

Citizens Demand Tougher Action on Corruption in Tanzania

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This brief examines the extent of corruption perceived by residents of six councils in Tanzania; identifying the sectors worst affected. It also presents recommendations on measures to address local corruption based upon the opinions and experiences of citizens.

To inform ongoing anti-corruption efforts at both local and national levels, the views and experiences of citizens are essential for assessing the extent of corruption and for designing effective anti-corruption measures. As part of REPOA's formative process research programme on local government reform in Tanzania, two citizen surveys were conducted, the first in October 2003 and the second in October/November 2006. A total of 1,260 residents from six local councils - Bagamoyo District Council, Ilala Municipal Council, Iringa District Council, Kilosa District Council, Moshi District Council and Mwanza City Council, participated in each study. The surveys explored three broad topics: governance, financial management and service delivery. This brief reports participants' views on corruption, who they perceive are involved, and their ideas on how best to address the problem.

Introduction

Launched in December 2006, the second phase of Tanzania's National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan (NACSAP II) has expanded its scope beyond national ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) to include local government authorities (LGAs), civil society and the private sector. Under NACSAP II, LGAs are now responsible for formulating and implementing anti-corruption plans and activities within their jurisdictions.

The exclusion of local government authorities from the implementation of the first phase of Tanzania's National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan (NACSAP I) (2000-05) was found to be a weakness in the policy. Evidence gathered during the development of the second phase of NACSAP (2006-2010) revealed that corruption, misuse of power and authority, and breaches of human rights by local authorities are widespread. Staff recruitment and transfers, management of revenue and taxes collected by LGAs, and land

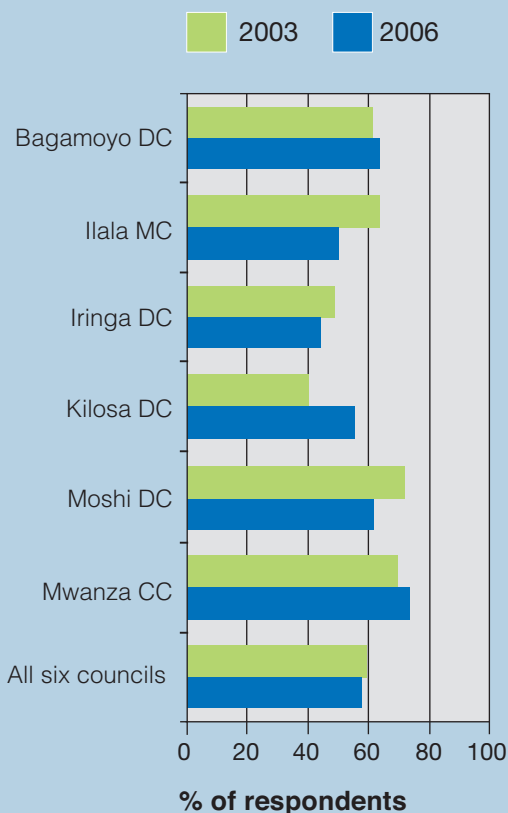
allocations (NASAP II, page 47 and 50) were identified as the areas most effected by official misconduct. Therefore, NACSAP II was expanded to include anti-corruption planning and action at the local level. LGAs have been tasked to implement measures to combat corruption within their jurisdiction, as part of the new comprehensive national strategy.

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE CITIZEN SURVEYS

Extent of Corruption

Corruption was perceived to be a serious and ongoing problem in all six case councils. Almost three-fifths (58%) of respondents considered corruption to be a problem in 2006, only a marginal improvement from 59% in 2003 (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: Percentage of Respondents From Six Councils Who Think Corruption is a Serious Problem (2003 and 2006)

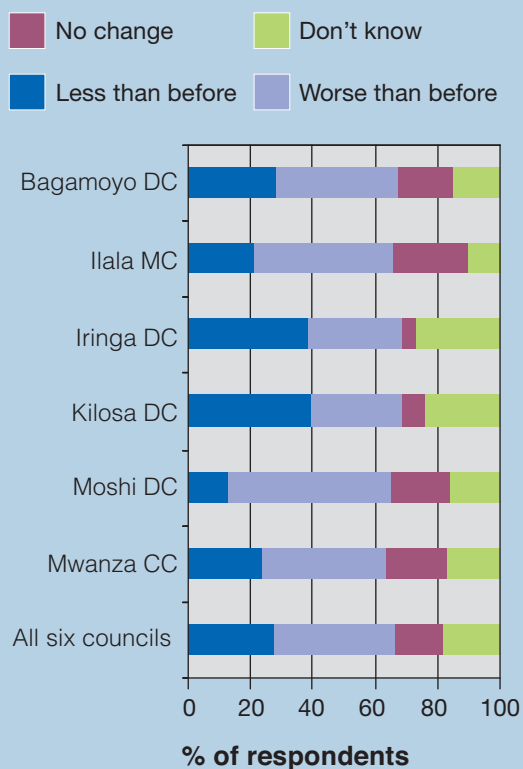


Source: Citizens' Surveys, 2003 & 2006

Substantial differences in perceptions, however, were noted between councils. Nearly three-quarters (74%) of respondents in Mwanza CC in 2006 thought corruption was a serious problem, while less than half (44%) of participants in Iringa DC felt this way. In addition, larger proportions of citizens in Kilosa DC, Bagamoyo DC and Mwanza CC viewed corruption to be a major problem in 2006 than 2003 with a substantial deterioration reported in Kilosa from 40% in 2003 to 55% in 2006. In contrast, fewer respondents in Ilala MC, Iringa DC and Moshi DC perceived corruption to be a serious problem in 2006 with Ilala showing a significant improvement from 64% of respondents in 2003 to 50% in 2006.

The data suggest that the Government may be achieving modest success over time in fighting corruption as public perceptions of efforts to combat the problem are improving. In 2003, only 27% of respondents perceived that current levels

FIGURE 2: Respondents' Perceptions of Corruption Compared With Two Years Ago (2003 Survey Data)

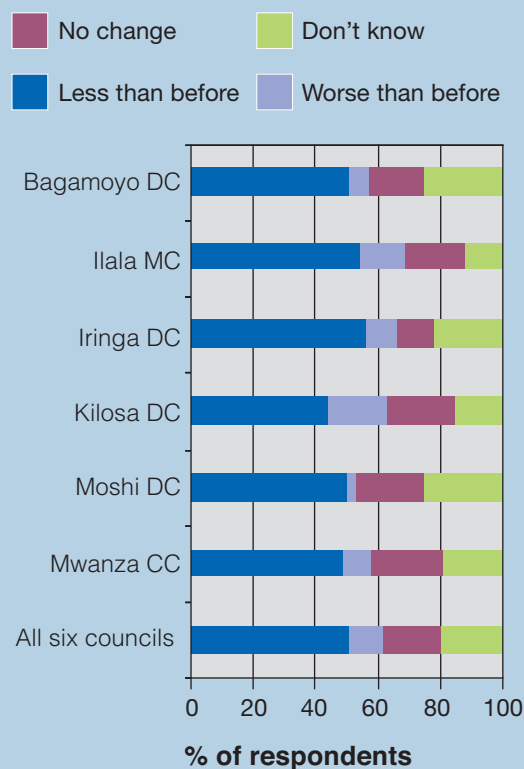


Source: Citizens' Survey 2003

of corruption were less than two years before (Figure 2), while 51% held this opinion in 2006 (Figure 3). In all councils except Kilosa, substantial increases were recorded in the percentage of respondents perceiving reduced levels of corruption. In Kilosa, only a slight increase was noted from 40% of respondents in 2003 to 44% in 2006.

The survey data also show that reported experiences of corruption appear to be declining. While 50% of all respondents in 2003 said they had observed acts of corruption, this proportion had fallen to 30% in 2006.

FIGURE 3: Respondents' Perceptions of Corruption Compared With Two Years Ago (2006 Survey Data)



Source: Citizens' Survey 2006

These findings are consistent with the most recent *Afrobarometer* survey on corruption in Tanzania which suggests that 'the government may be achieving at least modest success; public perceptions of its efforts to combat the problem are improving, while reported experiences with corruption appear to be on the decline' (REPOA, 2006). Moreover, the World Bank Institute's governance indicators place Tanzania among countries that experienced large improvements in the control of corruption over the period 1998 to 2006 (Kaufmann, Kraay & Mastruzzi, 2007). In addition, the country's score on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)

also improved from 1.9 in 1996 to 3.2 in 2007¹ (see Corruption Perception Index overleaf).

Who Are Perceived As The Most Corrupt?

In the 2003 survey, the police were ranked as the most corrupt, while in 2006 the police were ranked third by respondents (Table 1).

TABLE 1: Respondents' Rankings of the Most Corrupt

Ranking	2003	2006
1	Police	Ordinary citizens
2	Ordinary citizens	Local government officials
3	Local government officials	Police
4	Health workers	Health workers
5	Business people	Village leaders

Source: Citizens' Surveys, 2003 & 2006

This finding is consistent with results from the *Afrobarometer* survey (REPOA, 2006). In that study, the proportion of respondents perceiving corruption in the police force declined from 80% in 2003 to 72% in 2005.

Ordinary citizens were ranked as the number one perpetrators of corrupt behaviour in 2006, a change which may reflect the impact of anti-corruption awareness campaigns over recent years. These campaigns have advocated that ordinary citizens have a responsibility to refuse

paying bribes in exchange for benefits from officials. In turn, local government officials were ranked as third most corrupt in 2003, but second in 2006. However, rankings varied between councils. In Moshi DC, for instance, local government officials and the police were perceived to be the most corrupt in 2006.

Findings also show encouraging improvements in

peoples' perceptions of law and order. In 2003, only 19% of respondents expressed satisfaction with law and order, but this proportion increased to 35% in 2006. This may partly reflect ongoing Government efforts to restructure the public

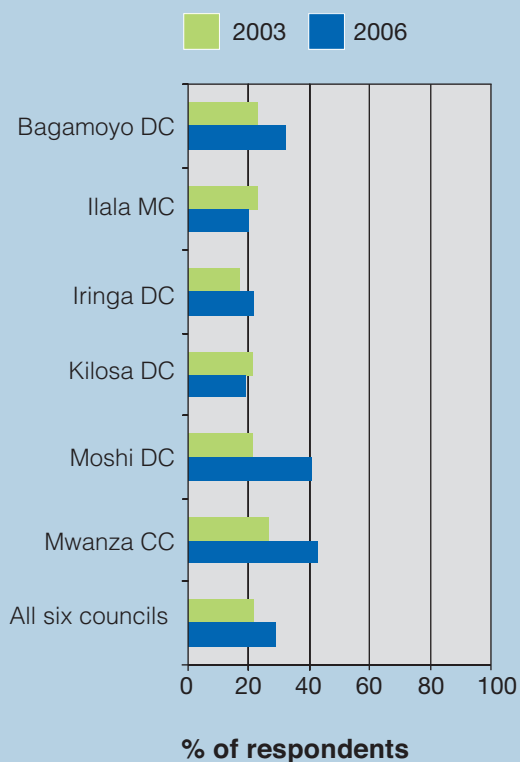
service, particularly senior management of the police force at national, regional and district levels. These measures have been directed at reducing unethical behaviour by police officers and improving the security of ordinary citizens.

Public Awareness on How and Where to Report Corruption

As noted above, almost 60% of respondents in the 2006 survey perceived corruption to be a serious problem and 30% had witnessed a corrupt act by a public official. However, only 3%

¹The CPI relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as viewed by business people and country analysts, and ranges between 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt). See http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi or **Corruption Perception Index table overleaf**.

FIGURE 4: Percentage of Respondents Who Reported Knowledge of Processes to Follow in Reporting an Act of Corruption by a Public Official, (2003 and 2006)



Source: Citizens' Surveys 2003 & 2006

of respondents said that they or members of their household had reported the corrupt acts. One reason for this large discrepancy is that many people do not know how and where to report cases of corruption. Only 29% of the respondents in 2006 said that they knew the processes to follow in reporting corruption (Figure 4). Although this figure is low, it does represent an increase from the 22% of respondents reporting such knowledge in 2003. This suggests that awareness-raising measures are slowly bearing fruits in some councils. In Moshi DC and Mwanza

CC, for example, more than 40% of respondents in 2006 were aware of the processes to report corruption.

However, even if citizens know how and where to report corruption, they may still decide not to do so because they fear negative repercussions. When asked why citizens do not report the misuse of tax money, 39% of respondents in 2003 and over 45% in 2006 cited this reason. Of note, council officials and citizens who participated at a workshop organised by REPOA in Mwanza in August 2007 reported that the Prevention and Combat of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) was very cooperative with people who reported cases of official misconduct.

Recommendations to Address Corruption

Participants were asked where they thought public revenues were least likely to be misused and what actions could be taken to reduce misappropriation of funds. In 2003, 27% of all respondents believed that the misuse of funds was unavoidable but only 10% of participants held this view in 2006. Moreover, increasing trust in the lower levels of government was noted in findings. In 2006, almost 35% of respondents considered that the misuse of funds was least likely at the village level, compared with 15% in 2003. This perception was especially strong in the three rural councils - Iringa, Kilosa and Moshi DCs - where more than 40% of

respondents in each council held this view in 2006. The *kitongoji*/hamlet chairperson and the village/*mtaa* chairperson were also the officials considered least likely to misuse public funds.

When asked what actions would reduce the misuse of tax revenue, over 70% of respondents in 2006 recommended reporting misuse to the village authorities, compared with less than 50% in 2003. In addition, almost four-fifths of respondents in 2006 (compared with 64% in 2003) suggested that reporting the misuse of tax revenue to a journalist would help reduce this form of corruption. Citizens' trust in journalists has also been reported in other studies (ESRF & FACEIT, 2003). Stronger punishment of corrupt government employees and politicians is another measure considered by citizens as essential in reducing the misuse of public funds. The proportion of respondents demanding tougher actions against corrupt officials increased from approximately 80% in 2003 to more than 90% in 2006.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Corruption was perceived to be a major problem by a majority of citizens in the six case councils. Yet, many respondents did not know how to report cases of corruption. And those who do know how are fearful of negative repercussions should they decide to report official misconduct. An urgent need, therefore, exists to establish stronger administrative and legal mechanisms to protect whistleblowers. Otherwise, programmes to increase citizens' awareness of the procedures to report corruption will have limited impact on combating corruption. Indeed, anti-corruption initiatives might be counterproductive if people see that individuals reporting misconduct are punished, while no action is taken against the officials involved.

Evidence from Mwanza indicates that the PCCB can play a positive role by following up on complaints raised by citizens. Other councils, however, report that the PCCB is too distant from

ordinary people and is not properly integrated into anti-corruption endeavours at the ward and village levels. Thus, there is a need for better coordination between the PCCB and local government authorities. That some LGAs, in collaboration with the PCCB, have invited councillors, construction companies, small traders and village leaders to participate in the planning of anti-corruption strategies represents an encouraging step in the implementation of local-level anti-corruption initiatives envisaged under NACSAP II.

Anti-corruption policies and action plans, however, must be backed up by concrete mechanisms to prosecute public officials involved in corruption. If legal action is not taken against corrupt individuals, then the credibility of the Government's anti-corruption stance will be greatly undermined and quickly lose the trust of citizens.

CONCLUSION

The testimony of ordinary citizens provides valuable insight into the extent and nature of corruption, which sectors and services are worst effected, and what should be done to combat this serious problem. Two clear conclusions emerge from analysis of the views and experiences of citizens in six councils: stronger mechanisms are needed to protect whistleblowers and tougher actions are demanded by Tanzanians against corrupt officials.

2007 Corruption Perceptions Index Regional Highlights: Africa

Country Rank	Regional Country Rank	Country/Territory	CPI Score 2007	Confidence Intervals	Surveys Used
38	1	Botswana	5.4	4.8 - 6.1	7
43	2	South Africa	5.1	4.9 - 5.5	9
49	3	Cape Verde	4.9	3.4 - 5.5	3
53	4	Mauritius	4.7	4.1 - 5.7	6
57	5	Namibia	4.5	3.9 - 5.2	7
57	5	Seychelles	4.5	2.9 - 5.7	4
61	7	Tunisia	4.2	3.4 - 4.8	6
69	8	Ghana	3.7	3.5 - 3.9	7
71	9	Senegal	3.6	3.2 - 4.2	7
72	10	Morocco	3.5	3.0 - 4.2	7
84	11	Gabon	3.3	3.0 - 3.5	5
84	11	Swaziland	3.3	2.6 - 4.2	5
84	11	Lesotho	3.3	3.1 - 3.5	6
94	14	Madagascar	3.2	2.5 - 3.9	7
94	14	Tanzania	3.2	2.9 - 3.4	8
99	16	Algeria	3.0	2.7 - 3.2	6
105	17	Djibouti	2.9	2.2 - 3.4	3
105	17	Burkina Faso	2.9	2.6 - 3.4	7
105	17	Egypt	2.9	2.6 - 3.3	7
111	20	Eritrea	2.8	2.1 - 3.5	5
111	20	Rwanda	2.8	2.3 - 3.3	5
111	20	Mozambique	2.8	2.5 - 3.1	8
111	20	Uganda	2.8	2.5 - 3.0	8
118	24	Mali	2.7	2.4 - 3.0	8
118	24	Malawi	2.7	2.4 - 3.0	8
118	24	Sao Tome and Principe	2.7	2.4 - 3.0	3
118	24	Benin	2.7	2.3 - 3.2	7
123	28	Zambia	2.6	2.3 - 2.9	8
123	28	Comoros	2.6	2.2 - 3.0	3
123	28	Mauritania	2.6	2.0 - 3.3	6
123	28	Niger	2.6	2.3 - 2.9	7
131	32	Burundi	2.5	2.0 - 3.0	7
138	33	Ethiopia	2.4	2.1 - 2.7	8

2007 Corruption Perceptions Index Regional Highlights: Africa

Country Rank	Regional Country Rank	Country/Territory	CPI Score 2007	Confidence Intervals	Surveys Used
138	33	Cameroon	2.4	2.1 - 2.7	8
143	35	Gambia	2.3	2.0 - 2.6	6
143	35	Togo	2.3	1.9 - 2.8	5
147	37	Angola	2.2	1.8 - 2.4	7
147	37	Nigeria	2.2	2.0 - 2.4	8
147	37	Guinea-Bissau	2.2	2.0 - 2.3	3
150	40	Sierra Leone	2.1	2.0 - 2.2	5
150	40	Zimbabwe	2.1	1.8 - 2.4	8
150	40	Côte d'Ivoire	2.1	1.7 - 2.6	6
150	40	Congo, Republic of the	2.1	2.0 - 2.2	6
150	40	Kenya	2.1	1.9 - 2.3	8
150	40	Liberia	2.1	1.8 - 2.4	4
162	46	Central African Republic	2.0	1.8 - 2.3	5
168	47	Equatorial Guinea	1.9	1.7 - 2.0	4
168	47	Guinea	1.9	1.4 - 2.6	6
168	47	Congo, Democratic Republic of the	1.9	1.8 - 2.1	6
172	50	Sudan	1.8	1.6 - 1.9	6
172	50	Chad	1.8	1.7 - 1.9	7
179	52	Somalia	1.4	1.1 - 1.7	4

Source: Transparency International (http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi)

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