



Have more laws, agencies and commitments against corruption made a difference?

People's perceptions of corruption in Tanzania



1. Introduction

In recent years, Tanzania has taken numerous steps to combat corruption. The Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act of 2007 strengthened the mandate of the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB). PCCB has grown substantively since its inception, with a bigger budget, building new headquarters in Dar es Salaam, setting up regional and district offices and hiring more staff.¹ It has spearheaded the development of National Anti-Corruption Strategies and Action Plans (NACSAPs) as the government's main instrument to fight corruption at both national and local levels.

The Election Expenses Act of 2010, the Public Procurement Act of 2004 and several other laws cited on the PCCB website² have been developed to provide a solid legal basis to combat corruption. Moreover, with support of donors, a number of public financial management (PFM) reforms have been undertaken. The country is also a member of various anti-corruption initiatives such as the Construction Sector Transparency Initiative (COST), the Open Government Partnership (OGP) and the Tanzania Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (TEITI).

¹ Tanzania Governance Review 2012: Transparency with Impunity?, Policy Forum [http://www.policyforum-tz.org/sites/default/files/TANZANIAGOVERNANCEREVIEW2012revised_0.pdf]

² PCCB <http://www.pccb.go.tz/index.php/laws>

This brief was produced by Twaweza, housed by Hivos Tanzania. Contributors are Youdi Schipper, Elvis Mushi, Risha Chande and Rakesh Rajani. Data was collected by Ipsos Tanzania. Released August 2014.

P.O. Box 38342, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
t: +255 22 266 4301 | e: uwazi@twaweza.org
www.twaweza.org/sauti



Have these efforts made a difference? In 2012, there were a number of high-profile dismissals of top government officials on corruption related allegations, and in the past decade there has been a marked increase in the exposure of massive corruption scandals. Increasingly vocal debate in Parliament, particularly around the reports of the Controller and Auditor General (CAG)³, has also put pressure on the Government to respond to corruption.

Despite these measures, Tanzania has however shown a steady decline in recent years in the control of corruption category of the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators, dropping from 46 out of 100 in 2007 to 22 in 2012.⁴ Similarly Tanzania has not made progress in the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, falling slightly from a score of 35 out of 100 in 2012 to 33 in 2013, and ranking at a low 111 out of 177 countries.⁵

In addition, between 2008 and 2011 the number of allegations brought to PCCB by the public fell by 22%, suggesting a decline in public confidence in the institution. The number of files completed and transferred and cases of administrative action taken also fell.⁶ The high profile dismissals have so far not led to convictions and significant penalties.

And corruption continues to dominate headlines and shape public debate. In May 2014, the Citizen newspaper reported '*Corruption monster is not tackled earnestly*⁷', The Guardian covered Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index '*PCCB, Judiciary, Police blamed for drop in corruption perception index*⁸ and the Government's own Daily News published an opinion piece '*Corruption makes Kenya and Tanzania Siamese twins*⁹'.

But what do citizens think? And what do they experience?

This brief reports the most recent nationally representative data around Tanzanians' views on and experiences of corruption in the country. Data are from the 19th round of Africa's first nationally representative mobile phone survey, *Sauti za Wananchi* (www.twaweza.org/sauti). These data were collected from respondents in Mainland Tanzania only (excluding Zanzibar). Calls to 1,425 respondents were made between 9 June and 25 June 2014.

The key findings are:

- More than three-quarters of Tanzanians think that corruption is worse today than it was ten years ago.
- Corruption pervades all facets of society: more than 50% of citizens perceive all sectors as very or somewhat corrupt apart from business and religious organizations.

³ National Audit Office <http://www.nao.go.tz>

⁴ World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators 2012 [<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>]

⁵ Transparency International, 2013 [<http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview>]

⁶ Tanzania Governance Review 2012: Transparency with Impunity?, Policy Forum [http://www.policyforum-tz.org/sites/default/files/TANZANIAGOVERNANCEREVIEW2012revised_0.pdf]

⁷ <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/oped/Corruption-monster-is-not-tackled-earnestly/-/1840568/2325904/-/102s8nw/-/index.html>

⁸ <http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/?l=67712>

⁹ <http://dailynews.co.tz/index.php/columnists/columnists/31757-corruption-makes-tanzania-and-kenya-siamese-twins>

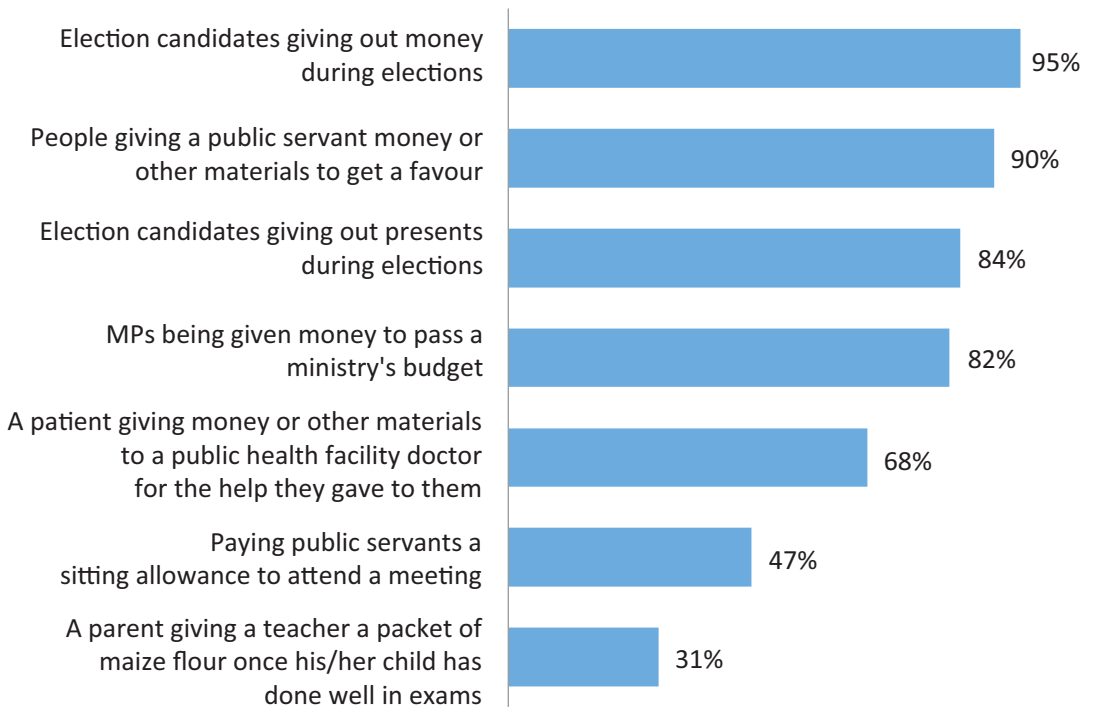
- Nine out of ten citizens view police corruption as ‘very common’, and the police are viewed as the most corrupt sector of society.
- 60% of Mainland Tanzanians have been asked for a bribe by a police officer – and 43% have paid a bribe.
- The most well known major corruption scandal is the Richmond scandal of 2006.
- 93% of Mainland Tanzanians have not filed a corruption report in the past 12 months.
- About half of Mainland Tanzanians do not think that corruption can be reduced at all.

2. Seven facts about corruption in Tanzania

Fact 1: Corruption has many faces

Corruption can happen across many sectors and many levels – from a tip to jump to the front of the queue in a government office, to granting an exclusive construction contract to a specific company in return for a kickback. In this round, we gave Tanzanians a number of hypothetical situations and asked them: is this corruption?

**Figure 1: Is it corruption?
(Percentage answering yes)**



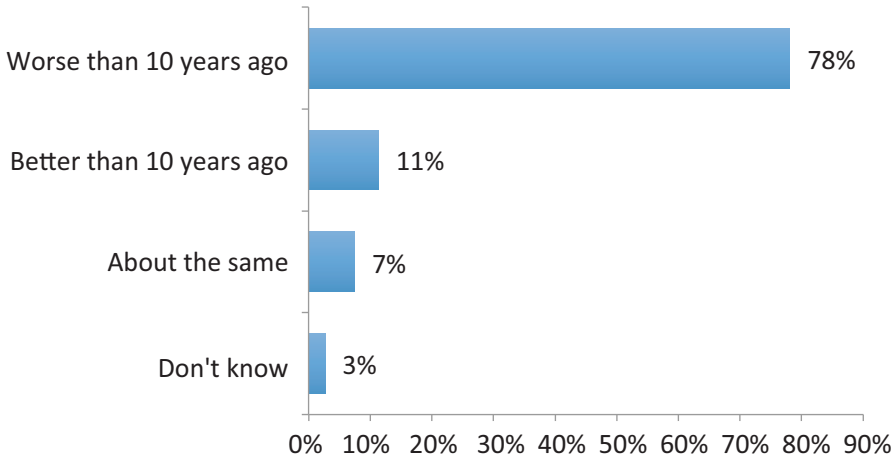
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

Overall, citizens have a strong sense that the exchange of extra or unofficial money for services is corruption (Figure 1). Almost all citizens (95%) believe that offering money for votes is corrupt whereas less than one out of three (31%) see gifts given to teachers following children’s success as problematic.

Fact 2: Most Tanzanians think corruption is getting worse

When asked whether they think overall corruption is worse today than it was 10 years ago, 78% of Tanzanians think it is (Figure 2). The numbers were similar for ‘grand’ corruption (meaning large-scale, high-level corruption) and ‘petty’ corruption (small-scale, everyday corrupt activities) – 78% and 76%, respectively (data not shown).

Figure 2: How does corruption today compare to that of 10 years ago?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

Transparency International found similar numbers in its nationally representative 2013 Global Corruption Barometer survey¹⁰: when Tanzanian respondents were asked whether they thought corruption had increased or decreased over the past two years (2011 to 2013), 69% believed that corruption had increased. Only 17% said it had decreased.

Fact 3: Citizens view corruption as widespread throughout society, with police and politics as most corrupt

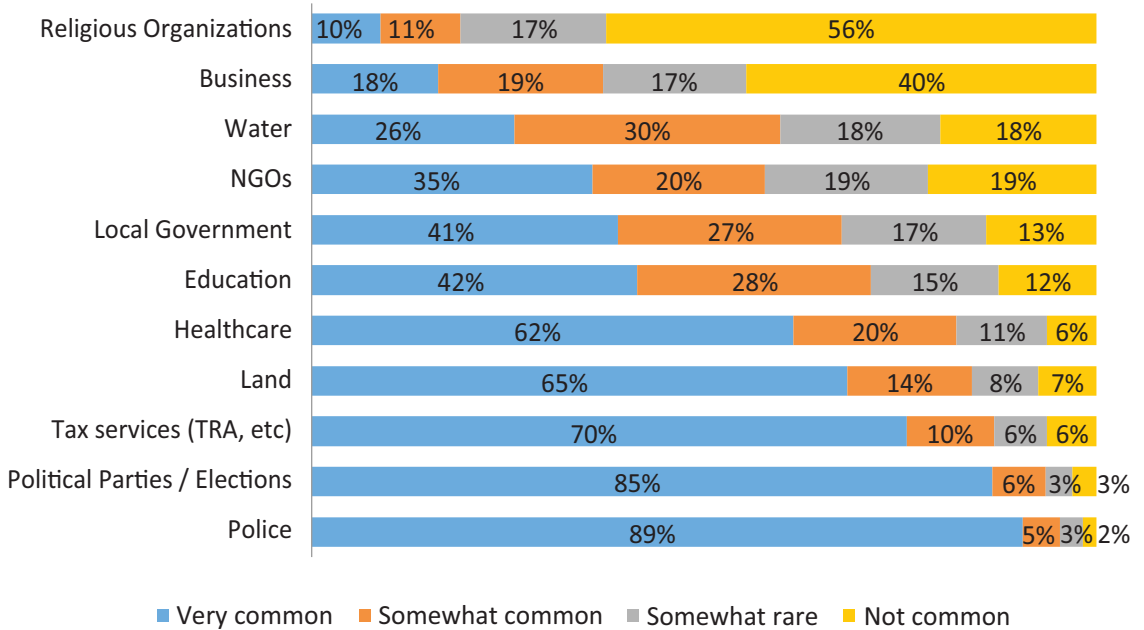
It is striking that corruption is viewed as very common or somewhat common in almost all sectors by more than 50% of citizens. The only sectors below this threshold were religious organizations and business (Figure 3).

In terms of specific sectors, Tanzanians were near uniform in their agreement: 89% said that police corruption was ‘very common’. Politics was a close second with 85% viewing corruption as very common.

For tax services and land, 80% and 79% of citizens respectively view corruption as very or somewhat common. Corruption is also pervasive in service delivery: 82% view it as very or somewhat common in healthcare and 70% do so in education. Notably just over half (55%) view corruption as very common or somewhat common among NGOs.

¹⁰ Transparency International, 2013. [<http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>]

Figure 3: Perceptions of corruption, sector-wise



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

Fact 4: 60% of Tanzanians have been asked for a bribe by a police officer, and 43% have paid one

We asked Tanzanians about their last interaction with a government or private sector service provider, such as village water committees, NGOs, religious organizations, or local schools. We then asked about whether a bribe was solicited and/or paid.

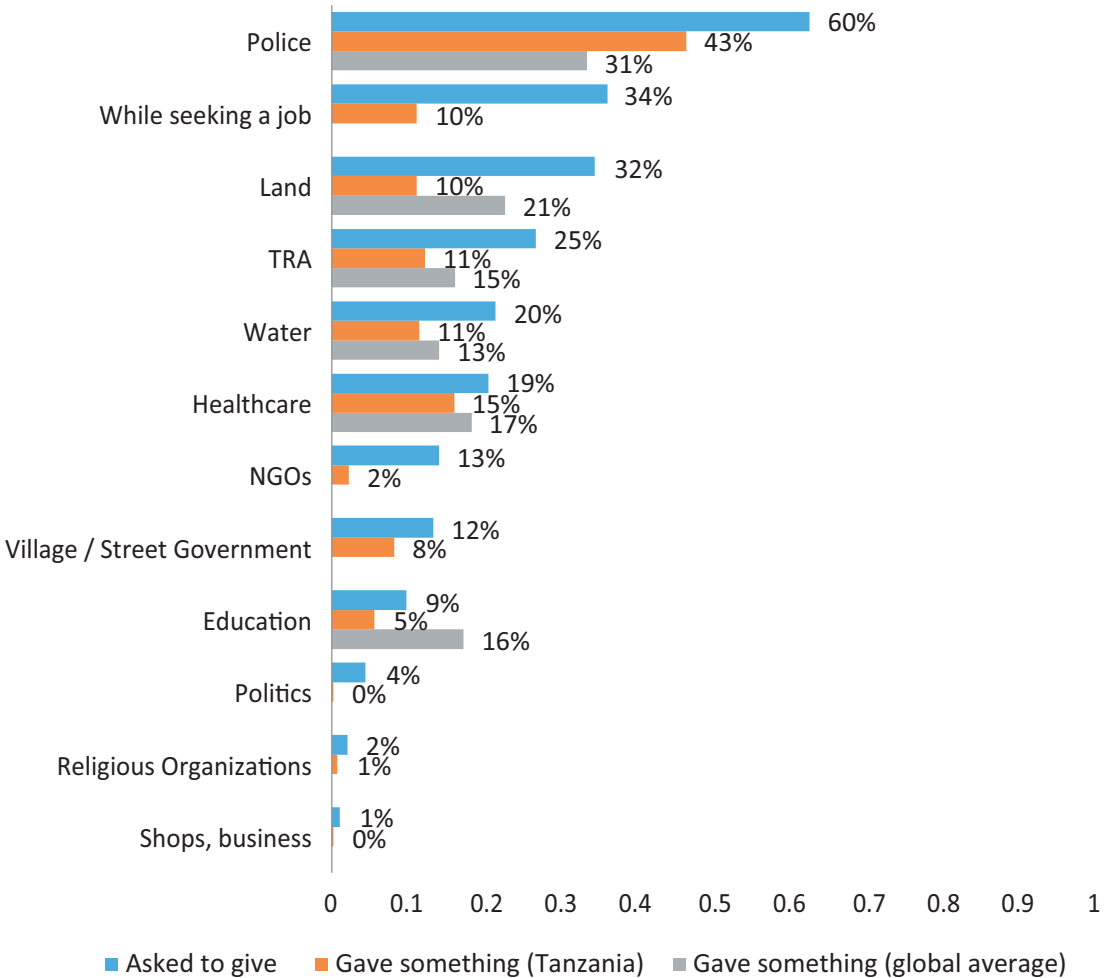
In almost every sector, significant proportions of citizens reported being asked for a bribe (Figure 4). This happened to three out of five citizens (60%) with the police and to one out of three (34%) when they were seeking a job.

Given this, how often did people pay? Again, the police reportedly topped the list: 43% of Tanzanians paid a bribe in their last interaction with a police officer (Figure 4). This included both people that paid after being asked (41%) and those that paid without having been asked (2%).

The next most common situation was ‘giving something’ to a healthcare worker – this could be a staff person at a local public health facility, or someone working in the private sector. Here, 15% of Tanzanians reported giving something. Almost three times as many citizens make unofficial payments to police officers as compared to health workers. While comparatively lower, it is still notable that one in seven citizens (13%) reported being asked to pay a bribe by an NGO.

Using Transparency International’s 2013 Global Corruption Barometer survey¹¹, we can make a rough comparison between Tanzania and the global average in terms of how often people paid a bribe. In this case, Tanzanians were paying bribes to police officers more often than the global average (in Tanzania 43% of people reported paying bribes to police officers as compared to 34% globally); they were paying less in issues related to land (10% in Tanzania against 21% globally) and education (5% in Tanzania as compared to 16% globally) (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Were you asked to give a bribe? Did you give one? (by sector)



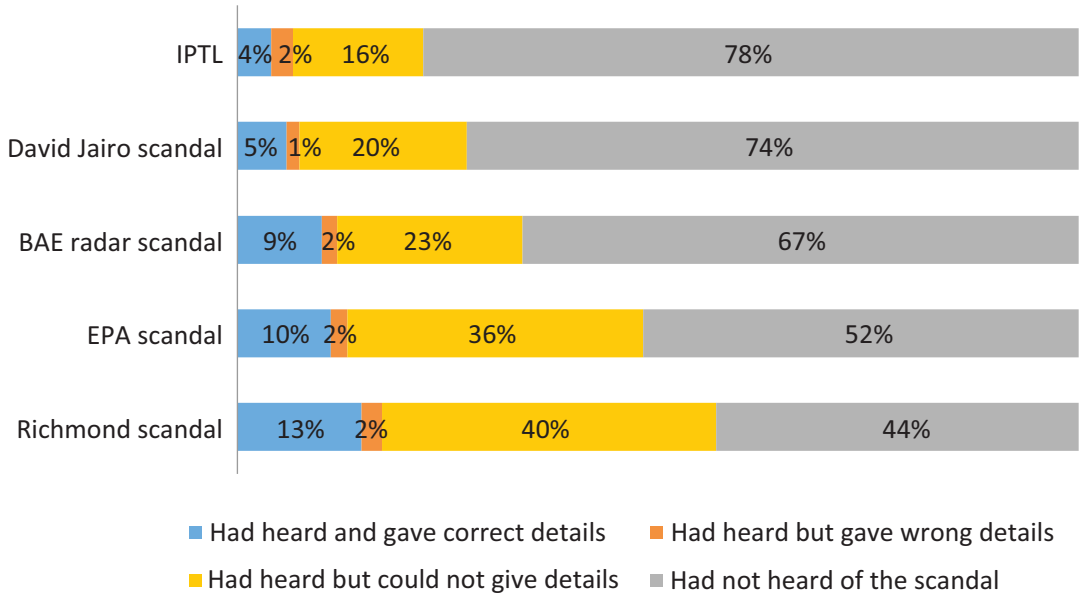
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

Fact 5: Very few Tanzanians know details about the country’s recent large corruption scandals

We asked respondents about corruption scandals reported in the press (Figure 5); whether they knew about them and whether they could cite key details.

¹¹ Transparency International, 2013. [<http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>]

Figure 5: Knowledge of recent corruption scandals



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

The details of these (alleged or proven) scandals are briefly summarized below.

1. IPTL – The Bank of Tanzania, holding an escrow account for Independent Power Tanzania Limited (IPTL) and the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, released \$122m from that account to Pan African Power Solutions Tanzania.¹² The latter was sued in UK courts in April 2014 by Standard Chartered Bank – Hong Kong for the release of these funds.¹³
2. David Jairo – The former Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, David Jairo, was accused in 2011 of bribing members of Parliament in order to pass his ministry’s budget.¹⁴
3. BAE Radar – A British firm, BAE Systems, was fined by the UK government in 2010 for paying \$12m in bribe money to win a radar contract in Tanzania.¹⁵
4. EPA – Fraudulent payments of up to \$116m made by the Bank of Tanzania’s External Payment Arrears (EPA) account in 2005/2006.¹⁶
5. Richmond – After an emergency energy contract was awarded, via a closed bidding process, to Richmond Development Company in 2006, it was revealed that functional generators were not provided despite large payments to the company. After mounting public pressure, the Prime Minister at the time resigned in 2008.¹⁷

¹² Lugongo, B. “CAG, Bunge committee to meet over \$122m IPTL deal.” *The Citizen*, 12 March 2014.

¹³ “IPTL’s billions battle goes to London court.” *The Citizen*. 1 April 2014.

¹⁴ “Tanzania: Sh1 Billion Scandal May Cost Permanent Secretary’s Job.” *AllAfrica.com*, 18 July 2011. [<http://allafrica.com/stories/201107190568.html>]

¹⁵ Taylor, B. “BAE payment to Tanzania undermines justice and accountability.” *The Guardian*, 20 March 2012.

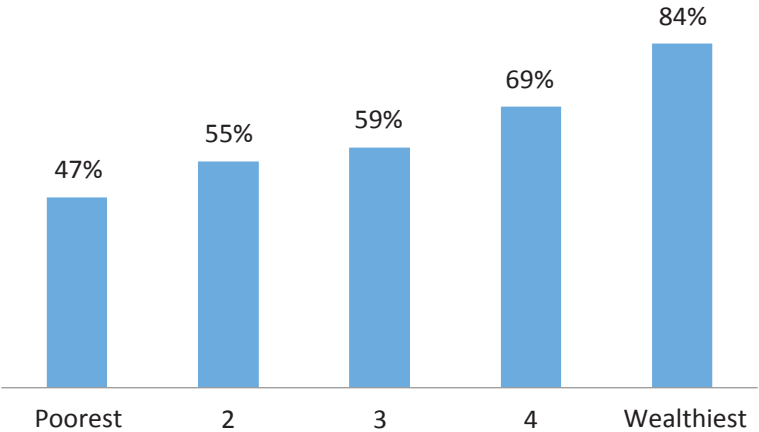
¹⁶ “Bank of Tanzania (BoT) External Payments Arrears (EPA).” *International Centre for Asset Recovery*. [<http://www.assetrecovery.org/kc/node/c3db0290-6a0e-11de-805d-551e161363cd.0;jsessionid=C410542627EC20B130EAC8803D03488A>]

¹⁷ “Tanzanian PM to resign over graft.” *BBC*, 7 February 2008. [<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7232141.stm>]

Of note, these were all major high-profile cases and received extensive media coverage and were the subjects of intensive public debate. Twaweza asking these questions does not imply that we hold any particular position on the matter.

Nearly 37% of Tanzanians had never heard of any of these cases (and only 0.7% knew the details of all of them). The least well known was the IPTL case, while the most well known was the major Richmond case, which is also one of the oldest scandals we asked about. (Note however that the survey was conducted before more recent coverage of another IPTL related matter in July 2014). Respondents in higher asset brackets were more likely to know about the scandals (Figure 6). More educated citizens were also more aware of these scandals: 9 out of 10 (86%) of those who had completed Form 4 against 6 out of 10 (60%) of those who had not were aware of the scandals.

**Figure 6: Knowledge of scandals, by asset quintile
(Percentage of respondents who had heard of at least one scandal)**



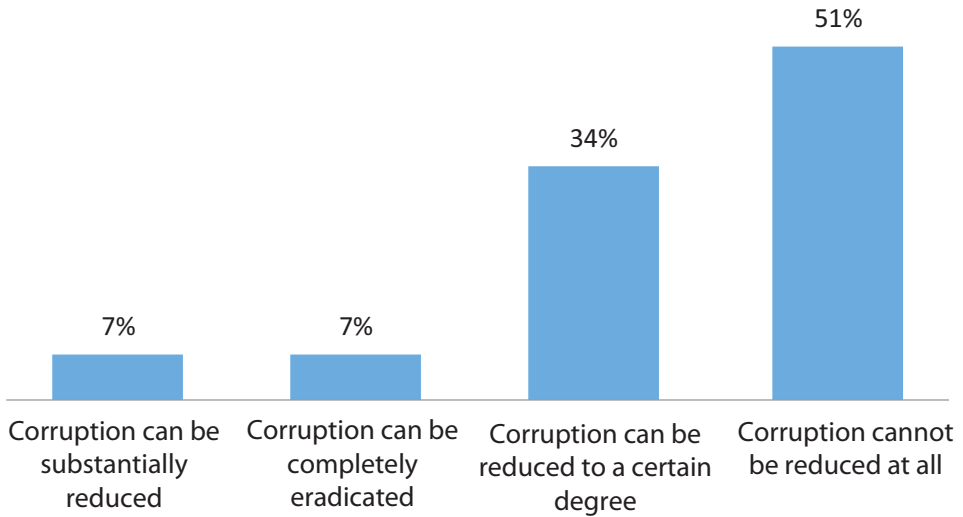
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

It is notable that knowledge of major scandals, despite extensive media coverage and political argument, is low. Also notable is the difference in being informed among wealthier and more educated citizens. For example, 84% of the wealthiest Tanzanians had heard of at least one scandal, while it was only 47% of the poorest who had (Figure 6). The numbers are reflected in the education levels too – 86% of Tanzanians who had completed Form 4 had heard of at least one scandal, while 49% of those who had not completed Standard 7 had (data not shown).

Fact 6: 51% are pessimistic about the future of corruption in this country

A little more than half of Tanzanians (51%) do not believe corruption can be reduced at all, and 34% think it can be reduced – but only to a certain degree (Figure 7). However its political significance such as at the upcoming local and national elections may be limited: most Tanzanians (70%, data not shown) do not believe the opposition would do a better job of fighting corruption if it was in power.

Figure 7: To what extent do you think corruption can be reduced in Tanzania?



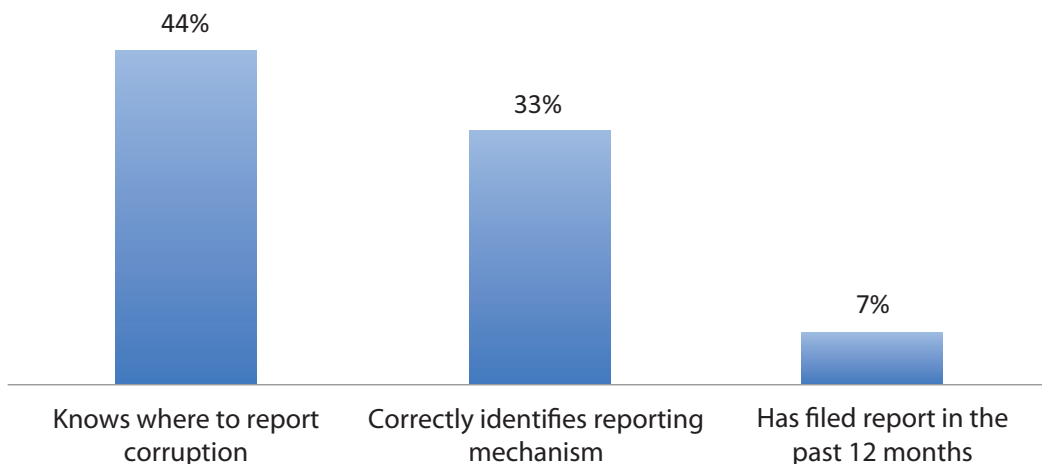
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

Fact 7: Less than half of Tanzanians know where to report corruption

Part of the pessimism surrounding the eradicating corruption may be attributable to a lack of knowledge about certain steps the Government is taking to address it: only one in four Tanzanians were aware of the National Audit Office of Tanzania (NAOT). Similarly only one out of five citizens (20%) knew about the NAOT’s Controller and Auditor General (CAG) report (only 4% had actually seen it). When respondents were told of specific instances of corruption found in the 2012/2013 CAG report, 75% stated that they believe an individual should be held accountable for the lost public funds.

Furthermore just under half (44%) knew where to report an act of corruption (and of these, 76% correctly identified it as the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB)) (Figure 8). That said, and despite the reportedly widespread experience of corruption, a large majority of citizens (93%) had not filed any corruption reports in the last 12 months.

Figure 8: Do you know where to report an act of corruption? Where, specifically?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey – Round 19, June 2014.

3. Conclusion

This brief presents some startling findings on the levels of corruption in the daily lives of Tanzanians. Citizens are clear that all unofficial exchanges of money are corrupt. In all sectors (police, politics, tax, land, health, education, local government, NGOs and water) apart from business and religious organizations, more than 50% of citizens view corruption as very or somewhat common. In general citizens pay bribes in vulnerable situations, when they encounter the police or require health services. In particular, three out of five respondents report that a bribe was solicited in their last interaction with the police. This is almost twice as much as the second most prevalent form of solicitation, when citizens are seeking employment.

Corruption is perceived to be very common or somewhat common among all Government services (by more than 65% of respondents), apart from the water sector (probably since water services in rural areas are not largely managed by government agencies). Significantly, while ranked as less corrupt as compared to many government offices, NGOs are perceived to be more corrupt than businesses. To maintain or regain its credibility, the NGO community would do well to establish a clear code of conduct and effective ways to regulate its own practice.

In contrast to the widespread experience of everyday corruption, citizens are by and large unaware of recent large corruption scandals, despite extensive coverage and animated debate in Parliament and the public arena. Almost half of Tanzanians (44%) had not heard about the Richmond power scandal, and even fewer were aware of other large scandals.

This finding raises interesting questions about the relative significance and experience of corruption in the lives of most people. First, limited awareness of and interest in major

corruption scandals suggests a breakdown of the social and political compact between the Government and its people. The misappropriated resources belong to all Tanzanians, and all public servants involved in misappropriating funds are employed by Tanzanians. News coverage of the scandals is meant to generate awareness and public pressure for accountability. But most of the respondents did not see a connection between grand corruption and their situation.

The fact that the corruption situation has not improved implies both a lack of adequate responsiveness from the party in power as well as weakness on the part of civil society to mobilize and channel collective action.¹⁸ At the same time, more than two thirds of Tanzanians do not think the opposition parties, despite their frequent references to corruption, will perform any better. Overall, the majority of respondents are pessimistic that corruption can be effectively tackled by anyone. Put simply, there is a serious crisis of confidence across almost all the institutions of society.

At the same time the findings show that while politicians, the press, NGOs, donors and the better educated tend to focus on major scandals, the majority of Tanzanians appear to be occupied by or care more about the forms of corruption that palpably affect their daily lives. While the need to better articulate how grand corruption affects ordinary citizens is obvious, the elite classes may be making a mistake to dismiss everyday corruption as “petty”; for to be compelled to regularly pay the police or nurses or land officials is anything but petty to the poor. While grand corruption makes news because it involves big sums and big people, those who seek to represent interests and advance the wellbeing of ordinary citizens would do well to pay more attention to everyday corruption, and how it can be solved.

In that regard, the fact that bribes are much more frequently solicited than paid provides a potentially useful finding to combat the problem. First, government providers can seek to offer ways for citizens to provide information about bribe solicitation – potentially learning from experiences such as IPaidABribe.com in India. However, for this to be effective a number of confidence building measures would need to be put in place, including user-friendly ways of providing information; quick publication of the reports in a manner that can be seen and heard by people (e.g. over radio); swift action by government in response, demonstrating seriousness; and adequate protection of the confidentiality of the reporting process. Second, since not all solicited pay, it would be useful to better understand, document and profile those who refused to pay a bribe. In short, if the authorities are serious about their commitment to honest and open government, they need to establish effective and efficient mechanisms for recourse when bribes are solicited, and make citizens aware of the same.

These suggestions are not meant to be definitive, but simply to illustrate one way of thinking about dealing with corruption. These survey findings show that despite efforts to improve governance and frequent commitments to open government, three things hold true: corruption pervades the everyday lives of ordinary people; the situation is likely getting

¹⁸ It is also a strong indictment of donors who have spent billions of shillings to curtail corruption in government and NGO programs and among their own staff.

worse; and citizens do not believe that the government or the opposition can or will reduce corruption. Pretending all is well or continuing with business as usual may be the worst folly, because when people lose trust and confidence in their institutions and their leaders, things can become truly nasty.