



■ Article ■

Nationalism and Its Impact on Democratization in Tanzania*

Eun Kyung Kim

Abstract

Tanzania has enjoyed rather peaceful political transitions both to the post-colonial regime and to multiparty democracy whereas in many other African states, recurring violent civil wars and ethnic conflicts have led to tremendous human suffering. This research examines how Tanzania achieved successful national-identity-building and national integration that brought about stability in the society and how the nationalist policies have influenced democratic development in the multiparty regime. Tanzania in the aftermath of colonization chose to follow the path to unity and equality, while it suppressed cultural diversity and individual liberty. Yet, the changes in the recent elections give hope for further democratic development in Tanzania. The nationalism trajectories shape its democratization process to be slow but peaceful.

■ **Keywords** : Tanzania, nationalism, Julius Nyerere, democratization, multiparty democracy

Introduction

Most African countries gained their independence in the 1960s and embarked on the process of nation-building in the following years. Unlike their hopes for prosperity and political stability, many of them experienced military intervention, violent ethnic and religious conflicts, civil wars, and state collapse. However, one country has a comparatively successful story of Africa's post-colonial nation-building. That country,

* The research is supported by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund and the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-362-2010-1-B00003).

which is the subject of this case study, is Tanzania. Tanzania possesses many features that might have impeded social stability, such as a culture that contains diverse ethnic, religious, and racial divisions; general economic deprivation; and a history of indirect rule as a British colony, which might create a power struggle for or against the status quo. Nevertheless, Tanzania has enjoyed rather peaceful political transitions both to the post-colonial regime and to multiparty democracy whereas in many other African states, political and economic development was retarded by protracted civil conflicts around the issue of defining socio-economic identity, citizenship, and indigeneity.

In the aftermath of Kenya's 2007 elections, for example, the violent dispute between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin ethnic groups resulted in a death toll of 1,000. Actually, similar ethnic hostility had repeatedly occurred in Kenya around election times in 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007 (Steeves, 2006). The Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), in which over one million people lost their lives, shows how ethnic identity could easily erupt into violent conflict; Sudan experienced a twenty-year civil war with the South, and the violence was escalated until the South became independent in 2011. Tens of thousands of innocent civilians have been killed and turned into refugees. Similarly, in 1994, Rwandan genocide led to the massacre of over 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu.

In contrast, the political environment in Tanzania has been relatively benign, except the small-scale conflicts between indigenous Tanzanians and the Asian population as well as between the mainlanders and Zanzibaris living in the islands. It seems that Tanzania has been politically and socially stable while pluralistic in its culture with over 120 different ethnic groups.

Regarding political representation of the diverse people, however, the transition to the multipartyism was not very helpful but rather superficial. So the ruling party, *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), could continue to reign over the county even in the new system. But in the recent 2015 elections, the alliance of opposition parties fared well, making the contest fairly competitive. Overall, the democratization process in

Tanzania was slow, but it has gradually made a progress while avoiding severe insurgent violence. This research, thus, asks two key questions about this unusual case of social stability in the post-colonial era and a slow but peaceful transition to democracy: (1) What are the factors behind Tanzania's successful nation-building and national integration? (2) How did the nationalist policies of the post-colonial regime influence democratic development in the current multiparty regime? In short, the nationalist policies of the single-party regime after the independence shaped an environment where ethnicity was disregarded as an issue of politics, and instead building national integration, economic self-sufficiency, and equality were considered as the most important aims of the country. In this, the role of the first president of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was something to be heeded because of his socialist philosophy and practices. As a result of its successful national-identity-building, Tanzania's democratic transition was also smooth and peaceful, while helping the ruling party stay in power.

To account for the particular traits of Tanzania's nation-building and democratization, the rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section two describes what characterizes the politics of post-colonial Africa as a response to their experiences in the colonial period. One is authoritarianism and the other is politicization of ethnicity, both of which affect the way they rule the new independent states. When it comes to nation-building strategy, Mahmood Mamdani (1996) posits that there largely two ruling styles that appeared after independence—traditional and radical strategies. They are different types of ruling, but both ultimately created conflicts and controversies between socio-economic cleavages in the societies. This is explained in Section three. Unlike the social instability that occurred in most post-colonial African states, Section four explains how President Julius Nyerere and his party yielded national integration peacefully. Section five is about the effect of the nationalist policies under Nyerere on the democratic development. In Section six, I discuss the implications of the nation-building and multiparty experiences for the future of Tanzania's democracy.

Political Legacies of Colonialism in Africa

Having experienced colonialism, independent African states, now ruled by homegrown elites, expected to dismantle the colonial hegemonic systems and create constitutions to promote effective governance, political participation, checks and balances, and economic prosperity. Despite the efforts and good will for the new start, the consequential products of post-colonial politics in Africa was authoritarian rule. Also, the colonial legacy of political use of ethnicity has remained from the authoritarian period through multiparty democracy. The following are the stylized facts about the colonial legacies that appeared in the independent governments and during the democratization process.

Authoritarianism

Inherited from the centralized colonial rule, the independent governments failed to establish an efficient system to summon active political participation of citizens and societal groups to reflect needs and aspirations (Mbaku, 1997, pp. 40-42). After the colonial authorities vacated, the post-colonial governments replaced them with forceful strategies to continue politics of ethnic favoritism. The ethnic competition was used to compete for limited state resources and became intensified because of the inability of the state to effectively and fairly deliver them to the people (Ayoade, 1988, p. 115; Rothchild, 1999, pp. 216-217). This antipathy towards the incompetent government was resolved by a hegemonic regime, a rule by an autocratic or military leader, or a single party without allowing broad public participation in decision-making process (Ibid., p. 217).

During authoritarian rule after independence in Africa, the elites employed the idea of nationalism to establish social and political stability and identity. One nationalist authoritarian strategy was to repress cultural pluralism such as ethnic diversity, whereby ethno-territorial disputes also could be suppressed. The other authoritarian strategy made a political

use of ethnic cleavages by controlling traditional leaders to impact their ethnic members in a way that they wanted to maneuver. Either by crushing cultural pluralities through “homogenizing diverse peoples” or “detrribalization”¹⁾ or by co-opting ethnic leaders to follow the authoritarian rule, the nationalist elites were controlling power over the state by having the people “included” in the state arbitrarily (Horowitz, 1994, pp. 51-52). The authoritarian regimes survived for decades because the rulers relied on their political and military forces to manipulate the people and to use violence when needed.

The perpetuating power of the authoritarian regimes was not only obtained by brutal force, but often supported by the people. Michael Hechter (1986, p. 271) argues that when the autocrats faced structural constraints, such as failure in governing, a rational choice they could make was to turn it into a nationalist movement, in which everybody was responsible for the nation’s performance. In addition, to stay in power, they also controlled communication via public media (Snyder, 2000, pp. 36-39). The people’s compliance to the hegemonic governments resulted from the government control and manipulation for establishing national identity.

Politicization of Ethnicity in Democracy in Africa

In the 1990s, many African states allowed a transition to multiparty democracy, realizing the ineffectiveness of authoritarianism. According to Michael Bratton (1999, p. 20), the 1990s had 30 free and fair elections and 12 cases of leadership change.²⁾ Another event in an effort for change was national conferences, which showed increasing internal demand of political liberalization and popular support. International donors also put pressure on governments for promoting human rights and building democratic institutions.

Even though a more open society had arrived, the grave sufferings from the ceaseless conflicts between ethnic and religious groups raised the question about the feasibility of democracy in culturally plural Africa.

Regarding the danger of launching democracy with risks of conflicts, Robert Dahl (1999, p. 127) argues, “[a]cute and persistent conflicts that polarize or fragment the people of a country are likely to prevent democratic institutions from fully developing and to destroy democratic rights and liberties should they be introduced.”

Eghosa Osaghae (2003, p. 282) asks two fundamental inquiries about the relationship between ethnic cleavages and democracy. Why does democracy especially provoke ethnicity? Why and how is ethnic mobilization more often used than the other forms of mobilization? His answer for the first question is related to the nature of democracy itself. Historically, democracy has been achieved via revolutionary events claiming individual liberty or equality, while inducing uncertainty and unease in a society. The conflicts are inevitable because they are part of the process to re-institutionalize a state when people express their concerns and needs of a better representation of their demands and interests, a fairer system to compete for power, and no more suppression or marginalization of any group of people. Therefore, it becomes legitimate to ask for ethnic needs and interests, which was unusual under the authoritarian regime. With the inflow of international notions of the minority rights, self-determination, and rapid economic advancement, people call for ethnic nationalism and ethnic independence. The successful stories about ethnic liberation in the former USSR states demonstrated its possibility to African countries. Also, after the Cold War, some Western countries attempted to legitimize and empower the claims of ethnic groups against the authoritarian governments.

Furthermore, ethnicity makes political mobilization easy because ethnicity offers a secure and cost-effective mechanism for political competition. By appealing to ethnic sentiments, political elites can easily convince poor and illiterate people to support them. By using ethnic lines, political objectives are clearer and political leaders can be more responsive to the needs. Thus, ethnicity as an ingredient of shaping the relationship between individuals and the state is an important element of democratization, albeit dangerous where ethnic competition is heated

up (Ibid., pp. 282-285).

Nation-building Strategy

The national priority of newly independent African states was the creation of a common identity and the promotion of democratic politics that could replace exploitative colonial rule. Although different regimes sought different types of measures to maintain peace and to reduce violence in political conflicts (Rothchild, 1997, p. 5), a broad and useful classification of the methods of conducting political and economic reforms is whether the leaders were conservative or radical in leading to the national unity and stability, as Mahmood Mamdani argues (1996, pp. 25-27). In the states that took the conservative path, the central governments encouraged traditional institutions headed by chiefs or headmen to keep the hierarchical order in the society. However, the states using the radical reforms replaced the tribal apparatus with non-ethnic, modern institutions often addressing the interests of urban residents over those of the rural peasants.

Resisting the old system of a single central government as in the earlier colonial state, the conservative method generated a decentralized political system that exacerbated divisions along with ethnic lines involving clientelism. It shunned racism but continued to keep the form of the Native Authority developed under the colonial rule, which reinforced ethnic partitioning. The main reasoning for the modern tribalism strategy was to build political alliances on the bases of Africa's "traditional" social structure in the multiparty system regardless of social class. However, the hazard of this strategy is obvious: it was a guideline for disruptive tribal movements and the root of hate and revenge that could harm social integration. Moreover, the multiparty system based on tribalism, as Mamdani warns (Ibid. pp. 25-26, 187-188), tended to create "superficial and explosive democratization of civil society" because the ethnicity-based political factions created by external force rather than cultural diversity were not flexible.

By contrast, the radical reform of the modern state reorganized the local governments in pursuit of national integration. The restructured system, essentially by a revolution from above, detribalized the civil society and strengthened central administrative power. With the abolition of tribalism, which was considered “customary” and traditional, the modernization of political and economic institutions widened the disparity and rift between cities and countryside. On account of economic development and more tax revenue, the governments put excessive pressure on the peasantry for production. As a result, it produced a powerful central government, characterized as a single-party rule or militant anti-colonial nationalism. The urban-rural gap was signified as manifested as inequality and the formation of urban/rural militants. Although the single-party regime tended to depoliticize ethnicity, interethnic tension existed within most societies (Ibid., pp. 290-291). Tanzania’s one-party regime under Julius Nyerere somewhat reflects Mamdani’s radical nation-building model rather than the traditional model except that his policies focused on developing rural living. The subsequent section examines what aspects of the radical strategy have been applied to Tanzania’s post-colonial government and how they have been used to establish its nationalist identity and keep peace in the country.

Nationalism and National Integration in Tanzania

According to the last national census before independence, which was taken in 1957, Tanzania consisted of 120 ethnic groups, including the Sukuma, Chaga, Nyamwezi, Haya, Nyakyusa, Hehe, and Bena, each with its own language and territorial boundaries (See Table 1 for the share of population). The ethnic groups were the centers of the colonial administration of Britain’s indirect rule, known as the Native Authority. Although the official reason for ethnic politicization was to establish institutions suitable for bringing stability and development to the country, the reality was far different. Traditional institutions have never been fully developed as part of government system and did not function as an effec-

tive political mechanism. The district officers were often appointed by the colonial government rather than selected from the council of tribal elders. Even worse, the native authorities undertook economic exploitation and political repression of the villagers when there was collusion against the government (Yeager, 1989, pp. 14-15). The colonial experience of the inadequate management of ethnic cleavages led Julius Nyerere and the other leaders of the country to devise strong nationalism after independence.

Table 1

Major Ethnic Groups' Population, Language, and Region

Ethnicity	Population (%)	Language	Region
Sukuma	3.2 million (13)	Sukuma (subset of Bantu)	Mwanza
Chaga	2 million (5)	Chaga (subset of Bantu)	Kilimanjaro, Meru, Mosi
Nyamwezi	1.5 million (4)	Nyamwezi	Mwanza, Kagera
Haya	1.2 million (3)	Bakoba, Muleba, Karagwe	Kagera
Nyakyusa	750,000 (2)	Nyakyusa (subset of Bantu)	Southern Tanzania
Hehe	750,000 (2)	Bantu	Iringa
Bena	670,000 (1.7)	Bena	Iringa

In 1965, mainland Tanzania adopted an interim constitution that declared it as a one-party state led by the Tanzania African National Union (TANU).³⁾ TANU endeavored to obtain national integration and even African unity regardless of ethnic, religious, and regional backgrounds. Denouncing the creation of social factions that could harm domestic security, the party justified and consolidated its rule by universal suffrage. Also, the National Assembly insisted that it could function more properly within the single-party system in fulfilling the ordinary people's partic-

ipation and advancing responsiveness of political leadership, while improving the technical capacity of institutions (Kjekshus, 1975, p. 19).

Meanwhile, all the associations identified by ethnicity were banned and debates regarding ethnic interests were prohibited in the parliament. The Native Authority system was abolished and the local government authority was absorbed into the new government (Mbonile 2003, p. 21). As local leaders in the former colonial direct rule were replaced by directly elected party members, ethnicity-based authorities were destroyed (Tripp, 1991, pp. 227-229). As a result, the nationalist policy made it difficult to reinstate the traditional ruling systems.

Playing a crucial role in nation-building, President Nyerere and his party introduced a socialist economic project presented in the Arusha Declaration in 1967. It resisted economic dependence on foreign states, adhering to the discipline of self-reliance on its own resources, land, and people, and nationalization of banks, foreign-possessed farms of export products, and important industrial sectors. Attempting to prevent a class-divided society and elite self-gratification, the government introduced a strict leadership code that regulated corruption and blocked the emergence of private economic accumulation (Mwansasu & Pratt, 1979, p. 148).

Ujamaa Vijijini (collective village) was a part of the socialist guidelines for development, which aimed at constructing a cooperative community where peasant producers were working and living together to assist state officers in providing technical instruction and agricultural infrastructure. The program was pursued to make fast progress in production and eradicate ongoing poverty in order to achieve increasing output and affluence through the investment of resources. This campaign was effective in drawing participation while the number of *Ujamaa* villagers increased from 531,200 to 2.5 million between 1970 to 1974 (Hyden, 1980, p. 104). Although it was not successful due to the officials extorting money from the common hoard and unreasonably low producer prices at the marketing board (Townsend, 1998, pp. 60-61), by 1979, 8,299 villages with a population of 14.9 million were built, comprising 87 per-

cent of the country's population.

Another salient nationalist policy was modern education through Kiswahili as a national language. It aimed to educate the people to understand the concept of Tanzanian citizenship and to staff the party with intellectuals. The "Education for Self-Reliance" policy was enacted in 1967 to make fundamental changes in the educational program that fit to create national identity and to use it for professional training particularly in the agricultural sector. The reform in the education system was intended to increase party control over access to higher education and the highly educated people. By having one national language, members of the parliament, despite its ethnic diversity, were able to freely communicate each other in the *Bunge* (parliament) while making it a political symbol representing the prominence of African culture (Khamis, 1974). In addition, Kiswahili was used in cultural programs, political meetings, and military training to propagate and inculcate socialist values (Campbell, 1999, pp. 106-108). Despite some criticisms on the language policy, it contributed to constructing a modern nation, in which Tanzanians possessed a shared identity on the basis of the socialist idea of egalitarianism and took steps towards a common goal of development.

As the first president of liberated Tanzania, Julius Nyerere is one of the most respected statesmen in Africa. While his role in the government was closely related with TANU's nationalist policies, his background, principles, moral values, and his unconstrained personal rule played an important part in leading Tanzania to achieving national integration. The rest of the section will briefly explain his influence.

Nyerere's nationalist principles, as manifested in TANU's policy, contained four mission statements: social integration of different ethnic, religious, and racial groups; realization of equality embedded in its own traditional value of egalitarianism; self-reliant development using socialist guidelines; and democratic decision-making by the general population. He believed that equality as the core value of socialism was compatible with Africa's traditional ethics, as in his remark speaking for "the same socialist attitude of mind which in the tribal days gave to every individual

the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family” (Nyerere, 1962). That is, the concept of equality to him was an intimate, cooperative, and humane value, and that promoted a societal fraternity (Pratt, 2000, pp. 366-367). While his primary economic policy goal was the well-being of everyone, his strategy for development was not to be devoted to industrialization but to agricultural development. He believed that equality must be accomplished before economic advancement because higher labor productivity could be born when people’s needs were satisfied (Hyden, 1994, p. 83). His egalitarianism also meant a respect for human dignity.

His leadership and personality also contributed to bringing nation-building successfully. He was a “leader-intellectual” and a “state leader” with a great political popularity as titled, *Mwalimu*, a respected teacher (Shivji, 2007, p. 58). He was talented in motivating and persuading people to redeem their right to live in a better world by defending humanity, justice, and equality, and was able to inspire them to be loyal to their country and its nationalist idea. Despite the fact that he was a skillful state commander who sometimes used armed force to carry out his nationalist policies, his frugal and benevolent behaviors attracted and convinced the people to agree with his policies. It shows that a well-loved and respected leader’s encouragement and persuasion accompanied with an effective control over his opponents made possible realizing social stability. Even through the economic hardships in the later years of Nyerere’s reign, Tanzania maintained national unity and relative social stability based on his devotion and efforts to nation-building.

Democratization in Tanzania

In the economic crisis the country faced in the late 1970s, the Party, now called *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) since the merger of TANU and ASP in 1977, failed to maintain its legitimacy because it was not able to solve the economic problems. Realizing the limits of its socialist development strategies, the CCM decided to introduce the multiparty sys-

tem in 1992. It was an outcome of the national conference that the ruling party CCM held on 18-19 February 1992, where the issue of an introduction of a multiparty system was discussed as recommended by the National Executive Committee (NEC). The CCM addressed several reasons why this transition could be positive to the country. First, the CCM recognized that a large number of Tanzanians wished for a multiparty government. Second, the CCM emphasized that the transition to a plural-party system would be a continuation of the party's historical respect for democracy and human rights. Lastly, the CCM agreed that the single-party government had not been the most efficient system to represent citizens' diverse opinions and draw active participation. Unlike the fear that the multiparty democracy might harm the national unity and identity that had been eagerly developed during Nyerere's regime, the transition was unexpectedly smooth (Msekwa, 2006, pp. 34-35). With few amendments of the policies made under the single-party regime, the new government tried to achieve a new goal of more participatory democracy and the development of civil society.

However, even after the transition to the multiparty democracy the CCM's domination continued both in the executive and legislative bodies of the government. In the new multiparty system, the first CCM presidential candidate, Benjamin Mkapa, won two terms of office by over 60 percent in 1995 and 2000, and another CCM member, Jakaya Kikwete, was elected at the high rate of the poll, over 80 percent in 2005 (See Table 2). The 2015 presidential election, however, was an irregular event where the opposition coalition of *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), and two other parties obtained nearly 40 percent of the vote, formidably challenging the incumbent, CCM, for the first time.

Table 2
Presidential Election Results in 1995-2015

Major Party (Candidates)	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
CCM (Benjamin Mkapa, '95-00) (Jakaya Kikwete, '05-10) (John Magufuli, '15)	4,026,422 (61.82)	5,863,201 (71.74)	9,123,952 (80.28)	5,276,827 (62.83)	8,882,935 (58.46)
CHADEMA (Freeman Mbowe, '05) (Wilibrod Slaa, '10) (Edward Lowassa, '15)	-	-	668,756 (5.88)	2,271,491 (27.05)	6,072,848 (39.97)
CUF (Ibrahim Lipumba, 95-15)	418,973 (6.43)	1,329,077 (16.26)	1,327,125 (11.68)	695,667 (8.28)	

In the legislative elections, CCM's dominance appeared even more eminent because of the First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) electoral system, in which any candidate receiving a plurality vote wins the election, and also because some appointed parliament seats are often not proportionately assigned to the share of each party's elected members. For example, in the 2005 parliamentary election, the CCM gained 70 percent of the national vote, CUF earned 14.3 percent, and CHADEMA, 8.2 percent, but CCM took nearly 85 percent of the seats while 9.6 percent and 3.4 percent were assigned to CUF and CHADEMA, respectively. Apparently, it does not reflect the election results fairly, but it shows that the CCM has tried to maintain its dominance, which it may think is acceptable from the historical point of view.

Table 3
National Assembly Election Results in 1995-2015

Party/ Total no. of seats	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
CCM	269 (79.6)	295 (76.5)	323 (85.1)	350 (74)	366 (68.9)
CHADEMA	4 (1.5)	5 (1.7)	11 (3.4)	48 (13.7)	70 (19.1)
CUF	28 (10.4)	22 (7.6)	31 (9.6)	36 (10.3)	42 (11.5)

* Total number of seats includes elected and appointed members of parliament.

Interestingly, the new political parties in Tanzania, mostly registered in 1993, usually had their own regional and ethnic support bases like other African democracies, except for the CCM which maintained nation-wide support. The CUF had strong support from Zanzibar, the islands; the Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD) gained backing from the Sukuma and Nyamwezi ethnic groups, Dar es Salaam, and Bukoba; the National Convention for Reconstruction and Reform (NCCR)-Mageuzi had strong following in the major cities; the CHADEMA was influential in Arusha, Kilimanjaro, and in coffee-growing areas in the South; and the United Democratic Party (UDP) obtained support from the Bariadi people in Shinyanga (van Cranenburgh, 1996, p. 540). Nevertheless, until recently, the CCM's domination in the government had not been disturbed, and in spite of the liberal foundations of the multiparty system, the opposition parties had remained weak.

The most significant factor that enfeebled the opposition parties was the factions among the parties themselves thus producing the fragmented party system. In the 2005 elections, candidates from 12 political parties were nominated for the presidential election, and 1,222 candidates from 18 parties were nominated for the parliamentary election to contest in the 232 constituencies.

Another problem of the multiparty system was that most parties lacked clarity in their views on campaign issues, especially on economic matters. Most opposition parties, including NCCR, CUF, and UDP, advocated a liberal market economy against the values of the old TANU/CCM, but at the same time supported government involvement in the social services. Indeed, their economic policy stances were not very different from the CCM's, which then wanted to liberalize the economy (Mwase & Raphael, 2001, p. 260).

The current CCM's rhetorical principles are still in parallel with Nyerere's basic doctrine of self-reliance and human dignity as addressed in the Arusha Declaration. With respect to the economy, CCM mostly protects the rights and the development of the peasants and workers and attempts to keep the communal values by fighting against neo-colo-

nialism, imperialism, and all sorts of discrimination.⁴⁾ The major issues of CCM's service to the country and the people were based on eradicating poverty, ignorance, diseases, and corruption, while pursuing justice and self-reliance. It also still keeps the importance of African unity and fraternal relations with neighboring countries that share an ideological value with the party.

The Afrobarometer survey conducted in 2001 revealed how Tanzanians assessed the government's political and economic reforms. It reported that Tanzanians were "uncritical citizens," showing "habits of accommodation" even when their interests were at stake. They mostly gave the government positive ratings for its performance: fighting corruption (55 percent), education (59 percent), combating crime (59 percent), and curing and caring for HIV/AIDS patients (72 percent). While the respondents showed their satisfaction with the multiparty democracy, they were still benevolent to the former one-party politics, providing 42 percent with positive evaluation. This exceptional positivity of Tanzanians towards one-partyism can be explained by the favorable remembrance of the old political regime, in which national unity, social welfare, and economic equality were cherished (Chaligha, 2002).

In sum, the introduction of a multiparty system did not bring a drastic change in Tanzania where the CCM had been a dominant party for about two decades. This static domination by the CCM is attributed to former president Nyerere's nationalist principles. The CCM's historic single-party rule has gained momentum even in the present time politics. Also, it was possible by the compliant citizens who value the country's peaceful transitions from the colonial era to the nation-building period to multiparty democracy. Maintaining the social stability throughout the transitions, as the recent election results show, Tanzania has come closer to the idea of democracy allowing plurality in its political arena.

Conclusion

This study examines the roles of historical legacies in shaping

Tanzania's politics and political culture in the post-colonial regime and in multiparty democracy. Resisting the colonial heritages, the African states attempted the political, economic, and social takeoffs from the colonial experiences either by encouraging traditional institutions such as chieftainship to keep their ancient hierarchical order in the society or by replacing tribalism with non-ethnic, centralized institutions calling for national unity. Post-colonial Tanzania took the radical type of ruling during its nation-building period and pursued nationalist policies to create national integration and become economically self-sufficient. All these policies were operated in a single-party system by TANU led by Julius Nyerere, and the citizens were supportive of the party's rule, which was successful in giving utterance to the nationalist strategy.

Although the socialist economic policies failed, the political components of the single-party legacy continue to influence multiparty Tanzania. With the national unity in place, Tanzania had a peaceful democratic transition and relatively few ethnic and religious conflicts even though the CCM was always the majority party in the parliament.

To put it simply, the example of Tanzania's post-independence politics can be narrowed down to the debate about where to put common values between tribe and nation (or between diversity and unity) in the processes of nation-building and democratization. In general, national integration provides stability, tolerance, and trust, while it suppresses cultural diversity. Meanwhile, cultural pluralism risks the emergence of conflicts among diverse interests, demands, and ideas.

What Tanzania shows is that the national integration paved the way for a peaceful democratic transition and relative social stability. Nyerere's nationalist principles of equality and self-help in political and economic development have drawn positive responses from the people. Even now, Nyerere's communal values may be more convincing to Tanzanians than specified individual rights and profits. However, one-party-dominant democracy that hinders opposition party success is unlikely to rightly function in serving diverse needs of the people. Without a civil society that could help put pressure on the government's responsiveness, the political

system is likely to remain unaccountable to the cultural plurality. However, in Tanzania the hope is that the multiparty elections could spark gradual changes and open up politics, as we see from the hotly contested elections in 2015. Tanzania's national integration established by the historical commitment of Julius Nyerere and his people is an obvious benefit for slow but peaceful democratic development.

-
- 1) These terms are used by Immanuel Wallerstein in the chapter "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa," in *African Nationalism and Revolution*, edited by Gregory Maddox (1993).
 - 2) The "free and fair" determination is based on the judgments reported by international election observers and domestic election monitors.
 - 3) Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) was the ruling party in Zanzibar.
 - 4) The party platform was a sheer rhetoric since the country was heavily dependent on foreign donors with a huge amount of external debt of 7.5 billion dollars in 2008.

References

- Ayoade, J. A. A. (1988). States without citizens: An emerging African phenomenon. In D. Rothchild & N. Chazan, (Eds.). *The precarious balance: State and society in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Bratton, M. (1999). Second elections in Africa. In L. Diamond, & M.F. Plattner, (Eds.). *Democratization in Africa*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Campbell, J. (1999). Nationalism, ethnicity and religion: Fundamental conflicts and the politics of identity in Tanzania. *Nations and Nationalism* 5(1), 106-108.
- Chaligha, A. E. (2002). *The 1999 neighborhood, hamlet, and village council elections in Tanzania: An analysis of election results in five REDET pilot districts*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Dar es Salaam University Press for REDET.
- Dahl, R. (1999). Democracy and human rights under different conditions of development. *Belgrade Circle Journal*, 235-251.
- Hechter, M. (1986). Rational choice theory and the study of ethnic and race relations. In J. Rex & D. Mason, (Eds.). *Theories of ethnic and race relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horowitz, D. L. (1994). Democracy in divided societies. In L. Diamond & M. F. Plattner, (Eds.). *Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and democracy*. Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hyden, G. (1980). *Beyond ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and the uncaptured peasantry*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Hyden, G. (1994). Party, state and civil society: control versus openness. In J. Barkan (Ed.). *Beyond Capitalism vs. Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Khamis, A. M. (1974). Swahili as a national language. In G. Ruhumbika, (Ed.). *Toward ujamaa: Twenty years of TANU leadership*. Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau.
- Kjekshus, H. (1975). *The elected elite: A socio-economic profile of candi-*

- dates in Tanzania's parliamentary election, 1970.* Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mbaku, J. M. (1997). Effective constitutional discourse as an important first step to democratization in Africa. In E. I. Udogu, (Ed.). *Democracy and democratization in Africa: Toward the 21st century.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Mbonile, M. J., Misana, S. B., & Sokoni, C. (2003). Land use change patterns and root causes on the Southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. *Agricultural Systems.* 85(3), 306-323.
- Msekwa, P. (2006). *Reflections on the first decade of multi-party politics in Tanzania.* Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Hanns Seidel Foundation.
- Mwansasu, B. U., & Pratt, C. (1979). *Towards socialism in Tanzania.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mwase, N., & Raphael, M. (2001). *Co-ordination and rationalization of sub-regional integration institutions in Eastern and Southern Africa.* Lusaka: COMESA: Regional Integration Research Network.
- Nyerere, J. (1962). *Ujamaa: The basis of African socialism.* Jihad Productions.
- Osaghae, E. E. (2003). Ethnicity and democratization in Africa. In J. M. Mbaku & J. O. Ihonvbere, (Eds.). *The transition to democratic governance in Africa: The continuing struggle.* Westport; Conn: Praeger.
- Rothchild, D. S. (1997). *Managing ethnic conflict in Africa: Pressures and incentives for cooperation.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Rothchild, D. S. (1999). Ethnic insecurity, peace agreements, and state building. In R. Joseph (Ed.). *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner.
- Pratt, C. (2000). Julius Nyerere. *Round Table,* 89(355), 366-367.
- Shivji, I. G. (2007). *Silences in NGO discourse: The role and future of NGOs*

in Africa. Fahamu/Pambazuka.

- Snyder, J. (2000). *From voting to violence: Democratization and nationalist conflict*. New York: Norton.
- Steeves, J. (2006). Presidential succession in Kenya: The transition from Moi to Kibaki. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 211-233.
- Townsend, M. K. (1998). *Political-economy issues in Tanzania: The Nyerere years, 1965-1985*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Tripp, A. M. (1991). Local organizations, participation, and the state in urban Tanzania. In G. Hyden & M. Bratton (Eds.). *Governance and politics in Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Van Cranenburgh, O. (1996). Tanzania's 1995 multi-party elections. the emerging party system. *Party Politics*, 2(4), 535-547.
- Yeager, R. (1989). *Tanzania: An African experiment*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Biographical Note

Eun Kyung Kim is a *Humanities-Korea*-funded Assistant Professor in the Institute of African Studies at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. Her research interests involve political economy of policy choice, voting behavior, and democratic consolidation in the context of Africa within the subfields of comparative politics and international relations. Recent publications include “Party Strategy in Multidimensional Competition in Africa: The Example of Zambia” in *Comparative Politics* and “Sector-Based Vote Choice: A New Approach to Explaining Core and Swing Voters in Africa” in *International Area Studies Review*. Email: liprib612@gmail.com

Date of the submission of the article: September 6, 2017

Date of the peer-review: September 6, 2017

Date of the confirmation of the publication: September 13, 2017