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**The Political and Social Economy of Care:
Tanzania Research Report 1**

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Political and Social Economy of Care: Research Report 1 on Tanzania

Introduction

The Political and Social Economy of Care project of UNRISD encompasses comparative research on the provision of care by households and families, government, markets and the voluntary/‘community’ sector across two countries in each of four continents. The emphasis in the study is on the multiplicity of sites where care takes place, and the mix of institutions involved. Of special interest is analysis of how unpaid care is articulated with the commodity economy from a gender perspective – the ‘labour/care regime’, and how responsibility for unpaid care shapes the carer’s paid work profile, access to income and poverty (and vice versa).

Tanzania was selected to be included in this comparative research, alongside South Africa as the other African case. One of the non-negotiable criteria for selecting countries for inclusion in the project was that they must have had a time use survey, and that data from this survey had to be available for further analysis. There are very few African countries which have, to date, conducted national time use surveys. Tanzania joined this small group in 2006 when it included a time use module in the Integrated Labour Force Survey of that year. Within each region, UNRISD aimed to select one country that had a more developed welfare/care infrastructure and a second with a less developed one. For Africa, South Africa and Tanzania were felt to present good contrasts. Both countries also are experiencing serious HIV&AIDS pandemics. This will allow for interesting comparisons as to how the political and social economies of care cater for the particular needs arising from this crisis in the two countries.

The following section provides a brief socio-economic and political context analysis within which the care economy is going to be further analysed.

Political Transformations

Tanzania’s current political system results from a series of socio-economic and political processes over the past four decades. The major political shifts have influenced the economic processes at the same time as the economic process has influenced the political shifts.

From opposition party to a ruling party

During the struggle for independence, the Tanganyika National Union (TANU), the political party which eventually led the country to independence, succeeded in mobilizing support from diverse interests. These included the cooperative movement, labour, women’s organizations, youth and various cultural and ethnic groups. Support was won through TANU’s demand of the colonial state that it improves educational facilities together with health services, ensure better prices for crops, improve living conditions and create an environment for participatory political processes.

With independence, the immediate challenge to the Party was to redefine its role from that of opposition to a ruling party. TANU inherited the very centralized bureaucratic structures of the colonial state, which generally restricted civil society involvement and were based on a politics of social exclusion, particularly of women. In the process of transforming itself to a political party in power, TANU slowly eroded some of the basic principles it had been fighting for.

Asserting party supremacy

In asserting its role as a ruling party, TANU exploited its historical role of leading the independence struggle. Firstly, it had an open membership, which created a popular image. Secondly, it had established branches throughout the country, giving it a national character. Thirdly, its organizational structure provided room for organizations at grassroots level to express the views of ordinary members to higher levels of organization, giving the Party a democratic appearance.

Finally, the Party chairperson Julius Kambarage Nyerere resigned as a Prime Minister in 1962 so as to devote more time to strengthening the Party and its popular support, and thus the role of ordinary people in the fight against poverty, ill-health and ignorance.

Between 1961 and 1967 the Party pursued measures which asserted its power over other organs of the state. In 1965, Tanzania officially became a one-party state.

In search of an alternative ideology: The Arusha Declaration

In 1967, the National Executive Committee of TANU endorsed the Arusha Declaration which spelt out socialism and self-reliance as principle tenets guiding the country's development philosophy. The approach was based on the African traditional philosophy of family-hood, popularly known as Ujamaa.¹ The Arusha Declaration was seen as ushering in a new era. Nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, the creation of public enterprises and the collectivization of people in villages were intended to create a political, social and economic environment which supported the state in implementing social equity and redistributive policies implied in the Declaration

In 1972, the Party endorsed a decentralization exercise which replaced the district councils with centrally controlled administrative apparatus. The transfer of certain administrative powers from the central ministries to the regional and district levels was undertaken in the name of democratizing decision-making processes even though the exercise involved abolishing popularly established institutions such as town and city councils. One of the effects of decentralization was the state's incapacity to mobilize local resources for development in the same way as local governing institutions had done (Therkildsen: 1987).

By the end of 1970s, the Party had established institutions and structures which enabled it to assert itself as the supreme organ of the state. However the economic crisis and the Economy Recovery Program (ERP), Tanzania's structural adjustment programme, eroded some of the Party's powers.

The crisis, structural adjustment programmes and the impact on Party supremacy

The signing of the structural adjustment agreement between the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Tanzania in 1986 was a major landmark in the country's political history. The conditions of the Agreement included liberalization of the economy, the devaluation of the local currency, fiscal control measures, as well as downsizing the public sector, including the civil service.

The launching of the ERP in 1986 symbolically inaugurated the defeat of Ujamaa philosophy. Liberalization supported by re-direction of both internal and external resources from the social services to the "productive" sector symbolized the public denunciation of Ujamaa philosophy and the associated social equity principles and practices. This was a big blow to the Party and a challenge to its supremacy.

Economic liberalism and its politics

The processes that led to the subsequent opening up of political space resulted from two contradictory forces. First, there were internal forces which were demanding the opening up of political space. These demands were in part a response to the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. Between 1974 and 1988, for instance, the real wages of workers fell by 83% at a time when the government's ability to support the social sectors had greatly deteriorated (IFPRI: 2001). In response to this situation, various associations emerged, some of which attempted to fill in the service delivery gap, while others started to engage the state on human rights issues, and a good number challenged the state on politics of exclusion and marginalization of women from mainstream processes.

¹ The Term Ujamaa is a Swahili word which stands for "family hood" or communal type of living based on African traditional values of sharing, supportive systems, respect for each other and the extended family.

From 1980s, therefore, when the forces for political reform emerged, Tanzania's civil society began to grow, as expressed in the density and diversity of organizations, and the growing role of the free media. Indeed, in 1993, there were only 224 registered NGOs in Tanzania. But by 2000 there were approximately 8,499 NGOs registered with the Registrar of Societies in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Lage et al. 2002).

The second set of forces was coming from external sources, particularly from the international financial institutions (IFIs) for "liberalizing" politics, in line with the market-driven economy. Thus IMF/World Bank conditions included, among other things, liberalization of the political system to reflect the redefined role of the state in creating a regulatory and legal environment supportive of a market-driven economy. Pluralist politics were favoured as they were considered to be supportive of the doctrine of a "free" market economy. In response to this pressure, in 1990 President Ali Hassan Mwinyi appointed a Commission (popularly known as the Nyalali Commission) to seek peoples' views on a multi-party system. Although the majority of those whose views were sought preferred a one-party state, the commission recommended establishment of a multi-party system. The recommendations were unanimously endorsed by the National Executive Council of the ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). In May 1992, the Eighth Constitutional Amendment Act (Act 4 of 1992) provided for multi-party elections for the Union Government. Further amendments of Local Government Election laws were subsequently affected to provide for multi-party elections for local government. Additionally, affirmative action in favour of women which had been introduced in 1985 was expanded to include 25% of members of parliament and 33% women representatives in the District Councils (URT: 1992). In July 1992 several political parties were registered and in October 1995 Tanzania held its first multi-party elections for the Union President and Parliament.

The process which led to the multi-party system of government in Tanzania was engineered and largely controlled by the state. Typical of state-engineered transitions, the process has been slow, as the state has not been willing to rewrite the political rules to make it possible for other actors to participate freely and fairly. There is reluctance to guarantee many rights, a strong interest to control media persists, and there is unwillingness to open up the system for fair and free competition. There is a tendency in the local government reform process towards imposing an authoritarian model rather than a participatory and democratic system. Nevertheless, there are some areas of progress.

Successful multi-party elections were held in 1995, 2000 and 2005, but the Parliament is still essentially controlled by the ruling party. Although the opposition members play a critical role in debates, they are unable to influence the bills because they are numerically too few to have an impact on the major decisions that demand voting. Further, politically conscious interests groups such as labour and farmers associations have not been very successful in articulating and organizing group interests and hence have largely been unable to influence major political decisions. Overall, multi-party politics is elite-dominated and characterized by elite power struggles. Nevertheless, other civil society actors, including youth, women's movement, religious organisations, and media have found entry points to influence the process. The women's movement and gender activists have been demanding more democratic space, have challenged the state to direct more resources to the "people", and have critiqued neo-liberal reforms which have put more emphasis on a market-driven economy than on a welfare state economy.² The media could be a potential instrument to challenge elite-controlled transition. However, it remains very vulnerable to repressive forces within the current political environment (Shivji 1991).

² Reference is made to various campaigns such as those organized by TGNP and Feminist Activist Coalition members in various areas including NGO Bill, The Gender Budget Campaign, the Land Bill, to mention but a few.

The government has established “democratic institutions” but they remain weak and vulnerable. The parliament, for instance, is yet to assert itself as effective in playing its oversight role in areas such as control of corruption and redirection of resources to pro-poor ends. Individual members of the judiciary have been struggling for independence and impartiality, but a strong executive remains a challenge to the judiciary’s autonomy. An electoral commission has been established to monitor free and fair elections but the members are vulnerable to manipulation by the incumbent party. Anti-corruption organs have been established but they are largely toothless in holding public office bearers accountable for corrupt practices.

The politics of social exclusion continues to characterise political liberalism. Women continue to be under-represented in key decision-making organs of the state and the private sector, despite the constitutional provision which provides that every citizen shall have the right to participate directly and through elected representatives in the governance of Tanzania. It has taken the country more than 40 years, and two decades since the inception of multi-party politics, to reach a level of 30% of representation of women in parliament. Women’s representation in the National Assembly increased from 15% in 1985 to 20% in the year 2000, to 30.4% in the year 2005 (TGNP/SIDA: 2007). Top-level decision making in the public service of Tanzania remain male-dominated. As of March 2006, for instance, women constituted only 30% of permanent secretaries and 28% of directors of ministries (ibid.).

Economic Policies and Growth Rates

This section identifies four major phases of economic policies which have impacted patterns of economic growth and defined labour force characteristics. The first phase is from 1960 to 1967, when the country implemented a pro-growth market-driven economic policy which was based on the colonial economic model. This model did not address the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance which had been declared as national enemies. The second phase is the implementation of the Arusha Declaration from 1967 to 1986, which pursued a socialist model emphasizing policies for social equity and self reliance with involvement of the state in managing key sectors of the economy. The implementation of the socialist model was, however, short-lived as it was impacted by a socio-economic crisis and paradigm shift of major sponsors of the socialist experiment, which included the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China. In responding to the crisis, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were implemented from 1986 to 2000, which were to lay the foundation for the liberalization of the economy. The emphasis here was growth, efficiency, and a lead role for the private sector in the management of the economy. The final phase is the current phase from 2000 onwards, in which the economy has been fully liberalised, with some attempt to balance concerns of social equity, good governance, and poverty reduction strategies. The main challenge has been how to implement social equity policies in the context of neo-liberal ideologies which are based on policies of exclusion and profit maximization.

Transformation and improvement: The growth model

Tanzania inherited from the colonial state an agrarian economy with more than 90% of the population living in rural areas. At independence, disease, poverty and ignorance were declared by Nyerere, the then President of Tanganyika, as the immediate enemies of the newly independent state. Development strategies were then expected to lead to improved wellbeing of the people in terms of material welfare, health status as well as literacy levels. A modernization approach was adopted which was recommended by a World Bank Mission which had been commissioned by the British colonial state. The World Bank mission had been instructed to assess the country’s resources so as to recommend the best way to utilize them in order to reach a balance between social and economic development (IBRD 1967: vii).

It is ironic that the ex-colonial power which was partly responsible for the impoverishment and underdevelopment of the country and its people was to be interested in searching for a “balanced program of social and economic development” for its ex-colonial state. The mission acknowledged the fact that Tanganyika was going to continue relying on agriculture as the mainstay of the economy. It thus recommended improvement of the methods of peasant agriculture and cattle keeping as well as a gradual transformation of methods and organizations of farming into systems which made greater use of new production techniques and better land use patterns (ibid.).

Resulting from the mission, two approaches were adopted for rural development. These were the transformation and the improvement approaches. Through the improvement approach, it was hoped to achieve a progressive improvement in the present methods of crops and animal husbandry by working on the peasant farmer on both psychological and technical planes, to induce an increase in his/her productivity without any radical changes in traditional social and legal systems (URT 1964: p.14). This strategy did not basically differ from the colonial policy which had been pursued in an effort to increase peasant cash crop production.

The transformation approach, in contrast, was supposed to concentrate resources in a few selected areas which would enable peasants (mainly men) to improve production of specified crops. Like the improvement approach, the transformation approach had its origin in the colonial economy as well. A few producers were to be isolated, located in settlement schemes and provided with modern farming techniques and ideas as a strategy to improve their production capacities. In Tanzania’s First Five Year Development Plan (FFYDP) 1964-69, the government envisaged the establishment of 74 such schemes which were expected to cost approximately three million shillings for the basic infrastructure (ibid.). The second approach did not target the majority of the poor peasants who had been ‘missed out’ of the colonial state economy. The trained farmers who were equipped with modern tools were basically male farmers leaving out the majority of women who constituted the majority of the rural producers (URT 1964).

By the end of 1960s neither the transformation approach nor the improvement approach had yielded the expected results. Although the economic indicator of gross domestic product (GDP) suggested growth of 6% per annum, this growth did not have significant impact on the people’s livelihoods as real per capita income increased by only 1% per annum. The economy experienced what then President Nyerere called “Growth without Development” (Nyerere 1968). The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development further noted that while the transformation approach led to increased production in general terms, it had nevertheless led to colossal waste of capital equipment, caused heavy debts to cooperatives which were unable to pay, and further demonstrated how the country was ill-equipped with human resources for rapid technological advances of the nature adopted. This is the context within which an alternative economic model was to be proposed through the Arusha Declaration discussed in the previous section.

Arusha Declaration: Socialism and rural development

As discussed in the previous section, the Arusha Declaration marked a significant policy shift away from a market driven economy with its emphasis on commercial peasant production, into a state-controlled economy emphasizing social equity, and an increased role for the state in managing the economy and distributing the benefits from the production systems. The implementation of the Declaration entailed two strategies, namely nationalization of the major means of production and the creation of Ujamaa villages. The latter targeted improvements in the livelihoods of the majority of men and women, while the former aimed at building the capacity of the state to regulate the economy and hence distribute the benefits accruing from it.

Socialism and development

A socialist policy was declared in 1968 through the Arusha Declaration which provided the ideological basis guiding subsequent economic policies. The socialist principles were based on the notion of Ujamaa, itself anchored in traditional African philosophy of love, mutual respect, and shared responsibilities. In the rural sector, the policy entailed re-settling people into Ujamaa villages. Unlike the previous village settlement schemes which were adopted immediately after independence, the Ujamaa villages programme covered a wider spectrum of the rural population. The village was not only considered as a basic unit of production, but also as a social entity which provided social space for people's participation in their own development processes. Through the Ujamaa villages the government was going to channel resources particularly those targeting the wellbeing of its people. Purposeful measures were undertaken to invest public resources in human development, particularly in health, education and provision of water.

In the area of health, a national health policy was formulated in the early 1970s with the overall objective of providing comprehensive basic health services to all citizens equitably and as close to the people as possible. The primary health care policy adopted in 1972 and the Third Year Development Plan 1976-81 focused on major aspects of the National Health Policy whose main aim was: rural health development, promotion of preventive care rather than curative care; and building small and simpler health units rather than hospitals and free health services (Kjell.Havnevik, Kjaerby et al. 1988). The implementation of the health policy was supported by many western donors including SIDA, DANIDA, UNICEF, NORAD, FINNIDA, and USAID. By 1974/75, almost 9% of government total expenditure was channeled to the health sector (UTR: 1974/05). The result was the rapid expansion of the physical facilities for health services. By 1976 for instance, 161 rural health centers had been established compared with 22 at independence. By 1981, the number had increased to 239 and by 1987 to 260 (ibid.). The number of dispensaries grew from 1,847 in 1976 to 2,644 in 1981 and further to 2,831 in 1986 (URT 1988). This development resulted in a marked improvement in the population/facility ratio so that by 1982 there were one rural health centre per 75,732 people and one dispensary per 6,846 people. The corresponding figures for 1986 were 84,231 and 7736 (ibid). By 1980, approximately 72% of the population was within 5 km. of a health facility and 93% within a 10 km. range (ibid.).

Furthermore, a mother and child health strategy was adopted in 1974 based on the recommendations of a Young Child Study supported by UNICEF. This strategy aimed at providing mothers and young children with immunization, nutrition education, antenatal and postnatal care, treatment of minor health problems and monitoring of maternal health clinics. The goal of this strategy was to achieve universal coverage by 1988. By 1985/86, approximately 80% of all children had been immunized against tuberculosis and 67% against measles (ibid). Additionally, in 1985, a Village Health Worker programme was launched to support further the initiative of equitable distribution of health services. The goal was to establish a dispensary for every 10 000 people. a

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