WHO SUPPORTS DEMOCRACY IN TANZANIA AND WHY?

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Abstract

This article sets out to identify factors that determine popular support for multi-party democracy among the Tanzanian citizens. Using the 1999 survey data, the findings from this study have demonstrated that citizens' support for a multi-party system in Tanzania seems to be generated by a combination of factors including political information and citizens' assessment of the functioning of multi-party system in relation to peace and stability in the country.

That is, support for multi-party system is mainly determined by how politically informed a person is, as well as how satisfied a person is with the presence of civic peace and social harmony even amidst pluralist democracy. In addition, social-background factors especially education and gender have proved to be important elements in generating popular support for multi-party system. What is even more revealing is the finding that citizens can still prefer a multi-party system even if their economic living standards have not improved to an expected level. Yet, the significance influence of the individuals' party loyalty upon the extent of support for multi-party system seems to pose serious challenges to democratic consolidation.

1.0   Introduction

During the past decade, the world has been witnessing dramatic political transformation, from authoritarianism to democratic political systems. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Africa. One of the areas that have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in political science is the attempt to explain how mass support for democracy is generated in newly democratizing countries. While a vast amount of literature currently exists covering mainly Post-communist countries in Eastern and Central Europe,[1] in Africa, however, studies of similar nature are only beginning to emerge.[2]

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Tanzania provides an excellent case of examining the emergence of democratic values and attitudes among the public. After almost three decades of a single-party rule, Tanzania was able to make a quick "u-turn" and introduce a multi-party system in mid 1992.

However, Tanzania's political transition appears to have defied commonly held views on the origin of political change from authoritarianism to democracy. Whereas political transitions in the majority of African countries were usually driven from below by mass protest, political transition to multi-party democracy in Tanzania took place without mobilized citizenry, mass protests or dramatic discontinuity. With minimal popular pressure, the country's political leadership, which had been the model of one-party rule in Africa, decided to embrace political reforms.

In the mid-1990s, the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), and the incumbent regime of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi readily accepted that it was time to move away from the single-party system, and to encourage the return of pluralist democracy. What was remarkable about this was that more than three-quarters of the populace had expressed a desire to see the one-party system remain in place. The findings of the Presidential Commission charged with the task of collecting public views on whether or not Tanzania should establish a multi-party system showed that 77.2 percent of the respondents favored a single party system, as opposed to only 21.5 percent who favored the introduction of a multi-party system.[3]

Despite this apparent public preference for the continuation of a single-party system, the multi-party system was instituted. Indeed, the fact that the country had remained calm and stable over the years, made many Tanzanians highly supportive of the system as a whole. According to the 1990 Election Survey, of those who favored a single-party system, 89 percent mentioned unity and peace as the major reasons for their preference[4].

However, there is evidence to suggest that a significant segment of the Tanzanian population has come to favor pluralist democracy. Various studies have indicated that popular support for multi-party system as a form of government has been steadily increasing year by year. While only 21.5 percent favored a multi-party system as opposed to 77.2 percent who favored a single-party system in 1991,[5] another study conducted in 1994 indicated that 36 percent of the respondents preferred a multi-party democracy and 55 percent favored the single party system.[6] In a 1996 survey, the percentage of respondents favoring a single-party system had declined to 42 percent, while those supporting multi-party democracy increased to 49.5 percent.[7] The results of a survey conducted in March 1999 showed that 51.4 percent of respondents preferred the continuation of the multi-party system, whilst only 40.3 percent reported that they would still prefer the previous single-party system.[8] Thus, it is clear that the initial hesitation of the public toward political change has been increasingly replaced by supportive attitudes toward pluralist democracy. The major question then is; who is more likely to support the multi-party democracy and who is not, and why?

2.0   Tanzania's Political Context: A Background

Tanzania had been, until 1992, a one-party state for more than 27 years under the tutelage of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), and later Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Indeed, it was the first African country to constitutionalize one-party rule in the mid-1965.[9] During the 27-year period, TANU/CCM was the only legal party and competitive elections were held within the context of the party itself. In national elections, the electorate could vote for one candidate for the presidency but could choose between candidates from the same party for each parliamentary constituency. The main guiding ideology of the time was the policy of socialism and self-reliance, which entailed state ownership of the 'commanding heights' of the economy, issues of equality and supremacy of the single-ruling party in the policy process and other spheres of public life.

The 1977 merger between TANU of Tanzania Mainland and the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP) of Zanzibar to form CCM, enhanced the party supremacy even further. In both sides of the Union, all political activities were to be undertaken under the auspice of the only party, CCM. It is under this context that the autonomy of grassroots institutions of governance such as local government authorities was severely curtailed. Even the status of the parliament in policy-making process was seriously reduced to a mere rubber-stamping organ of the party's policies and programs.

Also, all civic associations were systematically suppressed, disbanded or co-opted into party/government structures. The media also never escaped the moments of the time as it became under the control of the party and/or government. The declining trend of independent media was evident due to the increasing government monopoly over the media. Whereas at independence there were about 35 monthly newspapers, many of them independently owned, by 1967, only 5 daily papers, two owned by the party, one by the government and 2 independently owned existed.[10] Through party propaganda and government-controlled media, Tanzanian political leadership succeeded in legitimating single-party rule to the general public and in the process seemed to have created supportive public opinion.

Also, the supportive public opinion was partly due to some achievements in the early years of the 'Ujamaa' ideology. For instance, in terms of the provision of social services up to the early 1980s, the records were impressive. In 1981, about 41 percent of the rural population had access to safe water, compared with an average of 19 percent for rural Africa as a whole. The literacy rate in Tanzania was about 62 percent compared with the average literacy rate of 49 percent for Africa, and primary school enrolment was 73 percent compared with an average of 68 percent for Africa.[11] As a result, a majority of the population perceived that they were being 'included' and 'valued' as citizens. Hyden (1994) captures these perceptions well. He states, "many Tanzanians could not visualize their country without it (Chama cha Mapinduzi - CCM). CCM had become a party associated wholly with the state".[12]

However, by the mid 1980s, Tanzania's single-party system started to crumble. While the party bureaucracy continued to expand, the linkage between the party and the public began to disappear. In addition, due to severe economic crisis, the party could not attain some of its ambitious policies and programs. With the changing global context toward democratization, a multi-party system was adopted in July of 1992. Since then, several changes have taken place in the political scene, including the formation of various political parties. In the 1995 first multi-party elections, a total of 13 political parties contested in various elective posts. Two general elections have been held in 1995 and 2000. Preparations for the 2005 elections are currently under way. In addition, the introduction of the multi-party system has been accompanied with an increasing number of civic associations ranging from policy advocacy associations to self-help economic groups. The same period has witnessed the proliferation of the independent media. Currently, there are about 80 private newspapers, 11 radio stations and 14 registered television stations. [13] Indeed, Tanzania tops the regional East African list in per capita news publications. [14]

All these changes make it imperative to assess the transformation of public attitudes towards a multi-party political system. As Shin points out that, "while it appears that democracy can still be created without the demand of the masses, yet it cannot be consolidated without their commitment". [15] Thus, to fully assess the prospects for democratic consolidation in Tanzania, attention must also be paid to citizens' attitudes towards democratic institutions and processes.

3.0   *Analytical Framework*

Generally, studies on mass support for democracy have focused on the role of economic, political and social-background factors in explaining the nature and dynamics of popular support for democracy. In order to understand how mass support for democracy is being generated in Tanzania, this article uses three approaches as developed by Shin and McDonough. [16]   First is the 'Functional' model that asserts that citizens' support for democracy is based on how democratic institutions serve their various interests and goals. The model focuses more on the impact of citizens' evaluation of their economic conditions on the level of support for democracy. This model will be specifically referred to as the 'economic model'. The main hypothesis here is that the higher the citizens' level of satisfaction with economic conditions the higher the support for pluralist democracy.

The 'political model' is the second approach that places emphasis on the impact of citizens' direct experience with democratic institutions and processes upon the level of support for democracy. One main hypothesis will be tested in this model and that is, the less the perceived threat to peace and stability, the stronger the public support for pluralist democracy.

The third model is the 'diffuse model', which assesses the role of information in generating citizens' support for democracy. In this article, this model will mainly be referred to as the 'information' model with the hypothesis being that, the greater the citizens' level of political information on new democratic institutions and processes, the greater the likelihood of their support for pluralist democracy. In addition to these models, the effects of social background factors as well as party affiliation will also be examined.

This article uses survey data collected from nine districts in Tanzania purposively selected in order to capture diverse characteristics of the Tanzanian population in terms of socio-economic development, communication flow and political orientations. The survey was conducted in March 1999 in Kinondoni, Mbeya Rural, Arusha Urban, Mtwara Rural, Nzega, Bukoba Rural, Chakechake and Zanzibar North A districts. Using a multi-stage random sampling, a total of 65 respondents were randomly selected from each district.

In total, the sample consisted of 585 respondents randomly drawn from different walks of life. The survey consisted of a wide range of questions. There are items measuring individuals' level of political information about the names of political parties and their national leaders. Respondents were also asked about their preferences of party systems as well as their evaluation of the practice of the multi-party system and the economic situation. The data will be analyzed by using cross-tabulations. [17]

4.0   *Analysis and Discussion*

4.1   *Support for Multi-Party Democracy across Sampled Districts*

Overall, a slight majority of the respondents (51.5%) expressed their support for multi-party democracy, as opposed to 40.4 percent who reported that it would have been better if Tanzania had remained under a one-party system, and 8.1 percent who are categorized in one group as 'other.' [18] However, as table 1 indicates, there are variations across the sampled districts.

Table 1: Support for a Multi-Party System by Districts (Percentages and number of actual respondents in brackets

Districts	Level of Support for Party System	
	Single-Party System	**Multi-Party System**
Kinondoni	21.8	78.2
	(12)	(43)
Moshi Rural	19.0	81.0
	(12)	(51)
Mbeya Urban	25.0	75.0
	(14)	(42)
Arusha Urban	34.9	65.1
	(22)	(41)
Mtwara Rural	59.0	41.0
	(36)	(25)
Nzega	71.7	28.3
	(43)	(17)
Bukoba Rural	52.5	47.5
	(31)	(28)
Chakechake	37.3	62.7
	(22)	(37)
Zanzibar North A	74.1	25.9
	(43)	(15)

The multi-party democracy is overwhelmingly supported by respondents in Moshi rural (81%), Kinondoni (78%), Mbeya urban (75%), Arusha urban (65%) and Chakechake district(63%). In contrast, a single-party system is supported by respondents in Zanzibar North A (74%), Mtwara rural (59%), Bukoba rural (52.5%) and Nzega(72%). It is important to note that Moshi rural district is leading with more than three quarters of its respondents expressing support for multi-party democracy. Zanzibar North A district had the highest number of respondents who expressed support for the old single-party system. Note also the marked variations within Zanzibar. Whereas the majority of respondents in Zanzibar North A expressed support for a single–party system, the majority of those in Chakechake, Pemba expressed support toward a multi-party system. Thus, despite the observed increasing level of support for multi-party democracy at the national level, there are certain areas in Tanzania where, even after seven years since its abolition, a single-party system is still significantly preferred.

4.2 Explaining the Variations of the Level of Support for Multi-Party System

Social-background Factors

In public opinion studies, social-background factors have proved to have considerable effect on political behaviour. These factors include, education, gender, age and residence. For example, a study by Gibson et al found out that the best predictors of attitudes toward democratic values in the former Soviet Union were education, gender and age.

The effects of education on citizens' support for multi-party democracy in Tanzania is consistent with findings from other studies. [19] As Table 2 shows, the higher the level of education, the higher the level of support for the multi-party system. As Miller et al. argue' individuals with higher education are most likely to be more supportive of democratic practices because they desire more freedom and self-determination. Educational facilitates, the acquisition of information in turn makes individuals able to understand and assimilate it. Also, educated people are more likely to be attuned to information and more likely to be supportive of the new democratic institutions and processes.

As table 2 indicates, those respondents with college/university education are nearly eight times more likely to support a multi-party system than a single-party system. It is also important to point out that, the majority of less educated people are in rural areas, where political information about new institutional structures and processes is not widely spread. Indeed, about 80 percent of the respondents with no formal education in the sample reside in rural areas. Similarly, districts with more educated respondents such as Kinondoni, Moshi rural and Mbeya urban, demonstrate high levels of support towards the multi-party democracy.

Table 2: Education and Support for a Multi-Party System

Party System	Education levels			
	Non-formal educ	Primary educ.	Secondary educ.	College/university educ.
Single-Party	63.7 (116)	41.3 (85)	28.4 (29)	10.3 (4)
Multi-Party	36.3 (66)	58.7 (121)	71.6 (73)	89.7 (35)
	100 (182)	100 (206)	100 (102)	100 (39)

Furthermore, the literature on public attitudes has shown that part of the political behavior may be attributed to gender. In general, women are regarded as being "sensitive, supportive beings, uncomfortable with political conflicts, less interested in and knowledgeable about politics".[20] In their study of public opinion in Post-Communist countries, Gibson et al indicate that women tend to be significantly less supportive of democratic values than men.

They further concluded that the Soviet women are generally more traditional in their orientation and less willing to risk the social upheaval associated with democratization struggle. The same pattern is being observed in Tanzania. Table 3 shows that women are more likely to support a single-party system (55%) than men (33%). About 67 percent of male respondents reported that they support a multi-party system compared to only one-third (33%) of them who said that they support a single-party system. It is also important to note that gender variable seems to interact with political information. In the sample, about 70 percent of the respondents with low level of political information are women.

Table 3: Gender and Support for a Multi-Party System

Party Systems	Gender	
	Females	**Males**
Single-party	54.9 (146)	33.0 (88)
Multi-party	45.1 (120)	67.0 (179)
	100 (266)	100 (267)

Age also seems to be another predictor of support for a multi-party system. As table 4 shows, the older respondents were more likely to say that they support a single-party system (66%) than a multi-party system (34%). This may be largely due to the fact that the older generation would like to maintain the status quo either for system stability and continuity.

It is interesting to note however that the extent of support for a party system among the respondents of between 18-25 years old does not seem to be influenced by the age factor. As table 4 indicates, half of the respondents in this category support a single - party system (50.5%) and half of them prefer a multi-party system (49.5%). Overall, a closer look on the findings in table 4 demonstrate that the support for a multi-party system seems to be equally spread across all age groups, with the exception of the older category (66 years old and above).

Table 4: Age and Support for a Multi-Party System

Party system	Age Categories				
	18-25yrs	**26-45yrs**	**46-55yrs**	**56-65yrs**	**66yrs +**
Single-Party	50.5	40.4	39.1	42.9	65.8
	(46)	(104)	(36)	(24)	(25)
Multi-Party	49.5	59.5	60.9	57.1	34.2
	(45)	(153)	(56)	(32)	(13)
	100	100	100	100	100
	(91)	257)	(92)	(56)	(38)

Political Model

This model places emphasis on the impact of citizens' direct experience with democratic institutions upon the level of individual's support for a multi-party system. Given the perceived fear of change towards a new political system, it is imperative to assess citizens' evaluations of the country's stability and how it relates with the introduction of the multi-party system in Tanzania. This is largely attributed to the fact that civic peace and social harmony have been given such a high intrinsic value by the majority of the population. There has been no history of civil wars among the 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania.

Compared to other neighboring countries in East and Central Africa, Tanzania has a remarkable record of civil peace and stability. As a result, the majority of Tanzanians have associated a single-party system with unity and peace. The former Chief Justice, Francis Nyalali, who chaired the Presidential Commission on Party Systems, comments that, "everywhere we went in the country; people expressed their fear of the new political system they knew little about. People were frightened of change and that is why we had to address peoples' fear in our report by recommending strategies that will maintain peace and unity".[21]   In this case, the respondents were asked to give their views on whether or not the multi-party system adopted in 1992 has resulted into chaos and conflicts.

Overall, 75 percent of all the respondents said that the multi-party system has not resulted into chaos and conflicts in the country as they had expected. And amongst these, about 66 percent said that they support a multi-party system. Yet, about 20 percent of the respondents reported that the multi-party system has brought chaos and conflicts and out of these, 82 percent support a single-party system. Thus, the respondents' level of support for multi-party democracy seems to exist when it is believed that civic peace and social harmony have been maintained even under pluralist competitive democracy. As Bratton and Mattes found out in their study, "the delivery of political goods bears a strongly significant relationship to the popular legitimating of democracy".[22]

However, it is important to mention that more respondents in Zanzibar (45%) than in the Mainland (14.5%) were of the view that multi-party democracy has brought chaos and conflicts. This is largely due to the polarized party politics in the islands which, has resulted into intense political conflicts between members and supporters of the two major parties, CCM and Civic United Front (CUF). Zanzibar's political situation has been rather fragile particularly after the 1995 general elections.

The highly contested electoral results created a tug-of-war between supporters of the two major political parties, CUF and CCM. Following observed irregularities in the counting and the management of the electoral process as a whole, the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) declared the presidential election in Zanzibar as being "not free and fair". [23]

Moreover, variations in opinion between Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland are of great interest. Whereas in the Mainland, there seems to be a consensus among a majority of the respondents in all six districts that there have not been conflicts as a result of the pluralist democracy, the two districts in Zanzibar expressed different evaluations of the situation. As table 5 clearly shows, while 70.5 percent of respondents in Chakechake reported that the multi-party democracy has not brought chaos or conflicts, only 39 percent from Zanzibar North A shared the same opinion. On the contrary, the majority of the respondents in Zanzibar North A (61%) reported that conflicts have erupted as a result of the adoption of the multi-party system.

Table 5: Civic Peace and Multi-Party Democracy in 9 Districts (Percentages and actual number of respondents in brackets)

Districts	Yes, multi-party has brought chaos	No, multi-party has not brought chaos
Kinondoni	17.7 (11)	82.3 (51)
Moshi rural	12.3 (8)	87.7 (57)
Mbeya urban	11.1 (7)	88.9 (56)
Arusha urban	19.4 (13)	80.6 (54)
Mtwara rural	16.4 (9)	83.6 (46)
Nzega	4.8 (3)	95.2 (60)
Bukoba rural	20.0 (12)	80.0 (48)
Chakechake	29.5 (18)	70.5 (43)
Zanzibar North A	61.0 (36)	39.0 (23)

Indeed, it is the respondents from Chakechake than those from Zanzibar North A who are more likely to support a multi-party system than a single-party system. This scenario is largely attributed by the fact that Chakechake district constitutes a CUF stronghold of which its members felt that they had been highly marginalized for decades under ASP/CCM one party rule. In this case, the ongoing political conflicts are regarded as part of the struggle for democratic rights. Zanzibar North A is a ruling party stronghold whose members find CUF's immense pressure for open political competition as an act of disturbance to peace and unity. Indeed, among all the 9 districts, Zanzibar North A has the highest number of respondents who think that there are conflicts associated with the introduction of the multi-party democracy.

Furthermore, respondents' party affiliation seems to determine their level of support for a multi-party democracy. Whereas the members of opposition parties are more likely to support multi-party democracy, a single party system is more likely to be supported by members of the incumbent party. About 95 percent of the respondents who said that they are members of opposition parties prefer a multi-party system, and 98 percent of the respondents who reported that they are members of the ruling party support a single-party system.

As figure 5.1 indicates however, the influence of the party affiliation seems to be stronger in Zanzibar than in the Mainland. The histogram 5.1 shows the picture clearly. In Zanzibar, the support for multi-party democracy is quite low among the supporters of the incumbent party compared to that of the members of the opposition party. In the Mainland however, while the trend remains the same, yet the difference between the two groups is comparatively low. The influence of party loyalty upon citizens' level of support for a multi-party democracy raises an important question as put by Bratton and Mattes as to whether citizens' support for democracy in Africa is intrinsically developed or merely a result of a "knee-jerk" partisan attachment to a political party. [24]
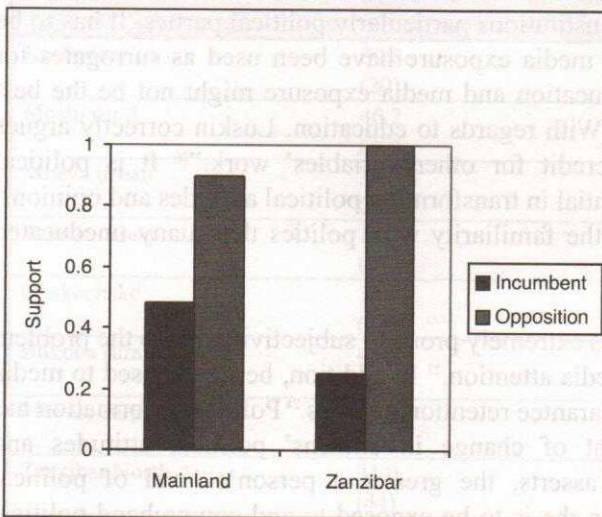
NOTE: Support for a multi-party system variable in Figure 5.1 is coded as a 0-1 scale, meaning that '0' stands for the support for a single–party system, and '1' stands for the support for multi-party system.

Figure 5.1: Support for Multi-Party by Party Membership.

Functional Model

The relationship between individuals' assessment of their economic situation and support for multi-party democracy is quite puzzling. Note that the majority of respondents in Tanzania (67%) reported that their living conditions are not any better now than 5 years ago. Only 23 percent of the respondents said that their lives had improved. Yet, this negative retrospective evaluation of one's economic situation does not seem to undermine an individual's level of support for multi-party democracy.

Two-thirds of the respondents (61%) who said they are not satisfied with their economic situation actually do support a multi-party system and only 39 percent of them said that they support a single-party system. Thus, while 67 percent of respondents in Tanzania did not think that their lives have improved, they still think that multi-party democracy is indeed a better option. It is the performance of democratic institutions that Tanzanians seem to place emphasis upon. Bratton and Mattes were correct to assert that, "support for democracy in Africa is rooted in an appreciation of new-found political freedom, a finding that runs counter to the conventional view that the continent's deep economic crisis precludes the consolidation of democracy." [25]

Information Model

Political information turns out to be the strongest predictor of people's support for or against certain preferences or policies. Political information measures factual information about politics that an individual possesses. In this study, political information scale was empirically constructed by combining individuals' responses of three questions, namely, mentioning names of political parties, national leaders and matching political parties with respective national leaders.

The objective was to find out the extent to which an individual is informed of the new political system and its associated institutions particularly political parties. It has to be noted that at times, education and media exposure have been used as surrogates for political information. However, education and media exposure might not be the best measures of political information. With regards to education, Luskin correctly argues that, "education may be taking credit for other variables' work."[26] It is political information that seems to be influential in transforming political attitudes and opinions. Sometimes, educated people lack the familiarity with politics that many uneducated people possess.

Also, the media exposure variable is extremely prone to subjectivity due to the problem of exaggeration in self-reported media attention.[27] In addition, being exposed to media communication does not always guarantee retention of ideas.[28] Political information has proved to be an important agent of change in citizens' political attitudes and orientations. As Zaller correctly asserts, the greater a person's level of political attentiveness, the more likely he or she is to be exposed to and comprehend political messages concerning particular issues.[29]

The influence of political information on the individual's level of support for a multi-party system is demonstrated by the findings in table 6. The individuals with high level of political information are three times more likely to support a multi-party system than a single-party system. In contrast, the single-party system seems to be overwhelmingly supported by the individuals with low level of political information.

Table 6: Political Information and Support for a Multi-Party System

Party System	Political Information levels		
	Low	Medium	High
Single-Party	68.8 (127)	44.8 (60)	22.27 (43)
Multi-Party	36.18 (72)	55.2 (74)	77.7 (150)
	100 (199)	100 (193)	100 (193)

Indeed, political information seems to account for the variations on the level of support for multi-party democracy among the sampled districts. As table 7 indicates, the multi-party democracy is overwhelmingly supported in those districts with the majority of highly politically informed respondents such as Kinondoni district in Dar-es-Salaam, Moshi rural, Mbeya urban, Arusha urban and Chakechake. In contrast, a single-party system is overwhelmingly supported in those districts with the majority of less informed respondents, such as Zanzibar North A, Mtwara rural and Nzega.

Table 7: Levels of Political Information in 9 Sampled Districts (Percentages and actual numbers of respondents in brackets)

Districts	Low level of political information	High level of political information
Kinondoni	30.8 (20)	69.2 (45)
Moshi rural	46.2 (30)	53.8 (35)
Mbeya urban	36.5 (23)	63.5 (40)
Arusha urban	18.5 (12)	81.5 (53)
Chakechake	36.9 (24)	63.1 (41)
Bukoba rural	45.6 (28)	54.1 (33)
Mtwara rural	69.8 (44)	30.2 (19)
Zanzibar North A	71.0 (44)	29.0 (18)
Nzega	76.2 (48)	23.8 (15)

5.0   Conclusion

The findings from this study have demonstrated that citizens' support for a multi-party system in Tanzania seems to be generated by a combination of factors. Of great importance are the two main factors; political information and citizens' assessment of the functioning of multi-party system in relation to peace and stability in the country. That is, support for multi-party system is mainly determined by how politically informed a person is, as well as how satisfied a person is with the presence of civic peace and social harmony even amidst pluralist democracy. In addition, social background factors, especially education and gender, have proved to be important elements in generating popular support for multi-party system. With regards to the age factor, findings have indicated that support for a multi-party system seems to be equally spread across all age categories with the exception of the old generation (66 years old and above). What is even more revealing is the finding that citizens can still prefer a multi-party system even if their economic living standards have not improved to an expected level. Yet, the significance influence of the individuals' party loyalty upon the extent of support for multi-party system seems to pose serious challenges to democratic consolidation. Finally, the article has also discovered that the extent of citizens' support for multi-party democracy partly depends on the social and political history of a particular society. Variations in political attitudes between Zanzibar and Mainland Tanzania seem to be partly influenced by different political and historical experiences of these two partner states.

Endnotes

1. J. Gibson (1996), " A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep? Democratic Commitment in the Former USSR" *American Journal of Political Science,* vol. 40, no. 2; G. Evans and S. Whitefield ((1995) "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies" *British Journal of Political Science,* vol. 25, no. 4

2. Michael Bratton and Robert Mattes (1999), "Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or Instrumental?" A Paper presented at the 95th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia; Samuel Mushi et al. (eds) (1997) *Tanzania's Political Culture: A Baseline Survey;* Amon Chaligha, Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes and Yul Davids (2002) "Uncritical Citizens or Patient Trustees? Tanzania's Views of Political and Economic Reform," *Afrobarometer Paper*, No. 18

3. The United Republic of Tanzania (1991), *Presidential Report on Party Systems in Tanzania.* Note however that the Nyalali Commission did not use the scientific method of random sampling in collecting people's views.

4. Samuel Mushi and Mwesiga Baregu (1994), "Mobilization, Participation and System Legitimacy" in R. Mukandala and H.Othman (eds), *Liberalization and Politics: The 1990 Election in Tanzania*, p.125

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5. Presidential Commission Report on Party Systems in Tanzania (1991)

6. Research and Education for Democracy (REDET) Survey Data (1994)

7. REDET Survey Data (1996)

8. A point needs to be mentioned that these surveys included different samples from different places. However, they provide a general trend of public opinion over time.

9. Henry Bienen (1970), *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development*

10. A. Chachage (1995) "Democracy and the Media in Tanzania", A paper presented in a conference on the "State of Politics in Tanzania", Dar-es-Salaam

11. *Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 1986/87*

12. Goran, Hyden (1994), "Party, State, and Civil Society: Control Versus Openness" in Joel Barkan (ed) *Beyond Capitalism vs Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*, p.94

13. A. Mzavas (1998) "What the Media Stand For in Tanzania", unpublished report

14. C.Onyango-Obbo (1996), "East African Doors Unlocking" *Nieman Reports,* vol. 50, no. 1

15. D.Shin (1994) "On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research" *World Politics,* vol. 47, p.154

16. D. Shin and P. McDonough (1999) "The Dynamics of Popular Reaction to Democratization in Korea" *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 19, no. 1

17. The dependent variable in this article is the support for multi-party democracy in Tanzania measured by respondents' preference for the multi-party democracy that was formally re-introduced in the country in 1992. It is coded as a 0-1 scale, meaning that '0' stands for the support for the single –party system, and '1' stands for the support for multi-party system. Independent variables are categorized into specific models constructed by using different variables.

18. 'Other' includes those respondents who said that they do not find any difference between the two party systems and those who gave unclear answers.

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21. Based on an interview with the author in February 1999 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

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