash payment for the orphans programme. At ACA volunteers were used in the slaughtering and meet distribution exercise and the *Mas-haf* distribution exercise. ZASO used volunteers in the food packages distribution, while volunteers were used in daily basis for the monitoring and implementation of ZACA project. From this presentation here, it is clear that the difference existed on the level of engagement of those volunteers. While the three other case study organisations used volunteers during periods of extra labour demanding exercises, volunteers at ZACA were embedded within the project design, and

so their use were in daily basis in the implementation of the project. Volunteers performed significant part in the implementation of Children's clubs and VSLAs at the lower level and created strong linkage with ZACA. Also, the number of volunteers engaged differed also depending on the size of the activity. In the same slaughtering exercises, for example, MICO engaged more volunteers compared with ACA because the exercise at MICO was bigger and more labour demanding then that of ACA.

Additionally, MICO and ACA used temporary/non contracted workers to execute some of the interventions when needed. ACA for example had over 16 workers of this type and were effectively used on demand basis, particularly during the Month of Ramadan when distribution works were in high season (Interview B13). MICO also hired some professional workers to support execution of some tasks such as kurban activities, especially on butchering the animals. Over 8 workers were hired in activity/temporary basis to facilitate the exercise.

The high number of workers among FBOs was caused by the existence of many programmes implemented by these FBOs as compared with NGOs which implemented fewer and smaller programmes and or projects. Number of workers was also considered among the important determinants that defined the size of organisation and its importance in the society. This could be one of the reasons why MICO and ACA were more famous, and their works were more recognized in Zanzibar than ZASO and ZACA (Interview E9).

In terms of knowledge of staff, the data shows that majority of workers in all organisations held non degree levels of education (see table 6 below). However, in most organisations, officers who held important positions had sufficient levels of education and adequate knowledge of the organisations and their missions. All directors of these programmes and most of heads of departments in each organisation held university degrees with relevant experience. The most common fields of study included Islamic studies (particularly among FBOs), education, accounting and finance, business, health sciences and computer skills. There was no body in all organisations who had sufficient knowledge on social protection and or related disciplines, particularly on designing and implementing cash or in-kind transfers. In terms of experience of the organisations, all

case studies had long term experience in areas they operated. From their establishment in late 1990s to early 2000s, they had all been engaged in same activities with significant achievements in the delivery of their services to the public.   Additionally, the organisations had people with extensive experience in running programmes and managing organisations at local level. For example, ZASO held an important position in programmes related to HIV/AIDS and MVCs during the previous decade. ZACA on the other hand, played undeniable role in the elimination of malaria projects during yeas 2000s (Interviews B1; B2; C1; C3).

Table 6: Staff Levels of Education by Case Study Organisation

	MICO	ACA	ZASO	ZACA
Master's Degree	0	1	0	0
Bachelor Degree	5	1	1	1
Advanced Diploma	0	0	1	2
Diploma	3	2	1	0
Certificate	4	1	1	0
Ordinary Level	4	3	3	1
Total	**16**	**8**	**7**	**4**

Source: Researcher's field report

It can be seen from the table that there is high representation of workers with ordinary and certificate levels. Majority of these workers did not follow recruitment procedures, instead they joined their organisations through networking or being in (family) relation with the bosses in their respective organisations, and were mostly performing general works assigned by their supervisors. It was noted that recruitment procedures were followed during the recruitment of workers occupying significant positions such as accountants, programme managers and heads of units. ZASO was the only organisation with different recruitment procedures, where all positions were filed in by members or people who were close to the organisation.

In terms of capacity, the case study organisations demonstrated sufficient capacities to execute the existed programmes. However, capacity gap could be seen in all case study organizations on the ability to design social protection programmes. This was partly because, all case studies lacked social protection knowledge which was very key to designing effective social protection interventions. Additionally, a little concern could be

raised over the capacity of ZASO and ZACA in few areas. At ZASO the failure to implement the Social Reality Tour programme indicated lack of commitment and or capacity to run the programme (Interviews C12; C21). This programme demanded no more than just staff and their commitment to implement it, it required no financial or any other resources but failed to sustain. In addition to that, the overall running of the organisation was quite irregular. The main office was only open in days when activities were carried out, the remaining times was closed. On the side of ZACA, it was explained that the management failed to explore and take chances on number of projects that would benefit the organisation. This failure was attached with the fact that management was too hesitant to taking risks and engaging more powerful workers who could proactively deal with the donors (Interview D32). In this organization, 2 out of its 3 important workers were aged 70+. This means that the capacity of these workers were approaching saturation, that is why they were a little bit hesitant in approaching new opportunities. Capacity gap could also be seen on the exploration of resources. In several occasions they had to hold on activities for several pretests (Interview D32).

Capacity can also be assessed in terms of occupation of office space to carryout activities. Many CSOs in Zanzibar tend to hold their offices in small rented rooms. This is common for many CSOs in Zanzibar, because in early times during their establishment, CSOs neither have adequate resources to pay for bigger spaces for their offices nor do they have sufficient activities to occupy bigger spaces. Holding an office is one of the legal requirements for any CSO to get registration. All the case study organisations occupied sufficient spaces for their offices. Two of them (ACA and ZACA) owned the office while two (MICO and ZASO) rented them. All of the offices fulfilled the needs of each organisation based on their activities and number of staff. The two CSOs which still rented offices were also under way to building their own. Initiatives such as securing plots of land and or starting the construction itself had already started.

In terms of tools and equipment, the case study organisations had sufficient tools for their daily activities. Computers (laptops and desktops) were available in every office for most workers. To the exception of ZACA all the remaining organisations had their own vehicles for follow up activities. At MICO and ACA where water supply projects

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were carried out, the offices had their own drilling machines that facilitated execution of such projects and generated incomes through business projects using the same machines. ZACA on its side had its own office building located in the urban area of the district, thing which not only reduced burden of renting the office but also attracted donor Agencies to work with the organisation. Follow up activities at ZACA were carried out by using staff private vehicles.

7.3 BENEFIT LEVELS AND THEIR ADEQUACY

The benefit levels were looked at in three areas: the amount provided by each programme to beneficiaries, its regularity and reliability and finally the adequacy of those benefits against poverty line and actual life expenses prevailing in Zanzibar. Identification of the size of benefit to be provided in a social transfer programme is the second decision to make after identification of target group or groups. This involves weighing the available resources against the range of possible benefits – from the minimum to the optimal level. When the programme involves multiple targeted beneficiaries – for example, children and older people, or primary and secondary school students – the size of benefit for each may vary (Samson et al., 2010).

Similarly, determining the appropriate level of benefit requires an understanding of the politics, the social profile of poverty, the socio-economic status of beneficiaries and their livelihood strategies, the capacity of the organisation and the fiscal position of the organization (Samson et al., 2006). The minimum benefit level provides a floor beneath which social transfer programmes are unlikely to be effective. At the other hand of the range, the optimal benefit level could be greater than the poverty gap because of targeting uncertainty, the expectation that the grant will in turn be redistributed within the household (or across households), or the desire to move further than just eliminating poverty.

Hypothetically, given the fundamental objective of reducing poverty, a government or an organization with no constraints would set the minimum benefit level equal to each household's gap between their income and the level required for them to escape poverty (Samson et al., 2010). In practice, however, governments and non-governmental organisations often face several constraints – mobilizing the resources

necessary to finance the programmes, identifying and reaching the poor and accurately calculating the poverty gap for each household. So, when financial and information resources are scarce (as in the case of the case study organizations and the RGoZ), the minimum benefit may fall below what is required to raise the income of the poorest to the poverty line, and a flat per capita transfer to the poor (or universally distributed) may be most feasible (Samson et al., 2006).

In deed the latter is what happened among the case study organisations. Each organization offered different levels of benefit in their programmes (see table 7 below). There were also differences between benefit levels provided in cash transfer programmes, those provided in in-kind transfers and programmes that targeted income generating activities. Let us first look at benefit levels of programmes that provided regular cash to beneficiaries.

Table 7: Levels of Benefits for Regular Transfer and IGA Programmes (in TSH.)

Types of transfers	MICO	ACA	ZASO	ZACA
Regular cash/in-kind transfers per month	28,952	11,667	52,000	0
	64,800	19,167		
	32,000	32,000		
Lamp sum cash transfer for IGA	200,000–300,000	200,000-300,000	0	845,000

Source: Researcher's field report

Both MICO and ACA had orphans programmes that offered regular cash transfers to their beneficiaries. MICO's programme was more generous than that of ACA. It was reported that in early years the programme at MICO offered the benefit of Tsh. 180,000 every three months (Tsh. 60,000/month) (Interview A1). This amount was higher than both poverty lines (covered over 158% of FPL and 112% of BNPL), for one month per adult. However, this generous benefit declined gradually to Tsh. 48,069 in 2017, 36,637 in 2018 to Tsh. 28,952 in 2019. This means that there was also a decline in its coverage of expenditure or replacement rate of beneficiaries. While initially the benefits could entirely remove the individual beneficiary out of poverty this changed significantly as a result of this decline. Based on the calculations the benefit provided in 2019 covered only 76.05 percent and 54.24 percent of FPL and BNPL respectively. This was only from one

donor who sponsored over 75 percent of all orphans programme beneficiaries at MICO. This decline, however, was attached to the reason that the money was affected by exchange rate since the donor was from abroad. This sound very appropriate considering that the donor was from Turkey, and it is generally known that from the early 2019 Turkish Lira started experiencing an extra ordinary devalorization in the global exchange market. In this way, changing Turkish Lira to US dollar or any currency was very expensive. On the other hand, the second donor who financed over 16.5 percent of beneficiaries had set different level with more generous benefits. It offered Tsh. 64,800 per month covering over 172 percent of FPL and 121 percent of BNPL. The records showed that the amount had been constant for over three years, possibly because the money came from more stable currencies, such as US dollar, Euro or British Pound. The money from these two donors represented over 95 percent of the total money spent in MICO's cash transfer programme to orphans.

On the other hand, there was also the question of frequency of payment, which based on the explanation from the office was initially made on quarterly basis (Interview A1; A2). However, the same trend was also repeated on the case of frequency of payment. While MICO had several donors who supported orphans programme, some of these donors were not regular in their payments. For example, the donor which supported over 75 percent of beneficiaries changed the payment form quarterly to twice a year in 2018 and finally to once a year in 2019/2020. The payments made during my field work at MICO covered the past 12 months (Jan. 2019 – Dec. 2019), indicating that beneficiaries did not receive their benefits for more than 12 months. The remaining donors maintained their payments at quarterly. The frequency of payment has negative implication to the costs of programmes (when set too close), but also when set too long has negative consequences to beneficiaries, and reduces impact of the programme on poverty reduction (Samson et al. 2006).

The above presentation indicates the presence of two situations: firstly, that the programme did not have a defined benefit level for all its beneficiaries. This means that some beneficiaries of the same programme received different amount compared to others. This tendency led to those receiving small amount of benefit feel inferior to those with

higher benefits. Secondly, that the benefits were not regular and so not reliable. Irregularity and unreliability of benefits have significant impact on programme efficiency on poverty reduction. Social transfers to the poor need to be timely delivered to allow beneficiaries plan for their life. They should make sure that the time set for the delivery of benefits does not exceed. Failure to deliver the benefit at planned time disturbs the entire equilibrium of beneficiaries. Because of the delay some beneficiaries may engage themselves in very hazardous actions such as taking loans or selling the assets they have to secure the situations they expected to solve at a given time after receiving their benefits. Selling assets destroys long terms efforts invested by beneficiaries in their efforts to escape poverty.

Reliability on the other hand, implies the confidence of beneficiaries that the money will surely come on due date and at recognized amount. Therefore, to avoid this catastrophe on the side of beneficiaries, social transfers need to be timely, reliable and predictable. The effect of lack of reliability and timely delivery of programmes can be demonstrated in the bellow example.

A household A is a very poor household and a beneficiary of MICO orphans programme. From its registration the household started to receive three months benefits of Tsh 180,000. The household spent the money to buy food, give their children money for school and save some to buy an asset (goat). The household received the benefits regularly for a year and so managed to save enough money and buy a goat for keeping and reproducing. Three months later, the programme started to reduce the amount of benefits offered from Tsh.180,000 to Tsh.160,000 and so the household decided to maintain food budget and the budget for children schooling but could no longer maintain savings for buying more goats. Until this point the household had good image within the area and so benefited trust from nearby stores to go and borrow food and other items with the expectation that after receiving the money they can pay back as usual. The next payment started to also change the timing. The payment delayed for 6 months, instead of three, without prior information sent to beneficiaries. The households did not know what to do since it was indebted and had a promise of paying back within a month or two. So the households decided to sell the

goat that bought previously to protect their dignity and cover the gap left by the programme money. If the benefit would not have been delayed the household would not have sold its only asset and go back to where it started two years ago.

The above example shows that a beneficiary of that programme was trying to use the money from the programme to do two things: to fulfill the current needs and to make efforts to get out of poverty. They accumulated sufficient amount of money from the programme to invest in livestock keeping so that in the future, when the investment is strong, they could get out of poverty and be independent. All these efforts were ruined by the same programme that was supposed to help them get out of poverty, by just delaying the benefits, and so bring the household to the same misery they had before entering the programme. In this respect, despite the generous benefit offered by the programme its impact on poverty reduction will remain minimal.

In terms of adequacy of the amount provided as a percentage of poverty lines, the picture is clear. MICO orphans programme provided over 54 percent of BNPL and over 76 percent of FPL which means acceptable level of benefits. In fact this is a great replacement rate to be provided by a CSO programme. This level is much higher than benefits of some programmes implemented by the government. For example. The government, through the DESW has been implementing two cash transfer programmes: the first one offers monthly benefits of Tsh.30,000 (56.2% of BNPL) to the poor and vulnerable households and the second one is the Zanzibar Universal Pension Scheme (ZUPS) which offers Tsh.20,000 (37.4% of BNPL) to older people aged 70 year and above. The Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN), the biggest poverty targeted programme in Tanzania, offers monthly benefits ranging from Tsh. 12,000 to Tsh.55,000, depending on household composition (having infant, young child, child in primary and or secondary school and PWDs). So, households receiving the basic benefits covers 22.4 percent of the BNPL while those receiving maximum benefits covers 103 percent of the BNPL for one adult. The 22.4 percent is small and insufficient amount considering the life expenses but acceptable as social assistance level of benefits (Samson et al., 2010). Small benefit levels, however, are not efficient in reducing poverty but they play important role in reducing the

gap and severity of poverty (Samson et al., 2010). However, household size has to be considered to reflect the real picture of the size of benefit offered.

On the side of ACA's orphans cash transfer programme, the situation was quite better, in terms of regularity, but worse in terms of generosity of benefits. The level of benefit at ACA was set at Tsh.140,000 a year, but transferred in three instalments. The first installment, which was the basic benefit (Tsh.70,000), was provided by the end of the month of *Ramadan*, the second (Tsh. 40,000) was provided few days after the first instalment, in the second day of *Eid el Fitr* and the last one (Tsh.30,000) was provided two months later during the *Eid al-hajj*. All together made equivalent to Tsh.11,666.6 per month, covering 30.6 percent and 21.8 percent of FPL and BNPL respectively. This amount was also very small compared to the life expenses but acceptable since it covered over 20 percent of poverty line. It is also much lower than the ones at MICO.

ACA also held another cash transfer programme implemented at Kizimbani village. In this programme, beneficiaries received 100$ (Tsh. 230,000) a year. This amount was equal to Tsh.19,166.6 a month, covering 50.34 percent and 35.9 percent of FPL and BNPL respectively. That amount was very significant considering that the programme offered the same amount to everyone within each benefiting household. In this respect its effectiveness to reducing poverty within the household was likely to be higher than the previous programmes.

Looking at regularity and reliability of benefits in these two programmes, it can be seen that they were both regular and reliable since they offered the benefits on due date. It was reported that since their establishment, benefits have been provided regularly without missing or delaying them (Interviews B4; B13). In this respect ACA's programmes were more regular than MICO's. Beneficiaries also relied more heavily and had guarantee that the money would come on due date. In addition to that, unlike MICO's programmes, the benefit level never changed. It only changed as a result of exchange rate variations but the change was not significant. This is particularly true considering that the benefits were provided in US dollars, and so the variation of exchange rates was usually on increase (Interview B2), making it more beneficial to beneficiaries. In terms of

adequacy against the life expenses, the benefits were not adequate, particularly since they were offered annually. Better approach would be to offer the benefits in a more reduced period of time such as bimonthly or quarterly.

Ramadan programmes at MICO and ACA also offered benefits in-kind worth discussing under this heading. The programmes offered food packages worth about Tsh.32,000, covering 92 percent of FPL and 65.6 percent of BNPL if this benefit provided as cash for one adult in a month. The benefit was provided once every year, during the month of *Ramadan*, but had no specific beneficiaries. The number of packages to be provided in each year was not consistent. It relied on the availability of donors. In this respect regularity in terms of occurrence of project was there, but not reliability in terms of number of beneficiaries reached previously and whether the same beneficiaries (poor people) will be reached in the coming distributions. As mentioned earlier, in order for a programme to be reliable, beneficiaries need to be sure of receiving the benefits on due time. From its design and implementation beneficiaries of this year cannot be sure of receiving the benefit in the coming year since there are not registered beneficiaries for the programme.

On the other hand, there were also programmes that offered cash benefits for creating income generating activities. These programmes could be seen at ZACA as well as at MICO and ACA. However, MICO and ACA offered capitals in material forms, such as machines and equipment, and did not involve much of cash delivery to beneficiaries. The cost of each delivery was estimated to range between Tsh.200,000 and Tsh.300,000. In these programmes benefits were offered once and measured their adequacy depending on the size of projects and the demand for ensuring sustainability of projects to be established. At ZACA the benefits were provided to Children's clubs for the establishment of income generating activities. Each club received Tsh. 845,000 (= U$ 368) to implement such projects. Although, the kinds of projects they were expected to establish were small and simple, this amount was very inadequate to establish and sustain a meaningful business activities for a group. ZACA acknowledged that they had to give very strict guidelines on budgeting for those projects and had also to order reduction of budgets for

several times for each club so that they could fit in their budget ceiling (Interviews D32; D28).

For the programmes that offered regular benefits in-kind, as the case of ZASO, the benefit level was looked at in terms of the package offered and their real costs in monetary terms. At ZASO the package costed about Tsh.52,000 and was offered monthly. This amount covered 136.6 percent of FPL and 97.4 percent of BNPL (had the benefits been provided as cash). The project offered generous benefits which could completely get individual beneficiaries out of food poverty and even basic need poverty if the same benefit were provided in cash. The transfer of cash over the in-kind is usually preferred because of its ability to give beneficiaries flexibility in the use of the benefits depending on their needs and priorities. In terms of regularity and reliability, the implementation showed that the programme provided the benefit in monthly basis as promised without skipping some months. However, there was no specified date in a month on which the benefits were provided. Because of this project administrators had to encore additional cost to establish communication with each beneficiary every month, to inform about the distribution day. This created a challenge, not only for the administrators but also the beneficiaries themselves as some could not be reached on the phones and so were at high risk of either missing the benefit or getting it in later days. Consequently, this reduced programme efficiency and increased administrative overload. Alternatively, the programme could simply set a specific distribution date in a month for beneficiaries to go and collect their benefits without being called every time.

On the side of other in-kind distributions, mostly performed by FBOs, such as meat distribution, water supply programmes, education and health programmes, non-regular transfers of materials and other in-kind supports made by the case study organisations are not discussed here. This is because costing them at individual level may be impossible given their complexity. However, whatever the benefits provided benefited individuals and communities, particularly in accessing basic services such as clean and safe water, assets creation, education, nutrition and health care etc. These transfers contribute, even to lower extent, in addressing the multidimensional poverty in communities.

7.4 SOURCES OF FUNDS

Sources of fund of the four case study organisations can be categorized based on two criteria: location and status of funder. Based on status of funder, sources of funding can be classified as individual funding and institutional. While based on location, sources can be categorized into domestic and external funding. Each has its own characteristics, advantages and disadvantages.

Individual funding is one of the channel from which CSOs receive money from individual people/ donors to finance their programmes and activities. Contrary to institutional funding, the money from this source comes from individuals not institutions. The advantages of receiving money from this source are that:

⇨ There are less conditions and rules attached to this money and so the benefiting institution has adequate flexibility to perform on its own style;

⇨ The fund does not involve too many administrative procedures to receive it. Usually involves few email or telephone conversations to reach a common understanding and issue the funding;

⇨ It does not demand too much administrative capacity in reporting and demonstrating evidences of impact of programmes;

⇨ Donors are usually many in number.

Despite the above advantages of funding from individual sources, disadvantages are also considerable, and worth presenting some here:

⇨ The fund is usually small in size, funding short term projects or small activities of extended period;

⇨ The funder also does not care about government procedures and guidelines and so less attention is placed on realizing the national goals.

⇨ When funder lacks commitment, the fund may be unreliable and can be stopped at any time depending on the mood of the funder. This is particularly serious when there is no contract or memorandum of understanding (which is usually the case) between the parties.

Amongst the four case study organizations ACA was the only organization which depended heavily on this source to finance its programmes, and to smaller extent ZASO's orphanage programme. All charity (nonbusiness) programmes at ACA were funded by this source. This helped to explain some of the things associated with this organisation, such as: why programmes by this organization were providing benefits annually instead of shorter periods; why there were not well prepared written reports explaining implementation of activities, instead reports were in video clips showing events carried out etc. Institutional funding existed at ACA but was almost negligible. This findings correspond with the findings from the study on non-state actors (2012) in which the author, in order to get an idea of the sources of income, asked participants from CSOs in a survey to mention their sources of income for their organisations, and the results were as follow: almost two-third of the organisations obtained their majour incomes from private donations, and 58 percent of the organisations ranked private donations from individuals as the majour source of income. On the other hand, ZASO's orphanage programme received funds from both sources but funds from individual source was bigger that institutional source. It was reported that when the programme failed to meet all the needs from funders, individuals, including the founders of the programmes and staff, donated to support the orphanage (Interviews C22; C24).

Institutional fund, on the other hand, is a source from which money flows from an institution and not individuals. In this case, donors who supported the case study organisations were well established institutions not individuals. A part from ACA all the remaining organisations received most of their funds from this source, but with varying degree. While ZACA relied from this source for 100 percent, MICO relied it for over 98 percent. Only 1.11 percent of MICO's orphans programme was supported by funds from individual source. The advantages and disadvantages of institutional sources of funding are the inverse of individual source.

As mentioned earlier, sources of funds for the case study organizations can also be classified as domestic/local and external sources based on their location. Domestic sources are funds from within the country while external sources come from outside the country. Data shows that all case study organisations relied heavily on external funding. Local

funding existed but was too small to be considered for making any difference in supporting those organisations to run their activities and or in reducing poverty in the country. MICO for example, benefited less than 10% from local sources out of its all programmes, and most of these local support came in the form of in-kind – such as food packages from WTC - or tax relief and exemption from the Ministry of Finance and Planning for the importation of items allocated to charity. The only cash obtained locally was the one allocated to supporting orphans programme which also covered only 1 percent of total beneficiaries. External source of fund was therefore the main source used to finance all the activities. These findings match with the findings obtained from SPAR report (ILO, 2010) which among other things concluded that CSOs in Zanzibar were over foreign donors dependent. MICO had at least 9 foreign donor institutions and most of them supported more than one programmes.

1. Humanitarian Relief Foundation (Insan Yardim Vafki) (IHH), based in Turkey - this organization supported orphans programme, schools and mosques construction, Kurban and water supply programmes.

2. International Humanitarian Aid Organisation (Weltweiter Einsatz Für Arme) (WEFA), based in Germany –also supported orphans programme, water supply, Kurban, Ramadan and Schools and mosques construction programmes.

3. Global Support, based in UK – supported orphans, Ramadan, water supply and Kurban programmes.

4. Al-Ansar, based in UK – supported water supply, orphans, Ramadan and Kurban programmes.

5. Sadakataşi based in Turkey – supported Kurban and Ramadan and water supply programmes.

6. Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD), based in USA – it supported the in-kind gifts, water supply and women economic empowerment programmes.

7. Tabasun based in Turkey – supported Kurban programme.

8. Khasama, based in Turkey and Germany   – supported Kurban programme.

9. Mohammed Ansar, based in Turkey, Germany and Singapore - supported Kurban programme.

ACA on the other hand, had the highest proportion of funds from local source of all case study organisations. About 25 percent of its funds was received from local sources (Interview B4). This amount however, was not adequate to finance one entire programme and so dependence on external sources was still observed. It was not possible to get the full list of donors because of confidentiality issues, but it was mentioned that most of those were people close to the organisation. For example, Sheikh Nadir was mentioned to be one of the potential local donors, but he was also the General Director of ACA. It also placed a number of contribution boxes in mosques and other areas for collecting individual donations. Most of international donors who supported ACA were located in Middle-East, especially in Dubai and Oman, including:

1. Ms. Nadia, based in Dubai who supported orphans and community support cash transfer programmes since their establishment; and
2. Mr. Luwai, also based in Dubai who donated funds at the same time coordinated all supports in Dubai and channeled them to ACA. He also contributed in number of programmes when shortage or need arose.

These individuals from outside the country were well committed to supporting ACA and community and they, time to time, came to Zanzibar to visit the programmes.

ZASO had programmes supported from both sources; the Food relief project was 100 percent supported by external financing while the orphanage programme received some small amount of funds (10-20%) from internal sources leaving the bigger part supported by external sources. The full list of local donors was not shared but the name of the founder of this organisation Ms. Rukia was outlined as very key. The only donor from external source who supported the above project was Comfort Aid, based in USA. ZASO also installed a system available through internet that enabled people around the world to contribute for the orphanage programme. The system was available online through ZASO's website. In this way, the programme also received significant amount of money from individual sources from within and outside the country. However, majority of contributors through this system were from outside the country (Interview C27). During

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this study the online system was reported not to be working because of problems associated with banking procedures (Interview C27).

At ZACA, the implemented project was entirely funded by WeSeeHope, an international organisation based in the UK that supported similar project in a number of countries in Africa. However, based on its background, ZACA had previously received a number of projects funded by local organisations, including the government. Although the funding from the government also came from external sources but channeled through the government to CSOs. The status during this research was that the organisation was relying heavily on external financing. There was no support from local people financially. These findings, however, were contrary to the findings made by the study on Zanzibar Non State Actors (2012) which among other things found that funding from international donors was ranked as majour sources by only 2% of the organisations participated the survey (NSA Mapping update report, 2012).

In terms of advantages and disadvantages of internal and external funding to CSOs, it can be said that the main advantage of relying on the internal sources is, without a doubt, to reduce external influence over the programmes and running of local organisations. External sources usually tend to direct benefiting organisations at local level based on their priorities and policy directions instead of those of the society they operate. ZACA represents an excellent example to highlight this case. While the design and funding of the project were donor given many of their recommendations with regards to changing some aspects of the project to reflect some of the local context were refused by the donor during its early stages of project implementation (Interview D2). This effect was not there during implementation of the previous projects funded by local sources, particularly the government. More explanation on the impact of external financing on programmes at CSOs level and its effect on sustainability of programmes are provided on section 7.5 bellow.

On the other hand, the mechanisms used by the case study organisations to access funding from the above mentioned donors are also worth to mention here. But before elaborating the actual situation from the study let us first see categories of CSO funding

mechanisms based on the views of others. One of the outstanding categorization of donor mechanisms for funding CSOs was given by Tomlinson (2013), who categorized them into four mechanisms:

1. Support for specific CSO projects or programmes, in which CSO usually initiates the planning and implementation of one or more projects or programmes and submit them for donor financing on a non-competitive basis, against donor-established criteria. This mechanism is most effective when support for small and medium-sized CSOs, sometimes relatively new, with limited capacities to absorb large amount of funding, and limited means to develop large comprehensive programmes. Dialogue between the donor and the CSO during the proposal development stage is often beneficial for both parties (Tomlinson, 2013). This is very important because such dialogue is not usually possible in a competitive environment applied by call-for-proposal mechanism described below.

2. Donor call-for-proposal mechanism, in which donor initiates calls to CSOs (and sometimes other stakeholders) to submit proposals for projects or programmes. A defined period for submission of proposals is set by donor and the application have to abide to the deadline. CSOs have also to respond to donor-established eligibility, project and programme criteria and guidelines for this particular call for proposals. This mechanism is most effective when donors are seeking CSOs as implementing contractors for donor-designed projects or programmes, and when donors wish to maintain their prerogative to choose CSO partners for activities that closely align with their priorities.

3. Partnership/framework agreement or core untied funding for a CSO. In this mechanism, a donor negotiates a multi-year framework agreement with a CSO based on a long-standing donor experience with this CSO. The CSO submits an institutional proposal covering all or substantial number of programmes designed by the CSO, rather than specific project or programme proposal (as in the case of the first two mechanisms above). This mechanism is most effective for institutional support for large and well-established CSOs, which are usually based

in the donor country or part of the global family, or when donors have confidence in a CSO's proven track record. This confidence is established through a history of partnerships with the CSO as well as donor-commissioned independent evaluations and institutional assessment (Tomlinson, 2013).

4. Standing funding arrangements for rapid response to humanitarian emergencies. In this mechanism, a donor has pre-approval process for determining a selected group of effective CSO humanitarian actors. Responding to humanitarian emergencies (floods, earthquakes etc.) requires capacity, flexibility and preparedness. Pre-approval is based on donor and independent assessment of CSO experience and capacities for effective humanitarian response. The donor maintains (and periodically updates) a list of pre-approved CSOs, with a donor understanding of the different capacities and areas of the world each CSO can operate. Standing offers by the donor enable quick access to pre-approved donor funding for these immediate responses to rapid-onset emergencies. The mechanism also creates conditions for quick, flexible financing that responds to priority emergency needs, based on the immediate on-the-ground assessment by CSO present and working in the area.

These mechanisms have characteristics that defer from one another and so establish different funding relationships between the donor and the CSO. In the context of the case study organisations, the first three funding mechanisms were mostly used by the case study organisations but with varying degree between FBOs and NGOs. MICO and ACA used more of partnership or framework agreement model of funding (3rd mechanism) to access support from such many donors. In both organisations potential donors visited the office to assess and evaluate their capacity and trust before deciding on whether to support or not. Positive evaluation results from the first donors (IHH and Al-ansar for MICO and Ms. Nadia for ACA) facilitated acquisition of other donors through information diffusion and sharing of best practices in the implementation of the existed programmes (Interviews A21; B7). This is why MICO had biggest number of donors who supported more than one programmes over extended period of time, followed by ACA.

The experience at ZASO and ZACA indicated the existence of different approach from the ones presented above. They used what we can refer to as a 'mixed mechanism' comprising of the 1st and 2nd mechanism from the above list. As argued by Tomlinson (2013) CSOs and particularly larger INGOs, may access funding through a combination of available windows. In this approach, both organisations held dialogues with the donors before preparing project proposals. They were implementing much smaller projects and each project was funded by specific donor. In their projects both organisations had little control over the projects since donors defined everything. The sense of competition also came in the sense that failure to meet agreement with donors, both in the dialogue and in the project proposal phases, would result into missing the funding opportunity.

None of the case study organisations used the fourth mechanism (standing funding for humanitarian emergency), however, MICO used part of its in-kind gift programme to support emergencies. During Covid-19 pandemic MICO distributed soap and other sanitizing items to people at Kidimni village within the Central district (ZBC TV News Hour, 24th March 2020). Indeed, funding for this programme was not provided for the emergence, (since it was received before the pandemic), but used for the purpose of emergency. This not only proved donors' level of trust over MICO but also flexibility in the programmes implemented by the organization.

Other funding mechanisms used by the case study organisations, though in smaller amount, were voluntary individual contribution, as practiced by MICO as its only domestic source of funding; contribution boxes, as used by ACA; and online contribution collection mechanism, as used by ZASO.

7.5 IMPACT OF EXTERNAL FINANCING ON CSO SUSTAINABILITY

As mentioned in the previous chapters, historically, CSOs in Tanzania were developed and mushroomed as a result of the foreign forces, together with the reduction of government intervention in the provision of some social services and the growth of democracy in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. The impact of this foreign forces to the development and operation of CSOs seems to have continued till today, particularly in relation to those organisations dealing with poverty reduction interventions. It is clear that

all the four organisations under this study relied heavily on external support, whether from individuals or from institutions, to run not only their programmes but also their organisations as whole. A good example is ACA which received the entire wage bill from Dubai every year. This money enabled ACA to pay salaries and other benefits for its staff working under charity programmes, more timely. All other organisations did not receive support in the same way as ACA, but they did receive it as part of the programmes/ projects funded from outside the country. MICO for example received 5 percent of all its programmes to cover administration costs, including running office, salaries etc. ZACA and ZASO on their side had their staff employed as part of the projects they implemented and so all staff benefits were covered by the projects. Between the two, ZACA had the smallest number of staff (3) employed in their projects. This was clear over dependency on external financing, which adversely affect CSOs in a number of ways.

First, it exacerbates tension between government and CSOs over resources. There is tendency of government officials to often perceive CSOs as not being transparent about their funding and activities. Considering the CSOs' lack of reporting to the responsible government authorities, the tension as well as the notion that CSOs put forward their own interests before the interest of those beneficiaries still persist (Tomlinson, 2013). This argument was also put forward by some respondents from government official group. They believed that majority of NGOs were established not because of the genuine intent of preserving the interests of the groups they were supposed to serve but primarily because of other reasons, especially acquiring income generating source (Interview E3; E4; E7). This was also justified by lack of transparency in the external support they receive and expenditures for various interventions. It is also based on this believe (and other reasons) that the registrar's office tightened up conditions for registering new CSOs and required the old ones to re-register using the new arrangements and procedures put in place by the then newly established bureau (Interview E3).

Second, the difficulty in the sustainability of core CSO institutional processes due to terms and conditions of donor grants. CSOs point to little and declining core support, high transaction costs in managing donor grants, and push by donors for short-term results. While CSOs may be able to attract resources for specific programming goals, the terms of

this foreign donor financing often exclude support for the basic operational functions of the organization. The letter includes managing a board of directors, strategic planning and financial systems, computers and other administrative resources, and sustainable salaries. In the end this lack of support for core institutional functions undermines the organisation's capacity to effectively undertake the programme in a more sustainable way (Tomlinson, 2013). This was completely the case of ZASO's food relief programme which refused to offer any benefits to cover administration cost. The programmes did not offer staff salaries, meetings, planning sessions or any administration activities. The donor considered this role to be played by ZASO. This was not very relevant to the remaining organisations but still could be observed in some of its elements. ZACA's project staff for example received half a salary during COVID-19 outbreak. The call directly came from the donor agency based in the UK, even though the hit and impact of COVID-19 was less in Tanzania compared to other places of the world. In addition, the tendency of foreign donors to push for short-term results reduces objectivity in the service delivery by CSOs (Court et al., 2006). The focus is put on demonstrating desire of donor instead, irrespective whether the results were sustainable or not, or even whether the results were genuine or not.

Third, less collaboration at the country level due to donor mechanism. CSOs more often now compete with each other for partnership with INGOs or official foreign donors funding (Harrison, 2018). There are seldom any opportunities to develop and present strategic CSO sectoral plans for donor funding by CSO coalitions or networks in developing countries (Tomlinson, 2013). With dependency on short-term, time-limited donor contracts, CSOs are always in a resource-seeking mode, competing with each other to profile their programmes for donors, even when working through networks or coalitions. Relation between ZASO and ZACA justifies this point, where both organisations were running short-term projects renewable every 6 months (for the case of ZASO) to one year (ZACA's project). Both organisations were in great fear of losing their donors and find new donors to keep their organisations programmes. Pressure of search for donor was less critical among FBOs since they had already solid donors who supported

their programmes. Because of this, collaboration between them was better compared to their counterpart.

Fourth, donor priorities (and sometimes plans and projects) are developed with little engagement with local CSOs in developing countries and sometimes with little knowledge of conditions facing local CSOs. These donor priorities are more likely to be reflected in the priorities of implementing CSO and allied stakeholders. There is a general believe that donor priorities have caused some CSOs to act upon areas morally not acceptable within the society. Several CSOs have been banned or disciplined because of trying to implement projects that are not appropriate for Zanzibar (Interview E3). A good example is the ban of a project that encouraged homosexuality, while this act is prohibited in Zanzibar. The implementing local NGO was collaborating with an NGO from Mainland Tanzania but receiving funding from abroad (Interview E3). The predetermination of donor priorities then precludes for the most part opportunities for funding that is responsive to locally determined CSO priorities (Tomlinson, 2013).

Fifth, pressure for uncritical alignment with government. CSOs in developing countries wish to contribute to advancing social and economic development of poor and marginalized populations. They hope and expect that these objectives are in harmony with or complement the government's actual development strategies (Tomlinson, 2013). All case study organisations had good relation with the government except the linkage between CSOs activities and government policies and strategies appeared to be missing potential nutrients to enable this complementary role of CSOs. However, this was not completely the error from CSO side. As argued by Tomlinson (2013) to enable closer alignment, government strategies need to be the outcome of the inclusive processes with different development stakeholders. This engagement might include, where feasible, strong participation in the development of the strategy to assure that it reflects broad citizens' interests and support. In cases where country strategies are not the result of socially inclusive political processes, CSOs may legitimately argue that their programming fills missing gaps or speaks to the interests of populations whose interests have been marginalized. Similarly, without sustained access and dialogue between CSOs and government, practical collaboration and alignment with government is difficult.

Alignment of CSO activities is more dependent on the CSOs-state relation and their linkage with the ZSPP. The poor alignment of some activities of the case study organisations with the ZSPP might have reflected the disinterest of donors to comply with the government priorities.

These shortfalls of foreign donor dependency need to be discouraged at all costs. One of the ways that can be used to change this is through the building capacities of local CSOs so that they can be self-dependent or at least rely on funding from local donors. Having recognized that, the case study organisations had started taking measures to ensure sustainable sources of income are created. All had some sort of income generating activities established for the organisations to collect some revenue. ACA had the strongest business ventures of all the organisations studied. It had not only established business ventures but also integrated them within the scope of some of its non-profit/ charity programmes, and significant part of its programmes was business oriented. ACA's *Udh-hiya*, construction and water supply programmes were designed to realize both charity and business objectives while education and Hajj programmes were entirely designed to realize business objectives. At MICO, only education and water supply programmes were meant to realize both objectives. However, MICO had also engaged in fishing activity as a business activity but isolated from the general programmes. It owned a fishing boat that operated as standalone activity. All business projects at both MICO and ACA were registered under business instead of charity. ZASO had just opened a food stuff store during the time this study was carried out, and ZACA leased a commercial room from its office building to generate income.

However, despite the above investment initiatives majority of organisations would not be financially sustainable if depended solely on income from their investments. This is partly because majority of those business ventures were still very young and unable to generate sufficient income to finance organisations.

On the other hand, regarding whether this over dependency of foreign funding influenced national policy through CSOs in any way, further consideration needs to be taken on board. CSOs influence on national policies is highly dependent on the level of

engagement of CSOs in the policy formulation and decision making on the same (Harrison, 2018). The question in this context is therefore whether the case study organizations had sufficiently been engaged in the nation policy formulation process. Any influence on policies also requires capacity and expertise on the area related to the policy in question. At national level, the question could be extended to the entire CSO sector, particularly those providing social protection services in Zanzibar. Some authors are of the opinion that local CSOs in Zanzibar lack capacity to engage in policy dialogues and bring about policy change. This statement is not completely false, even though some are stronger and lesser donor dependent than others. Harrison (2018) identified professional NGOs and Membership based organisations such as trade unions as being less dependent on donors, instead they receive sufficient amount of money from their membership contributions to run their activities. These types of organisations however, work on advocacy and service delivery to their members but not necessarily to the poor members of the community. CSOs that provide direct support to the poor appear to also be poor technically and materially. That is why they over rely on foreign donations.

To confirm the above statement, amongst the case study organisations none demonstrated any capacity to influence policies. All the case study organisations had no experts or staff with sufficient knowledge on social protection issues. This might have appeared difficult for them to provide professional contributions in such policy issues. Also, there was clear indication of the case study organizations neglecting or paying less attention about policy context of the country (Observation notes taken on different dates in each case study). In addition, the fact that the case studies were working more on service delivery kept them more concerned on the welfare of people instead of the policy agendas. This was particularly evident among FBOs which showed no clue on the existence of any policy related to what they were doing. NGOs were somehow conscious on the policy context related to their areas of operation – social protection, health care etc. This was partly because they had previously been engaged in advocacy activities and projects which happened to require more understanding of the legal and policy contexts of the country, and because some were involved in some policy development processes. ZACA for example, was even involved in the development of the ZSPP. However, their

engagement was said to be at the initial stages of capacity development of stakeholders and the identification of policy issues. This level of engagement cannot be judged as enough to influence national policies, especially as a result of influence from their donors.

On the other hand, there was donor side for the above testimony, which based on the observation, did not show interest on policy agendas in their programmes. ZACA was implementing a well-designed and documented project which among other things created local MVC support structures that could sustain service delivery to MVC. However, there was no interventions directed to policies or interventions with government authorities. This tendency was also witnessed in all other case studies, although MICO distributed in-king support to some government institutions that offered services to vulnerable people, such as the state orphanage and the prison, but this was explained to be only for supporting the people living in those institutions and improving their relation with the government.

To summarize this discussion, it is clear from the study that the case study organizations, despite having several foreign donors supporting many activities and programmes, their influence on policies remained very insignificant or even impossible. Their concentration on direct service delivery and low capacity of the local CSOs isolated any possibility to influence policies related to their areas of operation. Studies show that CSOs engaged in advocacy activities and which possess sufficient technical capacity have greater chance of influencing policies in developing countries (Court et al. 2006). This statement has practically been proven by this study in which all case study organisations and their donors had almost a complete abandonment from policy issues.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter analyzed the adequacy of capacities of the case study organisations, in terms of financial and administrative capacities, to manage, finance and sustain programmes. The chapter answered the research question 3 that asked about capacities of the case study organisations to deliver social protection interventions. It began by analyzing staff knowledge to see if they were adequate to administer their programmes in three main areas. In terms of the number of workers, it was found that number of workers ranged between 4 and 16 workers, with majority of workers in all organisations holding

ordinary and certificate education and holding less important positions in their organisations. In terms of knowledge, it was clear that there was a gap on social protection knowledge. The most common areas of study included Islamic knowledge, business, accounting, IT, and health sciences among others. The capacity of higher officials appeared to be good, with sufficient experiences in areas of their operation.

In terms of benefit levels and their adequacy, majority of case studies offered generous benefits in comparison with the levels offered by other programmes implemented by the government. They have high replacement over the poverty line. However, reliability and time delivery of those benefits were still a challenge. Also, there were no specific criteria used to set the level of benefit offered by any programme, as they were set by donors. This is to confirm over dependency of donors in the operation of the case studies. Foreign donor funding has been identified as the major sources from which all the case study organisations received money to implement their programmes. Different funding mechanisms were used to access these foreign donor funding, but there was a difference between mechanisms used by FBOs and those used by NGOs, where FBOs had more sustainable sources. Although some of programmes at MICO and ACA had continuously been implemented and supported by the same donors for almost a decade, still highlighted the presence of indicators of lack of sustainability of those programmes. This is indeed the result of the impact of over dependency on foreign funding.

In general, to answer the third research question which looked at the capacity of the case study organisations to manage, finance and sustain programmes, it is clear from the research that all the case study organisations were over dependent on external support to finance their programmes and run their organisations. Leaderships have sufficient level of education to manage their organisations but staff members lacked knowledge on social protection, which adversely affected their programme design and their impact on poverty reduction. On the efforts to trying to strengthen self-dependency and reduce foreign donor dependency, all organisations have started taking actions to create mechanisms that enable them generate income for their organisations. But most of those initiatives were too young to generate sufficient income to run their organisations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8. COORDINATION AND LINKAGE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In organizational setting, coordination may be taken to refer to the integration/ organization of the different elements of the complex body or activities so as to enable them to work together effectively. It is one of the most important management task that involves cooperative effort resulting in an effective relationship between different elements involved in an organization or group of organisations (RGoZ, 2011). In this context, coordination can be within an organization, involving integration of different departments, units of operation and activities to achieve goals of the organization, or within the sector, involving different organisations and their activities to achieve goals set by the sector. The purpose of coordination in this context is to achieve team work and increase efficiency in the attainment of poverty reduction goal.

In addition, coordination includes three dimensions (Harrison, 2018). The first is the horizontal coordination at the policy level to ensure that all ministries, CSOs and other stakeholders share the same social protection vision and objectives. Nationally defined social protection floors are developed through a strong and inclusive coordination efforts at policy level to reach a common understanding of national goals, priorities and development strategies. Here, the majour objectives of the coordination effort at the policy level are to define the national social protection floors and create a road map for its implementation. The second dimension is the horizontal coordination at the operational level to ensure that stakeholders' activities are aligned and harmonized. At this level it should happen among subnational administration, encompassing of decentralized divisions and agencies, social partners, CSOs and development partners working at local level. The third dimension involves vertical coordination between the policy level and

operations to facilitate information and financial flows. It should include top-down (guidance, monitoring and budget allocation) and bottom-up (feedback and reporting) mechanism to ensure the efficient flow of information and resources between the central and operational levels (Harrison, 2018).

This chapter discusses about coordination of CSOs interventions and their linkage with social protection system in Zanzibar. It includes analyzing coordination mechanism in place to support social protection interventions by the government as well as the case study organisations. The chapter also looks at the case study organisations and their interaction with the national social protection system before moving into exploring about their relation with the state and government. Finally the chapter discusses about the existed relationship between CSOs themselves and the ways they collaborated in their daily works.

8.2 COORDINATION MECHANISM IN PLACE

The government, through the ministry responsible for social protection has the responsibility to establish and manage a coordination mechanism to ensure strong coherence of all social protection interventions by various government and non-government actors. The mechanism should foster cohesion; avoid duplication of efforts; enhance knowledge sharing; stimulate policy learning; and convene regularity (RGoZ, 2014). This policy demand has not been adequately fulfilled by the responsible government ministry. The DESW was planning to develop a single registry that could help to coordinate service delivery and avoid repetition of services among service providers. It was very unfortunate that the plan haphazardly disappeared, probably because of lack of funds or other reasons not shared. As per the ZSPP, the single registry would help with the following:

⇨ It would facilitate identification and assessment of beneficiaries, reduce inclusion and exclusion errors and support monitoring of programme performance across sectors against benchmarks;

⇨ It would also help to identify individuals and households eligible for various forms of supports provided by all stakeholders and provide a comprehensive measure for

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tracking assistance provided. This would avoid duplication or double dipping by transfer recipients.

⇨ It would also link with majour national development frameworks and capture data for the national development indicators;

⇨ It would also help in the acquisition and sharing of reports and information about programmes implemented by stakeholders at all levels.

Having realized the above importance, the DESW has again tried to include the development of single registry in the 2020-2021 plan for its implementation (Interview E6). However, there was no guarantee that the registry will be developed. Alternatively, the DESW had an MVC database that held information of all MVC identified in the national MVC identification exercise undertaken by the department in several districts and shehias in Unguja and Pemba. The exercise so far had been carried out in all shehias in West "A", West "B" and Wete districts and some shehias in several other districts. This database could be used as an alternative to serve the purpose of single registry. However, the system has not been fully operational. First, the information has not been updated since its firs registration few years ago, and because of this, some information might be outdated. And second, the database has not been fully functional and well known among potential stakeholders so that they could start using it in their daily service delivery.

On the other hand, the data shows that there were few coordination mechanisms put in place or followed by most of the case study organisations. Most of them used reports to the government as the only mechanism to ensure coordination. In reality, this could be potential to ensure both parties were informed about what was happening on each side but was not sufficient given the nature of their programmes. Cash and in-kind transfer programmes require proper coordination arrangement to ensure that duplication of effort (accumulating benefits to the same beneficiaries by all organisations) does not happen. This is particularly important considering that Zanzibar is very small in size and majority of CSOs that provide social welfare and protection services to the poor are concentrated in one geographical area (Mohammed et al., 2012). It can be seen from chapter 5 that all case study organisations were based in the urban area of the Urban-West Region of

Zanzibar, few kilometers from one another. Both lack of proper coordination and closeness of these CSOs increased chances of beneficiaries receiving benefits from more than one organization, while leaving many more others, particularly those from rural areas, receiving no assistance from any of these organisations. To confirm this, the data shows that two beneficiaries out of 10 interviewed at ACA's orphans programme reported to also be beneficiaries of MICO's orphans programme, while most of beneficiaries interviewed at both MICO and ACA reported to either have applied or planned to apply for the benefits in other organisations. This in return reduced efficiency in poverty reduction by these organisations.

The institution mandated to coordinating CSO activities is of course the Registrar's Office under the president's Office, Regional Administration and Special Departments, in collaboration with sector ministries. This newly established office has primary responsibility of registering CSOs and overseeing their activities based on the law. The office had developed a system available on line that allowed CSOs to get registered online. The same system could be used to submit their annual implementation reports, however, few NGOs submitted their reports accordingly (Interviews E3; E4). Other activities implemented by the office included capacity development activities and conducting two national meetings that involved all CSOs working at national levels to inform about new procedures and arrangements for working with CSOs in Zanzibar. A total of 440 CSOs attended the meeting in both Unguja (280) and Pemba (160).

In this respect meetings were also used as a mechanism for coordination, particularly between CSOs and the government. Many sectors tend to use this method to coordinate CSOs activities. The DESW has also confirmed the use of this method in its working with CSOs. It used to conduct regular quarterly meetings with all stakeholders, from government and non-government, which provided social protection services to the poor and most vulnerable. Many participants of these coordination meetings were CSOs, including the case study organisations (Interview E6). The question, however, could be how can the government coordinate these organisations using quarterly meetings alone, without proper follow-ups. Also not all CSOs attended the meetings, and among those who attended, not all participants used to get the chance to present and widely share their

reports, programmes and plans. In addition to that, these coordination meetings were not happening regularly. During the research time, it was a while since the last meeting held (Interviews E6; E11). Factors such as lack of funds and availability of staff were among the reasons that impeded regular occurrence of these meetings (Interview E11). In these meetings participants who represented CSOs were required to share their activity reports and submit them to the respective department for further action. However, very few submitted the said reports (Interview E6; E11).

8.3 CSO INTERVENTIONS AND THE NATIONAL SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEM (NSPS)

As presented in chapter 3, the national social protection system in Zanzibar is defined within the ZSPP. From the system's four pillars, CSOs can play their part in three areas: social assistance to the poor, social welfare services to those in need and labour market programmes. Amongst the four case study organisations, their interventions can be put as follow in relation to the NSPS.

Social assistance programmes: these are non-contributory transfers in cash, vouchers, or in-kind (including school feeding) to individuals or households in need. Also, public work programmes, fee waivers (for basic health care and education services), and subsidies are also included. From the case study organisations, programmes that fit in this category were orphans programmes, in-kind gifts, Ramadan, and *Kurban* programmes at MICO; Orphans, Ramadan, and *Udh-hiya* programmes at ACA; and ZASO's food relief project.

Social welfare services: these are non-contributory programmes that provide protection to specific groups, such as most vulnerable children and older people, by providing them with care. It also includes provision of rehabilitation services for children in or at risk of conflict with the law. The CSOs programmes that served this purpose were: ZASO's orphanage programme and the ZACA's psychosocial support project, especially its MVC support component.

Labour market programmes: these are programmes that provide protection for poor people who are able to work and aim to ensure basic standards of the poor. In the

context of the case study organisations, these programmes were designed to build entrepreneurial capacity of people and increase their employability, either as self-employed or in more profitable economic sectors. Programmes that served this purpose included MICO's women economic empowerment programme; ACA's small business programme; and the Youth entrepreneurial skills development component in ZACA's psychosocial support project.

However, programmes cannot stand on their own, they must be linked with the national system in order for them to be countable within the NSPS. Linking programmes, in this context, means aligning programmes with the guidelines and system set by the government in matters concerning identification of beneficiaries, and the standard operating procedures. Programmes have also to be known by the responsible authority, their existence and the benefits they offer to beneficiaries and so be complementary part of collective efforts to reducing poverty in the country. This is indeed what was missing in the case study organisations' programmes. All of them implemented programmes/projects but most of them did not play the complementary role to the national system. The responsible authorities had no adequate information about their programmes and they did not follow all the standards, particularly on registration of beneficiaries.

Amongst the case study organisations only ZACA thought of consulting DESW or district offices for the list of possible beneficiaries in order to identify areas of operation. ZASO served very particular group with very high level of vulnerability, however, their list did not entirely come from the responsible authority or the NSPS but instead from different sources in which children with the desired characteristics could be found, irrespective of whether the responsible authority was aware of them or not. MICO and ACA's orphans programmes had similar tendency. They both targeted orphans while orphanhood is not exclusively the criterion for being an MVC and so eligible of receiving social assistance benefits. In this respect we can hardly say that the CSOs interventions had any linkage with the NSPS, and so their impact on national poverty reduction was highly questionable. When asked the question whether they knew anything about the ZSPP, almost all staff members at MICO and ZASO showed no clue about its existence, and only few (1-2 people) at ACA and ZACA had little knowledge about it. Lack of

knowledge on ZSPP justified lack of compliance to the national standards as well as the NSPS. Contrary to this reality, the ZSPP attributed the following role to NGOs and FBOs:

⇨ To work with ministry responsible for social protection in delivering their social protection interventions;

⇨ To ensure that the quality and value of what they deliver are recognized by the ministry and reach the right people in accordance with the national guidelines for selection of programme beneficiaries and standard services for poor and most vulnerable.

Both of the two policy obligations laid on by the ZSPP were not met by the case study organisations. In addition, the ZSPP was translated by an implementation plan, which among other things acknowledges existence of substantial work of CSOs on social protection service delivery in Zanzibar. It also highlights a number of challenges facing CSOs, including the following:

⇨ They offer in-kind or cash support to a small number of vulnerable households with orphans, especially around religious festivals. The size of programme usually depends on the resources available that allow extension of coverage to reach more beneficiaries. In the context of CSOs and the ZSPP implementation plan itself this challenge was not really a matter, however, we can talk of the concentration of supports in some days or months and leave the rest of the year as a matter of concern when it comes to poverty reduction. ACA provides an appropriate example to justify this case;

⇨ The supports tend to be limited and ad hoc, rather than regular and substantial. This is very serious issue that needs further action. We have seen that amongst the four organisations only ACA offered regular cash transfers. MICO diverted most of its cash transfers from 'regular, reliable and predictable' to a kind of 'not regular, unreliable and unpredictable' programmes;

⇨ There is no reliable data on the age breakdown of beneficiaries covered by CSO programmes, given that the transfers are primarily targeted to orphans and that the incidence of orphanhood increases substantially with age, these programmes could

only be expected to predominantly reach older children (school-aged children and adolescent). In deed the programmes by case study organisations faced this challenge, however, from the observation made, majority of beneficiaries in all CSOs were school-age children. For example, at ACA beneficiaries of orphans programme had to be registered in specific madrasas, while the average age for enrollment in madrasas and nursery schools is 4 years;

⇨ Lack of coordination between CSOs to ensure proper geographical distribution in the implementation of their programmes. As mentioned earlier, this was still a challenge considering that majority of CSOs, including the case study organisations, were located in nearby locations.

The above challenges indicate lack of proper engagement of CSO programmes within the NSPS. While some of these challenges were beyond the capacity of CSOs, some were within their capacity, such as availability of reliable data and even coordination between themselves. Other challenges such as irregularity of benefits were beyond their capacity but CSOs could address it to their respective donors so that they could make proper contribution within the NSPS. These donor related concerns could be addressed if CSOs themselves took leading role in informing and convincing their donors to comply with the government guidelines.

8.4 CSO RELATIONS WITH THE STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT

CSO relation with the state is one of the most important elements that determine the growth and development of CSOs in Tanzania (Haapanen, 2007). Across the history of Zanzibar and Tanzania at large, CSOs have been occupying different positions in their relation with the state and the government. First they were burned from existence, then they were infiltrated as part or agent of the state, playing an important role in service delivery to the communities and later as independent entities but restricted from interference in some aspects of the society such as political life of the country (Babeiya, 2011). Currently, the state recognizes CSOs as partners in poverty alleviation and creates space for their involvement in policy processes, but at the same time the state creates laws to control CSOs.

In relation to this study, the findings show that the relation between the case study organisations and the state was good. The fact that these CSOs had been registered and been able to maintain their registration for decades implied sufficient level of relation with the state and the government. Relation here was measured in terms of CSOs receiving or not of the invitations to participate in various government activities; voluntary participation in government prepared events and celebrations; the tendency of inviting government officials in CSO activities; and the existence of any conflict situation between the CSOs and government MDA, including reception of any disciplinary penalties from the government. At greater extent, all the above measures appeared to be positive in all case study organisations.

All case study organisations reported to have received invitations from government departments to attend meetings and other activities. All case study organisations used to attend the quarterly social protection stakeholders meetings organized by the DESW. This is very important considering the absence of proper coordination mechanism by the government to coordinate social protection interventions in Zanzibar. Some organisations reported to have received trainings from the government. ZACA benefited from the training on designing social protection programmes and policy offered by the DESW (Interview D3). The social protection training course was held to build the capacity of members of the technical committee comprised representatives of a wide range of government and non-government bodies and who were engaged in the development of the ZSPP. The course provided participants with the opportunity to examine some of the latest developments and thinking in social protection theory and practice. It introduced some global examples but importantly, gave participants time and support to consider what the role of social protection was, and what interventions were appropriate for the social protection policy in Zanzibar. This engagement could be the reason why some of ZACA's members of staff were aware of the existence of ZSPP.

In addition, despite the government having no budget allocation for CSOs, some of them had received benefits worth to mention here. ZACA for example had received several projects supported by the government through the Ministry of Health. MICO on her side, received tax waivers for the importation of containers with charity items. These

were not direct transfer of money to these CSOs but gave great deal of benefits to the benefiting organisations.

In general, the relation between the two parties can be said to be good. However, based on the observation made in each case study organization, this good relationship was attributed to a number of factors. At least four factors are worth mentioning here:

⇨ CSOs interventions on service delivery, particularly those supporting poverty reduction efforts, attracted government willingness to collaborate. The fact that all the CSOs involved in this study worked on service delivery to the poor acted as an evidence of genuine intension of helping the government in serving the society. Studies show that CSOs working on advocacy have weaker relation with the government compared with those engaged in service delivery (Harrison, 2018). Advocacy CSOs tend to use approaches that involves higher risks of putting them in conflict with the government and hence weaken their relations.

⇨ Engagement of government officials and other influential people in the Boards of Trustees of the CSOs. These people acted as catalyst of the relation between the CSOs and the government. Three out of four organisations had high government officials or influential people in their boards of trustees. ZACA for example, had the Deputy Attorney General of RGoZ as Deputy Chairperson of its Board of Trustees. This not only advertised ZACA within government organisations but also increased acquisition of trust from donors who implemented projects with CSOs.

⇨ Disengagement of these CSOs in political activities and contradicting affaires with the government. Historically, the ban of CSO activities after independence was taken to avoid these institutions from interference in political life of the country. Until today, CSOs are not required to engage in any political activities in order for them to peacefully work. Engagement in matters that disinterest the government and or in political affaires is one of the factors which may not only create conflicts with the government but may also lead to legal nullification of registration for the CSO. All case study organisations worked their level best to comply with this,

however, speculations over the involvement in political biasness for some organisations was not entirely isolated, but this was very insignificant (Interview A21).

⇨ Another factor worth to consider here is the consideration of government institutions in the provision of some in-kind transfers and services. It was observed that during distribution of materials by FBOs, some government institutions benefited from the transfers in the same way people in communities did. For example, MICO reported to donate a medical refrigerator worth over Tsh. 50,000,000 to the ministry of health for the storage of human blood. Again, during the in-kind distribution exercise at MICO, over 150 boxes of soap were provided to Prison Authority and 50 boxes to DESW for Mazizini State Orphanage. MICO also reported to do the same in *Kurban* programme that distributed meat and other programmes that offered in-kind support (Interview A27).

As mentioned earlier this study examined four CSOs directly involved in the provision of social protection services (in cash or in-kind) to the poor. This characteristic distanced them from political affairs of the state and government. Instead, it brought them closer to the community they were serving and hence increased their visibility within the society and the government at all levels.

8.5 CSO RELATIONS AMONG THEMSELVES

Relations, and especially working relations between CSOs were also another issue that needed to be addressed by this study. In general, relations between the case study organisations were good but needed to be improved so that they could improve their work relations. There was closer relation between MICO and ACA than between ZASO and ZACA. MICO and ACA had long term relation rooted from the existence of strong ties between the founders of the two organizations. Some members of MICO used to be members of ACA (Interview A11). Also, these two organisations sometimes shared in-kind materials for transferring to their beneficiaries. MICO reported to have received some packages from ACA during the month of Ramadan for distributing to their beneficiaries (Interview A1; A16). In the same way, MICO provided ACA with meat from its *Kurban*

programme and other in-kind transfers from its in-kind gifts programme to support distribution exercise during Eid al Hajj and other distribution periods (Interview B16; B19; A11).

In addition, MICO and ACA had tendency of communicating and agreeing on some of the activities when appeared to be about implementing similar projects both at the same place. It occurred once that these two institutions wanted to build a mosque at nearby locations, through existing communication between them the agreement was met. This however, occurred as a coincidence since was not pre-determined or planned and was only realized during the time when each organization was about to implement the project. In this respect, the two entered in negotiation to leave ACA proceed with the execution of the project and MICO found another place to implement hers. If these organisations had regular and well developed coordination mechanism they could have better plan for the execution of their assets construction programmes. This coordination also did not happen in their orphans programmes. Coordination and relation among CSOs need to be improved to allow the following:

⇨ Regular exchange of information between organisations. Information such as list of beneficiaries of their orphans programmes could help to avoid duplication of efforts;

⇨ Planning and implementing programmes and activities related to water supply, construction and other in-kind support programmes;

⇨ Sharing knowledge, in the form of exchange programmes, on the designing, implementation, monitoring and fund raising strategies, and

⇨ Sharing best practices in the implementation of some activities shared between them;

MICO also reported to have supported other CSOs, including Sana Foundation, Zanzibar University Social Workers Association (ZUSWA) and Jang'ombe Group. These CSOs received some in-kind transfers from MICO to support community activities

organized by them. The most common materials provided included clothing (T-shirts), furniture, meat and other food items (Interviews A1; A2; A3).

Between NGOs, the relation appeared to be good but not as good as it was between FBOs. There was no direct involvement in the business of each other between the two organisations. In the past, ZASO implemented a project that resembled with the one implemented by ZACA, but there was no information sharing or any sort of communication between the two organisations. The two CSOs were established in the same period (between 1995 and 1998) and were both dealing with children and youth. Considering the size of Zanzibar, it is impossible for these organisations to never have worked together in the past. It is especially so given that during 1990s the number of CSOs in the country was very small and the interaction between them was very high. This highlighted an existence of underground conflict between the two NGOs (Observation noted during field work at both organisations). However, collaboration with other CSOs appeared to be better than the one existed between ZASO and ZACA.

Both ZASO and ZACA were members of at least three network/umbrella organisations. They were members of Zanzibar Non-Governmental Organisations Cluster for HIV/AIDS (ZANGOC) and the Association of Non-Governmental Organisations in Zanzibar (ANGOZA), both organisations located in Zanzibar. They were also members of the Tanzania Human Right Defenders Coalition (THRDC) located in Mainland Tanzania. In addition, ZASO was in much better position in terms of relation with other CSOs. It was in active contact with ZAPHA+ (an NGOs that acted as sources of beneficiaries of ZASO's programmes), Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA), Zanzibar Legal Service Centre (ZLSC) and Zanzibar Muslim Women Aids Support Organisation (ZAMWASO). Some of these CSOs were also in good contact with ZACA as well, but only ZAFELA appeared in the picture during the field work at ZACA. These networks could help members with the resources needed to engage in different processes and use evidences. Effective networking allow CSOs access specific capacity lacking in their context (Court et al., 2006). For example, if an organisation lacks the capacity of generating high quality programme design, the network with think tank can help to build capacity and or design quality programmes in the demanding organisation.

Accessing capacity via networks is also gaining in importance due to questions about the role and duplication of effort by individual CSOs (Court et al., 2006). This is to finally say that despite the relation between ZASO and ZACA being seemingly not very good, their relations with other CSOs appeared to be sufficiently good. However, the absence of clear evidence on the way they collaborated with the majority of these organisations highlighted the need for stronger collaboration between CSOs working in social protection in Zanzibar.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the analysis of the findings on coordination and linkage for the case study organisations. The purpose was to see whether the case study organisations had any relational situations that could impede or stimulate their relations with the government. It answered the research question 4 that aimed at assessing coordination and linkages of CSOs' interventions with the national social protection system and among CSOs themselves. In this respect, the chapter began by analyzing coordination mechanism existed for CSOs activities. It was found that the government through the ministry responsible for social protection is responsible for putting in place such a mechanism to coordinate social protection interventions by CSOs and other actors in Zanzibar. This role has not yet been adequately fulfilled by the government, even though initiatives had already started. Stakeholders meetings and submission of annual implementation reports were the only mechanism followed to track down and coordinate CSO activities, but this was judged insufficient considering that not all CSOs submitted their reports regularly and that not all CSOs attended the meetings or got the chance to speak on the meetings.

Regarding CSO relations with the NSPS, it was clear that despite having many programmes that targeted poor people and other members of the society, programmes of the case study organisations had no sufficient linkage with the NSPS. This was attributed to not only poor alignment of their programmes' objectives but also their targeting mechanisms and procedures used to identify their programme beneficiaries. The standard operating procedures used in the delivering the services were also judged not reflecting

the social protection standards. As a result their programmes were judged to be inefficient in reaching the poor and so producing less impact on the national system.

CSO relations with the state appeared to be relatively good and sustained over a long period of time. Disengagement in political activities, working in service delivery to the poor and other factors contributed to this long term relation between the two parties. However, there was unexpected situation in terms of the relations between CSOs themselves. The relation between themselves was generally not good enough. This was particularly serious among NGOs where indicators of good relation was almost inexistent. FBOs had tendency of sharing some information and materials, and collaborated in some activities, indicating good relation between MICO and ACA.

CHAPTER NINE

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the main conclusions reached by the research in relation to the research question on the role of CSOs on financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar, and its implication to our understanding of CSOs contribution on poverty reduction in Zanzibar. It also outlines main conclusions based on its specific questions in relation to CSO poverty targeted programmes, their designs and coverage, targeting and its efficiency in reaching the real poor, institutional capacity and financial sustainability and finally coordination mechanism and linkage. The chapter begins by outlining the main conclusions of the thesis. These conclusions are the general findings of this study. It then outlines the main conclusions specific to each research question so as to provide empirical answers to those questions. The chapter also reveals the mismatch exposed by this thesis. This mismatch is vis-à-vis the notion whether CSOs plays important role in the poverty reduction and so can be considered potential mechanism for social protection financing or not. Finally, the chapter offers recommendations elaborating measures to be taken to improve the shortcomings identified in each research question. The aim is to increase efficiency in the operation of CSOs on poverty reduction and social protection financing.

9.2 OUTLINING THE MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE THESIS

This thesis analysed the work of the two categories of CSOs, namely FBOs and NGOs. The findings show that all case study organisations' interventions had indications of little impact on poverty reduction, due to shortcomings in a number of areas. They implement many programmes but they are not as efficient as they can be on poverty reduction. In this way, their role in the national social protection system is also minimal. However, there is still a need to coordinate and build capacity of these organisations so

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that they can play their expected role on financing social protection and reducing poverty. Also among other things, findings show that:

CSO programmes were poorly designed and implemented and poorly linked to NSPS. FBOs had more, in terms of number, and bigger poverty reduction activities than NGOs. However, all together, their role on financing social protection appeared to be questionable due to their programmes lacking potential linkages with the NSPS. Programmes impact on social protection was therefore very minimum as well. Also, despite having significant number of programmes the contribution of this category of CSOs on poverty reduction in the country appeared to be significantly low. Majority of organisations do not go through proper programme planning and design processes, and those doing it processes are done by donors who support the programmes/projects. In the later, a more systematic planning and design take place but dominated by respective donors, leaving the local implementers with little to say about the programme.

Coverage of all case study organisations appeared to be small and so making its impact on poverty reduction smaller than expected. Adding on the small number of beneficiaries of all programmes with inefficiency in targeting, graduation and implementation of programmes make the role of these organisations on poverty reduction even smaller than appeared in the literature.

Targeting of beneficiaries was inefficient in reaching the real poor and did not adequately observe national and social protection standards. Poor targeting results into allocating very few resources to the poor, while the non-poor occupying the bigger portion of the benefits provided by the organisations. It was also caused by the influence of donors who usually require their money to be spent for specific groups, such as orphans for the case of FBOs.

There was over dependence on external financing, though with less likelihood of influencing national policy agenda. Local donors were available but were very few and mostly individual and those close to the organisations – the co-founders and or close family and friends. Lack of local donors in turn stimulates most case study organisations to go for foreign funding sources. However, foreign donor influence on national policies

through these CSOs was inexistent. Absence of financial support from the government has also tripled this problem. Sources of funding for the case study organisations were also crucial in deciding what projects they implement and the way they implement them. FBOs directed their cash transfer programmes to orphans as a result of the desire of their fund sources. Contrary to that, NGOs directed their programmes based on their programme designs put forward by their donors.

Coordination and linkage with the NSPS and the poverty reduction strategy was also very minimal, indicating their small contribution on the same. However, poor coordination among CSOs was found to be primarily the outcome of lack of action by the government to create such a mechanism to coordinate CSOs poverty related activities. The government has a plan to put in place such a coordination system but never implemented the plan. This has also contributed to some of the problems explained above such as targeting of beneficiaries.

Finally, poverty was conceptualized differently between NGOs and FBOs, where FBOs directed their definition of poverty on religious basis while the counterpart defined it based on the levels of vulnerability people faced. This had also affected the way they targeted groups in their programmes. FBOs directed much of their supports to orphans to reflect religious insistence to support this group while NGOs prioritized on vulnerable children to reflect their conception.

9.3 OUTLINING THE MAIN CONCLUSIONS BASED ON SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There were four specific questions attempted in this thesis, each covering specific areas that are related to CSOs operations and their efficiency. The first research question asked about programme design, their efficiency and coverage. Based on this research question the following were found:

- In terms of programmes, FBOs had more programmes than NGOs. Each FBO ran at least 9 active programmes inclusive of both charity and non-charity programmes. The size of these programmes were also bigger than those implemented by NGOs. NGOs tend to implement one or two programmes and they

were in project basis, required to be reassessed every after short time (six months to one year).

- The nature of interventions of the four case study organisations took three forms, but differed between FBOs and NGOs: those directly related with poverty reduction; pure business interventions; and those using poverty reduction pretest to realize business objectives. This was evident among FBOs (MICO and ACA) which involved water supply projects and ACA's Udh-hiya programme. Majority of programmes that offers support to orphans, poor and vulnerable children fell under the first category and had direct linkage with poverty reduction. Among NGOs their activities could also be categorized into three: advocacy, capacity building and service delivery. The last two categories had, in one way or the other, direct relation with poverty reduction, while the rest was either inexistent during the field work or had no any linkage with poverty reduction. There were also programmes that offered water supply services to communities which helped people to get rid of water problem in their communities.

- NGOs had well designed projects compared to FBOs. They took advantage of the capacities of their donors to well design and implement their projects. FBO programmes lacked proper design that could maximize their impact on poverty. Their programmes involved high flexibility in all aspects, from identification of beneficiaries to the delivery of services. This also contradicted with the social environment which basically required stricter programmes to achieve efficiency.

- Majority of case study organisations (3 of 4) offered both cash and in-kind support to their recipients. Cash support was mostly provided by FBOs and was meant to be regular and mainly directed to orphans and in smaller amount to poor people in communities. NGOs did not offer any cash in regular basis, instead cash support appeared in capacity strengthening that enabled recipients to build their economic bases through creation of income generating activities.

- The coverage of FBO programmes was higher than that of NGO programmes. FBOs covered more geographical areas and more people in both cash and in-kind

transfer programmes. This was because they run bigger programmes and had more programmes than NGOs. The smallness of NGO programmes/projects restricted both the number of beneficiaries and geographical coverage of those projects.

- All case study organisations covered rich areas more than the poor ones. About 90 percent of beneficiaries of cash transfer programmes by MICO and ACA were in Unguja and Urban-West region in particular, where poverty rates were the lowest, while Pemba despite having highest poverty rates had lowest coverage. Other programmes that offered in-kind support had the same trend. ZASO and ZACA covered only few districts in Unguja but the coverage was also uneven between the poor and rich districts. The urban region had higher coverage compared to the rest of districts and regions. Any poverty targeting programme is expected to target the poorest areas first in order to increase programme impact on poverty.

- In terms of internal arrangement for the implementation of their programmes, all case studies put in place mechanism that supported during days when they had extra workloads that required extra workforce. They all engaged in volunteers to fill in the gap, or in the case of MICO and ACA, hired temporary workers to support with the tasks. These mechanisms enabled organisations to cope with extra labour demanding situations.

- Between the three majour approaches known to be used in service delivery, the charity-based and needs-based approaches appeared to be mostly used among the case study organisations. The use of RBA was inexistent across all the case studies.

The second research question argued about the targeting of beneficiaries and its efficiency and whether it was rigorous enough vis-à-vis the national guidelines. Here, few areas were looked at, including targeting methods and their efficiency, grievance and complaints mechanisms as well as graduation and exit. The following conclusions are worth to mention here.

- Four targeting methods were used by case study organisations to identify areas of operations and beneficiaries of their programmes. These were geographical,

categorical, poverty assessment, and self-targeting methods. Many programmes however, used geographical targeting as a first level, then applied other techniques, especially poverty assessment, to identify their beneficiaries. However, those techniques were used differently by different organisations and programmes depending on their circumstances. Generally, it was observed that across all methods the possibility of high inclusion and exclusion errors in targeting was high.

- Majority of organizations used their own targeting procedures and criteria to identify their programme beneficiaries. In these procedures there were no linkage with the national standards and their efficiency was questionable. Among the four organisations only ZACA used the national data in the identification of beneficiaries of its project, and ZASO applied the right criterion but without following the procedure for selection. Other organizations used other criteria which were not well developed or even not written that could be accessed by all workers of the same organisation.

- Orphanhood was the main criterion used by FBOs in the identification of beneficiaries of their regular cash transfer programmes. While based on the national guidelines, being an orphan does not automatically make a child being an MVC and so recipient of social assistance. This indicated a huge disagreement with the national guidelines on targeting. However other programmes that supplied services to communities used different criteria which were more need-based.

- It was also found that many programmes failed to reach the real poor. Improper selection criteria caused high inclusion error which in turn increased inefficiency in targeting. However, there were some differences between FBOs and NGOs, where NGOs were more efficient in reaching the right beneficiaries compared with FBOs.

- All regular cash transfer programmes by MICO and ACA targeted individuals instead of households to increase both coverage and efficiency in poverty

reduction. This was essentially the design error which needed knowledge and skills on how to design social transfer programmes that fit their contexts.

- Some in-kind transfers offered by FBOs were provided universally, especially at MICO where these kinds of transfers were many. Other organisations continued using targeting approach for these kinds of transfers, partly because of the small size of their programmes.

- There was no tailored grievance mechanisms in all case study organisations that allowed beneficiaries and other community members to submit their complaints and dissatisfactions about the programmes. The organisations allowed beneficiaries to go to their offices and ask about whatever they wanted but this could not give free and anonymous chance to address some of important issues in fear of being expelled from the programmes.

- Finally, none of the case study organisations followed poverty graduation model which insists on the removal of beneficiaries from the programme once they reach certain threshold of wellbeing. In all case study organisations, graduation was based on change in the characteristics of beneficiaries such as getting out of schools/madrasas or reaching above eligibility age. While in some organisations (like MICO) graduation was almost inexistent, in others it was not figured in the programme design (ZACA).

- In general, the analysis of this research question highlighted the presence of great weaknesses in targeting and identification of their programme beneficiaries. The rigour in relation to the national as well as professional/social protection standards was not adequately reflected in all case study organisations. However, although NGOs had no regular cash transfer programmes their targeting of beneficiaries in other projects was better than FBOs. This indicated, among other things, a need for capacity building of CSOs on targeting as well as on designing and implementing graduation model in their programmes.

In terms of the third research question which asked about the capacities (administrative and financial) of the case study organisations to deliver and sustain social protection programmes, the following were noted.

- All case study organisations lacked capacities to design effective social protection programmes that reflected social context of their surroundings. FBOs had too simple and flexible programmes reflecting their insufficient knowledge on designing effective programmes while NGOs depended heavily on donors to design their programmes leaving themselves with no say on their programmes.

- All case study organisations had clear understanding of what they were doing, including their vision, missions and objectives. This understanding was also shared among majority of staff members, thing which helped in shaping their organisations and deployment of staff.

- Each organisation had sufficient number of workers to carry out the daily works, but this number was not sufficient during labour demanding exercises occurred in some days, such as cash payment days, in-kind distribution exercises and meat and food packages distributions. In such situations different arrangements were put in place to rescue the situation, including engagement of volunteers and part time workers. Also, FBOs appeared to have many more workers compared to NGOs, mainly due to having more and bigger programmes requiring more labour force.

- It was also found that top level officers of all case study organisations had sufficient knowledge and experiences of running such activities and held university degrees or above. However, majority of normal workers had non degree levels of education. The most common fields of study however were not related to social protection, instead were on Islamic studies, education, accounting and finance, business, health sciences and computer skills. Generally, sufficient knowledge on social protection was missing in all organisations.

- In terms of capacities, all organisations demonstrated sufficient capacity to implement their programmes, but they potentially lacked capacity to design

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effective social protection programmes. Between the two categories, NGOs demonstrated less organizational capacity to run their offices than FBOs.

- Some of the case study organisations (ACA and ZACA) owned their own offices, implying holding strong basis for their organizational achievements. In addition, all organisations held sufficient working tools and equipment for their programmes, including vehicles and computers. Those involved with water supply programmes had even drilling machines used for both charity and business projects. This is a great indicator of organizational sustainability.

- All organisations that offered regular transfers offered very generous benefit ranging from Tsh. 11,667 to Tsh. 64,800 per month, but the difference is huge between these organisations. The highest benefit level covered about 172% and 121% of FPL and BNPL respectively. Some of these amounts were more generous than most of cash transfer programmes implemented by the government in Zanzibar. MICO had three different benefit levels applied to different beneficiaries of the same programme. This created inequality between beneficiaries.

- Regularity and reliability of benefits provided was still a challenge for some organisations. None of the case study organisations had fixed date of delivery of their benefits, but some were better than others. Between all case studies, MICO had the most irregular and unreliable programme following the absence of both the guarantee of receiving the benefit on time and at the right amount. Other organisations somehow maintained their regularity but with no fixed transfer date. In social transfer programmes, both regularity and reliability of benefits have significant impact on poverty reduction (Samson et al., 2010).

- In terms of the adequacy of benefits against poverty line and the actual life expenses, the analysis showed that the programmes provided sufficient replacement rate against poverty line of an individual, though was low compared to the average household seize of Zanzibar. The adequacy vis-à-vis the poverty lines ranged between 30.6% and 172% of FPL and 21.8% and 121% of BNPL.

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Food transfer programmes offered over 100 percent of food poverty line. These replacement rates were acceptable for any social assistance programme since they covered over 20 percent of poverty line (Samson et al., 2010).

- The benefits provided for the income generating activities were not enough to establish meaningful projects that could fulfil poverty reduction objective. MICO and ACA offered working tools and machineries for the same purpose, though additional support was required to support attainment of their goals.

- All case study organisations appeared to rely heavily on external sources of funding, either from institutions or individual donors. Domestic funding was almost inexistent. However, donor policy influence through CSOs appeared to be inexistent, partly because of the nature and capacities of the CSOs themselves and because of disinterest of donors to interfere with government issues. At the mean time over dependence of foreign donors implied lack of sustainability of their programmes. Though MICO and ACA appeared to have more sustainable sources of funding compared with ZASO and ZACA.

- MICO had more donor institutions than any other CSO. It had over 9 funders supporting more than one programmes. ACA on the other hand, had more individual donors but well committed to support. Both MICO and ACA used partnership or framework agreement model of funding. ZASO and ZACA had less donors, each supporting specific projects. They used more of the combination of donor call-for-proposal and support for specific project models of funding. Additionally, donors who supported FBOs were longer lasting compared with those supported NGOs. Majority of FBO donors was supporting these institutions for over five years as compared with donors of NGOs who supported short-term projects of annual or semi-annual basis. This implied existence of certain attraction of donors among FBOs than NGOs.

- There was no any direct financial support from the government to the case study organisations. The only support from the government to these CSOs appeared in three forms: some (MICO and ACA) received food packages from government

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institution (WTC) to support their distribution; Tax reduction or exemption for the importation of charity materials (the case of MICO); and sub-contraction of certain CSOs (ZACA) to perform some functions in projects implemented by the government.

- In summary, the analysis of this research question highlighted the presence of institutional capacity and sustainability, in terms of organizational infrastructure and equipment, but less in terms of financial sustainability. In this way, running most of programmes may be impossible under the absence of foreign donor funding.

The final research question asked about coordination and linkage of CSOs interventions with the national social protection system, the government and among CSOs themselves. The following findings can be taken from the analysis of this question.

- There was no proper coordination mechanism in place to coordinate all social protection interventions by CSOs in Zanzibar. This was in deed the role of the government, through the ministry responsible for social protection in collaboration with Registrar's office. The existed way of exchanging information was through reporting and coordination meetings which did not happen regularly.

- In relation with the NSPS, interventions of the case study organisations could participate in three areas of the system: social assistance to the poor; social welfare services to those in need and labour market programmes aimed to create employment opportunities and or increase employability of people. Social assistance to the poor was dominant in most organisations under study.

- There was no linkage or alignment of these programmes with the national system. They did not follow the guidelines and the set systems regarding identification of beneficiaries and the standard operating procedures. Programmes were not known by the responsible government authority and so the complimentary role of CSOs interventions was missing in majority of their operations.

- The relation between the government and the Case study organisations was sufficiently good. All organisations had been holding legal registration for decades, and were involved in some government activities following invitation by the government. This relation led to some case study organisation to have received Tax exemptions, projects and material support from the government. Other factors contributed to good state-CSO relation included: being working on service delivery to support poverty reduction; engagement of government officials in the CSO board of trustees; disengagement in political affairs; and consideration of government institutions in the provision of some in-kind transfers and services.

- Among CSOs themselves, the relation was good but needed improvement to achieve efficiency in collective poverty reduction efforts. Among FBOs the relation was good but still duplication of efforts in orphans cash transfer programmes was witnessed. Other programmes between the two FBOs were in better collaboration. Among NGOs, the relation was not bad but was worse compared with FBOs. Although there was no direct conflict between them, there was no collaboration of any way. They were both members of the three network organisations working on their area, and so both ZASO and ZACA were in good relations with other NGOs working on the area.

9.4 THE MISPERCEPTION EXPOSED BY THIS THESIS

The problem addresses by this thesis was, among other things, derived from the perception that CSOs that provide social protection and welfare services in Zanzibar are important and that play significant role in the provision of those services to the poor, and so were considered important source for financing national social protection system and poverty reduction mechanism. This perception was shared not only among stakeholders but also among all policy and strategic documents that outline development agendas of the country. The Zanzibar Vision 2020, the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction, and the Zanzibar Social Protection Policy acknowledged this function and allocated specific roles to CSOs in relation to financing the noncontributory social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. Yet, some authors around the world also

acknowledge this statement of the government vis-à-vis CSO role on poverty (see ILO, 2010; USAID et al. 2019; Tomlinson, 2013 etc.).

In the same way, this research registered some traces of the important role played by the case study organisations in the past. Some CSOs such as ZASO were known to have established big projects that benefited so many poor people and produced significant impact on poverty reduction. The testimony was evident during field work to visit some of the beneficiaries of the former projects implemented by ZASO. Additionally, all the case study organisations were in close collaboration with the DESW, especially on matters concerning with children and MVC. ZASO, for example was among key actors in the MVC programme administered by the DESW. ZACA was also very close with the Ministry of Health, in malaria elimination project. However, all this was over a decade ago. The current situation which was witnessed by this study is a bit alarming. The situation of NGOs involved in this study indicates that they are currently struggling to find sustainable financing for their programmes, and even their organisations for others. On the other hand, the situation of FBOs involved in the study highlights the presence of big amount of foreign funding but with great irrelevance with the national poverty and social protection objectives. This also indicates the need for different sources of funding that will support achievement of both national poverty and social protection objectives. All these factors evidence the declining role of the case study organisations on poverty reduction and supporting social protection system in Zanzibar.

However, the decline in the role of CSOs on poverty reduction is not only caused by the factors outlined above, there are also other factors that contribute to this change. Firstly, there is an overall decline in donor funding to CSOs in Tanzania (Harrison, 2018). Studies show that foreign donor funding to CSOs is declining and those available are result-based (Ian and Leconte, 2003). This increases competition among CSOs on the few available funding sources. Secondly, the lack of administrative capacities of the institutions to explore opportunities that present themselves in their environment and operations. Thirdly, the lack of capacities to address concerns with their existing donors so that programmes can fulfil the role required by the system. Fourthly, poor implementation of some of their programmes has also contributed to withdrawal of some

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of their donors who supported important programmes. ZASO, for example, lost one of its funders because of this reason (Interview C3). Fifthly, poor designing and implementation of their programmes. This reduces their programme impact on poverty reduction.

The statement that CSOs were potential partners in poverty reduction and social protection financing was a misconception in the sense that based on the findings of this study the situation appeared to be a bit questionable. This thesis recorded significant gap between what is supposed to be, as 'effective players' of poverty reduction, and social protection financing and the actual role they performed in their operations. There was little linkage of their programmes with the national systems. Majority of the case study organisations did not comply with the national guidelines as well as professional standards regarding targeting of beneficiaries and service delivery. This alone raised questions on whether the benefits provided by these organisations reached the right beneficiaries. This was also supported by insufficient consciousness of the case study organisations to complement government effort on poverty reduction. Additionally, all case study organisations (particularly NGOs) had little or no control over the support they received form their donors, and so programmes were more donor driven and less reflective of the local priorities.

However, it should be noted that, despite these criticisms over the functioning and the contribution of the case study organizations on poverty reduction, this study believes that CSOs still have some contribution on poverty reduction. Except their role is not as big as it is perceived by many stakeholders and is not as effective as it can be. It is under this stance that the study argues that there is still a potential to coordinate these institutions so that they can play their expected role and reach their maximum level of impact on poverty. This study has identified a number of areas which could be worked on for better performance of CSOs that provide social protection and welfare services to the poor (see section 9.5 below). The case study organizations had also presented themselves as having sufficient capacities that could be considered as a success factor for the wellbeing of all other CSOs. Majority had sufficient staff, equipment and basic infrastructure necessary for the implementation of their activities. Additionally, they have achieved great deal of social capital which is concerned with delivering welfare services as well as general ties,

habits, relationships, and interactions with communities (Baldock et al., 2012). These, together with other factors, give CSOs validity of existence, on the one hand, and call for the improvement of the missing elements, on the other, in order for them to deliver more effective programmes on poverty reduction and social protection.

9.5 RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS BETTER CSO PROGRAMMES, POLICIES AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This section presents recommendations derived from various challenges that hindered effective achievement of CSO operations and their impact on poverty reduction. The recommendations highlights the key action points that need to be taken for the improvement of both the case study organisations' programmes and their impact on poverty reduction as well as government responsibility in relation to coordination and support of CSO operations. These recommendations are presented based on the research questions followed in this chapter.

Recommendations related to the first research question

⇨ CSOs to design programmes that are more reflective of the local social, political and economic environment so that they can easily achieve poverty objective. Socio-economically, the environments where all case study organisations located were characterized by people of mixed classes, where both poor and non-poor people have more less the same behaviour. In this situation, possibility of people who are not poor to consider themselves poor and so apply for social transfers is high. In this context, programme designs are supposed to set appropriate criteria for the consideration of that specificity as well as putting in place procedures to eliminate those who are not eligible. For example, a programme might include installing strict targeting protocols and procedures such as home visits and income verification to exclude those who do not qualify.

⇨ Programme designs should also consider social protection standards on how to design and implement social transfer programmes. Among other things, programmes should include setting specific schedules for the delivery of services; making proper follow-up; and introducing education sessions for the cash transfer

programmes to inform beneficiaries and their households on the best ways to spend the money for better outcome on lifting them out of poverty.

⇨ Make orphans cash transfer programmes conditional and make proper follow ups to ensure their compliances. Conditionality should require beneficiaries to attend school and clinic for the under fiver. For ACA, it should extend its conditions to attending school not just Madrasa to give children a chance to acquire universal education. However, this is only if there is no possibility of changing the target group at all, as recommended bellow.

⇨ Apply graduation model in the designing of programmes so that programmes can have greater impact on lifting people out of poverty. Graduation will not only increase efficiency on poverty reduction but will also increase coverage of beneficiaries. The model should be designed in such a way that places of those who get out of programme are filled in by new beneficiaries who meet eligibility criteria.

Recommendations related to the second research question

⇨ Both MICO and ACA orphans programmes need to change the target group from orphans to poor and MVCs and their households. If this is not possible (because of donor issues or other reasons) orphans programmes need to undertake majour reforms in their targeting systems to ensure that beneficiaries who are not only orphans but also poor and age appropriate are taken into the programme. This will increase the share of benefits going to the poor and those in need and hence increase their efficiency in poverty reduction.

⇨ Geographical targeting should be rooted from official statistics on poverty across shehias and avoid business as usual in targeting. This is more important for those programmes that offer in-kind benefits using universal approaches, such as MICO's meat distribution, in-kind gifts etc. The idea here is to give priority those villages and shehias where poverty rate is higher than others. In short, CSOs should implement its programmes and interventions by starting within the poorest districts or communities. This will not only facilitate and promote targeting

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efficiency but also increase programme outcomes and maximize impact on poverty reduction.

⇨ Divorce universal approach in the provision of in-kind benefits such as food packages and clothes. It was observed that universal approach followed by some CSOs in the distribution of in-kind transfers benefited non-poor more than the poor ones. Targeting the poor in these kinds of programmes will ensure that biggest portion of the benefit goes to the right beneficiaries.

⇨ CSO programmes to re-examine their IGA programmes to take into account poverty levels in targeting and implementation of their programmes. Majority of programmes, particularly those provided capital for IGA did not adequately consider levels of poverty of their beneficiaries instead they were more network based. Consideration of poverty levels of beneficiaries increase efficiency on poverty reduction.

⇨ Target households instead of individuals and then introduce benefit distribution formula for those households with more beneficiaries. Accumulating resources to many people of the same households means reducing coverage and efficiency in the use of those resources from the side of beneficiaries. Targeting households ensures extending coverage to as many eligible households as possible and increases efficiency in the use of benefits provided by the programmes.

⇨ CSOs to review their targeting mechanisms, criteria and procedures used in the identification of beneficiaries and adopt the national identification process, criteria and standards developed by the DESW. This will increase coherence with the national system and stimulate proper engagement of DESW on CSOs activities. CSOs can also benefit the expertise from the department on issues concerning designing of programs, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of their programmes.

⇨ Introduce a user friendly grievance and redress mechanism, to allow beneficiaries and the public to address their concerns regarding implementation of programmes. The mechanisms should among other things consider anonymity, costlessness and

easy submission of complains to reflect the kind of users or beneficiaries they are dealing with.

⇨ Increase the kinds of benefits and the number of beneficiaries in Pemba Island to promote equity between the two islands and be more poverty sensitive. Statistics show that poverty is higher in Pemba than in Unguja. This means that more poverty targeted programmes have to be allocated to Pemba than Unguja to smoothly achieve programme efficiency on poverty reduction.

Recommendations related to the third research question

⇨ ACA to change its payment arrangements of its cash transfer programmes from annually to at least quarterly in order to implement programmes which are more supportive to the poor. This, unfortunately, will increase administration costs but will also significantly increase programme efficiency on poverty of those beneficiaries.

⇨ CSOs to improve their IGA, especially on the levels of benefits provided to incorporate sustainability issue in their programmes. This is particularly the case at ZACA which offered small amount of cash for the IGA, which based on expert opinion was not sufficient to establish and sustain the activities.

⇨ Programmes that provide regular benefits in cash or in-kind should set specific distribution dates for the beneficiaries to collect their benefits to increase regularity and reliability of the benefits provided. Once the dates set should not be changed for unnecessary reasons. This applies to MICO's and ACA's cash transfer programmes and ZASO's foot relief project. Setting specific time will reduce both administration costs and beneficiary costs and increase efficiency.

⇨ Consider setting one benefit level for all beneficiaries of the same programme at MICO. Having several donors supporting the same cash transfer programme should be taken as an advantage instead of disadvantage. Setting uniform amount of transfer for all will bring about equality among beneficiaries of different donors of the same programme while at the same time may open room for extending

coverage if the level will be set in favour of the donor providing smallest amount or if the amount will be standardized by certain level of poverty line.

⇨ CSOs and donors have to make sure that mechanism for funding has been tailored to the specific CSO expectations and objectives as well to promote win-win situation. CSOs have to straggle to convince their donors to consider this alignment. This is particularly serious for ZASO and ZACA which missed complete control over their projects and so their expectations from the projects were not really met. The sense of belonging will also appear as a result of this initiative. CSOs can involve government authorities such as DESW and the registrar's office in search of this alignment or other negotiations with donors.

⇨ Consider capacity-building of staff of the case study organisations, on several elements of their programmes and activities, including: Increased capacity for data gathering and analysis for making evidence-based decisions; designing and implementation capacity of effective social protection and poverty reduction programmes; Monitoring and evaluation of social protection programmes; grievance development and planning and reporting etc.

⇨ Explore local funding for CSOs to reduce over dependency on foreign funding. This should include building capacities of local CSOs so that they can be self-reliance or at least rely more on funding from local sources. The strategies should include organizing periodic fund raising events that will ensure inflow of money; sensitizing alms and charity giving through their organisations (for FBOs); lobbying for the government allocation for their cause; soliciting local donors, etc.

⇨ The benefits provided for the IGA should be improved in either of the three ways: either, to replace machinery provision with cash; to increase the amount of benefit in the form of cash to allow wider variety of possible investments to reflect their environment, desire of beneficiaries and increase profits of their business; or do both at the same time.

⇨ CSOs to undertake a comprehensive review of their programmes to identify the appropriate benefit levels to be provided by their programmes. The review should

include looking at the current market demand of capital for investment (for their programmes that offer benefits for IGA) and the general life expenses for their other programmes that offer regular benefits. These two should then guide setting of the amount to be provided in their programmes.

Recommendations related to the fourth research question

⇨ A more systematic mechanism is required to monitor and coordinate CSOs activities and ensure their compliance to poverty reduction at national levels. The mechanism should integrate both interventions by government and non-government bodies that provide social protection services in the country. The government to put in place the mechanism to address this issue.

⇨ Government through the ministry responsible for social protection to work on the implementation of the ZSPP, and foster its monitoring across all actors. This, however, should go in line with dissemination and trainings on the policy. This study registered significant knowledge gap of the ZSPP among the case study organisations. The policy, together with its implementation plan, has outlined, among other things, key action points to strengthen coordination of social protection interventions, together with the role and responsibilities of all key actors. The government has to make sure proper actions are taken as per the plan.

⇨ FBOs to improve availability of reliable data, disaggregated by age and sex for their orphans and other programmes that offer cash transfers to the people. Lack of reliable data, however, is also witnessed across case study organizations, whether they offer cash or in-kind benefits. The exercise has to begin with the identification of a set of indicators from which data will be collected, to enable uniformity among organisations and allow comparison between them. The government through the DESW should work with CSOs to facilitate this exercise.

⇨ NGOs to improve their relations and collaboration between them, at least to the level of FBOs or better. Through regular or periodic meetings between the two, they can achieve exchange of information and experiences that would facilitate

their projects implementation and linking each other to funding opportunities. Umbrellar organisations can be very useful to support this development.

⇨ Improve the MVC database to work as the single registry expected to be developed in the coming fiscal year (2020-2021). This will help reduce both costs of developing new one and costs of inefficiency caused by having no one at all. It will also improve coordination of activities between all social protection actors in the country. The coordination structure as far as single registry is concerned has to take the form stipulated in figure 1 bellow.

Figure 1: Coordination Structure Between DESW and CSOs

Source: Researcher's own creation

NOTE: From the figure above, the DESW plays at least four main functions. It first sets standards for the operation and delivery of services to the poor by all actors. It offers various services to the poor within communities through the single registry, and also has the responsibility of identifying the poor who are eligible of receiving social assistances. It can do this in collaboration with CSOs and other stakeholders working on social protection. The DESW has also the role of developing and administering the Single registry, including the feeding of data regarding beneficiaries and the set of services needed by each beneficiary. CSOs, on the other side, have the role of providing different services to the poor. They are supposed to offer those services in accordance with the single registry, both in terms of beneficiaries themselves as well as their priority needs as outlined within the registry, which must have full access through their computers and internet. They will fill in all the information regarding the services they provide to each

beneficiaries through the registry. They also have to follow instructions and guidelines from the DESW, especially with regards to designing of programmes and their delivery of services, such as regularity and reliability of their transfers. They have also to collaborate with the DESW in matters concerning identification of beneficiaries when required. The single registry in this context is nothing but a platform or centre through which information on beneficiaries of social assistances can be found. It is designed in such a way that it allows interaction between actors (in government or non-government) with regards to service delivery to the poor and avoid duplication and concentration of services between them. The registry also offers custom and other reports on the delivery of services by different providers to beneficiaries at a given period of time. In simple terms, the single registry facilitates integration of the non-contributory component into the NSPS and the national poverty reduction strategy.

9.6. A FINAL WORD

This thesis examined the role of CSOs on financing social protection and reducing poverty in Zanzibar. The goal was to study these social institutions to identify their real role on poverty and whether these institutions can be potential source of financing social protection for the poor. The study did not intend to establish new theory of CSOs, neither did it intend to change the existing one, but explored their interventions to have deeper understanding of their strengths and weaknesses so that proper actions can be taken to increase their contribution and efficiency in their service delivery to the poor in communities in Zanzibar.

However, through this study our perception vis-à-vis CSOs that provide social protection services and their role on poverty reduction may require refinement to reflect developments put forward by this thesis. This also includes making proper alignment of statements within our national development strategies and or taking proper actions to improve the position of CSOs in national social protection system. Historically, CSOs in Zanzibar and Tanzania at large are known to play significant role in both poverty reduction and other service delivery. This role seems to be declining, probably because of declining inflow of funding to CSOs. This call for the government to now take its paternal role to support these organisations financially so that they can also effectively play their

complementary role on service delivery to the poor. This is my gentle message and request to the government.

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ANNEXTURE

ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDES
This guide was used in semi-structured interviews throughout the fieldwork for this thesis. The questions were asked in Swahili, the local language spoken in Tanzania. A standard translation of questions was prepared before the interviews to avoid different translations with different participants. Before each interview a short introduction explaining the research focus and the objective was given to make an interviewee aware and put them in the context. This also included making them aware that they can withdraw from the interview whenever they felt unwilling to continue with it.

Questions for Organisations Staff and Board Members:

	Interview Questions
Background questions	1. Age, sex, level of education, position, years of working within that organisation 2. Why do you work in this NGO/FBO? 3. What is your role in the organization? 4. How did you join? 5. What is the goal of the organization? 6. Have you received any training since employed with this organization?
Sub-question 1	1. What are the main activities of your organization? 2. How long have you been implementing those activities? 3. How do the organization's activities contribute to poverty reduction? 4. In which districts/areas are your programmes/activities implemented? And why did your organization choose to implement programmes in those areas? 5. How many beneficiaries do you have in every programme? 6. What kind of support does your organization give to beneficiaries? Cash, in kind, others? 7. What are the main target groups of your programmes? Children, elderly, households etc.? 8. What are the key design features of your programmes? 9. How often do you monitor and evaluate your programmes?

	10. What are the challenges you face in implementing the programmes? 11. Do you collaborate with any institution during designing and or implementation of the programmes? 12. Would you suggest any change on the way your CSO operates its activities/programmes?
Sub-question 2	1. How do you get beneficiaries of your programmes? 2. What are the criteria used to register into the programmes? 3. How does your organization define poor person? 4. What are your key approaches that you follow in targeting beneficiaries? Religious, national, your own, others? 5. What process one has to follow to get in to your programmes? 6. Is there anyone who helps you in targeting? Or do you collaborate with any institution during targeting of your beneficiaries? 7. Do you have tendency of graduating beneficiaries out of the programme? 8. What are the criteria you use to graduate/ get them out of the programme? 9. How do you consider your targeting mechanism? Good, simple, not good? 10. Would you suggest any change on the way your CSO identify its beneficiaries?
Sub-question 3	1. How many people work in this organization? 2. How many people are working on each programme? 3. Des the organization have all the necessary equipment to run its activities? Such as computers, vehicles, registers, etc.? 4. How much does your programmes offer monthly to beneficiaries? 5. How do you deliver the benefit? 6. Do you have any mechanisms for complaints, in case a beneficiary wants to make one? 7. How do you decide on the amount of benefit they receive? 8. Who decide on the level of benefit to be provided? 9. Do you think the amount provided is enough for them? 10. What are your main sources of fund?

	11. Do you get any donations from abroad? How often? How much?
	12. What proportion of your income comes from outside the country?
	13. How did your organization get connected to those donors?
	14. Why does the donor support you?
	15. What are the conditions of receiving the money from those donors?
	16. What do you give in return in order for you to continue receiving the money?
	17. Does the funding change with seasons or according to economic situation? In what way?
	18. Do donors have a say in the way you conduct your activities?
	19. Who monitors your activities and how does it work?
	20. What do you/ will you do when you have no projects or the donors? Any alternative plan?
	21. What are the key challenges you face regarding funding?
	22. Would you suggest any change on the way your CSO operates financially?
Sub-question 4	1. Do you submit reports to the government regularly? What about to donors?
	2. Do you receive any feedback when you submit reports to the government?
	3. Do you receive and follow any guidelines from the government regarding your programmes?
	4. If yes, what kind of guidelines do you receive? Regarding registration, reporting etc.?
	5. Do you know anything about the Zanzibar Social Protection Policy?
	6. How do you work with the government?
	7. Do you receive any support from the government? Funds, training etc.?
	8. Do you receive any support from other CSOs?
	9. How do you describe your relation with the government? Explain.
	10. How do you work with other CSOs?
	11. How do you describe your relation with other CSOs? Explain.
	12. How often do you monitor and evaluate your programmes?

	13. Do you collaborate with any institution during designing and or implementation of the programmes?
	14. Do you share your reports with other institutions or public?
	15. What are the challenges you face in implementing the programmes?
	16. What would you suggest to change in the way you work with the government and in your relationship with the same?

Questions for Recipients:

1. What kind of support do you receive from this NGO/FBO?
2. If you are receiving cash, what proportion of your monthly income comes from this support?
3. Is the support provided adequate to cover your needs? What proportion of your income/needs comes from/covered by this source?
4. How does the help they give you affect your living standards?
5. Have you or your household made any investment from the support you receive from this organization? If yes, what kind of investment?
6. Do you receive any support from other organisations? If yes, what do you receive?
7. If no, have you thought of applying for the same benefits in other organization?
8. Do you know any beneficiary from this organization who is also receiving support from other CSOs?
9. How often do you receive the support from this organization? Is it regular and reliable?
10. How do you know when is the benefit provided?
11. Do you face any difficulties in receiving your benefits?
12. How did you know about this organization?
13. How did you register/get into the programme?
14. Haw was the registration process? Easy, complicated, fair, unfair …?
15. Do they ask you for anything? Such as sending your kids to mosques, the madrasa etc.?
16. How do you spend the money for? Mention any three main expenditures of this money?
17. How did you cover these costs before you had the support from this CSO?
18. Would you consider yourself and your household a poor? If yes, why do you think you are poor?

19. Do you know any or other poor people who are receiving support from this organization?
20. How is their situation (those people you know)? Are they poor or not poor?
21. What will happen if you don't receive this support any more?
22. Do you think there is a possibility that one day you might emerge out of poverty? When would that happen?
23. What, if any, impact do you feel the support you receive has had on your economic and overall wellbeing?
24. In case you have any problem with the programme who do you contact? Or what do you do?
25. What do you think about the workers and administration of this organization?
26. What do you think should be done to improve the programme?

Questions for Respondents from the Government Departments:

1. Age, sex, position, years of working within your organisation
2. What is your role in the organization and in relation to CSOs?
3. Do you know any NGOs and FBOs working on social protection and poverty reduction?
4. Do you receive any reports from them? If yes, how often?
5. When you receive report from CSO do you also send feedback?
6. Do you participate in CSO activities? How often do they invite you in their activities?
7. What role do you play in these activities?
8. Do CSOs participate in your activities? How often do you invite them in your activities?
9. What role do they play in those activities?
10. What do you think about their activities? In terms of quality, size and transparency?
11. What do you think about their administrative capacities? In terms of number of worker, their technical capacities, financial capacities …?
12. Do you know anyone who is receiving support from CSOs?
13. How poor is she/he?
14. How does the support they receive help them?
15. How do you work with the CSOs?
16. Do you receive any support from the CSOs? Funds, training etc.?
17. How do you describe your relation with the CSOs? Explain.

18. Do you/your office normally provide any guidelines regarding the CSO activities?
19. Do they normally follow your guidelines or any guidelines provided by other government institutions?
20. Do you think CSOs play any role in poverty reduction in Zanzibar? Explain.
21. What would you suggest to change in the way you work with the CSOs and in your relationship with the same?
22. What do you think is missing within the CSOs programme?

Questions for Donors:

1. Why do you donate to this particular CSO?
2. How often do you support this organization?
3. What do you donate?
4. How much on average is each donation?
5. What conditions do institution have to fulfil in order to receive funds from you?
6. Are your donations part of your Zakat dues, Sadaqa (charity) or others?
7. Do you have any condition on how your money/support should be spent? If yes, what are those conditions?
8. What happen if an organization break those conditions?
9. Do you donate to other CSOs in Zanzibar or elsewhere a part from this one?
10. To how many CSOs do you donate in total?
11. What do you know about the activities of the CSO?
12. Have you noticed any changes from the way this CSO operate after receiving your support?
13. How do you define poverty?
14. Is there any role do you think you have to poverty reduction? Explain the role.
15. What are the key operational challenges this CSO is facing?
16. What are the challenges you face in working with this CSO?

ANNEX 2: INTERVIEWS DETAILED INFORMATION

	CASE STUDY 1: MUZDALIFA ISLAMIC CHARITABLE ORGANISATION (MICO)			
Code	**Name**	**Position**	**Date**	**Place**
A1	Jokha	Head Orphan Department	13/01/2020	MICO Office
A2	Aisha	Orphan department	14/01/2020	MICO office
A3	Salama	Project department	14/01/2020	MICO office
A4	Mohamed	Program Officer	15/01/2020	MICO Office
A5	Ustadh Makame	Volunteer	16/01/2020	MICO school
A6	Sauda	Finance Coordinator	17/01/2020	MICO Office
A7	Batuli	Beneficiary	17/01/2020	Her house
A8	Bi Khadija	Beneficiary	18/01/2020	Her house
A9	Bi Maryam	Beneficiary	18/01/2020	Her house
A10	Mohamed	Project Officer	20/01/2020	MICO Office
A11	Idrisa	Monitoring officer	23/01/2020	MICO Office
A12	Sauda	finance Coordinator	24/01/2020	MICO Office
A13	Intisar	Orphan Department	25/01/2020	MICO Office
A14	Shikh Abdalla	Chair person	25/01/2020	MICO Office
A15	Haji	Chief of Staff	27/01/2020	MICO Office
A16	Pirika	Head of Projects	28/01/2020	MICO Office
A17	Mohamed	Project Officer	28/01/2020	MICO Office
A18	Abdulrahman	Ass Accountant	29/01/2020	MICO Office
A19	Omar	Project Officer	30/01/2020	MICO Office
A20	Siti	Mother of beneficiaries	31/01/2020	Her house
A21	Farouk	Director	01/02/2020	MICO Office
A22	Salama	Project department	03/02/2020	MICO Office
A23	Pirika	Head of Projects	03/02/2020	MICO Office
A24	Issa	ZFDA	05/02/2020	Slaughter place
A25	Talib	Beneficiary	05/02/2020	Distribution point
A26	Zakia	Beneficiary	05/02/2020	Amani pay point
A27	Pirika	Head of Projects	07/02/2020	MICO Office
A28	Asma	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A29	Lailat	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point

A30	Abdulaziz	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A31	Suleiman	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A32	Najma	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A33	Ziada	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A34	Salma	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A35	Bi Zuwena	Beneficiary	08/02/2020	Amani pay point
A36	Ali	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point
A37	Habib	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point
A38	Hanifa	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point
A39	Wardat	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point
A40	Hidaya	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point
A41	Subira	Beneficiary	09/02/2020	Amani pay point

CASE STUDY 2: AL-NOOR CHARITABLE AGENCY FOR THE NEEDY (ACA)

Code	Name	Position	Date	Place
B1	Sheikh Rashid	Project executive	10/02/2020	ACA Office
B2	Sheikh Nadir	General Director	10/02/2020	ACA Office
B3	Mr. Mohamed	Head teacher	11/02/2020	ACA Office
B4	Sheikh Rashid	Project executive	12/02/2020	ACA Office
B5	Ukht Asha	Teacher &Beneficiary	13/02/2020	Her Office
B6	Mr. Duaza	Teacher & Beneficiary	14/02/2020	His Office
B7	Sheikh Rashid	Project executive	17/02/2020	ACA Office
B8	Mwalim Bakar	Teacher & Beneficiary	18/02/2020	His Office
B8	Fatma	Secretary	19/02/2020	ACA Office
B10	Mr. Ali	Cashier	21/02/2020	ACA Office
B12	Ms. Halima	Beneficiary	21/02/2020	Her house
B13	Mr. Ali	Ass. Accountant	24/02/2020	ACA office
B14	Ukht Batuli	Beneficiary	25/02/2020	Her Office
B15	Mr. Ali	Head of Programmes	26 /02/2020	ACA Office
B16	Shikh Rashid	Project executive	27/02/2020	ACA Office
B17	Fatma	Secretary	28/02/2020	ACA Office
B9	Sheikh Muazini	Volunteer	29/02/2020	Distribution point

B18	Sheikh Mohamed	Security	02/03/2020	ACA Office
B19	Suleiman	Store keeper	03/03/2020	ACA Office
B20	Dr. Ali Ame	Beneficiary	03/03/2020	ACA Office
B21	Muhunzi	Beneficiary	04/03/2020	His house
B22	Salum Abdalla	Beneficiary	04/03/2020	His house
B23	Mafunda Khatib	Beneficiary	04/03/2020	Her house
B24	Rehema Khator	Beneficiary	04/03/2020	Her house
B25	Salma Massoud	Beneficiary	05/03/2020	Her house
B26	Zainab Kambi	Beneficiary	05/03/2020	Her house
B27	Raudhat	Beneficiary	05/03/2020	Her house
B28	Muswaibat	Beneficiary	05/03/2020	Her house
B29	Asha Hamad	Beneficiary	06/03/2020	Her house
B30	Alia Rashid	Beneficiary	06/03/2020	Her house
B31	Sabah	Beneficiary	09/03/2020	Her house
B32	Nahya	Beneficiary	09/03/2020	Her house
B33	Bimkubwa Mohamed	Beneficiary	09/03/2020	Her house
B34	Maryam	Beneficiary	09/03/2020	Her house
B35	Muzdalifat	Beneficiary	10/03/2020	Her house
B36	Siti Seif	Beneficiary	10/03/2020	Her house
B37	Seif	Cleaner	11/03/2020	In the car
B38	Maalim Bakar	Beneficiary	11/03/2020	His house
B39	Wasila Mbaraka	Beneficiary	11/03/3030	Her house
B40	Massoud Othman	Beneficiary	11/03/2020	His house
B41	Fatma Othman	Beneficiary	11/03/2020	Her house
B42	Yunus Omar	Beneficiary	12/03/2020	His house
B43	Fatma Said	Beneficiary	12/03/2020	Her house
B44	Mwanaharus Yussuf	Beneficiary	12/03/2020	Her house

CASE STUDY 3: ZANZIBAR ASSOCIATION AND SUPPORT OF ORPHANS (ZASO)

Code	Name	Position	Date	Place
C1	Shaaban	Acting prog manager	16/03/2020	ZASO Office

C2	Hamida	Programme officer	16/03/2020	ZASO Office
C3	Shaaban	Acting prog manager	18/03/2020	ZASO Office
C4	Maka Massoud	Social worker - North	19/03/2020	Her house
C5	Alayna	Beneficiary	19/03/2020	Her house
C6	Halima Ngwali	Beneficiary's mother	19/03/2020	Her house
C7	Mr. Sijui	Beneficiary	20/03/2020	Matemwe market
C8	Bi Kesha	Club guardian	20/03/2020	Her house
C9	Mzee Ali	Cashier	23/03/2020	ZASO Office
C10	Zulkhudhaifa	Social worker	23/03/2020	ZASO office
C11	Bi Amina Khalfan	Beneficiary	24/03/2020	Her house
C12	Mr. Amour	Member	24/03/2020	Mini Foro garden
C13	Mwanamsa Maulid	Head Teacher - Jendele	25/03/2020	Her house
C14	Mashavu Ramadhan	Volunteer	25/03/2020	Her house
C15	Mwanaidi Abdalla	Beneficiary	25/03/2020	Uzini
C16	Nassra Khamis	Beneficiary	25/03/2020	Uzini
C17	Mwanakheri	Beneficiary	25/03/2020	Uzini
C18	Zidi Suleiman	Volunteer	26/03/2020	Jendele
C19	Shaaban	Acting prog manager	27/03/2020	ZASO Office
C20	Mzee Mrisho Iddi	Volunteer	30/03/2020	His house
C21	Juma C	Member	31/03/2020	His office
C22	Saaban	Supervisor	01/04/2020	His office
C23	Maryam	Desk officer	01/04/2020	her office
C24	Hamida	Accountant	01/04/2020	Her office
C25	Mustafa	Member	05/04/2020	ZASO office
C26	Nyamizi	Beneficiary	06/04/2020	ZASO Office
C27	Shaaban	Acting prog manager	10/04/2020	ZASO Office
C28	Rukia Mussa	Beneficiary	11/04/2020	Distribution point
C29	Fatma Abdalla	Beneficiary	11/04/2020	Distribution point
C30	Lailat	Peer Educator	11/04/2020	Distribution point
C31	Mbarouk Yussuf	Beneficiary	11/04/2020	Distribution point
C32	Hamida	Programme Officer	11/04/2020	Distribution point

CASE STUDY 4: ZANZIBAR ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDREN'S ADVANCEMENT (ZACA)				
Code	Name	Position	Date	Place
D1	Bi Mwaka	Program Manager	13/04/2020	ZACA Office
D2	Bi Mwaka	Program Manager	14/04/2020	ZACA office
D3	Bi Kidawa	Executive Secretary	15/04/2020	ZACA Office
D4	Bi Mwaka	Program Manager	15/04/2020	ZACA Office
D5	Mr. Said	Accountant	16/04/2020	ZACA Office
D5	Shemsa Janu	Volunteer	16/04/2020	ZACA Office
D6	Ms. Khadija	Office Secretary	16/04/2020	ZACA Office
D7	Bi Kidawa	Executive Secretary	20/04/2020	ZACA Office
D8	Mr. said	Accountant	21/04/2020	ZACA office
D9	Mbarouk Is-hak	Beneficiary	23/04/2020	His house
D10	Sheikha Mohamed	Beneficiary	23/04/2020	Her house
D11	Khamis Mcha	Volunteer	24/04/2020	His house
D12	Rehema Khamis	Volunteer	27/04/2020	Her house
D13	Zainab Maulid	Beneficiary	29/04/2020	Her store
D14	Raudhat M	Beneficiary	29/04/2020	Her store
D15	Salum S	Sheha and beneficiary	29/04/2020	Her house
D16	Ali Khamis	Volunteer	01/05/2020	His house
D17	Mwanahila Abdalla	Volunteer	01/05/2020	Her house
D18	Husna Chande	Beneficiary	01/05/2020	Shakani
D19	Shemsa	Volunteer	01/05/2020	Shakani
D20	Ilyas Joseph	Beneficiary	01/05/2020	Shakani
D21	Subira Amour	Beneficiary	01/05/2020	Shakani
D22	Said Abdalla	Beneficiary	02/05/2020	Karakana
D23	Bakar Makame	Sheha	02/05/2020	Karakana
D24	Halima Hator	Volunteer	02/05/2020	Karakana
D25	Fathia Shaame	Stakeholder	03/05/2020	Karakana
D26	Ahmada Said	Volunteer	03/05/2020	Karakana
D27	Ali Tano	Volunteer	03/05/2020	Karakana
D28	Ibrahim Mohamed	Children's club member	03/05/2020	Karakana

D29	Hafidh Saleh	Club member	04/05/2020	Karakana
D30	Hassan Mohamed	Club member	04/05/2020	Karakana
D31	Halima Makame	Club member	04/20/2020	Karakana
D32	Mr. Said	Accountant	04/05/2020	ZACA Office
D33	Mr. Mzee	Deputy Chair Person	12/05/2020	His office
D34	Fatma	Beneficiary	13/05/2020	ZACA office
D35	Husna	Beneficiary	13/05/2020	ZACA office
D36	Bi Bay	Chair Person	14/05/2020	Her office

GOVERNMENT AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

Code	Name	Organization	Date	Place
E1	Dr. Ali Ame	Stakeholder	12/03/2020	ACA Office
E2	Ms. Biubwa	CPU	20/04/2020	Her office
E3	Mr. Ahmed Khalid	Registrar	22/04/2020	His office
E4	Ms. Mwanabaraka	Registrar's office	22/04/2020	Her office
E5	Ms. Safina	Registrar's office	22/04/2020	Her office
E6	Selwa	SPU	27/04/2020	Her office
E7	Sofia	DESW	27/04/2020	Her office
E8	Dhamir K	ZBPRA	28/04/2020	His office
E9	Sheikh Hassan	WTC	07/05/2020	His office
E10	Sofia	DESW	11/05/2020	Her office
E11	Rukia	DESW	16/05/2020	Her office

ANNEX 3: ZANZIBAR SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Indicator	Figures/description
Geographical Area	2.449km^2 (Unguja Island 1464km^2 and Pemba Island 985km^2)
Population (2018 projections)	1,579,849
Male and Female Population (%)	49.3% and 50.7% respectively
Population Living in Urban Areas	46.3% (2012 Census)
Population Growth Rate	2.8% (2020)
Active Population (15 – 64 years)	53.6% of the total population (2014)
Labour Force (economically active pop)	79.4 of total Working Age Population (2014)
Female Economically Active Pop	48.9%
Labour Force Participation Rate	79.4%; (males 83.4% & females 75.6%) (2014)
Labour Force participation Rate for Youth age 15-35	68.8% or all youth (65.5% for females and 72.5% for males) (2014)
Pop employed in service sector	44.5% of total employed (2014)
Pop employed in Agriculture	40.6% of total employed (2014)
Pop employed in Manufacturing	14.6% of total employed (2014)
Unemployment Rate	14.3% (2014)
Youth Unemployment Rate	21.3% of all youth age 15-35 (31.5% for females and 10.4% for males) (2014)
Age-Dependency Ratio	83 (2012 Census)
Old Age Dependency (65+)	3% of the total population (2014)
Female Headed Households	22.8% of all households
Survival of Parents	5% of children are orphans; 0.3% are double orphans
Birth Registration Rate	97.0% for children aged less than 18 years
Total Fertility rate	4.4 children per woman (2020)
General Fertility Rate	155 (per 1,000 women aged 15-44)
Adult Mortality Rate	4.64% (Female) and 4.29% (Male)
Maternal Mortality rate	0.94% of all deaths of women age 15-49 (2016)
Infant Mortality Rate	26.8 per 1,000 live births (2020)
Child Mortality Rate	11 per 1,000 live births (2016)
Under 5 Mortality Rate	56 per 1,000 live births (2016)
GDP at current price	3.078 trillion (in 2019)
GDP Growth rate	6.8 per annum
GDP per capita	TZS 2,549,000 (USD 1,114) in 2019
Average Monthly Salary	Tsh.530,651 = US$230.7 (2019)
Dependency Ratio	86 dependents/100 adults
Life Expectancy	68.4 years in 2020
Number of Education Institutions (2019)	1,060 (511 public and 549 private institutions)

Literacy Rate (of people aged 15+)	85.1% (2014)
Women Literacy Rate	79.4%
Gross school Enrolment Ratio	98.2%
Net school Enrolment Ratio	83.7%
Poverty Rate (BNP)	30.4% of total population
Food/extreme Poverty Rate	10.8% of total population
Poverty Gap	7.2% of total population
Urban Poverty Rate	17.9% of urban population
Rural Poverty Rate	40.2% of rural population
Gini Coefficient (inequality)	0.30%
Child Poverty	35% of total child population
Average Household Size	5.5 members (2014)