

SINK OR SWIM: SOCIAL ENTERPRISE AS A PANACEA FOR NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS?

SARA CALVO^{1*} and ANDRES MORALES²

¹*LOW, Middlesex University, London, UK*

²*The Open University Business School, UK*

Abstract: The institutional frameworks and contexts that support social enterprises and the growth of hybrid organisations in Sub-Saharan Africa require more concerted examination. Drawing upon a qualitative study, and examined through a framework of Postcolonial theory, this paper contributes to emerging discussions in this area through an investigation of the transformation of non-profit organisations (NPOs) towards the social enterprise model and exploring the impact of hybridity on the management of these organisations in Tanzania. The study suggests that NPOs mimic social enterprise ‘best practices’ to secure financial resources and integrate their traditional values into the social enterprise model creating tensions resulting from hybridity. Copyright © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Keywords: social enterprise; non-profit organisations; hybridisation; postcolonial theory; Tanzania

1 INTRODUCTION

Social enterprise (SE) has attracted the attention of policy makers and practitioners around the world and is today at the heart of numerous social and economic debates (Wilson & Post, 2013). It has been claimed that SE can provide a range of benefits to organisations looking to address social, cultural or environmental challenges (Kerlin, 2010). Although there is controversy over the precise definition of the term ‘SEs’,¹ most coalesce around the idea that these are organisations that combine enterprise with an embedded social

*Correspondence to: Sara Calvo, Leadership, Work and Organisations, Middlesex University Business School, The Burroughs, NW4 4BT, London, UK.
E-mail: s.calvo@mdx.ac.uk

¹Dees and Anderson (2006) suggested two main schools of thought within social enterprises: the *Social Innovation School* in which the focal point is the innovative process creating social change and emphasising the role of ‘social entrepreneurs’ within their definition and the *Social Enterprise School* according to which social enterprises refer to those organisations that pursue a conventional business model but then invest their profits for the social good. European researchers added a third school of thought: the *European Social Enterprise Network (EMES)*, which understands social enterprises as having a democratic and participatory role and includes cooperatives within their classification of social enterprise activities. See paper by Defourny and Nyssens (2010).

and/or environmental purpose (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). SEs pursue the dual mission of achieving both financial sustainability and social/environmental purposes and, as such, do not fit into the conventional categories of private, public or non-profit organisations (NPOs). Therefore, SEs are a prime example of a hybrid organisational form (Pache & Santos, 2012). Much of the writing on SE has focused on the advantages of these organisations, ignoring the shortcomings, power and politics behind the SE model (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). Yet, recent studies have challenged the overly positive accounts of the SE 'hybrid' model and explain how hybridity may lead to mission drift (Carrol & Stater, 2009; Pache & Santos, 2012).

Whilst there is no accurate information concerning the scale of SEs in Sub-Saharan Africa, it has been observed that the sector has experienced considerable growth in recent years (Kerlin, 2010; Littlewood & Holt, 2015; Mori & Fulgence, 2009; Rivera-Santos *et al.*, 2014). These include cooperatives, micro-finance initiatives, community enterprises and NPOs with trading activities, among others² (Befeki, 2011). Critical to an understanding of this is the current promotion of SE activity by foreign and national development bodies and policy makers who are pushing NPOs to become 'more business-like' (Claeyé & Jackson, 2012; Dart, 2004; Eikenberry, 2008; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Liu & Ko, 2012; Maier, 2011; Mullins *et al.*, 2012). This is reinforced by the emergence of the global discourse on 'aid effectiveness' and 'managing for development results', which is underpinned by strategic managerialist modes of thinking that emphasise means over ends (Claeyé & Jackson, 2012; Gulrajani, 2011). As Fowler (2000) noted, SEs have come to be seen as a rational solution for NPOs to exit 'aid dependency syndrome'.³

Recently, development aid organisations have started to use SEs as 'exit strategies', promoting these initiatives via programmes such as the World Bank Development Market Place, the Inter-American Development Bank Social Entrepreneurship Program and the United Nations Global Compact. However, these policies have been criticised as they push NPOs to adopt commercial strategies that conflict with their social mission (McKay *et al.*, 2011). Moreover, many NPOs have endorsed the concept of SE, particularly since the global financial crisis began in 2008, as they have faced increased competition for philanthropic donations and funding opportunities. Thus, when a programme is about to come to an end, NPOs choose to set up SEs, particularly cooperatives, in the hope of providing continuity (sustainability) to projects/programmes that are no longer funded (Hanley, 2013; Khamis, 2009).

Yet, the institutional frameworks and contexts that support the SE model and the growth of hybrid organisations in less developed countries require more concerted examination, as much of the current discussion around NPOs and SEs occurs with examples from Western countries. This is clearly exemplified in several studies that suggest that charities in England have been encouraged to move towards the SE model with recent government strategies and policies to secure funding and contract opportunities with the public sector (Dey & Teasdale, 2015; Doherty *et al.*, 2014; Sepulveda *et al.*, 2013). The aim of this

²It is important to highlight that the difference between an SE and an NPO largely depends on how they generate their money. In general, SEs generate profit from their services, and although NPOs can also engage in trading activities, the majority of their income comes from grants and donations (Bridge *et al.*, 2009).

³Over the past three decades, NPOs have increasingly been integrated into the international aid system as vehicles for the delivery of aid interventions, creating a dependency syndrome among Africans and the Governments (Lewis & Opoku-Mensah, 2006; Nelson, 2006; Gosh, 2009; Buczkiewicz & Carnegie, 2001). This has caused, according to Moyo (2009), 'an unmitigated political, economic and humanitarian disaster' in the continent.

paper is therefore to address this knowledge gap and gain greater insights into the transformation of small/Southern NPOs to the SE model and the impact of hybridity on the management of local NPOs in Tanzania. The paper focuses its attention on local Southern NPOs that are frequently overlooked by studies that cover large/Northern NPOs whose origins lie in the industrialised countries (Holmen, 2010; Lewis & Kanji, 2009).

We have selected Tanzania as it represents an interesting case study that epitomises the typical aid-based structure of an Eastern Sub-Saharan African country. It encapsulates a strong collective societal mindset, influenced by and inherited from its own history (Bromley *et al.*, 2004a). To achieve this, three related research questions are addressed. Firstly, how has the relationship between NPOs and SEs evolved historically in this country? Secondly, to what extent has the transformation of small/Southern NPOs to the SE model been informed by institutional frameworks and contexts? Thirdly, what has been the impact of hybridity on the management of a NPO in Tanzania? In answering these questions, this paper presents original empirical material based on qualitative research. This paper contributes to our knowledge of the phenomenon of SE in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as to advancing the debate on the influence of Western managerial discourse on the development of NPOs in the region.

The paper is structured as follows. We first explain the theoretical framework used for the study. We then reflect on the research methodology and introduce the demographic characteristics of Tanzania. We move on to present the main research findings and discussion based upon the empirical analysis. We conclude with detailed discussion of the paper's contributions to knowledge and theory and reflect on potential areas for future research.

2 POSTCOLONIALISM: MIMICRY AND HYBRIDITY

Two main perspectives have emerged from the debate on how environment affects organisational behaviour across cultures, which are the 'culturalist' (Haire *et al.*, 1966; Hofstede, 2001) and 'institutionalist' perspectives⁴ (DiMaggio, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). A way of conceptualising a bridge between these two perspectives is to incorporate insights from postcolonial theory (Fanon, 2008; Said, 2003; Spivak, 1988) and more specifically, Bhabha's (1984, 1994) notions of mimicry and hybridity. We propose that this theoretical framework may explain, in part, the transformation of NPOs towards the SE model (mimicry) as well as help us to examine the impact of hybridity on the management of small/Southern NPOs.

Postcolonial theory has become enormously influential as a framework for understanding the Global South. Postcolonial theory can be best described as the academic discipline that analyses the relationship between centre (coloniser) and periphery (colonised), by building on the concept of hegemony, or domination by consent (Mishra & Hodge, 1991). Bhabha (1984) introduces the concept of mimicry as an analytical tool to expand on the (ambivalent) effects of domination and hegemony. As Bhabha suggested, 'mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and

⁴Whilst the culturalist perspective assumes that differences in management practices are located in the values and beliefs of individuals, the institutionalist perspective emphasises the influence of institutionalised beliefs and processes in organisations that are sharing the same environment (Child, 2002; Dickson *et al.*, 2004; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

knowledge' (Bhabha, 1984, p. 126). The colonial subject is encouraged to mimic the coloniser by adopting the coloniser's cultural habits, assumptions, institutions and values (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2007; Huddart, 2006). Taking the cue from the organisational field of NPOs, mimicry can be seen to be reflective in the spread of managerialist ideas and practices to many NPOs in recent years (Claeyé & Jackson, 2012; Dey & Teasdale, 2015). We suggest that NPOs in Tanzania are currently being influenced by institutional pressure that is imposing changes on their managerial modes of thinking, pushing them to adopt the SE 'business-like' model, reflecting Western managerial global discourse that may be inappropriate to local contexts (Claeyé & Jackson, 2012; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Liu & Ko, 2012; Mullins *et al.*, 2012).

The process of hybridity, however, goes further than simply adopting and adapting to coloniser culture. As Bhabha (1984) stated, mimicry constructs a subject 'that is almost the same, but not quite' (p. 126). Whilst mimicry denotes the ways in which the coloniser tries to make the colonised into his own image, the outcome remains a mere reflection of the original. This opens up a space for resisting the managerial discourse, by allowing room for creative resistance, leaving room for hybridity to emerge. As such, hybridity captures the integration (or mingling) of cultural signs and practices from the coloniser and the colonised cultures. This creates the construction of an object that is new, neither the one nor the other. Therefore, we argue that small/Southern NPOs in Tanzania are turning themselves into hybrids, as they incorporate the 'business-like' managerialist discourse of the SE model within their traditional ethos (Figure 1).

Yet, hybridity can both help and hinder the development of NPOs (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). Whilst several studies have suggested that the hybrid model confers flexibility for NPOs, as it legitimises the acquisition of finance (Chertok *et al.*, 2008; Teasdale, 2010), it is also a source of confusion, contradiction and conflict (Bridgstock *et al.*, 2010). Pache and Santos (2012) identified two types of conflict that affect hybrid organisations: firstly, when stakeholders disagree over the goals themselves and secondly, when they agree to the objectives but disagree over the goals. Thus, managing governance tensions is a key management challenge faced by managers of hybrid organisations. Moreover, hybridity can create situations that demand staff with other skills sets (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). We want to explore this further in our study by exploring how NPOs in Tanzania respond to the opportunities and tensions emerging from this hybridity.

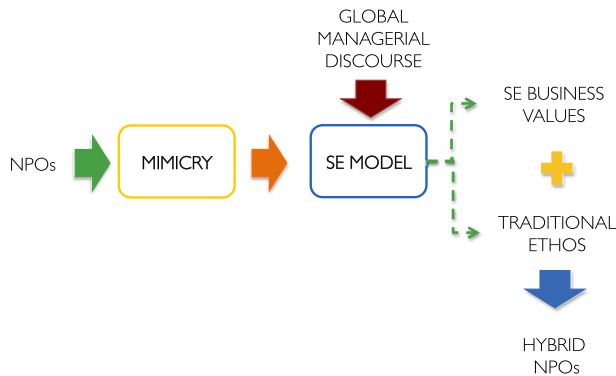


Figure 1. Bhabha's framework adapted for this research

3 RESEARCH CONTEXT: TANZANIA

Tanzania is located on the east coast of Africa and came into existence in 1964 when mainland Tanganyika (administered as a German colony and a British protectorate) and the Indian Ocean Islands of Zanzibar (a British protectorate) claimed independence and formed the United Republic of Tanzania (Bromley *et al.*, 2004a; Thompson, 2011). The two countries, Zanzibar and Tanganyika, came together as Tanzania under the socialist presidency of Julius Nyerere. He promoted unity between the 120 plus ethnic groups represented in the Tanzanian population (including Chagga, Arab, Asian and Shirazi, among others) and urged his people to regard themselves first as Tanzanians. There has been relatively little ethnic conflict in the years since independence in comparison with neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda (Thompson, 2011).

With a population of 49.2 million people, Tanzania has one of the most rapidly growing populations in Africa (World Bank, 2015). Tanzania has a gross domestic product per capita of \$948, where the proportion of the national population living below the poverty line is 36% (World Bank, 2015). There is a significant disparity between urban and rural poverty, as about 87% of the poor population live in rural areas (IMF, 2006, 2013; National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, 2005). AIDS affects 1.4 million people and another 2 million are infected with the HIV (UNAIDS, 2014). Malaria is a major public health problem in Tanzania, accounting for 60 000 deaths each year, 80% of which are among children under 5 years of age (PMI, 2012). Given the country's numerous and severe problems, which include inequality, corruption, famine and disease, Tanzania provides the ideal setting in which to investigate the role played by NPOs and SEs in one country.

4 FIELDWORK

This paper draws upon data from a study investigating the transformation of NPOs to the SE model in Tanzania. The fieldwork took place in two phases during August and September 2012. The first phase of fieldwork comprised a series of interviews with stakeholders of five organisations out of the 12 NPOs that attended a 3-day SE intensive training course we delivered in Dar Es Salaam in August 2012, entitled *NPOs in Tanzania: Moving towards the SE model?* Table 1 provides a more detailed description of the five cases, which includes their age, location, social/environmental missions, financial resources, beneficiaries and the primary data collection undertaken with each case for this research. All the cases are small; as they had at the time the study was conducted less than 10 employees, and Southern, as the population from that particular country (for example, Tanzania) had established them. The cases were selected on the basis that they represent a variety of ages, have different activities, beneficiaries and cover different regions in the country. In total, ten interviews were conducted with organisations' stakeholders.

The second phase of fieldwork was in-depth case study research. Case Study 3 was selected as the case example that could exemplify better among the other case studies the impact of hybridity on the management of an organisation, as it was already involved substantially in commercial activities (more than 30% of their income came from commercial activities). This case study draws on information gathered during a 1-month visit in September, and the methods employed were interviews, observations and field notes. Repeated interviews were conducted with the chairman, the national administrator

Table 1. Organisations selected for the study

Cases	Founded	Location	Core activities	Beneficiaries	Financial resources	Primary data collection
1	1995	Dodoma	Educate the community on sustainable environmental conservation and promote community-based initiatives Ensure government implementation of its commitments under human rights instruments and national policies and laws in the country Provide services and empower targeted groups in the country	Local community in Dodoma region	Donors, annual fee and subscriptions, sales publications and consultancy services, beekeeping and sales of energy sources	Interviews: manager
2	1985	Dar Es Salaam		Community and government	Donations and international funding bodies	Interviews: manager and administrator
3	1998	Dar Es Salaam headquarters opened in other areas	Provide the tools and expertise to enable smallholders to increase their harvests, whether they farm crops, livestock, fish or the forest	Orphans, widows living with HIV/AIDS, elderly and disabled people Farmers	International funds, donations, selling handicraft products and a farm International funding and donations and micro-credit initiatives	Interviews: chairman, the national administrator and a board member observation and field notes Interviews: manager and board member
4	2002	Dar Es Salaam				
5	2000	Tanga	Capacitate and empower collective human resources (training)	Women, children and youth	International funding and donations and selling handicraft products	Interviews: manager and administrator

Sink or Swim: Social Enterprise as a Panacea for NPOs in Tanzania?

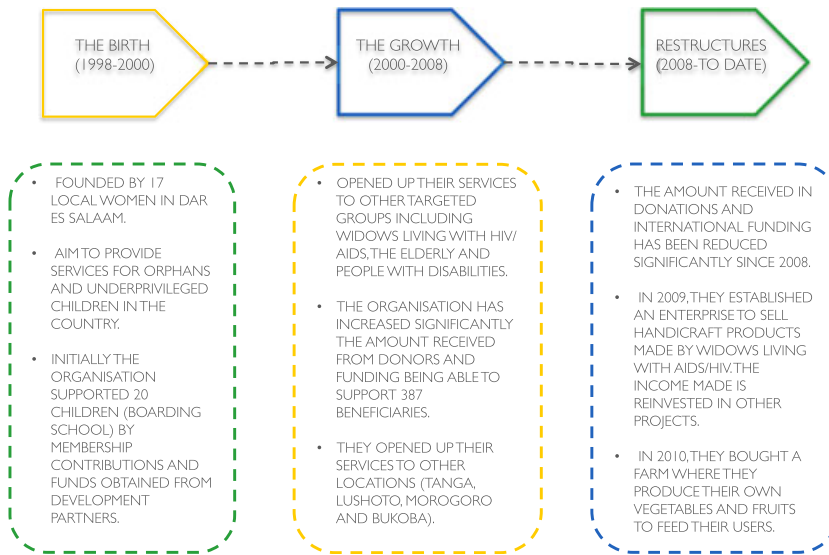


Figure 2. The transformational cycle of a local non-profit organisation in Tanzania (Case Study 3)

and a board member, who were asked to provide a detailed description of the evolution of the organisation (see Figure 2 for details). In addition to the interviews, we visited some of the organisation's facilities and projects, including a boarding school, a farm and the handicraft facilities, and took extensive notes based on our observations. This fieldwork provided a good understanding of the context within which the organisation developed and operated. We also had full access to key documents, including agendas and business meeting summaries, and had regular correspondence with interviewees to ask for further details and information. In both phases, verbal consent was ensured. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. This was supplemented with the analysis of secondary materials such as books, policy reports, media sources and grey literature about NPOs and SEs in Tanzania.

Data analysis followed an inductive coding process informed by the aims of the research, which is to explore the transformation of local NPOs to SEs and the impact of hybridity on the management of NPOs in Tanzania. Key themes were identified from the data and were refined as the analysis evolved. This analysis was a recursive rather than a linear process that involved a constant moving back and forth between the entire data set, the themes and extracts from the data that we identified and the data produced. For anonymity reasons, the names of case study organisations that participated in the study are not disclosed. We are aware of the potential cultural bias as well as the difficulty of generalising results from a review of secondary data sources, interviews with NPOs' stakeholders and an in-depth case study.

5 FINDINGS

This section is divided in two parts. Firstly, we examine the historical evolution of Socially Oriented Enterprise Activities in Tanzania to understand the relationship between SEs and NPOs and evaluate the institutional environment for these types of initiatives in Tanzania.

Table 2. Evolution of socially oriented enterprise activities in Tanzania

Period	Socially oriented enterprise activities
Colonial era (1884–1964)	Religious and ethnic associations (for example, dance societies and sports clubs) Cooperative Unions
Post-independence era (1964–1987)	Development of the cooperative sector mainly in rural areas (including a national cooperative bank) Establishment of ‘Ujamaa’ villages
Structural adjustment programmes era (1987–2000)	Reduction in the number of cooperatives Increased number of NPOs due to international aid support (state no longer the main actor, but NPOs now key development actors)
Post-structural adjustment programme era (2000–to date)	Transition from grant seeking towards the SE sector (NPOs with trading activities). Increase the number of micro-enterprise initiatives. Re-birth of the cooperative sector.

Secondly, we explore the transformation of small/Southern NPOs to the SE model and the impact of hybridity on the management of a NPO.

6 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF SOCIALLY ORIENTED ENTERPRISE ACTIVITIES IN TANZANIA

As Table 2 illustrates, the origin of collective practices can be traced back to the religious organisations and ethnic associations established during the colonial period, for example, dance societies and sports clubs. Some of these associations provided burial assistance and loans (Mason, 2011). As Lange *et al.* (2000) noted, there were 51 of these associations in Dar Es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania, with a total membership of 6500 in 1954. The foundation of these associational practices was inherent in African culture and traditions, and they became the nucleus for the anti-colonial movement that led to independence (Mason, 2011).

According to Mason (2011), Tanzania’s cooperatives have a long history that dates back to the early 1930s. In rural areas, there was a strong community of cooperative unions, totalling 617 in 1959 (Mason, 2011). However, in the first decade of independence, the movement became even stronger, as cooperatives were effectively integrated into state structures through a national cooperative bank.

In the post-independence era, Ujamaa villages were developed to help fulfil the aims of the Arusha Declaration. People were mobilised from their traditional scattered villages to live and work together in large villages planned by the central Government⁵ (Nyerere, 1986). The *raison d’être* of the ‘Ujamaa’ policy was to promote collective production, ownership and popular participation in rural areas, aiming to create common wealth and

⁵The Arusha Declaration, written by the first Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, outlined the principles of ‘self-help’ development and ‘Ujamaa’ policies. ‘Ujamaa’, which means ‘family’ or ‘brotherhood’ in Swahili, became the founding myth of Tanzanian nationalism through a rediscovery and adaptation of the traditional ‘African’ notions of communal assistance and effort, claimed to be essential in rebuilding the African society (Jennings, 2007).

increase productivity⁶ (Jennings, 2007). This idea is closely related to what are currently known as community-based organisations; see Peredo (2006) for more details. However, the introduction of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) by the Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) led to the closure of a considerable number of locally owned cooperatives that were unprepared for competition and the dominance of multinational businesses⁷ (Bibby, 2006). The state's withdrawal had a negative impact on the public SEs (e.g. National Cooperative Bank) that emerged in the post-independence era (Kerlin, 2010). Furthermore, the popularity of the ideals of 'Ujamaa' policy, which had once inspired the Tanzanian population, declined in the late 1980s (Jennings, 2007).

The SAPs created a new wave of development for NPOs as recipients of international aid, where massive resourcing was mobilised with the goal of protecting poor and vulnerable communities⁸ (Mori & Fulgence, 2009). As a result, the number of NPOs in Tanzania increased considerably as the population realised that international donors and funders were willing to provide financial resources to these organisations (Tripp, 2000). Statistics indicate that in 1993, there were 224 registered NPOs in the country, but by the year 2000, the number was 8499 (Stiftung, 1999; Tripp, 2000). As the state withdrew from social services, NPOs began filling the void. The state did not have the capacity to provide the necessary resources and therefore accepted the increased presence of NPOs, thereby lending them greater legitimacy. Therefore, it could be argued that since the advent of the SAPs, NPOs acted as 'virtual states' (Mason, 2011).

The Post Structural Adjustment Era (2000 to date) has been characterised by the changing patterns of aid with donors exercising greater control over the use of funds (Bromley *et al.*, 2004a). There has also been a general shift towards budget support (from the central government), rather than project-based development; see, for example, Hyden (2008). Since 2008 and the ensuing economic crisis, NPOs have faced serious funding challenges that have made it difficult for them to maintain their activities. As a result, a large proportion of NPOs have been moving into 'earned income' activities, generating greater income and strengthening their capacity, whilst gaining freedom from grantmakers (Fowler, 2000; Khamis, 2009). Furthermore, the Tanzanian non-profit sector has delivered a large number of micro-finance initiatives in recent years (Mori & Fulgence, 2009). NPOs have been offering financial services that they adapted from the Grameen model and

⁶There have been a number of criticisms of these 'Ujamaa' village policies as some authors have suggested that they were closer to soviet models of collectivisation and that the collectivisation of the land and of agricultural production has been impossible to achieve in Tanzania; see Hyden (2008) and Jennings (2002, 2003, 2008) for more details.

⁷Structural Adjustment Programmes comprised a set of conditions imposed on governments in developing countries to balance their economies, such as privatisation of social programmes, reductions in welfare spending and free-market reforms (Giddens, 2009). These SAPs have been implemented since 1950 when the USA doled out loans to Third World Nations; they were readjusted in the 1990s, inspired by the neoliberal model associated with the *Washington Consensus*, which emerged in the 1980s, emphasising the market as the main allocator of economic resources and proposing a corresponding decrease in the role of the Government (Williamson, 2004). Then, in 2000, SAPs underwent another transformation with the introduction of Poverty Reduction Strategy papers and the Millennium Development Goals (Giddens, 2009). The Millennium Development Goals is an initiative established in 2000 at a high-level event at United Nations Headquarters, establishing eight international development goals to slash rates of poverty, hunger and disease (Williamson, 2004).

⁸Estimates suggest that the West has spent about \$600 billion on international aid to Africa since the 1960s and 2008 (Akonor, 2008). The Programme's Aid was conditional upon the acceptance of policies for structural adjustments (for example, opening markets and reducing the role of the state) (Bromley *et al.*, 2004).

modified to suit the Tanzanian context⁹ (Temu, 2000). Moreover, a number of initiatives have been developed to reinvigorate Tanzania's co-operative sector (Mason, 2011).

7 THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

An important issue in examining the evolution and emergence of socially oriented enterprise activities is the institutional environment. In Sub-Saharan African countries, SEs have primarily been supported by international donors, followed by the government and the private sector in recent years (Kerlin, 2010). With regard to the support received by SEs in Tanzania, a number of key findings emerged.¹⁰ Firstly, a substantial support infrastructure has been made available to small and medium enterprises or 'SMEs' (which includes SEs) in recent years, as is clearly stipulated in the government's five year development plan 2011/12–2015/16 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009).¹¹ Government departments have established business development support initiatives, including support from the Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Industries and Agriculture, the Confederation of Tanzania Industries, the Tanzania Bankers' Association and the Tanzania Association of Microfinance Institutions, among others. These bodies have supported business incubators (for example, Tanzanian Engineering and Manufacturing Design Organisation and Small Industry Development Organisation) that offer cheap and affordable training¹² (Mori & Fulgence, 2009). Secondly, several national policies including the National Microfinance Policy in United Republic of Tanzania, 2000 and the National Policy on non-governmental organisations in 2001 have been established to facilitate the provision of microfinance services to the poor (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Mori & Fulgence, 2009). Thirdly, there have been a considerable number of policies to support cooperatives in recent years. This includes the establishment of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing in 2001, the Co-operative Societies Act of 2003, the Cooperative Societies Rules in 2004 and the Co-operative Reform and Modernisation Program 2005–2015 (Bibby, 2006). Fourthly, there has been significant support for SMEs and SEs from international development bodies. These include the United Nations Development Program, United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, the International Labour Organisation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, US AID, the UK Department for International Development, Danish Business Partnerships Tanzania and the German Technical Collaboration Agency (Befeki, 2011). Lately, several international organisations have also started to support SEs in the country (e.g. Apopo, Supporting and Empowering Women and Sidai Designs) including, among others, US-

⁹The success of the Grameen model in Bangladesh, where Muhammad Yunus established Grameen Bank in 1983 to offer microcredit loans to poor women, has encouraged the growth of many more microfinance institutions in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Rangan, 2006).

¹⁰According to Mmanda (2012), most SEs in Tanzania are either registered as societies under the Ministry of Home Affairs or as Companies Limited by Guarantee under the Registrar of Companies (see Act 17.8 for further details). With regard to the taxation of organisations, Mfaume and Leonard (2004) commented that all organisations except nongovernmental organisations pay taxes in Tanzania, although cooperatives receive special treatment.

¹¹Statistics show that by 2011, up to 80% of Tanzania's formal companies were SMEs (Befeki, 2011).

¹²Tanzanian Engineering and Manufacturing Design Organisation is an institution established through Parliament Act No 23, which became operational in July 1982 and provides engineering and other technological support services for the development and growth of SMEs. Small Industry Development Organisation is a business support body set up in Tanzania in 1981 that provides support to micro enterprises. In addition, it has created several technology incubators since it was established.

based company Ashoka East Africa.¹³ The creation of national networks such as the Tanzania Social Entrepreneurship Forum and the Moshi network for NPOs and SEs has also occurred in the country in recent years.

8 THE 'TACTICAL' MIMICRY OF LOCAL NPOS

All the interviewees from the case study organisations were keen to emphasise the difficulties they faced in accessing funds and donations at the time the research was conducted in 2012–2013. The interview quotation below illustrates the troubles of renewing or maintaining sources of donations and grant funding from international stakeholders in the last few years. This is linked with previous research that suggests that there has been less funding available for NPOs in recent years (Khamis, 2009; Gulrajani, 2011; Hanley, 2013).

'There are challenges in fundraising; all of our members are writing funding proposals, but out of 30/40 proposals, just two are successful, well, if we are lucky. We are lucky as we still have some funds and donations, but some of them [NPOs] are not getting any funds at all' (Manager, Case Study 2).

As a result of this, most organisations have been compelled to increase their trading activities to secure a future within a competitive market-led context. In fact, organisations openly spoke about their interest to move from a grant-seeking model towards a more dynamic and self-sustaining one, as in recent years they have incorporated commercial activities within their core strategies. These included membership subscriptions, selling products such as handicrafts and offering services such as consultancy and sales of renewable energy sources, among others (see Table 1 for more details). This is also exemplified by the following interview quotation from the Manager of an NPO based in Dodoma that works to sensitise, educate and involve communities, individuals and institutions in the sustainable management of the environment in Tanzania.

'Previously, almost all of our income came from donations and international funding. However, in recent years we have started micro enterprise projects which contributed to the organisation's income and support the payment of electricity and water bills' (Manager, Case Study 1).

Interestingly, NPOs are using the SE label to attract financial opportunities, as illustrated by the following quotation: 'We are playing the game, as there is now more support available for SEs than NPOs'. The Chairman of an NPO that provides education, training and employment opportunities for vulnerable communities in several locations across the country explained this in more detail:

'There is a lot of interest now from international funders for us to move to social enterprise. When you look at their applications, you can see that they want us to develop commercial activities that are sustainable in the long run' (Chairman, Case Study 3).

¹³Ashoka is an international company, set up in the USA in 1980, which provides financial resources to thousands of social entrepreneurs around the world (Bornstein, 2004).

Other interviewees shared this sentiment. For example, the Manager of Case Study 5 further illustrates the adoption of the SE label to put across the difficult circumstances they are experiencing, by saying:

‘We want to use the term SE to gain attention from funders and donors; we need to pay our salaries to continue with the work we have been doing for many years and they have clearly said that we need to think about sustainable ways [forward] for the organisation; so in other words, we need to think about income activities and this relates directly to social enterprise’ (Manager, Case Study 5).

These findings suggest that NPOs in Tanzania are transforming themselves towards the SE model because of conditions imposed on them by international funders and donors. This is in line with previous studies conducted in England (Dey & Teasdale, 2015) and South Africa (Clayé & Jackson, 2012) that suggest that NPOs are moving towards a more business-oriented model because of the external pressure received by institutions. We could suggest that NPOs would probably not have moved towards the SE model had they been able to continue to receive the same levels of funding and donations they had in the past (Teasdale, 2010). The interview quotations earlier show how NPOs have ‘tactically’ adapted or imitated a form of activity that is considered to be (more) successful (SE model) to ensure organisational survival and sustainability. This is what Bhabha (1984) referred to as the mimic process, whereby the colonised mimic the coloniser by adopting their habits and values.

9 ‘PLAYING THE GAME, BUT ALONE’

NPOs in Tanzania often operate in an environment characterised by limited human and financial resources. An interesting issue highlighted by interviewees in the case study organisations was the lack of support provided for NPOs to move towards the SE model. Whilst international bodies (for example, Ashoka East Africa) and the Tanzanian Government are providing support infrastructure for SEs (Mori & Fulgence, 2009), they are focusing primarily on for-profit SEs such as cooperatives and micro-credit initiatives (Mori & Fulgence, 2009). However, little emphasis has been put on the non-profit sector and their transformation towards the SE model. The interview quotation in the following illustrates the deficiencies in SE education and training for NPOs available currently in the country.

‘I think the main problem is that there needs to be further development of the capacity in managing NPOs. Business skills are required, as our people do not know how to apply for loans and how businesses should be run. There is limited business support out there; well... and the ones that are available are too expensive’ (Manager, Case Study 1).

We can argue that although international bodies and the Tanzanian Government are promoting the transition of NPOs towards the SE model, there is limited supporting infrastructure available for them. Thus, there is a strong possibility that those small/Southern NPOs that have served the needs of marginalised people in the country for many years will be unable to survive, leaving only the large (mainly Northern) NPOs to provide such services. This could destroy the capacity that has been built over decades,

as these grassroots organisations are usually the ones with a truly in-depth understanding of the issues within the local communities. They need access to on-going support to build the capacity and develop human and financial resources, which can allow them to adopt a more 'business-like' approach (Fowler, 2000). Without such support, further attempts to adopt and implement the SE model will lead to greater hardship, rather than growth and sustainability for these organisations.

10 THE DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD OF HYBRIDS

Case Study 3 was selected to study the impact of adopting the hybrid model. As observed in Figure 2, the organisation relied on donations and grants until 2008 when they decided to set up new enterprises, including a farm and a handicraft company as offshoots of the traditional NPO to gain additional income to fund their projects. However, although the organisation has recently developed a stronger trading basis, evidence of a 'donor dependency syndrome' still exists (Lewis & Opoku-Mensah, 2006; Nelson, 2006). At the time the study was conducted, 70% of the organisation's total annual turnover still came from grants and donations, whilst only 30% came from trading activities. When asked about the idea of moving into a 100% self-sustainable SE organisation, there was evidence of resistance. The interview quotation in the following illustrates this:

'We are involved with commercial activities, but we also receive funding and donations; well, we still want to be an NPO; we have always been an NPO. We are using the SE label to get additional funding' (Board Member, Case Study 3).

These findings reflect the way in which Case Study 3 draws on different aspects of its hybrid identity as the organisation identifies itself as NPO, but adopts the SE label to have access to a wide range of financial sources (Teasdale, 2010). As Bhabha (1984) suggests, hybridity captures the integration of practices from the coloniser and the colonised cultures. Yet, the emergence of a creative resistance is apparent, as the organisation maintains the core ethos and non-profit characteristics, relying on funding and donations and identifying itself as NPO (colonised culture) and adopting the SE label as well as incorporating for-profit activities (coloniser culture).

Our findings also show that making a successful transition to the SE model is not without its difficulties. In terms of management, the chairman of Case Study 3 discussed the problems faced in adopting a more 'business-like' approach, which included a lack of professional staffing and inadequate business skills. As the interview quotation in the following indicates

'We need further development on the capacity of managing the organisation. Business skills are required; our people do not know how to run a business' (Chairman, Case Study 3).

Moreover, the National Administrator echoed this in the following statement:

'We don't have enough people working within the organisation, and the numbers have been reduced significantly in recent years. Plus the employees we have don't understand about businesses; they don't have experience in the private sector at all. They have always been working within the NPO sector; so they know how to apply for funding

and how to fill out applications, but they don't know how to raise money for the organisation using commercial activities' (National Administrator, Case Study 3).

This is in line with studies conducted that suggest that hybridity can create a situation in which demands staff with other skills sets (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). These can partly explain the resistance of some members of the organisation to move towards the SE model, as illustrated by the quotation below. We could suggest that some staff members are afraid of the possibility of losing their jobs, as they do not have the skills required.

'We have had some tensions recently, as some members, including myself, are willing and happy to move towards the social enterprise direction; however, others reject this idea, and don't want to change the organisation's core strategy' (National Administrator, Case Study 3).

This study has shown that hybridity creates both challenges and opportunities for NPOs. Although a hybrid model brings NPOs with more opportunities (particularly financial resources), it can also create tensions, as they need to meet the expectations of different stakeholder groups (Pache and Santos, 2010; Doherty *et al.*, 2014).

11 CONCLUSIONS

This paper has made both theoretical and practical contributions to advance the debate on the marketisation of the non-profit sector in less developed countries. This study has also contributed to the limited research on the SE sector and hybrid organisations in Sub-Saharan Africa (Littlewood & Holt, 2015; Rivera-Santos *et al.*, 2014).

Firstly, the paper has demonstrated that socio-cultural values (collective African traditions, e.g. ethnic associations) and institutions (aid development formulas, e.g. SAPs) have influenced the form, character and behaviour of small/Southern NPOs in Tanzania.

Secondly, the paper has provided evidence of the transformation of NPOs towards the SE model and how external forces have influenced this transition. As suggested in the paper earlier, international bodies and policy makers have coerced NPOs to become 'more business-like', reflecting global management discourse on 'aid effectiveness' and 'managing for development results' (Claeyé & Jackson, 2012; Gulrajani, 2011). The reduction of funding in recent years as well as the pressures to respond to demands from donors and funding bodies has pushed NPOs to adopt commercial strategies (Dart, 2004; Eikenberry, 2008; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Fowler, 2000; Liu & Ko, 2012; Maier, 2011; Mullins *et al.*, 2012).

Hence, we can argue that NPOs are 'tactically' adapting or imitating the SE model as it is considered to be (more) effective to ensure organisational survival and sustainability, referred to as the mimic process by Bhabha (1984). What has been observed in the findings is that although NPOs are *playing the game* as they are willing to move towards the SE model, they do not have the capacity to do so. NPOs in Tanzania are resourced-limited and all the national and international support available is dedicated to the for-profit SE sector (as is clearly evident with the recent policies implemented by the Tanzanian Government on microfinance and cooperatives or the United Nations Development Programme), with little support for the non-profit sector.

Therefore, this *Sink or Swim* approach is putting NPOs in a disadvantaged position. Although the SE model has been seen by many as a panacea for NPOs in Tanzania, there

is a danger that this may create false expectations, particularly for small/Southern organisations, as they do not have the required resources to move successfully towards the SE model. This can create wider gaps between large/Northern and small/Southern NPOs, as we predict that the latter will be unable to survive, leaving the space open only for well-established SEs and large/Northern NPOs. Therefore, there is an urgent need for development bodies and the Tanzanian government to review the current policies and strategies by paying keen attention to local/small organisations' needs.

Thirdly, the paper has examined the processes and challenges associated with adopting a hybrid model with an in-depth study of an NPO. Bhabha (1984) suggested that mimicry denotes the ways in which the coloniser tries to make the colonised into his own image; the outcome remains a mere reflection of the original. This leaves room for hybridity to emerge. However, this hybridity is not without problems and can create tensions within organisations. We shared this view by demonstrating with our study that although hybridity creates financial opportunities for small/Southern NPOs, it also creates tensions in terms of their (dual) mission and people (Pache and Santos, 2010; Doherty *et al.*, 2014).

To conclude, we recognise both limitations in our research and scope for further enquiry. All of the cases of this study are (non-profit) hybrid organisations, and there would therefore be value in also considering (for-profit) organisations. Building on the current work, it would be appropriate to look at the differences in terms of the transition from non-profits towards the SE model between small/Southern NPOs and large/Northern NPOs. There is also significant scope for a comparative study that could explore in detail the marketisation of the non-profit sector across Sub-Saharan African countries, for example, by examining the transformation of NPOs towards the SE model with a quantitative study. Finally, how hybrid NPOs successfully respond to conflicting logics would be interesting to explore further, as well as the partnerships developed between NPOs and SEs in Sub-Saharan African countries.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the reviewers at the Journal of International Development for their valuable comments. We are also grateful to participants at various conferences and events who have commented on previous versions of this article and thus have helped us to develop our argument.

REFERENCES

- Akonor K. 2008. Foreign aid to Africa: a hollow hope? Accessed on <http://nyujilp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/40.4-Akonor.pdf>, 14/05/15.
- Ashcroft B, Griffiths G, Tiffin H. 2007. *Post-colonial Studies. The key Concepts*, 2nd edition. Routledge: London, UK.
- Ashoka East Africa. 2015. Accessed on <https://www.ashoka.org/eastafrica>, 19/05/15.
- Befeki T 2011. Tanzania: lessons in building linkages for competitive and responsible entrepreneurship. United Nations Industrial Development Organisation: Harvard University.
- Bhabha HK. 1984. Of mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse. October: 28: 125–133. DOI: 10.1002/nml.213
- Bhabha HK. 1994. *The location of culture*. Routledge: London, UK.

- Bibby A. 2006. Tanzanian's cooperatives look to the future. Accessed on <http://www.andrewbibby.com/pdf/Tanzania.pdf>, 19/03/15.
- Bornstein D. 2004. How to change the world: social entrepreneurs and the power of new ideas. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Bridge S, Murtagh B, O'Neill K. 2009. *Understanding the Social Economy and the Third Sector*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bridgstock R, Lettice FM, Özbilgin MF, Tatli A. 2010. Diversity management for innovation in social enterprises in the UK. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* **22**: 557–574.
- Bromley S, Mackintosh M, Brown W, Wuyts M. (eds). 2004a. *Making the International: Economic Interdependence and Political Order*, Part 5: International Collective Action, Pluto Press: London.
- Buczkievicz M, Carnegie R. 2001. The Ugandan life skills initiative. *Health Education* **101**(1): 15–22.
- Carrol DA, Stater KJ. 2009. Revenue diversification in non-profit organizations: does it lead to financial stability? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* **19**: 947–966.
- Chertok M, Hammoui J, Jamison E. 2008. The funding gap. *Stanford Social Innovation Review* **26**: 44–51.
- Child J 2002. Theorizing about organization cross-nationally: part 1 –an introduction. In *Managing Across Cultures: Issues and Perspectives*, Warner M, Joynt P (eds). International Thomson Business Press: London, UK; 26–39.
- Claeyé F, Jackson T. 2012. The iron cage revisited: institutional isomorphism in non-profit organisation in South Africa. *Journal of International Development* **24**: 602–623.
- Dart R. 2004. Being 'business-like' in a non-profit organisation: a grounded and inductive typology. *Non profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* **33**(2): 290–310.
- DeBerry-Spence B, Elliot EA. 2012. African micro entrepreneurship: the reality of everyday challenges. *Journal of Business Research* **65**(12): 1665–1673.
- Dees JG, Anderson B. 2006. Framing a theory of entrepreneurship: building on two schools of practice and thought. *ARNOVA Occasional Paper series: Research on Social Entrepreneurship: Understanding and Contributing to an Emerging Field* **1**(3): 39–66.
- Dey P, Teasdale S. 2015. The tactical mimicry of social enterprise strategies: acting 'as if' everyday life of third sector organisations. *Organization* **10**: 1–20.
- Dickson MW, BeShears RS, Gupta V. 2004. The impact of societal culture and industry on organisational culture: theoretical explanations. In *Culture, Leadership and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies*, House RJ *et al.* (eds). Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA; 74–90.
- DiMaggio P. 1991. Social structure, institutions, and cultural goods: the case of the U.S. In *Social Theory for a Changing Society*, Bourdieu P, Coleman J (eds). Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado.
- DiMaggio PJ, Powell W. 1983. The iron cage revisited institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review* **48**: 147–60.
- Doherty B, Haugh H, Lyon F. 2014. Social enterprises as hybrid organisations: a review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews* **16**(4): 417–436.
- Eikenberry A. 2008. Fundraising in the new philanthropy environment: the benefits and challenges of working with giving circles. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* **19**: 141–152.
- Eikenberry AM, Kluver JD. 2004. The marketization of the non-profit sector: civil society at risk. *Public Administration Review* **64**: 132–140.
- Fanon F. 2008. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Pluto Press: London, UK.
- Fowler A. 2000. NGDOs as a moment in history: beyond aid to social entrepreneurship or civic innovation? *Third World Quarterly* **21**(4): 637–654.

Sink or Swim: Social Enterprise as a Panacea for NPOs in Tanzania?

- Giddens A. 2009. *Sociology*, 6 ed. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Gulrajani N. 2011. Transcending the great foreign aid debate: managerialism, radicalism, and the search for aid effectiveness. *Third World Quarterly* **32**(2): 199–216.
- Hanley L. 2013. Moving beyond the public-private divide: locating social entrepreneurship in the social economy. United Nations, Social Research Institute for Social Development. Accessed on <http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BE6B5/search/CE5350945A12BA94C1257B1E00565661?OpenDocument,12/05/15>.
- Haire M, Ghiseli EE, Porter LW. 1966. *Managerial Thinking: An International Study*. Wiley: New York.
- Hofstede G. 2001. Culture's consequences: comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organisations. *The International Journal of Not-For-Profit Law* **12**(2): 104–109.
- Holmen H. 2010. *Snakes in Paradise*. Kumarian: West Hartford.
- Huddart D. 2006. *Homi K Bhabha*. Routledge: London, UK.
- Hyden G. 2008. 'Institutions, power and policy outcomes in Africa'. Draft discussion paper, Africa power and politics programme. Access on <http://www.institutions-africa.org/filestream/20080623-discussion-paper-2-institutions-power-and-policy-outcomes-in-africa-goran-hyden-june-2008,10/09/15>.
- IMF. 2006. United republic of Tanzania: poverty reduction strategy paper. International Monetary Fund country report No. 06/142 <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2006/cr06142.pdf,13/04/15>.
- IMF. 2013. International monetary fund. Tanzania. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/01/weodata/weorept.aspx?pr.x=58&pr.y=9&sy=2009&ey=2012&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&c=738&s=NGDPD%2CNGDPDPC%2CPPPGDP%2CPPPPC%2CLP&grp=0&a,12/04/15>.
- Jennings M. 2008. Healing of bodies, salvation of Souls': missionary medicine in colonial Tanganyika, 1870s-1939. *Journal of Religion in Africa* **38**(1): 27–56.
- Jennings M. 2007. A very real War': popular participation in development in Tanzania during the 1950s and 1960s. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* **40**(1): 71–95.
- Jennings M. 2003. We must Run while others Walk': popular participation and development crisis in Tanzania, 1961-9. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **41**(2): 163–187.
- Jennings M. 2002. Almost an Oxfam in itself': Oxfam, Ujamaa and development in Tanzania in the 1960s and 70s. *African Affairs* **101**(405): 509–30.
- Kerlin J. 2010. *Social Enterprise: A Global Comparison*. University Press: New England.
- Khamis SM. 2009. Challenges of foreign financing local ownership of NGOs' development agency in Tanzania.
- Lange S, Wallevik H, Kiondo A. 2000. *Civil Society in Tanzania*. Chr. Michelsen Institute Development Studies and Human Rights.
- Lewis D, Opoku-Mensah P. 2006. Policy arena. Moving forward research agendas on international NGOs: theory, agency and context. *Journal of International Development* **18**: 665–675.
- Lewis D, Kanji N. 2009. *Non-governmental Organizations and Development*. Routledge: New York, NY.
- Littlewood D, Holt D. (2015) Social entrepreneurship in South Africa: exploring the influence of environment. *Business & Society*. ISSN 0007-6503 (In Press).
- Liu G, Ko WW. 2012. Organisational learning and marketing capability development: a study of the charity retailing operations of British social enterprise. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Quarterly* **41**: 580–608.
- Maier F. 2011. Philanthropy and nonprofit leaders. Rise of the business model in philanthropy. In *Leadership in Nonprofit Organisations*, Agard KA (ed). Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA, 484–490.
- Mason C. 2011. Democracy in Tanzania? The role of NGOs in fostering government accountability. Accessed on <http://polisci.indiana.edu/undergraduate/theses/Mason.pdf,10/05/15>.

- McKay S, Moro D, Teasdale S, Clifford D. 2011. The marketisation of charities in England and Wales. Working paper 69, Third Sector Research Centre.
- Mfaume RM, Leonard W. 2004. 'Small business entrepreneurship in Dar es salaam – Tanzania: exploring problems and prospects for future development'. *Forum Paper at African Development and Poverty Reduction: The Macro-Micro Linkage*, Somerset West, South Africa, 13-15 October.
- Mmanda E. 2012. NGO work in Tanzania. Highlights of relevant facts, policies and laws. Accessed on <https://www.kepa.fi/tiedostot/julkaisut/ngo-work-in-tanzania-2012-update.pdf>; 3/06/15.
- Mishra V, Hodge B. 1991. What is post(-)colonialism? *Textual practice* **5**(3): 399–414.
- Mori N, Fulgence K. 2009. Social entrepreneurship in Tanzania: assessment of enabling environment. Accessed on http://www.euricse.eu/sites/euricse.eu/files/db_uploads/documents/1254749084_n157.pdf, 13/05/15.
- Moyo D. 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York.
- Mullins D, Czischke D, van Bortel G. 2012. Exploring the meaning of hybridity and social enterprise in housing organisations. *Housing Studies* **27**: 405–417.
- National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP). 2005. The United Republic of Tanzania. Accessed on [http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUIImages/Tanzania/\\$file/NATIONAL-STRATEGY-FOR-GROWTH-AND-REDUCTION-OF-POVERTY-TANZANIA.PDF](http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUIImages/Tanzania/$file/NATIONAL-STRATEGY-FOR-GROWTH-AND-REDUCTION-OF-POVERTY-TANZANIA.PDF), 13/05/15.
- Nelson P. 2006. The varied and conditional integration of NGOs in the aid system: NGOs and the World Bank. *Journal of International Development* **18**: 701–713.
- Nyerere J. 1986. *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press: Dar es Salaam & New York.
- Pache AC, Santos F. 2012. Inside the hybrid organisation: selective coupling as a response to competing institutional logics. *Academy of Management Journal* **56**: 972–1001.
- Peredo A. 2006. Towards a theory of community-based enterprise. *Academy of Management Review* **31**(2): 309–328.
- PMI. 2012. President's malaria initiative. http://www.fightingmalaria.gov/countries/profiles/tanzania_profile.pdf, 13/04/15.
- Rangan K. 2006. *ApproTEC Kenya: Technologies to Fight Poverty and Create Wealth*. Harvard University.
- Rivera-Santos M, Holt D, Littlewood D, Kolk A. 2014. Social entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa. *Academy of Management Perspectives* (doi: 10.5465/amp.2013.0128).
- Said E. 2003. *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Sepulveda L, Syrett S, Calvo S. 2013. Social enterprise and ethnic minorities: exploring the consequences of the evolving British policy agenda. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* **31**: 633–648.
- Spivak G. 1988. Can the subaltern speak? In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Nelson C, Grossberg L (eds). Macmillan: London; 271–313.
- Stiftung FE. 1999 Report on workshop on legal and institutional framework for district level elections. Manet Paradise - Ada, 18th-20th June.
- Teasdale S. 2010. Explaining the multifaceted nature of social enterprise: impression management as (social) entrepreneurial behaviour. *Voluntary sector Review* **1**: 271–292.
- Temu S. 2000. Microfinance, institutions and poverty alleviation in Tanzania: a review of current practices. Paper presented at the 1st IFMASA Workshop on Poverty Alleviation and Financial Management System in Tanzania. Held at IFM, DSM on 27th November 2000.
- Thompson A. 2011. *An Introduction to African Politics*, 3rd edition. Routledge.
- Tripp AM 2000. 'Political reform in Tanzania: the struggle for associational autonomy'. *Journal of Comparative Politics* **32**(2): 191–214.

Sink or Swim: Social Enterprise as a Panacea for NPOs in Tanzania?

- UNAIDS. 2014. Tanzania. Accessed on http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/country/documents/TZA_narrative_report_2014.pdf, 12/05/15.
- United Republic of Tanzania – economic survey, 2009. Accessed on <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurvey1/2009/THE%20ECONOMIC%20SURVEY%202009.pdf>, 10/05/15.
- United Republic of Tanzania – national microfinance policy, 2000. Accessed on <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/pdf/nationalmicrofinancepolicy.pdf>, 12/05/15.
- Williamson J 2004. The Washington consensus as policy prescription for development. Accessed on <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson0204.pdf>, 20/09/15.
- Wilson F, Post JE. 2013. Business models for people, planet and profits: exploring the phenomena of social business, a market-based approach to social value creation. *Small Business Economics* **40**: 715–737.
- World Bank. 2015. Tanzania. Accessed on <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tanzania>; 12/05/15.