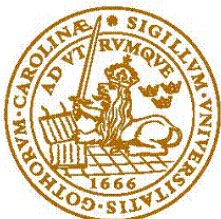


Mind the gap

A case study on the national implementation of the Beijing action plan
and CEDAW in Tanzania



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Louise Servin and Madeleine Södermalm

Abstract

Tanzania is an illustrating case of how gender inequalities hinder the social, economic and political development of the country. Women's subordinated position is an alarming factor which takes intricate forms grounded in traditional African culture and patriarchy. The struggle of existing laws does hence not reach out to the majority of women, leaving them unaware of their rights. Further, a number of global policy initiatives have been attempted but little has been achieved due to the complexity of historical, political and cultural factors which collides with the western feminist ideas to obtain equality. Against this background, this study attempts to understand who the involving actors are and how they interact in order to find out why there is a gap between policy and practice. This will hence be exemplified by investigating the national policy implementation of the Beijing action plan and The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

This thesis is based on empirical material collected during a field study in Tanzania, consisting of interviews mainly with representatives of non-governmental organizations involved in women's legal rights issues and the government. By exploring the theory of how global feminist norms travel in contrast to the network theory it analyses different conditions that has been identified to generate obstacles to the potential role of women in Tanzania. Our findings wants to draw attention to the insufficient cooperation activity between actors involved in the policy process. Overlapping projects and lack of coordination of responsibility and resources moreover generates an ineffective implementation, resulting in women being unaware of their legal rights.

Keywords: Beijing action plan, CEDAW, Policy implementation, Gender inequality, Global norms, Tanzania.

Table of contents

1	Introduction	6
1.1	Statement of purpose	6
1.2	Significance of the study	7
1.3	Disposition.....	7
1.4	Background.....	8
1.4.1	Tanzania a multicultural society with substantial gender inequality	8
1.4.2	The role of women in Tanzania	9
1.4.3	Introduction to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW	10
1.5	Previous research.....	11
2	Methodology	14
2.1	Research method	14
2.2	Primary data collection and sampling	15
2.2.1	Semi-structured interviews and questionnaire	15
2.2.2	Participant observations	16
2.3	Secondary data.....	17
2.4	Coding and analysis of material	17
2.5	Possible methodological limitations.....	18
2.5.1	Ethical concerns and reflexivity.....	18
3	Theoretical frameworks	20
3.1	Translation and national adoption of international feminist norms.....	20
3.1.1	Western and African norm diffusion	21
3.1.2	Norms embedded in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW	22
3.2	The network approach to policy implementation	22

3.2.1	Beyond the top-down and bottom-up approaches	24
3.2.2	The network implementation of the two treaties in Tanzania.....	25
4	Analysis.....	27
4.1	The perplexity of gender policies	27
4.1.1	Culture as an obstacle in human rights discussions.....	31
4.1.2	Gender policies through the lens of feminist norms	33
4.1.3	The problem of international policies in a development context.....	34
4.1.4	The problem of international policies in the case of Tanzania	36
4.1.5	The relationship between the actors in the implementation process.....	37
4.2	Tanzania's implementation through the lens of a network approach.....	42
4.2.1	Implementation recommendations in the Beijing Declaration and CEDAW	42
4.2.2	Cooperation between the actors – a key feature of the network approach	44
4.2.3	NGOs' implementation of the two treaties in practice	45
4.2.4	The government's implementation of the two treaties in practice.....	47
5	Conclusion.....	49
6	Bibliography.....	53
7	List of Respondents.....	57

Acknowledgements

Firstly we would like to thank Carolyn Hannan from the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Lund University who continuously provided us with feedback and ideas at all occasions. We also would like to thank our supervisor Catia Gregoratti for all the support and guidance we have received during our study.

We want to thank all the NGOs who participated in our research, you have all been very helpful and we would like to thank you for taking the time to meet with us and share your knowledge and opinions. We could not have conducted this study without you. You are all truly a source of inspiration. Additionally, we would also like to pay our gratitude to the staff at the Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children for your warm welcome.

Our last words of appreciation go to our key person Mr. Benson Bana at the University of Dar es Salaam who opened up the doors for us.

Asante Sana!

Lund, May 2012

Louise Servin and Madeleine Södermalm

Abbreviations

APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
FEMACT	Feminist Coalition
LHRC	Legal Human Rights Centre
MCDGC	Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
TANGO	Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyer Association
UN	United Nations
WLAC	Women's Legal Aid Centre

1 Introduction

Gender inequality consists of two words often used to describe the situation of women in developing countries. Feminist norms have been embedded in international policies and treaties to influence change at the national level. Despite various efforts, gender inequality is still present in countries like Tanzania. The national government and private actors like non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have taken various measures to improve the lives of women. Tanzania has ratified several international treaties and agreements which provide guidelines on how to tackle gender inequality. The country's civil society is vibrant and the government has introduced gender sensitive laws, one might say that Tanzania seems to have important pre-conditions to eradicate gender inequality. This study would like to look at interaction between actors in order to explore possible hinders to the implementation of gender policies. The two policies that this study is focusing on are the Beijing action plan and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), two international policies that have had a considerable influence in Tanzania. Moreover culture is an important factor that influences the national translation of these international feminist norms. This study will thereby through a global feminist norm lens and the network approach analyze the cooperation between the actors. In sum, this study is an attempt to shed light on cooperation as a possible tool to reach gender equality.

1.1 Statement of purpose

The aim of this study is to question the interaction between the actors in Tanzania regarding the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. According to Legal Human Rights Center (LHRC) (2010:165), inequality between the sexes is increasing even though the country has ratified both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. We would like to investigate if potential problems in the interaction between the actors can be a contributive factor. By exploring the relationship empirically through semi-structured interviews conducted with the actors, this bachelor thesis will contribute to a greater understanding of how the government of Tanzania and NGOs operate to attain the principles of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. To clarify, our purpose is not to measure or evaluate the outcomes

of the implementation of the two international treaties, rather explore the relationship and interaction between the actors which hence contribute to the way implementation is carried out. To aid our discussion we are applying a theory on network implementation and another one on international feminist norms. They will be further discussed and explained at a later stage. The questions at issue are as follow:

How has Tanzania adopted the norms embedded in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW?

Who are the actors involved in the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW?

How do these actors interact to implement the two treaties?

1.2 Significance of the study

Since our aim is to question the interaction between the actors in Tanzania regarding the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, we would like to contribute to the already existing literature. Studies have been conducted to evaluate the role and participation of NGOs in the implementation process of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. However an in-depth study on the interaction between the actors in Tanzania does not exist. Hence we would like to add our perspective on the national implementation of the two treaties in Tanzania and inspire further research on the matter. The findings of this study will contribute to a wider understanding of how the government of Tanzania and NGOs work to attain the principles of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. By enlightening the interaction between actors within the national implementation process of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, we intend to determine factors which can help to decrease gender inequality. Additionally this study is directed to students, academia and people who are interested in measures to decrease gender inequality, policy implementation and international treaties.

1.3 Disposition

The first chapter provides a rationale for the study including a background which outlines Tanzania's social and cultural setting and the role of women in Tanzania. An introduction to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW is also accounted for likewise previous research in the field. The second chapter explains the methods used and possible limitations in our study. The two theories applied, Susanne Zwingel's (2006, 2012) theory on international feminist norms and the network approach are being clarified in the third chapter. The fourth chapter consists of the analysis which is divided into main three parts that are interlinked – the perplexity of

gender policies, the relationship between the government and NGOs in the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW and finally Tanzania's implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW- through the lens of a network approach. We connect our empirical material to the theories in order to explain the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. Our findings are presented in the conclusion which is the fifth chapter. The bibliography is our sixth and last chapter in the study. Finally, an additional appendix of the list of our respondents is clarified in the end.

1.4 Background

This chapter will provide an overview of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW together with the national implementation of the two treaties in the multi-cultural Tanzania. The first paragraph will discuss gender inequality in Tanzania and thereby outline the starting point of our study. The second paragraph will include an introduction to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW together with the significance of the two international treaties in Tanzania. The last paragraph gives a review of previous research and discusses the need for a study which bridges the division between the NGOs and the government.

1.4.1 Tanzania a multicultural society with substantial gender inequality

To start with, a preliminary presentation of Tanzania is needed to be able to discuss the policy environment where the implementation of international gender policies takes place. Like many countries in Africa, Tanzania experienced colonialism and the statutory law system inspired by European laws is a legacy left behind. Tanzania is a multi-cultural society with a variety of religions and ethnic groups, which has contributed to its dual legal system consisting of statutory laws and customary laws. In Tanzania, customary law is defined as a "law which is either written, declared or unwritten but is recognized by the community as having the force of law" (Brown, Laliberte, Tubbs 2003:13). Brown et al. (2003:13-14) describe how a customary law become official and the long process of making it gender sensitive. The establishment of a customary law begins by a village authority raising issues and practices. The policy becomes a by-law when it is presented and approved at the ward level and district level. A ward is consisting of approximately ten villages which come together several times a year for meetings. The customary law becomes national when the majority of the districts have approved it. The establishment of a customary law is a long process since it has to be approved by several authorities. It is perhaps an even longer process of removing or changing them. International norms are first enacted at national level, further

implementation has become a slow process due to weak links between national and local level. Thereof customary laws and traditions do still exist and many of them are violating human rights and are discriminatory against women (Mukangara and Koda 1999:33). The Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children (MCDGC) (1992:3) argues that customs and traditions that are discriminatory against women are hindering the efforts made by the government to promote women's rights.

1.4.2 The role of women in Tanzania

The heterogeneity of the many ethnic societies in Tanzania makes it impossible to generalize women's traditional roles. As the country becomes more globalized, women's economic and social roles change. Marjorie Mbilinyi (1972:373) states that the modern production of cash crops has increased women's work load due to changes in the division of labor. Women had to take on chores that were once considered to be done by men. Moreover, women have several roles in addition to perhaps the role as a cultivator, she may also be a mother and a daughter. Mbilinyi (1972:374) recognizes that even if women are considered to be essential to the subsistence economy, land and property are often owned by men. This problem is also recognized by MCDGC or as it was previously called the Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children (1992:2-3) which argues that the status of women is still low socially and economically. The ministry acknowledges that despite all of their efforts, too few women are active in decision making. One of the efforts according to the ministry is the adoption and implementation of international agreements. In the report produced by the MCDGC (1992:9) it is stated that projects aimed to increase women's rights are not fully implemented due to lack of resources. However what kind of resources that are missing is not stated and elaborated upon. Further discussion relating to the report and the issue of resources will be provided in the analysis.

Gender inequality is a core development issue in order for a country to realize its full potential. To move towards equality strengthens the country's ability to reduce poverty, develop and to govern effectively (Mukangara and Koda 1999:33). Since this study will provide an in-depth analysis of the implementation of international feminist norms in Tanzania, there is a need to create an understanding of the different concepts at hand. Moreover, Tanzania is experiencing a high rate of gender inequality which is a major obstacle to its socio-economic and political development of its people. The impacts of these

inequalities are stated to be one of the main reasons to the country's slow pace of development (Brown et al 2003:4).

1.4.3 Introduction to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW

According to LHRC (2010:165), gender inequality is increasing even though several international agreements have been ratified and incorporated into Tanzania's official gender policies. Myra Ferree and Aili Tripp (2006:249) state that the Beijing action plan and CEDAW are the two broadest and most general applicable discourses of international gender politics. The government of Tanzania is a signatory to both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW and claims to be an active implementer of the two treaties (National Website n.d). A brief description of the two treaties is needed in order to start a discussion on Tanzania's implementation process.

The fourth conference on women was held in Beijing 1995 with the mission of reviewing and adopting Nairobi forward-looking strategies. The conference attracted governments and non-governmental actors from all over the world. There were high expectations that the conference would inspire actors to cooperate and improve the lives of women worldwide. The finished product was the Beijing Declaration with the main objective to increase the awareness of gender inequality and to promote further policy implementation. The actors attending determined to ensure full implementation of women's rights (The United Nations 2005:2). The Beijing Declaration acknowledged twelve critical areas of concern which together accounted for the majority of problems relating to gender equality. Governments were recommended to produce national action plans in accordance with national priorities to ensure the recognition of women's rights and needs (The United Nations 2005:93). This study will be based on Tanzania's national action plan; the Beijing action plan and hence not the declaration as such. The government of Tanzania accorded priority on four of twelve broad based critical areas; enhancement of women's legal literacy; economic empowerment of women and poverty eradication; women's political empowerment and decision-making; and access to education, training and employment (The United Republic of Tanzania 2005:1).

Additionally, CEDAW emerged from the first conference on women and was later adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979. Since then it has become one of the most ratified human rights treaties over time. The international treaty has been a source of inspiration to feminist activism all around the world by lifting the importance of women's legal rights (Pruitt and Vanegas 2011:1). In 1981, Tanzania ratified CEDAW by requiring the

state to “take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women” (Brown et al 2003:7). Each country has the responsibility to provide a state follow-up report containing a summary on the country’s overall progress to meet the provisions of CEDAW. In addition to this, non-governmental organizations are also responsible to conduct a shadow-report to give their view on the progress as well recommendations and complaints. These two reports are sent to the CEDAW Committee which will thereafter provide the country with feedback (Tamale 2011:87-98). Currently the government of Tanzania is in the process of implementing CEDAW and the Beijing Declaration throughout the country. In fact Tanzania has for several years been using the two treaties to combat poverty and inequality, however women are still experiencing vast discrimination (Brown et al 2003:4-5).

1.5 Previous research

There is existing literature on how NGOs are working to implement the Beijing action plan and CEDAW but what is lacking is a study bridging the division between the NGOs and the government. We would like to add our perspective on the matter and hence contribute to the existing research by filling in gaps. An example is the report on civil society participation in the implementation of the Beijing platform of action written by Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) (2004:viii). TGNP is fundamentally an activist NGO committed to the goal of advocating for women’s rights and achieving social change in Tanzania. The submitted report reflected on eight critical areas of the Beijing action plan and how goals of specific NGOs relate to the Beijing action plan. One of the major findings was that the majority of women led organizations in the regions were well aware of the Beijing action plan and their goals reflected one or more critical areas. Additionally, the Economic Commission for Africa (2010) has established a fifteen-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform presented in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The review brings up both constrains and achievements on all twelve critical areas. “The Beijing platform for action review and the MDGs assessments show that notable progress has been achieved in legal reforms and defining policies towards gender equality and women’s empowerment...It is evident from this review that governments still face challenges in meeting the targets set in the Beijing platform for action. Accelerating efforts to implement the Beijing platform for action would require addressing the challenges within the socioeconomic context of each nation” (The Economic Commission for Africa 2010:96). The report argues for an existing

gap between policy and practice due to the challenges faced by governments. The argument relates to whole of Africa and not to Tanzania per se. We would like to complement the findings by focusing explicitly on Tanzania and examine if a potential gap exists between policy and practice in regard to the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. In 1981, Tanzania ratified the CEDAW Convention by requiring the state to “take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women” (Brown et al 2003: 7).

Brown (2003) also discuss the potential gap, or as he refer to it as weak links between policy and practice. One way of looking at the implementation and the potential gap is to study how actors interact with each other. Ullah, Newell, Ahmed, Hyder and Islam (2006:144) discuss government and NGO cooperation in Bangladesh. They argue that cooperation can be seen as a deliberate relationship between otherwise self-governing stakeholders for joint goals. The Beijing Declaration more or less expects governments and civil society to cooperate and take strategic action to improve gender equality (the United Nations 1995:16). If the Beijing Declaration and CEDAW expect the government and the civil society to integrate to implement the action plan then it comes natural to conduct a study on how actors interact with each other to implement the international treaties. As stated in the previous paragraph we are looking at both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW due to that both international treaties have been shaping national gender policies in Tanzania. Both are including several areas that need to be improved to minimize oppression of women. There is no single actor that can put all into practice, hence the need for cooperation.

Additionally, Peter and Linda De Leon (2002) provide a discussion on the issue of implementing international policies in developing countries. They argue that there is no one-size fits all model concerning strategies, rather adjustable approaches to the conditions in the area of concern (De Leon 2002:471). International policies or as they interpret it, top-down strategies are too hierarchal and less democratic than the bottom-up approaches and argues that this is the reason to why implementation failures can occur (De Leon 2002:479). Our study takes another stand and investigates the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania through a network approach. It is an approach beyond the bottom-up and top-down discussion. The theory of network implementation will be discussed and applied at a later stage in the study. De Leon (2002:475) argue that it is not the cooperation that is causing the gap between policy and practice, rather program evaluation is the key to a

functioning implementation, which is the area where Tanzania is failing. Implementing the two treaties is a huge process which involves project coordination. Moreover, there are numerous factors that can contribute to implementation difficulties.

The preliminary studies discussed above have inspired us to further investigate factors contributing to the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. What makes this study unique from the other studies is our focus on international norm diffusion and interaction between actors in Tanzania. Several preliminary studies have focused on implementation beyond national level and thereby generalized the implementation process in several countries. As previously stated, an in-depth study on the interaction between the actors in Tanzania does not exist. To be able to provide a well-developed analysis, a proper theoretical framework is needed and it will be discussed after the methodological chapter.

2 Methodology

This chapter comprises an advanced description of the methods employed in the field. Firstly we will present our choice of research design followed by a description of our primary and secondary data. Thereafter we will go through the methods chosen to analyze the collected material. In the final section we will reflect upon our limitations and ethical concerns related to field work in a developing context.

2.1 Research method

Our research is a case study of the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. Bryman (2008:53, 57) defines a case study as an intensive examination of the setting. He also makes clear that because the focus is on one specific case, the findings deriving cannot hence be generalized. However the aim of this thesis is not to generalize but to provide an in-depth case study of the implementation of feminist norms embedded in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, hence to question the interaction between the actors involved in the case of Tanzania.

The choice of designing our research as a case study was influenced by Manara (2010:16) who argues that a case study tends to be a useful method when investigating implementation dynamics. It serves as an illustrative instrument which can allow understanding of complex settings where questions of when, how or why are being asked. In sum, a case study explores settings of which the investigator has little or no control over (Schreuder 2001:46).

The qualitative methods employed in the field were selected to capture people's thoughts and experiences. Bryman (2008:394) explains that qualitative research is often portrayed to capture events over time and seeing interconnections between actions made by participants of social settings. When studying policy processes, qualitative methods can hence be very useful in terms of getting accurate information about the different stages in the implementation process. Moreover the following sections consist of primary data collection, the use of secondary sources and possible limitations.

2.2 Primary data collection and sampling

Our sample is based on eleven semi-structured interviews conducted during our field study between January and March 2012. Our focus has been on NGOs in the area of Dar es Salaam working to protect and enhance women's rights. Most of the NGOs we interviewed were directly working with women's rights, but we have also conducted interviews with NGOs who are incorporating gender questions into their work as well as organizations which function is to review the government and its policies. In total, nine interviews have been conducted with NGOs, two interviews conducted with the MCDGC. MCDGC is a key actor since the ministry is responsible for writing the official reports on the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Our sampling technique has been purposive since we had the preliminary knowledge of the actors which was relevant for the two treaties in the area of Dar es Salaam. Bryman (2008:415) states that the goal of purposive sampling is to sample material in a conscious way in order for the sample to be relevant to the research questions posed. The selected actors were chosen based on their involvement and responsibility of implementing the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Some of our contacts were obtained by the snowball sampling technique since we were able to reach and trace suitable contacts outside of our sampling frame (Bryman 2008:158, 459). With this technique we were able to gain additional and very valuable contacts through our key informant and interviewees' own contacts recommendations. A key informant is according to Bryman (2008:695) someone who provides the researcher with a perspective on the existing social setting and relevant individuals who can contribute to the research. The key informant in our case was a professor from the Political Science department of The University of Dar es Salaam who was involved in local development issues. These contacts would have required much more preparatory work to get hold of due to their official positions. It would hence have been very hard to get the material that we now manage to collect without our key person within the limited timeframe of our field study.

2.2.1 Semi-structured interviews and questionnaire

We employed semi-structured interviews which were based on a pre-planned structure of topics and questions (Bryman 2008:53). Our questions were mostly open-ended which leaved room for flexibility and enabled us to ask follow-up questions. We used an interview guide which helped us stay relevant to our topic and keep on track when interviewing. The pre-

determined questions were tested, filtered and controlled to ensure that the questions were understandable and clear to the respondents.

Nine out of twelve interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. We guaranteed all our respondents anonymity for their convenience which was asked by three of our interviewees. In order to be consistent we later decided to keep all our respondents anonymous and instead only present their representing organization. Tape recording conversations provide added value to the analysis since we can go back and study the conversation for interpretation repeatedly if needed (Punch 2005:175, Bryman 2008:447-453). However, it reduces the validity of the interview due to the risk that the informant may not feel free to speak his/her mind (Bryman 2008:436, 494). This was the reason to why two of the interviewees chose not to approve. They instead required us to send the interview questions in beforehand. Hence, we also needed to create questionnaires. According to Bryman (2008:216, 217) questionnaires are to be completed by the interviewees themselves. Since we emailed the questionnaires a so called postal questionnaire was used. We did not require the interviewees to return it by post. Instead we arranged an interview where we could discuss and clarify both questions and answers. Thereof, there was no need to worry about the disadvantages of questionnaires such as the risk of missing out of data and probing since we used open-ended questions (Bryman 2008:218-219). We further combined our field notes and the completed questionnaire in the evaluation.

The third interviewee who did not approve with recording the conversation left us to rely on our field notes which on the other hand proved the advantage of being two researchers instead of one since we always had backups of field notes at hand.

2.2.2 Participant observations

While being in the field we did several observations, however most of them were not planned. Living in the city where we conducted our research gave us the opportunity of observing its social and cultural setting. We got a clue what it is like being a woman in a multicultural city like Dar es Salaam. Another observation we made relates back to the interviews we conducted with the NGOs. Many of them mentioned that MCDGC was the least funded ministry, which we came to observe ourselves.

2.3 Secondary data

In our study we use a wide range of different secondary sources. Perhaps the most important secondary sources are the follow-up reports written by MCDGC on the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW together with the shadow-reports provided by NGOs. These sources have been very useful for the preparation and execution of this study. Additionally, documents and reports from the different actors interviewed have also been used. In excess of our documentary data we have also analyzed previous research in the field of policy implementation and international feminist norms in Tanzania. We have likewise reviewed existing research on our theoretical framework. According to Punch (2005:184-185) data collected from different angles are important to increase the reliability of one's framework. The already existing outline of research within this area has allowed us to compare facts over time regarding the impacts on and changes in the society.

2.4 Coding and analysis of material

When evaluating the quality of documents there is a need to be critical by looking at the authenticity, the credibility, the representativeness and the meaning of the collected material. To be able to read between the lines to uncover hidden meanings and symbols is used through the semiotic approach which suits the method for our analysis. This is especially important when analyzing the follow-up reports by the government and the representative NGOs since there are already obvious flaws in the documents. If the documents are biased it can also in that case be interesting for our research. Source criticism is hence also very important for the research because we will be working with data created by the different actors with different views on our issue in the society (Bryman 2008:521- 534).

Throughout our different methods of research we have used the steps of coding and concepts to ease the process of data reduction in preparation for the analysis. It was moreover very important for us to code transcriptions, collected material and field notes as early as possible which eased the next level of data reduction. The coding process has gone from open coding to selective coding with the aim to analyze, summarize and review the collected data (Bryman 2008:550- 553).

The strategy we chose to apply for our qualitative data analysis was the thematic approach where the collected material is organized according to common themes. The main idea is to construct index of central themes and subthemes of the data collected in the field consisting of

transcriptions, field notes and secondary sources. We chose the themes by looking for repetitions of topics, similarities, differences and missing data. The interpretation of the material is thereafter applied and is what we derive from in our analysis (Bryman 2008: 554-555, Flick 2006:317-321).

2.5 Possible methodological limitations

We have conducted our research in the area around Dar es Salaam because most NGOs and ministries have their offices located in that area. Our study is a top-down, actor centered study which is looking at how actors interact to implement the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Unfortunately, due to time limits and the situation given we were not able to accompany NGOs out in the field to see how they work in practice. Our results are instead based on interviews conducted with actors in their offices. Additionally due to the limitations of a bachelor thesis we have not included the actual results of the implementation process at the grassroots level. It is indeed an important area of concern and we emphasize the need for additional research on the matter. The actors included in the analysis of our thesis are the government and different NGOs.

2.5.1 Ethical concerns and reflexivity

As Tanzania is a hierarchical society characterized by patriarchal norms it is very interesting to hence have influential male participants. From a gender and cultural perspective, it was very fascinating to compare the meetings and the answers given with the less powerful participants such as women (Mukangara and Koda 1999:16). Unintended, we expected the participants at the women's rights organizations to be women due to the situation at hand in Tanzania when it comes to the issue of inequality. In that sense, it is important to point out that surprisingly 50 percent of our participants were male which were very encouraging to see with regard to the subject of our research. This also questioned our position to the causes of the persisting inequalities and the development of the gendered vision of the country.

The inherent power asymmetry between us as researchers and the interviewee which is especially distinct in a developing country context such as Tanzania was sometimes more apparent in some situations than other. We were hence prepared for the research to be fairly constrained. Excluded opportunities can take place due to the possible view of us as intruders or inappropriate for different reasons. It can for instance in our case be due to the negative view of us being young white female researchers or tourists in their eyes (Bryman 2008:663).

In a society where women do not normally question men, uncomfortable situations can occur between the researcher and the interviewee. We strived to avoid this by being clear of our position as students and making the respondent feel comfortable with our research subject and by avoiding criticizing or judging their opinions. It is hence important to be an objective and reflexive researcher which is also explained as the insider and outsider role by Bryman (2008:663-664). As researchers and interviewers we could never completely hold ourselves of preconceived ideas and values. It was hence hard not to influence the interview or the participants with our own opinions, keeping it purely clear from biases. At the same time, it was clear that the participants spoke as representatives keeping their answers to a certain framework. It was for this reason extremely giving when we at few points got behind that façade.

Another limitation which we prepared for was the expected language barriers between us and our interviewees. It was no longer a hindrance since all of our interviewees were well educated and spoke English fluently. The problems of language barriers, translations and interpretation would otherwise increase the risk of missing out of valuable information (Bryman 2008:494).

3 Theoretical frameworks

In this chapter two different theories will be employed in order to assess how and in what way international norms such as the Beijing action plan and CEDAW is implemented in Tanzania. To understand the concept of international norms, we will begin to explore the different feminist approaches on how to adopt international feminist standards of women's rights in a developing country, which will lay the ground to some of the discussions in the analysis. We thereafter attempt to interlink this understanding to the network theory with the purpose to shed light on the potential obstacles of the implementation process in Tanzania. This will bring the discussion further by concentrating on the responsibilities of the actors within the national implementation process. Moreover, how national actors translate these international norms and put them into practice through well functioning networks of cooperating actors. The network theory will constitute for the bone structure of our thesis which we will apply our findings to, hence the greater focus on its presentation.

Additional literature will be presented to strengthen and clarify the relationship between the theories of choice and our research. These two theories will provide the initial approach to our subject and steer towards what our analysis will build upon.

3.1 Translation and national adoption of international feminist norms

Susanne Zwingel (2006:400) is providing a theoretical perspective on global norm translation. Her overall argument is based on a discussion on the international instruments such as the Beijing action plan and CEDAW which are representing global norms and agreements. These treaties according to Zwingel (2006:400-402) should not be seen as the main driving force for social change as such and hence the global norms are not being assumed to trickle-down. She instead argues that the changes are depending on the interpretation and appropriation within the society and between the actors. Moreover, how state institutions translate their obligations under these treaties into domestic policies. It is hence important to truly comprehend the significance of the international instruments and to use them as guidelines in order to adjust their provisions to aid the problems at hand in a country (Zwingel 2006:400).

In addition to the discussion on obligations, Zwingel (2012:115-116) brings light to the actors involved in the translation process pointing at the division of responsibility. The government is to be seen as the most significant actor in the implementation process of these global norms, non-governmental actors are also influential but should not carry the same amount and type of responsibility. This part of the discussion brings norm interpretation into the arena of policy implementation, shedding light to another perspective of more entangled issues which can be useful when investigating the outcome of our research. This will further be developed in the network theory.

3.1.1 Western and African norm diffusion

Zwingel (2006:414) brings up a discussion of different feminist scholars who address this issue with some criticism. Furthermore, feminists from the global south argue that global norms are influenced by western values and that the universal woman is not presentable everywhere. Westernized norms of women's rights could pose problems in an African country where the majority keeps a traditional view of women (Zwingel 2006:405). These norms are ignoring multiple subjects which are entrenched in hierarchies of class and race differences caused by history, culture and religion in different nation states. The biggest tensions which are still major obstacles and especially applicable on our case in Tanzania, is according to Zwingel (2006:404) the pressure between religion concerning the idea of women's rights being rooted in her function and position within family and society, with its opposite idea of independence and individuality. By building on the factors of culture, this theory enhances the historical and cultural blocks which are of such significance in Tanzania. It can hence explain its weight and importance in order to understand the steps taken in the implementation process of the Beijing declaration and CEDAW.

The criticism also includes a discussion on the creation of the global norms from which actually the majority of women's voices are excluded (Zwingel 2006:415). This questions if women can make their voices heard using global tools? On the other hand, this is later defended by Zwingel (2006:416) in her discussion of the development of the tasks and effect of international treaties such as the Beijing Action plan and CEDAW which have turned it into transnational implementation networks of women's rights. This has been due to the increasing awareness and strengthening of government institutions. In addition, the collaboration in-between actors and the non-governmental activism have had the greatest responsibility in connecting local voices with the international gender norms. The author also

clarifies that this is an example of a successful implementation. If instruments like the Beijing action plan and CEDAW are not connected to the domestic norms and discourses of Tanzania, then they will not have much impact at all (Zwingel 2006:415-416).

3.1.2 Norms embedded in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW

Since the 1970s there has been a worldwide creation of different gender policies. National and international levels have influenced each other and a global discourse on gender norms has been shaped. These norms have been brought up and discussed by non-governmental women's organizations all around the world (Zwingel 2006:401). Women's rights gained visibility in the area of socio-economic development but were still separated from the emerging human rights framework which pushed them away from the overall focus within the development context. Here Zwingel (2006:410-413) exemplifies with CEDAW which according to her was the first international treaty to realize the importance of these emerging gender issues. She further explains the important impact on which these international policies have had in general. The use of CEDAW which also is applicable to the Beijing action plan is as said earlier, dependent on its acceptance in each national context. The global norm discussion on CEDAW and hence the Beijing action plan will be used to explain how these gender norms have been treated and realized in Tanzania. This will also provide us with the departure from where we can investigate in the future of the implementation process of these norms in Tanzania.

To sum the theory of global norms, the goal and progress has been to interpret, implement and realize the women's human rights through the lens of these international treaties. The way to unfold international norms is through transnational networks and strategies to interpret the Beijing action plan and CEDAW as legitimate instruments for change into the country's own contexts to be able to influence national policies (Zwingel 2006:413).

3.2 The network approach to policy implementation

To be able to start a discussion on implementation approaches, we need to define the word policy and what we mean by policy implementation. Michael Hill (2009:3) defines "implementation is to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete." In brief, implementation can be explained by a process, merely what happens between policy expectations and (perceived) policy results. We can for an example look at the Beijing Declaration and CEDAW's official outcome documents and compare the expectations with

the actual results at the national level. One can either look at implementation by explaining the outcome or focus on concerns to affect the outcome. Our case study is focusing on the latter, not the outcomes per se but what are affecting the implementation in terms of interaction between actors. However there must be something prior to implementation otherwise there would be nothing to move towards in the process of implementation. A verb like implement must have an object like policy (Hill and Hupe 2009:2). Mikael Hill (2005:6) uses a definition of policy that we find is easy to understand and applicable to our area of interest, “a course of action, especially one based on some declared and respected principle”. Beijing action plan and CEDAW are two policies, or to be more specific two public policies. What makes a policy public is the involvement of the government or as the definition used by Hill (2005:7) “a course of action adopted and pursued by a government”. Additionally a policy arises from a process over time which may involve national and international relationships (Hill and Hupe 2002:2). Several authors discuss policy processes and acknowledge different policy stages or steps. We have not however been able to analyze the different steps concerning the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, basically due to lack of information. During the twelve interviews we have been asking questions regarding the different steps in the implementation process but we have not received accurate information.

One general trend among the actors is that they are not sure about how these two policies have been implemented, from the international sphere down to the grassroots level. The Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children is responsible for the official progress reports but could not account for the different stages involving the implementation of the two treaties. Hence we will not focus on the stages of implementation, rather on the network approach which we consider appropriate to apply in the case of Tanzania’s implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW.

Furthermore, the implementation through networks emphasizes the need of cooperation between interdependent organizational actors. The use and understanding of this particular theory varies greatly, but the main dominator is the argument of cooperation as being the best way to achieve common goals. It is claimed that the solution should rather aim at bringing actors together for negotiation, hence ignoring the bureaucracy model (Börzel 1998:254). Aaron D. Schroeder states that the network context is becoming recognized but that there is a great lack of comprehension of this particular theory. There is little knowledge on how to

apply and use the strategy in the reality in order to aid implementation endeavor (Schroeder 2001:2). According to Schroeder (2001:8-9), to “get things done” as in our case would mean a successful implementation necessitates the context of network action to be dependent on strong linkages. The concept of networks relying on its linkages is also brought up by Hill and Hupe (2009:9, 10) where the two authors explain a policy to be an “action relationship” and that the implementation process is an “individual chain of causality” (2009:7). Morgan (1986) and Parsons (1995) metaphorical models of organization within networks instead adopts alternative perspectives on implementation failures and hence argues that the main negative cause is the result of a poor chain of cooperation. Kingdon’s analysis (1995:69) states that actors involved are mutually dependent because they need each other’s resources to achieve goals. Cooperation is hence a necessary condition in policy networks to achieve satisfying outcomes. Furthermore, different cases and models are presented and overlapped in the context of the network theory which accordingly will be applied to scrutinize our case in the analysis. This theory in particular was very appealing to our case since it reflects our understanding of Tanzania’s situation in the way it emphasizes the need of translate and put in to action, in other words to translate the global norms into practice. The alternative approach of networks will hence help us identify the different actors, their strategies and actions in the policy area of Tanzania. The implementation of The Beijing action plan and CEDAW is thereby according to the network approach defined by Schroeder (2001:9) determined by a strong and well-functioning network of actors.

3.2.1 Beyond the top-down and bottom-up approaches

The network theory was derived from the top-down and the bottom-up strategies to complement their so called weak qualities. It takes the features from both of the approaches into consideration to create a practical tool which can analyze what is happening inside the implementation process, or as Schroeder puts it “inside the black box instead of outside the black box” (Schroeder 2001:8-9).

The theory describes the top-down approach to be interested in the effectiveness of different government programs and the way authorized actors direct and constrains the behavior of a certain group. What characterizes this approach is the assumption from actors that there is a distinction between politics and administration, with other words between the rule makers and those who enforce the rules. The key actor is hence the policy maker at the top with the perspective of actors below being potential obstacles. They have little regard to their interests

making it hard for the actors which are responsible for the implementation to affect the process. The network theory strongly believes that the top-down model neglects the political nature of governance within its administration (Schroeder 2001:9)

Other theories such as De Leon (2002) emphasize the same argument but exemplify it with its affects in a developing country, furthermore how ineffective these approaches are in a country such as Tanzania. Top-down approaches are too hierarchal and less democratic than the bottom-up approaches and argue that this is the reason to why policy implementation failures can occur (De Leon 2002:479). According to De Leon, there is no one size fits all model concerning strategies, rather adjustable approaches to the conditions in the area of concern which supports Schroeder's network theory (De Leon 2002:471). These arguments will be further developed in the analysis.

The bottom-up approach which also is defined as the multi-actor approach rather focuses on mapping the strategies of certain target groups which mainly consist of peripheral actors (Schroeder 2001:7-8). This approach gives more attention and resources to the local actors and their problems. The interests of the local actors are hence the start-point for evaluations of the policy and its administration. In opposite to the top-down approach, this approach believes that policy making and administration combined is in itself a political process (Schroeder 2001:5-6). However, according to Schroeder both of these approaches are one-sided and puts too much emphasizes on opposite directions, either the bottom or the top. Another argument of the author is the view of these approaches as a set of guidelines to apply in an implementation study in order to understand its success or failure. Furthermore, they are not to be seen as aiding mechanisms within the policy process in practice which is what Schroeder (2001) is creating through the network theory.

3.2.2 The network implementation of the two treaties in Tanzania

The implementation of CEDAW and Beijing action plan in Tanzania goes beyond top-down and bottom-up approaches, they are according to us implemented through networks. Schroeder (2001) presents a methodological system of how to build implementation networks. Our purpose is to look at the implementation process of these treaties through the lens of a network approach. Furthermore, we will not try to construct implementation networks. Sections of Schroeder's ideas will hence only be used to exemplify areas which need to be fulfilled to achieve a successful implementation according to the network theory.

Schroeder (2001:12) emphasizes efforts of assessment to be very important in order to successfully implement a policy. In order to fulfill the requirement of the network theory the approach must hence work to include all actors to be able to better assess the context of the policy implementation. The administrator hence the rule enforcement mechanism and the government in our case, need to understand and work with the intended policy outcome, the result of the assessment. To measure work performance is very difficult especially the work of the government, but it is also important in the means of feedback and evaluation. This section reflects the situation between the government of Tanzania and the CEDAW Committee which acts as a feedback mechanism to the progress of its implementation. It is an important process which maps the action taken by the NGOs in relation to the government, what needs to be improved and how to get there. The time-frame is also brought up in the strategic planning where short-term perspective of quick results is hence not suitable for this kind of implementation (Schroeder 2001:107-108).

NGOs are also becoming increasingly interdependent, hence in order to understand the context of the various relationships there is a need for an effective management. This part is aiming at the importance of including stakeholders in the governance process to increase public participation. The public administrator is transformed into network facilitator of stakeholder interests. But who are the stakeholders? Schroeder (2001:84) presents several models on how different categories of stakeholders should cooperate in order to strengthen the policy process. Since we only will look at the main stakeholders or as we define them as actors, which in our case will represent the government and the NGOs we will not adopt these detailed models. We will include factors such as responsibility, resource distribution and relationships (Schroeder 2001:85).

Further, the political economy is also important to comprehend, meaning the relationship of government to the economy and the efficiency to allocate resources. It involves the requirements of the administrator to plan, act upon and manage resources toward the goal of the implementation. It provides a contextual understanding of the situation at hand looking at the interests and resources involved and how they further interact, cooperate and completes. Most importantly, the resources should not be bound under one actors control. A government who takes monopoly over services when it comes to resources is hence a major hindrance for a policy to be implemented (Schroeder 2001:18-19).

4 Analysis

The analysis consists of three main pillars of discussion, each of which contains further subtitles for better orientation. The first will present the perplexity of gender policies. The second discusses the relationship between the government and NGOs in the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW and the third how these treaties can be understood through the lens of a network approach. All three pillars are important do discuss to be able to understand the particular problem we are trying to address. In addition, they will help us to arrive at conclusions and answers to the questions stated in the introduction.

4.1 The perplexity of gender policies

This section starts with a brief outline of Tanzania's policy framework for gender inequality reduction in order to present the relationship between the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. The provisions of the policies will not be measured against each other since it would require a wider scope of research. The relationship will only be scrutinized and based on the material collected on the effectiveness and the separate impacts of the different policies. The gap between rural and urban areas in the recognition of women's rights will briefly be discussed to underline the need to increase awareness of the provisions made by the Beijing action plan and CEDAW for Tanzania.

The government of Tanzania is in the progress of making sure that the deep-rooted gender issues are well integrated in planning and budgeting in order to decrease the persisting gender inequalities. The government has for this reason undertaken various efforts in implementing numbers of policy initiatives, programs and strategies as instruments and guidelines to speed up its development. The international treaties have been of a particular importance in Tanzania (WLAC 2012-02-24). The Beijing action plan and CEDAW are only two of many treaties which Tanzania is a signatory to and an active implementer of. Since the aim of both these treaties is the elimination of discrimination against women and the advancement of women, there are many policy recommendations which are overlapping. The provisions of CEDAW and the Beijing action plan complement and strengthen each other, but they also differ in the way they are structured. CEDAW for instance, is legally binding for signatory

states while Beijing is an optional commitment. By ratifying CEDAW the state becomes legally bound to its terms, the country is hence committed to the progressive implementation of the provisions of the particular convention (De Leon 2002:97). But due to the many obstacles facing the advancement of women in Tanzania, the country has not yet been able to fully implement CEDAW. Treaties and other international agreements signed by Tanzania do not automatically become part of the Tanzanian domestic law. As been described before and which will be put in another context further in the analysis, Tanzania follows a dualistic system of common law tradition which is seen as the major obstacle to the implementation process of CEDAW (LHRC 2010:261). Despite this, components of the treaties are being implemented into the national policies which are further incorporated into projects and programs. Now, this is where our first issue of perplexity occurs. According to LHRC, problem of overlapping programs projects is due to lack of coordination on who is working with what action plan and from which policy. The result is overlying efforts on certain focus areas when recourses could have been allocated more efficiently. LHRC (2012-02-24) argues; “I think that the problem we have is that all initiatives taken overlap, they are so many and the end results are all done passionately but they do not really get to the end result. In short, LHRC is a professional organization that was founded in 1995, the same year as the Beijing Declaration. LHRC is ideally a human rights organization, with the vision of having a just and equitable society. The organization has indeed a wide range of functions such as provision of legal aid through aid clinics, issues relating to corporate social responsibility and observing the performance of the government. LHRC argues that, “some of the challenges regarding action plans are that there are a lot of commitments. Brown et al (2003:34-35) agrees by explaining that the overlapping activities is an issue concerning too many initiatives and ideas taken by the organizations. By spreading out initiatives it weakens the impact of stronger program approaches. An interview presented by Brown et al (2003:35) by a Tanzanian NGO provides a comment on the statement with: “We know we are doing too much, but who will step in and take our place?” The NGOs we interviewed had additionally a common argument of the need to seek improved interaction and awareness between the actors involved in the implementation process in order to overcome the issue of overlapping activities.

Additionally, there is a great lack of awareness throughout the implementation process. The actors involved in the implementation of the international treaties are referred to the government and the NGOs in our case. They provide the impression of being unsure of the treaties specific provisions and how to apply them. One could hence wonder how this will

affect the domestication and the creation of projects and programs meant to reflect the treaty's provisions (LHRC 2012-02-24).

When looking at the effectiveness of the gender policies implemented in Tanzania, the Beijing action plan and CEDAW have proven to be the most successful ones. Due to their success and effectiveness on the national levels they have also become the most recognized treaties (National Website n.d). "You find that maybe the government has get too many treaties but people not know. People don't even understand what they mean but or CEDAW it is different. Even if you go to the village and say something about CEDAW, people will say something. Even if they will not tell the content, but they know that it is about women." (WLAC 2012-01-27) Even though Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC) explains that people at the village level in rural areas have heard about CEDAW or the Beijing action plan, they still need to know their purpose and what they are trying to implement for the treaties to be fully accessible. However, where they have been successfully introduced, social changes have been made.

"Now more women are involved in self-help project, income-generating projects. They access loans; there are more institutions that provide loans for women to engage in economic activities. There is also an increase in women-led households, women are the ones who are getting the burden, tenure" (TANGO 2012-02-06). The diffused spread of activities and affects is because women in rural areas have experienced a limited extent of change from the emerging policy changes. This have hence resulted in an increased lack of legal literacy within rural societies of which is hindering the development of gender equality in the country (Brown et al 2003:17-18).

All our respondents agreed on the statement that urban women where having better knowledge about their rights than rural women. The Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO) (2012-02-06) answered: "Definitely, because they are more exposed more to the media, newspapers, TV, radio more than the women in rural areas. They have access, are exposed to education. It is more accessible to get education in urban areas than rural areas, in that way they get more aware about their rights". Moreover, TANGO is the largest umbrella organization in Tanzania. It acts as a unifying organ advocating for common good by promoting sustainable people centered development.

The lack of awareness and the issue of poverty are according to the government of Tanzania, predominantly a rural community problem, where 77 percent of the poor live (WLAC Shadow Report n.d: 59). There are hence numerous disparities between the progress made by the urban communities and the rural which has created an enormous gap in the recognition of women's rights. In order for these two treaties to be fully effective, the government has to dedicate more resources and specific action plans for the sake of the majority of its country (WLAC Shadow Report n.d: 60). The gap between rural and urban development is important to mention in our discussion since it is such a vast issue in Tanzania. It signifies the status of where Tanzania stands in its own development and where the effectiveness of these two treaties are struggling the most. Due to the limited size of our research we will not go deeper into this issue. However, it is an interesting matter to investigate and it should be given more attention too in further studies.

Both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW were acknowledged by all the actors included in our research sample but the majority could not separate their effectiveness in the country, some emphasized one more than the other. There were even one NGOs who did not think that CEDAW was cited or used to influence at any level (LHRC 2012-02-24), while others believed that CEDAW was the most outstanding and recognized throughout all the levels of the society (WLAC 2012-01-27). The final result was that almost all respondents answered out of gender policies in general and not through any specific policy in particular. We hence turned to the focal points at the MCDGC who are responsible for the implementation procedure of both policies. Not even they could tell the conventions nor their effectiveness apart (MCDGC 2012-02-22). They instead directed the question to the civil society since the ministry considers them responsible of the projects and programs implemented and could not answer on any detailed questions about the policies.

What we found here was lack of coordination and awareness issues creating a confusion of gender policies and hence the perplexity of overlapping policies and efforts. It is important to clarify that we at this juncture look beyond the obscure understanding of these policies. One could wonder why we look at this interaction and ask if it even makes a difference since the only thing that should matter is that they are trying.

This further brings light to the eager of the civil society to actually try to make a change. We were overwhelmed by the enthusiasm of the spurring life of the NGOs but we could not get a grip of why the civil society was treading water without getting anywhere. First, the lack of

communication and collaboration between projects and programs in general and second, the diverse knowledge and recognition of the different treaties under which they are all working towards. To sum, this is where we started to look at the cooperation between the different actors involved in order to understand why their struggle is not giving any wider results. Furthermore, a discussion is needed on the issue of cultural barriers which have been a common nominator to the issues at hand. The following sections will discuss the complexity of adjusting and incorporating local culture in international phenomenon. We will then apply this discussion of a normative dilemma to the case of Tanzania concerning the translation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW into its national context.

4.1.1 Culture as an obstacle in human rights discussions

Culture is a complex element of our society which essentially includes the shared values of beliefs, attitudes, assumptions, artifacts and behavior. Concerns about culture are repeatedly raised in relation to initiatives for gender equality in development cooperation. In some cases, one could say that the encouragement of gender equality would interfere with local culture, and therefore be obscured for ethical reasons. In other cases, the cultural values are described as a major constraint on efforts for gender equality, action is therefore considered to be difficult for practical reasons (Sachikonye 2009:1). Within the international human rights sphere, cultural differences are respected, but only within limits. Patriarchal traditional culture is moreover blamed for being the source to many aspects of women's subordinate position. Both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW recommend that certain features of cultural belief and institutional arrangements, such as patterns of marriage, divorce, and inheritance which can serve as harmful traditional barriers to women's progress should be overseen (LHRC 2010:261-262). The international community have stated their empathic position to this issue in the Beijing action plan: The resolution states: “the significance of national religious particularities in various of historical, cultural and religious systems must be kept in mind, it is the duty of the state regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems to protect and promote all human rights and fundamental freedom.” (Sachikonye 2009:15).

Tanzania is a multicultural society with a combination of customs, norms, beliefs and traditions of more than 120 ethnic groups where of 80% are patrilineal and hence guided by the patriarchal system (Mukungara and Koda 1999:38). Customs are highly regarded in the legal system, which of many discriminates women (WLAC 2012-01-27). The diverse mix of understandings and beliefs of the society poses a lot of obstacles for a smooth

implementation. The customary laws in specific are of the greater hindrance, especially concerning ownership and access to land, inheritance and divorce issues along with the exclusion of labor markets and decision-making processes. These issues are even further entrenched in rural areas, placing rural women as the major victims (Brown et al 2003:15). These obstacles were brought up by all of our respondents as a component of the core issues to the slow process of implementing gender policies in overall.

As a response to this, both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW explicitly calls for efforts to change cultural constraints concerning gender roles. CEDAW Article 2, the core of the convention, requires states parties: "to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women". CEDAW Article 5 about gender roles and stereotyping calls on states parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate prejudices and customary practices, which are founded on the idea of inferiority or superiority. Stereotyped roles of men and women are also to be eliminated. In correspondence with Beijing strategic objective 1.2, it also strives to guarantee equality and non-discrimination under the law and in practice and most importantly to eliminate the negative attitudes and practices which culture can pose on women (Merry 2003:946-947).

The government of Tanzania sets the same requirements as goals which they need to achieve in order to become a free country. It hence shows that they are on the same level as the treaties concerning the need to change. The government clearly states that there is a need to eradicate norms, values, customs and traditions which hinder women to participate fully in the social, cultural, economic and political development (Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children 2002:8).

With other words, it is clear that CEDAW's international standards of women's human rights do not easily articulate with the normative restriction of multiculturalism. On the other hand, CEDAW nor the Beijing action plan gives any particular guidelines on how to implement what within the problematic shift of cultural practice, leaving governments struggling with this normative dilemma (Merry 2003:948). Furthermore, this is also seen as the gap in which translation of national policies are to fill. However, if international norms are to be implemented according to Merry (2003:947), reforms need to be rooted in existing practices and religious systems if they are to be accepted.

Islam and Christianity are the biggest religions in Tanzania. Religion often contributes to women's marginalized position in the society where women are taught that they are subservient to men (Makungara and Koda 1999:39) Since Tanzania has a dualistic legal system, there are separate laws for which speaks differently to the different religions. Hence a Muslim woman in contrast with Christian women experiences different advantages or disadvantages under issues such as divorce, marriage and inheritance (Makungara and Koda 1999:39-41). Very strong opinions were also shown against the Islamic laws which seem to have a very negative effect of the implementation. WLAC (2012-01-27) argues that due to that Tanzania is a Muslim strong society they means that it is difficult to implement a different view of women's rights when they believe in the opposite; "How can you go there and say women have these rights and this and in their understanding they know that, they should stay inside the house. They have to cover their body their voices should not be heard and whatever, so that, that really affects the implementation". LHRC (2012-01-26) agrees with the issue of customs and traditions to be obstacle saying "when you make one step you make two steps back." There are even opinions which say that the government has been reluctant to amend, one of the reasons is because they are scared to touch the rooted traditions and customs and to hence "rock the boat" (LHRC 2012-01-26).

Along with the ratification of Beijing action plan and CEDAW the government have already started to question its multicultural society and how to find laws which are applicable for everyone. Since both of these policies promote international women's rights it would hence be interesting to see how the society of Tanzania interprets these notions. It is also important to make clear that our purpose is not to judge any kind of religion. The discussion was brought up as a joint argument of our respondents as an obstacle for the implementation of these policies.

4.1.2 Gender policies through the lens of feminist norms

According to Zwingel (2006:400) the Beijing action plan and CEDAW are representing global norms and agreements. They are structured in universal language, stating one common human rights standard for all women, regardless of their racial, religious, or ethnic origin. The two agreements of global norms on women rights are hence to be applied to all countries in the world. However, this is only one side of the coin. One interesting perspectives which Zwingel presents in her theory is that we have to keep in mind that these global norm are a western world creation, hence they cannot be applicable everywhere. Moreover, one would

then ask how these global norms travel to domestic levels and how they further become meaningful in a domestic context. Which actors are encouraging and translating them?

To be able to understand the concept of global norms of which promotes women's rights, how norms travel nationally, we need to briefly define the theory which women's rights derives from, feminism. Feminism can encompass varies of contexts and activities. Sachikonye (2009) presents an interpretation of feminism as a theoretical paradigm in social theory which wants to advocate and enhance women's emancipation in a more or less patriarchal world. It can be seen as a movement which mobilizes for equal opportunities for women in all aspects of the society. History, culture and religion have played important roles in its emergence which is also why there are diverse approaches to feminism all over the world. The biggest conceptual clashes are between the west and the global south. What it means to be a woman in Africa differs completely from women in industrialized western countries. Africans tend to combine nature and culture in their traditional idea of women roles while western women take a step out to be independent of these factors. One can further say that the now slowly emerging feminism is growing out from its strong view of culture, but also in combination with the scars from the colonialism and the racist ideology created by the west (Mikell 1997:6-8).

This global reaction further pushed for a transnational conceptualization of universal norms in order to lift the issue of gender inequality all over the world. Transnational feminism derives from the term international or global feminism. These concepts describe the practice of global women's organizations which are establishing transnational networks to push gender issues into the international agenda. These networks, also seen as gender policies have increased in both quantity and strength to make their voices heard in different fields of development. National and international levels have influenced each other and a global discourse on gender norms has been shaped (Zwingel 2006:401).

4.1.3 The problem of international policies in a development context

African women struggle against gender asymmetry where female subordination takes complex forms and are grounded in traditional African culture. African women have started to raise their voices about their personal, social, economic and political challenges which are seen in the rising African feminist approach (Mikell 1997:3). This can be discussed to be a result or at least an influence caused by the emerging international gender policies in the

global south such as the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. As been stated by all of our research participants, the major changes in Tanzania concerning the rights of women have furthermore been a result out of these two policies in particular. According to Mikell (1997:3) this approach differs radically from the African feminist forms of policies and has more or less been shaped out of resistance to western domination and its invasion in the African culture. The greatest distinct between the approaches are that the African women emphasizes the culturally linked structure of public participation while western women are stressing the individual female autonomy (Mikell 1997:3-4). Bruno (2006:7) notes that western feminists usually act as superior to the African feminists by dominating the discourse of the feminism agenda, western women who speaks at the expense of African women providing them with solutions from their point of view. The author states here that the only one who can set the priorities and agenda for Africans is the African women themselves. The international sphere can assist but only in the context of the African agenda.

If we would go deeper into the western ideas, Mikell (1997:333-334) explains that they also provide an influence to patriarchal control in the way it has forced the male African leaders to move away from the significance of including cultural models, which would have allowed more female inclusion. Meaning that by emphasizing the state interests, the ideological models which support African women's arguments are being ignored. African politicians see the global reforms as external manipulation to rephrase and adjust their goals according to the western model of politics, economy and view on gender. Mikell (1997:2) explains it to be of general knowledge that African leaders feel pressured to encourage pluralism and to include the needs of women. A discussion of pluralism will be presented further on in the analysis.

Zwingel (2006:401) do also recognize the ignorance of the Western norms by its unwillingness to take on board the ingrained cultural differences. But she also states that this approach of attitude coalition should not be of a hindrance since it is completely up to the government to reinterpret these norms and adjust them to fit its own society and culture (Zwingel 2006:400). In sum it is a contradiction between global, national and local cultural models which according to Mikell (1997:340) is causing these tensions.

On the other hand, Aili Mari Tripp (Feminist Africa 2005:n.d.) argues that the most important transnational influences in Africa come from neighboring networks, meetings and media. The African contribution to the transnational women's rights has been influential concerning subjects of: violence against children, the girl child, property rights and women and political

decision-making. The sub-regional influence is argued to be of a great importance in order to change the generalized international norms and to hence advance women's rights. Africa has its own response to the western norms and is according to Tripp (2005:n.d.) even more important than global transnational norms. Sub-regional and international mobilization is important in order to understand how the transnational norms are spread and developed. However, CEDAW and other international treaties, conventions and conferences such as Beijing action plan have been essential in shaping the norms motivating the women's movements in Africa (Feminist Africa 2005:n.d.)

4.1.4 The problem of international policies in the case of Tanzania

Given all the global dynamics, it is not surprising that African states are having a difficult time configuring governmental and local dialogues while also dealing with intense global dialogues and pressures. Nevertheless if it is as Zwingel (2006:400) puts it, a question on how the individual governments translate their obligations under these treaties into domestic policies one could question how the case looks like in Tanzania.

The interviews with MCDGC (2012-02-24, 2012-02-27) reflected an open view to the international sphere of gender policies. However, the issue of international treaties according to the government of Tanzania had more to do with the high expectations from abroad. The pressure to develop in a pace which more or less is impossible for a developing country such as Tanzania to catch up with was an issue which concerned them the most. The second interview with MCDGC (2012-02-27) commented the question on their attitude towards these international treaties; "Sometimes they fail to understand the context and the environment. They don't know our reality here in Africa. They want us to achieve big things over night. The change goes gradually, it is not as easy for us. This is a problem of an international treaty, but we expect abrupt changes. We have to work on our traditions." It is not only an issue of global norms concerning feminist rights which might not be applicable everywhere but also an issue of global pressure on how to implement these rights. Even the pressure is westernized with the belief of a country to change in a pace from which they believe is appropriate. The acceptance of the global treaties per se does hence not seem to be of a particular issue.

The first respondent at the MCDGC (2012-02-24) believed that the main challenges of implementing these treaties were the obstacles of the traditional customs, norms and religion. The respondent further argued that the view of the patriarchal system in Tanzania is still a very apparent and pervading issue of the society. Zwingel (2006:404) in terms highlights the

importance of understanding these historical and cultural blocks of Tanzania and to instead use this comprehension to build an individual implementation including the different factors of culture.

Since gender ideologies are realized within the context of social interaction, African women must draw on threads of African culture whilst implementing international norms to national policies. Changes are depending on the understanding and appropriation within the society and between the actors. This is why the greatest responsibility lies within how state institutions translate their obligations under these treaties into domestic policies. The state is to be seen as the most relevant actor in the implementation process of these global norms, non-governmental actors are also influential but do not carry the same responsibility (Zwingel 2006:400-402). The discussion on the distribution of responsibility is an important aspect of our analysis and will be brought up within the following chapters. The focus needs to be drawn away from state interests to shed light on the local and gender interests of the country.

African women may continue to resist external pressures of these policies to redefine their roles along the line of western ideas of feminism. There seem to be a consensus that the emerging African feminism must include certain types of political and community involvement which is a step aside from traditional gender limitations (Mikell 1997:342). According to Zwingel (2012:126), the most important challenge is to translate an international norm not only into a legal notion but also to include culturally concepts to create understandable and acceptable norms. International gender norms should hence be used to influence local practices and that will make them acceptable. As discussed earlier, cultural obstacles such as the current belief system in Tanzania is of a great challenge and it will take time to process. If an instrument like CEDAW is not connected to the domestic norms and discourses, then it will not have much impact at all (Zwingel 2006:415-416).

4.1.5 The relationship between the actors in the implementation process

From the previous chapter it was concluded that international norms have a great effect on the implementation process of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. It provided us with the knowledge that the greatest responsibility lies with how the government translates their obligations under these treaties into domestic policies. The government is hence to be seen as the actor with the main responsibility to make sure that these norms are domesticated. NGOs are just as important but they cannot carry this responsibility alone. There needs to be a dialogue in-between the actors in form of cooperation. In order to investigate the interaction

between the actors involved in the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, we first need to look at the relationship and responsibilities in-between. This chapter will hence provide the information needed to understand the context of the following chapter on the implementation process in accordance with the network approach.

4.2.1 The relationship between the government and NGOs

Under this heading there will be a discussion on the relationship between the government and NGOs in Tanzania. Before focusing on the case of Tanzania, some general statements regarding NGOs and their relationship with the government will be put forward. To start with, He Daofeng (2001:3-4) states that NGOs and the government are naturally unequal since NGOs are a relatively new developed and unofficial organizational form. The government is on the contrary official and has been developed over a long period of time. The author continues by explaining that the government can use the state's apparatus to mobilize social tax resources to address issues on private and public affairs. NGOs on the other hand have other tools used to mobilize social volunteering and address issues in the social sphere. It has been widely recognized that NGOs are central to the delivery of primary health care in developing countries. It is also said that NGOs tend have favorable connections to the grassroots level and that they are responding to people's need. Narendra Raj Paudel (n.d:15) argues that NGOs have considerable advantage over the public sector due to their flexibility and personalized approach to primary health care delivery. It is not unusual that NGOs officially supplement government resources through cooperation. Partnerships are often established to ensure proper integration of services that would have been difficult for one actor alone to guarantee. Jennifer Brinkerhoff (2002:20) states that the formulation of partnerships is due to the government's growing inability to protect individual rights such as worker's rights and women's rights. According to Daofeng (2001:4-5), experience from western developed countries demonstrated that interaction between the government and NGOs did not exist from the very beginning. Since NGOs and the government are inherently different in character, interaction was difficult. Once the government obtained a clear, rational understanding of the social functions of NGOs interaction became possible. Now interaction between the two actors is common and often takes the form of an instrumental cooperation that is to reach certain objectives or goals. One scenario favorable for cooperation is when implementing policies or accomplishing advocacy (Brinkerhoff 2002:21). NGOs have been especially successful in facilitating social mobilization and working as a supplement to the

government in that area. An example is their involvement in establishing community based women's groups and other self-help organizations (Paudel n.d:15). What can be concluded is that NGOs are important for the national delivery of social services in several developing countries and that they are key supplements to the work carried out by the government. However this is a generalized picture of the relationship between the government and NGOs and might not be applicable in all cases.

4.2.2 The relationship between the government and NGOs in Tanzania

The relationship between the actors in Tanzania is in theory based on the national policy on non-governmental organizations. The official policy document (The United Republic of Tanzania 2001:3) estimates that there are around 3000 active local and international NGOs in Tanzania. They are focusing on different issues concerning for an example gender, human rights, environment and advocacy. The strengthening of civil society has contributed to the adjustment of government policies by providing education about legal rights to the public. The government itself is increasingly recognizing the importance of NGOs for the national social and economic development. The government has acknowledged the need to work together with NGOs in the provision of social services. However the relationship has not always been as evident as it is today. Andrew Kiondo and Julius Nyang'oro (2006:69-73) explain the factors and reforms leading up to the development of a more decentralized government. During the late 1980s a wide range of social, economic and political reforms were introduced in Tanzania due to the failure of most centralized systems of governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. The reforms had the objective of changing the centralist system of governance to allow more participation of NGOs and the civil society at large. Experiences from the Eastern and Central parts of Europe demonstrated that the civil society was the main driving force to the democratization process. One can say that both the threats experienced by other Sub-Saharan countries and the experiences in the west fuelled the transformation of the former centralized system of governance and gave more space to private actors such as NGOs. The reforms have contributed to a new environment for cooperation between the government and NGOs, however it may be too early to say that all political processes in Tanzania are pluralistic. The government states through the official policy document on NGOs (The United Republic of Tanzania 2001:3), that NGOs bring creativity and have strong links with the community, and they are hence playing an important role for the delivery of services. Partnerships between the government and NGOs are officially encouraged.

4.2.3 The relationship in practice

In sum, the relationship between NGOs and the government in Tanzania does seem to be in line with the general trend explained in the first section. The two actors have different characteristics which make them supplement each other by forming different types of partnerships. The official policy document on NGOs (The United Republic of Tanzania 2001:3) gives us a picture of what the relationship look like in theory but as this study is focusing on women's rights, how is the relationship perceived in that area by NGOs? LHRC's (2012-01-26) relationship with the government is relatively close since the LHRC analyzes bills and gives suggestions on how they can be improved but the organization also work together with the government when human rights violations occur According to the LHRC (2012-01-26), "the relationship is so so, it depends on where you stand, what particular issue you are addressing at that time. The relationship is not bad, it has been bad where organizations have been banned for either saying something or doing something that the government feel that they are steering trouble and they will receive single warnings. Gender is a natural issue that does not get you into trouble." Bearing this statement in mind, a reporter by the name Bernard Lugongo (2010) from the local newspaper Citizen gives an example of how gender issues in fact can get you into trouble. The Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) received a warning during the election period from the government to stop interfering in politics. LHRC (2012-01-26) stated that TAMWA together with several local newspaper received threats. The government carried out reforms to transform the centralized governance which would yield greater space for NGOs to operate, however the warnings indicate that the government still wants to be in the driving seat. Kiondo and Nyang'oro (2006:38) argue that the government is more likely to support NGOs whose objectives are development oriented and whose programs are directed at supplementing the government's work within the framework of the government's commitments to change. The government is suspicious to NGOs whose organizational structure could provide a platform for political opposition. NGOs whose mobilization techniques could cause discontent and opposition to the government among the public are also included in the category of suspicion. According to the LHRC (2012-01-26) there are tensions between the government and NGOs, but in general Tanzania is a good place where NGOs can work. Kiondo and Nyang'oro (2006:33-45) actually exemplified the relationship by using TAMWA as a case study. Their book was published four years before TAMWA received the warning and during that period the relationship was harmonious. Additionally, TAMWA is both a professional and an activist

organization with the goal to use media to inform the society about gender issues and advocate for policy and legal changes to promote women's rights. The good relationship with the government was due to TAMWA's advocacy strategies. During 1992, TAMWA focused on the problem with gender violence and by engaging the government in implementing local and international agreement which the government itself had publically committed to. The government felt obliged to its commitments and thereby formed a partnership with TAMWA. The activist organization also provided legal and consulting services, and as the government tends to encourage organizations whose activities can supplement those provided by the government, a good partnership could be formed. Another strategy which will be further discussed at a later stage was TAMWA's ability to build strong networks. In sum, the outcomes of TAMWA's advocacy activities contributed to the publication of the Sexual Offences Bill of 1998.

Moreover what can be concluded from the previous section is that a good, harmonious relationship can be formed between NGOs and the government in Tanzania if certain pre-conditions exist. African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (2012-02-21) is an organization that was created to ensure that governance is reflected in the African countries. In Tanzania APRM assesses the government and reviews the country in terms of policies, programs and laws. The organization has hence a good comprehension about the relationship between the government and NGOs but also what the government is doing to ensure human rights. APRN (2012-02-21) consider Tanzania to have a vibrant civil society but sometimes they are blocked by the government. "For an example these civil society cannot appear as an interest group in the case where the women's rights have been violated". Perhaps APRN is referring to the warning that TAMWA received a few years ago or to another case that we are not aware of. It is reported that activities and planned demonstrations organized by NGOs have been cancelled just prior to the issuance by government officials, arguable due to the volume of civic participation involved. On the contrary there are women's NGOs that have not experienced any difficulties when cooperating with the government. Organizations running aid clinics stated that they had a good relationship with the government (Brown et al. 2003:34). WLAC is an organization that is working with provision of legal assistance for women and children. The organization is operating through legal aid centers, both mobile and stationary. In addition they have also a hotline for those who are not able to physically come to the clinics. When we asked about the organization's relationship with the government they said "yeah of course we collaborate with the state very much and they acknowledge of our

work” (2012-01-27). The Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) (2012-02-07) is another organization that is providing legal assistance to women through clinics. It appeared during the interview that they also had a friendly relationship with the government, that the two actors had mutual understanding. TAWLA (2012-02-07) had some statements about the government in general, “the state doesn’t like NGOs. We are here for the people and they are there for themselves. Hence, we need a politician that is here for the people”. Our findings are in line with those presented by Brown et al. (2003), it seems to be evident that those organizations that are providing legal aid assistance through clinics have a friendly relationship with the government. This brings us back to Kiondo and Nyang’oro (2006) who argued that the government of Tanzania is more likely to support NGOs that undertake activities that are supplementing what the government is doing in that area.

4.2 Tanzania’s implementation through the lens of a network approach

In this paragraph we would like to analyze the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW through the lens of a network approach. Moreover, our discussion is based on how national actors translate these international norms and put them into practice through networks of cooperating actors. The network implementation goes beyond the notion of top-down and bottom-up approaches. This type approach is applicable since implementing public policies tends to be more effective when a range of different actors are involved. The implementation method which we will present and build our discussion on is in fact inspired by the two treaties.

4.2.1 Implementation recommendations in the Beijing Declaration and CEDAW

Before providing a discussion on the network approach, we will determine what type of implementation method is encouraged in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Both documents consist of recommendations and advices on how to carry out the implementation. Since countries have different social and cultural settings, the documents only provide recommendations as in individual guidelines and acknowledge that countries have to construct their own national plans. The Beijing Declaration makes several interposes about how the different actors should interact. In paragraph 20 it is stated, “the participation and contribution of all actors of civil society, particularly women’s groups and networks and other

non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, with full respect for their autonomy, in cooperation with Governments, are important to the effective implementation and follow-up of the Platform for Action” (The United Nations 1995:3). Our interpretation of paragraph 20 is that in order to make the implementation effective cooperation between the actors is needed. CEDAW on the contrary does not give as clear recommendations as the Beijing Declaration on cooperation. However in the official document, CEDAW (The United Nations 1998:9) is referring to the recommendations posted by the Beijing Declaration. The implementation of The Beijing action plan and CEDAW is thereby according to the network approach defined by Schroeder (2001) determined by a strong and well-functioning network of actors.

Additionally, since Tanzania is both signatory to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, how has the country decided to implement the two treaties? The Beijing Declaration and to some extent CEDAW are encouraging an implementation approach which involves cooperation between different national actors. The Beijing Declaration uses the word autonomy which is a central feature of the network approach. Our sample is not big enough for us to determine that Tanzania has used a network approach when implementing the two treaties but we have decided to analyze the implementation based on that particular approach. The two most common and most debated approaches used for public policy implementation are top-down and bottom-up. We would like to look beyond the notion of the top-down and bottom-up strategies in regard to the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. The top-down approach identifies a central actor (the government) who sets the rules and determines the strategies for policy implementation. A distinction is made between the key actor and those who enforce the rules (Schroeder 2001:4). Tanzania has carried out reforms to make the state less centralized and hence given more room for NGOs to operate (Kiondo and Nyang’oro 2006:69-73). If we look at how Tanzania has and is implementing the two treaties, it becomes clear that there is no distinction between those who sets the rules and those who enforce them. In fact TANGO (2012-02-06) argues that the NGOs are the ones who set the priorities for gender equality and not the government. NGOs create awareness and bring arguments from the grassroots level to the public. Additionally, when we asked MCDGC (2012-02-22) about projects relating to the two treaties they were not able to answer. “Personally I cannot answer. Because they are the ones who are doing these activities WLAC, TAWLA with others can answer that”. It appears that the government is not centralized actor

who is setting the agenda and determining projects to implement the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Rather NGOs are setting their own goals and establish projects, they seem to be independent entities. The bottom-up approach on the other hand, entails that policies often are developed from problems in the society and the policies are implemented through decentralized bodies (Hill and Hupe 2009:51-55). Schroeder (2001:6) argues that the bottom-up approach departs from the interests of local actors and evaluates public policies based on the outcomes in those areas. According to the network theory, both top-down and bottom-up approaches are considered to be one-sided and put too much emphasizes on opposite directions. Hence we would like to analyze the implementation from a network approach which consists of a mix of the two dominant approaches.

4.2.2 Cooperation between the actors – a key feature of the network approach

Based on the discussion in the previous chapter regarding the relationship between the actors in Tanzania this section will discuss the interaction between the government and NGOs to implement the Beijing action plan and CEDAW by using the network approach. We attempt to connect the understanding of feminism and global norms to the network theory which puts emphasis on potential obstacles to the implementation process in Tanzania. To start with, TANGO's (2012-02-06) view on the matter is that the creation of awareness is made by the NGOs. The government ratifies international agreements but accomplishes very little in practice, which according to the global feminist norm discussion would be due to a weak domestication of these norms. However if the government did not ratify treaties, then there would be no commitment to international agreed upon standards.

The network approach is based on the idea that there is no top centralized actor who solely implements policies, rather the responsibility lies on all relevant actors (Hill and Hupe 2009:67). Schroeder (2001:1,9) has the same opinion and argues that any implementation attempted to enhance public good will need actors from the civil society and hence not only the government. Thereof to fully implement a policy, actors have to cooperate and divide the work load (Schroeder 2001:9). One could argue that criticism from NGOs might to a certain extent be based on the notion that the government should carry out the implementation by themselves. According to TGNP (2004:11) most NGOs working with women's issues in Tanzania are well aware of the principles of the Beijing Declaration and thereof also its emphasis cooperation and division of labor. We consider statements from the NGOs important since we assume that they are conscious about the existing implementation

recommendations, additionally criticism is also in line with previous research. Zwingel (2012:115-116) emphasis in her theory the importance of division of responsibility between actors involved in the norm translation process. The government is the most significant actor in the implementation process of global norm translation, non-governmental actors are also influential but do not carry the same type of responsibility. What is separating the government from non-governmental actors is its role as a network facilitator. This implicates according to the network approach that the government is not only responsible for the implementation but also for coordination of incentives (Schroeder 2001:1,9).

We would like to argue with support from previous literature and our experiences in the field that the slow pace of implementation is based on cooperation difficulties. One factor that can contribute to cooperation difficulties is the lack of clear goals. Hill and Hupe (2009:74) state that when a policy does not have clear stated goals the choice of standard can become more problematic. As an example, the official Beijing action plan compiled by the government of Tanzania recognizes four critical areas while NGOs recognize six or even all twelve (TGNP 2004:11). Actors involved in the implementation are mutually dependent because they need each other's resources to achieve goals (Kingdon's 1995:69) Furthermore, one of our main findings relates to differencing priorities. Both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW consider the enhancement of women's legal literacy a key issue but according to the conducted interviews, it is one of the most neglected areas in Tanzania. In sum, it appears to be lack of coordination and cooperation or perhaps other mechanisms that are hindering the implementation of the two treaties. The following sections will consist of a discussion on how the different actors implement the two treaties in practice by using the enhancement of women's legal literacy as an example.

4.2.3 NGOs' implementation of the two treaties in practice

The existing literature points out that most women led NGOs in Tanzania are well aware of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW, their goals are focusing on one or several critical areas (TGNP 2004:8). However NGOs have different connections to the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. WLAC is according to our findings, the only NGO who could provide direct links with the provisions of CEDAW to its effectiveness in practice through projects and programs. WLAC is the NGO in charge of the representation of CEDAW from the national level. It is responsible of submitting the updates of the implementation process through a shadow-report to the CEDAW Committee which serves as the feedback mechanism (WLAC 2012-01-27).

The mechanism of assessment exists in Tanzania but needs to be further recognized and incorporated by the government in order for CEDAW to be fully implemented.

Since we have spotted cooperation problems in relation to the implementation of legal literacy, we will bring up examples of how NGOs work with the enhancement in practice. We have found three specific techniques that the NGO's we interviewed have employed to enhance women's legal literacy and thereof also to implement the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. The first technique is the use of legal aid clinics which serve as an option for those women who cannot afford to hire a lawyer or receive other legal services. One key function of legal aid clinics is to make women aware about their rights (WLAC 2012-01-27). Another technique to reach rural areas is the use of paralegals, which are people with different professions. They receive training in issues of law, human rights and women's rights so they can provide legal aid in remote areas where lawyers cannot be found (WLAC 2012-01-27). The third and last technique that will be brought up in this study is the use of media to educate women about their rights. LHRC (2012-01-26) argues that more people are aware of their rights and how to reclaim them due to the growth of mass media. The organization has developed the tool of community-based media which speaks in the local language. They also distribute self-helps books free of charge so everyone can get access to them. In sum, the three tools are used to reach out to the grassroots level and inform women about their legal rights, is hence the final stage in the implementation process of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. In addition, these tools have been created out of a chain of cooperating actors starting with translating the global norms to actually put them into practice. According to Kiondo and Nyangoro (2006:44-45) networking among NGOs helps to achieve change in several areas of social concern. Networking is an important tool for influencing policy and legal reforms in their encounters with the government. Networks are also used to prevent overlapping of activities and to distribute tasks to maximize the strength of each organization.

The most influential feminist network in Tanzania is the Feminist Coalition (FemAct) which is a networking and coalition-building group with approximately 35 member organizations in Tanzania (Brown et al. 2003:21). It is evident that NGOs are becoming increasingly independent which is in line with the network approach. Schroeder (2001) recognizes in his theory the importance of including a variety of groups in the network of organizational activity. Networks are important for NGOs due to organizations are becoming gradually more interdependent. For effective management of policies it is vital to have strong relationships (Schroeder 2001:82). In sum, NGOs work to enhance women's legal literacy through three

main tools of legal aid clinics, paralegals and mass media which were presented earlier. To efficiently implement women's legal literacy and encounter the government, NGOs formulate networks.

4.2.4 The government's implementation of the two treaties in practice

In addition to the activities carried out by NGOs, the government is responsible for reviewing existing laws and formulating new gender-sensitive laws that guarantee equal rights for men and women. The Land Act and the Village Act from 1999 give women equal rights as men to own and access land. They are considered to be direct outcomes of the implementation of CEDAW and were brought up during all twelve interviews (APRM 2012-02-21). As stated in the beginning of our study, the focus is not on the outcomes per se but we would like to exemplify with the outcomes of the implementation of these treaties only to strengthen our argumentation of the importance of a strong interaction between the actors involved in order to reach successful results. The two Land Acts represent a huge contribution made by the government. The Beijing Declaration states in the outcome document, "enable women to obtain affordable housing and access to land by, among other things, removing all obstacles to access" (The United Nations 1995:22). Hakiardhi which is the Land Rights Research and Resource Institute (2012-03-01) considers the laws to be very clear that women and men have equal rights to land but also that there is a difference of what is spelled out in the law and policies and what happens in practice. During the interview with MCDGC (2012-02-22) it became clear that projects to enhance women's legal literacy are explicitly carried out by NGOs. Hakiardhi (2012-03-1) with support from other NGOs states that the government does not have programs for awareness creation, however if it turns out that they do have these programs then there seems to be a lack of communication between the government and NGOs. During 2005, the government published a report on the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and they realized the need for more awareness. "The coverage of legal awareness and services has not reached the majority of the people, especially those in the rural areas; hence there is a need to invest more in awareness creation, training and provision of paralegal services particularly in the rural areas" (The United Republic of Tanzania 2005:6). However the government seems not to have completed what they acknowledged.

Additionally according to MCDGC (2012-02-27) the government's job is to coordinate various non-governmental actors in the implementation process. This seems to be in line with the network approach seeing that the network facilitator has the important job of coordinating

actors in the implementation process. Even though the government agrees with their role as a network facilitator and the included responsibilities, it is not carried out in practice. Schroeder (2001:1,9) states that the government needs to make sure that cooperation exists between actors in order to achieve determined goals. To unfold the international norms of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW into practice there is a need of a well-functioning national network of actors. Schroeder (2001:9) argues that implementation failure is considered to be a result of cooperation blockages. MCDGC (2012-02-27) argues that lack of resources is hindering the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW and other projects and programs they want to implement. WLAC (2012-01-27) does not think that lack of resources is hindering implementation of gender policies, rather misallocation of resources. WLAC considers the resources to be there but women's rights are not prioritized, it is a lack of political will. In 1992 a policy document was produced which acknowledged that programs directed towards women were not given enough resources and therefore they were not able to be implemented (Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children 2002:9). It is now 20 years ago since the policy document was written and lack of resources is still a challenge. Schroeder (2001:9) argues that if the implementation process is not progressing, the network facilitator is responsible for investigating blockages that needs to be overcome. The government may have investigated the problem but not increased their political will. For an effective implementation, resources should not be bound under one actor's control. Instead the network facilitator should plan, act upon and manage resources toward the goal of the implementation (Schroeder 2001: 18-19). What can be concluded is that the government of Tanzania is not fulfilling its role as a network facilitator and perhaps not its role as an active implementer. We have found a gap between policy and practice when it comes to the implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. We would like to argue based on the network approach that the gap is to some extent due to cooperation difficulties. We would like to put forward, based on a previous discussion on norms and the influence of customs and traditions, that it can take time to implement international women's rights in a country that is partly governed by customs and traditions.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to question and explore the interaction between the actors in Tanzania regarding the national implementation of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Since an in-depth discussion prior to the study you hold in your hand did not exist on the interaction between the government of Tanzania and NGOs, we have hence provided a new perspective to the implementation process. This study has intended to answer questions regarding Tanzania's adaptation of the global norms embedded in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW. Conclusions have been drawn on the actors involved in the implementation of these treaties and how they interact with each other. As expected, there is no simple answer which reflects all contributing factors and dimensions within the national implementation of these treaties. This study is therefore to be seen as an attempt to draw attention to our research problem and hence advance the understanding of this particular issue. A wider perspective is needed to understand to what extent Tanzania at the present can allow for implementation of global norms and translate them into practice. Due to the limitations of a bachelor thesis we would like to encourage further research to elaborate on our findings. Issues concerning diversities between urban in rural areas in terms of women's rights need to be addressed properly.

Our study has proved that the international guidelines are present in Tanzania and that gender sensitive laws have been established, the problem appears when they are put to practice. Exploring new dimensions to the issue of gender equality is important due to the complexity of the issue. The theory of global norm translation and the network approach was applied to characterize our findings and to highlight important aspects. Here the issue of responsibility and cooperation between actors appeared as crosscutting issues. We hence chose to look at the interaction between the actors involved in the national implementation process of these treaties, mainly focusing on the government in relation to the NGOs. Cooperation difficulties were unfolded by the use of the network approach. Furthermore, the highlighted aspects which we found all derived from the deeply embedded cultural power-relations between men and women and the responsibility of the government to make the society aware of these issues.

The first section of our study recognized a great lack of coordination and awareness issues which created a perplexity of overlapping gender policies and activities. The government should according to the network approach seek improved interaction to clarify the cooperation in-between the actors involved in the implementation process. The focus should be on the quality of the projects rather the quantity. We argue that this could be a result of the international pressure. The pace of development in which the treaties and the government wants the country to be in level with, fails since the civil society requires much more attention of factors such as cultural considerations which for now is a lacking priority.

We have discussed the overlapping of different international treaties and agreements, in addition we argue, that it could be solved through a cooperative vision of activities, providing a joint effect on the society. The effectiveness of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW are hence hard to separate and measure. Some NGOs emphasized one more than the other but in overall it seemed like the presence of these policies was what mattered for Tanzania. We argued from other perspective by bringing light to the individual policy, its own requirements and recommendations which should be fulfilled and taken seriously for a successful implementation.

Factors of culture are repeatedly raised as obstacles in relation to initiatives for gender equality in development cooperation. Tanzania is now known to be a multicultural society with a mixture of customs, norms, beliefs and traditions which of many discriminates women. It is clear that the embedded international norms of women's rights in the Beijing action plan and CEDAW do not agree with the restrictions of multiculturalism. Apparently, there is a clash between western feminist norms and African feminist norms which need to be understood. It is at this point where the government has the responsibility to translate these international norms into a domestic understanding, taking the country's background of ingrained culture into consideration. Norms of which do not speak for the rights of Tanzanian women will not be accepted. Reforms should furthermore be rooted in the existing practices and religious systems in order to bring effective change.

The second and third section of the study pointed at the importance of cooperation between actors which is in line with the network approach. Cooperation difficulties could be due to differencing goals and priorities among actors. Legal literacy is an example of a critical area which has received high priority among NGOs who have developed three tools to reach out to women – legal aid clinics, paralegals and mass media. The government on the other hand has

established new laws to which give women equal rights as men. New laws are indeed an important contribution but the problem comes when putting the laws into practice.

Cooperation is lacking when it comes to awareness creation to enhance women's legal literacy. NGOs consider the government to have the main responsibility of putting the laws into practice. The government argues that awareness creation is explicitly carried out by NGOs. Cooperation difficulties obviously exist. Furthermore, gender sensitive laws lose some of their functions if women at the grassroots level are not aware of them.

Since we are questioning the interaction between the actors involved, we have in order to understand the pre-conditions for cooperation provided a discussion on the relationship between the government and NGOs in Tanzania. We have recognized a general trend in developing countries which implicates that NGOs acquire social functions that are often used to supplement government resources. Formulation of partnerships is made to ensure delivery of social services that would have been difficult for one actor alone to guarantee. In Tanzania the supplementing work of NGOs has been of great importance for legal awareness creation on women's rights. Since legal awareness is an issue brought up in both the Beijing action plan and CEDAW it has been important for the implementation as well. The relation between the government and NGOs is in theory based on the national policy on non-governmental organizations which acknowledges the importance of cooperation between the actors. However the NGOs in our sample argued that the quality of the relationship depends on issues addressed. We exemplified with the organization TAMWA who received warnings for getting involved in politics. Our research revealed that organizations providing legal assistance tend to have a friendly relationship with the government. This is probably due to the supplementing character of those particular organizations. Cooperation difficulties were unfolded by the use of the network approach especially when it comes to the provision of legal aid to women. We hence used the example of legal literacy to demonstrate that the government is not shouldering the role as a network facilitator.

Moreover, our empirical material pointed at that customs and traditions can be seen as a hinder to the implementation process of the Beijing action plan and CEDAW in Tanzania. The government explained the slow pace of implementation on the difficulty of changing customs and traditions, which can explain the gap between policy and practice. We acknowledge the fact that policies cannot and should not be implemented over night. In order for international gender policies to be effective, their objectives need to be incorporated into

the prevailing culture. Our aim of this study has not been to fault the speed of implementation, rather focus on cooperation barriers which can thereof also be hinders to implementation. The government acknowledged another obstacle to the implementation process, which is the lack of resources. The NGOs' opinion on the matter is that resources exist but they are misallocated. Implementation difficulties related to lack of appointed resources are well known to the government, in fact it has been documented 20 years ago. Our puzzle misses several pieces which are out of our reach. Whether cooperation difficulties solely depend on cultural issues and lack of resources or not the government needs to ask itself. The political will needs to be there to 100 percent in order to fully implement these international women's rights from policy to practice.

6 Bibliography

Brinkerhoff, Jennifer (2002) Government-nonprofit partnerships: a defining framework, *Public Administration and Development*, 22:1.

Brown et al. (2003) *Advocating for social change and development: an analysis of the capacity of local women's organizations in Tanzania*. Unpublished paper. Capstone: Elliot school of international affairs.

Bruno, Javier Pereira (2006) *The World Critiques to Western Feminism Theory in the Post-Development Era*, The University of Texas at Austin. Available at:
http://www.ucu.edu.uy/Portals/0/Publico/Facultades/Ciencias%20Humanas/IPES/Documentos/Critiques_to_Western_Feminism_JPereira.pdf [Accessed 2012-04-01]

Bryman, Alan (2008) *Social Research Methods, 3d edition*. New York, Oxford University Press Inc.

Börzel, Tanja A. (1998) *Organizing Babylon - On the Different Conceptions of Policy Networks*. *Public Administration* 76:2.

De Leon, Peter and De Leon, Linda (2002) *What Ever Happened to Policy Implementation? An Alternative Approach*. University of Colorado, Denver: Routledge.

Ferree, Myra and Tripp, Aili (2006) "Global feminism: transnational women's activism, organizing and human rights" New York: New York University Press.

Flick, Uwe (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London. SAGE Publications.

He, Daofeng (2001) 'Government-NGO interaction for poverty reduction' in He Daofeng, Wang Xiyu, ZuoXiuying and Ma Xiaoling (ed) *Omnibus of best poverty papers – poverty reduction in China volume 1*. (China Economics Publishing House).

Hill, Michael (2005) *The public policy process*. Glasgow: Bell and Bain Limited.

Hill, Michael and Hupe, Peter (2002) *Implementing public policy: governance in theory and in practice*. London: Sage Publications.

Kiondo, Andrew and Nyang'oro, Julius (2006) *Civil society and democratic development in Tanzania*. Harare:MWENGO.

Kingdon, J.D (1995) *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Legal human rights center (LHRC) and Zanzibar legal service center (ZLSC) (2010) *Tanzania human rights report 2010*. Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar: LHRC and ZLSC.

Lugongo, Bernard (2010) Your threats will lead to bad leadership, activists tell govt, *The Citizen*. Editorial 22-10-2010.

Makungara, Denella and Koda, Bertha (1997) *Beyond Inequalities. Women in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam and Harare: TGNP/SARDC.

Manara, Kenny (2010) *Assessing Rural Women's Land Ownership*. Dar es Salaam: WLAC.

Mbilinyi, Marjorie (1972) The state of women in Tanzania, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 6:2.

Merry, Sally Engel (2003) *Constructing a Global Law-Violence against Women and the Human Rights System*. American Bar Foundation: Blackwell publishing.

Mikell, Gwendolyn (1997) *African Feminism. The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children (2002) *Policy on women in development in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children)

Paudel, Narendra (n.d) *Health Policy Implementation in Nepal: Some Dilemmas*. Unpublished paper. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University.

Pruitt, Lisa. R and Vanegas, Marta. R (2011) *CEDAW and Rural Women: Law from the Top Down, Activism from the Bottom Up*, Baltimore Law Review.

Punch, Keith. F (2005) *Introduction to Social Research – Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches 2nd edition*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sachikonye, Tawanda (2009) *The African Feminism Debate: A Brief Overview*, Consultancy African Intelligence. Available at:

http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=318:the-afri.. [Accessed 2012-03-30]

Schroeder, Aaron (2001) *Building implementation networks: building multi-organizational, multi-sector structures for policy implementation*. Diss. Blacksburg: the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia State University

Tamale, Sylvia (2001) *Think globally, act locally: using international treaties for women's empowerment in East Africa*, Agenda 16:50.

Tripp, Aili Mari (2005) *Regional Networking as Transnational Feminism: African Experiences*. Feminist Africa. Retrieved from:
<http://www.feministafrica.org/index.php/regional-networking> [Accessed 2012-04-15]

Ullah et al. (2006) Government–NGO collaboration: the case of tuberculosis control in Bangladesh. *Oxford University Press*, 21 (2).

The Economic Commission for Africa (2010) *A Fifteen-Year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in Africa (BPfA) +15 From 1995–2009* (The Economic Commission for Africa)

The United Nations (1995) *The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action: The Fourth World Conference on Women*, (Beijing: United Nations).

The United Nations (1998) *Report of the committee on the elimination of discrimination against women (eighteenth and nineteenth sessions)*, (New York: United Nations).

The United Republic of Tanzania (2001) *The national policy on non-governmental organizations (NGOs)* (Dar es Salaam : Vice President's Office).

The United Republic of Tanzania (2005) *Country report on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome document of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly* (Dar es Salaam: The United Republic of Tanzania)

TGNP (2004) *Research report on: Civil society participation in the implementation Beijing platform for action*, (Dar es Salaam: TGNP).

The United Republic of Tanzania's National Website (n.d). *Gender*. Available at:
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/genderf.html> [Accessed 2011-12-30]

WLAC (n.d) Tanzania non-governmental organizations' shadow report to CEDAW: The Implementation of The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (Dar es Salaam: United Nations).

Zwingel, Susanne (2006) *From intergovernmental negotiations to (sub)national change*, International Feminist Journal of politics, Germany: Taylor & Francis group Ltd 7:3.

Zwingel, Susanne (2012) *How Do Norms Travel? Theorizing International Women's Rights in Transnational Perspective*. New York: International Studies Quarterly, 56.

7 List of Respondents

- APRM African Peer Review Mechanism
Interview: 2012-02-21
- Hakiardhi Land Rights Research and Resource Institute
Interview: 2012-03-1
- LHRC Legal Human Rights Centre
Interview 1: 2012-01-26
Interview 2: 2012-02-24
- MCDGC Ministry of Community Development Women's Affairs and Children
Interview 1: 2012-02-22
Interview 2: 2012-02-24
- TANGO Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
Interview: 2012-02-06
- TAWLA Tanzania Women Lawyer Association
Interview: 2012-02-07
- WLAC Women's Legal Aid Centre
Interview 1: 2012-01-27
Interview 2: 2012-02-24