



Thinking and working with political settlements

The case of Tanzania

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A teal circular icon containing the text 'Key messages' in white.

Key messages

- The institutions and power relations that underpin political stability are crucial shapers of development outcomes, to which aid policy ought to adapt.
- This paper trials a new political settlements concept, based on the idea that settlements can be distinguished according to the breadth and depth of their social foundation, and the degree to which they concentrate power.
- Since independence, Tanzania has oscillated between broad-dispersed and narrow-concentrated political settlements and is currently moving in the direction of a more narrow and concentrated settlement than ever before.
- The opportunities for international donors to change this direction of travel appear limited. Adapting to it implies providing financial and technical support to central government, while trying to strengthen the policy role of non-state actors in non-confrontational ways.



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Executive summary

All countries not in the throes of widespread civil war or conflict have a political settlement – that is, an explicit or implicit agreement among powerful groups about the rules of the political game, the organisation of power and who benefits therefrom. These agreements place powerful constraints on what it is possible to do in terms of development, and academics and donors are increasingly using political settlements analysis to understand country development trajectories and inform development programming.

This paper builds on previous work by political settlements analysts to trial an improved definition of what a political settlement is and to derive from it a new typology. The typology categorises countries according to whether the ‘social foundation’ on which the settlement rests is broad and deep or narrow and shallow, and whether the ‘power configuration’ it creates is concentrated or dispersed.

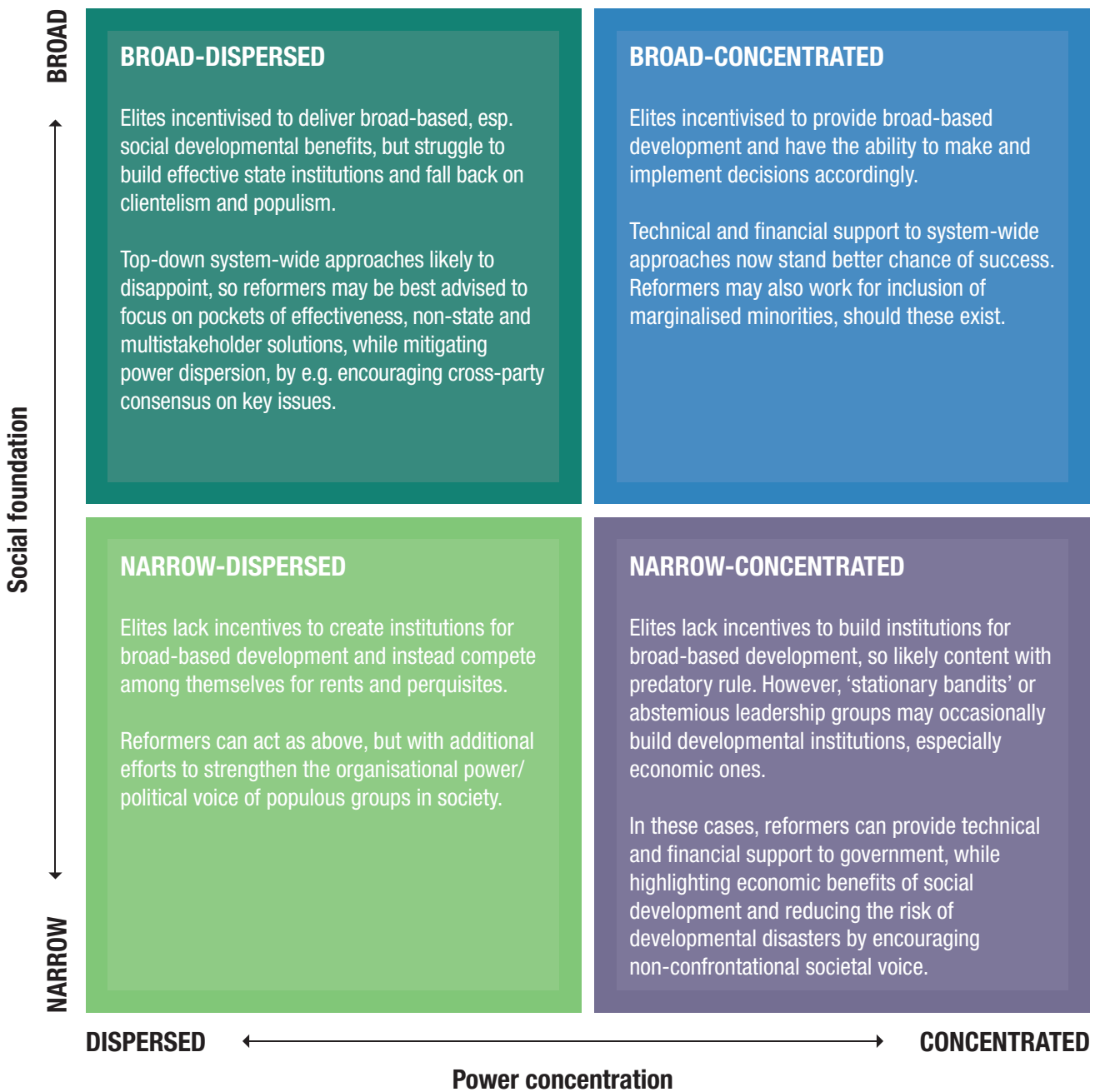
Combining these dimensions creates a 2x2 matrix, with four different political settlement types: ‘broad-dispersed’, ‘broad-concentrated’, ‘narrow-dispersed’ and ‘narrow-concentrated’. The resulting types, summarised in Figure 1, can be used by international donors or domestic reformers in different country contexts to provide some basic principles for deciding where to focus their energies.

This paper then applies the typology framework to Tanzania. Since the 1960s, it argues, Tanzania has transitioned from

a fairly broad settlement with a dispersed power configuration to a narrower one, with more concentrated power, twice. The current situation, in which President John Magufuli is concentrating power around himself and injecting an increased developmental energy into his administration, echoes to some extent the period in the mid- to late 1960s when Julius Nyerere did the same. Unfortunately, the developmental potential of the Nyerere period went largely unrealised. This was partly because of an unfavourable external environment and partly because of policy mistakes, some of which were imposed on an unwilling population. Development partners who wish to avoid repeating this history should assist the government with its transformative strategy, while trying to make development processes more inclusive in a non-confrontational way. This may include:

- providing financial support and technical assistance to help the government fulfil its priorities
- facilitating multi-stakeholder involvement in the policy process to mitigate the potential for policy mistakes or disasters
- supporting forms of societal monitoring and voice that help the government realise its own objectives, for example by holding frontline officials to account
- waiting for strategic openings to pursue alternative or more progressive agendas.

Figure 1 A political settlements typology



Source: author's own.

1 What is political settlements analysis?

In recent years, political settlements analysis has enjoyed an increasingly influential role in peace and conflict and development studies. Since Mushtaq Khan's application of the approach in his 1995 book chapter (Khan, 1995), there have been several major think tank and donor reports, three research programme consortia funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), scores of published working papers and articles, two journal special issues and at least four books, all dedicated to or inspired by political settlements analysis.

A political settlement has been defined as 'an inherited balance of power' (Khan, 1995: 71); 'the balance or distribution of power between contending social groups and social classes, on which any state is based' (di John and Putzel, 2009: 4); 'a common understanding, usually forged between elites, about how power is organized and exercised' (DFID, 2010: 22); 'a combination of power and institutions that are mutually compatible and also sustainable in terms of economic and political viability' (Khan, 2010: 4); and the 'informal and formal processes, agreements, and practices that help consolidate politics, rather than violence, as a means for dealing with disagreements about interests, ideas and the distribution and use of power' (Laws, 2012: 1).

Political settlements analysis has been used to explain why some states endure while others break down (Lindemann, 2008; World Bank, 2011; Jones, 2012); why some peace processes result in more inclusive patterns of politics and development than others (Rocha Menocal, 2015); why some states are able to pursue

successful industrial policies and/or ignite and sustain economic growth (Khan, 2010; Whitfield et al., 2015; Pritchett et al., 2018); why some states pursue more effective and inclusive health and education policies than others (Levy and Walton, 2013; Lavers and Hickey, 2015; Kelsall 2016; Hossain et al., 2017); and why some states more effectively implement gender legislation (Nazneen and Masud, 2017).

A recurring theme in most of these analyses is that political context or underlying power dynamics shape institutional and policy performance. Political settlements analysis is thus a useful counterweight to the good governance agenda, 'golden thread' narrative or 'best practice' technical advice (World Bank, 1989, 1992; North, 1990; Grindle, 2004; Cameron, 2012; Fritz and Levy, 2014).

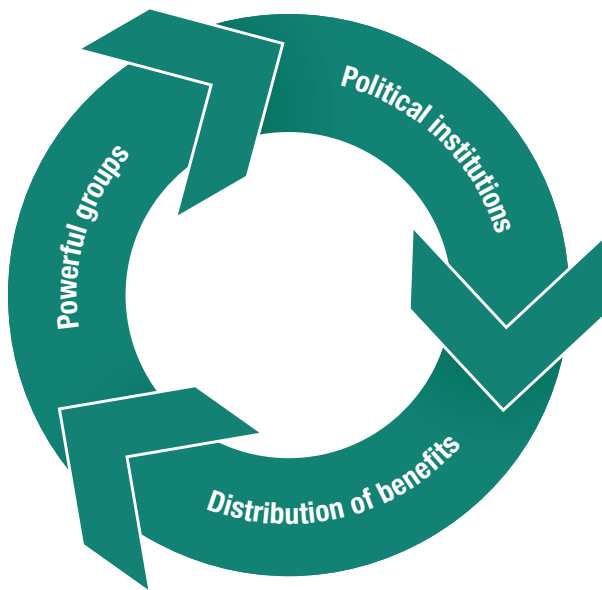
In this paper we deploy an adapted political settlements definition and approach being developed at the Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre at the University of Manchester.¹

We define a political settlement as an ongoing, conflict-ending or -preventing agreement among powerful groups over a set of formal and informal institutions expected to create opportunities for those groups to secure a distribution of benefits that is acceptable to them. With this definition we reorient political settlements analysis away from a simple focus on the balance of power and back towards the idea of an institutional solution to ending violence (Kelsall, 2018).

Put simply, our assumption is that people stop fighting or refrain from fighting or other forms

1 www.effective-states.org.

Figure 2 The idea of a political settlement



Source: author's own.

of serious disorder either when they are forced to or when they can see some benefit from it. However, benefits do not fall from the sky: their distribution is mediated by political institutions. Fighters, potential fighters, and the groups that support them agree to (or have imposed on them) a set of political institutions that they believe will provide opportunities for them to secure an acceptable distribution of benefits. If the institutions do not yield the expected benefits, they are likely to start fighting again.

Stated this way, the concept holds a rich variety of possibilities for the analysis of development. In this report, we focus on two: first, what we call the social foundation of the settlement, that is the breadth and depth of the powerful groups that underpin it, and second, the power configuration of the settlement, that is, the concentration of power in the head of government.

1.1 The social foundation of the settlement

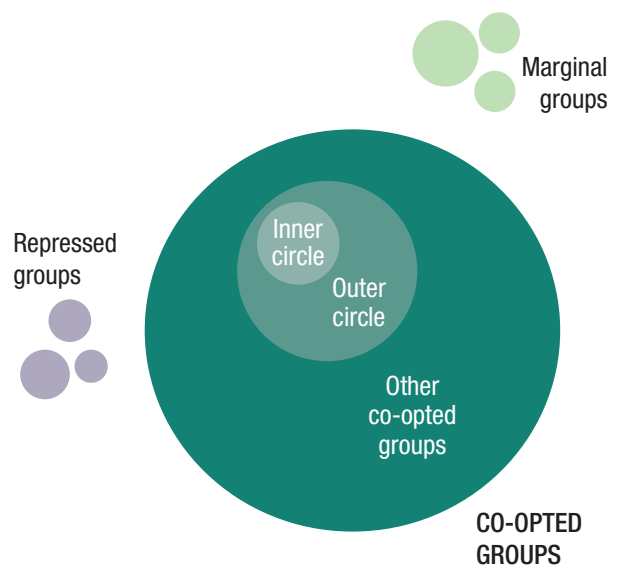
In our approach, powerful groups are coalitional factions or blocs that form around a society's main conflict lines and which have the potential, acting collectively, to seriously disrupt or overturn existing political institutions.

The factions will typically want somewhat different outcomes for the society – for example a different religious complexion or socioeconomic distribution – and the political settlement will typically represent either a truce, in which the factions broadly agree on a set of institutions under which they peacefully compete to secure their desired outcomes, or the imposition by one or more factions of its preferences on the others.

The factions themselves will comprise different individual or organisational **sub-groups**, such as politicians, party members, businesses, ethnic networks, trades unions, armed forces, foreign allies and the like, all of which bring various **'disruptive resources'** to the coalition. Resources may include official authority positions that empower faction members to change the constitution; discursive or persuasive resources that allow them to reshape societal norms or mobilise action; economic resources that can be deployed or withheld in support of or protest against political institutions; military resources; and sheer numbers of people that may be mobilised in elections or in contentious politics.

To maintain the settlement, governing elites will need to either co-opt or repress these potentially disruptive groups. Assuming the repression of large groups is costly, we

Figure 3 The political settlement with a broad social foundation



Source: author's own.

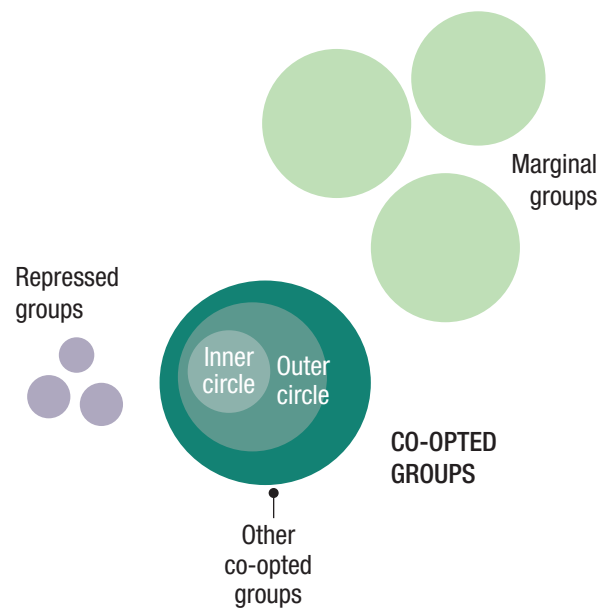
hypothesise that the broader and deeper the society's potentially disruptive groups, the more likely it is that the government will make co-optation its dominant strategy. By the same token, the broader and deeper the society's potentially disruptive groups, the broader and deeper the segment of society the top leadership will attempt to benefit. Put differently, the social foundation affects the distributional goals of the leadership and hence the degree of elite commitment to inclusive development outcomes.

How those outcomes are achieved, however, is another matter, and will partly depend on the internal structuring of these groups. If the groups are broad-based with group leaders and/or organisations that cannot easily be bought off, there will be strong incentives for the political leadership to build the kind of state apparatus that can effectively deliver development programmes at scale. We can see this, for example, in the history of much of Western Europe, where the increasing organisation and disruptive potential of the working class stimulated policies designed to appease them, such as public housing and the welfare state (Thane, 1984; Melling, 1991). Later, the threat of mass contentious politics also drove progressive social and economic policies elsewhere, as in Malaysia in the 1960s and 1970s (Slater, 2010).

If, by contrast, the groups are easily divisible with flexible group leaders and/or organisations, a patronage or 'pork-barrel' strategy, in which the government unofficially undertakes projects that benefit elites in return for their support or donations, may be preferred. Kenya's social protection policies provide an example (Wanyama and McCord, 2017).

The social foundation may also affect the comparative importance attributed to economic growth vs social policy. This is likely to be so if social policies are popular with a broader range of groups than growth policies, which may be the case given that economic growth often requires deferred consumption, with the ultimate rewards unevenly distributed. By contrast, social policies may require

Figure 4 The political settlement with a narrow social foundation



Source: author's own.

little sacrifice on the part of the majority and at least some of the benefits, such as schools or health centres, will be visible in the short term (Batley and Harris, 2014). The progressive social policies introduced by Brazil's President Lula da Silva in the early 2000s are a case in point (Montero, 2014). Conversely, if the disruptive potential of a broad range of groups is either low, or merely imagined as a possibility, there may be more scope for the leadership to prioritise economic growth, as with South Korea in the 1960s and 1970s or Indonesia under General Suharto (Khan and Jomo, 2000).

1.2 The power configuration of the settlement

The second dimension we unpack is the configuration of power – that is, the way in which power is arranged or organised. Actors are arranged in a certain configuration of power when they agree to a settlement, and the institutions that are agreed on also have a bearing on that configuration.²

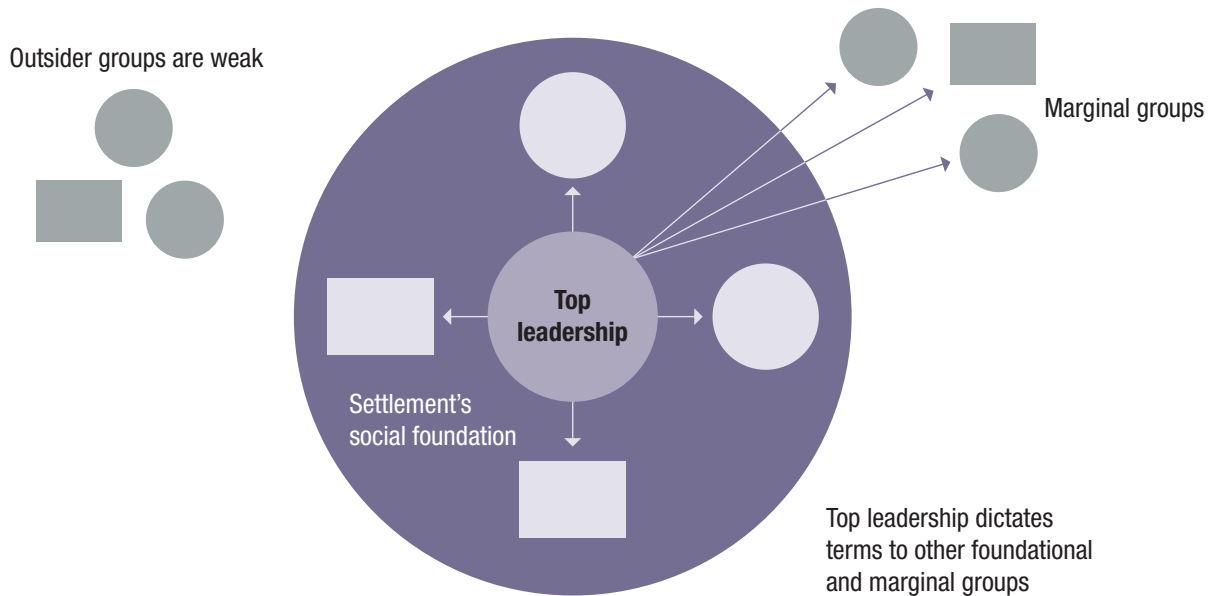
2 Following Morriss (2002), we understand power as a dispositional ability to bring about or prevent certain states of affairs in the world, or 'power to', for short. 'Power to' may operate along diverse pathways, for example, 'power within' oneself, 'power over' others, and 'power with' others (Green, 2016: 32–33). Moreover, power may be exercised with the help of violent coercion, ideational persuasion and manipulation, or material sanctions and rewards.

We contend that in some political settlements power is more concentrated in the top leadership than others. When the top leadership decides on something, it is able to secure consent among those groups that comprise the settlement's foundation. At the extreme, it will dictate terms to these groups, often relying heavily on ideological methods or distributive politics in

which it can bestow or withdraw benefits at will. Further, outsider groups are not sufficiently strong to seriously deflect the leadership from its ambitions and marginal groups can be easily steered to the leadership's goals.

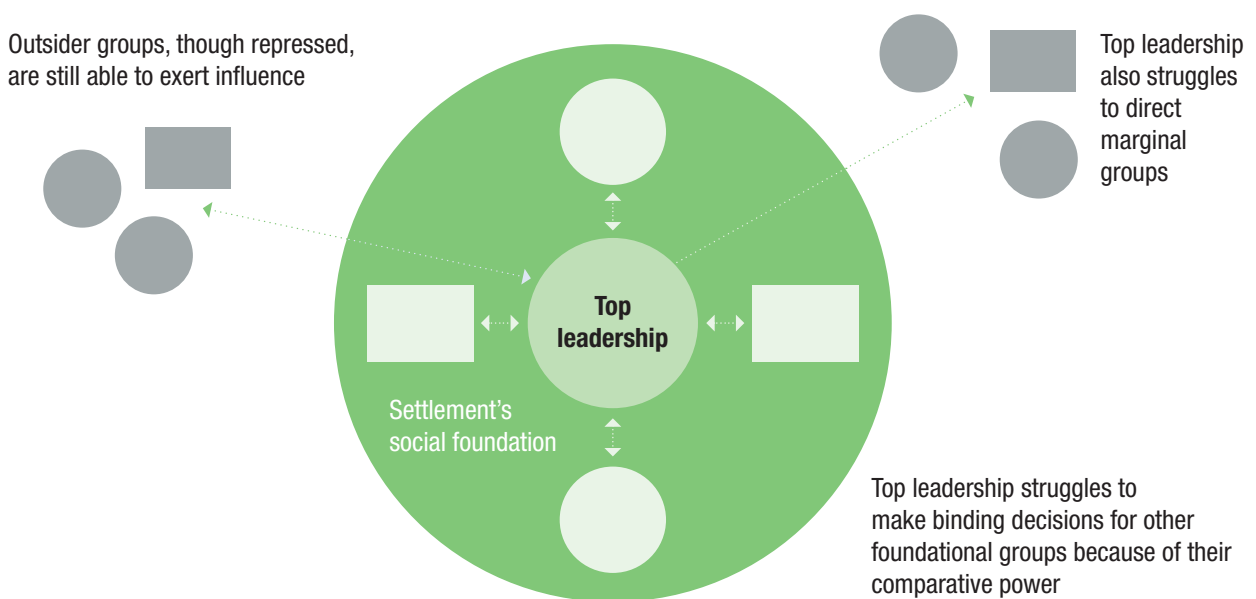
This is the situation depicted in Figure 5. In 'dispersed' political settlements, by contrast (Figure 6), the top leadership can only get its way

Figure 5 Concentrated power configuration



Source: author's own.

Figure 6 Dispersed power configuration



Source: author's own.

after an extensive process of negotiation, bargaining and deal-making, often relying heavily on material incentives, in which its ambitions may be considerably diluted. In extreme cases of dispersion, even those decisions will not stick. Making matters worse, in some of these settlements outsider groups are also strong enough to be able to deflect the top leadership from its ambitions. Take, for example, the case of contemporary Nigeria, where the threat of militant organisation Boko Haram consumes a considerable portion of the leadership's time and energy, thereby deflecting it from other goals. Meanwhile marginal groups, perhaps because of their lack of organisation, are also difficult to direct.

It is important not to confuse the power configuration of a settlement with regime type. Dispersed power configurations are often democracies and concentrated configurations autocracies, but this is not always so. The question is not whether the regime is an autocracy or a democracy, military or civilian, but instead whether the top leadership can make decisions that are binding on the rest of society and, if so, how.

Power concentration brings with it certain advantages when it comes to development policy and implementation. Here we borrow from the World Bank's recent World Development Report 2017, which describes the core functions of institutions as fostering 'commitment', 'coordination' and 'cooperation' (World Bank, 2017).

1.2.1 Commitment

Economic transformation, improving quality in education and improving quality in healthcare (to name but a few) are all policy areas that require a long-term commitment from policy-makers, have few visible immediate pay-offs and may require short-term sacrifices, for example in terms of reduced consumption, asset requisition or higher taxes. Various authors have pointed to the importance of leadership time horizons

in determining whether or not to embark on such difficult endeavours (Olson, 1993; Khan, 2010; Kelsall, 2013; Whitfield et al., 2015). For this author, the leadership in a concentrated configuration, because it can dictate terms to other groups in society, is likely to believe that it will be in power for a long time.³ One effect is that it will have a long time-horizon and can therefore afford to invest in policies and institutional development that have only a long term pay-off. By contrast, in dispersed settlements, state leaders are more inclined to follow short-term political calculations, all aimed at reducing the risk of being ousted from power.

Longevity also provides citizens with certainty. If everyone knows who is going to be in government over the medium term, it is easier for the leadership to make credible commitments to investors and citizens, justifying their short-term sacrifices. Credible commitments are not impossible under conditions of dispersion, provided cross-party consensus and binding mechanisms can be established, but concentrated configurations have a natural advantage.

Concentrated configurations also provide another type of certainty: everyone knows who's the boss. Following Levy (2014), this provides an advantage when it comes to certain kinds of accountability relation – especially hierarchical principal-agent relations. In a concentrated situation, both civil servants and other groups in civil society know to whom they are responsible, do not receive mixed messages about their duties and cannot call on other power centres to protect them if they shirk their responsibilities or disobey the leadership. In a dispersed configuration, multiple principals make accountability relations more confusing, and provide civil servants and actors in civil society with greater room for manoeuvre. It is consequently more difficult to get traditional, hierarchical bureaucratic modes of governance to function effectively. As such,

3 Sometimes concentrated situations arise in which a leadership can secure widespread cooperation, despite being secretly unpopular with broad sections of society. The leadership believes it will be in power for a long time and makes decisions accordingly. However, in reality it can be swept away rapidly if circumstances change and dissatisfied groups feel suddenly empowered. For this reason, we say that power concentration is associated with belief in a long-time horizon, even if that belief is sometimes mistaken. This is to be distinguished from a dispersed situation in which the leadership knows it is challenged by powerful groups and does not therefore expect to be in power for a long time. Note that concentrated settlements often become dispersed settlements as the relative bargaining power of societal groups evolves.

concentrated configurations have an advantage, especially when it comes to implementing simple logistical tasks such as building roads or schools, delivering medicines, disciplining rent-seekers, implementing gender quotas, and so forth.

1.2.2 Coordination and cooperation

Concentration also provides some advantages when it comes to solving what have been called coordination and cooperation problems. In coordination problems, diverse actors have interests that are aligned, but they fail to act on them because of uncertainty about what other actors will do: for example an investor who wants to build a factory, but will only do so if there is a logistics company to evacuate his product, and a businessman who wants to go into logistics but needs there to be something to transport. In a concentrated power configuration, the government can provide clear signals to investors and other actors that it wants something to happen and will support it, for example by providing land or other incentives for factory building, by building roads for transporters, or simply by using its convening power to get actors in civil society to build trust among themselves. In a dispersed configuration, by contrast, the leadership's signalling capabilities are reduced, because it is less clear, for reasons already discussed, that the government can deliver on its promises.

In cooperation problems, many collectively desirable outcomes are difficult to achieve because individuals have an incentive to free ride on the contributions of others, or because they simply have different interests. To offset this, a credible agency needs to reward co-operators and sanction free riders. This is not impossible under dispersed power configurations, but, as before, concentrated configurations have an advantage, as there is less possibility of playing one authority against another.

It is important to note that, when it comes to credibility, coordination and cooperation, the potential advantages provided by concentration will sometimes act as disadvantages. For example, if a leader in a concentrated configuration earns a reputation for breaking commitments, credibility and trust will be low. Recognising this, powerful leaders occasionally

tie their own hands by introducing countervailing institutions or delegating authority to independent power centres – for example to boost investor confidence.

Another problem is that power concentration arguably makes policy mistakes likelier. This is because other actors in society lack the strength to resist having bad policies imposed on them. Power concentration lends itself to top-down, disciplinary, even coercive, approaches to development. These may be especially effective when it comes to accomplishing basic logistical tasks for which the solutions are well known. But this power concentration may be less of an advantage when it comes to solving complex problems that require a high degree of experimentation or discretion and accurate knowledge about local needs and wants. History is rife with examples of concentrated power configurations – Mengistu's Ethiopia or Pol Pot's Cambodia, for example – making bad decisions that had disastrous effects. To be successful in these concentrated configurations, powerholders must be careful to grant frontline agents sufficient autonomy to find solutions themselves.

In more dispersed power configurations, it is easier for actors to align themselves with alternative power centres, and this arguably lends itself to the creation of spheres of autonomy in which creative solutions to complex problems can be found. The downside of this, however, is that it is easy for these solutions to become marooned, never achieving scale.

It is for these reasons that a balanced power configuration may prove to be optimal for development over the longer term. In a balanced power configuration, the top leadership can make binding decisions but only after consultation processes, negotiation and presumably some concession-making.

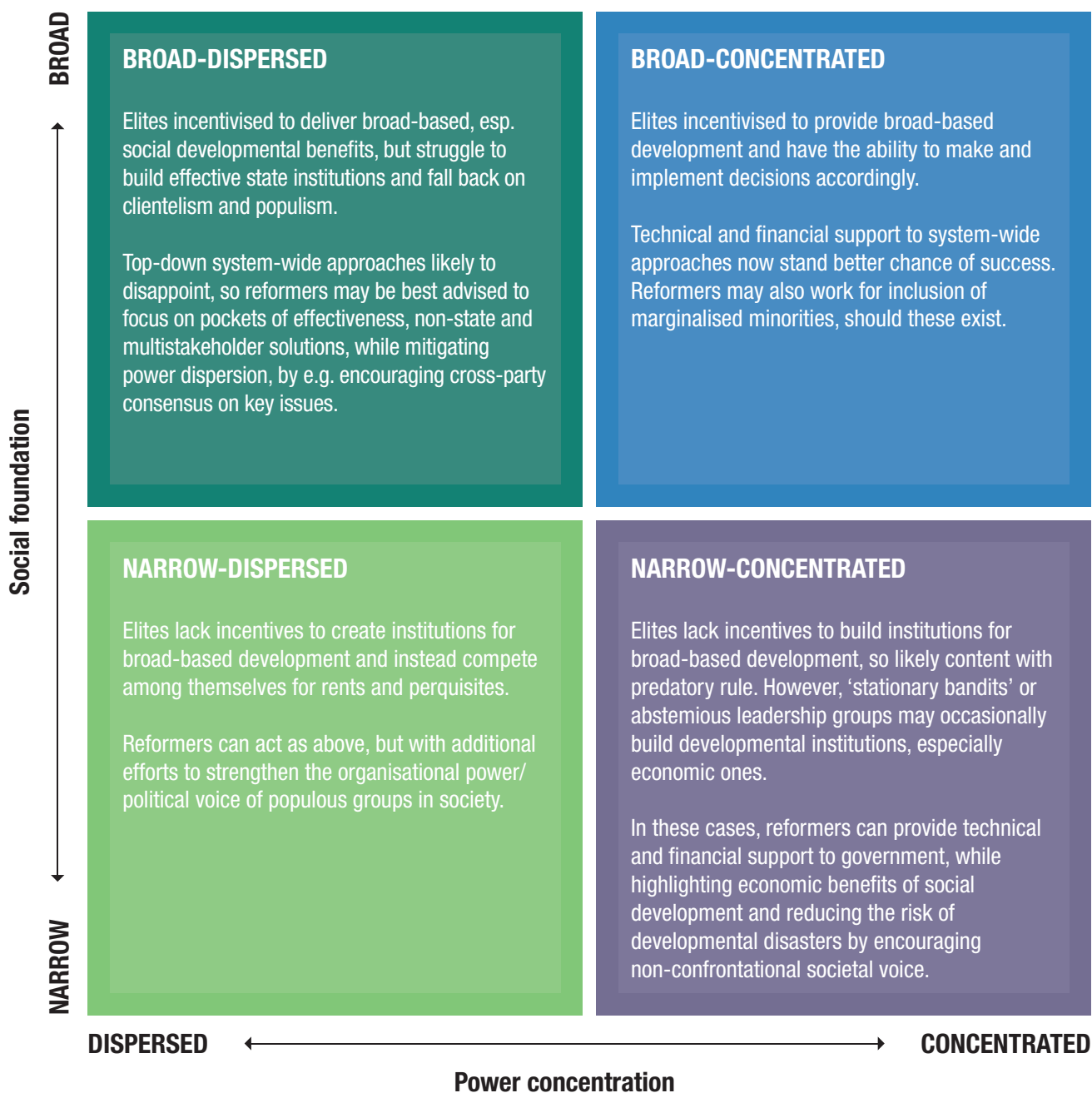
1.3 The dimensions combined

Taken together these dimensions create a 2x2 matrix, with four different 'types' of political settlement: 'broad-dispersed', 'broad-concentrated', 'narrow-dispersed' and 'narrow-concentrated'. Each type is associated with a particular configuration of elite commitment to, and state capacity for, inclusive development. In this respect, it provides

an added dimension to previous political settlement typologies, which tended to focus more on state capability than elite commitment (Khan, 2010; Levy, 2014).⁴ In our schema, each configuration or type has implications for what the state is likely to be able to achieve developmentally, and therefore also for the role that external actors and other

interested parties might play. Too often, foreign donors have attempted to impose ‘one-size-fits-all’ or ‘best practice’ policies on developing countries, with disappointing results. To offset that tendency, the typology proposed (Figure 7) provides a first step to creating a development strategy better tailored to country context.

Figure 7 A political settlements typology



Source: author's own.

⁴ To be fair, Khan's 'horizontal' axis predicts the ruling coalition's 'time horizon', which is treated as a driver of its desire for economic growth. But his typology does not allow for the possibility that the presence of organised interests outside the ruling coalition might also drive its commitment to develop.

1.3.1 Broad-dispersed settlement

In the ideal-typical form of a broad-dispersed political settlement, a high percentage of the population has disruptive potential. This means that the political leadership has an incentive to deliver broad-based benefits. However, its dispersed power configuration means that this settlement has a short time-horizon, must frequently make concessions to powerful groups, lacks credibility and struggles to discipline its civil service. As a result, state leaders struggle to create the conditions for effective long-term policy design and implementation and have a penchant for populist, vote-winning promises that are rarely properly implemented, supplemented usually by pork-barrel politics and cronyistic political-business deals. Developmental processes may be quite inclusive, in the sense that a broad range of groups have some veto power and leaders will want to be responsive to them – especially, perhaps, on the more visible aspects of social policy. But progress on inclusive development outcomes is likely to be modest. Ghana, with its progressive but imperfectly implemented health

Advice for reformers (broad-dispersed)

- Identify isolated ‘islands’ of effectiveness and learn from them: see if they can be replicated, to create an archipelago that may eventually coalesce into a more effective organisational landscape.
- Leverage the strengths of the non-state sector, at least in the short term.
- Nurture cross-party consensus on critical issues, such as industrial policy or educational quality, lengthening the time horizon within which they can be addressed.
- Explore avenues for strengthening executive power, making the settlement more balanced and less dispersed, while being careful not to upset elite expectations that power in this settlement frequently changes hands.
- Try to educate parliamentarians and citizens about the difference between ‘pork barrel’ and ‘programmatic’ politics, pointing to the advantages of the latter.

and education policies, provides a potential example (Blampied et al., 2018).

Where progress on outcomes does occur, it is likely to be the result of elite consensus on priority issues and/or the creation of ‘islands’ of effectiveness in a generally ineffective administration (Abdulai, 2018). Alternatively, non-state actors or development partners may be able to solve problems that the state can’t.

1.3.2 Narrow-dispersed settlement

In its ideal-typical form, the disruptive potential of societal groups in a narrow-dispersed settlement is small. This means that political leaders have few incentives to provide broad-based developmental benefits, not least in the field of social policy. At the same time, power is dispersed among the narrow set of groups that do have disruptive potential, making it difficult

Advice for reformers (narrow-dispersed)

- Identify isolated ‘islands’ of effectiveness and learn from them: see if they can be replicated, to create an archipelago that may eventually coalesce into a more effective organisational landscape.
- Leverage the strengths of the non-state sector, at least in the short term.
- Nurture cross-party consensus on critical issues, such as industrial policy or educational quality, lengthening the time horizon within which they can be addressed.
- Explore avenues for strengthening executive power, making the settlement more balanced and less dispersed, while being careful not to upset elite expectations that power in this settlement frequently changes hands.
- Try to educate parliamentarians and citizens about the difference between ‘pork barrel’ and ‘programmatic’ politics, pointing to the advantages of the latter.
- Broaden the settlement by strengthening the organisational ability of groups in civil society or the popular base of political parties, increasing the effective demand for more inclusive development policy.

to build effective state institutions for supporting even elite-centred development programmes, such as economic growth. Consequently, the settlement is likely to be unstable and may be quite vulnerable to coups, counter-coups, or foreign domination.

1.3.3 Narrow-concentrated settlement

In the narrow-concentrated ideal-type, only a minority of the population has disruptive potential, so the leadership is unlikely to be under much pressure to deliver broad-based development or inclusive social policies. Predatory rule is the most likely result. At the same time, the power configuration is concentrated, meaning the top leadership can dictate terms to the rest of society without having to share the spoils of any gains, and thus has the potential to build an effective state apparatus. It is conceivable then that a ‘stationary bandit’ – a dictator (Olson, 1993) – could drive forward industrial transformation with a view to maximising kleptocratic gains longer term. Or that an ascetic political leader with developmental ambitions could implement

successful economic policies. Both of these things might have positive spillover effects. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore what might drive such ambitions but potential sources may be a perceived external threat, a latent popular threat or a progressive ideology. Even so, the narrowness of powerful groups in society means that the majority will not be able to insist that their voices are heard. This makes exclusionary processes and outcomes, or even development disasters, more likely.

1.3.4 Broad-concentrated settlement

Finally, in ideal-typical broad-concentrated settlements, the broad mass of the population has disruptive potential at the same time as power is concentrated in the leadership. There will be both a desire to deliver inclusive development and the means to do so, in the sense that state leaders can take a long-term perspective and the conditions are ripe for building a disciplined civil service that can purposively coordinate development policies, crowd in investment and so forth. The main danger with this type of settlement is that, although a majority of the population is included because of its disruptive potential, a minority may remain marginalised or repressed. Concentration also introduces some risk of unwise or ill-conceived policy imposition, though

Advice for reformers (narrow-concentrated)

Predatory variants

- Leverage international pressure to replace, reign-in, or reform the more unsavoury of these regimes, while being mindful of the potentially even more negative consequences of settlement collapse.
- Broaden the settlement and make it more balanced by strengthening groups in civil society, while being mindful of the potential for a repressive backlash.

Developmental variants

- Where the leadership is already committed to economic development, persuade it of the concomitant economic benefits of social policy.
- Enable better policy-making by fostering links between government and other stakeholders, generating evidence and technical advice, etc.

Advice for reformers (broad-concentrated)

- Assist the leadership with resources and technical expertise, since money is likely to be well spent in the service of inclusive development.
- Diplomatically make the leadership aware of its blind spots with respect to marginalised groups or to ill-conceived policies.
- Incrementally improve the balance of the power configuration, either by raising the consciousness of groups in civil society or introducing more checks and balances, including internal party checks, into the political system – while being mindful of a repressive backlash or an unwelcome slide into dispersion.

this is likely to be less extreme than under the previous type.

In reality, this combination, or even approximations to it, are rarely found, mainly because 'broadness' and 'concentration' tend to be incompatible over the long run. That is, groups that have disruptive potential tend to use it and

this, in practice, dilutes the power of the leadership. Where this combination is found, it is because groups in society choose not to use their disruptive potential – perhaps because of charismatic leadership, or strong ideological or ethnic affinities with it. Botswana under Seretse Khama may be an example, or Malaysia in the 1970s.

2 Political settlements in Tanzania, 1961–2015

This chapter provides an account of Tanzania's post-independence politics seen through the political settlements lens.

2.1 Tanzania's post-independence political history

2.1.1 1961–1967: from neo-colonialism to *ujamaa*

Tanganyika, a sovereign state that comprised present-day Tanzania's mainland, gained independence from Britain in 1961 with a government formed by Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU was a party of workers and peasants, mobilised by the teachers, clerks and union leaders that led it to resist colonial rule (Iliffe, 1979; Coulson, 1982). The opposition, centred on the traditionalist, British-backed United Tanganyika Party and the tiny African National Congress, was insignificant, and in the first few years of independence it was harassed out of existence. Thereafter, independence struggles revolved around the new nation's relationship to Britain and the west in general; the model of economic development; race relations; and the boundary between public office and private interests. Three or four power blocs jostled for position: technocrats, some of them British, who favoured a broadly neo-colonial development model; Marxist-Leninists, strengthened by the country's merger with Zanzibar in 1964; African populists, who were keen to wrest control of economic affairs from Europeans and Asians; and Nyerere himself, with his unique brand of ascetic African socialism, or *ujamaa*⁵ (Bienen, 1970; Coulson, 1982; Pratt, 1976).

Institutionally, the early independence years were a fudge. A Westminster system of government was adopted but local TANU cadres made it impossible for opposition parties to operate. A largely neo-colonial economic plan was passed, but the government actively promoted the cooperative movement and 'TANU Villages'; government and party were supposed to serve the people but often put their own interests first. Over the decade, however, Nyerere began to concentrate power around himself, introducing the institutions of a presidential, one-party state, neutralising the independent power of the army, trades unions and students, and distancing himself from the former colonial powers. Then in 1967 he introduced the Arusha Declaration, which was to fundamentally reshape the rules of the political game (Coulson, 1982; Pratt, 1976; Bienen, 1970).

2.1.2 1967–1985: *ujamaa* and its demise

The Arusha Declaration was apparently a response to Nyerere's concerns with the pattern of post-colonial development, in which economic growth was widening the gap between rich and poor, and state and party leaders were enriching themselves at the expense of the population. Over time, Nyerere felt that this pattern would inevitably lead to political instability (Pratt 1976). The Declaration contained two key elements: nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy and a leadership code that prevented state or party leaders from owning private enterprises, large tracts of land or multiple houses. It spoke to the concerns of the party's left wing, which was sceptical of private

5 'Ujamaa' meaning 'familyhood' in Kiswahili, was Nyerere's attempt to build socialism on an African foundation, seeking to leverage traditional collective working practices for the modern era.

enterprise in general, to the African populists who were eager to obtain European and Asian property, and to Nyerere himself, who wished to put a stop to rent-seeking in state and party. It also provided Nyerere with a platform from which to launch his ambitious plans for rural development and socialism and self-reliance. Over the next 10 years Nyerere went even further in neutralising sources of potential opposition, abolishing elected local government and the cooperative unions, replacing them with state structures more amenable to his control (Coulson, 1982; van Cranenburgh, 1990; Havnevik, 1993).

From this point on, struggle revolved around more radical and pragmatic factions of the party-state, with the radicals allegedly concentrated in the party and the pragmatists in the government (Hartmann, 1991; McHenry, 1994). For much of the period the radicals held the upper hand, evidenced by policies such as forced villagisation and the abolition of the cooperatives (Boesen, 1986). However, by the late 1970s, these policies, combined with drought, the oil crisis and war with Uganda, had helped tip the economy into crisis, from which point the pragmatists, backed by an emerging class of entrepreneurs, gained strength (Kiondo, 1989; Campbell, 1992). Donors, who had previously supported Tanzania's *ujamaa* policies, now began to urge liberalisation. Socialist policies were in any case being routinely flouted, as state officials used parastatals for private gain and black markets and smuggling blossomed. The radicals fought back, launching a home-grown structural adjustment programme and 'war' on 'economic saboteurs'. But the economic crisis deepened and, by the mid-1980s, it was clear that radical change was needed to prevent political collapse (Svendsen, 1986; Kiondo, 1989; Maliyamkono, 1990; Tripp, 1997).

2.1.3 1985–1995: economic liberalisation

Nyerere stepped down as President in 1985 and was replaced by Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who shortly thereafter struck a deal with the International Monetary Fund. Attempts were now made to introduce liberal market institutions. However, with Nyerere remaining party chairman, the old *ujamaa*-supporting faction remained strong, slowing down

or frustrating many of these measures (Kiondo, 1989; Campbell, 1992). Nor was the Mwinyi faction fully aligned with the donors' vision of a neutral, facilitating state. Clustered around him, backed by increasingly powerful private interests, was a group that was keen to use government for private gain or to indulge in a kind of 'privatised rent-seeking' (Gibbon, 1995). The economy recovered but only partially, and the government was increasingly subject to scandals, many of which were brought to light by the ruling party's own Members of Parliament.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the international climate turned against authoritarian rule. A few voices began to call for a return to multi-partyism in Tanzania. With the country still economically dependent, and fearing that multi-party democracy would be imposed on it, Nyerere kick-started a process of national consultation that would ultimately lead to political liberalisation in 1992 and national elections in 1995, expressing hope that his Chama Cha Mapinduzi party (CCM) would split into distinct parties, giving the electorate a real choice (Mmuya, 1994; 1996; 1998).

2.1.4 1995–2015: democracy and corruption

In the event, CCM did not split, and instead went on to win the 1995 election under the leadership of Benjamin Mkapa. Mkapa stood for clean government and economic liberalisation. From this point on, struggles revolved around the issues of corruption, the role of the state and foreign enterprise in the economy and the authenticity of democratisation, alongside secondary issues carried over from the previous political settlement (for example, the mainland's relations with Zanzibar).

A faction that supported relatively clean, neo-liberal, quasi-authoritarian government appeared to be in the ascendancy in Mkapa's first few years, but by the time of the 2000 election, Mkapa had grown closer to individuals with a reputation for corruption (Kelsall, 2002). Despite the formal democratic and good governance institutions the state adopted, the unwritten rules of the game during this period – a kind of compromise among CCM factions, foreign donors and the opposition – can be summarised thus: 'The CCM must win elections at all costs,

but the illusion that the opposition could win should be maintained'; *and*, 'Politicians and public officials can use their offices for party or private gain, but not without limit, and so long as they don't get caught'. Naturally, there was some ambiguity in these rules, grey areas that individuals and groups would try to exploit, yet their content explains much of the pattern of Tanzanian politics at this time.

For example, the rules help explain why the institutional framework of liberal democracy was adopted, and why the press and civil society have been able to operate relatively freely; but also, why the institutions of state have been used to give the ruling party an unfair advantage. They also dignify a situation in which the state had lost much of its capacity to provide public goods and functioned, at least to some degree, as a base from which officials could earn illicit income. This period also witnessed a shift of power from the Presidency to influential, albeit rather loose money-making factions or networks, in which politician-businessmen loomed large. These networks provided vital campaign finance to the ruling party as well as to lower-level ruling party factions, which now played an increased role in choosing the Presidential candidate and expected to be patronised accordingly. Meanwhile, CCM constructed a winning electoral coalition using a mixture of programmatic and populist initiatives, such as the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) and universal primary education, club and private good provision, and intimidation and frustration of the opposition (Cooksey, 2002; 2011; Gray, 2012; 2013; 2015; Therkilsden and Bourgooin, 2012).

In 2005, power changed hands from Benjamin Mkapa to Jakaya Kikwete, without any fundamental change to the unwritten rules of the game. However, the period saw several new developments. First, organisationally, the opposition parties – especially Chadema – began to grow in strength, winning 33% of the Presidential vote in 2010. Subsequently, they were at the forefront of an ultimately unsuccessful constitutional reform movement that would have eroded executive power and strengthened their own position. Second, the pro-statist faction within the CCM saw its power enhanced, which led to some

anti-foreign-direct-investment (FDI) policies, for example in the mining sector. And third, the faction that represented clean government – or 'CCM-Safi', as it became known – increased in strength. This was accompanied by the growing influence of Parliament, culminating in the intense debates and scrutiny over the Richmond saga in 2007. These eventually led to Edward Lowassa, unofficial figurehead for the 'CCM-Mafisadi' faction, losing his job and then leaving the party, having failed to secure its presidential nomination in 2015 (Collord, 2018).

2.1.5 2015–2018: Magufulism

In the run up to the 2015 general election, it appears that several CCM grandees were worried that the opposition would pose a very serious challenge to the ruling party, especially if Edward Lowassa secured the presidential nomination. Given that CCM has systematically used the advantages of incumbency to tilt the political playing field against the opposition, there is ample evidence that it does not respect liberal democratic ideals and reasonable grounds to suspect that it would also have resorted to election rigging, if necessary, to stay in power. However, the equivalent effort it has put into actually encouraging people to enter the ballot box and cast their votes in its favour, suggests that in practice it would prefer not to risk the potential loss of international and local legitimacy that blatant rigging could bring. Thus, measures were taken to ensure that Lowassa's candidature did not get past its internal Ethics Committee, and John Magufuli, the Minister for Works, emerged as a compromise candidate with a clean reputation. Lowassa subsequently left the party and joined Chadema, taking some of his financial power with him, and causing a significant realignment in the power blocs that contest Tanzanian politics (Andreoni, 2018; Eriksen, 2018).

The subsequent election was the hardest fought in Tanzania's history, with Magufuli being returned with only 60% of the vote. His government has responded by altering the rules of the political game, effectively inaugurating a new type of political settlement. The new, unwritten rules are: 'CCM shall win the election at all costs; the pretence that the opposition

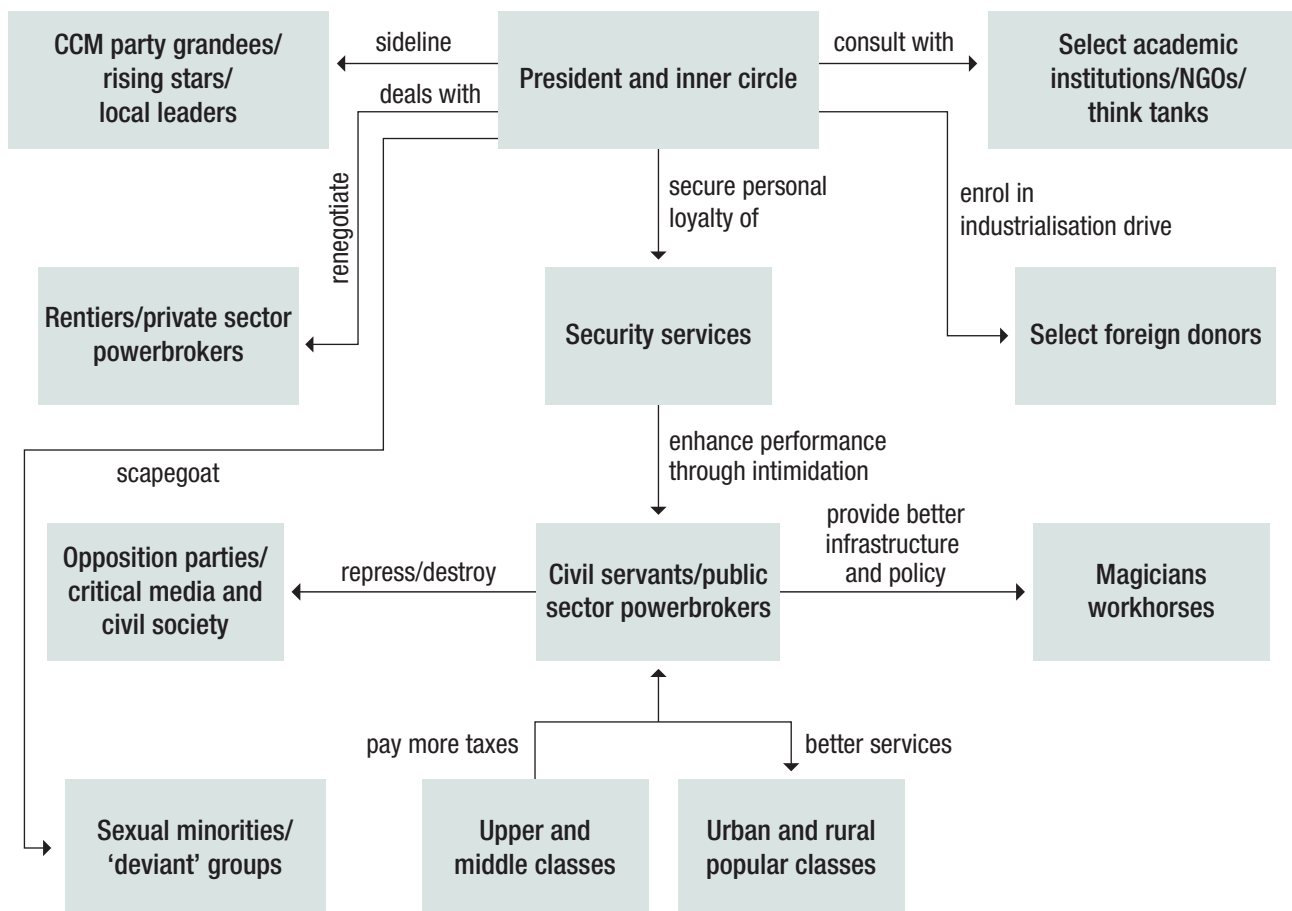
might win needs no longer be upheld’ and ‘Party and state officials will use their offices for public service, not private gain’.

The coalition that backed Magufuli for the Presidency could probably not have predicted that the new Head of State would take to his office with such zeal. Within days, it was announced that the government would complete the long-awaited move to Dodoma, heads of ministries and parastatal agencies were being sacked, ghost workers and employees with false certificates were being expelled from the government, and both opposition and ruling party politicians were being intimidated. The opposition in particular has faced a legal and political onslaught, the nadir being the assassination attempt on Tundu Lissu. Meanwhile, both CCM grandees, such as Mkapa and Kikwete, and rising stars, such as January Makamba, have found themselves sidelined.

Various measures have been taken to make the party leaner and more amenable to Magufuli’s control, while the administration has been seeded with his own supporters, especially officials he has worked with before and/or hail from his home region, the Lake Zone – particularly his former Chato constituency. Academics have also been promoted through the party and administration. Today, Magufuli’s inner circle is arguably narrower, socially, than any that has gone before. The government has also distanced itself from some of the party’s previous business backers and is relying more than ever on the security services to stay in power (Andreoni, 2018; Eriksen, 2018).

Arguably there has also been a shift to the left in terms of economic policy, which is consistent with the ongoing rise of the anti-liberal bloc in Tanzania, begun under Kikwete. Certainly, the government is less concerned

Figure 8 Magufuli’s political settlement



Source: author’s own.

about courting foreign investors or creating an orthodox business investment environment, as demonstrated by its forceful renegotiation of its terms of engagement with foreign mining companies in the mineral sands saga (Britain-Tanzania Society, 2017).⁶ At the same time, the government is taking advice from respected heterodox economists, so it is far from clear that this is simply a return to the policies of *ujamaa*.

The political-economic logic of the new settlement is represented in Figure 8. Economically, funds are raised by taxing the wealthy and middle classes, enrolling supportive donors and creditors, and renegotiating deals with previously favoured big capitalists, whether foreign or domestic. These funds are then ploughed into better infrastructure with the aim of promoting investment and growth. Politically, potential rivals in CCM are sidelined, the opposition and critical civil society repressed, and civil servants intimidated into providing better public services, which should also contribute to economic growth. There have also been some efforts to improve the business environment for ‘workhorse’ small business and farmers, for example the abolition of several agricultural fees and taxes and the raising of tariffs on some imported goods.

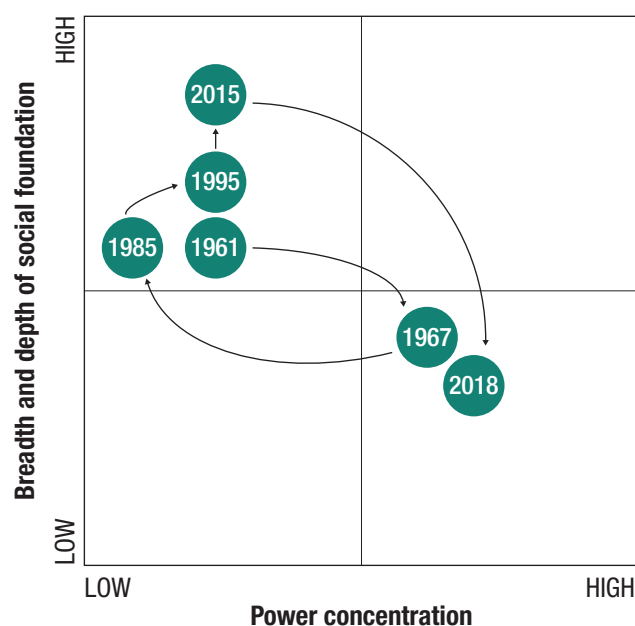
Economically, this bold strategy has some chance of success. However, it is also risky. The attempt to renegotiate deals with big investors and to tax small and medium-sized enterprises might ‘disorder the deals environment’ and chill the climate for investment generally (Pritchett et al., 2018). This is because some of the megadeals currently being driven through may be technically and commercially imperfect (Eriksen 2018), and because there may be better means of enhancing civil service performance than intimidation. If the government makes too many mistakes here, its revenue position may actually deteriorate, making it impossible to fund a performance-driven civil service in the long run. And although the strategy may pay off politically in the longer term, in the short term it is hazardous. Many of the winners of the previous system have lost out, while reduced liquidity

seems also to be squeezing the popular classes. A recent poll has the President’s popularity – initially at record highs for Tanzania – now at a record low (Kolumbia, 2018). Because of this, the personal loyalty of the security services is pivotal to the maintenance of the settlement.

2.2 Applying our political settlements typology

Thinking about this history in terms of our typology, we can say that in 1961, the political settlement in Tanzania had a fairly broad social foundation and dispersed power configuration. This was based on the recent experience of anti-colonial mobilisation by workers and peasants, their independent organisations such as cooperatives and trades unions, and Nyerere’s inability to get lower-level officials to implement his policies. Over the course of the decade, however, the settlement became narrower and more concentrated, as Nyerere neutralised independent centres of power and expelled uncooperative party officials. This process reached its peak in 1976 with the abolition of cooperative unions. Thereafter, economic crisis made it increasingly difficult for the leadership to

Figure 9 Political settlement trajectories in Tanzania (1961–2018)



Source: author’s own.

⁶ See Britain-Tanzania Society (2017) *Tanzanian Affairs* 18.

impose its will on state and party officials, and contravention of state regulations by workers and peasants signalled an increased disruptive potential. The new political settlement introduced under Ali Hassan Mwinyi represented a concession, not just to external donors, but to informal workers and peasants who had acted to undermine state interventionist policies (Tripp, 1997).

With the move to a multiparty system in 1995, popular classes acquired an additional form of leverage in the form of a vote for the opposition, even though the latter's organisational weakness prevented the settlement from becoming extremely broad. Although it is probable that CCM would have resorted to vote-rigging rather than lose an election, it had an incentive not

to steal elections too blatantly, since to do so would have invited donor withdrawal or mass protest. Consequently, the party made some efforts to serve the people and be popular. But over the next 20 years, the disruptive capacity of the popular classes increased as the opposition began to offer a real alternative, while the CCM leadership struggled to make and implement key decisions in a context of institutional fragmentation and factional competition. As with Nyerere in the 1960s, the response post-2015 to the increasing threat posed to the CCM leadership has been to concentrate power and narrow the settlement's social foundation, while using the resulting space to try to vigorously implement a long-term development vision.

3 Implications for development partners

How should these changes to the type of political settlement affect how development partners engage with Tanzania? Between 1995 and 2015, Tanzania had a fairly broad, dispersed power configuration, within which donors were highly influential. They supported various ambitious development initiatives such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy, Mkukuta, Public Sector Reform Programme, Mkurabita, local government decentralisation, the first Five-Year Development Plan and the Local Government Reform Programme, and they experimented with modalities such as budget support. Unsurprisingly, in the absence of a strong centre able to coordinate actors or enforce cooperation effectively, experience with such initiatives was mixed. Arguably, the government showed greatest commitment to programmes such as universal primary education, TASAF 1, the Primary Health Services Development Programme (MMAM) (Jacob and Pedersen, forthcoming (a); forthcoming (b)) and Kilimo Kwanza. These tended to be either populist measures that focused on delivering visible infrastructure over a short time frame, or delivering access to inputs or funds that could be used for patronage purposes – both of which were useful for fighting elections (Therkildsen, 2011).

Interventions to improve the *quality* of services were generally less successful. And the same could be said for ambitious economic development policies, such as the ‘Mini-Tigers’ Plan (Gray, 2012). More focused and better-resourced initiatives, such as disease-specific control programmes administered through vertical programmes, were arguably more effective (Croke, 2012).

Development partners also provided considerable support to ‘good governance’, ‘democracy’ and ‘civil-society strengthening’ initiatives. These again had mixed results. On the one hand, transparency increased and democratic organs, notably the Parliament, became more effective in scrutinising government. However, accountability lagged behind, and there were few indications that corruption was decreasing in prevalence (Policy Forum, 2016; Collord, 2018). Further, to the extent that these measures served to empower the electorate and broaden the settlement’s social foundation, they have provoked a backlash.

Although the period was not without successes, on reflection, it is worth asking whether donor strategy could have been smarter between 1995 and 2015.⁷ Given Tanzania’s dispersed power settlement, the implementation of top-down, system-wide initiatives was always likely to be patchy or inconsistent. Nevertheless, a significant portion of aid – for example to budget support, public sector reform and local government reform – focused on just such initiatives. Arguably, better results would have been obtained by focusing less on high-level agreements with government for sweeping, countrywide programmes and more on locally owned, more narrowly focused problem solving, with the emphasis on coalition building and pockets of effectiveness.

Something like this was attempted through the Big Results Now Initiative (DPG Tanzania, n.d.). Again, results were mixed, and a thorough study of the reasons for the Initiative’s strengths

⁷ For an example of what such an approach might entail, see Wild et al. (2015).

and weaknesses would be illuminating.⁸ This author's own impressions are that some aspects of the programme could have been politically smarter and also that the close association of the programme with the former President, who neglected to give it his unfaltering support, ultimately worked to its disadvantage.⁹ Another alternative would have been a more bottom-up process, focused on building local-level capacities for collective action and problem solving in specific issue areas, engaging political and bureaucratic actors as necessary. Such programmes could have complemented initiatives that focused on informational routes to augmenting 'client' or 'citizen' power, pioneered by the well-known non-governmental organisation (NGO) Twaweza. One such example is the SNV Water Point Mapping programme, which ran between 2009 and 2013 and succeeded in getting local communities and councillors to work together to rehabilitate and maintain previously installed water facilities instead of building new ones (Tilley, 2013; SNV Netherlands, 2015).

In theory, the experience of problem solving across the state–society boundary that such programmes foster, could, over the long term, have generated new types of relationship between citizens and their political representatives. This could have reduced the incentives to engage in money politics and removed at least part of the rationale for unproductive grand corruption, thereby improving the prospects for inclusive development more generally.

Getting the balance right for a country like Tanzania is tricky, however. Although its settlement in this period had many of the characteristics of a broad-dispersed country like India or Bangladesh, the legacy of the socialist party state meant that strong non-state actors were relatively few, making it difficult to plan a development strategy around them. Meanwhile, the need to comply with top-down bureaucratic protocols was ever present. Some experimentation, or a mixed portfolio of approaches, would be necessary to get the best results.

Tanzania's political settlement is now in a period of transition. There are signs that the central government has solved, to a considerable degree, its coordination and cooperation problems, and is firmly in control when it comes to making development policy. The scope for decisive action on countrywide issues that are important to the regime seems higher than ever before. Typical of narrow, concentrated settlements with an abstemious leadership, the government is putting its emphasis on economic development. There is a great emphasis on raising domestic revenue for investment projects, especially in infrastructure, at the expense of consumption. Consequently, there seems to be considerable potential to add value by assisting the government financially and technically. This means understanding who the key decision-makers are and how to provide them with good technical advice in a way that will not offend. Early signs indicate the importance of a handful of permanent and deputy-permanent secretaries and regional commissioners and favoured ministers, hand-picked by the President and now forming part of his inner circle. However, given the pressure coming from above to solve development problems generally, there may also be entry points further down the executive branch, as civil servants search for ideas and assistance in how to meet the new expectations.

It is partly for this reason that development partners should not abandon the idea of politically smart, multi-stakeholder initiatives. One of the dangers of narrow, concentrated settlements is that technically unsound, anti-poor initiatives may be pushed through, with huge costs for the country. By being smart about getting government working with groups with first-hand knowledge of sector development and invested risk, they can help make such disasters less likely. And while central decision-making power has clearly increased, implementing power is likely still lagging. For example, notwithstanding recent announcements about the abolition of fees and levies in agriculture,

8 As a beginning, see Janus and Keijzer (2015).

9 The author had a number of conversations with DFID and BRN staff in Dar es Salaam in November 2015 as part of ODI's support to Tanzania's planning process.

taxes on imported edible oils, sectoral industrial development strategies etc., it is not clear that the government, acting alone, has the capacity to monitor and enforce all these policies. Development partners may be able to help by convening diverse stakeholders, including the media, private sector, and NGOs, to increase the flow of information and help strengthen bureaucratic principal-agent relations. The trick will be to present these accountability initiatives in a non-confrontational way. This might be supplemented by other initiatives that encourage better bureaucratic performance, adding rewards not only punishments.

The government's stance on social policy issues is less easy to descry. Although there have been some populist gestures consistent with a broad-based settlement –free secondary education springs to mind – it could be argued that these are not inconsistent with a productivist agenda (Batley and Harris, 2014). Moreover, the government may now be able to commit more realistically to improving quality in education. There are some signs of a change of mood with respect to social protection, with a hardening of attitudes against giving 'handouts' to the 'lazy' and requiring some public works participation in return (although such attitudes have, admittedly, always been around). Recent, donor-backed plans for universal health insurance have also been blocked, perhaps because of fears around costs (Jacob and Pedersen, forthcoming (a);

forthcoming (b)). Again, both measures can be understood by reference to the government's prioritisation of economic investment.

The good news for development partners is that this is not a regime that is oblivious to the plight of the poor – it may simply have a different vision of how to help them. Those who wish to maintain current levels of social provisioning, then, may need to argue that these measures are complementary to economic development, not competitive with them, and they may need to back these claims with finance. They will likely find it more difficult than in previous regimes to have their priorities recognised in government policies. More encouragingly, those that are recognised stand a better chance of implementation.

The prospects for action on the political side, however, are dwindling. The government seems intolerant of initiatives to widen political space or increase critique and contestation. Large investments in democracy support are unlikely to pay dividends, although it is worth keeping a toehold in such efforts, in case the political settlement changes. Naturally, this presents a quandary for those development partners who claim that democracy and civil rights trump all other considerations, as on this front there are growing reasons to disengage. Such partners may wish to shift their foreign and development policy to giving sanctuary to opponents and victims of the regime.

4 Conclusion

This paper has provided a definition of a political settlement and explained how different political settlement dimensions can affect the prospects for inclusive development, providing pointers for how external actors might engage under different political settlement ‘types’. It has then provided an overview of Tanzanian history viewed through this lens, arguing that the country has transitioned from a comparatively broad and dispersed settlement, to one that was narrower and more concentrated, twice. The country’s present settlement – which is arguably narrower and more concentrated than any the country has experienced before – provides certain previously lacking opportunities when it comes to implementing a bold development

vision. However, it also comes with definite risks attached. Development partners who wish to stay engaged should weight their strategy towards providing financial and technical assistance to the government, while finding non-confrontational ways of encouraging multi-stakeholder engagement and client voice. This, it is important to note, should be a ‘first-bet’ approach. The settlement in Tanzania remains in transition and a sudden change of direction or political opening cannot be completely ruled out. Smart development assistance will retain a significant degree of flexibility and adaptability and be prepared to change direction should this approach prove disappointing or the political situation evolve.

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