

Citizen-Leader Contact Apathy In Botswana And Tanzania: Examining Its Implications For Good Governance Practices

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Abstract

Citizen contacting is the practice of getting in touch with acting government officials with either requests for services or complaints. Unlike other contacts directed to varied government officials, citizens' contacts with political leaders have received less attention from scholars with no apparent explanations. This paper analyzes the results obtained in the survey made by Afrobarometer in 2011-2012 with regard to citizen-leader contacting. Tanzania and Botswana has been picked as case studies. The findings show apathetic behavior amongst the citizens to contact their political leaders including local government councilors and members of parliament (MPs). We presuppose in this paper that communities are facing multitude of problems which can rarely be resolved if they are not timely addressed. In most cases they must be reported to the leaders who would ultimately address them or forward them to other relevant authorities hence making contacting pivotal. The paper highlights possible implications of such contact apathy for good governance practices. It further provides a conclusion, some recommendations and finally opens up areas for further research.

Key Words: Contact, leader, apathy, citizens, good governance, Botswana, Tanzania.

1. Introduction

Although citizen-initiated contacting of municipal bureaucrats has been the subject of extensive research over the past quarter century, there has been relatively little research on the contacting of municipal elected officials (Thomas & Melkers, 2001). Furthermore, little effort has been devoted to attempts to link contacting with, and surmise its implication for good governance practices. Contacting in the context of citizens and leaders emerges in two folds; it can either be initiated by citizens (Thomas & Melkers, 2001; 1999) or leaders on the other side depending on the circumstance. It is citizens-initiated [Jones et al (1977) call it 'particularistic contact'] when for instance individuals contact a government bureaucrat or an elected leader with a request for services or with complaints. On the other hand, it is leader-initiated when a leader brings to people directives or seeks some advice from them. In whatever case, contacting is fundamental in the effective management of the community.

In many parts of the world, an augmented focus is being placed on the involvement of community stakeholders that is: leaders, voluntary groups, neighbourhood residents and civic associations in the policy decisions that affect their lives and in the design and implementation of services, particularly at the local level (Gaventa, 2004). Nevertheless, contacting between citizens and leaders has partly heightened this endeavor. Although formal involvement of citizens in policy issues (e.g. through formal meetings where majority would deliberate) has been conventional democratic apparatus under democratic regimes, contacting undergirds and widens up the democratic purview (Yaghi, 2008).

Citizen contacting is the practice of getting in touch with acting government officials with either requests for services or complaints and has been a common form of citizen participation in local government (Nownes, 2011). The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1991) defines the term 'contact' as the state or condition of communicating or meeting. It adds that contact means get in touch or communication with.... A 'citizen contact' is a demand on the part of the represented for consideration of some interest in which he has a perceived stake (Jones et al, 1977).

We will therefore in this paper regard contacting to mean getting in touch either physically or otherwise for a specific purpose (consideration) which may be rooted in social, economic or political realm.

Thomas & Melkers (1999) and Cohen (2006) argue that contacting is a category of political participation. Jain (2003) argues in a similar way when he says; whenever a citizen communicates to a government leader or vice versa, it is two different levels of participation. Jain (2003) argues that citizens' participation leads to good governance. Drawing from these scholars, we avow strongly that contacting is linked to good governance. Mundle et al (2012) define good governance as governance that seeks out to prop up the common good of its citizens which includes upholding peace and security in society, providing public resources and services and advancing the prosperity of the citizens. Graham et al (2003) point out eight characteristics of good governance namely: (1) Participation (2) Accountability (3) Transparency (4) Rule of law (5) Responsiveness (6) Consensus-oriented (7) Equity and inclusiveness and (8) Strategic vision. Contacting therefore, features good governance as an ingredient of participation. Good governance characteristics are also very much intertwined. Jain (2013) for instance argues that citizens participation besides the fact that it is one of the characteristics of good governance, helps realize other characteristics such as accountability, transparency, consensus-orientation etc. We will in the next sections try to link perceptions of citizens on some specific variables with contacting in order to establish how they may influence contacting and subsequently good governance practice.

Contact between citizens and their leaders is a practice deemed ideal not only in policy making but also in normal cycle of governing the community. Based on this fact, it sounds bizarre when the two parties are not actively contacting.

2. Research Issue

Citizen-initiated contacting is one of the means through which citizens participate in politics and governance of their community. Interactions between citizens and their government (represented by bureaucrats and political leaders) are important not only in policy issues but also in augmenting public goods and services. In a well functioning 'good governance' embracing government we would expect good governance to be upheld. On the contrary, the Afrobarometer 2011 - 2012 findings shows that, citizens report they had poor contact with their leaders (Afrobarometer, 2012). Given these results, it is clear that good governance is at a deficit. This paper is therefore set to open up the apathetic contacting black box persisting between citizens and leaders in Tanzania and Botswana as reported by Afrobarometer (2012). It further highlights its probable implications for good governance practice in the two countries. In this endeavor, based on the principles of good governance espoused above, it is hypothesized as follows:

Hypothesis 1:

(1) In a well functioning democratic state, citizens are more likely to contact their representatives.

Hypothesis 2:

(2) Citizens are more likely to attend community meetings.

Hypothesis 3:

(3) Citizens are more likely to be active and to get together to raise an issue.

Hypothesis 4:

(4) Representatives will be more responsive to citizens' demands.

Hypothesis 5:

(5) Citizens will contact their leaders less if they perceive them to be corrupt.

For the purposes of this paper, we will use simple frequencies to report the results.

3. Methodology

Data for this paper was drawn from the Afrobarometer round five (5) results of the two countries, generated in 2011 and 2012. This is a comparative series of national public attitude surveys on democracy, markets and civil society in Africa which covered 35 countries, including Tanzania and Botswana. Data was tapped from responses made to Q.30 which states: During the past year, how often you have contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? (A). A local government councilor, (B). A member of parliament (MP). Response options were "Never", "Only once", "A few times" and "Often".

To be able to give explanation to the subject as well as surmise implications, we had to corroborate some information. In this case, responses for three more questions for both countries from the same questionnaire were tapped and consolidated, each in a single bar chart or table. The questions were:

Q.26 Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? (A) Attended a community meeting (B) Got together with others to raise an issue.

Q.60 How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about to say? (B) Members of parliament (D) Local government councilors.

Q.62 How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? (A) Member of parliament, (B) Local government councilors.

The variables to these questions were traced from the original Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) template, re-run to obtain their frequencies and charts. Arguments were built on the basis of data patterns. Triangulation with other secondary data obtained from other sources reinforced explanatory power as well as validity and reliability of the study.

4. Conceptual Issues

Contacts among leaders and citizens are deep-rooted in the policies of participation espoused by different countries in the world. According to Richardson (2008), participation means all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as on people's capacities to participate constructively. Citizens' total participation in decision making should be the driving force for local councils to aid citizens' engagement in local governance by creating a milieu where citizens feels empowered and their voices are heard (Yaghi, 2008). But why should the people's voice be heard?

Under democratic governance, voices of people must feature in all important decisions. This is the signpost that good governance is upheld. This facilitates the augmentation of public goods and services. It also enhances citizens' capacity to hold government accountable and make officials more answerable to them (Jain, 2013). Unlike good governance, 'bad governance' persists when systems of governance are incompetent and unaccountable to ordinary citizens and irresponsible to them and to their voice (Walker, 2009).

Contacting has not always been smooth. It has faced varied constraints. For instance, Kurtz (1997:2-3) argues that barriers to effective contact between legislators and constituents may include:

- Electoral and party systems that provide little reward for citizen communication or legislative outreach to citizens.
- Lack of resources for parliamentarians to communicate with constituents.
- A history of political repression that discourages the expression of citizens' viewpoints.
- Inadequate media reporting that impedes communication to the public about the legislature.
- High rates of illiteracy that inhibit written communication between legislators and citizens.
- Poor educational systems that do not adequately prepare citizens to know how they can affect decisions by their government.

Why contacting?

The reasons as to why citizens contact their leaders may differ from those which may push leaders to contact citizens. In this matter, we try to separate each party, though in some circumstances they may apply in both contexts.

To the leaders

Contacting enhances education of the leaders. NDI (1996a in Kurtz, 1997) argues that, contact makes it possible for members of parliament (MP) to get information about the constituency, which can be taken back to the legislature to educate other MPs about the province, resulting in more informed policy decision-making. MPs also facilitate the flow of information and services back to the constituency, making government more concrete and accessible, improving delivery and empowering citizens to participate in developing their communities.

Another reason to emphasize contact between leaders and citizens is that ‘it is normative’, or the way that societies understand the roles of its members. Kurtz (1997) argues that interaction between citizens and legislators is within people’s expectations, often even in relatively closed societies with centralized governments. In the same vein, Turan (1994) particularizing the issue to Turkey asserts that, serving communities of constituents as well as attending to their personal requests in matters within the competence of government are among the major expectations the average Turkish voter holds regarding the job of a deputy¹.

On the other hand, leaders are powerful as Kurtz (1997) put it: legislators have the power to do good on behalf of their citizens. According to the handbook for members of the Malawi National Assembly; being an MP gives a person a great deal of stature and respect. MPs have the right to question civil servants and government officials about their activities in his/her constituency. MPs also have access to information and resources most citizens lack. MPs can negotiate with government and donors on behalf of the people they represent and create a bridge from their constituents to complex and sometimes confusing government departments. Using their power for the benefit of constituents will enhance citizens’ support and ensure that tasks are accomplished in their constituency (NDI 1996b in Kurtz, 1997).

Political leaders may also benefit from contact that provides them bridges to the community that pay-off during elections. Incumbent legislators who respond effectively to constituent concerns may have electoral advantages in the next political campaign (Kurtz, 1997). Driven by this motive, elected leaders (MPs and councilors) tend to contact citizens to enhance nearness so that they can easily win next elections.

To citizens

The perceived need for services: Citizens-initiated contact with leaders may be rooted to their demand for certain services from the government (Jones et al, 1977). Thomas & Melkers (1999) argue that, the needs that are likely to be decisive in stirring contacts are those that citizens perceive for particular government services, not some measure of objective needs for instance, income. According to them, the distinction is significant since objective needs and perceived needs are often not closely related.

A sense of having greater stake in the government services: Thomas & Melkers (2001) argues that a belief that one has a stake in the quality of municipal services also increases the tendency to initiate contact with municipal departments. They mention having minor children and being a home owner as two forms of stakeholding. Home ownership equally increases the economic investment in the surrounding neighborhood and decreases the ability to move, thereby probably making a person more likely to seek resolution for perceived service problems that could vitiate neighborhood quality. Having young kids can as well have a comparable effect, because parents, wanting to provide the best environment for their kids, may be more inclined than nonparents to seek redress for problems (Ibid: 53).

Psychological engagement: The reality that these contacts have to be initiated implies a role for the psychological factors that underlie initiative, including some of the same psychological factors that influence traditional political participation. Such factors include interest in government, awareness of government, and personal political efficacy, though political efficacy has not often emerged in prior research as a noteworthy factor in prompting contact of municipal bureaucrats (Thomas & Melkers, 2001).

Other forms of local social and political involvement: These influence contacting in the sense that more involvement would translate into more contacting (Thomas & Melkers, 2001). Zuckerman & West (1985) detail that in those countries where there are strong political parties, involvement with those parties for instance through campaigning become visible significant catalyst for contact.

Socioeconomic status (SES): This according to Thomas & Melkers (2001:53) is the standard explanatory model for traditional political participation that combines SES and factors that grow from SES for instance; psychological, social and political engagement. However, Thomas & Melkers (2001) argues that socioeconomic model itself cannot satisfactorily elucidate citizen contacting of the bureaucracy, apparently due in large part to the predominance of need for these contacts.

¹ Deputy here means Mayor.

5. Findings

This section presents the results of the survey conducted by Afrobarometer in the year 2011-2012 in the two countries Tanzania and Botswana.

Hypothesis 1:

In each country, the results show an overwhelming majority have not contacted their political leaders in either country (see table 1 and 2). The findings show that few Batswana contact their MPs and local government councilors. The trend is similar in Tanzania. A majority report 'never' contacting their elected leaders. For instance; in Botswana, 86% 'never' contacted their MPs and 70.3% 'never' made contact with local councilors. In Tanzania, 77.7% and 66.9% never did so. Only 13.8% and 29.7% reported contacting their MPs and local councilors respectively either 'once', a 'few times' and 'often' for Botswana and 22.1% and 33.1% respectively for Tanzania.

Hypothesis 2:

Here it is hypothesized that the more people contact their representatives the greater likelihood that they will attend community meetings. The findings shows that 4.3% and 4.8% of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively said they would never attend meetings whereas 31.5% and 16.8% respectively said would attend if they had chance. This implies that 35.8% and 21.6% of Batswana and Tanzanians did not attend meetings at all. Majority (64% and 78.2% respectively) attended at least once (see table 3).

Hypothesis 3:

In a similar fashion, citizens who promote good governance will tend to be active and will therefore be able to get together with other to raise an issue. In this respect, the results show that 10.6% and 7.7% of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively said they would never get together with others to raise issue whereas 58.1% and 22.6% respectively said would if they had chance. This implies that 68.7% and 30.3% of Batswana and Tanzanians did not get together to raise an issue. 30.8% and 59.5% respectively got together to raise an issue at least once (see table 4).

Hypothesis 4:

26.3% and 27.9% of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively have perception that MPs would never listen to what they would have to say while 25.4% and 21.7% respectively are of the perception that councilors would never listen. 69.3% and 71.6% respectively opines that MPs would listen at least once whereas 74.6% and 78.3% respectively were of the opinion that councilors would listen at least once (see table 5 and 6).

Hypothesis 5:

The findings show that 9.8% and 15.2% of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively say none of the MPs are corrupt. 56% and 60.8% respectively opines that some of them are corrupt, 14.9% and 16.8% respectively say most of them are corrupt; 3.2% and 2.1% respectively are of the opinion that all of them are corrupt. 16% and 5.2% respectively are not aware. On the side of councilors, 14.6% and 12.7% of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively say none of the MPs are corrupt. 64.1% and 60.4% respectively opines that some of them are corrupt, 18% and 22.3% respectively say most of them are corrupt; 3.4% and 4.6% respectively are of the opinion that all of them are corrupt. 14.1% and 4.2% respectively are saying they haven't heard about it to say (see table 7).

6. Discussion and Implications for Good Governance

As stated above, the main objective of the paper was to determine the extent to which citizen-leader contact impacts on good governance in Botswana and Tanzania based on Afrobarometer findings. Contacts between citizen and leader are vital and critical as highlighted in the literature. This requires a medium where the two parties can exchange their views, problems and requirements in an understandable manner. Such medium can be formal meetings (Thomas & Streib, 2003) or personal contacts (Thomas & Melkers, 2001; 1999). In either case, the intention is to make sure that people's feelings and concerns are taken and integrated in the important decisions hence making participation pragmatic. The findings as viewed in table 1 show that the majority of Tanzanians and Batswana never contacted their elected leaders (MPs and local government councilors). The table shows that about 86% and 70.3% of Batswana have never contacted their MPs and councilors respectively.

On the side of Tanzania, about 77.7% and 66.9% of Tanzanians have never contacted their MPs and councilors respectively. Many Batswana did not contact their MPs as compared to councilors. The trend is the same with Tanzanians, only that Tanzanian figures are relatively lower signifying that those who did not contact their elected leaders were fewer than Batswana. As we already know that contacting is one of means of participating in politics and governance of community, and considering that we would expect citizens to be actively contacting in a democratically functioning government, we are convinced that good governance may be in hitch under such instance. It is ideal to extend our analysis purview before we jump into concluding this trajectory.

It is fascinating that though majority of Tanzanians and Batswana never contacted their MPs and councilors, they perceive that MPs and councilors tried their level best to listen to what people say. Table 5 and 6 shows that about 69.3% and 74.6% of Batswana said that their MPs and local government councilors tried their best to “listen only sometimes”, “listen often” and “listen always” to what people say. In the case of Tanzania, perception was 71.6% and 78.3% for MPs and councilors respectively. From the findings, we conclude that the leaders are responsive to citizens’ voice. The findings therefore lead us to confidently exonerate the suspicion that possibly citizens were not contacting the elected leaders because leaders were not listening to them. Thomas & Melkers (2001) argues that contacting of elected leaders may be common if the leaders are perceived responsive. The stumpy level of contacting which has been exhibited given the fact that the leaders are perceived enormously responsive raises another skepticism.

In an attempt to uncover the contacting apathetic black box, we pose the following arguments as possible explanation to the discourse. Firstly, people were not contacting their elected leaders probably because they had some alternative means of forwarding their issues or concerns for some solutions or attention. For instance, the Afrobarometer 2011-2012 findings (see table 3) shows that majority of people in both countries attended meetings in their locality (64% of Batswana and 78.2% of Tanzanians). Only 35.8% of Batswana and 21.6% of Tanzanians surveyed never attended meetings. So far meetings allow interaction between people and their leaders, we can therefore draw an inference that probably the meetings which were attended by the majority satiated people’s thirst in a way that they did not require more opportunity of contacting their elected leaders. Under this assumption, we would say meetings have surrogated contacting as espoused by Thomas & Melkers (2001).

Secondly, we aver that attending meetings may facilitate disclosure and resolving of some of citizens’ problems, but we have to bear in mind that not all people are confident and able to speak in public. Some people feel shy in speaking in large audience and others may not do so because of lack of adequate information (Ebdon, 2002). Given these facts, attending meetings might not simply imply contacting especially citizen-initiated one if nothing have been raised to the leaders in such a meeting (in a situation where citizen had something to raise). This ramification has different implications for good governance practice. Low contact coupled with massive attendance of meetings if it does not go hand in hand with people giving their inputs on various issues tabled for deliberations or other critical community development issues, is as effective as when there is no participation. In most cases important community decisions will come out without citizens’ inputs or voice hence compromising consensus-orientation (Harris et al, 2013). Lack of citizens’ voice also connotes lack of ownership of the decisions. Under such situation it may be difficult to implement such decisions given the fact that implementers are the same citizens. It is possible in such case to find people complaining about the quality of goods and services offered because they were not involved in any way in deliberating over them. Therefore low contact may grossly affect people’s participation and subsequently good governance practice. If massive attendance of meetings is coupled with majority deliberating on issues by giving their inputs, then there is likelihood of having low citizen contact with leaders. The assumption here is that contacting is surrogated by formal meetings (Thomas & Melkers, 2001; 1999).

Closely related to attending meetings is the concern of getting together with others to raise an issue. The findings indicate that majority of Batswana (68.7%) did not get together with others to raise an issue whilst majority of Tanzanians (59.5%) got together to raise an issue. Minority (10.6% and 7.7%) of Batswana and Tanzanians respectively affirmed they would never do so. From these findings, we deduce that number of people who would have got together could have been relatively higher if 58.1% and 22.6% respectively had chance to do so. For instance, if they had a chance, we would have total of 88.9% and 82.1% of Batswana and Tanzanians getting together to raise issues. It has therefore been evidenced that majority of Batswana did not get together with others to raise issue due to lack of chance to do so. Lack of chance to participate has also been spotted by Ebdon (2002) as citizen-initiated contacting hurdle.

As it is understood that getting together strengthens team spirit, whatever inputs emergent in such teams will also have majority backup (consensus-orientation) hence blossoming democracy and good governance. Few Batswana getting together to raise issue implies that, few citizens' problems and interests are articulated in a form of groups and forwarded to the higher levels as might be the case for Tanzania. Lack of group backup may also deprive or lower the chances of the inputs (decisions) to acquire acceptance in the subsequent levels. This can also be attested by the proverb "united we stand, divided we fall".

In both countries, findings show that both MPs and councilors were perceived to be corrupt. In Tanzania for instance, 82.7% and 77.6% of the respondents had opinion that some and most of councilors and MPs respectively are corrupt. In Botswana, 82.1% and 70.9% responded similarly for councilors and MPs respectively. Under such circumstances, it is possible for citizens to be apathetic in contacting their leaders (Baker et al, 2002).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study discloses low level of citizen contact with their elected leaders (MPs and local government councilors). The low level of citizens contact was coupled with massive attendance of community meetings though majority did not get together to raise issues. In this study, taking into consideration the importance of contacting we have assumed that possibly citizens exhibited low level of contacting because contacting thirsty was satiated by massive attendance to meetings. But again, there was a possibility that citizens were alternatively contacting bureaucrats rather than elected leaders bearing in mind that citizens will contact a person whom he/she think will attend him/her best. In rare cases, the choice will be indeterminate if they don't know whom to contact.

The study also disclosed that although majority of the citizens did not contact their elected leaders, they perceived them to be responsive to their voice. This strengthens further our assumption that possibly citizens were contacting bureaucrats or rather had their wish ironed out in the community meetings.

Contacting has been viewed healthy for smooth governance of the community hence effective and efficient delivery of services to the citizens. This implies that contacting enhances good governance. In this study we have exemplified the way citizen-leader contact apathy may have implications for good governance practices. Good governance practice may be disrupted if contact apathy is apparent. We qualify it using the word "apparent" because probably contacting was surrogated by the meetings which we are informed by the survey that were well attended or rather by contacting the bureaucrats.

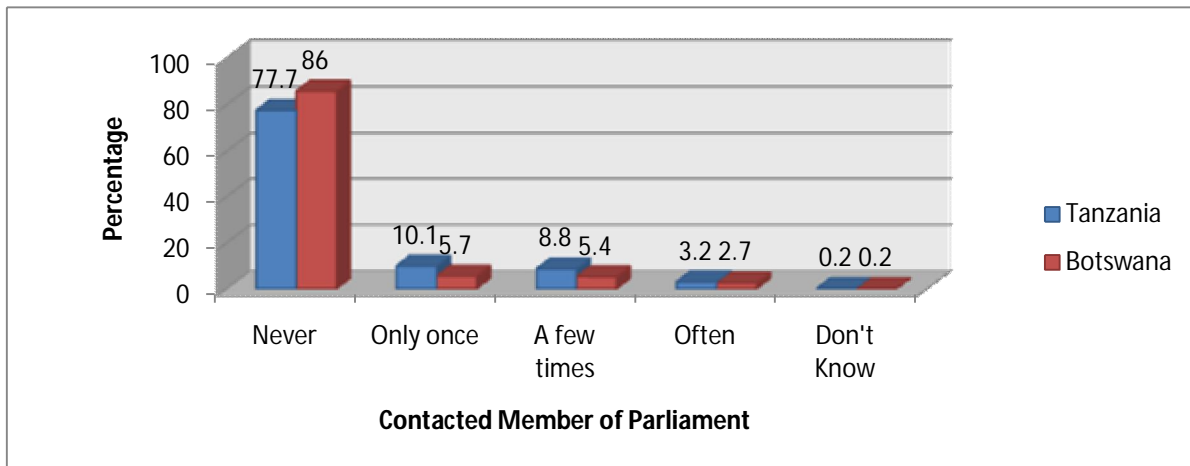
Generally, low citizens contact in absence of surrogate would imply flawed citizens participation and in a broad purview this would exacerbate good governance rendering into bad governance.

Given the importance of contacting between citizens and their leaders, we recommend that:

- Leaders should motivate citizens to initiate contact with them. By doing so they will really be playing their leadership role taking into consideration that these contacts are purposive. Motivation may range from acknowledging citizens' efforts through issuance of accolades like written letters, praising by word of mouth or even pronouncing their names in the formal meetings as role models;
- Leaders be close to citizens to facilitate easy contact. Not only that but also playing active role in dealing with citizens' concern so as to enhance repeated contacts. For example, by lessening power distance and upholding open-door policy;
- Leaders build trust and integrity so that citizens see them as trustworthy people in their faces.

We propose further research to be conducted to explore citizen contacts with bureaucrats in the two countries. Such study may facilitate in establishing whether apathetic citizen-leaders contact is being surrogated by contacts with bureaucrats and the reasons thereby. This proposal is made under presumption that citizens' options to contact the government will be dichotomized into either bureaucratic government officials or political leaders. In other words, we are interested in understanding the resort pattern in the citizens-initiated contact with their government on the dichotomized options given as well as its implications for good governance practices.

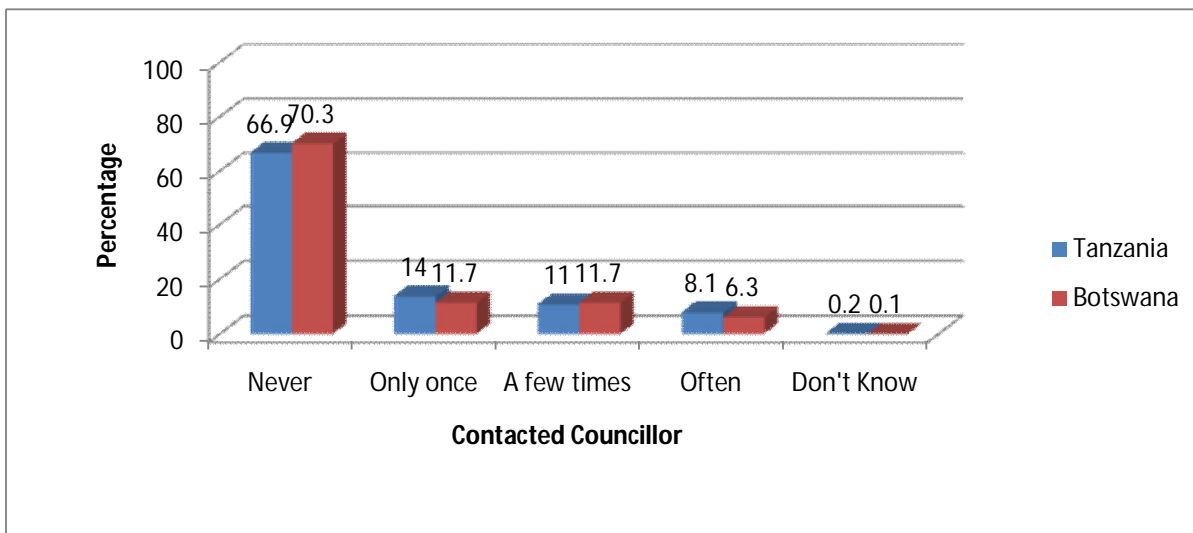
Tables
Table 1: Contacting MPs



Question: During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? (A) Member of parliament (B) Local government councillor

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

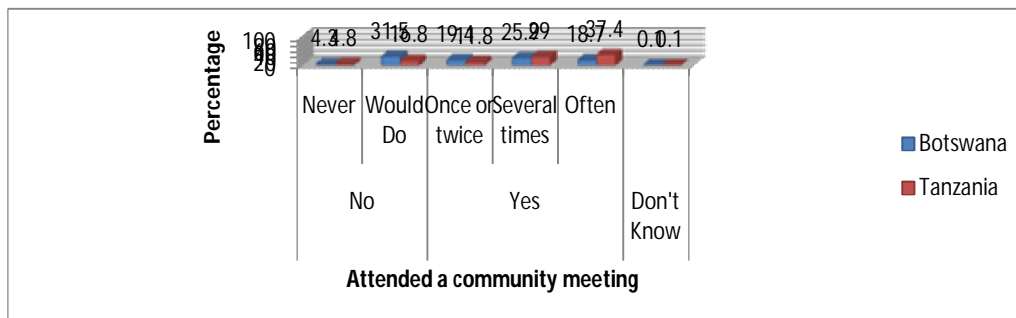
Table 2: Contacting councillors



Question: During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? (B) Local government councillors

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

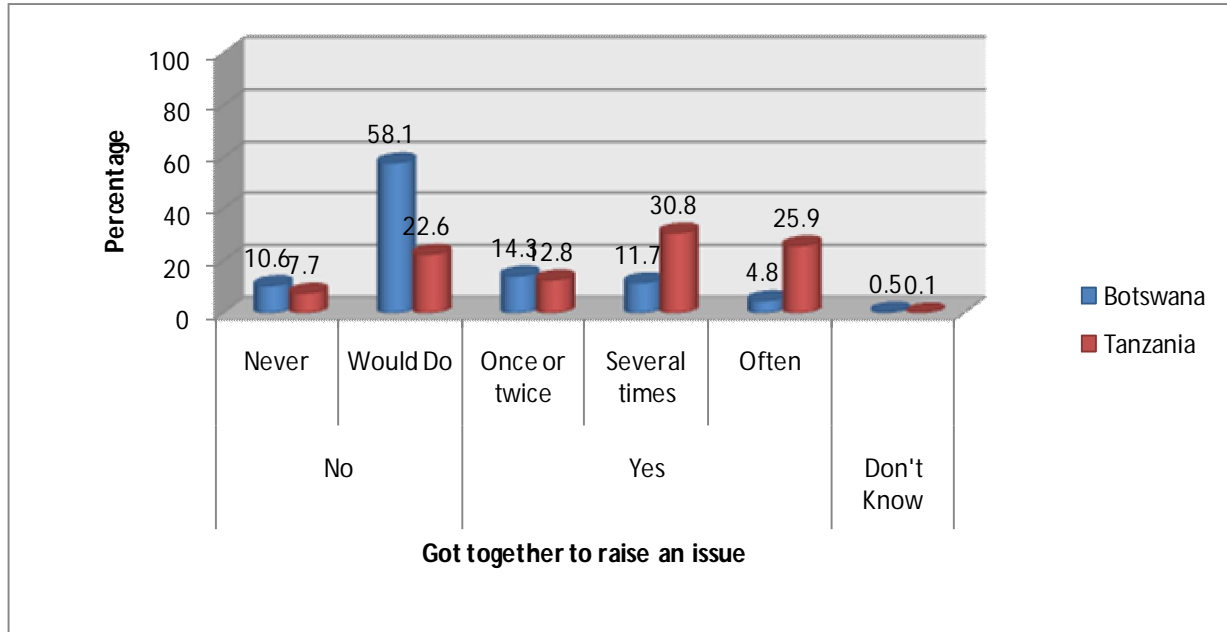
Table 3: Attended community meetings



Question: Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? (A) Attended a community meeting

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

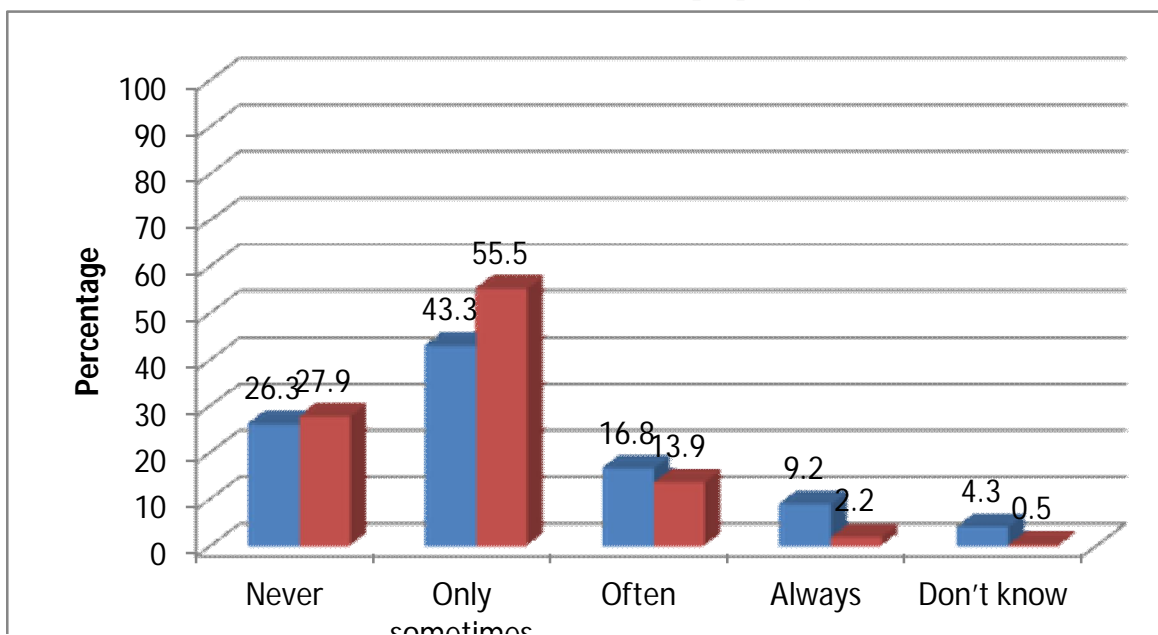
Table 4: Got together to raise an issue



Question: Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? (B) Got together with others to raise an issue

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

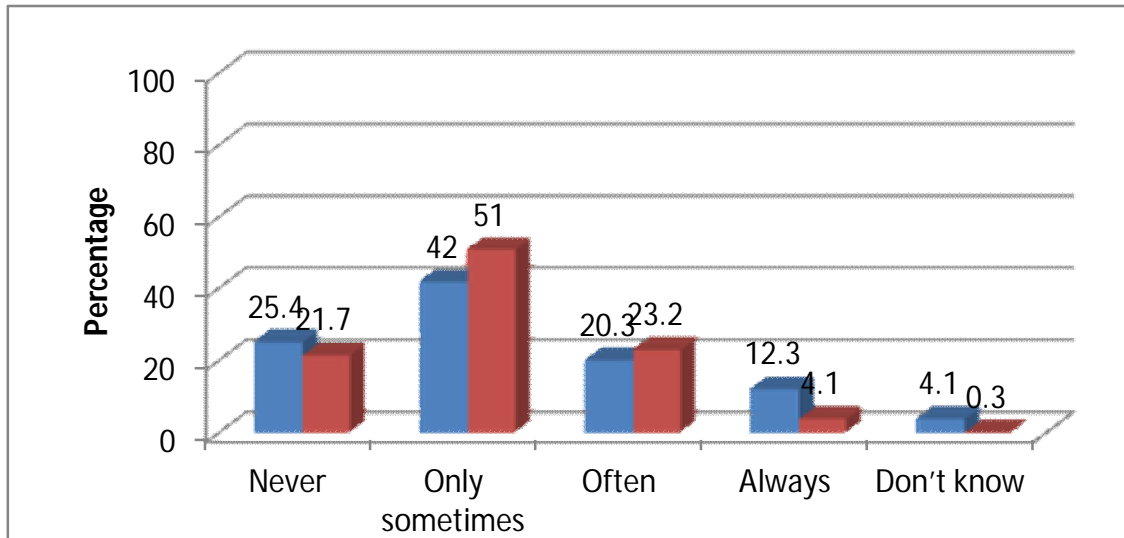
Table 5: MPs listen to what people say



Question: How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? (A) Members of parliament

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

Table 6: Councilors listen to what people say



Question: How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? (B) Local government councilors

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

Table 7: MPs and councilors’ perceived involvement in corruption

Response/category	None		Some of them		Most of them		All of them		I don't know	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MPs in Botswana	118	9.8	672	56	179	14.9	39	3.2	192	16
MPs in Tanzania	182	15.2	730	60.8	202	16.8	25	2.1	62	5.2
Councilors in Botswana	150	14.6	660	64.1	185	18	35	3.4	169	14.1
Councilors in Tanzania	146	12.7	694	60.4	256	22.3	52	4.6	50	4.2

Question: How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (B) MPs (D) Local government councilors

Source: Compiled from Afrobarometer 2011-2012 data for Tanzania and Botswana

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