

Leveraging the Roles and Constraints of Think Tanks in Enhancing Industrialization in Tanzania

Chakupewa Joseph Mpambije¹

Abstract

In order to maintain the recent attained low middle-income status, Tanzania needs to invest heavily in the industrialized economy so as to spur multiple economic growths. While some efforts have been made to facilitate industrialisation, think tanks have not been given the desired attention notwithstanding their critical roles in increasing the pace of industrialization. By using critical integrative literature review method, this paper posits that, in Tanzania, think tanks have lightly partaken in the industrialization process in areas like; forging better industrial policy, undertaking a niche in research for industrial development, collaborating with other think tanks from global North to elevate industrialisation and giving technical expertise through consultancy for industrial development. While think tanks have played the role of pushing for Tanzania's industrial path, their scope is hampered by several setbacks including their nascent stature, unqualified personnel, funding as well as poor political support. This article holds the view that think tanks have the capacity to facilitate sustainable industrial development having increased their capacity to conduct large scale industrial research capable of influencing policy change at the national level. In this regard, the government should increase the level of commissioning local think tanks to conduct several policy related tasks that influence industrial development. This will be possible if the government will honour setting aside 1% of its GDP to research and development to ensure the sustainability of TTs.

Key Words: *Think Tanks, Industrialization, Globalization, Tanzania*

Introduction

The state of industrialization in Tanzania is still very low, contributing to less than 10% of the country's income (Kweka, 2019; Mwang'onda et al., 2018). Moreover, the anticipated contribution of the industrial sector to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 9.9% in 2013 to 15% in 2020 has not been realised (Ngowi, 2020). The low level of industrial development, have been attributed to several issue including its poor linkage with other sector, poor infrastructure, acute shortage of raw materials and the thin market for industrial products (Msami&Wangwe, 2016; Mafuruki, 2017; Runyolo, 2016). For instance, agricultural sector employs 70% of

¹Department of History, Political Science and Development Studies. Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE): A Constituent College of the University of Dar es Salaam. Email: chakupewa.mpambije@muce.ac.tz.

the Tanzanians playing an important role in the country's economy, but there is still acute shortage of raw materials for the few available industries. Data from the Bank of Tanzania (2017) shows that only 40% of sunflower oil demands is met domestically (330,000 tonnes) the remaining 60% being imported. As a result, the contribution of industries to economic development and overall employment provision has consistently been low (Mwang'onda, 2018). This state of Tanzania industrial base raises doubts as to whether Tanzania will realise the true meaning of industrialisation as advocated by Bishop (2009). According to Bishop, industrialisation is ought to be a process in which a country transforms itself from a basically agricultural society into one based on the manufacturing of goods and services. With industrialisation, manual labour is more often than not replaced by mechanized and automated high tech-mass production; craftsmen are replaced by assembly lines.

In order to ensure that industrial development is achieved in Tanzania, different efforts have been made to achieve industrialization in Tanzania. For instance, different policy guidelines have been put in place including the Sustainable Industrial Development Programme enshrined in the Development Vision 2015 (SIDP) 1996-2020 (URT, 2010). Also, the former fifth phase government emphasised industrialisation as was accurately captured in the President Magufuli's speech in the Parliament on 20th November 2015 in which the dominance of industrialisation covered five out of 48 pages or 10.4% of the volume of his speech (Ngowi, 2019). Again, the first Five Years Development Plan (2011/12-2015/16) and the Second Five Year Development Plan (2015/16-2020/21) underscore the importance of the industrial base for fast-tracking economic development (URT, 2016). Of recent, the government has launched the third five year development plan 2021/22-2025/26 which aim among others to streamline industrial development through ensuring active participation of the private sector which is urged to contribute Tsh 40 trillion of all the espoused Tsh 114 trillion (URT, 2021) Other concomitant strategy towards stimulating industrialisation was the establishment of the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and Export Processing Zone (EPZA) which involves clustering of firms in one geographical location. According to Kinyondo et al (2016), the importance of EPZA and SEZ includes reduction of cost of transportation of goods, inputs, outputs and people thereby facilitating easy matching of workers to jobs, technology transfer and knowledge sharing.

Notwithstanding the importance of these factors in the industrialisation process, the need for mainstreaming the roles of Think Tanks (TTs) is well emphasised (Mmari&Wangwe, 2017). On different occasions, the Global South TTs and Global North TTs have been integrated into crafting and designing various industrial policy documents geared towards the industrialisation process in the country (URT, 2019). Despite the involvements of TTs in the industrialisation process, the attention from scholars, academicians and policymakers in Tanzania have remained unsatisfactory. Academic articulation on the direct and indirect

roles of TTs in Tanzania and more importantly in the discourse of industrialization is relatively scanty (Mmari&Wangwe 2017; Brown et al 2014). Thus, the existing TTs in Tanzania remain underexplored such that their capacity, setbacks, prospects and their aspiration to contribute to the ongoing industrialization process is slightly tapped. This paper, therefore, surveys the roles played by TTs in the industrialization process, and the experienced impediments. Following this introduction, is a highlight of the applied research methodology in section two. Section three lays out the state of industrial development in Tanzania while section four surveys conceptual issues, the genesis and typology of TTs. Then, the role of TTs and their challenges while forging a way for the industrialisation processes is addressed in section five. The paper concludes with suggestion that can be adopted by the TTs so that they can consistently play a desired role in the industrialisation process of the country.

Methodology

This study adopted the Integrative Research Review (IRR) to ascertain the role of TTs, and their constraints that TTs encounter in a bid to facilitate the industrialization process in Tanzania. According to Whittemore &Knafl (2005) and Torraco (2005), IRR guides in summarising and analysing of literature for the purpose of drawing conclusions that provide a more comprehensive understanding of a particular phenomenon after the review. IRR involves evidence-based practices which include synthesizing and investigating the available literature on a given topic and for directing practices based on scientific knowledge (Torraco, 2005). This method provides a useful framework that guided the process of selecting relevant literature for this study; and it is divided into the following five stages (Souza et al., 2010).

- i. Problem identification.* This involved a critical understanding of the topic under investigation that revolved around exploring the roles and constraints facing TTs in the industrialization process of Tanzania.
- ii. Literature Search:* This covered searching for specific literature to expound on the topic under investigation. By using two key words; 'industrialisation' and 'think tanks' the researcher obtained potentially relevant literature which was scrutinised to match the identified gap. According to Anthony & Jack, (2009) development of a well-defined literature search strategy is recommended to increase the potential for identifying accurate results emerging from the appropriate database.
- iii. Data evaluation:* This was an appraisal stage where diverse studies were selected, evaluated and coded according to two criteria, namely theoretical and methodological rigour as well as data usefulness and its relevance
- iv. Data Analysis:* Using selected studies, themes were identified, categorised, compared and contrasted to come up with realistic findings on the topic.
- v. Data presentation:* This stage involved final synthesis and development of themes systematically revolving around the key TTs roles and their constraints in forging strategies for industrialization in Tanzania.

In addition, a wide range of quantitative and qualitative empirical and theoretical works were consulted in the course of crafting this study. This included an analysis of peer-reviewed articles, books, reports and grey literature like conference proceedings, policy briefs, and newspapers analysis from the 1990s to 2021. The choice of literature duration was based on the premise that most of the TTs in low and middle-income countries (LMICs) mushroomed between 1990 to 2021 when liberalization and globalization was at its peak. It is also during this period that TTs began influencing policy changes and advocating for industrialization. To access the actual data, the author visited nearby libraries, namely the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) main library, Institute of Development studies documentation centre at UDSM, Research for Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) resource centre and Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) resource centre all based in Dar es Salaam. Additionally, trusted databases were visited including Sociological Abstract, Google Scholar, Springer Link, Web of Science Core Collection, Wiley Online Library, Science Direct and Directory of Open Access Journal (DOAJ), amongst others. This enabled the author to access vital information that enabled him to understand the roles of, and constraints facing TTs in the industrialization process in Tanzania.

The state of Industrial Development in Tanzania

It is arguably asserted that for a country to realize its economic and social development, industrialization should take a centre stage (Perkins, 1983; Marti & Ssenkubuge, 2009; Kweka, 2019). This statement resonates with the view by heads of the African Union (AU), during the general assembly that postulated; “No country or region in the world has achieved prosperity and a decent socioeconomic life for its citizens without the development of a robust industrial sector” (AU, 2008:15; Moyo, 2016: 140). Adhering to this postulation, the government of Tanzania put in place various efforts to ensure that the country has a vibrant industrialized economy. The industrial sector so far composed of construction (50%), manufacturing (31%), mining (15%), electricity supply (3%), water supply, sewerage and waste management (2%)¹. Since her independence, the country has devised different policy, decisions and mechanisms to ensure that industrial development is realised. One of the most recent efforts is enshrined in the FYDP 2016/17-2020/21 whose lauded theme was “nurturing industrial development for economic transformation and human development” (URT, 2016). Again, the FYDP 2021/22-2025/26 carried a theme “realizing competitiveness and industrialisation for human development (URT, 2021). Within these FYDPs, the government aimed to create jobs that could have generated incomes and lessen poverty amongst Tanzanians especially the youth while ensuring that the processing of primary products that have dominated Tanzania’s export for the past decades is addressed (Mkenda, 2019).

¹<https://www.tanzaniainvest.com/industry#:~:text=Tanzania's%20industrial%20sector%20production%20reached,marking%20an%20increase%20of%2048%25>.

The growth of the industrial sector in Tanzania has been fluctuating but with some achievements. According to the Economic Survey (2017), the industrial sector contributes 26.4% of the GDP, followed by the service sector (43.5%) and agriculture (30.1%). Specifically, the industrial sub-sector growth rate recorded 17.5% for mining, followed by water (16.7%), construction (14.1%), manufacturing (7.1%) and electricity (2.1%) (Economic Survey, 2017). With regard to GDP contribution, construction ranked first subsectors at 15%, followed by manufacturing (5.5%), electricity and water (5% each), and mining and quarrying (4.8%) (ibid). Regarding the exportation of manufactured goods, data shows that the export performance of the manufacturing sector has been declining in both absolute and relative terms. For instance, in 2015, it accounted for 25.3%, 21.1% in 2016 and 16.6% in 2017. Moreover, the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the GDP is still unsatisfactory to make Tanzania a semi-industrialized State. As scholars argue, for the country to be semi-industrialized, the contribution of its manufacturing sector to the national economy must reach a minimum of 40% of the GDP (Msami, & Wangwe, 2016). For this to happen, the country should take various initiatives through different phases. In the subsequent section, this paper gives a clear historical analysis of industrial development in Tanzania.

Industrial Development in Tanzania: A historical snapshot

The history of industrialization in Tanzania can be traced from the 1960s when Tanzania achieved her independence. The early post-independence years witnessed a very hard start in industrial sector because colonialists had done little for industrial growth. From the colonial government, the country inherited only 220 firms with a total of 20,000 workers implying 1.1% in a total population of 9 million people by then (Mwaigomole, 2014; Skarstein and Wangwe, 1986). As initial efforts to boost industrial growth, the post-colonial government devised the first three years industrial plan (FTYP) 1961-63 and the first five-year plan (FFYP) from 1964-69. These plans placed high priority on the development of the manufacturing sector that aimed at providing the linkage with the agricultural sector and serve as mechanisms through which peasants would be integrated into a domestic market. It was estimated that £50 million was to be invested in the manufacturing and processing industry from 1964 to 1969; and industry growth of about 15% per year was expected (Hartmann, 1983). Contrarily, the two devised plans recorded a marginal success as the share of manufacturing value-added rose from 8.4% in 1964 to 10.2% in 1967 (Msami, & Wangwe, 2016).

The second phase, covered the duration from 1967 to 1985. This period was characterized by the state-led industrial development vision reflecting socialism and self-reliance policy. During this time, the second five-year development plan (1969-1974) was put in place and implemented. The plan aimed to bridge the industrial development with rural development. Unlike its predecessors, the 1969-1974 plan was an impressive success in the history of Tanzania's industrial sector. For instance, by 1973 the public sector's contribution to GDP had risen to 32%

from 5% in 1966; whereas manufacturing employment rose from 15.5% in 1967 to 46.7% in 1974 (Msami and Wangwe, 2016). According to Mussa (2014), the manufacturing sector was at the core of structural change, leading to the unprecedented growth of income. However, from 1974 to 1985, industrial growth sharply declined and its overall growth came to a halt in 1981 with -0.5 growth (Msami and Wangwe, 2016). Inter alia, this downfall was influenced by the 1974 oil crisis, the collapse of East African Cooperation (EAC) in 1977, a decline in the balance of payment and high inflation rate which reached 30% (Maliyamkono&Bagachwa 1990).

The third phase was on operation from 1986 to 1995. This period witnessed the introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme I (ERP), between 1986 and 1989) and ERP II between 1989 and 1992 (Morrissey&Leyaro, 2015). These programmes were a response to the internal policy weakness and external shocks that had promulgated the stagnation of industries. Also, the programmes were devised to revive the existing industries, direct resources towards export-orientation, to promote private investment and reduce the size of the public sector. It was thought that such reduction would earn room for the private sector to spearhead industrialization (Morrissey, 2015). This phase marked the moment where the government resorted to fully-fledged economic liberalization in order to attract private investments for industrial development. However, the ERP I&II fell short in solving perennial industrial problems, instead, the industrialisation process slowed down. For instance, 22 out of 24 textiles industries were closed, and the country's inflation rate rose from 28.9% in 1986 to 34% in 1994 (Msami and Wangwe, 2016).

The fourth phase covered a period from 1995 to 2020 which marked the revival of industrial development as a developmental agenda. In this period, efforts were geared to revamping the state of industrialization by formulating long and short-term plans and policies to ensure effective industrial development. Under this phase, the 25 years Sustainable Industrial Development Policy for Tanzania SIDP-1996-2020 was launched. The policy aimed at rehabilitating and consolidating the existing industrial capacities and creating new capacity and areas for industrialization (Msami and Wangwe, 2016). It is worth noting that after Tanzania adopted the liberalization policy in the 1990s and from the beginning of the year 2000, several small, medium and large industries started to be constructed leading into increased employment levels and GDP (Page, 2016). Of recent, achieving sustainable industrial development is integrated within the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 whose aim was to transform Tanzania into a lower middle-income country, a target which was achieved in 2020. The vision was further refined into the two consecutive five years plans namely Five-Year Development Plan I 2011/12-2015/16 entitled "Unleashing Tanzania's latent growth potentials". The second five-year development plan was FYDPII for 2015/16-2020/21 entitled "nurturing industrialization for economic transformation and human development.

The historical spotlight of industrial development in Tanzania reveals that the industrialisation process has taken different dimensions and achieved some milestones despite the fluctuations during the progress. There have been some setbacks but also great strategies that have propelled the economy. However, lingering questions might be; to what extent have the long and medium-term plans devised incorporated the skills of TTs? To what extent will the TTs in Tanzania be capable of taking an opportunity to chart the achievement of industrialisation?

Think Tanks: Conceptual Overview and Genesis

For centuries, scholars had not managed to reach consensus of the meaning of Think Tanks. James (1998) argued that attempts to define TTs have been an exercise that often degenerates into futile semantics. Such difficulties in defining TTs is attributed to several reasons including policy orientation, funding, size, staff composition and tasks performed by TTs overtime (Ohemeng, 2014). Even so, this paper considers few definitions which echo the theme under discussion. To begin with, Rich (2004) describes TTs as ‘independent, noninterest based, non-profit organizations that principally rely on expertise and ideas to obtain support and to influence the policymaking process. For Stone (2007), the term “Think Tanks” connotes autonomous or independent and non-profit private policy research institutes whose agents are involved in studying particular policy themes or a wide range of policy issues, devotedly seeking diverse avenues through which they can educate and counsel both policymakers and the public.

On the other hand, Jakovleski (2016) takes TTs as non-governmental institutions; intellectually, organizationally and financially autonomous from government, political parties or organized interests; and whose aim is to influence policy. This conception coincides with Ladi’s (2011) description of TTs as organizations that are distinct from governments and whose objective is to provide advice on a diverse range of policy issues through the use of specialized knowledge and the activation of networks. Despite variances, common in these definitions is that TTs contribute to policy change. To that end, this paper adopts the definition provided by McGann (2012). McGann defines TTs as public policy research, analysis and engagement institutions that generate policy-oriented research, analysis and advice on domestic and international issues that enable policymakers and the public to make informed decisions about public policy issues. The chosen working definition is such holistic and takes larger views compared to the previous one. The chosen working definition is holistic and bears a broader perspective compared to the rest.

The term Think Tanks not only defies simplistic definition but also its genesis. However, as Wang and Li (2018) would put it, the genesis of TTs is attributed to the evolution of human society from its traditional and simple agrarian society to an industrialized one even after the post-industrial society. However, global TTs

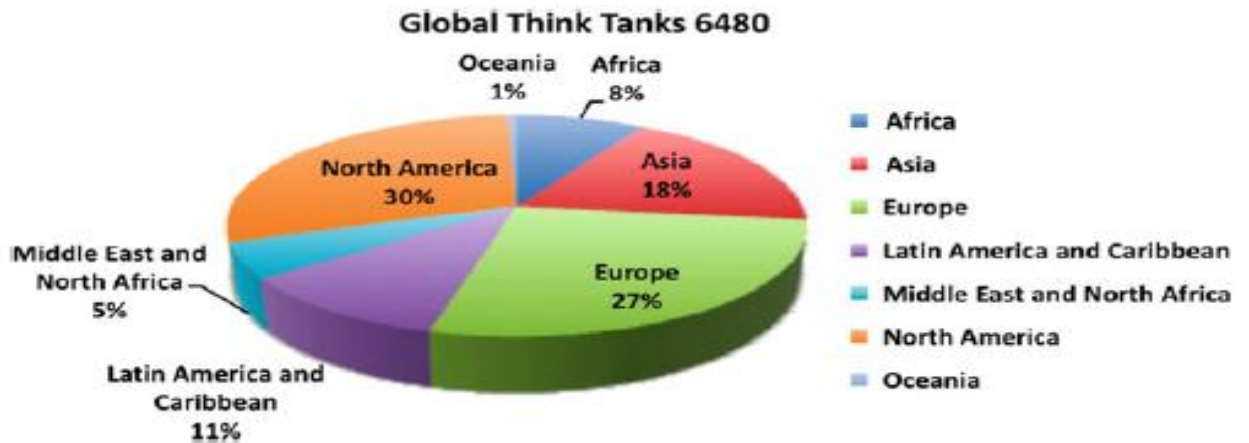
emerged in the 19th century following the establishment of the Royal United States Services Institute (RUSI) in 1831 in USA. It was during the Second World War (WWII), which evidenced the unprecedented growth of TTs globally due to the need for defense and technical experts (Wang&Li, 2018). Arguably, the economic conditions after WWII and the ushering in of the cold war heightened the pace for the establishment of TTs. For instance, among other features, the cold war was characterized by rigorous researches on global politics, social and economic development. In the same spirit, most of the decolonized countries opted for TTs as an important strategy for restructuring their shattered economies in the aftermath of colonialism. Thus, TTs are said to have peaked mostly during the post-cold war era and the ushering of neoliberalism. Table 1 provides data to evidence the growth and distribution of TTs in various parts of the world over time.

Table 1. Distribution of think tanks in the world from 1700 to 2010

Time	World wide	Africa	Asia	Eastern Europe	Latin America	Middle East	North America	Western Europe
1700-1800	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
1801-1900	18	0	1	0	0	0	8	9
1910-1910	16	0	1	0	0	0	12	3
1911-1920	25	0	1	1	0	0	19	5
1921-1930	39	1	0	4	0	0	22	9
1941-1950	117	2	17	8	6	0	54	30
1951-1960	196	3	24	8	18	3	70	70
1961-1970	340	10	50	15	28	13	127	97
1971-1980	476	30	76	6	54	24	248	38
1981-1990	956	42	113	50	96	31	417	206
1991-2000	1248	110	135	249	85	63	348	258
2001-2010	414	30	48	61	34	24	89	128
Total	3883	229	473	402	322	158	1435	864

Source: Wang & Li (2018)

While the period between 1991-2000 witnessed the peak of TTs registered on annual basis, by 2010 the world had a total of 6480 TTs distributed regionally as follows; Africa 548 (8%), Asia 1200 (18%), Europe 1757 (27%), Latin America and the Caribbean 690 (11%) Middle East and North Africa 333 (5%), North America 1913 (30%) and Oceania 39 (1%). Figure 1 is illustrative.



Source: Wang & Li (2018)

Figure 1 reveals that Africa and Oceania have the least number of TTs combined while North America has many TTs followed by Europe.

Typology of Think Tanks

Classifying TTs is a tricky endeavour. Even so, some common aspects have dominated scholars' categorisation of TTs. In Wang and Li (2018) study, TTs are categorized according to the affiliation, type of funding, or the nature of their perspective, policy specialty or field of research that they are engaged in, being economic, social, environment and or foreign policy. However, as TTs came to the fore in the early 1990s, more efforts to classify them were done by McGann, in 2009 through the Global TTs; Policy Networks and Governance as depicted in Table 2 below:

Table 2 Classification and Categorization of Think Tanks with examples drawn from Tanzania

Type	Definition	Example from Tanzania
Autonomous and Independent	Significant independence from anyone interest groups or donor and autonomous in its operation and funding from government	No example found
Quasi-Independent	Autonomous from the government but controlled by an interest group, donors, or contracting agency that provides majority of the funding and has significant influence over operations of the think tank	Research for Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), Economic for Social Research Foundation (ESRF)
Government affiliated	A part of the formal structure of government	Small Industries and Development Organisation (SIDO)

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Quasi-Governmental	Funded exclusively by government grants and contracts but not part of the formal structure of government	Uongozi Institute, Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), The National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR), Tanzania Industrial Research and Development Organization (TIRDO),
University Affiliated	A policy Research Centre at a University	Bureau of Industrial Cooperation (BICO) at the University of Dar Es Salaam, (UDSM) Research for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) at UDSM Institute of Human Settlement (IHS) at Ardhi University
Political Party Affiliated	Formally Affiliated to a Political Party	No example found
Corporate (For-Profit)	Public policy research organization, affiliation based on a corporation or merely operating on a profit basis	Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF),

Source: Adopted from Nachiappan, et al. (2010) and improved by the Author

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As it was the case in many countries except for North America and Western Europe, TTs increased during the onset of the liberalization policy in 1990s. In Tanzania for instance, REPOA was formed in 1994, ESRF in 1996, and Uongozi Institute in 2010. However, the number of TTs in Tanzania has consistently remained very low compared to other SSA. For example, by 2016 Tanzania had 18 TTs, while Kenya had 57, Uganda 32, and South Africa 92 McGann (2017). Furthermore, despite Tanzanian TTs appearance in the global map, they still occupy relatively low position in different categories.

For instance, only 6 Tanzanian TTs featured among the 90 top TTs in SSA. Of the 6 Tanzanian TTs, REPOA was top occupying the 12th position. Other Tanzanian based TTs were (i) ESRF 42, African Technology Policy (ATP) 49, Science, Technology and Innovation Policy Research Organisation (STIPRO) 55, Uongozi Institute (58) and Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (TNRF) 87 (McGann, 2019). Another benchmark covers top domestic policy TTs in which Tanzania was featured by ESRF which occupied the 100th of all 140 top domestic policy TTs (McGann, 2019). In addition, of all 55 top domestic health policy focused TTs, the Ifakara Health Institute (IHI) occupied the 49th position. Furthermore, among 68 top TTs in science and technology, COSTECH occupied the 48th position (McGann, 2018). From the foregoing analysis, only REPOA was

featured in the top 20 TTs while the rest of the TTs were rated above the 20th position which signals that most of the TTs in Tanzania are still at the nascent stage compared to other TTs in SSA. This, however, has not hindered the existing TTs in Tanzania from contributing to the development of industries in the country as devoted in the subsequent section.

Tanzania’s Think Tanks and their roles in the pursuit of industrialization

Forging policy for industrial development

The success of industries relies on a wide range of issues including the role of TTs. By their definitions TTs work within the intersection of policy, knowledge and bridge diverse actors through policy debates (Ordonez-Llanos, 2020). It is clear, therefore, that policies have a diverse cutting-edge role in industrial development. Thus, in Tanzania TTs have been influencing policy processes and outcomes that cover different parameters intended for industrial development.

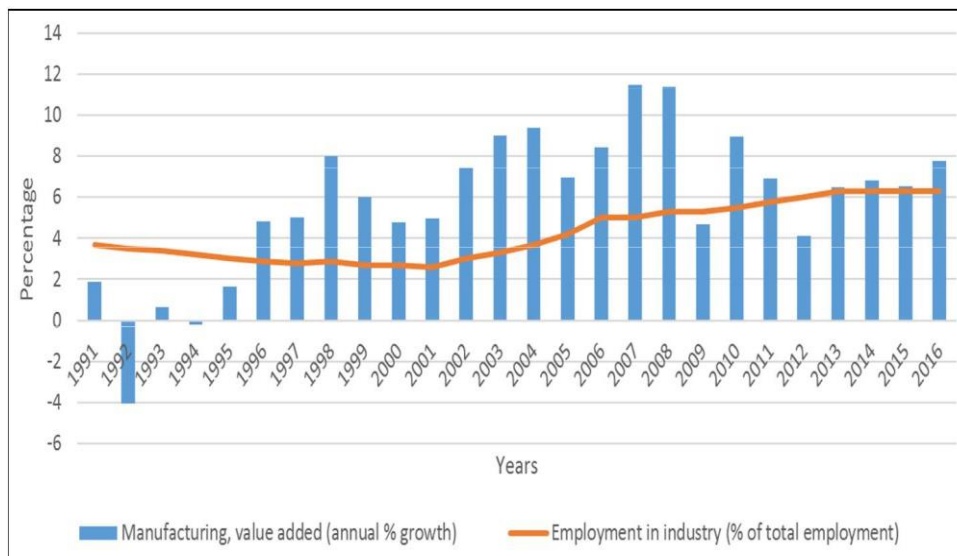


Figure 2: The trend for the increase of value-added manufacturing and employment in the industrial sector 1991-2016.

Source: World Bank database (2018) cited in Mwang’onda, et al., (2018).

According to Wangwe (2014), in Tanzania REPOA has consistently participated in shaping government policies and feasibility of the policy implementation. REPOA has been commissioned by the government to undertake the services of crafting policy frameworks. Speaking during the signing of the contract between REPOA and the government of Denmark worth Tanzania shillings 3billion for undertaking policy research, the Danish Ambassador to Tanzania, Einer Jensen, had this to say:

“There is ample evidence establishing links between quality research and sustainable economic development. The existence of credible, independent

research institutions and think tanks is key in providing objective and supporting designing of new policies and development programmes” (REPOA, 2019).

On specific industrial policy, TTs have contributed fairly through authoring different books, articles and policy briefs that cater for industrial development. They also undertake policy engagements with different stakeholders on how to enhance industrial development and hence economic growth. Undeniably, the role played by TTs in crafting and making follow up on the implemented policy has led to increased industrial output in terms of employment in the industrial sector and increased of manufacturing value-added products and services. The TTs that took root in the late 1990s to 2000s has gone concurrently with improving industrial policies thereby increasing value-added manufacturing as well as employment opportunities in the sector. The trend for the increase of value-added manufacturing and employment in the industrial sector 1991-2016 is depicted in figure 2.

The role that TTs plays in Tanzania to influence industrialisation process resonates with what (Wang and Li, 2018) found in their study in China. Wang & Li argued that TTs have the capacity to influence industrial development because; first, they are more future-oriented than government research organs, since the staff working in the government research division are not encouraged and rewarded for “creative destruction”. Secondly, TTs have no permanent recessive benefit of delivering from any field of research; they are more prone to promote close cooperation among researchers from different groups sharing common goals. Thirdly, TTs are more capable of overcoming bureaucratic impediments and promoting integrated utilisation of intellectual capacities, TTs are more likely to generate agenda for policy reshaping. Lastly, TTs have the capacity to achieve better dissemination of relevant policy research across government apparatus than can be done by government sectors since the latter is often subject to linear bureaucratic control or even “turf fight”

Undertaking research that spurs industrialisation

Undertaking rigorous research that supports industrial growth has been the core mission of TTs in Tanzania. They conduct researches in various disciplines through their initiatives as stipulated in their strategic plans and as commissioned by the government or international community. For instance, the REPOA 2017-2022 strategic plan aimed at fostering and highlighting industrial policy issues that aim to spur the industrialisation process (REPOA, 2018). TTs are served by individuals with the finest brains who are “thinkers” as such, their input through the undertaken research has been used by various development stakeholders as the yardstick to improve various sectors including industrialisation. For instance, the annual reports of ESRF summarised in Table 3 below demonstrates different research outputs by TTs.

Table 3: Number of publications at ESRF from 2011-2017

Year	Articles/Discussion Paper	Policy Dialogue Series	Policy Brief Series	Quarterly Economic Review	TAKNET Policy Brief Series
2011	12	4	3	4	15
2012	7	4	9	5	15
2013	8	4	7	4	15
2014	9	4	6	4	16
2015	9	4	14	4	15
2016	16	5	7	4	0
2017	6	0	12	4	0
Total	58	21	52	25	60

Source: Compiled from ESRF Annual Reports: 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

While Table 3 shows how ESRF indulged in undertaking research, the National Institute of Medical Research (NIMR) has also been at the forefront in undertaking researches. For instance, according to the NIMR annual report covering July 2018-June 2019, 108 papers were published under such themes as HIV (23), Malaria(22), Maternal Newborn Child and Adolescent Health (20), Neglected Tropical Diseases(9), Non-Communicable Disease and injury (8), Tuberculosis (7), One health/Zoonoses (2), Antimicrobial resistance (1), Nutrition (1), and Methodology(1) (NIMR, 2019) . Emphasizing on the importance of undertaking publication to inform policy in specific countries Ozgur and Kulac, (2015) further argued that the number of publications and citation are used during the ranking of highest and lowest TTs in the world and in a specific region.

Provision of Technical expertise through consultancy

TTs in Tanzania have been offering their expertise to the government and the private sector regarding various policy issues that cater for industrial growth. For instance, UONGOZI Institute in Tanzania has played this decisive role. The Institute provides technical expertise to the government of Tanzania (GoT) on how smooth state-owned enterprises can perform to the desired output as the country ventured into state-owned enterprises (SOEs) (Kweka, 2019). A policy brief by the UONGOZI Institute titled “*The Role of State-Owned Enterprises in Industrialization in Tanzania: Lessons from East Asian Economies*” TheInstitutesketched out various challenges inhibiting SOEs to play their industrialization roles in Tanzania. Highlighting the challenges of SOEs in the policy brief was supposed to guide the government in the establishment and sustainability of state-owned enterprises. The importance of TTs in providing technical expertise to the government is well stated by Njeru (2018), whose study is based in Kenya that TTs play a decisive role in influencing Kenya’s economic

policies. This role is recapped by one of Njeru's key informants at KIPPRA² who had the following to say regarding consultation services offered by the TTs to the government.

“Government departments request us to do research, at times request us for technical assistance”. The respondent added that “Once we receive these requests, we cost them and assign them to research analysts to work on them” pp 46.

Bearing in mind the role of TTs, in order to ensure that the Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP II)³ of 2016/17-2020/21 succeeds, the Government of Tanzania (GoT) commissioned the Overseas Development Institution (ODI), which collaborated with REPOA to provide technical expertise for the FYDP II. The ODI and REPOA articulated emerging areas of priority and potential means to implement the plan and crafted the report to the government which was named “*Shaping Tanzania's second five-year development plan 2016-2020* (Balshin, 2015). On the other hand, the ESRF has been commissioned by the government to undertake different tasks that aim to facilitate the industrialization process in Tanzania. One of their tasks was to prepare the Dodoma Region investment profile. Among others, the profile aimed at availing investment information to prospective investors; individuals, firms and institutions, both local and foreign with the view to attracting them to tap the region's rich investment potentials (URT, 2019). The guide, for instance, identified potential industries that can be introduced in Dodoma. Inter alia the guide suggested the establishment of industries that might produce wines and vineyard related products, edible oil mills and products thereof, foodstuff and animal feeds, soap and detergents, milk and meat processing. Other suggestions include establishing breweries, confectionaries, packaging materials, leather products, building and construction materials (URT, 2019 pg xiii). Notably, ESRF had also prepared other Region Investment Guides to other regions of Kagera, Manyara and Ruvuma (URT, 2019).

Collaborating with other TTs from Global North and Global South

Niblett (2018) states that there is a reciprocal collaboration between the Global North TTs, Global South TTs and Tanzanian's TTs in particular that seeks to improve industrial development. This partnership is an indicator that all TTs irrespective of their locales aspire to extend their wings globally through the provision of funds and transnational policy professionals, an aspiration that cannot be easily implemented by the Southern TTs. In most cases, collaboration among TTs revolves around the development of TTs by enabling them to effectively accomplish different tasks as enshrined in their strategic plans. The Global North TTs and international Organizations have been commissioning Global South TTs to conduct different research as well as conducting consultancy

² KIPPRA- is an acronym for the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis. It is one of prominent TT in Kenya and Sub Saharan Africa.

³ The FYDP II had a theme “Nurturing an industrial economy”.

activities. Think Tanks in Tanzania have for a long time managed to forge cooperation and collaboration with international development partners. These TTs work with several international Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) in facilitating different tasks for the aim of fostering the industrialisation process, among others. For example, Tanzanian TTs entered into partnership with Northern and Southern Partners to fulfill the universal agenda geared to expand horizons beyond their national borders (Ordonez-Llanos, 2020). In 2009, for instance, Canada International Development Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation committed a sum of \$90 million to support independent policy TTs in the Global South (Brown, et al., 2014). In Tanzania, local TTs have benefitted from collaborating with international partners' for example, in July 2018, the Government of Denmark provided Tsh 3 billion to REPOA for undertaking policy research (REPOA, 2018). In his interview with the Guardian, 16 July 2018, Donald Mmari, the executive Director of REPOA commented on the timing of such funding:

“This support has come at a right time when we need it most, we need to inform our development process in the context of the changing and complex global economic and political relation, commitment to Sustainable Development Goals, industrial agenda and social-economic transformation”

Table 4: Reports produced in collaboration between UONGOZI Institute and the UNU-WIDER

S/N	Researcher's Name	Title of the Report	Year & No of Report
1	Amrita Saha, André Castro, Marco Carreras, Daniele Guariso	Trade, technology, and absorptive capacity Firm-level evidence across geographical clusters in the Tanzanian textiles and apparel sector	Research Report 20/7 October 2020
2	Anne Kamau, Maureen Odongo	Impact of a Single Customs Territory in the East African Community on Tanzania's exports	Research Report 20/6 October 2020
3	Maureen Were LekinyeMollel	Public debt sustainability and debt dynamics The case of Tanzania	Research Report 20/5 October 2020
4	Rumman Khan Oliver Morrissey	Income diversification and household welfare in Tanzania 2008–13	Research Report 20/4 October 2020
5	Laura Barasa	Closing the gap in gender and innovation	Research Report 20/3 October 2020
6	Josaphat Kweka Fadhili Sooi	Partnerships for inclusive growth: Can linkages with large firms spur the growth of SMEs in Tanzania?	Research Report 20/2 October 2020

Source: <http://uongozi.or.tz/wp-content/uploads>

Apart from REPOA, UONGOZI Institute also collaborated with international partners to undertake research projects that stir industrial and economic development. In the year 2020 alone, the Institute teamed up with the United

Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER) in Helsinki. The sign marks of this cooperation which was funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, resulted in six research reports as summarised in Table 4 which shows that most of the undertaken projects have been implemented through collaborations with international partners. Despite the collaboration, Odonez-Llanos, (2020) revealed that Global South TTs still have less experience in internationalising their presence partly due to the fact that their research agenda is predominantly focused on local issues. Although collaboration is healthy, Odonez-Llanos (ibid) cautions that the disconnection among countries in the global south resulted in fewer interactions among researchers across the region, the very thing which hinders Global South TTs from flourishing.

Tanzania's Think Tanks major challenges

The influence of political context

According to Hay & Sudarshan (2010), the structure and operation of political institutions are critical determinants of the level of activities and type of TTs in a given country. The political context of a given country plays a great role to impede TTs influence in the industrialisation process. Political context encompasses a wider range of sub factors including country-level factors of the government; ability to govern, the characteristics of the government, political parties and competition, the concentration of political power, the country's political history and the attitudes of policymakers towards research (Brown, et al, 2014). Tracing from Tanzania's political trajectory, the political contexts in the country as well as in most SSA have not been very conducive to allow the thriving of TTs (McGann, 2020). Little has been done by the government of Tanzania to give enough room for TTs to potentially contribute to policy formulation and analysis for social and economic development. This situation faces many States from the Global South, whose government and elected political leaders are rigid to buy policy ideas and advice that emerge from outside the core public policy networks (Kimenyi and Datta, 2011). In Ghana, for example, there was a tense relationship between TTs and the government. This hostility was marked by John Atta Mills's administration which had a perpetual conflict with TTs such as IMANI⁴. Regarding this conflict, the then-vice President of IMANI Bright Simon complained:

“But truth be told, IMANI's most visceral opponents are not really politicians. It is often professionals with an interest in current affairs or politics who resent IMANI the most. In the privacy of their offices and over canapés and drinks with friends, they express the most uncharitable views about IMANI's style and work.”⁵

⁴ IMANICenter for Policy and Education is TTs in Ghana which for many years has been ranked among the best performing TTs in the world. In 2019 it was ranked the third top TTs among 94 TTs in SSA the first being Botswana Institute for Development in Policy Analysis (BIDPA) in Botswana (McGann, 2020)

⁵ <https://imaniafrica.org/2020/09/07/bright-simons-on-think-tanks-first-published-august-12-2014/>

Furthermore, studies from Ghana revealed continued political tension among TTs and political parties. Ohemeng (2015) noted tensions between the two main political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). In this conflict, some TTs were accused of publishing adverse research findings that seemed destructive to either political party. It should be understood that TTs are legally prohibited from traditional lobbying activities and from providing any support to political candidates (Leeson, et al., 2012). However, intentionally or not, TTs may find endorsing policies closely associated with particular candidates. This coincidence may, in certain occasions influence electoral processes. By conducting and publishing research studies, editorials and disseminating their news on specific policy, TTs are capable of shifting people's public opinions which may affect their relationship with the government in power (Leeson et al., 2012). Such a scenario may amount to bitter relationship between the existing governments, political figures contesting for power and the TTs in question. There is growing mistrust between TTs and majority governments from the Global South noted when most governments brand TTs as neocolonial agencies and vehicles of foreign powers who do nothing other than intruding in domestic politics (Helguero, 2018).

Maintaining long term research agenda

A maximum impact for industrial development requires long time investment in research. That is, if TTs are envisioned to make a plausible contribution to industrial development efforts towards designing and maintaining long term research agenda has to be made. Unfortunately, TTs from the global South, Tanzania inclusive, have not managed to stick to one agenda like spearheading the industrialization process for a long time. TTs quickly succumb to local and global forces and frequently change their agendas. The shift is influenced by host governments who dictate and determine the agenda that needs to be pushed at the detriment of well-structured TTs' long term agenda. In his Kenyan based study, Njeru (2018) argued that most of the economic policy ideas in the public sector tend to originate either from the government own experts or multilateral agencies. TTs are only called upon when policy ideas have already been conceptualized by the government experts. In most of the cases, Njeru adds, local TTs are just used to validate and popularize donor ideas. This way, TTs fail to stick to their long-term agenda. The roles of donors in influencing TTs' agenda have been echoed by Brown et al (2014), who advance that donors' financial support has detrimental outcomes for local TTs.

Most of these supports put forth the donor's research priority. Contrarily, TTs from developed countries are said to have a clear balance between the long term and short-term agenda. In the Australian based study, which involved 21 TTs, researchers probed the extent to which the studied TTs exert their energy on long-standing issues that consistently receive their attention versus 'issues that attract attention after 'popping up'. Interestingly, all but three TTs claimed to devote at least 75% of their focus on long-term matters (Fraussen & Halpin 2016). Thus, by

failing to adhere to the long-term research agenda, most TTs in the Global South and Tanzania in particular, succumb to lack of self-generated 'evidence-based policy-making advice' (Craft & Howlett, 2012).

The quest for funding

Think Tanks in the global South including those from Tanzania always grapple with the shortage of funds to properly execute their tasks. Their budgets are always below the bar such that most of their strategic plans are rarely accomplished. Focusing on African TTs, McGann (2017) affirmed that funding of TTs is always uncertain, irregular, insufficient and unequally distributed. Reports by REPOA indicate that the money raised from all sources has never exceeded Tsh 5 billion equivalent to \$ 2.2million of which a large chunk of the budget is from foreign support (REPOA, 2017, 2018, 2019). This support is not even reliable as reports from one of the leading TTs in Tanzania indicate gross fluctuation of donor funding. For instance, in 2015, REPOA's basket fund decreased by 67% which was attributed to the REPOA's ending of funding relationship with the Embassies of Norway and Sweden in 2014 (REPOA, 2015). Such stories of financial difficulties are characteristic of most TTs in SSA. According to McGann (2007), majority of the studied 63 TTs in Africa had an annual budget of less than \$500,000 with none of them having a budget of more than \$50 million.

Think Tanks also face a problem of stiff competition as they struggle for limited funding. According to Mbadlanyana (2011), reputable TTs compete with mushrooming local TTs in the region, as well as with Non-Governmental Organisation like Mongos (My own NGOs), Pongos (Politicians' NGOs,) Mangos (Mafia NGOs) and Congos (Commercial NGOs) which market themselves as deserving to be funded to change peoples' lives. In the same realm, TTs also face challenges as governments do not always commission local TTs to execute diverse projects. Government often commission international TTs which, in turn, may seek local TTs for collaboration. For instance, during the preparation of the FYDP II, the Government of Tanzania commissioned Overseas Development Institute (ODI) to conduct the viability of the FYDPII 2015/16-2020/21. The ODI then cooperated with REPOA to accomplish the task (REPOA, 2016). As a result, the divided supply of financial resources might affect the quality of research as well as the dissemination of whatever findings to the larger audience.

Understaffed, unqualified personnel

As idea brokers and custodian of a laboratory of ideas, think tanks personnel are expected to be adequate and qualified enough to execute tasks. However, as growing evidence reveals, most of the TTs in the Global South including those from Tanzania face shortages of qualified personnel. For instance, an analysis of

various annual reports of the ESRF⁶ revealed that in 2015, the institution had only 34 staff. Out of these, only 15 were researchers, while others were supporting staff. In the same report, it was revealed further that out of 19 researchers, only two had PhD education (ESRF, 2015). Moreover, the report from REPOA exposed that out of the 30 staff, only 5 were PhD holders with backgrounds from various disciplines (REPOA, 2019). Perhaps this acute shortage of qualified staff and professionals might be the reason why the government and private sectors' firms commission foreign TTs to conduct different research works instead of the local ones. Shortage of personnel among the TTs in the Global South may imply a risk of compromising the quality of produced works. This might threaten local TTs while competing for available opportunities with well-staffed internationally acclaimed TTs (McGann, 2017). Even so, poor funding explains the reason why TTs are understaffed; they are unable to attract funding which could eventually enable them to retain highly qualified staff (Ravichader 2018; Mendizabal, 2011). Again, unqualified staff in the local TTs is attributed to the fact that qualified personnel are always hunting for good-paying jobs, mostly available in developed countries. This brain-draining inhibits the local think tanks' capacity to influence or facilitate policy changes at the local level meticulously (Rich, et al., 2011).

Conclusion and recommendation

This paper has established that in Tanzania, efforts to attain industrialisation have been exerted since the 1960s. In order to attain industrialisation, this paper has confirmed that a thorough involvement of TTs is of utmost importance. This is because TTs have the capacity to influence policy change, provide technical expertise to the government and private sector, execute research and propose novel solutions for attaining industrialisation. In this regard, TTs in Tanzania have the capacity to partake in the industrialisation endeavour and provide outputs that render them trustworthy and thus reduce governments' reliance on internationally acclaimed TTs. The paper has further established that the existing TTs in LMICs especially in Tanzania are still in its nascent stage such that they face internal and external shocks that hinder them from performing most of their duties diligently. In most cases, Tanzania TTs are unable to abide by their long-standing agenda for they entirely depend on international donors. Additionally, these TTs are understaffed and under-skilled to carry out their respective tasks. Consequently, they fall short in successfully playing substantial roles in stirring the industrialisation process in the country.

The role of TTs in the industrial development process cannot be underestimated within the realm of the existing socio-political and economic context of the country. This said, the government must nurture its local TTs. This can be done once the government sees to it that at least 1% of the country's GDP is directed towards Research and Development as espoused in different policy documents and as internationally agreed. This will, in turn, help to reduce local TTs'

⁶ ESRF is featured as 50th best TT in SSA McGann (2020).

dependency on donors to finance their activities. Furthermore, the government should empower the existing TTs and later on commission them to undertake policy research-related tasks instead of relying more on the international TTs, whose performance relies on local TTs. To attain this prosperity, continued training of local TTs' staff should be prioritized to ensure that local TTs' staffs work at the pace of their counterparts as far as the globalised world is concerned. The Government should look into how to overcome the challenges faced by TTs as a prerequisite for maintaining the recently attained middle-income country status.

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