

**ATTITUDES TO DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN TANZANIA: A
REPORT BASED ON THE 2005 AFROBAROMETER SURVEY**

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Introduction

Tanzania has been undertaking economic reforms since 1985 and political reforms since 1992. More vigorous economic reforms have been emphasized by the third phase government, which took office in 1995. In a way the Afrobarometer 3rd Round survey was an assessment of the performance of the third phase government as it was carried out after the last budget session, and as Tanzanians were preparing to go to vote into office the fourth phase government. In Tanzania a president is elected to office for five years and can by constitution remain in office for a maximum of two terms or ten years.

Some of the positive results of economic reforms under the third phase government were to promote economic growth from a GDP growth rate of 3.6 percent in 1995 to 6.7 percent in 2004. The average inflation rate also declined from 27.4 percent in 1995 to 4.2 percent in 2004. Domestic revenue collection has also increased from Tshs. 448.4 billion in 1995 to Tshs. 1, 459 billion in 2004, equivalent to 13.5 percent of GDP in 2004. The value of merchandise exports also increased from US\$ 1,129.2 million in 2003, to US\$ 1,333.5 million in 2004, equivalent to an increase of 18.2 percent.¹ Furthermore, the balance of payments has improved with “foreign reserves sufficient to cover 7 months imports of goods and services compared to only 2 months ten years ago”.²

However, despite these positive economic indicators, Tanzanians remain among the poorest people in the world with an average per capita income of less than a dollar a day. Furthermore, according to the Household Budget Survey of 2000/01 “the proportion of the population below the national food and poverty line is 18.7 percent and that below the national basic needs poverty line is 35.7 percent.”³

On the political front, Tanzania has managed to peacefully transfer power from one elected leader to another popularly known in Tanzania as phase one to phase four governments. Phase one government came into power under a multiparty political system and ended up as a single party regime. The second phase government came to power under a mono party political system, carried out political reforms and ended up as a multiparty political regime. The third phase government has continued to nurture the multiparty system, came to power after competing with 13 political parties, in the first multiparty elections in 1995. When it wined up business in December 2005, Tanzania has 17 fully registered political parties.

Afrobarometer round 3 survey was carried out after Tanzanians had just registered themselves in a National Permanent Voters Register (PNVR) and a week before presidential, parliamentary and councillorship election campaigns commenced. The report will analyze the opinions of Tanzanians on how they perceive both economic and political reforms. Themes discussed include

Background to the Survey

This report is part of the Afrobarometer country reports that focuses on results from a survey of adult Tanzanians aged 18 years and above. The survey was conducted between July and August 2005 in both Mainland Tanzania and Tanzania Zanzibar. The survey was jointly organized by MSU (Michigan State University) and REPOA (Research on Poverty Alleviation).

The survey results represent the opinions of Tanzania as a whole for it is based on a random, stratified cluster sample in which all Tanzanians of voting age, i.e. 18 years and above had an equal chance of being selected for interview. This kind of sample enables us to make inferences about the perceptions of the majority of Tanzanians with a margin of error of plus or minus 2.5 percent at a 95 percent confidence level.

Zanzibar islands (Pemba and Unguja) were deliberately over sampled to make sure that we got enough respondents to allow for meaningful inferences from that sub-population. Tanzania has about 34 million people, out of which a nationally representative sample of 1,304 Tanzanians was interviewed. The survey is gender sensitive, and to maintain gender parity, 650 men and 654 women were interviewed. 69 District in Tanzania Mainland and 7 districts in Tanzania Zanzibar were covered. To reflect the urban rural population distribution in Tanzania where close to 80 percent live in the rural areas, more rural people (77 percent) than urban people (23 percent) were interviewed.

Zanzibar has only close to a million people compared to Tanzania Mainland with over 33 million people. To draw a sample that would reflect the political and economic realities as well the culture of the people of Zanzibar deliberate measures were taken to interview more people than would otherwise be drawn by the sample. Instead of interviewing 24 people (Zanzibar population according to official census figures is 2.8% of the national population. Hence, a total of 1224 interviews were conducted on Tanzania Mainland, and 80 interviews were conducted in Zanzibar.

The survey asked people's opinions about democracy, markets, and good governance. It specifically examined people's attitudes on democracy and their evaluations of the third phase government performance in managing both economic and political reforms.

ECONOMIC REFORM

Economic reforms introduced in the mid 1980's by the second phase government were vigorously sustained by the third phase government under President Benjamin Mkapa. Continued support of the economic reforms by citizens is paramount if the third phase government under President Jakaya Kikwete is to sustain them.

Some of the positive results of economic reforms under the third phase government mentioned earlier include an improvement of economic growth indicators such as GDP which has recorded a growth rate of 6.7 percent in 2004 compared to that of 3.6 percent in 1995. The average inflation rate also declined from 27.4 percent in 1995 to

4.2 percent in 2004. Domestic revenue collection has also increased from Tshs. 448.4 billion in 1995 to Tshs. 1, 459 billion in 2004, equivalent to 13.5 percent of GDP in 2004. The value of exports also increased from US\$ 1,129.2 million in 2003, to US\$ 1,333.5 million in 2004, equivalent to an increase of 18.2 percent. Furthermore, the balance of payments has improved to the extent that when the survey was being carried out Tanzania had foreign exchange reserves sufficient to cover 7 months imports of goods and services compared to foreign exchange reserves worth only 2 months of imports in 1995. The big question is whether these positive economic indicators have influenced citizen perceptions of the performance of the government in managing the reforms.

Positive citizen assessments indicate popular legitimacy of the government and the reform program itself. The incoming government will be able to sustain the reforms if they carry popular support, but can easily roll back the reforms if they appear to be a political burden. In this section we examine the opinions of Tanzanians on how the reforms address concerns pertinent to their welfare.

Economic Satisfaction

In order to ascertain whether economic reforms are positively contributing to improved citizen welfare, Tanzanians were asked to give their opinion on their own and the country's present economic conditions. Result findings indicate that Tanzanians continue to be negative about the impact of economic reforms. First, when asked "In general, how would you describe the present economic condition of this country" only close to a third (29.6 percent) say that the economic condition was good, with only 28.6 percent saying the economic condition was "fairly good". On the other hand, more than a third (37.6 per cent) says the present economic condition of Tanzania was fairly/very bad. Thus over all, in 2005 three in ten (31.4 percent) say the economic condition of Tanzania was fairly bad, compared to four in ten (41 percent) who 2003 said Tanzania's economic condition was bad.

It appears that people from Tanzania Mainland are more pessimistic about the economic situation compared to people from Tanzania Zanzibar. Thus, while 38.4 percent in the Mainland say the present economic condition of this country was bad, only 6.2 percent of people of Zanzibar held the same perception. Nevertheless, four in ten (43.8percent) People of Zanzibar were more cautious, saying the economic condition was "neither good nor bad".

The negative assessment of the national economic conditions were also reflected in negative perception of own present living conditions. Hence, four in ten (45.9 percent) say their own present living conditions were fairly/very bad compared to only 21.3 percent who said their own economic condition was "fairly good". This assessment is almost similar to the 2003 wherein 48 percent Tanzanians said their own living conditions were fairly/very bad. Furthermore, over half (53.8 percent) of the people of Zanzibar could not make up their mind compared to only a third (30.0 percent) of people from the Mainland who said their own economic condition was "neither good nor bad". Overall, nearly half (47 percent) of the people from Mainland Tanzania perceive their own economic condition as bad compared to 30.1 percent of the people from Zanzibar with the same opinion.

While current economic condition of the country and of people themselves, is perceived to be generally bad, Tanzanians are, nevertheless, optimistic about their future. About 36% of respondents expect their living condition to be better in 12 months time, compared to only 15% who perceive that their living condition in 12 months time would be worse than it is now. All three rounds of Afrobarometer have consistently shown optimistic about future economic condition. Nevertheless, most of respondents (ranging from 22% to 36% for all three rounds) indicated to be not certain of what would be the direction of changes in the future economic condition.

The negative assessment of the economy closely associated with individual living conditions is a general perception on the level of poverty experienced by many people in Tanzania. Thus, when Afrobarometer measures poverty as a living experience by asking people ‘how often, if ever, have you or any one in your family gone without enough food to eat’, 2005 Afrobarometer results indicate that over a third (36.9 percent) said they experienced food shortages, meaning that they did not have enough food to eat, compared to 44 percent in 2003. Furthermore, where as in 2003 over half (55 percent) of the Tanzanians interviewed said they never lacked enough food to eat, in the 2005 results less than half (47.8 percent) did not experience food shortages. This indicates there is now more food poverty in Tanzania compared to two years ago, perhaps due to persistent drought experienced by most parts of the country.

Support for Economic Reform

It appears that more Tanzanians are becoming more skeptical with free market policies. Thus, whereas in the 2003 Afrobarometer survey more people (54 percent) were willing to pay fees for education as long as educational standards improve; fewer people (40.4 percent) in the 2005 were willing to pay for quality education. In the 2005 Afrobarometer survey more people (55.7 percent) now say “it is better to have free schooling for our children, even if the quality of education is low”, compared to only 41 percent with similar views in the 2003 survey. This should not be surprising, for when people do not have enough to eat, priority is in getting food for the family not quality private funded education. The rising food poverty is thus threatening to undermine market led reforms in Tanzania.

Support for public sector reforms also appears to be waning. Where as in 2001 Afrobarometer survey nearly six in ten (59 percent) opined that “the government cannot afford so many public employees and should lay some off,”⁴ in the 2003 survey only 40 percent held the same views. In the 2005 Afrobarometer survey only a quarter (26.2 percent) said “the government cannot afford so many public employees and should lay some of them off.” Thinking has now reversed, with more people (58.1 percent) now saying “all civil servants should keep their jobs, even if paying their salaries is costly to the country,” compared to 51 percent in 2003 andpercent in 2001, who held similar views. This is indicative that as more people in the rural areas go without food, many of them are relying more and more to their kith and keen (fall back to social capital net works) employed by the public sector in the urban areas.

Moreover, for the ordinary citizen the logic laying off civil servants is difficult to discern when it is difficult to find new employment. When asked whether “the

availability of job opportunities are better or worse than they were a few years ago, or whether they have remained the same” more than two thirds (67.7 percent) said job availability was now worse than a few years ago. Only 10 percent say availability of job opportunities have remained the same while one in ten (14.2 percent) opine that job creation has improved. It appears that Tanzanians have now joined other Africans, where “consistent with mass joblessness, Africans overwhelmingly favor full employment at low wages over a smaller number of better-paying jobs (83 percent versus 14 percent).”⁵

There was speculation in Afrobarometer round two surveys that “growing social inequalities are a driving force for popular dissatisfaction with market-oriented economic reforms.”⁶ Tanzanians are among those Africans who said government economic policies have hurt most people. Hence, in 2003 more than half (56 percent) of those interviewed said the “government’s economic policies have hurt most people and only benefited a few” compared to only 35 percent who said the “government’s economic policies have helped most people; and only a few have suffered.”

The concern that government economic policies are hurting most people while only benefiting a few has continued to grow with more people in the 2005 survey more worried than in the 2003 survey. Thus, close to two thirds (60.1 percent) say the government’s economic policies have hurt most people compared to only a third (30.3 percent) who say the government’s economic policies have helped most people. As a consequence of such policies more citizens (57.7 percent) say that the “gap between the rich and the poor is now much worse than a few years ago.” Only a small minority (16.3 percent) say the gap between the rich and the poor has been reduced.

Perhaps because government policies are creating wide wealth disparities people form the opinion that their predicament can only be resolved by themselves. Hence, more than two thirds (65.5 percent) are of the opinion that “people should look after themselves and be responsible for their own success in life. Only less than a third (29.9 percent) says the government should bear the main responsibility for the well-being of people.” This is an indication that people acknowledge that individualism embedded in private economy principles is necessary for their improved welfare given the inability of the government to intervene on their behalf. Nevertheless, some amount of public intervention, a sort of welfare oriented government policies appear to be the main desire of citizens which the government cannot afford to ignore. That is, the government is bound to focus on policies that will strive to reduce the widening gap between the rich and the poor as well as promote economic equality if it is to placate citizen worries. The question to ponder is to what extent economic difficulties influence citizen attitudes on democracy and good governance.

Who supports economic reform?

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is crucial for sustained economic development of any society. Moreover, without democracy good governance remains a distant dream. Furthermore, without both the quality of life of citizens suffer the consequence of which is social strife, political conflicts and perpetual poverty. Democracy is envisioned as the presence of a

political system with mechanisms which enable citizens to put to office a government of leaders of their choice through free and fair elections. Democracy is further perceived as a prelude to good governance, envisioned as “public accountability of government officials, transparency in government procedures, and rule of law”⁷ and where the government has a program to combat corruption.⁸ Where good governance and democracy is perceived by people, one would expect citizens to participate in the governance of their country wherein they also exhibit high trusts of their leaders.

This section reviews Tanzanian’s attitudes towards democracy and good governance. We assume that democracy will only take root and consolidate in Tanzania if there is a continued high demand for it and where it is preferred over other alternatives of governance. In this report we will compare attitudes towards democracy as expressed in 2005 compared to expressions of 2001 and 2003. If there is continued support for democratic values democracy will be perceived to consolidate but if there are wavering attitudes democracy will be perceived to be on slippery ground.

Support for Democracy and Human Rights

The survival of democracy in any society depends very much on existence of a strong domestic support base. Citizens must be willing to support the natural tenets of democracy such as respect for human rights including freedom of the press, freedom of association (right to form and or join a political party of choice) and freedom to choose leaders of their choice. Freedom of the press means newspapers have to be free to publish information that will ensure good governance in the form of a government accountable to citizens, government free from corruption etc.

Furthermore, good governance means that a functioning viable opposition is in place to provide checks for the government in power and make it more accountable to the electorate. The government itself has to be legitimate by coming to office through free and fair elections. One of the weaknesses of governance in Africa has been observed to be “the absence of effective opposition parties, functioning in a free and fair environment.”⁹ In addition, democracy as Nyerere once put it means “much more than voting on the basis of adult suffrage every few years; it means (among other things) attitudes of toleration, and willingness to cooperate with others on terms of equality.”¹⁰ The question then is to what extent does Tanzania of today exhibit attitudes of toleration and cooperation?

Support for democracy in the 2005 survey was measured by assessing people’s commitment to actions that promote toleration and cooperation. Like in the 2003 survey, in the 2005 survey citizens were asked to choose between choices that represent democracy and those which do not. Hence, Tanzanians were asked to choose between elections and other methods of getting leaders, between many political parties and a no party situation. People were also asked to choose between freedom of the press and government powers to close newspapers.

Table 1. Choosing Democratic Alternatives

	Approve		Disapprove		Don’t Know	
	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005
Choose leaders through elections	77.0	88.0	10.0	9.0	13.0	3.0

vs. other methods						
Many parties needed vs. Political parties divisive (not needed)	67.0	51.0	16.0	43.0	17.0	6.0
Government should close news papers that print misinformation vs. news-media should be free to publish any story without fear of being shut down	-	54.0	-	31.0	-	15.0

In a democracy the legitimacy of a government is provided by a leadership elected to office through competitive free and fair elections. To assess the extent to which Tanzanians demand democracy, we asked them to make a choice between choosing leaders through elections or picking leaders through other methods. When asked to make a choice between “we should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections” and “since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country’s leaders, close to nine in ten (88 percent) affirmed using elections to choose leaders. On the other hand only 9 percent disapproved.

There is a slight variation between the people of Zanzibar and the people of Mainland Tanzania regarding choosing leaders through elections and other means for picking leaders. Almost nine out of ten (89 percent) people from Mainland Tanzania compared to seven out of ten (71 percent) people of Zanzibar prefer elections than other means to choose their leaders.

Since elections are chosen over other methods as the best way to choose a legitimate leaders we also wanted to know whether many political parties are positively perceived as a legitimate means for acquiring power in an election. According to Article 39(1) (c) and Article 67 (1) (b) for any Tanzanian citizen to qualify and be nominated as candidate for Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, has must be “a member of, and a candidate nominated by, a political party.”¹¹ Thus, preference for political parties is perceived to be an essential support for democracy. Citizens were therefore asked to choose between two statements: that political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania; B; Many political parties are needed to make sure that Tanzanians have real choices in who governs them.

It is worrisome that skepticism against multipartism is still very high in Tanzania. For example, four in ten (45 percent) of the people interviewed in 2005 say it is unnecessary to have many political parties compared to only half of the people (51 percent) who say many parties are needed to make sure that Tanzanians have real choices in who governs them. This means that more and more Tanzanians are losing patience with multipartism. We say this because in 2003, six in ten (67 percent) said many parties are needed compared to only 16 percent that disapproved multipartism. This negative assessment should be checked before we revert to the 1991 situation when 77 percent preferred the single party to remain and only 22 percent wanted a multiparty system to be reintroduced.

Support for multiparty democracy differs between Tanzania Mainland and Tanzania Zanzibar, with the people of Zanzibar being more critical of multipartism. For example where as less than half (42 percent) of the people in the 2005 survey said it is

unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania Mainland, more than a half (55 percent) in Tanzania Zanzibar said many political parties are unnecessary because they create division and confusion. Furthermore, more than a half (52 percent) of the people of Mainland Tanzania says many political parties are needed to make sure that Tanzanians have real choices in who governs them compared to only 36 percent in Zanzibar who harbors similar attitudes.

In the 2005 survey we also wanted to find out whether Tanzanians were tolerant of different opinions. It is discouraging to note that more than half (54 percent) of the Tanzanians interviewed support the idea that ‘government should close newspapers that print false stories or misinformation.’ Only a third (31 percent) of the people interviewed said news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down. When people do not support press freedom, either they do not know that it is their constitutional right to enjoy such freedoms which are basic to democracy and good governance or it is an indication that they are intolerant to ideas that are not similar with their own. Either way, such attitudes do not augur well with democracy and good governance, as they give the government an excuse to muzzle free press that uncovers illegal acts by government leaders that undermines good governance.

It appears further from the 2005 survey that more people in Zanzibar (70 percent) are less tolerant than the people of Tanzania Mainland where only 53 percent supported the idea of closing newspapers printing stories of misinformation. Moreover, where as only quarter (25 percent) of the people of Zanzibar supported freedom of the press in Tanzania Mainland only a third (31 percent) supported freedom of the press. Democracy and good governance remains under fluid conditions when the population is not willing to support necessary and primary conditions for democracy to grow and nurture. Leaders can be tempted to do what they like when they realize that citizens are not bothered by negative actions against vital democratic institutions that help to provide checks on illegal actions. A country cannot achieve sustainable democracy and good governance without citizen support for instruments for achieving proper adherence the rule of law, fighting corruption, and respect for human rights. Table 1 therefore points to a situation where more Tanzanians support democratic elections and a multiparty system but do not support freedom of the press, a vital instrument in combating corruption adherence to rule of law.

Extent of Democracy in Tanzania

Extent of democracy is gauged by asking citizens a series of question on how they perceive the extent of democracy in Tanzania and whether people are satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania. The Afrobarometer survey also assessed citizen satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania by looking at extent of citizen participation, availability of political freedoms and opinions on extent of rule of law in the country.

When asked “In your opinion how much of a democracy is Tanzania?” Less than a quarter (22.0 percent) of Tanzanians perceived Tanzania as a full democracy, while 19.0 percent said Tanzania was a democracy with minor problems. Furthermore, two in ten (2.0percent) feel that Tanzania is a democracy, with major problems. Hence, less than half (42 percent) gave a positive or relatively positive assessments of the state of democracy in Tanzania. Only one in ten (1.0 percent) say Tanzanian is not a democracy.

Results of the 2005 survey indicate a negative assessment of the state of democracy in Tanzania compared to the 2003 and 2001 Afrobarometer surveys. In the

2001 survey at least half (50 percent) of those interviewed said Tanzania was a democracy. On the other hand, in the 2003 survey eight in ten Tanzanians (81 percent) said that Tanzania was a democracy, and half of them (50 percent) saying the country was a democracy with minor problems. However, more people (56.0 percent) in the 2005 survey appeared to be more ignorant about democracy than in the 2003 survey where in only 12 percent said they did not know whether Tanzania was a democracy or not. See table 2.

Table 2. Extent of Democracy in Tanzania

Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy in Tanzania?	2001	2003	2005
Very satisfied	14.0	18.0	21.0
Fairly satisfied	48.0	45.0	17.0
Not very satisfied	13.0	16.0	3.0
Not at all satisfied	7.0	9.0	2.0
Tanzania is not a democracy	2.0	3.0	1.0
Don't know	16.0	10.0	56.0
In your opinion, how much of a democracy in Tanzania today?			
Full democracy	17.0	12.0	22.0
A democracy, but with minor problems	33.0	51.0	19.0
A democracy, but with major problems	26.0	19.0	2.0
Not a democracy	8.0	7.0	1.0
Don't know/Don't understand question	16.	12.0	56.0

Support for democracy is possible when citizens are satisfied with the way democracy works in a country. To find out whether Tanzanians are satisfied with democracy or not, we asked, “overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Tanzania?” Only close to four in ten (38 percent) say they were “fairly or “very satisfied, with the way democracy works in Tanzania” while only 5 percent said they were not satisfied. This indicates that Tanzanians are becoming disappointed with the way democracy, since in the 2001 survey six in ten (62 percent) and in the 2003 survey 63 percent also said they were satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania. However, it also appears that fewer people (5 percent) in 2005 were not satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania compared to 20 percent in 2001 and 25 percent in the 2003 Afrobarometer surveys. Nevertheless, more than half (56 percent) of the respondents in the 2005 said they don't know whether or not Tanzania was a democracy compared to only 16 percent in 2001 and 10 percent in the 2003 surveys.

The attitude of feigning ignorance on democracy can be attributed to the economic hardships many Tanzanians are facing especially in the rural areas. Food shortages, high unemployment, inability to pay school fees for children and difficulties of accessing modern quality health care due to cost sharing may blind people on democracy. In the 2001 Afrobarometer survey Africans associated democracy with economic conditions. For Africans, Tanzanians included, democracy can only have meaning when it is contributing towards their quality of life and when it enhances social and economic equity. In the 2001 Afrobarometer survey 12 percent of the interviewed Tanzanians

conceived democracy in terms of equal justice.¹² Hence, when the gap between the rich and the poor is widening and poverty especially food poverty and low incomes becomes the order of the day, people become blind to notions of democracy.

A caution was added in the 2003 Afrobarometer Tanzania report that although close to two thirds (65 percent) of all respondents say that democracy is the best form of government, this was a decline in the number of people supporting democracy in Tanzania compared to the 2001 survey where eight in ten Tanzanians or 84 percent said democracy was the best form of government. People continue to be disillusioned with a multiparty system that is still dominated by the ruling party and apparently perhaps because of a disunited and ever-squabbling opposition parties.

In a way it was perhaps citizen disillusionment with multiparty democracy exhibited in 2003 which has continued to prompt more than half of the Tanzanians interviewed in the 2005 Afrobarometer survey to say they did not know whether Tanzania was a democracy and also made them ambivalent on whether they are satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania.

More than half, (57 percent) said in the 2005 survey that they were not sure “how likely Tanzania will remain a democratic country”; compared to three in ten (37 percent) who said Tanzania is “likely” or “very likely” to remain a democracy. The people of Zanzibar appear to be more pessimistic with the future of democracy in Tanzania than their counterparts in Tanzania mainland. Thus, where as more than a third (37 percent) in Tanzania Mainland said Tanzania was “likely” or “very likely” to remain a democracy less than a third (28 percent) held similar views. The only glimpse of hope, a small consolation to democrats, is that despite the apparent disillusionment exhibited above only 5 percent of all the people interviewed in the 2005 survey opined that Tanzania was not likely to remain a democracy.

Political Freedom

Disillusionment with democracy could be attributed to negative perceptions of respect for basic human rights in society such as less freedom of speech (expression), freedom of association, rule of law (equality before the law) and arbitrary arrests. Thus, to evaluate the extent of democracy in Tanzania, respondents were asked about their freedom of expression, freedom of association, arbitrary arrests, voting freedom and equality before the law. When asked “in this country, how often do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?” seven in ten (70 percent) said “often” or “always” people have to be careful of what they say about politics. Only two in ten (21 percent) said people are “never” or are “rarely” compelled to be careful of what they say about politics. Thus, these results indicate that fewer Tanzanians perceive existence of freedom of speech, while the majority perceive restrictions of freedom of speech. However, when asked whether “the freedom to say what you think is worse or better now than it was a few years ago, or it is about the same, more than two thirds (69 percent) say freedom of speech is now “better or much better” than it was a few years ago.

Table 3: Extent of Political Freedom (percentages)

	Better	Much better	Same	Worse	Much Worse	Don't know

Freedom to say what you think	42	27	17	6.0	1.0	7.0
Freedom to join any political organization	43	39	9	3.0	1.0	5.0
Fear of unjust arrest	33	18	22.0	14.0	2.0	11.0
Voting freedom	40.0	42.0	8.0	5.0	1.0	4.0
Ability to influence government	29.0	12.0	19.0	21.0	6.0	13.0
Safety from crime and violence	37.0	19.0	20.0	13.0	2.0	9.0
Equal treatment for all	34.0	20.0	24.0	8.0	1.0	13.0

Results from the 2005 survey also indicate that eight in ten people (82 percent), say there is now more freedom to join a political organization than in the past. This can be corroborated with the fact that there are now 18 fully registered political parties in Tanzania. However, only half of the respondents (51 percent) of the interviewed Tanzanians do not fear arbitrary arrest compared to 58 percent who in the 2003 survey said they did not fear arbitrary arrests.

Tanzanians are however still very positive about electoral democracy where in the 2005 survey eight in ten (82 percent) said the freedom to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured is “better” or even “much better” now than it was a few years ago. In the 2003 survey 77 percent held similar views. Perhaps as an indication of support for electoral democracy, 95 percent of those interviewed say they registered in the Permanent National Voters Register, an exercise which started in October 2004 and completed in April 2005, ready for 2005 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillorship elections.

Tanzanians are also positive about freedom of association. hence when asked “Please tell me if the freedom to join any political organization you want is worse or better now than it was a few years ago, or it is about the same?” more than three quarters (82 percent) in the 2005 survey said freedom to join any political organization is now better than it was a few years ago. Only three percent said it was difficult to join political organizations.

Freedom of association is however undermined by the growing violent tendencies among political party followers. Nearly half (49 percent) of those interviewed now believe that competition between political parties is likely to lead to violent conflict. Only less than a half (46 percent) say competition between parties never or rarely lead to violent conflict. This almost equal split of those who believe that multiparty politics is also likely to influence the future of multipartism in Tanzania. Given that in the past Tanzanians enjoyed relative peace and harmony under a single party regime, the rise in political violence may have influenced in the way people vote, with a majority reverting to voting to the incumbent party which existed before the reintroduction of multipartism in Tanzania in the early 1990’s.

Democracy without rule of law is not possible. In this regard the 2005 Afrobarometer survey how Tanzanians perceive the importance of upholding the rule of law in the governance of their country. Tanzanians were therefore asked to choose between two statements. A: It is better to find lawful solutions to problems even if it takes longer; and B: It is sometimes better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately using other means. The results indicate that more than three quarters (83 percent) say it is better to find lawful solutions to problems even if it takes longer. Only one in ten (10 percent), say it is sometimes better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately using other means.

However, despite the enthusiasm on participatory democracy through elections, only four in ten (41percent) of those interviewed in 2005 feel that their influence on government decisions is still limited compared to 48 percent who in the 2003 had similar views). Less than a third (27 percent) of those interviewed in the 2005 survey say their influence on the government is better compared to 35 percent who in the 2003 survey said their influence on the government is now better than it was a few years ago.

Security from crime and violence has however improved slightly with half (56percent) of the Tanzanians interviewed in 2005 compared to only 43 percent who in the 2003 survey said security was better. Furthermore, 15 percent of the people interviewed in the 2005 survey said safely from crime and violence is now worse than it was a few years ago. Only 20 percent said safety from crime and violence is the same.

When in the 2005 people were asked “in this country, how often are people treated unequally under the law” only four in ten (42 percent) were of the opinion that people in Tanzania are often or always unequally treated under the law. Only 38 percent said people are never or rarely unequally treated under the law. Furthermore, five in ten (54 percent) of those interviewed in 2005 compared to less than half (47 percent) of those interviewed in 2003 felt that equal treatment for all groups by the government is now better than in the past. However, nearly a quarter (24 percent) of those interviewed do not perceive any change in the way people are treated, while only 10 percent in the 2005 survey opine that equal treatment of all groups by government is worse now than it was few years ago compared to nearly a quarter (26 percent) of the respondents who in the 2003 survey were of the opinion that equality in the treatment of citizens was worse than before.

Despite the positive evaluation of freedom of association, and electoral freedoms, people continue to worry about freedom of speech. Hence, there appears to be a declining perception of the extent of freedom of expression in Tanzania. Thus, where as in the 2001 Afrobarometer survey, 77 percent of those interviewed said people were free to say what they felt, only 76 percent in the 2003 survey and 70 percent of those interviewed in the 2005 are of the opinion that people are free to say what they think.

PERCEPTIONS ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

Trust in Public Institutions

Public institutions that are trusted by the citizenry help to consolidate state legitimacy. Citizens will support institutions that they trust because perhaps such institutions are able to deliver what political leaders promised in their elections campaigns.

To assess the levels of trust which people have on institutions of governance under the third phase government, the 2005 Afrobarometer survey asked Tanzanians how much trusted the President, the National Assembly (Parliament), the ruling party, the opposition political parties, the National Electoral Commission.

Table 4: Trust in Public Institutions

	Not at all		Just a little		Some what		A lot		Don't know	
	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005
The President	4	1	15	3	43	14	35	80	3	2
National Assembly	6	3	23	6	45	22	22	66	4	3
National Electoral Commission	10	3	23	5	41	22	17	64	9	6
Ruling party	10	4	24	5	45	16	20	73	1	2
Opposition political parties	25	39	37	22	28	21	8	15	2	3

How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?

The level of trust which citizens place on institutions of governance indicate confidence which people have in the government hence its legitimacy. Furthermore, citizen trust on the institutions of governance is necessary to sustain democracy and good governance especially when the country is facing economic difficulties such as drought, famine etc. Thus, in the 2005 Afrobarometer survey, Tanzanians were asked “How much do you trust the President, or haven't you heard enough about him to say?”

In Tanzania people appear to put a lot confidence on the president (executive branch) with nine out of ten (97 percent) saying they trust the president and 80 percent saying they trusted the president a lot. These results indicate that the executive branch under the third phase government has gained in popularity from 91 percent indicated in the 2001 Afrobarometer survey carried out only a year after President Mkapa came to power after the 2000 General Elections, to 93 percent indicated in the 2003 Afrobarometer survey. It may be worth noting that more people (97 percent) from Tanzania mainland say they trust the president compared to 86 percent of the people of Zanzibar who trusted the president.

Results from the 2005 Afrobarometer survey, indicate that the Legislature in Tanzania (Parliament/National Assembly) has also continued to enjoy a very high citizen trust, with nine in ten (94 percent) citizens saying they trusted it. Both the people of Tanzania Mainland (95 percent) and the people of Tanzania Zanzibar (85 percent) have a very high confidence (trust) on the National Assembly. The level of confidence on the legislature has remained high i.e. in the 2001 Afrobarometer survey 92 percent said they trusted the National Assembly, and in the 2003 survey 90 percent said they trusted this institution.

The ruling party has also continued to enjoy a high trust from Tanzanians. Thus, when asked “How much do you trust the ruling party, or haven't you heard enough about it to say?” 94 percent say they trusted it (with 73 percent trusting it a lot). The same question was asked about the opposition political parties and only five in ten (57 percent) percent say they trust the opposition with less than a third (15 percent) trusting the opposition a lot. The results also indicate that the opposition parties enjoy more support (65 percent) from the people of Zanzibar than from the people of Mainland Tanzania (56 percent).

The National Electoral Commission (NEC) which supervises the conduct of national (Union Presidential and Parliamentary) and local (Tanzania Mainland-Councilor) elections is also held in high confidence by most (92 percent) Tanzanians. However, it appears that more people from Tanzania Mainland (93 percent) indicate high confidence on NEC compared to those from Tanzania Zanzibar (79 percent). The rise on

the trust of NEC from 82 percent in 2001, and 81 percent in 2003 to 92 percent in 2005 could probably be attributed to the success of NEC in registering 16,407,318 (95 percent of estimated voters) Tanzanians in the Permanent National Voters Register.

In the 2005 Afrobarometer survey the people of Zanzibar were specifically asked to assess the government of Zanzibar. When asked, “How much do you trust the Zanzibar President, or haven’t you heard enough about him to say?” eight in ten (88 percent) say they trust the President of Zanzibar, with two thirds (66 percent) say they trust him a lot. The Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) which supervises elections for the President of Zanzibar, Members of the House of Representatives, and Councilor elections for wards in Zanzibar also enjoys high trust. Hence, eight in ten (82 percent) say they trust ZEC, with more than half (55 percent) say they trust it a lot.

It appears from the 2005 Afrobarometer survey results that Tanzanians continue to show a high confidence on both executive agencies (the presidency) and institutions of political representation (the parliament). Tanzanians also show trust on institutions of political mobilization, namely political parties, though more on the ruling party than the relatively new political parties. This level of confidence on institutions of governance places Tanzania means that Tanzanians may continue to enjoy relative peace and tranquility despite economic hardships they are facing.

Views on Third Phase Government Policy Performance

Positive citizen assessment of government performance is a necessary condition for their support and vice-versa. To assess citizen perception on the performance of the third phase government Tanzanians were asked: “How well would you say the current government is handling the following problems?” Results of citizen perception on the Third Phase government policy performance are summarized in table 5.

Only less than a quarter (19 percent) of the interviewed Tanzanians in 2005 opines that the government is not managing the economy well. However, over two thirds (69 percent) say the government is doing well in managing the economy. This is a slight improvement in public performance, given that in the 2003 Afrobarometer Survey 67 percent of those interviewed said the Third Phase Government under President Mkapa was doing well in managing the economy.

The Tanzanian public is however not happy with the third phase government efforts in creating jobs. Hence, about a half (53 percent) of those interviewed in 2005 say the government was not doing enough in creating jobs, with over a quarter (27 percent) saying the government was very badly handling job creation compared to 37 percent who said the government was doing well in creating jobs. However, Table 7 indicates that the negative assessment of the government job creation efforts has been falling from 65 percent in the 2001 Afrobarometer Survey, to 55 percent in the 2003 survey to the current 53 percent. Nevertheless, those who say the government is doing well in creating jobs have fallen slightly from 39 percent in 2003 to 37 percent in 2005.

Perhaps, because of the rising fuel costs which led to increase in bus and utility costs (electricity tariffs has been increased), and the rise in domestic food prices due to shortages caused by draught, fewer people (47 percent) now say the government has done well in keeping prices stable compared to more than a half (52 percent) with similar views in 2003. This negative assessment is acknowledged by the government which says “the annual average inflation rate for 2004 increased to 4.2 from 3.5 percent in 2003”¹³

Table 5: 2005 Citizen Assessment of Third Phase Government Policy Performance

	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know enough
Managing the economy	7	12	47	22	12
Creating jobs	27	26	32	5	10
Keeping prices stable	16	25	39	8	12
Narrowing gaps between rich and poor	30	24	23	7	16
Reducing crime	8	16	47	22	7
Improving basic health services	8	18	47	23	4
Addressing educational needs	4	7	46	39	4
Delivering household water	32	22	30	13	3
Ensuring every one has enough to eat	18	30	34	8	10
Fighting corruption in government	12	14	36	26	12
Combating HIV/AIDS	6	7	39	42	6

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following problems, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?

Tanzanians are still very unhappy with the widening gap between the rich and the poor. Hence, more than half (54 percent) of those interviewed in 2005 say the government is not doing enough compared to only a third (30 percent) who say the government is making effort to reduce inequality among Tanzanians. Nevertheless, at least a third (30percent) of those interviewed say the government is trying hard to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. This is an improvement from only a quarter (25percent) with similar views in 2001 but lower than the 37 percent recorded in the 2003 Afrobarometer survey. These sentiments are lauded by The Member of Parliament for Mpanda Kati, Mr. Said Amour Arfi (CHADEMA) who said in the Assembly that “the rift between the rich and the poor keeps widening as Tanzanian progressively abandon the tenets of equality and socialism”¹⁴.

When the government conducted Zonal Workshops to prepare the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), “participants called for interventions to bolster primary school enrollment and retention rates; raise the quality and relevance of education; and facilitate access to primary school education, including a review of the cost-sharing arrangements”¹⁵

Following the identification of education as the number one priority in poverty reduction efforts, the government introduced the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). As a consequence of PEDP, primary school fees and cost sharing in primary education was abolished, except in improving primary education buildings where the central government, local governments and parents contribute. As a result of such efforts “Gross Enrolment Rate reached 105.3 percent and 106 percent in 2003 and 2004 respectively, compared to only 77.6 percent in 1990. Net Enrolment Rate (NER) attained in 2003 and 2004 is 88.5 percent and 90.5 percent respectively, compared to 58.8 percent in 1990”.¹⁶

The 2005 Afrobarometer survey affirms the above achievements. Hence, the Third Phase Government has received very high ratings in the provision of education. Table 6 for example shows that there has been a continued positive assessment of the way the government has handled education reforms. Thus where as in 2001 only 59 percent of those interviewed say educational needs have been well handled by the government, in 2003 this to seven in ten (77 percent) in 2003. In the last survey (2005) eight in ten (85percent) say the government has handled educational needs very well.

Health care is also one of the areas identified a priority in poverty reduction and the government has also invested time and money. When Tanzanians were asked, “how well or badly would you say the current government is handling improving basic health services” seven in ten (70 percent) of those interviewed say the government has done well compared to only a third (26 percent) who are negative. This assessment indicates a continued positive assessment which has gone up from 50 percent in 2001 to 70 percent in 2003.

Related to health care is the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which Tanzanians are also of the opinion that their government has done a good job. Hence, eight in ten (81 percent) of those interviewed in the 2005 Afrobarometer Survey say the government has handled the HIV/AIDS well. Only one in ten (13 percent) say the government has badly handled this problem. Thus, the 2005 survey also indicate a further improvement on how people perceive it on this issue from 72 percent in 2001 to 77 percent in 2003 and 81 percent noted above.

Tanzanians negatively perceive government efforts in other public policy performance areas, particularly on water provision and food security. Thus, half (54 percent) of those interviewed say the government has not done enough to make sure citizens have access to household water. Indeed, only four in ten (43 percent) of those interviewed say the government is doing a good job in delivering house hold water, with only a third (30 percent) saying the government has done fairly well in this score. It may also be pointed out that citizen anger against inability of the government is growing rather than abating. Hence, the disapproval rating of the way the government is handling domestic water supply has increased from 52 percent in the 2003 survey to the current 54 percent, and that of positive assessment has declined from 46 percent in 2003 to 3 percent in 2005. Policy makers need to focus more attention in programs for fighting poverty that includes better ways to guarantee improved domestic water supply.

Tanzanians continue to suffer from food insecurity caused by persistent draught that has continued to engulf the country for the last five to six years. Hence, although the percentage of people that see the government as not doing enough is continuing to decline from 59 percent in 2001 and 51 percent in 2003 to 48 percent in the 2005 Afrobarometer survey less than a half of those interviewed still see the government as not doing well in this score. Indeed fewer people (42 percent) in 2005 say the government has handled well efforts to ensure that every one has enough to eat compared to 44 percent with similar views in 2003.

Table 6: Public Assessment of Third Phase Government Policy Performance 2001-2005

	Badly handled	Well handled	Don't know enough to have an opinion

	2001	2003	2005	2001	2003	2005	2001	2003	2005
Managing the economy	-	25	19	-	67	69	-	8	12
Creating jobs	65	55	53	29	39	37	6	6	10
Keeping prices stable	50	40	41	48	52	47	2	8	12
Narrowing gaps between rich and poor	70	56	54	25	37	30	5	7	16
Reducing crime	36	42	24	63	56	69	1	2	7
Improving basic health services	49	29	26	50	70	70	1	1	4
Addressing educational needs	40	22	11	59	77	85	1	1	4
Delivering household water	-	52	54	-	46	43	-	2	3
Ensuring every one has enough to eat	59	51	48	39	44	42	2	5	10
Fighting corruption in government	-	41	26	-	52	62	-	7	12
Combating HIV/AIDS	26	20	13	72	77	81	2	3	6

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?

Public evaluation of how the government has been fighting to reduce incidences of crime in Tanzania has been shifting, from 63 percent in 2001, to 56 percent in 2003 and now 69 percent of those interviewed saying the third phase government handled the issue of public insecurity well. Nevertheless, nearly a quarter (24 percent) of those interviewed in 2005 still says the high crime rates in the country are worrisome. However, the relatively positive assessment of how the third phase government handled citizen insecurity is probably due to increased security during the election year.

Good governance is impossible where citizens are poor and compelled to buy their rights. Widespread poverty and wide spread corruption is cause for democracy and good governance to wither and decay. Indeed, there is recognition even among eminent African leaders, that corruption undermines good governance. According to Nyerere, "known or suspected corruption among the political leaders often makes the problem worse- and corruption through out the society more difficult to overcome."¹⁷ Repeated heavy talk about the need to need fight corruption by the Third Phase Government under Mkapa has created hope that the government was serious to end the scourge. Thus, two thirds (62 percent) of those interviewed in 2005, up from 52 percent in 2003 say the government is doing a good job in fighting corruption in government. Table 7 summarizes public assessment of government public policy performance from 2001 to 2005.

Public Opinion on Pluralism

Pluralism is an essential ingredient in the cultivation of democracy and good governance. According to the World Bank, democracy and good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa was lacking because of lack of a vibrant opposition party voice to the ruling political party elite.¹⁸ Succumbing to pressure Tanzania reintroduced a multiparty political system in 1992 after a public opinion survey indicated that 77 percent of those interviewed wanted the single-party to remain and 22 percent wanted a multiparty system.

To assess the state of pluralism in Tanzania, Afrobarometer survey asked a series of questions. When asked to choose between “political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania; and Many political parties are needed to make sure that Tanzanians have real choices in who governs them” more than half (51 percent) of those interviewed preferred many political parties compared to only 43 percent who say it is unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania. Furthermore, where as half (52 percent) of those interviewed in Tanzania Mainland say they prefer a system with many parties, in Zanzibar it was the opposite with more than half (55 percent) saying many political parties are unnecessary in Tanzania because they create division and confusion.

The 2005 Afrobarometer survey also asked Tanzanians: “Do you feel close to a political party?” Overall seven in ten (76 percent) Tanzanians identify with a political party. The percent of people belonging to a political party is almost similar in the two parts of the Union i.e. 76 percent in Tanzania Mainland and 78 percent in Tanzania Zanzibar. However, over two thirds (69 percent) say they are close to the ruling party CCM, compared to CUF (4 percent), and CHADEMA 1 percent. More people in Tanzania Mainland (70 percent) say they are close to CCM compared to 59 percent in Tanzania Zanzibar. On the other hand, more people in Tanzania Zanzibar (19 percent) say they are close to CUF compared to only 3 percent in Tanzania Mainland who say they are close to this party. It is worth noting that close to a quarter (23 percent) of the people of Tanzania are not close to any political party.

The state of plural politics is not in jeopardy because many people belong to political parties and prefer the existence of many parties in Tanzania. However, the small number of Tanzanians belonging to the opposition parties limits the influence of opposition parties in policy formulation and in the governance of the country. When asked “If a presidential election were held tomorrow, which party’s candidate would you vote for?” (Question asked three weeks before commencement of election campaigns in August 2005) indicate that the opposition parties have an uphill task. Eight in ten (83 percent) of those interviewed say they would vote for a CCM presidential candidate compared to only 4 percent who would vote for CUF candidate and 1 percent who would vote for a CHADEMA presidential candidate. Furthermore, more people in Tanzania Mainland (84 percent) say they would vote for a CCM presidential candidate compared to 69 percent in Zanzibar. On the other hand 20 percent of the people interviewed in Tanzania Zanzibar said they would vote for a CUF presidential candidate compared to only 3 percent in Tanzania Mainland. Results from the December 2005 Presidential Election conducted four months after the survey, have affirmed the 2003 Afrobarometer survey public opinions. Thus, the National Electoral Commission results show that the CCM Presidential candidate won 80 percent of the valid votes compared to CUF which won 12 percent and CHADEMA 6 percent of total valid votes.

Conclusion

Tanzanians appear to be tired and pessimistic about economic reforms that hurt them. They no longer support public service reforms that increase unemployment by reducing the number of civil servants in the government. Survey results indicate that the widening gap between the rich and the poor as well as the lack of jobs (high unemployment) is negatively affecting public opinion in the country. Citizens appear to be in favor of those reforms which have improved public performance especially in education, health sector and fighting the HIV/AIDS.

Poverty and unemployment continue to receive negative opinions from the public in Tanzania. Policy makers have to take into consideration these negative opinions from the citizens. Food insecurity, lack of house hold water are other issues that concern the public and which the government cannot afford to ignore.

Tanzanians continue to support political reforms with more people now supporting many political parties than a decade ago. A majority of Tanzanians now reject one party rule in favour of pluralism. However, more Tanzanians do not trust the opposition, and therefore the majority of those interviewed say they belong to the ruling party and are prepared to vote for CCM rather than the opposition parties.

¹ URT, 2005; Speech by the Minister of State, President's Office, Planning and Privatisation, Hon. Dr. Abdallah Omari Kigoda (MP), Presenting to the National Assembly The Economic Survey for 2004 and Proposals for the Medium Term Plan and Expenditure Framework for the Period 2005/206-2007/08.<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/budgetspeech/2005/economicsurvey2005.htm>:3-4.

² URT, 2005; Speech by the Minister for Finance Hon. Basil P. Mramba (MP.) Introducing to the National Assembly the Estimates of Government Revenue and Expenditure for the Financial Year 2005/2006 on 8th June 2005. <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/budgetspeech/2005/treasury2005.htm>: 4.

³ URT, 2005; National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP). Vice President's Office, Dar es Salaam: 4.

⁴ Afrobarometer, 2002; Amon Chaligha, Robert Mattes, Michael Bratton, and Yul Derek Davids. Uncritical Citizens Or Patient Trustees? Tanzanian's Views of Political and Economic Reform. Afrobarometer Paper No. 18: 25.

⁵ Afrobarometer, 2004; Michael Bratton, Carolyn Logan, Wonbin Cho, and Paloma Bauer. Afrobarometer Round 2: Compendium of Comparative Results From a 15 Country Survey. Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 34:14.

⁶ Ibid: 16.

⁷ Said Adejumobi, 2000, Africa and the Challenges of Democracy and Good Governance in the 21st Century. Addis Ababa 21st Century Trust News and Journal: 3.

⁸ IMF, 2006, The IMF's Approach to Promoting Good Governance and Combating Corruption –A Guide. International Monetary Fund:1.

⁹ Shelton George, 2005. Democracy, Human Rights and State Reform in Africa. <http://www.cps.org.za/cpspdf/plbrief> 28:4

¹⁰ Julius Nyerere, 1998. Good Governance for Africa. <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/083.html>:3

¹¹ URT, 2005. The Constitution of The United Republic of Tanzania of 1977. Government Printer, Dar es Salaam.

¹² Afrobarometer, 2002; Amon Chaligha, Robert Mattes, Michael Bratton, and Yul Derek Davids. Uncritical Citizens Or Patient Trustees? Tanzanian's Views of Political and Economic Reform. Afrobarometer Paper No. 18: 32.

¹³ URT, 2005; Speech by the Minister of State, Presidents Office, Planning and Privatization. <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/budgetspeech/2005/economic> survey 2005.htm:4.

¹⁴ Daily News, Saturday, February 11, 2006, ISSN 0858-3804 No. 1384 p. 2.

¹⁵ URT, 2000. Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Government Printer, Dar es Salaam: 15.

¹⁶ URT, 2005. National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), Vice President's Office. Dar es Salaam: 11.

¹⁷ Julius Nyerere, 1998. Good Governance for Africa. <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/083.html>: 4.

¹⁸ World Bank, 1989. Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth- A long-term Perspective Study. Washington DC: World Bank: 60-61.