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THE RURAL AFRICAN PARTY: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN TANZANIA

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1. INTRODUCTION

Because the codes, rules and ideology of mass single-party systems reach the village areas more slowly than do the tangible personalizations of party authority, a situation of potential misuse of power exists where rural party organizations operate. Peasants are aware of face-to-face confrontations by a familiar figure who has gained a party position; they are unaware of the precepts and regulations that the national party has laid down for the village level functionaries. Consequently, political victimization is most pronounced at the very grass-root level that national leaders are attempting to integrate politically. Moreover, by its nature the rural party is a multi-faceted organization that is acceptable to the peasants because its leaders provide services that in more structured societies are carried out by specific agencies and contracts. Functions such as family arbitration, police investigation and criminal adjudication are mixed with the more classical party activities of representation and the dispensing of patronage.

Taken together, the above two characteristics of a rural party—potential abuse, and the multi-faceted nature—significantly influence the extent and form of political participation in the areas they serve. This article attempts to analyze these characteristics in Tanzania, and thereafter to assess rural party participation, and more broadly to suggest the theoretical dimensions of political participation in a new nation.

Participation, it may be argued, is the problem *par excellence* for leaders of the new nations. The building of a state, both in terms of economic development and in the creation of a national consciousness, depends upon some type of

participation by the citizens. If the citizen population is dispersed throughout the state in remote homesteads and hamlets, as many African populations are, then the problem becomes one of linkage between the government and the remote populace. To gain participation, new political structures must be built at the rural level, and old institutions must be changed to fit into national goals. Rebellious attitudes by the people must be neutralized and consensus, or at least some support of the national goals, must be gained. It is necessary that rural people be brought into the government's plan, that they accept the government's general viewpoint, and that they provide the will and the manpower to change the status quo. In essence, peasant energy must be expended, muscles used, and attitudes altered if government goals are to be met.

The concept of mass participation presupposes a population shift from a disinterested mass to a participating citizenry. People must accept ideas of individual worth, loyal opposition, and electoral equality. In many new states stimulus for such participation comes from the ruling elite who see participation as a means to insure political stability. In essence, political participation, a degree of political integration, and some economic growth are the price the ruling elite must pay to gain the political stability in heterogeneous societies that will insure their own survival.

Participation, to be meaningful, must be within institutions that have channels of redress to the national level, and, simultaneously, have the capability of bringing about grass-root improvement. In one respect the process is essentially the building of new institutions at the grass-roots level. Mundane changes such as the development of agriculture, the encouragement of land reform, the creation of welfare and extension services, and the building of rural schools, roads, and clinics are necessary for orderly political growth. Participation in rural institutions such as the political party, the local administration, the local councils, the marketing cooperatives, and the local voluntary associations may be either voluntary or coercive. The essential fact is that participation, that is involvement, occurs.¹

¹ For further discussion of the concept of participation and its importance in political science.

In summary, the argument is this: two overriding characteristics of rural parties are potential political abuse and a multi-faceted nature. These are in essence countervailing forces. Multi-faceted activities promote individual party participation. Abusive party authority tends to cause the individual to withdraw from party participation. When this occurs, political participation in the broader sense is also nullified; this is because the rural party is one of the few institutions that have communication links between the various upper levels of government and the people. Under these countervailing pressures, the individual pursues one of three courses of action: (1) participation in party activity, (2) non-participation, (3) active resistance to party activity. The continuance in one of these three patterns depends on the satisfaction the individual receives on a wide range of issues of direct interest to him. Intervening factors, such as the individual's expectations, personal links with party leaders in decision-making positions, the actual process by which a conflict situation is resolved, and the time needed to reconcile an issue, will all effect the process of issue satisfaction. They will in turn effect the individual's party participation. Constant pressures exist for the individual to participate. Pressures are exercised directly by local party officials, or indirectly by the propagandizing national leaders. How these processes work may be seen with an analysis of a particular rural party situation.

II. CASE FOR ANALYSIS: TANZANIA

The Rural Party

One of the most impressive efforts to create a party structure that would avoid the local abuse of authority phenomena while integrating the nation politically and mobilizing the people economically has been led by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU),² the legal single party, has

see Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965); and Aristide R. Zolberg, *Creating Political Order* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

² Since the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in April, 1964, the United Republic of Tanzania has kept two autonomous political parties, the Afro-Shirazi Party on Zanzibar and TANU on the mainland. For the most important literature on TANU see Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). See also George Bennett, "An Outline History of TANU," *Makerere Journal* (No. 7, 1963), 15-

been particularly successful in penetrating the village areas and establishing viable rural branches in some 7,200 locales. Compared to other African states this is an important accomplishment. In most nations rural parties are election-year phenomena; they become viable organizations only to serve the campaign, nomination, and election functions. TANU's rural organizations operate throughout the year, engaging in many official and semi-official activities which are often geared to aiding the government's local development schemes. The party's rural component is doubly impressive when the obstacles are known. Tanzania is an economically poor nation, generally devoid of mineral wealth, and divided into 120 different ethnic groups.

TANU was founded July 7, 1954, as a nationalist independence movement, evolving in part from the earlier Tanganyika African Association. Although at the outset several of the founders of TANU, including Julius Nyerere, wished to keep the party a compact, elite organization for more concerted action, it gradually took on the dimensions of a mass movement. Since independence in 1961, the party has had the quality of an all-encompassing union, open to any citizen and extending to all sections of the society. At the present time TANU is the single legal party in Tanzania.

Although reorganization and experimentation is constantly going on, the party is basically organized into four tiers below the national headquarters: the regional, district, rural (or local), and cell levels. General policy is set through the National Executive Committee in the capital, interpreted by the regional offices and implemented through the district and rural branches. The district branch is generally coterminous with the 61 administrative districts in Tanzania, and will have within it anywhere from 20 to 300 rural party branches, depending on district size and population. The rural branch usually serves an area designated for local government tax pur-

32; and Harvey Glickman, "One Party System in Tanganyika," *The Annals*, 358 (March, 1965), 136-149. For party activity on Zanzibar see Michael F. Lofchie, "Zanzibar," in James S. Coleman and Carl Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 482-511. For literature on the administration and its relation to the party, see William Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Tanzania* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967); and Stanley Dryden, *Local Administration in Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968).

*I am indebted to the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building (Ford), for field support in 1967-68, and to the African Studies Center, Michigan State University for research funds. Some data used in this article was collected during 1964-66 under a grant from the International Development Research Center (Carnegie), of Indiana University. Additional field work was done in 1969 while I was on leave with the American Universities Field Staff. Professors Paul R. Abramson, Henry Bienen, Walter W. Bowring, John Collins, and Carl Rosberg, Jr. generously offered comment and advice.

poses as a village.³ Incorporated within each rural branch are the TANU Youth League (TYL), the women's organization (UWT), and in many areas, the TANU elders.⁴ Each of these affiliates has an administrative counterpart at the national, regional, and district levels. The party cell structure is organized below the rural party branch. Cells are made up of 10 homesteads: each family head has specific duties, such as chairman, vice chairman, or the officer in charge of education, agricultural, medical, security, roads and paths, and forests. The cells are organized for education and economic mobilization, but in many areas they carry out security and police functions.⁵

³In Tanzania, the term village generally means a wide area of dispersed homesteads. There are few concentrated villages as those found in the West.

⁴The TANU Youth League is usually the most important of the rural affiliates because it serves as a village police force. In most areas members have the right of arrest. They also serve as messengers, official escorts, and general party functionaries. Most TYL are between ages 18-35 and as a group may carry on commercial ventures such as operating a local bar or sponsoring sport or ceremonial activities. In some areas the youth groups have been subject to criticism from party leaders for becoming overzealous, taking the law into their own hands, holding illegal trials and occasionally forcing younger boys to drill with imitation rifles. Changes since the Arusha Declaration (1967) have included other, more politically oriented youth movements such as the Green Guards.

⁵The administrative organization of the party is more complex than this brief statement suggests. For example, in some districts there are interim branch offices between the district and local branches. In other areas the village development committee (VDC), which ostensibly is a part of the local government apparatus, is often one and the same as the rural party branch. The officers, by government decree, are the same. In the early months of 1970 some village branches were reportedly to be consolidated into new TANU local branch offices which would be coterminous with district council wards. A new TANU constitution in 1965 reorganized the party structure in terms of the working and executive committees, and the annual conference of delegates at each level. Party leaders were empowered to summon witnesses, take evidence, and call for documents. A commission of inquiry was also established which gave citizens a means of airing their grievances against wielders of party and government authority. The commission received some 1627 complaints in 1966-67, some 439 were rejected as out of its jurisdiction,

Rural party organizations have several intrinsic characteristics. They are institutional nerve endings of the national party structure. They are the local institutions by which the people are brought into the national political system and through which the commands of the governing elite are channeled. At the rural level, the government and party functions are largely fused. TANU is the coordinating organization responsible for a wide range of nation-building activities.⁶ While keeping its identity, the party has extended its influence and personnel into most rural organizations, including the more important local administration and semi-governmental marketing cooperatives. The rural party is by nature an authoritative mechanism, operated by local influentials who are able to manage the allocation of scarce resources. In most areas the party is composed of poorly paid enthusiasts who hold other jobs as farmers, drivers, carpenters, and store keepers. Their political actions are only loosely controlled by the higher-level district offices.

Such rural party leaders are able to remain in power for at least three reasons. First, they offer the peasant, who may be in domestic or legal difficulty, the possibility of representing him at higher levels of authority. Second, the party leader is privy to information outside the village area by virtue of his contacts with the party organization. He can, therefore, provide the peasant with specific information, as well as an interpretation of new events. Third, the party leader often controls, or has influence over, the allocation of local jobs and other scarce resources. Such mundane matters as the dispens-

ing of medicines, free transportation, or honorific ceremonial duties, fall within the political arena dictated by a rural party leader.

A key organizational aim of the national party headquarters has been to gain mass involvement in political affairs. To this end a full ideological campaign has been in operation for amplification by the rural branches. From several points of view the results are impressive. Mass participation has occurred in voting, local government councils, marketing cooperatives, and self-held activities. There is general support for party rallies, party slogans, and local mobilization efforts, all of which are usually couched in terms of African socialism. As a coherent ideology, however, African socialism as yet has little meaning in the rural areas. The attending pronouncements on Pan-Africanism are poorly understood and the running anti-imperialism critique is reacted to more on a specific-issue basis than as a part of an on-going ideology. Within the ideology there has been an emphasis on national culture and on the historical uniqueness of Tanzania. African Socialism is referred to by national leaders as the rationale for governmental control of economic institutions. Such statements have meaning in the rural areas only in terms of job opportunities, salaries, and commodity prices. In sum, the parochial nature of the rural party precludes at the present time acceptance or understanding of a unifying national ideology. The ingredients of such parochialism can be seen graphically in the day-to-day activities of a rural party.

The Rural Party's Multi-faceted Activities

The types of activities carried out by rural party branches fall broadly into five classes. First, family and marital mediation is commonplace and includes giving assistance in divorce cases, arbitrating husband-wife disputes, fining wife deserters, and intervening when family heads cannot resolve a problem. Second, village administrative activities are carried out in the writing of reports on local projects, arranging self-help schemes, ordering building materials, and the like. Third, a welfare activity is exemplified in making public announcements, delivering public complaints, and aiding in specific problems such as sanitation or health. Fourth, a form of police activity is seen in protecting private property, warning troublemakers, investigating, and sending individuals to court. Fifth, the party serves as social critic in chastizing unpatriotic behavior, in condemning certain acts, or in encouraging compliance in such matters as school attendance and tax payment. Concrete examples of these activities are

seen in forty messages transmitted to, and received from, a typical rural party (Table 1).

The party activities reflected in the messages are varied and far-reaching. They tell us a good deal about TANU and allow for several points of analysis. First, it is obvious that TANU leaders perform nearly all authoritative acts that can be initiated within the limits of the rural political system. The party itself becomes a catch-all organization, its leaders acting as counselors, guides, father-confessors, investigators, and judges. The leaders reprimand and chastise, cajole and announce. They become personally involved in the full range of personal problems. Love quarrels, family feuds, and house-burnings are within their domain. Moral issues and money issues are common concerns. In terms of conflict resolution, party leaders provide a "safety valve" for community tensions by allowing individuals to transfer problems and complaints to them. Direct personal confrontations in many cases are thereby avoided.

Second, there are few guidelines to the leaders' legitimate areas of operation. In reality the party operates in all sectors in which the local chairman or other leaders wish to become involved. Formal authority channels are not recognized, and a leader will delve into administrative or legal matters if he feels he has a sympathetic audience. Nor is there a clear-cut pattern of when an individual will take a problem to a party official in lieu of a former traditional headman, although customary law disputes usually begin with mediation by the traditional headman.⁷ Authority is constantly being tested as party leaders try to win support and either succeed or are rebuffed. Other village leaders in more traditional positions such as former chiefs or headmen hesitate to test their long-established authority for fear that new conditions may have undermined their authority. Instead, they spend a great deal of effort in simply negating the party leaders who are attempting to take initiative.

Third, the messages give an indication of the rural people's attitude to the party. TANU is viewed much like a parental authority. Individ-

⁷Although traditional chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen were officially removed from power in 1963, many were able to retain influence by taking party or administrative jobs. Other traditional leaders relied on their religious-magical, ritual, and customary law functions to retain local influence. A headman usually presided over what is now designated as a village. See Norman N. Miller, "Political Survival of Traditional Leadership," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, VI (July, 1968), 183-201.

114 were investigated, 54 found justified, and 443 under consideration at the end of 1967. See: *Tanzania, Permanent Commissions on Inquiry: Annual Report, 1966-67* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1968). Also see a review article on this unique constitutional entity by Robert Martin, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, VII (April, 1969), 178-183.

⁸With the Arusha Declaration, the party has been charged with implementing the teachings of African Socialism and self-reliance. The party was declared the supreme government institution in Tanzania during the 14th TANU Conference (June, 1969), with the government its instrument in implementing policies. (*East African Standard*, June 9, 1969). See *Tanzania, The Arusha Declaration* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967). Also see Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), and *Ujamaa—Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

uals send greetings to the party, beg the party's forgiveness, and wish to stay on good terms with party leaders. There is little questioning of higher authority and usually there is compliance with a direct order. Such attitudes undoubtedly spring from fear of what the party leaders can do as public prosecutors, and as public informants. The authoritative nature of the tradi-

tional political system conditioned such attitudes.⁸ The backing the government now gives the

⁸ Based mainly on the institution of chieftaincy, the traditional political system in its purest form would be equated with pre-European administration (Tanzania, 1890). Remnants from the traditional system persist into the present period. Both

TABLE 1. A RURAL PARTY'S COMMUNICATIONS*

<i>Content of Incoming Messages</i>	<i>Result**</i>
1. Old woman asks TANU's help in getting divorce certificate	Referred to local court
2. Bar owner reports quarrel and requests investigation	No action
3. Woman complains of husband's mistreatment	Letter sent to husband ordering him to improve his behavior
4. Farmer requests vote for local representative to district council be secret and that a box in a private room be used	Party promises to study the request
5. Old man confesses, after a hearing, that he failed to tend his sick wife, who has since recovered and left him	Party fines man 40 shillings and instructs him to pay his wife an additional 5 shillings; wife agrees to return home
6. Local government officer requests forms be completed which give composition of village development committee	Forms completed
7. Village medical officer complains of "great water shortage" at clinic and asks for help	Public water brigade formed
8. Young woman complains a man (named) has repeatedly accosted her in her hut	Party chairman warns man to improve his behavior
9. Farmer complains someone has set his hut on fire, and requests an investigation	Found to be caused by a field fire out of control
10. Teacher complains five children (named) are not attending primary school	Party chairman warns parents
11. Local government officer requests party chairman inspect an individual's house who is suspected of practicing witchcraft, and to look for specific medicines and poisons	Chairman investigates with three other party leaders; suspect banished, but order later rescinded
12. Shopkeeper asks party chairman to remind farmer of debt for kerosene and cloth	Farmer ordered to pay
13. Old woman writes to party chairman: "I am sending my bed on top of the bus and do not trust the bus driver. Please see the bed is put off at the house of Hamud Shams."	Problems given to TANU Youth League
14. Local government officer notes that all teachers are encouraged to stand for local election	Notice posted
15. Farmer writes: "This letter is just to say Salaam (Peace) . . . Salaam, that is all."	No action
16. Local government officer gives procedure for elections, and stresses need for peaceful voting	Announcement made
17. Divorced woman agrees to stop "misbehavior" in the maize fields, and begs party's forgiveness	No comment
18. Farmer informs TANU that his case against a named individual, and his dog, has been settled without trial. Farmer was bitten on ear while "resting" on beer-hall floor	10 shilling settlement

TABLE 1. (continued)

<i>Content of Incoming Messages</i>	<i>Result**</i>
19. Beer-making license requested for local farmer from local government official	Granted
20. Announcement of TANU parade to open new dispensary	Announcement posted
21. Woman is accused by TANU in theft of 89 shillings (12.70)	Referred to court
23. Gift to be given people when new dispensary is officially opened	Large clock presented by party official
24. Village beer sale hours are weekends 3-7 p.m. only	Posted
25. Legal action threatened those who failed to take part in self-help project to repair road	No action taken
26. Agenda announced for next party meeting to include local bus problems, building grass roof for school, and new clinic annex	Agenda sent to 20 party leaders
27. Man given receipt for his bicycle, confiscated when Youth League caught him riding without brakes	Claims he needs no brakes; action deferred
28. Two men charged in court for failing to work on community self-help scheme	Released by agreement with party leaders
29. Complaint sent to district headquarters that local bus runs infrequently, passes many who wish to ride, is too small, and is very dirty	No action
30. Youth League ordered to stop threatening violence	Request acknowledged
31. Chairman seeks job for villager in local government administration	No action
32. Announcement made that party leaders and Village Development Committee (VDC) members must have proof of paid-up tax	Circulated and posted
33. Public notice is made that the new TANU office is open.	Posted
34. Man who harvested and ate another man's crops is charged and sent for trial	Trial results not known
35. Divorced woman told 100 shilling bride-price must be returned to her former husband	Woman refers party leader to her father who received the money
36. Complaint to the cooperative union that crop prices are far too low	Complaint not acknowledged
37. Public collections for independence day celebrations will be one shilling per man	Announced
38. Citizens ordered to bring tools, rope, poles, and grass to build new clinic annex, or pay one shilling fine	Building completed
39. Man who used abusive language against TANU secretary is charged in local court	Paid 10 shillings fine
40. Letter to all citizens: "Warning, keep the peace during independence-day celebrations"	Circulated and posted

* Source: Random sample of correspondence files, Usagari TANU branch, Tabora District, Tanzania, for period January, 1964 to January, 1966.

** Messages written by party chairman or secretary, on behalf of the party.

rural party allows the modern leader unlimited

German and British administrators relied on chiefs for indirect rule, and although chiefs were often appointed, in lieu of hereditary claimants, their local authority was considerable in terms of law, tax collections, and ritual. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-196.

possibilities to exercise influence. The leader's role is increasingly proliferated.

Fourth, the party performs general police functions such as investigations, arrests, formal court charges, trials, fines, confinements, and property confiscations. The opportunity for party activities of this nature exists because in

most rural areas there are no police or formal trial structures immediately available. Trials are held by the party because the approximately 600 primary, or local, courts are spread so thinly over Tanzania that it is a major undertaking to use them. The party fills the void as the most authoritative organization operating in immediate contact with the people. In dealing directly with the people, party leaders are occasionally coercive. The messages substantiate this, particularly if a dichotomy is drawn between messages which reflect voluntary behavior, and those reflecting that which has been forced by party leaders. From this point of view, nineteen of the forty messages may be considered coercive or enforcing. Another six cases are mildly enforcing. On the other hand, fifteen cases deal with situations where coercion is not involved.⁹ As the messages indicate, TANU Youth League members carry out most of the police functions, and much of the coercion comes through this organization.

Fifth, rural party activities are supportive of broader government modernization goals in the sense that they generally enhance village solidarity, help to settle disputes, promote cohesion, build consensus, and aid communications. Activities which would have the opposite effects could be argued to negate modernization programs. Assessed in these terms witchcraft allegations, unwarranted party threats, or unfair arrests which cause withdrawal from self-help schemes would be included. Only four of the messages fall into these categories, suggesting that the party is usually a positive modernizing agent.¹⁰

Potential Abuse of Party Authority

Misuse of party authority occurs because most peasants are not aware of the limits national party leaders have placed on local leaders. In part this is because such regulations have been in effect a relatively short time. In the traditional political system, and the colonial system, the general limits on the main authority—the local chief—were known because they had evolved over time. Historically, there was little chance of flagrant abuse of powers because checks on the chief existed in the form of withdrawal from the chieftdom, or if necessary, violent dethronement by armed attack or assassination. In the modern period, the only recourse for the individual who becomes disenchanted with

the local political process is to oppose the process or to withdraw from it. The latter is in essence non-participation. In a political sense it is usually caused by alienation from local party leaders who have committed some abuse of power which has directly affected the individual.

It is important to note that when a rural party leader abuses his powers, it is an abuse of the national party regulations set down and defined by national leaders. It is in the application of party policy at the district and village level that individual misconduct occurs and rights are abused.¹¹ The criticisms leveled at rural leaders by national officials are broadly of four types.

First, local party officers are chided for their treatment of Asian traders who control a large sector of commerce. Local party leaders argue that the Asian has traditionally exploited the people, that most do not have Tanzanian citizenship and are probably not going to remain in the country. It is further argued that the Asians have made great wealth at the expense of the Africans and should be expected to contribute funds and take an active part in party projects. Tensions are also increased by the Asians' exclusiveness, and rumors of some merchants leaving the country with great wealth made at the expense of the African. Asians feel that local party leaders maltreat them: credit is demanded, bills not paid, financial contributions requested, shops closed for endless ceremonies, and shop-owners forced to work on self-help schemes. The result is to entrench Asian entrepreneurs in the towns, and to make them economically inter-reliant.

Second, the local party is criticized for financial irresponsibility. This usually takes the form of petty theft by minor officials, misuse and loss of party funds, unpaid debts, or inefficient record keeping. Higher level party leaders point to the increased spot-check and audit procedures and realistically argue that it is impossible to keep tight control on the remote rural branches. Nevertheless, villagers often mistrust local leaders and refuse to contribute financial support.

A further criticism involves attempts to force participation in party activities. Peasant refusal to pay fees, attend meetings, or take problems to the party often leads to accusations of disloyalty to the nation, and to harsh collection campaigns. The contrast between the current lack of participation in some rural areas, with the strong involvement the same area exhibited in the pre-independence, nationalistic period, causes local

¹¹ The Permanent Commission of Inquiry was established essentially to hear such abuses. *Tanzania, The Permanent Commission, op. cit.*

TABLE 2. INCIDENTS INVOLVING MISUSE OF PARTY AUTHORITY*

Incident	Result
1. Rural party leader intimidates local court magistrate by insisting he find an individual guilty who allegedly spoke against the party	Magistrate requests guidance from District court officials and incident is referred to higher authority
2. Man is either murdered or commits suicide (hanged). Rural party officials force family to bury body without inquest or police report	Rumor reaches police post, inquest ordered, rural leaders criticized
3. Rural branch holds "court" and fines individuals who do not cooperate with the party	Rural leaders reprimanded by district party officials
4. Rural chairman holds second job as bus driver. On several occasions he halts bus and collects license fees from passing bicyclists, but fails to turn in money to local government clerk	Police investigation requested
5. Leaders of Muslim welfare society claim party leaders used discriminatory tactics and abuse Islam followers in public meetings	Complaint sent to district party office; No action
6. Rural chairman controls rental of TANU-owned tractor. He charges exorbitant fees to some farmers, and allows his father, brother and father-in-law to use tractor without charge	Complaint to district party office causes tractor to be sent to another village
7. Agriculture extension worker threatened with beating for allegedly telling farmers not to join TANU or pay party fees	District party officer hears of threat, warns local branch, and complains to Agriculture department
8. Rural party chairman conducts membership campaign by forcing all farmers who wish to ride local buses or enter clinic to buy party membership card.	Chairman relieved of duties and incident referred to as an abuse of powers
9. Meeting at headman's house to resolve husband-wife dispute is broken up by party chairman. He dismisses husband and forces wife to return to his home where he allegedly accosts her	Chairman relieved of duties by district TANU officials and criticized for using party name as his authority; local court case brought by irate husband
10. Asian store owner complains of mistreatment by party leaders who demand contributions, impose store hours, and force road work	Complaint sent to regional party office; No action
11. Hospital staff complains of impromptu "investigation" by local party officials who threaten staff for being "inefficient, drunken, and mistreating patients"	District party officer promises to investigate problem
12. Prosperous bee-keeping cooperative accuses party of controlling their marketing procedures and of engaging in profiteering	After two-year delay regional office settles issue in favor of cooperative
13. Rural office demands and receives credit from local merchant for \$478; refuses to settle account	Merchant complains to regional party office; no action
14. Five village-level local government employees (ADEO's) forced out of jobs by the party and "TANU men" put in their places	Administration complains to regional party headquarters of unfair pressure which undermines efficiency; no corrective action taken
15. Audit of rural branch shows cash shortage, no control of membership cards, no cash box, and loss of President's picture	Rural chairman warned to discharge duties in accord with regulations

* Source: Survey of eight rural party organizations in Tabora District, Tanzania. Data based on interviews with party leaders, local government officers, district administrators, and a survey of administrative files of Tabora District Administration, 1964-66, 1968. The cases are not reflective of specific individuals or leadership positions.

⁹ Those messages classified as indicating coercive pressure were 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 35, 38, 39; mildly coercive: 15, 17, 20, 32, 37, 40; non-coercive: all others.

¹⁰ Messages 11, 28, 30, 39.

leaders to intensify their campaigns. Their justification is that better participation in the past has been forthcoming. The result, however, is often only to elicit minimal tolerance of the party, lip-service to its aims, and little tangible support.

Fourth, the broadest form of criticism leveled at rural leaders involves their misconduct for personal gain, carried out in the name of the party. Financial gain, status rewards, or self-aggrandizement may be sought by using a party position in a coercive manner. Such situations are often characterized by a powerful, local individual exerting personal authority; the fact that he is a TANU leader is incidental to the fact that he has a strong personal base of authority.¹² The misuse of this authority may involve forced payment, illegal trials, threats of violence, temporary imprisonment, and outright extortion. When such incidents come to light, higher level party authorities are quick to counter them. The corrective action, however, in some cases taken by the Permanent Commissioner of Inquiry, does not nullify the incident's effect on the rural people. Withdrawal from any form of political participation is often the result.

Specific case-level examples of the misuse of rural party authority will illustrate the problems faced by national leaders in gaining local support for the party and participation in its activities. It should be emphasized that such incidents are precisely the basis upon which the national leadership criticizes rural officials.

Analysis of the incidents supports the initial departure point that party abuse occurs most often in rural areas where local branch leaders can use their party for a personal authority base, but where party rules are not yet operating. Party activities at the district level and above are usually rational and actions are usually taken for the best interest of the farmer. At the rural level, party activities are often the result of individual initiative and may be irrational. There are several reasons for such behavior by a rural leader. Rural leaders act as free agents a majority of the time, and there are no close checks on their activities by superiors. Rural leaders have little fear of loss of position because they are not paid well enough to make the positions highly prized. There are no clearcut ideas among rural people of what a party

¹² The Arusha Declaration and subsequent pressures by Julius Nyerere have been aimed at keeping party and government officials from making personal gain by virtue of their positions. The efforts have been more successful on the national and regional levels, than with the isolated rural leadership.

leader's job is, or what the role involves. Such ambiguity allows the leader to reshape the job to his own ends. Viewed from the farmer's vantage point an abuse is individualistic. It is not so much TANU which is causing the difficulty, but a well-known individual who is incidentally the TANU leader; a man who, the farmer vaguely realizes, has gained some authority over him.

Policy ambiguity also exists. Much of all party business is a reaction to some event. Each level above the village has a corrective function; wrongs are set right by decree from higher party officials and usually on an *ad hoc* basis. There is little evidence that a formal policy is pursued or that a series of mistakes helps to establish a policy that is followed in the rural areas. More often rumor or gossip about an incident will set the guidelines of policy as a farmer understands them. The reported experience of a particular individual carries more weight than a formal statement, announcement, or circular.

III. FORMS OF PARTY PARTICIPATION

Findings on the behavior of individuals in rural party situations suggest that participation in the party takes one of three forms.

Active Participation: Under these conditions the individual is actively involved in the party process. He accepts most of the party rules as they are interpreted to him, helps enforce such rules, and generally does so on a voluntary basis. His compliance with the system indicates his general support of the political process, although he may differ on specific issues directly effecting him. His continued support of the party will depend on the satisfaction he gets from his party activities, and the decisions made on his behalf by party officials.

The extent of active participation, the reasons for taking part in party activities, and questions related to the process of active participation may be seen in survey data concerning rural party leaders and randomly selected farmers collected in three widely separated districts.¹³

Satisfaction with Party: Participation in the party may also be seen in terms of a *satisfaction expected*¹⁴ and *satisfaction received* ratio.¹⁵ The

¹³ For details of the sample survey, see the Appendix.

¹⁴ Regarding satisfaction expected, an important parenthetical question is what is the rural party's ability to actually satisfy expectations. In most areas the local party leaders are increasingly able to control resources. The party has been declared the supreme governing body of the nation and the national party propaganda gives local leaders and cell chairmen continuous support and legitimacy.

responses to the question "What does the party do for the people?" indicate a general satisfaction with the party. Only 1.3% reported negative attitudes. The findings also support the general thesis that the party is a multi-faceted organization that engages in a wide range of activities.

TABLE 3. WHAT DOES THE PARTY DO FOR THE PEOPLE?

29%	Party leads economic development projects.
18	Party is the government; administers, maintains law and order, governs the people.
14	Party unifies the people, promotes cooperation, ends colonialism.
12	Party is the representative of the people, voice of the people, interpreter of government policy, voice of the government.
12	Party is an educator. Party teaches political ideas, agricultural methods, health and welfare improvements.
1	Party is a negative influence.
14	Other.
100%	
(N = 434)	

The question "whom do you go to when you have a political problem?" also gives an indication of the satisfaction with the party. Over 70% of the respondents stated they took their problems either to the chairman of the party cell (42%) or to the chairman of the village party branch (19%). Some 10% stated they would take their political problem to a local government officer. Less than 2% stated they would seek satisfaction on a political problem from a traditional leader (headman, subchief). About 22% failed to answer the question. The findings indicate an overall satisfaction with the party as an agent for settling disputes and problems. The figures, however, probably underestimate the importance of the family head and the traditional leader in the settlement of problems. My observations indicate that people go to the political party office with problems that have been already judged—perhaps unsatisfactorily—by

The result is party control over such basic resources as new jobs, local wages, access to some schooling, appointment to honorific positions, access to important meetings, free transportation, and the like.

¹⁵ Other approaches to analyzing participation such as formal-informal, and leader-follower typologies or the comparing of relative degrees of commitment to various roles, are considered less appropriate for an African rural party setting.

family heads. The same people may have gone to a traditional leader for interpretation and mediation. However, the only "proper" channels of settlement would be through the party, the government agents or the courts; traditional leaders are officially out of power. Our interviews indicate that peasants are aware of political realities, but the figures fail to reflect the *de facto* power of traditional authorities.¹⁶

Party Membership. Active party participation is indicated in questions concerning party membership. About 92% claim to be members of the party (at one time), and about 61% state they joined when first asked. Some 16% admitted to waiting for several months to join. Over a third of the respondents said they actively volunteered for party membership and another 23% said they joined because they were approached directly by a party official. Most members claim to have joined the party prior to independence (1961), and nearly 40% claim to have joined the party in the early years of its activity (1954-57).¹⁷

When asked why they joined the party, over half of the respondents said to "fight for independence" or to "get rid of the colonials." Some 10% joined because they saw the party as an organization to help build national unity and to develop the country economically. Some 8% reported they joined TANU under somewhat coercive conditions.

Other indicators of basic support and participation in the party activities are reflected in the nearly 50% of the respondents who knew the name of the leading political party leader in the district (Area Commissioner). Only slightly fewer knew the provincial political party leader (Regional Commissioner). In response to the opinion question: "Do you agree or disagree that political matters should be left to government officials and village people should not become involved," a total of 87% of the respondents disagreed. The finding indicates a strong feeling among farmers that they at least "should" be involved in local political affairs.

The extent of party activity is also seen in what the respondents believe to be the purpose of the party cell system (10-house cells).

¹⁶ Indicating the problem of getting totally candid responses from farmers on government matters. There is good reason to believe farmers are guarded in an interview situation and are less critical of the government in an interview than they are in their day-to-day exchanges.

¹⁷ Observations indicate the figures are high; farmers are inclined to falsely claim membership or to claim current membership if annual dues were paid in any one year.

Officially, the purpose is to educate farmers to new agricultural techniques, to bring together the 10-house families for cooperative purposes, and to provide a local cell chairman for the settlements of disputes. Villagers however ascribe far wider purposes to the party cell system.

TABLE 4. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE 10-HOUSE PARTY CELL?

12%	To provide police functions, to detect criminals, to observe newcomers, to report suspicious activities, to prevent crime.
8	To settle disputes and to judge cases.
8	To collect taxes.
11	To promote cooperation in communal work.
15	To bring about economic progress in agriculture.
15	To disseminate news and propaganda.
10	To aid government administration.
3	To aid the party.
9	Doesn't know.
9	Other/omitted.
100%	
(N = 434)	

Non-participation: In addition to our basic assumption that individual abuse causes withdrawal of support from the party, non-participation can occur for at least three other reasons. First, if individuals perceive that the party leaders cannot make authoritative decisions that resolve local conflicts, a shift to stronger authority figures such as traditional leaders or administrative leaders will occur. Second, unwanted party decrees or excessive demands can cause a group of individuals to pay lip service to the party, and at the same time, to withdraw from it. This is often done by villagers supporting a non-local, alien individual as a party chairman, and using him as a buffer against the unwanted decrees from the district party office. When the lack of participation is noted by higher officials, it is the tribally alien party chairman who is criticized, not the individual farmer. In essence the alien leader lacks kinship ties and other levers to effectively gain local support.

Third, the individual's realization that rural party officials do not have an economic base to their authority, such as controlling land usage, dictating job opportunities, allocating free transportation, and the like, will cause farmers to shift their support to leaders in the local administration or the marketing cooperative who do have economic influence. Shifting allegiances are particularly likely to occur if the administrative grid in a given district is weak. The strength of

the local administration varies graphically throughout Tanzania.

Specific data concerning non-participation is seen in the survey findings and in the statements made by both regional and local party officials. The most significant findings were:

Nearly 75% of the respondents had never had written communication with the party. About 8% had sent one or two letters during the year and another 8% had done so more than three times.

When asked why they joined the party about 6% gave answers indicating they had joined under some pressure, and would not be active participants. Such answers included "I was forced," "I followed others under pressure," "I had no other choice," or "my employer 'encouraged' me to join."

When asked what is the line of authority for settling disputes beyond the village level, 72% refused to express an answer—indicating a basic desire not to be committed to an authority system beyond their immediate neighborhood. Some 13% indicated they would follow the village-district-regional party system, the remainder indicated a mixing of party, local government and traditional authorities.

Although the majority of the respondents felt that the party had done something positive for the village, those who expressed dissenting opinions (about 2%) did so for the following reasons: "party leaders do nothing for the people," "they are destructive and self-seeking," or "they demand money."

Although the findings shed some light on why non-participation in party activities occurs, they must be interpreted in light of other field observations. The survey findings on written, formal communication with the party, for example, indicate there is little overall communication. In fact, there is a great deal of informal discussion with party leaders. Written communication is initiated in extreme circumstances, when party leaders indicate a message is needed, or when distance separates the individuals. The difficulty in getting letters written and the shortage of public scribes hinders written communication. The findings on the reasons to join the party, and on what the government and the party had done for the village, also need amplification. Indications are that the people are more critical than the figures indicate. The fear of giving open opinions, and the distrust of the interview situation, would lead the respondent to give "safe" political answers. In fact most peasant farmers keep up a running criticism of the gov-

ernment for failing to provide more for the village. In the eyes of the farmers there is usually no differentiation between the party and the government beyond the local leaders that are known on a face-to-face basis.

The lack of participation in some rural party branches is also a recurring theme among party officials above the village level. The usual criticism is that the rural branch is not active enough, that the people do not regard the party as an organization to solve their problems, and that the party is not "speaking for the people." Relations between local government officials and rural party officials are often strained. The result is a lack of support for the rural party branch by the local administration.¹⁸

Comments from rural party leaders in Central Tanzania indicate the general problem.¹⁹

Party chairman Itaga village: "... progress here is slow due to misunderstandings between TANU and local government officers ... people receive different orders from these leaders. ... Most are not paying their monthly fees. The party hardly gets any new members."

Party chairman Uyui village: "... people have stopped coming to TANU to report their difficulties and troubles ... they go straight to the local government employees. ..."

Party chairman Uyowa village: "I hardly collect any monthly fees as they don't value the office now. ..."

Party chairman Upuge village: "... before (pre-independence) many people joined and fees were paid by most of this chiefdom. TANU offices were always full of people with troubles. Some were settled and some referred to court. After independence (1961) TANU has been dropping down ... people don't attend meetings even when they are told to do so. ..."

On balance, non-participation is gauged by rural leaders in terms of fees paid, the use of TANU for problem settlement, and the general traffic in the TANU office. The higher levels of authority were equally concerned with the same problems and also with questions of respect for

¹⁸ The above specific criticisms were leveled against rural party leaders by the then Regional Commissioner for Tabora, R. S. Wambura in "TANU and the Government" (Tabora: District Council Pamphlet, 1963, cyclostyled). The comments are indicative of similar problems in many areas of Tanzania.

¹⁹ Selected as representative comments from a survey of rural party organizations in Tabora district, 1965-66 and 1968.

the party, and the broader organizational questions of the party's relations with local and central government organizations.

Dissatisfaction with the party as an agent and partner of the national government is seen in responses to the question "What has the government done for the people of this village?" Over 40% of the respondents stated the government had done nothing for the village. Another 10% didn't know of any contribution, or refused to answer the question. Other responses include specific contributions as "provided tools and material goods" (10%), "provided administrative help" (7%), "financed an agricultural or construction project" (14%), "financed an education project" (8%), or "provided freedom and independence" (3%). Only 3% said the government had done a great deal for the village, or gave details of several contributions.

A further indication of dissatisfaction that would lead to an individual's failure to participate in party activities is seen in the responses to the question: "Do you agree or disagree that government matters and politics are so complicated that the average man cannot really understand what is going on?" Nearly 75% of the sample agreed with this statement, 18% disagreed, and 2% were uncertain. The remainder did not answer the question. Overall, the findings indicate a widespread dissatisfaction with the "outside party" and the "outside government." This finding also lends credence to the suggestion that peasants see the government as remote, disinterested, and ineffectual within their village.

Satisfaction is, of course, conditioned by peasant expectations. On the one hand, peasants expect the government to aid them and are annoyed and dissatisfied when this does not occur. On the other hand, the general cynicism reflected in the responses to the survey questions indicates a general expectation of abuse and maltreatment. Most peasants expect leaders to be self-seeking and to engage in petty theft. There is a general feeling that any man who gets into a high-level job will exploit the situation.²⁰ These attitudes are coupled with a broader belief in the inevitability of ill-fortune. Conditioned initially by the harsh life style, the expect-

²⁰ In the general elections of 1965, the voters' expectation that many of the incumbents had gotten rich in office led them to vote the man out of office on the basis that another man should have a chance at wealth. See Bismark Mwansasu and Norman N. Miller, "The Fall of a Minister," in Lionel Cliffe (ed.), *One-Party Democracy* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967).

tation of ill-fortune extends into the political arena. Maltreatment, for example, is expected if one ventures outside the face-to-face world and deals with a distant people or government.

Other peasant attitudes illustrate the relationship between satisfaction and expectation. Approximately 64% of the respondents expected to stay in their village the rest of their lives and only 14% were willing to say definitely that they would leave their village. When asked "What job would you do if you could change your work," over 50% indicated no change was desired. Approximately 12% indicated they would simply improve their present work, and another 11% indicated they would return to farming from their present type of work. Only two respondents (0.46%) indicated they would move to a political party job, and less than 6% indicated preference for government administrative posts. Jobs such as carpenters, drivers, shop-owners, traders, and positions in the police and the army accounted for less than 8% of the total. A similar question, "What would you like to be doing 5 years from now?" showed that 68% of the respondents expected no change or simply hoped for an improvement in their farming work. When asked "How much money do you expect to make in 5 years, per year," 47% didn't know and an additional 7% expected to make less than 100 shillings (\$14.00) per year.

In essence, satisfaction on personal issues may be impossible for some peasants because they are apathetic, because their expectation levels are unreal, or because they negate the party process by refusing to believe it will serve them and by refusing to participate in it. Seen in this perspective, it is understandable that mild dissatisfaction with the party—and non-participation in its activities—would be in line with the larger dissatisfaction with one's life style. For most individuals, such a situation usually leads more to apathy, disinterest and acceptance of the status quo. In extreme cases of dissatisfaction, active resistance to the party could also result.

Active Resistance: Under these conditions either coercion by party leaders has caused withdrawal from party activities and the individual is actively resisting party leaders, or an organization outside the party sphere has brought pressure on the individual to oppose party activities. The party rules and codes are broken and an attempt is made to either destroy the rural party organization, or to unseat its leaders. Rural party leaders in turn may react by lashing out against the individuals involved, or by calling on higher party authority. When knowledge of anti-party resistance reaches the district or re-

gional party authorities, prompt action is usually taken, either in the form of investigation and rebuke, or when necessary, containment by the police or the field force.

Resistance to party leaders may be mixed with general resistance to government activities. Such a situation usually springs from one of two sources. First, resistance to a specific demand or decree; in essence a collective refusal to follow party leadership for a specific reason which can easily become generalized to a refusal to follow party leadership on any issue. Second, resistance may spring from historical animosity. Groups that were at one time out of the party, such as former chiefs, Muslim organizations, or labor groups, are currently included in the broad party structure. Old antagonisms and old rivalries, however, create factions within the party which on the local level can lead to overt resistance to the existing leadership.

Examples of active resistance take several forms. The refusal to pay TANU dues or local taxes, and the stoning of Land Rovers when officials come to collect (Rungwe District); The refusal to support party or local government leaders to the extent that the President denounces the people as *wadui* or enemy of the state, (Kisarawe District); The attack on a TANU office by a dissident group, who after seizing the files and record books of the party, claim to be the new party leaders, in fact claiming legitimacy in symbols (Tabora District), are all indicative. Most cases of resistance are directed at the local leadership. There is little indication that organized wide-scale disenchantment exists with the national party organization, as was the case in Ghana the latter years of the CPP. Cases usually erupt spontaneously, are resolved, and generally have no implications beyond the village area. Leaders of the dissident groups generally find no support for continued active resistance and they slip back into an ongoing pattern of non-participation in party activities.

IV. FACTORS AFFECTING PARTY PARTICIPATION

In addition to the forms of party activity, four other questions must be analyzed for an understanding of rural party participation. First, what is the context of political life in which rural party participation takes place; second, what are the processes by which issues are resolved for the individual by party authorities; third, what are the links between village and national party organizations that effect peasant participation; and fourth, what are the broader implications for national leaders concerning the political participation of rural peoples.

Context of Political Life

A rural society is often a pedestrian society. There are limited means of transport, the peasant is largely immobilized, and movement to the outside is a major undertaking. The distance a man can easily walk to have a dispute settled or to gain assistance from a higher authority is the effective boundary of village political systems. For most rural individuals the world is in essence a microcosm with the village as the center. Attitudes toward movement are dictated by the relative magnetism of the home village versus the attraction of the outside world.

Political relations are based on kinship ties, clan membership, and the face-to-face, day-by-day interaction with familiar people. Locale, the neighborhood or chiefdom boundaries, and the dictates of an agrarian society heavily influence political life. The planting and harvesting cycle directly affects political considerations. Litigation diminishes during harvests; ritual and ceremony to resolve conflicts increase during planting. Flood, draught, or other natural calamities may cause a revival of traditional sorcery or witchcraft beliefs. Such beliefs provide causal explanations and serve as mechanisms of social control. In turn, witch cleansing, witch trials and banishment may occur with the full involvement of the local political leadership.

Three leadership groups tend to operate in the rural context, and to vie for political power. These include party functionaries such as chairmen, vice chairmen, secretaries, and officers in the youth league, women's group, TANU elders, and the cells. Administrative leaders such as resident local government officers, clerks, teachers and members of a central government ministry posted in the village, such as dispensers, agricultural instructors, forest guards, and game wardens comprise the second group. The third leadership group is composed of traditional leaders such as the former chiefs and headmen, secret society leaders, diviners, prophets, ritualists and soothsayers. The three groups together comprise the political leadership on nearly all issues. In most cases the administrative leaders have less local legitimacy and mainly serve the technical and clerical functions. Party leaders tend to serve mobilization and propaganda functions, and traditional leaders serve mainly to mediate, explain and translate demands made on the peasants.

The most important structures operating within this political context are the rural party and party cells, the village council (Village Development Committee), the marketing cooperatives, and voluntary associations such as parent-

teacher groups, welfare societies, dance groups, and in some areas, secret societies. If the village serves as communications center for out-lying areas, it may also include a primary court, and a local government divisional headquarters. Other local structures often involved in political activities include the local stores and markets, primary schools, tea houses, beer-shops, dispensaries, and mosques or mission stations.

The relationship between these structures at the rural level is characterized by overlapping leadership, a great deal of economic interaction, and communication linkages based on the informal village network, and rumor diffusion. The Village Development Committees (VDC) usually have 20 members who represent sections of the dispersed village area, as well as specific positions (teacher, dispenser); the party chairman is the VDC chairman, and members of the VDC are likely to include the leaders of the marketing cooperative, the local administration, and other organizations. Meetings are open to any individual with complaints or problems. Rural party functionaries are usually members of other social and economic structures and business tends to be transacted informally. Roles tend to be fused. This is not the case for relationships between the party and other organizations at the district, regional and national level. These relations are formalized by written contract and letter, although overlapping leadership exists among the national elite.

Process of Issue Satisfaction

The various survey findings give a picture of what issues are taken to the party. In fact, any potential conflict situation can become a party issue. There are no hard rules, and no precedents are followed except for the interests of the peasant who initiates the incident. He, as noted, will take the issue where he has the best chance of satisfaction. This is conditioned by his view of who is the most authoritative figure in his political arena—and, of these individuals, who would receive his request with the greatest sympathy. It is in part the peasant's view of the relative balance of power between a few local influentials. Since traditional authorities have been severely curtailed in their legal exercise of power, and since government administrators often lack legitimacy in the village areas, the most potentially useful leaders for the peasant are often party functionaries. However, the peasant process usually the initiator of the resolution process and the arena he chooses will depend on where he believes he can get the greatest satisfaction. He may demand, for example, that both traditional and administrative authorities have some

voice when party officials are judging his case. Essentially, then, party participation is based on how satisfied the individual peasant continues to be with a number of issues taken to the party. The peasant is in fact a political chameleon. The situation can change with the issue at stake.

The actual grass-roots process by which a peasant's grievance would be resolved through the party is basically as follows. When a conflict between individuals or groups arises, the issue is either taken by them to the party authority, or the party authority hears of it informally through the neighborhood communication network. If he hears of it informally he may either intervene on his own or do nothing. If the issue is taken to him he usually will either take action on his own, or, after hearing the particulars, call for a broader "public" meeting of other party influentials and elders. Such a public call has two consequences. It brings the issue up to the level of neighborhood knowledge and permits anyone who is interested to participate in the debate. Second, as the messages go out to convene the meeting, the time lag gives the leader an opportunity to consider the problem, to put it in perspective with similar issues, and to debate it informally with others.

When the public meeting begins, the limits of discussion may be framed by a few key leaders, but debate is generally open and evidence may be volunteered from the family, friends, or neighbors of the disputants. Evidence may also be called for by the party leaders and be given either by a specific individual, or in "Greek chorus" fashion. The latter technique also serves to test the feeling of the community at large. If the chorus is not largely unanimous, and there is in fact a counter chorus, the issue divides the community, and the leaders proceed more cautiously. This slower, more laborious process is tedious and has the effect of eventually driving away all those who do not have a vital stake in the issue.

Leadership under these circumstances is generalized; no single party individual dominates. When a consensus is sensed by a few of the leaders, this fact is noted. The decision will then be framed by one or two leaders and usually delivered by the "convening authority." To give the decision legitimacy, the pronouncement may be in the name of the party, in the name of the government, or occasionally in the name of a chiefdom or traditional authority. In most cases the finding would be accompanied by a threat of harsher punishment if the decision of the group is not carried out. Punishment might include a beating, a fine, or banishment from the village. The right of appeal to a higher authority would probably not be noted or discussed.

Links Between Village and National Party

The Tanzania party structure is organized to incorporate the village party officials under the administrative direction of a district branch which is usually headquartered in one of the sixty-one district capitals. The effective linkage between the village and the outside world is in this district-village connection. Although communications from the national and regional offices supposedly filter down to the village through the district offices, the district-village tie is the weakest link in the party structure.²¹ Communications are often non-existent, and requests are often misunderstood or unheeded. Guidelines from the district headquarters on how village leaders should deal with various problems are followed at the whim of the local leader. The immobilized and remote nature of the country creates a situation in which party authority is essentially "Land Rover" authority. District officials come to the village, confer with local leaders, settle problems, and depart. The circuit-riding nature of the system in fact only offers temporary solutions to village problems.

Because of the infrequency of the visits from district officials, villagers generally believe that the district office does very little for their local branch. Higher officials are thought to be mainly interested in collecting membership fees, and of only helping "richer" villages where newly established cash crops create exploitable wealth. Other difficulties arise from the fact that higher party officers are usually staffed by younger, more educated men whose views of village leaders can be hyper-critical.

A portion of the communications problem between the two party levels lies within the district party office. Like the village branch, the district office engages in a multitude of activities. No guidelines are created however, and village leaders are often confused as to what action is appropriate for them to take. Problems considered for settlement by district officials might include a marital quarrel in the district town, a bad-debt problem, an allegation against a merchant or trader, or a complaint concerning an unfair act by a government official. Welfare acts are also considered party business. If a man is released from prison and has no bus fare to his village, the party will assist him. Money for medicine may be given and medical advice offered. Special investigations are launched concerning such problems as thefts, beatings, school

²¹ Party directives in 1969 indicate awareness of this problem and an increased desire by the national party to facilitate local-level communication.

abuses, cheating by a shopkeeper or complaints about the hospital. The party is also engaged in economic enterprises. Building small party hotels, organizing cooperative societies such as carpenters groups and building societies are commonplace. Resettlement schemes, homes for TANU employees, and facilities for destitute elders are within the district party activities.

The many sides to the party create a basic problem for its district leaders: how to differentiate between an administrative activity that should more properly be carried out by a government organization, and a "political activity." Most district party officials are unable to define exactly what a political issue would be. One district official in western Tanzania suggested that it would be "any offense against the government." Another suggested a political issue was "anything needing investigation." The Area Commissioner, the chief party official of the district in Tabora, said the party could legitimately enter any issue "involving tensions and conflicts—such things as clashes between the staff of an organization, a man pushing too hard to get ahead, or a verbal attack on the government."

Although functionally diffused, party leaders do admit officially to some distinction between their areas of responsibility and those of the police, judiciary, and administration. Usually, however, no clear-cut idea exists when a party official's investigation encroaches on a police investigation, or when the party's right to judge and hold small trials encroaches on the judiciary. Although the district level officials are less flagrant in such mixing of channels, some confusion also exists at this level. The Area Commissioner, for example, is the head of both political and administrative functions in his district, and gives directions to both political and administrative leaders. Such confusion filters down to the village level and helps to create the local situation in which there is no distinction between administrative, party or police activities.

The difficulties in communication between the two party levels tend to inhibit participation in party affairs and to keep information and resources from flowing to the village areas. This breakdown in communication linkage is perhaps most graphically seen in statements made by a district party official and a village party official about how the other man carries out his work.²²

Village Party Chairman—a 47-year-old Zaramo who has lived in the village some 11 years. He came originally in 1957 as a *Kiongozi* or party

²² A Tabora District official and a Uyui village official interviewed 1965-66. The situation typified here was essentially the same in 1968, during a re-study of the area.

organizer (spearhead) and initially was extremely unpopular. He was accused of being a thief, of collecting party dues for his own purposes, and of being a rabble-rouser. He was often threatened with attack and initially made little headway until the local chief quietly lent his support to the party activities. By 1961, however, the village party leader had personally gained enough popularity to be elected the representative of the village to the district council. He has also held the party chairmanship since it was formed in 1959. His leadership position is reinforced by a partial ability to read and to write, by a flair for public speaking, and by virtue of his trade as a tailor which gives him constant contact with the public.

District Party Official—a 36-year-old Nyamwezi who has had 8 years of schooling and a great deal of experience in various jobs throughout East Africa. Before independence he worked on the Mombasa docks and as salesman for a tobacco company. He joined the party early in its formation, probably around 1956, and after independence was paid for his efforts with the chairmanship of a district office. He has drawn criticism for pushing the membership campaigns too hard, and for threatening people with mild forms of punishment if they do not pay their party dues.

District Party Leader Village Party Leader

1. "The village chairman is lazy and slow and often does not do his work properly." "He pushes too hard and threatens to close the hospital and local buses to those who do not pay party dues."
2. "He is often not serving TANU and is sometimes looking after his own interests." "I have wondered if his real interest is in the nation or in himself."
3. "He does not understand my problems and does not understand how to organize a local party." "It is too difficult to talk to him. If I bring up a problem, he will interfere and some action will be taken against me. He does not understand my problems, he is not well-informed, so I do not go to him very often."
4. "He is getting to be an old man and his effectiveness is seeping away." "He is often acting as a *bwana mkubwa* (big man), although he is young."

Key factors affecting the links between the district and the village areas are the graphic

differences between district-level leaders and their village-level counterparts. On the other hand, the survey findings indicate a strong similarity between village leaders and randomly selected farmers. No significant differences, for example, emerge between these two groups in such categories as age, education, attitudes toward magic and witchcraft, attitudes on why to send a child to school, etc. When village leaders, however, are compared to district leaders, several major differences occur.

The ages of district leaders tend to be younger than village-level leaders in all districts (Table 5).

TABLE 5. AGE OF VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERS

	Birth Date			N.
	Before 1910	1910-1930	1930+	
District Leaders	3%	45%	52%	150
Village Leaders	26%	54%	20%	171

$\chi^2 = 49.23$, $df = 2$, $\alpha = 0.0$

The religion of district leaders tends to be Christian; there are no leaders at this level who claim pagan beliefs. On the other hand, village leaders tend to be Moslem.

Type of school attended also correlated significantly. District leaders tended to be graduates or have been enrolled in government schools whereas village leaders overwhelmingly had attended mission schools or Koranic schools. Implications in these findings suggest that the chance to reach a post as a district-level leader is significantly enhanced by the attendance of a government-run school.

Considering length of party membership, district leaders in two out of three of the districts surveyed tended to have been party members a significantly shorter period of time than had village leaders. These districts (Kisarawe and Rungwe) were also the districts in which the age difference between district leaders and village leaders tended to be the greatest, a factor which partially explains the findings. For Tabora District, which historically gave support to the party later than other areas of the nation, there was no significant difference between the length of party membership for the two leadership groups.

Other differences between the village leader and the district leader appeared in terms of life style. For example, the district leader's education, income per year, amount of travel, and frequency of travel tended to be higher in almost all cases. The district leader tended to have fewer numbers of wives, fewer numbers of chil-

dren, and understandably to have more possessions such as radios, bicycles, and tools. The overall picture of the district leader indicates a less parochial, less isolated individual who has some contact outside his immediate community. He has generally greater mobility and is more enlightened on the events affecting his time. He tends to have a technical competence in specialized areas as opposed to the more generalized skill of the village leader. He has probably resided in his community a shorter period of time and has fewer inter-personal contacts within the community. He is probably more inclined to accept the changing political symbols and fads as

they come from the capital. The differences between the two groups in age, education and income can be graphic and lead to antagonism. The district leader's ideas for initiating changes in the village may be based on a legitimate desire to bring advantages that he has seen elsewhere. The local leader, conversely, may have had no similar experience and obstruct any such changes. Such differences lead to rigidity and entrenchment. Village leaders retreat to the traditional beliefs and justifications of the past while district leaders escape into petty professionalism. Village leaders will then demand more fact-to-face confrontations before they will act on a specific project whereas their counterparts may wish fewer personal meetings and attempt to rely on bureaucratic channels. The result is a continued disruption in a communication between the two most vital levels of the political party.

Implications for the National Government

Political participation in the rural party is the implicit goal of TANU. To gain the continued participation of the peasant is the overriding problem facing national leaders. One of the key problems is that the party at the rural level is suffering the throes of general economic disenchantment following the high hopes of the nationalistic period. In spite of peasant expectation, little has changed in their essential routine. The economic life of the people has not been greatly altered and most of the lofty expectations of the pre-independence period are unreal-

ized. The party has been forced to shift from a nationalist protest organization to an agency for the mobilization of human and natural resources. Its new role is creative and positive. It is a role which in some respects is a contradiction of the earlier goals which were to bring about the destruction and downfall of the colonial regime. Those individuals who lead the nationalist protest had personal qualities which could arouse mass dissent. Although these nationalist leaders have remained in important offices, they do not necessarily have the talents nor the personal inclinations to provide the more mundane form of administrative leadership necessary for building a state.

Even those leaders who do combine administrative talents with some form of charismatic ability, face continued problems of peasant apathy toward the party, unpaid membership, and cynicism toward the government. As noted, links between the district and rural branches are difficult to maintain. Representation of the individual peasant's problems is on an *ad hoc* basis. The two-way highway that Julius Nyerere envisioned by which the goals and plans of the government reached the village and by which the problems and wishes of the people reached the government, is often simply not operative. The government's recruitment of rural leaders encounters basic problems of an individual's status, his traditional basis of legitimacy, and his kinship obligations. In many ethnic groups, there are strong pressures not to assume leadership for fear of alienating neighbors or of gaining undue economic advantages. In other areas there is little understanding of what a party leadership position entails.

Perhaps the most important problem concerning the political participation of peasants lies in how the central government consciously plans for such participation. There is a tendency for officials, particularly those in ministries dealing with resource planning to either implicitly or explicitly oppose political participation in specific geographic areas. This is because resources are allocated on a priority basis for economic development. Political participation without accompanying economic change is considered unwise, particularly if political stability of the geographic area is in question.

However, this form of Machiavellian banishment of inaccessible, semi-desert or exceptionally backward areas, mainly on a rationale of economic priority, may in fact be more politically dangerous than the cost-benefit thinking anticipates. Political participation is necessary for the entire population. If national leaders attempt to create "holding areas" where rural institutions are not encouraged, the inhabitants of

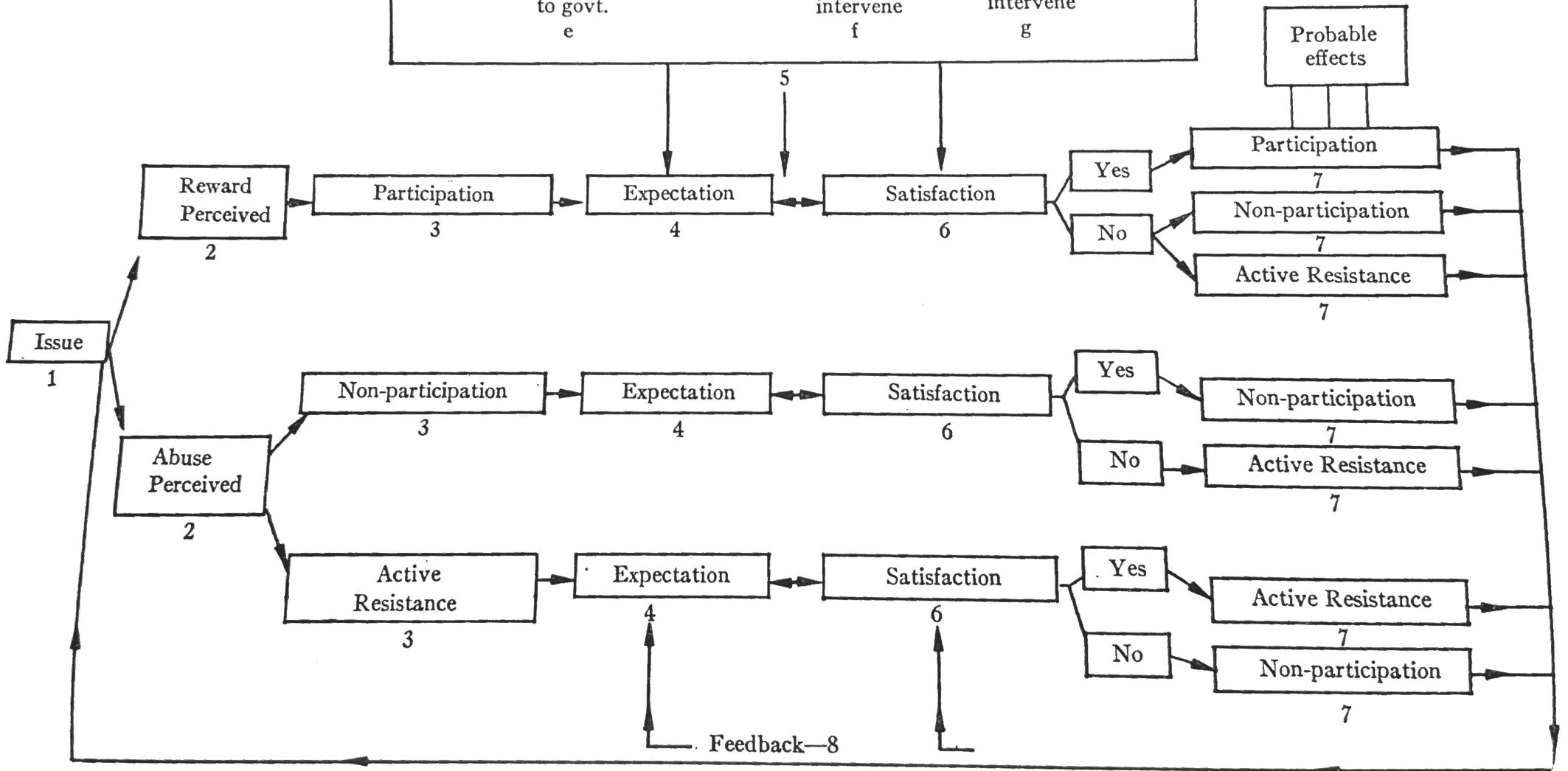
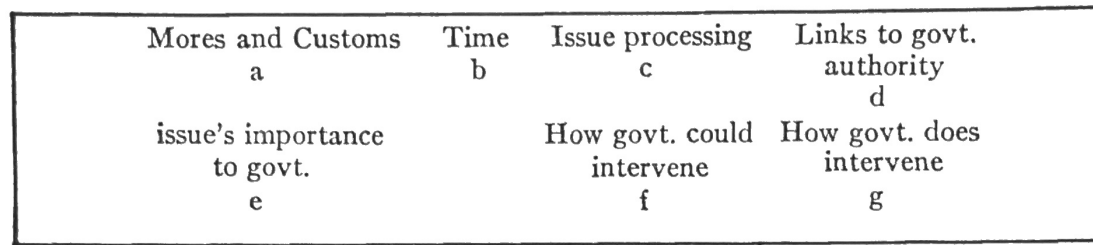
these areas are politically alienated as well as economically depressed. This process does not, however, exclude peasants from travelling to see strikingly better human conditions in the privileged areas. Nor does this form of planning prohibit migration out of the rural sectors to the over-crowded, socially-deprived urban areas. When such exposure does take place, the individual is in fact in the larger political arena. His disenchantment with the events in his home region and his knowledge of better conditions elsewhere make him a potential dissident and agitator. It may be argued that the difficulties this individual can cause the central government would be eliminated if he had opportunities to participate locally in political institutions which are engaged in economic development. If rural political institutions are to survive, they must be created universally. No amount of Machiavellian banishment and isolation, no amount of government refusal to plan for a depressed region will keep agitation from beginning. Once begun, it is impossible to predict the speed at which agitation can lead to collective, destructive political action.²³

In spite of the difficulties in gaining party participation, there are other strong reasons why national leaders persist in promoting such involvement. First, the party has a potential capability of economic mobilization. It serves as a catalyst of several local interests and, if supported, can be effective in reducing the conflicts brought about by rapid economic change. The rural political party is at the cutting edge of the national plans for agricultural development; its leaders can stimulate support for these plans and gain their acceptance among the local populace. Second, if there is no participation in the rural party, checks and balances on party leaders will not exist. The party apparatus has been constructed but, if it is not used and supported by the people, it can be misused by self-seeking local leaders who gain support from the remote higher party levels.

A further reason for the national leaders to encourage local participation is to facilitate the building of local institutions such as the cooperative societies and voluntary welfare associations. Like the party, these rural institutions introduce specific innovations that may benefit the peasant. Other reasons for participation exist. Party leaders at the local level are often alien to the village in which they are working. Acceptance of alien party leaders will eventually mean the acceptance of local leaders in other positions.

²³See Samuel Huntington "Political Development and Political Decay," *World Politics*, XVII (April, 1965), 388-430.

Intervening Variables



Flow-Chart: Relationships Determining Local-Level Participation

Figure 1

abuse he may suffer through involvement, (2). Potential abuse and the potential rewards are countervailing pressures. If he decides to participate on this particular issue, his personal expectations will immediately come to bear, (3, 4). If he decides not to participate or to actively resist the institution, his expectations on these decisions will also be activated, (3, 4). The degree of satisfaction each course of action gives the individual will be determined by his expectations, and by several intervening variables, (5). These include the prevailing mores and customs surrounding the issue, and his position on the issue, (5-a); the amount of time that the issue has been under consideration, (5-b); how the issue is processed locally, (5-c); what the local links are between the individual and higher levels of authority, (5-d); the issue's importance to higher levels of government, (5-e); how higher levels of government could intervene, (5-f); and how higher levels of government do intervene, (5-g). The intervening variables also influence the individual's expectation and satisfaction levels.

Depending on these factors, satisfaction in the course of action taken can either be attained or not attained, (6). The result at this point will influence a continued course of action in the same pattern, or will cause a move to one of the two alternative patterns, (7). This decision will in turn feed back to influence the individual's reaction to the next specific political issue that affects him directly, (8). The *sum* of the individual's actions on several issues over time determines the overall institutional participation by the individual. Participation is the collective result of an individual's reaction to specific, concrete political issues that affect him directly.

Several specific propositions could be evolved directly from the model. For example:

1. If satisfaction on the specific issue is attained, the individual is inclined to continue the pattern of political participation he has begun.
2. If abuse on a specific issue or action is expected, the individual will be inclined to withdraw from participation or actively resist the institution.
3. Because expectations of rewards are often unreal, satisfactions on individual issues are often not attained, and withdrawal from the institution's activities occurs.
4. Local-level participation is based on the individual's collective response to specific political issues that he perceives to be of immediate importance to him.

More general propositions emerge from the model when considered in conjunction with the findings of the study:

5. If a local leader must use force to obtain his goals, an inverse relationship exists between the amount of force, and the benefits his constituents see themselves receiving from his presence in office.

In realistic terms, the "force" a leader uses may in fact be varying degrees of persuasion. The benefit the constituents see themselves receiving from the individual may overlap with the benefits they expect from the "office" of which the leader is a particular incumbent. The ratio of expectations to satisfactions gained from the leader is not exact, and one particular expectation is not necessarily measured against the satisfaction received on a particular issue.

6. If abuse of power by a local authority occurs, it may be related to the demands of the national government to bring about rapid economic and political change at the local level.

Misuse of authority is inevitable when the national leadership permits and encourages various forms of coercion to be used to mobilize a local area. The distinction between acceptable pressure and unacceptable coercion is a delicate balance that constantly needs redefinition at both the policy-making and the implementation level. Such pressures are the net result of government demands to create rapid economic and political change in relatively short periods of time. For the individual, it may be argued, pressure becomes coercion when he is forced to act in spite of strong personal objections to doing so.

7. If pre-independence, nationalistic leaders are retained at the local level, administrative efficiency and rural economic advancement will be impaired.

Leaders who came to power during the pre-independence nationalistic period tended to do so on the basis of charismatic, crowdpleasing abilities. Many are entrenched in leadership posts, although they often lack the administrative talents, or inclination, to deal with the more routinized, mundane tasks of rural development.

8. Local-level institutions grow, and are probably more successful, when leaders who are alien to the local area are accepted by the people.

Because party leaders who were born in the village area tend to be well known and to have many kinship ties and obligations, they are often drawn into biased judgments. Local leaders alien to the area can promote confidence and participation in the party because they offer more objective judgments.

9. Because of distrust for outside authority, the peasant will attempt to keep the process of issue settlement at the local, face-to-face level.

Local party leaders generally hold the same view of the world, and are similar in attitude to randomly selected peasants. The peasant is unsure of the views of higher level authorities and is therefore inclined to keep most conflict issues within the confines of his political microcosm. He will maximize his future bargaining potential by maintaining relations with all leadership groups: traditional, administrative and party.

The model of political participation, and the propositions should help to generate further questions about how local-level institutions function. The vital importance of such questions lies in the primary purpose of the rural organization. Organizations like the rural party which deal *directly* with the people are the institutional nerve-endings of the entire governmental process. They are the point of the elaborate administrative apparatus, the point of the total bureaucratic system. If there is no understanding of how these local institutions operate, and if there is no understanding of the political character of the rural peoples, then there is no effective way government can channel resources and information to the villages. There will be no way the assault on rural deprivation can be continued. Most important, there will be no way the national leaders can avoid being overtaken and run down by unforeseen, uncontrolled events in the rural areas.

APPENDIX

The survey of 434 peasants and peasant leaders was carried out in Tabora, Rungwe and Kisarawe Districts between March 1965 and January 1966. The instrument consisted of 120 questions on biography, life-style, political and economic opinion, and political and economic awareness. The interviews were conducted by three research assistants, each a resident of his respective district and a member of the main ethnic group. The questionnaire was pre-tested for six months, and each assistant did 20 trial interviews to assure his total understanding of the questionnaire. The interviews were conducted in Swahili, following lengthy briefing of the research assistants on the meaning of key terms in the questionnaire and their commentators. Distinctions between terms such as "government," "party," "politics," "nation," and "leader" were particularly noted. Because of the difficulty in administering questionnaires to some peasants, interviewers were allowed to give limited interpretation of questions, but were cautioned on leading respondents.

The 434 respondents were selected by one of two methods. Approximately half were ran-

domly selected farmers whose names were taken from the tax rolls of the local government. The remainder were selected as village leaders. The latter method was a combination of the standard reputational, positional and panel-of-judges techniques. A preliminary list of leaders from each of the twelve villages under study was compiled. The list included elected members of the Village Development Committees (VDC), plus local administrators, party officials and traditional headmen, sub-chiefs or chiefs and other suggested influentials. This complete list of potential leaders was then presented to each member of the VDC. This panel of judges ranked the names in terms of their relative influence in the village. The results were tallied and the top 25 names were considered to be in the village leadership class. They were thereafter interviewed in the same manner and with the same questionnaire as the randomly selected farmers. For this article the distinctions between leader and non-leader are not focused upon; in the data presented there were no significant differences between the two groups. For discussion of the techniques used see Wendell Bell, Richard J. Hill and Charles R. Wright, *Public Leadership* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1961), ch. 1.

The location of the three rural areas (districts) was initially chosen on the basis of the traditional political system that existed among the major ethnic groups of the area. Thus the Zaramo people of Kisarawe District (coastal area) were chosen because they represented an acephalated, fragmented authority system which traditionally had no political integration above the clan level. The Nyakyusa of Rungwe district (highland area) were considered a middle-range example of political authority; they traditionally had some 90 small chiefdoms, each of which was largely autonomous. There was no political integration above the petty chiefdom level, although the Nyakyusa as a whole share a common language, customs and history. Third, the Nyamwezi of Tabora district (plateau area) were chosen as a research area because they represented a political system, that although basically made up of petty chiefdoms, had experienced some political integration under senior chiefs such as Mirambo and Fundikira. The three districts also represented diverse agricultural and geographic conditions (coastal, highland, plateau). Tanzania's main religious and educational institutions were also represented in the selection.

The actual field method was to spend seven to eight months in each of the three districts; in each area a basic research village was chosen in which to reside. Interviewing was done in this

village and thereafter in three villages located in representative sections of the district. The interviews were usually conducted at the farmer's homestead, or in the case of party and administrative leaders, at local offices.

The data was coded and processed at Michigan State University. Interviewer bias between the three assistants was tested with negative results. The general findings and impressions were reevaluated during a re-study in East Africa in 1967-68 and 1969. At this time several of the findings included in the preliminary drafts were eliminated.

Although the sample is not representative of all of Tanzania, the findings would hold for a major portion of that nation. Subsequent local-

level research will hopefully test these findings in other areas. For background literature on the three areas under study see for Tabora and the Nyamwezi, Rev. Fr. Boesch, *Les Banyamwezi peuple de l'Afrique orientale* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1930), and R. G. Abrahams, *The Political Organization of Unyamwezi* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967); for the Nyakyusa of Rungwe district see Monica Wilson, *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); and for the Zaramo of Kisarawe district see A. H. J. Prins, *The Swahili Speaking People of Zanzibar and the East African Coast* (London: International African Institute, 1961).