CULTURE, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION:
THE TANZANIA EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Samuel Wangwe, Policy Adviser Coordination, President’s Office - Public Service Management
samuelwangwe@estabs.go.tz

Abstract: This paper seeks to describe the experience of Tanzania in nation building with a view to drawing lessons from the experience taking a multidisciplinary approach to this multifaceted story capturing historical, sociological, cultural and economic developments during the post-colonial period. The Tanzania experience with social integration resulting in a relatively high degree of social stability is worth examining closely with a view to identifying challenges of nation building in a developing post-colonial country.

The paper will address the strengths, weaknesses and challenges of having to engage in nation building parallel to building state structures and public institutions and pursuing socio-economic policies designed to bring about development.

The paper recognizes that since independence Tanzania has gone through distinct policy episodes that led to the development strategy packages with different focus and, subsequently, different social impact and social integration as well as growth outcomes. In the context of the initiatives taken to achieve social integration, three distinct policy episodes will be identified. First, Tanzania tried to achieve social integration through political integration as well as addressing the challenge of deprivation by giving high priority to social policy consistent with the basic needs approach (1967-1985). In the second, policy episode Tanzania switched to emphasizing orthodox growth policy consistent with political, social and economic liberalization consistent with the policy package of the first generation of structural adjustment programmes (1986-1995). Third, policy and institutional initiatives have been directed towards combining political liberalization with social and growth policies as well as governance concerns after 1995. This has culminated in the adoption of Vision 2025 and the national Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (a five year programme) which have incorporated both social, economic and political integration dimensions.

The Tanzania experience will show that social policy has espoused the principles of inclusion, cohesion and accountability. The experience of the first policy episode with its emphasis on social policy showed that growth is necessary for sustained social integration and the narrow focus on growth in the second policy episode showed the limits of growth if adequate attention is not given to social policy and social integration (horizontal and vertical). The third policy episode demonstrates the challenges of combining social and economic policy with concerns of accountability and governance in the context of political liberalization and globalization.
Tanzania has achieved a fairly high degree of social stability and reasonable rate of economic growth but political, social and economic liberalization have exposed new gaps and new challenges of social integration which need to be addressed now and into the future. The paper will address social policies in the post-colonial period with focus on (a) promoting a sense of equity and fairness across social groups, (b) addressing the tensions between traditional identify and aspirations toward the freedoms promised by modernity, and (c) addressing the cultural tensions between indigenous and alien populations.

As Tanzania gets engaged deeper into regional cooperation and integration arrangements the challenges of social integration will increasingly need to take the regional dimension. The East African Community Treaty for instance has provision not only for economic integration but also for integration in social and cultural as well as political dimensions. This paper will address the implications of the unfolding regional integration on social integration considering that the three EAC countries have taken different paths in social integration experiences.

**DISCLAIMER:**
This is a draft working paper produced for the World Bank conference, ‘New Frontiers of Social Policy: Development in a Globalizing World’. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction/The World Bank Group and its affiliated organizations, or its Executive Directors, or the governments they represent. If you wish to cite from this document please request the latest version from the author(s) or from socialpolicy@worldbank.org.
This paper seeks to describe the experience of Tanzania in nation building with a view to drawing lessons from the experience taking a multidisciplinary approach to this multifaceted story capturing historical, sociological, cultural and economic developments during the post-colonial period. The Tanzania experience with social integration resulting in a relatively high degree of social stability is worth examining closely with a view to identifying challenges of nation building in a developing post-colonial country.

The paper will address the strengths, weaknesses and challenges of having to engage in nation building parallel to building state structures and public institutions and pursuing socio-economic policies designed to bring about development.

The paper recognizes that since independence Tanzania has gone through distinct policy episodes that led to the development strategy packages with different focus and, subsequently, different social impact and social integration as well as growth outcomes. In the context of the initiatives taken to achieve social integration, three distinct policy episodes have been identified. First, Tanzania tried to achieve social integration through political integration as well as addressing the challenge of deprivation by giving high priority to social policy consistent with the basic needs approach (1967-1985). In the second, policy episode Tanzania switched to emphasizing orthodox growth policy consistent with political, social and economic liberalization as reflected in the policy package of the first generation of structural adjustment programmes (1986-1995). Third, policy and institutional initiatives have been directed towards combining political liberalization with social and growth policies as well as governance concerns after 1995. This has culminated in the adoption of Vision 2025 and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (a five year programme) which have incorporated both social, economic and political integration dimensions.

The Tanzania experience will show that social policy has espoused the principles of inclusion, cohesion and accountability. The experience of the first policy episode with its emphasis on social policy showed that growth is necessary for sustained social integration and the narrow focus on growth in the second policy episode showed the limits of growth if adequate attention is not given to social policy and social integration (horizontal and vertical). The third policy episode demonstrates the challenges of combining social and economic policy with concerns of accountability and governance in the context of political liberalization and globalization.
Tanzania has achieved a fairly high degree of social stability and reasonable rate of economic growth but political, social and economic liberalization have exposed new gaps and new challenges of social integration which need to be addressed now and into the future. The paper will address social policies in the post-colonial period with focus on (a) promoting a sense of equity and fairness across social groups, (b) addressing the tensions between traditional identify and aspirations toward the freedoms promised by modernity, and (c) addressing the cultural tensions between indigenous and alien populations.

As Tanzania gets engaged deeper into regional cooperation and integration arrangements the challenges of social integration will increasingly need to take the regional dimension. The East African Community Treaty for instance has provision not only for economic integration but also for integration in social and cultural as well as political dimensions. This paper will address the implications of the unfolding regional integration on social integration considering that the three EAC countries have taken different paths in social integration experiences.

2.0 Post-Independence Nation Building and Social Integration

Tanzania is still reaping in the benefits of the propitious social and political stability as a result of the painstaking efforts made by the late Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere till this date.

Soon after independence, Mwalimu J.K Nyerere forged, among other things, a sense of national identity, unity and cohesion among all Tanzanians. He built a nation. All this was done through pursued public policies, which had a large impact on the current ethnic and tribal relations within the country (Miguel 2003). Several nation building initiatives were taken in the early post-independence period. These included:

- **Adhering to the principles of social and economic liberation and human dignity.** The ruling party at Independence, TANU, adhered to the principles of human dignity, equality and freedom of the individual, equality of opportunity in life and equal citizen political rights across all races and commitment to reduce income and wealth differentials in society and fight against corruption. These principles guided a large part of activities and initiatives which were instrumental in promoting social integration.

- **Peace and Stability: recognition of the link between peace, stability and justice:** Nyerere emphasized the point that the foundation of peace and stability is justice. Where there is
neither justice nor hope of building a nation of justice it is difficult to achieve peace and stability. In his farewell speech to the National Conference of CCM in 1987 Nyerere reiterated that the foundation of Peace is Justice. He admitted that during his leadership Tanzania had not managed to achieve justice on all fronts as defined in the Arusha Declaration for a socialist society but it had managed “to make the people of Tanzania continue to believe and hope of building a just and equal society” (Nyerere, 1987). Nyerere acknowledged the role several other factors in contributing to maintaining peace and stability in Tanzania. These are the Swahili language, the Arusha Declaration, the one-party system and an army which was both patriotic and political.

- **Detribalization and the creation of national consciousness:** The founding principle of Nyerere’s then ruling TANU political party was “to fight tribalism and any other factors which would hinder the development of unity among Africans” (Abdulaziz 1980). TANU promulgated the strategy of fighting for independence without having to go through the wars such as the Maji Maji Uprising and many other colonial wars in which the indigenous populations had been defeated. This made it easier for TANU to argue in national rather than tribal terms and to build real national unity and consciousness to eschew tribalism and religious allegiances (Nyerere, 1966).

- **Religious tolerance and state secularism.** The state deliberately downplayed religious differences and promoted religious tolerance. It was declared that the state was a secular state which worked with various religions and denominations.

- **National language policy:** Kiswahili replaced English as the country’s official language in the mid-1960s. Kiswahili being an indigenous African language originating on the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa, and seen as largely ethnically neutral. The Tanzanian regime quickly pushed for total Swahilization of government administration after independence, and established the National Swahili Council to promote its use in all spheres of public life (Polome 1980). Kiswahili had the potential for muting ethnic and tribal conflict within Tanzania (Barkan 1994). Kiswahili is the lingua franca facilitating day to day communication between people of different tribes and is increasingly becoming the first language of the young generation and it is the language of communication between the government and its people and it is the language used in political speeches, parliament, churches and mosques (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997).
• **One Party system for the sake of nation building:** The nationalist movement led by TANU had stressed on peaceful methods to attaining independence, called for equality, human respect, equality of opportunity and regarded the national struggle as part of the continent-wide movement for freedom (Nyerere, 1966). In January 1963 TANU decided to change the constitution of Tanganyika so that the nation became by law what it already was in fact, a one party state. A Commission was appointed to consider what changes were necessary while observing principles of equality, human rights, political freedom, participation and the rule of law (Nyerere, 1966). The ruling party generated national unity guided by its goals and ideology which championed equality of human beings, justice and accountability to the people. The party was perceived as a defender of people’s rights at all levels down to the ten cell leader who was trusted in settling people’s grievances and conflicts. The party leadership at grass root level became the custodian of peace and source of relief for the aggrieved. Party supremacy was perceived as guaranteeing protection from injustice and that peace and justice could be found in the party and that the government was held accountable through the party machinery. The party controlled all organs of the state and all major organizations (workers, youth, women, farmers’ cooperatives) were controlled by the party.

• **Education policy and Programmes:** The public school curriculum in Tanzania was aggressively employed as a nation-building tool. The curriculum stressed common Tanzanian history, culture, and values, and inculcates students with a strong sense of national and Pan-African identity (Court 1984). Political education was also included in the curriculum to inspire pan-Africanism and the socialist political philosophy adopted by Mwalimu Nyerere with emphasis on Tanzanian national identity. The policy of education for self reliance was formulated in order to ensure that education was in line with the principles in the Arusha Declaration. In fact TANU Youth League branches in schools were mandated to ensure that the students and teachers were closer to Tanzania’s socialist thinking (Hyden, 1980). Universal Primary Education, free education and adult education programmes enabled government to make considerable strides in education from a very low levels at independence.
• **Health Policy and Programmes:** The government adopted the policy of health for all availing free medical services to all. Massive investments were made in health facilities and primary health care was given priority.

• **National Service and promotion of peoples’ militia:** National Service was an initiative towards social integration mainly aimed at integrating educated groups into society instilling in them the spirit of nation building. People’s militia as articulated in the TANU guidelines of 1972 was a response to the dangers of a wedge between the army and the people as had been exhibited by coups in Africa. The coup by Idd Amin in Uganda in 1972 was largely instrumental in introducing the concept of people’s militia.

**Socialism and self reliance: meeting basic needs**

From 1967 Tanzania adopted the policy of socialism and self reliance which was promulgated in the Arusha Declaration. The thrust of the Arusha Declaration as guide to building socialism in Tanzania was on eradicate what were identified as three major enemies of development (poverty, ignorance and disease), promote national unity, equality and economic and social justice, self reliance and rural development.

The implementation of the Arusha Declaration put the major means of production under the state through nationalization and a large part of subsequent investments occurred in the public sector with a large share going into the social sectors which were deemed to be capable of contributing to human development within a short time. The development strategy was more in line with the basic needs strategy at the time. It was believed that meaningful democracy to the majority of the people who are poor must include access to social services including Education, Health, clean and safe water etc. Major investments were made in basic social services such as education, health and water and sanitation. This was done through central government investment programmes underpinned by a basic needs approach and facilitated by considerable inflows of aid especially in the 1970s. In fact, Tanzania made considerable achievements in human development during that period a progress was stretched to its limits towards the end of the 1970s. By the early 1980s this development appeared to have been interrupted by the economic crisis which deepened in the early 1980s.
Priority on Rural Development

At independence the country was very rural with about 95% of the population residing in rural areas, the government put special emphasis on rural development Tanzania with a view to changing the quality of life in the rural areas. The government experimented with several approaches to agricultural and rural development. In the first five years of Independence the government adopted the Transformation Approach whereby modernized and mechanized settlements were established in areas which were sparsely populated. The new farms were opened up using farm machinery and food rations provided by government. Many of the settlements were over-capitalized and the result was creation a privileged group in a farming system which was not sustainable. The improvement approach based on demonstration effects from progressive farmers did not yield the expected outcomes. The results from these initiatives were disappointing. In response the government adopted villagization programme.

Villagization and social integration

The Arusha Declaration came with policy change away from commercialized peasant production. The villagization programme that was adopted was a more inclusive and country-wide programme involving the replacement of the traditional system of rural settlements in which households were located often in isolated homesteads by the creation of larger and more viable villages which were perceived to be more viable economic units. The government’s efforts to deal with the challenges of smallholders, uneconomically small plots and challenges of providing social services to a scattered population took various forms but the most memorable policy stance was villagization, which involved the resettlement of rural population with view to facilitate the provision of social and economic infrastructure. Priority was given to education including adult education, health services and rural water supply. Villages were created in 1974 in which 60% of the population was relocated. The logic behind villagization was based on what was seen as ideal African traditional family whereby which was almost self contained economic and social unit which provided and shared basic necessities of life on the basis of mutual respect and obligation. The principles of love, sharing and work which had prevailed in traditional African family units were expected to be carried into Ujamaa Villages.
Effective use of slogans in development

The use of slogans to make emphasis on social development contributed to promoting social integration. Slogans were coined in Swahili in order to permeate through society. Slogans such as *uhuru ni kazi* (freedom is work) was quite effective in promoting the self-help spirit, *mtu ni afya* (life is health) was effective in promoting consciousness towards health care and community health in particular, *siasa ni kilimo* (politics is agriculture) was effective in mobilizing politicians to promote agriculture in their campaigns.

Addressing the relations between management and workers

The government took initiatives to curb what was seen as the arrogance of management and oppression of workers at work places attributed to colonial and capitalist practices not consistent with socialism. In 1970 President Nyerere took the initiative to change relations between management and the workers by issuing a directive that all parastatals were to reconstitute their executive boards to include workers’ representatives and that Workers’ Council were to be constituted at work places to play an advisory function. This directive was seen as part of the zeal to liberate workers as expressed in a pamphlet known as Mwongozo (Guidelines) in 1970. This was meant to enhance workers’ participation in decision making and placed emphasis on programmes for workers’ education to enhance their capacity to participate effectively in decision making processes at their work places. The Guidelines deplored the colonial management procedures and practices which promoted one-person leadership resulting in the perception by workers that the public institutions they were working in were not theirs. Ownership here was perceived to be at stake. TANU also placed its commissars at the work places to ensure that party policies were observed and practiced especially in terms of transforming relations between management and workers. According to Hyden (1980) Mwongozo was to workers what Ujamaa was to the peasants, a promise of a better life with no specific conditions attached.

Pricing policy for Regional equality

Pricing policy was also designed to promote regional equality. This was done through pan-territorial pricing. When crop authorities took over they applied pan-territorial pricing as part of the regional equalization policy. The result of this policy was opening up of new
producing areas far from Dar and a major increase in transport costs and a reduction of total deliveries (Raikes 1986).  

Social Protection  

The Government of Tanzania, made significant contribution in the provision of basic services. This has been done through direct funding of services such as health, education and water which are basic necessities to the population, and through provision of subsidies on basic goods such as food. All these are efforts to provide social protection to the population.

Formal social security schemes in Tanzania have existed well before independence. Various policy statements on social security issues have been made and Acts passed in regard to the protection of some sections of the population against contingencies such as injury and old age. In total these formal social security covered only a very small proportion of the population (less than 10%).

Apart from the formal social protection schemes there are also traditional and non-traditional informal social protection schemes. Tanzania, like many other countries in the developing world, has had strong informal/traditional safety nets built on family and/or community support and informal income transfers. The traditional social security systems are often based on customary rights, or on spiritual and religious grounds. They are often organized around family groups, kinship groups or neighbourhood and community groups. While it is recognized that over time traditional social system have tended to decay and change forms in response to the forces of urbanization and industrialization there are indications that family and community social support systems have remained the main safety nets, particularly among the rural poor and other vulnerable groups. In times of crises, individuals have depended on family and clan members and/or members of the community for assistance in the form of cash or in-kind, remittances to rural areas and facilitating settling in of new migrants into the urban areas.

Social indicators improved  

Though not much can be said with concrete evidence about the poverty outcomes of the development policies during that period, the little available data indicate that there were

---

improvements in several social indicators. In general, life expectancy at birth improved from 41 years in 1960 to 52 years in 1980. Also, infant mortality declined from 146 per thousand live births in 1960 to 120 per thousand live births in 1980 (see Ndulu 1994). Considerable achievements were recorded in school enrolment, adult education and health development. Perhaps, the most remarkable achievement as indicated by Ndulu (1994) was the literacy rate, which was only about 33 percent in 1970, and by 1985 it had gone up to about 90 percent, notably the result of Universal Primary Education, intertwined with adult education programme.

**Challenge of sustainability**

Villagization involving relocation to villages did not help agriculture. Production and productivity in the communal farms was much lower than that in private farms (Collier, Radwan and Wangwe (1986). Cooperatives were disbanded in 1976 apparently as they were becoming a centre of political power in competition with the state and replaced by State owned crop authorities. These authorities also monopolized output and input markets. Parallel markets developed especially for food crops. The disruption of agricultural markets, over-reliance on bureaucratic parastatals and failure to adjust macroeconomic policies in a timely fashion, contributed to the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s.

During the social policy episode period – 1967 – 1985, the economy grew at an average rate of 2.8%, with occasional ups and downs. Table 1 shows the general performance of the economy, and agriculture sector during this policy episode.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Period</th>
<th>GDP Growth</th>
<th>Agriculture growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967 - 1985</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967 - 1970</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 - 1975</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 - 1980</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 - 1985</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated by Table 1, GDP growth during this policy episode exceeded the performance of agriculture sector, which was the mainstay of the economy. Two important issues can be deduced from the above table: first, the average growth of about 2.8% during this period was not enough to generate resources to finance the social sector – education and health,
in a sustainable manner. The rate of growth was even declining towards the end of the period: Second, agricultural growth, averaging only about 2.3% percent implied that the majority of the poor in the rural areas were almost left out in the growth process, despite being the largest contributors in the gross domestic product and country’s foreign exchange earnings.

How far these mistakes were inherent in the Arusha Declaration, and how far they could have been avoided, while still retaining the core aspirations espoused in 1967, remains a fitting subject for debate.

3.0 Structural Adjustment Programmes: Policy Reforms and Implications on Social Integration

The crisis necessitated adjustment

Although macroeconomic balance were reasonably sustainable during the 1976-78 period, major deteriorations had already emerged in the last two years of the decade – pointing to the possibility that the gains could be just short lived. Towards the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s Tanzania experienced a deep economic crisis in which major macroeconomic variables were out of balance. Inflation was high at around 30%, the budget was in deficit, balance of payments were in deficit, shortage of goods was widespread and the productive capacities were underutilized following shortages of foreign exchange to finance imported inputs. The crisis meant that growth declined and the capacity to implement the basic social services and various anti-poverty programmes had been eroded considerably. In the absence of growth, basic social services such as education, health and water and sanitation could not be sustained. As a result, access to these services and quality of the services declined.

Homegrown Initiatives did not attract external support

In response to the crisis, Tanzania tried homegrown recovery programmes such as the National Economic Survival Programme (1981-82) and the Structural Adjustment Programme (1982-85). However, implementation was impaired because they had been predicated on receiving external support which was not forthcoming. Without the support of donors, implementation faltered and crisis continued unabated. The policies pursued during the 1980s and 1990s were therefore a response to the imbalances in the economy, with view to restoring the macroeconomic balance by adopting measures aimed at reforming the economy at large. For
this reason, development policy during the 1980s and 1990s resorted to stabilization measures, macroeconomic policy reforms and reforms in trade, exchange rate regime and the financial sector as well as the related institutional structures (Ndulu, 1994).

Seeking macroeconomic stabilization first

The first generation of policy reforms were directed at macroeconomic stabilization and “getting the prices right”. While Tanzania embarked on SAP, there were no strategies for taking care of the social dimensions of adjustment. The ERP for 1986/87 and 1988/89 mainly focused on economic liberalization and stabilization. The ERP included price and market reforms, liberalisation of the exchange rate and foreign trade regimes, and fiscal and industrial policy changes. With these reforms and with access to additional external support, the decline of the economy was halted and output growth initiated in most of the sectors of the economy. It was widely believed that stabilizing the economy and the resulting growth would ultimately lead to growth and ultimately to poverty reduction through the trickle down effect. Critics of SAPs, pointed to the fact that SAPs’ objectives were not addressing the social dimensions of adjustment and that the SAPs were not making any notable dent on poverty and that adjustment did not have a human face (UNICEF 1987)\(^2\). In response, SAPs started to include some social dimensions. The economic recovery process started to express concern over poverty reduction through concerns over the social dimensions of structural adjustment in the late 1980s.

Attempting to address social dimensions of adjustment

The formulation of the Economic and Social Action Programme (1989-92) was partly an attempt to take on board the social dimensions of adjustment. The social dimension, however, was introduced as an “add on” rather than being integrated in the policy making process. The fact that poverty is multidimensional and cross cutting was not appreciated at that time.

Limits of the Stabilization and liberalization Approaches

There are a number of possible explanations for this mediocre performance. Liberalization in the mid-1980s generated a positive initial market response and the severe conditions of the early 1980s were eased. However, although markets were liberalized, the

\(^2\) Adjustment with A Human Face.
private sector remained slow due to capacity limitations and institutional and infrastructural bottlenecks. The former outdated institutional structures and poor infrastructure (associated with low investments), constrained the business response to new market opportunities. Reducing government intervention was not sufficient to spur sustained growth. The capacity of government was further reduced by the erosion of real wages in the civil service. There is broad agreement that informal sector activity expanded rapidly post-liberalisation in both urban and rural areas (Booth et al., 1993; Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1993; Bagachwa, 1997). This is one reflection of an inadequate institutional structure for bringing all actors into the mainstream of the formal economy. Improvements in the institutional framework were necessary, not least of which was strengthening institutions appropriate for managing a market economy as well as strengthening the government’s own capacity to design and implement public sector interventions necessary to support decentralized market activities. It is in this that the Third Phase Government (1995-2005) placed emphasis on institutional reforms.

While Tanzania declared priority in addressing poverty reduction right from the early post-independence years, the conscious linkage between growth and poverty reduction is a relatively recent phenomenon. Notwithstanding, early and impressive gains, particularly in the areas of basic health, education and social infrastructure, expanding government social programmes without attention to policies for economic growth and strengthening capacity and participation at local level proved ill-fated (Evans and Ngalewa, 2003). One obvious observation is that, pre-reform efforts to reduce poverty in Tanzania failed partly because of lack of sound macroeconomic policies to ensure robust growth and stability. Little attention was paid to the fact that economic growth and stability was also important in creating the capacity to effectively address poverty reduction. The shift from concerns of human development to growth in the mid-1980s went to the other extreme whereby poverty concerns were neglected. The outcome was not favourable for poverty reduction. These experiences suggest that there is need to strike a balance between growth and poverty concerns and as will be argued later the challenge is that of pursuing poverty reducing growth.

Social Protection as Risk

The existing social security schemes have been facing the challenge of having to cope with the increasing need for social protection as a result of the distributional effects of reforms
and their implications on welfare of the poor, necessitate serious consideration for a policy on social security. There are certain social security systems which have been eroded in the reform process. For instance, access to social services has been reduced for some groups with the introduction of cost sharing schemes especially because arrangements for exempting the very poor have not been adequate so far. Reforms in the social sectors involving, among others, the introduction of cost sharing in the provision of social services has increased social exclusion as preliminary evidence suggests that the poor are unable to afford user charges and are therefore often excluded from basic social services such as health care and education.

Increased prices of basic commodities as a result of removal of government subsidies on some of the basic commodities has created hardships to those who had access to subsidized goods. This is particularly significant for the low income earners.

In addition, market reforms have eroded some of the useful social security schemes which marketing cooperatives used for finance especially in education. On the part of workers in the formal sector the employment problem (e.g. retrenchment) may have reduced the power of the workers unions in seeking for protective conditions. These developments pose new challenges to social policy and to the social security policy in particular. Public sector reforms have involved, among others, retrenchment of workers, freeze of employment in the public sector and privatisation of parastatal organizations. This has led to increased unemployment, particularly because the private sector, though expanding, is not fully developed as such it has been unable to absorb those who have lost jobs in the formal public sector.

Social economic developments which have been taking place in Tanzania have resulted into slow but steady disintegration of the kinship or family-based traditional social support systems on which the majority of Tanzanians have depended for protection against contingencies. Economic hardships have made it difficult for individuals, family and/or kin members to provide assistance to each another in times of crisis and need. The high rate of urbanization has also taken its toll on traditional protection systems.

4.0 New Initiatives and Challenges of Social Integration

The UN in general and its agencies argued that “sustaining economic growth” and “poverty reduction” were mutually reinforcing development goals and can be achieved without
causing distortions in the economy. It is this policy agenda that culminated into the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) held in Copenhagen in March 1995. Tanzania was amongst those countries, which attended the special World Summit and ratified the Copenhagen Ten Commitments for Social Development.

The Copenhagen Summit, the largest gathering of World Leaders, ended with resolutions making firm commitment to eradicate absolute poverty by a target date to be set by each country; support full employment as a basic policy goal; promote social integration based on the enhancement and protection of all human rights; achieve equality and equity between women and men; accelerate the development of Africa and the least developed countries; ensure that structural adjustment programmes include social development goals; increase resources allocated to social development; create “an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development”; attain universal and equitable access to education and primary health care; and strengthen cooperation for social development. In the case of Tanzania, following the Copenhagen Summit, the Government prepared the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) in 1997 which set a target of reducing absolute poverty by half by the year 2010.

In February 2000, the Government of the Republic of Tanzania issued a Country Report, which discussed Tanzania's achievements in the implementation of the World Social Summit Development (WSSD). These were highlighted in the following areas:

a) **Democracy in Practice**

The political landscape in Tanzania changed dramatically in 1992 with the introduction of multiparty democracy. By the time the first elections under multipartism were held in 1995, thirteen (13) political parties were registered. Indeed the 1995/2000.

Democratic development was enhanced by independence of the three state organs namely: The Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislative. The media still plays an important role in the building of democratic culture. Under the legacy of the one party state that prevailed in Tanzania between 1965-1992, all these important organs were subordinated to the supremacy of the party. Measures have been taken by the government to de-link them but it will take time for the different organs to create space for their independent roles. The media that has an active privately owned component appears to be on fast track.
b) **Poverty Eradication**

According to the Country Report the Government of Tanzania set the following priority areas for poverty eradication: Strengthening primary education through school mapping activity so as to increase gross and net enrolment rates, increasing the percentage of population with access to quality, clean and safe drinking water; increasing the immunization rates for measles and DPT; alto to increase peoples access to quality health services; constructing and improving the rural roads to the level of good/fair and be passable throughout the year; increasing transparency, accountability and quality of service delivery to people and promoting the use of participatory methodologies in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of poverty eradication initiatives.

c) **Human Rights**

In order to achieve social integration, the Government has in place policies, strategies and programs that give its citizens access to rights including human rights which includes rights to food, shelter, individual freedom, security, social services and equality to quality social economic opportunities. Furthermore the Government has enacted progressive laws giving protection to women and children against sexual abuse and another law is providing women with land rights. This led to the formation of the Commission of Human Rights and Good Governance. It is charged with educating the people on their rights and investigates human rights violations and takes appropriate actions. It has wide mandate to investigate injustice, corruption, and abuse of power and unfair treatment to any person by a public officer in exercise of her/his official duties. However, the Commission has performed a significant role but not without constitutional and legal constraints. Although the act establishing the Commission provides for its jurisdiction in both the Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar has had difficulties extending its mandate to Zanzibar apparently due to ambiguity in the Constitutional allocation of powers over union and non-union matters and the roles of the National Assembly and the House of Representatives. The powers of the Commission have limitations. For instance, the Commission cannot investigate the President of Tanzania or Zanzibar or matters that are pending in a Court of Law or Judicial Tribunal.
d) **Inequality and the challenge to social integration**

Over 3.9 million households are involved in small-scale farming with an average farm size of 0.9 hectares. Large-scale farming accounts for only 14 percent of agricultural output. However, within the small and medium-scale farming, inequalities are considerable. More recent developments suggest that inequality is emerging as a major concern on liberalisation and the emerging relationship between land holding and livelihoods. For instance, the relationship of asset holding to relative failure or success in generating a viable living has been examined by comparing assets across per capita income terciles and quartiles in Morogoro region (Ellis and Mdoe, 2002). For land holding compared across quartiles, the highest income quartile owned, across all villages, just over twice the amount of land of the lowest income quartile. These averages hide large inequalities as many households were found to be owning no land at all. It is possible to detect an emerging picture in which a relatively equal past farm size structure is being modified by the acquisition of extensive amounts of land by a relatively small number of individuals at the top of the wealth distribution. This is often ex-government or parastatal land (for example, previous sisal estates at Kilosa) that is released for re-allocation and in the process ends up in the hands of just a few beneficiaries (Ellis and Mdoe, 2002).

In spite of liberalisation, the past fifteen years have seen the lives of ordinary people in villages being affected more by deeply established institutions and the way they function. It is well known that institutions change much more slowly than the structures in which they are contained (North, 1990). A crop parastatal can be privatised at the stroke of a pen, but it will take a lot longer for a competitive and sustainable private sector participation to emerge and develop. Decentralisation to district government in Tanzania has taken long to take root and benefit the majority of the rural people. Management of the macro-micro links and the state interventions to stimulate the capacity of various players to respond to the merging opportunities is a major challenge.

**Poverty Revisited**

Having dwelled on macroeconomic stabilization for growth for a decade, Tanzania started to address poverty as a major policy concern in 1996 within the framework of the macroeconomic policies which were being implemented. These initiatives started with the formulation of the National Poverty Eradication Policy and Strategy (1997). However, soon after
the policy and strategy document was ready for implementation the discussions about debt relief were beginning to link debt relief to poverty reduction. These initiatives coincided with the World Bank’s introduction of the Comprehensive Development Framework which essentially recognized that development had to be pursued in a comprehensive manner taking into account economic as well as social and political processes. It is in this context that the international financial institutions (IFIs) came with the concept of PRSP which was tied to HIPC debt relief funds. The Tanzania government responded quickly to the demand to prepare PRSP in order to gain access to the HIPC debt relief resources.

Lessons from PRSPs

Drawing lessons from experience with PRSP, the preparation of the revised PRS known as National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (from end of 2003) has made at least three major departures from the earlier PRSP. First, the coverage has been expanded to include growth concerns along with the two other clusters of human development and social well-being and governance. The broadened coverage of PRSP has warranted change of name of the document into the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. Second, the consultative process has been broadened and deepened in the sense that more time was allowed for consultations and the all regions in the country managed to hold consultations. Third, the strategy has been made outcome and results based rather than identifying a few priority sectors. The priority of a sector is not as important as the contribution a sector makes to growth and poverty reduction.

Challenge of social protection

The Government has been aware that a large proportion of existing service delivery facilities are in poor condition and that services being provided are of poor quality. Primary emphasis is, therefore, being placed on rehabilitating existing structures and raising the quality of the services being offered.

As regards social well being, the Government has promoted participatory approaches to the determination of developing programmes and has opened up the public expenditure review process to the public. Simultaneously, the Government has adopted a programme of devolving responsibilities for key services to the local authorities. Given the progress in political
liberalization, the fast growing role of the public media, and the increasing dynamism of civil society, the poor are participating more effectively in shaping development policies.

As regards vulnerability, the Government is facing the challenge of having to give specific attention to vulnerable groups through its own programmes and by enlisting the involvement of its development partners. Local Communities will be expected to play a major role in identifying the needs of vulnerable groups. Specific interventions in this area will include food-for-work programmes and other initiatives that are implemented under the World Bank supported Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). The Government will also examine other interventions that would be targeted at the most vulnerable groups (orphans and handicapped).

The government is taking the following steps to revive or enhance social protection:

- Tracking of the income and social indicators of poverty, and adoption of measures, including in the context of the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF), to alleviate rural income poverty and provide relief to vulnerable groups
- Establishment of the Education Fund, to support children from very poor families
- Abolition of primary school fees and other enrolment related contributions
- Establishment of Tanzania Commission on AIDS (TACAIDS). On the institutional side, the Government established TACAIDS, as a quasi-autonomous agency, to coordinate all interventions related to AIDS, including the mobilization of resources from domestic and external sources. More specifically, the responsibilities of TACAIDS will also cover policy formulation, strategic planning, advocacy, monitoring and evaluation, and the public dissemination of information of HIV/AIDS

There is a need for a policy on social security which will chart out the structure and functions of a social security system consisting of one universal and comprehensive social insurance scheme supplemented by other smaller and more targeted schemes. The policy should also clearly stipulate the type of direct government support to groups which need some form of assistance either on a temporary or permanent basis. As such, the policy should define social security in its broadest sense. An appropriate social security policy should be able to guarantee a sustained satisfaction of basic needs, protect society from worsening of living conditions, ensure protection against unforeseen contingencies, redress inequalities and facilitate social integration/inclusion. To ensure protection against future contingencies, all people should be
covered by social insurance regardless of whether they currently have adequate levels of incomes or not. The scheme should have broad coverage not only in terms of the benefits to beneficiaries but also in terms of the number of people covered.

A policy on social security should distinguish between those who may be permanently in need of some form of assistance for example the disabled, chronically ill and elderly who are no longer able to work, and those who experience temporary shortfall of income below the minimum acceptable levels as a result of some contingencies but have the ability to overcome such contingencies. Mechanisms should be put in place to identify and extend special support (e.g. cushioning from cost sharing) the very poor and other vulnerable groups in society.

Further research needs to be undertaken to inform a social security coverage extension strategy. Key issues which should be addressed include:

- identification of the nature, characteristics and needs of the groups that are currently excluded.
- Identification of priorities and ranking of the needs of the excluded groups with a view to improving social protection through social security schemes.
- Estimation of resource requirements and identification of sources of finance for the extended social security systems.
- In search of innovative ways of combining traditional (family or community based) schemes with modern social protection schemes
- Decentralization and local government reforms need to complement with national concerns with social protection.

5.0 Implications of Regional Integration

Many African countries share similar institutional and legal histories. They tend to use the same languages. The qualifications awarded by their educational systems are broadly compatible. There are relatively few social and cultural barriers to migration, intermarriage and socialization. Africans enjoy the same music. There is a real cultural unity, together with a genuine appreciation of the cultural diversity of the continent.

The challenge of responding to common problems, including marginalization in the processes of the WTO and the pandemic of HIV/AIDS, also bring African countries closer together. Pooling of capacities and developing common approaches increases the influence of
Africa in international fora and its likelihood of making substantial gains. The joint African-led NEPAD initiative is a fine example in this respect.

Integration between neighbouring African states is usually the integration of unequal partners, and the benefits of the arrangement are often polarized towards one partner. For example South Africa is the major beneficiary of the Southern Africa Customs Union, and has therefore allowed compensatory mechanisms to be built in that benefit the other smaller members. Similarly, the disproportionate benefits accruing to Kenya in the EAC created antagonism in Uganda and Tanzania. Although integration is (overall) a sum-sum exercise, the disproportionate allocation of benefits may create friction between countries.

Economic integration should also be used to help limit inter-state conflict, because there are strong countervailing interests in relations between economically-integrated neighbours. Similarly there are economic interests vested in maintaining a well-functioning internal market. Most of the time regional integration does function in this manner. It creates commonalities of interest among different groups including governments across the region. It raises the costs of violent conflict. It helps to create ‘security communities’ in which the resolution of disputes by resort to conflict is literally unthinkable.

However, economic integration is a process that involves friction and there are losers as well as winners. Successful integration requires strong institutional mechanisms for containing friction and resolving disputes. In addition, some business interests can profit from conflict.

The basis of NEPAD is a commitment by African governments to put in place the good governance preconditions for economic growth, including strengthening democracy and the rule of law, achieving peace and security, and reducing corruption. These measures, in and of themselves, will help create an enabling environment for development. It provides the opportunity for Africa to manage its own governance imperatives as has been shown in the case of the peer reviews. The major challenges facing NEPAD are similar to those facing the AU itself: how to make the process more inclusive and participatory, so that it is underpinned by effective consultation and participation from the widest range of stakeholders.

NEPAD has several components, including governance, peace and security, and economic development. It is a sovereign process, driven by African governments, that brings together pre-existing initiatives including the Millennium Partnership for Africa’s Recovery, led by South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria, and the OMEGA Plan of Senegal. In some respects,
NEPAD is in fact an exercise to increase efforts put into what already works, and greater persistence in reducing or removing known obstacles to development, such as unsustainable debt overhang. The emphasis on regional cooperation is also not new, but is given new urgency. What makes NEPAD different is the African political commitment behind it, and the fact that it has been greeted very positively among major aid donors including the G-8. The U.K. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, recently called for a doubling in existing aid flows to the developing world, from $53 billion to $100 billion, by 2015. A major increase in Britain’s aid commitment to Africa is likely to be part of Prime Minister Tony Blair’s programme for the coming year.

The United Republic of Tanzania, as a member of the African Union (AU), is committed to the objectives of NEPAD and is in a good position to participate effectively and gainfully in all aspects of NEPAD for a number of reasons. Firstly, Tanzania is committed to the principles of democracy, rule of law and the protection of human rights. The government has adopted a Good Governance Framework which promotes the participation of its people in decision making; the principles of constitutionalism; the rule of law, the administration of justice and protection of human rights; gender equality; the culture of accountability, transparency and integrity in the management of public affairs; and the positive principles of electoral democracy. Tanzania will advocate for the same principles at the continental level. Secondly, the Government has effected comprehensive economic reforms laying the basis for competitiveness.

Tanzania has played a major role in establishing the East Africa Co-operation organization, with Kenya and Uganda. This initiative was the first step in the creation of a successor to the East African Community (EAC), which collapsed in 1977. The organization intends to play an increasingly important role in co-ordinating the commercial and development activities of the three countries. The principles of good governance and broad participation in development characterize the new EAC.

The Treaty of the East African Community (EAC), signed on 30 November 1999, constantly seeks to promote and strengthen the balanced and sustainable integration of economic, social, cultural and political aspects of the three member states: Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. To this date EAC is promoting regional projects, facilitating the movement of people and vehicles across borders, harmonizing policies and regulations for trade and investments and promoting regional infrastructure. The Treaty of the East African Community (EAC), seeks to
promote and strengthen the balanced and sustainable integration of economic, social, cultural and political aspects of the three member states: Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda.

In the new EAC Treaty (1999) it has been acknowledged that one of the major shortcomings of the former EAC was that did not give sufficient space for the key stakeholders in the East African society such as the civil society, women and the private sector. In influencing developments in the region’s economic integration process. The agreement signed by the Partner States aims at fostering regional development that is people centred and people driven in utilizing the region’s resources. The new EAC is consistent with recent shifts in the approaches to regional integration in two respects. First, the new wave regional integration arrangements is more outward-looking consistent with a more open model of regionalism. Second, it has been recognized that in addition to reducing tariffs and quotas deepening integration is accompanied by the removal of a wide range of non-trade barriers. In this process the private sector, civil society and women are expected to play a leading role consistent with the provision of the Treaty in respect of people centred integration.

Also as part of the initiative to strengthening economic integration Tanzania is determined to continue working towards the restoration of political and social stability in neighbouring countries a factor that is key to economic growth and prosperity in landlocked neighbouring countries. Tanzania has also been a key participant in the peacekeeping and peacemaking process in the region. Such activities have ranged from the defeat of Idi Amin in Uganda, to the crucial role it is now playing in the Great Lakes (Rwanda and Burundi crisis and in the DRC).

Through regional dividend, that is largely attributable to an investment made under the watch of the Founding Father, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in committing Tanzania’s moral and material resources towards the liberation struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa. Tanzania saw freedom and independence as an Africa-wide phenomenon. It is against this background that with its limited resources Tanzania assisted to liberate fellow African countries. In fact, Freedom Fighters from East and Southern Africa has their military bases in Tanzania and received military training in Tanzania. This valued investment is now earning Tanzania a remarkable degree of goodwill in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa, a region comprising a market of nearly 300 million consumers, and a combined GDP of some USD 200 billion.
Tanzania occupies a unique cultural and political position in the East African region, which can be turned into a commercial asset. Kiswahili, which is deeply rooted in the country, is the unchallenged commercial lingua franca of the Great Lakes region. Moreover, the social and political stability that has prevailed since independence has turned Tanzania into a sanctuary for refugees from neighbouring countries, and a fountain of hope for nearby countries seeking to resolve their internal conflicts peacefully. It is through this influx of refugees that Tanzania has been able to further cement links, at personal and institutional level, with all countries in the East African region.

East Africa has a long history of labour migration between and within the countries to plantations (cotton and coffee in Uganda), mines (DRC and Uganda) and with the seasons (pastoralist communities in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya). After independence, these movements were supplemented by substantial forced displacement, and increasing rural-urban migration within countries for employment or to earn a livelihood. However, both urbanization rates and levels of international migration remain generally lower than in other parts of Africa. Labour migration forms a particularly important part of migration within East Africa, although the region has also witnessed substantial movements of refugees and internally-displaced people, which have affected virtually every country in the region. In particular, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda all remain host to substantial refugee populations.

6.0 Conclusion

Since independence Tanzania has gone through distinct policy episodes of social integration. In the first two decades of the post-independence period Tanzania made deliberate efforts and took various initiatives to attain social integration. In this period Tanzania strived to build national unity and placed emphasis on human development and social policy consistent with the basic needs approach. This period was characterized by emphasis on investment in human development consistent with the basic needs approach with little specific attention to growth. In fact Tanzania made considerable achievements in human development during that period a progress but this model ran out of steam towards the end of the 1970s as exhibited by the way this development was interrupted by the economic crisis starting from the late 1970s and the early 1980s. In response Tanzania adopted structural adjustment programmes which were meant to focus on efficiency gains and growth acceleration. The second policy episode from
1981 to 1995 was essentially a period in which Tanzania adopted adjustment and reforms which were aimed at restoring stabilization and growth but in the process it contributed to the causing cracks into the social integration status that had been achieved in the previous two decades. In the third period (1996-2005) Tanzania embarked on more comprehensive economic and social policies in which social integration received attention again but this time in a new context of the market economy, competition and globalization.

The experience of Tanzania with social integration can have useful lessons and implications for regional integration. In particular the role of Tanzania in the liberation struggle, role in managing refugees, in managing peace and security including participating in peace talks in the region and its experience in using Kiswahili as an instrument of social integration and can have important implications for regional integration.
REFERENCES


