



INNOVATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL SOCIETIES

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Innovations for Successful Societies, Bobst Center for Peace and Justice
Princeton University, 83 Prospect Avenue, Princeton, New Jersey, 08544, USA
www.princeton.edu/successfulsocieties

SCHER: My name is Daniel Scher, and I'm the associate director of the Innovations for Successful Societies project, and I'm here with Dr. Haji Semboja on the University of Dar es Salaam campus on the 13th of August, 2009. Professor, thank you very much for taking time out of your day to meet with us. I very much appreciate it, and I'm looking forward to hearing more about your work on the Tanzanian Police Force reform program.

Before we begin, I wonder if you could just introduce yourself a little bit and tell us a little bit about your background and the position that you now hold.

HAJI: *My name is Semboja Haji. I have basic degrees in economics. I have the first degree at University of Dar es Salaam, and then I went to Norway, where I did another degree in economics and then finished with what the Norwegians say is a Candidatus Economy, which takes about seven years. Thereafter I went to Sweden just to get a certificate that I have a doctorate, because what I did in Norway was much more intensive than the studying in Sweden, so a Swedish degree was for me for certificate, because the Norwegian system is not known, but the doctorate, the master's education systems are known in developing countries. So I just went there to earn a certificate.*

Then after that I came back to Tanzania, joined an institution which is called the Economic and Social Research Foundation, where I joined as a research fellow, promoted to senior research fellow. After my eight years on the job—because that job required us to work for two terms, each term is four years—after the second term, then automatically you have to quit the job. So I had to again search for another research job. So I joined the University of Dar es Salaam at the Economic Research Bureau. So my training is based as an econometrician, where I am combining mathematic studies and statistics methodology. At present I developed an interest in looking at the policy reforms, institution economics, in matters related to institutional settings.

I have extensive experience in terms of designing and drafting policy, strategies, and programs for the government. I participated as the lead consultant for the Tanzania Development Vision 2025—you have heard about that one—?

SCHER: I have, yes.

HAJI: *—the Zanzibar 2020 Vision, and the key policy documents, such as national investment policy, national energy policy, national telecommunication policy, and also participated in the national strategy for growth and poverty reduction. In Tanzania they call it Mkukuta, maybe you have heard about it.*

SCHER: I have.

HAJI: *And in Zanzibar it is Mkuza. That's my background. So given that background is the one with which I was consulted by the government to formatting with other professions. I am an economist, but then the other professions were lawyers, social scientists, political scientists. So we're a bigger team. I enjoy it, I can say that, the assignment as a leader.*

SCHER: On forming that team, that's for the police reform program?

HAJI: Yes, for the police.

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- SCHER: So the government approached you and said can you—?
- HAIJ: *Approached the university. Based on the consultations with the university, we had to arrange it and compose a team, a multidisciplinary team. It is internal, very indigenously Tanzanian.*
- SCHER: I see. Was this so-called team of experts—was that the team that was put together?
- HAIJ: *Yes, it is a team of experts. We as a team of experts, we had to organize ourselves, how best in terms of methodologies and approach to drafting reforms.*
- SCHER: What year was this that the team was put together?
- HAIJ: *It was 2006. It was between June and July. You know, our year here starts in July. The fiscal, the government year starts in July.*
- SCHER: And you were in charge of selecting people for the team, or advising on which people should be incorporated?
- HAIJ: *Of course, the arrangement was that I, as lead consultant working in collaboration with the police and the university, came out with names of people who already had good experience working with the police. So these are [two] professors and the others.*
- SCHER: This is part two of the interview with Dr. Semboja. I was just going to ask: was this your first real experience with the police, or had you touched on it in some of the other policy work that you had done?
- HAIJ: *This is not the first time with the police. I have had like small assignments with other government ministries, but also including the police. So it means that at times when you are given—a classical case was an assignment to find the best way to optimize non-revenue taxes. So among the ministries were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the police was included. There was another assignment about the corruption incidences in Tanzania, and in the literature one of the key areas of major concern was also the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the police were also included. So there were some occasions whereby we had been contacting the police.*
- SCHER: I see. So what was your mandate or your instructions as given to you by government?
- HAIJ: *You see, these are part of the government reforms which started from 1985-86, within the government reforms. The Tanzanian government reforms can be put into two phases. The first phase is happening from 1985-86 with support from the Bretton [Woods] Institutions, where the target was to restore macroeconomic imbalances, and to position the government, and to support and facilitate the switch of economic transformation from one which was mainly dominated by the public sector and state control, to the market and the increasing role of the private sector. So there are a number of policy reforms which were adopted in sub-Saharan African countries; the fiscal, the monetary, the financial, all these were related to the macro set. Now these reforms continued, and they were like cut and pasted, adjusted to suit the Tanzanian [context] without necessarily the active participation of the Tanzanians themselves.*

Starting from 1995, 1996, we noted that there were concerns about the very first generic reforms which were initiated by the Bretton Institutions, that these did not respond to the law court, to the indigenous needs and desires—in particular the problem of poverty. Another was the lack of participation by the local population in order to realize their own destiny. So we started to have our own policy drafted. The government started drafting different policies, both long-term, developing national perspectives like Tanzania Development Vision 2025, and medium-term policies and strategies.

It is during this time that there was a continuation of the intensification of also the very first generation. The second generation started during 1996-1997, with these policies which are locally done by the local Tanzanians, by the indigenous Tanzanians. There was also intensification of the first generation in terms of the institutional setups. So we have a lot of government programs in the education sector, in the health sector, in social sectors, in infrastructure, all these ones. So in the government machinery, the total government machinery.

With the intensification of these government machinery institution settings, it becomes obvious that all government ministries should be involved. Police is under the Ministry of Home Affairs and it is part of the civil institution. So, like other civic institutions, they have to undergo intensive reviews, and they look upon the best way of delivering public services.

SCHER: I see. In the early days, I guess, of the team of experts, in 2005, how did you go about—?

HAIJ: 2006.

SCHER: Sorry, 2006. How did you go about identifying the key areas that were in need of reform, or the key focus areas that would become the targets of reform efforts?

HAIJ: *Well, as a team, our first assignment was to go through the literature and find out the best model which we thought could be adopted. I think we went through a number of police reforms in the world, and then we noted different methodologies and approaches that were adopted. Of course there were these types of approaches where the police or the government could send an external consultant and do most of the work, and the government has been informed what to do. There would be passive participation of the government. Now we didn't want to do it that way.*

What we did is, we requested the government to be patient, and we requested the government that the team can simply provide a backstop in support to the team which the police have to appoint as a reform team.

SCHER: I see.

HAIJ: *So the inspector-general of police appointed a team of about 28 police officers, of the different ranks, so there were also rank-and-file officers. What we started was to provide training, reform program training, where our good intention was first of all to go through and teach them about policy processes and policy planning and by the team processes. We equip them with research methodologies, with evaluation techniques, monitoring and evaluation techniques. So out of this, then, we had to sit down and design a methodology, which is a generic type of doing research and finding out on the basis of like baseline surveys, where, based on the business surveys and consultations of the people, we come out with issues which should be talked about in the design of reform.*

SCHER: I see. Can I just go back a little bit and ask you what your sources were when going through the literature and trying to find out about other countries' experiences of police reform? We found, when looking at this issue, it can sometimes be quite difficult to find out detailed information about the experiences of other countries.

HAIJ: *Fortunately, I think with the ICT (information and communications technologies) website and the links and connections, the Tanzanian Police Force is a member of the international regional organizations. They normally share views and ideas on the issues related to different reforms. There are lots of missions the police officers have been going on to different countries, and then different sources of information and the missions here with the diplomats, the high commission in Dar es Salaam. They were very helpful in terms of providing the necessary information for doing reforms. Also, this is just one of the reforms within the government. The sector is also reforming. There is a legal sector reform program which now is in the second phase.*

So this one is based, which is just like a product, or it is a second generation of the legal sector reform.

SCHER: You mentioned, the way you saw it, there were two fairly distinct options, like you can get an external team, which seems to be the most common option for many countries, to hire, well, security contractors or people like from DFID (U.K. Department for International Development) or these types of organizations, hire them to come in and basically assess and implement the process themselves. But you chose in many ways a more difficult option of producing a very Tanzanian-centered initiative.

HAIJ: *It is a difficult option to begin when you start. It is a hard way. But then, during the implementation, it is the best and easiest. The cost, you are frontloading, but once that one is done, you don't need the consultant, because everybody now, the police force, it is by itself consulting. I think that's what you saw there when you went to Kusima [Lucas S. Kusima, assistant commissioner of police]. I mean, in a number of ways the people, I trained them, given from 2006, now to 2009; they went through different education packages and visits. They have had a hard way of learning things from learning by doing, trial and error, and get more experience by looking at other reforms inside the country, outside the country. So it was difficult. But then we have internalized that capacity inside the Tanzanian Police Force. If anything goes wrong, it is not somebody else. Always it is easier if you let the people themselves do the business, rather than you do it on their behalf. By the nature of the job, it requires a lot in terms of innovations. Somebody from outside cannot do it perfectly.*

You can find the best cop in America and ask him to be an expert. He will know what is in the States, but he will not know what is in the rural area in Tanzania here. Therefore, in terms of—if you measure his intelligence using the criteria we have in Tanzania, you might find he is not educated completely, or his IQ is zero, simply because of the fact that the environment is completely different. Even if you choose the best professor; I may be able to write books, I may be able to do a lot of things, but there are other things—there are some books which have not been written, and these books are in people's brains. Unwritten books. And these ones, they are the ones which we have to try to decode. In that process of decoding the information from the brains of the police officers, the men and the women, it is an internal, very intensive, dynamic way of doing the business.

SCHER: So when you were looking at the police force in 2006 and working with the police team and trying to educate them about research methodologies and how to go about this reform process, what did you see as some of the major challenges that the Tanzanian Police Force was facing at this time?

HAJI: *I think the Tanzanian Police Force, like any other institution in Tanzania as a government institution, was facing more or less the same kind of problems that the other people have been facing, the other institutions have been facing. All these, like the education sector, like health sector, there has been poor delivery of these public services, and this is what people see. These are what we call secondary problems. There has been a general failure to provide some services in public safety and security by the police, and like poor primary school teachers they have failed to provide a good education to the poor Tanzanian kids because this is what people see. Then that is the reason why we are called a developing country. You say poor country; it means poor services.*

So this is what we call secondary problems, but the causes, the primary causes of these problems, the reasons as to why there is a poor delivery of the services are generically known, and they cut across almost all the public sector services.

One which is very crucial is what we can say is political commitment by the government, different government regimes, to understand the importance of providing the best services. That's the very first thing. It is a commitment to understand that there is a need to enhance education, a commitment to understand that health is crucial. Preventive health is crucial. A commitment to understand that, to prevent crime before happening, it is crucial; rather than to wait to have a number of different types of laws being broken, bribery and whatnot. It is very important.

But associated to the policies you have also laws and regulations. So legal and regulatory problems were noted to be crucial as a factor. So you look at the pieces of legislation: some of them are outdated, too old, based on the British systems. Some of the regulations are fragile, they are scattered pieces, they are not consistent. Some of them are conflicting. Some of them are inadequate. So there are some problems related to the legal and regulatory.

Then associated to that one always is, if you don't have a legal sector which is effective, then always you have another problem; that of dissecting institutions to fulfill or to attain the policy objectives also can be problematic. We have had weak institutional settings in the government machinery of Tanzania. Also the police force. So that is the reason why I find that the setting of the police, whether this one is a civilian or is a military setting of police, should this be under the president, or should this be under the minister, the setting of the ministry, the order. Who should be on the top of the matters? Should the be minister, or should it be the inspector-general of police? When there are crises, who should be—? So all this has to be done, to be looked upon as some problems.

Now, the appointment of others within the institution, the types of settings at different levels of the regional—like to adopt a system which you think may be too suitable for the country at that particular point in time. Now those are what we call constraints which have to be related to the institution. Then almost always the institution has to be manned: the human resource. Human resources is a big problem in almost all the countries. You either find that the number of police are inadequate, or the type of the police, the education systems, their background, their promotions, their development, their care. Their wage, remuneration. You see, how you remunerate a human being as an input in the production of those

public services is very crucial. The best-paid cops always are the best officers, of course, in the best countries, in all the countries. But if the worst-paid cops, you know, in some of these fragile countries, it means the cops now have to do the taxing themselves. Instead of waiting for the minister of finance to collect their money and then they get it from the government, they just go in the street and they collect their money directly, for them to provide their services.

So those are the problems related to the primary problems. They are complex, there are many. Then there were problems related to infrastructure, the facilities—the accommodation, the offices. If you happen to go to some of the police stations, they're not like police stations that you have in Europe, or Washington for that matter. The nature of the buildings: they're too old, there are very few of them. These are infrastructure problems. There are problems related to equipment, transport, office equipment. So these are the problems. I mean there are problems related to the social, cultural environment under which we have the transition. So I think these are the generic. They cut across, and then when you investigate them at a particular point from different—I mean societies. Maybe in Kenya they will have better people but no resources, but in some countries they may be having good infrastructure but they're not well paid. So this is what you find in Africa. This is what we find.

So you take them and you study them, and then strategically you ask people now. These are the problems: What can we do now? What is your vision? What is your mission? So you might have discussed with Kusima, and he will tell you that it is just a long-term process where we involved this process of consultation. We involved the—we started with the police. We had about something like 2,500 to 2,700 police officers who were consulted. We collected the data, we got some reports based from that one. Then we opened it up, consulted political parties, nongovernment organizations. We even consulted high commissions and embassies.

SCHER: Really?

HAJI: *Yes, we informed your United States, I even myself gave them the very first report. We shared the information with U.S. embassy here. They had the first draft in terms of the briefings. These are the ideas which are coming from the society. You guys as partners. This is a developing country. Forty percent of our budget is coming from developed countries. Definitely they are the strongest people, you can't leave them out. So not only religious bodies, not only—you also have to interview the prisoners. You don't leave them out. Once someone is a prisoner he has already been tried or he is a citizen; he is a criminal before when he is brought to the court. But once he is convicted he is a prisoner, and therefore he has all the rights to share the views of what should be the best for the society.*

So I think we consulted even the former president, we consulted the ministers; so it was based on consulting. It means that anything which came out is coming out for the Tanzanians with the globalization. You have some ideas of what is happening in Malaysia. You have ideas about community policing. You have heard about the community policing. So in a way, finally summed up after consultations, various meetings, so the vision of the transformation was to build a police force which is with a high integrity, with more professional, modern and based on the community policing principles. That's what people thought.

Then the strategies of how to arrive at those key results areas, now they are related to those primary problems, the infrastructure, institutional setup. So we expect that we will gather momentum as we proceed with the reforms.

SCHER: Can I just ask, in terms of consultation, it sounds like quite an amazing process, you consulted such a wide range of people.

HAIJ: *That took a lot of time.*

SCHER: Yes, but when you were speaking with them, what was the sort of information you were trying to elicit? What were the types of targeted questions you were asking to different categories of people to try and build up a good picture?

HAIJ: *No, they were generic. I mean, like an investigator, if you're an investigator, a policy investigator, you always look at the services. You ask somebody, this is the service of education or this is the service of health, what is the status of the services? Are you satisfied or you are not. There is improvement or no improvement? So those are the very first generic questions.*

Now, after you have established people are not satisfied with the type of service, then you ask, why? You see? Why is this the situation? Different people say different things: The police lack transport, the police here are low paid, something like that one. Then you go to the third round. You ask people, what then? What should we do with the police? What do you want us to do with the police? To kick them out or to improve them? To change or don't have the police. Then they say, no, I think we have to transform them, we have to support them. We have to do that one. And then how do we do it? Then they will explain.

I think this is what you can do, you start that one. Some people say money is not enough, maybe you need some sensitization. Some people say, well, sensitization is not enough, we'll start looking at the pay, let's improve their working conditions. So these are the kinds of things that were coming from people.

SCHER: I see. Can I just ask on a sort of logistical side, how did you actually undertake all the gathering of this information? I mean your team was fairly small—.

HAIJ: *Now, that's the thing. Our team was simply there to train the police officers to do the business themselves.*

SCHER: So you actually utilized—.

HAIJ: Yes.

SCHER: But even their team was only 28.

HAIJ: *Twenty-eight plus seven of us, something, 35.*

SCHER: But you said you consulted up to 2,500 people.

HAIJ: *That's why it took a lot of time. When we started it was 2006; I think our consultations ended up after two years.*

SCHER: Wow, OK.

- HAIJ: And it was interactive at different stages, and then sometimes we say we have forgotten religious leaders. Then you know we have different sectors, Christianity, imagine all the American churches here. They also come into our country.*
- SCHER: Evangelicals. I see. Then presumably you were in the rural areas and all around the country.
- HAIJ: Yes, yes, Tanzania is basically rural. Even Dar es Salaam is like a big village compared to Washington. It is not even a city. It is a sign of something that is coming out, but it is rural.*
- SCHER: This is the stage where there were workshops and seminars and all those types of things.
- HAIJ: Yes. I think those are the ones that we thought were very costly in terms of the time, in terms of preparing them, in terms of their logistics. Always the recommendation is to consult as many people as possible. But, you see, I'm an econometrician, and my job is to argue the case that if you, in the course of researching—if you are a good designer in terms of investigation, given the population, what matters is to have a good representative sample that will give you the results that are consistent, just like you have gone through the whole population. So if I can have the information by collecting only 100 observations, then the same information can be obtained by taking 10,000. I think it is worth stopping at 100 efficiently, as long as you know that the extra number of people won't add anything. We're lucky. You see, Tanzania is one of the least, the poorest. So we don't have problem researching the problems. We are suffering for almost everything.*
- If you take America as one of the well-developed countries, it has maybe three problems. Tanzania must have 300 problems. The first one has three problems; the second, five problems; the third, maybe 10. Then Tanzania at the bottom must have 250 problems.*
- SCHER: Fair enough. You mentioned religious leaders, but was there other civil society involvement?
- HAIJ: Yes. You see Tanzania is a democratic country, multi-democratic. We say multi-party, sometimes we are confusing ourselves. I'm not sure whether we have many parties here or many ideas. The definition of political parties, but also there are these nongovernment organizations, which have their own area, their own platform, and you cannot miss them. They may be more important than even the political parties. There are many more than the political parties. They exert political pressure, which it is necessary to take on board.*
- SCHER: So after these two years of consultations, you have collected a wide range of opinions.
- HAIJ: Yes, different reports, different papers written by different people.*
- SCHER: So you've got a lot of information now. Within your team from here and the team in the police, how did you go about identifying what the real key issues were and perhaps categorizing all the information that you had collected?
- HAIJ: It is a process, interactive, very participatory. The basic principles, they are known; and through discussion and agreement, disagreement, then voting*

systems sometimes, coming out, counting the numbers, saying like you have—. I can give you a good example. One time I was at a meeting where I had something like 300 police officers and then asked them a simple, stupid question about: now, you say your salaries are too low; what did you think should be the minimum of money given to you so that you will not complain? Then I distributed papers. Then I took the mean average. I punched all the numbers and then I took the mean average. Then I had another meeting, consulted, and informed them about what I found in another place. Then I wanted them to adjust to the local conditions and make sure that they don't forget all other important things too, so that we don't repeat the same information. Then the exercise came out and then we found the same kind of information. Then comparing that data from the other findings, from the other sectors, we were able to know this is now on average this information.

So even in terms of the problems, because our consultations—during the consultations we had a structured questionnaire. The structured questionnaire had a structured type of questions. Based on those, what are the three major problems? Now you have 1,000-something observations, and then they give you, they rank them one, two, three. Then with a simple Excel program and starter programs, they were able to tell us the directions and priorities of the people.

SCHER: I see. One of the things I was wondering about is whether there were any sort of major disagreements over some of the issues, and how they should be addressed. Were there any particular differences in schools of thought? For example I understand that some people advocated that the reform process should be almost sectoral, like focus on this reform and then focus on this reform rather than simultaneous process of trying to deal with a number of issues at the same time. Were there other such divergences of opinions on these sorts of issues?

HAIJ: *You see, one thing you have to know, the police system is a very old system. It is one of the very basic government roles and responsibilities, and it has been dynamic in the sense that if you are tracking in terms of reforms, it is very difficult to say exactly when the reforms started. Much as we are now arguing against [the idea] that we are starting the reform. That is not true. The policy reforms have started quite a long time [ago], so it is not something that is a one-stop game and then you say you'll start this one. Then since it is a sector which is facing more or less the same kind of problems, it means doing reforms needs a multi-sectoral, disciplined type of approach. There is no one approach which can be accepted [up] to now.*

I think if there were any problems, I mean in terms of implementation, this is because of the fact that they have to do these reforms by themselves. I think many of the donors did not want to believe that that is possible. Another thing which I still emphasize is the fact that unlike the other reforms—I mean, the other reforms in the government have been externally donor-supported right from the design. This is the reform, the only reform in Tanzania, I'm not sure in Africa, that it started without donor support.

We didn't approach the donors and ask them, we're doing the reform, kindly assist, give us money—no. That is the major, major difference between the other government reforms in Tanzania: Education sector reform is donor-driven. Legal sector reform is donor-driven. You have donors with committees, managing, supervising, all these kinds of things. You see that's the thing, that's number one.

Number two is the fact that anything which is donor-driven has financial ties and then you have the type of the institutional setting of how to manage this one. So you have a team outside the institution trying to manage the reforms in that institution. That's not the model we are adopting. So it is the police team inside the police itself that has the responsibility of reforming inside the institution. Which is totally different from the other.

SCHER: Absolutely.

HAJI: *Others, there is somebody from outside sitting there, looks at you and tells you what to do. Now that's different. Because, maybe the other one is something you wish in terms of somebody, you have a big brother or big sister to support you. Then you can risk having somebody to tell you what to do. But now here, assume the situation of Tanzania, which is poor—we cannot continue going to the donors and tell them everything about us. That we are not only poor, but we're also stupid. I think that's not fair. But what is fair is for us to have an internal effort, an internal initiative. Then such were the ways for our own way of doing business. We are open, you see; the police force is very open.*

The inspector-general has been traveling a lot to different countries, and is waiting for those partners who are ready to listen and who are ready to know that Tanzania, like any dynamic developing nation, has to be supported and work together. We are searching for a global solution to this problem, because some of the problems that we're facing, much as they're happening in Tanzania, they're global problems.

Talk about human rights. Talk about terrorism. You see, the terror which is politically originated, the terror which is economically originated; they cut across. You find terrorism which is happening in Somalia is a complex function of being religious, but now we know it is economic. Those who are going to attack in the sea there, they are not religious. They are not fighting for building a mosque in those merchant ships; they're searching for money. And you know this: it is not even supported in the Koran. And once it happens in Somalia and Tanzania, and if it is affecting Italians, then Arabs, Americans, Chinese, they have to also take it into account. Because it may spread and go to other countries, because they are the same people moving today from one country to another, and they may be exporting these techniques to other countries where they claim to be developed.

SCHER: Right. Sure. You're absolutely right. I think it is really interesting that you highlighted this point of how it is purely a Tanzanian initiative, really, this reform program. One of the things I was wondering is whether the government itself has committed any extra funds or any special funds, funding sources for the reform program itself, or is it purely incumbent on the police to use the resources they have in a new way?

HAJI: *I, being an economist, I know my government; I know my government has been traveling over these years to find different sources. The demand to improve government services has been an issue as part of the reform since 1985-86. So with increasing globalization, with multiparty and with a little bit nowadays of growth and some wealthier civilization, there has been an increasing need of quality services, all these, be it in education, in health. So the demand for resources, for the government to provide this, have been increasing in almost all the sectors.*

Similarly, the demand for resources from the government to facilitate the reforms for the police is there. I think we have had consultation with the government

about that one. But we know the government limits: that always, always, they will have not-desired resources. They cannot have adequate resources which are needed. But then we have to do something optimal for the little resources to bring change. So these are the things. So in terms of resourcing, we have been consulting with the government, and I think the government is aware about this one. The government has done, has gone through, some of the initiatives; we are supporting them. I can sincerely say that I am impressed because of the sincerity of the police and the sincerity of the government. In any case, if there would be problems, it is not because the government is not aware; it is because the resources are not there.

SCHER: They're limited. I understand that completely. As you said with so many demands on the government resources they must have to—

HAIJ: *Everyone wants to expand their services. Everyone wants to do things perfectly. I think the biggest problem as an economist, I'll tell you, is that we economists have failed to look at the other side of the supply. You see, we have failed to know where the government can generate resources. We have looked at the private sector for taxing that private sector, which is small. A developing country with resources has to adopt a different way of managing the resources. We have been too open, and then too confusing to know the importance and the role of natural resources and minerals.*

The Americans, they have got their financial resources. They have got their real estate sector, which is generating a lot of work for that. You have the science and technology, which is generating resources for the government to earn, and then they can use it. But for Tanzania, the resources that we have are the natural resources, and these are the ones exploited by the developed countries for their benefits, which is, I think, not fair.

So as intellectuals or intelligent people, we have not used our brains. On one hand, as much as we are looking at it like this, we have to look on the other side and say, now where can we get the resources? Do we have to go and beg?—which I hate. I hate begging. I don't have—it is a contradiction to say that I have diamonds, I have gold, I leave Barrick [Barrick Gold Corp., a Canada-based mining firm] to come and do the job of digging, taking, mining and more profit and leave my people, poor people here, starving. Then because of the crisis they turn out to be criminals. So I think there should be fair balance in terms of international perception of how best we can improve the lives of these people.

SCHER: Absolutely. Just getting back a little bit more on the specifics of the police reform program. What do you consider the reform's greatest success thus far?

HAIJ: *I'll tell you that we have just started, so we have not—but since it is a process, I can say that the success is based on the preparations; the initial planning and preparations of the process itself has gone far. We have the community policing gone through; the plans to modernize have gone far; the plans to make a very professional process have gone far so far. And we have seen some benefits of the change in mentality, the attitude, the culture of working police officers. But, as I said, it is just starting, so one cannot say so much. But the crucial point here is that there are big assumptions of the political environment to be stable, to have a sensible government regime which is responsive to the needs of the people.*

The problem in developing countries is that sometimes we have ad hoc type of targets. Like now, we are approaching the political election, so some resources may be channeled to take care of the politics. But I doubt that that will stop us.

Rather I think it will facilitate here, enhance the government decision to know that you need good policing during the election.

SCHER: Can I ask a fairly specific question about the structure of reform?

HAIJ: Yes.

SCHER: I understand that it was originally envisaged that there would be three clusters or three main areas of community policing, professionalization, and modernization, but that this was modified quite recently to a new, more interlinked type of system. Have I got the right idea?

HAIJ: *Well, it is the same with those three core areas. The emphasis on what they call key results area, they are related to those primary problems which I stated to you. So there are no differences in terms of the final results which are coming out from the approach. If you read the first document and the second document, the second document was written—simplified to be read by the political regime, but the very first document is for those who are going to do the business.*

SCHER: I see. So now I understand. I was just trying to get a little bit of an understanding on the process.

HAIJ: *It's the same. Because, as I told you, we asked the primary problems, you see—what are the causes of this poor delivery of the services. Then it came out about the laws and regulations, you remember I mentioned to you.*

SCHER: Yes.

HAIJ: *Then I mentioned to you the human resource, I think I mentioned to you.*

SCHER: Yes.

HAIJ: *The infrastructure.*

SCHER: Right.

HAIJ: *They are the same which have been seen in the situation analysis; they are the same which are also put into the—. The only difference now is when people want to look from the perspective of community policing, the human resource, where do you fit the human resource? Can you fit the human resource under the professionalism as a professional, or could you consider it as part of modernization? I think generally they are tactics and techniques rather than really the objectives of the reforms.*

SCHER: I see.

HAIJ: *It is simply—mathematically, you say, like an activity. Let's say you have two areas. I mean one is a human resource, another one probably is equipment. You need a question for this. So you have maybe an activity here, maybe one, two; another activity maybe two, one. But then mathematically you can say one, two is equal to two, one. You see? So another person can look at this one, another one can look at this one. But if this one is equal to this one that means you have to search for the best way to make sure that the resources and the types of the institutions which are set up to these goals are optimally being organized and managed.*

SCHER: I understand. I'm keeping an eye on the time, and I don't want to take too much more of your morning, so I was wondering if I could maybe ask two more questions, is that all right?

HAIJ: *That's fine.*

SCHER: Firstly, you've mentioned that political environment is not necessarily a challenge for the future but just a hope that the level of support will remain the same. What are the other sort of challenges that you see for the reform program moving forward from this point?

HAIJ: *You see, because the thing is done inside, it means we have prepared these people technically to do and to solve the problems as they come. So it is, in a way, by design, the reforms have taken into account the need to minimize any sort of diversions from the processes. I think sometimes you can talk about the challenges, since these are things that are happening outside your control but negatively affecting your moves. Now take the positive. You may ask about the opportunities instead of the challenges.*

I think we see, of course one of the—another challenge for the political, another challenge which one is facing is the global financial crisis. Those are the ones which we never anticipated. It is something that we have to design how best we should do our businesses, how best our reforms can accommodate things that are happening outside our control. But it is part of the global. We have an opportunity, I think; I take it as an opportunity myself: globalization and regional integration.

When Tanzania is intensively engaging itself with other East African countries to come with an East African common market, where there will be freedom of movement of goods and services, and the economies will be supposed to be one. In Africa they think about the African Union. So these are the things which we think we have to look at carefully. It is our sincere hope that we have to go fast, get ahead, and provide a good example for the others in the region. We expect that opening up the borders with DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Tanzania has a role to play for regional peace, security.

You have Somalia now—not only that it has been fragile, but more, it is a country in shambles. It is a country that needs support from others. So we are in that area now thinking that maybe the problems of your neighbor are also your problems. So I think those are the kinds of things which—then whatever, whatever is happening in terms of the knowledge experiences with other countries, like the Americans for that matter, British—. What I'm waiting for and what I'm eager for is to learn from the developed countries also how best now they can read the signals which are coming from poor countries in terms of intending to restructure them and to build their institutions to manage their own resources. What would be the role of the Americans? How can they come, and what should be the expectations? This is one world now.

There are things which we have to learn. Maybe Tanzania is not that much a problem in terms of international terrorism, but Tanzania cannot escape, cannot keep away, cannot shy away from tackling these global problems like international terrorism. We don't want to house, we don't to harbor these people. But because of the nature of our borders, we are bound to be affected. We have to take all the precautionary measures, to work together with the others; economic, social, political problems are known.

So those are the kinds of challenges which are part of the challenges in terms of delivery of the public sector security services by the government. We should—the policy is there to look at the property in the human, but then, when you know that the humans now are mobile, the culture of these people who are mobile, the culture of the peasant. Tanzania is mostly peasant, you know peasant. People who are stationary. Somalians are mobile, like Masais. Then you have to know techniques of handling those peasants who are stationary and people are moving from one area to another. They have different problems. That's the challenge which we are now facing.

So it means that the services, delivery of those services will also be dynamic. There will be some new demands, new ways of thinking and therefore approaches.

SCHER: I see. One last question, if that is all right, sir.

HAIJ: OK.

SCHER: This interview has been extremely interesting and I think has provided a wealth of advice already for other people who might be in similar situations, but I did want to perhaps give you an opportunity to address the question directly. If you were to advise somebody in a different country but facing a similar sort of challenging reform effort as the one you have been involved with, what is the sort of advice you would give them? Perhaps another way of thinking about this question is, if you were to start out again in 2006, is there anything you would do differently, or is there anything you wish you knew then that you now know?

HAIJ: *One thing is, reforms are very complex. They are very much related to the behavior of humans' changing current attitudes, culture, mentality. Since we are coming from different backgrounds in terms of our culture, education, you really have to learn others and to bear with them, to take into account their background. Always, you're talking about the reform of the human; it is not the reform of equipment or infrastructure, for that matter. So it is crucial that the focus should be the human.*

This world is full of development perspectives, approaches, and targets. You always have to aspire to higher goals, objectives and targets. Always it is possible to do and attain; to fail is to learn. The problem is when you stop learning, but if you learn and you have that courage to move, I don't think there are any obstacles of moving forward. The world is reached because Tanzania is just an entity, a small thing, a village. So Tanzania itself can be poor but the world is rich. So we are rich of ideas, and we have to take advantage of the fact that we are not isolated. If the Americans can do it, why not Tanzanians?

I think best reform is when people change positively for the interest of all and take into account that the human is based on those values and beliefs that something that is good for you must also be good for others. It is not necessary to get a better position, another one needs better disposition of. You can both move in a positive direction. So the police can win when the community is also winning. So the police, the community policing, which is policing by the people themselves, is the best option for countries like Tanzania, which is in the early stages of development.

I would have started, the first few years when it started, I thought it was like the police are missing these gears, the police are missing, the schools—but no, no,

no, I found that good police don't need good hotel, good office, or good car. It is the good policing itself, which is people's policing.

SCHER: The relationship with the community.

HAIJ: Yes, the relationship with the community. That's the best. We are now solving almost 100% of our problems. You can hear about, nowadays, you can hear about criminals attacking, but they don't get away. So we are now reducing the chances of them getting away. They know that you pay; once you do it you are arrested. It is not the police doing that one, it is the people themselves. So slowly we will go to that stage where people will say it is costly to live as a criminal, but it is beneficial for everybody if you live like a good citizen.

SCHER: I think that's an excellent note to end on, and I'd like to thank you very much. It has been a great privilege to hear of your very productive involvement with this process, and I really look forward to hearing more about this and seeing how it unfolds into the future.

HAIJ: Thank you very much.