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THE RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF TANZANIA'S UNION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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QUARTERLY REPORT
JANUARY – MARCH 2004

Submitted on 31st March 2004
by
SUNY/Tanzania

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1. Executive Summary

The State University of New York Center for International Development (SUNY/Tanzania), in partnership with the British Council and associates and Pact/Tanzania (the SUNY Tanzania Team), was on 11 May 2003 awarded a two-year contract to provide technical assistance for the strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly.

The range of support provided under the auspices of this Project will enable the Parliament to carry out its representative, lawmaking, oversight and administrative functions more effectively and in accordance with the spirit of democratic governance. The Project team works as a partner with the Tanzanian Parliament in providing technical support to enable the national legislature to play a more central role in Tanzania's governing and development processes. The Project aims to achieve the following primary results:

1) ***Improve representation***: increased citizen access to and understanding of the legislative process;
2) ***More effective lawmaking***: Parliamentary committees make better use of research and more actively solicit inputs from civil society in the consideration of legislation in targeted sectors;
3) ***Enhance management and administration***: increased quality and efficiency of service delivery to all members by parliamentary administrative support units;
4) ***More effective oversight***: increased legislative capacity to monitor public expenditure and oversee implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy.

The Project is a component part of the USAID D&G Strategic Objective IR 3.2: *"Targeted Government Institutions are more responsive to public concerns on selected issues"* (i.e. HIV/AIDS, natural resource management & private sector development) IR 3.2.1 states: *"Government capacity to engage in the policy/law process strengthened"*. USAID defines Government in this context as the Parliament. This is the first major legislative strengthening activity launched in Tanzania and as such is a pioneer in terms of provision of technical assistance.

2. Brief analysis of the political context and impact on the Program.

Although multi party democracy has been in place for almost two decades in many ways democracy in Tanzania remains very much in its infancy in terms of open political space. CCM holds roughly 90% of all 295 seats in Parliament and this some might say tight rein has been further strengthened by the various opposition parties' own internal problems. Indeed the annual State of the Nation Address made by the President on 12 February 2004 specifically identified the Opposition as being weak and fragmented. This maybe the case outside the Parliament but within Parliament the Opposition Parties act in a very cohesive manner when dealing with the Ruling Party. **ANNEX A**

MP. The Review based this assessment on the fact that many constituents construe the MP as a "master-of- all". To add to this confusion there were found to be cases where this perception was reinforced by the MPs themselves. Inevitably this results in both erroneous expectations by constituents of their MPs and as a result the constituents effectively strip themselves of any development role within their community and the MPs themselves tacitly endorse and indeed in some cases reinforce, this idea which further underscores this disconnection in the perceived roles of the MP and constituents.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

ACTION COMPLETE: Comprehensive report and action plan submitted to Parliament and is attached at **ANNEX B REFERS.**

B. Design of a multi faceted action plan for constituent relations on specific bills. Action taken: the evidential report containing the action plan will be discussed with the Parliament and once agreement is reached then the plan will be adopted.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

ACTION COMPLETE:

C. Design of a generic training tool for public hearings

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

The training tool will be rolled out to at least 16 Members of Parliament (the approach is outlined in Activity 1.2 below).

Activity1.2: Constituency level public hearings on Parliamentary Bills

A. Building on evidence gathered in Activity 1.1 develop a training program to sensitize MPs from four Regions on the concept/handling of public hearings. Regions selected for the pilot program include Singida, Iringa Urban, Ruvuma and Tunduru: this is diverse geographical spread to ensure the program faces a variety of challenges so it can be seen to be a valid pilot.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Training to be devised to coincide with the limited timings within the Parliamentary calendar now scheduled for May 2004.

B. Identify specific Bills relative to USAID key areas including social welfare (inc. education & health) environment, women, special interest groups, private sector development.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

It seems unlikely that significant pieces of legislation will be tabled by the Executive in the run up to the elections in 2005 therefore SUNY in liaison with the MPs will select topical themes relative to the USAID key areas to be used as a pilot on the public hearings initiative. All literature will be translated into Swahili and MPs in the x4 Regions where the pilot public hearings initiative will be rolled out will, in addition to the training, receive expert briefing and analysis before embarking on the public hearings in their Districts.

Activity 1.3: Increase access to Parliament by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Following the appointment of the CSO Parliament Liaison Officer in December 2003 SUNY have designed and delivered x4 CSO-specific workshops using some very well experienced regional consultants whilst simultaneously building the capacity of the CPLO and a local trainer to ensure the continuity and sustainability of the training program for CSOs. As a result of this training over 35 staff representing 30 Civil Society Organizations have received training on increasing access to Parliament. The training materials and facilitators report are attached at **ANNEX C.** The training has also led to the creation of a CSO-Parliament Network of those CSOs who have stated that they wish to engage with the Parliament on their specific lobbying/advocacy initiatives. In addition the CPLO was able to travel to Uganda to experience at first hand the strong relationships between CSOs and Parliament and to meet CSOs who have already been through the relational issues that Tanzanian CSOs have to grapple with in establishing working relationships with the Parliament. A report of that study visit is attached at **ANNEX D.**

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Phase 2 of the program of activity to increase access by Civil Society to the legislative process included the rolling out of two x2 day MP workshops entitled "Influencing Policy through skills development" in late March 2004. Twenty Members of Parliament including both members from the Ruling Party and the Opposition attended this training which was met with critical acclaim. There were numerous press articles about the event a summary of which are attached at the end of the workshop report. As a result of this workshop SUNY understand that a network of CSOs have asked to have some time with one of the Parliamentary Committees to present the CSO views on some legislation which is due to be discussed at the April Session of Parliament. In fact it has been confirmed that the Member of Parliament who chaired the Committee meeting also attended the SUNY training workshop and she refused to allow the Minister to ignore the numerous amendments put forward by the CSOs. The Minister was instructed to represent the draft Bill to the Committee to ensure that it reflected the amendments put forward by the CSOs. This marks a sea change in terms of an MP being willing to open up discussions on draft legislation alongside Civil Society and being seen to champion the need for CSOs to get involved in the process. The Workshop Report is attached at **Annex E.**

Activity 1.4: Enhance Parliament's outreach activities

A. Review of the Department for Public Information and Civic Education role and resources and identify needs.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Activity delayed due to unavailability of the Westminster specialist. To be undertaken in the next Quarter (i.e. between April –June 2004).

A. Review content of Parliamentary website.

ACTION COMPLETE: For some years now UNDP have been supporting Parliament to design an integrated website and it was clear that with a limited number of IT suppliers in Tanzania that it was important to obtain independent, impartial advice on potential support for the website. Overall the Report concluded that the website was efficient but needed some refinements and further integration of the technology to make the website easier to navigate. The Report also recommended that one way that Parliament could enhance its outreach capabilities was if a system of voter participation using the mobile phone networks were introduced. The comprehensive report is attached at **ANNEX F.**

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

The idea of voter interest in Parliament using the mobile telephone networks in Tanzania is seen as one possible means by which Parliament and voters could be brought closer together. However some analysis on the demography of mobile phone users to ensure that the users are truly representative both in terms of location and gender is now required if the idea of SMS voting is to be presented to Parliament as an outreach tool. That demographic research is under development for further consideration by USAID and DFID and agreement on the best way forward.

Result Two: More Effective Lawmaking: Parliamentary committees make better use of research and more actively solicit inputs from civil society in the consideration of legislation in targeted sectors.

Activity 2: Strengthening committees/improved legislative drafting

A. Given the strict Party Caucus rules which hinder the ability of the MPS to bring forward Private Members Bills the strategic management consulting team have recommended that attention be focused on the formal Committee operations to help MPs more effectively carry out their legislative role. Action taken: work is now in hand to work with the individual Committees to enhance their overall performance.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

SUNY will review the thematic areas which attract Parliamentary Questions and seek to encourage MPs to consider raising questions on the key USAID priority areas an example of which is that of HIV/AIDs.

B. Work to enhance the level of service provided by the Committee Clerks is under development. It is now clear that many of the newly appointed Committee Clerks have received little or no training on Parliamentary practices and procedures: this hinders their ability to provide a good level of service to the MPs. This is further compounded by the fact by the need for the Parliamentary staff need to be fluent in both English and Kiswahili: since the Parliamentary Bills and Acts are in English and yet the discussions in the Plenary (i.e. in the Chamber) and the Committee are conducted in Kiswahili added to which there is the difficulty of some Committee Clerks being unfamiliar with Parliamentary

terminology. SUNY plans to shortly undertake a needs assessment of the need for English Language training shortly.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

SUNY in conjunction with the East African Management Institute and the Parliamentary Director of Committee Operations will devise a two week course to be held in Arusha on Parliamentary practice/procedures and information technology. This bespoke training will focus on the best practices that Committee Clerks should provide to Members of Parliament both in the Plenary and in Committee. It will also give the staffers time to understand and better appreciate their key role as facilitators within Parliament. It was also mean that the IT equipment previously provided by the Project will be put to the greatest use in Dodoma.

Activity 2.1: Enhancing Committee operations.

Development of a best practice guide to Committee operations will flow from the work with the Committee Clerks. SUNY have identified the fact that Members of Parliament do not have an institutional memory/capability when they rotate their Committee membership (i.e. every two and a half years) and therefore MPs on Committees effectively start the process from scratch with no idea of what the Committee has deliberated on in the past. Therefore SUNY have put forward the proposal to create a *"Parliamentary Committee Resource Manual"* to the Parliamentary Committee Chairpersons. It is intended that the resource manual will list the over-arching National policies and strategies. In addition it will provide Committee members with information about the deliberations of the Committee in the current Session and list key contacts including CSOs who can assist the MPs in their deliberations. The proposed scope of the manual is attached at **ANNEX G.**

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

A. The initial feedback on the SUNY proposal has been good so work is now starting to devise the manuals over the next Quarter.

Activity 2.4: Increase access to research materials and services:

A. There are x4 Research Officers (although only x3 actually undertake research assignments) servicing over 240 MPs (i.e. excluding Ministers). Action taken: as previously reported x2 personal computers and x1 laptop computer were provided to the Research Service. In addition a heavy duty photocopier/fax/scanner was also provided to enable the Research Service to operate more effectively. SUNY has discovered that although Dodoma is the base of operations for the Parliament, that none of the administrative offices have a network link to enable them to share information amongst the different sections. This means that when a Research Officer wants to conduct any research using the internet they are forced to use the MPs internet café which of course is very busy when the House is in Session. It also means that the Committee Clerks cannot check on Committee reports to assess consistency and standards. SUNY have suggested to Parliament that the network needs to be established as a matter of priority and they have advised that this will cost in the order

of $188K which seems excessively high. USAID have kindly agreed to speak to USAID/REDSO in Nairobi to check whether one of the USAID IT specialists can travel to Tanzania and assess the costs of creating a local area network for the Research Service the Committee Clerks in Dodoma. There will be further information about this in the next QR.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

SUNY will include the Research Officers in the planned training for the Committee Clerks to be held in Arusha which will have its focus as Parliamentary practice and procedures and IT. Because of the complementary nature of the two groups of staffers it will be important to bring them together whenever the opportunity arises this in turn will, over time lead to a more enhanced and therefore effective level of service to the Members of Parliament. In order to begin the process to reform the provision of research services in Parliament, SUNY has commissioned a research assignment on the current provision of research services within the Parliament. This will be included in the next Quarterly Report.

Result Three: Enhanced Management and Administration: Increased quality and efficiency of service delivery to all Members by Parliamentary administrative services units;

Activity 3.1.A: Development of holistic modernization plan for the Parliament.

Action taken: in abeyance until the previous UNDP reports and interventions have been comprehensively reviewed. Findings will be discussed with Parliament.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Reviews to be completed and proposed way forward to be submitted to Parliament. In abeyance at the request of Parliament.

Activity 3.1.C: Improve organizational effectiveness of Parliament.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Given that the Parliamentary Commission have already received a Human Resource Report which was funded by UNDP, SUNY has been advised that the Report makes some quite radical recommendations for change that Report will have to be reviewed to avoid duplication of effort in this area.

Activity 3.2: Internship Program.

Work is now well advanced to launch the first ever Parliamentary Internship program in June 2004. The Internship Program will have 14 final year University students drawn form the University of Dar es Salaam and Tumaini University (Iringa). The Program has been designed to coincide with the long Parliamentary Session from June-August 2004. The students will apply and compete for the places and the process will be carried out in conjunction with the academic institution, Parliament and SUNY. SUNY will conduct an orientation program in Dar es Salaam to familiarize the interns and then they will transfer for their attachment to Parliament in Dodoma. The Interns will be attached to the Parliamentary Committees who will be grappling with the

draft National Budget and therefore will be very busy. Parliament is delighted at the prospect of the Program and is keen to have SUNY roll out the first iteration so that they can observe and see how best to sustain the intervention after May 2005.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

The work to get the selection process which will be carried out through self nomination by the students is now underway with the aim of having the x14 Interns selected and therefore ready to participate in the one week orientation program by 14 June 2004.

Activity 3.3: Consider the establishment of a training unit for new MPs & staff.

Parliament have asked for SUNY to consider the role of the establishment of the East African Parliamentary Institute in Nairobi and whether this could effectively impact on the creation of a Tanzanian training unit.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

Working with SUNY/Kenya with a view to assisting with organizing a meeting between the three East African Clerks to Parliament to discuss the merits of establishing the East African Parliamentary Institute. Once agreement at that level is reached then further discussions will take place as to the appropriateness of creating a training unit in Tanzania.

Result Four: More Effective Oversight: Increased legislative capacity to monitor public expenditure and oversee implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy.

Activity 4: Amplify the role of Parliament in the national budget process and public expenditure.

A. Work to assess the basic level of budgetary analysis skills amongst MPs is underway and this will then inform activity B.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

In liaison with the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs design a comprehensive training module on basic budgetary analysis skills.

B. Enhance Parliaments budgetary analysis capability.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

SUNY will design a 2-day training workshop geared for the needs of MPS. Workshop topics will include public expenditure reviews, Auditor General reports, international treaties and agreements (inc HIPC), management of National debt, over arching National policies and strategies, fiscal decentralization modalities, prevention of fraud and corruption.

C. Cross-cutting gender considerations

ACTIVITIES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER

SUNY has confirmed that British Council has not to date undertaken an impact assessment of the Politicians of the Future program. SUNY will set about conducting that assessment as a means to judge the feasibility of

broadening the scope of the POF program and also the likely sustainability of the program by Parliament.

4.3: *Relationships with other donors in Tanzania:*

SUNY/Tanzania seeks to coordinate its activities with other donor organizations and non-governmental organizations involved in programs with the Parliament such as UNDP, the Canadian High Commission (and the link with the Africa-Canada Parliament initiative) and AWEPA to ensure that there be no duplication of technical assistance activities.

UNDP

The UNDP approach to Parliament has not been to provide technical assistance as per the SUNY model but to provide direct budget support into the Parliament based around an agreed schedule of activities. It was agreed that there was a real need to keep the respective programs in touch to avoid duplication of effort. As previously reported UNDP remain somewhat elusive in terms of information sharing and this issue has been raised formally with USAID and DFID who took the matter of the lack of regular communication up within the main donor co-ordination forum. As a result of DFID's intervention, UNDP provided their outline program of support to Parliament. SUNY conducted a comparative analysis and identified some potential duplications. SUNY has followed up on that analysis with UNDP who have now confirmed that UNDP has a limitation on their budgets to fund the level of support Parliament has identified. This is good news insofaras it means the likelihood of clashes or duplications will be avoided. SUNY and UNDP therefore have agreed a verbal concordat which means that SUNY continues to carry out those activities outlined in the agreed Workplan and will assume some minor additional tasks that Parliament has identified as necessary that fit neatly within the context of the Workplan. Those tasks will be assimilated by SUNY within the budgetary ceiling. Such areas include; public hearings, CSO relationships and support to the Parliamentary Committees. It will then be for UNDP to discuss with Parliament those areas where UNDP can no longer provide assistance to Parliament. Thereafter it will be for Parliament to seek assistance from other donors in Tanzania (UNDP commented that Parliament is somewhat overly ambitious in its "wish list" which may serve to deter potential donors). SUNY also detects a softening within UNDP towards the overall SUNY approach since UNDP have conceded that tasks being undertaken by SUNY are being completed in line with the Workplan requirements. UNDP have also agreed to hold monthly progress meetings with SUNY to monitor progress of the respective support programs which is a welcome development.

4.4: *ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.*

In addition, whilst the contract does not require cost-sharing, SUNY is committed to leveraging more resources for the project. To this effect the SUNY/Tanzania project team has established dialogue with the Future's Group, the Department

of State, the World Bank Institute, SADC Parliamentary Forum, the Ford Foundation and others for the purpose of coordinating activities under the Project and securing additional resources.

⇒ ***The Futures Group***

The liaison with the Futures Group remains good, if somewhat frenetic as Futures tends to send any of their consultants to SUNY to see where they can collaborate with the Parliament. Whilst this is useful to Futures, it often means that SUNY gets drawn down paths outside the parameters of the Workplan. That notwithstanding, SUNY does intend, if the timing is right, to collaborate with the Futures Group in the CSO Exhibition if the proposed HIV/AIDs legislation is issued for public debate at the same time as the CSO Exhibition currently on schedule to take place in mid-July 2004. SUNY has agreed to co-ordinate with the Futures Group as the legislation develops and is delivered to Parliament.

⇒ ***British High Commission***

During February 2004 the newly appointed British High Commissioner to Tanzania Dr Andrew Pocock along with Caroline Sergeant Head of DFID Tanzania, paid a courtesy call on the Parliament in Dodoma. The Speaker, as is his style, was somewhat aloof towards his high profile visitors but nevertheless everyone enjoyed the opportunity of interacting with the Parliamentarians.

⇒ ***Young Parliamentarians Association***

Shortly before Christmas SUNY was approached by the Young Parliamentarians Association who wanted to hold a strategic planning workshop in Dar to discuss YPA's plans for its members in terms of getting MPs more actively involved in the legislative process through asking more Parliamentary Questions and bringing debates to the floor of the House. The YPA Chairperson is Honourable Lazaro Nyalundu who is a well known reformer and keen to promote the role of the MP in both word and deed. As a result of that workshop Honourable Nyalandu has provided SUNY with the names of MPs who represent constituencies with food insecurities where the MPs would like to challenge the relevant Ministry to set out plans to reduce such insecurities through better planning and changes to infrastructure ultimately leading to declaring food security a national issue which would raise the debate within the Cabinet. SUNY is therefore beginning to draw up a program for briefing the MPs on how best to tackle the issue and at the same demonstrating to their constituents that they are actually trying to do something to reduce the scale of the problems.

Meeting with representatives from the Canadian High Commission.

SUNY held a meeting with Messrs Ken Neufeld Development Counsellor and Jeffrey McLaren First Secretary from the Canadian High Commission to discuss our respective areas of work. The Canadian representatives advised that they had very little planned activities with the Parliamentarians and had seen the repeated requests for allowances made by many Parliamentarians which were unpalatable to the Canadian High Commission. However they did brief us about the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program which was meant to collaborate/liaise with the High Commission but usually chose not to do so which invariably meant that it was only general enquiries such as SUNY's revealed that the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program was carrying out any activities involving Tanzania. They had sponsored Honourable Makinda for

training etc and believed as we do, that she is very good value as an MP. SUNY stated its concern that the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Program were taking 2 of the 3 Research Officers to Ghana on a three month attachment just at the time when they would be very busy with the National Budget process in Parliament (it was in fact confirmed after the meeting that it was a six week attachment). SUNY's concern was not to deny anyone having the opportunity of having an attachment to another Parliament, it was timing especially as SUNY takes such pains to minimize disruption within the Parliamentary Service departments. It was agreed to maintain the liaison to avoid such instances.

World Bank

In late February 2004 SUNY was invited to participate in a workshop in Mombasa organized by the Kenyan Parliament, funded by the Ford Foundation and organized through the SUNY/Kenya office. The Workshop was a pan-African workshop arranged for Parliamentary Public Accounts Committees in six African countries: these included Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Sudan, and Burundi. The Tanzanian representatives included the Chairperosn of the PAC (who is the only Opposition Party Presidential Member of Parliament), an MP from the Ruling Party and the Assistant Auditor General. The workshop provided lively debate on the challenges facing the Public Accounts Committees and how each country is approaching the task. Also in attendance at the workshop was a representative from the World Bank Institute. The workshop resolved that in the same way as a SADC Parliamentary Forum of PACs had been created (SADCOPAC) that there would be some merit in the East African Parliaments coming together to form the Eastern Africa Association of Public Accounts Committees (EAAPAC). SUNY has agreed to work with the Chairperson of the Public Accounts Committee to see whether World Bank in Tanzania maybe willing to offer any assistance or support to the PAC.

- ***REPOA***

SUNY has now established excellent working relations with REPOA (Research on Poverty Alleviation). REPOA is one of the leading research organizations in Tanzania and SUNY believes that Parliament should be able to benefit from the knowledge and information that REPOA uses to inform its research reports. It is also intended to link the Parliamentary Research Officers with REPOA. Arrangements are in hand to provide Parliament with a copy of REPOA's reading list and also copies of all the research reports generated by REPOA over the past two years. These can then be lodged in the Library in Dodoma. SUNY will also be using REPOA to assist in briefing the Members of Parliament on the intricacies of the Poverty Reduction Strategy in late April 2004.

5. Explanation of any obstacles encountered during program implementation and actions taken to address them/summary of lessons learnt.

This is the first substantive legislative strengthening activity in Tanzania. For many the concept of the provision of technical assistance such as that enshrined in the Workplan is a new approach in working with the Parliament. The Project team seeks in all its interface activities with Parliament to ensure that MPs have a realistic expectation of what can be delivered but with the reassurance that SUNY/Tanzania is always mindful of the need to attract additional

funding/interest from the donor community. This has become an important mantra that is stressed now that the Project is in its implementation phase.

One of the impediments to achieving the timelines is that any activities involving the MPs have to be timed to coincide with the Parliamentary Sessions which occur just four times a year with the exception of the Budget Session, which runs from June to August, all other Sessions are only for a fortnight duration and are proceeded by two weeks of Committee work in Dar es Salaam. By trying to ensure that all activities with MPs coincide with the Parliamentary Sessions the Project seeks to avoid the payment of attendance allowances.

6. Performance indicators/program outputs (including reporting of performance data compared to target and baselines)

Following very useful inputs from USAID and DFID the draft performance indicators to be adopted for the Project were tested and approved by the USAID monitoring and evaluation specialist in January 2004. Thereafter these have been adopted by the Project and form the benchmark by which the success of the Project will be measured. **ANNEX H** refers.

7. Explanation of any administrative/financial issues and actions taken to address this.

One of the difficulties in maintaining a regular dialogue with MPs is the fact that they are only available when in Dar es Salaam or when in Dodoma. The mobile network coverage can be haphazard and unreliable and this does impede SUNY's ability to be able to be in constant contact with the MPs. However SUNY has adopted a multifarious strategy to keep in contact including by email, letter, telephone and text messaging. The MPs appreciate these efforts as they often opine the fact that they cannot afford to purchase cell phone airtime out of Session.

SECTION 2 - BUDGETS

TABLE A - FISCAL REPORT

JANUARY - MARCH 2004

SUNY/Tanzania

Quarterly Financial Report Summary
Research Foundation of State University of New York
Technical Assistance for the Strenghtening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly
Contract Number: 623-C-00031-00
January - March 2004

Line Item	Year 1 Budget	Budget Total	Total Expenditure from Jan - Mar 04	Total Expenditure from May - Mar 04
Result Area 1	$ 422,659.44	$ 790,890.92	$ 74,865.08	$ 246,621.18
Result Area 2	$ 295,673.31	$ 376,812.79	$ 35,668.79	$ 130,666.91
Result Area 3	$ 125,275.89	$ 254,041.57	$ 24,047.36	$ 75,628.00
Result Area 4	$ 82,046.37	$ 278,011.38	$ 26,316.33	$ 82,763.80
Indirects Charges	$ 173,092.37	$ 300,177.71	$ 46,660.30	$ 137,073.66
Fixed Fees	$ -	$ -		
Grand Total	$ 1,098,747.38	$ 1,999,934.37	$ 207,557.86	$ 672,753.54

SUMMARY

Total Funds Obligated as of May 11 2003:	$	800,000.00
New Obligated Funds as of March 17, 2004:	$	428,625.00
Total Obligated Funds:	$	1,228,625.00
Total Funds Spent as of March 31, 2004:	$	672,753.54

ANNEX A

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, HIS EXCELLENCY BENJAMIN WILLIAM MKAPA, TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, DODOMA, 12 FEBRUARY 2004

Honourable Speaker,

I should like, at the outset, that all of us should thank Almighty God for keeping us alive since I last addressed this august House on 30 January 2002. I am also grateful to God that my health condition is improving daily. And to you, Honourable Members of this House, I extend my profound gratitude for the get-well-soon message delivered by the Honourable Speaker, and for your prayers on my behalf.

Honourable Speaker,

When I addressed the nation on New Year's eve I said that I would like to use the remainder of my term in consolidating the successes of our reforms, making them sustainable, and in ensuring the resilience of our nation in political, economic and social terms. I also expressed my desire to do more in empowering Tanzanians to make use of the opportunities for self-development that our reforms have placed within their grasp. I also promised that, God willing, I would find occasion to discuss these matters further.

There is no better occasion than addressing the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania. For, this Parliament is not only representative of all Tanzanians, but it is also my most important partner in all that I intend to accomplish. And, since this country belongs to all of us, such that even leaders and members of opposition political parties partake the fruits of the labours of the ruling party, and equally suffer if we do not make headway, I have asked that opposition leaders be present here today to listen to me. With great respect I now recognise their presence, and I ask them to please stand up so that this august House can also recognise their presence.

Honourable Speaker,

Let me now quickly reiterate the main features of the way forward as I see it over the next 20 months:-

- First, we need to speed up the process of changing the attitude and mind set of public sector employees—both in Central and Local Government—such that they can understand that, henceforth, it will be their primary duty **to facilitate and empower citizens for self development**.

- Secondly, we need to build and strengthen **national capacity for monitoring and regulating a market economy**.

- Thirdly, we need to revisit the **rights of the weaker members of society including those in the informal sector**. We need especially to address their right to resources and capital, including their own labour, as well as land, as an empowerment process to join the economic mainstream of the nation.

- Fourth, we need to accord deserved priority to the **export sector**, including the necessity to add value through processing, and attracting industrial investments to quickly build up the national capacity to do so.

- Fifth, we have to continue **addressing the obstacles that stand in the way of those Tanzanians that are willing and ready to self-develop**.

Honourable Speaker,

I appeal to the Honourable Members of this House to support me in according due priority to these issues, and to be the Government's partner in their implementation. From them I ask two important things:

- First, I ask them to always remember that ours is a poor country, and that, as the Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, counselled us, we have to run while others walk. Frankly, I am sick and tired of always hearing Tanzania being referred to as "one of the most poor countries". It is possible to shed this obnoxious epithet, but not at our present speed. The entire country, under the expected leadership of this Parliament, needs to change into higher gear, and to show the world that after the promulgation of a correct vision and correct policies, we are now accelerating our development process. I am not arguing a case for turning this Parliament into a rubber stamp of the Government. I dare not. But I am arguing the case for a Parliamentary outlook and deportment that can enable Tanzania to run rather than walk. I am passionately arguing the case for a sense of urgency.

- Secondly, I urge earnestly that in addressing the people, and next year's General Elections notwithstanding, none of us should give the people the false hope that there is an omnipotent government with all answers to all their problems. Such a government does not exist anywhere in this world. The Government has no miracle of its own. But it is possible to have a national miracle by working together to find solutions to our problems, by working hard and being innovative, and by accepting the duty to self-develop as individuals and as communities. The notion that the duty of Government is to give, and the duty of the people is to say, thank you, can only lead to futility. The candidate who peddles such a notion may get elected, but this will not get us far as a nation.

The Political Situation

Honourable Speaker,

After 42 years of the independence of Tanzania Mainland, and 40 years of the Zanzibar Revolution, Tanzania has strengthened its political independence, and built a sense of incontestable national unity, which to a large extent has contributed to making Tanzania a peaceful and stable country.

On this continent with a history replete with political chaos and instability, Tanzania, which was born in 1964 out of a political union of two independent countries – Tanganyika and Zanzibar – remains to this day the only surviving such union, keeping alive hopes for continental unity.

Governments on both sides of the Union are changed through the ballot box, in full respect of the National Constitution. No retired President – on the Mainland or in Zanzibar – has ever had to run away from this country. They all live among us, and are held in very high regard.

Tanzania is a democratic country. The Third Phase Government on Tanzania Mainland, and the Sixth Phase Government in Zanzibar, have both worked hard to consolidate the foundations of human rights and freedoms, democracy and equality, according to the Law of the Land.

I dare not say Tanzania is a political paradise. All over the world opposition parties find reason to complain against the Ruling Party and its Government. This is a normal feature of political competition.

The problems that arose in Zanzibar following the last General Elections have been solved peacefully and amicably through negotiations. The unfortunate events of 26 – 27 January 2001,

during which our fellow citizens died, remain as an aberration, never as a defining characteristic of Tanzanians. And an aberration must remain an aberration—it should not be venerated. What has past is past; we need to look forward. We are trying to create a sustainable culture of political competition that is courteous, free and peaceful—in Zanzibar and on the Mainland. For us, negotiations are the most preferred way to conduct politics in the days ahead. In the words of the famous poet, Kahlil Gibran, "When we turn to one another for counsel we reduce the number of our enemies." My Party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, and I do not want enmity in our politics. We are open to counsel and are ready for negotiations with those who share this ideal.

Our readiness to talk is illustrated by the MWAFAKA that was signed between the two leading political parties, CCM and CUF, on 10 October 2001, and which continues not only to hold, but to contribute significantly towards the restoration of political calm on the Islands, as exemplified by the successful by-election of May 2003. I commend the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar for living up to its commitments under the MWAFAKA, and for the economic and social development that is obviously picking up.

In the months ahead we will bring to this House proposals for Constitutional changes that we believe will further strengthen democratic governance in our country. We will also live up to our understaking to establish a Permanent Voters Register before the next General Elections. And we will continue to increase the representation of women in policy-making bodies. With regard to this House, I intend to ensure that women are at least 30 per cent of Members of Parliament before I leave office.

Honourable Speaker,

There are, nevertheless, two issues that cause me some measure of distress. The first relates to the weakness of the opposition political parties. A few years ago I publicly raised this concern, in my capacity of President. The response from some people in the Opposition was that it was none of my business. But I believe there are other Tanzanians who share my concern. We either have serious political competition between comparable teams, or we are slowly degenerating into political frivolity. As CCM Chairman I should like to see my Party remain in power for eternity. But as President I realise that a strong Opposition is necessary to keep CCM on its toes, which in turn is good for the people and for our country.

Honourable Speaker,

The second issue that disturbs me is the comments I hear from some political leaders and their members that show complete disregard for the sanctity of life, and for national peace and concord. There are even some who callously speak of spilling blood, even though I have never heard any of them offering their own blood, even for such a noble cause as donating blood to our hospitals.

There is, perhaps, no national attribute that is more important as peace and stability. Any leader, or anyone who aspires to be a leader, must learn to respect the sanctity of human life. It takes a very long time for a country to nurture and consolidate the attributes of peace and stability. But it is very easy to destroy these attributes, especially if we get leaders who attach no value to the lives of their fellow citizens, and hence who are ready to use those lives as a stepping stone into power. In a free and democratic country there is no justification whatsoever to use violence and chaos as a vehicle to power.

I plead with everyone that as we proceed towards Municipal Elections later in the year, and General Elections next year, we should not even think of using violence. And for us in Government, who have the constitutional duty to maintain law and order, cannot certainly countenance any such violence.

Local Government

Honourable Speaker,

We want to remove all obstacles towards the full participation of our people in the governance and development of their country. Democracy is not only about politics, it is also about economics. To someone with no food, democracy is a luxury best forgone. And to the majority of our people, the democracy that really counts, that has meaning and affects their future, is democracy at the local level. Democracy implies power to the people. And Article 146(1) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania states clearly that, "The purpose of having local government authorities is to transfer authority to the people." It is for this reason that the Government promulgated, and is implementing, the Local Government Reform Programme to ensure that District and Municipal Councils are more accountable to the people and that they improve the services they render, including facilitating the people's efforts towards self-development.

Honourable Speaker,

An indicator of the Government's political commitment to strengthening local authorities is the amount of resources that are being channelled to them. There has been a 24-fold increase in Central Government subsidies to Local Governments, from Shs.12.3 billion in 1995/96 to Shs.292 billion this fiscal year. This is financial resource empowerment which the Government is able to undertake because of the success attained in our economic reforms.

There is also educational empowerment. We have conducted training courses for all Regional Commissioners, and some of the District Commissioners and Regional Administrative Secretaries. A training programme has been prepared for the chairperson of villages, streets and neighbourhoods, as well as Village Executive Officers. So far, 72,000 such leaders have been trained in strengthening good governance at the local level. In addition, 3,447 Councillors and 2,303 Ward Executive Officers have been trained. All Municipal and District Executive Directors have been trained in change management. And all this has been made possible by the successes attained in our economic reform programme.

These successes have also enabled us to strengthen the effectiveness of the leaders at this level. For example, all Divisional Secretaries have been given motorcycles to enable them to monitor and coordinate development activities. It would not have been possible to acquire those motorcycles had it not been for the economic reforms we have undertaken.

Our policies and reforms have contributed to the strengthening of relations between the Government and our Development Partners, some of whom are helping us with the implementation of the Local Government Reform Programme. In addition, it is the enhanced revenues of the Government following our economic reforms that have enabled us to finance the capacity building initiatives for local authorities that I mentioned earlier. It is also those improved revenues that enabled the Government to remove the burden of nuisance taxes from the shoulders of our people. Those who remain cynical should be asked, how else could we have accomplished this?

Changing Mind-Sets and Regulating the Market Economy

Honourable Speaker,

Another thing that will preoccupy me during the rest of my term of office is changing the attitudes of public officials, including those within local authorities, towards the private sector. Every leader and every public official must now realise that his or her welfare, and the development of the district or town concerned, all are intrinsically linked to the health and performance of the private sector, in terms of investment, production, services and commerce. The time has come for local authorities to compete among themselves in terms of attracting investments and business people. Public officials must understand that times have changed, and we need new ways of addressing the challenges of today and tomorrow.

There is a story of a guy who, walking down the street, stops a man to ask the time. The man, looking at his watch, helpfully responds, "Why, certainly! The time is now four o'clock." The

guy scratches his head and says, "You know, it's really weird. I've been asking people that question all day long, and each time I get a different answer".

And I tell all public officials that they should not think the problem lies with the people being asked the time. They also need not be confused. The truth is simple. Times keep on changing, and the answers to the burning issues of the day must likewise keep on changing.

Honourable Speaker,

At the moment it is as if everyone simply concedes that all major investments and businesses have to take place in Dar es Salaam. Today, Dar es Salaam Region, and especially the City of Dar es Salaam, accounts for 82 per cent of all Government revenues. This is not healthy. The beginning of all development is investment, production, services and commerce. In as much as most of these things happen in Dar es Salaam, the City will act as a magnet for young people from all corners of the country in the belief that where there is investment, there is work; and where there is work, there is a better life. We will never be able to stem the tide of young people streaming into Dar es Salaam unless other municipalities seriously take to promoting investment and production. Worse, we shall have lop-sided development, which is not good for stability.

That is why I hasten to congratulate Kilimanjaro Region for organising a Workshop to Promote Investment in the Region, 14 – 15 August 2003. It shows they are serious, and others need to follow suit.

I must, nevertheless, add that a market economy needs effective and efficient regulation, in the national interest, and in order to protect the rights of consumers and clients, while ensuring a level playing field for the various actors on the market. That is why the Government has established four major regulatory bodies, namely, The Energy and Water Utilities Regulatory Authority (EWURA); The Surface and Marine Transport Regulatory Authority (SUMATRA); The Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA); and the Tanzania Government Aviation Regulatory Authority (TGARA). We will work to strengthen these regulatory bodies, as well as others, in the days ahead.

The State of the Economy

Honourable Speaker,

The national economy has generally continued to improve in recent years, following the successful implementation of economic reforms, including in the financial sector. Indicators of success, which contributed to strengthening the macro-economic fundamentals, include enhanced public and private investments, strengthening the foreign currency reserve position to the level of 7 – 8 months worth of imports of goods and non-factor services, compared to only 6.3 months in 2001.

Between 1990 and December 2003, the Tanzania Investment Centre approved 2,527 investment projects, that created an estimated 497,539 jobs. Among those projects, 1,809 were new, and 718 were expansion and rehabilitation ones. Of these, 1,113 projects (44 per cent of the total) were locally owned, 609 (24 per cent) were foreign owned, and 805 (32 per cent) were joint-ventures between local and foreign investors.

In the last 5 years, GDP has continued to grow from 3.3 per cent in 1997 to 6.2 per cent in 2002. This translates into an encouraging average growth rate of 5.6 per cent compared to 3.4 per cent average for the whole of Africa over this same period.

The poor rains experienced last year will reduce growth to an estimated 5.7 per cent, and increase inflation slightly to 4.6 per cent in December compared to 4.5 per cent in 2002. The fact that the drought condition did not substantially affect growth and inflation is an indication of the level of success of our economic reforms. We will, therefore, stay the course of reform, and we will strengthen the reforms to ensure they are irreversible.

Honourable Speaker,

The reason the Arusha Declaration warned us that "Money is not a basis for development" was that we did not have money. The Declaration explained that it is futile to plan for our development on the basis of a resource we did not have. It is a strong and valid point.

But the world is changing, and the requirements for development are also changing. In the list of the requirements for development enumerated in the Declaration—land, people, good policies and good leadership—I now want to add a fifth requirement: **capital**. There are different types of capital. Labour, for instance, is the capital of the poor. **But the time has now come for us to use good policies and good leadership to increase the availability of financial capital**.

We all remember the economic situation in 1995. And I am not saying this in criticism. What right have I to be critical of governments I was part of for many years in the senior position of Minister?

But truth must be hold. At that time GDP growth was less than 3 per cent, inflation was almost 30 per cent, foreign reserves could hardly cover 4 months worth of imports of goods and non-factor services, Government revenues hardly averaged Shs. 25 billion a month, there was little accountability for public finances and in Government and Public Sector enterprises, and the Government was weighed down by both domestic and foreign debt. Relations with the donor community were poor, and investments were vacillating. Development assistance was low, and could only be obtained subject to heavy conditionality. Does anyone really wish to revert to such a situation? How can a leader, an academic, or a serious journalist fail to relate where we came from to where we are now? It is true much remains to be done, but that is no excuse for disparaging or being blind to what has been achieved.

Honourable Speaker,

One of the first things that this Administration did was to promulgate policies and strategies to boost government revenues with which to improve economic and social services, and thereby contribute towards poverty reduction. We strengthened the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA), giving it more powers to collect revenues without government interference. In addition, the Government established a consultative mechanism with stakeholders, especially the large taxpayers, on fiscal and revenue policies as well as tax administration in general. As a result, TRA currently collects a monthly average of Shs.108 billion compared to only Shs. 25 billion in 1995. At the end of January 2004, TRA had collected Shs.788.3 billion during the first 7 months of the current fiscal year, exceeding its Shs.757.4 billion target by Shs. 30.9 billion. I invite this Honourable House to join me in resoundly commending the leaders and workers of the TRA for a job very well done, and to encourage them to press ahead with resoluteness. For, we have a war on poverty to fight.

The second thing we focussed on was to improve relations with bilateral and multilateral donors. Today we receive 4 times as much development assistance as we did in 1996. Tanzania was also one of the first 4 countries to reach the completion point for debt relief under the Enhanced HIPC Debt Relief Initiative. This has strengthened our capacity to deliver economic and social services. The financial resources we direct towards priority sectors in poverty reduction, including education, health, roads, water, HIV/AIDS and agriculture, have quadrupled since 1996.

We have strengthened financial discipline in public finances, by resorting to a cash-budget system. I am grateful to this Parliament for enacting two important laws in this regard, namely, The Public Finance Act, 2001, and The Public Procurement Act, 2001. These two pieces of legislation have strengthened discipline and good governance such that Tanzania is now highly regarded as being among the best development country performers in this area.

Honourable Speaker,

A stable macroeconomic framework is necessary if we are to be attractive to investment, if

we are to have a growing economy, if we are to increase job opportunities, if we are to increase exports, if we are to enhance Government revenues and attract more development assistance, including concessionary loans. Access to capital for the people also requires a thriving and competitive financial sector. We have made good progress in this area compared to where we came from. We now have 26 banks, 6 other financial institutions, and more than 10 insurance companies, and we have established the Public Sector Pension Fund to complement the activities of existing pension funds such as PPF, NSSF and LAPF. The Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange is up and running, and growing. We have a policy on Small and Medium Enterprises. We have established an Export Credit Guarantee Fund to underwrite loans to priority export sectors, including cooperative unions. We have established a collective share ownership fund – The Unit Trust of Tanzania. All these things have a large impact on economic growth, and in empowering Tanzanians in terms of access to capital. I will pay great attention to this area in the days ahead.
Honourable Speaker,

We must never forget where we came from, and we should not feel ashamed to be proud of what together we have achieved. But we must never rest on our laurels. For, much remains to be done, and problems are manifold. But we have set a strong foundation, and we have every reason to be courageous and bold, and no reason ever to look back. In the next few years, we shall give priority to the following areas:

1. We shall find ways to increase the rate of economic growth. A growth rate of 6 per cent is inadequate. We need a rate of 8 per cent or more. The banks and other financial institutions will have to play a more robust role by ensuring greater access to their services, and in being more proactive, attracting investors, both domestic and foreign. The amendments to the Land Law should help. Government budget will also be deployed to improve infrastructure and remove other obstacles to investment and business.

2. We shall also use the Government budget to create job opportunities, especially through credit guarantee mechanisms for small and medium level enterprises.

3. We shall use the Government budget as a catalyst for increased agricultural production through credit guarantees and capacity building, especially with regard to availability of agricultural inputs and seeds.

4. We shall continue to improve on the management of public finances so that the increased revenues can go to augment our efforts at poverty reduction, and in empowering people for self-development.

5. With a growing economy, and improved revenue collection, we have set for ourselves the target to attain a revenue yield of 15 per cent of GDP by 2006, and 18 per cent by 2008, up from the current level of 12 per cent.

6. We shall begin a programme to identify and legalise property rights of people in the informal sector, as well as remove obstacles in their path as they seek to make the transition from informality into formality, from illegality to legality.

Poverty Reduction

Honourable Speaker,
Poverty has many faces – there is poverty that comes from lack of voice in matters that affect ones life; and there is income poverty, among other manifestations of poverty.

I have been in office for over 8 years now. And two things about poverty have always troubled me at the theoretical and analytical level. The first relates to how is it measured. The most

common method is measuring income poverty, using American Dollars upon which someone subsists in a day. But this is a very narrow definition of poverty, and it cannot be accurate. It relies too much on income poverty, while poverty has many other aspects as well. In addition, for a largely informal economy as ours, how can we be sure that this indicator and the statistics it produces capture correctly the worth of a person in an informal setting? A nomadic Tanzanian pastoralist can break camp every few months, and what he may call a house is really no house at all. He may also have no money with him. But he has 500 heads of cattle. Is it right to say that he lives on less than a dollar a day?

I, for one, think the time has come to develop a more accurate definition of poverty that takes into account our own broadly defined circumstances.

The second thing that troubles me relates to a very basic question: How exactly is poverty fought? And, who has the basic responsibility to fight poverty? I ask these questions because I keep on hearing or reading in the media that the Government is not doing enough to fight poverty, and that economic reforms have not helped in the war on poverty.

You, Honourable Members of Parliament, are representatives of the people. I ask you to listen carefully to what I have to say. **The poverty that comes from lack of voice is fought by giving people a voice. But income poverty cannot be fought by putting money in people's pockets**!

You have to forgive me, but I have to put this matter to rest. For, you can find an able bodied adult, of sound mind, asking questions such as: "If reforms are so successful, how come I have no money in my pocket? What plans has the Government got about this? This Government is not fighting poverty."

The truth is that anyone who tells you that the Government can free you from income poverty is lying to you. This country cannot win the war on poverty if people are so gullible to such distortions of the truth, which encourages people to be lazy, waiting for help rather than working. A serious government cannot encourage this.

There are 4 things I have promised over the years on different occasions:

- First, I promised to give voice to the people especially on matters that concern them, including democratic participation in planning, monitoring and implementing development projects, especially those geared towards addressing their problems. Large programmes such as TASAF and PEDP, as well as the Local Government Reform Programme, are predicated upon this undertaking.

- Second, I promised to create a better environment for economic growth, and job creation, including a conducive environment for investment, and business.

- Third, I promised to channel a larger share of the Government budget to priority sectors for poverty reduction, which we have agreed nationally to be education, health, water, rural roads and HIV/AIDS.

- Fourth, I promised to create a better environment for self-development, including identifying and removing obstacles in the path of those willing and able to self-develop.

Honourable Speaker,

I am pleased to see citizens trying to evaluate the war on poverty I promised to lead. But let them base their evaluation on what I promised, and make a fair evaluation. What I have said here is what I promised and I stand to be evaluated on this score. But neither I, nor my Party, ever promised

to put money in people's pockets. We promised opportunities, and as always opportunities benefit those ready and bold enough to use them. Opportunities are of no value to the faint-hearted, who are not ready to dare.

Cooperatives

Honourable Speaker,

The majority of Tanzanians are peasants, pastoralists and fishermen. For such people, and taking into account the realities of the circumstances of our country, there is only one sure way to empower them to use the opportunities for self-development in a market economy. It is the way of the cooperative movement. Regardless of the many problems that cooperatives faced in the past, they remain the best solution to many of our people's problems. Their strength lies in their unity.

In 2000, I convened a workshop in Mwanza to discuss problems facing cooperatives, and to find solutions, so that cooperatives could once again meet our expectations in terms of the unity of the weak, unity that is their strength and empowerment.

I thank this august House for enacting a new law on Cooperative Societies last year, which creates a better environment for strengthening cooperatives, giving the members greater democratic powers in the management of their cooperatives. The law will also help to reduce theft and embezzlement, which problems undermined cooperative by discouraging members.

But policies and laws can only be helpful if the members are themselves bold enough to contain the excesses of their leaders and manage the affairs of their cooperatives. So, we have established a participatory educational programme (The Member Empowerment in Cooperatives Programme) that will hopefully embolden members, giving them entrepreneurship skills and tools with which to monitor the performance of their cooperatives.

Honourable Speaker,

The new cooperative policy is important. Laws are also important. And empowerment through education is equally important. But capital is also necessary. As it is on this score that most cooperative unions are in very bad shape, especially agricultural ones.

So, the Government has decided to assist and empower cooperatives with infusion of capital through Export Credit Guarantee Schemes, which enable them to borrow money to finance crop purchases and export. Under this arrangement, in 2002/03, CRDB loaned cooperatives Shs. 10.1 billion. In 2003/04, the cooperatives were loaned Shs. 16.3 billion by CRDB and Kilimanjaro Cooperative Bank. I thank these two banks for working with us. But I warn the beneficiary cooperatives never to use the loans for anything else, and they should ensure they pay back the loans as agreed.

Honourable Speaker,

This is a stopgap measure to deal with the pressing problem of capital confronting cooperatives. A permanent solution lies in building an internal capacity for accessing capital. Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) are the best solution, and we have attached a lot of importance to them. The number of SACCOS has shot up from 803 in June 2000 to 1,264 at the end of 2003, which is a 57 per cent increase over a period of 2½ years only. The value of shares and savings has increased from Shs. 14.0 billion to Shs. 25.7 billion, an increase of 83 per cent. Loans also increased from Shs. 11.5 billion to Shs. 28.5 billion, equivalent to a 117 per cent increase. This, Mr. Speaker, is empowerment of the weak, and will surely benefit them if they are ready to cooperate with others. If they do not want to cooperate, they will continue to lose out and complain.

Honourable Speaker,

In addition to empowering cooperative societies by creating a conducive policy and legal

environment, and in addition to empowering them through capital infusion, we will strength the capacity for inspection and audit to make sure that all cooperative resources are efficiently and well-spent, for the good of all members rather than the good of a few leaders.

Honourable Speaker,

There are those who keep on asking what benefits there are in our reforms for the ordinary people. I say, the clear political will to help the poor through cooperatives, the increased government revenues that enable us to finance the empowerment of cooperatives, and the reforms in the financial sector which now make it possible for cooperatives to get loans, all these are obvious benefits to the weak, and they are part of a process of empowerment in a market economy, and in the globalisation context. But the people can only benefit if they unite in cooperatives, if they manage well the cooperatives, and if they are enterprising, innovative, bold, and self-confident.

These are attributes that have to emerge from the members themselves. The Government cannot push them down their throats. Members of Parliament have an excellent opportunity, and it is their duty, to inculcate these attributes in all their constituencies. The people must be told these things, and all realities of our world, truthfully.

You know, Honourable Speaker, those with a grudge against politicians always allege that we are not truthful. This, of course, is not a good reputation. A bus load of politicians was driving down a country lane one day when all of a sudden the bus ran off the road and crashed into a tree in an old farmer's field. The old farmer, after seeing what had happened, went over to investigate. He then proceeded to dig a hole and bury the politicians. A few days later, a local policeman passed by, saw the crushed bus, and then asked the old farmer, "Were they all dead?" The old farmer replied, "Well, some of them said they weren't, but you know how them politicians lie!"

God forbid!

Primary Education

Honourable Speaker,

Through the United Nations, the world established for itself 8 goals to be attained by 2015 in order to cut global poverty by half. They are called Millennium Development Goal (MDGs). The second goal is the list concerns education, that by 2015 we have to attain universal primary education all over the world. The World Bank puts this imperative in the following terms:

> "Education is development. It creates choices and opportunities for people, reduces the twin burdens of poverty and diseases, and gives a stronger voice in society. For nations it creates a dynamic workforce and well-informed citizens able to compete and cooperate globally—opening doors to economic and social prosperity."

Honourable Speaker,

The Government is in full agreement with this assertion. That is why the Third Phase Government put a lot of emphasis on primary education. We saw that 2015 was too far to wait for the attainment of an important goal such as this.

So, we promulgated the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP), 2002-2006, to ensure that this target is met by 2006. The first 2 years of the Plan have witnessed tremendous successes. These include:

1. We have attained gender parity in primary schools;

2. The primary school population has increased by 50 per cent;

3. The Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) has increased from 77.6 per cent to 105.2 per cent.

4. The Net Enrolment Rate (NER) has increased from 58.8 per cent to 88.5 per cent.

5. We have built 31,825 classrooms and 7,530 teacher houses in cooperation with the people;

6. We have built 1,081 new primary schools;

7. 17,851 new teachers were recruited and 14,852 have been retrained;

8. Availability of books has improved from a ratio of 1:8 in class I – IV to 1:3; and from 1:10 to 1:6 in classes V – VII;

9. The pass rate has risen from 22 per cent to 40.1 per cent in 2003; and

10. 12,689 School Committee have been trained.

Honourable Speaker,

These successes have demonstrated the correctness of our vision and strategy, which we believe is the best way to attain the MDGs. I believe that these goals can be attained through a global compact, premised on the following three things:

- First, political will and good governance in poor countries.
- Second, a participatory approach in all communities.
- Third, the external environment must be conducive in terms of increased debt relief, increased aid in the form of grants, and investments and trade.

These three things are at the heart of our successes, giving us the hope that the goal that the world had set for 2015 can be attained in Tanzania in 2006, a full 9 years ahead of the United Nations target!!

But I repeat. It is our economic reforms that have led to economic growth, and increased government revenues that enabled us to forfeit school fees in primary schools. It is those reforms that strengthened relations with our development partners, and led to the debt relief which was directed to priority sectors for poverty reduction such as education. It is these reforms that gave our development partners the confidence to give us more grants and concessionary loans. And it is our political will that enabled us to increase the share of the national budget going to priority sectors for poverty reduction.

Honourable Speaker,

The success of the Primary Education Development Plan has given us the experience and the determination to launch a Secondary Education Development Plan that will increase the proportion of students transiting to secondary schools from 22 per cent in 2003 to 50 per cent in 2009, with due regard to regional balance and gender. We also intend to raise the pass rate at Division I – III, in Form IV examinations, to 70 per cent in 2009.

Honourable Speaker,

All this has been possible, and will continue to be possible, because of our economic reform successes, but we have to move forward and never look back, or reduce speed. Reforms open doors to many people, beginning with those who have been educated, some of whom have performed exceptionally well.

I should like today to introduce to you, Honourable Members of Parliament, the two best students, male and female, in the immediate past primary school leaving examinations, and secondary school examinations.

In the Primary School Leaving Examination held in September 2003, Mbuke Solomoke, who was studying at Kanawa Primary School, Shinyanga Rural District, emerged the overall best female student. Her male counterpart is Kesy Fulano, from Bumanji Primary School, Geita District.

In the Form IV Examinations that were held in October 2002, Sara A. Cheche, from St. Mary, Mazinde Juu Girls' Secondary School, emerged the overall best female student. Her male counterpart is Mosses Mwizarubi from Ilboru Secondary School.

And in the Form VI Examinations held in May 2003, Alice Edward from St. Mary Mazinde Juu Girls' Secondary School, came out the overall best female student, and her male counterpart is Emil Patrick from Mzumbe Secondary School.

These best students are in this hall, and I ask them to stand up and be recognised by this august House. They deserve a big hand.

Honourable Speaker,

I want this House to recognise them because they, and their colleagues, are the future and the hope of Tanzania. The continuity and prosperity of our country depends on them. As parents and as a nation we need to invest a lot in young people like these. The world that is coming is a very competitive one. Only the well educated can be sure of being competitive, in the job market as well as in business.

Through these young people I want to send out a short message to all young people in our country. We will do all we can to give you a good education. But the decision to use that opportunity is entirely yours. You must realise that a huge responsibility awaits you to lead this country. Prepare well. Read with diligence. Do not let us down. And above all make sure you do not get infected with HIV/AIDS. Your value to this nation is too great to be wasted. Do not waste it on account of passing weaknesses of the flesh.

Higher Education

Honourable Speaker,

Our successes in economic reform have enabled us also to expand higher education, in cooperation with the private sector and religious organisations. As a result, in the last 4 years (1998/99 – 2002/03) the number of students in Technical Colleges, Private Universities, and Public Universities increased from 18,829 to 30,602, a 62.5 per cent increase. What is particularly encouraging is the fact that the greatest increase was among female students who have increased from 3,889 to 10,137, a 160.7 per cent increase. Four years ago, women were only 20.7 per cent of all students in these colleges and universities. Today women are 33.1 per cent. I congratulate all the women who have come out so strongly in pursuit of a sound education. For, as I always say, the government can create opportunities, but using those opportunities is a personal decision.

Honourable Speaker,

Empowerment through education is one of national strategies to address the challenges of globalisation. We have much still to do. The Government's goal is to have 55,000 students in technical colleges, universities and other colleges of higher education by 2008. Three preconditions are noteworthy. First, this Parliament must keep up the political will for this strategy. Second, our economy must continue to grow so as to produce the government revenues necessary to implement our plans, and Parliament must be at the forefront in pushing for faster growth. Thirdly, we must expand and improve secondary school education, according to the mentioned plan, to produce worthy candidates for matriculation in our colleges and universities.

I should like to thank this august House for agreeing to enact the Education Fund Act, No. 8 of 2001. The Fund's targets include:

- First, to ensure that our education improves at all levels;
- Secondly, to ensure that there is a sustainable mechanism of financing education in the country; and
- Thirdly, to ensure that the Fund gives equal opportunities to all, without discrimination.

The Fund is now operational, and the Authority established to manage it has already given Shs.4.5 billion to technical colleges, private universities, including those owned by religious organisations, and public universities. This Fund is intended to provide funding for education for all Tanzanians. For, whenever a Tanzanian gets an education, that adds to the national reservoir of educated citizens. We will keep up the cooperation that has evolved between our two governments – the Union and the Zanzibar Government – as well as private education facilities in the country with the view to increasing the size of a well-trained and educated workforce.

Health

Honourable Speaker,

The health sector is important in the war on poverty. But its success does not depend only on Government's political will or decisions. Ultimately the individual has to bear his or her share of the responsibility for good health. There must be a willingness to avoid getting ill – by eating nutritious food, by keeping the environment clean, by exercising and by protecting oneself through immunization, and by avoiding infection where there is no vaccination, as is the case with HIV/AIDS. One also has to accept the responsibility to share in the cost of treatment.

The successes of our reforms, and the good relations with our development partners and the private sector, have all helped to create a lot of changes and reforms in the health sector, including rehabilitation of the health delivery infrastructure and immunisation. The health budget has continued to increase over the last 3 years. This was possible only because of the successes of our reforms.

The rate of immunisation has reached 83 per cent, surpassing the 80 per cent target considered acceptable internationally. We are now introducing a Hepatitis vaccination into the existing DPTT vaccination at no extra cost to the beneficiaries. This will save 20,000 – 25,000 lives lost annually as of now.

Tanzania is on the forefront in the war on Malaria. But we ask for the understanding and cooperation of the people. We have waived taxes in respect of mosquito nets and other products for the containment and rolling back of Malaria. We have received the support of the Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria. That is why we have been able to subsidise impregnated mosquito nets, which can significantly reduce infection among pregnant women and babies. But all these efforts will come to naught if the people do not avail themselves of these opportunities.

Honourable Speaker,

Health Insurance is regarded the world over as the best way to meet medical expenses, especially for those without much money. We have established the Community Health Fund. Where these funds are operational there are a lot of positive outcomes due to good cooperation between the Government and the people. The Funds have reduced the burden of medical care for the people, while guaranteeing the health delivery institutions the resources they need to run their services with their own resources. We want the Community Health Funds to be established in all

remaining districts in the next few years.

For public sector employees we have established the National Health Insurance Fund. Many of the teething problems of the Fund have been resolved, and the challenge ahead is to strengthen the Fund and improve its procedures.

We have continued with the rehabilitation of the health delivery infrastructure, beginning with the Muhimbili National Hospital down to the district level. For example, with the assistance of the Netherlands Government, we have installed x-ray machines and other diagnostic equipment in all District and Regional hospitals, including referral hospitals. The task ahead is to take good care, and to maintain, the equipment so that it can be available for service for many years to come, providing doctors with the correct diagnosis they need to provide correct treatment.

Honourable Speaker,

We have also continued with the Health Sector Reform Programme. All Districts are now implementing these reforms, which, among other things, include decentralisation, putting power into the hands of the people who now decide what happens in those facilities. This is another manifestation of increased democratic participation of the people in an important sector for poverty reduction such as this. I urge all citizens to take advantage of this opportunity to improve services being offered through their Boards and Health Committees. I should like that such Boards and Committees be established everywhere in our country as soon as possible.

HIV/AIDS

Honourable Speaker,

On 31 December 1999, I announced that HIV/AIDS was now a national disaster. I urged everyone, including government and religious leaders, political leaders and civil society, as well as NGOs, to take new measures to awaken the nation to the imperative to fight HIV/AIDS.

There are signs of heightened awareness. Each day stories are heard from different corners of the country about efforts to combat HIV/AIDS. Today, HIV/AIDS is no longer a taboo subject; it is widely discussed.

There are first signs also that the infection rate among pregnant women in some parts of the country has slowed down. We will conduct further research to establish the actual prevalence rate.

Regardless of budgetary constraints, the Government has decided to give free antiretroviral drugs to the extent possible, depending on our budget and the support of donors and partner institutions. We thank all those that help us in this struggle.

Honourable Speaker,

The war on HIV/AIDS is a very difficult one, and it will take a long time. It needs the support and cooperation of everyone, and especially those in leadership positions, including Honourable Members of Parliament. The next stage is to ensure every Tanzanian is guided by the following three principles:

- If you are not infected, do not get infected;
- If you are infected, do not spread the virus, and make sure you take good care of yourself so that you can live as long as possible.

- Stigma must not find a place in our midst.

Water

Honourable Speaker,

Lack of clean and safe water constitutes one of the difficulties facing our people and acts to obstruct their path to development. This is why water is among the priorities in our National Poverty Reduction Strategy. Together, our economic reforms and the correctness of our policies have assisted in bringing about encouraging results. For instance:

- The number of urban residents with access to clean and safe water has grown from 68% in 1998 to 73% at present.

- The number of rural residents with access to clean and safe water increased from 48% in 1995 to 53% at present.

Honourable Speaker,

These achievements are attributable. They are first attributed to the firm political will to fight poverty, one indicator of which is the availability of water. The second attribution is the correctness of the National Water Policy of 1991, as amended in 2002, a policy that emphasizes the participation of the people in planning, construction, administration and ownership of water projects. In this respect, water projects are owned by the people themselves, with the Government and Donors only contributing to augment the people's own efforts. Under this arrangement, many Water Committees and Funds have been established. As of December 2003, a total of 8,363 Water Committees had been established of which 7,226 had Water Funds valued at Shs. 1.3 billion.

In other words, this policy underscores the fact that water problems can best be resolved through a partnership between the Government and the people. No longer will our people merely fold their hands waiting for the Government or donors to bring water to them, and for them to say, thank you! In urban areas, this partnership involves the responsibility to pay for water services to enable the Water Authorities to operate without relying on Government subsidies, meeting the costs relating to maintenance and repairs of the water infrastructure. Nonetheless, even in this regard, we have established a scheme to subsidise the water needs of those with low incomes.

Honourable Speaker,

I am delighted that the fruits of this policy are now becoming visible. Urban Water Authority revenues have increased from Shs. 400 million in 1995 to Shs.13.4 billion in 2003. As a result eight Authorities in Arusha, Tanga, Moshi, Mwanza, Morogoro, Mbeya, Tabora and Dodoma can now fully meet their operating costs, including for electricity, salaries and water purifying chemicals. In addition, these Authorities have been able to contribute toward the rehabilitation and expansion of infrastructure. Our goal is to ensure that all Urban Water Authorities become financially independent by the year 2006.

Honourable Speaker,

The Third reason for our success again is the correctness and the fruits of our economic reforms. Economic growth and the attendant increase in government revenue have enabled the government to raise the budgetary allocation to this important sector in our war on poverty. And, following donor satisfaction with our commitment, they granted us debt relief and increased their assistance, including concessionary loans and technical assistance.

Consequently, we have been able to substantially increase investment in water projects in rural and urban areas. Todate, we have completed clean water projects worth Shs. 20.4 billion in Morogoro, Dodoma, Tabora, Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions. In addition, sewerage projects worth Shs.11.4 billion have been completed in Morogoro, Tabora, Mwanza, Iringa, Arusha, Moshi

and Mwanza. We are grateful to donors in the water sector that include KfW, World Bank, EU, ADB, BADEA and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Honourable Speaker,

There is a story of a drunk who phoned the police to report that thieves had been in his car. "They've stolen the dashboard, the steering wheel, the brake pedal, the radio, and even the accelerator," he cried out. However, before the police investigation could start, the phone rang a second time and the same voice came over the line. "Never mind," he said with a hiccup, "I got in the back seat by mistake".

I truly believe that these complaining about our economic reforms are those that unfortunately are looking for the reform's successes in the wrong places. I ask them to come to the front seat, so that we can today resolve, once and for all, the issue of whether our economic reforms are of benefit to the ordinary person or not. Let me say this. If anyone is waiting for the Government to stuff money in his or her pocket, he or she will have a long wait indeed, and will always be dissatisfied with the reforms, and even thinking of him or herself as a victim of theft. This august House needs a broader perspective than that of the person waiting for Government largesse from the back seat.

For many years we have wished to provide water from Lake Victoria to the people in Shinyanga region. It remained wishes because our plans relied on financing from others. We focussed on finding donors. A solution was only possible after our economic reforms increased investments in the country, revived productivity and services, and increased government revenues.

As a result, a few days ago, here in Dodoma, an agreement was signed for the construction of the first phase of the project to draw water from Lake Victoria for Kahama and Shinyanga towns. This project will also benefit villages along the envisaged pipeline in Mwanza and Shinyanga regions. Construction is scheduled to begin in May 2004, and the first phase is expected to be completed by the end of 2005. The total project cost is Shs.85.1 billion, all of which will come from our own resources.

Let me now ask: Am I exaggerating when I state that those who claim that our economic reforms are useless for the people have closed their eyes?

Honourable Speaker,

Let me talk about the water problem facing Dar es Salaam City, whose solution is yet another manifestation of the correctness of our policies, and another illustration of the achievements of our economic policies.

All of us here are leaders. And a good leader is one with vision, able to correctly assess situation and firmly decide, and bold enough to act. A poor leader, on the other hand lacks vision, is unable to make correct assessments and decide, and vacillates when it is time to act. I want to be open. I request this august House, a House that is the hope of all Tanzanians, to join hands with me so that together we can have a broader vision, we can strengthen our ability to correctly assess situations and decide with resoluteness, and especially to be bold in action. Wavering, even where the correctness of our policy is not in question, for whatever reasons, gives the impression of a people and leaders who are not firmly decided, uncertain, taking one step forward and another step backwards.

We are leaders. We should demonstrate the necessary courage to take our nation forward, not the courage to hold it back. Ours is a poor country. Every decision has its positive and negative sides. It requires brave leaders, leaders that are ready to bite the bullet, to take resolute decisions and act decisively to take the nation forward.

The decision to privatise water and sewerage services in Dar es Salaam City was not an easy

one to take. But we had to take a decision having analysed the reality of our situation, and carefully weighing the pros and cons. Finally we took a decision and concessionary the infrastructure to City Water from 1 August 2003. Surprisingly, even when the concession has not run for six months some people are becoming impatient wanting all problems to disappear immediately. That is not realistic. We have lived with these problems, and countenanced them for many years. How can one expect City Water to resolve all of them in six months?

In the meantime, the concession has enabled the Government to secure a loan of Shs.164.6 billion from the World Bank (IDA), the African Development Bank (ADB) and the European Investment Bank (EIB) that will be applied to improving water services in Dar es Salaam City, and some areas of Kibaha and Bagamoyo.

Rehabilitation of the infrastructure is expected to start soon. The critical and urgent repair of water pumps and network pipes has begun, while major rehabilitation works on water purification plants at Mtoni, Ruvu Juu and Ruvu Chini are due to begin in April 2004. More works will also begin this year.

After the completion of these works, Water and Sewerage Services in Dar es Salaam City will improve significantly. Water leakage will be reduced from the current 55 per cent to 28 per cent while revenue collection will increase from 45 per cent to 90 per cent. Customers connected to the network will grow from 97,000 to 140,000 of whom 70 per cent will be getting water for 24 hours a day. In addition the number of customers supplied with water meters will increase from 3 per cent to 95 per cent, thereby enabling many customers to pay for actual water consumption. More importantly, investment in improving water services will no longer rely on government financing but will depend on revenue accruing from the service offered. For every service has a cost that needs to be borne by the user, except for the very poor.

Agriculture

Honourable Speaker,

In the past ten years, agriculture has been growing at an annual average of 3.1 per cent compared with an annual population growth estimated at 2.9 per cent over the same period. This rate is too low, and will not enable us to eliminate poverty and contribute to national economic growth. We have, therefore, placed special emphasis on agriculture. Already, by 2002 agriculture was growing at 5 per cent. We expected to record a 6 per cent growth this year, but due to the continuing drought facing our country that target will not be realised.

In the years 2000/2001 and 2002/2003 major cash crop production increased as follows: cotton from 123,558 to 188,690 tons; tobacco from 28,000 to 32,693.62 tons; sugar from 135,534 to 190,120 tons; sisal from 20,500 to 23,641 tons; tea from 26,385.5 to 28,028.13 tons; and pyrethrum from 1,850 to 3,000 tons. The production of cashewnuts decreased from 122,283 to 90,000 tons; and coffee from 58,134 to 52,439 tons. This decrease in cashewnut and coffee was due to the failure of farmers to get money for buying necessary inputs following a drop in crop prices.

Acreage under flower cultivation increased from 30 hectares in 1995 to 100 hectares in 2002. The amount of cut flowers exported increased from 98 million to 420 million stems over the same period. Furthermore, the Government has motivated the private sector to export fruits and vegetables.

Privatisation and subsequent investment in industries processing agricultural crops, particularly tea and sugar, is showing great success. For instance, privatisation and investment in the sugar factories at Kilombero and Mtibwa, and at the Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC), has increased national sugar production from 113,622 tons in 1998 to 228,743 tons in the 2003/2004 season. The Kagera Sugar Factory will also begin production in the 2003/2004 season and is expected to produce 30,000 tons in its first year. In addition, the revival of these factories has

increased employment and income to Tanzanians. It has also created a booming industry for out-growers who act as contract farmers for the sugar processing companies. Anyone still in doubt about the benefits of privatisation should talk to these out-growers around Mtibwa and Kilombero factories, and later this year, at Kagera. Members of Parliament from these areas know this very well.

The Third Phase Government has increased investment in irrigation, especially in the construction and rehabilitation of small irrigation schemes. Those who do not think the Government is putting enough emphasis on irrigation should pay attention. Since 2002/2003 a total of Shs.3.16 billion was spent on irrigation activities. A total of 8,995 hectares were put under irrigation making the total area under irrigation 200,895 hectares. The Government expects that by June 2004 the total acreage under irrigation farming will reach 230,292 hectares.

The Government, in association with the Japanese Agency for International Cooperation (JICA), has completed preparations for the first phase of a Master Plan for Irrigation Farming. Surveys have shown that there are in the country 2.3 million hectares that are ideal for irrigation development. In general, the Nation has 29.4 million hectares that are suitable for irrigation farming.

Those farmers participating in the small irrigation farming schemes can now plant up to three times a year, and with increased yields. For example, rice production has increased from an average of 1.8 ton/ha. to 5.0 ton/ha. and is expected to reach 6-8 ton/ha. Priority has been placed on the rehabilitation of existing irrigation infrastructure, strengthening small-scale irrigation farming, increasing rain water harvesting by constructing dams, and disseminating well drilling technology, and the use of small diesel pumps as well as those using alternative sources of energy such as solar and wind.

In order to encourage the participation of small and large-scale farmers, including agricultural experts, the Government continues to encourage the private sector to import better agricultural implements. In response, 1,080 tractors were imported between 2001 and 2003, a much larger number compared to the 50 large tractors imported into the country in 1999/2000. In addition, in 1999/2000, 60 power tillers were imported, and sold on loan at affordable prices. Furthermore, the Government agreed to meet the transportation costs for these power tillers to the regions in order to further reduce the price paid by the farmer.

The Government also continues to provide loans for the rehabilitation of grounded tractors, and for buying new ones. A total of 272 applicants have had their requests processed.

In an effort to further improve research services, the Government has undertaken major rehabilitation of 17, out of 22, of its Research Centres. The rehabilitation included laboratories, offices, staff quarters and infrastructure in the experimental farms. In addition, all the 22 Centres have been provided with working tools such as vehicles, tractors, motorcycles and computers. A total of 97 experts out of 350 have undergone higher education (MSc and PhD level) during this period, thereby strengthening their professional competence.

In an effort to further strengthen research capacity in respect of commercial crops, the Government has decided to involve tea, coffee and tobacco crop stakeholders in the operation and supervision of research on those crops, by establishing Research Institutes outside the Government system. These institutes are: the Tea Research Institute of Tanzania (TRIT), the Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TACRI) and the Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania (TORITA). These facilities will be directly responsible to the stakeholders of their respective crops, particularly the farmers. Greater efficiency has already been obtained under this arrangement.

I repeat, Honourable Speaker, the political will of this Government to develop and support agriculture is without question. And all that has been done in this respect, and continues to be done, was made possible by the success of our economic reforms. We have no miracle that will resolve all

of our problems in one day; but the correctness of our policy and the direction ahead is clear.

Livestock

Honourable Speaker,

Privatisation is part of the economic reforms we are undertaking that accord opportunity to Tanzanians to develop themselves, and to have a stake in the economy of their nation. I should like to give the example of what we are doing with regard to the privatisation of large scale ranches and dairy farms in order to empower our people.

In February 2002, the Government made the conscious decision that the privatisation of ranches and dairy farms be used to empower Tanzanians to engage in modern animal husbandry.

Under this strategy, seven NARCO ranches, namely, Kikulula Complex, Kitengule, Mkata, Missenyi, Kalambo, West Kilimanjaro and Mzeri, will each set aside an area of 20,000 hectares to be developed as model ranches under NARCO. The remaining areas, together with Usangu and Uvinza ranches, are to be subdivided into smaller ranches of 4,000 hectors each, which will be privatised only to Tanzanians who wish, and have the capacity, engage in commercial livestock farming.

In addition, Kongwa and Ruvu ranches will be set aside as disease free ranches, which can meet conditions for meat export to foreign markets. The total privatisation programme which will involve a total of 400,000 hectares to be subdivided into about 100 small ranches for Tanzania investors, will be completed by June 2004.

Dairy farms, formally under DAFCO, have also been placed under the same scheme of privatisation to Tanzanians. So far, Utegi (Tarime), Ruvu (Pwani), Ihumbu (Iringa) dairy farms have been privatised to Tanzanians, and a similar process is underway for the Rongai dairy farm. The Malonje dairy farm will be split into smaller farms of 50 hectares each, also to be privatised to Tanzanians. My hope is that this privatisation targeting our people will be more successful than the privatisation to Tanzanians of commercial enterprises and industries. I appeal to aspiring Tanzanians, with credible plans and capacity, to come forward and the Government, on its part, will support and assist them.

Infrastructure

Honourable Speaker,

Good infrastructure is necessary if we want to attract investors, and to empower our people to participate in the market economy. Much has been accomplished in this area. I will give only three examples – roads, telecommunication, and ports.

Roads are key in empowering people, economically and socially, while acting as an incentive to production and trade. A country's economy, domestic and external, can not thrive without good roads that allow people, crops, products and services to move freely from one place to another.

This is why the Third Phase Government decided from the very beginning to accelerate existing roads construction programmes from previous governments. In collaboration with this House, we have invested a lot in road construction, and rehabilitation, as well as bridges and ferries.

In the last 8 years (1995 – 2003) the following projects were completed: 68 km of roads were rehabilitated and expanded; 194 km of tarmac roads were constructed. The bridge over Rufiji river, and 22 other bridges were constructed; the feasibility study for the Mtwara-Songea-Mbamba Bay road was completed; and the Kilombero and Ukara ferries were acquired.

Those are the completed projects. Many other projects are ongoing, and are in various stages of execution, including: Construction of 961 km of tarmac roads; rehabilitation of 197 km of tarmac roads; feasibility study for roads with a length of 943 km; and, detailed design for 367 km of roads.

There are also road projects covering 587 km whose preparations for construction and rehabilitation are under way. There are many road and bridge projects. I cannot enumerate all of them here. I should like to thank you, Honourable Members, for supporting the Government in the priority placed on infrastructure, especially roads.

Honourable Speaker,

I should like to highlight the road construction project using our own resources, as a yet another illustration of the successes of our economic reforms, and the determination of the Government to empower our people for self development.

For many years critical road projects were delayed because of our dependence on donors. At times, they said they did not have funds, in other times the funds were not released on time occasioning huge cost overruns, at times conditionalities attached to accessing resources under the grants or loans were truly vexing and overbearing.

With increased Government revenues, we became bold enough to embark on faster road construction using our own funds. We decided to set aside Shs. 1.84 billion every month for this project. Over a period of 5 years, 2001/02 – 2005/06, the following roads will be built, to tarmac level:

1. Somanga-Masaninga Road and the Matandu bridge (33 km);
2. Nangurukuru-Mbwemkulu Road (95 km);
3. Mbwemkulu-Mingoyo Road (95 km);
4. Dodoma-Manyoni Road (124 km);
5. Manyoni-Singida Road (122 km).

Honourable Speaker,

I repeat. Anyone claiming that our reforms are not beneficial to the people must have closed his eyes. Without the reforms, we would not have secured the revenue that affords us the courage to try self-reliance on projects that truly empower our people.

Honourable Speaker,

We cannot utilise the opportunities that globalisation offers without communication technologies, ranging from land phones, cellular phones, computers, websites, the internet, satellites and others.

We have increased our telephone exchange capacity from 125,703 lines in 1993 to 242,175 lines in 2002. Currently, there are more than one million cellular phone lines in use. Such progress in telecommunications has not only contributed to facilitating business, social and family communication, but the telephone companies now contribute significantly to Government revenue.

There are also encouraging developments in internet infrastructure and use, that can greatly improve access to education, information and business transactions at low cost. At present, almost all regions have internet services, except Lindi, Rukwa and Ruvuma. It is our hope that these regions too will obtain this essential service before the end of the year.

Honourable Speaker,

One area with great potential to speedily increase national income is our ports. Our country is fortunate to have an ideal geographical location. Our ports serve 6 neighbouring countries. It is our duty to offer excellent services at our ports, and therefore to withstand competition from other ports on the Indian Ocean coastline.

In order to attain this objective we have dredged and improved the entry to the Dar es Salaam Port, we have constructed a container terminal, we have bought cargo handling equipments for all ports, we have expanded Mtwara port, we have built a vessel navigation centre in Dar es Salaam, and improved the quay area at the port in Tanga.

Following privatisation of the Container Terminal at the Dar es Salaam port, its efficiency has significantly improved and today boasts being the most efficient container terminal in East and Southern Africa. Dar es Salaam port has increased its cargo handling from 3.5 million tons in 1998 to 4.5 million tons in 2002.

Foreign Trade

Honourable Speaker,

We need to be forthright with each other about certain matters in our country. It is not possible for our country to develop with dignity without increasing the volume and value of its exports. True, there has been a big increase in our exports in the last few years, from USD 682.9 million in 1995 to USD 877.1 million in 2002. But this increase is largely attributed to our mineral exports, especially gold. And, it is not too wise to be overly reliant on mineral sales. In the first place, their prices are subject to high volatility. Secondly, minerals are not an infite resource. We need to build our economy on the basis of industrial exports.

We also pride ourselves in the large foreign exchange reserve position we enjoy. I would be more glad if those funds had accrued from the export of products and services by our people. As it is, a part of those reserves come from loans and donor funds. This is not healthy. Why are Tanzanians not exporting more? What is failing us? These are basic questions we must ask ourselves. Why are people still resentful of foreign investors who can invest in industries and enhance our national capacity to export goods produced locally, providing jobs to our people? But when I invite this kind of investment, they say, Mkapa is selling the country. When are we going to wake up, and appreciate the realities of our world, and its orientation in the context of globalisation?

Let me offer an example. The Dominican Republic has an area of 48,072 sq. km. (5% of Tanzania) and a population of 8.7 million (25% of Tanzania population). They have nothing more than us. Their economy is dependant on sugar, coffee, tobacco, cement and to an extent some minerals. In the last few years, their service sector, especially tourism and free trade areas, has surpassed agriculture as a major contributor to the national economy. In 2000 they exported goods worth USD 5.7 billion (8 times more than Tanzania in the same year) and services worth USD 3.2 billion (5 times more than us in the same year).

Honourable Speaker,

These are the basic questions Tanzanians need to ask themselves. How can a small country like the Dominican Republic outdo us so much in terms of export?

Last August, we launched the National Trade Policy which among other things aims at enabling Tanzania to fight poverty through trade, domestically and externally.

I thank this august House for adopting the legislation on Export Processing Zones (EPZ) in order to attract investments into manufacturing industries for foreign markets. Two industries have already been established under this arrangement. But this pace is too slow. It is embarrassing that while I am at the forefront of developing country demands for access to the markets of rich countries, Tanzania has nothing much to export!!

If I am asked what it is in particular that my country is unable to export under the present arrangement, what can I say? If I am asked how many serious exporters there are in Tanzania, what do I say? We are articulate yes, but can we deliver? We have hardly utilised the preferential market access to the United State, under AGOA terms. Our neighbours in Kenya are exporting a lot more

under the same terms. We have the right to sell at preferential terms to the European Union under the Everything But Arms arrangement, but we do not fully utilise that opening. And, yet when I invite investors to help us build the national capacity to export, while at the same time providing employment, there are people who allege Mkapa is selling the country. These are absolutely strange people!

I continue to believe that if we applied ourselves more we could achieve much more in this area. The Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing organised and empowered our farmers to participate in an International Trade Fair in Rostock, Germany. Their participation was a great success, giving Tanzania an Honorary Award, in addition to obtaining a total of 33 medals, that included 12 gold medals, 14 silver medals and 7 bronze medals. Those medals, however, will not mean much if we do not actually export.

I repeat. We can perform better if we exert ourselves more and exploit existing opportunities, and the empowerment offered by the Government. For your information, the Dominican Republic exports vegetables and fruits worth USD 104.2 annually. How can we fail, blessed as we are with such a big country, particularly after our successful participation at the Rostock Trade Fair?

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Cancún

Honourable Speaker,

The fifth W.T.O. Ministerial Meeting at Cancún in September 2003 collapsed without agreement on global trade issues. It also broke up without advancing further the agenda that began at Doha, seeking to link trade with the development of poor countries. The failure of the meeting was a serious blow to the development of countries such as ours, and to multilateral global governance.

The real cause of the collapse was due to the fact that many of the promises made at Doha were not implemented, and frustrated developing countries openly demonstrated their refusal to continue entertaining the scorn of the big powers. Almost every country, even the rich, admit that subsides granted to farmers in rich countries—including production and export subsidies—have seriously harmed the capacity of farmers in poor countries, who are not subsidised, and, therefore, cannot compete with the produce of their counterparts in rich countries who enjoy subsidies.

In addition, the rich countries also have non-tariff barriers that restrict access to their market for farm and livestock products from poor countries, especially once they are processed.

It is however significant that in Cancún poor and developing countries became united, refusing to continue being pushed around on the issue of subsidies, as well as pressures to hasten negotiations on the so-called "Singapore Issues", that were clearly advantageous to them but which eroded our opportunities and productivity in trade and investments. The unity and determination of poor and developing countries on the one hand, and the failure to address the concerns of the developing countries on the other, led to the collapse of the meeting.

Currently, there are attempts underway to revive the multilateral trade negotiations. In Doha we called this, a Development Round. It is however evident that the round cannot be a development round without addressing the question of agricultural subsides, which creates imbalances and inequity in trade. We strongly appeal to rich countries to go further than admitting the negative impact of their subsidies on us, and take urgent remedial measures that will lead to the final elimination of the subsidies.

We also appeal to the international community to resume negotiations **on the understanding**

that Cancún marked the inception of a new negotiating framework, a framework built on the firm belief that even the poor have legitimate rights, that they need to be heard and deserve to be assisted so that they can use trade for their development rather than continue depending on development assistance.

Globalisation

Honourable Speaker,

I addressed this august Assembly on 30 January 2002 when I had just been honoured by the International Labour Organisation to Co-Chair the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation. That Commission, which I co-chaired with the President of Finland, Her Excellency Tarja Halonen, has completed its work and is expected to launch its Report in Geneva and London on 23 and 24 February 2004. I am also expected to formally present the Report to the Governing Board of the ILO later next month.

The main objective of the Commission was to seek to establish a civilized dialogue about globalisation, especially its impact on the social dimension. The Commission has pointed out the consequences of globalisation, in the economic and developmental areas. In addition, the Commission has underscored the immense potential of globalisation, when properly guided, to be a great force for development for the entire world.

The Commission is however cautioning that, in spite of the positive potential of globalisation, there is now great fear and anger concerning the manner in which globalisation is unfolding. This is dangerous, not only upon the community that suffers its negative impact, but to the entire international community. There is a Chinese proverb: "A fire cannot be wrapped with paper". The Commission's message is that the gathering fire against globalisation can no longer be covered by paper.

In order to face the challenges that globalisation presents, we will need the support of political and business leaders at all levels, internationally, regionally and nationally. We cannot nonetheless blame globalisation for all our difficulties and our poverty. The solution to the impact of globalisation begins at home. As a nation we have many things we have to do before we cam benefit from globalisation. As pointed out earlier, education is one of them. The young people we are preparing to lead the development of our nation need to build the capacity to compete in production and employment. We are struggling to create a conducive environment to make globalisation beneficial to all countries. But we also have to appreciate that the fate of our country lies in our hands. **The world outside can survive without us. I, however, do not believe we can survive without that world**.

Only when we are prepared internally can we have the courage and the legitimacy to demand fair rules and regulations that are predictable, and which protect the interest of the poor in international trade and development.

Foreign Affairs

Honourable Speaker,

The totality of what I have said present serious challenges to our foreign policy. We have to create the capacity to discern the forces of change confronting the world, and articulate policies and strategies enabling us to face change while at the same time sustaining peace, harmony and development in our country, our neighbourhood, our continent and in the world.

For a long time conflicts in neighbouring countries have been a great burden to our nation especially with regard to the influx of refugees and the environment degradation attributed to them. We cannot, on our own, secure lasting settlement to problems such as these. These difficulties require a wider, collective, regional and international perspective.

In Burundi the transition government is doing well under the leadership of President Domitien Ndayizeye. We thank him and all Burundians for their strenuous effort in searching for lasting peace in their country. A number of rebel groups recently agreed to lay down their arms and to participate in a dialogue to resolve their problems. We continue to urge the remaining FNL group to join with other Burundians in a peaceful search for peace in their country. And, as usual, we are willing to support their effort towards peace.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo the effort of the Congolese people under President Joseph Kabila continue to generate hope for peace in a country that has suffered for too long, and for peace in the entire Great Lakes region. We are grateful to President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and his deputy, Mr. Jacob Zuma, for their untiring effort. We thank other leaders in the Great Lakes region that have greatly contributed to the search for peace in our region.

In recognising the importance of this matter, the international community, led by the United Nations, is preparing an International Conference on the Great Lakes. Our country has been given the privilege to host this meeting, expected to take place in Dar es Salaam later this year.

The main objective is to seek a multilateral strategy in support of our countries' efforts to confront the causes of conflicts in the region, to garner development assistance, and to build our capacity for conflict prevention and peace keeping.

For too long our region has earned the reputation of an area of endless conflict. This state of affairs has denied us the opportunity to exploit our unity and our resources in the interest of our countries and our people. This image undermines our development and does not encourage investments in our region. Tanzania will effectively participate in all efforts to find lasting peace and sustainable development, and transforming the Great Lakes region into a zone of peace.

Defence and Security

Honourable Speaker,

One of the main reasons for the Government divesting itself of direct production and trading activities was to concentrate on the better performance of the traditional roles of the State, including law and order, defence and security.

These responsibilities can only be discharged when the Government has the necessary financial capacity. The achievements of our economic reforms have significantly improved our capacity in that regard. I am glad to inform this august House that our considerable increase of Government revenue has enabled us to better provide for our forces, and, therefore, enabling them to execute their functions better. I will mention a few of the things we were able to do.

The first, in importance, is that the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (JWTZ) has been able to discharge its primary responsibility of ensuring the strong defence of our country, so that our people can work and live without fear. Our defence policy places strong emphasis on the people's militia. An improved revenue position has allowed us to continue with militia training, and as a result, the militia has helped in the defence of our country especially in the border regions.

Our policy also is to have a small army that is highly professional, competent, brave, disciplined and loyal. Training for such an army is costly, but very important. I am glad we have been able to conduct military exercises on our own, and in collaboration with neighbouring countries.

The success of our economic reforms has also enabled us to meet some of the important needs of the Commanders, Officers, men and women of the JWTZ and the National Service (JKT). For instance:

- Military Hospitals, including the main Military Hospital at Lugalo, and zonal hospitals in Mbeya and Mwanza have been renovated and provided with necessary equipment for better service to military personnel and civilians.
- The food situation, in terms of availability and quality has greatly improved;
- Messes in military barracks have been improved;
- Tax-free shops have been opened in many barracks;
- Two transport planes have been bought, which can also be used in disaster relief;
- New uniforms have been acquired for everyone;
- The problem of living quarters for new recruits and those in training has been resolved;
- The semi-finished houses at Monduli, Arusha and Ihumwa, Dodoma, have now been completed;
- A phased project for improving administration and decision making by installing computers is in progress;
- Accountability and supervision of expenditure of Government funds has been improved. There are no more huge debt arrears, and audit queries; have been reduced;
- Salary and food allowances have relatively improved, and there are no longer delays in payments;
- National Service intake has been revived;
- National Service camps at Ruvu, Makutopora, Oljoro and Mafinga have been renovated. Others continue to be renovated;
- A new and fitting head office for JKT has been constructed;
- The situation for our Police and Prison forces has also been improved.

Honourable Speaker,

I could go on and on. But what I have pointed out is sufficient to demonstrate that whoever claims to be unaware of the benefits of our economic reforms, is either sitting at the rear seat or has his eyes closed. I say, let us not forget where we came from. And in this regard I thank our armed and security forces for their great patience and understanding at a time when we were struggling to increase our revenues and reform our economy, that necessitated stringent financial measures. I commend them all for their exemplary work that they continue to do for their country. I am keenly aware that we have not solved all their problems, but we have started well and will continue to do so as our economy improves further.

For example, the Police Force has been granted priority in the Government budget to enable it to fully discharge its responsibility in ensuring peace and protecting people and their property. The budget of the Police Force has increased from Shs. 15.5 billion in 2001/02 to Shs.42.8 billion in 2003/04, an increase of 176.1 per cent in two years!

With regard to the Prison Services, they have similarly been accorded priority in the budget.

The budget for Prisons saw an increase from Shs. 12.1 billion in 2001/02 to 28.5 billion in 2003/04, an increase of 135.5 per cent. As a result of this increase, the environment in our prisons has improved. What remains now is to tackle the problem of over-crowding.

The Government has begun to strengthen our Fire Brigade and Rescue services in our municipalities. As a start, the Central Government has released Shs. 1.5 billion for the purchase of new fire trucks for Dar es Salaam and Shs. 600 million for the City of Mwanza. Municipalities in seven other regions will benefit under this scheme in the next financial year. And here I would like to commend everyone involved in the heroic efforts to put out the fire at the TANESCO fuel depot at Ubungo, Dar es Salaam, on 22 January 2004. In a very special way I thank and congratulate the two Fire Fighting officers of the Dar es Salaam International Airport, superintendent Mpemba Mputa Magogo and Sergeant Fadhili Matola for their exemplary heroism that saved the lives and property that were in danger.

Pride in our Successes and Branding

Honourable Speaker,

Today I have remembered a lot of stories about drunkards. Two drunks were walking along. One drunk says to the other, "What a beautiful night, look at the moon." The other drunk stops and looks at his drunken friend, "You are wrong, that's not the moon, that's the sun."

Both started arguing for a while when they come upon another drunk walking so they stopped him. "Sir, could you pleased help settle our argument? Tell us what that thing is up in the sky that's shining. Is it the moon or the sun?'

The third drunk looked at the sky and then looked at them and said, "Sorry, I don't live around here."

Honourable Speaker,

When a Tanzanian is asked about the obvious accomplishments in our country, I do not expect his response to be that he is unaware since he does not live here. We all live here and know where we came from. I appeal to Tanzanians to remember where we came from and not to shy away from conceding the great strides we have made. I know it is not in our disposition to praise ourselves. But we should not leave it entirely upon foreigners to sing our praises, while we ourselves appear unconcerned and unseeing.

All those who praise us, including large international investors, wonder why Tanzanians themselves do not publicise and spread more the good news about their successes. My response has always been that in our tradition we do not blow our own trumpet. And they remind me that the world has changed and will change even further. It is no longer enough to succeed. Others must know of your successes. The present and future competition in a globalising world demand that a country advertises itself, and be widely recognised and identified with something. The world has now turned into the proverbial world where every one who stretches the skin on a drum pulls to his own side. In these times, even countries advertise themselves like consumer products, and therefore brand themselves, acquiring a trademark. It is time as Tanzanians that we are recognised for certain reasons or attributes.

Honourable Speaker,

We should not hide our shortcomings, especially among ourselves. But neither should we shy away from, or neglect to recognise, the achievements we have attained. The nation should shed light on these achievements, and hold them high for every citizen to see, and for all foreigners to recognise us as a country that is serious, and a people firmly decided to defend their humanity and honour through development. It is not a virtue to disregard oneself. The respect of a country is not the monopoly of an individual, or a political party, or a Government. It is respect to the entire country. Similarly, a national shame is not the preserve of an individual or a party, or a

Government. It is a shame for the entire country, and all Tanzanians. Criticize respectfully, where criticism is due; and praise fervently where praise is due. I will offer a few examples.

On the firm foundation bequeathed to us by our founding fathers we have created resilient and sustainable political institutions that can survive various challenges. One illustration is the MWAFAKA. The pace at which the resolution of the political problems in Zanzibar was attained, particularly after handling them ourselves, amazed many people. For, in Africa, but also even in some of the advanced countries, there are political disputes that have taken decades without solutions that are as comprehensive and sustainable as ours. In our case, we have succeeded, and the two sides continue to demonstrate political maturity, respecting the MWAFAKA and its implementation. Our MWAFAKA is now an example to others and I will not be surprised to see scholars from afar coming to undertake research on the MWAFAKA, and obtain doctorate degrees in philosophy. Regrettably, it is as if we ourselves do not see the significance of MWAFAKA, and we do not take pride in it as a reflection of the maturity, resilience, and sustainability of our political institutions.

The second example relates to the full month I was abroad for treatment. I do not know how many African countries would have remained as peaceful as Tanzanian under similar circumstances. This is praiseworthy for Tanzanians, but it is also a demonstration of the maturity, resilience and sustainability of our political institutions and our armed services. We should not hold back our praises.

A similar situation exists in the economic arena. By all accounts Tanzania has now established a firm economic foundation and, thereby enabling our economy to become resilient and sustainable. As I pointed out, this season we are currently experiencing drought in a large part of our country. In the past, we would have been caught in a frenzy of panic. But today when I ask our people not to panic, I do so with confidence. For we have ample foreign reserves, we enjoy excellent relations with donor countries to whom we are grateful for their support of our efforts to ensure the availability of adequate supplies of food in all the corners of our country.

In the social sector there are also many things to be proud of. Our national unity, respect for all people, our success in the fight against discrimination based on religion, religious denominations, race or tribe. This has earned us respect worldwide. But it is not too common in Africa. We have reached a point where there is no serious politician who would in public dare to promote religious or tribal differences. He or she can only do so clandestinely, if at all.

Therefore, Honourable Speaker, there are a host of things we can be proud of, and publicise. We should not think it is virtuous to scorn our own achievements. Wisdom lies in earning respect, by ensuring that our achievements are recognised.

Conclusion

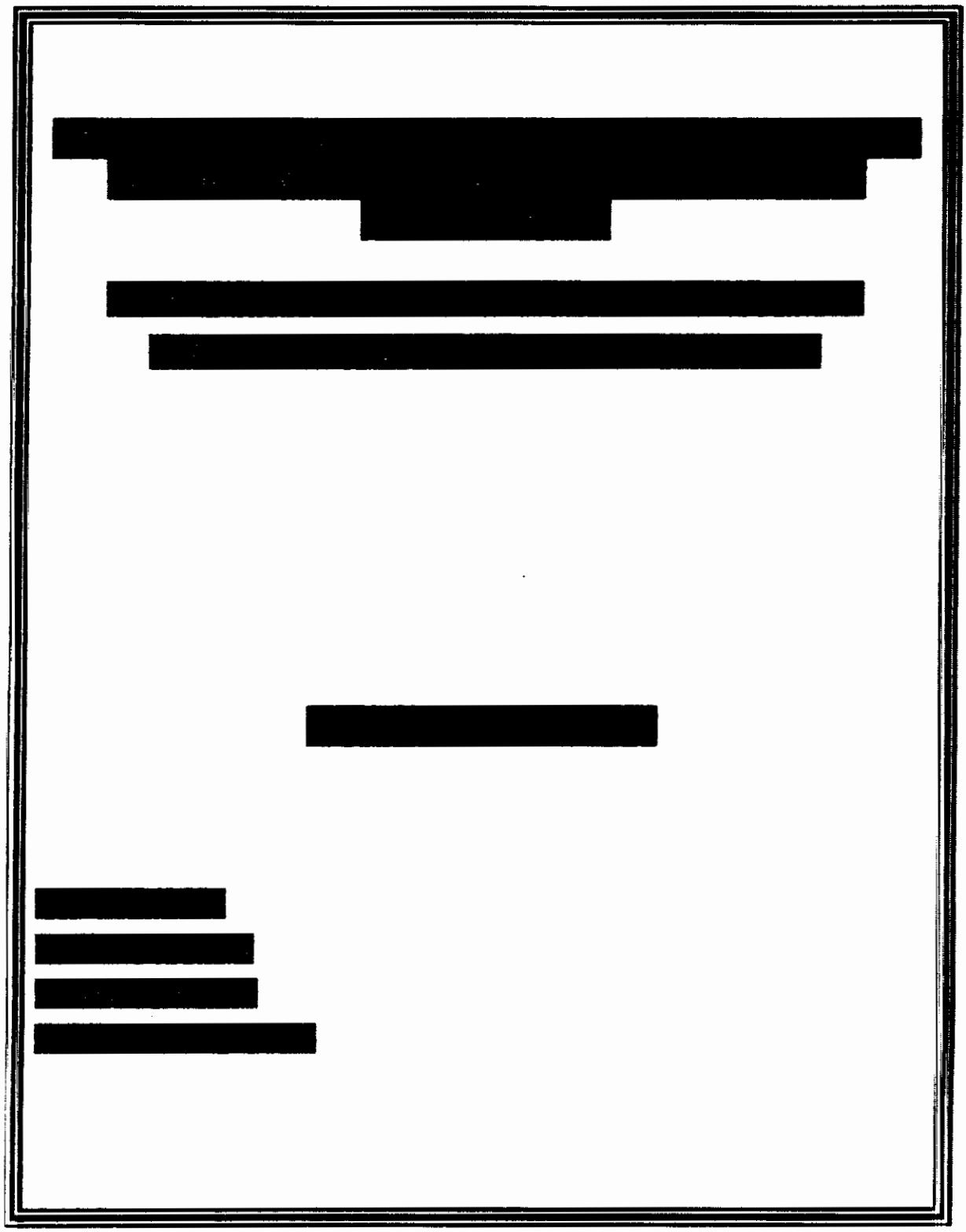
Honourable Speaker,

This has been a long address, I must now conclude. We have made significant progress. We should neither go back nor reduce our pace. We are like an aircraft on the runway. We are facing the right direction, and we are moving towards it. But we are not taking off. To take off we need a fresh burst of power. In the interest of our children and the future of our country, in this era of globalisation, we must now take off. Our economy requires the new burst of energy, a new push for final take-off. That drive and that push is none other than massive investments that will offer many more employment opportunities, enable us to increase our exports, strengthen our economy and avail us further opportunities for every citizen ready to develop himself or herself. We have to be bold, be brave and earnest.

God willing, I have twenty months to lead our country. Let us join hands so that by the time I leave office Tanzania will have taken off. I do not want to leave Tanzania on the runway. We can, and must take off. I need the support of this august House.

I thank you for your attention.

ANNEX B



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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

Parliament is one of the major institutions that enhance democratic governance in democratic systems. However, in order for it to be able to execute its functions effectively, citizens' access to and understanding of the legislative process becomes imperative. Legislators need to engage their constituents to carry out their representative, lawmaking, oversight and administrative functions. Similarly, the constituents need to induce their MPs to engage in activities, which will ultimately improve the legislative product. In this sense, the effectiveness of the parliament in carrying out its functions is indeed a two-way process involving both the MPs and the informed citizenry. It is therefore pertinent for the constituents to clearly understand the role and duties of the MP and the processes or mechanisms that can promote interaction between them. Likewise, while much of the legislator's behavior is influenced in a large part by the quest for reelection, the MP level of understanding of his/her roles and ability to engage the constituents is of paramount importance.

The Tanzania's National Assembly has been undergoing through some significant transformation in order to accommodate broader political changes brought about by the adoption of the multi-party system in mid 1992. Currently, the Assembly has a total of 295 seats. Among these, 231 are directly elected seats through a first-past-the post electoral system, 48 are special seats reserved for women through their respective political parties, 10 presidential appointees, 5 members form the Zanzibar House of Representatives and an Attorney General. Since 1992, the legislature has gained some status as a result of a series of constitutional amendments e.g. impeachment powers over the Presidency, vote of confidence over the Prime minister, approving the choice of the Prime Minister etc. In addition, there have been some changes in the committee system geared

toward maximizing efficiency and representation. A system of public hearing on bill has also been introduced in order to improve the legislative product. Amidst all these changes, the Tanzania's parliament needs some assistance in order to enable it to carry out its functions effectively.

It is from this rationale that SUNY/Tanzania in partnership with the British Council and associates, Bunge Foundation for Democracy as well as Pact/Tanzania was awarded a 2-year programme to provide for technical assistance geared at strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly. The project aims to achieve 4 primary results; improved representation, effective lawmaking by enhancing parliamentary committees, enhancing management and administration and effective oversight. This study covers only two main areas; One, to find out the scope of MP-constituents relations, and two, to conduct a needs assessment of the MPs ability to conduct constituency level public hearings on bills. The findings will enable us to devise an action plan for improving Constituents-MP relationship and for constituency level public hearings on bills.

Organization of Fieldwork

The fieldwork was done by two teams referred as Team A and B. Team A visited Mbeya, Iringa and Dodoma covering a total of 6 constituencies including Mbeya Municipality, Mbarali, Iringa Municipality, Kalenga, Dodoma Urban, and Mpwapwa. Team B visited Morogoro, Dar-es-Salaam, Coastal region and Zanzibar covering a total of 9 constituencies including Kisarawe, Bagamoyo, Morogoro Urban, Morogoro South, Temeke, Kigamboni, Kinondoni, Mlandege and Koani. Each team spent 10 days in the field.

Constituency Profile

Regions	Constituency	Population size (2002)	No. of Wards	No. of Villages/streets/Shehia
Dar-es-Salaam	Kinondoni	1,083,913	10	55
	Temeke	768,451	11	
	Kigamboni		13	NA
Coast	Kisarawe	95,323	15	77
	Bagamoyo	228,967	4	37
Morogoro	Morogoro South	228,863	19	275
	Morogoro Urban	NA	6	NA
Zanzibar South	Koani	15,000	4	15
Zanzibar Urban West	Mlandege	12,000	2	5
Mbeya	Mbeya Urban	266,000	36	
	Mbarali	234,208	11	96
Iringa	Iringa Urban	106,000	14	16
	Kalenga	NA	11	70
Dodoma	Dodoma Urban	324,347	30	40
	Mpwapwa	122,957	9	48

Data and Methods

Two methods of collecting data were used including open-ended interviews and documentary review. Different types of respondents were interviewed in order to gather a varied range of views and opinion. They included designated MPs from both the ruling party and the Opposition, the civil society organizations (CSOs), government officials, parliamentary staff and the general public.

CHAPTER II: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

2.1 MP-Constituents Relations

2.1.1 The Role of the MP: MPs Own Understanding

In general, MPs demonstrated a clear understanding of their roles and duties as representatives of the people. MPs pointed out a series of responsibilities, which they perceive to be their main roles. All of the MPs interviewed define themselves as being developmental facilitators in their constituencies. In performing this role, MPs undertake different activities including organizing fund raising programs with which to finance development activities of the constituencies, assisting people or groups to contact appropriate authorities or enabling them to secure access to government officials i.e. pushing the right pedals in order to produce the desired effects.

Also, lawmaking and supervisory functions were central and highly emphasized by all. MPs pointed out various ways in which they exercise these roles. With regards to the oversight function, many of the MPs interviewed cited examples of the way they have managed to make necessary interventions to stop embezzlement of government funds especially at the local government level. The question and answer session in parliament was also cited as among the ways to oversee the expenditure of the government. Concerning the lawmaking function, MPs define this role as the process of passing legislation. Moreover, MPs regard themselves as public servants who are responsible in serving the people. Many refer the constituents as their "employer" in which they are supposed to be accountable to in order to keep their jobs. Also, a number of MPs perceive themselves as being a link/bridge between the constituents and the government. They also describe themselves as being advisors and educators with a role of informing their constituents about various public/policy issues, and more specifically on how to deal with their problems.

Furthermore, a role of representing the people in parliament was highly emphasized by all the MPs although it was not made very clear on how they actually play this role. Implementing the party manifesto and party's policies was also cited by the MPs as one of their roles. All the MPs seem to place a great deal of emphasis, at least in principle, on paying regular visits to their constituencies. It is in this regard that visiting and holding public meetings was cited by a majority of MPs as being one of their primary tasks. Also, MPs define their role as voices of the people at various institutions of government e.g. town and municipal council meetings.

There were minor variations among the MPs views of their roles. Some put a great deal of emphasis on one role over another. For instance, Bagamoyo's MP take the role of bringing development to his constituency as paramount. This is largely because since independence, MPs in Bagamoyo constituency have served for only one term and then defeated. This was largely due to the constituents' thirst for development. Being among the poorly developed districts in the country, people in Bagamoyo seem to place high responsibilities to their MPs to bring about development. Hence, the poorer the area is, the stronger the pressure for the MPs to define his/her role in a developmental perspective.

Some MPs define their role beyond public issues and see themselves as playing a role of a 'problem solver', solving people's subsistence problems e.g. providing money to individuals for buying food, medications, school fees etc. They find this role, which does not require any legislative action, as important in securing re-election. As one MP commented that, "majority of the people who visited my office asking for help with their personal problems are poor, and these are the ones who vote... I just have to help them in one way or another". On the contrary, some MPs such as Morogoro South MP made it clear that he is not a 'donor agency' but rather a supplier of information. He specifically pointed out

that, "people do not need money, they need the right information that would assist them solve problems on their own".

All in all, some MPs did confess that given the high influx of people visiting their offices and homes asking for some help, they find their time in Dodoma as being on a 'vacation'. Also, another observed variation was between Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland. MPs in Zanzibar were seen to be much more closely linked to the party in implementing the party manifesto than those in the Mainland.

2.1.2 Constituents' understanding of the role of the MP

The constituents mentioned various roles of which they think an MP should play. Many see an MP as a representative of the constituency needs and demands, who takes all their problems to parliament and to the government. They define MP as a Mobilizer of people to participate in development projects in their constituencies. Also, many of the respondents mentioned the MP role of being a lawmaker. Some define an MP as a peacemaker, playing a role of managing and resolving conflicts. Relatedly, an MP is seen as a link between government, CSOs and donor agencies.

Majority of the respondents among the general public see their MP as 'problem solver', handling both public and personal problems including employment, water shortage, road repair, building schools and dispensaries, and even providing food and subsistence funding. Also, when asked about the role of the MP, a significant number of respondents pointed out that one of the roles of the MP is to be closer to the people, to live with them, and interact with them on a regular basis.

However, one of the most common roles of the MP was hardly mentioned by the respondents and this was the oversight function. Also, a few respondents

define MPs as self-interested individuals largely preoccupied with their own personal interests such as securing ministerial positions. There were some respondents who find their MPs as the 'untouchables' who could hardly be met, contacted or invited to visit them. This clearly shows that the awareness of legislative activities among ordinary voters is somehow low.

2.1.3 Existing Structure of Constituents-MP Relations

The study also intended to find out the mechanisms that foster interactions between the MP and the constituents in order to assess how do the MP engage the constituents in carrying out his/her representative, lawmaking, oversight and administrative roles. The purpose was to find out the extent and methods of interactions.

(a) Types of contacts

The most commonly used structure of communication between MPs and the constituents is through MPs periodic visits to the constituencies. There are different types of contacts mentioned by majority of MPs. They include, holding of public meetings on general development issues in the constituency; Scheduled voters' visitation days with the MP at his/her office; Responding to ad hoc groups' calls/demands to visit with constituents in their respective areas on specific issues. Various entry points are used. For instance, the MP can decide to meet either with the general public or village/ward leaders. Some MPs indicated that they organize special indoor meetings with specific influential groups in the area e.g. elders, youth, women etc.

(b) Contacts Time/Frequency

All of the MPs interviewed indicated that the interaction with their constituents is not guided by any established rules, regulations or law. It is upon them to design a plan of action to guide the interactions with their constituents as they see it fit. However, there seems to be an established pattern whereby

visits to the constituencies are normally held at both pre and post Bunge sessions. The purpose of this being, meeting people before the session in order to collect their views, which an MP can use as inputs to various legislation. And for the visits done after the Bunge sessions are intended to inform the constituents about various legislation and laws enacted by parliament.

There are some variations on how MPs design their visits. On the part of the CCM MPs, some use the office of the District Commissioner (DC) to plan for their visit schedule. This was reported by MPs in Kinondoni and Kisarawe. Some use Ward Executive officers (WEO) to organize their meetings e.g. Temeke. The rest use the party machinery at different levels to prepare for their meetings. Most of the CCM MPs prefer to be accompanied with a team of experts (heads of departments) drawn from the district/town/municipal councils to assist them to clarify some of the issues e.g. health, education, agriculture etc. However, this practice is not used by the MPs from the opposition parties. In terms of arranging for meetings, the CUF MP reported that he does it himself or use local leaders i.e. village/ward leaders.

Moreover, many of the MPs reported that they have scheduled Office contacts held at different times e.g. Hon. Kabisa's schedule is as follows; Monday to Friday from 9.00am -1.00pm in the office and 8.00-10.00 pm at the residential house. Some MPs have different times specifically assigned to different categories of people e.g. every Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 9:00-3:00 for the Urban residents, and the other days, Tuesdays, Thursdays and other, are reserved for contacts with residents of the peri-urban and surrounding rural areas that are part of the constituency. Some MPs do not set specific contact hours, instead they prefer to be in the office as long as there are visitors. While away, many MPs use their assistants to keep records of visitors and their issues.

(c) Facilitation Infrastructure and Equipment

All of the MPs interviewed have offices. Many are located in the party's buildings (CCM MPs) e.g. Bagamoyo, Morogoro Urban, and Zanzibar. Some offices are situated in the DC and Municipal Council Buildings. However, many of these offices are poorly furnished with no phones, stationeries, decent tables and chairs. The CUF MP for instance, has an office space that he is not using due to lack of furniture. Almost all MPs complained that they do not have adequate funding for office equipments.

There was only one exception of the MP who has a two room office, the Secretary/assistant and a meeting room with capacity of a maximum of 10 people, tables and chairs, some stationary, personal cellular phone, and a private saloon car which he also uses for within the municipality visits. The Office is part of the Municipal Council Building. It should be noted however that the Current MP was the immediate previous Mayor of the Municipality.

Another interesting variation was observed in Morogoro South where the MP has established 5 sub-offices within his constituency located at different wards. He also has specific timetable, which indicates contacts days at different offices.

Hence, there are marked variations on the way the MPs interact with their constituents. In practice however, what is reported by the MPs do not seem to coincide with the constituents' evaluations of the extent of interactions with their MPs. Whereas all the MPs interviewed reported that they reach their voters through regular visits and scheduled office contacts, majority of the voters interviewed reported that they rarely see their MPs or they do not see them at all. They expressed their disappointments in many ways:

- MPs do not visit us

- MPs visit us only when national leaders (e.g. the Prime Minister) visit our area.
- Even when they visit, MPs use their land cruisers to go around with their windows closed. They are 'tourists'.
- MPs are 'flying doctors', never land to meet majority of sick people (voters).
- MPs are seasonal 'visitors'
- MPs do not use their offices.
- Assistants in the MP offices are not helpful, not knowledgeable.
- MPs public meetings are not widely publicized.
- The location of the MP office is not widely known
- MPs spend a lot of their time in Dar-es-Salaam and Dodoma
- MPs public meetings do not have a quorum. They can meet only 2 people and claim that they have held a public meeting!

2.1.4 The MPs /Party Relationship: Role of the Party in Facilitating the MP/Constituency Relationship

According to the CCM constitution an MP is a member of the different organs of the party: Branch, District, Region and National Levels. This allows him to benefit from this structure in several ways:

- Meet with various categories of members of his constituents within the district and lower levels
- The Party is always represented at the meetings organised by the MP
- The Party, at their meetings and rallies within the constituency, inform the MP's constituents on the initiatives and undertakings of their MP.

Even for the MPs from the Opposition, they also participate in various meetings and rallied organized by their parties within their constituencies. Thus, all MPs reported to have received good cooperation from their parties. As it has been indicated above, in some constituencies, it is the party that organizes MPs public meetings. In Zanzibar, the MP-party relationship appears to be highly organized

and systematic. In every constituency, there is a party constituency office, which deals with MP activities in the constituency including organizing meetings. It should be noted however that the party does not provide any financial resources to the MP. Instead, the party nourishes on the MP's resources and contacts.

2.2 CONSTITUENCY LEVEL PUBLIC HEARINGS ON BILLS

2.2.1 Assessment of the MPS understanding and the ability to conduct constituency level of public hearing on bills

The assessment of the MPs understanding and the ability to conduct constituency level of public hearing was one of the two key tasks of this study. It is important to point out at the beginning that the findings seem to indicate that the whole concept of constituency level public hearing on bills is new to both MPs and constituents in the sense that it is not clearly understood at all levels on how in the formal sense it should be conducted. However, many of the respondents gave their views based on what they know or have experienced in the current system of parliamentary committee public hearings on bills. The first time Public hearing was tried in Tanzania was in 1999 when the bill requiring stern punishment for persons found guilty of sexual offences was being considered in the relevant Parliamentary committee. Since then, a number of bills have been brought before respective committees for public hearing, and therefore providing an opportunity to the public to speak on proposed legislative bills and give their views before the committees. It is the experience from the current practice, which enabled many of the interviewees especially the MPs to provide insightful suggestions on how public hearings on bills should be conducted at the constituency level. The section below presents the findings of the respondents' assessment of the current system of parliamentary public hearing on bills.

2.2.2 MPs Views on the Current Practice of Committee Public Hearing on Bills

Generally, Most MPs find the process very useful and participatory as it incorporates diverse views and interests of the stakeholders, therefore making laws more legitimate. They further observed that through the public hearing process MPs get to learn new things and get fresh ideas which consequently widens their scope of understanding as lawmakers and peoples representatives. However, several limitations were identified by the MPs addressing various aspects of public hearing process.

The majority of the MPs interviewed cited the problem of having limited time to read bills. Sometimes bills are made available only 5 days before hearings. Also, MPs observed that participating stakeholders are still very few, largely benefiting people of Dar es salaam and not others from up country regions. This is largely because the parliament and government do not set aside some funding to support all the stakeholders who appear before public hearings on bills. However, big corporations and industries manage to appear before the public hearings whenever they have special interest they want to defend or support. To this end, some MPs look at the process as being selective and divisive. Also, the current practice seems to take place in a less purposive, structured and formalised ways in the sense that not all bills are brought before respective committees for public hearings.

The other constraint in the current practice, which MPs encounter, on and during public hearing on bills is a language barrier. Bills are drafted in a legal technical English, which most MPs do not understand well. This has at some point made MPs fail to grasp the content of the bill in question. Due to the fact that MPs are least conversant with the issues in the bill, the tendency has been for the parliament to carry out seminars for members of parliament after bills

have become laws. Instead, it would be appropriate if such seminars were conducted during the 21 days notice when the bill is gazetted to allow MPs to know the rationale of the bill before deliberations at committees and in parliament. Also, lack of a legislative timetable was also another handicap, which almost all MPs observed as a serious problem that needs to be rectified.

Moreover, low level of competence among the MPs on the ability to prepare Private Members bill and motions was noted as being a serious problem. Private member bill and motion is provided in the rules and gives an individual member the right to prepare and present a bill or motion in the house. The practice in the Tanzania National Assembly is such that any private member motion has to be deliberated by members of the political party from which an MP belong. The predisposition has been for the party to go against the MPs private bill especially when the bill collides with the government. A second hurdle is when the party has endorsed the Private bill. Such a bill has to go through leadership committee "Kamati ya Uongozi" which is chaired by the Prime minister, who is the leader of government business in parliament and includes the speaker. At this level it is very difficult for the bill to go through and the MP might be advised to integrate the bill into the government proposals. The third hurdle is where the bill, if it has gone through the hurdles above, is put in the Parliament order paper. Such bill would be relegated to the lowest level in the schedule and may take long before it is presented.

Related to the above is the alleged dominant role of the speaker. Some of the MPs pointed out that given the fact that the party in power nominated the Speaker, he tends to be more inclined to regulate the process of Committee hearings in defence of the party in office and the government. The above practice is largely due to the fact that the Tanzanian Parliamentary System is such that the Government is in the House. Being in the House, it directly (not through the MPs as in other systems) tables bills before Parliamentarians. This

phenomenon whereby bills originating predominantly from the government and these bills receiving priority over the private ones, presents a more significant demand for those bills to be taken to the constituents for review and get necessary input from them before they become law. However, due to the financial, organizational and competence constraints stated above, it has become difficult for the MPs to seek the constituents' views on bills before they are enacted into law.

Another limitation pointed out by the MPs was a mismatch between the stakeholders and MPs understandings of the process and objectives of Public hearing on bills. For the MPs, the main purpose is to enhance peoples' participation in the law making process but not necessary to incorporate all of the stakeholders' recommendations into laws. For the stakeholders, public hearings on bills are not only tools for participation, but they expect most of their recommendations if not all to be incorporated into the bill. They regard public hearings as being not an end by themselves but a means to an end.

The Media mishandling of discussion at committees level has been of great disappointment to some MPs. As a result, they tend to discourage press releases of some of the public hearings on bills. This is largely because at times, the media report the decisions made in the public hearings as final, creating confusions when the final legislative product does not incorporate all of the stakeholders' recommendations.

In general, some MPs expressed some reservations as to whether or not the idea of constituency level public hearing can work given the fact that the current system at the committee still faces several problems. However, in spite the existing problems, both MPs and the general public identified limitations and challenges behind the idea of introducing constituency level public hearings as well as possible ways of organizing them. It is to this that we now turn.

2.2.3 MPs understanding and the ability to conduct constituency level public hearings on bills

First of all, many MPs interviewed admitted that they couldn't conduct public hearings on bills at the constituency level on their own. Instead, they need experts' particularly legal experts to assist them in clarifying some of the legal aspects of the bills. Similarly, the MPs further emphasized that the understanding of the bill itself is crucial. The MPs need training on techniques to handle bills in the sense that once the bill is read for the 1st time, there should be mechanisms to summarize and or digest them in a clear plain English language and Kiswahili translation. Experts outside parliament such as independent lawyers, consultants and researchers could do this. These experts could be paid by other sources other than the parliament.

The MPs also noted that there is a need to raise public awareness on the importance of peoples' participation in the law-making process. Often times, voters tend to have their own priorities, largely preoccupied with day-to-day personal problems rather than discussing a bill. In this case, the MPs proposed that there is a need to conduct seminars for councillors' and/ or selected groups who could sensitise others on the importance and need for public to participate in law making mechanism through public hearings. Relatedly, there is a need to include stakeholders at the grassroots level. Committees should hold public hearings on bills at the ward and village level. In other words, village governments and ward administrative machinery should be the focus of public hearing on bills.

With regards to the role of the media, MPs pointed out that mass media could be used to invite stakeholders to the committee instead of sending special invitation to selected groups only. Also, there is a need to put in place specific mechanisms of making MPs visit their constituencies regularly. That is to say,

before introducing a system of holding public hearings on bills in the constituencies, the MPs need to be close to their people; to interact with them. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for MPs who are rarely seen in their own constituencies to conduct public hearings on specific bills. In relation to this, other MPs who has successfully done public hearing can be used as models for others

2.2.4 OTHERS VIEWS: CSOs, Government officials and the general public

Most of the people interviewed were not aware of the concept of public hearing on bills and a mechanism through which it is conducted. It was generally observed that holding public hearings on bills at the constituency level is quite a challenging task. Majority of people are used to listening to their leaders (including MPs) rather than discussing with their leaders (passive vs. active participants). However, many suggested that in order to enhance maximum popular participation, public hearings on bills need to be conducted at different levels involving different groups e.g. CSOs, schools, opinion leaders, etc. It was further observed that to make the concept known and accepted, public awareness campaigns on the importance and value of peoples' participation must be waged before introducing a programme of public hearings on bills at the constituency level. People should be sensitised to understand why they participate and the benefits to be gained from it. It was also urged that there is a need of making available to the public some information through leaflets that explain the role of the MP and the process of public hearings on bills.

2.2.5. Views from Parliamentary Staff on Public Hearing on Bills

Before giving their views and understanding of the process, parliamentary staff first defined what the process of public hearing is all about. They defined it as a process of involving stakeholders to discuss any issue before the parliamentary committee. They further explained that the process opens a window that was closed for so long. It is good like an open small window in a heavily roomed darkness. They point out that since the introduction of public hearing system about four year ago, the process has worked relatively well. Public hearing has made discussions in the committee live, strong and more focused. They went further by saying that, the process benefits not only stakeholders but also enriches MPS understanding. Also, experts invited to public hearing are strong experts in the field and give a lot of technical inputs. Information/inputs gained from stakeholders assist MPs in their discussions and decisions making especially when Technical bills are before the committee. They cited examples of Electricity bill, Seed bill as live examples of experts making a differences

They indeed observed that, Public hearing process in committees enhances MPs capacity to share information with other MPs when they sit as parliament. Unlike in the house where there is a very limited time for members' contributions, Public hearing and discussions in the committee gives more room for prolonged discussions. As a result of public hearing, laws that are made are strong, precise and less controversial unlike in the past where a law could be enacted just to demand amendment few days thereafter.

Parliamentary staff also made observation on the government drafting process as being cumbersome in the sense that a bill could be changing hands in ministries for more than 3 – 4 years, just to make a draft ready for 1st reading few weeks before parliamentary committee sessions. On the role of the

parliamentary staff, most MPs have wrong perception towards committee staff. Some MPs regard staff as non-professional that does not understand anything. This to a larger extent has created a gap between them.

With regards to the constituency level public hearing on bills, the parliamentary staff emphasized on the need to enhance the MPs capacity to understand the content and issues in the bills. Also, they added that the MPs need improved facilitation infrastructures such as good offices where they could meet their constituents on regular basis. They further suggested that MPs and parliamentary staff need to be equipped with research methodology skills to enable them to gather relevant information. Lastly, the parliamentary staffs recommends that given the limited capacity among some of the MPs, the Constitution should state clearly that MPs should have at least a minimum of a Diploma education so that they can be more effective as representatives and law makers.

2.2.6. NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Ability to conduct constituency level public hearing to MPs demands a lot of combined efforts and strategies at all levels. Based on the findings above, , specific needs have been identified and subdivided into three categories. These are; competence, organizational, material and voters needs.

COMPETENCE NEEDS

These are needs related to capacity building for individual MPs to be able to conduct a public hearing on a bill at the constituency level. Specifically Members of Parliament need to be equipped with the following skills:

1. Understanding of bills and their objectives
2. Skills on how to prepare and present private member motion bills

3. Training on how to conduct public hearing on bills at the constituency level e.g. defining the agenda, inviting experts, press relations, engaging other actors in the process such as the civil society etc.
4. Use of ICT facilities whenever possible
5. Skills on how to conduct trucking of government expenditure

Also, as a supporting staff to MPs, Parliamentary research staff need additional training to perform their duties competently, and this includes training on the use of ICT facilities and a provision of 2-3 weeks training on communication skills, report writing, data collection techniques and other relevant skills.

Organizational Needs

The organizational needs relate directly to the strengthening of parliamentary infrastructures and processes in order to facilitate the functioning of the constituency level public hearings on bills. They include such things as rules and procedures, timely releases of bills to the MPs, improvement of the ICT facilities, translations of bills from technical/English language to plain language and or to Swahili, preparation for speedy and transparent legislative program, etc.

MATERIAL NEEDS

In general, the holding of public hearing at the constituencies is an expensive endeavour. MPs need tools and resources to be able to conduct public hearings in their constituencies' i.e. strengthening MPs offices so that they could employ qualified assistants etc. Funding is also required for experts and other stakeholders who will be invited to participate depending on the nature of the

bill. In addition, MPs should be provided with additional support such as drivers' allowance, fuels during public hearing on bills in their constituencies, etc.

VOTERS' NEEDS

The findings above clearly indicate that a process of instituting public hearings on bills at the constituencies need more than just trained MPs, parliamentary clerks, expert testimonies and other resources. More importantly, it needs an informed citizenry. There is therefore a need for waging an extensive civic education program including public awareness and sensitisation program on the process of public hearing as well as constituent member relations Similarly, there is a need to conduct seminars for councillors, CSOs and other selected groups who could sensitise others on the importance and need for public to participate in law making mechanism through public hearings.

In addition, the bills should be translated into Swahili and distributed to the general public before the hearings.

CHAPTER III: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Under this part we undertake to make evaluative states of the various findings from the fieldwork. This evaluative state leads us into making attendant recommendations upon which interventions can be made. The first part of the analysis is on the findings on MP/Constituents relationship. The second part is on constituency level public hearings on bills.

3.1 ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS ON CONSTITUENCY/MP RELATIONSHIP

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

A central subject of the fieldwork study was to come up with a clearer picture of the existing relationship between the Member of Parliament and the constituents. More specifically the study was expected to determine whether or not there is a mismatch of expectations between MP's and Constituent's over each other's. To establish this assumed mismatch, more specific tasks were: to determine the level of constituents' understanding of the role of MP; determine the MP's understanding of their roles and responsibilities; gauge the culture of, and level at which MPs engage their constituents during the implementation of the main duties of law making, oversight of government expenditure and representation and conversely the culture of constituents to involve /inform and engage their MP on matters which will be useful for the MP's execution of the main duties: Law Making, Oversight of Government Expenditure and Representation.

As the findings on these areas above show, there are varied experiences on each of the items listed with equally varied explanations and conclusions one can arrive at. For a more systematic discussion, we will address each of the

above items separately, one after the other. In all cases the central investigating concept will be the assumed mismatch. In this regard for each of the items we cover, we will strive to establish whether or not there exist(s) any type of incompatibilities between, say, the MPs understanding of his role with the constituents' understanding of the MPs role, or within the MPs own understanding of his role and within the Constituents understanding of the MPs role. It will be from the identified mismatches or incompatibilities that recommendations will be drawn and an action plan for intervention constructed.

3.1.2 MP's OWN UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF AN MP

From the presentation above, it is abundantly clear that theoretically all MPs in the sample were very clear with their roles and responsibilities. Each one recounted their oversight, law making and representative functions they were expected to play. But besides these formal roles that an MP is charged with, they proceeded to recount numerous other roles of a general developmental nature. These have included roles of a public service to roles that were to resolve individual and private constituent's interests and problems.

For the MPs, such demonstration of knowledge of their formal roles is expected, after all they contested for positions as members of parliament knowing that a member of parliament had certain tasks to perform if he became one. In addition, for most members of parliament in the sample, the current term was the second one in office or had been in public service, which exposed them to essentials of a member of parliament[1]. This is besides the fact that during their term of office, they participated in several seminars and workshops, which most likely reinforced their knowledge of their roles.

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[1]For example, for Honourable Lubelege from Mpwapwa in Dodoma Region, the current term is a third one. Hon. Mlawa from Kalenga in Iringa Region had served as Clerk of the National Assembly before becoming member of Parliament. Hon. Fatma Said Ali from Mlandege in Zanzibar had been Cabinet Minister for several years.

However, one must hasten to suggest that there were at least two areas in which such knowledge may have been faulty. First, while the MPs mentioned roles such as those involving oversight over the government, law making and representation, such knowledge was of a general nature. There were significant variations between the MPs in the sample when they were tasked to get into the details of executing actual practices involved in the carrying out of these roles. One area in which this was clearly observable was over the law-making role that was the second area of investigation under this assignment. While most of the MPs in the sample appreciated the importance of constituency level public hearing on bills before they became law, as we recognize in the findings above, knowledge of how this practice can be carried out is scanty. Which simply suggests that if, for example constituency level public hearing on bills is to be carried out, all of the current members of Parliament will have to be coached on the variety of ways such a very significant practice of the law-making role is carried out.

Secondly, the additional roles (of the general developmental, public but especially of the private/individual types) which the MPs spelled out for themselves may present such a significant challenge to the MP as to raise false hopes to the constituents and a sense of self defeat to the MP himself for failure to meet them. On this aspect the fieldwork clearly revealed that there was a mismatch of understanding of the role of the MP for the MPs themselves. The MPs burdened themselves and overemphasised the general developmental private individual types than the formal public service types. By doing this the MPs may not only be underplaying the formal and manageable roles they recounted above, but, as shall be discussed below may have been sending false signals to their constituents over what the MPs are required to perform. Very unfortunately for the MP and the constituents this false alarm on what the MPs role is not only verbally given but is authenticated by the stress and strain the

MP places upon him/herself to grow into what we would refer to as "the provider", "spirit" of all development efforts in the constituency and the "solution" to every individual constituent's problem. They offer actual cash for school fees, medical treatment to the absurd purchase of cellular phones for individuals, ostensibly in order to ease communication between them and their MP. It is the view of the team that role of "provider" the MPs assume for themselves is not practicable but even worse it is faulty. It mentally deprives the constituents of the cultivation of self-initiative and a sense of partnership between them and the MP in the resolution of their public and private problems.

3.1.3 CONSTITUENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF AN MP

While it is abundantly clear that the MPs in the sample and probably many others elsewhere in the country are at least in the sense above clear about their role, for the constituents, the general image is one of lack of clarity. Just as one would expect the MPs to be knowledgeable about their roles due to the factors characterised above, in the Tanzanian setting, one can equally expect that for the constituents, at best there will be scanty knowledge about the MPs role. At the worst, and which is the case here, the constituents will have a faulty image of the role of the MP. The position of the MP as the answer to all personal and private problems of each member of the constituency is the dominant model.

That the constituents take this position emanates from the fact that unlike the MPs, they are not exposed to discussions on the role of the MP. What they are exposed to is the faulty image of the MP as **"the provider"**. This image can be explained from at least three dimensions:

- Faulty campaign pledges by Parliamentary candidates;
- Faulty legacy on the role of a the government and its individual officials,(political or administrative) and
- Thirdly the life conditions of the constituents, that is poverty.

- ***Faulty Campaign pledges.***

One basis that determines the construct the constituents have over the MP is derived from the pledges the parliamentary candidates make during the elections campaigns. Candidates for parliamentary seats from the different parties usually compete in making pledges which amount to suggesting that they individually and personally will provide for each constituent's private and individual needs if elected. Naturally, when elected, the constituents will queue up at the office of the MP and pester him/her full of expectations that they now can receive what the MP had pledged during the campaigns.

- ***Enduring Legacy on the Role of the Government and its Individual Officials.***

Besides the faulty campaigns, for Tanzania, this problem is compounded by an age long legacy surrounding development policies and what was erroneously presented as the role of the government and its officials in development. For Tanzania, development policies and attendant programs of the later years of the 1960s through to the mid 1980s put emphasis on the role of government over those of the private individuals in bringing about their own development[2]. The Government was to build schools, hospitals, feed the population through state farms and state organised cooperatives, etc. The government official, political or administrative was the expression of the state. That image made the population believe that the government through its officials, such as the MP was the agent for providing most if not all their wants.

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[2]The policies referred to did recognise the role of the individual through the policy of Self-Reliance. However, self reliance was more oriented towards what were looked at dangers of aid and loans, than towards the motivation of individuals to summon their individual energies and bring about their own development.

This image has left a scar in the politics of Tanzania, both in the hearts of the leadership and its constituents, that the equation between them is one of **"provider"** and **"recipient".**

The problem which arises from the faulty campaign pledges and the enduring legacy about the role of government and its officials have to be revised if the MP and its constituents are to have a common mind on each others role. A series of training programs to change such a perception is therefore necessary. Just as necessary is the need to re-orient the roles of government and its officials towards a more self motivated private individual approach to realisation of ones wants. Thus policy and institutional reform on development initiatives is mandatory.

- ***Poverty.***

Poverty is one other problem that has accentuated the type of relationship and expectations which the constituents have over their MP on the one side, and the attempt which the MP himself strenuously makes to meet the individual wants of his constituents on the other. The members of the public, particularly those in the rural areas and among the marginalized groups in the semi-urban areas are literally confronted by the problem of meeting basic subsistence requirements because of poverty. During the period of the fieldwork, this issue was even more visible because of the drought that has left many households in constituencies such as Mpwapwa in Dodoma region with literally very little food to eat reducing them to the position of beggars, begging from the officials including the MP. The impact of HIV Aids has also accentuated the poverty problem. In the constituency of Iringa Urban, for example, 4200 orphan children have been left behind by their deceased parents without shelter, and cannot therefore meet their food, educational as well medical requirements.

Under these circumstances, the MP unmistakably is the only leader cum parent who they turn to for assistance. The MP therefore grows into the immortal role of the "provider". That the constituents turn to the MP more than to any other leader arises from the fact that this is the only official in the hierarchy of government they put in office. He at least from that angle approachable. Thus remarked one MP during the field work:

> *"Poverty has distorted the expectations of the people over their MP. The MP is seen as an all problems (public and private/individual) solving agent".*

In summary, there is a huge amount of mismatch in the constituents' understanding of the role of an MP. Whichever are the reasons for it, one area of the mismatch is expressed by the view that the MP will provide to the constituents their individual and private wants thereby the constituents stripping themselves off their obligation to meet these wants themselves. Another expression, and which is disturbing is when the MP wears the mantle of the provider knowing that this is not his responsibility as an individual but more so that the task, for an individual, is humanly not possible. There is a thin level where an MP can individually and privately make contributions and or give donations in certain cases. But it will practicably be beyond the resource basis of an individual MP to meet all these obligations, as it would be "reckless" for the constituents to entrust their life destiny in the hollow pledges of an MP.

As we alluded to above, the element of ignorance should be intervened by an education program. The Constituents should be put in an educational program at the end of which they should be able to make informed judgements on the role of an MP, role of the government and interpret the meaning of pledges of a parliamentary candidate. On another front, there is the need for

legal reform that should demand ethical campaigns and the constituents should be educated on how to address any violations of the code of ethics by contestants. Of course, the easiest one is to not give votes to such a candidate. But legal action can also be considered.

3.1.4. STRUCTURE OF CONSTITUENTS'/MP RELATIONSHIP: EXISTING PRACTICES

In order to bring out the main subject of MP/Constituents relationship, it became necessary to investigate the structure of the constituents/MP relationship and comment on it. The effort was to identify the existing practices and assess their viability or otherwise. From such an attempt it was hoped that among other things, one would be able to also determine whether or not the MPs have full grasp of the ways, procedures and demands of establishing a viable structure of their relationship with the constituents so that appropriate intervention mechanisms can be put in place to correct any anomalies and mismatches.

But this is not only for the MP but for the constituents as well. A relationship is a dual highway, possibly reciprocal. Thus, just as it is important to determine the full grasp of those ways, procedures and demands in respect of the MP, it is equally important for the constituents as well.

We decided to comment on the structure of constituents and MP relationship under three areas: Types of contacts, Schedules of Contacts and facilitation infrastructure for the contacts.

3.1.4.1 Types of Contacts

As the findings above indicate, cultivation of relationship between the MP and constituents is predominated by the institutions of direct and face to face public meetings and to an next extent, by indoor meetings with a group and or with private individuals. Filing out of complaints or requests in a form designed for it is also one practice that is used.

In our estimate the direct and face-to-face contacts are popular both on the side of the MPs as well as the public. As for the MP, the face to face direct meetings enables her/him to speak to a larger audience thereby being seen as having satisfied the interests of a large size of her/ his voters. It the case of " hitting several birds with one stone". On the other side, one can also imagine that for the MP, it is the way of celebrating political power. A mid her/his party's and government officials and the large turn out of an audience, accompanied by the pomp and ceremony that goes with such rallies, for a politician it may serve as a demonstration of power and prestige may in turn be very gratifying.

As for the constituents, one of the demands placed on the MP by the constituents is the frequency that they have made to visit with the constituents in their respective areas. One may lose an election or win it purely on the basis of the number of times the candidate had paid direct and face-to-face contacts with the constituents. Ones residence in the area, in this regard becomes a very important asset to a candidate who seeks votes and or intends to maintain a seat. There is some satisfaction, which constituents feel if they are around the leader. This may be quite understandable. Under the conditions we have described above, where the constituents see the government official, who include the MP as the provider, one could very well imagine that direct contacts may squarely serve this purpose.

Another reason could again be related to the problem of underdevelopment. In societies where any type of communication is nightmarish, public meetings become optimal options.

On the other hand, other options of contact between the MP and constituents may not be known or if known, may not have been sufficiently explored. The introduction of community radio stations, monthly or weekly newsletters, etc. are among the options through which an MP could interact with their constituents.

However one needs to underline the point that contacts per se, are fraught with limitations. They are not given adequate time of interaction, e.g. in responding to questions from the constituents. They are often very formal where officials have a subject to address to and within specified time. There is not adequate time for the issues that are of immediate interest to the constituencies.

An important issue, which arose from the fieldwork, was the constituents feeling that these public meetings were the preserve of the MP. The MP was to initiate, determine the duration and arrange the detailed program of the day of such meetings. It was a revelation to our respondents that they call these meetings and determine their programs and schedules. It is important that if these programs are to have any impact, the public must be made aware that they can demand such meeting with their MPs.

3.1.4.2 Schedules of Contacts: Time/Frequency

The issue of contact schedules in terms of time and frequency has already been alluded to in the section above when dealing with the popular forms of contact. At this point we just would like to point out that there was considerable

mismatch between the claim made by the MPs and the position of the constituents. Most of the MPs had presented a very spirited program of their visits and contact arrangements with their constituents. The constituents on the other side, complained that they had not seen their members of parliament since they were elected. There are variations on this, however. It appears that in some constituencies it may as well have been the case that the MP had not found time to visit with the constituents because of, among other regions, the size of the constituency. Some constituencies are large, while others are small in size. In large constituencies, an MP can manage to cover only a section. As an example: When one looks at the District/Constituency Profile above in the introduction, it is evident that some constituencies such as those of Mlandege in Zanzibar with 12,000 people and to a less extent Kisarawe on the mainland with 95,000 can easily be directly fully covered in a month. But this is not the case for many others such as Mbarali with 266,000 people or Bagamoyo with 228,967 people.

In this connection, we also think that some of the programs presented to us could not realistically be implemented. It was not realistic that five days in a week, from 9 –5 an MP could be meeting with his constituents either in the MPs office and or through public rallies. It may also not be desirable because he would need some of the time for other engagements. As we have recommended above, the whole concept of MP/Constituents relationship has to be reviewed and a realistic one in terms of type of contacts and schedules be worked out.

3.1.4.3 Facilitation Infrastructure and Equipment

There is a marked variation with regard to support infrastructure and equipment available to the MP to facilitate contacts between the MP and his constituents. The findings above testify to this.

With regard to Office space and equipment in the constituency, this must be provided for.

Secondly, we realize that all MPs were loaned vehicles, which would allow them to visit with their constituents. This is important. However, it has come to our notice that with their regular pay, many of them cannot run and maintain the vehicles. Such a situation the MPs are put in can lead to unethical even illegal office practices, which can enable the MP to earn income with which to maintain her/himself.

3.1.5. THE MP/PARTY RELATIONSHIP: THE ROLE OF THE MP's PARTY IN FACILITATING THE MP/CONSTITUENTS RELATIONSHIP

The ability and or willingness of the party's MP to facilitate their MPs contacts with the constituents, varies between political parties. With mature and well-established political parties such as the CCM the party structure provides a very reliable structure, which enhances the MPs own initiative to be in regular contact with the constituents. Even when the MP is not able to directly be in contact with the constituents, using the party structure s/he can receive inputs from the constituents via the party structure. One can appreciate this arrangement because it is in the mutual interest of the party and the MP to maintain the hold over the constituency.

However two things of significant interest emerged during the study. First is that while constitutionally, through the party organs, an MP can interact with his constituents, the party significantly nourishes on the MP. Through the MPs own contacts with say, significant constituencies, the party can secure resources highly needed by the party.

A second issues is whereas the party at national levels takes keen interest on the specific aspect of law making through the parties caucus meeting, at lower levels: district and braches the parties including the CCM, does not take interest in the law making role of the MP. At the national level, MP from a party seat as a caucus to discuss the bills, draws the party's' positions on them and them join the plenary. While as it has been pointed out there is not purposive and concerted way of constituency level public hearing on bills, apparently, even a mature party such as the CCM does not draw its inspiration at the national level from organs below by for example requiring their MPs to consult with the party organs down the ladder before they meet at the national level for the National Party Caucus meeting.

This may not be an observation worthy of attention for the current exercise, but it is important to at least note the discrepancy that exists whereby the question of MP/Constituency relationship mismatch runs through even within the parties structures.

3.1.6 THE CULTURE AND LEVEL OF MP ENGAGING CONSTITUENTS

In a properly working parliament, there has to evolve a culture of MPs engaging their constituents in their role as lawmakers, overseeing over government and representation role. By a culture of engaging constituents is simply meant the existence of institutionally regularised practices and appropriate organs whereby the MP/Constituency contacts for consultations and feedback on the roles of the MP is predictable and executed. Referring to the law-making role of an MP, a culture of an MP engaging the constituents would assume that none of the MPs would proceed to parliament to discuss a bill without having contacted their constituents. Such a practice and feeling is expected to be habitual for the MP but also it must have both political and legal backing.

The level of such a culture has to be both vertical and horizontal. Vertically this means up the hierarchy of the different segments of the constituents. This means that it must involve contact with different groups of different social status and influence to have meaning. Horizontally it would assume consultations with peoples of different sectors irrespective of social standing and influence.

Coming back to the situation emanating from the field study, at the risk of repeating ourselves, the culture whereby the MP engaging the constituents on their roles has been in existence but in a very limited way. Before the reintroduction of the multi-party competitive system such contacts were underlined by the monolithic singular leadership practices. The constituents were objects of the contacts.

In the current times, as the field study has shown, MPs, for the reasons we have given above, drawing mainly from the previous monolithic regime, have evolved practices which are yet to bear the appropriate meaning of an MP engaging his constituents. With the **"provider"** mentality, the MP considers it sufficient to play his roles without the input of the constituents. If he seeks their input, it would normally be at most selective and discretional. The question then is what can be done to nurture such a culture? There are at least two mutually reinforcing ones. One is Political backing and the second is legal enforcement.

Political Backing and Legal Enforcement

General government policy in Tanzania calls for participative leadership. Senior government officials daily expound on the need to involving the public in decision-making. One would expect that by this then, there would have evolved institutionalised practices whereby on every peoples' issue such as law making,

the constituents would have been at the centre stage in the process because of the impact law has to the public and the larger society. This is sound enough political backing for any MP that wished to affirmatively respond to this political backing of an MP and any other official engaging the constituents in their roles.

However, political instructions are notorious for being less tangible. No one can practically take an MP to task and mete sanction on him if he did not engage his constituents in his roles as lawmaker for example. It is in this regard that executable sanction should be put in place in order to require MPs to engage their constituents in their roles.

Referring to the culture of an MP engaging the constituents in the law-making role of the MP, a respondent demanded the following:

> *"... A bill should not be passed into law unless there is evidence that MPs conducted constituency level hearing on bills and that this demand should be legislated (Ubukuru Village residents in Mbarali constituency-Mbeya Region).*

Whichever is the case, some form of enforcement until it grows into an institutionalised practice of the MP engaging his constituents in his roles, as an MP should be considered.

3.1.7 THE CULTURE OF CONSTITUENTS ENGAGING THE MP

The monolithic culture had its other adverse side as was recognised above. This is that the domineering position of the leadership correspondingly made the general public timid. The general public as an object of policy and of leadership action could not even contemplate engaging their MPs on the roles of the MP.

Thus the culture during the initial monolithic system did not provide for it and the legacy of subservience of the constituents was passed on to the present times.

As example of the existing culture, at one village during the field work, when asked if the village government had ever demanded that they meet with their MP to address issues related to his the roles and how it affected their village, a members of the village council simply remarked:

> " Hatukujua kama tunaweza kumwita Mheshimiwa Mbunge Hapa..."
> *(We were not aware that we could bring the Honourable MP here)* (Berege Village residents, Mpwapwa Constituency, Dodoma Region).

This may be an exaggeration of things considering the current developments that arise from the new political dispensation. In the urban areas, with the emergence of civil society groups and especially the growth of the independent media and gender consortia, civil society has increased its demands for space in respect of the roles of an MP, especially the Law making role. In any event it still remains that, besides the legal implications, both the MP and the constituents need an awareness program regarding each other's place in the roles of the MP.

3.1.8 CONCLUSION: Mismatch of Expectations Between MPs and Constituents.

From the findings above, the issues of MP/Constituents relationship, whichever way it is conceived, appears to be of serious concern to both the MP and the constituents. It seems though, that the envisaged relationship is skewed and weighs more on the expectations the constituents have over the PM. This was demonstrated not only by the frequency the subject was raised by the constituents in various ways, but on the constituents construct of the MP as "

master-of- all". On the other side, this is demonstrated by the vein attempt by the MPs themselves to assume this "master-of-all" portrait. As a corollary, this is further demonstrated by fact that in this erroneous expectation matrix, the constituents strip themselves of any role at all and the MPs themselves tacitly endorse this position by the constituents that they hardly have any role to play.

3.2 AN ANALYSIS ON PUBLIC HEARINGS AT COSTITUENCY LEVEL

One of the emerging issues from the findings above is that in a major respect the practice of public hearing is a recent phenomenon in Tanzania politics. While this has been a normal practice in Western democracies, it is just beginning to get political acceptance in the legislative process in Tanzania. Public hearing is an opportunity for members of the public to speak on proposed legislative bills. The first time that public hearings were tried in Tanzania was in 1999 when the bill for requiring stern punishment for persons found guilty of sexual offences was being considered by the relevant committee of parliament. The other time, public hearing was put into practice was when the Land Bill and the Village Bill were being considered at the committee stages. To be certain, the experience of these two occasions indicated that the new procedure was highly commended both by parliament and the section of the public that had participated. Even more arousing was witnessed when the 13th Constitutional Amendment was being considered.

The discussion on public hearing rests on the idea that in any democratic system should provide an opportunity for members of the public to express their views on draft legislation. In other words, public hearings are crucial in the legislative process. As provided in Parliamentary standing rule 67(1), Legislative bills must be published for at least 21 days in the Official Government Gazette in order to qualify for presentation to Parliament. However, there are two exceptions to this specific requirement. First, the President of the United

Republic can sign personally a document and issue a "certificate of urgency" signifying that the said bills are of utmost urgency that they cannot wait to meet the 21 days publication requirement [Section 67(3)]. The other exception is bills concerning finance that invariably address sensitive money issues [Section 77(2)].

Systemic Constraints

Crucial to understand public hearings in Tanzania is an appreciation of the procedure of the Tanzania Parliament. The Tanzanian parliamentary system is that the government is in parliament and being in the parliament, it directly tables bills before parliamentarians not through the individual members of parliament as in other democratic systems. Although, there is provision for Private Members Bill and Private Motion that can be tabled by a member of parliament, the practice is that the Government's has priority over individual Member of Parliament's private bills and motions. And this feature is articulated in the issue of Parliament's schedule of duties for each session where private members bill, if any, are at the tail of the Parliament's proceedings. First and foremost, it must be emphasized that in order for a bill (a draft legislation) to become a law, it has to be introduced in Parliament either by the government, or by an individual member of parliament. That said it is important to stress that since Tanzania functions on a Westminster parliamentary system, it is the government that by and large dominates the role of initiating bills. The interesting thing about Tanzania from this parliamentary perspective is that while individual members of parliament are free to introduce bills, these types of bills rarely becomes laws. Partly, this could be due to lack of knowledge on the procedure or it just could be due to the cumbersome procedure that one has to follow. In sum, all bills whether government or private under the Tanzania parliamentary procedure must pass through a compulsory stage of deliberation

by an appropriate standing committee before they can introduced into Parliament for formal debates.

Parliamentary Standing Committees

Without doubt, committee membership significantly influences the ability of members to purse their multiple goals of making good laws, winning re-election, and wielding influence within parliament. Currently, parliament has 15 standing committees. In some respect, a member's committee assignment determines the policy influence that he or she can exercise in parliament. But the key question here is what members got rather than what they wanted.

The other important fact is that it is the sole responsibility of the Speaker to assign members to different standing committees for the entire duration of the National Assembly [Sec 87(2)]. Part of the explanation for this concern may be the fact that members of parliament are apt to gravitate toward highly sought after committees such as finance. Another related fact is that the introduction of multi-party politics in 1992 has necessitated a more disciplinary behavior on members of parliament through the application of party whip. A key strategy of the whip is to give instruction to members of party on what position to take particularly when it comes to voting on bills. In short, this aspect of party discipline is vigorously enforced.

A broad implication of this research is that knowing committee operations of Parliament allows a more direct address to issues related to public hearings. More specific to our findings is the admission that even members of parliament are not well informed of public hearings at the committee stage. Greater understanding of the various standing committees with yield insight into the institution of parliament as it is more likely that it will mirror the diversity of Tanzania society. With regard to the process of undertaking public hearings,

Section 69(2) provides that any standing committee can call any expert or interested party to speak on the bill but only after getting permission from the Speaker.

Public Hearings at the Constituency Level

The evidence from the findings above in 14 the constituencies visited is that the concept and practice of public hearings is not clearly understood. Members of Parliament are yet to have full knowledge of the concept of public hearing and lack adequate knowledge on how a public hearing in the formal sense is conducted. In short, it is a concept that needs elaboration. The fact of the matter is that there is a penchant to confuse public hearing with public rallies that are normally addressed by politicians. In cases where a member of parliament did respond positively that he/she knows what is involved in public hearing it amounted to no more than a political meeting between groups or individuals with a member of parliament on numerous constituency issues.

The second factor that seems to affect public hearings even when a Member of Parliament has some knowledge is the technicality of the bills. All Members of Parliament noted that bills are generally in a technical unfamiliar and difficult language to comprehend. Indeed the language is so difficult that one needs a lawyer to get the gist of the purpose of the law. Alongside it, a bill often on technical subjects/issues which again few, if any member of parliament at all are conversant with. The implication of this is that even if a member of parliament had time to take the bill his or her constituents, neither him/herself nor the constituents would aptly handle issues in the bill and offer commensurate input before it became law.

Another important finding mentioned above is that English language is an obstacle to most members of parliament and since it is the language used in bills

it adds another problem thus making the general understanding of bills in terms of content and issues to most Members of Parliament limited. This issue will even be more noticeable when public hearings are sincerely introduced at the constituency level. While there is some slight awareness on public hearings among some members of parliament, for example, Hon. Athumani Janguo and Hon George Mlawa there is widespread unawareness by the majority. In order to widen the concept, bills should be translated into Swahili and distributed to the general public before the hearings. But also importantly, there should be education programmes to enable citizens engage in a public hearing culture. Public awareness campaigns on the importance/value of participation must be waged before introducing a programme of public hearings on bills at the constituency level.

Another factor that needs consideration is the time that bills become public before the debates in the National Assembly. It was a general view that the time is too short to comprehend the bill and their initiate public hearings in the constituency. With exception of constituencies in Zanzibar, the rest of the constituencies on Mainland are large and the population is widely scattered. Because of this size it raises the problem of transportation and communication within a constituency. The truth is that it would require resources and even if a member of parliament would want to visit and conduct public hearings the task would be colossal. As such the financial constraints above do not allow the Member of Parliament to seek the constituents' views on bills before they are enacted into law. In short, members of parliament do not have adequate funds and associated resources with which to organize and execute public hearings on bills in their constituencies.

The Ability of the MPs to Conduct Constituency Level Public Hearing on Bills

The current practice is that in a less purposive, structured and formalised ways, there are attempts to seek views from constituents on issues, which include bills before they are tabled in Parliament. But at the out set this should certainly not be considered as a form of public hearing. In its broadest sense the concept of public hearings includes expert evidence, various interested stakeholders, legal experts and lawmakers. In line with this thinking then it is reasonably fair to say that public hearing at the constituency level is problematic. Members of Parliament, however, acknowledge that it is important that bills get input from across the constituency before they are enacted into laws. Furthermore, it was also noted that at the level of standing parliamentary committees, public hearing on bills has not been as flourishing as expected thus raising hesitation as to whether or not the practice can work reasonably well at constituency levels.

The other anomaly found in the study is to carry out seminars for members of parliament after bills have become laws. Instead, it would be appropriate if seminars were conducted during the 21 days notice when a bill is gazetted to allow members of parliament to know the rationale of the bill before deliberations in parliament. At least this would provide an opportunity for members to be conversant with the issues in the bill. The derivative of this is that members of parliament could be more knowledgeable during the debate in the National Assembly. This would address the current practice of conducting seminars for Members of Parliament to educate them on the law they have enacted from a bill they did not understand or had their constituents' prior views on.

The other fact to contend with is the fact that voters/constituents often have their priorities. In that case it may happen that they would prefer to address issues of priorities to them than discuss a bill. On the other side, bills in the Tanzanian parliamentary system, for the most part originate from the

government and not from a Member of Parliament. This has often meant that most bills are not of immediate relevance to the constituents so as to attract their interest. This phenomenon whereby bills originating for the most part from the government and these bills receiving right of way over the private ones, presents a more significant challenge for those bills to be taken to the constituents for review and get necessary input from them before they become law.

Specific Systemic Limitation on Private Members Bills and Motions

To begin with, any private members motion has to be deliberated by the Member of Parliament political party. The predisposition has been for the party to go against the Member of Parliament's private bill especially when the bill collides with the government particularly the party in power.

A second hurdle is when the party has endorsed the Private Bill. Such a bill has to go through Leadership Committee (Kamati ya Uongozi), which is chaired by the Prime Minister, who is the leader of Government Business in Parliament and includes the Speaker. At this level, it is very difficult for the bill to go through and the Member of Parliament might be advised to integrate the bill into the government's.

A third level of the hurdle is where the bill, if it has gone through the hurdles above is put in the National Assembly session's schedules. Such bills would be relegated to the lowest levels in the schedule and may take long before they are presented at all.

All Members of Parliament interviewed find the process relevant by incorporating diverse interests of the stakeholders. This increases the legitimacy of the laws made. However, it was also noted that there is a mismatch between

stakeholders and Members of Parliament in understanding the main objective of the public hearings on bills. For the members of parliament, the main purpose is to enhance peoples' participation in the law making process but not necessary to incorporate all of the stakeholders' recommendations into laws. For the stakeholders, public hearings on bills are not only tools for participation, but they expect that most of their recommendations if not all will be incorporated into the bill. They regard public hearings as being not an end by themselves but a means to an end. This variance of expectations between stakeholders and members of parliament sometimes has a propensity to result into conflicts and misunderstandings.

Unlike in the National Assembly where there is a very limited time for members' contributions, public hearing and discussions in the committee gives more room for prolonged discussions. As a result of public hearing, law that are made are precise and less controversial unlike in the past where a law could be enacted just to require an amendment thereafter.

CHAPTER IV: RECOMMENDATIONS

Arising from the field study and the ensuing analysis of those findings under III above, we now would like to present our recommendations as follows. As per the structure of the report, the recommendations should have been grouped under the subject of MP/Constituents relationship followed by those on constituency level public hearing on bills. We have however found out that these recommendations are very overlapping. We have therefore more appropriately grouped them to reflect the needs assessment. To this end the recommendations are organised under: Training needs, Competence needs and Institution Building and Reform needs.

4.1 Pertaining to Competence

- Provide civic education to both the public and Members of Parliament. Public hearings on bills help members of parliament to get to learn new things/ideas and widen their scope of understanding. This may entail to embark a national civic education campaign on issues of law, citizenship rights, duties and obligations and public affairs.

- Expand the scope of participation at committee level by including more stakeholders. Additionally, committee competency needs to be strengthened particularly on legal matters to assist them in clarifying some of the legal aspects of the bills. Provide funding for expert testimony depending on the nature of the bill.

- Rather than inviting only a few organized groups as stakeholders, public hearings on bills should be open to the general public in order to collect as many views as possible.

- Adequate time should be set for Member of Parliament to read bills. One Member of Parliament noted that sometimes bills are made available only five days before hearings.

- The current process of public hearings on bills does not give room for many people to participate. Participating stakeholders in public hearings are still very few. Sometimes, certain ministries send representatives of low ranks/positions, who cannot adequately address important issues in the bills. More time should be allocated during the committee hearing stage.

- Public hearings on bills need to be conducted at different levels involving different groups e.g. CSOs, schools, opinion leaders, etc.

- In general many Members of Parliament do not know how to prepare a private member motion on bills. Deliberate efforts should be undertaken to provide knowledge on how to prepare private bills.

4.2 Pertaining to Training

- A series of training programs on confidence building for the constituents is mandatory or order to correct the **"provider"/"recipient"** equation between the MP and the Constituents.

- Members Parliament should receive training on how to conduct public hearings on bills at constituency level. This training should include understanding of the purpose of a bill and modalities of engaging the various actors in the process: constituents, the media, experts, etc.

- A Training program on the use of ICT facilities should be provided both for member parliament and staff

- Members of Parliament should be provided with training and skills on how to prepare and present private members bills.

- There is a need to train Parliamentary Secretariat staff to perform their duties capably.

- Constituents should be educated on how to address any violations of the code of ethics by contestants.

4.3 Pertaining to Institution Building and Reform

- Although there has been an improvement in the standard working tools, there is still a gap in the supply of essential documents. On the average the production of Hansard takes two days. This period would be shortened by improving the type of equipment in use to enable members of parliament to get copies in the shortest possible time. In short, there is need to strengthen the Hansard and Library Department to be in a position to supply documents when needed. This will inevitably require a supply of production equipment (printing, recording, folding machines, colour separation equipment etc.).

- Have legally binding provision, which demands that without evidence that a bill received inputs from the constituents it should not be enacted into law.
- Improve Member of Parliament offices in order to make them communication centres for both Member of Parliament and voters. This should include employed qualified assistants to manage offices

- There is need of having legislative timetable outlining the schedule of pending bills to enable the public and various stakeholders to prepare their input on time. Legislative annual calendar if improved could provide more time for Members of Parliament and stakeholders go through the bills. Additionally, a legislative calendar makes Member of Parliament aware of issues that will be tabled in the National Assembly.
  Bills should be made available in Swahili, a language in which all members of parliament are proficient.

II. List of Respondents

List A: MPs

1. Hon. Athumani Janguo (Kisarawe)
2. Hon. Khadija Kusaga (Temeke)
3. Hon. Frank Magoba (Kigamboni)
4. Hon. Grace Kiweru (Special Seats)
5. Hon. Peter Kabissa (Kinondoni)
6. Hon. Khalfan (Bagamoyo)
7. Hon. Haroub S. Masoud (Koani)
8. Hon. Fatma Said Ali (Mlandege)
9. Hon. Dr. Oscar Mloka (Morogoro Urban)
10. Hon. Semindu Pawa (Morogoro South)
11. Hon. Benson Mpesya (Mbeya Urban)
12. Hon. George Mlawa (Kalenga)
13. Hon. Monica Mbega (Iringa Urban)

List B: Other Respondents

1. Marie Cidosa, Director, Bagamoyo Living Art and Handicraft Design Center
2. Karim M. Hoza, Planning Officer, Bagamoyo District Council
3. Lewis Kalinjuma, District Executive Officer, Kisarawe District Council
4. Edward Msigwa, District Administrative Secretary
5. Israel Nason, Chair, Mshikamano Group-Loan and Credit Association, Kisarawe
6. Stanley J. Rweyemamu, Member, Mshikamano Group
7. Leokadia Milanzi, Member, Mshikamano Group
8. Mathias Kirumbi, Member, Mshikamano
9. Joseph Njile, Chair, Kisarawe Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industries
10. Mr. Mringo, Deputy Mayor, Kinondoni Municipal Council
11. Seif H. Mbekae, Vice chair, Tabata Development Fund

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE STRENGTHERNING OF TANZANIA'S UNION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (PARLIAMENT)

IMPROVING MEMBER CONSTITUENTS RELATIONSHIP AND CONSTITUENCY LEVEL PUBLIC HEARINGS ON BILLS

ACTION PLAN

Prof. Max Mmuya
Dr. Mohabe Nyirabu
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Mr. Daniel Nsanzungwako

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1. BACKGROUND.

This action plan is a logical outcome of the fieldwork findings, the analysis of the findings and the recommendations on Constituents/MP relationship and Constituency level public hearing on bills, a field study that was carried out in January 2004. A review of the fieldwork findings enabled us to identify the barriers or limitations that restrain the smooth functioning of MP/Constituents Relationship and constituency level public hearing on bills.

The analysis of the fieldwork findings has led us into identifying a group of three needs requirements. These are those related to competence, those related to training and those related to institution building and reform.

For more aligned and speedy cross reference between the recommendations and the action plan being proposed we reproduce the recommendations here:

2. RECOMMENDATIONS REPRODUCED

2.1 Recommendations Pertaining to Competence

- Provide civic education to both the public and Members of Parliament. Public hearings on bills help members of parliament to get to learn new things/ideas and widen their scope of understanding. This may entail to embark a national civic education campaign on issues of law, citizenship rights, duties and obligations and public affairs.
- Expand the scope of participation at committee level by including more stakeholders. Additionally, committee competency needs to be strengthened particularly on legal matters to assist them in clarifying some of the legal aspects of the bills. Provide funding for expert testimony depending on the nature of the bill.

- Rather than inviting only a few organized groups as stakeholders, public hearings on bills should be open to the general public in order to collect as many views as possible.
- Adequate time should be set for Member of Parliament to read bills. One Member of Parliament noted that sometimes bills are made available only five days before hearings.
- The current process of public hearings on bills does not give room for many people to participate. Participating stakeholders in public hearings are still very few. Sometimes, certain ministries send representatives of low ranks/positions, who cannot adequately address important issues in the bills. More time should be allocated during the committee hearing stage.
- Public hearings on bills need to be conducted at different levels involving different groups e.g. CSOs, schools, opinion leaders, etc.
- In general many Members of Parliament do not know how to prepare a private member motion on bills. Deliberate efforts should be undertaken to provide knowledge on how to prepare private bills.

2.2 Recommendations Training

- A series of training programs on confidence building for the constituents is mandatory or order to correct the **"provider"/"recipient"** equation between the MP and the Constituents

- Members Parliament should receive training on how to conduct public hearings on bills at constituency level. This training should include understanding of the purpose of a bill and modalities of engaging the various actors in the process: constituents, the media, experts, etc.

- A Training program on the use of ICT facilities should be provided both for member parliament and staff

- Members of Parliament should be provided with training and skills on how to prepare and present private members bills.

- There is a need to train Parliamentary Secretariat staff to perform their duties capably.

- Constituents should be educated on how to address any violations of the code of ethics by contestants.

2.3 Recommendations Pertaining to Institution Building and Reform

- Although there has been an improvement in the standard working tools, there is still a gap in the supply of essential documents. On the average the production of Hansard takes two days. This period would be shortened by improving the type of equipment in use to enable members of parliament to get copies in the shortest possible time. In short, there is need to strengthen the Hansard and Library Department to be in a position to supply documents when needed. This will inevitably require a supply of production equipment (printing, recording, folding machines, colour separation equipment etc.).

- Have legally binding provision, which demands that without evidence that a bill received inputs from the constituents it should not be enacted into law.
- Improve Member of Parliament offices in order to make them communication centres for both Member of Parliament and voters. This should include employed qualified assistants to manage offices
- There is need of having legislative timetable outlining the schedule of pending bills to enable the public and various stakeholders to prepare their input on time. Legislative annual calendar if improved could provide more time for Members of Parliament and stakeholders go through the bills. Additionally, a legislative

calendar makes Member of Parliament aware of issues that will be tabled in the National Assembly.

Bills should be made available in Swahili, a language in which all members of parliament are proficient.

- Government and related institutional reforms so as to re-orient the roles of government and its officials towards a more self-motivated private individual approach to realisation of ones wants.

- Legal reform that should demand ethical campaigns

- The MPs should be provided with adequate but affordable office space and attendant facilities at the constituency level.

- Secondly, we realize that all MP were loaned vehicles which would allow them to visit with their constituents. This is important.
- Executable sanction should be put in place inn order to require MPs to engage their constituents in their roles.

3. PROPOSAL FOR THE ACTION PLAN

To reflect the recommendations the action plan is organised as follows.
First is statement of the barriers/limitations to the functioning of a viable MP/Constituents Relationship and to constituency level public hearing on bills. Secondly, is a statement of an/approaches (action) that should be taken to address those barriers/limitations. Thirdly, is a statement of justification for the choice of that strategy. At the end, the textual presentation is summarised in tabular form.

3.1 . A STATEMENT OF THE BARRIERS/LIMITATIONS.

As discussed in the main text, the barriers have separately been organised in respect to those pertaining to MP/Constituents Relationship and those pertaining to Constituency Level Public Hearing on Bills.

3.1.1 Barriers to MP/Constituents Relationship

In the main text, the barriers have been discussed a relative length. As if to repeat in a summarised form, we identify the critical ones as being the following:

- Lack of awareness of the legislative activities
- Absence of established rules or regulations for MPs visit to constituency
- Inadequate funding for MPs office equipment
- Limited Knowledge of Party and MP roles and duties
- Unpleasant working relationship between MPS and CSO/NGOs

3.1.2 Barriers to Constituency Level Public Hearing on Bills.

Like in the case of the barriers to MP/Constituents Relationship, those pertaining to Constituency Level Public Hearing on Bills are expounded in the main text. In summary form, these are as follows:

- Lack of clear understanding of the whole concept of public hearing.
- Language barrier- Bills drafted in legal technical English.
- Lack of legislative time table to enable MPs and stakeholders get bills on time
- Inadequate knowledge on how to prepare and present Private member motion
- Inadequate skills on the uses of ICT and other research facilities
- Limited Knowledge and skills on how to conduct public hearing
- Restricted media coverage I committee proceedings

- Inadequate Parliament Internet Café services
- Limited support to MPs during public hearing in constituency- (fuel and Drivers allowances)
- Inadequate and Poor MPs working styles

3.2 A STATEMENT OF THE APPROACH(ACTION) PLAN THAT NEEDS TO BE TAKEN

In the main text, the recommendations on how to address the identified barriers have been grouped as pertaining to Competence, Training and Institution building and Reform.

This suggests that an approach(es) to resolution or mere moderation of the barriers will focus on the three respective areas.

For practical and more immediate action, the Team recommends that an educational approach should spread out on all other areas. For the Team, the educational inadequacies account for most of the barriers identified.

How ever, as has been alluded to, some of the limitations to the smooth functioning of the Constituents/MP relationship and to the Constituency level Public Hearing on Bills, are systemic. These issues have to be addressed to through Institutional Building and Reform. As can be appreciated, tackling system issues through reform and building, more often than not requires extensive consultations between key actors to affect appropriate actions which will include legislation. We would recommend deferring this to the future and strategically begin with those that can be accepted and afforded with relative ease.

3.3 A STATEMENT OF THE RATIONALE/Justification FOR THE CHOSEN ACTIONS

The rationale for the prominent approach we are recommended has already been alluded to in the statement above. But in addition to what has been suggested, tackling problems of ignorance through education not only rhymes with central nature of the problems identified but will easily be acceptable in the Tanzanian political cultural approach to problems of change. The educational approach has also been seen to be cost effective I many areas. What may only be put for subsequent action is the legal and institutional reforms to give appropriate structure for the rectification of the identified barriers. There thus is required an appropriate sequencing between the educational approach with the institutional building and reform.

TABULAR PRESENTATION OF THE ACTION PLAN.

IDENTIFIFICATION OF BARRIERS, CHOICE OF STRATEGY AND RATIONALE

General Area of Intervention	Barriers/Limitation	Approach/ Strategy	Rationale for the Choice of strategy	Implications
1. MP/ Constituent Relationship	1.Lack of awareness of the legislative activities	Public awareness campaign – making villages and ward as focal points	Effective, faster and Cost effective	
	2. Absence of established rules or regulations for MPs visit to constituency	MPs sensitisation on their roles to engage voters	Best option to address the exiting gap	
	3. Inadequate funding for MPs office equipment	The need for government and Parliament to provide budget for equipments	GVT the sure source of funding through annual budget	
	4. Limited Knowledge of Party and MP roles and duties	Training of MPS on the subject	Sure way of enhancing understanding and crate linkage between the two	
	5.Unpleasant working relationship between MPS and CSO/NGOs	Joint training program to harmonise work relations	Best option to narrow the gap btn the two	

General Area of Intervention	BARRIERS/Limitation	Approach/ Strategy	Rationale for the Choice of strategy
2. Constituency level of Public Hearing	**1.**Lack of clear understanding of the whole concept of public hearing.	Public awareness at lower levels	Cost effective and Time saving
	2.Language barrier- Bills drafted in legal technical English.	Provision of Swahili translation	Effective way to overcome such problem
	3. Lack of legislative time table to enable MPs and stakeholders get bill on time	Need for Parliament to have Time table available on time	Effective way for MPS work and planning
	4. Inadequate knowledge on how to prepare and present Private member motion	Training of MPS on the subject	Best option for knowledge transfer
	5. Inadequate skills on the uses of ICT and other research facilities	Training MPS in research methodology	Effective and cost saving
	6. Limited Knowledge and skills on how to conduct public hearing	Training	Effective and cost saving
	7. Restricted media coverage of committee proceedings	Joint training between Media Personnel and selected MPs	As above
	8.Inadequate Parliament Internet Café Services	Improve services and space	As Above
	9. Limited support to MPs during public hearing in constituency (fuel and Drivers allowances)	Need for increased budget	
	10. Inadequate skills on MPS working styles.	Training	Effective and cost saving

[redacted]

General Area of Intervention	Barriers	Objectives	Activities	Target Group	Results	Time Frame	Action Plan Team(s)
1. MP/Constituents Relationship	1.As above	Increase awareness of legislative activities	To undertake Public awareness in the constituency	Village govt Ward, Schools, CSOs/NGO Opinion Leaders	Increased awareness Legislative activities of MP understood	To be determined	
	2. As above	-To have established rules and regulations for MPS Visits	Establishment of rules	-MPS & Parliament	To have rules in place		
	3. as above	Demand for MPS office equipment available	Increased budget for equipment	Parliament & MPS	Availability of equipment for MPs offices		
	4. As above	To bridge the gap between MPS and Voters	Training of MPS and leaders at constituency	-MPS -Local Leaders at District, Ward and Villages Schools	Improved understanding of MP roles		
	5. as above	To improve working relationship btn CSOs & MPs	Joint training of MPs and CSOs	MPS &CSOS /NGOs	Improved working relationship		

General Area of Intervention	Barriers	Objectives	Activities	Target Group	Results	Time Frame	Action Plan Team(s)
2. Constituency level of Public Hearing	**1.**As above	To create awareness amongst voter on the concept of Public hearing	- Civic education [sensitisation] - Publication of literature - Sensitisation using TV and Radio	Village government, Ward, Schools, CSOs/NGO Opinion Leaders	Increased awareness and understanding of PHB	To be determined	
	2. As above	To overcome language barrier	Translation of bills into Swahili	-MPS & Parliament	Translated bill available		
	3. As above	To avail to MPS a legislative time table	Availability of time table	Parliament, MPS GVT	To have in place a legislative time table used by all		
	4. As above	To strengthen MPS skills on how to prepare Private member bill	Training of MPS and leaders at constituency	-MPS -Local Leaders at District, Ward and Villages Schools	Improved understanding of MP roles		
	5. As above	To improve	Training on the uses	MPS and Staff	Improved skills		

		skills on the uses of ICT and research facility	of ICT and research methodology		on ICT use		
	6. As above	Strengthen MPs ability on how to conduct public hearings on bills	Training of MPS on the subject	MPS, CSOs/ NGOs	Improved skills		
	7.as above	To improve Media coverage of committee proceeding	Training	MPS & parliamentary staff Media personnel	Improved skills and understanding		
	8 as above	To Strengthen of Internet cafe	Improve services and increase space	Parliament	Improved services		
	9. as above	Need for increased budget	Demand for budget increase	MPS	MPs support during PHB		
	10. as above	To improve MPS working style	Training	MPS & Parliament Staff	Working style improved		

ANNEX C

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK/TANZANIA

CIVIL SOCIETY WORKSHOP

on

Increasing Accessibility to Parliament by Civil Society

Held at PACT Offices Dar-es-Salaam

11th – 13th January 2004

Compiled by:
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Independent Consultants

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1.0 Background to the Workshop

The workshop was organized by SUNY Tanzania with the objective of "increasing access to Parliament by civil society in collaboration with PACT Tanzania". The programme also covered sessions on training and mentoring the recently appointed Parliamentary Liaison Officer, who would be expected to coordinate and train the CSO's on how to strengthen their advocacy work with Parliament. Three training modules were designed to guide the Liaison Officer; a Trainer of Trainers; a CSO Training and a Parliamentarians Training Module.

1.1 Capacity Building for the CSO/Parliamentary Liaison

Three days of training were organized in collaboration with PACT Tanzania. With the first day covering the design and delivery of a Trainer of Trainers component using the "Systematic Approach to Training" tool adapted to emphasise the critical components and requirements of training CSO's and MP's. The participants in this training were the SUNY staff, the Parliamentary Liaison Officer and PACT's Senior Training Officer. A second training was delivered by the two consultants and targeted representatives of various CSO's in Tanzania. The third day of training targeting a different batch of CSO representatives was delivered by the Parliamentary Liaison Officer and PACT's Senior Training Officer, to help them practice the skills acquired during the training.

After the successful completion of the training programme, the consultants, the Parliamentary Liaison Officer Ms. Muro and the PACT Senior Training Officer Ms. Mwanukuzi, the SUNY Country Director and her Deputy Country Director, met for a debriefing aimed at helping the local trainers to assess their performance during the training.

The two trainers expressed the following views:

- They did not feel confident /comfortable in handling the topics on Parliament because the area was new to them and they did not have enough knowledge.
- Although they had interacted with most of the participants in other training programmes, they found it a challenge to keep the participants focused on the training objectives.
- Using English language for training was comfortable for all the participants.

The consultants emphasized that the trainers need to:

- Harmonise the process of training to be in control of the environment.
- Be proactive in accessing information and materials to inform themselves about the parliamentary process. Time management was stressed to be a vital component of the training.
- Make effort to interact with Members of Parliament and their staff.

The Parliamentary Liaison Officer requested for more capacity building and exposure to the parliamentary procedure and a hands on experience of her work. It was agreed that Grace Muro needs more support to help her build confidence as the Parliamentary liaison officer. SUNY will;

- Provide materials and opportunities for information about Parliament.
- Provide opportunities for exposure to Parliamentary meetings.
- Explore opportunities to send the Liaison Officer on attachment to Uganda, to interact with CSOs and Members of Parliament with this experience providing a working model to guide her.

2.0 Training on Accessing Parliament by Civil Society Organisations

Below is a report of the CSO training workshop conducted on the second day of training by the Consultants.

2.1 Participants Profile

The participants were Chief Executives and Heads of Department drawn from Civil Society Organisations and networks in Tanzania and Zanzibar. These organisations work with communities on issues of gender, HIV/AIDS, legal and human rights, governance, development, the environment and the media. Five of the participants had previous working engagements directly with Parliament.

2.1 Topics Covered

The workshop covered the following topics:

1. The role of Civil Society in Development
2. Understanding Parliament
3. Increasing Access to Parliament by CSO's
4. Working with Parliament

2.2 Workshop Methodology

The workshop focused on the delivery of topical presentations facilitated using participatory and interactive methods.

2.3 Specific Outcomes of the Workshop

At the end of the workshop the participants discussed and agreed to adopt the following strategies to help develop and harmonize the working relationship between Parliament and Civil Society:

a) Building relationships with Parliament: CSO's should build a spirit of partnership with the MP's through holding joint workshops, meetings and visits to the National Assembly in Dodoma. There is need to provide MP's with profiles of the various Organisations and involve them in the CSO's activities. The CSO's should also take advantage of the Parliamentary web site.
b) Participating in the Legislative Process: CSO's should pro actively engage in the law making process and attend Parliamentary sessions and committee hearings. There is need to create a study group to research and assess what the Government's plans on legislation and policy issues are and then lay strategies on how to address them. A data base should be built in order to identify who the experts are in every field.
c) Coalition Building: There is need for coalition building among CSO's, in order for them to create an impact and be able to put the key issues across.
d) Citizens participation in governance: The public should be empowered through civic education for effective participation in the legislative process.

3.0 Opening Remarks by the Country Director Ms. Donna Bugby Smith

The workshop began at 9:00 am with welcome remarks from the Country Director Mrs Donna Bugby Smith, who gave a brief background to the SUNY/TZ programme. She informed the participants that SUNY/TZ had taken on a two year programme funded by the United States to provide technical support to Parliament and increase the capacity of CSO's to engage Parliament. SUNY is a sister project of PACT in as far as PACT is in close collaboration with the CSO's and the two Projects will be working closely with each other.

The Country Director introduced the facilitators Ms. Winnie Babihuga and Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima. Ms. Babihuga worked as a Member of Parliament in Uganda's sixth Parliament and has been involved in training Civil Society in issues of Governance. Ms. Byanyima worked as SUNY Uganda's Civil Society/Legislative Specialist and Deputy Chief of Party. She appealed to the participants to take advantage of their vast experience in working with Parliament.

She observed that strengthening CSO's/Parliamentary relations is a process and there are no books to refer to on the subject. It is therefore important for the CSO's in Tanzania to take the lead and build on the knowledge acquired by facilitators who have participated in and seen the process unfold in Uganda. It is the CSO's in TZ who can make the difference. She urged the participants to contribute freely and help SUNY understand the other trainings that they require.

The Country Director introduced the newly appointed Parliamentary Liaison Officer Grace Muro, who she said would act as a conduit to link CSO's into Parliament. In closing she expressed the hope that by the end of the workshop the participants would have the necessary knowledge and skills to help them engage Parliament effectively.

3.1 Climate setting

Methodology

Brainstorming, cards, and plenary discussions

The Facilitator, Ms. Winnie Babihuga, welcomed the participants and asked them to introduce themselves by mentioning their names, organisations, personal information likes and dislikes. The participants were then given cards to write their expectations and fears.

3.2 Expectations

The participants said they expect to:

- Learn the procedures of passing legislation
- Acquire knowledge to fight for representation in Parliament
- Learn how we can work with Parliament
- Meet other CSO's representatives and learn how to lobby the Parliament
- Train in the same room with MP's
- Learn strategic ways of including MP's in CSO work
- Share and concretise the strategies to work with MP's
- Know the magic of interacting with Parliament
- How best to interact with MP's
- Set objectives for the next campaign

3.3 Fears

The participants expressed the fear:

- That the time allocated for the workshop is inadequate
- There is too much to cover in such a short time
- There is nothing new to learn. CSO's have been doing advocacy work but Parliament is so conservative that it is almost useless trying

3.4 Workshop Goal

The workshop goal was explained as: *To build the capacity of Civil Society Organisations in order to enhance their role in the legislative process in Tanzania.*

3.5 Workshop objectives

The workshop objectives were outlined as follows:

➢ **Objective one** To build the capacity of CSO's to participate effectively in the legislative process	➢ **Objective two** • To assist CSO's to understand Parliamentary Procedure
➢ **Objective three** • To assist CSO's to lay strategies to increase access to Parliament	➢ **Objective four** • To equip CSO's coordinating team with Training of Trainers Skills

4.0 The Role of Civil Society in Development

Methodology

Brainstorming, question and answer, role play, and plenary discussions

The facilitator Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima explained that the role of civil society in development needs to be closely linked with advocacy in Parliament. MP's are representatives of the people and have a legislative responsibility to advocate for programmes and resources to serve the people in the constituencies.

Civil Society therefore needs to build capacity to:

- Ensure service delivery in providing inputs that meet the needs of the communities. Thus complimenting Government efforts and bridging the gap between the State and the citizens.
- Engage the centres and players in policy formulation because their contribution brings on board the aspirations and needs of the vulnerable communities that civil society serves.
- Be active in their advocacy role to pressure Government to fulfil unmet pledges to the concerns of the people.
- Empower communities to participate in development.

4.1 Parliamentarians' perceptions of CSO's

The participants brainstormed on what they believe Members of Parliament talk about civil society. They said that the MPs think civil society members are:

- Thieves
- Trouble makers
- Money minters
- A threat to MPs who fear that they could unseat them. This causes conflict of interest on representation of the community.
- Use MPs to access money from donors
- Not well organized

4.2 Role Play

A role play to bring out the perceptions that Members of Parliament have of Civil Society was performed by 4 volunteers. The participants later discussed the issues that came out of the role play.

Role Play
The Members of Parliament are in a pub discussing the CSO's advocacy on the NGO Act. They feel frustrated over the pressure the CSO representatives are creating at the National Assembly in Dodoma. They discuss the fact that CSO's are urban based, they only work for their own good and do not work with the rural communities that they claim to represent.

4.3 Issues raised in the role play:

- MP's complain that the CSO's are bothering them about passing laws.
- MP's think civil society exerts pressure because of the frustrations they go through in accounting for their work.
- They advocate that Government should question CSO's on whether they work for the poor or whether they are just after making themselves rich.
- MP's do not know what work/ programmes NGOs are doing in "their" constituencies. They just see big vehicles and have the perception that CSO's are pretending to work for the poor.
- MP's feel that CSO's take a lot of money and just talk on their own behalf without appropriate consultations.
- MP's fear that CSO's are doing a lot of wok and might win the favour of the people, they therefore feel threatened.

Ms. Byanyima emphasized the widely held concerns that MP's have regarding the credibility of CSO's. Concerns hinged on questions of credibility, accountability

and genuine lack of awareness about the need for partnership. Members of Parliament think civil society attacks are unfair and ignorant of the noble responsibility that Parliament has in legislation.

In the closing discussions, participants said that some of these perceptions are justified because some Members of Parliament own Organisations of their own while others used to be employed by civil society and held these same perceptions. There is therefore need to reassure MP's that while there might be some sections of civil society that could fit in the "box " of their perceptions, not all CSO's are like that and the majority can add value to the legislative process where collaboration is facilitated.

4.4 Civil Society's Perceptions of Members of Parliament

The participants shared views on the perceptions they have of MP's as follows:

Members of Parliament are:

- Not keen about the problems of the people but their popularity.
- Controlled by the Party and its leader. They have no freedom to take an independent stand on issues.
- Incapacitated by a lack of understanding of technical issues. In Parliament, debates are in Kiswahili yet all documents are written in English. Some lack education and they do not have a reading culture.
- In Parliament to enrich themselves. They are there to get good cars and allowances. They have positioned themselves to be in Parliament forever.
- Not independent and do not challenge the executive. The Executive overrides the legislature so much that it is useless to lobby MPs who appear to be powerless. It is better to lobby Ministers and desk officers in the Ministries.
- Ineffective and are not taking the people's issues forward. It is therefore better to lobby the grassroots to elect better representatives.
- Seen to owe allegiance to their parties and this makes them blind to people's needs. Lobbying needs to be done through the people "who pull" the Party strings, in order to influence the Party's.

The facilitator observed that the perceptionsCSO's and MP's have of each other are a major source of lack of trust and conflict. It is important that strategies are laid to build trust between MP's and CSO's in order for them to build amicable and valuable relationships.

4.5 Challenges CSO's face in working with MP's

The facilitator Ms. Byanyima explained that understanding the challenges CSO's face while working with MP's will help the CSO's to address the issue what can be done to enhance the relationships between civil society and the legislature. Participants shared the issues that affect the efforts of civil society in engaging Parliament:

- There are no clear rules on responsibilities of MP's and civil society
- MP's tend to block the process of development because they do not understand and support civil society.
- There tends to be a lot of self interest among the MP's.
- MP's demand a lot of allowances and therefore it is expensive for CSO's to engage them

The facilitator discussed the factors that frustrate the relationship between civil society and Members of Parliament. These challenges include; the MP's busy schedules; the lack of guidelines on how information may be accessed from Parliament; the MP's demands for allowances from CSO's which makes it very expensive for civil society to engage them; the inaccessibility of MP's due to bureaucratic systems and Parliamentary Protocol; the high turn over of MP's at the lapse of Parliamentary terms and the control the Executive seems to have on the MP's, thus making the CSO's efforts frustrating.

It was agreed that it is important that CSO's look into strategies of increasing their accessibility to Parliament and advocate for people friendly Parliaments. It was said that MP's should consider the CSO's as their partners in development and consult them regularly to ensure that the laws and policies made by Government meet the people's aspirations.

4.6 Interventions to enhance the relationship between CSO's and Parliament - Uganda's Story

Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima shared some of the interventions that had worked in enhancing the relationship between CSO's and Parliament in Uganda. The interventions were implemented with support from The Uganda Parliamentary Technical Assistance Project SUNY/UPTAP.

She informed the participants that in Uganda the issue of accessing Parliamentary Information was addressed by the establishment of a Parliamentary Liaison Officer from one of the leading CSO's, who was attached to Parliament to build a link between the CSO's and Parliament. Directories of the 6th and 7th Parliaments of Uganda were designed and produced to provide vital information to the general public about the MP's and their roles. A Booklet "Get to Know Your Parliament" was designed to create awareness about the functions and roles of Parliament.

Likewise a directory of CSO's and Public Policy Experts was designed to provide information to MP's of the availability of expert knowledge that could be tapped to enhance Parliaments work.

The relationship between the CSO's and MP's was enhanced through CSO Exhibitions, as well as workshops and conferences that were organised for MP's, the Parliamentary staff and CSO's. Breakfast meetings were used as a strategy to help MP's redeem extra time from their busy schedules to attend dialogues with the CSO's. The CSO's were also able to participate in the budget process through provisions of a Budget Act (initiated by a Private Members Bill). The SUNY Project in Uganda also facilitated the establishment of offices for MP's and this provided Constituents/CSO's with space meet the MP's.

The facilitator concluded by emphasising the important role Civil Society plays in development. She pointed out that it is important that Parliament builds good working relations with Civil Society. Strategies should be laid to increase the CSO's accessibility to Parliament and activities should be organised to enhance both the MP's and CSOs' understanding of each other's roles. There is also need to ensure that Government information is easily accessible to the public.

5.0 Understanding Parliament

Methodology
Brainstorming, question and answer, case study, and discussion

5.1 Parliamentary Protocol

The facilitator Ms. Winnie Babihuga shared experiences about her life as a Parliamentarian in Uganda's sixth Parliament. She informed the participants about the challenges she faced while standing up to the injustices of Uganda's Movement Government during the 2001 election period. She observed that the work of an MP is both interesting and very challenging.

The participants brainstormed on the meaning of Parliamentary Protocol and on whom they envisaged deals with it.

- The Ministry of foreign affairs.
- Protocol is procedure
- It is a system of how Parliament works

The facilitator explained that Parliament has a code of conduct, a procedure, set of rules and a modus operanda. It is important to know how Parliament functions and operates. The facilitator likened protocol to 'good manners' and pointed out

that Parliamentary protocol is explained in the Standing Orders. Protocol should be understood by MP's and everyone who wants to work with Parliament including the CSO's. She observed that things do not just happen, everything proceeds according to order. The work carried out in Parliament is called the "Business" of the Assembly. Without the rules MP's cannot carry out their business. The Speaker follows the rules throughout the session.

5.2 The Constitutional Mandate of the Assembly

Ms. Winnie Babihuga informed the participants that the laws passed by Parliament should not contravene Constitutional provisions. It is therefore important for CSO's to analyse bills before Parliament to ensure they are not unconstitutional. The Constitutional Mandate of the Assembly protects the fundamental rights of the people. Human rights are safe guarded through the law; this makes the legislative process an important aspect for the protection of Human Rights. She urged the members of civil society to rise up and take the initiative to build positive relationships with Parliament in order to enhance the legislative process.

5.3 The Powers of the Speaker

The Speaker is elected by the MP's and the Standing Orders accord him immense powers. The Speaker presides over all the business of Assembly. He is the official representative of the Assembly and has powers to appoint Members of the Parliamentary Committees. The MP's cannot challenge the Speaker on the floor; the procedure provides that a complaint should be put in writing to a committee. The facilitator observed that it is important for MP's who are representatives of the people to have the power to debate without restriction.

5.4 The Administration of Parliament

The Clerk to the National Assembly together with the staff ensure the smooth running of Parliament and facilitate the welfare of Members. A motion regarding the welfare of the MP's takes precedence over other business. This gives Government the opportunity to manipulate the legislative process by raising the MP's expectations to have their welfare "looked into" prior to tabling sensitive bills before the Assembly. Security issues are handled by the Sergeant -at -Arms. MP's have immunity from arrest within the precincts of Parliament.

5.5 Order of Business in Rule 28

The facilitator explained the order of business in the Assembly as stipulated in rule 28 of the Standing Orders. The Assembly Business goes through debates and motions. The first business of Parliament is the Presidential address. Apart from the plenary sessions Parliament carries out its business through Parliamentary

Committees. She stated that Government Business always takes precedence over any other issue. She explained the procedure of how petitions are presented before Parliament, and urged the participants to take advantage of this tool to raise the peoples concerns before Parliament. She also traced the making of a bill from its first reading to the point of Presidential assent. Ms. Babihuga explained that CSO's should also take advantage of the Questions for oral answer that are presented by MP's, to present their views and concerns to the Parliament.

The facilitator ended the session by appealing to the CSO's to study parliamentary procedure and build working relations with MP's, because they are the ones who can move motions, present petitions and raise oral questions in Parliament.

5.6 Case Study on the Marriage and Divorce Bill

The facilitator used a case to help the participants see the outcome of a top-bottom approach to advocacy.

Case Study

The case study was about a debate in the Parliament of Kenya on the Marriage and Divorce Bill. The bill which was first tabled in Parliament in 1976 had been withdrawn a month later, finally came before Parliament after three years. The case study covered the arguments that both the male and female MP's gave for and against the bill. The main issues raised were in relation to gender and power relations in the family, women's rights and culture. The MP's discussed their views of the bill and it was evident that no effort was made to consult Civil Society. A motion was eventually moved to have the second reading of the bill deferred for 6 months.

The participants were asked to identify what went wrong during the process, the lessons learnt and strategies that CSO's can use to improve on the legislative process in future.

5.7 Group Work on the Case Study

a) Group 1- What went wrong in this case?

- The problem was not well defined. The problem should have been analysed
- There was no community input evident from the debate on the bill.
- There was no CSO input.
- There was a very low level of contribution from the female MP's. Only two gave their views.
- MP's were more concerned about their personal needs.

b) Group 2- Suggest strategies which could have made this motion successful if this issue was in your National Assembly.

- MP's need to be sensitised on issues of gender, child rights and marriage
- The level of CSO advocacy engagement at the different stages that the bill went through should have been intensified.
- There was need for a focused analysis on the issues raised. The issue of concern was not clarified. There was no argument to justify the need for the new law.
- Most of the issues raised were personal views of the MP's and not the wider communities that they represent.
- There was need for the involvement of wide range of stakeholders

c) Group 3-Lessons learnt from the Case Study

- The MP's wanted to waive the bill instead of focusing on the actual issues. The bill took a long time because of this.
- Corporal punishment is believed necessary to discipline women
- There was the issue of division in the debate
- The male MP's were negative about the law because of the power struggle that it would cause over matrimonial assets.
- There was a debate on how the 1st wife in a polygamous relationship could be expected to consent to her husband marrying a second wife.
- There should have been a positive reaction towards the bill from the women MP's,instead the women MP's did not react, they seemed to consent.

6.0 Increasing Civil Society's Access to Parliament

Methodology

Question and answer, brainstorming, illustrative diagrams , discussions in plenary.

6.1 The Role of Civil Society in the Legislative Process

The facilitator led the discussion to highlight the role that civil society plays in facilitating and strengthening the legislative process. She emphasised that civil society is important in providing information which should be analysed and well researched and passed on to Members of Parliament to use in debates. This does not only provide MP's with expert knowledge to build their capacity but also helps build interpersonal relationships between the suppliers of the information and the recipients. Civil society must articulate the important role of oversight that checks

the excesses of MP's. She urged the participants to follow the Parliamentary debates and challenge the MP's where they are unfair on society.

She said that civil society must influence the legislative process by contributing to the process of bill formulation and the consequent debates. Laws that are unconstitutional may be challenged in Court, since a favourable court ruling forces Parliament to take action.

The facilitator concluded by saying that once laws are in place, Civil Society should contribute to civic education to sensitize the masses about new laws. Support to translation and popularizing the law in the local language helps the citizen understanding.

6.2 The Advocacy Cycle

Ms. Babihuga explained the importance of developing lobbying and advocacy skills to help influence the legislative process. She pointed out that CSO's need to invest in serious and focused advocacy campaigns, in order to persuade and convince legislators to consider the peoples concerns in the law making process.

Using a diagram the facilitator led the participants through a discussion on the steps in the advocacy cycle. The participants shared experiences about their advocacy efforts drawing examples from the recent Campaign in Tanzania on the NGO Act. It was observed that there is need to mobilise CSO's to ensure that strong coalitions are built to engage Parliament. It was noted that CSO's should identify key representatives with the knowledge and ability to command the respect of the MP's.

The facilitator pointed out the need to identify advocacy issues that are realistic. She pointed out that the Campaign on the NGO Act focused on preventing the NGO bill from being passed yet this is near to impossible in the political arena. One participant observed that a lot of resources and energy were wasted on trying to block the progression of the bill.

The importance of identifying the crucial targets in Parliament was emphasised and the participants were encouraged to work with personalities that have the power to make decisions on the bills. It is also useful to build a critical mass of support on the bill. This involves identifying stakeholders and working with the public. The participants were also advised to plan activities that would help to carry out the advocacy campaign effectively. The strategies adopted should be relevant to achieving the advocacy objectives. CSO's should be mindful of the MP's busy schedules and package the advocacy information to make it brief and precise.

The finally the facilitator explained that advocacy campaigns should be monitored and evaluated continuously so as to assess the progress made and whether there is need for a change in strategy.

6.3 Working with Parliament

Ms. Babihuga urged the participants to treat Members of Parliament with respect. She pointed out that, while CSO's are programme driven, MP's being politicians are driven by the demands of their electorate and the urgency of the political issues of the day. The nature of their work makes it difficult for them to make time for day long workshops. She observed that CSO's should appreciate the fact that some MP's do not have a lot of exposure to development issues since academic credentials are not a factor in the election of Members of the National Assembly.

The facilitator appealed to the participants to read and internalize parliamentary protocol and procedure. This she said would build their confidence and help them earn the respect of the MP's.

6.4 Strategies used by CSO's to influence the Legislative Process

The facilitator Ms. Byanyima re-emphasised the various entry points that CSO's can use to influence the legislative process. These she said include among others; Committee Hearings, public dialogues, constituents consultations, lobbying Parliamentary caucuses, petitions, demonstrations, Private Members Bills and questions for oral answers. She stressed the fact that these processes require CSO's to lobby MP's and work closely with them to present their views to the Assembly.

6.5 Future activities on building relationships between CSO's in Tanzania and Parliamentarians

The facilitator shared the importance of laying strategies on what is practical in the Tanzanian setting. The participants broke into groups and discussed the strategies their organisations will use to engage Parliament.

6.6 Group Work on Strategies for CSO active involvement with Parliament

a) Group 1

- The big gap between MP's and CSO's will be bridged through meetings, official dinners and by approaching the MP's assistants and friends.
- CSO's will prepare and distribute profiles of their organisations to the MP's. This will create awareness among the MP's about what the CSO's are doing in the development process
- MP's will be involved in CSO activities. This will create a sense of partnership between the MP's and CSO's. MP's will be invited to officiate at the CSO

activities. This will also provide opportunity for them to see the CSO's at work.

- CSO's will involve MP's in capacity building activities geared to help them understand the development issues CSO's handle.

b) Group 2

- It is important to create space for and ensure that CSO's pro actively engage in the law making process, especially at the drafting stage of the bills. It will be easier to lobby from a Government position. Set in motion research work by creating a study group to assess what Government is doing and plan along these issues.
- There is need to ensure the regular use and access of the parliamentary website. CSO's can assist the Government to provide information for the website. Have some working sessions with technocrats to influence the bill.
- CSO's should attend the Parliamentary sessions even when there is no advocacy campaign. This will help us relate with MP's and build links. Attend the Committee sessions to provide information to the MP's.
- CSO's should empower the public through civic education for effective participation in governance
- The public should be educated on the role and contribution of CSO's. This will be done using the media, workshops, meetings and the various coalitions

c) Group 3

- There is need for coalition building for CSO's in order to help them make an impact and to put the key issues across to MP's. Workshops will be organised to this effect.
- CSO's will build a knowledge base in order to identify who the experts are in every field of concern.
- There is need to access information and existing research. We need to do our own research as CSO's.
- There is need to build capacity and have solidarity among the masses
- CSO's should identify and work with Parliamentary Committees to get support of committee members
- Information should be disseminated to MP's using user friendly documents.
- CSO's will carry out one to one lobbying of MP's and make personal visits to MP's in Dodoma
- CSO's will make strategic use of the media to help create awareness over the issues we are advocating for.

6.7 Participants Observations

1. We should use the existing coalitions and networks. The issue is how do we raise the need to build the advocacy with Parliament? One strategy would be to train other CSO's on the information we have learnt in the workshop.

2. CSO's should identify one coalition and get help from the Parliamentary Liaison Officer to work effectively with Parliament. However existing coalitions may also be used.

3. The number of coalitions built will depend on the issue being considered in Parliament. If it is land, another coalition will have to be built; CSO's would have to identify an organisation that can help.

4. The study group should be well balanced and with professionals so that we raise expert recommendations to the committees.

The facilitator pointed out the importance of attending some of the Parliamentary sessions in Dodoma, and the importance of keeping each other informed. She appealed to the CSO's to make an effort to analyse bills and see the spirit behind them in order to assess the gaps that should be addressed. She encouraged the participants to strengthen their understanding of Parliament and build strong coalitions among themselves

7.0 Closing Remarks

Ms. Donna Bugby Smith thanked the participants for attending the workshop and for their active participation. She pointed out that the issue of strengthening links with Parliament is a process. There is no literature on enhancing CSO/ Parliament relations. She appealed to the CSO's to take the first step and build working relations with Parliament. When CSO's come together and rally around a cause this makes a big difference. She noted that although the workshop was short the knowledge acquired will be useful to build on and develop future interventions.

She thanked the participants for their active participation and contributions and appealed to them to work in partnership with the Liaison Officer. She informed them that SUNY would be organising a number of programmes to support the strengthening of CSO / Parliamentary linkages.

7.1Conclusion

The Workshop on increasing access to Parliament by civil society organised by SUNY in collaboration with PACT Tanzania provided helpful and timely information to the participants from a cross section of CSO's. These individuals will be directly responsible for coordinating the advocacy initiative to link the legislative organs

and civil society organisations in Tanzania. In spite of the challenge of late coming by a number of participants that had implications on the available time for the training, all the participants said the workshop objectives were met to their satisfaction.

During the workshop the participants were able to share information and whereas it was evident that there had not been adequate exposure among individuals to working with Parliament, the group expressed that the training was a much needed intervention. They pledged to carry forward the effort of lobbying the legislature through a number of strategies that they conceptualized at the end of the training. Participants put forward a request for further training in order to build the skills and the much needed solidarity among the civil society organisations. This will help them address the challenges that they meet as they try to fulfil their roles and functions. SUNY is committed to take forward the process of building the capacity of Parliamentarians and representatives of civil society who will spearhead and promote the collaboration between the civic and legislative body in Tanzania.

Annextures

Annex A Workshop Programme

Increasing Access to Parliament by Civil society in Tanzania- Workshop Supported by SUNY Tanzania

11- 13th January 2004

Day 1: Training of Trainers

Time	Activity
8.00 – 8.30	Registration
8.30 – 8.45	Opening Remarks
8.45 – 9.45	Climate Setting
9.45 – 10.30	The Systematic Approach to Training
10.30 – 11.00	**Coffee Break**
11.00 - 11.30	Developing the Training Module Format
11.30 – 1.00	Facilitation Skills
1.00 – 2.00	**Lunch Break**
2.00 – 3.00	Evaluating Workshops/Training
3.00 – 4.00	Workshop Reports
4.00 – 4.30	Discussions & Wrap Up

Day 2: CSO Training on Increasing Access to Parliament

Time	Activity
8.00 – 8.30	Registration
8.30 – 8.45	Opening Remarks
8.45 – 9.30	Climate Setting
9.30 – 10.10	The Role of Civil society in Development
10.10 – 10.30	Understanding Parliament
10.30 – 10.45	**Coffee Break**
10.45 - 12.00	Understanding Parliament
12.00 – 1.00	Increasing Access to Parliament by CSOs
1.00 – 2.00	**Lunch Break**
2.00 – 4.30	Working with Parliament
4.30 – 5.00	Evaluation of the Workshop

Day 3: *Locals Trainers Carry out Training*

Annex B Facilitators Observations

Facilitators Observations

1. It was evident throughout the process that the CSO's have had limited opportunities to build consensus and lay strategies over attendant issues regarding their advocacy with Parliament.

   Therefore the CSO/ Parliamentary Liaison Officer must promptly collaborate on consensus building programmes. This will help set the pace build the momentum and bridge the gap between CSO's and the legislature.

2. It was apparent that previous attempts to work with a few sections of the legislature gave the CSO's the impression that Parliament is driven by the Executive to tow the Government line. The participants feel apathetic about any hopes of accessing Parliament and stated that it is "hopeless trying to engage with MP's". They therefore need several opportunities to work along side Parliamentarians to address these perceptions.

3. There was apparent anxiety among the participants to find a link that will help them reach Parliamentarians. The Liaison Officer should take advantage of this and identify CSO's to integrate into Parliamentary programmes

4. The participants had good knowledge of the role of CSO's in development and the advocacy cycle. However they had very limited exposure to the working of Parliament and lobbying Parliamentarians. Consequently the CSO's require more capacity building initiatives towards strengthening the capacity of CSO's to understand, select and utilise appropriate Parliamentary avenues to engage MP's in their advocacy role.

5. To provide for adequate discussion and consensus building on issues of how to engage Parliament and in this regard workshops of an average two days are proposed to provide time to cover topics adequately.

Annex D Evaluation Form

WORKSHOP ON INCREASING ACCESS TO PARLIAMENT BY CIVIL SOCIETY

EVALUATION FORM

Please answer the questions below to help us evaluate the workshop. **Please do not indicate your name.** Put your responses in the lines that follow the questions or tick the box that has the most appropriate answer.

1. In your opinion were the workshop objectives met? Please explain.

.....

.....

2. Were the workshop topics relevant to your work as leaders? How would you rate them?

Very Relevant ☐ Relevant ☐

Irrelevant ☐

3. Were the training methods used appropriate? How would you rate them?

Very Good ☐ Good ☐

Poor ☐ Fair ☐

4. What is your assessment of the facilitators?

Very Good ☐ Good ☐

Poor ☐ Fair ☐

5. What are your comments about the organisation of the workshop? (Please indicate in the boxes below)

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
• Meals	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Accommodation	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Training handouts	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Transport allowance	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. How do you intend to use the knowledge you have acquired from this workshop?

.....
.....
.....

7. In your overall assessment did the workshop meet your expectations?

.....

.....

Annex E Participants' List

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Workshop on Accessing Parliament by CSO's
Held on 13th January 2004 at PACT Offices, Dar-es-Salaam

Name	Organisation	Contact
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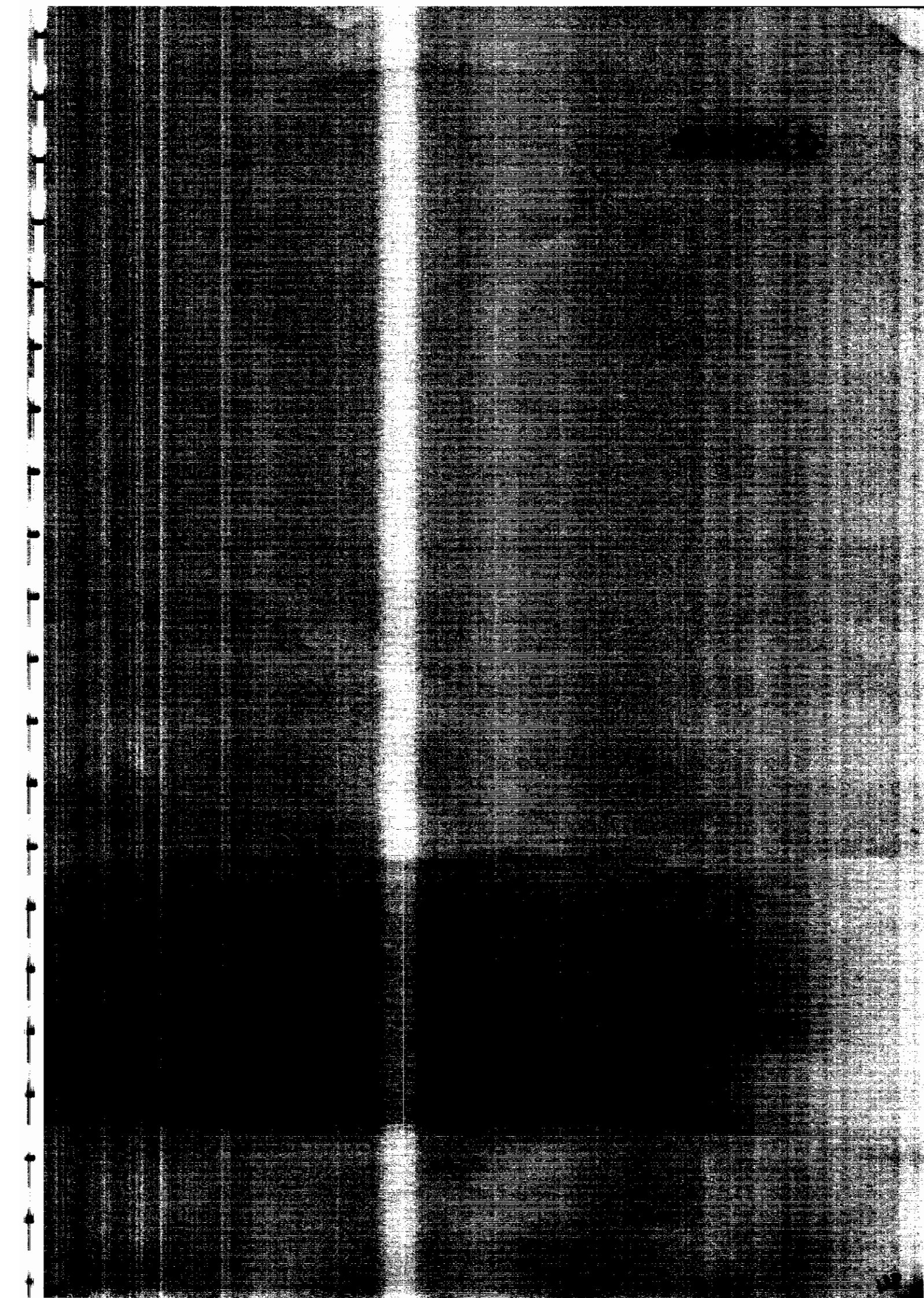

State University of New York/ Tanzania

Report

of

STUDY TOUR

PARLIAMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN UGANDA

By SUNY / TANZANIA STAFF

23rd – 27th February 2004

Compiled by:
Winnie Babihuga
Betty Rutare Byanyima
Independent Consultants

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Annextures

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1.0 Background to the Study Tour

The State University of New York-Tanzania (SUNY/ Tanzania) is currently implementing a two- year programme to provide technical assistance for the strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly. SUNY/ TZ works towards improved legislation, more effective lawmaking, enhanced management/ administration and more effective oversight. The Project seeks to support Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to access and understand the legislative process. In order to facilitate this process SUNY/TZ works in collaboration with PACT's recently appointed Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer (CPLO), who will act as a link between the CSOs and Parliament.

In January 2004 SUNY/TZ organised a training programme to build the capacity of the CPLO to support the CSOs advocacy work with Parliament. During the training programme the need to provide further orientation for the CPLO was identified. It was proposed that the CPLO and SUNY Staff visit their counterparts in Uganda in order to benefit from a first hand experience of the partnership between Parliament and Civil Society in the democratic process. Consequently a Study Tour to Uganda was organised for the SUNY Staff and the CPLO (The SUNY Team) with the following aim and objectives:

1.1 Aim of the Study Tour

The Study Tour aimed to help the recently appointed CSO/ Parliamentary Liaison Officer, understand the importance of the CSOs regular access to Parliament. The CPLO would at first hand get exposure to the great strides the CSOs in Uganda have made towards asserting their position as partners in democracy.

1.2 The Objectives

The Objectives of the Study Tour were to:

- Observe and learn how Uganda's Parliament functions and share experiences with Parliamentarians and Parliamentary Staff about the participation of Civil Society in the legislative and policy making process.
- Share experiences with CSOs and learn best practices of how to link with Parliament and thus promote the participation of Civil Society in the legislative and policymaking process.

1.3 Key Out puts of the Study Tour

SUNY/TZ desired the following key outputs to be realised by the end of the Study Tour: That the SUNY Team would:

- Share experiences with the Uganda's CPLO on how to link Civil Society in to Parliament
- Share experiences with Parliament and learn how CSOs engage Parliament
- Observe the legislative procedures of the Parliament (Committee Hearings and plenary)
- Learn about the structure and system of administration in Parliament.
- Identify best practices for potential adoption in Tanzania

The delegation comprised of the Country Director SUNY/TZ, who joined the team from the 26th February 2004, the Deputy Country Director SUNY/TZ, the Logistics Officer SUNY/TZ and the Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer from the PACT offices.

1.4 Methodology of the Study Tour

Visits were organised to key CSOs that play an active role in influencing policy and legislation. During the visits the Team held roundtable discussions with the Chief Executives and Programme Officers. They shared experiences on the advocacy work that they do with Parliament as well as their achievements and challenges. The CSOs gave the visiting team materials and documents about their organisations.

The team visited the Parliament of Uganda where they met the Speaker of Parliament and various Heads of Department as well as Parliamentary Staff, who shared about their interaction with Civil Society. They observed parliamentary procedure both during the plenary sessions and the Committee Hearings. They also had a working lunch with selected Members of Parliament at which they discussed the CSOs level of participation in the Committee Hearings. At the end of the Study Tour, the participants were taken through a discussion on the best practices and lessons learnt during the Study Tour. They identified strategies and activities that will facilitate the transfer of the knowledge and information acquired during the study tour.

1.5 Summary of activities carried out during the Study Tour

a) Visits to Civil Society Organisations that carry out advocacy work with Parliament.
b) Meeting with the Speaker of Parliament and Senior Parliamentary Staff
c) Meeting with the Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer
d) A Tour of Parliament
e) Attendance in the Sessional Committee on Natural Resources and the Select Committee on Pornography.
f) Attendance in the plenary session of Parliament
g) Meetings with Members of Parliament

Thematic Report of the activities carried out during the Study Tour

2. O Theme 1. The Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer as a link to CSO/Parliament interaction

2.1 Meeting with the CPLO

a) Brief Background to the Uganda Joint Christian Councils (UJCC) Parliamentary Governance Programme

The team met the Uganda Joint Christian Councils (UJCC), CPLO Ms. Susan Atengo Wegoye at her office in Parliament. Ms. Wegoye shared about the origins of UJCC's Parliamentary Governance Programme. The Programme was born out of the Churches' frustration over Governments attempts to change the school syllabus by replacing Christian Religious Education with Moral Education. During the campaign against these changes, the need to proactively address issues of governance at the policy level instead of confronting them at the implementation stage became evident. UJCC realised the importance of advocating for good laws and policies and this marked the beginning of the Governance programme.

The programme, which focuses on good governance and human rights, began with funding from UJCC and was later funded by the State University of New York's Uganda Parliamentary Technical Assistance Programme (SUNY/UPTAP). Currently Ms. Wegoye carries out her work with the help of an assistant CPLO in Parliament.

b) Establishment of UJCC's Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Office (CPLO)

The CPLO informed the team that her office was established in the year 2000, as a strategic entry point into Parliament to help influence the legislative and policy making process. The CPLO was specifically appointed to Parliament to track the progress of bills before the House and ensure the Organisation's timely advocacy interventions.

Ms. Wegoye explained that the office of the CPLO has four main functions:

- To promote awareness of the role of Members of Parliament as legislators and to increase public awareness of the issues discussed in Parliament.
- To organise regular meetings with CSOs on issues of concern and update them about the proceedings in Parliament.
- To provide dialogue forums to enable the public to express their views on various policy issues

- To collaborate with the CSOs in order to present views on legislation pending before Parliament.

The CSOs engage Parliament through the presentation of Memoranda to Committees, petitions to the Speaker, stakeholders' briefings, dialogue forums, media programmes, and information sharing through the production and circulation of the Parliamentary Monthly Bulletin (a newsletter on CSO/ Parliamentary advocacy interventions). UJCC also has an Analysis Board comprising of lawyers and members of CSOs, who meet regularly to analyse bills before Parliament. The Analysis Board incorporates experts from relevant CSOs to analyse bills as and when the need arises. Currently the Analysis Board is looking at the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) and a petition presented to Parliament by the Association of Prostitutes who are advocating for legal recognition by Government.

The team was informed that the CPLO attends Parliamentary Sessions and Committee Hearings whenever there is an issue before Parliament that is of concern to the CSOs. The Liaison Officer also works closely with the Public Relations Officer, the Editor of the Hansard, the Office of Parliamentary Professional Development, and the Office of the Clerk particularly with the Committee Clerks, the Department of Library and Research and the Legislative Counsels Office.

c) Achievements of the Programme

The Parliamentary Governance Programme has registered a number of achievements. The CPLO noted that since the programme began the number of CSOs networking with Parliament and participating in the legislative process has increased. There is also a marked increase in the public's awareness of legislative matters as a result of the impact of the Monthly Parliamentary Bulletin, the public dialogues and the media programmes. CSOs have succeeded in influencing legislation by making contributions to a number of bills through the Committee Hearings. The CSOs recently made contributions to the drafting of a Private Members Bill on the Access to Information; they carried out advocacy on the Family land Clause, the Parliamentary Pensions Bill and the NGO Amendment Bill.

d) Challenges

Ms. Wegoye pointed out the following challenges that the programme faces:

1. *Consensus Building:* The major challenge to the programme is that of consensus building among the CSOs with regard to contentious issues arising from the bills. Negotiations are held over the most appropriate strategy to use when engaging Parliament. It is sometimes difficult for the CSOs to agree on which issues to present to the Committees and which to "trade off" by way of compromise.

2. *Funding of activities:* Sometimes unanticipated advocacy issues come up and the advocacy activities fall outside the predetermined budget plans. The CSOs then have to fundraise to meet these expenses.
3. *Mobilising the Members of Parliament:* It is sometimes difficult to mobilise MP's to attend the advocacy initiatives. It sometimes helps to involve the Speaker and the Clerk to Parliament to issue out the invitations to these events.
4. *Political Climate:* The Media Talk Shows are sometimes hampered by difficulties in getting panellists from among the MP's. Some MP's shy from sharing their views on certain political issues. The radio stations sometimes cause distraction during the shows by steering the discussions from the issues at hand and engaging the panellists in the 'hot political issues' of the day.

2.2 Clarifications and questions

After the comments by the CPLO the team sought clarification on the following:

1. *One member inquired as to what is done when the CSOs completely fail, to reach a consensus over issues to present before the Committees.*

The CPLO explained that there was an incident when two different groups of CSOs presented conflicting views to a Parliamentary Committee. The CPLO sought the assistance of the Development Associates (a USAID funded project currently providing technical assistance to Parliament), which intervened and helped the CSOs harmonise their positions.

2. *One member wanted to know whether the CPLO could carry out her work without formal recognition from the Speaker's Office.*

It is important to get recognition from the office of the Speaker or at least from the Clerk to Parliament and the Heads of Department. It makes ones work much easier. The team was informed that it was through the help of the Clerk's Office that the CPLO managed to get an office in Parliament.

3. *The team inquired about the process the CPLO went through to establish her office in Parliament, and how information is disseminated among the CSOs.*

Ms. Wegoye explained that her predecessor received help from the SUNY/UPTAP office as well as support from the UJCC Executive Director who introduced her to key Departmental Heads in Parliament. She noted the importance of building good working relations with the Public Relations Officer and the Parliamentary staff at all levels. On the dissemination of information to the CSOs, the CPLO explained that her office mainly uses electronic mail to keep the CSOs informed about Parliamentary work. Parliament also has a website that the CSOs can access.

4. *The team inquired about the nature of the research carried out by the CSOs with regard to bills pending before Parliament.*

Ms. Wegoye explained that CSOs carry out social and legal research to assess the impact certain pieces of legislation or policy will have on society. The CSOs did social research on the effects of Pornography on society; research was also done on Uganda's debt burden during an advocacy campaign to block the Parliamentary Pensions Bill.

While sharing the Tanzanian experience the team explained that there is a Member of Parliament elected by the ruling party to represent Civil Society. It was observed that the CSOs in Tanzania should consider the MP as an ally and build a working relationship with her.

3.0 Theme 2. The CSOs strategic interventions to engage Parliament.

3.1 Visit to the NGO Forum

a) Background to the NGO Forum

The Executive Director NGO Forum, Mr Warren Nyamugasira was delighted to receive the SUNY Team. He shared about the work SUNY/UPTAP did in the 6th and 7th Parliament and pointed out that the Chief of Party at the time: Ms. Donna Bugby Smith was very instrumental in linking CSOs and Parliament.

He pointed out that the NGO Forum mainly carries out collective advocacy work especially in areas that affect the NGO community. The organisation conducts debates on policy related issues, and also plays an important role in the Poverty Eradication Plan. The Forum is currently working with the Women Parliamentarians to create awareness among their constituents about different Government interventions to address poverty.

b) The NGO Forums advocacy work in Parliament

Mr. Nyamugasira informed the team that the NGO Forum's advocacy work with Parliament began with its campaign for registration under the NGO Board. The Government, which felt threatened by the idea of CSOs coming together to form an organisation, blocked the Forums registration. The member organisations began a vicious campaign for recognition. This marked the beginning of advocacy work with Parliament; however most of the advocacy initiatives were reactive and adversarial.

Mr. Nyamugasira observed that the interaction between CSOs and Parliament took a major turn when SUNY/UPTAP began its CSO Parliamentary Programme. SUNY/UPTAP had an established relationship with Parliament and they became a bridge between the CSOs and the MP's. The relationship improved when

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SUNY/UPTAP together with forty CSOs initiated the CSO Exhibition for Parliamentarians. Suddenly the MP's realised that the CSOs had a wealth of knowledge from the research work they were doing and their interaction with people at the grass roots. Since then the relationship between CSOs and Parliament has been less adversarial and is now moving towards a partnership.

SUNY/UPTAP also helped to start the 'Lobbyist' a newsletter that keeps the Parliamentarians informed about the CSOs advocacy issues. The team was shown copies of the newsletter, which is now being produced and funded by the NGO Forum. The Forum is currently advocating for the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission. Advocacy work has also been done on the Domestic Relations Bill and the Family Land Clause.

3.1.1 Clarifications on issues raised:

The team inquired about the strategies the NGO Forum uses to engage MP's. Mr Nyamugasira explained that CSOs should identify their allies in Parliament. These are MP's who have reason to believe that they will benefit from the passing of the bill in question. It is also important for CSOs to work closely with MP's with whom they have social networks. The advocacy issue should be related to the interests of the MP's. Mr. Nyamugasira went on to highlight a number of strategies that the NGO Forum uses to mobilise MP's:

- Mobilising MP's by using their friends to call them on their mobile phones and convince them of the value of participating in the advocacy campaign.
- Respecting the MP's and addressing them by their names and titles.
- Studying the 'political environment' in Parliament and understanding Parliamentary procedure.
- Working closely with the Parliamentary staff.
- Identifying the "movers and shakers" in Parliament and lobbying them to influence the other MP's.
- Responding to the MP's invitations to participate in their constituency activities.

He acknowledged the important role the CPLO has been playing in Parliament, keeping the CSOs abreast with information about the issues in the House. Mr. Nyamugasira thanked the team for visiting the NGO Forum and encouraged them to work towards building a partnership between the CSOs and MP's in Tanzania.

3.2 Visit to Action Aid

a) Background to Action Aid

The Policy and Advocacy Officer Action Aid (U) Ms. Jane Ocaya Irama welcomed the team and thanked them for choosing to visit Action Aid. She introduced the Head of the Food Security Section Mr. James Kintu, and the Head of the Impact Assessment Project Ms. Sarah Okware. She then gave a brief background to the work Action Aid does and said that the organisation is currently going through a process of taking on a national character. For a number of years Action Aid focused on service delivery for communities. In 1989 it became evident that there was need to influence policy as a strategy to address poverty. The SUNY/UPTAP CSO Parliamentary Programme coincided with this change in strategy and SUNY/UPTAP's activities helped Action Aid build vital relationships in Parliament.

Ms. Ocaya commended SUNY for organising two CSO Exhibitions and for producing the Parliamentary Directory. She said these interventions helped to establish a positive working relationship between CSOs and the MP's.

b) Action Aid's advocacy work in Parliament

Ms. Ocaya Irama informed the team that her organisation has worked with Parliament on a number of advocacy issues:

- Gender and women's rights: A demonstration comprised of women from rural areas was held at Parliament over the Land Amendment Bill.
- Advocacy on the World Trade Organisations Talks: Meetings were held with MP's in preparation for the World Trade Organisation Cancun meeting.
- The Development of the Land Policy: Action Aid in conjunction with the Land Alliance has been working with the Ministry of lands with regard to the development of a land policy. Meetings were also held with the Committee on Natural Resources to lobby for a pro poor policy on the compulsory acquisition of land.
- The Property Rights Bill: Action Aid held a workshop to sensitise MP's on the implications of the Property Rights Bill.
- Genetically Modified Food: A dialogue was held between MP's and farmers who shared their experiences on the dangers of using Genetically Modified Food.
- The Pensions Bill: The CSOs worked together to block the Pensions Bill. The advocacy on the Bill took on an antagonistic approach but through informal talks the bill was blocked.

She pointed out that Action Aid works in collaboration with other CSOs. A number of coalitions have been built around advocacy issues. Their strategies include; organising workshops, meetings, public debates and one-on-one lobby meetings. She observed that the CPLO is a very useful link into Parliament. She provides information to the CSOs about the bills before Parliament and the

details about the composition of the Parliamentary Committees and the MP's who sit on them.

She further emphasised the importance of building relationships with the various committees in Parliament and the value of attending the Plenary and Committee Hearings. It is during these sessions that CSOs are able to determine the emerging issues and identify their allies and opponents from among the MP's.

c) Challenges

The Action Aid staff shared about the challenges they face while working with Parliament. The political landscape makes it difficult to lobby the members of the Executive. They have collective responsibility and cannot been seen to differ from the Government position. CSOs are sometimes accused of being donor driven and elitist and it is a challenge convincing the MP's otherwise. Consensus building among the CSOs can sometimes be very problematic. It involves a lot of negotiations to bring the views of all the interest groups together in one fora. It was also observed that mobilising funds for advocacy campaigns is very difficult. The organisations in the coalitions pool their resources together to support the campaign.

3.2.1 Clarification on issues raised:

The team sought clarification on a number of issues raised:

1. *One member inquired about how the CSOs deal with MP's who are reluctant to attend their meetings.*

Ms. Ocaya informed the team that on a number of occasions the CSOs have had to follow up the MP's and meet them informally in the evenings at their clubs. They have sometimes been able to identify friends of MP's and worked with them to reach the MP's. The CSOs also ensure that they present well-researched information to the MP's and this normally helps to draw the MP's to their advocacy efforts.

2. *The team wanted to know how information for the MP's is packaged and whether MP's invite the CSOs to give their views to their Committees.*

Packaging advocacy information appropriately is very important. It should be concise and in simple language. It is also important to make use of visual aids and to capture the voices of the people in the message. The MP's have seen the value of working with CSOs and on a number of occasions they have invited the CSOs to present their views.

Ms. Ocaya concluded her presentation by emphasising the importance of working as a coalition of CSOs and the need for transparency and consistency among the CSOs. She stressed that advocacy is time consuming and requires energy and enthusiasm.

3.3 Visit to the Uganda Joint Christian Council

a) Background to UJCC

The team met the Executive Director Rev. Canon Kaiso and the Head of Programme Human Rights and Governance Ms. Perry Aritua. Rev. Kaiso gave a brief background to UJCC which he said is an Ecumenical organisation that provides a platform for the church to work towards greater mutual understanding and unity. UJCC also advocates for the promotion of Human Rights through capacity building of their membership at various levels.

He explained how the Parliamentary Programme began and the important role of the CPLO. He recognised the significant role SUNY/UPTAP played to help establish a positive working relationship between the CSOs and Parliament. He pointed out that the CSO Exhibitions organised by SUNY/UPTAP were very instrumental in changing the MP's perception of CSOs and in demystifying the Institution of Parliament.

b) UJCC's advocacy work with Parliament

Rev Kaiso briefed the team about the various strategies UJCC uses to engage Parliament. He informed them that the Analysis Board which was established to analyse bills before Parliament has been very effective. The Parliamentary Committees appreciate the well researched and informative memoranda from the Board. This has helped the CSOs to establish themselves as credible partners with Parliament.

He informed the team that UJCC also organises Public Dialogues between the MP's and CSOs. The initial public dialogues between the MP's and UJCC were facilitated by SUNY/UPTAP. These dialogues enabled the CSOs to present their views to the MP's. Through the dialogues the CSOs were also able to identify influential MP's, who could be relied upon to lobby support from among their colleagues.

c) Achievements

The team was informed that the Programme has registered a number of achievements. The establishment of the CPLO's office has given further recognition to the important role CSOs play in the legislative process. The CPLO is now on the circulation list in Parliament and she receives copies of the documents that are circulated among the MP's.

UJCC has been able to build a good working relationship with the Committee Clerks in Parliament and this has enhanced their advocacy work. The Clerks recently reviewed the CSOs performance at Committee Hearings and their findings have helped to improve the CSOs advocacy work. Rev. Kaiso observed that the greatest achievement has been the value MP's now attach to the contributions the CSOs make to the legislative process.

d) Challenges

There are a number of challenges that UJCC faces while implementing the programme. Initially very few organisations had advocacy officers. It was difficult to mobilise the CSOs because of the high turn over of the CSO representatives to meetings. The CSOs participation in the legislative process is

determined by their interest in the matter before Parliament. Thus a number of bills that are not of interest to the CSOs are passed with very little or no input from Civil Society.

The cycle of bills is very fast and sometimes the CSOs miss the opportunity to influence the process because they learn of the existence of a bill when it has left the Committee stage. Some bills are time barred because of Constitutional limits and thus there is very little time for research and debate on them.

Rev. Kaiso also pointed out the lack of trust between CSOs and some MP's that hampered advocacy work in the past. MP's felt threatened by the proactive approach adopted by the CSOs in their advocacy campaigns. This has since changed and the MP's view the CSOs as their partners.

3.3.1 The Democracy Monitoring Group (DEMGROUP)

Ms. Perry Aritua explained that the DEMGROUP is an offshoot of the NGO's Election Monitoring Group that was comprised of a coalition of NGO's who monitored the Parliamentary and Presidential elections. After the elections some of these NGO's namely: Action for Development, UJCC, and the Uganda Journalists Safety Committee, felt the need to continue monitoring the work of the various Government institutions involved in the election process to ensure that Human Rights are observed and promoted in their day to day operations. The DEMGROUP monitors and assesses the extent to which gender, human rights and governance issues are institutionalised in the institutions that are supposed to foster democracy in Uganda. These institutions include: Parliament, the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission, the Movement Secretariat and Security Organisations.

Ms. Perry Aritua informed the team that the DEMP GROUP's work has helped to raise awareness about Human Rights and the Group has on a number of occasions succeeded in holding various security organs responsible for the violation of Human Rights especially with regard to the curbing of arbitrary arrests. Several reports have been made drawing Governments attention to the violation of human rights in various institutions. A number of MP's work together with the DEMGROUP in their oversight role of the Executive

3.3.2 Clarification on issues raised:

After the presentation the team sought clarification on a number of issues raised:

1. *The team inquired about the factors that helped UJCC gain recognition among the MP's.*

Rev. Kaiso explained that gaining recognition was basically achieved through a process of trust building between UJCC and Parliament. UJCC had a good track record because of its participation in issues of governance and had built a reputation as a credible institution with a big constituency nation wide. SUNY/UPTAP's programmes helped to demystify Parliament and to link UJCC with influential personalities in Parliament. UJCC also worked through the National leadership of their member churches who command a big following in Parliament.

2. *One member wanted to know how UJCC has managed to protect its membership from the wrath of Government.*

UJCC is non-partisan and the organisations work is always based on facts that are reliable. The organisation has monitors all over the country whose reports cite specific incidences and names of the personalities involved. On several occasions Government has demanded that the Church should keep out of politics, but the organisations strong leadership has remained adamant about the observation of Human Rights nation wide.

Rev. Kaiso concluded by thanking the team for visiting UJCC and expressed his appreciation for the work SUNY/UPTAP did in laying a strong foundation for interaction between CSOs and Parliament.

3.4 Visit to the Uganda Women's Network (UWONET)

a) Background to Uganda Women's Network

The team met with Ms. Vat Kamatsiko the Programme Officer in charge of advocacy. She explained the structure of her organisation and the core activities they carry out. UWONET is a coalition of national non-governmental organizations advocating for the improvement of the lives of women in Uganda. The member organizations provide a linkage with grassroots community participation. The improvement in the lives of women is envisaged to be achieved, among others, through involving more women in leadership and decision-making at different levels of society.

b) UWONET's advocacy work with Parliament

The Programme Officer informed the team that UWONET's advocacy work targets Parliament and key decision makers in institutions that implement laws and policies. The organisation advocates for women's human rights and the enactment of gender sensitive laws and policies. UWONET also works towards creating an enabling environment for women's participation in leadership. Through networking and information sharing, UWONET mobilizes its members along identified issues that affect women.

The Programme Officer explained that UWONET is currently spearheading the advocacy campaign on the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) in a coalition of over 40 NGOs with the support of a number of donors. Coordination is important to minimize redundancy and duplication. The main controversial issues in the campaign include legislating for either the total ban on Polygamy or at least its regulation; the outlawing of bride price; and the recognition of property rights for both spouses during marriage and its dissolution.

UWONET has used plays, video documentaries and the media to advance its advocacy role. A media kit was developed to give the members of the media an orientation on the DRB, so that a consistent message is maintained. UWONET is also involved in advocacy with regard to issues such as sensitising the public about fair laws and building their capacity to demand for appropriate implementation of the law.

Ms. Kamatsiko pointed out that it is normal for CSOs to have divergent views on issues but it is important for the advocates to be willing to harmonise positions, in order to be consistent with the specifics amendments they require in the legislation. She emphasized that CSOs need to keep abreast with the legislative process in Parliament to ensure that the issues being advocated for are passed in a manner that addresses the needs of both women and men.

The Programme Officer observed that advocacy is sometimes misconceived and the advocates equated to being "anti-government". This is intended to intimidate the players. The political environment may be challenging but civil society needs to build strong allies and stand for the fair and just governance of humanity. UWONET has found that linking issues with current development subjects such as poverty eradication, the fight against AIDS and human rights enhances their advocacy impact and the decision makers find it appealing to the strategic direction of the country. She stressed that CSOs need to be strategic in getting into circles, which increase their proximity with where they can access the power brokers. This enhances the advocacy initiatives of the CSOs.

c) Challenges

The Team was informed that the organization has had to lay strategies to counteract interest groups who have conservative ideas framed by; tradition, religious inclination and gender. The challenge is to change their perceptions. On the challenge of getting more men involved in speaking out for women's issues, Ms Kamatsiko said that at the grassroots, men and women are involved in consultations and in contributing to research that brings out balanced representation.

3.4.1 Clarifications on issues raised:

After the presentation the team sought clarification on a number of issues raised:

1. The team inquired about the skills needed to promote an effective advocacy campaign.

Ms. Kamatsiko informed the team that the members of UWONET have built their capacity in communication and information packaging. It is also very important to develop skills that enhance the building of relationships with MPs and other key actors. Skills in research have also proved to be helpful in providing MPs with quantitative research.

2. One member wanted to know what strategies UWONET has used to carry out a successful advocacy in Parliament.

Ms. Kamatsiko informed the team that UWONET holds stakeholder analysis meetings, and works closely with Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), which is the women's caucus in Parliament. UWONET involves UWOPA at all stages of the advocacy campaign. Members of the organization also lobby Members of Parliament on a one-on-one basis. In addition to these strategies, UWONET provides Parliamentarians with information about the issues raised by their constituents with regard to the advocacy campaign and involves them in mobilization during the advocacy drive.

3. The team inquired about how UWONET gets male Members of Parliament to support advocacy on women's issues.

Ms. Kamatsiko explained that UWONET identifies the MPs that support the advocacy issue and works with them as resource persons to educate and influence others. The CPLO also provides a linkage to information concerning Parliament and gives CSOs updates on how Parliament is progressing on a specific matter. She further said that UWONET uses petitions to the Speaker of Parliament and this is done on appointment. The UWONET members also endeavour to find out the interests of the MPs and attempt to address these interests whenever they lobby them. One- on- one lobbying has also been very effective.

3.5 Visit to the Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE)

a) Background to the Forum for Women in Democracy

The team met Mr. Richard Mugisha who informed them that FOWODE is a non-partisan organisation whose mission is to promote gender equality in all areas of decision-making through advocacy, training, research and publication. FOWODE is involved in leadership training to build the capacity of women to participate in leadership at all levels. The organisation operates in 16 districts of Uganda.

Mr. Mugisha observed that a number of strategies are used to achieve the organisations goal. FOWODE organises capacity building workshops for selected women at all levels and promotes Intergeneration Learning between women leaders of different age groups to provide mentoring in leadership.

b) FOWODE's Advocacy work with Parliament

The team was informed that FOWODE works closely with UWOPA the Women's parliamentary caucus on issues of women's rights and empowerment. Currently FOWODE is part of the coalition of women's organisations that is advocating for the enactment of a fair Domestic Relations Bill. An advocacy campaign is also being carried out for the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission.

In this regard FOWODE has done a baseline survey and will disseminate the findings among key stakeholders including Parliamentarians. FOWODE also liaises with the Budget Office of Parliament in order to advance its gender budgeting programme.

FOWODE has an on going programme to advocate for affirmative action for women. Under this Programme Women Parliamentarians have benefited from capacity building initiatives to enhance their political participation. The organisation also provides Parliament with research material for information and learning.

c) Challenges

Mr. Mugisha informed the team that there are a number of challenges that the organisation faces as it does its advocacy work. MPs are very difficult to mobilize. It is important to market the organisation and the benefits of the advocacy to their constituents. He also observed that there are instances when changes in the political system and fluctuating political scenes have completely overturned the direction of some of FOWODE's advocacy campaigns. There is also the challenge of changing allies. The high turnover of political players is also a big challenge, which calls for continuous capacity building and sensitization. A number of advocacy campaigns are also undermined by opposition from men who are threatened by the empowerment of women. He also observed that the coordination of activities and competition amongst NGOs in coalitions is very challenging.

3.5.1 Clarification on issues raised.

After the presentation the team sought clarification on a number of issues raised:

The team inquired about how FOWODE gets to know what issues to work on in their advocacy. Mr. Mugisha informed them that it is important to create linkages between civil society and the legislative process. FOWODE accesses information about the legislature through working with networks and forming allies among MPs, the executive and departments of Government that formulate policy. It is also important to have a political eye/ear is necessary to gauge emerging issues.

3.6 Visit to The Uganda Debt Network (UDN)

a) UDN's advocacy work with Parliament

At the Uganda Debt Network the team was met by the Programme Officer Mr. Basil Kandyomunda who explained that the organization is involved in advocacy for pro-poor policies and anti corruption strategies. The team was informed that UDN is pro active on policy advocacy and carries out a lot of research and policy analysis. UDN takes on high profile advocacy in challenging the actions of key players in the country; such as petitioning the

MPs, the President and policy implementers. The organisation has regular issue based publications for public information.

He observed that Government has opened space for interaction; however CSOs are still in the nascent stage of actualizing their full potential for getting into and utilizing the opportunity to engage the policy makers. He observed that only a few indigenous organizations are making some effort towards influencing policy.

Mr. Kandyomunda explained that UDN believes that creative thinking is critical for civil society to develop their own agenda in policy advocacy and the challenge remains in taking it forward and sustaining the momentum.

b) Challenges

The challenges the organisation faces include maintaining independence and standing up against political intimidation especially since the main advocacy campaigns involve confronting key Government officials on issues of corruption and lack of accountability of public funds.

The SUNY staff were impressed by the immense energy that the UDN staff were putting into their advocacy work and the fact that they are tackling highly political issues of demanding accountability from leaders in Uganda.

3.7 Visit to the AIDS Information Center (AIC)

a) Background to the AIDS Information Center

The Public Relations Officer at the AIDS Information Center (AIC) Ms. Alice Berigija welcomed the team and briefed them about the work AIC does. The organisation started providing Volunteer Counselling and Testing (VCT) after the Blood Bank was overwhelmed by the large percentage of blood donors who were HIV positive. It started with one branch and now has six branches. AIC also works in partnership with a number of District Councils and currently has one hundred and ten indirect sites at district level.

b) Activities of the AIC

The AIC's main objective is to prevent the spread of HIV and mitigate its impact through the provision and expansion of voluntary counselling and testing, information and education, and the promotion of care and support. The organisation provides youth friendly services and has a Post Test Club for the youth and adults. The club uses media as its main advocacy tool in the communities. The programme has seen a marked increase in the peoples' response to VCT over the years.

Ms. Berigija informed the team that AIC has sensitised MP's on the importance of VCT and encouraged them to sensitise their communities on the importance of establishing their Sero status. She informed the team that Uganda now has a

policy on testing children, because of the high level of mother to child transmission of the AIDS Virus.

c) Challenges

The Public Relations Officer explained that the Center faces a number of challenges, which she highlighted as:

- Difficulties in reaching the elite members of society: AIC is faced with the challenge of reaching the elite members of society who seem to feel the stigma more than the common man. An executive branch has been opened at the head office to provide for exclusive services with extra privacy for the elite.
- Women's reluctance to share their sero status with their partners: Women are reluctant to share their sero status with their partners for fear of being thrown out of the family. This makes follow up by way of home visits virtually impossible.
- Lack of family support over the Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission Project: Male spouses do not want their wives to give their babies formula. This frustrates the projects goal of limiting mother to child transmission of HIV.
- The high cost of funding the programmes: The cost of running the organisations programmes is very high and yet the organisation does not offer a comprehensive package to its clients. The clients request for financial support and treatment which services do not fall under AIC's programmes. In order to offset some of the costs the clients are expected to pay a small fee for the services.
- The shortage of manpower in the districts: There is a shortage of medical personnel and counsellors in the districts and yet the number of clients increases on a regular basis.

d) Achievements

AIC has registered a number of successes:

- Capacity Building: AIC has built its capacity and reputation as trainers in the field of VCT. The staff carry out capacity building programmes for medical personnel in the East Africa Region. The Center has also become a model in the region and a number of countries come to see the progress Uganda has made.
- Good working relations with other HIV related CSOs: Uganda's success story has been greatly enhanced by the CSOs strengths in networking on issues of HIV and AIDS.
- National Coverage of the AIC activities: AIC has a wide national coverage of its activities. Currently thirty-one out of the fifty-four districts of Uganda have access to AIC services.

After the presentation the team shared experiences about the work the CSOs in Tanzania are doing with regard to HIV/ AIDS. One member informed the team

that the stigma in Tanzania is still very high and people are scared of going for VCT services. The CSOs use various incentives to encourage the people to test. The recent offer by the Clinton Foundation to provide ARV's has encouraged a number of people to test themselves since there is hope for a free supply of drugs. After the discussion the team was taken on a tour of the facilities and services offered at the center.

4.0 Theme 3. The Structure and Systems of Parliament, which enhance CSO/Parliament interaction.

4.1 Tour of the Parliament of Uganda

The Public Relations Officer took the SUNY/ TZ team on a tour of the Parliament of Uganda. They were shown the various offices and departments that support the smooth running of the Parliament as an Institution. Particular attention was paid to the main chamber of the Parliament where all the plenary sessions are held. It was observed that the Parliament was built using the West Minister design and the procedures of the House have adopted this pattern. They witnessed the Speakers procession with the Sergeant at Arms carrying the mace into the Chamber. They also visited the Department of the Official Report – the Hansard. They were informed that the Department comprises of the Recording Section, the Transcribing Section, the Editorial Section and the Printing Section. At the Printing Section they were taken through the process of how a hard copy of the Hansard is produced. They also visited the Recording and Transcribing Sections all of which facilitate the quick production of the Hansard.

The team was also shown round the Budget Office, the Public Relations Office, the Committee rooms and the Training Suite that were refurbished with support from SUNY/UPTAP. They were taken round the library, Research and IT Department where they were able to see the computers that were installed for the MP's by SUNY/UPTAP.

4.2 Meeting with the Director Library, Research and IT

The Director Library, Research and IT, Mr. Makata met the SUNY team together with the Librarian Mr Innocent Rugambwa, the Principal IT Officer Mr. Valarius Bibangamba and the Senior Research Officer Mr. Charles Tuhaise. He informed them that the department was established in 1999 with assistance from USAID, with SUNY/UPTAP as the implementing organisation. The department began with twenty personal computers; currently there are one hundred and twenty computers.

A tour was conducted round the department and the team was able to see the servers that support the entire IT system in Parliament. The team was also able to visit the Parliamentary Website www.parliament.go.ug, on which they found very interesting information about the administration of Parliament and its proceedings. They also saw the bio data of all the MP's. Mr. Makata informed the team that plans are underway to make the Website interactive, so as to increase the opportunities for Civil Society to participate in the legislative

process. He explained that SUNY/UPTAP designed a bill tracking system on the website which can be used by the public to track the history of bills before Parliament.

With regard to the CSOs interaction with the department, Mr. Tuhaise informed the team that the department uses secondary research sources of information and the CSOs have been very helpful in providing research material. However the Research department must be seen to be non-partisan so the information from the CSOs is analysed to ensure that the information availed to MP's is not biased or partisan. The CSOs are also invited to participate in workshops organised by Parliament. The Journalists who work with Parliament have been availed office space within Parliament to facilitate quick and timely media coverage of Parliaments work.

4.2.1 Clarification on issues raised:

After the presentation the team sought clarification on a number of issues raised:

1. *One member asked about the CSOs accessibility to Computers from which to visit the Parliamentary Website.*

The team was informed that Uganda Telecom provides free Internet services; the only cost is that of the telephone, the majority of the CSOs in the main towns can therefore access the internet.

2. *The team inquired about how often the website is upgraded*

Mr. Makata regretted that the website is not upgraded as regularly as it should be. The ideal situation should be daily updates but this has not been possible.

While sharing experiences from Tanzania, the team observed that their CSOs cannot easily access the Hansards and therefore the website in Tanzania is updated regularly so as to provide information to the public about Parliamentary proceedings. She noted that the Parliamentary proceedings in Tanzania are in Kiswahili while the Parliamentary Website is in English.

Mr. Makata concluded by observing that the CSOs in Tanzania should be proactive and lobby their Parliament to open space for them to influence the legislative process. He emphasised the importance of linking up with the Committee Clerks and researchers in Parliament and also acknowledged the support of the CPLO in facilitating the interaction of CSOs in Parliament.

4.3 Meeting with the Committee Clerks

a) Background to the Parliamentary Committees

The Principle Clerk in charge of table affairs Mr. Emmanuel Bakwega introduced his colleagues; Mr Sam Emiko who is the Principle Clerk Assistant for Committee Affairs, Mr. James Mugaga Committee Clerk in charge of the Committee on Defence and Internal Affairs, and Ms. Ruth Byona Committee Clerk in charge of the Committee on Natural Resources. He then gave an overview of the functions of the Committees and how they operate. He explained that Parliament has Standing Committees, Sessional Committees and Select Committees. The Committees facilitate Parliaments oversight role and it is through the Committee work that Parliament is able to scrutinise budgets and

oversee the work of the Executive. Select and Adhoc Committees are set up to investigate particular matters and the public are informed of the establishment of these Select Committees through adverts in the newspapers. Parliament has also introduced the Parliamentary Press Association to ensure that the press covers issues of importance discussed in the House.

Mr. Bakwega informed the team that Committee Clerks are responsible for preparing the agenda of the Committee meetings, they are the custodians of all the Committee documents and they prepare the Committee reports. Committee Clerks yield a lot of influence over the Committee members.

b) CSOs interaction with Parliamentary Committees

Ms. Byona informed the team that MP's now appreciate the fact that CSOs are a link between them and the general public. The CSOs are invited to attend the Committee Hearings and on several occasions the CSOs have written to Parliament requesting to present their memoranda on issues of concern to them. The CSOs usually present memoranda on bills that are contentious. They are encouraged to state in their memoranda the amendments they propose the committees should make to the bills. The CSOs normally appear as coalitions and the MP's value their contributions.

c) Challenges Committees face while working with the CSOs

The Committee Clerks highlighted the following as some of the challenges Committees face while working with the CSOs:

- The CSOs confrontational approach: The CSOs are sometimes confrontational and not very persuasive when presenting their views to the Committees. They are sometimes reactive and do not carry out research in order to address issues at the policy and bill making stage.
- The CSOs analysis of issues in the bills: Some CSOs come to the Committees with a bias on issues such as human rights. They fail to appreciate the interests of the Committee Members in ensuring an all round approach to the bill. This has sometimes resulted in CSOs singling out specific clauses to the bill for amendments. This affects other clauses in the bill. The CSOs are usually encouraged to analyse the entire bill and present their views with the spirit of the bill in mind. The example was cited of the CSOs that wanted amendments made to a single clause in the Amnesty Bill with regard to the protection of the rights of rebels. The Committee on Defence and Internal Affairs disagreed with the CSOs since they believed their proposition would undermine the security of the Country.
- Lack of consensus among the CSOs: There are incidences where CSOs appear before committees with contradictory views this undermines their ability to influence the Committees.

4.3.1 Clarifications on Issues raised:

1. *The team inquired about the channels that have been put in place for CSOs to access bills before Parliament:*

They were informed that there is no official procedure for accessing Parliamentary bills. However CSOs request the Committee Clerks for a copy of the bill and then circulate it by photocopying it. The bills are also got through the CPLO who receives a copy of every bill that comes to Parliament through her pigeon hole. The CPLO often identifies the CSOs that have an interest in the bill and ensures they get a copy.

2. *One member asked about how animosity created by conflicting views between the Committees and CSOs is handled. The case of the Uganda Debt Network and their advocacy to block the passing of the Pensions Bill was cited.*

Mr. Mugaga explained that there are instances when MP's disagree with the CSOs. However a Committee in Parliament comprises of not more than 25 members and there has never been an instance where the whole committee is upset by a CSO. CSOs that have found problems working with MP's are encouraged to see the Clerks who have a lot of influence over the Committees. He also pointed out that CSOs have the option of challenging Committee Hearings in Courts of Law. He cited the example of a CSO called COWE (A CSO providing Micro-finance support to widows and orphans), which challenged the Committee on Defence and Internal Affairs ruling to have them deregistered by the NGO Board. The courts over ruled the Committee.

The team was informed that the CSOs have been able to influence bills even after the relevant Committees have disagreed with their positions, by going a step further and lobbying the MP's to make amendments to the bill when it comes before the House. In one instance the CSOs managed to defeat a Ministers proposal on the status of State Attorneys attached to the Ministry of Lands, by lobbying individual MP's.

The meeting ended with a call upon the CSOs in Tanzania to work closely with Parliamentary staff, MP's and the Executive to ensure that they appreciate the role of civil society in the legislative process.

4.4 Attendance of Committee Hearings:

The team was able to attend two committee hearings. One was on the Sessional Committee on Natural Resources, which was discussing a Petition presented by one of its members Hon. Ken Lukyamuzi on Electricity Tariffs. The second Committee Hearing was on the Select Committee on Pornography that was set up after a public outcry on the escalating moral decay caused by the increasing pornographic material in the city. In this Committee the Executive Director of the Communications Commission was invited to share the Commissions views and proposals on how to supervise and control the public's access to Pornographic material.

The team observed the role played by the Committee Clerk, how the Committee Chairman guides the Committee and the procedure used while conducting Committee hearings.

4.5 Working lunch with MP's

The SUNY/TZ staff had a working lunch with the Hon. Dora Byamukama who is the Member of Parliament for Mwenge South Constituency and Committee Chairperson for the Committee on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and the Equal Opportunities Committee and Hon. Dr. Kasirivu a member of the Budget Committee in Parliament. The MP's briefed the team about the work their Committees are doing and the active role CSOs play in the legislative and policy making process. They observed that the CSOs have a lot of information to offer Parliament and their participation at Committee Hearings has helped to increase the Parliaments capacity at a strategic level.

They noted that some CSOs use an antagonistic approach to handling advocacy and this undermines the relationship between them and MP's. The MP's are also faced with the frustration of the inhibitions to the passing of Private Members Bills because the law states that Private Members bills should not cause a charge to the consolidated fund.

The SUNY team shared experiences of the challenges CSOs face while trying to engage Parliament and noted that many a time the ruling party accuses the CSOs of making partnerships with the opposition. In Tanzania the Private Members Bills have to go through the ruling party and therefore the MP's cannot score them as personal successes. The MP's acknowledged the work that was done by SUNY/UPTAP to build bridges between CSOs and Parliament. They thanked the team for visiting the Parliament of Uganda.

4.6 Attendance of the Plenary Session in the House

The SUNY delegation attended a very interesting plenary session. The debate was on a report tabled by the Chairman of the Committee on Government Assurances on the payments of war debts that were accumulated during the NRA five-year guerrilla war (1980-1985). The quorum was about one third of Parliament and the Deputy Speaker of Parliament Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga chaired the meeting.

In a lively session that lasted over three hours the Committee Chairman shocked Parliament when he informed the MP's that the Government had lost over six billion Uganda shillings in exaggerated payments of war debates. The MP's expressed their dismay over the high level of institutionalized corruption and made several proposals on how the situation should be rectified. The SUNY staff was able to observe Parliamentary procedure, the role of the clerks and the nature in which issues arising from a Committee report are debated.

They found the plenary session very interesting and were impressed by the MP's hands on knowledge of the rules of procedure. They also admired the

objectivity exhibited by the MP's during the debate despite their different political ideologies.

4.7 Courtesy Call on the Deputy Clerk to Parliament

The Team paid a courtesy call on the Deputy Clerk to Parliament Mr. Kaija who briefed them on his Departments work. He explained that Parliament recently underwent a restructuring programme and a new strategic plan has been put in place to enhance the work of the Institution of Parliament.

Mr. Kaija expressed his gratitude to SUNY/UPTAP for the work they did to create awareness among the CSOs and Parliament about the importance of working together. He explained that the European Union has earmarked funds to facilitate further interaction between the CSOs and MP's. These funds will be used to organise workshops for MP's and the CSOs on issues of policy formulation. He thanked the Country Director SUNY / TZ Ms. Donna Bugby Smith for the work she did to support the institution of Parliament during her stay in Uganda and wished her similar success in Tanzania.

4.8 Courtesy call on the Speaker of Parliament

The Speaker of Parliament Rt. Hon. Edward Ssekandi received the team in his office at Parliament. He welcomed them to Uganda and expressed his appreciation to SUNY and in particular to Ms. Donna Bugby Smith for the good work that was done with the sixth and seventh Parliament.

The Country Director SUNY/TZ Ms. Donna Bugby Smith introduced her team and explained that they were on a Study Tour of the Parliament of Uganda and Civil Society Organisations to witness at first hand the tremendous strides the Parliament and CSOs have made towards building a vibrant and effective relationship.

The Speaker informed the visiting team that the Parliament has continued to receive institutional support from DFID and USAID through the Office of Parliamentary Professional Development. He said that Parliament has built a healthy working relationship with the CSOs and this has facilitated the work of the MP's. He informed them that Parliament was going through a restructuring programme and applauded Ms. Bugby Smith for the good work her office did in supporting Parliaments initial modernisation plan.

He informed the team that the Rt. Hon. Speaker of the Parliament of Tanzania would be visiting Uganda to share Tanzania's experience on the transition to multi party politics. He thanked SUNY/UPTAP for making a significant difference to the entire institution of Parliament and expressed the hope that the Parliament of Tanzania would share a similar experience.

5.0 Conclusion

The evaluation of the study tour revealed that it was of great value to the SUNY Team. It gave them an opportunity to study the institution of Parliament. They particularly appreciated the good working relationship between the CSOs and the Parliamentary Committees. The team noted that having a learning experience of this nature gave them a broader perspective of governance, issues and the role CSOs play in the democratic process. It also helped them realise that the relationship can be built and similar successes can be realised in Tanzania.

The team also appreciated the structure and system of Administration of Parliament, which has contributed to facilitating Civil Society's positive relationship with Parliament. They were challenged by the role the CPLO plays as an important link between CSOs and Parliament. At the end of the tour the participants developed ideas and strategies, which they hoped to adopt upon their return to Tanzania, to assist the CSOs develop a similar relationship with the Parliament there. (Please see Annexture B)

ANNEXTURE A Programme

STUDY TOUR OF PARLIAMENT and CSO'S IN UGANDA

23rd – 27th February 2004

Day	Morning	Mid Morning	Afternoon
Monday 23rd February 2004	Briefing on the Programme at the Hotel **(8:00 – 8:30am)** Meet the Parliamentary Liaison Officer **(8:45 – 10:00am)**	Visit the NGO Forum Office (10:30 – 11:45am) **Visit the Action Aid Office (12:00 - 1:00pm)**	Visit the Uganda Joint Christian Council **(2:30 - 4:00pm)**
Tuesday 24th February 2004	Visit UWONET **(8.30 – 10.30 am)** Visit FOWODE **(10.45 –11.45 am)**	Visit the Uganda Debt Network **(12.00-1.00 pm)**	Meet the Public Relations Officer (Parliament) and Tour Parliament **(2.30 –5.00p.m)**
Wednesday 25th February 2004	Meet the Director Research and IT **(9.00 -10.00am)**	Observe a Committee Hearing **(10.30 – 1.00 pm)**	Visit the Aids Information Center **(2.30 – 4.30 pm)**
Thursday 26th February 2004	Meet the Rt. Hon. Speaker **(9:00 -10:30am)**	Meeting with the Deputy Clerk **(11:00 – 12:00pm)** Working Lunch with selected MPs **(12:30 – 2:00pm)**	Observe the Plenary from the Gallery **(2.15pm Onwards)** Cocktail Party at the Sheraton **(6:00pm)**
Friday 27th February 2004	Meet the Principal Clerk Assistant and Committee Clerks **(9.30 – 10.30 am)**	Debriefing on Visit **(11.15 – 1.00 pm)**	

ANNEXTURE: B

DEBRIEFING SESSION

The team appreciated the tour and shared that they now could conceptualise clearly the role of the Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer. They identified some "Best Practices" that could be adapted for the Tanzania situation.

1.0 Best Practices Observed of the Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer

a) The CPLO has established good working relationships with the civil society organisations and Parliament. In Parliament these offices were cited to be key in building this relationship:

- Hansard
- Sergeant at Arms
- Legislative counsel
- Public Relations officer
- Clerks
- General staff of Parliament
- The Speaker
- Committee Chairpersons

b) The CPLO plays an important role in linking Parliament with civil society. This role involves:

- Working on the processes of establishing and coordinating the link
- Following up the legislative and policy formulation process. The CPLO tracks bills and keeps all the relevant CSOs informed about issues before the House.
- Ensuring information flow through the use of a mailing list
- Coordinating regular meetings to brief the CSOs

c) The CPLO should identify CSOs to work with. It was agreed that there is need to identify CSOs in Tanzania who would form the core interest group to engage the Parliamentary legislative and policy-making processes, the team brainstormed on the following strategies:

- The CSO teams that received the SUNY training should identify a lead person as their representative on the Parliamentary Advocacy group for civil society.
- The CPLO should be pro-active in identifying the CSOs that are engaged in or interested in coming on board to broaden the Parliamentary Advocacy group.
- The CPLO should identify the key areas of interest of the CSOs that form part of the Parliamentary Group and develop a database

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- A Parliamentary network should be established through linking up with key Members and staff of Parliament.

- The CPLO should build a working relationship with the MP representing Civil Society in Tanzania.

It was agreed that these actions should be done before the upcoming civil society exhibition

1.1 Building relationships with Members of Parliament

On building relationships with Members of Parliament, the team pointed out the important lessons that they had learned during the study tour:

- Inviting MPs to be resource persons at workshops/talk shows & Public Dialogues
- Meeting MPs on a one on one basis to build acquaintance and exchange views on a topical issue
- Participating in the MPs activities and functions
- Involving heads of the departments of Parliament such as the Speaker, Clerk and other senior persons, in civil society activities
- Engaging key individuals and Members of Parliament on topical issues through writing, e-mail, telephone and visits.
- Seeking official recognition for civil society actors and establishing formal relationships with the institution of Parliament.

1.2 Defining the role of the CPLO

On the need to define the role of the CPLO the team was advised to refer to the description Ms. Wegoye used while defining the functions of her office:

The office of the CPLO has four main functions:

- To promote awareness of the role of Members of Parliament as legislators and to increase public awareness of the issues discussed in Parliament.
- To organise regular meetings with CSOs on issues of concern and update them about the proceedings in Parliament.
- To provide dialogue forums to enable the public to express their views on various policy issues
- To collaborate with the CSOs in order to present views on legislation pending before Parliament.

2.0 The probable challenges to the implementation of the programme

The team identified the following challenges:

1. Mobilising MPs was cited as the biggest challenge in the endeavour of advocacy. The following strategies were reflected on:
   a. Interact with the MPs when the Committees meet in Dar es Salaam
   b. Get to know the Parliamentary procedure.
   c. Establish a profile of the MPs.
   d. Identify allies with links with CSOs and on specific issues.

2. Understanding the role of the CPLO: It was pointed out that SUNY/ Tanzania and PACT should work together to mentor the CPLO in her role and make the necessary introductions to enable her link into Parliament and the civil society networks.

3. Building consensus among the CSOs and developing advocacy strategies: It was pointed out that the coordinators of the programme and especially the CPLO should acquire skills in negotiation and conflict management in order to realize consensus building among CSO's.

4. Accessing key actors in Parliament and civil Society: It was pointed out that the CPLO needs to study and understand the rules of procedure as well as take time to know who is who in Parliament.

5. Public awareness about the programme of linking with Parliament: It was emphasised that the notion of creating competition and animosity among MPs must be desisted because MPs may be suspicious that the drive is geared at discrediting and unseating them. Collaboration with the Media helps educate the grassroots communities about the role of civil society in the legislative process.

6. Time and financial constraints: These were identified in view of the upcoming general elections. It is important to work out the programme with precision and without wasting time. The CPLO must learn quickly and must build the confidence to carry out her work. This will help to build confidence and trust among civil society, the institution of Parliament and the legislators.

7. The long distance to Dodoma was seen as a constraint. The CPLO was encouraged to utilise the time when the MPs are in Dar es Salaam as much as possible.

The facilitator emphasised the importance of reading the political climate to enable CSOs push forward their advocacy issues. She also encouraged the CPLO to read and understand the Constitution and rules of procedure. The CPLO was advised to internalise the objectives of SUNY's Civil Society Programme.

3.0 LESSONS FROM CSO STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS IN INFLUENCING POLICY IN UGANDA

The following were cited as being innovative interventions and would be aspects to draw on in the Tanzanian programme.

A. **News Bulletins.** These should be developed to inform CSOs. MPs should be specifically targeted.

B. **Research.** This should be carried out to provide relevant data and is an appropriate way to reflect the quality of the CSOs work.

C. **Dialogues.** These are organised to enable the different sections of society, civil society, MPs, leaders and the public to interact and share about topical issues.

D. **Capacity Building.** This is critical for Members of Parliament and CSOs to discuss felt or expressed needs. This strategy also bridges information gaps.

E. **Media Talk Shows.** These shows increase stakeholder knowledge and involvement. Capacity building for the Media is important to help them conceptualise the development issues being advocated for by civil society. This helps bring the media on board as partners in development.

F. **Strategic meetings such as Breakfast Meetings:** This helps to overcome the time constraints that MPs are often faced with. This avenue enables opportunity to communicate strategic issues. Consideration of the MPs' overwhelming responsibilities is important.

G. **Meeting strategic needs of Members of Parliament.** "A good turn deserves another". CSO's should try and attend the MPS' activities and meet some of their strategic needs like contribution to their transport, meals and lodging when you invite them.

H. **Committee appearances/Hearings:** Mobilise to present well researched and appropriately packaged information to relevant committees and public offices engaged in policy formulation and debates.

I. **Private Members Bills:** The rules of procedure provide room for Private Members Bills. Civil society should maximise this avenue and present the desirable advocacy issues before Parliament.

J. **General approach.** The general approach should be non confrontational and civil society should anticipate the general spirit of the issue being considered.

ANNEXTURE C

Guidelines on the Debrief Session of the Study Tour

We would like to have a brief discussion on the emerging issues and best practices observed during the Study Tour, to help us map out strategies to enhance SUNY/TZ work with the Parliament and CSO's.

1. Thematic areas

The Study tour has been divided into 3 thematic areas:

a) The role of the CPLO in facilitating the link between CSO's and Parliament.
b) The structure and systems of Parliament, which enhance CSO/ Parliament interaction.
c) The CSO's strategic interventions to engage Parliament.

We would like you to think of the following areas of discussion under the three thematic areas:

a) Key observations made and issues identified from the Ugandan model.
b) Lessons learnt and best practices that you think may be adopted in Tanzania
c) The challenges that you may face in trying to adopt the Ugandan model and how these challenges may be overcome

2. Focus on the work done by the CPLO

We need to think about the strategies the CPLO will use to develop her work in the following areas:

a) Mobilising the CSO's to actively engage Parliament.
   - Building the trust and confidence of the CSO's in the value of working with the CPLO. – How can this be done?

b) Identifying and developing issues for advocacy and lobbying with Parliament.
   - Developing channels for access to information in Parliament and a system of information flow and analysis of issues with the CSO's.
   - Designing strategies to engage Parliament

c) Building relationships with the Members of Parliament and the Institution of Parliament.
   - Identifying strategies to assist MP's to appreciate the value of involving Civil Society in the Legislative process

PROPOSED CONTENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE RESOURCE MANUAL FOR THE PARLIAMENT OF TANZANIA

1. *INTRODUCTION:*

There are now x12 permanent Parliamentary Committee with responsibility for specific sectors. These include the following;

I. Land & Agriculture
II. Finance & Economic Affairs
III. Constitution, Justice and Administration
IV. Public Accounts
V. Investments & Trade
VI. Foreign Affairs
VII. Defence & Security
VIII. Social Services
IX. Natural Resources & Environment
X. Community Development
XI. Local Authorities Accounts
XII. Infrastructure

2. *PURPOSE:*

The aim the Parliamentary Committee Resource Manual is to enable Parliamentary Committee members to easily understand the role and remit of the Committee they have been assigned to and the Constitutional/ Rules of Procedure mandate that has been delegated to the Committee. The Resource Manual seeks to capture both the institutional memory of the Committee in other words records the past work/achievements of the Committee. And secondly provides contacts within the respective sectors to which the Committee may need to approach when calling for evidence, submissions or provision of information to better inform the Committee's deliberations.

3. *PROPOSED HEADINGS:*

These will be generic and bespoke to the specific Committee sectoral area. Proposed headings will include;

a) Committee mandate areas
   - Define the sector the Committee has responsibility for,

b) Committee Ministries

- Identification of the sector Ministries which the Committee will need to interact with,

c) suggested Committee Key documents

- policy documents such as National Strategic Plans, economic surveys published and recognized as reliable source documents,

d) Powers of Departmental Committees

- Statement about the legislative powers, financial oversight powers and general oversight,

e) Standing Order remit

- Defines the functions of the Committee as stated in the Standing Orders,

f) Context setting of the specific Committee sector and highlights of the issues and agenda of the Committee

- This sets the scene in terms of advising Committee members about the sector the Committee has responsibility for example if it was a Committee looking at the Health Sector then there would be some background about the sector for example the number of health sector workers, HIV/AIDs country profile, financial allocation to the sector.

g) Committee institutional portfolio

- Lists the Ministries that fall under the supervision of the Committees as provided for within the Standing Orders,
- Will also list any other institution or parastatal which are also within the ambit of the Committee.

h) Committee activities over the past four years

- Members
  - Membership of the Committee in the previous Parliament
- Reports
  - Reports produced by the Committee in the previous Parliament
- Foreign Missions/trips
  - Lists foreign trips or study tours undertaken by the Committee
- Committee achievements and challenges
  - Highlights of successes, the challenges facing the Committee such as non implementation of Committee recommendations, outcome of reports laid

before the Plenary which are not adopted, relationships with the Executive, pressure of legislative business

- Bill record of the Committee 2000-2004
  - Lists the schedule of Bills within the Committee's mandate introduced into the Parliament and summarizes the outcome of the Bills for example how many received Presidential Assent

- Sessional Papers
  - This lists the Sessional Papers introduced by the Government. These may have been referred to another sectoral Committee but nevertheless needed to be taken account off during the specific Committee's deliberations.

i) Sources of information available to the Committee
   - A useful source of information would be contacts details for those Civil Society organizations who have expressed a desire to work with the Parliament,
   - Also there maybe some reputable research organizations to whom the Committee may wish to seek advice from for example REPOA.

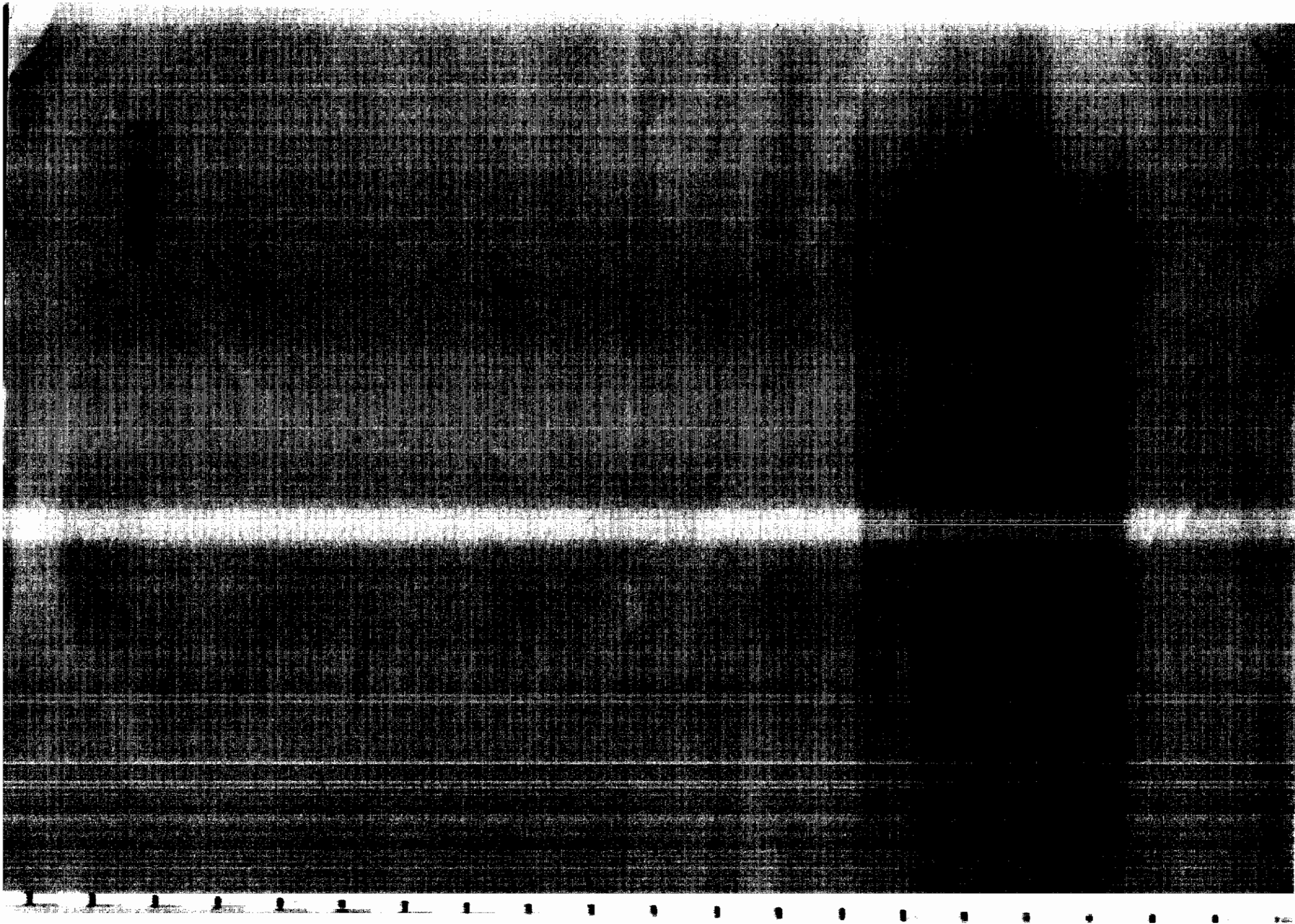
j) References
   - Lists source policy documents which the Committee needs to be aware of as they are over arching policy documents for example the PRSP,

4. ***PROPOSED TIMELINE:***

Subject to confirmation that Parliament is content with the broad approach SUNY/Tanzania then work will be undertaken in collaboration with the Clerk to Parliament through the Parliamentary Committee Clerks with a target completion of September 2004.

DONNA BUGBY-SMITH
SUNY/TANZANIA
COUNTRY DIRECTOR

19 March 2004



STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK / TANZANIA
(SUNY/TANZANIA)

INFLUENCING POLICY:
SKILLS DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
for
Members of Parliament in Tanzania

WORKSHOP REPORT

24TH - 25TH MARCH 2004
Sea Cliff Hotel Dar es Salaam

Compiled By
Betty Rutare-Byanyima
Winnie Babihuga
Independent Consultants

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1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE WORKSHOP

State University of New York, Tanzania (SUNY/Tz) has embarked on a two year programme to provide Tanzania's National Assembly with institutional support so as to enhance its representative, legislative, oversight, and administrative functions. One feature of this programme is the capacity building of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), for their effective participation in the legislative and policy making process. SUNY/Tz will be working closely with Parliamentarians and CSOs to increase their understanding of the need to work as partners in the democratic process.

The Workshop on Influencing Policy Skills Development for Parliamentarians is a follow up from a series of workshops organised to equip CSOs with information and skills on engaging Parliament. The training programme was handled in three phases. The first phase covered sessions on training and mentoring the SUNY Consultant Ms. Sarah Mwaka and the recently appointed Civil Society/Parliamentary Liaison Officer Mr. Theo Macha, (both of whom are herein referred to as the SUNY Staff), who would be expected to train Members of Parliament on building partnerships and strengthening the relationship between the CSOs and Parliament.

The second phase involved the delivery by the Ugandan Consultants Ms. Winnie Babihuga and Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima, of a two-day workshop on Influencing Policy Skills Development for a group of 12 Parliamentary Committee Chairpersons and Party leaders. The third phase involved a replica of the second phase, with the SUNY staff delivering a two day workshop on Influencing Policy Skills Development for a group of Parliamentary Committee Chairpersons and Party leaders. This is a report of the second phase of the training.

1.1 Participants Profile

The participants were Members of Parliament drawn from the Party Leadership and Committee Chairpersons.

1.1 Topics Covered

The workshop covered the following topics:

1. The Mandate of Parliament
2. The role of Civil Society in Development
3. The MPs relationship with CSOs
4. Understanding Advocacy and the Power Analysis

5. The Advocacy Cycle
6. Networking and Political Negotiation
7. Lobbying decision makers
8. Advocacy and the media
9. Building partnerships with Civil Society

1.2 Workshop Methodology

The workshop focused on the delivery of topical presentations facilitated using participatory and interactive methods.

2.0 Opening Remarks

The Country Director SUNY Tanzania Ms Donna Bugby-Smith welcomed the participants and called on Mr. Sean Hall USAIDs Democracy and Governance Advisor to make the opening remarks.

Mr. Hall explained that the programme to strengthen the legislative arm of the Government of Tanzania is a joint effort of USAID and DFID. He pointed out that the legislature is a symbol of democracy and it plays a critical role in good governance. The people rely on their elected representatives to advance their interests in legislation and fulfilling this role sometimes proves to be a big challenge. Mr. Hall quoted a saying that goes that; whereas individuals may please some people; it is not possible to please all the people all the time.

He said that the US Government is proud to be involved with the Bunge in Tanzania and to be able to work with MPs to enhance their knowledge and skills in working with Civil Society. Mr. Hall explained that the workshop is designed to offer legislators a lot of ideas and strategies on how to involve the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the legislative process, but they were free to adopt these ideas or leave them.

He said that he had visited the Bunge a number of times and had been impressed by the hospitality there. He thanked the MPs for making time for the Workshop and wished them the best of the next few days.

Mrs. Donna Bugby-Smith introduced the facilitators Ms. Winnie Babihuga, Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima, Ms. Sarah Mwaga and Mr. Theo Macha. She went on to highlight the main focus of the training as working towards assisting in demystifying the myths held in the relationship between the civil society and the Members of Parliament. While the MPs make the laws, CSOs can only advocate towards enriching the work and responsibility of Parliament.

She introduced PACT as the USAID project that is working with CSOs in strengthening their capacity to participate effectively in democracy and governance. She explained that SUNY Tanzania was now working with the MPs and CSOs to enhance their relationship, and the workshop is part of the Project's technical support to strengthen the Parliament and the individual abilities of the MPs to fulfil their roles. Ms. Bugby-Smith went ahead to introduce the Civil Society Parliamentary Liaison Officer (CPLO) Mr. Theo Macha, who is the person charged with the responsibility of exploring and strengthening avenues that link the CSOs with the institution of Parliament and the Members (MPs).

The Country Director thanked the participants for taking time off their busy schedules to attend the workshop. She encouraged them to feel free and use the facilitators to their maximum advantage.

3.0 Workshop Climate Setting

Ms. Betty Rutare Byanyima led the participants through their individual introductions. The participants were given small cards to write out all their titles after which, they were asked to read the card and put it in a box. The box was then sealed as a symbol of putting all the titles away.

The MPs were asked to reflect on the value of going through this exercise. It was agreed that the titles be forgotten in the workshop, because everyone in the room was now at the same level. The facilitator distributed new name tags on which the participants were asked to write the name they preferred to be known by during the workshop. They also chose an adjective describing themselves, using the first letter of their name. The participants found the exercise very exciting and came up with interesting names like; Democratic Dan, Charming Charles, Tough Teddy and Willing Willy.

Ms. Byanyima went though the workshop goals and objectives. The participants were then asked to give their expectations of the workshop and the fears they held.

3.1 Participants' Expectations:

- Share experiences of how CSOs are working with politicians in the filed
- Come out with a clear understanding of who the CSOs are
- Share and learn how effective CSOs are in bringing about and influencing change
- Get more knowledge on lobbying and advocacy

3.2 Participants' Fears:

- Concerned about some of the Constitution provisions on Parliament
- Running out of time in attending to activities in their constituencies. One member had worry about preparing for a demonstration
- Managing to run between two and more meetings on top of the workshop and having malaria
- Air conditioning getting too cold

Ms. Byanyima went through each of the expectations and fears and put the MPs at ease. She emphasised that there was a lot to be learned in the workshop. The two days absence from routine political activities would be worth the time.

The participants set workshop rules and chose the course leader. They agreed on the following:

- To be punctual
- Active in participation
- Switch off phones
- Don't repeat what others has have said already
- Stick to the point

They chose Honourable Mgana Msindai, who is the MP for Iramba North constituency, as the workshop leader. He was given the mandate to flash a yellow card to those who broke the rules and to give the person who gets three yellow cards the penalty of singing a song. The facilitator then went through the day's Program.

4.0 Session 1. The Mandate of Parliament:

This session was facilitated by Ms. Winnie Babihuga. She said that the purpose of starting with this module was to remind the Members of Parliament of their constitutional mandate. She gave a brief background of her involvement in politics as a Member of Parliament and an ally of civil society, having been employed and still working with them.

She said that the session would help put the participants into perspective of their work, responsibility and increase their ability to evaluate their capacity to perform their duties. The session would also cover the importance of building partnerships with civil society. The facilitator reminded the legislators that their main responsibility was to make laws for good governance in accordance with the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.

4.1 The Representative Role of the Members of Parliament

MPs are the eyes of the community in the legislative process and should always be alert about any gaps and oversights that tend to emerge in this process. MPs' eyes were likened to those of a Chameleon that have the ability to keep watch 360 degrees. She said that the legislators must be mindful of the person they represent since behind every debate and resolution is a human being, a Tanzanian. She urged the legislators to always ask themselves "Is this good for my people?" As an example; the facilitator read section 7(1) of the Constitution which prohibits any action of anyone including the Courts of Law, to determine whether or not a citizens rights have been violated, as spelt out in Section 2 of the Constitution. Many MPs were not aware of the provision.

A question was raised on whose role it is to contest the constitutionality of any law. An example was drawn from the United States of America, where the Supreme Court determines the constitutionality of any law.

The participants were reminded of their roles as Members of Parliament, their responsibility to the citizens as leaders and the powers they had by virtue of their positions. They were then asked to write down on a card the skills that they had as individuals. The answers were put up for the MPs to appreciate each other's backgrounds.

a) The skills that MPs bring to the Assembly that enable them do their work in Parliament include;

- Hotelier and business woman
- Manager, teacher, farmer and wildlife specialist
- Accountant, budget and systems analyst
- Lawyer, experience with NGOs, working with People with Disabilities
- Doctor and teacher
- Agriculture and rural community work

After assessing their skills the participants were asked to reflect on the whole system of Parliament and to write down the skills they require in order to enhance their performance:

b) The skills MPs require to enhance their performance

- Public speaking skills
- To be able to draft my own bills
- To be able to draft a Private Members Bill
- Get computer skills
- Ability to analyse budgets effectively

A discussion was held on avenues though which these skills can be gained. The participants identified training from within and outside the country as one means of acquiring skills. They also observed that some skills could be acquired from interaction with Civil Society and training from other institutions of learning.

The analysis on the skills of MPs brought out the fact that while MPs have varied skills and abilities, they are not sufficient for the enormous role of being a Member of Parliament. Self assessment helps people accept their strengths and realise the need for additional skills development. These skills may be acquired through learning and partnership with others.

4.2 The CSOs involvement in the Bill Cycle

The legislators reflected on the cycle that a Bill goes through before it becomes law. It was pointed out that the different stages of the bill provide opportunity for the public to be involved in providing input to the legislation right from the drafting stages. After the first reading the bills becomes public. It is then committed to the relevant Parliamentary Committee for scrutiny. It was observed that at this stage the public is invited to giver their views on the bill to the relevant committee. CSOs need to take advantage of this stage in order to influence legislation.

The discussion focused on how the committees of Parliament involve civil society organisations in their work. The MPs pointed out that the CSOs participation is not much and that it appears the CSOs do not have the boldness to approach the legislators.

> One participant said that civil society organisations engage Parliament on very few occasions. To the legislator, "the CSOs do not see the right opportunity, they are not well prepared and do not come in at the right time."

In conclusion, the participants were urged to use every opportunity to build their skills and capacity in order to be effective politicians. The facilitator also appealed to the MPs to create an enabling environment for the CSOs to participate in the Committee stage of the bill cycle.

5.0 Session 2 Advocacy and Power

This session was facilitated by Ms. Winnie Babihuga. Advocacy was described as a strategy of winning over the influence of those individuals and groups who have power to make decisions. Participants were asked to use any part of their body to show the sign of power. They waved

clenched fists. Power was described as what is used and at times demonstrated as the effort to move or change things.

5.1 The Different Types of Power

While advancing the need to understand the different types of power, the facilitator used an analogy of the "title" box that was sealed in the session on climate setting. The box was said to contain the different levels of power (titles) that are represented in the room. It is important to analyse the environment in order to identify the power centres. The different levels of power were then analysed through discussions in the plenary.

Different types of Power	
Power over:	The power one has to control or dominate others
Power to:	The power which enables an individual to control/manage a situation to one's benefit.
Power within:	This involves the strength that arises out of self-acceptance and self-respect.
Power with:	This is collective power of a group to tackle problems, which an individual cannot handle alone

Participants were asked to point out examples of where the different power centres are found.

Power over: this was cited as the power that the President exercises over his people. On the other hand religious leaders, heads of families and other leaders of organised groupings have this power. In the Bunge there is the Speaker, Commissioners, the Prime Minister and the Chief whips. Participants were told that they must be able to know who controls which power.

Power to: is used to control and manage. Participants were challenged to be honest with themselves in making a self analysis of their power and that of the targets, in order to assess the ability to make the necessary decisions. Team work empowers individuals and groups.

Power within: is the inner strength of self acceptance. Individuals have the potential to do things. At times people just need to be encouraged to have the resolve to do things and take a stand on issues.

Power with: is the collective power that helps link individuals together to look beyond "barriers" for the good of the nation and society. The legislators were challenged to work within their parties and lobby to build consensus. This helps to build the "power" base to lobby others outside the "circle".

5.2 Identifying Targets and Influencers

Lobbying targets those with the power to make the necessary changes and these are referred to as the **"The Decision makers".** The targets for influencing decision making are further classified into:

1. The Primary targets; being those that have the power to make the decisions. The example of MPs was given as the ones who make decisions in the law making process.

2. Secondary targets being those people who influence the decision makers – the primary targets. The participants gave examples of religious leaders, cultural heads and party leaders.

Participants were informed that it is important to analyse the targets to gauge those who support and oppose the issue. Take time to do research and know what a person feels about an issue. It is critical to ask and find out "who does this issue touch?" The analysis should also focus on how the issue affects the target.

Asked about the things that influence and tend to control an individual or groups in decision making, the participants cited examples of religion, culture and information trends. They were also reminded that the voters' stand is very important in the decision making process.

The discussion turned to the work carried on in the Parliamentary Committees and the amount of lobbying at this level. The participants mentioned issues currently before their Parliament and these included:-

The Labour Bill: This bill concerns the trade unions the employers, women and the workers themselves.
The Income Tax bill: This bill is of importance to the business people and the workers.
The Transfer of Prisoners' bill: This bill was seen to concern all Tanzanians.

The facilitator reminded the participants that in every advocacy effort it is important to map out the decision makers and lay strategies to enable effective engagement, in order to influence support. Individuals and groups should always be allowed to participate in the legislative process.

6.0 Session 3 Understanding CSO/MP Perceptions

Ms. Jamilla Mwanjisi introduced the session by referring to the participants expectations (as expressed at the beginning of the workshop), on the need to understand what CSOs are and what they do. The participants brainstormed about the perceptions of the MPs regarding CSOs.

6.1 Defining the term Civil Society Organisations

On what they understand by the term CSOs the participants described them as :

- Formal groups dealing with civic issues
- Formal, organized groups dealing with communities. These groups are legally recognized and registered by the Government, but are non governmental
- Community groups that may or not be registered, dealing with social welfare issues
- A union of people who have joined efforts on their own free will to deal with issues touching them

A lively discussion ensued on the definition of CSOs. Ms. Byanyima wrapped up the discussion by giving a working definition of CSOs. She said that there are many varying definitions but for purposes of the workshop; "CSOs are broad range of organized groupings which occupy the space (do their work) between Government and the individual". She pointed out that this includes all sorts of groupings and that they are part of the political environment in which they operate

The facilitator asked the participant's whether or not religious organisations were CSOs. The participants were divided on this issue. Some said no because religious organisations were said to be dealing with specific issues of spiritual belief. Other participants said that religious organisations were there long before the CSOs started; they handle several community issues outside their religious biases and therefore are part of the CSOs.

After discussing this issue at length, it was agreed that faith based organisations and other religious groupings are part of the CSOs because they are considered "non governmental" as per the definition of CSOS.

6.2 The Challenges CSOs face in their work

On the challenges that CSOs face while carrying out their development role, the participants gave the following:

- They are not known by the people and are sometimes misunderstood
- Threat to the politicians
- They are misused by donors e.g. when funded to fight for an external cause that is irrelevant to good governance

- They are confined to Dar es salaam and the urban areas. Most of them are briefcase organisations - their membership is questionable and they have no addresses, land phones or offices
- Some are unable to deliver and therefore fail to meet the expectations of the communities
- Some of them are liars and thieves because when they are given money for community work they do not use the money for the good of the communities
- Some of them are not adequately educated and communities do not know their concept (CSO Concept)
- Some people start NGOs as a way of creating employment and income generation for personal gains
- Most of them are not transparent thus making the public suspicious of their programs and resources

6.3 The Role CSOs play in Development

The facilitator gave out cards and asked participants to write one role CSOS play in development. The following responses were given:

- To help people understand their rights and their role in development
- To deal with those issues that are of common interest to the people
- To help the government to improve the welfare of society
- To improve the delivery of services
- They are Lobbyists
- They are pressure groups that create awareness on specific issues
- They join people to defend their rights
- They put pressure on the government to fulfil its part in service to the people

6.4 Strategies to enhance the relationship between CSOs and MPs

The participants split into three groups and discussed how they could work together to enhance the relationship between CSOs and MPs. They reported back their suggestions as follows:

Group 1

- CSOs should engage politicians, MPs, and Councillors in the planning and implementation of their programmes
- CSOs should engage in constructive dialogue with the decision makers
- CSOs should have clear objectives that are in accordance with their constitutions
- CSOs should speak simple language
- To be more transparent and follow existing rules and regulations. they should for example operate with and through the council

- Spend money for the people instead of administrative issues
- Use simple language with the people

Group Two

- CSOs should have well defined roles
- The CSOs should be transparent and have proper communication and this should be on a two way basis with the politicians
- CSOs should ensure that they are free from politics. They must end any political interference and stop antagonising Members of Parliament by supporting their "opponents"
- Government should refrain from being biased about the CBOs/CSOs

Group Three

- CSOS should be transparent with their operations and they should learn to trust each other
- Participatory approaches should be used in order to link MPs and CSOs together

While wrapping up the session Ms. Mwanjisi observed that the participants' responses are an important factor in laying the foundation for strengthening accountability and building avenues for collaboration between the MPs and the CSOs. The proposed strategies could be used to explore more ways to demystify the perceptions CSOs and MPs have of each other.

7.0 Session 4. Role of Civil Society in Development

The objective of this session was to discuss the role of the CSOs in the legislative process and lay strategies for increasing their participation. The participants held a discussion comparing the development role of MPs and CSOs. They articulated the two roles as follows:

The role of the CSOs:

- Service delivery
- Monitoring Govt programs
- Advocacy
- Formulation of laws and policies - by influencing/lobbying
- Promoting citizens participation

The role of MPs:

- To promote citizens participation
- To influence projects and programs in the area of operation
- To monitor the Government programmes
- To formulate laws
- To support constituencies in development

A comparison of the two roles was made and it was observed that CSOs and Parliamentarians share the objective of working towards the development of their constituents. The CSOs input in the law making process enhances the knowledge of the MPs. Both the CSOs and MPs play an oversight role over Government. They also represent their respective constituents and advocate for their needs and concerns.

The participants observed that this simple analysis brings out the importance of partnership. The participants then brainstormed on the advantages CSOs have over MPs.

7.2 MPs' Perceptions on the Capacity of Civil Society Organisations

MPs' Perceptions on the Capacity of Civil Society Organisations

- Well organized ones have funding
- CSOs have specific objectives while MPs have broader mandate
- CSOs have much more capacity to get things done
- CSOs have experts and personnel
- CSOs have less work than the CSOs
- CSOs have facilities - Cars, computers and machinery
- CSOs have no specific term limits
- CSOs have many project and a wider network, while MPs have no projects and limited networks
- CSOs are accountable to donor and MP to the people

During the discussion the participants raised concern over the CSOs that threaten the position of MPs, by offering services to the communities in support of the MPs opponents. It was pointed out that MPs have to woo the CSOs to support projects in their constituencies. MPs were urged to work together with the CSOs so that the constituents benefit from the services extended by the CSOs. On the other hand CSOs need to respect sitting and elected leaders in order to maintain harmony in the communities.

The facilitator wrapped up the session by saying that CSOs have more advantage over the MPs because of their funding and specialization. They have more information in specific areas than the MPs. The MPs should make use of this opportunity and work together with the CSOs for the benefit of the people.

7.3 Civil Society's Role in the Legislative Process

The facilitator asked the participants to point out the issues that they consider when scrutinising specific bills for enactment. They responded by stating the questions they consider as follows:

- Is it people centred?
- Can it be implemented?
- Is it fair to men, women and children?
- Does it conform to other laws?
- Is it in conformity with the Constitution?
- Is it relevant?
- Is it acceptable?

The participants considered where they could get the information to satisfy the above questions. They mentioned CSOs as stakeholders that have the capacity to contribute significantly to the law making process. They observed that the CSOs are willing to assist the MPs, but lack proper channels of entry. They pointed out that although the CSOs are not always invited to the Committees, they are nevertheless pro - active in giving their comments. They observed that since the CSOs have funding they do not put a financial burden on the MPs, when they appear before the Committees.

While responding to the question of how CSOs "usually" access copies of the bills, the participants said that the committees normally identify the stakeholders and send out invitation letters, plus a copy of the bill to them. This is usually not comprehensive because the MPs are not furnished with adequate information on all the CSOs dealing with the various thematic areas. There is need for more avenues could be provided for CSOs to participate in the legislative process.

The participants however observed that in the present Tanzanian National Assembly, the CSOs participation is more open than it was in the past. They pointed out that the bills are no longer hurried though Parliament as was the case in the past. It is therefore possible to avail the time for the CSOs that would need to make any contribution. It was observed that MPs need to create an environment which is conducive for CSOs to participate. There is also need for Parliament to open up more.

7.4 Avenues to increase the CSOs participation in the legislative process
The existing avenues for CSOs to reach Parliament were cited by the participants to be:

- Public hearings - committee hearings
- The bill drafting stage
- Workshops organized by CSOs
- Lobbying the Bunge
- Demonstrations
- Using literature
- Lunches and tea parties
- Lobbying specific MPs

The participants pointed out that the involvement of civil society in engaging the legislators is not vibrant and needs to be institutionalised. In response to this, the facilitator explained that the CSOs need to explore other avenues that may be used to engage Parliament. Some of these include lobbying Ministers at the bill drafting stage; consultation with constituents; lobbying MP caucuses; public dialogues; petitions and working with MPs to formulate Private Members' bills. The facilitator wrapped up the discussion and said that the relationship between civil society organisations and the Parliament needs to be strengthened.

Activity on the effects of conflict in development
The participants were told to pair up and draw a picture together one piece of paper one pen. They were requested not to communicate with each during the exercise. The participants struggled to draw their pictures. They ended up with unintelligible drawings. They discussed the outcome of the exercise and observed that without communication and collaboration there is chaos.

8.0 Session 5. Understanding advocacy
The participants brainstormed on what they understood to be the meaning of advocacy:

- Being an advocate of a cause
- Influencing someone having the power to make a decision or a law
- Influencing
- Convincing
- Creating awareness

The facilitator gave a simple definition and described advocacy to be an organised effort to influence the decision making process by individuals and groups. Advocacy involves the main key elements of;

- Putting an issue on the agenda
- Building support for action on the problem
- Ensuring a solution to the problem

On why advocacy was important, the facilitator said that it is geared at finding a solution to a problem that individuals and communities want to address. Advocacy initiatives are campaigns for change they therefore must be well planned. The participants mentioned the different types of advocacy strategies they know as:

- One- on -one lobbying
- Distribution of literature
- Demonstrations/rallies
- Workshops
- Social gatherings - weddings, funerals and other activities providing formal and informal opportunities to talk about the advocacy issue.

The strategies used in advocacy were then discussed and categorised as follows:

1. The education strategy that serves to build knowledge and understanding of the advocacy issue. This strategy is ideal to build mass support. Activities under this strategy include; sensitization, workshops, posters, leaflets, drama and music. These activities all serve to educate the people. Media campaigns and public dialogues are also used.

2. Dialogue and consensus building. This strategy involves convincing decision makers to agree on a particular position. The activities in this strategy include; consultative meetings; round table discussions and workshops.

3. The activist's strategy focuses on mobilising the masses that are concerned and affected by the issue. This strategy is used when there is an immediate need for action on a particular issue.

4. The legal strategy utilises the Courts of law to make a legal opinion on a particular issue. The legal opinion is then used to agitate for change.

Day Two

Recap of the previous days session

In the recap activity, the facilitator used a ball to solicit participants to reflect on the things they enjoyed most in the previous day training, what was useful to them and the on thing they would put into practice in the course of their duties. The responses were written on a flip chart:

The Participants pointed out the things they liked in the previous days activities and training programme:

- The exercise of putting the titles in the box and creating an even ground for the training
- The ice breakers and the methods of facilitation
- The advocacy cycle and the handouts
- The whole day's activities and especially the advocacy cycle
- Enjoyed meeting with other MPs so willing to interact
- Enjoyed the lunch and tea.
- Advocacy and especially the story of Dodo the key character
- Advocacy and communication between MPs and CSOs

On what was useful to the work and role of a Member of Parliament, the participants highlighted the following topics:

- Public hearings
- Advocacy
- Research and computer literacy
- Understanding CSOs
- Powers and power mapping

On what they would put into practice after the workshop, the participants said the following:

- They would use the people's power to advocate for any program in the constituency
- Power within will be used to consult others for help
- They would be more organized in setting SMART objectives and identifying appropriate targets to "move issues forward"
- Advocate for many issues
- Win over and use people's power

9.0 Session 6. The Advocacy Cycle

The session was facilitated by Ms. Byanyima. She introduced the advocacy cycle in saying that it provides a framework to think through advocacy initiatives in a systematic manner.

A Case Study on advocacy campaign against domestic violence in Senegal was handled in three groups. Each group handled two questions that brought out the important steps in an advocacy strategy.

a) Group one

Group one reported on the advocacy issues highlighted in the case study as follows:

- Creating awareness about Dodo's case in which her husband abused and beat her. There was also the issue of getting Dodo's husband punished and getting the Government to recognise the importance of protecting women's rights.
- Harmonizing efforts done to persuade important decision makers to take the necessary action.

b) Group two

Group two reported on why the women in the case study were successful, they mentioned the following:

- They were really united
- They were able to find out what the problem was
- They identified the decision makers
- They had correct strategies
- They did a national and international awareness campaign
- They had many strategies
- Convinced the Government to arrest Dodos husband

The facilitator wrapped up the session with an explanation of the various aspects of the advocacy cycle illustrated in the case study.

9.1 Advocacy Cycle Steps

The facilitator Ms. Byanyima explained the importance of the advocacy cycle as a planning tool for advocacy campaigns. The advocacy cycle helps us think of advocacy in a systematic manner.

9.2 Analysing the problem

Analyzing the problem helps us to see how widely felt and how deep it affects the people. The analysis provides information in prioritizing what advocacy issue to take on. The facilitator said that there are several ways that can be used to analyse the problem;

a) The Causes, effects and solution method.

- By asking the reasons why the problem is there. One needs to consider the economic, social, political and other causes
- What are the effects to the target and to society? It is important to analyse the political, social, economic effects
- Solutions are based on both the causes and the effects. The analysis should be participatory and involve the people.

The participants used the case study to analyse the causes, effects and solutions of the problem of domestic violence. Some of the causes of domestic violence were said to arise from; lack of love and trust among partners. On the effects of domestic violence were said to be misery; divorce; mistreatment of children and the breakdown of families.

In strategising for solutions to the problem the participants agreed that if the causes are cultural, solutions should include looking at the existing laws to ensure they adequately address the problem. The cultural elders in the country's system should also be mobilized and influenced to act on those aspects of the culture that encourage domestic violence. It was stressed that the analysis at every step should be people centred.

b) The Problem Tree Analogy

The facilitator used a drawing of a baobab tree to demonstrate how the analysis of the issue can be looked at using the analogy of a problem tree

- The multiple **Roots** represent the **Causes**
- The **Branches** spreading out are the **Effects**
- The Trunk is the resultant **Problem**
- The **Fruit** are the **Solutions**

c) The But Why method

The facilitator told the participants that analysis of the problem can also be done using the "but why method. They were told to ask the question "why is the situation like this?" in order to get more information on embedded perceptions. The 'but why" question is asked continuously at every stage of the analysis until the root causes of the problem is reached.

9.3 Identifying the advocacy issue and setting the objective

The facilitator then discussed the importance of identifying the advocacy issue, and the need to develop objectives that are **S**pecific, **M**easurable, **A**chievable, **R**ealistic and **T**ime bound (SMART). Objectives that are SMART help the advocates to plan the campaign effectively.

Using the 5 W's and H method provides an appropriate framework to structure an ideal objective. The objective should satisfy the following questions: **Who** will do it; **What** will be done; **When** will it be done; **Where** will it be done; **Why** should it be done and **How** will it be done.

The participants were guided through a session on setting objectives using the case of a constituency in Njombe District, where residents were being threatened with the demolition of their homes because of the construction of a new road in the area. The following objective was developed.

To influence the Government of Tanzania, and the Minister of Works and TANROADS, to compensate 75 families of Njombe South constituency for the demolition of their homes by December 2004.

The facilitator then explained the other steps in the advocacy cycle and explained the importance of carrying out each step in an organised manner. It was noted that each of the steps are interlinked. The facilitator explained that it is important to carry out research at every step to ensure that strategies are developed from an informed point of view.

The importance of developing a clear message was emphasised. It was noted that the message should be developed with the interests of the target group in mind. Advocacy campaigns are expensive ventures and plans should be made to raise enough funds to support the advocacy activities. The campaign should be launched to ensure publicity. Lastly the advocacy campaign should be monitored and evaluated regularly because this helps to assess whether there is need for a change in strategy.

The facilitator encouraged the participants to use their personal networks to build coalitions and support. She pointed out that advocacy campaigns can be long and tedious. Some campaigns last over ten years. This requires creativity and constant changes in strategy.

10.0 Session 7. Lobbying Decision Makers

The facilitator Ms. Winnie Babihuga opened the session by saying that we all need support of others in order to move things. Lobbying is a useful strategy for getting the decision makers informed and winning their support. It is important to identify those individuals and groups who are willing to work with you on the issue and increase their understanding on the issue. She pointed out that the lobbying strategy is planned around a cycle similar to the steps in the advocacy cycle.

10.1 Planning a meeting with decision makers

The facilitator highlighted the importance of planning meetings with decision makers. It is important to carry out research about the decision maker in order to tailor the message to their interests. The lobbyist should be articulate and convincing. It is important to target decision makers who are influential. There is also need to anticipate the different scenarios that will go on in the meeting and prepare for various options of action.

The facilitator wrapped up the session by discussing the different lobbying tactics.

11.0 Session 8. Networking and Collaboration:

Participants were given a number puzzle to work out. They made an effort to align the numbers in a systematic manner. The facilitator concluded the exercise by pointing out that the puzzle teaches that one needs to be careful in building networks. Networking may seem simple at the beginning, however it requires time to analyse the situation, and asses who can assist in reaching the desired solution.

11.1 Networking and Political Negotiation

The participants then discussed a case study about a debate in the Parliament of Kenya on the Marriage and Divorce Bill. Each group answered questions to bring out the need for political negotiation and coalition building.

a) **Group one gave a report on what they perceived to have gone wrong:**

- The bill was shelved
- Lack of participation and networking with a sufficient number of MPs and other important targets
- Clear lack of lobbying; no research; no communication and no evidence of a meeting for purpose of lobbying.
- There was lack of human rights awareness
- This was a gender biased bill and the Parliament did not seem to have had training on Gender
- The problem of different ethnic cultural views on polygamy
- Gender inequality –women's rights
- There appeared to be a culture of violence against women in many ethnic groupings in Kenya.
- Lack of sincerity among MPs

b) Group two reported on what they thought went wrong in the case;

- The bill was not focused there were too many issues.
- No research was done over the issue on religion and culture
- The advocacy was very poor
- The targets were not identified.
- It is bad for a bill not to be passed and thrown out
- The merit of the bill was not taken into account, they concentrated on the issue of wife beating and polygamy

c) Group three were asked to state the specific steps they would have taken had this bill been in Tanzania. They said they would have:

- Created awareness among the stakeholders using the media
- Carried out research on the existing laws the Constitution and the traditional laws
- Identified and lobbied the primary and secondary targets
- Invited the stakeholders and the CSOs to the Bunge to enrich the legislators with information and research

d) Participants listed the main lessons they learned from the case study to be:

- The debate was dominated by the men
- Submissions were like a tug of war the men were interested in their own good and the women promoted the women's issues
- There was a lack of a participatory approach
- Handling the process of the bill was not participatory. It did not involve all the stakeholders
- The debate concentrated on traditional issues and not on human rights.
- Human rights should be looked at objectively for the national interests.

The facilitator explained the importance of networking and coalition building. She pointed out the importance of mobilizing support and working with others. The parties involved have a stake and they should educate the members of the coalition about the issue. The stakeholders are normally of diverse interests but it is important to ensure we speak with one voice. Civil Society is relying on you as MPs to support their cause and work with them even across party lines.

The facilitator explained the advantages of networks. She pointed out the significance of making oneself visible. Speaking at events and attending workshops help to raise a persons profile and to support the cause.

12.0 Session 9. Advocacy using the Media

This session was facilitated by Ms Jamilla Mwanjisi from PACT. She explained the importance of the media and posed the questions of "Why do we need the media?" the participants' said that;

- It helps to get the message across
- Create awareness
- Helps reach many people
- To disseminate the message
- Assists in making issues to get known and quickly to a wide coverage

The participants pointed out the need using responsible media and described this as the medium which does not "distort" the message. They said that there are times that the media oppose the "cause" of politicians. It was pointed out that the media sometimes changes the message because they have their own interests.

The facilitator explained that when there is need to involve the community, then the media becomes an important tool to get public support, influence opinion, persuade, decision makers and to stimulate discussions. She said that the media empowers the people with the power of information.

The gatekeeper theory was articulated. Ms Mwanjisi said that in this theory, the source of information withholds some of information. In preparing a message, only 90% of the message is captured, the reporter presents 70% and by the time it gets to the editor it is only 15% and that is what comes out as "news". The media is concerned about what part of the event will sell. They pick out only one sensational issue and write about that. She informed the participants that they need to understand this and plan for only three key messages. One participant observed that training in working with the media is very important both for the press and the persons who are communicating.

12.1 The importance of media relations

The facilitator told participants to build good working relationships with the media. She pointed out that individuals have some control over what is communicated in the media, and this leads to a win- win situation. It was pointed out that the reporter needs to be as happy as the client. The facilitator said that where there are no media relations, there is no control over what is communicated. The message will then be distorted while the core message will be ignored.

The participants highlighted the problem of journalists who demand monetary consideration from their clients. They said that the journalists always ask for transport and money before they can cover the event. The facilitator pointed out that in accordance to the media ethics, reporters should not be paid. The journalist needs news and the client has the news and therefore it should be a mutual relationship. She urged the politicians to be polite, understand and help the media people who they invite to cover functions and news by providing transport where there is need.

12.2 Involving the media

It is important to understand the editorial policies of the newspapers and their editorial policies. An example was given about papers that have a policy to promote the opposition. These newspapers would never give prominence to a story from the ruling party.

It was pointed out that there is need to build relationships with both the reporter and the management. Relating with the news editor increases the probability that the news is captured because editors are the ones who decide what will be published and aired.

One participant observed that MPs discuss a lot of critical issues in the Bunge and yet they are not reported. It is important that they get professional reporting on issues. Information was given that there is a media Council that addresses these issues and that literature has been prepared and distributed to the media to give them guidance on this matter.

13.0 Session 10. Building Partnerships with Civil Society

The participants were led through a brainstorming session to bring out how MPs perceive civil society. The facilitator then showed the participants two pictures depicting myths held by MPs about CSOs. The MPs confirmed that the pictures portrayed the right image of thinking. Ms. Byanyima guided the participants through a reflection of the previous days discussion on the CSO's role in development, the challenges they face and the need for them to work together with the MPs.

The facilitator asked the participants to divide into three groups and think through strategies that could be used to build the partnership between CSOs and MPs.

13.1 Strategies to build the partnership between CSOs and MPs.

Group 1

- Exchange of information mutually
- Enhance mutual contact
- Exhibitions
- Workshops with CSOs
- Use CSOs liaison Officer to establish contacts and information about CSOs
- Use the materials from CSOs for our own use - distribute them in our constituencies
- Use the knowledge in the different dialogues and discussions
- Invite CSOs in MPs' constituencies to undertake programs
- Stay close to CSOs in the constituency
- Involve CSOs in District development programs
- Create forum for mutual feedback
- Invite CSO representatives for tea/coffee - build close relationship

Group 2

- Strengthen the Parliamentary liaison office
- Strengthen the committee office and Bunge office
- Increase number of researchers in parliament
- Strengthen MPs office in their constituents
- Organize seminars and workshops and exhibitions in Dodoma and elsewhere to improve the understanding of the role of CSOs and Parliament
- Organize study tours
- Have an up dated directory of CSOs
- Decentralisation of CSOs so that they are felt by the communities balancing the regional spread
- Use mass media for awareness creation

Group 3

- Directory of MPs should be improved
- CSOs exhibition to be annually and extend to the constituency
- Update CSOs directory and make it available to MPs
- Develop the visitors guide to the Parliament
- Organize conferences, workshops
- Introduce breakfast meetings rather than lunch/dinner
- Establish regional offices for MPs at the Parliament building
- Establish offices for Bunge associations

The participants pointed out that since the year 2001 public hearings were institutionalized in the Parliament and involvement of stakeholders is

encouraged. They further said that public hearings are a new thing in Tanzania and the avenues of interaction are not enough.

The facilitator thanked the participants for coming out with the innovative suggestions. The participants observed that there is need for training of the voters about the role of the Member of Parliament and they gave the example of MPs from one region, going out to educate the communities from one constituency to another.

It was suggested that a workshop be organised with CSOs to chart a way forward. The Speaker should be invited to be the guest of Honour. The participants said that for the activities to be successful, people with power should be involved. They said that they would lobby the committee coordinating the mandate of CSOs, to take up the issue of updating the CSOs directory. The MPs pledged to support and work with SUNY to target other donors to fund the initiatives.

The Members observed that in the setting of the Bunge in Dodoma the facilities for interaction and meetings are not adequate. Civil society has not built the confidence to approach MPs and the MPs need to sell themselves to the CSOs, so that they feel comfortable and learn how to present their views.

The public hearings, public petitions and Private Members' bills were said to be powerful but not used in Tanzania. The participants observed that CSOs can play a big role in this area because the MPs do not know how to prepare a Private Members' Bills. The CSOs with legislative capacity can spearhead this initiative. An example which stood out was the case when CSOs drafted law on inheritance by the women's law organisations and they presented it to the Minister who then took it on as a Government Bill.

The MPs showed resolve to work together to reduce the mistrust that existed between them and civil society and to tackle the challenges ahead together. Participants asked the Ugandan experience to be shared. Ms Byanyima gave a presentation on Ugandan experience of increasing the accessibility of CSOs to engage Parliament.

13.2 The way Forward

On the way forward, the legislators suggested the next steps in building the partnerships to be:

- A workshop to bring together Civil Society Organisations and Members of Parliament should be organised so that the two sides come together

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and agree on a plan and the way forward in building the partnership. SUNY Tanzania was requested to work on this,

- Lobby the committee responsible for CSOs to be active in taking forward the SUNY programme.
- Members who attended the workshop to be united in lobbying the Speaker to participate in the meeting of CSOs.

In Conclusion, the facilitator drew a Baobab tree and told participants to identify themselves with parts of the tree signifying the role they would play in the effort to build partnerships with civil society. The comparison brought out their willingness to play different roles. The participants identified themselves with the different parts and spoke on the different things they would do as follows:

- The branches – to spread out and network with CSOs to research for a bill coming to Parliament in the coming season.
- The branches – spread out and have all CSOs in the constituency to work along the goals already set
- The trunk - to be available to CSOs and Government.
- The roots – to feed the tree with more information sharing. Be a good advocate and network more
- The gardener - to make sure that the roots get the food and the branches.
- The trunk - to make sure the local councils do their duty
- The fruits - to make sure the results are achieved - to advertise the work of CSOs

14.0 Closing Remarks

The Country Director Ms Donna Bugby – Smith expressed her appreciation to the Members of Parliament for taking off the two days to attend the workshop and share of experiences. She said that although there is a big mountain to climb, with regard to the task of linking civil society with the legislature, she was positive that together they would manage.

The Country Director likened SUNY the gardener watering the garden of MPs and Civil Society who are the soil where the fruits that fall can grow into trees. She urged the Members of Parliament to work with SUNY, in their work in Dodoma and Dar-es Salaam. She pointed out that democracy is evolving in Tanzania and that the transition to democracy is long. She said that there was need to shorten the duration and to this effect, the programme would be training on budget analysis and other skills that would benefit the legislators.

She said that SUNY would be producing a resource manual for the committees so that Members of Parliament and those interested in working with Parliament can know whom to contact when they need information and the right tools. She stressed that partnerships work, but you individuals can not work alone. On the other hand, she observed that while CSOs have important roles, they can not make laws. MPs need to use them to get free information that may be used to strengthen their work. She appealed the the legislators to make use of the CPLO.

Ms Bugby- Smith requested the legislators to share what they had learned in the workshop with others. She promised that a certificate of attendance would be sent to each participant together with a letter to thank them. She then closed by thanking the participants, facilitators and SUNY staff for making the training a success.

Annexure B

Facilitator's Observations of the MPs Workshop

The facilitators noted that there had not been much exposure to advocacy training among the Members of Parliament who attended the workshop. The legislators found the information very relevant, they were very attentive and did not show any distractive behavior.

The MPs were positive about the CSOs but were honest to the fact that the avenues for CSO participation are inadequate and the ones that are existing are not fully utilised. They participated actively in the training and found the workshop materials very relevant.

There appeared to be tension between the CSOs and the politicians in their constituencies and they expressed a strong need for further training in conflict management and legislative drafting. They said that they require technical support in research and presentation skills. The training provided an opportunity for the MPs to appreciate the importance of capacity building.

Annexure C

WORKSHOP ON INFLUENCING POLICY SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

EVALUATION FORM

Please answer the questions below to help us evaluate the workshop. ***Please do not indicate your name.*** *Put your responses in the lines that follow the questions or tick the box that has the most appropriate answer.*

1. In your opinion were the workshop objectives met? Please explain.

.....

.....

.....

2. Were the workshop topics relevant to your work as leaders? How would you rate them?

Very Relevant ☐ Relevant ☐

Irrelevant ☐

3. Were the training methods used appropriate? How would you rate them?

Very Good ☐ Good ☐

Poor ☐ Fair ☐

4. What is your assessment of the facilitators?

Very Good ☐ Good ☐

Poor ☐ Fair ☐

5. What are your comments about the organisation of the workshop? (Please indicate in the boxes below)

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
• Meals	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Accommodation	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Training handouts	☐	☐	☐	☐
• Transport allowance	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. How do you intend to use the knowledge you have acquired from this workshop?

.....

.....

.....

7. In your overall assessment did the workshop meet your expectations?

.....

.....

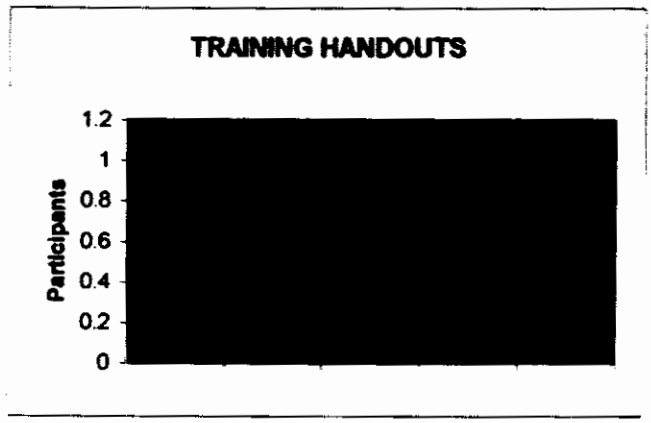
.....

8. Are there any other comments you would like to make about the workshop?

.....

.....

.....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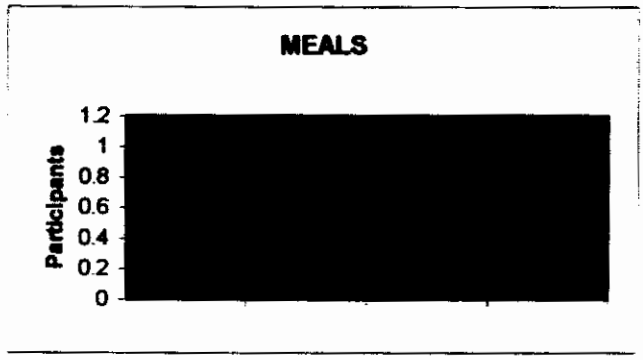
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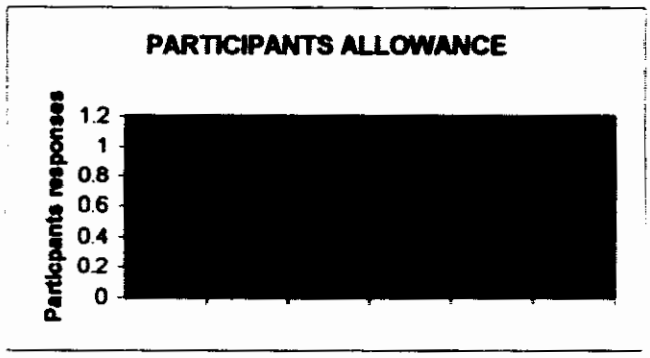
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Participants responses
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0.8
0.6
0.4
0.2
0

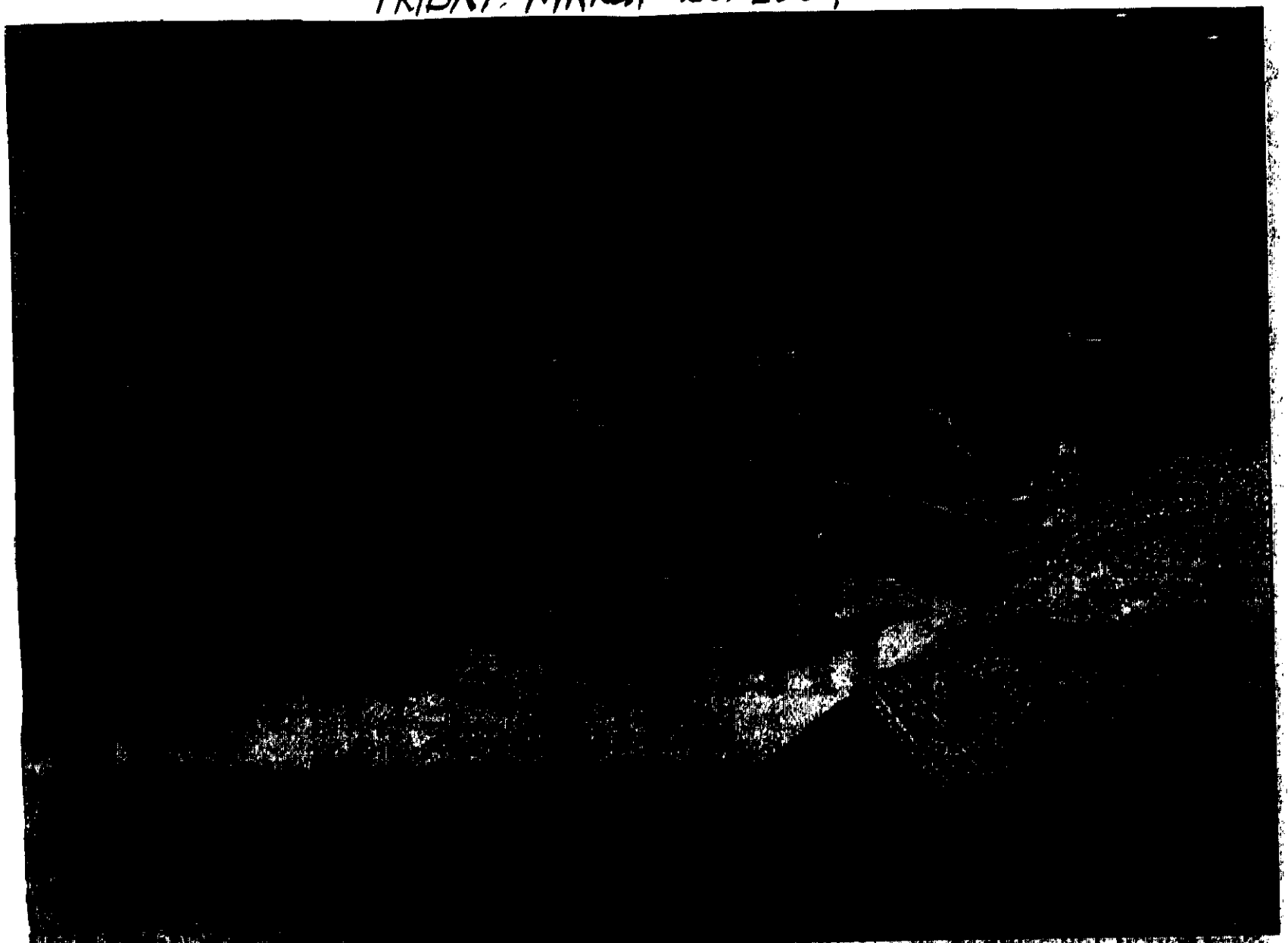
Annexure E Participants List

SUNY/TZ - Influencing Policy: Skills Development Workshop March 2004

No:	Name of Member of Parliament	Constituency
1.	Hon. Anna Makinda	Njombe South
2.	Hon. Mgana Msindai	Iramba North
3.	Hon. Lediana Mafuru	Special Seats (Women)
4.	Hon. Janet Kahama	Special Seats (Women)
5.	Hon. Hamad R. Mohamed	Presidential Nominee
6.	Hon. Prof. David Mwakyusa	Rungwe West
7.	Hon. Grace S. Kiwelu	Special Seat (Women)
8.	Hon. Charles Makongoro	Presidential Nominee
9	Hon. Teddy Kassela Bantu	Special Seats (Women)
10	Oliver Mwikila	Coordinator-Opposition

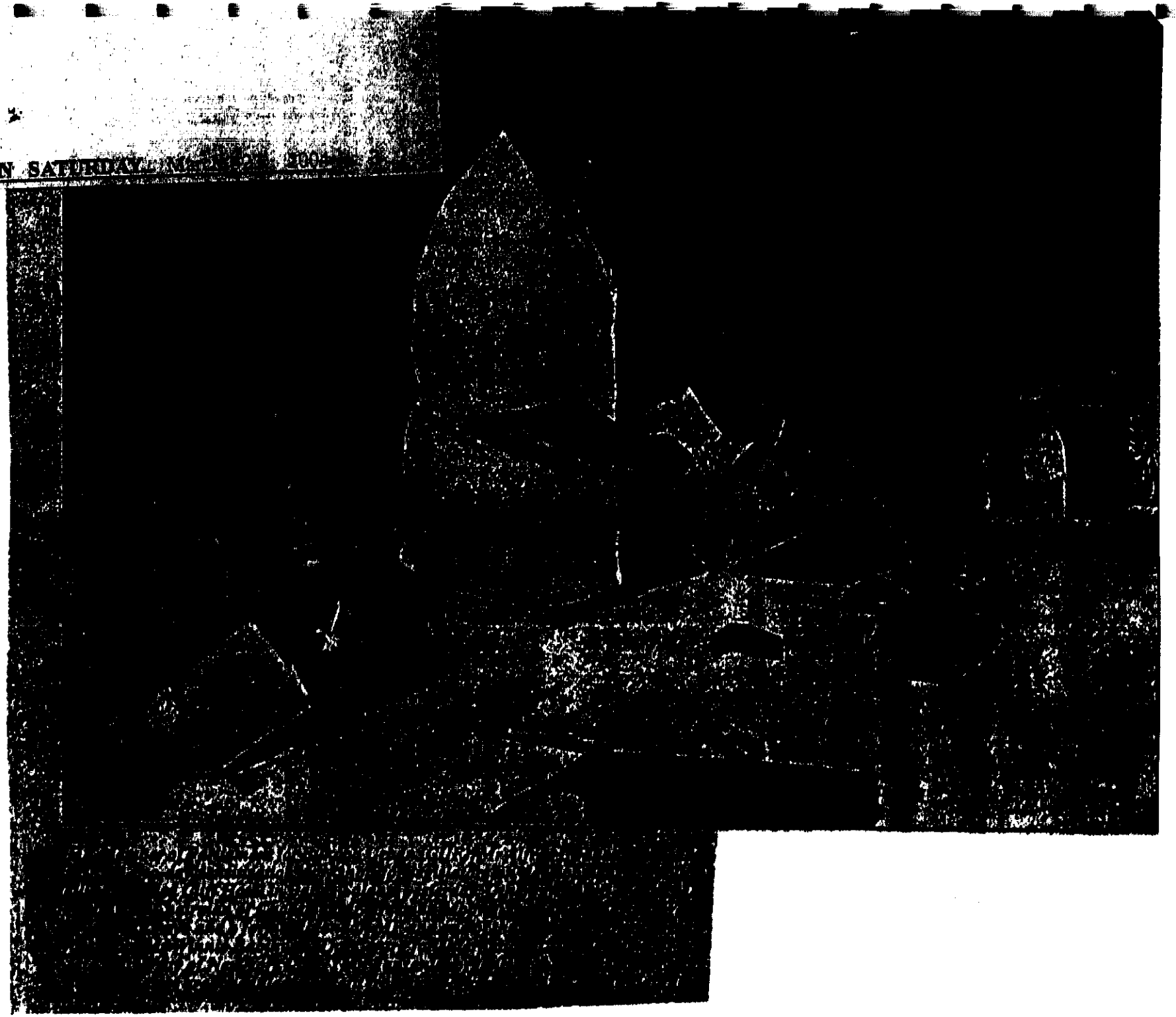
DAILY NEWS

FRIDAY. MARCH 26. 2004.



...shop on influencing policy skills development ... Cliff Hotel in Dar es Salaam. They are from ... Prof. ... Mgoma Msindai (Iramba East-CCM) ... official ... Kwikila. The workshop has been organized ... Centre ... (SUNY) Tanzania. (Photo by Muhidin ...)

DAILY NEWS ON SATURDAY, M[illegible] 2, 200[illegible]



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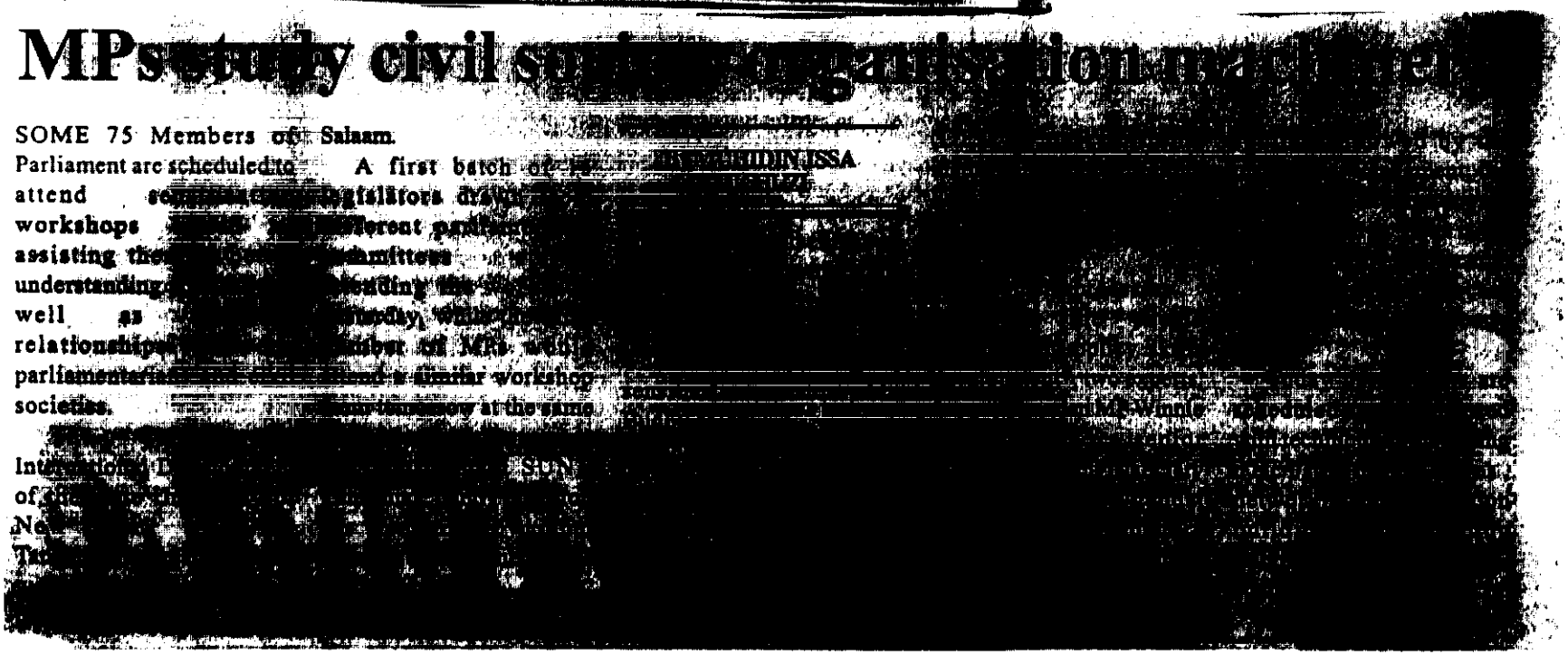

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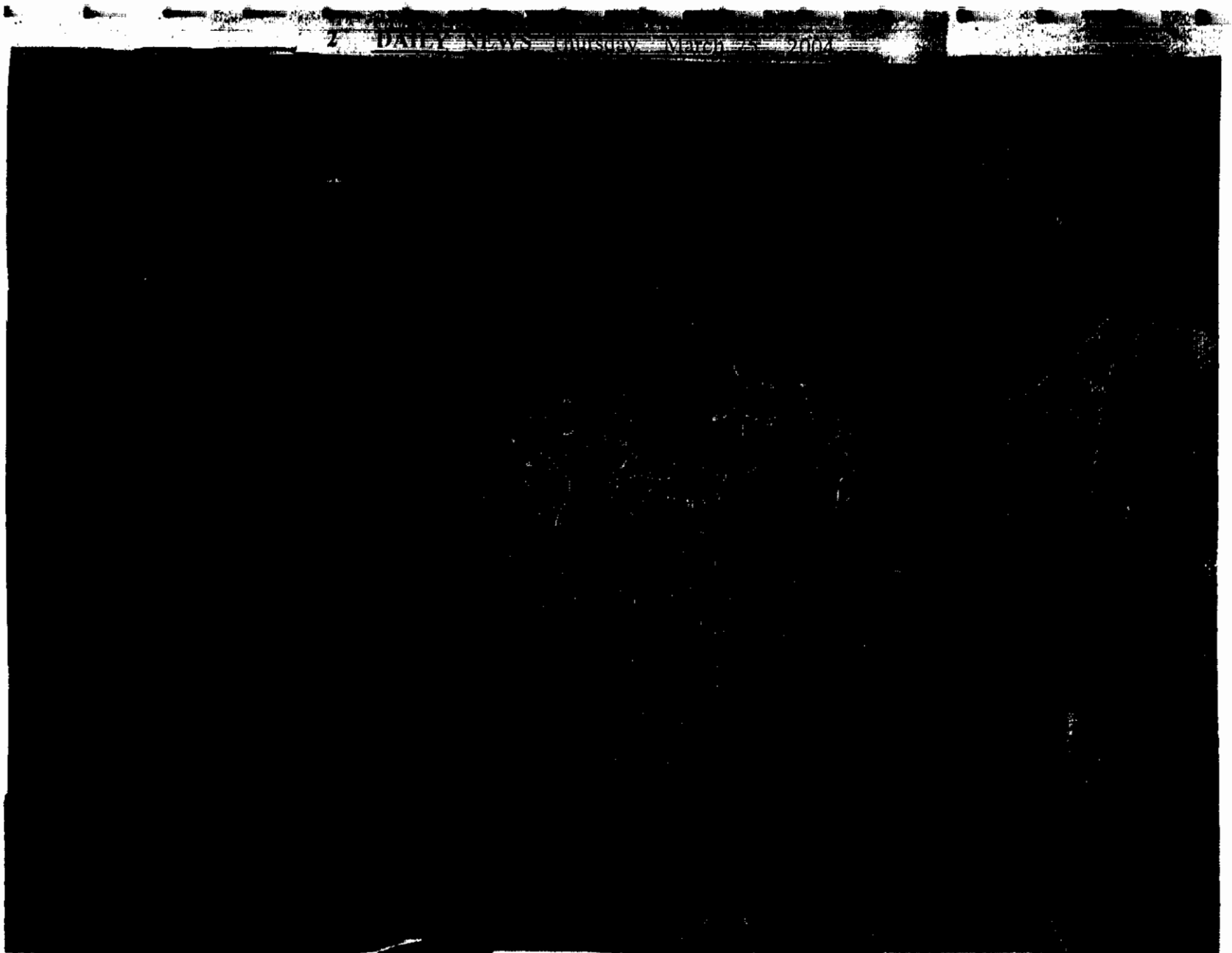

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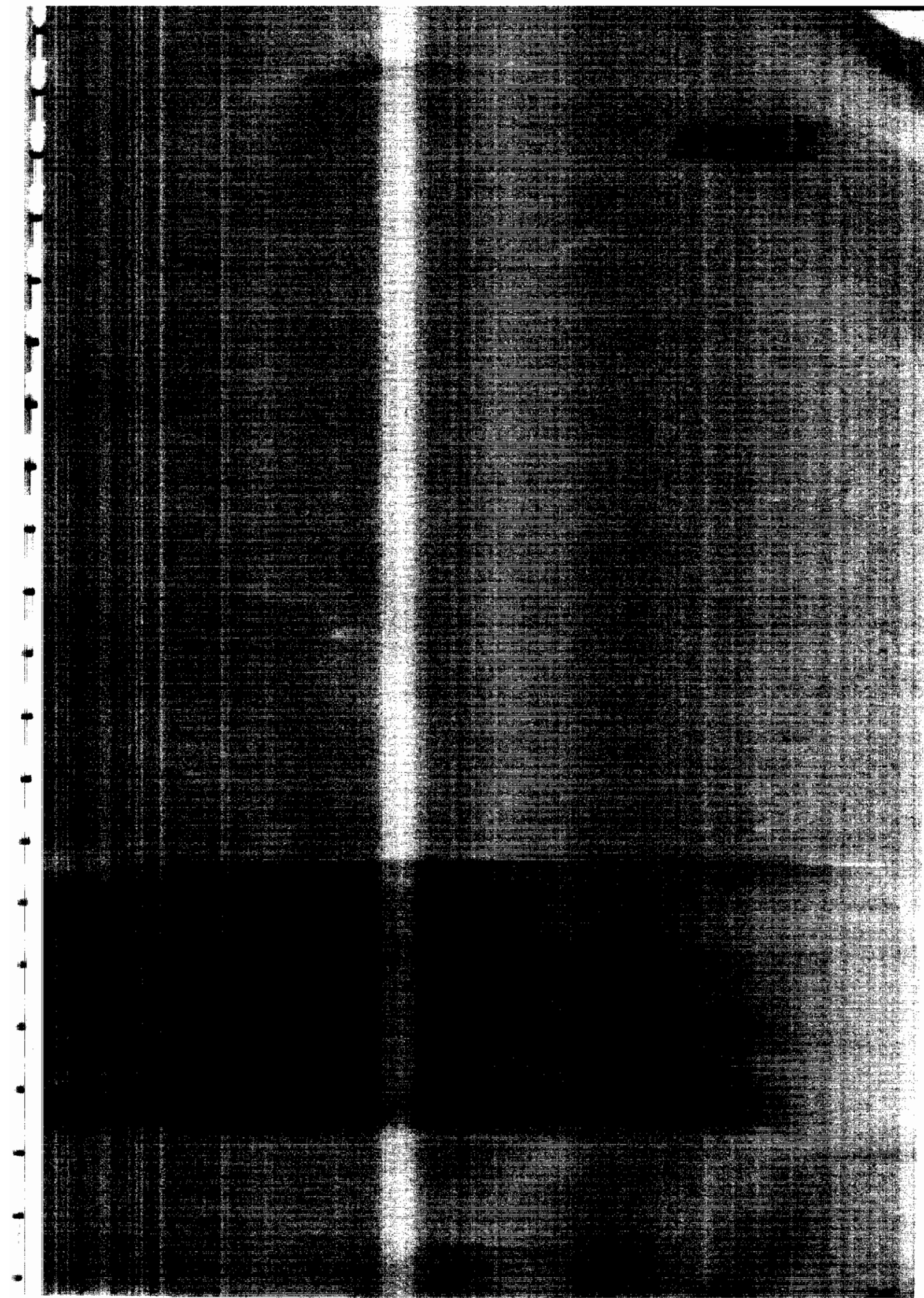

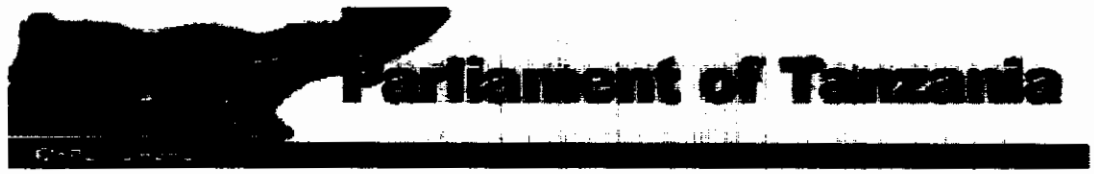

PARLIAMENTARY ONLINE INFORMATION SYSTEM OF THE UNION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TANZANIA – A REVIEW

By:
Paul Bagyenda
Kiggundu Mukasa

Prepared for State University of New York/Tanzania and the Union National Assembly of Tanzania
January 2004

INTRODUCTION

The SUNY/TANZANIA program, *Technical Assistance for Strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly* sets out a series of activities intended to assist the National Assembly Improve representation, become more effective in lawmaking, enhance management and administration, and provide more effective oversight of public sector activities. The two-year program is a partnership between the State University of New York Centre for International Development, British Council and Pact/Tanzania

January 5th – 12th consultants Paul Bagyenda and Kiggundu Mukasa conducted a review of the Parliament Online Information System (POLIS) for the SUNY/Tanzania program. The purpose of the review was to review and compare the websites of the three EA parliaments with a view to making recommendations on useful modifications that might be made to POLIS. Specifically the consultants were to consider 1) Scope and coverage of the POLIS. 2) Consider the need to provide a window so that caucus groups access could be facilitated Via the website, including development of a website for the Women's Caucus to provide an electronic forum repository of gender-based information to enhance women's role in policymaking. 3) Consider and make recommendations on whether POLIS could be downloaded to create MP - CSO/public policy expert directory and an electronic database using the POLIS infrastructure. 4) Present findings

The consultants conducted a detailed review of the Tanzania POLIS/Parliamentary website and the Uganda and Kenya Parliament website with reference to the POLIS. This review was conducted from a public standpoint - the view of the sites seen/interacted with by the general public. Therefore no reference is made to the technical or "backend" aspects of the sites [1].

Review Audiences

This review has two audiences, the National Assembly and the Assembly's development partners. This document suggests a number of activities to help the National Assembly achieve expected results as set out in SUNY/Tanzania work plan:

- Improved Representation
- More effective lawmaking

This document looks at how well aligned the POLIS infrastructure is to these goals, how other East African Parliaments websites compare and what opportunities exist for utilising and/or improving POLIS.

An Agenda for POLIS

The Tanzanian Parliament like many of its counterparts elsewhere consists of elected Members from various political parties. It makes laws, it approves

[1] Both consultants however heavily involved in the design and implementation of the backend systems used today by the Parliament of Uganda website.

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Government expenditure, and monitors government programs and plans.

As the supreme for participatory democracy, the Parliament must conduct its activities in an open and inclusive manner, drawing on the views of the governed and ensuring a good degree of understanding, on their part, of its workings. A number of development partners are pledged to assist Parliament work towards effectively fulfilling its role in the democratic process. These activities include facilitating the establishment of various administrative units, providing training to staff and legislators in various fields, improving research facilities (e.g. libraries, research staff) and improving access to information both for internal users (legislators and parliamentary staff) and external users (civil society organisations, researchers, the general public). The Parliamentary website (POLIS) enhances access to information for internal and external users.

For many organisations, public and private sector, the World Wide Web (the Web) provides a convenient tool for disseminating large quantities of information and providing an additional channel for interaction with ones audience, customers or partners. As an electronic medium, the Web provides a means of instantly publishing documents that had hitherto been impossible. Legislative Assemblies around the world have increasingly turned to the Web to provide, primarily, a way to quickly provide the general public with information on the legislative process, including rules and procedures, daily legislative and other business, and member profiles. A well-designed legislative website would also provide an internal tool for tracking legislative activities, such as meetings, bills, etc.

The Web fulfils a particularly convenient function for these purposes, as Assemblies generally produce rather large volumes of material that would otherwise have to be printed and distributed via more traditional means. With the advent of the Web it is easier to provide electronic copies for all to download and use as required. With the increased usage of the internet, this form of publishing is proving quite popular with consumers of the information. The Web can also of course provide a medium for two-way communication, where the public can provide input to legislators, as well monitor what legislators are up to.

The stated purpose of POLIS as conceived was:

... the establishment of a website (POLIS) with a database that can assist MPs and Researchers to track down all Bills, Acts of Parliament and other matters presented to the plenary for effective cross-referencing purposes as well as for holding the executive responsible for non action.[2]

That is, largely this appears to have been conceived initially as in internal support tool. Coupled with the website as it is currently, the POLIS as a source of information is clearly in line with the wider goals of 'strengthening capacities of

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[2] *Strengthening Participatory Democratic Systems in Tanzania. UNDP Project URT/01/x06*

Parliament as a people's voice as well as an institution that provides a forum for the expression and obtaining consensus on conflicting issuers"[3], as expression is not possible without a managed communication medium, and consensus is not possible without communication. As a means of providing information to the public, it is also in line with expected outcomes of activity 1.4 of the SUNY/Tanzania work plan, of improving the effectiveness of parliamentary **outreach** activities.

Review of Parliamentary Website (POLIS) Content & Functional Areas

The Tanzania Parliament website/POLIS, implemented in 2002 by Datavision International Ltd, contains an impressive amount of information about Parliament and the legislative process. This information may be broadly categorised into the following content areas:

1. General Information about Parliament, including composition
2. Member profiles
3. Acts of Parliament
4. Bills information
5. The Budget
6. Committee System
7. Events Diary
8. Publications
9. 'Internal' services
10. Hansards
11. External Resources/Links

We review the areas covered by each of these in turn.

General Information

Like all websites this site provides a short introduction to the institution on the home page. Additional sections (linked off the home page) provide.

1. A brief description of the functions of the Parliament
2. Brief description of the composition of the Parliament, as well as more detailed information about key current office-holders (the President, Ministers), at-a-glance view of MPs by region and by political party.
3. Administration of the Parliament
4. History of the Parliament

An effort is made to keep the amount of text on each of the pages down to a minimum[4], leaving longer details for elsewhere. This is very laudable. A user feedback area is also provided, as is a counter of the number of site visitors[5].

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[3] Programme aims as stated in URT/0 1 /x06 project document.

[4] Most Web users do not spend much time on a website. If it has too much text, then likely they will move on quickly. For the casual visitor all the general information sites manage to

stick to the unwritten rule of such web pages: All the text must be visible without the user having to scroll down the page!

[5] Depending on how long this site has been up and counting visitors, the current reading of just over 35,000 visitors may be a bit low.

One (perhaps minor) item that is conspicuously absent from these sections however is a COPY Of the Constitution, a document referred to often in the site and to which surely the Parliament owes its origins[6].

Member Profiles

POLIS maintains a fairly detailed and quite well-maintained database on members of Parliament. The database includes such details as.

- Full personal details including a colour photograph and address (including email address if available)
- Party affiliation
- Educational background including any training undertaken, certifications earned
- Employment history

Special skills

Additional data is only accessible once one is logged onto POLIS[7] . This includes

- Questions asked in the House
- History of Appointments
- Experience as a Member of the House.

A sampling of the database reveals that most bio-data is completed. This is impressive, considering the amount of data to be collected, input and checked. Additional data, such as special skills and questions asked seems to be less well maintained.

One item that seems conspicuously absent in the database is members special interest areas. This would serve to (additionally) identify members by their special interests (e.g. environmental matters, sports development, etc.)[8].

Acts of Parliament

POLIS maintains a database of Acts of Parliament. These appear to have been scanned, converted to Adobe Portable Document Format (PDF) and stored in a searchable database. Searching by year or by keyword is possible, as well as browsing through the different Acts; an abstract is provided of each Act, the year of the Act and the number. One can also download the entire Act.

Rather than provide full text searching capabilities, POLIS opted for providing searching within the abstract. This can be a good compromise between the desire to provide mature search capabilities and the desire for simplicity.

Bills Information

This section of POLIS stores general data on the bill, including:

- Bill number(s)
- Key dates (first reading, second reading)

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[6] Indeed an English copy of the constitution proved impossible to trace online it is even missing from the Tanzania portal www.tanzania.go.tz - Only an outline is provided.

[7] Unfortunately we could not find any guide to logging on to the POLIS system from the website. All that was provided was a link to it, which fires up a browser window with a lotion screen. The consultants had to rely on a bit of *reverse engineering* to discover how to logon as GUEST user.

[8] See comparative review of Uganda Parliament website which has such a field

- Category
- Status of the bill
- Abstract
- Full text of the bill

A history of the bill as it makes its way through the legislative process is also maintained. This database is simple in design and should prove fairly accessible to most users.

The Budget

A copy of the National Budget speech is maintained in both English and Kiswahili. The facility exists to provide access to archives of old budget speeches. Ministerial budget speeches are also stored and accessible by the public.

Committee System

This section of POLIS provides information on the Committee system of Parliament, including committee rules, a list of the committees, composition of the various committees. As far as possible the information in POLIS is hyperlinked so that for instance, you can jump to the bio-data of any member by selecting his/her name in the list of committee members where he/she appears.

Events Diary

A diary of parliamentary events (a schedule) is maintained by POLIS. Events include session information and committee meetings. This information is quite detailed and is also available historically.

Publications

A list of publications of Parliament is provided on the site for download. These include reports, papers, newsletters, the handbook, and news. Commendable effort has been expended in making the information available online.

'Internal' Services

These are services targeted at staff and MPs. They include direct access to email from the website and logon to POLIS.

Hansards

Similar in design to the Acts database, this section provides a searchable database of the proceedings of Parliament as recorded on the floor. Simple in design it is potentially a powerful tool for tracking the activities of the House.

External Resources

An additional section is provided that consists entirely of categorised lists of external web sites. The list so far is quite long and detailed, and the sites cover a broad range of issues (varying from travel to pets). This list is maintained within POLIS, presumably for staff and members to use as a suitable research starting point. Well-maintained and apparently quite organic in its growth, it represents, in our view, a novel approach to helping legislators and support staffs find their way around the Web.

Summary

The POLIS provides a large amount of information that is fairly well-organised. It is, as we shall see, perhaps the most comprehensive and well-organised of the East African Web sites.

A Comparative Review of the Other East African Parliamentary Websites

The consultants conducted a comparative review of the other two East African Parliamentary websites, using the Tanzanian one as a reference point. Below we provide a summary of the findings.

The Uganda Parliament Website

The Uganda Parliamentary Websit[9] was completed in 2000 and is perhaps the oldest of all the three. It has the following general sections:

- General institutional data (including administration, history)
- The Constitution
- Members database
- Proceedings database (Hansard)
- Bill tracking system
- Acts
- Committees
- Related sites (including the Government of Uganda site)

In terms of content areas, the Uganda Parliament website is not significantly different from the Tanzania one. (Some items that appear to be missing, such as access to email we established are existent but not linked in.) Where they differ is in depth and perhaps approaches to presenting the content.

We review each of these areas, contrasting them with corresponding content areas (if any) in the Tanzania Parliament website.

General Institutional Data & Constitution

The Uganda site provides a longer history section, and by careful reference to the governing laws including providing a copy of the constitution online, seems to provide a better, if somewhat overly long (in some places) overall view of the institution. The Uganda site also appears to have a more up-to-date news section (tucked away under "parliament Updates"). A jobs section is also available. There is additionally an online guest book on the Uganda site that has generated an interesting array of comments. Though not of the cleanest and clearest of designs, it serves the purpose of allowing the public to air their views.

Members Database

A member's database is provided. It contains bask bio-data including a

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[9] The site, at www.parliament.go.ug was built with support of the SUNY/IDG and funded by USAID.

photograph. It is however nowhere near as comprehensive as the POLIS one as it restricts itself to basic information only. One is able to search the database by name, district, profession, ~ial interest or constituency. POLIS provides searching by name or constituency only, which is significantly narrower than could have been achieved given the wealth of information stored in POLIS.

Hansard

A database of the proceedings is maintained. Though at the time of conducting this review the feature was not accessible (that part of the database appeared to be offline), the consultants have in the past used the feature and relied on past experiences with it for the review.
The amount of data stored in the POLIS is far more than that stored by the Ugandan system. While the Ugandan system aimed to provide more flexible searching of the Hansard, it appeared not to have gathered quite as much data as POLIS over time. In terms of coupling content and function, POLIS does a much better job.

Bill Tracking System

A Bill tracking system is included. In function it is quite similar to that in POLIS.
Both systems provide basic bills data, bill histories, categorisation of bills, etc. The Uganda system offers more comprehensive searching capabilities than POLIS
However again POLIS has significantly more data in it than the Ugandan system.
Again the reason for this is not known.

Acts

A database of Acts is maintained. While this system was also down at the time of the survey, the consultants are familiar with it. It is similar in vein to the Hansard database, with more search fields/options than the POLIS. Again however the amount of data in POLIS is far greater than that in the Ugandan system, for the same period. Indeed POLIS data goes back to about 1971, where the Ugandan system has a few Acts from 2000.

Committees

A list of committees, rules is maintained. This is not integrated into any database system unlike that of POLIS.

Related Sites

A listing of external sites. Unlike the POLIS, this is more of a short list of sites that the webmaster believed to be related, rather than a set of sites that might prove useful to MPs and staff. The Ugandan site takes a more traditional approach, which in our view has far less utility than the approach taken the POLIS.

General Observations

The Uganda site appears to do a better job of providing general information, news and (marginally) fostering discussion with the public than does POLIS. However as indicated, a number of its databases are not given as much attention as the POLIS ones, which may tend to reduce its utility.

On the downside, the Uganda site feels a lot more disjointed than the Tanzania site. A number of links simply don't work[10], the layout is inconsistent in places[11], and the databases don't appear to have been integrated into one as was done with POLIS. This results in a less unified experience while using the site than one gets while navigating the Tanzania site.
It may be however that the Uganda site, which is older, has not received much maintenance since it was designed.

The Kenya Parliament Website

The site[12] which appears to be the most recent of them all, was built in 2003 and is the simplest of all the three Parliamentary websites.
This site appears to be very much in development. Indeed it consists of only two pages of interest:

- The home page
- An outline of the Parliamentary handbook

Beyond that is provided a list of website links to other government departments and bodies and local newspapers.

No meaningful comparison can be made between this site and POLIS; It is several generations away from a system like POLIS. At a future date in its evolution a comparison could be carried out.

Summary & Conclusions

In general POLIS compares favourably with other East African Parliamentary websites. It is a mature system that appears well used. There are opportunities for improving it, some of which have been indicated, others which will be looked at in the next sections.

One perhaps minor issue that was hinted at earlier is the issue of number of site visitors. Monitoring the number of visitors month-on-month is a useful indicator of the value of the website. This must be done and lessons learned from it, otherwise POLIS could end up as a good tool that the public never uses, for whatever reason.

Way forward for Tanzanian Parliament site.

Content

POLIS, as has been stated above, is quite detailed. For a better comparison of what more content can be included in the site for redesign, sites outside East

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[10]Link- to government site, constitution link at the bottom of page
[11]Colour schemes change from main site to Bill Track and from Bill Track to the MP database, the news page has a huge white header, the guest book- is on an external site etc.

[12] www.parliament.go.ke has a copyright of 2003, which we assume to be the publishing date.

Africa are needed as "content examples". The best of these within the commonwealth are the Scottish Parliament and the Indian Parliament. Both have extensive amounts of content. The Scottish Parliament Site can be found at http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/

The Indian Parliamentary site provides a wealth of information. The site can be found at http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/
Since India has two houses in its parliament the site is not directly related to Tanzania's needs but the content possibilities presented on the site can be applied to POLIS

Technology Integration

POLIS can expand further than the two sites mentioned above by integrating more technology services. The first one would be live audio feeds via the site. This would enable all Tanzanians with Internet access to hear the debates in Parliament. These debates can be archived (e.g. as .ram files and replayed when needed by the subscribers to the Tanzanian site). More preferable would be video broadcasts but the uplink bandwidth needed could only be justified if the number of visitors to the site is high enough.[13]

The second technology expansion would be by integrating SMS services into the parliamentary web site. Mobile phones are now a wide spread communications tool within Tanzania. SMS services can enable the public to send their views to parliament via SMS and have those views posted on the site. The members of parliament can also have a site where those interested people who want to receive regular updates of what goes on in parliament, to subscribe to an SMS broadcast service run off the site. News entered into the site would then be broadcast via SMS to all the subscribers.

Caucus Group and Special Interest Access.

Caucus groups could have two types of access. One to solicit public views (which views are used by the groups, and can also be displayed on the site), another access type would be for internal parliament access to staff and members only.

Caucus groups access for the internal users would be for them communicate, discuss ideas and formulate policy. This would be done via an Intranet site set-up where access to various services named below can be gained. These services would enable the caucus (and other) members to communicate and store work at a central location.

The services of the site should include

1) Portal - A Web-based interface to all information delivered. A summary of what the Intranet site has to offer in a concise and conservative manner.
2) E-mail - An integrated e-mail server. This helps the communications, especially in conjunctions with mailing lists, between various interest groups.

[14] See Ugandan example where this has been moderately successful

3) Personal Organiser - Including Calendar, Contacts, and Addresses.
4) Groupware functionality
   a) Intuitive scheduler - For group scheduling and cooperation.
   b) Smart Document Management - Categorisation of documents into relevant repositories facilitating rapid discovery and retrieval.
   c) Group Discussion Forums - Generated by users for appropriate groups, with group-by-thread support.
   d) Group Address management - Through a common Lightweight Directory Access Protocol (LDAP) directory.
   e) Knowledge Database - A repository into which a variety of documents can be deposited and then retrieved via a full-text search engine.
   f) Project Planning - A simple yet robust project management tool, providing task allocation and Scheduling and commitment management.
   g) General Forum - A bulletin board for all groupware users.
   h) Integrated Note Feature

The intranet services provided on the site can be closed off from non-caucus members if desired or opened to a wider public (via guest access).

Another alternative would be to provide a more limited service for the general public to put their views forward and have the views of all submissions reflected on the site. This would be done by building onto the existing system a simple guest book and discussion forum module. The guest book would take comments from members or the general public on any issues that come up within society. Visitors can comment on the issue or on other visitor& comments. Such a site can grow quite organically and encourage more and more site visitors[14]. These could be archived when needed and passed onto the relevant caucus members.

The discussion forum portal provides a way for Tanzanians to debate live on the site on topical issues of concern. These debates are rarely archived for long periods but the daily discussions can be logged and passed onto the relevant committees.

Neither the Kenyan nor Ugandan sites have caucus sites, discussion forums or access for special interest groups. On a parliamentary site this is not generally the norm, but should also not be seen as unnecessary.

Conclusion

There are several ways that the Tanzanian Parliamentary site can improve.

- Increased Content
- Technology Integration
- Discussion forums and guest books

Providing the general public with as many avenues to express their views to parliament strengthens the democratic processes in Tanzania and ensures that the citizens feel their views are directly being heard, noted and acted upon by the relevant authorities.

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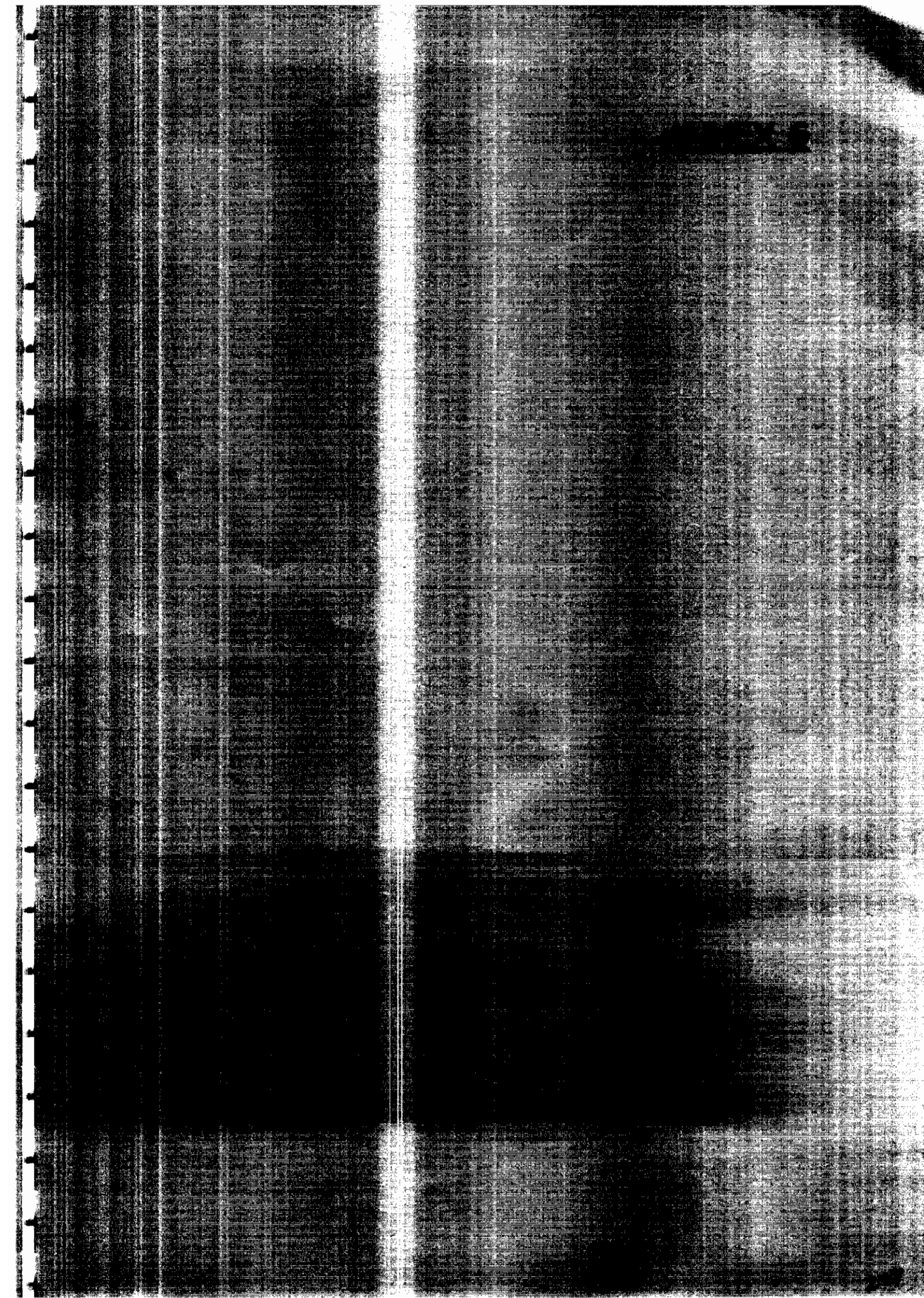
[14]See Ugandan example where this has been moderately successful.



The State University of New York/Tanzania

Technical Assistance for the Strengthening of Tanzania's Union National Assembly (Parliament)

22nd March 2004 ST/03/27/04/ey

All Parliamentary Committee Chairpersons
The Parliament of Tanzania
Dar es Salaam

Dear Honourable Member of Parliament.

RE: SUGGESTION TO DEVELOP A RESOURCE MANUAL FOR EACH SECTORAL COMMITTEE

As you know SUNY/Tanzania is working within four key areas one of which is Result Area 2 – "better lawmaking". We have a number of thematic areas of operation one of which is strengthening the Committee. We have therefore been considering how best this can be done and have adopted a holistic approach by working with the Committee Clerks and Research Officers and looking at the type of support you, as Committee Chairpersons, receive to enable you to use the Committees to the maximum benefit of Parliament's oversight role.

It is to that end that SUNY/Tanzania have devised the idea of creating a resource manual which would be of course, bespoke to each individual Committee. I attach a concept paper which details the proposed scope/content of the resource manual. SUNY/Tanzania would undertake all drafting of the resource manuals in collaboration with the respective Committee Clerks. I would therefore welcome any comments you might have on this idea so that SUNY/Tanzania can begin to devise the resource manuals in earnest.

I am also copying this letter to Mr. Kipenka, Clerk to the Parliament so that he is aware of this initiative.

We look forward to hearing from you.

I remain as ever,

DONNA BUGBY-SMITH
COUNTRY DIRECTOR

Encl.

3rd Floor • International House Junction • Shaaban Robert Street/Garden Avenue • Dar es Salaam • Tanzania
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PROPOSED CONTENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE RESOURCE MANUAL FOR THE PARLIAMENT OF TANZANIA

1. *INTRODUCTION:*

There are now x12 permanent Parliamentary Committee with responsibility for specific sectors. These include the following;

I. Land & Agriculture
II. Finance & Economic Affairs
III. Constitution, Justice and Administration
IV. Public Accounts
V. Investments & Trade
VI. Foreign Affairs
VII. Defence & Security
VIII. Social Services
IX. Natural Resources & Environment
X. Community Development
XI. Local Authorities Accounts
XII. Infrastructure

2. *PURPOSE:*

The aim the Parliamentary Committee Resource Manual is to enable Parliamentary Committee members to easily understand the role and remit of the Committee they have been assigned to and the Constitutional/ Rules of Procedure mandate that has been delegated to the Committee. The Resource Manual seeks to capture both the institutional memory of the Committee in other words records the past work/achievements of the Committee. And secondly provides contacts within the respective sectors to which the Committee may need to approach when calling for evidence, submissions or provision of information to better inform the Committee's deliberations.

3. *PROPOSED HEADINGS:*

These will be generic and bespoke to the specific Committee sectoral area. Proposed headings will include;

a) Committee mandate areas
   - Define the sector the Committee has responsibility for,

b) Committee Ministries

- Identification of the sector Ministries which the Committee will need to interact with,

c) suggested Committee Key documents

- policy documents such as National Strategic Plans, economic surveys published and recognized as reliable source documents,

d) Powers of Departmental Committees

- Statement about the legislative powers, financial oversight powers and general oversight,

e) Standing Order remit

- Defines the functions of the Committee as stated in the Standing Orders,

f) Context setting of the specific Committee sector and highlights of the issues and agenda of the Committee

- This sets the scene in terms of advising Committee members about the sector the Committee has responsibility for example if it was a Committee looking at the Health Sector then there would be some background about the sector for example the number of health sector workers, HIV/AIDs country profile, financial allocation to the sector.

g) Committee institutional portfolio

- Lists the Ministries that fall under the supervision of the Committees as provided for within the Standing Orders,
- Will also list any other institution or parastatal which are also within the ambit of the Committee.

h) Committee activities over the past four years

- Members
  - Membership of the Committee in the previous Parliament
- Reports
  - Reports produced by the Committee in the previous Parliament
- Foreign Missions/trips
  - Lists foreign trips or study tours undertaken by the Committee
- Committee achievements and challenges
  - Highlights of successes, the challenges facing the Committee such as non implementation of Committee recommendations, outcome of reports laid

before the Plenary which are not adopted, relationships with the Executive, pressure of legislative business

- Bill record of the Committee 2000-2004
  - Lists the schedule of Bills within the Committee's mandate introduced into the Parliament and summarizes the outcome of the Bills for example how many received Presidential Assent

- Sessional Papers
  - This lists the Sessional Papers introduced by the Government. These may have been referred to another sectoral Committee but nevertheless needed to be taken account off during the specific Committee's deliberations.

i) Sources of information available to the Committee
  - A useful source of information would be contacts details for those Civil Society organizations who have expressed a desire to work with the Parliament,
  - Also there maybe some reputable research organizations to whom the Committee may wish to seek advice from for example REPOA.

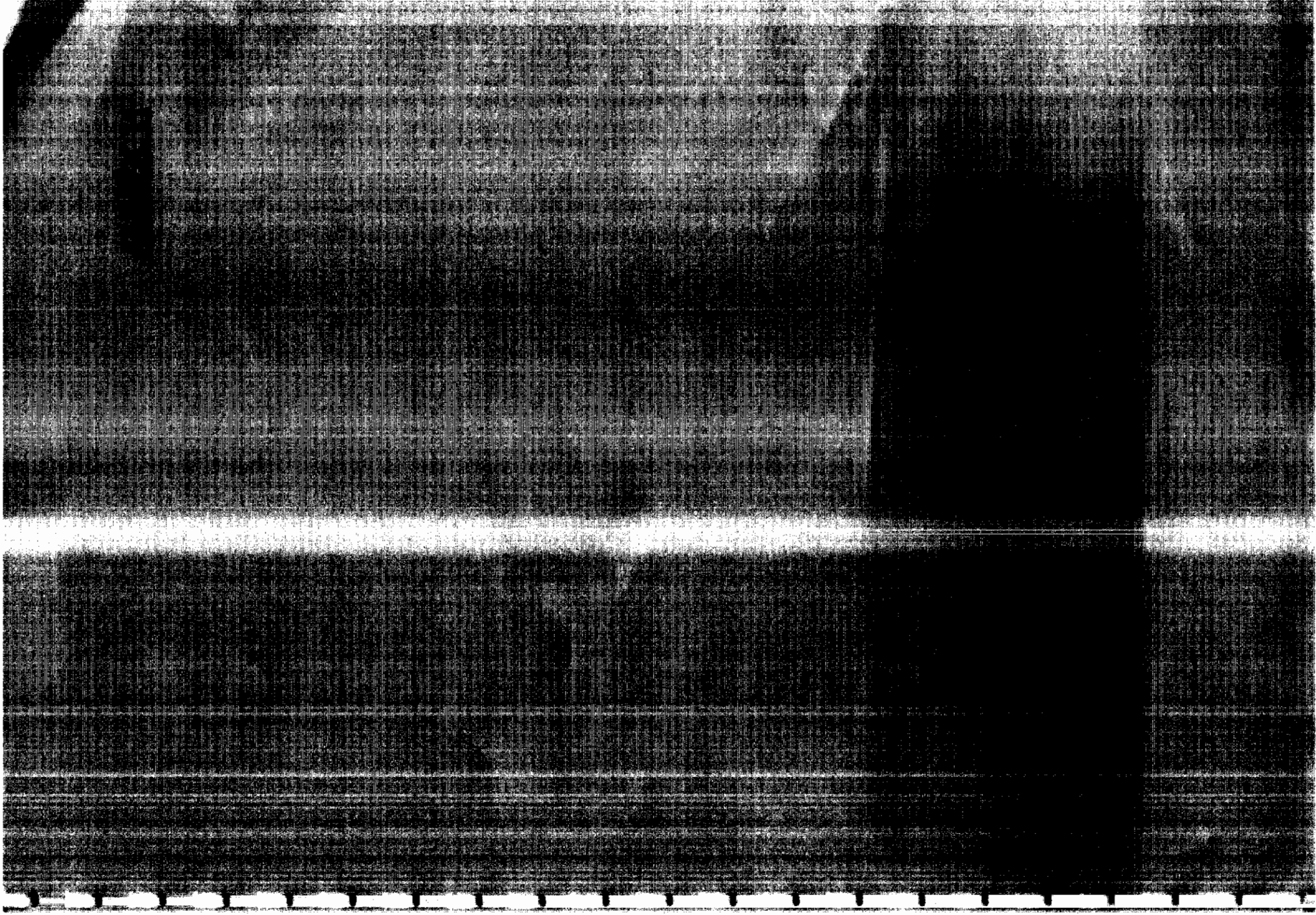
j) References
  - Lists source policy documents which the Committee needs to be aware of as they are over arching policy documents for example the PRSP,

4. ***PROPOSED TIMELINE:***

Subject to confirmation that Parliament is content with the broad approach SUNY/Tanzania then work will be undertaken in collaboration with the Clerk to Parliament through the Parliamentary Committee Clerks with a target completion of September 2004.

DONNA BUGBY-SMITH
SUNY/TANZANIA
COUNTRY DIRECTOR

19 March 2004



Strategic Objective 3: Civil Society and Government are more effective Partners in Governance			
IR 3.2: ***Targeted Government (Parliament) is more responsive to public concerns on selected issues.*** ***Expected outcome: laws in place that have better public inputs.***			
A. Number of public hearings on Bills.	**Indicators**	**Target**	**Progress/ Reporting Period**
Baseline: **number of MP/Parliament initiated public hearings held in 2003** ▪	▪ Number of public hearings initiated by either the MPs or the Parliamentary Committees (quantity) ▪ Number of actions or recommendations submitted and agreed to be taken forward by the Parliament, (quantity) ▪ Are those actions recommendations of substance (ie question the viability of the Bill or merely grammatical)? ▪ Number of CSO issue papers submitted to Committees which prompt the Committee to invite the CSO to provide expert testimony, (quantity and quality) ▪ Review of the current Standing Orders to assess whether they deter the public from getting involved by no later than the 3rd quarter of the 2004 Session.		
METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION ▪ Clerk Assistants ▪ Through the CSO-Parliament Liaison Officer in Pact			

Strategic Objective 3: Civil Society and Government are more effective Partners in Governance

IR 3.2.1. Government (Parliament) capacity to engage in the policy/law process strengthened.

Expected outcome: Parliamentarians are better able to understand the implications of the legislation tabled.

B. National budget formulation – helping Parliament to play a more prominent role in the design of the national budget by involving them in the initial stage.	**Indicators**	**Target**	**Progress/ Reporting Period**
Baseline: number of Bills submitted and amended during 2003. (Key Committees will be those with x3+ Bills submitted for consideration in the last year. Priority will be aimed at Finance, PAC, LAAC, Community Development, Natural Resources & Environment, Social Services, Agriculture and Land PAC, LAAC, Community Development, Natural Resources and Environment, Social Services, Agriculture and Land Development, Economic Infrastructure). **Baseline: Number of times during 2003 when the Parliament was invited to attend and actively participate in the meetings with the PER and PRSP secretariat.**	▪ Number of substantive amendments made on Government sponsored Bills submitted to the Parliament Committees, ▪ Initially helping the PAC , Finance Committee, Local Authority Accounts Committee and Economic Infrastructure Committees to gain access to the PER/PRSP secretariat located within the Vice President's Office.		

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

- Clerk Assistants
- Records of the number of times Parliamentarians attend such meetings in the VPO
- Devising post training questionnaires (interviews or focus group discussions for MPs with the aim of identifying whether the links have made between the Committees and the Executive branch.