

An ESRC Research Project



## Working Paper 3

**Holding local government to account in Tanzania through  
a performance index**

**Exploring lines of blame and accountability in local  
service delivery**

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## Contents

1	Introduction and methodology.....	4
1.1	Data collection framework.....	4
1.2	Data Analysis Framework.....	8
2	Exploring lines of e accountability: who is responsible for development? .....	9
2.1	Understanding development: what is maendeleo? .....	9
2.2	Who should bring maendeleo? .....	10
3	Designing locally-relevant indicators: perspectives on local service delivery .....	20
3.1	Physical infrastructure.....	20
3.2	Social services .....	26
3.3	Livelihoods and Resources.....	36
3.4	Political processes.....	42
4	Long list of potential indicators for local governance index.....	43
5	Conclusion and next steps .....	46
6	References.....	47

## List of figures and tables

Figure 1: Regions of Tanzania.....	5
Figure 2: Districts in Kigoma Region.....	5
Figure 3: Districts of Morogoro Region .....	6
Figure 4: Delivery of public services in Tanzania .....	12
Table 1: Overview of selected Districts and villages .....	6
Table 2: Overview of data collection .....	7
Table 3: List of potential indicators for local governance index.....	43

## **Project background**

In 2012, former Director of the Foundation for Civil Society (FCS) in Tanzania, John Ulanga, posed the question of whether a local governance performance index might stimulate greater public engagement in holding local leaders and institutions to account for their performance in delivering services and reducing poverty in the country.

To respond to this question, the University of Mzumbe, in partnership with the FCS and INTRAC (UK), began to research the viability and value of such an index at the district level in Tanzania. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London joined the project in 2015.

With funding from the UK Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC)/Department for International Development (DFID) from 2014 to 2017, the partners will explore whether it is possible to create an index that reflects the performance of different local governments. More specifically, the research wants to know how such an index might be used to encourage local governments to prioritise the needs of the poorest and most excluded. Further, can citizens use such an index to demand accountability from local leaders and civil servants?

## **Acknowledgements**

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## I Introduction and methodology

The first two working papers in this series explored: (i) the nature of indexes and indices as measures of governance; and (ii) explored the local governance context in Tanzania. These papers set out several underpinning principles for the research:

1. 'Good' governance is a contested and imprecise concept (Grindle 2004; 2017). Local governance and service delivery is multi-layered and context specific.
2. Context specific understanding of how change happens is required, rather than overly simplistic assumptions about the possibilities of institutional change through external pressure- for example by donors and NGOs (Andrews et al 2015, Wild et al 2015).
3. Indicators can only ever be proxy representations of aspects of local governance- they can help to create conversations, but should not become an end-point in themselves ([see working paper 1](#)).
4. Indicators of local governance performance need to respond to the 'reality' of what happens in practice, rather than the 'imagined' ideals set out in policy documents ([see working paper 2](#) on the gap between policy/systems in theory and what happens in practice).
5. To be useful and meaningful an index could create a dynamic focal point for the interaction of actors who contribute local governance performance; to drive experimentation, learning and reflection (Andrews et al 2013)

Therefore, the first phase of the fieldwork set out to explore the context of local governance performance in Tanzania. We chose to map the local governance space from the level of the citizen (wananchi) up to the President; at each stage exploring lines of accountability, policy and planning, and service delivery. In addition, the analysis was extended horizontally to include non-state actors engaged in accountability or public service delivery. This multi-layered approach allows us to reveal the complexity of local governance, but to also understand the distance between the system in theory and what *actually* happens in practice.

This paper provides a synthesis of research findings from this fieldwork, conducted from January 2015-August 2016 in two districts of Tanzania (Mvomero and Kigoma Ujiji).

### 1.1 Data collection framework

An ethnographic<sup>1</sup> approach to data collection combined field visits, semi-structured and unstructured interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, life histories and survey work to build a cumulative understanding of local governance and service delivery. Fieldwork was conducted in Kiswahili by the team of researchers from Mzumbe University. In each district (*wilaya*) we selected four different wards (*kata*); in each ward we selected one village (*vijiji*) or street (*mitaa*), giving us four distinct research sites in each district, as well as the district level

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<sup>1</sup> Ethnography as described by Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) relates to the study of people's actions and accounts, gathered through multiple methods, over an extended time period to facilitate in-depth study.

itself. The selection of the locations aimed at coverage of different aspects of settlements within the district: wealth, geographical terrain, and livelihoods. In addition to mapping governance structures and responsibilities for service delivery, this approach entailed exploring narratives of development (*maendeleo*), power and politics in how services are delivered and how change happens.

We chose these two districts to offer a contrasting analysis from economic, geographic, social and political perspectives (see table 1). Mvomero District is rural and predominantly agricultural, but relatively close to large urban settlements of Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro. Kigoma-Ujiji is a Municipal Council and is classified as urban (although very low density compared to other cities), is in the far west of Tanzania and borders Lake Tanganyika (see figures 1, 2 & 3). The local MP, Zitto Kabwe, is an outspoken critic of the ruling party (CCM) and Kigoma is a stronghold of his political party – Alliance for Change & Transparency (ACT), which formed in 2015 after he defected from the largest opposition party, Chadema.

Figure 1: Regions of Tanzania



Figure 2: Districts in Kigoma Region



Figure 3: Districts of Morogoro Region (Source Ojoyi 2015:667)

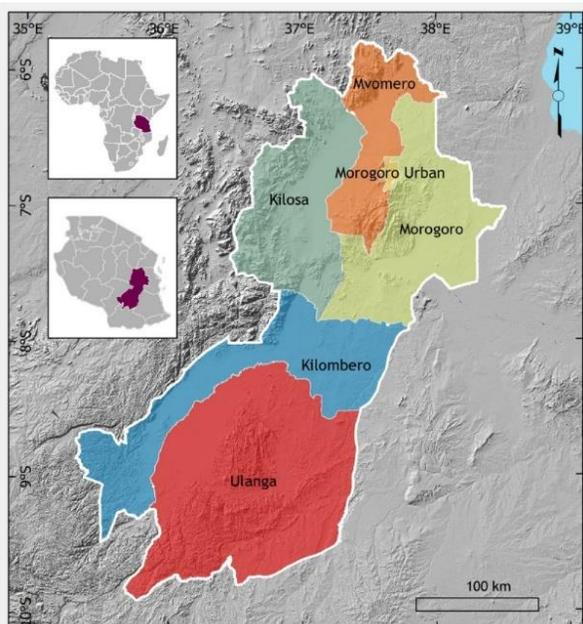


Table I: Overview of selected Districts and villages

District	<i>Kigoma-Ujiji Municipal Council</i>	<i>Mvomero District Council</i>
Region	Kigoma	Morogoro
Population	215,458,	312,109 42.6 people per square Kilometers
Local government	Divisions = 2 Wards = 19 Streets = 68 Hamlets = 471	Divisions = 4 23 Wards = 23 Villages = 115 Hamlets = 640
Kabila (ethnicity)	Indigenous group -Waha in addition to Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Fipa. Migrants from DRC, Rwanda and Burundi.	Indigenous groups- Nguu (Walukungwi), Zigua, and Luguru tribes. More recent migration- Makua, Pare, Maasai, Sukuma and Mang'ati,
Economic activities	Urban settlement- trading activities, employment and enterprise, fishing and fish processing, some agriculture	Agriculture- maize, rice, cassava and sorghum, sugarcane, vegetables and oil crops (sunflower), coffee, cotton Livestock keeping
Villages/Street selected to begin mapping	Kisangani Katonga (Kigoma Kaskazini Division) Waombo Sokoine (Kigoma Kusini Division)	Vitonga (Mlali Division) Kikeo (Mgeta Division) Kambala (Mvomero Division) Mziha (Turiani Division)

Table 2 outlines the sampling approach to the process of data collection. This began with citizens in the selected villages and then worked up the governance and service delivery systems to the level of central government.

Most interviews with citizens were conducted at participants' homes, where participants felt most comfortable. Some interviews were however held in participants' workplaces, such as a farm or boat, either because of their availability or because it was more appropriate to them. Interviews with local community leaders, district and central government staff took place in their offices.

**Table 2: Overview of data collection**

Level	Sampling	Methods	Numbers
Wananchi (citizens)	Purposive-disaggregated by age, gender and wealth	Life-history Semi-structured interviews Service perception survey	20 in each ward (80 per District) 312- total
Field workers e.g. Teachers, Health workers, Extension staff, CSO staff	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews Village mapping	5 in each ward (20 per District)
Village government (Village Executive Officer (VEO), Village Chair and Councillors)	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews Village mapping Focus group discussions	5 in each ward (20 per District)  1 in each ward
Ward (Ward Executive Officer (WEO) and Councillors)	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews	4 wards in each District
District- Executive and Civil society representatives	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews Focused group discussions Collaborative action research discussion and establishment of working group	10-15 per District  1 per District
Region	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews	3 per region
National- MPs, representatives of national ministries, civil society representatives	Key informants	Semi-structured interviews	15- Local Government, Health, Education, Agriculture, National NGOs Academics

## **1.2 Data Analysis Framework**

Ethnographic data collection generates large volumes of data, and can be interpreted in many ways. We used thematic analysis of the data to do the following:

1. To identify lines of blame and accountability for how change and development happen and how services get delivered
2. To map systems of governance in both theory and in practice, and therefore to identify blockages and contradictions in the system
3. To identify recurrent themes in relation to local service delivery
4. To draw up a long-list of potential indicators for assessing performance of local governance

The data set was translated from Kiswahili to English by the field research team during the process of data collection. An initial mapping of themes from the data was undertaken in a data processing workshop in Kigoma in December 2015. This was refined during 2016 with additional data collection and a detailed iterative analysis and triangulation of multiple sources.

The following sections of the paper present our analysis of the emergent themes from the data in relation to the questions set out above. Quotations from the data are used to illustrate our analysis, and these are selected from the larger data set. Ethnographic analysis is not intended to make generalizable conclusions about the data; rather, it offers insights into the complex and contested nature of how change happens, and of how multi-layered governance systems evolve in practice. This more complex understanding might then allow the possibility of identifying potential areas for collaborative problem-solving.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For more on this see <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/centers/cid/publications/faculty-working-papers/cid-working-paper-no.-240>

## 2 Exploring lines of accountability: who is responsible for development?

This section considers questions of responsibility for the delivery of public services, how resources are allocated, and who can shape how and whether services are delivered. This ultimately allows us to check the common normative assumption that citizens can *and believe they should* hold local government to account.

### 2.1 Understanding development: what is maendeleo?

No discussion of the political and governance space in Tanzania is complete without reference to the concept of *maendeleo*. The literal translation of *maendeleo* from KiSwahili to English is ‘development’. However, it must be understood that the idea of *maendeleo* goes beyond development as an academic or policy concept. Debates on who can deliver *maendeleo* have shaped the Tanzanian state and society throughout the post-colonial era (Green 2014). Therefore, what *maendeleo* is and who will bring it is a central theme in discussions of governance from the level of the citizen.

Our analysis suggests that *maendeleo* is conceived by respondents in two main ways:

#### 2.1.1 Development as possession of livelihood assets and freedom from conflict for families and individuals

*“Development is the presence of high numbers of cattle, [and the] absence of conflicts between livestock keepers and farmers.”*

**Female citizen, Mvomero**

*“Development is a situation where people own properties like houses, farms or motorcycles which are the outcomes of their work.”*

**Female citizen, 20, Mvomero**

*“Development, as I understand it, is the outcome of working because you can’t develop yourself without working. For example if you’re a farmer like me, after production you may sell some of your production and use the money to build a house.”*

**Male citizen, 20, Mvomero**

*“Development occurs at two levels: at the individual level and the community level. Development is about having a high income (a lot of money), and having a good life, a good place to live (a house with iron sheets and electricity) and good infrastructure; especially roads”*

**Female citizen, 17, Kigoma**

*“Development is about waking up in the morning, undertaking entrepreneurial activities: fishing small fish (dagaa) for the sake of my family.”*

**Female citizen, 39, Kigoma**

### 2.1.2 Development as modernisation and institutions

*“Development is the shift from old traditions and customs to modern life. This includes for example playing the piano instead of the drums during ngomas, ending female genital mutilation (FGM), and going to the hospital instead of traditional healers.”*

**Female, 34, Mvomero**

*“Development is all about roads and hospitals. There are other villages which have roads and people live luxurious lives there, If you have roads in your village it will open the doors to development.”*

**Male, elder, Mvomero**

*The most important factor to consider when you talk about development is the presence of hospitals. In our village people have to walk a long way to get to a health service centre. The other factor to consider is the presence of religion: through religion we can create a good community with proper morals. The absence of those mosques and churches has had a big negative impact on our community. People pray under trees and in huts. Another thing to consider when you talk about development is the presence of clean and safe water. For instance, you can't say Vitonga village is developed when people use salt water from the pumping station. In our family we buy water from Mlali (water traders) for six thousand (6000/=) per six gallons which is a high cost and increases our poverty level.”*

**Female, 30, Mvomero**

## 2.2 Who should bring maendeleo?

So what role should local governments and therefore systems of local governance be playing in bringing maendeleo? The mapping exercise conducted within this research reveals that the local government system in Tanzania has a bewildering array of layers, sometime running in parallel, and sometimes over-lapping, and sometimes officially defunct, yet still operational in practice.

There is also some blurring of lines of responsibility and accountability in some sectors in relation to the central and local government powers, particularly in health and education. A system of Presidential appointees also persists in the presence of Regional and District Commissioners, who represent the President directly.

Initiatives aimed at strengthening local government or tackling accountability from the local to national often focus on the district level. Yet the district sits above many layers of official local institutions (Division-Ward-Village-Hamlet-10 cell in some areas) before the level of the individual citizen. These levels of government are often physically far removed from district administrations.

Religious institutions are also significant actors at all levels, playing influential roles in the delivery of public services, but also in shaping social norms and attitudes. The influence of NGOs are largely confined to the District and National levels, and their influence is far more marginal than that of the religious institutions at the village and ward levels.

Figure 4 below represents an attempt to capture the complexity of lines of responsibility and service delivery in Tanzania. It has been created with reference to relevant literature and based on stakeholder interviews for this research. It shows a central column with planning being driven from the village/street level through the citizens (wananchi) and their elected representatives<sup>3</sup>. Plans are consolidated and sent upwards through the ward and district executives to the President's Office for Regional Administration and Local Government. This office coordinates with the President and relevant national ministries back down the chain. In addition to this, the President appoints Regional and District Commissioners. Religious institutions and NGOs also play a significant role, although the latter mainly at National and District levels.

One of our key findings from the data set is that there is confusion throughout the system about roles and responsibilities. In both Districts, we have found that elected representatives, officials and stakeholders are unclear about their own roles and responsibilities, as well as those of others within the various tiers of local government. This confusion has been identified with many of our respondents at the village level, as one citizen said

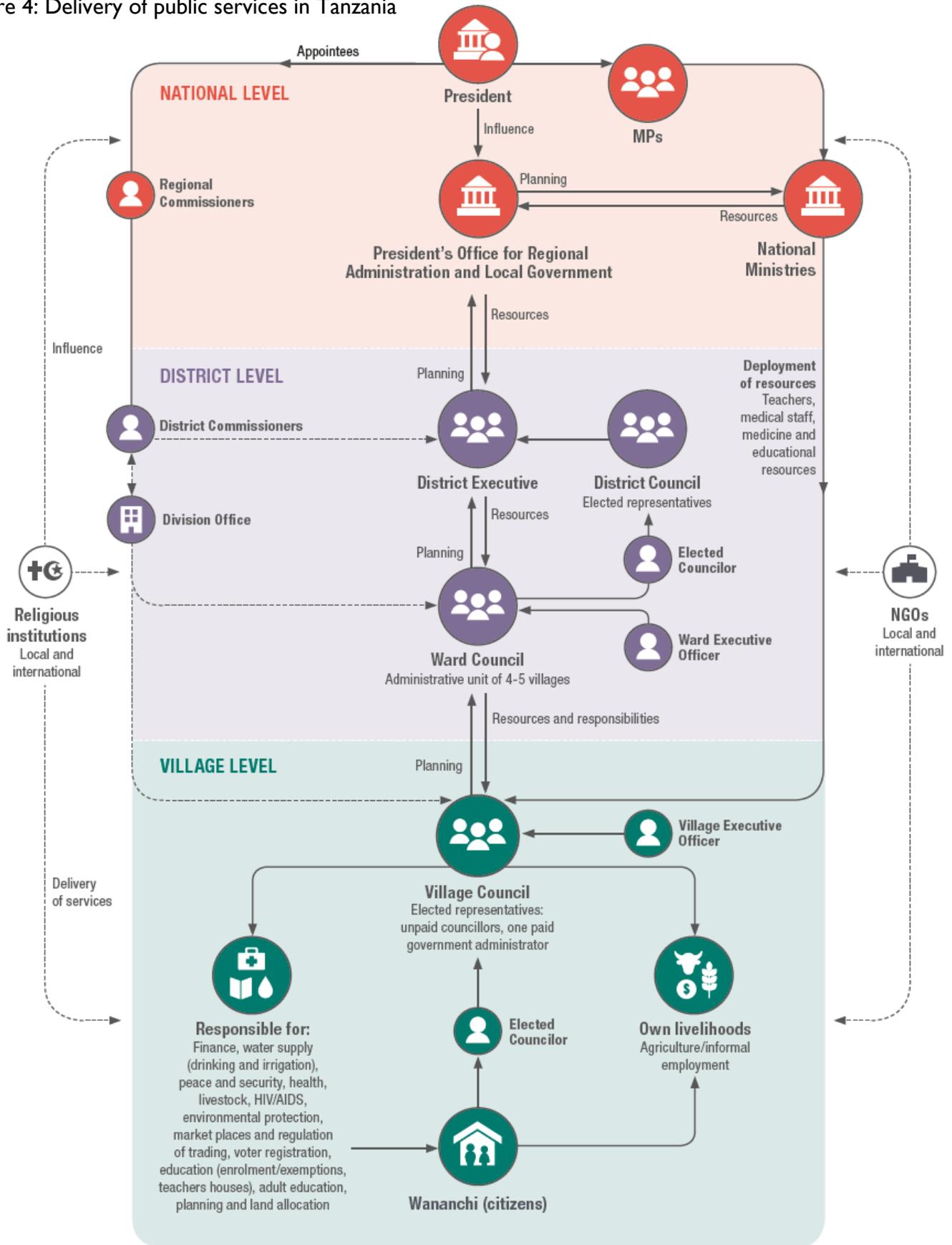
*“Development requires taking out some levels in the leadership hierarchy. The hierarchy is composed of the Member (Mjumbe), the Street Chairperson (Mwenyekiti wa mtaa), the Village or Street Executive Officer (Mtendaji wa mtaalkijiji), the Ward Executive Officer (mtendaji wa kata) and then the Ward Councillor. This long chain of hierarchy levels generates an environment subject to corruption rather than generating performance because all these people in the leadership chain are actually playing the same role.”*

**Male, 35, Local Healer**

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<sup>3</sup><http://www.chronicpoverty.org/resources/2016/10/31/good-governance-local-government-accountability-and-service-delivery-in-tanzania>

Figure 4: Delivery of public services in Tanzania



As a result, citizens have little awareness as to what expectations they should have of local government at any level.

*“To my knowledge, the role of a councillor is to lead people in all development issues such as road and hospital construction, water supply and so on. I don’t know if this lady (elected councillor) was fulfilling her role as she was supposed to, because in Mziha there is no clean water, nor electricity, nor good road. I don’t know anything about the MP of my area because I never saw him anywhere and I don’t know what the responsibility of an MP is.”*

**Male, 44 Mvomero**

*“I don’t know the function of our councillor; we elect them but I don’t know what he is supposed to do. But I assume a councillor is responsible for building a dispensary. He told us during his election campaign that he will build up a dispensary but nothing like that is taking place. The councillor is living in Kikeo village. I don’t know who is responsible to bringing development in our village.”*

**Female 44, Mvomero**

*“I don’t know my MP and there is no need for me to know him because he hasn’t helped our village in anyway. I know my councillor because he lives in our village, but I don’t know what his functions are. I don’t see the importance of the councillor. Our leaders are the source of all these problems.”*

**Male, elder-Mvomero**

### *2.2.1 Perspectives from interviews on responsibility for maendeleo*

With further probing as to who should bring maendeleo, responses were split into three levels: citing citizens as primarily responsible for bringing development, followed by village leaders and finally the central government.

#### **Villagers/Citizens:**

Since 1999 the Tanzanian Government has been actively pursuing an incremental strategy which is referred to as “Decentralisation by Devolution” (DbyD). Decentralization relies on the effective transfer of power, authority and resources from the central state. Participation is expected to ‘empower’ citizens and also supports Nyerere’s concept of self-reliance, that participation is an obligation if one is to build a nation (Green 2014). This self-reliance concept has led many villagers and the local and central government to believe that villagers are the ones responsible for bringing development. Some of the quotes below illustrate this. This concept means that holding the government accountable could be a challenging task for the villagers.

*“Village leadership is answerable to the Village Assembly. Things are not moving because there is no accountability. The Village Assembly is not the platform to hold leaders to account and accountable, instead village’s leadership use them to give directives. There is no room for engaging in dialogue and discussion. Many leaders and civil servants are not delivering, and instead of citizens using the system and available room to demand for accountability they keep complaining and whining.”*

**Senior official, Unit in the Ministry of President’s Office,  
Regional Administration and Local Government (PORLAG)**

*“Villagers are the source of development. No one else can bring development within the village except villagers themselves. If we need a road, we will build it ourselves. If we need a school, we will build it ourselves. The government is not capable of bringing development to villagers. The government cannot do each and everything. Villagers are responsible to educate themselves and not wait for others to come and educate them. If we stay in that situation we will keep complaining that life is harder and that there is no development. I don’t see any development in Kikeo because there is no activity that is undertaken by all villagers.”*

**Female, Elder, Mvomero**

*“The citizens will need to identify the opportunity and find a way forward to make the most of it. If they fail it is easier for the government to chip in and support. And it is better for them than just sleeping and waiting for the government to do everything for them.”*

**Male, 45, VEO, Katonga-Kigoma**

*“The only people who are responsible for bringing about development are the community members themselves. They have to work hard, so that the government can chip in to support them.”*

**Male, 55, Katonga, Kigoma**

*“Most of the development activities are done by the people themselves with very little help from the government. The government may offer just a tip of assistance and that is when the people themselves have done something. For example, building of paved roads, digging of trenches for drainage system, building of offices etc. are always people’s initiatives, with of course a huge input from their councillor.”*

**Former Councillor, Kigoma district**

### **Village leaders (VEO and Village Council):**

The ward and village levels of government have high levels of responsibility placed on them, whilst having very little resource to implement national policies, It is important to note the wide ranging nature of responsibilities of Village and Street Councils including peace and security, land allocations, social welfare and social service delivery, water, environment and so on - see figure 4 above. Considerable responsibility for ‘maendeleo’ is placed at the village level and on citizens themselves through their volunteer labour or financial contributions (Boesten et al 2011, Green 2014).

There is pressure at the village/street level. Service-delivery and citizen representation functions appear blurred. Most officials and representatives are voluntary yet fulfil many functions across health, education, social services, justice and security, environment and livelihoods for managing service delivery. This wide-ranging nature of responsibility placed on them whilst having limited resources makes them also the ones that many citizens look to when discussing who should bring maendeleo.

*“... I think the one who is responsible for the development of the village is our village chairperson because the village chairperson knows the village better than the village executive officer (VEO). Also, the village chairperson is closer to the people so the only role of the village executive officer is to advise the chairperson.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“We elected the leaders - the Village Chairperson, the Hamlet Chairperson and ten House Representatives - who are responsible for bringing us development. But as I said, our village has no source of income like land which is owned by Vitonga village, but our leader plays the main role in motivating people to participate in different development activities.”*

**Female, Mvomero**

*“The first person responsible for the development of the village is the Village Chairperson because we elect him with the aim of conducting development activities. He is supposed to properly represent the people at a high level because through his position he has the opportunity to present our problems at different high levels.”*

**Female, Mvomero**

### **Local Government:**

Whilst citizens and village leadership are given, and give themselves, a central role in delivering maendeleo, there is an expectation that local government, MPs, and the President will play their part.

*“The problem is that people think the new President, can solve every problem the country is facing. That is wrong because under normal circumstance he cannot do that. The best thing for him is to create a system that will ensure that every civil servant is responsible.”*

**Male, Assistant Director, Policy, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training**

*“The responsibility to reduce poverty lies with our leaders - councillors, MP and Ministers - because these individuals know a lot about peoples’ problems. Thus, they are required to use all national resources properly and avoid fraud over government funds and embezzlement of funds.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“The government is responsible for bringing development. We already collected stones for dispensary construction but our government did not show any efforts. We already play our parts; we are waiting for the government to play its part too. They started that project in June 2015 but nothing is taking place in our village. We have already done a lot of development activities, but our government did not support anything. Our village government did not say anything about these issues.”*

**Female, Mvomero**

*“The MP is responsible for investing in development activities such as building schools or dispensaries. Our MP fails to do all of these. He failed to build a school and roads. We hear about his name only, but nothing is taking place in Kikeo village. I expect my MP to provide assurance on the construction of roads and school laboratory. The one who is responsible to bring development is MP- the child learns from his father, now our father does not know his children.*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“The councillor is the first person to bring development. He does so by helping us to get on the market, at least to help us to conduct a business. We could also give that responsibility to our MP but MPs don’t visit the people to know their problems. However, they are required to do so as well as call in meetings to acknowledge people’s problems instead of staying in their office.”*

**Male, Kigoma**

*“The one who is responsible to bring development to people is the government because all source of revenues are owned by the government.”*

**Male, 30, Fisherman, Kigoma**

Our interactions with District government officials reveal their problems in delivery:

One official in **Mvomero** said that besides following all the procedures there have been massive challenges in the reliability, availability and timeliness of funds to execute planned spending.

*“In short, the proper procedure is not followed and as a result many activities lag behind. This results in the council falling into debts for project contractors who are not paid.”*

*“Furthermore there is no stated criteria neither explanation from the Treasury on the amount disbursed to the council. On average the District has a budget of about 38Bil TZS per annum. Among the contributing sources, a huge amount for public expenditure (PE) comes from the Central Government, External projects contributes 6Bil, Other Charges 5.4Bil, and only 2.6Bil is projected to come from own sources, which is equivalent to 6.8% of the total budget.”*

**District Council Official, Mvomero**

*“There are key issues. One of them is that there have been times when budgeting was done but the revenue collection falls or comes short of projected amounts. This affects most of the operational departments which have their own funding sources like land and agriculture. Then there is a case of delay in funds from treasury and insufficient disbursements which may be dubbed crosscutting because it affects all departments i.e. operational and supporting.”*

**Local Government, Mvomero district**

*“The disbursed funds from the government are not enough and neither the revenue collected from own sources within the council. Government funding is usually never enough and even when it is disbursed it is not on time to carry out activities as planned. The Government prioritizes several big spending projects, all to be done at the same time or within a short period of time. Also, most of them are politically motivated and sometimes not in the plan for the annual spending. The last financial year was one of the worst planning years. The government ran a census, national elections, national identity registration, voter’s registration and review of the constitution, which were all happening at the same time. I hope that such negligence in planning will never happen again. (...)”*

**Local Government, Kigoma**

*“Government instructed districts to build laboratories but did not provide funding. So the onus was with district where to get resources from. So district had to divert resources from other development projects because they were not ready to defy president instructions”.*

**Local Government, Mvomero**

### 2.2.2 Lines of blame or lines of accountability? Insights from stakeholder workshops

The findings of the District level stakeholder workshops illustrate this emerging issue of multiple lines of blame and accountability that operate across the levels of government.

**Politicians not concerned with people’s problems:** CSO participants observed that politicians do not take actions on problems facing citizens. They said that it could take too long for politicians to visit citizens (including dispensaries, schools and farms) to listen to their problems and take action. Councillors were as perceived not being serious with people’s views, instead interpreting the views in a political way. Moreover, councillors were perceived as not cooperating well with CSOs; they had more interest in getting big allowances than in developing their wards (constituencies). CSOs advised councillors to learn from the workshop that they have been elected to represent the citizens.

**Wrong perception and misjudging councillors and other representatives:** On the other hand, councillors criticized the above claims as wrong and misjudging them. Councillors gave an example that in doing their work a councillor may visit a dispensary but if the doctor in charge does not inform his subordinates about the purpose of the councillor’s visit, a big quarrel can occur among them and doctors. Therefore, in such situations, councillors fail to perform their duties with freedom. District officials supported councillors, saying that the management is answerable for councillors; it works closely with councillors to ensure that they achieve their

goals of bringing about development in their constituencies. Councillors are aware that if their respective constituencies see no developments they will be accountable for that so they are working hard to ensure development of their wards.

**Representatives versus Politicians:** Some participants, including councillors, felt that there was confusion among the population in distinguishing these two groups of people (representatives and politicians). A politician was described as someone who cannot be trusted because he is always using nice words and promises but in reality he cannot put what he says in practice. A representative is a person who works on behalf of the population, fights for the rights of people; he is a genuine person and close to people who he represents.

**Lack of communication, openness, cooperation and togetherness among various stakeholders:** Almost all participants reported that lack of accountability among them was caused by lack of communication, openness, cooperation and togetherness. For instance, councillors reported lack of communication and awareness among the various stakeholders, while district officials blamed CSOs for lack of openness, cooperation and transparency saying that:

- CSOs are not open and do not engage the community and the councils about their planned projects.
- Councils do not know what CSOs are doing in the communities.
- Councils and councillors do not know CSO budgets.

Councillors and district officials call for CSOs to improve their communication, openness and transparency. In particular, councillors call for research to understand why there are misunderstandings between politicians and implementers to avoid perception that politicians are not good people. Similarly, councils should strengthen the NGO desk by:

- Shifting it from the social welfare department to the planning department
- Increasing funds
- Visiting NGO activities in order to:
  - Get their reports/information
  - Assess NGOs which are active
  - Conduct M&E to see the impact of activities of NGOs

**Lack of a platform that brings all stakeholders together for sharing experience and learning from each other:** All participants reported that poor accountability was caused by lack of a platform to bring together representatives, the government and CSOs to share knowledge and experience. An example was given of Senegal which has a regional NGO representative, NGO desk and representative of the private sector. In Tanzania, it was revealed that in 2002 a National Government NGO board was established but it could not be found in the regions or districts. Giving more examples to show lack of linkages between various stakeholders, CSOs claimed that they had getting difficulties in getting support from DED's and DC's offices when they introduce their projects to them. Furthermore, lack of cooperation between NGOs and the NGO desk and lack of transparency in NGO budgets were also a problem. Therefore, a platform could be a solution to lack of accountability and could act as a catalyst in development of the indicators. Concerning how a platform could happen, it was suggested that existing NGO coordinators should be empowered and be part of the National Platform team.

**Role of Representatives (Councillors, Village Chairpersons):** Councillors and district officials emphasized that councillors' positions are very crucial in development as well as in politics because they represent the communities in their respective constituencies. Councillors revealed that they deserve big allowances (incomes/earnings) because they have many activities unlike Members of Parliament who have big allowances but have nothing to do with them.

**Financial ability versus accountability:** In general, all participants revealed that there exists a positive relationship between accountability and financial ability. Financial problems were reported as a big problem which has been affecting councils, councillors, and CSOs' performance for many years. For instance, it was reported that councillors have many activities but the problem is lack of funds to run them. On the other hand, district officials reported that the social welfare department has many activities and manpower but has only a budget of 1million per month. Some participants, especially district officials, reported that earnings/incomes of many people in Tanzania do not correspond to their work. This was also reported as a factor for lack of accountability in the government sector.

**Lack of important documents such as policies in the district levels:** CSOs revealed a lack of necessary documents such as policies, magazines, leaflets and brochures as a factor for lack of accountability of civil servants at lower levels. For example, education coordinators were reported as having no information on national education policy that could help them in doing their work well.

**Lack of culture of reading:** This was also mentioned as an obstacle for accountability of local leaders and civil servants in Tanzania. For example, CSOs revealed that they could send progress reports to the districts and to the respective ministries but little or no efforts were made to read them.

We can conclude that local governance has theoretical lines of accountability, but in practice these lines are very blurred. Blame for the lack of progress is directed in all directions, by all actors, including some citizens who blame themselves. It is very hard to see how local government can be held directly to account for service delivery when the responsibilities of local government are far from clear.

### 3 Designing locally-relevant indicators: perspectives on local service delivery

Designing an index of local governance performance will need to take into account these contested and blurred lines of accountability.

In this section, we analyse the perspectives of citizens and local office holders about key areas of development and service delivery to explore what issues are of greatest concern at the local level, and to unpack further where people think responsibility for delivery lies. Building on this, we draw out potential indicators that might monitor changes relative to these issues and that can relate to the performance of local government. Potential indicators were identified during the data analysis process and were then further refined through interactive workshops in both Districts with representatives of different levels of local government, civil society organisations and local politicians.

Categories of physical infrastructure; social services; land, agriculture & natural resources; and political processes were emergent from the data analysis process.

#### 3.1 Physical infrastructure

This category comprises roads and transport, water availability and access, and power availability and access. In each of these categories, responsibility for service provision is not clearly within the jurisdiction of local government.

##### 3.1.1 Roads and Transport links

According to the survey in both Districts, 86.9% of respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the roads. To the question of whether they can have access to the road throughout the year and particularly during the rainy season, only 34% had no problem with access to the road throughout the year, while 65.9% said they had problems accessing the road during the rainy season.

*“The Kigoma – Manyovu road was previously used by people to travel for two days and they had no buses. Only “Canterers” and “Fuso” were used. The area was remote and the business was limited by the mud road with hills which resulted in multiple complications in travelling. (...) Development in Kigoma is measured by presence of few tarmac roads and to some extent stabilized electricity.”*

**Male, 57, CDO, Kigoma**

*“Poor transport system such as roads, water transport and so on limit business transactions among businesses and people. For example, the MV Liemba [the steamer on Lake Tanganyika] isn’t frequently travelling which limits the business between Kigoma and Katavi regions, hence people are forced to use boats which are not trustworthy.”*

**Male, 40, Kigoma**

*“There are a lot of challenges that need to be addressed and solved. For example, the absence of good (accessible) roads. The road we used to have were not good: even cars did not circulate easily. It is difficult for the car to come and take a patient when shel/he is sick.”*

**Elder Woman, Kigoma**

*“Another reason that makes our lives hard in Kikeo is the absence of transport networks and the absence of roads. No truck can reach Kikeo. As a result, people can’t access the market after harvesting so people tend to carry their crops on heads while others employ youths to carry their crops to Nyandira which is very costly.”*

**Female, 19, farmer- Mvomero**

*“The absence of roads causes a lot of problems. It causes low development because villagers lack access to the market for their products. In Kikeo, if you want to take your crops to the market they charge you 250 Tshs for 1kg to Nyandira market. Many villagers could not afford those costs. They used to carry those crops on their heads. If you have 100kg of beans, with a carrying charge per kg of 250 Tshs, then the total cost is 250,000/= . Then you sell 1kg at market for 500. So many villager remain poor.”*

**Male, 52, Mvomero**

*“The roads are mainly gravel roads and most of the villages were reachable by such roads. For the villages in the mountainous areas the situation was not good. Some areas are hard to access and reach due to unimproved roads which are can only be used during dry season. During the rainy season they are slippery and dangerous to use, so that when it rains, all means of transport stop operating.”*

**Senior Technician Department of Works, Mvomero**

*“There are poor roads in our street. This problem has existed for a long time. Some initiatives have been taken by our previous councillor to bring a caterpillar and dig the road, especially during election campaigns. Our former councillor increased the problem instead of solving it because during rainfall, rainy water tends to enter in our houses and cause other houses to fall. Also, he built some culverts but they are too small so they cannot hold the heavy rain water.”*

**Woman, 76, Kigoma**

*“I expect my village leader to promote the construction of good road in order to encourage the presence of public transport from Vitonga village to town because there is too many people in this village who suffer from the issue. That’s why some of the pregnant mother deliver the babies on their way to hospital. But when they build a transport route from Vitonga to Morogoro, I believe that problem will be solved.”*

**Male, 60, Mvomero**

*Mr. N pointed out that for maintenance to commence and be completed there has to be funding and directives from high level decision makers and usually this depends on the availability of funds. “This causes complaints from the public on the status of completion and maintenance done by the department of works. The funds allocated for maintenance are more often not sufficient and most of their maintenance work ends up incomplete.”*

**Senior Technician, Department Of Works, Mvomero**

*“The funding provided from the Treasury is never enough, for instance if there is a road maintenance of ten kilometres, the funds which are disbursed usually are for the most notorious areas of the road which cover maybe 1.5km which may not have any impact on the accessibility and usage of the roads.”*

**Councillor Mlali, Mvomero**

The presence of and conditions of roads, and of wider transportation networks, arises as a concern for many participants. A lack of roads, as well as poor maintenance and annual flooding are considered to have an impact on health and on livelihoods.

Responsibility for road building and maintenance is not always clear, and is differentiated according to the type of roads. Indicators relating to local government performance will need to capture the extent to which local government is responsible for road construction and maintenance. In Kigoma, this extends to lake transport networks, and this could also be differentiated through an additional indicator.

### 3.1.2 Power

According to the survey, about 99.6% of respondents (with electricity connections) had experienced power cut-offs in the previous 3 days in their homes or around their area. Only 0.4% found no problem. Access to electricity is variable, and was low in the villages in Mvomero, but higher in Kigoma-Ujiji which reflects the urban location. Mains electricity is supplied by the state company, TANESCO, and therefore is an issue over which local government has limited influence or responsibility. However, it is a major concern raised by citizens.

*“Power is available for service line therefore they remain without power.”*

**Female, 36, Kigoma**

but people cannot manage to pay

*“We get electricity services. There is no big electricity problem but we need reliable electricity to support and attract investors to come and build industries here. Currently there are no big industries operating in Kigoma. By doing this it will attract many investors to come and invest in Kigoma. For example, there was one investor who wanted to invest here by constructing a cement industry but he failed to construct that industry because that industry required 25 megawatts and in Kigoma there is only the electricity with 9 megawatts.”*

**Male, 46, Sokoine- Kigoma**

*“Regarding electrical power in Kigoma, the problem is that most of the people can’t afford to connect electricity to their houses. And most of these houses are of poor quality and sometimes they did not have requirements or quality to get electricity. The one who is responsible to bring about development in our areas is the government. If they took the initiative to build industries here, it would bring employment hence development. We have power just for domestic use not to support industries.”*

**Male 82, Peasant and Carpenter, Kigoma**

*“There is a solar panel in our dispensary but it doesn’t work anymore. So if the hospital gets another solar panel it will help a lot.”*

**Female, 37, Mvomero**

*“There are two suppliers of electricity in Mziha. They use generators to produce electricity power. They spread wire to villagers where they charge 500/= Tshs per each bulb per day. They switch on the light at 6:30 pm and switch off the light at 00:00 am. So most of villagers are connected to those systems for light purpose only. Also there are few villagers who use solar power. We observe some of them use that solar power to charge mobile phones. For mobile phones they charge 300/= Tshs. So electricity production in Mziha is used as a source of income to some families.”*

**Village Police officer**

*“There is also the issue of power break outs, but not due to TANESCO but due to inadequate funds to buy credit. There are times during which certain buildings within the municipality have no power because the departments housed in the building have not received disbursements for catering of other charges (OC) items.”*

**Local government officer, Kigoma**

The ability of citizens and local government to pay for power is of greater concern to many people than the availability of power, so availability of power would be insufficient as an indicator on its own. Reliability and availability of power is considered important for business development and investment. However, the role that local government plays in the provision of power is limited. Most projects are under the control of the national power company TANESCO. Nevertheless, one potential area of focus could be in electricity connections for public institutions, as this would reflect local government support for this issue.

### 3.1.3 Water

59% of the respondents to the survey have an inadequate supply of water for their needs, while 54.5% do not have access to water all the time. This number goes up to 74.7% who have no access to clean water. However, in contrast, the District Water technician of Mvomero believes that 60.82% of Mvomero residents have access to clean and safe water at the distance of 400m.

*“From the 2012 census, the Mvomero population was 312,109. Today the population is estimated at 320,000. When there were 115 villages (now they are 130) 61 villages had access to water projects/sources.”*

**District Water Technician, Mvomero district**

Interviewees echoed the survey results when asked about their perception and experience of the water service, which many believe to be negative, as quotes below show.

Access to safe water is an important indicator of development, given its contribution to health and livelihoods, and also due to the burden of water collection.

*“Before the failure of this new water pump we were used to fetch water from a water tap around our village and we used to pay 50/= per bucket. Nowadays we get water from our village chairman who charges us 100/= per bucket and it is very far from our houses. This situation causes the decrease of living standard and the life became much harder. Such a situation causes us to spend up to 1000/= for water and 1500/= to rent a bicycle.”*

**Female 37, Mvomero**

*“There is no water in Kambala primary school due to the failure of village water pump. There has been no water since last year. Even when the students get injury in school there is no water to give him/her first aid.”*

**Head Teacher, Mvomero**

*“Because of this water problem we need to tell pregnant women who came to deliver in our dispensary to come with bucket of water in order to clean the blood after delivering. Our district council knows about these challenges but up to now nothing has been done.”*

**Doctor, Kambala dispensary, Mvomero**

*“Livestock keepers are becoming the big source of river pollution. (...) Livestock keepers take their cattle to river sources because there is a lot of water and grass there. The shortage of rainfall causes water to be a problem because everybody depends in water, even animals. (...) The villagers are also a source of water pollution. You find villagers wash their clothes in the river and perform other domestic activities near the rivers. Others carry out agriculture activities very close to the river.”*

**Male, 41, Mvomero**

*“Water services are challenging because people have to go fetch water at the Lake, where there is a well nearby. It can take an hour to go and return to fetch water and due to lack of water most family bathe only once.”*

**Female, 37, Kigoma**

*“I am very poor because the Lake Tanganyika is very far away to go and fetch water and I am too old to make that journey. Sometimes we buy water for about 200/= Tsh per bucket but it’s not good for drinking because that water isn’t treated. It’s 700/= for treated water, which I most often can’t afford. (...) I recommend the government to consider this matter in a serious way because people are really suffering due to water problem, and as we all know, water is life.”*

**Female, 75 years old, Kigoma**

*“Nowadays, we fetch water from wells but when these wells dry up we are supposed to walk 20-25km to a near village to fetch water. We go to Mkindo ward. There are water taps in every hamlet but there no water comes out of those taps.”*

**Female, 38, Mvomero**

*“The central government keep telling people that they are working on and ensuring people have clean and safe water. But the fund they provide is so little. People’s perception is that the district has money.”*

*“We saw this NGO on the internet, by that time it was drilling wells in Ghana. So we wrote them a proposal and they came and drilled 64 wells.”*

**District Water Technician, Mvomero district**

Access to water is a complex issue and setting meaningful indicators is not easy. The decentralisation of water policy in Tanzania has led to many different actors involved in water projects, and hence the responsibility of local government is not at all clear.

The quotes above illustrate this complexity, and also underline the wide range of water sources that people use. The presence of domestic drinking water infrastructure and maintenance, the time and labour costs of accessing water, and competition for water resources are all concerns. Local government officials express frustration with the lack of funding from central government, and the quotation above illustrates how they instead sought funding from international NGOs to sink boreholes.

### 3.1.4 Proposed indicators for physical infrastructure

Based on the research data, the following indicators are proposed in relation to physical infrastructure. Potential sources of data for some indicators are also suggested.

<b>PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE</b>	
<b>ROADS and TRANSPORT</b>	(a) Satisfaction survey (W) +(C) (b) % budget received by 1 January (DC) (c) Is the road a problem for you in your daily life? (W) (d) Is it accessible throughout year? (e) % road in good repair (DC) (f) Gender sensitivity of the service <sup>4</sup>
<b>POWER</b>	(a) % public facilities with electricity/power source (DC) (Health/Education under district control) (b) Is it reliable? (W) (c) Type of power source (DC) (d) Affordability of energy (W)
<b>WATER-domestic</b>	a) % sources clean and functioning for domestic use (DC) (b) % population with access to improved sanitation (DC) (c) % budget received by 1 January (DC), (d) Perception/experience of the service - Is your water supply sufficient and clean? Is it reliable? Is it affordable? (W)

Note: W- Wananchi (citizens), DC- District Council, C-Ward Councillors, FW- Field Workers

## 3.2 Social services

This category comprises health, education, welfare and justice. Again, in each of these categories, responsibility for service provision is not clearly within the jurisdiction of local government.

### 3.2.1 Health

Based on this research survey, 79.5% of the respondents reported not being satisfied with the service provided by either the health care centre or dispensary, and 71.9% of the interviewees said that they either did not have access to quality service or did not receive the service they wanted from either the health care centre or dispensary. Only 24.3% of our research respondents have contributed to the community health fund (CHF) and only 6.2% of our respondents believe either themselves or their families to be exempt from contributing to the CHF. The following quotes back up the survey findings:

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<sup>4</sup> Gender sensitivity was highlighted by CSOs in District workshops- but it is not clear how this might this be measured in relation to roads and transport links.

*“During the Mwinyi presidency, there was a lot of medicine in our dispensary, there was not a problem of medicines, but I don’t know why now you cannot find even paracetamol (panadol) in our dispensary.”*

**Male , 33, farmer, Mvomero**

*“Still, the problem is about the availability of medicines. When the Village chairperson asked them (MSD Staff) why they only brought six tins of medicines, the staff took their computer (laptop) and showed on their database that Kambala dispensary has debt about 9 million Tshs. So this problem is caused by the central government who fails to pay this debt.”*

**Doctor, Kambala dispensary, Mvomero**

*“The District receives medical supplies from Medical Supplies Department (MSD), once every quarter. The challenge has always been discrepancies on demand vs supply and delivery times. There are times when the ordered drugs and medical supplies come in incomplete packs and that causes shortages of drugs in health provision service centres within the district. The reason is that there seems to be a delay in payment from the headquarters which has a spillover effect on drugs and medical supplies ordered by the districts.”*

**Health Worker, Mvomero**

*“UNICEF left this project to the government. No effort is made to proceed with that project. For example, to pay those health attendants, to provide medicine and other medical tools. Such a situation causes many officer to work in hard environment hence most of them quit their job.*

**Male, Village Health officer, 35, Mvomero**

*“Nowadays when you go to Kambala dispensary they always say “there is nothing here”. Sometimes they can recommend you to pay 10,000/= Tshs for Community Health Fund (CHF), you can have that card but you still cannot get the required services.”*

**Male, 33, farmer, Mvomero**

*“The big problem they face is health services. There is a lack of medicines and medical supplies. The only medicine that they can easily get is paracetamol. Otherwise they have to buy from a pharmacy. The government should look at it and help them with the supply of medicines.”*

**Male, 55, Kigoma**

*“People are overcrowding at Maweni hospital because there isn’t enough doctor in Baptist hospital and they don’t work at night even for x – rays, surgery etc.”*

**Female, 58, nurse, Kigoma**

*“I know the benefits of health insurance. I have eight kids but that insurance is for four people only, and it costs 10,000/= tshs. I don’t have the ability to pay 20,000/= for two health insurances. They told us if you cut that insurance you will be treated in the dispensary and health centres but you won’t be referred to a hospital. That is a problem, because when you get a serious disease you cannot use that card.”*

**Male, 49, Kigoma**

*“I am concerned that services providers don’t follow the ethics of services provision. When service providers have their own pharmacy, they tend to say there is lack of medicines, so that the patients go and buy them, instead of providing free to them”*

**Male, 70, Kigoma**

*“There is a government hospital here but you have to give bribes in order to get treatment. You must pay for the services offered, even us elders. Even the government had told us we are supposed to be treated freely in public hospital but sometime we contribute money.”*

**Male, 85, Kigoma**

*“Despite having problems related with availability of drugs and medical supply and shortage of medical staff, some centres still operate at a satisfactory level. These are centres which are mainly privately owned or otherwise established by missionary organizations. Some religious institutions like the Catholic Church offer medical supplies aid to those hard-hit dispensaries and that provides a bit of relief. Those centres are not affected by the bureaucratic and inefficient system of MSD and they are free to obtain medical supplies and drugs from other sources. As a result, they often have all the demanded drugs and medical services needed.”*

**Municipal Head Nurse, Kigoma**

Interviews with citizens and health providers highlight issues over: the lack of medical supplies; shortage and incompetence of medical staff; inability to afford the CHF; corruption within the system; and lack of sustainability of donor projects. Care through private facilities or faith-based institutions is very common.

One of these quotes shows a perceived line of accountability, with the village chairperson challenging the MSD over medical supplies; the MSD blamed the central government for not covering the debts of the dispensary. Other quotes show an expectation that government should ensure free healthcare and supply of medicines, but this is not resulting in availability at the local or district level. This illustrates the issue of funding systems from central government, and the extent to which local government institutions can influence these.

### 3.2.2 Education

81.2% of the respondents said that they had paid an extra contribution to support education for their children who are in secondary/primary. In line with the survey, interviewees expressed concerns about the additional contribution they had to pay for their children to attend school.

*“When [the pupils] get home and parents fail to pay those contributions, most children refuse to go to schools because they are scared of being punished and therefore perform badly because they missed classes.”*

**Entrepreneur, 39, Kigoma**

*“There is high rate of dropout rate in school due to the high contributions for watchman, examination fees, printing paper fee and so on. Sometimes parents fail to pay these, and it results in dropouts as pupils will no longer go to schools because they will be expelled or punished. This results in poor performance. Magufuli (the president) said that education will be for free and I want that promise to come true in order to avoid such inconveniences.”*

**Male, 45, Street Chairman, Katonga, Kigoma**

*“Previously we were used to paying a small amount of money for desks and food and it was in a specific period but nowadays they charge us every day (exams, food, and security).”*

**Female, 38, Mvomero**

*“There are teachers who are employed by the government and there are teachers who are employed by parents (volunteer teachers)... Parents contribute 2000/= Tshs per month and teachers are paid 150,000/= per month. The village government gives domestic products to those teachers and they provide them houses near Kambala primary school.”*

**Head Teacher, Mvomero**

*“We have to contribute 3000/= Tshs per month for kindergarten pupils, but I see the outcome of this money. But in primary school there is lot of problems for example we have to contribute food for our kids to eat when they are at school, but we have to contribute 200/= every day for oil.”*

**Female, Mvomero**

*“There are schools here but there is a shortage of desks and teachers. Even if there are teachers in these schools they don't teach well. They have poor teaching skills. For example a student can pass a year without filling his/her exercise books with notes. Such a situation proves that these teachers lack seriousness and pupils are not taught enough.”*

**Male, 45, Kigoma**

*“In our areas there are both secondary and primary schools. The problem with these schools is the shortage of teachers, especially those who teach science subjects. Since the start of form one, we study science subjects especially when field teachers come (teacher who came from universities or colleges). And those teachers normally stay for a short period of time.”*

**Female, 18, Kigoma**

*“When I studied in Kambala primary school, the quality of education was high because most of the teachers were used to working hard compared to current teachers. Nowadays, many teachers are form four failures, teachers with division four.”*

**Male, 33, farmer, Mvomero**

*“There is a big rate of absenteeism. Some students stay at home for almost a week and no action is taken. Some students stay almost a week without being taught and no action taken by parents.”*

**Female, 27, Kigoma**

*“Most of the people don’t consider education as an important part of their life. This is the reason why life is hard for most people in our area. Most parents here use their kids to undertake domestic activities like farming.”*

**Male, Councillor, 40, Kigoma**

*“There are shortages of toilets in schools, and the available toilets are very dirty which is very dangerous for our kids’ health. No measures are taken to deal with that problem.”*

**Male, 45, Kigoma**

*“Some parents are ready to give money (bribes) to some government officials in order to remove the names of their children from passing lists in order to keep them at home and help with agriculture activities.”*

**Female, Mvomero**

*“The thing that leads to a drop in the quality of education in Kambala is the presence of conflict between farmers and livestock keepers. For example, last year and early this year, there was a big fight between farmers and livestock keepers, which even caused the death of some villagers. This implies that it was difficult for both teacher and students to attend school, due to the fear of losing their lives.”*

**Female, 38, Mvomero**

*“These 22 schools have 8800 students and 694 teachers. We have 126 science teachers and we are missing 156 teachers. For arts subjects, we have enough and even additional teachers. In 2014, 936 students finished form four and 450 joined form five. The rest joined teacher colleges and other courses. Less than 100 students failed. Mvomero district led in performance and the pass rate was 77%. National wise, we held 1st position.*

*“Infrastructure available to the teachers is questionable. There is a shortage of houses and working instruments for the teachers, and the available ones are in a very poor condition. The district has only 88 houses and 697 teachers.”*

*“Government instructed districts to build laboratories but did not provide funding. So the onus was with district where to get resources from. Districts had to divert resources from other development projects because they were not ready to defy the president’s instructions.”*

**Statistician and Logistic Officer Secondary Education, Mvomero District**

Key issues in relation to education are a frustration at the requirement for financial and labour contributions, a lack of educational infrastructure, and a wider concern from some about the opportunity cost of sending children to school.

Again, we see frustration from local government as to the level of funds released from central government in order to fulfil plans for increased infrastructure. As noted in Working Paper 2, much of education policy and the appointment of teachers is under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and therefore the local government has limited responsibility for education quality and provision.

### 3.2.3 Welfare

Responsibilities for social welfare are not well clarified at the level of local government, and service delivery in this area tends to rely on NGO operations. However, our research revealed citizen concerns with the latest phase of the Tanzanian Social Action Fund (TASAF) which is implementing a conditional cash transfer system.

The TASAF project was designed to assist the rural poor in acquiring basic needs . The financial assistance ranges from 20,000TZS to 72,000TZS depending on how big the family is in terms of the number of children. According to the survey, 83.5% do not believe that the TASAF procedure to identify low-income families is fair and this has been repeated in both districts.

*“While the project was meant to bridge the gap between poverty and sustained development by first acquiring subsistence needs, the beneficiaries were not appropriately using the funds for intended purposes. There are lots of instances when the families were availed the funds only to finish their portions within the shortest time than intended.”*

*“We took our own initiative to offer each beneficiary individual training and sensitization on how to utilize the funds to engage in economic activity or commercial activity, which will yield more even after the project ends. The project is due to end in 2018.”*

**Community Development Officer, Mvomero district**

The cash transfer coordinator from the Mvomero district argues that the level of cooperation and participation for each project varies depending on the location and the challenges encountered.

*“Some beneficiaries, initially refused the money, did not know what to do with it or were too lazy to invest the money in something meaningful.”*

*“Sometimes local officers do not identify the beneficiary families properly or intentionally change their details”*

*“Sometimes men spend the money on alcohol or benefit from the transfer when their families no longer live with them”*

**Male, Cash Transfer Coordinator, Mvomero**

*“The government and the people should critically look in the matter of aid distribution because the ones who are in need don’t get the aid while the people with standard lives do. (...) This is a sign of corruption”*

**Female, 80, Kigoma**

*“I heard of TASAF but I have not benefited from it. Sometimes these aid benefits don’t reach the required people: poor people are left out and richer people benefited.”*

**Male, 55, Kigoma**

*“The TASAF programme continues to take place in our areas. The programme is to help poor households by giving them funds. But they are not fair: when they came for the first time they took our names but when they came for the second time, some of our names were deleted, including mine. And for sure, I’m not good financially. I don’t know the criteria they used to delete our names. Some poor families benefit from that program but it is very sad that some better-off families benefited while poor families suffered and were left behind.”*

**Female, 45, Kigoma**

*“I am disabled. I have a big family, a wife with six kids. With my situation, I think it was a duty for the village government to register me to benefit from the TASAF money. (...) Other families, who have only one kid, got that money. Even people with no family got it. I find it unfair. Our village government is not performing well, because it leaves some poor villagers behind.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“The amount of money provided is a problem. For example, they provide from 10,000/= to 20,000/= tshs. What can you do with that money? This is not enough to open a business or to buy uniforms for your kids. For sure, these amounts are not enough to cover the needs of a poor Tanzanian.”*

**Male, 62, Kigoma**

*“I joined the TASAF programmes in 2014 and received the money five times. The first time, I got 17000/= tshs, the second time 60000/=tshs, the third time 60000/=tshs, the fourth time 20000/= and the fifth time 20000/= tshs. I do not know anything about this program but what I knows is that they came register poor family and provide money to them. I do not know the allocation criteria. I hear that the money was provided in order to help parents put their children in school. The program is good but I beg the government to increase the amount of money.*

**Female, 76, Kigoma**

*“TASAF did not solve anything. Instead, it brought conflicts as this program targets women in households. Women are the only people who are allowed to receive that money. So most of men are not happy with that situation and there is a lot of conflicts in many families regarding this money. It has helped some families because that money is for free so people use to buy food etc.”*

**Male, 49, Entrepreneur, Kigoma**

The TASAF cash transfer project dominates discussion of welfare issues. The quotations reveal concerns over how beneficiaries are selected, and how the money is used. Other social welfare

issues such as care for orphans and vulnerable children were not referred to frequently during interviews. However, local government does have some responsibilities towards these groups.

TASAF is a central government fund, but is implemented through the local government system. Therefore, local government is at the forefront of making decisions on who is to benefit from the funding. Community development officers are also supposed to play a co-ordinating role for NGOs and CBO activities in their Districts. Both of these activities could provide an indication of local government engagement with issues of welfare.

### 3.2.4 Justice

92.4% of survey respondents agreed that there is an inadequate system of legal redress and justice. Quotations from the research illustrate the range of concerns:

*“Among community leaders, a certain member is corrupted and he seems to be close to VEO. I am now worried no development will take place in our community. Community leaders need to work for the community because they were selected to serve the community. If they are corrupted, then them being in service is wrong.”*

**Female, Representative, 37, Kigoma**

*“In Vitonga, some time ago, there were some conflicts, especially between farmers and pastoralists. One person’s cows ate my crops and I took the case to the court. The case was heard by the primary court up to the district court, but because of corruption I didn’t win the case.*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“Our village government had some weakness because they failed to follow the rules they made themselves. For instance, in Mziha, there is no clean water because Mang’ati and Masai took their cattle to drink water in the river Mziha and feed them near the river which is very dangerous because people use that water to drink and cook. The village government was supposed to take measures against these people but they did not do anything, because they always take bribes from pastoralists.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“Even nowadays, the contestants for MP position and ward councillors are bribing the commons by giving them little amount of money to vote for them. Others are sponsoring school fees for some students who are in government schools by paying Tsh 20, 000/= as school fees per year.”*

**Male, 57, boat captain, Kigoma**

*“A former policeman was not accepted by most of the village because he loved to use force rather than educate village and give advice. I think the way he lived within the village was not good. After I came here, I used to give advice and education on how to deal with Mziha villagers. I dealt with a lot of cases but most of them finished in the village office such as, for example, conflicts between livestock keepers (Masai, Mangati, and Sukuma) and farmers. When a keeper’s cattle entered into a farm and the farmer reported it, I used to call both parts and find a solution. Usually, both parts agreed on the amount of money in order to compensate for the damages. A farmer can require 200000/= or 100000/=Tshs. (...) I don’t have any records of the cases but up to now I solved about 50 cases since I came here last year.”*

**Male, Village Police officer, Mvomero**

*“August to February is the period during which production is good, but we have the problem of thieves, especially youth. Once the crops are ready to harvest, young people come to steal our crops. Half of the farm’s crops have been stolen.”*

**Female, 50, Kigoma**

*“I can’t build a new house in Kambala because in Kambala there is no enough security. You can build a good house but at the end you cannot live in it. My brothers left our good house in Kambala and went to start a new life at Chalinze because of the war between farmers and livestock keepers. So they decided to go with their families and their cattle.”*

**Male, 42, Mvomero**

*“The police does a good job at ensuring there is security, especially with the thieves who steal people’s properties. They usually catch them and take them to the police station to take further decisions.”*

**Female, 41, Kigoma**

*“The case between farmers and livestock keepers is still in the court of law. The reason behind is that the Kambala village government, especially our village chairperson, want those farmers from Morogoro municipal to contribute in village development. Most of these farmers don’t stay in Kambala village: they come during rainy season and leave the village after harvesting. Secondly, the Ministry of Land erased all village boundaries between all four villages ie. Mkindo, Dihombo, Kigugu and Kambala. The village chairperson wants the government to use the boundaries stated on 2008 instead of the boundaries stated in 1986”.*

**VEO, Mvomero**

*“Limited resources has also limited the involvement of legal personnel in activities carried out by operational department. There is very limited funding from the government on quarterly disbursements. As a result operational department carry on their activities (especially those requiring legal assistance) without involving legal personnel. For instance, Land Officers were involved in agreements with villagers on land distribution without the involvement of the legal department, only to realize that the agreements were not compliant with the law. This resulted in the signing of the agreements being delayed and complaints were raised towards the legal departments for the delay. Not involving the legal personnel is not a choice of the heads of the department but it’s because the fund shortages in a manner that most heads of departments cannot afford to cater for legal personnel costs. They resort to carrying out their activities without the services of the legal personnel. I am concerned by the state of political interferences and the lack of legal knowledge from the political leaders. There are times when Political Leaders ignore the significance of compliance of the Laws either for their own political gain or simply because of little knowledge of the Law.”*

**Legal Officer, Mvomero**

*“Despite the culture barrier and beliefs, places where activities are carried out have a considerable prevalence for corruption and non-compliance to laws, rules and regulations. It’s because of those reasons that some areas end up being prone to conflict and therefore it becomes difficult to come up with sustainable development initiatives.”*

**Planning Officer, Mvomero**

Citizens express their concerns with levels of crime, corruption and in some areas, conflict. Dissatisfaction with the operation of some Police Officers is also a concern. Local government officials highlight an issue of non-compliance with rules and regulation, and political manipulation and corruption within the system.

Many of the components of the justice system lie outside of the direct control of local government e.g. the Police. However, interactions at the local level between the justice and local government systems are regular. In addition, the village/street councils have direct jurisdiction to deal with matters of ‘peace and security’.

At all levels, issues of non-compliance with regulations and process are frequent, and enabled by exchange of money, social connections and kinship. Working paper 2 further discusses this issue as the gap between ‘rules in theory’ and ‘how things happen in practice’.

### 3.2.5 Proposed indicators for social services

Potential indicators for each of these areas are suggested below, along with potential sources of data.

<b>SOCIAL SERVICES</b>	
<b>HEALTH</b>	(a) CHF awareness/receipt (W) (b) % exempted from payment (DC) (c) % budget received for health by 1 January (DC) (d) % staff vacancies (DC) (e) satisfaction on service received (W) (Drugs, beds, staff attitude), staff satisfaction (FW) (salaries, equipment/training/facilities) (f) % births with Trained Birth Attendant (DC) Availability of health services (W) (g) Mortality rates of mothers and children under five years (DC/MoH) (h) Rates of malnutrition in district (DC)
<b>EDUCATION</b>	(a) enrolment, completion and pass rate (disaggregated by gender and wealth) (DC) (b) % staff vacancies (DC) (c) Average student/teacher ratio in Standard 1-7 (DC) (d) satisfaction (W) - Do you pay extra contributions? (W) (e) Satisfaction (FW-teachers)- salaries, equipment, working conditions (f) %budget received by 1 January (DC) (g) Number of early pregnancies (DC) (h) Measure of school infrastructure- water/power, Toilets, learning resources, school feeding programme (DC)
<b>WELFARE</b>	a) TASAF (conditional cash transfers, process in place to check beneficiary selection, number receiving (DC), (b) Perception of TASAF <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the selection process fair? (W)</li> <li>• What impacts does it have? (W)</li> </ul> (c) Community development officers (DC) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orphans and vulnerable children- do you have systems in place to identify them and provide exemptions/access to education?</li> <li>• Do you monitor/co-ordinate NGOs/CBOs?</li> <li>• Do you have a full list of NGOs/CBOs operating?</li> </ul> % who have sent in annual reports for last year
<b>JUSTICE</b>	(a) Satisfaction with Peace and security committees in ward and village levels, Police, Courts system (W) (b) Corruption perception (explore afro-barometer questions e.g. Have you paid a bribe?) (W)

## 3.3 Livelihoods and Resources

### 3.3.1 Land

In many ways, issues of land access also relate to questions of justice and legal redress outlined in section 3.2.4 above. However, the frequency with which concerns of land access, ownership and use are raised in our interviews justifies its consideration as a separate category. This is also especially important in an economy where the majority of the population depend to some extent on agriculture.

51% of respondents in the survey said that they have witnessed or heard land conflict over the past 12 months in the village/street, with 25.8% of the interviewees reporting the acquisition of local land by external investors.

*“The common land disputes are village to village boundary dispute and land use conflict. These are conflict between two major land users for instance the farmers and livestock keepers, the dispute between villages and reserved areas. This happens when village settlers invade reserved area e.g. for forestry and carry on farming or livestock keeping activities and the individual to individual land border dispute. There is an overlap between the establishment of the villages and the actual bordering of the villages. They are done by two independent authorities. Currently the procedure is such that the registrar of villages is Prime Minister’s office Local Government authority whereas the surveyor and a planner is the ministry of Lands. In practice, the village is supposed to be surveyed and planned before it’s registered, however the procedure is that the Prime Minister’s office registers the village and then calls the planners to establish borders which proves to be difficult to the surveyors and planner who have no base for bordering the village area. As a result there has been incidences where the bordering of villages has also been the reason for land conflict.”*

**Official at Land Dev. & Natural Resources, Mvomero**

*“In my view, these conflicts, especially those involving farmers and animal keepers as well as land conflicts, have a significant effect on the collection of revenue. A conflict area has very little to offer because most activities come to stop when there is a conflict. Animals are killed, crops are destroyed, and land is abandoned, whereas under normal operational circumstances the economic activities involving such places would have added a considerable revenue to the projected revenue.”*

**Planning Officer, Mvomero**

*“Most of occupants have no title in Kigoma Municipal and this has been a result of corruption and poor governance of land department.”*

**Chairperson at Mtaa Level (ACT- Wazalendo), 31, Kigoma**

*“Before, they used to feed our cattle in those areas throughout the year, but the former president of Tanzania Benjamin William Mkapa took that ranch and it became its property. He turned that ranch into sugar cane plantations. He took a huge area which previously was used by livestock keepers to feed their cattle. Such a situation causes the feeding area to be small hence the rise of this conflict. In my opinion, if the ranch is brought back under the control of people, I am 90% sure this conflict will end.”*

**Male, 33, Mvomero**

*“Most people in our community are poor because they depend only on one source of income that is the Lake Tanganyika through fishing activities. It is fine when it’s a fishing season but if not they remain poor, back to square one. If they had land for agriculture activities it would have solved the problem because some people would have engage in agriculture but they are living in town hence no land for agriculture.”*

**Female, 34, Kigoma**

*“While the government has made efforts to establish Land Law Act No. 6 which stipulates every land to be planned and mapped, its implementation is likely to hit a huge barrier in the way of Farming Technology. Scientifically one cow is supposed to consume 6 acres of grass per year. If you take the population of cattle in Kambala, they would require the whole of Mvomero district and beyond for grazing alone. The argument has been ‘couldn’t there be a mechanism to use a smaller piece of land per cow where that land is made to reproduce enough food for a cow for a year say one eighth of an acre?’ This was countered by another argument: ‘wouldn’t there be a mechanism for farmer to use a smaller piece of land to cultivate more?’.”*

Disputes over land use are common. In Mvomero, there is conflict between pastoralist cattle herders and settled farmers. In addition, population growth, land enclosures and sales are causing shortage of land and an increase in friction. This is further compounded by considerable complexity in land ownership claims. In Kigoma, with a decline in the local fishing industry, there is now a greater interest in agriculture, but difficulties in accessing land for this activity.

Through the 1999 Villages Land Act, Village Councils have considerable powers to allocate land and to manage land sales. The District level has a responsibility for land use planning and mapping, whilst ultimately all land remains the property of the central state. The central state can decide to reclassify land. Within layers of government, there are also confusions and contradictions in land registration and classification processes that appear to contribute to the numbers of land disputes.

### 3.3.2 Agriculture (Livestock, Fisheries and Farming)

Our survey indicated that 93.7% of respondents find agricultural activities problematic in terms of accessing inputs, advice and markets.

*“Agriculture activities are among the big sources of income, but here most of people cannot afford to perform agriculture. Most of them they cannot afford to buy land to practice agriculture. As such, many people engage in performing small scale agriculture only for food and not for business. Most of people deal with maize and beans agriculture.”*

**Male, 45, Kigoma**

*“Recently palm trees have been good but the problem is extension officers: there is a shortage of extension officers who can provide education and advice about this types of crops and best practice of agriculture. I’ve never seen an Extension Officer in this area. They stay in their office while they were supposed to be in the field.”*

**Male, 91, Kigoma**

*“There are some diseases which attack our cattle. These diseases attack our cattle and kill them. In Kambala there is no livestock officer to which we can report such a problem. But what we did was to consult the livestock officer from Dakawa. We used to pay him in order to get his services. Paying him was right because he is not our village officer. Also sometimes we treat our cattle on our own. For example we used to give cow PPF (human medicines) in order to treat Mbuta, and we had succeed to treat them and reduce the number of death to our cattle.”*

**Male, 42, Mvomero**

*“The extension officer is a hard working person because he used to come in our hamlet and provide education to some villagers about agriculture, but the problem is the villagers because they don’t use the services of this extension officer for any advice or assistance. I think the problem is lack of education of the people.”*

**Male-Mvomero**

*“I’ve haven’t seen the extension officer in Kikeo for a long time and I never got any agriculture advice from them. I used to perform agriculture activities from the knowledge I got from my parent and other people. I don’t see the importance of this person. If there is no rainfall there is no need for him because people produce more if there is enough rainfall.”*

**Male, elder, Mvomero**

*“Kigoma farmers have no sufficient income to deploy scientific farming which is more lucrative commercially for its capability of producing bigger and quality yield. Most farmers resort to primitive ways of farming for subsistence and even a few who wish to do commercial farming do so with little or no efficient agriculture inputs like quality seeds, fertilizer and they use hand hoes. And due to less animal keepers it’s very rare to use cattle ploughing which is a bit better by comparison....even with primitive methods of farming, farmers do need a close consultation with agriculture officers on different issues like crop rotation and land use, irrigation, soil quality and how to keep seeds. However, that is made difficult due to lack of funding to reach the farmers, for instances there are rivers and valleys to cross before one gets to the areas where farming is a common practice. Funds have been requested to repair the infrastructure by building bridges, creating irrigation schemes and create close proximity to the farmers but have born no fruits.”*

**Male, Ag. Municipal Agriculture Officer, Kigoma District**

*“We did not benefit from those fertilizers and when we went to the village office, they told us the fertilizers were gone. You could hear the government said they had successfully provided fertilizer to all farmers in all Tanzanian villages, but in reality it is a big lie because not all villages benefited from that project. Our village is left behind and especially our hamlet in all aspects like clean water, school and health services.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“The village government in collaboration with the village formed a committee which will be responsible for running a tractor but nothing has happened. I always say the truth: one day the village leaders wanted to take me to police because I said the truth about fertilizer allocations. They wrote our names and we put our signatures down but they did not give us those fertilizers. I asked why they said they would give us those fertilizers but did not do it.”*

**Male, Mvomero**

*“The former councillor was given fertilizers and maize to give to the community members but he sold them instead of giving free to people.”*

**Male, 41, Mvomero**

*“Farmers do not get sufficient inputs like fertilizers as planned. There is usually a sabotage between agents and some government officials who sell a portion of inputs and the other portion agents sell at a market price for huge profits.”*

**Former Councillor, Kigoma**

*“In Vitonga village there are different projects conducted by different organizations. But they bring more problems. For example: when they test their seeds on villager’s farm, it causes the spread of crop diseases to other farms. Last year one NGO came and provided tomato seeds to some villagers. When they saw that they could produce seeds in large quantities, they sold them, which caused other tomato plants to get the disease. When they informed the NGO, the NGO brought medicine that was sold for 75000/= per bottle. These projects bring more problems than benefits.”*

*“The Whiteman gave an African a coat when it was hot, and the African man celebrated to carry that coat but soon, when the winter came the Whiteman took his coat back. This statement means that these organizations provide some seeds, fertilizers and other supports and we see them as a relief but later on they bring a lot of problems.”*

**Member of Village Council, Mvomero**

*“Several NGOs came in Vitonga to provide agriculture education. These groups played a great role in providing agriculture education to Vitonga people through farmer field school systems. Some villagers benefit from these projects, including myself. One group taught us the modern ways of practicing agriculture activities such as farm preparation, planting, quality of seeds and types of fertilizers.”*

**Member of Village Council, Mvomero**

*“This market is very useful to the people of Kambala since it brings the service close to people. It reduces cost especially when we want to sell our cattle and it helps to increase the villagers’ income. This market helps other villagers to conduct other businesses like selling drinks, food, clothes. Though there are a lot of challenge like the absence of toilets despite the district council collect taxes from. They charge 2000/= this per cows and 1000/= per goats and sheep. They collect a lot of taxes but they cannot even construct a toilet. What do they use that money for?”*

**Male, 30, Mvomero**

*“There are very few businesses and most of them are still small in the area covering Kigoma-Ujiji municipal. The situation is the Tanzanian Revenue Authority (TRA) are looking at them for tax yield. The municipal trade officers are also expecting levies from the same small businesses and as a result these businesses are subjected to the risk of collapsing due to a huge load of taxes and levies before they are even fully operational and enjoy a considerable profit.”*

**Ag. Municipal Trade Officer, Kigoma district**

*“Overall Mwasenga people were not supposed to be poor if they had agricultural input support. Those who were lucky to receive the little the government can offer have made a very significant step and are doing very well. One farmer who was lucky to get fertilizer and a few shillings from his savings group, later invested into his vegetable farm. He is now doing very well, he sells his vegetable products in Congo and Burundi and no longer depends of inputs from the government nor money from the saccos.*

*“Even fishing has not substantially improved people’s wellbeing although it has the potential of doing so. This is because of very poor fishing methods and traditional means which produce little output. If fishermen used modern fishing techniques the yield would be very high, which means higher income and therefore higher standard of life.”*

**Male, Former Councillor, Kigoma district**

Lack of inputs, shortage of land and funds, the unavailability of local extension officers, the lack of infrastructure, conflict, and the negative involvement of some NGOs are among the many issues cited for problems in livelihoods. Extension workers within local government often raise concerns about their lack of transport and the huge population and land areas that they are expected to cover.

Local government does have jurisdiction for local agricultural extension workers, and also administers input subsidy schemes at the behest of central government. Therefore, both of these aspects offer potential indicators for assessing activity. In addition, in times of food shortage (such as 2016-17) local government also plays a role in the distribution of food aid.

Indicators in this section might also be adapted to reflect local livelihoods concerns such as fishing in Kigoma.

### 3.3.3 Proposed indicators on livelihoods and resources

<b>LIVELIHOODS AND RESOURCES</b>	
<b>LAND</b>	(a) Incidences of land disputes (W) (b) % village land use plans complete (DC) (c) Land use patterns (DC)
<b>AGRICULTURE (Livestock, Fisheries &amp; Farming)</b>	(a) Production stats (DC) (b) Number of extension workers (DC) (c) Transport availability for extensions workers (DC) (d) Nutrition and Food Security for the poorest (DC) (e) %budget received by 1 January (f) People's perception on service (W) [e.g. When did you last meet an extension worker?] (g) Access to inputs (e.g. voucher schemes) (DC) (h) Availability of water for irrigation (DC- in liaison with National Irrigation Commission) (i) (Kigoma) Fishery Extension advice

### 3.4 Political processes

Section 2 of this report offers a more detailed overview of citizen concerns with political processes, including both the allocation of resources, and accountability for the actions (or non-actions) of the state. In this section, we consider potential indicators for assessing the character of political processes at the level of local government.

According to the survey, 56.3% of the respondents had met with their local leader (village chairperson, ward leader) within the last year. 50.7% said that they were satisfied with the job performed by their local leaders and 63.9% have contributed to village plans for the past year or in the past quarter year, while 67% have participated in the community meeting in the last year or in the past quarter year.

Potential indicators of aspects of the political process are suggested below. A perception survey aimed at different levels of the local government system could help to highlight some of the 'lines of blame' that were highlighted in section 2.

<b>POLITICAL</b>	
<b>Representatives effectiveness-</b>	<p>Perception Survey (W)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did you contribute to village planning last year/quarter?</li> <li>• Have you "met" (had a personal contact) with your ward councillor, VEO, WEO, village chair, etc.?</li> <li>• Did you participate in village assemblies?</li> <li>• Does your Member of Parliament do a good job?</li> </ul> <p>(C)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have you agreed to the DC budget?</li> <li>• Effectiveness of village/street councils</li> </ul> <p>(DC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• % of women in non-special seats</li> <li>• Effectiveness of ward councillors.</li> </ul>

## 4 Long list of potential indicators for local governance index

Table 3 consolidates the list of indicators outlined in section 3. It was constructed based on analysis from phase 1 data and responds to each of the key service delivery areas identified in section 3 above. This long list of indicators is to be refined in phase 2 of the research through an active process of engagement with District Councils, civil society and citizens. Potential sources of data for some indicators are suggested.

W- Wananchi (citizens), DC- District Council, C-Ward Councillors, FW- Field Workers

**Table 3: List of potential indicators for local governance index**

<b>PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE</b>	
<b>ROADS</b>	(a) Satisfaction survey (W) +(C) (b) % budget received by 1 January (DC) (c) Is the road a problem for you in your daily life? (W) (d) Is it accessible throughout year? (e) % road in good repair (DC) (f) Gender sensitivity of the service <sup>5</sup>
<b>POWER</b>	(a) % public facilities with electricity/power source (DC) (Health/Education under district control) (b) Is it reliable? (W) (c) Type of power source (DC) (d) Affordability of energy (W)
<b>WATER-domestic</b>	(a) % sources clean and functioning for domestic use (DC) (b) % population with access to improved sanitation (DC) (c) % budget received by 1 January (DC), (d) Perception/experience of the service - Is your water supply sufficient and clean? Is it reliable? Is it affordable? (W)
<b>SOCIAL SERVICES</b>	
<b>HEALTH</b>	(a) CHF awareness/receipt (W) (b) % exempted from payment (DC) (c) % budget received for health by 1 January (DC) (d) % staff vacancies (DC) (e) satisfaction on service received (W) (Drugs, beds, staff attitude), staff satisfaction (FW) (salaries, equipment/training/facilities (f) % births with Trained Birth Attendant (DC) Availability of health services (W) (g) Mortality rates of mothers and children under five years (DC/MoH) (h) Rates of malnutrition in district (DC)
<b>WELFARE</b>	(a) Enrolment, completion and pass rate (disaggregated by gender and wealth) (DC) (b) % staff vacancies (DC) (c) Average student/teacher ratio in Standard 1-7 (DC) (d) satisfaction (W) - Do you pay extra contributions? (W) (e) Satisfaction (FW-teachers)- salaries, equipment, working conditions

<sup>5</sup> Gender sensitivity was highlighted by CSOs in District workshops- but it is not clear how this might this be measured in relation to roads and transport links.

	(f) %budget received by 1 January (DC) (g) Number of early pregnancies (DC) (h) Measure of school infrastructure- water/power, Toilets, learning resources, school feeding programme (DC)
<b>EDUCATION</b>	<p>a) TASAF (conditional cash transfers, process in place to check beneficiary selection, number receiving (DC),</p> <p>(b) Perception of TASAF</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the selection process fair? (W)</li> <li>• What impacts does it have? (W)</li> </ul> <p>(c) Community development officers (DC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orphans and vulnerable children- do you have systems in place to identify them and provide exemptions/access to education?</li> <li>• Do you monitor/co-ordinate NGOs/CBOs?</li> <li>• Do you have a full list of NGOs/CBOs operating?</li> </ul> <p>% who have sent in annual reports for last year</p>
<b>JUSTICE</b>	<p>(a) Satisfaction with Peace and security committees in ward and village levels, Police, Courts system (W)</p> <p>(b) Corruption perception (explore afro-barometer questions e.g. Have you paid a bribe?) (W)</p>
<b>LIVELIHOODS AND RESOURCES</b>	
<b>LAND</b>	(a) Incidences of land disputes (W) (b) % village land use plans complete (DC) (c) Land use patterns (DC)
<b>AGRICULTURE (Livestock, Fisheries &amp; Farming)</b>	(a) Production stats (DC) (b) Number of extension workers (DC) (c) Transport availability for extensions workers (DC) (d) Nutrition and Food Security for the poorest (DC) (e) %budget received by 1 January (f) People's perception on service (W) [e.g. When did you last meet an extension worker?] (g) Access to inputs (e.g. voucher schemes) (DC) (h) Availability of water for irrigation (DC- in liaison with National Irrigation Commission) (i) (Kigoma) Fishery Extension advice
<b>POLITICAL</b>	
<b>Representatives effectiveness-</b>	<p>Perception Survey (W)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did you contribute to village planning last year/quarter?</li> <li>• Have you "met" (had a personal contact) your ward councillor, VEO, WEO, village chair etc?</li> <li>• Did you participate in village assemblies?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Do the Members of Parliament do a good job?</li></ul> <p>(C)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Have you agreed to the DC budget?</li><li>• Effectiveness of village/street councils</li></ul> <p>(DC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• % of women in non-special seats</li><li>• Effectiveness of ward councillors.</li></ul>
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## 5 Conclusion and next steps

This is a working document and presents a first analytical stage in a process to try to find meaningful indicators of local governance performance. The long list of indicators will be refined through a second stage of interactive research workshops with the range of stakeholders engaged in the production of this report. The final selection of indicators will be based on a pragmatic view of the resource requirements to gather data to assess the indicators. Therefore, we will assess already existing sources of data in relation to the indicators. Where new data is required, this research project will work with local partners to collect necessary data.

By May 2017 we will have a first set of baseline data in order to create a starting index for each District. We do this with the aim of the index being a tool for constructive dialogue between the stakeholders and a way of focusing on local problem-solving.

By June 2017, we will have agreed processes within each of the Districts in order to take the work on the index further.

This report highlights how the construction of a local governance performance index is no easy task. Our analysis of lines of blame within local governance suggests that at present different actors within the local governance system blame each other for problems in service delivery. Lines of accountability and responsibility are frequently blurred and contested. Policy and legislation exists on paper, but is often not implemented in practice. It is therefore not always clear who is the duty-bearer and who is the rights-holder; and indeed whether these concepts are very helpful in this context.

Therefore, we do not support the idea that an index can be used as a simple performance measure of local government capacity. Rather an index of local governance performance and service delivery will be required to act as a discursive tool for the engagement of the wide range of actors. As has already been very clear in District level workshops, the act of trying to understand local governance, to map lines of blame and lines of responsibility, and blockages in service delivery, allows different actors to understand each other's positions and challenges. An index used as a collaborative problem-solving tool, rather than an accountability weapon, might have greater potential.

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