

PRSP in Tanzania: Do Mkukuta and the CCM Election Manifesto Pull in the same Direction?

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Executive summary

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), or what is more commonly referred to by the Kiswahili acronym Mkukuta, has been in effect since July 2005. It is a key document setting out a broad framework and strategy for poverty reduction and economic growth. Most DPs have aligned their assistance with the Mkukuta.

The CCM's Election Manifesto for the 2005 general election was issued in August 2005. The Manifesto is a comprehensive declaration of policies, goals and priorities for the nation and its people as a whole. The 2005 general election gave CCM a clear mandate to implement the Manifesto. If the Manifesto points in a very different direction from that of the Mkukuta, Kikwete's government may be pulled between different concerns and one might expect its implementation to be poor.

The Norwegian Embassy has therefore decided to commission a short-term study in order to review and assess differences and links between the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. The main purpose of this review is to get a clearer picture of areas where the two strategies pull in the same direction and where they differ, given the broad clusters of outcomes in the Mkukuta.

The Mkukuta is divided into three clusters of broad outcomes: 1) Growth and reduction of income poverty; 2) Improvement of quality of life and social well being; 3) Governance and accountability. These three clusters are divided into 18 goals, 108 operational targets and 271 cluster strategies/activities. The Manifesto is organised and presented in a very different manner. It does not present clusters of outcomes, goals, operational targets and activities, but contains merely a presentation of broad goals with some accompanying measures. Many of the issues covered in the Mkukuta are therefore not directly comparable with that of the Manifesto, other than at a very general level. The report will discuss the three broad outcomes and pick some of the key goals and activities under these clusters and assess whether or not they are consistent with the content of the Manifesto.

In order to achieve poverty reduction the Mkukuta aims to reach the three major clusters of outcomes, which are perceived as interdependent. Good governance and accountability forms the bedrock of the strategy. Growth is perceived as a precondition for poverty reduction, but it is not sufficient. Growth should be broad-based and equity must be ensured. The Mkukuta stresses more strongly than the previous PRSP that economic growth also has to benefit poor and vulnerable groups.

The Manifesto's approach is slightly different than the Mkukuta. It does not establish any similar clear-cut relationships among clusters of broad outcomes, but it has two broad primary tasks which contain significant overlaps between Cluster I and II in the Mkukuta: 1) to build a modern economy in a self-reliant nation; 2) to facilitate people's economic empowerment. Modernisation of the economy with an emphasis on the productive sectors is given the most prominent position in the Manifesto, while empowerment of the people is treated as primary task number two. While governance and accountability are perceived as the bedrock of the Mkukuta these issues are given less weight in the Manifesto. As with the Mkukuta, poverty eradication is an ultimate goal, but in the Mkukuta it is treated more as a long-term task.

Cluster 1 in the Mkukuta 'Growth and Reduction of Income Poverty' has one broad outcome: 'Broad-based and equitable growth is achieved and sustained'. Accompanying this broad outcome,

six goals are presented. An overall premise of the Mkukuta is the GoT's determination to stay the course of economic and social reforms, to maintain macroeconomic stability and to ensure sound economic management. The Manifesto, on the other hand, does not deal with macroeconomic issues beyond the emphasis on sustaining and accelerating high economic growth. On the issue of structural and institutional reform, the Mkukuta presupposes that the ongoing reform processes need to be sustained. This is not explicitly stated in the Manifesto, but it is more of an implicit assumption.

High economic growth is regarded as the *key* priority and main goal for both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. The Mkukuta states that an economic growth rate of at least 6-8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over the next decade is required. The Manifesto introduces an even more ambitious goal in this regard: an economic growth rate to the tune of 10% of GDP by 2010. If the targets for high growth levels are to be achieved, both documents see it as essential that more actors should get involved in the economy and production within key sectors should increase.

An operational target under the goal of ensuring sound economic management in the Mkukuta is to reduce unemployment from 12.9% in 2000/01 to 6.9% by 2010 and address under-employment in rural areas. The Manifesto does not operate with percentages, but has set the ambition to create 1 million new jobs within the next five years.

The Mkukuta sees technological innovation as a key goal. Similarly, the Manifesto stresses the need for technological innovation, but perhaps even more forcefully than does the Mkukuta. When it comes to key productive sectors, the emphasis and priorities of the two documents seem to diverge slightly. For the Manifesto the agricultural sector is *the* key. According to the Manifesto, agricultural production should reach a growth rate of at least 20% by 2010. This is seen as necessary for the economy as a whole to grow at a rate of 10% by 2010. The Mkukuta appears less ambitious in this regard and strives for a growth rate within the agricultural sector of 10% by 2010. When it comes to activities/measures for achieving growth within the agricultural sector, the Manifesto is far more comprehensive than the Mkukuta. The Manifesto seems to be better situated in the specific Tanzanian context.

Another key sector in the Manifesto is the industrial sector, which needs to go through an industrial revolution. By 2010, the growth rate of this sector will have reached 15% per year, according to the Manifesto. The emphasis on industry is not as explicit in the Mkukuta as in the Manifesto, but the industrial sector is nevertheless seen as key. Both documents stress and launch several measures with regard to improving access to energy and to the improvement and upgrading of infrastructure, transport and communication. Both strategies perceive the private sector as the engine for economic growth and strongly encourage the development of the private sector and want to limit the state to a restricted number of areas.

Cluster 2 'Improvement of Quality of Life and Social Well-Being' has two broad outcomes: 1) Improved quality of life and social well-being, with a particular focus on the poorest and most vulnerable groups; 2) Reduced inequalities in outcomes (education, survival, health, for example) across geographic, income, age, gender and other groups. Within these outcomes five goals are identified. The importance of education at all levels is strongly emphasised in both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. When operational targets are specified in both strategies they are strikingly identical. There can be no doubt that the two documents are co-ordinated. Improvement in health services is treated as a key issue in both strategies. The activities and operational targets are far more numerous in the Mkukuta than in the Manifesto, but, as with the education sector, when the operationalised targets are specified in both documents they match perfectly. Both documents underscore the importance of clean and safe water and express the same operational targets in this regard.

The emphasis on reducing inequality with a special focus on the poorest and most vulnerable groups is presented as key in the Mkukuta. Generally the Mkukuta places more emphasis on vulnerable groups and issues related to equity and equality than does the Manifesto. These issues do not appear to be key concerns in the Manifesto. There is one interesting difference in the approach of the two documents on how to facilitate support to marginalised groups. While the Manifesto mainly suggests measures for trying to increase vulnerable groups' active involvement in society, the Mkukuta is more concerned with providing safety nets and ensuring the availability of various social services.

Cluster 3 'Governance and Accountability' of the Mkukuta defines four broad outcomes: 1) Good governance and the rule of law; 2) Accountability of leaders and public servants; 3) Democracy and political and social tolerance; 4) Peace, political stability, national unity and social cohesion. Within these four broad outcomes seven goals are set. When the Mkukuta launches governance and accountability as the bedrock of the country's poverty and growth strategy, the Tanzanian government signals a strong commitment to speed up the reform processes within this area. The pace of the processes will probably be followed closely by the DPs. These issues are given a far less prominent position in the Manifesto. A significant difference between the two documents' approach to governance and accountability issues is that while the Mkukuta sees these issues as essential if a high and sustainable growth rate is to be achieved and poverty eradicated, the Manifesto does not articulate any such linkages.

Even if the gender component has been strengthened in the Mkukuta compared to the first PRSP, the litmus test is its implementation. The focus on gender is less visible in the Manifesto, but it lists a number of ambitious measures in order to remove gender inequalities, especially within the political sphere over the next 5-year period. The measure to increase the participation of women in political and executive leadership and decision-making positions to the level of 50% is a particularly bold goal.

The two documents diverge in form, levels of detail and in content, but all in all the two documents do certainly pull in the same direction. It is hard to argue that the documents diverge in any fundamental way on overarching issues. Looking at specific sectors where both documents have set operational targets or clear goals, these are surprisingly similar. The Manifesto is not signalling any changes regarding economic management and reforms. The necessity of developing a liberal market economy is underlined. This is also a premise to the Mkukuta. Both documents are in favour of a strong private sector, but this is more forcefully underscored in the Manifesto. The Mkukuta is also more directly focussed on issues such as equity, gender, the environment and so on. These are issues more superficially treated in the Manifesto.

Given the strong influence of external actors in a country like Tanzania it seems justified to raise the question whether there is room for party politics at all. The timeframe of the Mkukuta is now more or less consistent with the election cycle. Nonetheless, it would probably have been more logical if it were the newly elected government that negotiated the Mkukuta and not as the current practice is where the document is already finalised and approved before a new government takes office. This is an unfortunate practice. What if a new government were elected whose party programme diverged fundamentally with an already finalised and approved poverty and growth strategy?

Abbreviations

DP	Development Partners
GBS	General Budget Support
GBSF	General Budget Support Facility
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
LSRP	Legal Sector Reform Programme
NEC	National Executive Committee
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
PAF	Performance Assessment Framework
PER	Public Expenditure Review
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSRP	Public Service Reform Programme
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Network Programme
ToR	Terms of Reference

Introduction

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), or what is more commonly referred to by the Kiswahili acronym Mkukuta, is Tanzania's second PRSP. The Mkukuta has been in effect since July 2005 and has a five-year time frame, two years longer than that of the first PRSP. The Mkukuta constitutes an organising framework for poverty reduction in Tanzania. It is a key government document as it sets out a broad framework and strategy for poverty reduction and economic growth. As the document is the outcome of a consultative process where the development partners (DP) play a key role it is also a document of great importance to the donors. Most DPs have aligned their assistance with the Mkukuta, so it serves as a platform for the harmonisation and co-ordination of donor assistance. The goals, targets and later indicators that have developed based on the Mkukuta are central in the General Budget Support Facility (GBSF). The Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) that assesses performance related to the General Budget Support (GBS) is grouped according to the clusters of goals and targets in the Mkukuta.

The CCM's Election Manifesto, on the other hand, may be characterised as a 'contract' between the CCM government and its voters. During elections, the voter can use the Manifesto to hold the government to account. The Manifesto for the 2005 general election was issued in August 2005 and was prepared by the National Executive Committee (NEC). Its time horizon is more or less consistent with that of the Mkukuta, namely the period 2005-2010. The Manifesto presents goals and targets for what CCM would like to achieve if in power. While the Mkukuta is a strategy for growth and poverty reduction, the Manifesto is a more comprehensive declaration of policies, goals and priorities for the nation and its people as a whole.

The 2005 general election gave CCM, which won the election by a large margin, a clear mandate to implement the Manifesto. It received approximately 80 per cent of the votes. In the current parliament CCM holds 206 seats, leaving the opposition parties with only 26 seats.¹ The newly elected president Jakaya Kikwete has instructed politicians and government officials alike to implement the Manifesto. At the same time, if the content of the Manifesto departs significantly from that of the Mkukuta Kikwete may be put in a difficult situation and come under pressure from the DPs on the one hand and from the voters on the other. Even prior to Kikwete's inauguration as president, the negotiations on the Mkukuta had already been finalised. The World Bank board, the IMF and the other DPs had already endorsed the Mkukuta and the strategy had entered the stage of implementation. So in that sense his hands were partly tied even before he took office. If the Manifesto points in a very different direction from that of the Mkukuta, Kikwete's government may be pulled between different concerns and one might expect its implementation to be poor.

Recently, academics and development partners alike have declared domestic politics to be the missing link to explain the often disappointing results and lack of implementation of agreed policies (see Booth 2005). Since PRSP was initiated in 1999, approximately 70 countries have embarked on a PRSP process. Numerous evaluation studies and reports have been undertaken on various aspects of the PRSP. Many of these studies have concluded that the PRSP processes have often been treated as merely a technical issue, and as a result they have been delinked or have failed to include the domestic political dimension (see e.g. Selbervik and Wang 2006 and Gould 2005). This has also largely been the case in Tanzania. Acknowledging this, the development partners have started to argue that the PRSP process must be aligned with domestic political processes in order to increase ownership and to ensure implementation. In order to reach the goals and targets presented in the

¹ CUF has 19 seats, while Chadema, UDP and TLP have 5 and 1 seats each respectively.

PRSP it is necessary that the overarching goals in the PRSP correspond with ‘true’ national priorities. There has been a growing awareness among the DPs that a deeper understanding of domestic politics is needed for them to act appropriately.

The Norwegian Embassy has therefore decided to commission a short-term study in order to review and assess differences and links between the Mkukuta and the CCM’s election Manifesto (see the Terms of Reference (ToR) attached as an appendix to this report). The main purpose of this review is to get a clearer picture of areas where the two strategies pull in the same direction and where they differ, given the broad clusters of outcomes in the Mkukuta. In accordance with the ToR, the report takes the Mkukuta as a point of departure.

First, a brief sketch is given of how the two documents are organised, before a few lines on the origin of the two documents. Second, some general remarks on the strategies and their overall premises are made. Third, the most important goals and activities under the three clusters of broad outcomes are assessed in comparison with goals and activities in the Manifesto. Fourth, the gender perspectives in the respective documents are briefly compared. Before the concluding remarks, the issue of prioritisation and sequencing is discussed.

On how the two documents are organised

The Mkukuta is divided into three clusters of broad outcomes:

1. Growth and reduction of income poverty;
2. Improvement of quality of life and social well being;
3. Governance and accountability.

These three clusters are divided into 18 goals, 108 operational targets and 271 cluster strategies/activities. In addition, the Mkukuta presents a status report of the state of the art of the poverty situation and the challenges ahead. Moreover, it gives a summary of the consultation process of the Mkukuta, and the implementation arrangements, monitoring and evaluation strategies, as well as a financing strategy.

The Manifesto is organised and presented in a very different manner from that of the Mkukuta. It covers a wider range of issues, but does not contain an implementation or financing strategy. The Manifesto is divided into 9 chapters. Chapter 1 is a presentation of social and economic achievements under Mkapa’s period in office, while chapter 2 elaborates on long-term outcomes under the heading: “Building a foundation for a modern economy of a self reliant nation”. The following four chapters, which form the main bulk of the Manifesto, cover the productive sector; infrastructure and economic service sectors; people’s economic empowerment policy; and the social service sectors. Chapter 7 pays special attention to Zanzibar. This report does not include the special situation in Zanzibar, since the archipelago also has its own poverty reduction strategy. Chapter 8 of the Manifesto deals with “other important areas” such as culture, sport, the elderly, foreign policy, governance, and accountability issues. The final chapter summarises the overall content of the Manifesto.

The Manifesto does not present clusters of outcomes, goals, operational targets and activities as does the Mkukuta. It contains merely a presentation of broad goals with some accompanying measures and the distinction between goals and measures is often blurred. Many of the issues covered in the Mkukuta are therefore not directly comparable with that of the Manifesto, other than at a very general level. Moreover, given the limited time frame of this study and the numbers of goals and activities in the Mkukuta it is not feasible to comment on and compare all of them with

the content of the Manifesto. Instead, the report will discuss the three broad outcomes and pick some of the key goals and activities under these clusters and assess whether or not they are consistent with the content of the Manifesto. It will identify and discuss differences and similarities between the two strategies and assess whether they point in the same direction or not. The report also outlines issues that are covered in the Manifesto but not in the Mkukuta and vice versa. It should be stressed that this report is not a thorough assessment of the actual content of the two documents or of the feasibility of the growth strategies or the poverty reduction measures presented in the documents. This is merely a broad and general assessment of whether or not the two strategies are consistent regarding key issues.

Briefly on the origin of the Manifesto and the Mkukuta

The PRSP strategies have traditionally been formulated as a result of a process which has generally included three key groups of actors: the government, the development partners and civil society. This trio has been perceived by several researchers as a closed circle. Nonetheless, calls for greater openness and inclusiveness have spurred changes. Compared to the first PRSP, the consultation processes around the Mkukuta have been more open and a wider range of actors has participated in the consultation phase. According to the Mkukuta itself, in terms of consultation the second PRSP took a 'seven-league step'. On the other hand, a recent study of the formation phase of the Mkukuta concludes that some important changes have taken place but that these changes have probably been more limited than proclaimed in the Mkukuta (see Selbervik and Wang 2006).

Nonetheless, one cannot escape the fact that the Mkukuta is formed as part of a consultative process which includes a number of actors, such as the DPs, whose priorities do not necessarily always coincide with those of domestic actors or the government. As a consequence, the Mkukuta is the result of numerous compromises and is formulated at a fairly general level. The Manifesto is also the result of numerous compromises, but it is more the outcome of a 'purely' home-grown process than is the Mkukuta. The Manifesto is the result of a long consultative process within CCM. Most political parties try to sell their messages to as many voters as possible and the list of promises tends to be long and not always realistic within the given time frame and the resources available. The very origin of the two documents creates different channels of accountability. The voters mainly hold the government to account according to the extent to which they fulfil their promises as declared in the party Manifesto, while the origin of the Mkukuta has created a more complex set of accountability relationships. Probably the most important is the relationship with the donors, the external accountability channel. The donor will check on whether the government is fulfilling its promises and can possibly threaten the government with sanctions. Another important group of actors is civil society, which is commonly referred to as the societal accountability channel. Civil society groups can also put pressure on the government and threaten it, although with less formal sanctions than the DPs.

Would and should we expect the two documents to coincide? Given the origin of the documents, it might appear a bit odd if they matched perfectly. On the other hand, a great degree of coincidence may be an indication of increasing ownership on the recipient side, while great discrepancy could be an indication of the opposite. Moreover, one should probably be careful and not exaggerate possible differences between the two documents as the Manifesto perceives the Mkukuta as a complementary government strategy (see the Manifesto 2005: 10).

Assessment of coherence among outcomes, goals and activities in the Mkukuta and the CCM election manifesto

Some general remarks on inter-linkages on how to achieve the stated outcomes

The Mkukuta adopts a so-called outcome-based approach in contrast to the priority sector approach of the previous PRSP. This means that the success and performance criteria of the Mkukuta are more directly assessed against measurable outcomes and not primarily against the proportion of funds being channelled to agreed sectors, as was the case with the first PRSP. Moreover, the adopted outcome-based approach promotes cross-sector collaboration, intersectoral linkages and synergies in achieving the stated outcomes.

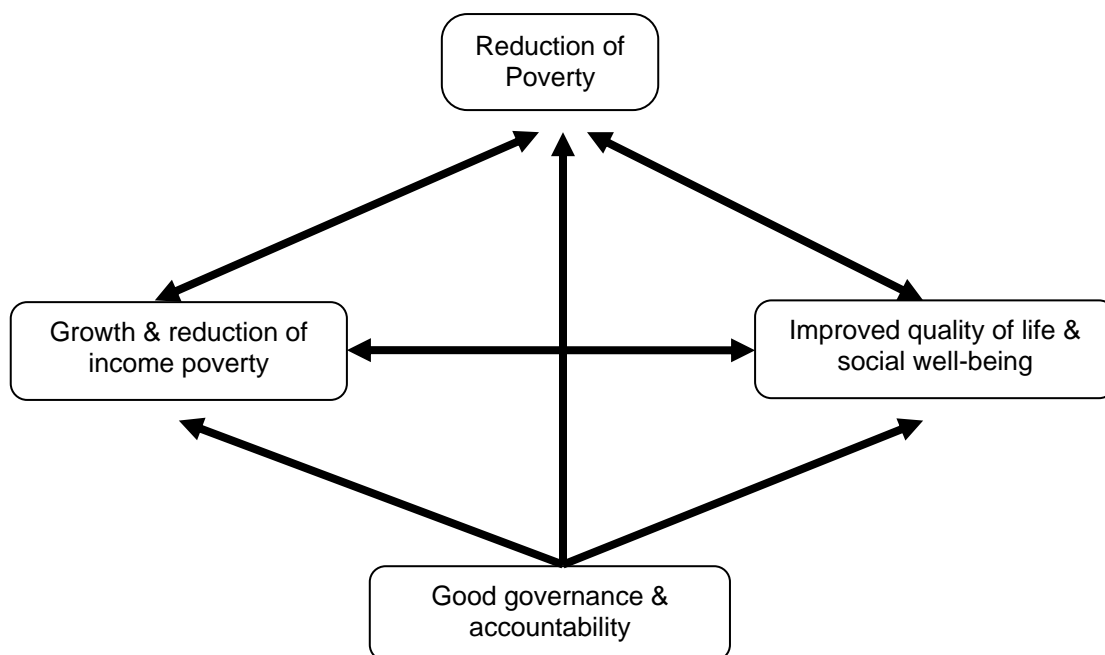


Figure 1: How the three clusters are perceived as interrelated (adapted from the Mkukuta 2005: 18).

The overall goal of the Mkukuta is poverty reduction. In order to achieve this goal, the strategy aims to reach three major clusters of outcomes. These three clusters are perceived as interdependent. The two main pillars of the Mkukuta are ‘growth and reduction of income poverty’ and ‘the improvement of quality of life and social well-being’, while ‘good governance and accountability’ forms the bed-rock of the strategy. A figurative version of this interdependency is illustrated in the figure above.

Growth is perceived as a precondition for poverty reduction, but it is not perceived as sufficient. Growth should be broad-based and equity must be ensured. Activities addressing issues of inequality are included in each of the clusters. Income poverty would be reduced since growth leads to higher incomes, given an equitable distribution. Higher incomes render it possible for households

to improve their well-being through better health, nutrition and so on. Human capability is essential to achieve and sustain long-term growth. Higher incomes enable the government to increase its revenue for the provision of social services. Governance and accountability promote equal access to social services, guarantee the rule of law and ensure that public institutions are accountable and transparent in their operations.

The Manifesto's approach is slightly different than the Mkukuta. The Manifesto declares that it wants to bring the nation out of backwardness and dependence. It does not establish any similar clear-cut relationships among clusters of broad outcomes, but it has two broad primary tasks which contain significant overlaps between Cluster I and II in the Mkukuta:

- 1) to build a modern economy in a self-reliant nation;
- 2) to facilitate people's economic empowerment.

The Manifesto defines a modern economy as an economy that is run skilfully and scientifically through the application of science and technology. Modernisation of the economy with an emphasis on the productive sectors is given the most prominent position in the Manifesto, while empowerment of the people is treated as primary task number two. While governance and accountability are perceived as the bedrock of the Mkukuta these issues are given less weight in the Manifesto. The issues are nonetheless dealt with in the final substantial chapter of the Manifesto, together with a number of other areas, but are less directly linked to the two primary tasks of the Manifesto. Implementing 1 and 2 is seen as the way through which poverty can be eradicated step by step. As with the Mkukuta, poverty eradication is an ultimate goal, but in the Mkukuta it is treated more as a long-term task. The Mkukuta has a more direct focus on poverty reduction than does the Manifesto.

Even if both documents cover a wide range of issues where the priorities are not always unambiguous, the Manifesto appears slightly clearer on the issue of prioritisation than the Mkukuta, at least at the more general level. In addition, the measures launched to achieve certain goals are more specific. The Manifesto gives priority to three areas that should pull the country out of backwardness and dependence:

- 1) developing human resources: it is perceived as important to educate the people, by providing them with skills and by changing peoples' mindsets on how to approach and act in a modern economy;
- 2) revolutionise agriculture: this includes animal husbandry and fisheries;
- 3) industrial revolution and modernisation of the infrastructure: industrial revolution also implies science, technology and engineering.

If this is done in the right way the Manifesto hopes to have achieved at least three things by 2010: a) to have achieved an economic growth rate of 10%; b) to have started to reduce poverty in a more visible way; c) to have increased the value of exports, which will increase the country's ability to pay for imported goods and hence bring Tanzania a step forward towards self-reliance.

To sum up: in spite of certain differences both strategies point towards fairly similar goals and outcomes. In the following three sections the three broad clusters of outcomes in the Mkukuta are compared with similar outcomes and goals that can be traced in the Manifesto.

Cluster I: Growth of the Economy and Reduction of Income Poverty

Cluster 1 in the Mkukuta is 'Growth and Reduction of Income Poverty'. Income poverty is defined as "when people live on less than one US dollar a day. This means that they cannot afford enough food or medicine and they will have poor clothes and houses" (Tanzania without poverty – Phase two 2005: 5). The broad outcome of this cluster is phrased in the following way: 'Broad-based and equitable growth is achieved and sustained'. Accompanying this broad outcome, six goals are presented:

- 1) Ensuring sound economic management;
- 2) Promoting sustainable and broad-based growth;
- 3) Improving food availability and accessibility;
- 4) Reducing income poverty of both men and women in rural areas;
- 5) Reducing income poverty of both men and women in urban areas;
- 6) Provision of reliable and affordable energy to consumers.

It would make this report far too extensive if I were to go into detail on all the goals and activities. I will therefore confine my comments to some of the most important issues in this cluster and try to compare them with the content of the Manifesto.

On sound economic management and reforms

An overall premise of the Mkukuta is the GoT's determination to stay the course of economic and social reforms, to maintain macroeconomic stability and to ensure sound economic management. A predictable macroeconomic environment is seen as crucial in order to achieve and sustain economic growth. A favourable macroeconomic environment depends on the following factors: keeping a low inflation rate; exchange rate stability; adequate foreign reserves; improved resource mobilisation in the form of increased domestic savings and investment; sustained financial reforms; and more generally an environment that is conducive to private sector development and foreign investment. These are viewed as key factors underpinning macroeconomic stability and economic growth. The Mkukuta has developed the following operational target in order to achieve sound economic management: inflation rate of maximum 4%; maintaining official reserves of at least six months of imports; achieving debt sustainability (containing the external debt to GDP ratio at 50% or less).

The Manifesto, on the other hand, does not deal with macroeconomic issues beyond the emphasis on sustaining and accelerating high economic growth. Basic premises on these issues are not introduced. Given the fact that, traditionally, macroeconomic issues have been highly controversial in Tanzania it may seem odd that such issues are not mentioned or seen as a problem at all in the Manifesto. On the other hand, it may be that because such issues have been controversial they have been omitted. That being said, one should probably be careful not to exaggerate this point. As mentioned above, the Manifesto directly underscores the fact that it perceives the implementation of the Mkukuta as one of the key strategies to fulfil the overall task of the Manifesto.

Another operational target under the goal of ensuring sound economic management is to reduce unemployment from 12.9% in 2000/01 to 6.9% by 2010 and address under-employment in rural areas. A number of activities have been launched in order to meet this target, with regard to promoting both employment creation and self-employment. In addition, the Manifesto underscores the need to take action and reduce under-employment. The Manifesto does not operate with

percentages, but has set the ambition to create 1 million new jobs within the next five years, and presents a clear message in this regard: “CCM urges the people to accept a call for self-employment and not be choosy as to the kind of job they need to have, an old saying goes – ‘a farmer does not choose a hoe’” (the Manifesto 2005: 34).

On the issue of structural and institutional reform, the Mkukuta presupposes that the ongoing reform processes need to be sustained.² This is not explicitly stated in the Manifesto, but it is more of an implicit assumption. In Chapter 1 of the Manifesto it is strongly emphasised that a new CCM government will continue to pursue the overall policies of its predecessor. It follows implicitly that a new CCM government will continue to sustain a sound and sustainable macroeconomic environment.

Mkapa was regarded as a strong reformist, although he met many stumbling blocks, not only within his own ranks, but also among key actors and groups possessing strong vested interests in sustaining the status quo. It is reported that Kikwete is even more reform-oriented than his predecessor. His newly appointed cabinet is seen as a manifestation of this fact (EIU 2006). But again it is almost certain that he will meet hindrances along the way, although it is highly premature to assess to what extent Kikwete will succeed in continuing the reform processes.

Many scholars have criticised second generation PRSPs for keeping the basic premises of the Washington consensus intact (see e.g. Killick 2004). In addition, in the Tanzanian case it appears as if issues related to sound economic management and partly also to sustenance and the continuation of structural and institutional reforms are hardly negotiable. Nevertheless, compared to Tanzania’s first PRSP, the Mkukuta certainly lays a stronger emphasis on the poorest and most vulnerable groups and to a larger extent stresses the fact that economic growth must be pro-poor. This is also reflected in strategies and activities launched in the Mkukuta.

On the promotion of sustainable and broad-based growth

As mentioned above, the Mkukuta launches a growth strategy that is pro-poor and equitable. It underscores the fact that economic growth is necessary for poverty reduction, but not sufficient. Equity and conditions that foster it are perceived to be of equal importance. Even if Tanzania has experienced substantial recent growth, to the tune of 6.7%, it has had less impact on the poor. The Mkukuta therefore stresses more strongly than the previous PRSP has that economic growth also has to benefit poor and vulnerable groups.

Nonetheless, high economic growth is regarded as the *key* priority and main goal for both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. According to the Mkukuta, an economic growth rate of at least 6-8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over the next decade is required. This target should be met between 2005/2006 and 2009/2010. The Manifesto, on the other hand, introduces an even more ambitious goal in this regard: an economic growth rate to the tune of 10% of GDP by 2010.

The Mkukuta has developed a set of activities in order to achieve a high economic growth rate. These are: to develop a more detailed growth strategy; to identify and promote investment in the productive and service sectors; the maintenance of a predictable business environment; the

² The most important of these reform processes are: finalisation of liberalisation within the financial sector; parastatal sector reform; reform of trade policies and institutions; revisions of labour and land laws; reforms within major infrastructure sectors; the Spatial Development Initiatives and Development Corridors; removing obstacles to private sector development; the Public Financial Management Reform Programme; and continued implementation of the Local Government Reform Programme. Many of these reforms have been ongoing for some time.

protection of property rights; and favourable laws and regulations to improve production and productivity in energy, industry, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, tourism, communications, transport and so on. It also aims to develop and modernise the infrastructure. Some of these issues are somewhat less clearly formulated in the Manifesto, but they coincide with its general content. In order to achieve a high economic growth rate, the Manifesto pays special attention to the productive sectors, even more so than the Mkukuta. In the following section, some of the key sources of growth as presented in the two documents will be assessed.

Some key sources of growth

If the targets for high growth levels are to be achieved, both documents see it as essential that more actors should get involved in the economy and production within key sectors should increase. An operational target in the Mkukuta is therefore to scale up the participation of the informal sector and to facilitate increased participation of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) and of cooperatives. Key activities under this operational target are to strengthen SMEs' credit guarantee facilities and funds in addition to offering similar facilities for cooperatives.

The Manifesto sees it as crucial to scale up the participation of the informal sector. Moreover, it aims to improve conditions for small-scale industries and businesses. Even if the Manifesto is not very specific on measures on how to improve conditions for cooperatives, it places great importance on this issue. Cooperatives are regarded as the main empowerment approach for the majority of the people as they represent opportunities for resource mobilisation. In Tanzania several types of cooperative society exist. The Manifesto holds that 'Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies' have a special and strategic importance in the struggle to accelerate economic growth and poverty eradication, especially because they can offer capital more reliably and with more reasonable conditions than can be obtained elsewhere. Since the Manifesto perceives the cooperative movement as the main way through which people can be empowered economically, the 'importance of preparing cooperative officers who are trustworthy, ethical, professional and patriotic' is stressed.

The Mkukuta sees technological innovation as a key goal. Similarly, the Manifesto stresses the need for technological innovation, but perhaps even more forcefully than does the Mkukuta. The Manifesto stresses that one key factor in the Northern countries' economic superiority is their technological skills and innovations. The Manifesto therefore sees technologic development as a key if Tanzania is to develop a modern economy and achieve self-reliance.

When it comes to key productive sectors, the emphasis and priorities of the two documents diverge slightly. While the manufacturing sector, for example, is hardly mentioned in the Manifesto, the Mkukuta has even set an operational target for this sector. It will try to obtain an economic growth rate of 15% by 2010.

For the Manifesto the agricultural sector is *the* key. According to the Manifesto, agricultural production should reach a growth rate of at least 20% by 2010. This is seen as necessary for the economy as a whole to grow at a rate of 10% by 2010. The Mkukuta, on the other hand, appears less ambitious in this regard and strives for a growth rate within the agricultural sector of 10% by 2010. When it comes to activities/measures for achieving growth within the agricultural sector, the Manifesto is far more comprehensive than the Mkukuta, although the activities mentioned in the Mkukuta generally coincide with those in the Manifesto. Generally, but perhaps particularly within this area, the Manifesto is very specific regarding measures compared to the Mkukuta. One key measure in the Mkukuta is to initiate programmes to promote the use of ox-pulled ploughs. It specifies, for instance, which products should be produced for the internal market and which products should be produced for the export market. In that regard, the Manifesto seems to be better situated in the specific Tanzanian context. Even if the Manifesto shows a strong market orientation,

it underscores, for example, the fact that the focus on agricultural production is not only for commercial purposes, it is also an aim in itself, to improve productivity. The Manifesto has launched measures to strengthen subsidies for fertilisers and seeds. One measure launched in the Manifesto, but not mentioned in the Mkukuta, is the implementation of various incentive arrangements so as to increase productivity. It will, for example, reward regions and districts that stand out as particularly productive.

Another sub-sector within the agricultural sector is the livestock sub-sector. The Mkukuta aims at increasing the growth rate within this sector from 2.7% to 9% by 2010. Despite a large population of livestock, the contribution of this sector to the economy is minimal, according to the Manifesto. The Manifesto does not specify how much this sector is expected to grow within the next 5 years, but will strive to strengthen the sector with the aim of increasing its contribution to the economy and increasing the incomes of livestock keepers. The focus will be on quality and not just quantity in livestock keeping. Another important area in the Manifesto is fishing. This sector is given little attention in the Mkukuta. The Manifesto wants to empower and mobilise fishermen to improve their efficiency and increase their incomes. Making a conducive environment for investment and encouraging the private sector to establish industries for manufacturing fishing equipment and gear are given weight.

As mentioned above, another key sector in the Manifesto is the industrial sector, which needs to go through an industrial revolution. By 2010, the growth rate of this sector will have reached 15% per year, according to the Manifesto. The emphasis on industry is not as explicit in the Mkukuta as in the Manifesto, but the industrial sector is nevertheless seen as key, even though the Mkukuta has not set an operational target for the growth rate of this sector as a whole. Both documents underscore the importance of improving the investment climate and improving market systems so as to spur and facilitate increased trade. Moreover, both strategies stress and launch several measures with regard to improving access to energy and to the improvement and upgrading of infrastructure, transport and communication.

On the role of the state versus the private sector

It is difficult to trace a clear ideological direction in the Manifesto. On the other hand, African political parties do not have a reputation for being messengers of strong and consistent ideological views. Instead, African political parties are often very populist. Nevertheless, given CCM's strong ideological heritage, one would probably have expected clearer messages regarding the role of the state versus that of private actors, especially given the background of controversial liberalisation and privatisation processes. Even if there are strong supporters for reforms within both the government and the bureaucracy, there are strong vested interests opposed to liberalisation within many sectors, and especially within the agricultural sector.

The Mkukuta does not place much emphasis on these issues either, but has a few sections where the role of the state is mentioned: "The government is reducing its role to core functions of policy formulation, economic management, provision of economic and social infrastructure, and legal and regulatory framework, maintenance of law and order as well as selected areas of public-private sector partnerships" (the Mkukuta 2005: 57). However, what kind of areas or what form these public-private sector partnerships should have is not specified.

All in all, both strategies perceive the private sector as the engine for economic growth. Both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto strongly encourage the development of the private sector and want to limit the state to a restricted number of areas.

Cluster II: Improvement of Quality of Life and Social Well-Being

This cluster has two broad outcomes: 1) Improved quality of life and social well-being, with a particular focus on the poorest and most vulnerable groups; 2) Reduced inequalities in outcomes (education, survival, health, for example) across geographic, income, age, gender and other groups. Within these outcomes five goals are identified:

- 1) To ensure equitable access to quality primary and secondary education for boys and girls, universal literacy among men and women, and expansion of higher technical and vocational education;
- 2) To improve the survival, health and well-being of all children and women and of specially vulnerable groups;
- 3) To ensure access to clean, affordable and safe water, sanitation, decent shelter and a safe and sustainable environment – and thereby reduce vulnerability from environmental risk;
- 4) To ensure adequate social protection and provision of basic needs and services for the vulnerable and needy;
- 5) To ensure effective systems to permit universal access to quality and affordable public services.

As mentioned above, within the timeframe of this limited assignment, commenting on all the goals and activities in the Mkukuta is not feasible. Under this cluster of outcomes, education, health, access to clean and safe water and outcomes, goals and activities with the general aim of reducing inequality are discussed.

On access to education

The importance of education at all levels is strongly emphasised in both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. As previously mentioned, the two documents are not structured or organised in a similar fashion and the level of detail differs greatly on this issue, which makes it difficult to compare the content of the two strategies. Nonetheless, when operational targets are specified in both strategies they are strikingly identical. There can be no doubt that the two documents are somewhat co-ordinated. The Mkukuta aims at an enrolment rate at primary level of 99%; the Manifesto aims at 100% by 2010. Both documents have set a target that at least 50% of boys and girls aged 14-17 years should be enrolled in ordinary level secondary schools by 2010 and at least 25% of boys and girls enrolled in advanced level secondary schools by 2010. Generally, the Mkukuta appears to be more specific when it comes to the operationalisation of targets and related actions on how to reach them. Moreover, the Mkukuta declares that effective HIV and AIDS education programmes should be offered in all primary and secondary schools and teacher training colleges. This issue is not specifically mentioned in the Manifesto; instead the Manifesto launches a number of measures on how to deal with the HIV/AIDS epidemic more generally. It may appear as if the Mkukuta is launching a more ambitious programme for the education sector as a whole, since the targets set and activities launched are far more numerous and comprehensive than in the Manifesto. On the other hand, the fact that the Manifesto mentions only a limited number of goals and measures can be interpreted as an explicit deliberate prioritisation.

On improved health services

Improvement in health services is treated as a key issue in both strategies. Again, the Mkukuta is far more detailed than the Manifesto; it is difficult, therefore, to carry out a balanced assessment. The activities and operational targets are far more numerous in the Mkukuta than in the Manifesto, but, as with the education sector, when the operationalised targets are specified in both documents they match perfectly. Such targets are related to, for example, the reduction of infant mortality, the reduction of maternal mortality and the proportion of expecting mothers attended by trained midwives. Both documents underscore the fight against HIV/AIDS, but on this issue the Manifesto expresses few specific targets. The Mkukuta also pays more attention to the importance of increasing the quality and competence of health workers. The strategic plan for the health sector 2003-2008 will be fully implemented in the course of the next years, according to the Mkukuta. The Manifesto, on the other hand, identifies a number of specific objectives and activities that are not mentioned in the Mkukuta. Some of these are: 1) finalising plans that will make it possible to carry out heart surgery within the country; 2) ensuring that health insurance services reach more than just 3%, as at present; 3) finalising the rehabilitation of Muhimbili National Hospital; and 4) continuing the provision of modern medical equipment to hospitals, health centres and government dispensaries. Again, all in all, it is difficult to reveal any major discrepancies between the two documents, even if the emphases and the approaches differ somewhat.

On access to clean and safe water

Both documents underscore the importance of clean and safe water and express the same operational targets in this regard: to increase this service in urban areas from 73% in 2003 to 90% in 2010; and to increase this service in rural areas from 53% in 2003 to 65% in 2010. Clean water is seen as pertinent in ensuring health and securing peoples' well-being. The Manifesto is more elaborate on this issue than the Mkukuta and numbers several specific measures to be carried out over the next 5-year period. These include the accomplishment of major water projects such as the project to draw water from Lake Victoria for Shinyanga, Kahama, Nzega and Igunga districts and the expansion of the Chalinze Water Projects in the Coastal Region. Another measure that is mentioned is the promotion and expansion of appropriate technologies for the harvesting and storage of rainwater. Again, whether a few differences in the operationalisation of targets result from different priorities is difficult to assess. On this issue the two documents largely coincide.

To sum up, both documents acknowledge that in order to develop and modernise the economy an educated and healthy population is needed. In addition, covering the inhabitants' basic needs is a goal in itself. It is difficult to identify any fundamental differences regarding these issues between the Mkukuta and the Manifesto.

On outcomes, goals and activities to reduce inequality

The emphasis on reducing inequality with a special focus on the poorest and most vulnerable groups is presented as key in the Mkukuta. That all individuals, including the most vulnerable, should have equal access to health, education and clean water is strongly emphasised under this cluster. Goals and activities to achieve the aim of reducing inequality are addressed under all three clusters in the Mkukuta. It is given special attention under cluster 2, regarding the first broad outcome, but especially under the second and the goals 3-5. The focus on inequality is far less pronounced in the Manifesto. Here, particularly, goals 4 and 5 will be commented upon and I will assess how and whether similar goals are treated in the Manifesto.

In order to provide equal access to basic social services, the Mkukuta launches measures for social protection, especially of the most vulnerable groups. This is singled out as goal number 4 above. The Mkukuta intends to map these needs and develop social protection schemes and safety nets as well as to explore means for providing social protection to children and adults with disabilities through monthly pensions, thereby enabling them to meet basic needs. Furthermore, the Mkukuta formulates additional operational targets under this goal, which are to effect social protection measures for 40% of eligible older people and to reduce violence against women. The division of labour between public authorities, private actors and the local communities appears a bit unclear, but according to the cluster strategies all three groups of actors are going to play a role in social protection for the most vulnerable individuals.

Social protection arrangements and social security schemes are given scant attention in the Manifesto, except for the measure 'to continue ensuring that elderly people retiring from the public service are paid their due benefits and pensions without disturbances or delays.' Pensions or safety nets directed towards vulnerable groups are not mentioned, although it intends to strengthen programmes aimed at providing services to the elderly and other vulnerable groups more generally.

Another operational target in the Mkukuta is to provide direct support to vulnerable groups and to increase the capacity of poor households to care for these groups. The activities or cluster strategies that are launched under this target are to improve access to social services, credit, home-based care and so on. The Mkukuta promises assistance to local authorities in order to single out the most vulnerable groups under their authority. This particular aspect is given scant attention in the Manifesto.

On protection and securing the rights of children, the Mkukuta launches several specific targets, such as reducing the proportion of children in labour country-wide from 25% to less than 10% by 2010 and offering them alternatives. Moreover, specific measures in order to meet this target are launched, such as the development and implementation of sector-based programmes for reducing the worst forms of child labour. Other activities include awareness training and education programmes on the rights of the child. In addition, it intends to follow up with necessary amendments to bills and policies and to develop an action plan for the implementation of the Children's Act. On this issue, the Manifesto is less elaborate, but it does intend to step up campaigns against child labour, although a specific target is not given.

Another important aspect of reducing inequality is the improvement of the rural population's access to modern energy services. Activities under this target are to increase access to modern energy, but also to facilitate renewable and alternative energy sources. Nevertheless, the activities launched in order to reach this goal are formulated rather vaguely. The Manifesto also aims at ensuring the reliable availability of energy supplies to more people. It also intends to diversify sources of energy. The Manifesto does not provide specific percentages on, for example, the consumption of renewable energy, as the Mkukuta does, but in this area the Manifesto is far more specific on which measures will be taken and in which regions these measures will be carried out.

The Mkukuta plans to improve passable rural roads from 50% in 2003 to at least 75% in 2010, with the aim of allowing the delivery of basic social services and ensuring that skilled workers are in place to provide these services. The Manifesto does not specify a target, but launches an ambitious plan for upgrading the road network more generally, which also includes many rural roads. The various roads that will be improved are mentioned specifically.

The Mkukuta wants to ensure that schools, health facilities and the social sector more generally possess the required mix of skilled and motivated workers. This is not stated as a specific target in the Manifesto.

The Mkukuta contains a target which intends to improve the accessibility of health services in remote areas and to ensure that older people are provided with free medical care by specialised medical personnel by 2010. Measures that are launched in order to improve accessibility include the elimination of all barriers to health care for all vulnerable groups, the removal of unofficial charges, a reduction in the distance from health services and improved treatment. This is indeed a very ambitious plan, given the current situation. It may be justified to question the feasibility of these measures within the given timeframe. However, one way of speeding up the implementation of these measures would be to enter into partnerships with civil society organisations and the private sector. This is in fact launched as a strategy in the Mkukuta. On the other hand, the Mkukuta offers little guidance on how this should be done in practice. In addition, the Manifesto aims at including civil society organisations and the private sector in providing health services and increasing availability for vulnerable groups. It also intends offering free health care to elderly people in health centres, dispensaries and hospitals. Compared to the Mkukuta, which offers free health care to all vulnerable groups, the Manifesto mentions only the elderly in this respect. Whether this represents a deliberate prioritisation or not is difficult to assess.

To sum up, generally the Mkukuta places more emphasis on vulnerable groups and issues related to equity and equality than does the Manifesto. These issues do not appear to be key concerns in the Manifesto. There is one noticeable and interesting difference in the approach of the two documents on how to facilitate support to marginalised groups, especially the elderly, children and people with disabilities. While the Manifesto mainly suggests measures for trying to increase vulnerable groups' active involvement in society, the Mkukuta is more concerned with providing safety nets and ensuring the availability of various social services. The Manifesto launches a more active strategy compared to the Mkukuta, but also a more demanding strategy, not in terms of funds but in terms of human resources. 'Ideally' the two approaches may be judged as interdependent, but whether they will actually be competing approaches is hard to judge at present.

Cluster III: Governance and Accountability

Cluster 3 of the Mkukuta defines four broad outcomes: 1) Good governance and the rule of law; 2) Accountability of leaders and public servants; 3) Democracy and political and social tolerance; 4) Peace, political stability, national unity and social cohesion. This third cluster covers a wide range of issues. It deals with economic and political structures and processes, systems of management broadly defined, security, tolerance and inclusion as well as participation in decision making. Democratic development, human rights and the rule of law are additional issues under this cluster. It also has to do with effective, transparent and accountable use of public resources. To achieve the desired outcomes under this Cluster several ongoing reform programmes need to be sustained. Some of these are: the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) and the Legal Sector Reform Programme (LSRP). Within these four broad outcomes seven goals are set:

- 1) To ensure that structures and systems of governance as well as the rule of law are democratic, participatory, representative, accountable and inclusive;
- 2) To ensure equitable allocations of public resources – with corruption effectively addressed;
- 3) To put in place an effective public service framework as a foundation for service delivery improvements and poverty reduction;
- 4) To ensure that the rights of the poor and vulnerable groups are protected and promoted in the justice system;
- 5) To reduce political and social exclusion and intolerance;
- 6) To improve personal and material security, reduce crime and eliminate sexual abuse and domestic violence;
- 7) To enhance and promote national cultural identities.

As mentioned in the introduction, ‘good governance and accountability’ forms the bedrock of the Mkukuta, while these issues are given a far less prominent position in the Manifesto. It is difficult to assess whether this implies that the Manifesto in reality gives less priority to these issues. However, at the declaratory level they appear to be less important.

The pace of the reform processes within this broad and complex area seems generally to have been somewhat slower compared to that of many other areas. The political reform process has been particularly slow. The political system provides great powers to the executive all the way from the national level down to the local administrative level. The democratisation process in Tanzania has been described as top-down (Hydén 1999). As the incumbent party, the CCM has managed to stay ahead of the processes and has set the rules of the game. By cleverly doing so the Tanzanian government has managed to avoid strong pressure from within as well as from external actors (Tripp 1999). The political reform process seems to have been spurred less by a genuine wish by the political leadership for political reform than by being a strategic and opportunistic move as a response to what was perceived to be in the offing. When the Mkukuta launches governance and accountability as the bedrock of the country’s poverty and growth strategy, the Tanzanian government signals a strong commitment to speed up the reform processes; and not only political reforms, but with regard to a much wider governance and accountability agenda. The pace of the processes will probably be followed closely by the DPs.

Both the Mkukuta and the Manifesto present broad approaches with regard to how democratic public institutions should be strengthened, how to make elected leaders more accountable, how to secure the rule of law, and how to combat petty and grand corruption. It should be underscored that

this is a difficult area to deal with, especially because goals, operational targets and activities that can be traced in the two documents are formulated rather widely and vaguely compared to the operational targets and the activities/measures launched under Clusters I and II. Commenting on all outcomes, goals and activities in this cluster is not feasible within the scope of this study. Instead, some of the key issues in the cluster will be addressed: structures and systems of governance, the allocations of public resources, corruption and the rule of law.

On structures and systems of governance

The operational target of goal 1 in the Mkukuta is to ensure representative, inclusive and accountable governance institutions operating at all levels. Strategies or planned actions in order to achieve this goal include a number of measures. Some that can be mentioned here are: the implementation of all components of the National Framework on Good Governance, increasing the capacity of all representative bodies and increasing the participation and representation of marginalised or weak groups in particular. In addition, good governance and gender should be streamlined into policies, plans, budgets and so on. (The issue of gender is dealt with in a separate section below).

The Manifesto launches several measures in order to sustain and strengthen good governance. However, the National Framework on Good Governance is not mentioned in the Manifesto, although the Manifesto aims at strengthening parliamentary democracy and expanding it to the local government level.

On the equitable allocation of public resources

The first operational target in the Mkukuta, in goal 2, envisages that public resources should be allocated accessibly and used in an equitable and accountable manner, and several activities or cluster strategies are launched. Some of these strategies include building in equity and participation in the Public Expenditure Review (PER) processes and ensuring that the utilisation of natural resources pays special attention to the poor. Most of these issues are not mentioned in the Manifesto: the PER process is not referred to, for example.

The Mkukuta also launches a strategy to strengthen systems and institutions of accountability, ethics and transparency of government and non-government officials, including political parties. On these issues there are several overlaps between the two documents. The Manifesto is particularly clear on the need to enhance democracy within all political parties and to strengthen the ethics governing the execution of activities of political parties. Furthermore, the Manifesto wants to ensure that the current arrangements for people to choose their leaders democratically are sustained.

On corruption

The second operational target of the Mkukuta, in goal 2, is to combat petty and grand corruption. Since the issue started to be seriously raised in the early 1990s, this has been an extremely tricky issue, both for donors and for the government. Many researchers have argued that corruption escalated after 1986 and that Mkapa's declared war on corruption in 1995 stalled even before it started (see Evans and Ngalewa 2001; Kesal 2003; Selbervik 2003). It is with this background interesting to note that the Manifesto also launches a war against corruption. Contrary to the views of many researchers, the Manifesto claims that great achievements were accomplished under Mkapa's rule.

Looking at the proposed measures for combatting corruption, the Manifesto launches a strategy with the aim of taking stern action against corrupt practices and being more sensitive and responsive to individual complaints about malpractice within state organs and other public institutions such as hospitals, schools and courts. To put it more squarely: the Manifesto's war against corruption is more a strategy of naming and shaming than is that of the Mkukuta. It should be added that the Manifesto promises "to continue blocking gaps that can facilitate corruption in the discharge of Government's functions", but generally speaking the Mkukuta gives more emphasis to preventive measures such as the strengthening of key institutions in this respect. Moreover, the Mkukuta declares that effective and swift action will be taken against corrupt practices and that the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan will be enforced.

On the rule of law, for poor and vulnerable groups in particular

Another key issue of the Mkukuta is to ensure the rule of law, especially for poor and vulnerable groups. One operational target in this goal is to ensure timely justice, which is accompanied by a wide range of measures. Activities launched in the Manifesto on governance and accountability issues are generally fewer and less comprehensive, especially when it comes to measures that are directly targeted towards the poor. Nonetheless, on the rule of law many of the measures in the two documents coincide. The most important measures in the Manifesto that also find their counterpart in the Mkukuta are: to review inheritance laws and all laws found to be suppressing women; to finalise a process of separating investigative and prosecution functions; to strengthen and harmonise the anti-corruption laws; to implement the Legal System Reform Programme, especially through the construction of court buildings at all levels and employing adequate judges and magistrates; to put in place assistance to poor people with legal aid; and to implement a system which will enable the use of paralegals in primary courts. The Manifesto launches, moreover, a few very specific measures that are not included in the Mkukuta: the issue of the establishment of Kadhi (Islamic) Courts in mainland Tanzania and the working out and implementing of a special plan for the establishment of High Court Offices in every region.

To sum up: A significant difference between the two documents' approach to governance and accountability issues is that while the Mkukuta sees these issues as essential if a high and sustainable growth rate is to be achieved and poverty eradicated, the Manifesto does not articulate any such linkages. In addition, the Mkukuta introduces more activities that are directly targeted towards the poor and other marginalised groups. Measures directed towards these groups are fewer in the Manifesto. The importance of improving governance and accountability is not presented as a key message in the Manifesto as is the case with the Mkukuta.

A brief comparison of the gender perspective in the Mkukuta and the Manifesto

In addition to the tasks outlined in the ToR, NORAD has asked for a comparison of the gender component and how the role of women is presented in the two strategies. In 2000 the Policy on Women's Development and Gender was launched by the Mkapa government. This policy instructed all government ministries to mainstream gender into their operations. In the following section a few comments on the gender perspective in the two documents will be given. Again, the Mkukuta is taken as the point of departure.

As with many first generation PRSPs, Tanzania's first poverty reduction strategy was criticised for failing to incorporate the gender perspective. Gender was not mainstreamed into the strategy as recommended by the World Bank's Source Book. Researchers criticised the strategy for treating gender as a special women's issue and for not putting it into a broader context of unequal gender relations (see Bell 2003 and Whitehead 2003). Moreover, researchers and gender advocacy groups alike called for proper consultations with relevant stakeholders in the preparation phase of the PRSP. Tanzania's first PRSP process had failed to do this.

Some of this critique has been taken into account and is reflected in the Mkukuta. Even though the real impact of public hearings and consultations is still questioned (see Selbervik and Wang 2006), it is a fact that gender advocacy groups and women's networks have to a larger extent been included in the preparation phase of the Mkukuta than was the case with the first PRSP (TGNP 2006). Moreover, in accordance with the World Bank's Source Book, the Mkukuta includes gender mainstreaming as one of the strategy's cross-cutting issues. In addition, gender is formulated as one of the broad outcomes in Cluster 2: 'reduced inequalities (e.g. education, survival, health) across geographic, income, age, gender and other groups'. Gender-related activities and measures are presented under all three clusters. These are: 1) gender-sensitive primary education; 2) gender-sensitive teacher training for primary and secondary schools to cope with increases in enrolment; 3) undertaking reforms in primary, secondary and teacher education curricula and to incorporate gender; 4) improving gender dynamics in classrooms and the school environment and recruiting trained and motivated female teachers; 5) ensuring that textbooks and other learning materials are gender sensitive; 6) increasing funding for women's education and training and improving their technical skills to equip them for a positive impact on development; 7) integrating measures to address gender inequalities and inequities that result in higher HIV prevalence rates among women and girls; 8) undertaking a baseline study, disaggregated by age, gender and disability, to provide baseline figures for the identified operational outcomes, and establishing appropriate targets for 2010; 9) mainstreaming gender into policies, plans, budgets and implementation mechanisms, including gender monitoring and assessment indicators for good governance; 10) equipping women and men, girls and boys with appropriate civic education and gender knowledge; 11) adopting legislation requiring employers to utilise and adhere to equal opportunity employment policies that do not discriminate on the basis of gender; 12) training police, prison, PCB and other law enforcement staff in human rights and gender mainstreaming.

Most of the activities are related to the education sector, but measures related to the high HIV prevalence among women, the gender component in politics and gender issues regarding employment are mentioned, for example. One critique of Tanzania's first PRSP was of "very limited attention to women's material well-being, and there is no recognition that macroeconomic policy and national budgets can be gendered" (Whitehead 2003: 4). This critique may also have

some relevance to the Mkukuta, but it should be emphasised that one of the cluster strategies in the Mkukuta is to mainstream gender into policies, plans, and budgets (cf. the section above). At the same time, the strategy does not provide much guidance on how this should be done in practice and many of the activities or cluster strategies that are presented are vaguely formulated.

The Manifesto, on the other hand, does not present gender as a cross-cutting issue. The Manifesto is not concerned with the issue of gender as such. The word gender occurs only once in the Manifesto and then in the special chapter on Zanzibar. Nonetheless, the often difficult and marginalised role of women is given attention. According to the Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP) awareness around gender mainstreaming and the importance of increasing women's participation in politics has increased in Tanzania over recent years. Prior to the general elections in 2005, the TGNP and several other women's networks and organisations were consulted during the preparation process of all the larger political parties' manifestos, CCM included (TGNP 2005).

Chapter 8 of the Manifesto has a separate section on women, containing most of the woman-related measures which the CCM promises to put into action before 2010. These are: 1) increasing the participation of women in political and executive leadership and decision-making positions, to the level of 50% by 2010 as intended by the African Union; 2) continuing to mobilise women to make use of political opportunities to acquire leadership positions at all levels, including participating in elections at all levels; 3) increasing the proportion of women appointed to management and administrative leadership positions within the government and its institutions; 4) continuing with the expansion of special seats (allocated for women) in the local government elections, school committees, health committees, Parliament's Standing Committees, Various National Committees, in the Parliament and House of Representatives, and so on; 5) continuing to provide women with equal opportunities for education, including civic education so that they may continue to advocate for their rights and participate actively in society's activities; 6) strengthening various credit schemes so that women can benefit from them; 7) finalising arrangements for the formation of a Women's Bank; 8) creating a conducive environment for the banks and other financial institutions with credit arrangements to provide loans with soft conditions for women, amongst other people; 9) reviewing inheritance laws and all laws found to be suppressing women.

The measures in the Manifesto are much more specific than those of the Mkukuta. In addition, the measures have a very different emphasis. While the majority of the specified measures in the Mkukuta are linked to the education sector, the Manifesto puts more emphasis on enhancing women's participation in political life at all levels and securing women's rights and facilitating their participation in the economy.

To sum up: even if the gender component has been strengthened in the Mkukuta compared to the first PRSP, the litmus test is its implementation. The gender component is less visible in the Manifesto, but it lists a number of ambitious measures in order to remove gender inequalities, especially within the political sphere over the next 5-year period. The measure to increase the participation of women in political and executive leadership and decision-making positions to the level of 50% is a particularly bold goal.

Prioritisation and sequencing

Both strategies appear rather weak on prioritisation and sequencing. This is not a separate issue in the Manifesto, while it is given some mention in the Mkukuta, although vaguely formulated and with no obligations attached. The Mkukuta sees all three major clusters of outcomes and the 18 goals to be of equal importance. It is of course recognised that due to financial limitations and capacity constraints some prioritisation is warranted. According to the Mkukuta, prioritisation should be guided by a number of considerations. These include programmes and activities that were initiated during the previous PRSP, as well as new strategies or programmes building on current strategies or programmes. In addition, so-called win strategies/programmes/activities with immediate and wide impact should be prioritised together with programmes and activities which have a large 'multiplier effect' and strategies/programmes/activities covering more than one outcome, and so on. The point I would like to stress here is that, given that these considerations are so wide and numerous, their applicability may be questioned.

Conclusion

The two documents diverge fundamentally in form, levels of detail and in content. They are, moreover, written for different audiences and purposes. It is difficult therefore to undertake any balanced assessment of the two documents. On the other hand, according to the Manifesto, the Mkukuta is a complementary government document. Taking that statement literally, one would indeed expect a high degree of complementarity between the two documents, but at the same time one would probably expect them to cover and give emphasis to slightly different issues.

All in all the two documents do certainly pull in the same direction. It is hard to argue that the documents diverge in any fundamental way on overarching issues. Both documents perceive economic growth and poverty reduction as overall goals. They strongly emphasise the importance of improving and enhancing basic social services such as education, health and access to clean and safe water. Human development appears to be a key priority in both documents and a precondition for increasing productivity and proficiency within the productive sectors. Both documents strongly emphasise the need to stimulate and facilitate the conditions for the private sector and to encourage and try to attract both foreign and private investors to develop key sectors. The private sector is perceived as the engine of a growing economy. Looking at specific sectors where both documents have set operational targets or clear goals, these are surprisingly similar.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that the documents are generally moving in the same direction, divergences worth mentioning exist. While the Mkukuta aims at an economic growth rate of 6-8 % in 2010, the Manifesto states that the growth rate must be as high as 10%. While the Mkukuta aims at an economic growth rate within the agricultural sector of 10% by 2010, the Manifesto maintains that a growth of 20% is imperative if the 10% target is to be reached.

There are also some other interesting differences that are worth mentioning. While the Mkukuta perceives governance and accountability issues as crucial in achieving growth and poverty reduction, these topics are given much less emphasis in the Manifesto. Governance and accountability issues are not ignored in the Manifesto, but are not clearly linked to the overall goals.

While the Mkukuta stresses the importance of sound economic management and the continuation of the structural and institutional reform processes, these issues are given scant attention in the Manifesto. Nonetheless, despite this fact it follows implicitly from many of the statements in the Manifesto that a new CCM government will follow up and even speed up the ongoing reform processes initiated under Mkapa. The Manifesto is not signalling any changes regarding economic management and reforms.

Another interesting discernable difference between the two documents is linked to their attitude towards vulnerable groups. The Mkukuta is more concerned with the protection of these groups, while the Manifesto is more concerned with the need to engage them and incorporate them into the economy. The Mkukuta is also more directly focussed on issues such as equity, gender, the environment and so on. These are issues more superficially treated in the Manifesto. In addition, the Mkukuta has a stronger poverty orientation than the Manifesto. It is interesting to note that while the Mkukuta sees poverty reduction as something to be dealt with immediately, the Manifesto perceives poverty reduction as part of a longer-term strategy.

Generally, the Manifesto seems to be far more concerned with modernisation and technological development and innovation than does the Mkukuta. The Manifesto also strongly stresses the need

to change peoples' mindsets. This is not an issue that is mentioned in the Mkukuta. The Manifesto sees globalisation as something inevitable and something that Tanzania needs to adapt to. The necessity of developing a liberal market economy is underlined. This is also an underlying premise to the Mkukuta, but these issues are more directly articulated in the Manifesto. Both documents are in favour of a strong private sector, but this is more forcefully underscored in the Manifesto.

The Manifesto stresses the need to develop collective solutions to tackle the many challenges related to, for example, the provision of social services. It encourages Tanzanians to organise and execute *Harambees* to enable them to assist relatives or vulnerable groups in their respective communities. Similar measures are not mentioned specifically in the Mkukuta. At the same time, the Manifesto underlines the importance of individuals taking responsibility for their own development. The Manifesto declares that "the capital of a poor person is his or her own labour (and brains). Empowerment is just a way to complement one's effort" (the Manifesto 2005: 31). Empowerment of the people is given a special chapter in the Manifesto, but is given scant attention in the Mkukuta.

It should be mentioned that there are many issues that are covered in the Manifesto that are not dealt with in the Mkukuta. These are issues of foreign policy, security policy, immigration and refugee policies as well as issues linked to the cultural sector, such as sport. The Manifesto does also contain special sections dealing with the elderly and the youth. Such differences are not an expression of real divergence between the two documents and do not indicate that they are not pulling in the same direction. It is more an expression of the fact that a party manifesto is and should be a comprehensive plan for society as a whole.

That being said, the impact of the Mkukuta should not be underestimated. Given the strong influence of external actors in a country like Tanzania it seems justified to raise the question whether there is room for party politics at all. The Mkukuta covers a wide range of issues and a number of parallel or connected processes are linked to that strategy. The DPs, for example, have linked their aid strategies and allocations to the Mkukuta. The timeframe of the Mkukuta is now more or less consistent with the election cycle. Nonetheless, it would probably have been more logical if it were the newly elected government that negotiated the Mkukuta and not as the current practice is where the document is already finalised and approved before a new government takes office. This is an unfortunate practice. What if a new government were elected whose party programme diverged fundamentally with an already finalised and approved poverty and growth strategy?

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Terms of Reference

February 2006

Comparison between the MKUKUTA and the Election manifesto of CCM/Tanzania

1) Background

The MKUKUTA

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) is the second national organising framework for poverty reduction in Tanzania. The MKUKUTA is a product of a broad participatory consultation process, and has been effective since July 2005.

The MKUKUTA is a central document both for GoT and for all the development partners. The assistance from the development partners will be aligned with the priorities of the MKUKUTA. The MKUKUTA is also the platform for harmonising and coordinating the development assistance. The goals, targets and later indicators that are developed based on the MKUKUTA are central in the General Budget Support Facility and all the sectors. The PAF (Performance Assessment Framework), used to assess performance related to the GBS, is grouped after the three clusters of goals and targets in the MKUKUTA.

The CCM election manifesto

In August 2005 the National Executive Committee of CCM issued the Election Manifesto for the 2005 general election. The document covers 77 pages and has set goals and targets for what CCM wants to achieve in power.

In December 2005 CCM won the election with approximately 80% of the votes. In the Parliament CCM now possess 206 seats, while the opposition has 26 seats (CUF 19, Chadema 5, and UDP and TLP 1 representative each). The new president has received a clear mandate from the voters to implement CCMs election manifesto.

The Embassy has decided to commission a study in order to review and assess the differences and links between the Mkukuta and the CCM's Election manifesto.

2) The purpose

The purpose of the review is to get a clearer picture of areas where the two strategies pull in the same direction, and where they differ, given the cluster goals in the Mkukuta.

3) Issues that should be covered

The consultant should take as point of departure the strategy for economic growth and reduction of poverty, the MKUKUTA. The MKUKUTA is the overarching framework for mobilising efforts and channelling resources towards agreed outcomes. It aims at fostering greater linkages and collaboration among different actors for more effective achievement of the agreed outcomes. The MKUKUTA is divided into three clusters of broad outcomes and goals.

- Cluster 1: Growth and reduction of income poverty
- Cluster 2: Improvement of quality of life and social well being
- Cluster 3: Governance and accountability

Under the broad outcomes there are listed goals for different sectors and for crosscutting issues like governance, gender, and activities for reaching these goals outlined in the text.

- The consultant should assess and discuss whether or not the outcomes, goals and activities in the CCM election Manifesto are coherent with the outcomes, goals and activities in the MKUKUTA.

- Further, assess differences and similarities between the two strategies.
- Assess if the two strategies are pulling in the same direction.
- Outline issues that are covered in the Manifesto, but not in the MKUKUTA.

The consultant may include other topics in the analysis if she/ he find it important.

4) Expected outcome

The report should be relatively short, not more than 20 pages. It should contain the aggregated information and highlights in a matrix.

5) Method of work and time-frame

The study will be conducted as a desk study within a timeframe of two weeks. The report will be shared with the Development Partner Group in Tanzania.

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SUMMARY

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), or what is more commonly referred to by the Kiswahili acronym Mkukuta, has been in effect since July 2005. It is a key document setting out a broad framework and strategy for poverty reduction and economic growth. Most Development Partners have aligned their assistance with the Mkukuta. The CCM's Election Manifesto for the 2005 general election was issued in August 2005. The Manifesto is a comprehensive declaration of policies, goals and priorities for the nation and its people as a whole. The 2005 general election gave CCM a clear mandate to implement the Manifesto. If the Manifesto points in a very different direction from that of the Mkukuta, President Kikwete's government may be pulled between different concerns and one might expect implementation of the Mkukuta to be poor. The Norwegian Embassy decided therefore to commission a short-term study in order to review and assess differences and links between the Mkukuta and the Manifesto. The main purpose of this review is to get a clearer picture of areas where the two strategies pull in the same direction and where they differ, given the broad clusters of outcomes in the Mkukuta.

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