



LUND
UNIVERSITY

School of Social Work
Master's program, SOA 203
Spring 2003

HOW IT FEELS TO BE A RECIPIENT OF AID

- A Minor Field Study of three organizations for
disabled people in Tanzania

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Abstract

The objective of this thesis was to examine what recipients of aid from Swedish Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) think about the support and about their possibilities to be independent after the support has been withdrawn.

The research questions were:

- What is the purpose of the aid, from the recipients' point of view?
- What is the recipients' view of their future as self-supporting and the sustainability of the projects?
- In what way do the recipients feel that the donors are supporting them to become self-supporting?

The thesis was based on primary data in form of qualitative interviews with and field studies on three organizations for disabled in Tanzania, as well as secondary data, consisting of literature and periodicals. The secondary data was mainly about capacity building, empowerment, and participation. A few Internet sources were also used.

The aim of this thesis was not to make generalizations of how recipients' organizations consider their situation during and after the support. Accordingly, the organizations interviewed should only be seen as examples.

The main conclusions were that to reach sustainability it is important

- with a good cooperation between donor and recipient,
- that the recipients are responsible for the projects,
- that the recipients themselves lead the organizations,
- that the recipients get education and training,
- that the local people themselves identify the problems,
- to look for local competence instead of sending external experts and,
- that there is a clear phase out process.

The three organizations interviewed were mainly satisfied with these factors and believe that they have good possibilities to be independent in the future.

Key words: Empowerment, Capacity building, Participation, NGO

Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank my interviewees, Ms. Blandina Happiness Sembu, Ms. Veronica Nakyewe, Mr. Palemono Rujwahura, Ms. Mary Kalumone and Mr. Dickson F. Mveyange. Without you I would not have been able to write this thesis. Thanks also to Mr. Charles Kombe, Sign Language Interpreter, who helped me to carry out the interview at Chavita. I also would like to thank the other staffs of Chawata, Chavita and TLB for your hospitality. Asanteni sana! Thanks also to Ms. Karin Öljemark at Forum Syd in Dar es Salaam. I would not have found these interesting organizations without your help. I also would like to thank my supervisor at the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Mrs. Berit Rylander and her assistant programme officer, Ms. Endesh Ngalesoni. Thank you for your support during my stay in Tanzania. Thank you Lars Harrysson, my supervisor at the School of Social Work at Lund University in Sweden, for your good advice. I also would like to thank Heather Eriksson spending a lot of time proofreading my thesis. Finally I would like to thank Sida for financing my field study in Tanzania through the Minor Field Studies program.

Lund June 1st 2003

Johanna Persson

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Stating the problem

Tanzania is a country, which receives a lot of aid from Sweden, both bilateral and via NGOs. 32 % of Tanzania's GNP consists of aid (The Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam). Since I started to take an interest in development issues, I have wondered what happens after the aid withdraws. Do the recipients become self-supporting? Or do the projects end the same day as the support ends? Concerning sustainability of aid much research is done about the bilateral aid. Often it is about economic and environmental issues. Not that much research is done about the aid from Swedish NGOs, particularly not about how the recipients feel and think about the aid they receive. And what do they think about their future as independent? Is the goal to become independent? We do not often talk about how it feels for the recipients to receive aid. We forget about how it is to be poor and for that reason need to receive aid. Karlström (1996) writes that it is not easy to receive aid. The recipients have to be able to keep their self-esteem. To be able to do this, self-knowledge and understanding about the relationship to the donor is needed. If the recipients do not understand this they might be humiliated by or dependent on the donor (Karlström 1996:133). Steinbeck also (1951) writes about the difficulties of receiving aid in "The Log from the Sea of Cortez". He implies that it is always easy to sponsor; this gives many rewards. But when receiving, humility and understanding of relationships is needed. When receiving one is not allowed to stand out as wiser than the one who gives; but one has to be wiser to do this in a good way (Carlsson 1997:38). In my undergraduate thesis ("Konsten att förhindra ett beroende – om hur enskilda biståndsorganisationer arbetar för att undvika ett beroende hos mottagarna" by Johanna Persson), in which I examined how Swedish donor NGOs work to avoid a dependency among their recipients, I wrote from the donors' perspective and their view of aid dependency. In this postgraduate thesis, I will write from the recipients' perspective, i.e. a bottom-up perspective. I will examine the recipients' opinion about the support and what they think about their possibilities to take over projects that donors have helped initiating and supported for a period of time. When I wrote my undergraduate thesis it appeared that one difficulty for the donors is to strengthen the recipients. Therefore, I will concentrate on how the recipients feel about the donors' intention to strengthen them.

Thereby I will also get on to the concepts of empowerment, capacity building and participation. These concepts are important for the understanding of how to make aid projects sustainable after the external support.

1.2 Objective and research questions of the study

The objective of the study is to examine what recipients of aid from Swedish NGOs think about the support and about their possibilities to be independent after the support has been withdrawn.

To fulfil this objective I have used the following research questions:

- What is the purpose of the aid, from the recipients' point of view?
- What are the recipients' view of their future as self-supporting and the sustainability of the projects?
- In what way do the recipients feel that the donors are supporting them to become self-supporting?

2. METHOD

This thesis is based on primary data in form of qualitative interviews and field studies in Tanzania, as well as secondary data, consisting of literature and periodicals. The secondary data is mainly about capacity building, empowerment, and participation. A few Internet sources are also used.

For writing this essay I spent eight weeks in Tanzania. Before I left Sweden I searched for secondary data in the library database. I also wrote a plan for the project, i.e. purpose, main questions and parts of the method.

When I came to Tanzania I first contacted my supervisor at the Swedish Embassy, Berit Rylander. Together we talked about my plan and about which organizations would suit my purpose. The aim was to find three organizations working within the same field so that I, except from making interviews, also would be able to do a field study of the situation of a certain target group. We decided that I should contact Forum Syd, an umbrella organization for Swedish NGOs. Therefore I called Karin Öljemark at Forum Syd and visited her the day after. She gave me phone numbers to seven local NGOs working within the social sector and which receive aid from Swedish NGOs. From these seven I chose three organizations, which

are all organizations for disabled and which I thought would suit my purpose and my subject field. I also found those organizations important in the Tanzanian society. The organizations chosen are Chavita (Tanzania Association of the Deaf), Chawata (Tanzania Association of Disabled) and TLB (Tanzania League of the Blind).

I then called the three organizations and asked if it would be possible for me to interview with representatives of the organizations. We decided that I should call them later and decide on a time for the interview, about two weeks later.

Then it was time to start reading the secondary data, which I brought from Sweden. Concurrently I started working on my interview guide. I also searched for material about SHIA on the Internet. Sources from the Internet are not always reliable but I believe that the pages I have used in this thesis are trustworthy since they belong to serious organizations. However, it is uncertain how long the information will be available on the website. When it comes to the information from the Tanzania National Website, I have printed it out since I believe that this information changes more often than on the other websites I used.

After about two weeks in Tanzania I called the selected organizations and set up times for the interviews. I made three interviews within one week. First I made a group interview with the chairperson of the Women Department of Chawata, Ms. Blandina Happiness Sembu, and with a representative from Youth with Disabilities Development Forum in Kampala, Uganda, Ms. Veronica Nakyewe. Ms. Happiness Sembu joined Chawata in 1990 and she became the chairperson of the Women Department in 2002. Ms. Nakyewe works in a similar organization in Uganda and visits Chawata regularly to exchange ideas. The reason I interviewed her was that she might see things about Chawata that the staff of Chawata might not see. Most of the answers, however, came from Ms. Happiness Sembu.

There is a risk that the interviewees have influenced each other's answers. But since the interviewees could help each other to answer my questions I might have received more detailed answers than if I had interviewed them one by one.

The same day I interviewed the secretary general of Chawata, Mr. Palemono Rujwahura. He was elected secretary general of Chawata in May last year. He started the leadership of the organization from district level, in Kisarawe. Before he became the national secretary general

he was the secretary general of Kisarawe region. Professionally Mr. Rujwahura is a secondary school teacher in History and Geography.

The next day I interviewed the chairperson of TLB, Ms. Mary Kalumone. She joined TLB in 1987. In 1996 she became the chairlady of the Women Department and last year she became the chairperson of the whole organization. In between she was a member of the Tanzanian parliament.

It was difficult to bring about the last interview, with Mr. Dickson F. Mveyange, the executive secretary and project's manager of Chavita. He turned out to be very busy. Since I had to use an interpreter in sign language for this interview and there are only a few of those interpreters in Dar es Salaam, it was difficult to find a time that would suit both the interpreter and the executive secretary. After having arranged the interview three times I finally got to interview him, two weeks after the other interviews. Mr. Mveyange has worked in Chavita at intervals for almost ten years. But he has not worked full time during these years; occasionally he has been abroad. He has been studying in both Sweden and America. He has also worked as an organization adviser on issues of management in Namibia.

All the interviews took place in the interviewees' offices, which might have helped the interviewees to feel comfortable during the interview. The interviews were conducted in English but, as mentioned before, I used an interpreter in sign language for the interview with Mr. Dickson F. Mveyange. This may have influenced his answers, which might have been more detailed if I had known sign language myself. But since I used a qualified interpreter who is used to interpreting I find this risk insignificant.

The interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. While interviewing I used a tape recorder and I also wrote notes. When using a tape recorder I did not miss important facts said by the interviewees. I am aware of the risk that a tape recorder may have an influence on the answers but I consider this risk as little. I told my interviewees that the reason for using the tape recorder was that I was not able to take notes of everything they said. I did not notice any fear of answering when using the tape recorder; the interviewees were very willing to share their experiences with me.

My interviews were based on a flexible model. They were semi-structured and I used an interview guide (appendix 1), which had different topics. Semi-structured interviews have predetermined questions, which can, however, be changed during the interview. Some questions were therefore omitted, if they seemed inappropriate. Other questions were added (Robson 2002:270).

The first two interviews and the last one were made without any interruptions. During my interview with Ms. Kalumone in TLB, however, we were interrupted several times by people who needed to speak to her. This may have effected the answers, which might have been more detailed if not interrupted. I asked, however, the same question again after the interruption to give my interviewee a chance to complete the answer.

After making the interviews I transcribed them. Due to language difficulties I was not able to transcribe the interviews word for word. Since I used my notes as a complement I believe that I was able to catch the essence of the interviews.

I am aware that I, as a student from Sweden and a “mzungo” (= white person in Kiswahili), may have influenced the answers during the interviews. My interviewees might have avoided some answers in case their donors may read this thesis. To avoid this risk I introduced myself as a Swedish postgraduate student in social work and made it clear that I had no connection to their donors. My background can also have had an influence to this thesis. The fact that I have taken development studies, have been a trainee at the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam and have a great interest in development issues might have influenced my analysis and conclusions since I had ideas of how the relationship between donor and recipient may look like. For example, I had an idea that the relationship is not easy and that the recipients always feel that they are subordinated the donors.

The fact that the interviewees and I come from different cultures may have influenced the answers I received. They might have given me the answers they thought I expected to get. There is also a risk that I, coming from another culture, did not understand the correct meaning of the answers and did not notice underlying information.

In the presentation of the interviews I have chosen mostly not to refer to interviewees by names. Since the interviewees represent their organizations, I do not consider it is of

importance to use their names and distinguish between who said what. When I do mention the interviewees by name I do it because I find it, in that case, essential.

As I read the transcribed interviews and read the literature I tried to find certain themes. Those themes I have used when presenting my findings. In the conclusions and analysis I have also connected the themes to the main concepts of the thesis, i.e. capacity building, participation and empowerment.

When using a flexible design one should, according to Robson (2002), keep on collecting data until one reaches so-called saturation. This means that no or only little new information appears when collecting data (Robson 2002:198f). Since I had a very limited time for writing this thesis I could not go on until I reached saturation and was only able to make four interviews. The organizations interviewed should therefore be seen as examples of how recipients' organizations may consider their situation during and after the support. Accordingly, the aim of this thesis has not been to make generalizations.

In social research it is important to try to understand the reality from different perspectives. One has to try to see how different people experience and look at the reality. Rosmari Eliasson (1995) implies that it is easier to understand a perspective that is closer to oneself, for example in terms of age and experiences (Eliasson 1995:27). In this thesis I try to understand the perspective of the recipients of aid. According to Eliasson it would be easier for me to understand the donors' perspective, since their perspective is closer to me as a person. But since I am aware of the problem and thought about it during the interviews I believe that I have caught the recipients' perspective in a good way.

In this thesis I have mainly used Andrea Cornwall (2002), Deepa Narayan (2002), Manoranjan Mohanty (2001) and Deborah Eade (1997) when explaining the main concepts of the thesis. These authors have all done research using the same concepts as in my thesis and have applied them to the same subject field as I have, namely the area of development in developing countries. Cornwall can be connected to the concept of participation, Narayan and Mohanty to the concept of empowerment and Eade to the concept of capacity building. A researcher can never be totally neutral but I find that the authors, except for Mohanty, have a distance to their research and do not explicitly value the concepts and the use of them. Mohanty, however, do not hesitate to tell the reader his own values. After having read this

secondary data I made my own decipherments, which I later have used when analyzing and understanding my empirical material.

In the section about findings I have used a book by Ebba Gyllensvärd and Svante Sandberg (1989) and a book by Bertil Odén and Bo Sedin (1990). These books might be considered old, but since I have found nothing in my empirical material that has spoken against the research in the books I do not see any scientific risk in using them.

3. EXPLANATIONS OF WORDS

3.1 Abbreviations

DHR - Swedish Association of the Disabled (De Handikappades Riksförbund)

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

SDR - Swedish Association of the Deaf (Sveriges Dövas Riksförbund)

SHIA - Swedish Organizations of Disabled Persons (Solidaritet Humanitet Internationellt Arbete)

Sida - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SRF - Swedish Association of the Visually Impaired (Sveriges Synskadades Riksförbund)

TLB – Tanzania League of the Blind

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

WHO - World Health Organization

3.2 Definitions

3.2.1 Recipient of aid

‘Recipient of aid’ is no definite concept. It may be local authorities, farmers, businessmen, members of a national government etc (Carlsson 1997:37). There are primary beneficiaries, i.e. the target group. There are also secondary beneficiaries, e.g. the donor agency's counterpart in the developing country (Riddell, Bebbington & Peck 1996:79f). In this thesis ‘recipients of aid’ means the organizations in developing countries which receive aid from a Swedish NGO. I will also use the word ‘beneficiaries’ when writing about recipients.

3.2.2 Donor

There are different forms of donors, for example international agencies, bilateral donors and NGOs. In this thesis I will use the concept of donor when writing about Swedish NGOs that

support recipients' organizations in developing countries. I will also use the word sponsor synonymous with donor.

4. OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS

First of all a short introduction to Tanzania will be given. I think this may be interesting for those readers who are not familiar with the country. This is followed by a description of the main concepts of the thesis; this to demonstrate that those concepts are not unambiguous. The concepts are capacity building, participation and empowerment. In the next section I will explain the situation of the people with disabilities in developing countries in general, and Tanzania in particular. I find it essential to describe this situation in order to understand the importance of the sustainability of the organizations interviewed. Further I will give a presentation of the organizations concerned, i.e. SHIA, Chawata, Chavita and TLB. Thereafter I will present my findings, where both former research and the answers from my own interviews are described from different themes. My conclusions and analysis will be presented in the following section, where I will also connect the themes to the main concepts. Finally a summary will be made.

5. TANZANIA – THE COUNTRY OF CONTRASTS

Tanzania is the largest country in Eastern Africa. It borders on Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique (For a map of Tanzania please see appendix 2). In the north-west of the country is Lake Victoria, the largest lake in Africa and the second largest freshwater lake in the world. Africa's highest mountain, Mt Kilimanjaro, is also in Tanzania. The country is also famous for its national parks and game reserves, which have an outstanding nature and where you are very likely to spot "the big five", as well as other typical African animals (Fitzpatrick 1999:13, 22f, 26).

Tanzania's population is estimated at about 33.7 million and is comprised of about 120 tribal groups. Dodoma is Tanzania's official capital, although the political and economical centre of the country is in Dar es Salaam. Only the legislature meets in Dodoma. Dar es Salaam, which has a population of over two million people, is the major city in Tanzania (The Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Fitzpatrick 1999:31, 122).

Concerning religion, one-third of the population are Muslims and about one-third are Christians. The other Tanzanians are adherents of traditional religions. There are also small groups of Hindus, Sikhs and Ismaelis. The official languages are Kiswahili and English (Fitzpatrick 1999:37).

As mentioned before, about 32 % of Tanzania's GNP is international aid. From Sweden Tanzania receives about 490 million SEK per year. The most important industries are agriculture, trade, tourism and minerals (The Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam).

Tanzania has a long human history which reaches back almost 10,000 years. European missionaries, explorers and later imperialists, began to penetrate Tanzania in the mid-19th century. During the colonial era Tanzania was occupied by Great Britain as well as by Germany. On 9 December 1961 Tanzania, or Tanganyika as it was called at this time, became independent. In 1995 Tanzania held its first democratic election in thirty years. The second election took place in year 2000. The president of the country is today Benjamin W. Mkapa (The Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Fitzpatrick 1999:16ff).

I would like to call Tanzania the country of contrasts since there are many contrasts in Tanzania: The majority of the Tanzanian population lives in great poverty and under the threat of grave diseases. At the same time, one sees many people, especially from the Western World, who lives a rich life with expensive cars, luxurious houses and who goes on holidays to Zanzibar and the national parks. One also sees fancy restaurants while many people suffer from malnutrition and only eat ugali, i.e. maize meal porridge.

There is no official welfare system in Tanzania. But on the website of the Tanzanian government one can read that the human resource is seen as the most important factor of production because it is capable of transforming all other factors for the improvement of human life and human welfare. The betterment of people's welfare has been the overall objective of various programmes since independence (The Tanzania National Website).

6. FORMER RESEARCH AND MAIN CONCEPTS

In this section I will explain the main concepts in this thesis, i.e. capacity building, participation and empowerment. I find this important in order to show that none of these concepts are unambiguous. All the three concepts correspond to each other (see figure 1), and I believe, that where they unite illustrates how the pre-conditions for sustainability best may be reached in the studied organizations.

The concepts have in common that they focus on the power within the people concerned and deal with people's influence on their situation. They all unite as they concentrate on people's capacity and emphasize that it is the people themselves who have the power to change their lives. Since capacity building, among other things, means that people will be able to help themselves (Eade 1997:2), one can see that this concept unite with empowerment; one of the things that empowerment implies is that people are able to control and influence their own lives (Narayan 2002:xviii). Participation also unite with empowerment since the former for example means that people are able to shape their own lives (Cornwall 2002:36), which is an important part of an empowering approach. Also participation and capacity building unite as people's participation leads to strengthening the people's capacity.

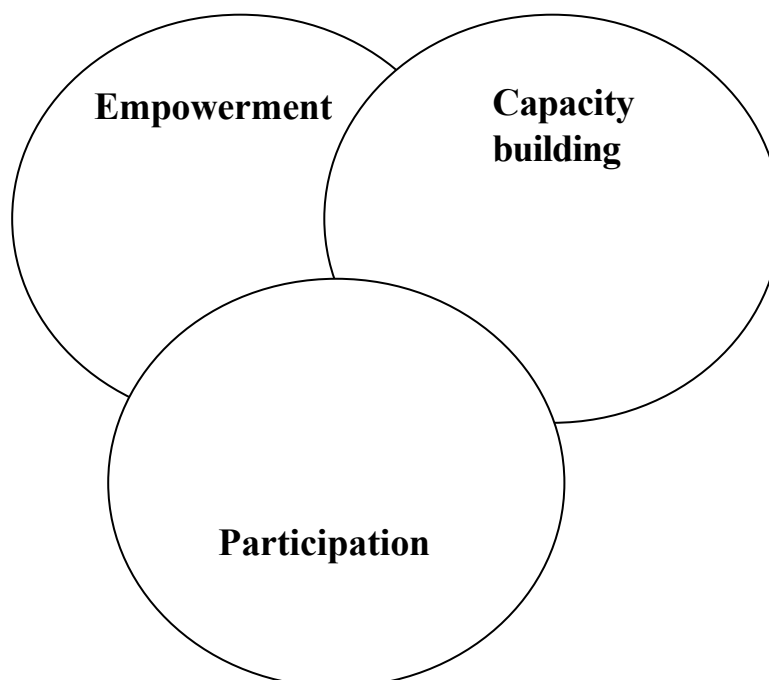


Figure 1

In this thesis I have chosen to write about these concepts on an organizational level. The concepts can also be used on other levels but since this thesis is about organizations I see no need in using the concepts on those other levels. The concepts are important in developing issues since they are all connected to the sustainability of aid projects. There are, however, limitations of the use of the concepts even in development context. For example the concepts are inapplicable when talking about emergency aid since this kind of aid does not aim at being sustainable but only to give immediate help.

6.1 Capacity building

Today one of the most commonly used concepts concerning development is ‘capacity building’. Still there are many different definitions of what ‘capacity building’ means in practice (Kaplan 2000:517). In a survey among European and North American development NGOs, most organizations would place capacity building somewhere between ‘helping people to help themselves’ at a personal, local as well as a national level, and strengthening civil society organizations in order to promote democratization. Capacity building cannot, however, be seen in isolation. It must be seen and undertaken in a wider economic, social and political environment; to understand the lack of people’s capacities one has to understand the context. Capacity building should not be separated from development either. Instead it should be seen as an approach to development (Eade 1997:2f, 23f). As cited in Kaplan (2000): ‘... *development must start in somebody’s sense; development is not about things you see..., it is about the way somebody is developed in their thinking.*’ (Kaplan 2000:517).

The essence of a capacity building approach is to strengthen people’s capability of creating and maintaining organizations, which can both represent them and be answerable to them. Capacity building means a long-range investment in people and their organizations. It also implies an obligation to different processes, which will lead to the people being able to shape the forces that affect their lives. Capacity building is not a separate activity that should be done instead of supporting other activities, e.g. education and health programs (Eade 1997:107, 32, 3).

6.2 Participation

As with ‘capacity building’ the concept of ‘participation’ has many definitions. In 1993 UNDP’s Human Development Report stated ‘... *people’s participation*’ as ‘*an imperative - a*

condition of survival', as 'an overall development strategy...[that] enables people to gain for themselves access to a much broader range of opportunities.' (Cornwall 2002:31).

Participation can also be defined as *'a process by which people take an active and influential hand in shaping decisions that affect their lives'* (ibid :36).

Participation was defined by the World Bank's Learning Group on Participation, in 1994, as *'a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them'* (ibid :35).

There are different types of participation. Collaboration, consultation and empowerment are three commonly found views of this concept. If at least a few of the stakeholders are informed about the project that is aimed to benefit them, one can talk about participation (ibid :36). People should not be seen as passive recipients of development programs. If they are given social opportunities they will be able to shape their own destiny (Sen 2001:11).

6.3 Empowerment

The concept of empowerment has different meanings in different contexts. Which definition used depends on the local value and belief system. Some terms associated with empowerment are: self-strength, control, self-power, self-reliance, own choice, life of dignity in accordance with one's values, capacity to fight for one's rights, independence, own decision making, being free, and capability. Empowerment can be used both at the individual and the collective level. There is not *one* single model for empowerment. What is possible and appropriate when working with empowerment will vary by context (Narayan 2002:13f, 24).

One definition of empowerment stated in Narayan (2002) is *'Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.'* (Narayan 2002:xviii). Mohanty (2001) defines empowerment as *'giving power to certain unprivileged sections of society'* (Mohanty 2001:22). Lashley (2001) gives an example of what empowerment can mean: *'If you give your 12-year-old daughter money to buy jeans, that's delegation...If you give her a clothes allowance which she can spend as she chooses, that's empowerment'* (Lashley 2001:2).

Empowerment means focusing on how to increase poor people's freedom of choice and action. An empowering approach sees the poor people as the most valuable partners when reducing poverty. To build people's self-confidence and their belief in themselves and to respect their dignity are some of the aspects of empowerment (Narayan 2002:xxiii, xxix). Empowerment cannot be given to people; it is something that people have to get for themselves (Cornwall 2002:33). Still, however, empowerment is more an ideal than a reality in developing countries (Narayan 2002:8).

Mohanty (2001) gives a more critical view of empowerment. He argues that the concept implies that an external organization gives power to or empowers another organization, which he sees as a patronizing method instead of a process through which the power is redistributed or struggled for (Mohanty 2001:29).

7. PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

About 10 % of the world's population have disabilities. Most of these people live in developing countries. Since disabled people are among the poorest of the poor in the world, they live under very vulnerable conditions. Poverty means, apart from lack of food, housing and an income, also lack of influence in political, social and economic context. Shortage of education and information are also indications of poverty (SHIA).

There are negative attitudes and misconceptions about disability, which lead to the discrimination of disabled persons. Such discrimination excludes disabled persons from social development. This often also means social exclusion (ibid).

7.1 Disabled people's situation in Tanzania

In this section I will give a description of the disabled people's situation in Tanzania. The description is based on the interviews made with representatives of the organizations.

The situation for physically disabled people is very poor in Tanzania, especially for women. One can find physically disabled men who have high education, but no women. There is a high rate of illiteracy and lack of education among women with disabilities. There is a negative attitude and few women with physically disabilities get married. Men feel ashamed of being together with these women.

The problems with disabilities are ignorance, social differences and negative attitude. Even women with disabilities have a negative attitude about themselves. Chawata sees a need of capacity building and the empowerment of those women. Most of the women with disabilities are independent living but depend on a small business. If they were given capacity building, Chawata thinks that the women would understand that they could manage to do other things if they had tried. The negative attitude is worst in the rural areas and among pastoralist. Chawata claims that the maasai people see disability as a bad sign and even kill their children if they are disabled. Chawata thinks that the reason why the situation is worse in the rural areas is that people are not as well educated as in the urban areas.

It is also difficult to find employment for a person with physical disabilities. Able people feel ashamed of working in the same place as an disabled. Many of the physically disabled people depend on their families. When there is a very competitive labor market one cannot force people to employ people with any disability, Chawata implies.

When it comes to blind people, TLB notices a positive change in society. Before people were ignorant about how blind people did their work and how they went on with their daily activities. It was very difficult to employ a blind person. People did not agree that a blind person could work. Still TLB thinks it is difficult for blind people to get employment. People still do not believe that a blind person is able to work on a par with able people. But TLB believes that people have started to understand that blind people are just like other people; given education and the right facilities they can work just as well. TLB thinks that the reason for the change is that today sighted people are mixed with non-sighted people in different places, for example in schools and rented houses. Normal sighted people get used to blind people and see what they can achieve and not regard them as strange. Today a blind person can even marry a sighted person.

TLB thinks however that society is still ignorant of how to assist blind people. Since sighted people do not learn how to write braille they cannot communicate in writing with blind people. And when a sighted person communicates in writing with blind persons, the latter are dependant on someone to read it to them.

The exact number of deaf people in Tanzania is not yet known. The statistics used today are from World Health Organization, WHO, which say that Tanzania has about 500 000 deaf

people. Chavita thinks that this figure has increased to up to 800 000. It is difficult to know the exact number since it is a problem to reach the people in the rural areas, where most of the deaf people live. Some of the children in rural areas are also hidden by their parents. Whenever a deaf child is borne in Tanzania the family sees it as a curse from God, and they feel ashamed, Chavita implies. In earlier days, whenever deaf child was borne the family killed it and forgot about it. Like Chawata, Chavita also argues that the maasai people still kill their children if they are borne with any physical disability.

Chavita has seen a lot of changes for the deaf people in Tanzania in the last ten years. But it is still difficult for a deaf person to find employment and it is also a big problem for deaf people to get health care in Tanzania, since there is a shortage of interpreters in sign language. The government does not employ interpreters. When deaf persons go to the hospital they meet a lot of communication barriers. This is not only a problem in hospitals. There are also problems in the courts and churches for instance, where there is a lack of interpreters.

People with disabilities depend on the government hospitals and rehabilitation centers. Today, when many institutions become privatized, it is very expensive to get health care. Even the main hospital in Tanzania, the Muhumbili hospital, which has the main rehabilitation centre for the physically disabled, is being privatized. Chawata has started to inform the government about the lack of health care. This year Chawata will receive 100 wheelchairs from the American Global Foundation for Wheelchair. These will be distributed over the country, five for each of the 21 regions in Tanzania.

For blind people who have jobs and economic strength it is not a problem to get health care. But for those who do not have a job and maybe did not even go to school it is a problem. In the government hospital however there is a desk called Social Welfare Desk. There people who do not have any economic strength can get small treatments. TLB gets white canes from donors and distributes them to their members, schools, colleges and universities.

In Tanzania there are no laws which give people with disabilities any special rights for assistance. There is a need for public awareness. The ministries keep talking about it but people with disabilities are not recognized. TLB fights for social security for blind people, but yet they have not been successful. Also deaf people form a marginalised group which is

being discriminated and forgotten by the Tanzanian government. The only one who gives them social security is God, Chavita argues. The sponsoring money which goes directly to the government from Sweden does not benefit the deaf people.

In Tanzania there are, apart from TLB, two other organizations for blind people. There is Tanzania National Institute for the blind which, like TLB, was started and driven by blind people. The other organization, Tanzania Society for the blind, was established by sighted people to assist blind people. For physically disabled people there might be some activities in churches, but it is mostly Chawata which takes care of this target group.

8. FOUR ORGANIZATIONS FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT OF THE DISABLED

In this section an introduction to the organizations I visited in Tanzania will be presented, i.e. Chawata, Chavita and TLB. The descriptions are based on the interviews made with the organization. But first a presentation of the main donor of these organizations, SHIA, will be given. The information about SHIA was taken from the homepage of the organization. For a general view of the three organizations interviewed see appendices 3-5.

8.1 SHIA - Swedish Organizations of Disabled Persons

SHIA (Solidaritet Humanitet Internationellt Arbete) - Swedish Organizations of Disabled Persons - is a Swedish Non-Governmental Organization which was formed during the United Nations International Year of Disabled persons, 1981. SHIA is an organization where Swedish organizations for disabled people involved in SHIA's international development cooperation, can become affiliated. DHR (Swedish Association of the Disabled), SDR (Swedish Association of the Deaf) and SRF (Swedish Association of the Visually Impaired) are some of these organizations involved. SHIA is one of the frame organizations of Sida and their activities are financed by grants from Sida as well as from the member organizations (SHIA).

SHIA cooperates with sister organizations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe. The aim is to strengthen the efforts for persons with disabilities to achieve equality and participation. SHIA's core activity is to help disabled people to join together and

form their own organizations through which they could make their voice heard and influence their political development in their countries (ibid).

During 2001 SHIA was involved in 126 projects in 30 countries. SHIA's project activities include projects within three of the six international organizations for disabled persons (Inclusion International - for persons with mental disabilities, World Blind Union and World Federation of the Deaf Blind) (ibid).

8.2 Chawata

Chawata, Tanzania Association of Disabled, is an organization for physically disabled people in Tanzania. The main goal of the organization is to advocate the rights of people with disabilities. Chawata was formed as an idea in 1969. In 1972 the first constitution was completed. In 1982 Chawata got the new constitution which is used today. When Chawata started, the organization was built like a political party. But from the 1990s the government is supposed to distinguish between the non-governmental and the governmental organizations. So by that time, Chawata was supposed to change to become an NGO. From the start until 1996, the organization was sponsored by the Norwegian Association of Disabled. In 1996 Chawata, which then was a strong association, started to get problems. The Norwegians withdrew the support but the leaders of Chawata were not prepared to take over the organization themselves; they were still depending on their sponsor. This crisis continued until 2002. Then Chawata started to get support from SHIA, which today is the main sponsor. The constitution needs some amendments since it is still formed as if Chawata was a political party. Even the structure of the organization needs changes to get the structure of an NGO, for example they are in need of a project coordinator.

Chawata consists of four different departments, the Women and Children Department, the Youth Department, the Sports and Cultural Activities Department and the Ancestors Department, for elderly people. Chawata works mainly with women since they believe that this group is the one which has been neglected in society. In society people still think that women cannot do anything. The goal of the Women Department is the empowerment of women so that they can stand alone in the future. There is also a vision of social integration of women in the society. Concerning children, youth and the elderly, both females and males are welcome. Chawata is also thinking of starting a Counselling Department. They have noticed that there sometimes is no need for money or other material things, but for

psychological help. If Chawata had a counselling department they could help the disabled people to improve their lives psychologically.

In Tanzania there are 21 regions. Chawata has 300,000 members in all regions. Four of those regions (Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Rukwa and Kagera) get support from four different regions in Sweden (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Uppsala and Gotland). The different regions have their own special activities: In Mbeya they have women activities, mobility tools and workshops. In Kagera they have women activities and some kind of informal education, called the Adult Education Central. This education is needed since some disabled people do not get education. In Rukwa, Chawata has women projects and in Dar es Salaam they have democracy projects.

One of Chawata's overall activities is to represent the disabled in the government. They propose ideas of how the government can change the laws in order to help disabled persons.

8.3 Chavita

Chavita, Tanzania Association of the Deaf, was established in 1983 and officially registered in 1984. The organization was formed by deaf people themselves. They found that after primary school they had no future and could not go on with further education. They then decided to organize themselves and thereby Chavita was set up.

Chavita started its cooperation with SDR, via SHIA in 1992. From SDR they receive financial support and technical advice. Apart from the support from SDR, Chavita gets support from the Finnish Association of the Deaf in Finland. They support administrative issues, awareness raising in the regions and the establishment of new branches. With the support from Finland, Chavita is, at the moment, focusing more on the poverty alleviation program, which is a governmental program in which deaf people are not yet included. Chavita also gets small subsidies from the Tanzanian government.

Chavita has established links with the Education Department of University of Dar es Salaam and with a special education unit in the Ministry of Education. With these institutions Chavita is collaborating to see to that deaf people in Tanzania get better education and to change the negative attitude against deaf people. Chavita also strive for the rights of the use of sign language. To create awareness, they produce campaign materials, like T-shirts and sign language manuals in papers.

The first task of Chavita was to train sign language interpreters. They develop sign language among the deaf and also conduct research in cooperation with the Linguistic Department at the University of Dar es Salaam. Now that they have sign language interpreters there are programs on television which are being interpreted into sign language. This has helped the deaf to communicate and to get equal information like other citizens in Tanzania.

Chavita aims at striving for equal participation and equal human rights. They are also struggling and fighting for the right of sign language and to be given equal chances in education areas, employment areas and in other social places. Chavita finds that most of the employers still have a negative attitude towards deaf people and do not think that deaf people can perform their duties like normal hearing people. Chavita is therefore trying to create awareness to get rid of the negative attitude in the community. Chavita is also striving to get interpretation services in all places, which need communication. Another of Chavita's projects is to give deaf people educational training so that they can get educational skills and find employment.

Chavita is an organization for deaf people over 18 years old. Deaf children are also included but at the moment the target group is deaf adults, both men and women. Today Chavita has 15 branches in the different regions. The organization has five different departments: the Administration Department in the main office, the Social Welfare Department, the Public Relations Department, the Sign Language Department and the Deaf Women Department.

Chavita sees it as its responsibility to show that a deaf person wants to live like any other citizen, like any other human being. They also tell parents of deaf children that they should take their children to school; deaf children also have a right to go to school. Chavita gives sign language training to the parents too and now most of the parents are aware of the rights of their deaf children.

8.4 Tanzania League of the Blind, TLB

Tanzania League of the Blind, TLB, was established in 1964 by a pressure group of students in a training centre for blind people in Tabora. They decided to start such a group to demand their rights from their leaders of the training centre. Later they decided to make it a pressure group for the whole country. Then it was known as Tanzania League of the Blind. Today the main goal of TLB is to demand the blind people's rights from the government and from

society. These rights are for example to get education, health care and the inclusion in decision making so that other people do not decide for them. TLB makes sure that blind people unite and speak for themselves instead of depending on society.

Today TLB has 64 branches in the 21 regions of Tanzania. In TLB blind people work hand in hand with abled people so that they are not regarded as an alienated group.

TLB has 15,000 members. TLB works for women, men and children of all ages even if they only have special departments for women and youth. The reason they only have these specific departments is that those groups tend to be forgotten. Ms. Kalumone believes that men sometimes find it difficult to think on behalf of women and youth, and only speak for themselves. She sees no need for a special department for men because she thinks the main organization is theirs. Men do not need to practice demanding their rights and speaking for themselves, like the women and youth do.

Mostly TLB gives moral support to blind people. To get help one does not have to be a member; TLB assists everybody who is blind. The moral support is needed for example when people become blind at an older age and they then become very frustrated. Then TLB gives them comfort and gives them advice on ways of living. After a while people learn to live independently with their disability. Some people become blind when they are still of working age. TLB advises them on training so that they can work for example as social workers, teachers, nurses or carpenters. In short, TLB rehabilitates blind people.

Unfortunately not all get jobs. But TLB at least can show those coming that they are not the only ones who are blind. They realize that those in TLB manage their own lives, have families and so on and that they themselves also can.

TLB started to get support from SRF, through SHIA in 1986. It is very seldom that TLB receives support from other organizations. Sometimes other countries support a certain field, for example a seminar. But the major support comes from SHIA and TLB depends on them. The Tanzanian government also gives a small support sometimes. The support from Sweden is mostly money for running the main office and the branches, but also for meetings and seminars. Occasionally TLB obtains second hand clothes for their members who do not have enough clothes to wear. They also get white canes.

12. FINDINGS

In this section I will describe the ways in which the donors *should* work to build capacity and how the beneficiaries *should* participate in projects, according to former research, and how the recipients find the situation in practice. For this latter I will use the answers I received when making the interviews. After having read literature about capacity building, empowerment, participation and sustainability, and after having made the interviews I found the following themes:

- Cooperation
- Responsibility, leadership and involvement
- Education and training
- Recipients' priority
- Local competence
- Phase out and the sustainability of the organizations

These themes are important if the recipients of aid are meant to take over the projects which have been supported by external donors. The themes will be presented one by one in the following section. The connection between the themes and the main concepts, i.e. participation, capacity building and empowerment, will be presented in the conclusions and analysis section.

12.1 Cooperation

Some organizations argue that participation is about the relationship between donors and recipients. The participation is higher the more influence the recipients' organizations have in the project. To avoid the recipients' dependency the cooperation with the donors should be carried on in dialogue and be based on mutual respect and trust (Gyllensvärd & Sandberg 1989:60, 64, 95, 99). There should not only be a transfer of knowledge from the donor to the recipients. If the donors want the recipient to become autonomous they must listen to what the people concerned have to say. Autonomy means the poor people's capacity to organize their own lives without having physical, political or socio-economic constraints upon them (Falkman Hagström 1997:163, Eade 1997:118). Evaluations have also shown that projects built on participation tend to be more sustainable (Cornwall 2002:38). An empowering approach to participation treats the recipients as co-producers (Narayan 2002:xx), even though the empowerer is always in a more powerful position than the empowered (Lashley

2001:3). The recipients must be actively involved and be given opportunities. They should not be seen as passive recipients (Sen 2001:53). It is however not only the donors' responsibility to make the recipients participate. The recipients must take the opportunities that are available to them (Cornwall 2002:49).

Since the recipient is always the one who has to ask for help and the donor the one who always has the money, the relationship between donor and recipient can never be equal. It does not matter how understanding the donors may be and how good the personal relationship is between them and the recipients, the relationship will be one of unequals. The donor agencies often talk about the recipients as their 'partners'. Only a few of the recipients would, however, describe the funding as a 'partnership'. Equality, mutuality, and trust are some factors that describe a true partnership. Instead of those factors, inequality and mistrust characterize the relationship between donors and recipients. In order to get further support, the recipients adapt to the donors, report to them and seek their approval. If the recipient organization wants to survive this may be the only way to do it. According to Eade (1997) cooperation between unequals is difficult and partnership is impossible, and inequality never builds capacity (Eade 1997:9, 48).

It is important that the donors understand that it is not for certain that the methods and approaches preferred by them, are the best for the recipient to become autonomous. Such autonomy is not easy to achieve in practice. Since the recipients need the funding they do everything to satisfy the donors, in order to receive the support (ibid :108).

When empowering people the donors should build on the recipients' strengths, i.e. their knowledge, skills, values, initiative, and motivation. They should also treat the recipients with honor, respect, and dignity. An empowering approach sees the poor people as the most important resource and not as a problem. It puts the poor people at the centre of development (Narayan 2002:17). If the objective is to reach sustainable development the local recipients should be seen as having the only stake that counts (Cornwall 2002:34).

Both Chawata and TLB think that they have a good relationship with their donors. But Chawata feels that the donor is still monitoring them because it is a very new relationship; Chawata is new to SHIA and vice versa. The donor looks for example at their accountability, their level of working and if they are trustful. So Chawata feels that the donor is still testing

them. Chawata however trusts SHIA. TLB as well as Chawata see their donor as their supporters, who help them whenever they ask for help. Chavita describes its relationship with SHIA as a partnership and a cooperation. They are happy about the cooperation and have seen that they have achieved their objectives.

TLB has a very good communication with their main donor, SHIA. The staff of TLB can talk to SHIA whenever they want to. There have never been any quarrels; TLB believes that if there was a quarrel the donor would withdraw support. Also the staff of Chawata is satisfied with the communication with their donor. They communicate via the Internet regularly. Both the recipients' organizations feel that it is their ideas which are implemented in the projects. The recipients are involved in all phases of the projects, from planning to implementation. The donors only support them and give them advice.

Chavita as well as the other organizations think that communications with their partner is good and in March one of the directors of SHIA visited them. Chavita thinks that SHIA has been a very good organization to cooperate with. The staff of Chavita feels that SHIA is interested in hearing about their needs and the challenges they meet. SHIA has not interfered in the planning. Instead they have been giving advice on how to implement the programs. Chavita feels that their relationship with SHIA is different to other supporting partnerships.

12.2 Responsibility, leadership and involvement

The recipients must show responsibility and participate actively in projects if the aid is to be sustainable and produce positive effects (Karlström 1996:101). The donors should not rush in to identify and solve the recipients' problems. Before intervening in the situation the donor should try to be familiar with it (Eade 1997:118).

If the primary and secondary beneficiaries are involved in the project the probability that the project will be sustainable is higher. If the participation is based only on the advantages that are given from the donors, and not on the ideas that the project may benefit the participants, the probability that the processes and activities will continue when the donor has left, is low (Riddell, Bebbington & Peck 1996:85).

It is important that the recipients own the project. This makes the project sustainable. The recipients must also ensure that there are resources, time and staff for implementation. They

must also be responsible for administration and management. This is important for the sustainability of the projects and to guarantee their survival of them, after the aid has finished (Johnston & Wohlgemuth 1997:89f, Cornwall 2002:34).

Donors should be careful joining activities or becoming part of the management structure in the recipient's organization, according to Eade (1997). This could, she implies, lead to the weakening of people's capacity in acting for themselves instead of strengthening their capacity. Thus there is an essential difference between supporting the recipients' own efforts, and solving their problems. Even if it is more time-consuming, the recipients should always be chiefly responsible for assessment, decision-making, planning and evaluation activities. If the donor takes over the responsibility for these activities it disempowers the recipients and may also lead to people getting involved mainly because of the benefits that are offered (Eade 1997:119f).

According to Eade (1997) an organization should not rely on one or two individuals. The best strategy is to train a large number of men and women in leadership skills. This will help to build the organization's capacity. It is also essential that the leaders of the organization are chosen in an equitable way (ibid :121).

Organizations can be compared with orchestras: Both are comprised of highly trained and skilled individuals. Each individual has his or her specialist skills. Just as the conductor of the orchestra cannot control the sound of one individual player, the leader of the organization cannot control all the each of the workers within it; it is dependant on the sum total of the individuals exercising their own skills (Lashley 2001:4).

TLB feels itself responsible for the organization. It is they who identify the problems and plan the activities; SHIA is only there to support. TLB is lead by the secretary general, the chairperson, the treasurer and their assistants. SHIA has no leaders in Tanzania. The leaders are elected by three members from each branch. In the Youth Department of TLB the youth gets a good start in practicing leadership so that they, when they reach an older age, know how to lead. There has only been one evaluation of TLB. That evaluation was made by the donor and the recipients together.

The staff of Chawata also feels that it is their responsibility to tell their donor what they want to do. It is the people with disabilities who come up with the ideas for the projects and activities. The donor can then help them and give them their ideas. Before the donor gives Chawata support they do some research to find out if the support is appropriate and needed. Evaluations of Chawata are made both internal and external.

Mr. Rujwahura at Chawata thinks that Tanzania lacks the knowledge of leadership. One can become a leader without any skills. Mr. Rujwahura sees this is a problem, which is difficult to change. If he explains it to the members of Chawata they do not understand the importance of it. Chawata will however receive training in leadership this year (see below under 12.3). The executive board of Chawata consists of the national chairman, the secretary general and the vice of those posts. There is also a treasurer, an assistant treasurer and an internal auditor. An external auditor is elected by the donor. The members of the executive board are elected on a general meeting on which representatives from the district, the regional and the national levels participate. They also invite the donors to this meeting. Apart from this, there is an executive committee, which consists of the executive board and eleven members from different regions.

Chavita feels that it is the deaf people themselves who are responsible for the organization. SHIA is responsible for supervising and ensuring that this project goes according to plan. Chavita has a general meeting where representatives from the different branches come together and make decisions. There is also an executive committee, which is responsible for the supervision of the organization's activities. It is the executive committee, which elects the executive secretary, who is responsible for day to day activities of the organization. The rest of the staff is working according to the decisions made by the executive committee.

12.3 Education and training

The need of training alters in different phases of the project (Kaplan 2000:522). All aid projects should, however, contain education (Gyllensvärd & Sandberg 1989:64). Education and training are activities which invest in people. Therefore, they are important when striving for capacity building in practice. But training is not effective if it is not part of an overall strategy which enables the participants to use what they have learned. Often there must be a combination of training and other types of learning (Eade 1997:77, 91).

To make a project sustainable the individuals have to be in focus. But it is not enough that a few people get to learn how to perform different tasks. There is then a risk that the organizations cannot sustain the projects, because these people leave. Therefore, donors must work with the organization as a whole (Johnston & Wohlgemuth 1997:91f).

TLB has asked their donor for a seminar in capacity building. SHIA has promised to run such a seminar but so far there has not been one. The headquarters will participate in the first seminar. Ms. Kalumone explains the reason for starting with the headquarters as *'if the head is aware then the legs will start walking. The legs will not walk if the head is not there.'*

Ms. Happiness Sembu has not received any training since she came into leadership of Chawata about one year ago. But she thinks that she should have training in democracy. At least the donor and Chawata are proposing such training. There was also supposed to be an exchange between Tanzania and Sweden; two persons from Chawata were to go to Sweden and to learn and people from Sweden were to come to Tanzania. This exchange program was postponed because SHIA did not receive enough money to support this activity. This exchange may take place next year though.

This year the chairman, the chairperson of the Women Department and the executive board of Chawata will all receive training in leadership from Sweden. The secretary general has already had leadership training since he is a teacher. After that seminar they will continue with seminars in the regions. They call it 'training of trainees' because when the executive board has had the training they will go out in the regions and teach the region leaders. Chawata will also have study circles on leadership similar to the Swedish model. Mr. Rujwahura thinks it would be good if SHIA also could have a program to prepare the disabled youth to become leaders. He believes they do not give the youth that chance. Chavita gets basic training from SHIA. There have also been exchange programs when people from Tanzania went to Sweden and vice versa. Yet, however, it is only the executive secretary that has been to Sweden. There he learned about organizational leadership, social psychology, deaf education, how to develop teaching materials for the deaf, how to run different meetings and activities. The executive secretary is now sharing his knowledge from Sweden, with his colleagues. He would like his colleagues to go to Sweden and study management.

Before Chavita received any support from Sweden, a group from SDR came to Tanzania and conducted a survey. They found that the deaf people in Tanzania had no good standard. SDR decided, after having visited Tanzania that they would like to establish a development cooperation to help improve the situation of the deaf people. SDR found that the major problem in Tanzania was to develop sign language in order to achieve the issue of full participation in society.

12.4 Recipients' priority

To build capacity it is important to enhance people's capacity to express their own interests (Eade 1997:89). It is essential when having an empowering approach, that the local people are involved in the decision-making so that it is their priorities that build the project. This brings about commitment to change (Narayan 2002:xx). If the project is not the local people's priority there is a risk that the project will not be sustainable. Therefore donors should not come up with package solutions. If the project is to be successful it is usually necessary that the beneficiaries have an interest in the result of the project. The beneficiaries should participate in all phases of the project: planning, priority setting, policy design, implementation and evaluation. If the people concerned are involved there is a better chance of efficiency, effectiveness and equity of access to benefits. Or as Julius Nyerere once said: *'People cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves by participation and co-operative activities which affect their wellbeing. People are not being developed when they are herded like animals into new ventures.'* (Riddell, Bebbington & Peck 1996:79f, Cornwall 2002:18, 20f).

The staff of TLB themselves make the plan of action. They plan the budget, i.e. how much money is needed for the plan of action. They also plan how many people, how many branches and how many schools will be included in the plan. SHIA is just there to give financial support. TLB sends the plan of action to them. Sometimes SHIA does not agree to all the activities and only sends support to some of them. Even the implementation of the activities is made by TLB. Some activities are implemented by the headquarters and some by the branches. SHIA is not there during implementation. When it comes to evaluations TLB has only had one, in 1992. That evaluation was made by SHIA, who invited different countries which they support, to a seminar. They discussed what should be done, what should be corrected and what could be different with the support. The seminar lasted for about one week.

When Chawata starts a project the ideas come from the people concerned. If these people have a problem they go the region offices, which send their project proposals to the national headquarters in Dar es Salaam. The national office plans, makes a budget and sends a request for finance to the donor. The donor does not just send money but comes and researches. After making some changes the donor supports Chawata and gives them its ideas. The secretary general feels that Chawata and the donor make a good plan together. The leadership seminar, however, was proposed by SHIA.

The projects of Chawata are implemented by the national office and the secretary general always controls and ensures that everything planned is implemented. The region offices are responsible for monitoring. Internal evaluations are made twice a year by the chairperson, the coordinator and the secretary in the regions. The regions also make evaluations of their daily activities at the end of every week, as well as twice a month. They also make a midyear evaluation and one evaluation at the turn of the year. SHIA sends external auditors to make evaluations twice a year.

When Chavita is about to start a project they start from the grassroots. They collect information and develop ideas for the projects, according to the members' needs and priorities. When the needs are identified they think about how they are going to meet those needs and discuss ideas at the general meeting, where representatives from all branches are present. The executive committee then tries to find out what are the priority areas. After that the executive secretary and the secretariat, which consists of the heads of the departments, together with different experts plan how to achieve what has been planned by the organization. They also look for assistance and support from their sister organizations. The implementation is done by the secretariat. Evaluations of Chavita are made every three years for each project. Then they look at what has been implemented and what has not. The consultants who make the evaluations could be from Sweden or Tanzania.

12.5 Local competence

In a participatory approach local views and knowledge are sought and respected (Cornwall 2002:36). Before starting an aid program it is important to examine the knowledge in the recipient country. Donors should use extern staff only if there is no local competence or if the local competence is not adequate (Falkman Hagström 1997:165). If the donors send aid workers, these should help the local staff so that they themselves are able to implement the

project. Even the local people should have an active role when framing and implementing the projects (Ehrenpreis 1997:27, Eade 1997:118). Julius Nyerere argued the importance of people contributing their resources in the process of their own development (Cornwall 2002:22).

Before donor organizations decide whether, how, and for what purpose to strengthen their partners, they have to understand the roles and objectives of an organization. Many organizations working with capacity building go directly into activities that *they* call capacity building activities. Instead they should attend to the process going on and also constantly observe, reflect on, change and improve the relationships they have with their partners. It is unsure if the methods that are forced on the recipients contribute to the building of capacity. The development workers also have to be conscious of their presumptions and avoid projecting them onto the societies and cultures they are working in (Eade 1997:108, 33, 128f, 59). It is essential, when building capacity, that the donors understand the social and cultural context and reflect about local norms, values and behavior (Narayan 2002:17).

If TLB needs any experts for a project or a seminar they take them from Tanzania. But they have had two different advisers from Sweden between 1986 and 1992. Those two development workers were permanently in Tanzania assisting TLB. Since it was very expensive to pay these Swedish workers SHIA abolished the post. When TLB needs experts and advisers today they take them from Tanzania.

In May this year a development worker from Sweden is coming to Chawata. This worker will work as a coordinator for two years. Chawata has only had one development worker before, from Norway. The secretary general thinks that Chawata is supposed to take experts from outside since they themselves lack experts.

SHIA sends advisers and experts to Chavita if the latter asks for it and if the budget allows it. Sometimes they come twice a year and discuss the project activities. At the moment Chavita is using experts from Tanzania, whenever they are available. They also have a fundraising officer from UK.

12.6 Phase out and the sustainability of the organizations

Supporting a recipient organization is usually for a certain time and the aim is to reduce the funding gradually. When the funding has come to an end it is the donor's responsibility to ensure that there is a proper completion (Eade 1997:119, 49). The phase out process is a complex process. There are many different interests involved. The people involved in the project do not have any interest in finishing it. They would rather like to increase the project since a completion means considerable changes when the aid is withdrawn. A phase out period should be included in the project document, i.e. the document that is written before the project was started. A phase out period should preferably last for three years. There should also be a project management responsible for the phase out. A clear phase out process may reduce some problems related to the withdrawal of aid (Catterson & Lindahl 1999:26f). Many recipient organizations never go beyond the external funding. This may be because there was, when the funding started, a lack of clear agreements about when the funding should cease. Another cause may be that the process is slower than expected. To prevent the organizations from collapsing may lead to suspension of the phase out plans (Eade 1997:119).

TLB does not know when the support from SHIA will end. Ms. Kalumone says that the donor decide themselves. She says that sometimes the donors indicate that they expect to end the support at a certain time but then they extend it. At the same time she is aware that the support must come to an end one day. Therefore TLB is now thinking of how to continue when the donor withdraws. They are trying to find other sponsors who cannot support the whole organization but at least a certain of it so the organization can continue to run the main office. TLB knows that it will be a problem when the support from SHIA comes to an end. TLB appreciates that SHIA encourages them to look for other sponsors. Together with the support that they will ask for from different sponsors TLB will also create their own economic basis through income bringing projects. So when the sponsors end their support they can use that income. TLB has for example a big piece of land outside Dar es Salaam where they could build a hostel. TLB thinks that if they have a project that brings in an income the organization will remain stable. But if they fail they will have a difficult time.

Nor does Chawata know when their support will end, but they are supposed to become self-supporting in the future. In Dar es Salaam Chawata has a machine for milling. With that machine the organization can get an income. Chawata is also initiating the same project in

Kagera, another region in the country. In Dar es Salaam, Chawata also rents out some shops. Even if it is not enough to run the organization they get some money. Chawata is now planning a big project which they will propose to their donors; they have an extra plot next to the national office, where they would like to construct a building. Then they could rent out offices to other companies or maybe run a hotel or a hostel, or build a parking place. The secretary general thinks that there are lots of possibilities for Chawata. The organization is also expecting to establish a National Charity Fund so that they will not only depend on the support from the donors. Chawata would like to start the charity fund now in order to get experience while they still receive the support from Sweden. But before Chawata are able to be self-supporting they have to go through some changes to be an accurate and modern NGO. Until then Chawata will depend on support from their donors. They still need people coming to them with new ideas, like for example the development worker who is coming this year. Chawata implies that there is a mutual dependence; sometimes the donors are dependent on them too, to learn new things. The goal for Chawata, however, is to be self-supporting in the future; if not for 100 %, at least for 95-96 %.

The support from SHIA to Chavita has started to reduce gradually. They have signed an agreement this year until year 2004. The performance of the next two years will determine if there is a new agreement. So the continuation of support depends on SHIA's opinion of Chavita. The staff of Chavita thinks that it will be a big problem if support ends abruptly. But, according to Chavita, SDR believes that the support should reduce gradually in order to give Chavita the opportunity to prepare itself. Chavita thinks that they will need time to build the capacity so that they in the future will be able to stand on their own feet. Further more Chavita thinks that they should focus on what they have done in the previous years and evaluate both weaknesses and achievements. After this SDR could decide whether a withdrawal would cause problems or not. Chavita feels that they are strengthened by their donor and thinks that they will be able to manage themselves in the future. The major goal is to become self-supporting. The fundraising officer they have right now is supposed to conduct a survey and identify other funds in order to make the organization sustainable after the support. If Chavita could share responsibility with other stakeholders they think that the organization would be sustainable. For example Chavita takes some responsibility which should be taken by the government. Chavita thinks that after the deaf people have been empowered they will be able to influence the local and the central government. Maybe Chavita could work as an advising tool in the future, and give advice to other organizations.

13. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section I will analyze my material and explain my conclusions. First of all I will connect the themes to the main concepts.

The first theme, cooperation, is connected to participation since cooperation is much about in which way and how much the recipients participate in the projects (Gyllensvärd & Sandberg 1989:60, 64, 95, 99). Cooperation is also connected to empowerment, as a good cooperation signifies a focus on building on recipients' strengths, which is part of an empowering approach (Narayan 2002:17). Consequently cooperation also connect to capacity building.

Responsibility and involvement connect to participation as it is important, when creating sustainability, that the recipients participate and are responsible for the organizations (Karlström 1996:101, Riddell, Bebbington & Peck 1996:85). Responsibility and involvement are also connected to capacity building; those two factors build the recipients' capacity to create sustainable projects. Leadership is connected to capacity building and participation; it is important that the recipients participate in the leadership tasks. This builds the capacity of the organization. The opposite leads to disempowerment instead of empowerment (Eade 1997:119f). Leadership is therefore also connected to empowerment.

The third theme, education and training, is connected to capacity building; through training the recipients, their capacity to be able to act on their own in the future, is built (Eade 1997:77). This theme is also connected to participation; the individuals must be in focus and it is not enough that a few persons get knowledge, all in the organization have to participate in training (Johnston & Wohlgemuth 1997:91f).

To listen to the recipients' priority is part of a capacity building approach (Eade 1997:89). It is also connected to empowerment as it is essential when empowering people that the people concerned are involved in decision-making so that their priorities build the projects (Narayan 2002:xx). In that way this theme also connect with participation; it is important that the recipients participate in the decision-making process.

When it comes to local competence it is important in a participatory approach that one seeks local knowledge (Cornwall 2002:36). Even participation among the local people is important

(Ehrenpreis 1997:27, Eade 1997:118). It is important that the people contribute with their resources (Cornwall 2002:22). To look for local competence is also important when building capacity (Eade 1997:33).

Empowerment and capacity building are connected to the last theme, i.e. phase out and the sustainability of the projects. At this stage the recipients should have built enough capacity and be empowered to be able to be fully responsible for the projects. If this is not the case, the organizations will not be sustainable.

The relationship between the donor and the recipient is not easy. After all there is one part which always is in an advantageous position, i.e. the one who has the money (Eade 1997:9,48). All the interviewed organizations have a good communication with their donor, who listens to their ideas. The recipients feel that it is their ideas that are implemented. The donor is only there to support. There is therefore a dialogue between the donor and the recipients and it seems not only to be a transfer of knowledge from the donors, even if the donors give their recipients advice when they ask for it. As written earlier, Eade (1997) implies that the donors should listen to the people concerned if the aim is that the recipients should become autonomous (ibid :118).

One can always wonder, however, if the good relationship between the recipients and the donor is due to the power relationship between the two. The recipients might be afraid of not getting further support and therefore they keep up a good relationship. Maybe the recipients cooperate with the donor only so that the support will not be withdrawn. Issues of justice within an organization do not arise before there are different parts which are actually fighting for their certain ideas. Those parts must also regard themselves as representatives of interests which deserve to be observed (Rawls, Sen & Walzer 1993:33f). In fear of losing the support the recipients might not fight for certain ideas that they have. Because of this reason issues about justice might not come up. I find, however, that the recipients tell their ideas and interests to their donor. Can this be a sign that the organizations are just?

Neither TLB, nor Chawata talked about partnership with their donor. Instead they talked about their donor as their supporter. This might be an indication of that the recipients do not find the relationship as equal and that they see the donor as superior. This can be seen as a limitation of freedom; the recipients cannot act as or say what they want to for fear that the

support will be withdrawn. According to John Rawls, one can accept a limitation of freedom in societies where the basic political freedoms cannot be exercised effectively. The limitation, however, is only accepted as long as it will lead to improvement of the economic welfare (Rawls, Sen & Walzer 1993:18f). So if the support raises the recipients' economic standard in the end, they should be able to accept that their freedom is limited during the support. Maybe is it also therefore why the beneficiaries accept the unequal relationship. They accept it because they believe that they will have a better economic welfare in the future, after the support. Chavita however, speaks about SHIA as their partner. They have received support from SHIA for a longer period than Chawata but shorter than TLB. Maybe Chawata also will talk about partnership when they have cooperated with their SHIA for a longer period of time. I do not however want to exclude the chance that it was an accidental circumstance that Chawata and TLB did not name SHIA as their partner.

As mentioned before, the cooperation between the donor and the recipient should be based on respect and trust, and the recipients should be treated as co-producers (Gyllensvärd & Sandberg 1989:60, 64, 95, 99, Narayan 2002:xx). Chawata feels that the donor still does not trust them, which is typical for the relationship between donor and recipient. This might be another example of that this kind of relationship is one of unequals; the recipients trust their donors but not the other way round. This unequal relationship could make capacity building difficult, Eade claims (Eade 1997:9). According to John Rawls inequality is permitted only if there is a reason to believe that the organization, which leads to the inequality, will benefit all in the organization; everybody must profit by the inequality. This however is only valid if the positions are open for everybody. If some of the positions are not open for all, the ones who are excluded should normally have the right to feel that they are unfairly treated. They should have this right even if they benefit by the efforts made by those who have the right to compete for those positions (Rawls, Sen & Walzer 1993:27). The recipients of aid could therefore feel unfairly treated since they can never have the economically superior position that the donor has. They can feel this even if they benefit from the work which the donor does.

Since there is a high level of participation among the recipients in all the three organizations visited, the probability of that the organizations will be sustainable should be high, according to former evaluations (Cornwall 2002:38). I find that the recipients take opportunities to participate in the projects and activities. In fact, they are involved in being responsible for all

phases of the projects. The donors are involved actively in only some of the evaluations. Evaluations of Chawata and Chavita are made both internal and external. TLB has only had one evaluation, which was made by SHIA and the recipients together.

The staffs of TLB, Chavita and Chawata feel that the organizations are their own responsibility and their own organizations. The problems are identified by the people concerned and the ideas of the projects and activities also come from these people. The donors therefore do as former research proposes; they do not solve the problems for their recipients (Eade 1997:118). Instead the recipients come with ideas which the donors decide if they will support or not. If SHIA were to take over responsibility for the different activities it would disempower the recipients. The probability of sustainability would in that case be lower than it is now when SHIA does not have responsibility. Before giving support, the donor of Chawata and Chavita also makes some research, which according to Eade is preferable (ibid).

All the recipients' organizations interviewed are lead only by Tanzanian people. This is good, according to former research; the donors should not be involved in the management (Eade 1997:119). The managements in both Chawata and TLB are elected by representatives from the different branches. I see this as suitable elections and find that the leaders are elected in an equitable way. The organizations should, however, not rely on only a few persons. Therefore I find it positive that both TLB and Chawata are having or are planning to have trainings in leadership. In TLB the youth get a chance to practice leadership in their department. In Chawata both the headquarters and the branches will be trained in leadership skills. In that way the organizations are seen as a whole and do not depend on only a few persons. This is good for the sustainability of the organizations (Johnston & Wohlgemuth 1997:91f). To be successful, all projects should have some kind of education (Gyllensvärd & Sandberg 1989:64). Both TLB and Chawata are planning to have training. Beyond the leadership training, Chawata will also have study circles on leadership. Chawata would also like to have training for the youth in becoming good leaders. Chavita gets basic training from their donor. The executive secretary has participated in an exchange program with Sweden where he learned about, among other things, leadership. He is now sharing this knowledge with his colleagues. This means that the organization will not depend on one person, which is important for sustainability.

When it comes to whose priority the projects are based on, it is important that the local people are involved and identify their problems (Eade 1997:98, Narayan 2002:xx). Chawata's projects are based on what the disabled people feel they need. SHIA only proposed the leadership seminar. TLB also listens to their members needs. Chavita starts from the grassroots level and investigates what the needs are. All organizations also plan for the activities themselves. This is important for the sustainability; if the projects are not the people's priority they will not have any interest in maintaining it (Riddell, Bebbington & Peck 1996:79f, Cornwall 2002:18, 20f).

The donors should always look for local competence before using any external experts. If the donor sends development workers, these should help the local staff to help themselves (Falkman Hagström 1997:165, Ehrenpreis 1997:27, Eade 1997:118). Today TLB only gets experts from Tanzania. Chawata, on the other hand, will have a development worker from Sweden for the next two years. But since Chawata themselves thinks that the development worker is needed and that Tanzania lacks these kinds of experts I do not see this as a problem. Chavita is using experts from Tanzania but whenever the budget allows it they ask for advice from Sweden. Chavita also has an external fundraising officer.

The phase out period should be included in the project document, which is written before the funding starts (Catterson & Lindahl 1999:26f). Neither TLB nor Chawata have any idea when the support will be withdrawn. TLB thinks that the donor decides the date for the end of the support themselves. The fact that neither of the organizations know when the support will end may cause problems connected with the withdrawal. I think this can lead to an unnecessary anxiety for the recipients; they do not know when they have to stand on their own feet. I imagine it must be difficult to concentrate on the activities and do something good of it when one does not know if or when everything will collapse. I think it would be good if the recipients know when the support will end so that they can plan and build capacity in order to be independent. As it is today the recipients plan for their future and try to find ways of supporting themselves. But they do not know when they will have to manage all by themselves. However, I met a great enthusiasm and very enthusiastic people, some of who work voluntary to make a success of the organizations. These people gave me hope and I do not think they will give up in a hurry. Chawata has shown before that they can manage by themselves during the period when they did not receive any support. I hope and believe that they, as well as TLB and Chavita, will be sustainable after the support has been

withdrawn. The support to Chavita differs from the support to the other organizations. Their support has started to reduce gradually. They are aware of this and are trying to find other ways of financing their organization.

The sustainability of the three organizations interviewed is important for the situation of the handicapped in Tanzania. They all try to help disabled people live a normal life. For example they organize training which can lead to a job. This is essential since unemployment contributes to social exclusion. This in turn leads to shortage of self-reliance, self-confidence and psychological as well as physical health. Accordingly economic restraint lead to social restraint (Sen 2001:21, 8).

14. SUMMARY

Both former research and empirical data have now been presented. The objective of this thesis was to to examine what recipients of aid from Swedish NGOs think about the support and about their possibilities to be independent after the support has been withdrawn. The research questions were: What is the purpose of the aid, from the recipients' point of view? What is the recipients' view of their future as self-supporting and the sustainability of the projects? In what way do the recipients feel that the donors are supporting them to become self-supporting?

This thesis began with an introduction to the problem area, a presentation of the objective and research questions and also of the method used. Thereafter, explanation of words was given as well as the outline of the thesis. I then gave a presentation of Tanzania, followed by a section about former research and main concepts, i.e. capacity building, participation and empowerment. In this section I showed how the three concepts unite in different ways. After this I gave a view of the disabled people's situation in developing countries in general and Tanzania in particular. The situation of this group is not easy even if the organizations interviewed can see improvements in the Tanzanian society. Four organizations which fight for the rights of the disabled were then presented. The organizations are SHIA, Chawata, Chavita and TLB. This presentation was followed by my findings, which I divided up in themes, i.e. cooperation; responsibility, leadership and involvement; education and training; recipients' priority; local competence; and phase out and the sustainability of the organizations. In this section I presented both former research on the field and my own

empirical data. After the findings I presented my conclusions and analysis. First I showed how the different themes connect to the main concepts. There after I discussed and analysed my empirical data and former research. I also applied theories on freedom and justice on the rest of the material.

The main conclusions were that to reach sustainability it is of great importance that the cooperation between the donor and the recipient is good. It is also important that it is the recipients who are responsible for the different phases of the projects and that the recipients themselves lead the organizations. Education and training of the recipients are also essential when making the organizations sustainable. Further, it should be the local people who identify the problems and what the needs are. When local competence is available it should be used instead of external experts. Finally, there should be a clear phase out process, preferably already described in the project document. The three organizations interviewed were mainly satisfied with all these factors. They feel that it is their organizations and that the donor only is there to support them. The goal is to be self-supporting and they all believe that they have good possibilities to be independant in the future. And after having met those real enthusiasts in Chawata, Chavita and TLB I believe that those organizations have all possibilities to be sustainable after the support from Sweden has been withdrawn. I wish them best of luck in the future!

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Interviews

Ms. Blandina Happiness Sembu (chairperson of the Women Department, Chawata) Recorded interview on April 14th.

Ms. Veronica Nakyewe (representative from Youth with Disabilities Development Forum, Uganda) Recorded interview on April 14th.

Mr. Palemono Rujwahura (secretary general of Chawata) Recorded interview on April 14th.

Ms. Mary Kalumone (chairperson of TLB) Recorded interview on April 15th.

Mr. Dickson F. Mveyange (executive secretary and project's manager of Chavita) Recorded interview on April 28th.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interviewee

- How long in the organization?
- Which position?

Organization

- When established? By whom?
- Goals?
- Objectives?
- Target group?
- How many beneficiaries?

Disabled people's situation in Tanzania

- In society?
- Health care?
- Job opportunities?
- Laws?

Support

- When started?
- From which organizations/countries?
- What kind?
- When will it cease?

Capacity building/Empowerment during support

- Whose priority?
- Leadership?
- Communication?
- Education? Training?
- Cooperation?
- Local competence?
- Responsibility?

- Control?
- Networks?
- Support when phasing out?

Participation during support

- Who participates
 - planning?
 - implementation?
 - phase out?
 - evaluation?

Future

- Long-term aspects?
- Goals?
- Sustainability?
- Funding?
- Self-supporting?

APPENDIX 2



Source: Home page of Swedish Church

CHAWATA

Departments:

the Women and Children Department
the Youth Department
the Sports and Cultural Activities Department
the Ancestors Department

Leadership:

The executive board:

the national chairman
the secretary general
the vice national chairman
the vice secretary general

The executive committee:

the executive board
eleven members from different regions

Other staff

Branches:

Members in all 21 regions

CHAVITA

Departments:

the Administration Department
the Social Welfare Department
the Public Relations Department
the Sign Language Department
the Deaf Women Department

Leadership:

General meeting:

representatives from the different branches

Executive committee:

representatives from the different departments

Executive secretary

Other staff

Branches:

15 branches in different regions

TLB

Departments:

the Women Department

the Youth Department

Leadership:

the secretary general

the chairperson

the treasurer

assistants

Branches:

64 branches in the 21 regions