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Voter Choices and Electoral Decisions in the 2000 General Elections in Tanzania

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Introduction

A democratic system of government, at minimum, has to provide its citizens with the opportunity to organize, speak freely, and to elect its leaders. The selection of leaders by citizens is central to any democratic system of governance. As citizens participate in the process of selecting their leaders, they develop a behavioural pattern of voting which is based on a number of factors. Literature on this subject admits that voter behaviour is a very complex phenomenon and highlights party identification (partisanship), ideology, current political issues, candidates' personal qualities, and the performance of incumbents as the major influential factors. Ethnicity has also been identified as an important factor influencing voter choice, particularly in Africa.

Tanzanians have been participating in elections since the late 1950s. During the independence era there was a multi-party system which was replaced by a single-party system lasting for nearly thirty years. It was in July 1992 when the second era of competitive multiparty democracy was introduced with multiparty general elections being held in 1995. Multi-party general elections were carried out again in October 2000. This shift in electoral politics had a significant impact on voter behaviour. This article attempts to delineate the factors that influence voter choices and electoral decisions in Tanzania.

Determinants of Voter Choices: An Overview

Voter choices are determined by several factors, *inter-alia*, party ideology, party identification, social class, pressing issues of the time (questions of public policy) and the way candidates present

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them, the performance of incumbents, and the personality and public image of the candidate (Buttler & Stokes, 1969). These factors can be categorized into two groups: long-term and short-term. Long-term factors include party ideology and party identification, while short-term factors are those that are specific to certain elections including pressing issues of the time, a party's reputation, the performance of incumbents, and the personality/image of the candidate. While the long-term factors explain the stability in an electoral system, short-term factors account for the variability in election outcomes. Flanigen *et. al.*, (1998: 166) argues, "... an individual's vote in an election can be viewed as the product of the strength of partisanship and the impact of short-term forces on the individual." In this respect, it is important to note that while these factors can analytically be separated, their effects on the voter choices are virtually impossible to disentangle. This is particularly true because voter behaviour is a very complex phenomenon and it is influenced by a variety of factors.

Ideology is one of the long-term factors that determine voter choices. Ideally, every campaign agenda and policy issue is supposed to be informed by the ideological inclination of the party. The ideology of the party provides a framework through which fundamental agenda and policy issues of national character are designed. In most cases, these types of agenda and policy issues reflect a visionary future society from a party perspective.

In Tanzania, a very small section of people, if any, vote on the basis of ideology. This is particularly because most voters have limited ability, knowledge and education to come to grips with abstract political concepts, which set parameters for political debates and party policies. Lack of a coherent set of beliefs or ideology to define their political attitudes is largely a product of the level of political competence among Tanzanians (Baregu, 2001). Thus, it is very unlikely that ideology guides voter choices in Tanzania.

Moreover, there are no fundamental ideological differences among contemporary political parties in Tanzania. All political parties are clustered around the centre of the ideological spectrum. Whereas United Democratic Party (UDP), *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA) and the Civic United Front (CUF) seem to be slightly to the right of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) along the ideological continuum, Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) and NCCR-Mageuzi are on the immediate left of CCM. It is important to note that most of these parties, including CCM, are having difficulties

deciding publicly if they are parties of egalitarianism and equality, or parties of capitalist growth. Thus far, these parties have vacillated on their position in regard to the socialist-capitalist divide, conveying the image of parties without a clear vision of Tanzania and its future. Thus, all existing political parties stand on a similar ideological platform, as such they do not have basic ideological differences that could fundamentally distinguish their policies.

For people without an ideological orientation to define their ideas and issues, party identification becomes a rescue (Campbell *et. al.*, 1960; Butler & Stoke, 1969). Party identification is the biggest factor accounting for how people decide to vote. Party identification - or what Key *et. al.*, (1960) called "a standing decision" - is a stable and long-term factor for most people, and guides voters' decision in election after election. Party identification is in most cases reinforced by social interactions and the appeal of party issues. In party identification, it is important to understand the structure of voters cognitive maps and hence the stability of their voting choice. Party identification provides voters with a frame of reference that simplifies their choice (Campbell *et. al.*, 1960; Butler & Stoke, 1969). It allows them to zero in on unfamiliar problems and filter new information using their partisan lens. In fact, it provides for simplified decisions and information short-cuts for voters when faced with a variety and complex electoral issues.

Class identification can also influence voter choice. Butler and Stoke (1974:88) argue that "...the individual, identifying with a particular class, forms a positive bond to the party which looks after the interest of the class...." According to Robertson (1984) classes can become "cultural communities" whose members are both conscious and loyal to the community. When a class reaches a level of cultural community, then class becomes an important factor in voter choice. In the Tanzanian context, class is not an issue. With its egalitarian policies, CCM and its predecessors preached that Tanzania was a classless society. Tanzania was presented as a country of workers and peasants. Moreover, the workers' organization, which is an important instrument in raising workers' consciousness into a cultural community, was reduced to a party organ whose major function was to mobilize workers support for party policies. The private sector also was also subdued. Social cohesion and ideological conformity was emphasized. The affluent and poor were all allowed to be members of the ruling party. These were deliberate moves by the ruling party to obfuscate class differences, and thus reduce to an unimportant factor in electoral choices.

It is important, however, to note that there is a growing tendency for people to vote for more affluent people than used to be the case under the single-party system.¹ This is partly because liberalization policies have widened the gap between classes, and the removal of the ruling party's leadership code has created more room for affluent people to use their economic resources to influence the voting process.

Party identification, ideology, and class are not the only critical factors in determining voting behaviour. The experience of other parts of the world, particularly Western countries, shows that even loyal party members sometimes vote for other parties (Norris, 1997). Some people are able to switch their voting from time to time without giving up their party identification. For example, social group characteristics can exaggerate or override traditional party loyalties by making people loyal or defect from partisan voting. In this situation, election outcomes would likely be determined by short-term factors that reinforce party loyalties or cause defections.

Short-term factors - including pressing issues of the day, qualities of the candidate, candidate/party records - are critical variables in elections. In fact, election campaigns, actions of candidates and their party during elections are directed to modify or clarify these variables. This is particularly because that section of the electorate that is influenced by these variables can make a big difference in the electoral results and this is particularly true when you take the partisan variable as given.

Pressing issues of the day become important when voters care intensely about them. In fact, these problems provide a basis for campaign agendas and policy issues. This is true both for national and local campaigns. It is important to note that while party ideology is supposed to be the "recipe" for party manifestoes and programs, pressing issues of the day and their supposed solutions are expected to be the "flavours." It is the "recipe" which differentiates one type of food from the other, while "flavours" differentiate tastes. In other words, it is the difference in ideological inclination that fundamentally differentiates one party campaign from another. However, in a situation where the ideological inclination of one party is not so different from the other, the "flavours" play an important role.

For "flavours" (issues) to have an impact on an election, voters must be informed and concerned about them. The candidate's stand on the issue must be clear and voters must correctly perceive the

candidate's position. Under such circumstances voters will be capable of selecting the candidate that represents their view. In areas where candidates present clear issue alternatives, voters are likely to make political issues a criterion for electoral choice (Nie, *et. al.*, 1976).

Personal qualities—experience, competency, honesty and integrity—are also important for a candidate, particularly for an incumbent, to win an election. Individuals who demonstrate competency, honesty and integrity are voted in year after year in some constituencies. For example, Augustine Mrema was a significant factor in the 1995 presidential elections because many people commended him for his anti-corruption drive while he was the Minister for Home Affairs (TEMCO, 1997). It is important to emphasize that for a candidate's qualities to play an influential role in voter choices, the qualities need to be known to voters.

The record of the incumbent is an important variable. According to Fiorina (1981), voters continuously assess the performance of political parties, especially the president's and the incumbent's party. Fiorina (1981) calls this "retrospective voting." In most cases, voters take into account a retrospective evaluation of the incumbent in making electoral decisions. The reputation or the image of the party can either encourage or deter voters from voting for the incumbent, or a candidate of a given party. The image of the party, that is the attitude of people toward the party, can be viewed as a short-term factor. These attitudes are usually associated with the ability of the party to manage the government, the economy, and to maintain peace and order. The decline in support for NCCR-Mageuzi as manifested in the 2000 general elections is an indication of the worsening of its public image since the 1995 elections. In the 2000 general elections, NCCR-Mageuzi won only a single parliamentary seat as opposed to sixteen in 1995. No single incumbent MP was re-elected. Persistent conflicts within NCCR-Mageuzi in the period between the two general elections tarnished the party's image and reputation. It is important to note that party images affect the candidate running under the party label and vice versa. The NCCR-Mageuzi example is also an illustration of this point.

Voting Behaviour in Tanzania: The Single Party Era

During the single party era, ideology or party identification were not electoral issues because all contestants were from the same party and they were using the same party manifesto. Personal qualities, the incumbent's performance, and issues at stake played an important role in voter choice. Two examples can illustrate where

voters decided to choose a candidate because s/he was supporting an issue that was accepted by the majority of voters in that particular constituency.

In the 1985 elections, the then Secretary General for the Women's National Organization, Kate Kamba, lost her seat because of her staunch support for the development levy for all (regardless of gender). Under her leadership, the organization held a demonstration in support of that policy. Her constituency was among the poorest in the country and most people were against women paying development levy. In the 1985 elections, the party gave her a very weak opponent—a Ward Secretary who was a standard 8 graduate—with the hope that she would have an easy ride. However, she lost convincingly.

John Malecela also lost his seat in Dodoma municipal in 1980 for ignoring transportation issues when he was a Minister for Transport. People in his constituency complained about poor transport, particularly the central railway, but he denied there was a problem. When the 1980 elections came, people took him to task about that issue and he lost. One could also argue that among the reasons that caused Hon. Cleopa Msuya to be defeated in his efforts to be nominated as CCM's presidential candidate was his statement in the early 1980s that "everyone will carry his own luggage".

Personal qualities - experience, competency, honesty, and integrity - were also important for a candidate, particularly incumbents, to win an election. In certain constituencies individuals who demonstrated competency, honesty, and integrity were voted in for years. "Sir" George Kahama, for example, has been an MP from the first parliament. Also, Cleopa Msuya, Jackson Makweta, and Col. Ayubu Kimbau have been members of Parliament for more than twenty-five years. It is also important to note that during this time most ministers were re-elected. It was rare to see a minister lose a seat.

The performance of the incumbent was also very important. For example, Jiji of Mbinga and P. Gorro failed to win re-election in 1975 and 1995 respectively because of poor performance. Most MPs who were not visiting their constituents after being elected lost in the next elections.

It is also important to note that despite of all these factors the *ethnicity/home-boy* factor played an important role in elections. It was very difficult for people from outside a constituency to win an

election. With the exception of few constituencies - such as Ludewa and Bunda - it was very difficult for people coming from a minority group in the constituency to win elections. Thus, ethnicity was also an important determinant.

Voting Behaviour under Multiparty Party Politics

Unlike the single party era, party identification under multiparty politics has become an important factor in determining voter choice. Pressing issues of the time (questions of public policy), the performance of the incumbent, and the personality/image of the candidate and the party continue to play important role in voting decisions.

The experiences of the 1995 general election and the 2000 opinion poll conducted by Research and Education for Democracy (REDET) show that personal qualities and partisanship are the most influential factors in voter choice, followed by the performance of the incumbent. REDET (2000) opinion polls, for example, shows that candidate's personal quality is the most important factor that determines voter choice in presidential election: 39.7 percent of respondents said that they would vote on the basis of personal quality as opposed to 33.7 percent who said they would vote on partisan basis, and 20 percent who said they would vote on the basis of the performance of the incumbents. The results of opinion polls also showed that in parliamentary elections, partisanship played an important role in voting. This is because while in presidential elections personal quality is important, in the parliamentary elections partisan politics have loomed high partly because the latter are more influenced by local politics than national politics. In those polls, 41.4 percent of respondents said they would vote on partisan basis, 21.1 percent on personal qualities, 14 percent on the basis of the performance of the incumbent (REDET, 2000). On the basis of the findings of the 2000 general elections, one can say that these three factors continued to loom high in influencing voter choice. The results shows that 53.3 percent of constituencies voted along partisan lines, 27.3 percent voted on reasons other than partisan including the performance of the incumbents, and 21.3 percent voted on personal qualities.

Personal qualities of candidates featured clearly in both the 1995 and the 2000 general elections. Bunda and Karatu constituencies provide examples where this characteristic was prominent. In these constituencies, the CCM hierarchy did not nominate candidates who won party primaries in their respective constituencies. Instead the party selected candidates preferred by the top CCM leadership.

Those candidates who won the primaries and were not nominated by CCM then defected to opposition parties and both won the parliamentary election in their respective constituency. The interesting fact here is that while these defectors won, their colleagues in presidential elections lost. In the presidential election, the CCM candidate got 58.1 percent, while NCCR-M received 40.1 percent, and CUF and UDP got 0.7 percent each in Karatu constituency. Bunda constituency experienced a similar phenomenon. The above examples show that if people in these constituencies were voting on party lines, the presidential candidate and the MP would have come from the same party.

The Iringa urban constituency also provides a case where personal qualities of the candidate played a significant role in influencing voter choice in the 1995 elections. In this constituency, NCCR-M won the parliamentary seat, while the CCM candidate won in the presidential election. However, in this case, the ethnicity factor may have also played a role.

Another example is the NCCR-M presidential candidate's performance in the 1995 general elections. Augustine Mrema became very popular among voters because of his personal qualities and performance. People identified more with what he stood for, and what he did, than his party. This could also explain the electoral support he received in the 2000 general elections: when he moved to TLP from NCCR-Mageuzi, a significant number of NCCR-Mageuzi members also moved with him to TLP.

A further example could be drawn from Zanzibar, where despite party identification being the most significant variable in determining voter behaviour, the personal qualities of a candidate still played an important role. In the 1995 elections, for example, while the CCM parliamentary candidates won in Mlandege and Makadara constituencies, the CUF presidential candidate defeated the CCM presidential candidate in these constituencies.

A similar pattern can be detected from the 2000 general elections. In Karatu constituency, for example, the personal qualities of the candidate continued to prevail. While the CCM presidential candidate got 74.7 of the votes, the CHADEMA parliamentary candidate emerged a winner by defeating the CCM candidate by more than 10 percent. In the Kigamboni constituency, the CUF candidate won the parliamentary seat by getting 46 percent as opposed to 43.6 percent received by the CCM candidate. In the presidential election the CCM candidate won by getting 55.6 percent as opposed to 34.1 received by the CUF candidate. Similarly, the CUF parliamentary candidate in Bukoba urban defeated the CCM

candidate by about 6.6 percent; while the CCM presidential candidate defeated the CUF candidate by more than 20 percent. These are some of the examples where the personal qualities of the candidate played an important role in influencing voter choice.

An in-depth analysis of the 2000 general elections shows that in 3 out of the 36 rural constituencies which were inclined to non-partisan voting, a significant number of people likely voted for personal qualities of the candidates rather than other reasons. This can partly be explained by comparing the parliamentary and presidential results in those 36 constituencies. One finds that in all - except those three constituencies - the presidential candidate got more votes than the parliamentary candidate of the same party. This shows the parliamentary candidates in these constituencies had wider acceptance than the presidential candidate. In 29 out of 109 constituencies that showed partisan inclination, still the parliamentary candidates scored relatively higher than the presidential candidate of same party. This shows that there were a number of people who voted on the basis of other qualities, including the personal qualities of candidates. Table 1 shows some of the districts where partisanship was not a significant factor.

Table 1: Non-Partisan Voting in the 2000 General Elections

| Constituency | Political Party | MP Votes % | Presidential candidate % |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Msoma Urban | CCM | 53.5 | 67.3 |
| | TLP | 42.6 | 25.0 |
| Tarime | CCM | 48.7* | 84.0 |
| | TLP | 48.7 | 9.6 |
| Ulanga West | CCM | 57.9 | 73.4 |
| | TLP | 40.5 | 18.6 |
| Songea Urban | CCM | 46.2 | 76.5 |
| | TLP | 38.6 | 10.7 |
| Kyela | CCM | 52.7 | 68.8 |
| | TLP | 42.0 | 27.5 |
| Mwibara | CCM | 49.4 | 64.9 |
| | TLP | 50.6 | 28.5 |
| Mpanda Central | CCM | 52.2 | 60.6 |
| | TLP | 46.2 | 29.6 |
| Kigoma South | CCM | 44.8 | 65.2 |
| | NCCR | 45.7 | - |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|------|------|
| Biharamulo West | CCM | 54.9 | 67.4 |
| | CUF | 45.1 | 21.9 |
| Busega | CCM | 50.9 | 64.5 |
| | UDP | 45.7 | 25.2 |

* CCM candidate won the election

Partisanship was the most influential factor in the 2000 general elections as 53.3 percent of the constituencies voted along partisan lines. Out of 150 constituencies that held presidential and parliamentary elections in that year, 109 were inclined to vote on a partisan basis while 42 constituencies were inclined to vote on reasons other than partisanship. Table 2 shows some of the constituencies that voted on partisan basis.

Table 2: Partisan Voting in the 2000 General Elections

| Constituency | Political Party | MP Votes % | Presidential candidate % |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Newala | CCM | 93.8 | 93.0 |
| | UDP | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| Kalambo | TLP | 30.5 | 29.9 |
| | CCM | 66.8 | 65.9 |
| Bumbuli | CUF | 12.6 | 10.9 |
| | CCM | 87.4 | 86.3 |
| Tabora Urban | CCM | 59.7 | 59.0 |
| | CUF | 37.0 | 37.0 |
| Tanga Urban | CCM | 56.8 | 58.6 |
| | CUF | 34.9 | 36.6 |
| Njombe West | TLP | 7.5 | 2.9 |
| | CCM | 92.5 | 92.8 |
| Longido | CCM | 95.2 | 93.4 |
| | TLP | 4.8 | 3.8 |
| Mbeya rural | CCM | 80.1 | 81.4 |
| | TLP | 16.1 | 14.6 |
| Mbozi East | CCM | 78.7 | 79.9 |
| | TLP | 19.2 | 13.0 |
| Kilombero | CCM | 71.6 | 72.0 |
| | TLP | 21.3 | 12.8 |

In some of the districts, the percentage of votes received by the presidential and parliamentary candidates of the same party was more or less similar. In Kisarawe constituency, for example, the CCM parliamentary and presidential candidates got 67.8 and 68.2 percent of the votes respectively, while the CUF presidential and parliamentary candidates received 27.7 and 28.6 percent respectively. If we define partisan voting as occurring in those constituencies where the difference between the percent received by presidential and parliamentary candidates of the same party was three percent and lower, 58 constituencies - or 38.7 percent—out of 150 that held elections in 2000 in the Mainland, would exhibit partisan voting. This is a significant number.

The above findings are also supported by data from the 4th REDET opinion poll conducted after the 2000 general elections. Respondents were asked about whether they voted for candidates from other parties or from their own parties. Most respondents voted for candidates belonging to their party. While for the Union president 81.5 % of respondents said they voted for a candidate from their own party, in parliamentary elections 75.9% of respondents indicated they voted for candidate from their own party (see Table 5).

Table 5: Respondents' Party Choice in the 2000 General Elections

| Election | My Party Candidate | Candidate of other Party | Don't know/ Refused to answer |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Union President | 81.5% | 11.1% | 7.8% |
| Parliamentary | 75.9% | 16.1% | 8.0% |

In disaggregating the data by districts one finds interesting variations. Respondents in 18 out of 22 districts voted for the presidential candidates of their own party by 75% and above. In four districts (Arusha Urban, Mbeya Urban, Njombe and Nzega) more than 25% of the respondents voted for the presidential candidate of other political parties. Most surprising was Arusha Urban district, where only 22.5% of the respondents voted for the candidate of their own party. The other three districts with high percentages of cross-party voting were Nzega, Njombe, and Mbeya where only 70%, 57%, and 62.5% of the respondents respectively voted for the candidate of their own party.

For parliamentary candidates, respondents in 14 out of 22 regions voted for the candidate of their own party by more than 75 percent. In the remaining 8 regions, the percentages of respondents who voted for candidate of their own party was as follows: Arusha 22.5%, Ruvuma 47.5%, Mara 65%, Tabora 72.5%, Kilimanjaro 67.5%, Dar es Salaam 60%, Mbeya and Iringa 57.5%. This shows that partisanship is a major factor in Tanzania's elections.

Another interesting thing to note is that there is significant variation in percentage of votes received by candidates of opposition parties. The variation is mainly because either the party that has a parliamentary candidate in a given constituency has no presidential candidate or vice versa. But it shows clearly that members of opposition parties in these constituencies would rather vote for any other opposition party rather than the ruling party. In Njombe West, for example, there were only two candidates (CCM and TLP) contesting for parliamentary election. The CCM candidate got 92.5 percent, while the TLP candidate received 7.5 percent. In the presidential election, three presidential candidates from the opposition camp took part and shared the 7.2 percent (2829 votes) that was received by TLP parliamentary candidate. In Kilombero constituency, the CCM parliamentary and presidential candidates got 71.6 and 72.0 respectively, while the opposition parties shared 28.3 percent for their parliamentary candidate and 28.0 percent for their presidential candidates.

If we compare urban and rural dwellers, 80 percent of urban constituencies showed inclination toward partisan voting as opposed to 71.2 percent of rural constituencies. The 2000 election results also shows that 20 percent of urban constituencies which include Kigamboni, Moshi, Musoma, Mtwara, Songea, and Shinyanga voted for reasons other than partisanship. In some of these constituencies such as Kigamboni, Mtwara, Songea, and Moshi, the CCM parliamentary candidates were not preferred by a large section of voters either because of the candidate's incompetence or personal qualities (TEMCO, 2000). In the rural areas, 28.8 percent of the constituencies voted for reasons other than partisanship. It is important to note that the difference in partisan voting between urban and rural dwellers is negligible.

Surveys done by REDET show that the level of civic competence of Tanzanians is very low. Most Tanzanians exhibit a low level of

political information, knowledge, and ideological sophistication. Under such a situation, attachment to a political party is highly expected (Campbell *et al.*, 1960; Butler & Stoke, 1969).

The home-boy (ethnicity) factor seemed to be an important factor in presidential elections. All presidential candidates with - the exception of CUF presidential candidate - got the highest score in the zones of their birth. President Mkapa of CCM got 87.0 percent in southern zone compared to 15.3 percent for Augustino Mrema of TLP, and 12.3 percent for John Cheyo of UDP. For Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba, the CUF presidential candidate, his home zone fell second to the coastal zone in terms of scores. Interestingly, all presidential candidates - with the exception of CUF presidential candidate - got more votes in their home districts than presidential candidates of other parties. Mkapa got more votes in Masasi, his home district, than the other presidential candidates. Similarly, Cheyo and Mrema received more votes in Bariadi and Moshi Rural districts respectively than the other presidential candidates.

The religious factor can partly explain the CUF presidential election results. According to a survey conducted by REDET a month before the 2000 general elections, 76.4 percent of the respondents who preferred the CUF presidential candidate were Muslim. The respondents' party preferences for members of parliament show similar pattern: 80.6 percent of the respondents who preferred CUF parliamentary candidates were Muslims. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the highest score for the CUF presidential candidate was from the coastal zone, which is predominantly a Muslim area. This shows that the religious factor was relatively stronger than the ethnicity factor for the CUF presidential candidate.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion shows that voter choices and electoral decisions in Tanzania are largely influenced by party affiliation and personal qualities. The performance of the incumbent is also an important factor in influencing voter choice. Other factors such as issues of the day, religion, ideology and ethnicity are secondary.

Notes

1. Many candidates gave out substantial amounts of money in order to win party nominations and elections. What is yet to be determined is whether money influences voter choices

because some voters can take the money and vote for somebody else and yet others would have voted for their party candidate regardless of the money offered.

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Imperatives for Export Development in Tanzania

Longinus Rutasitara*

Introduction

In the past two decades, most countries in Africa (including Tanzania) have recorded poor export performance, with unsustainable improvements in non-traditional exports following macroeconomic reforms and real exchange rate depreciation in the 1980s. The countries are struggling to regain lost ground in the markets of their traditional exports, at the same time as they attempt to diversify into labour-intensive, non-traditional exports, including manufactures. Table 1 indicates the low share of Africa (and Tanzania) in the world total for exports in terms of value (1a), and real growth of exports (1b).

Table 1. Value and Shares of Exports and Real Export Growth Rates

| | (a) Value and shares of exports in world total (million US\$ and %) | | | | | | (b) Real export growth | | |
|--------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------------------------|---------|---------|
| | Years | 1980 | 1990 | 1995 | 1999 | 2000 | 1985-89 | 1990-94 | 1995-99 |
| Tanzania | Millions US \$ | - | 331 | 682 | 543 | 663 | 4.7 | 12.1 | 2.9 |
| | % of world total- | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | | | | |
| Africa | | 4.6 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 1.6 | - | | | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | 2.5 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.9 | - | 3.5 | 2.3 | 5.2 |

Sources: (a) Tanzania - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) *Handbook of Statistics online* (<http://www.unctad.org/en/pub/ps/tdstatd26.en.htm>); Africa - UNCTAD (2001:27).
(b) World Bank data

Table 2 shows that the structure of Tanzania's exports is still characterised by a high concentration on a few primary products.

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