

## Leadership Effectiveness and Democratic Processes the Tanzania Experience: Are the Positive Outcomes Sustainable?

*‘Although circumstances may change in the blink of an eye, people change at a slower pace. Even motivated people who welcome change often encounter stumbling blocks that make transformation more complicated than they'd originally anticipated.’*

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### Abstract

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The paper logically describes Tanzania's development efforts. It has been seen to champion and embrace change given different contexts. Development in Tanzania is seen to involve incremental steps mostly determined by the action of top leadership, development partners and global trends. The actions of the incumbent government are seen to create immediate achievements made possible by leadership actions as well as the leveraging on the significant capacity created overtime since independence in 1961. Some accepted logics are revisited and challenged, specifically on the efficacy of different efforts towards corruption and good governance, implications to democracy and future sustainability of the milestones achieved in a short period of time. The importance of viewing and approaching development needs in a more holistic manner is underscored, whilst Tanzania once again experiments towards national development goals. Africa is also observed not yet to show true sustainable champions despite the different democratic ideals held. This is highlighted as a challenge to governments and international agencies.

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**Key words:** Leadership, Change, Democracy, Africa, Performance, Tanzania

### 1. Introduction

Tanzania, 58 years after independence in 1961, has seen numerous policy changes. In 1964, it created a survived union government with Zanzibar to become Tanzania; embraced African Socialism in 1967; abolished local government authorities in 1972; re-introduced them in 1984; adopted multiparty politics starting 1992, held serious multiparty elections since then. Ngowi (2019) observes that economic development history of the country is linked to different leadership epochs up to the present. Eele et al (2000) see Tanzania's growth path as unique and the economy vulnerable to external shocks. Collins (1974) opined that Tanzania is a country known for political experimentation in search of a strategy for socio-economic development.

The incumbent head of state, President Magufuli, came to power in 2015. As a doctorate degree holder in chemistry, a branch of science concerned with the substances of which matter is composed, the study of properties and reactions and forming of new substances, the incumbent is seen to highly focus on results that is supported by changes in policies, modus operandi, and changes of personnel at leadership levels of government for 'performance reasons'. Gettleman (2015) also makes such a close description of Magufuli. It is believed that a direct and unwavering demand on public sector employees to deliver improved services, the private sector to follow rules and to pay their dues as required by existing legislations are the change catalysts. The firm stance that political activities by the opposition parties have to wait until election times has led to the implementation of policies meeting little or no resistance.

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Tanzania, since the new government came to power, seems to have changed rapidly. Borrowing the phrase of the Minister for Constitutional Affairs, a seasonal Diplomat, Dr. Augustine Mahiga ‘... a new culture is emerging in Tanzania that promotes performance and accountability.’<sup>2</sup>

Some key questions are in order. How supportive to leadership efforts are the basic foundations laid down by the different reform programmes supported by development partners? What has led to positive outcomes in an environment where the reform programmes, as we knew them are less significant? How can the emerging change in culture be consolidated to bring needed change to catapult Tanzania to a different stage in the development process? Discussions on Government performance in developing countries emphasize the importance of systems and structures over actions of top leadership to bring radical changes to the functioning of Governments. The paper is to explore the latter dimension but dwell on the relevance and sustainability of the actions on the long-term.

## 2. The contextual environment

African scholars have in the past some even today attribute underdevelopment in Africa to colonialism and post-colonial exploitation. Such views are greatly challenged. As quoted in the Guardian in 2014, Obama in 2014 criticized the blames approach and urged African leaders to take responsibility for poverty and underdevelopment in the continent. Similarly, the legendary leader, the father of the nation and the first independent leader of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, opted in 1967 for socialist policies with the aim of severing the thought to be exploitative umbilical cord. Self-reliance was a common theme that was to bring positive and sustainable socio-economic changes. Some notable achievements were recorded in the case of Tanzania: it avoided coup d'états that were very common in Africa in the 1970s to 1980s; maintained the only surviving Union Government with Zanzibar; successfully overthrew Idi Amin of Uganda; evolved peacefully to become an open economy country and embraced multiparty democracy. Such metamorphosis indicates leadership that attempted to be in sync with global circumstances while ensuring functional state machinery that promoted national unity. McAusland & Ghai (1966) describe Tanzania as a country that has been guided by political reality while opportunity for control and criticism remained open. Anyimadu (2016) agrees that Nyerere's policies had lasting positive impact for the country.

Tanzania like very few other African countries has seen over the years a stable political environment where its leadership could almost undeterred experiment with new policies and ideas about running a government and bringing development. Ramadhan et. al. (2016) posits that political stability has a positive relationship with economic growth in Tanzania. Anyimadu (2016) while acknowledging stability in Tanzania makes reference to the 2015 close elections and the unsuccessful new constitution referendum and observes that socio-economic progress is necessary for a continued stable political environment. Adefeso (2018) argues that political stability may not lead to positive impact to economic development and corruption.

Over half a century of independent rule, a functioning state machinery not affected by internal strifes and coup d'états, see Tanzania as a progressive country in Africa where in the last ten years or so positive economic growth has been witnessed. The Global Economic Progress report (World Bank, June 2019) show Tanzania as one of the highest economic growth rates countries in the continent growing at an average of 6.85% between 2016 and 17. Future prospects after 2018 by both the World Bank's Economic Progress Report and The IMF World Economic Outlook (April 2019) indicate lower figures. The Minister of Finance in the budget speech of 2019/2020 announced a 7% economic growth rate in the year 2018/2019.

Although, there are debates on the estimates and forecasts, the issue could be how to consolidate previous achievements while moving forward at a greater pace and in the process maintaining sustainable systems and institutions. Notwithstanding noted progress in the social, political and economic arena, one would argue that like most of the African countries of similar experiences, Tanzania cannot yet boast of discernible economic progress that catapults a country to a different level in the global economic standing.

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<sup>2</sup> Statement made by Dr. Mahiga after taking the oath televised live on local stations on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2019 as he was transferred to the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### 3. Institutional capacity development efforts

As institutions and systems are important for government performance, so are leadership actions. Scholars differentiate between transactional and transformational leadership (Avolio, Bass and Jung, 1997). Since the two do not indicate absolutism, given contexts, leaders may practice both but at different degrees creating a hybrid leadership style. The important concern is that leadership is functional (De Vries et al., 2016).

The end of the cold war saw changes in international priorities affecting national policies that brought about change of leadership, structural adjustments programs, economic liberalization and multiparty elections in the country. The policy changes in Tanzania brought about new relationships between the national government and the international community. The new relationships sought to promote democratic values, create the pre-conditions for private sector led development including support to institutional building efforts. UN (2010) observes that development that is sustainable is elusive without appropriate governance and public administration institutions. A number of umbrella programmes were initiated and sometimes whole-heartedly embraced by the succeeding national governments. The programmes and projects championed by both the national government and development partners for several decades since the mid 1980s include the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), Poverty Reduction Strategy (PSRP), Civil Service Reform Programme (CSR), later referred to as Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), Business Environment Strengthening Programme (BEST), Legal Sector Reform Programme (LSRP), Public Financial Management Reform Programme (PFMRP) and Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), etc. (Sundet 2004; Ruguyamheto 2005; Harrison, 2008).

For example, in the efforts to modernize the public service, Issa (2011) lists several instruments and frameworks that were instituted in the public service of Tanzania through the reform programmes to create and promote effective institutions. These included: the performance management model comprising the following: Service Delivery Assessment (SAs), Strategic Plans (SPs), Operational Plans (OPs) and Annual Plans (APs), Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), Client Service Charters (CSCs) and the Open Performance Review and Appraisal System (OPRAS); Guideline for Complaints and Grievance Handling Systems, Guidelines for Developing and Implementing Client Service Charters; Business Process Reengineering, Organizational Restructuring Manual for ministries, agencies and authorities; Ethics Compliance Framework, Code of Ethics for the Public service, HR Planning Manual, Succession Planning Guide; Record and Archives Management Policy, Records & Archives Management Regulations, Registry Procedures Manual; HIV/AIDS Policy and Guidelines, Guidelines for Managing People With Disabilities in the Public Service, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The above list shows that appropriate and needed systems were put in place to guide action in the public service. Performance problem then could have a different cause and cannot be lack of systems and processes. Mamuya (2008) cites accountability and control issues as the Achilles heels of the reforms. Gray (2015) contends that despite the instituted reforms, loose networks operating for self-interests within and outside the formal state institutions promote corruption in Tanzania. Cooksey (2004) postulates that donors mostly address corruption at a general level, they emphasize inputs and processes and not impact. Gray's observation for Tanzania came to be '...analysis of the drivers of corruption implies an approach to political and economic reform that falls far outside the remit of donor-led anti-corruption initiatives' (ibid: 402). The change agenda after the 2015 elections got translated into a series of actions and policy directives against corruption and other ills.

### 4. Democracy as a change catalyst

Mwalimu Nyerere, towards the first multiparty elections in 1995, was widely quoted and made reference to for his words that 'the people want change, if they cannot get the change from the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi - CCM (which he created and led and was in power) they will select another party to bring about positive change'<sup>4</sup>. His words saw, after almost each succeeding national election, increased strength of the opposition except after the 2015 elections. Towards the 2015 elections, the country witnessed some serious defections to the main opposition party that shocked the ruling party.

<sup>3</sup> The list is longer. For other sectors, policies, guidelines, manuals, frameworks etc. are as well numerous.

<sup>4</sup> The speech is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cJg8bwg2ZX8>

It thus chose a serious candidate, believed to mean what he says and to do what he says, to represent CCM in the presidential elections. The change motto *'mabadiliko'* became the slogan in the presidential campaigns of both the opposition and the ruling CCM party. To avoid what Bourgon (2007) indicated as democratic change resulting from declining trust, CCM considered the no-nonsense candidate to lead it in the elections. A win by slightly less than 60% of the votes indicated a serious need for change shown by the electorates.

The development partners played a role in creating the context that brought about the need for change and the close proximity to political change in the country. Their opinions on progress in the reform efforts became negative. Some of the reform efforts, in the years before the elections such as LGRP and the PSRP, that were the umbrella reform programmes, received lukewarm support and were challenged as not performing satisfactorily. Anyimadu (2019) observes that development partners wielded some influence on how the corruption problem is handled including the suspension of 700 million USD Millennium Challenge Corporation support and budget support. Policy agenda emanate from the actions of the political and social institutions that define meaning and solutions to problems (Birkland, 1997). The anticorruption and clean government agenda thus achieved prominence in the election period and the aftermath.

Election campaigns and public sentiments influence policy (Kingdon, 1995). Anyimadu (2016) points out that the 2015 general elections outcome indicated an obvious need for change that required President Magufuli to deliver on promised changes for Tanzania to achieve its development ambition of becoming a middle-income country by 2025. The efforts also included a stance on political activities after elections. Roland 2014 observes that political institutions can be fast-moving institutions changing quickly nearly overnight when there are revolutionary moments. The incumbent words *'Ngoja niinyooshe nchi kwanza'* let me straighten the country first and Tanzania *'Kwanza'* (Tanzania First) reflects the objective to achieve quick wins and to consolidate power.

As institutions and systems are important for government performance so are top leadership actions. As observed, scholars differentiate between transactional and transformational leadership. Where rule obedience is low there is a case for transactional leadership. Since the two do not indicate absolutism, leaders practice both but at different degrees creating a hybrid leadership style. Though what is going to be more evident depends on maturity of the system in its totality. In the context of Tanzania, respect of rules and laws may have needed to improve.

## **5. Some achievements worth making reference to**

It is important to chronicle some of the achievements under the present government specifically, the recorded changes in performance of public sector organizations and the efforts to fight corruption where evidence is available.

### **5.1 Institutional harmonization to bring efficiency and to control expenditure**

As earlier observed, the reform programmes implemented since the mid 1980s might have created adequate institutions and institutional mechanisms to support improved public service delivery and to promote private sector growth and wealth creation. There has been thus little need to create new institutions and formal policies and legal frameworks to support government efforts. Very few institutions have been created in the four years of his Excellency's, President Magufuli's rule. What has mostly happened is to identify institutions that are not needed in order to promote efficiency and to consolidate services. For example, public owned banks which were financially unstable were made to be departments of some better off banks such as the Tanzania Women Bank (despite the maybe social and political significance of it) and Twiga Bank Corporation one of the oldest but poor performing banks; both were made to be part of the Tanzania Postal Bank (Mirondo, 2018; The East African 2018;) The pension funds owned by government which were previously five were consolidated into two pension funds PSSF and NSSF, the well performing funds taking control (Chibwete and Mkiramweni, 2018); Reli Assets Holding Company (RAHCO) and Tanzania Railways Limited (TRC) becoming TRC -Tanzania Railway Corporation (Masare, 2017). These were measures to either reduce government expenditure and or for efficiency concerns. Institution that are said to be created to consolidate power at the center and 'to control corruption' is TALURA - Tanzania Rural and Urban Roads Agency that now is responsible for rural and urban roads, previously under the mandate of district councils (Chidawali, 2017). RUWASA – Rural Water and Sewage Authority – is also a recent creation aimed to improve efficiency and also increase central control of water development in the country (Machira, 2019).

### **5.2 Increased emphasis on performance and customer centric culture**

Public servants at leadership levels were the initial areas of focus of the government. *'Kutumbua majipu'* was a newly re-introduced term. The words literally mean 'to open a boil' – figuratively 'to remove a troubling agent from the system'. Many senior public servants have been removed from their positions and some retired to the extent that very few can consider themselves indispensable or well insulated from the *Kutumbua majipu* actions. The actions were reported widely including in the international media. Thousands of public servants were sacked in a crackdown on government inefficiency and corruption - the number includes of course those without right qualifications and ghost workers (Ngwanakilala, 2016).

As a result, there is a general improvement in social service provision as officials stay at work places and see to the citizens needs<sup>5</sup>. For example, as reported, in the sectors of health, education, water and electricity, service delivery is said to improve since 2014 (Afrobarometer 2018)<sup>6</sup>.

- In the sectors of health, water supply, electricity, and education service delivery appears to improve since 2014. Fewer Tanzanians report difficulties, delays, and paying of bribes.
- The proportion facing difficulties in obtaining health care decreased by 7 percentage points; approval of citizens on government performance rose from 49% to 58%.
- Respondents reporting difficulties in water, sanitation, and electricity, dropped by 15 percentage points, while the paying of bribes fell by more than half.
- 85% found it easy to obtain needed services from public schools, an improvement from 73% in 2014; public approval of government performance increased from 54% to 73%.

### 5.3 Disciplined population: empowering the law enforcing agencies

Specifically, the Police Force has been empowered and made to enforce laws while promoting among the citizenry the slogan *'juatasheria bila shuruti'* follow the law without being coerced to do so. In order to remove corrupt and non-performing elements within the force there have been significant changes from the political to middle level leadership in the respective ministry of home affairs and the force itself. Tanzanians are now more observant of laws – more visibly traffic laws, as traffic offenses mean visible penalties to offenders. Reported traffic cases have declined by 38% within a period of one year from 4,180 cases in 2017/18 to 2,593 cases in 2018/19; in 2018/19, 'big' criminal cases reported were 45,574 against 47,236, in 2017/18 (MOHA 2019). In 2017/2018 'big' criminal cases reported were 47,236 against 56,913 reported in 2016/17, a 17% reduction (MOHA 2018).

The head of state in a meeting in Njombe region recently, where some children were killed from which craft actions, told the public that he removed the regional police commander because he had to bring police enforcement from the police headquarters to Njombe to deal with the problem. He there on ordered removal of the district police commander, though pardoned him a while later, and warned that if the problem happens again he will remove other regional leaders (Matandiko and Bwiga, 2019). In such circumstance law enforcement is likely to prevail, as avenues of alternative income outside formal employment are limited to seasoned public officials. Similarly, the anticorruption agency, drug abuse control prevention agency etc. seem to be on their toes to perform or else suffer consequences as actions are taken and publicly reported almost instantaneously (See the Citizen of Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June 2019, where the anticorruption agency publicly announced actions immediately taken after they were ordered).

The 31<sup>st</sup> of June 2019 was announced as the last day plastic carrier bags are to be used. Among a population of 50 million plus, where plastic bags carry everything including freshly cooked soup and fish and chips, there have been no discerned resistance despite the abruptness of the order and unavailability of substitutes (The Citizen of 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2019).

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<sup>5</sup> In some instances, as I observed, doctors get out of offices to collect patient cards and to call them personally for consultations. This new attitude to work in public health services has been very rare or absent in the past.

<sup>6</sup> The Afrobarometer team in Tanzania, led by REPOA, interviewed 2,400 adult Tanzanians in May 2017. Previous surveys were conducted in Tanzania in 2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, and 2014. Source: Afrobarometer, dispatch no. 271/22 month 2018.

WWF on April 11 2019 posted a statement applauding the move and insisted on a total heeding of the ban. Such a system that heeds such a sudden order and whose benefit is not clear to most is reminiscent of the early social-ist Nyerere era where orders used to get popular support and popular enforcement.

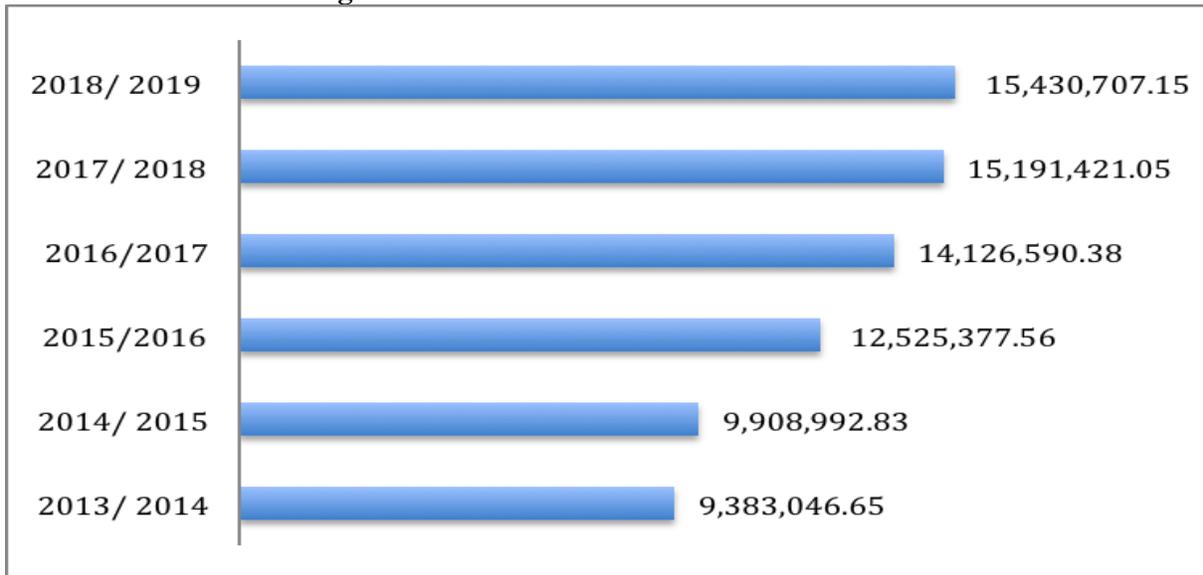
One could say the country is set for momentous changes depending on leadership capacity and orientation as the people can be described as possibly willing followers. Similar examples abound, of more ‘responsible’ citizens, less use of force and less bargaining before a government directive is followed.

**5.4 Improvements in revenue collections**

The government coffers has seen significant boost with the coming to power of the fifth phase government. Internal revenue collections, thanks to robust systems in place, developed by different reform programmes and clarity in policy by the present top leadership, have risen significantly in the first year of his Excellency Magufuli’s regime. Domestic revenue collection for central and local government was 15.6 percent of GDP in 2016/17 compared with 14.3 percent in 2015/16 (BOT 2018).

Data for a period of six years show increasing trend in revenue collection and at decreasing rate in the later years. The data below is in Millions Tanzania shillings.

**Figure: Tax Revenue Collection in Recent Years**



Source: Tanzania Revenue Authority, accessible <https://www.tra.go.tz/index.php/tax-collection-statistics>

To show change within specific localities, Makubi & Issa (2018) inform that improved integrity and service delivery has led to increased revenue collection in Temeke Tax Region: from 195, 840.12 million Tanzanian shillings (TZS) in 2014 -2015 before the fifth phase government came to power to 308,746.72 million TZS in 2016- 2017 during the fifth phase government tenure<sup>7</sup>. This is an increase of 57.7%.

**5.5 Improvement in quality of infrastructure built**

Roads, buildings and other constructed infrastructure tend to be of high quality as complaints in quality may mean serious repercussions to responsible officials and contractors including removal from office and prosecutions. It has been reported that traffic congestion in Dar es Salaam while it is a major problem it is a result of inadequate and poor drainage systems (Kiunsi 2013). Drainage failures and road washouts constrain progress in road development. Despite increases in the size of the network, the proportion of roads in good and fair condition has remained the same since 2007 (AFDB, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> 1 US\$ is equal to 2300.50 TZS

Since 2016, the Government has been loudly calling for quality road networks (Nkwame, 2017)<sup>8</sup>. Quite timely, The World Bank approved in 2017, US\$ 130 million for the Tanzania Strategic Cities Project (TSCP) to improve public accessible roads and drainage to benefit eight (8) cities including Dar es Salaam (World Bank 2019). Road infrastructures, as other infrastructures, as can be observed in Dar es Salaam the main commercial city, are now mostly built supported by good drainage systems created. The roads built under this government give indications that they may survive longer; more importantly new standards are set.

### 5.6 Anticorruption drive

As stated, the coming to power of the incumbent President was supported by the prevailing political climate that needed a change catalyst. For example, with the Tegeta Escrow account scandal – one of the biggest scandals the country has ever faced, those who were thought to be involved were taken to custody and those who received the funds spoke publicly to return the money or to disown their participation in the affair including a denominational private bank (Mirondo, 2017). Transparency International Corruption Index (2018) shows consistent but positive results for Tanzania. In the East African Region, it is now only second to Rwanda as one of the less corrupt countries. Some few years back it was ranked just above Burundi the worst in the region. The Afrobarometer Survey (2017) reports promising results:

- 72%, i.e. 7 in 10 people see corruption to decrease in 2017, compared to only 13% in 2014;
- 71% of Tanzanians said government is fighting corruption well;
- The anticorruption organ the PCCB is viewed to be effective by 83% of Tanzanians;
- Popular perception on corruption has declined in key public institutions: 37% considered the Tanzania Revenue Authority corrupt in 2014 the percentage decreased to 14% in 2017;
- Local and central government officials enjoyed a double digit in public perception of corruption.

The Global Corruption Barometer Africa has Tanzania on the positive extremes: on perception of increase of corruption only 10% making that observation for Tanzania; on perception of government efforts on corruption over 70% recognize positively government efforts (Transparency International, 2019). Tanzania as indicated in the report, is unequaled on the two indices by any of the 37 countries surveyed.

### 5.7 Dividend payment by revenue earning public institutions

It is for the first time in the country's history that public institutions that earn income are required by country's leadership to pay dividend or as suggested face consequences. The relevant legislation requires a 15% of gross income to be surrendered to the central government by public corporations. Most of those institutions had to pay dividends for the first time since their creations and ended up meeting the directives through elaborate publicized ceremonies. The citizen, on Tuesday July 24<sup>th</sup> 2018, reported that the government received payout of 736.36b TZS that is 586.9% increase from 107.2b TZS in 2013/14 from 43 public corporations, regulatory and executive agencies (Malanga, 2018). Even the about 50 year old Tazama Pipeline owned by both countries, Zambia being the majority shareholder, has declared dividend to its shareholders for the first time in 2018 and paid 682 m TZS to the government of Tanzania (Daily News of 25.5 2018; Lusaka Times of 26.5.2018) and dividend was again paid in 2019. In 2015/16, 13 corporations paid dividends of 119.2 b TZS, in 2018/2019 the number has gone up to 28 paying 497.5 b TZS as of May 2019 (MOF's Budget Speech, 2019/2020).

### 5.8 Invigorating of the national pride

Tanzania has been fortunate with its head of states being respected and recognized beyond their terms, either within the country and internationally. Julius Nyerere is considered among the most respected statesmen in Africa, his name being mentioned along the names of Nelson Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah; Alhaji Hassan Mwinyi his successor was the darling of his predecessor and is the darling of his successors. Ruled for ten years as per the constitution, is over 90 years of age, still walks straight and graces many national socio community events. His son is the only son of a head of state who has been cabinet minister and in all three successive governments. He is remembered for his statement in the early 1990s of 'Ruksa' 'everything goes' a word which ushered free enterprise among the people after years of central control of the economy by the government (Brennan et. al. (2007)).

<sup>8</sup> Statement by the Prime Minister insisting on quality, reported in the Dailynews of 5<sup>th</sup> May 2017)

Until very recently Mwinyi has graced and climbed Mount Kilimanjaro for the HIV fund-raising events by Acacia owned Geita Gold Mine. Benjamin Mkapa, the third term president elected in a multiparty democratic environment, is a seasoned diplomat and has been involved in the inter-Burundian Dialogue by the East African Community (EAC), his term saw a very friendly relationship with international partners that greatly supported institutional building and national capacity for development (DPG 2007). The Benjamin William Mkapa HIV Foundation initially supported by the Clinton Foundation is since then generously supported by different development partners. Jakaya-Kikwete, a seasonal diplomat, is now an elections observer and has led such missions in Zambia, Nigeria and Southern Africa for the Commonwealth and AU (Lusaka Times July 19<sup>th</sup> 2016; The Commonwealth 2019; AU May 8<sup>th</sup> 2019). The incumbent, soon after coming to power, his actions and statements got international attention and Africans in many countries portrayed the now called the 'Bulldozer' as the example of the needed leadership in the continent.

President Magufuli, with the Tanzania first policy approach, serious fights on corruption and embezzlement, though not a diplomat in profession has been able to change the geopolitical environment in the region. Tanzania is a country at center stage again, that is friendly with Rwanda and Malawi, ending some tensions; it was also possible for Tanzania to compete successfully for the pipeline following oil discoveries in Uganda to pass through Tanzania. Tanzania has now, after many years, a national flag carrier back in the skies and a new modern standard gauge railway line along the old central railway line route being built. The Economist article of June 6<sup>th</sup> 2019 accepts that the mega projects are morale boosting for Tanzanians. Tanzania seems to be considered now as a serious nation in the fight against corruption and promotion of national interests after successful negotiations with mining companies.

## 6. The future of democracy and prosperity

Scholars and institutional think tanks agree that democracy can support progress. But fail to agree that democratic processes are the only means for sustainable progress. The chicken and egg situation also arises (Kim and Heshmati, 2017; Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, 1994; Jaunky, 2013; Kisangani, 2006; Barro, 1996; Lipset 1959). In Tanzania, change in leadership overtime has been smooth. New leadership is seen to work on problems inherited that required, sometimes, significant policy changes. Mwinyi had to bring about free enterprise and ushered pluralist democracy; Mkapa liberalized the economy and promoted institutional building; Kikwete had to solve energy problems and the effects of droughts before promoting economy boosting policies; Magufuli was faced, as seen, by a populace that needed change and which has become intolerant to corruption.

The incumbent government had to show it means to bring change in an environment where most of the needed institutions and institutional capacities were present. The Tanzania Revenue Authority, for example was created in 1995 established by Act of Parliament No. 11 of 1995. It was initiated during Mwinyi's government and made operational during Mkapa's government. During Kikwete's government the EFD machines were introduced to improve revenue collection but were highly resisted by business people (Casey & Castro, 2015; Eilu, 2018). Magufuli's regime took a no nonsense approach and EFD's became more acceptable and revenue collection increased.

In the same vein, an anticorruption Squad was created in Tanzania in 1974 during Nyerere's term; it was restructured in 1991 during Mwinyi's term, to the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB); in 2007 during Kikwete's term, the PCCB seen today was created adding 20 offences over four in the previous legislation (PCCB Act of 2007)<sup>9</sup>. This shows that most governments saw a need to strengthen the institution. What was logically important was to make the institution work and that seems to be the case with the present administration.

Policy implementation in Tanzania is said to be constrained, among others, by poor oversight, poor coordination of efforts, inadequate resources, donor dependence, corruption, low community participation and ownership, poor infrastructure, etc. (Action Against Hunger, 2017; OECD, 2013; Kamuzora and Gilson 2007). There have been moments when local scholars and politicians asserted that Tanzania develops policies and create relevant institutional frameworks that lead to limited outcomes.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See also the Tanzanian Affairs, New Anti-Corruption ACT. Available at: <https://www.tzaffairs.org/2007/09/new-anti-corruption-act/>

<sup>10</sup> See observations in the Citizen of 26. 09.2018 'Why Tanzania fails to industrialize despite multitude of policies?'

Without challenging incumbent governments through democratic processes, Africa has not shown significant progress. Where democratic processes face challenges, we see some progress. Where vibrant democracies exist we have seen as well some progress. We have, however, not seen Africa leapfrogging and positive change being sustainable where democratic processes are encumbered. Likewise, where democracies flourish, there is less evidence that democracy has catapulted countries significantly in the political, economic and social spheres to indicate no possibilities of regression to old conditions or worse off. Whatever progress Tanzania is achieving has to be sustainable. Kim and Heshmati (2017:2) pose a question that 'Is East Asia's experience an exception in the relationship between economic growth and democracy?' Some few examples of some positive changes within Africa can be given. But they mirror not what happened for the East Asian Countries and China, where discernible progress has been seen over several decades of stable focused political environments in robust democracies and otherwise.

Democracy as known in the country is going through some changes. The opposition is now weaker than ever before. Opposition members of parliament resign and seek the same seats but now as ruling party candidates; some senior opposition party leaders seem to happily accept, as individuals, leadership positions in the government. Development partners seem to have lesser profound influence on local issues. Though, recently, the Statistics Act has seen revision by the Tanzanian Parliament to remove unfavorable clauses limiting freedom in sharing information (Oluoch, 2019).

It is possible that the opposition in Tanzania is facing temporary challenges - following conditions that circumstances have created -, it may however be able to consolidate itself to become again a force to reckon with even though it does not grasp power in the near future. Very recently, the court ruled in favor of the opposition that it is unconstitutional to have members of political parties to be returning officers during elections.

This move by the court, while unprecedented, is indicative that the country is empathetic to democratic ideals. De Vries et al., (2016) conclude that check and balances are necessary for effective leadership in Africa. The current circumstances facing the opposition may require a change of strategies given contexts. For example, deciding how effectively to support the anticorruption and other considered positive measures so as to be in the limelight again while waiting for a window of opportunity. Rightly, IDEA (2017) describes democratic resilience to encompass four elements: Flexibility, Recovery, Adaptation and Innovation.

The national government has to have the interest of consolidating and sustaining the positive outcomes. KARP & HELGØ (2008) observed that leadership of the people is often the challenge to effective change. There is a future challenge. As initially energized capacities are utilized, different efforts are needed to spur creativity and innovative efforts that are catalytic to make the country progress faster. Without a significant progress becoming visible over the medium term a more negotiated approach can sustain the achievements made and aspired. The questions that arises is that: 'If there is change in leadership, some years down the line, through democratic processes, will the attitude propagated by the current regime against corruption and for acceptable service delivery, continue to exist?' Will the country open up again to external influences that require action against corruption but through moderate measures and will the context be favorable to bring desired results?

The two issues of economic progress and promotion of democratic practices are central to the future of Tanzania. Kupundeh (1992) presents that in the early 1990s donors started caring for both political change and economic reforms. How have the efforts toward these two objectives been balanced, and, effectively so? In the Tanzanian case, should a more engaging partnership be created so that corruption and irresponsiveness become lesser challenges? Nelson Mandela at the London School of Economics in 2000 was quoted emphasizing peace, stability and security for Africa's future (Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, 2017). According to the Institute of Peace (IEP, 2018), Tanzania ranks as the 51<sup>st</sup> peaceful country; 54<sup>th</sup> in 2019 but remained first in East Africa and moved positively from 9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> position in Africa (IEP, 2019).

Again, a strong government is to achieve viable change when a more holistic approach to issues is taken. On the economic front, recent efforts showing desire to engage the private sector has come probably from pressures for economic progress and learning from past policy mistakes. For example, the Revenue Authority has made it more bureaucratic for its officials to close business because of tax arrears (Citizen June 9<sup>th</sup> 2019). His Excellency also, met business leaders from every district to listen to them. The meeting resulted into removal from positions the minister responsible for trade and the revenue authority's top boss and the arraignment of suspected corrupt revenue and police officials (The Citizen June 7<sup>th</sup> 2019).

A multi-pronged approach to social, economic and political challenges, informed by successes and lived experiences, might be the way forward to future policies and actions. For instance, if we borrow Rumelt's criteria for evaluating strategies that says when success in one place means failure in another and when changes of personnel does not lead to solved problems, strategies may be incompatible and need to be adjusted (Rumelt, 1993).

## 7. Conclusion

Tanzania has some unique characteristics that distinguish it from many other countries. Nonetheless, it is similar to other nations in the Continent, as progress in the economic front seems to be incremental steps that are vulnerable to internal and external influences. We have seen democracy and stable governments insulate the country from social and political chaos witnessed in other developing countries. There has been discernible economic progress for more than a decade now; the same can be said about the political context. Such achievements are necessary for sustainable progress. The different governments since independence given circumstances can be said to have shown genuine desire to create the right social economic conditions.

The actions of the incumbent government are largely in line to such a perspective. Democratic processes have been robust in the country that is why Tanzania is leading international observer missions on elections in the continent. At present, Tanzania is positively embracing again some of the ethos earlier cherished, given clear policies on issues of corruption and improved public delivery of services. The check and balance institutions seem to continue to respect democratic processes and can mitigate long term unwarranted outcomes.

Economic progress is an important agenda of the present leadership, though rule enforcements on the medium term will have both positive and negative outcomes. The negative outcomes are undesirable and need to be ameliorated. The issue of concern is how to proceed successfully relative to the important agenda of economic progress, stability, peace and democratic processes.

It is recommended a more holistic approach is essential for positive discernable change to be achieved to record sustainable social and economic progress. The government and its partners have to chart a more trusting relationship that will eventually promote all that is important to all concerned given the national circumstances. Institutional capacities created over several decades have to be strengthened and positively leveraged on to achieve development objectives. As relationships need to be nurtured, so are institutions and capacities that exist for future needs. The institutional capacities created through the different reform programmes and the oversight and check and balance instruments, with significant claim to what Tanzania is and is to become, have to be strengthened and effectively used.

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