[MELLEMFOLKELIGT SAMVIRKE 360°]

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Sofie Bartnik Mattsson-Mossberg

CPR Academic Supervisor Stine Piilgaard Porner Nielsen

'Reflections on the role of NGOs in a globalised world'

Content

Preface

The pivot of this report is the role of NGOs in a globalised world, in this case represented by Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (MS). Besides a presentation of Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke I will account for what circumstances surround MS and many other NGOs in Africa for that matter. This will lead to a reflection on democracy and good governance in relation to corruption in Tanzania specifically. In what way the MS training program 'Youth Participation in Governance' reflects the challenges mentioned above will then briefly be addressed. Finally I will reflect on the legitimacy of developing NGOs in general and on the effectiveness of MS approaches.

Contextualisation

Background of Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (Action Aid Denmark)

As this report addresses not only people within the organisation of Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke this section of the report will give a brief overview of the organisational structures of the Danish organisation and the mother organisation Action Aid International respectively.

Today Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (or AADK)[1] falls within the scope of Action Aid International (AAI). MS' history of working within developing countries spans back to 1948. During the years MS has made a number of different strategic changes that changed MS from mainly supporting newly independent state structures in the developing countries to focusing more on enhancing the power of the civil society organisations (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke; 2010; 5).

Due to Government cut downs, increased competition between Danish NGO's, concerned with international development, and not least because of the changes in the international arena and the growing impact of globalisation, MS found it necessary to reconsider its organizational structure and its future cooperation with other organisations in order to survive. In 2010 the Danish organization merged with Action Aid International.

The full membership of AAI entails both advantages and top-down restrictions. The affiliation with AAI gives MS "(...) the right to participate in AAI's governing body, brand itself as ActionAid Denmark and to benefit from resources within the AAI network and International Secretariat" (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke; 2010; 5-6). In addition to this MS is obliged to work in pursuance with the values and objectives of AAI, and are not allowed to work on programs outside the boarders of Denmark without authorisation by Action Aid.

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[1] "Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke is the official name of the association used in Denmark.
Internationally, Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke is called ActionAid Denmark and this is also used as a co-branding name in Denmark." (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke; 2010, 3). The organisation will in this report be referred to as MS or MS Tanzania.

Even though the affiliation with a big international development organisation like AAI was partly a result of necessity one can say that the 'crisis precipitated' action that in the end were likely to have happened anyway. From the very beginning MS' main focus has been to promote international solidarity and to eliminate the common North-South division of the world (Action Aid Denmark; Strategy; 2012-2017; 3). Therefore working within the frame of an international organisation like AAI is consistent with the overall ambition of MS. *"In the coming strategy period of 2012-2017 AADK will attain its full potential as a member of a global alliance. This is well in line with the work we have done since 1944 to promote intercultural understanding and solidarity at a global level"* (Action Aid Denmark; Strategy 2012-2017;3).

It is the general belief in MS and in AAI that one can achieve more by expanding, and thereby strengthening the international relationship between organisations that deal with development in so called developing countries. This is also rooted in the recognition of the complexity of the modern world and the impact of globalisation on the national level. *"The causes of poverty and injustice often reside outside areas where the worst symptoms are found"* (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke; 2010; 7). Therefore social problems in the developing world are only to be solved if the international society recognise it self as exactly that – one society.

Action Aid International has since 2003 as the only international development organization had its headquarters situated in the developing world itself, in this case Johannesburg (South Africa). This is coherent with the values that AAI want's to represent, which is: *"(…) commitment to building an organisation which recognises and values the contribution of all our members"* and realizing the power within the people whose lives the organizational work wants to affect positively (Action Aid; 07.12.2013). These values are something that AAI stresses as central in their official webpage and which manifest itself in the curriculum of the global platform trainings. It is now believed that the key to change lie within people themselves and therefore Action Aid focusses on empowering these people, by first of all making them aware of their Human Rights.

AAI delegates tasks to its members according to their qualifications, expertise and resources. Hence MS has since 2009 been in charge of managing the theme "Right to just and democratic governance" (INTRAC; 2012; 7). In short this entails tasks as program-developing including developing materials for the different regional levels that can be used by teachers facilitating the theme, campaigners or anyone working " (…)*to enable poor and excluded people to hold government accountable (such as ELBAG, Social Audits, accountability and political empowerment field frameworks)*(INTRAC; 2012; 7).

The Global Platforms
The concept of Global Platforms as training hubs was originally developed and initiated by MS in 2008. The first platforms were opened in Tanzania and Denmark in 2009. When MS merged with Action Aid International in 2010 AAI 'inherited' these platforms. However since the Global Platforms is developed by the Danish organisation, MS remained the main contributor to the training concept offered there and "*ActionAid Denmark has had a main support function for developing, monitoring and expanding the Global Platforms around the world*"(Global Platform; 07.12.2013).

'Training for Change' at Global Platform, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
In autumn 2013, more exactly the 1st of September to the 26th of October, I participated in two courses at a month's duration each, "The Youth Participation in Governance" (YPG) and "Social

Entrepreneurship" (SE). The courses were part of the AAI concept 'Training for Change' and took place at the Global Platform (GP) in Dar es Salaam (Dar), Tanzania. Both courses have great potential to have a positive effect on social change in Tanzania in its own ways.

The trainings at the platform in Tanzania are addressed primarily to members of Action Aid. It also says about the trainings at the platform that they take into account the local context (Global Platform Tanzania; 06.12.2013). This focus on local context doesn't eliminate foreigners from the courses because the main focus of the trainings at the Platform in Tanzania is 'youth' in general and what they call 'Global Citizens' training': *"We will facilitate the interchange of young people to strengthen intercultural cooperation, dialogue, solidarity and exchange of experience between youth from Denmark and from the Middle East/North Africa."* (Action Aid; Strategy of 2012-2017; 13).

Civic space of Tanzania - political space for non-state actors

General tendency outlined in the Act Alliance report 'Changing political spaces of Civil Society Organisations' (2011) shows that many African countries are facing challenges …. (Act Alliance; 2011;).

In this section I will outline the main characteristics of the environment surrounding a NGO in Tanzania. This I will compare to the general role that NGOs play in the international society according to Nickel and FN Tanzania. The purpose by this comparative approach

Democracy and Corruption in Tanzania

Since the independence of Tanzania in December 1961, only one party has ruled. That will be the party of the late father of the nation, Julius K. Nyerere, CCM. Until 1992 CCM was declared the only legal party of Tanzania. Therefor the adoption of the multiparty system in 1992, was regarded a healthy political progress. The number of political parties in Tanzania today is 18 with elections hold every fifth year. Despite that only the CCM has in the history in the Republic of Tanzania had the presidential position. This of course fall under suspicion of international and national organisations concerned with promoting human rights and good governance. That will be among others the 'Human Rights Watch', UN, anti-corruption intergovernmental and international organisations such as 'Transparency International'. The Danish International Development Agency, known as DANIDA (also funds MS), obviously also has a huge interest in supervising the just spending of the enormous Danish development aid paid every year. Denmark has since 2001 provided what is formally known as General Budget Support to Tanzania. The aid from 2011-2015 run into DDK 615 million, where of approximately 20 % rely on the performance related income of selected areas in Tanzania as a way of encouraging good performance amongst some of the recipients (tanzania.um.dk; 09.12.2013).

At their official web page DANIDA states as part of their annual evaluation of the beneficial countries that "Corruption in Tanzania is a serious governance and development challenge" and allocates Tanzania a B which labels Tanzania 'Less satisfactory', which indicates that, *"There is political will and capacity for reform. General budget support may be continued – or applied - within a well-defined framework of conditionality and/or technical safeguards"* (um.dk; 10.12.2013).

Albeit different anti-corruption analysis gives different results and some shows a small decrease in the prevalence of corruption Tanzania still has a very high score on the different analytic scales on corruption used by various anti-corruption bureaus. It is still the impression of DANIDA and the Danish Embassy in Tanzania that the progress, if any, is not satisfying and happening rapidly enough (um.dk; 10.12.2013).

On small scale corruption there is still a big problem within the traffic police, the judiciary and the health sector, which in itself is a big issue (um.dk; 10.12.2013). Moreover Tanzania has suffered from several mayor corruption scandals the resent years. These scandals involved many high stake political figures. These has been and are currently being brought to court. However it is questioned if the system of justice in Tanzania is properly 'armed' to deal with these often very complex, 'heavy' and length trials and investigations (um.dk; 10.12.2013). In addition to this the natural question of the accountability of the high-ranking officials are to be trusted themselves.

Tanzania has shown willingness to suppress corruption by passing several laws on the subject such as *"the Public Procurement Act (2004), the Election Expenses Act (2010), the Anti-Money Laundering Act (2006), the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act (2007) and the Public Audit Act (2008)* (um;10.12.2013). In the 2010 election campaign the head of the leading opposition party, Cadema, expressed his contempt and his lack of trust towards the leading party, "*The CCM [ruling party] cannot fight corruption because it is the product of corruption (...)"* (Muga; 2010).

However the President continues to reject all charges of corruption in his government. He argues that trials against top officials has been conducted and also refers to the various anti-corruption agreements that the government has signed.

However signing various documents doesn't guarantee a democratic regime or free and fair elections. (Muga; 2010). Experience has shown that exactly and so has statistics from World Justice Project (please see appendix 1). Neither does setting down a Tanzanian Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO). As long as it is not impartial and not nongovernmental, their credibility is questioned. Therefor Tanzania like any other African country has the international audience attention viz. it is believed that democracy is the way forward for attaining positive social change (Mauro;1997;6). Consequently international observers have been present at the last elections in Tanzania, in 2005 and 2010 e.g. UN, Commonwealth and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).

These observations have led to recommendations to the Tanzanian Government on how to improve their elections towards international standards of free and fair elections. The reports do give an unambiguous view on the fairness of the elections. The irregularities observed are not at a disturbing level and improvements as been implemented to secure less corruption. The dramatically fall in voter turnout from approximately 70 percent in the last three elections to now more reliable 42,84 percent is a clear evidence of exhaustive irregularities earlier (idea.int; 08.12.2013).

In connection with that accusation of corruption within the opposition parties has also been made against a former leader of the main opposition party Chadema, Mr Wangwe, who was accused of leaking sensitive information to the leading party CCM (The Citizen, 9th of December 2013). It seems like a lack of trust even within the opposition itself, is one of the many challenges the political life in Tanzania face. The article, "Analysts: Here's why opposition is troubled", from *The Citizen* the biggest

newspaper in Tanzania, states that lack of institutionalised democratic structures within each opposition party bear much of the blame for the opposition not growing strong enough to really challenge the leading party the CCM. Despite accusations against the CCM for corruption the opposition hasn't been able to present a real alternative to the leading party, *The Citizens* writes (Kimboy;The Citizen;2013). Several analysts contend that even though Tanzania has had a multiple party system for a long time, the mentality of the single party system still prevails. With that means the tendency of any leader to claim the entire power once elected leader of a party. In the article Emmanuel Mallya, a political scientist at the Open University of Tanzania, calls the politicians "power hungry". Another political scientist, Mr Bashiru Ally, a political science lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam, also added, "*that due to lack of institutional framework most political parties "are being run as private companies."*(Kimboy; Africa Review; 2013).

The political turbulence within the opposition parties etc. might be overcome by implementing some strong structures to secure that democratic values are not only protected in the election periods but is implemented in the entire political life. However an example of such structure existed within the Chadema party, namely the term limits for party leadership but such rule was in 2006 abolished. (xxx)

With this brief chapter it is clear that Tanzania faces multiple challenges when it comes to the political life and institutionalised structures in the society.

Free Medias

Democracy when it works is the key to ensuring human rights. Access to information is an important human right, and is very important in ensuring an efficient political life in Tanzania as anywhere else. However even though Tanzania proclaim to support the international human rights standards including the *"freedom to expression and access to information"* (article 19 Universal Declaration on Human Rights) Tanzanian constitution encompasses a law that contradict this right. The law is *the 1976 Newspaper act* that allows the Government to shutdown newspaper or ban newspapers of publishing in a period of time if the Government find that it has published articles that for instance might be a threat to public peace and order. Several cases have shown that this law has been used extensively in situations where newspapers has been found critical of the Government (Article 19; 2011). Besides the fact that newspapers has been permanently or temporarily shut down Tanzania is in general considered to have rather independent and free medias, and is the report from Freedom House "*Freedom of the press 2013*" given the label 'Partly free' (Freedom House;2013).

Tanzania – a developing democracy

One has to consider that Tanzania is still a rather young democracy, and it wasn't until 1992 that the one party system was abolished and a multiparty system allowed. Since that a number of opposition parties have seen the day, one in particular has gain foothold as the main opposition party. However CCM has remained in power.

According to the statistics of IDEA the voter turnout for Tanzania was at the recent election in 2010, as mentioned above, on 42,84 percent. This shows that Tanzania is facing a big challenge of getting people to participate in the electoral processes. The reason for this might be multiple. One might be that 2/3 of the Tanzanian population lives in rural areas (World Bank; Appendix 2), where access to Medias often is limited. This is likely to inhibit the engagement in politics. In addition to this 33 percent of women over the age of 15 and 21 percent of men over the age of 15 were according to

World Bank in 2010 illiterates (World Bank; Appendix 2). This complicates the challenging of communication and the information relevant for this section of the population to engage in politics on matters that exceed the local community or village level.

The concept of democracy and good governance

Today the majority of countries in the world are democracies (Freedom House; 2012). However nobody owns the copyrights of the democracy concept. Therefore democracy is perceived in various ways and very different countries declare themselves democratic. For many countries it is considered a clever way to brand on self on the international marked. Even though no authoritative understanding of democracy exists some theories on democracy has gained acceptance in the academic world. One of them is that of the American professor Robert Alan Dahl. He distinguishes between four types of democracy: *Liberal democracy*, *polyarki*, *electoral democracy and minimalistic democracy* (Dahl; 2000). They depend on the level of democracy in the country. According to Dahl a country must at the very least have free and fair elections to be entitled to bear the label 'democracy'. Liberal democracy is the ideal form of democracy, where everybody has an equal share of power. Dahl considers the 'liberal democracy' as the ideal type of democracy but to be a utopia because it does not apply in practice (Dahl; 2000). The second best type therefor is what he terms 'polyarki'. Dahl measures democracy according to degrees of fulfilling certain democratic norms (Dahl; 2000; 73-74).

Some of the characteristics of 'deep' democracies are the high level of participation in the political debates and the depth of the democracy, so to speak. It is countries were the following criteria's are fulfilled more or less, co-management (participatory democracy), attainment of substantiate insight, equality for election and no exclusion of persons entitled to vote (Dahl;2000; 32-38).

The outcome of the training

Participation and democracy

As we can see citizen's participation is a requirement in a healthy democracy (xxx). This understanding of the importance of participation is very well reflected in the YPG training that I attended. The training had a large focus on this fact and on the different ways in which people can participate, official as well as unofficial ways. This weighty attention on participation is very much in line with the theory of Robert Dahl. Due to the Tanzanian context of the training the youth participation in good governance was particular relevant since youth between the age 15-35 encompasses roughly 60 percent of the Tanzanian population.

Besides this stress on participation the training also introduced a less familiar concept, the 'governance' concept. In relation to this concept the question on how to keep leaders accountable was elaborated on and different ways to do that was taught as important tools in making democracy i.e. good governance work (Global Platform Tanzania; 09.12.2013).

A critical view on development aid

One of the main purposes of the international aid agenda is to create sustainable positive social and economic change in *the developing world* (um.dk/um.dk /un.org /oecd.org; 11.12.2013). However, the big issue still rest on how to reach these goals is the most appropriately and efficiently. Development research is an integrated part of the Danish foreign politics (um.dk; 11.12.2013). As Danida and other sources state that the international world has never before been this confident on what works and what does not work regarding the matter of development theory (um.dk; 11.12.2013) Then it might seem like a puzzle, when you look into the matter, what has been written about the impact of NGOs and foreign aid since it does not match the certainty of for instance the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Experts do not agree on this issue.

Academic studies of NGO's have during years reciprocally argued that NGOs have a positive and havn't got a positive impact on the development in developing countries (Pearce, 2010, 629 and Berlingske; 16.03.2012).

This big difference in conclusions is slightly worrying compared to the amounts of money spent on aid worldwide. In 20011 alone USD 2,445 Billion were allocated Tanzania. Of this Denmark was the third biggest individual donor country contributing 128 Million USD in 2010-2011 (oecd.org; 10.12.2013).

The Danish Government paid in 2011 0,85 percent of the Danish GNI (um.dk;13.12.2013). All UN countries are advised to pay at least 0,7 percent of the country's GNI in foreign Aid. That the UN countries are more or less are entitled by the UN to pay enormous sums of money is slightly paradoxical considering that the impact of foreign aid is relatively contested in the academic world.

Empowering the developing world is a way to eradicated poverty and injustice seems a common objective among the different donor countries of the world (Pearce; 2006) which are united under the two greatest multilateral organisations, the UN and OECD[2]. Through the UN the member countries are joining hands in the fight against poverty. The UN 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDG)[3] enacted by the UN member countries in 2000 serve as guidelines to the member countries informing them on the common international development policy (un.org/millenniumgoals; 11.12.2013). The general aim of the MDG is among other things to eliminate extreme poverty in the world's poorest countries (Korch; Berlingske; 03.11.2013). These goals have to be reached before 2015. At the UN summit in New York 2010 the DAC countries[4] such as Germany expressed scepticism towards reaching these goals. "We can not keep on paying development aid indefinitely. We need to use the resources as efficiently as possible" [my own translation], the German Chancellor Angela Merkel stood up and said (Sørensen; 23.09.2010; Kristeligt Dagblad). This outspoken concern might indicate a future change in the attitude

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[2] "OECD uses its wealth of information on a broad range of topics to help governments foster prosperity and fight poverty through economic growth and financial stability. We help ensure the environmental implications of economic and social development are taken into account." (http://www.oecd.org/about/whatwedoandhow/)

[3] The UN Millennium Development Goals were established in 2002 as an outcome of the Millennium Summit in the UN headquarters in New York. The MDG consists of eight primarily goals (www.undp.org) agreed on by the representatives from the 198 Member States at the time.

[4] OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is a part of the OECD. "It is a unique forum where governments of the doner countries and mulitilateral organisations (...) are joined in helping the developing countries reducing poverty (...)" (um.dk; 13.12.2013).

towards foreign aid. A concern that an organisation like MS is wise to consider. MS depend very much on the funding from DANIDA, and this makes them vulnerable to changes in the development discourse. This might as well be the reason for MS increased focus on self-funding (e.g. through membership payments) and fundraising.

Unintended Harm of Development Aid

This report is for the common good, and does not claim to have all right answers on a field of such complexity. Appealing to a non-governmental organisation to consider its own legitimacy is almost rude because it goes against the self-preservation instinct of any organisation. NGOs might actually see Code of Conducts as increasing their credibility and improving their reputation. *"In an increasingly diversified NGO market where it is becoming difficult to identify quality, self-regulation is a way of standing out."* (One World Trust; Lloyd and Casas).

I find it only fair that NGOs working within the field of development NGO's consider the possibility of as well positive as well as negative impacts of their presence. A NGO might have some negative sides to it despite its very good intentions. The importance is to recognize these downsides in order to turn them around.

One of the most disputed issues of development aid and intervention is the growing concern that development work doesn't serve much good, and might even be harmful (Mahoney; 2007; 286-289).

However the risk of creating dependency between the donor country and the receiver country doesn't legitimate a passive attitude towards the suffering countries.   This is not only unethical, but is due to The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty that argues: *"(…)that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe—from mass murder and rape, from starvation—but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states" (International Commission 2001:VIII)."(Mahoney; 2007; 286).*

Besides dependency risk other downsides of development aid and intervention exists. The following is to a certain degree relevant to an NGO as Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke.

In the realm of Food Aid Christopher R. Barret defines 'negative dependency' as when food aid is provided to face present needs but unintendedly prevent people from creating the capacity to meet the own needs in the future without assistance from outside (Barret; 2006; 3). No doubt that food Aid differs very much from that of development aid e.g. food aid is provided with the intend of covering acute needs in societies and to individuals – for instance with less abled bodies - who would otherwise starve to death. But when roughly half the world's population lives on less than 2$ US per day then who to help and who not to is a balancing act. The negative dependency arises when people, communities or even the state "alter their behave or in response to the provision given" that might otherwise would have fostered new initiatives to cultivate a piece of land, undertaken work in general or mobilizing people to public protests. It also makes sense given the basic conditions of social interaction that interaction among people is dynamic, as you modify actions and 'contra-actions' according to actions of the other participants (Larsen and Pedersen; 2011; 279). In the case of the

state, a laissez-faire mentality is possible to hit in, and necessary agricultural reforms or investments (public or private) fail to happen (Barret; 2006; 3-8).

Even though the two aid types differ they are interlinked in the way they both deal with 'poverty'.

As I see it development aid and development NGOs has many important similarities with food aid. It is brought into a country with financial resources from outside. It is intervening with the status quo of the particular country, and its more presence in the country is inevitable to affect the natural political or social dynamics and behaviour in a country. The nature of invention is a balancing act, and hopefully more research on this issue will see the day of light in the future.

The empowerment approach

The danger of creating dependency and losing control of expenses is the main reason why the charity approach to development has been abandoned (except in the case of emergency aid of course). Instead this approach has been replaced by an empowerment approach with the underlying belief that help to helping oneself is the way to create sustainable change in developing countries (Action Aid Denmarks Strategy 2012-2017; 8). This is also very much in line with the ... Strategi, danmrk Danida... Strategi ms solidaritet på linje med..

Also among African leaders a renewed awareness of Africas own responsibility and role in creating economic growth has arisen: "Self-consciousness has been lacking in Africa, and is still in some countries, but there is something along the way. "There is a growing recognition that Africa should be in charge of its own development ," says Thomas Barnebeck Andersen, professor of development economics at the University of Southern Denmark (Poulsen; 24.09.2010).

African leaders have started to express their awareness of the fact that African countries for too long have stood back and watched international forces do the work of African governments. For instance The Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, said: "(...)it is time that developing countries take ownership of their own development." (Sørensen; 23.09.2010).

In relation to this one thing that struck me during the YPG training was something I heard during a stakeholders forum conducted by the participants in the end of the course. Panellists were invited and amongst them a politician from the leading party CCM along with two political scientists from universities in Dar es Salaam. A student president amongst the audience asked them in a quite challenging and thought-provoking voice: "Why is it that none of the textbooks presented to them during their education have an African author, don't you feel a responsibility to change that?!"

This obviously disturbed the student president, evidently because of what lack of a powerful African imprint reflects on to the future generation of Africa.

I think MS should consider dealing with the issue of a country's self-identification. I believe that this could have a very positive impact on the African pride and the trust the African people have in themselves.

NGO–imperialism?

It is important to see future development strategies of NGOs in the consciousness of the danger of neo-imperialism. NGO is massively represented in the third world (Petras; 1999). In Tanzania alone according to the Tanzanian Association of NGOs the number of active NGOs is by 2012 632 NGOs (tango.or.tz; 07.07.2012).

The failure of the African states to deliver on areas such as health, education and other areas of state responsibilities definitely influenced to rapid growth in the number of NGOs in Africa (globalpolicy.org, Wagona Makoba, associate professor of Sociology at the University of Nevada). The NGO has to some degree overtaken the responsibility of the states when it comes to service delivery and making economic growth (like for instance is the intend of the SE training I recieved. "In fact the African State is now perceived as 'the inhibitor of social, economic, and political development'." (globalpolicy.org; 2002).

A danger exists that not only the international society but Africans themselves automatically get the idea that Africa cannot do without massive help of aid and internationally sponsored NGOs. By instinct or subconsciously you start believing that positive change only happens in the country where the international community is present. This can have detrimental effects on Africa the self-image and confidence in our ideas and abilities. This is the same as the most debated downsides associated with colonialism (humanities360.org; 2007).

All NGO's have to remember to continuously reconsider the potential resemblance between the 19th to 20th century European colonisation and the current dominance of foreign NGO's in for instance a country like Tanzania (Mann; 2007 and Sampson; 2002;27-44).

James Petras at the Department of Sociology at the Binghamton University (NY) criticize NGOs for being apolitical, avoiding dealing with "political education about the nature of **imperialism**, the class basis of neo-liberalism, the class struggle between exporters and temporary workers."(Petras; 1999). In his opinion they tend to lean to much against the popular understanding of them self as activists for the poor and weak without considering their role in the political game (Petras; 1999).

Not dealing with this risk could turn out to have unintended consequences instead, whereas a heightened awareness among the NGOs on this might be the only thing it takes for development NGOs to avoid some of the mistakes from history of imperialism.

Conclusion including recommendations

When big NGO's merge, they often do it because one of the benefits is the increased power to influence when standing united. NGOs are up against big institutional structures, and to pose a threat to a government and might even a corrupt government it takes some 'manpower' to claim the civil space where they can air out their voice. This also applies to individuals and groups. And empowering these groups is an important focus to MS, as explained in 'The Outcome of the Training'.

For individuals and smaller groups to be able to express their opinion in a way where people pay attention it sometimes takes extern help. First of all getting your opinion through in many African countries can be a challenge since corruption and censor of the press might prevent you from it (appendix 1). In these cases non-governmental organisations can be of great support. To be able to answer to yourself, basic knowledge of your Human Rights is required. These human rights is said to be universal according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since the majority of the world's countries are signatories human rights approach does appear to be the right way for a NGO to play its cards. However good in theory in can't be translated directly into practice, since not abiding the laws is seldom followed by any sanctions (Nickel; 2002; 359).

Knowing your rights is useful when people are mobilized in bigger groups or organisations advocating for and claiming their rights. MS also stress the importance of a worldwide solidarity across borders as the cause in a globalized world the cause of problems might come from x when arising in y (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke; 2010; 7). Then in many ways MS is very much in line with the fact that empowering local communities might not be sufficient. In some cases it can change a lot for the people directly involved and it can give them food on the table and a more stable future. However changing the structures that keep retaining generations in poverty for that I believe that it is done by: *(…)enable poor and excluded people to hold government accountable"* (INTRAC; 2012;7). It involves the international society stepping up and realizing their responsibility. The MS' focus on 'the Global Citizen' is one interesting way to expand this message to people around the world.

NGOs have been in Africa and Tanzania for so many years, but not with any radical improvements. Advocates of NGOs might say ' but change takes time'. And sure it does and absolutely NGOs have made and still make a lot of different for people they affect.

But if the (international society) hadn't been there something else might have. This of course is impossible to know. But I think NGOs and everybody else for that matter owes the African continent to reflect on this: For what reason(-s) does we intervene, really? Is the outcome of our massive presence in the continent that positive (to the African people) that we can defend our role there? It is important that we lose the perception of us selves as a Messiah. Despite good intentions our interventions might do more harm than it helps. Are we preventing the African people from setting their own agendas?

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Appendix 1

SUBFACTORS

	Subfactors	Scores
Limited Government Powers	7.1 People can access and afford civil justice	0.47
Absence of Corruption	7.2 Civil justice is free of discrimination	0.50
Order and Security	7.3 Civil justice is free of corruption	0.34
Fundamental Rights	7.4 Civil justice is free of improper government influence	0.56
Open Government	7.5 Civil justice is not subject to unreasonable delays	0.37
Regulatory Enforcement	7.6 Civil justice is effectively enforced	0.53
	7.7 ADRs are accessible, impartial, and effective	0.63
Civil Justice		

SUBFACTORS

	Subfactors	Scores
Limited Government Powers	2.1 Government officials in the executive branch do not use public office for private gain	0.44
Absence of Corruption	2.2 Government officials in the judicial branch do not use public office for private gain	0.41
Order and Security	2.3 Government officials in the police and the military do not use public office for private gain	0.40
Fundamental Rights	2.4 Government officials in the legislative branch do not use public office for private gain	0.38
Open Government		
Regulatory Enforcement		
Civil Justice		
Criminal Justice		

Tanzania

Factors	Scores	Global Rankings	Regional Rankings	Income Group Rankings
Limited Government Powers	0.55	52/97	6/18	3/15
Absence of Corruption	0.41	66/97	9/18	5/15
Order and Security	0.61	76/97	11/18	11/15
Fundamental Rights	0.53	69/97	9/18	7/15
Open Government	0.41	71/97	7/18	6/15
Regulatory Enforcement	0.44	69/97	9/18	5/15
Civil Justice	0.48	70/97	12/18	7/15
Criminal Justice	0.49	50/97	5/18	4/15

Appendix 2

World DataBank | World Development Indicators

Tanzania

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Population (Total)	37,765,139	38,824,384	39,942,347	41,119,693	42,353,790	43,639,752	44,973,330	46,354,607	47,783,107	
Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	..	..	..	..	..	..	73	..	..	
Literacy rate, adult male (% of males ages 15 and above)	..	..	..	..	..	..	79	..	..	
Literacy rate, adult female (% of females ages 15 and above)	..	..	..	..	..	..	67	..	..	

Source: World Development Indicators. Click on a metadata icon for original source information to be used for citation.

World DataBank | World Development Indicators

Tanzania

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Population (Total)	37,765,139	38,824,384	39,942,347	41,119,693	42,353,790	43,639,752	44,973,330	46,354,607	47,783,107	..
Rural population (% of total population)	76	76	75	75	75	74	74	73	73	..

Source: World Development Indicators. Click on a metadata icon for original source information to be used for citation.