

## Local Government and Poverty Reduction in Tanzania

*Athumani J. Liviga\**

### **Abstract**

*The Union Government's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PSRP) and the Zanzibar Government's Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Paper (ZPRP) seek to reduce poverty in Tanzania. This article conceptualized poverty as a multidimensional problem involving health, education, access to socio-economic and political power, and status. From independence and lasting into the 1990s, it was thought that people's development and eradicating poverty was the sole responsibility of the government, assisted occasionally by aid agencies and donor countries. Development was a government affair and citizens were, by default, the beneficiaries of development. Now, however, because of various problems, especially the state's declining financial capacity, it has become clear that the central government cannot by itself address poverty. Local governance institutions are of central importance due to their service provision role and their close links to the people at the grassroots level. But in this they depend on other institutions, such as the private sector, NGO's, CBO's, and donors. The success of poverty eradication efforts depends on how the central government devolves powers and resources to local authorities, and how the central government puts in place mechanisms to hold local authorities accountable. This article contends that Local Government Authorities (LGAs), as currently structured and financed, cannot succeed in the assigned role of fighting poverty in Tanzania. Local government structures, relations with other institutions, and existing levels of resources limit the capacity of LGAs to fight poverty in their areas of jurisdiction. The article is divided into four main sections. The first offers poverty profiles of Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar and makes a comparative analysis. The second section looks at local government structures and functions and examines the capacity of LGAs. The third section examines the relationship between LGAs and other institutions. The fourth and last section discusses the challenges in poverty reduction that face LGAs.*

---

\*Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Dar es Salaam.

## **Introduction**

Poverty is a multidimensional concept that includes attributes of human development such as health, education, access to socio-economic and political power, and status. Poverty is about people. Local governance institutions and organizations in touch with the people at the grassroots are central to poverty alleviation. For a long time in Tanzania it was thought that people's development was the sole responsibility of the government, assisted occasionally by aid agencies and donor countries. Development was a government affair and citizens were, by default, the beneficiaries of development. Now, however, because of various problems, especially the state's declining financial capacity, it has become clear that, despite the government's attempts to help people, poverty, the fundamental obstacle to human development, still persists.

It has now been realized that no institutions are better placed than the people's organizations, associations or clubs to know how to solve local level development problems. This realization has led the Government of Tanzania to embark on wide-ranging public sector reforms, including local government reform, which empowers local authorities to take charge of local affairs. Local governance institutions, i.e. local authorities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) as well as cooperatives and other civil society organizations are now fully involved in the planning and implementation of projects to alleviate poverty.

The Union Government, through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PSRP), and the Zanzibar Government, through the Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Paper (ZPRP), are determined to eradicate poverty. The major players in both cases are the local government authorities. But in this they depend on other institutions, such as the private sector, NGOs, CBOs, and donors. The success of these efforts depends on how the central government devolves powers and resources to local authorities, and how the central government puts in place mechanisms to hold local authorities accountable. This article contends that Local Government Authorities (LGAs), as they are currently structured and financed, cannot succeed in the assigned role of fighting poverty in Tanzania. It is the thesis of this article that local government structures, relations with other institutions, and existing levels of resources limit the capacity of LGAs to fight poverty in their areas of jurisdiction.

### **Poverty in the Tanzanian Context**

To understand poverty and its various characteristics, some guiding questions are in order. What is poverty? Who is a poor person in Tanzania? What are the poverty levels in Tanzania? In any sphere of life, it is impossible and impractical to fight an unknown force or enemy. Therefore, in order to effectively contend with poverty, to reduce it and ultimately eradicate it, there is a need to appreciate that poverty is a very complex issue. Poverty is defined as a multidimensional concept to include both income and human development attributes. It extends beyond income or consumption to include the spread of malnutrition, disease and ignorance, high mortality rates, isolation and vulnerability, powerlessness and hopelessness. Almost half of the Tanzanian population lives below the basic needs poverty line and over a quarter are food poor. Tanzania's poverty profile suggests that poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon, with 60% of the rural population falling below the poverty line. With a GDP per capita of about US \$240 per annum, the income and consumption of many Tanzanians are too low to meet the basic minimum requirements of life.

The poverty situation in Tanzania is also manifested in the poor quality of social and economic services. Less than half of the rural population has access to safe and clean water and a large part of the countryside is inaccessible during the rainy seasons. Other attributes of poverty are exclusion, powerlessness and voicelessness, especially for women, in social and political spheres. Children also suffer from limited rights to survival and development. It is important to emphasize, therefore, that poverty is not just about the lack of economic resources, it is also about the lack of knowledge about the availability of resources and how to access and control them. The central issue in poverty is thus the inequitable distribution and use of available resources. Consequently, the fight against poverty involves the lack of voice in the decision-making process that determines where resources go, who has access to them and how they are used. When one's voice is not heard, when one does not participate, then one's interests will not be represented.

Several poverty indicators have been used to map out the magnitude of poverty in developing countries. Among these, two commonly used indicators of poverty are the Basic Needs Poverty Line and the Food Poverty Line, normally presented as percentages. The broad interpretation of these ratios is that the lower the ratio, the lower the incidence of poverty and vice versa. The poverty gap is basically a measure of the proportion of the

population below the poverty line and those above it, i.e. between the poor and the non-poor. Many studies have indicated that the poverty gap in Tanzania actually increased in the period between the 1980's and the present, compared with the situation in the 1960's and 1970's. According to these studies, between 1991/92 and 2000/01, for example, basic needs poverty in Mainland Tanzania increased from 37.6% to 43.1%. This is according to the assessment of poverty based on the 1991/92 Household Budget Survey (HBS) data and the preliminary analysis of the 2000 HBS (URT 2001). These studies also indicate that food poverty in the Mainland increased from 16.4% to 22.7% during the same period. The situation does not appear to be different in rural areas, Dar es Salaam and other urban areas. The table below provides figures for the incidence and depth of poverty in Tanzania as reported by some of the studies.

**Table1: The Incidence and Depth of Poverty: 1991/92 and 2000/2001**

	Dar es Salaam		Other urban area		Rural Area		Mainland Tanzania	
	1991/92 2000		1991/92 2000		1991/92 2000		1991/92 2000	
Head count ration (%)								
Basic needs poverty line	6.2	12.5	25.1	31.9	41.6	47.2	37.6	43.1
Food poverty line	1.3	4.8	9.3	14.7	18.5	25.4	16.4	22.7
Poverty Gap (%)								
Food poverty line	0.1	1.2	2.2	4.6	5.3	7.3	4.6	6.6
Basic needs poverty line	1.1	3.4	7.1	10.9	13.1	16.2	11.7	14.8
Addendum								
Gini coefficient	36	36	43	38	39	36	43	39

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**Source:** 1991/92 HBS and Preliminary Results of the 2000/2001 HBS in URT (2001)

Other indicators also illustrate the magnitude of poverty. One of the signs of poverty in Tanzania is the low level of literacy and numeracy. The literacy level is now estimated to be 68%, down from 90% achieved in the 1980's. This testifies to the worsening trend of poverty and to the reversal of gains made earlier in human development efforts. Among low-income families, the literacy rate is 59%, which is 9% lower than the national average. The gross enrolment rate for primary school pupils is 77.8% (1996) down from 90% in the 1980's. Availability of clean water, a safe water supply and sanitation services is one of the indicators of human development. Water for the majority of Tanzanians is not within easy reach. Only about 11% of households have water services at the door. About 38% have to walk for up to 15 minutes in order to reach a water source, while 27% of households spend up to 30 minutes walking to a source of water. The rest have to spend more than 30 minutes to get to the source of water. Inadequate health services reflect the extent of poverty in the country. For example, according to the Health Statistical Abstract (URT, 1997) the ratio of population per health facility is 7421; there is one hospital bed per 1000 people and one physician per 23,188 people, while about 30% of the people live more than 5 kms from the nearest health centre. Other indicators include a high mortality rate, malnutrition, unemployment, homelessness and poor housing. The same 1997 Health Statistical Abstract gives the average life expectancy at birth of a Tanzanian as 50 years, compared to a life expectancy of 77 years in developed countries. In 2000 the life expectancy estimate stood at 42 years! (URT, 2001)

A high incidence of unemployment is among the distinguishing features of poverty. Largely because of poverty, the economy cannot generate enough employment opportunities to meet the needs of the labour force. Poor living conditions in rural areas serve as a centripetal force pushing the youth to urban areas where most of them remain unemployed. It has been observed (URT, 2001) that many Tanzanians live in poor quality houses. A survey conducted in 1995 showed that 70% of the population in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Mbeya live in squatter settlements. Mwanza had 40% of its population living in squatter settlements. According to the UNDP Human Development Index, Tanzania ranked 154 out of 174 in the 1999 survey. Since

the survey ranks countries in descending order of quality of life indicators, this puts Tanzania near the bottom of the index.

By all standards the poverty levels in Zanzibar are too high. Compared with Mainland Tanzania, Zanzibar is poorer. A large majority of the population live well below the official poverty line. There are many factors that explain this. Zanzibar does not have the mineral resources that Mainland Tanzania enjoys. There is speculation that there might be oil, but even if this is confirmed, it will take a long time before the oil is exploited, and its benefits (or damage) felt by society. For decades Zanzibar has depended on cloves, and in recent years tourism has started to bring some financial rewards. Researchers have come up with several causes of poverty in Zanzibar. A recent survey (GoZ, July 2001) indicates that at the grassroots level, the perception is that poverty in the islands is caused by the following factors: use of poor technology in agriculture, fishing and livestock keeping; inability to market agricultural produce; lack of employment especially among women; limited access to land; migration of youth from rural areas into towns; prevalence of malaria; lack of credit facilities; unreliable infrastructure; HIV/AIDS; high illiteracy rate amongst women and low salary rates. But the social relations prevailing in society might also exacerbate poverty.

The population growth in Zanzibar is estimated to be 3% per annum (Othman and Liviga, 2002). The economic growth rate in real terms has fallen from an average of 5.5% to 2% in recent years (ibid). Agriculture, if properly organized, should have been able to help the economy and alleviate some of the problems caused by poverty, but it seems to be showing a decline. The result has been that the islands continue to import food, and their earnings from exports of different items do not seem to meet even the costs of their food imports (GoZ, 2001). Even with the economic liberalization measures instituted in the mid-1980s, the economy is not creating more employment. The only expanding activity is tourism. In fact it is believed that without tourism, the economy would have been in an even worse situation. But tourism seems to be employing relatively few people. The 1996/97 Manpower Survey Report indicated that there was in Zanzibar an active labour force of 51% of the total population, with 39% engaged in the informal sector, and only 7.7% engaged in the formal sector.

Illiteracy is one of the areas that breed poverty. The illiteracy rate in Zanzibar is estimated to be about 40% (Othman and Liviga, 2002). Females form the

majority of the illiterate population at 60%, with high concentrations in Pemba (35.2%) compared with Unguja (24.8%). The other big factor in poverty is unemployment, which seems to have affected the youth the most. As a result, the youth, especially in Zanzibar Town, with no hope for the future, are drifting into drug abuse and other socially undesirable activities (Othman and Liviga, 2002). This does not augur well for the future of society. Although Zanzibar has the basic infrastructure for adequate primary health care and 90% of the population is within 5 kms of the nearest health care facility, the quality of services provided is generally poor. Recent studies (Liviga, 2004) reveal the prevalence of serious malnutrition in the islands. This can be attributed to the low purchasing power of the people, inadequate food production and disease. The doctor-to-population ratio is currently estimated to be 1: 13,115. The government has made a determined effort to tackle the water problem in the islands, which has affected all areas (Othman and Liviga, 2002).

In 1980, the per capita income was estimated by the World Bank to be US \$410, but this declined to US \$120 in 2000. In the year 2001 it was estimated by the Government of Zanzibar (GoZ 2001) that half the population of Zanzibar could be considered poor and falling below the Tanzanian income poverty line. Though it is still debatable whether or not good governance can reinforce poverty reduction policies, in the case of Zanzibar, evidence suggests that poor governance accelerates the rate at which a society drifts into serious poverty (Othman and Liviga, 2002). In the past, the uncertainty of policies, the insecurity of the population, the corruption of officials and the arbitrary way decisions were made dampened the enthusiasm of those who wanted to uplift themselves economically. Zanzibar has adopted as its development plan Vision 2020, whose overall objective is to eradicate absolute poverty in society. But this can only be achieved if income-generating activities are created, if there is access to employment opportunities, and essential services are available.

**Table 2: Poverty in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar**

	<b>Mainland</b>	<b>Zanzibar</b>
Illiteracy	32%	40%
Primary school Enrolment	78%	67%
Doctor-to-population	1:23,188	1:13,115*
Basic needs poverty	43.1%	53%
Food poverty	22.7%	24%

GDP per capita	USD 240	USD 120
Unemployment	30%	50%

**Source:** Othman, H. and Liviga, May 2002.

\*Includes medical assistants

## **Local Government Structures and Features**

### *Constitutional and Legal Environment for Local Government*

Tanzania is a united republic with two governments. The Union Government is in charge of all Union matters for the Republic and non-Union matters on the Mainland. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is in charge of all non-Union matters in Zanzibar. Local Government (LG) is a non-union matter, and therefore there are two ministries dealing with this matter, each with its own jurisdiction. In this section we look at both Mainland and Zanzibar LG systems with a particular emphasis on the relationship between LG and poverty reduction. Local governments are governed by their respective constitutions of the two parts of the Union. On Mainland Tanzania they are governed by Articles 145 and 146 contained in Chapter 8 of the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic, while in Zanzibar LGs are governed by Article 128 contained in Chapter 12, Section 2 of the 1984 Constitution of Zanzibar.

Mainland Tanzania has a long experience of LGs starting with the Native Authorities Ordinance of 1926. There was a ten-year break in 1972-1982 when local governments were abolished, but when they were re-introduced, they could not fail to learn from the experiences of the past. In the case of Zanzibar, the 1964 Revolution not only abolished the monarchy, but it also did away with the separation of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, and fused all the functions of those three organs into the revolutionary council, consequently turning government institutions into party departments. Thus the party branch at the grassroots then became the focus of local governance. With the re-introduction of LGAs in Mainland Tanzania, a number of studies (Shivji and Peter 2000; Mwaikusa 1994; Ngware and Haule 1992) were conducted to ensure not only their smooth operation, but also that real power lies with the people.

The first piece of legislation on LG in Zanzibar was passed in 1910 with the intention of allowing the local population to have limited powers. This experiment failed, but the following measures were taken subsequently. In 1910 regulations were passed for the appointment of *Shehas*, giving them the power to maintain law and order (police power) in their areas of jurisdiction.



In 1922 a law was passed establishing local authorities in which District Commissioners and *Akidas* were given the power to rule all those within their jurisdiction. In 1926 the government proclaimed a policy of establishing local authorities in which Arabs and Africans would take part together and in 1929 Native courts were established. From 1931-34 the LG system was strengthened by appointing *Shehas* and *Mudirs* and members to the local authorities in the urban areas. In 1944 Township Councils were started in Zanzibar, Chake Chake, Wete and Mkoani under the supervision of District Commissioners, and in 1947 LG policy was further consolidated when five local councils were established in Konde, Ziwani and Chambani for Pemba, and Chwaka and Makunduchi for Unguja. The one for Makunduchi collapsed soon after. In 1953 the powers that Supervisors and District Commissioners had of being chairpersons of LGs were removed and given to the local authorities themselves. By 1963 there were local councils in Konde, Wete, Chake Chake and Mkoani for Pemba, and councils for Zanzibar Town and Mkokotoni/Mangapwani for Unguja. Since the promulgation of its first post-Revolution Constitution in 1979, Zanzibar has passed several pieces of legislation on LG, and has given the question of local governance prominence. A constitutional and legislative environment has thus been created for a proper local government system. Act No.3 of 1986 provided for the establishment of constituency governments, District Councils, Town Councils and the Zanzibar Municipal Council.

*Key Features in Terms of LG Structure*

The Tanzanian LG system is based on political devolution and decentralization of functions and finances within a unitary state. According to the enabling legislation there are two types of local authorities in Mainland Tanzania, urban authorities and rural district councils. The former comprise city, municipal and township councils whereas the latter are made up of district, township and village councils. LGAs vary in size (geographical area), resource endowment and population. For example, Mwanza City Council and Arusha Municipal Council are both smaller in geographic size than Monduli District Council but command far bigger resources in financial terms. The same is true if one compares Dar es Salaam (the three municipalities) and Songea District Council.

**Table 3: Comparison of Local Government Features: Mainland and Zanzibar**

	Mainland	Zanzibar
Average population size		

for a council	280,000	65,000
Average population size of regions	1.5 million	180,000
Composition of council	Fully elected	Partially appointed by central government
Sub-district structures	Elected/appointed	N/A
Ward committee	Fully elected	N/A
Village council	Fully elected	N/A
Vitongoji	N/A	Appointed by central government
Sheha		
Staff	Appointed by different authorities	Appointed by the central government
Finance (sources of Revenue)	Central government subsidy, own sources and donors	Central government

**Source:** Budget guidelines for local authorities 2000 and Maombi ya Ruzuku ya Mwaka 2002/2003 issued by the Permanent Secretary, President's Office 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2001.

#### *Mandated Functions*

Local governments have the responsibility for social development and public service provision. These responsibilities are translated into specific functions and duties of LGs spelt out in the relevant pieces of legislation grouped into two categories - basic and general. The basic functions comprise the responsibilities of each LGA and revolve around three main areas: (i) maintenance of law, order and good governance; (ii) promotion of economic and social welfare; and (iii) ensuring effective and equitable delivery of services to the people within their areas of jurisdiction. In addition, all LGs are charged with seven other duties: (i) formulating, coordinating and supervising the implementation of all plans for economic, industrial and social development in their areas of jurisdiction; (ii) monitoring and controlling the performance of duties and functions of the council and its staff; (iii) ensuring the collection and proper utilization of the revenues of the council; (iv) making by-laws applicable throughout their areas of jurisdiction, and considering and improving by-laws made by village councils within their areas of jurisdiction; (v) ensuring, regulating and coordinating development plans, projects and programs of villages and township authorities within their areas of jurisdiction; (vi) regulating and monitoring the collection and utilization of revenue of village councils and township

authorities; and (vii) subject to the laws in force, doing all such acts and things as may be done by a people's government.

#### *Budgets and Expenditure*

Local governments are required to prepare sound plans and budgets geared towards poverty reduction and sustained growth. They are specifically required to ensure three important aspects: (i) their plans and budgets are consistent with the country's development Vision 2025 and the PSRP; (ii) stakeholders such as NGOs, CBOs and the private sector's contributions are reflected in the plans and budgets; and (iii) they take into account opportunities and obstacles existing in their localities. In actual fact, however, LG plans and budgets depend to a large extent on contributions from the central government and donors. The Public Expenditure Review for the Financial Year 2002/2003 shows the government contributing close to 70% of the funds. This becomes obvious when we look at the following: (i) Percentage of national government expenditure allocated to LG; (ii) The percentage of total public expenditure spent by LG; (iii) The percentage of LG expenditure that is raised locally. The local component of the total development expenditure for the period between 1999/00 and 2001/02 hardly reached 1.5%. Thus, as far as development expenditure in LGAs is concerned, the level of donor dependence is very high.

**Table 4: Local Government Authorities' Financial Dependency in Selected Councils, 1996-2000 (in percentages)**

<b>Council</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>
Morogoro U	22	79	79	77	77
Pangani	75	80	76	72	81
Korogwe	36	92	84	87	95
Kisarawe	75	83	86	84	90
Sengerema	85	86	83	85	87
Songea (U)	85	86	86	88	90
Ukerewe	N/A	83	79	87	86
Tanga (U)	71	63	73	58	75
Tabora (U)	84	78	81	82	84
Sikonge	N/A	39	61	73	83
Urambo	67	56	62	77	80
Kibaha	89	91	82	91	90

**Source:** Budget Speeches, MRALG: Final accounts books from

## **Local Government Relations with other Institutions**

### *Council-Grassroots Relations*

This section discusses relations between LG and local institutions such as civil society, the private sector, NGOs and CBOs with a view to assessing whether they have the capacity to represent the poor. It also examines planning and budgeting as well as implementation strategies used to determine whether they are participatory and encourage government/private sector/NGO partnerships. Finally, it describes how central and local governance institutions facilitate the development of civil society organizations at the sub-national level. To put the discussion on council-grassroots relations into perspective, it is useful to briefly explain how the LGAs are set-up in Tanzania. The local government laws divide LGAs (councils) primarily into two groups, district authorities and urban authorities. Within these two major groups, the laws further distinguish between urban and district councils as well as administrative units and area committees. Similarly, a clear layer of higher and lower level LG is demarcated. District authorities include district councils, township authorities, ward development committees, village councils and *vitongoji*. Urban authorities consist of city councils, municipal councils, town councils, ward committees and *mitaa*.

District and urban councils are the highest local political authorities in their areas of jurisdiction in line with articles 145 and 146 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, which requires LG councils to be established in every region, district, city, municipality, town, or village. The regional level does not have a local government authority. In the case of Zanzibar, Article 128 of the 1984 Zanzibar Constitution calls for the establishment of LG structures. The enabling legislation was passed in 1995, namely Act No. 3 of 1995 establishing the Zanzibar Municipal Council, and Act No. 4 of 1995 establishing the District and Town councils. District councils are normally established in every administrative district. They are corporate legal entities with perpetual succession and a common seal with the power to sue and be sued. District councils, by virtue of the law, have financial, administrative and planning autonomy. They also co-ordinate township authorities and village councils, which are lower-level local corporate entities. Similarly, ward and *vitongoji* levels are administrative and area committees under the district councils.

A tentative assessment of capacity at the district level points to the existence of considerable potential because of the presence of technical staff in the

different sectors and the current LG reforms envisage increased resources for councils at this level. An initial assessment of capacity at the village council level shows that there is potential in as far as good guidance is given to actors at this level. *Kitongoji* is the lowest administrative unit in the district and does not enjoy any planning or financial autonomy. It is not a decision-making body either. At the *kitongoji*, there is a need to develop the capacity of all the committee members. In the case of Zanzibar, the *Shehia* (area) is the lowest level in a district, with the *Sheha* being a government appointee and government representative in the area. He is accountable to no-one but the appointing authority.

Relations between LG and local institutions such as civil society, the private sector and political parties are mediated by a number of institutions and specific laws, rules and procedures. On the whole, LGAs (councils) relate to the said other organizations either directly, through ward development committees (WDCs) or village councils (VCs). Available literature and commissioned research reports (Ngware and Liviga 2005; Liviga 1999, 1997) on council-grassroots relations (Mwanza, Dodoma, Bukombe) indicate that, though they do not perform their assigned tasks well due to a number of constraining factors, WDCs and VCs constitute the basis for a LG system at their respective levels. WDCs, in particular, act as an important link between the VCs, civil society, NGOs, the private sector and the LGA (or district council). Secondly, though they lack resources and have infrequent meetings and weak leadership, WDCs and VCs have the potential to improve their own performance, contribute to poverty alleviation, and strengthen the capacity of the local government authorities (councils). WDCs and VCs act as agents of revenue collection and implementers of district council policies, programs and projects. WDCs and VCs liaise with the private sector, notably contractors, who are assigned to implement council projects.

A serious challenge for WDCs and VCs in relation to planning and implementation is the lack of development funds of their own. Their plans actually take the form of projects, which in most cases have to be sanctioned by the council. Implementation depends on whether the council has funds or a donor provides the money and/or materials. Involvement of stakeholders is limited to the village and ward leadership as well as some prominent individuals. With regard to the planning process, all district councils are encouraged to use the Participatory Planning Approach (PPA) and involve as many people as possible. In this regard NGOs and other civil society organizations, including CBOs, are required to report their activities and

budgets to the council. Undoubtedly, there is substantial potential for the WDCs, VCs, civil organizations and even the private sector to represent the poor.

It has also been documented (Liviga and Mwaipopo 2004) for Dodoma, Arusha, Lindi, and Mtwara that PPA encourages the contracting out of service provision by councils. There is, therefore, a strong government/private sector and NGO partnership in tackling development issues, including poverty alleviation in Tanzania. What is at issue currently is the fact that councils lack supervisory capacity, monitoring mechanisms, and the necessary manpower with the professional competence to follow up the various activities for which they are responsible. But there are exceptions to this general picture. In Mpwapwa district, Dodoma region, for example, the district council is now coordinating NGO activities. The council is working with five NGOs and knows their areas of operation, the problems they are addressing, the methods they are using, as well as their plans and budgets (Liviga 2004). Some of the councils in Mwanza, supported by the UN Capital Development Fund, are showing success. They have brought together key players (councils, the private sector, communities) in the planning process and implementation of different projects (ibid).

#### *Relations with Central Institutions*

The current system of central-local relations has changed from the old command-style to a system where central government ministries are supposed to facilitate and support the LGAs. Central government sector ministries now concentrate on policy-making and guidance. LGs are responsible for the practical execution of these policies and do this in respect of the priorities set by the councils themselves, also adding their own projects and policies. LGAs operate within a national framework consisting of the national laws and regulations. Within the framework, the LGAs pass laws to regulate local conditions. There is a ministry responsible for regional administration and local government, presently located in the Prime Minister's Office (PMORALG). A separate similar ministry exists in Zanzibar, located in the President's Office.

There are other important central government institutions, which influence day-to-day activities carried out by LGs. These institutions are: the Controller and Auditor General (auditing books of accounts); Sector Ministries (monitoring and assessing the quality of service provision); the Regional Commissioner (monitoring the legal conduct of councils); and the Regional

Secretariat (providing backstopping services including monitoring practical performance).

There are in Tanzania, as elsewhere, definite factors that define and shape the relations between central and local government. It is particularly through the devolution of power and funds that the type and effectiveness of central-local relations becomes actually visible. In Tanzania there still exists a significant gap between the intended mandate, as stated in the policy documents, and the effective mandate of the LG. While, on the one hand, it is clear that, from a policy point of view, the central government has committed itself to reform the public sector in general and LG in particular, on the other hand it is also clear that the decentralization process is advancing at a slower pace than planned. This, as will be explained below, has serious implications for the capacity of LGAs to fulfil their obligations. Performance and effectiveness of LGAs is also a function of their internal organization, structures and relations between various organs and offices. It is pertinent to describe, albeit briefly, these internal relationships and how they affect the performance of LGAs.

#### *Internal Relations between the Council and the Executive*

There are two major groups of officials in each LGA. One group comprises councillors who are elected from the wards. The second group consists of appointed officials (staff) amongst whom are District Executive Directors (DEDs) and heads of departments. Until recently when it was provided in law that councils will employ their own staff including the directors, the President and the Minister responsible for local government had appointed both directors and heads of departments. As provided for by the enabling legislation (Acts No 7 and 8 of 1982) the councillors, who are representatives of the people, own the councils. Members of staff are technical advisors to the council and they also serve as secretaries of the various committees. Because of their professional and technical knowledge, the staff wields considerable power and influence in relation to preparing technical reports, planning and budgeting, as well as in the management of council affairs including personnel matters. The Executive Director is also the accounting officer for the council and in this capacity he/she wields influence over council decisions pertaining not only to financial matters but also in the area of planning, project evaluation, tendering, and general administration.

In principle, council decisions are made after democratic discussions between the members of the council. The staff participates in council

sessions, including full council and committee meetings. Once council decisions are made, it is the responsibility of the staff to implement them. In exercising their mandate, staff are guided by professional and technical specifications and principles. But such requirements sometimes contradict political preferences and draw the two sides into a sharp conflict. Nevertheless, the current structural arrangements require that each LGA must strive to involve people in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of development projects. It is also in this regard that the Regional Administration Act, 1997 provides for the formation of a consultative committee (under section 8 and 9). This consultative requirement, as part of a broad democratic drive, is also enshrined in Articles 145 and 146 of the Union Constitution, which spells out that the major objective of LGAs is to function as grassroots democratic organs.

The important point to note with regard to the foregoing is that relations between councillors and staff have not always been cordial. At times there has been acrimony between the two and at other times, seemingly now the norm, relations have been friendly. The basic problem between councillors and the executive staff was distrust and lack of cooperation. As stated above, the staff enjoyed more power and influence than the elected officials. For example, before the current LG reforms, councillors could not discipline the staff. The ongoing reform process and the adoption and implementation of the code of conduct for councillors and staff facilitated the removal of the acrimony between the two sides. The council and the executive, therefore, function as a team. This is critical in building capacity for the councils to address the political, economic and social requirements needed to fight poverty. Strengthening capacity at the council level has been one of the main goals of the local government reform program and all the other sector reforms in Tanzania. In the following paragraphs the impact of the sector reforms on the administrative structures and management system are outlined.

#### *Relations between the Committees and the Executive*

For effective performance, LGAs have constituted committees specializing in specific issues and problems. There are two types of committees at the council level: standing/sectoral and ad hoc. With respect to standing committees, the members have to be councillors while membership on the ad hoc committees is not restricted to councillors. A council forms an ad hoc committee when a particular problem requires political attention. Ad hoc committees are given specific terms of reference in order to avoid dealing



with issues that are the remit of other committees, the council or the director. Committee work forms an essential part of LG. Through the operation of committees the framework for implementation, careful control, and even planning of LG activities is taken care of. Committees have the power to look into the progress made regarding activities and spending carried out by the administration. The local administration is thus seen as the practical, non-political arm of LG. There is no direct line of command between councillors and the administration. However, the administration must follow all legal decisions made by the council according to three basic principles, namely:

- i) Non-subordination, which means that local administrators are not subordinate to ministries but are employed by the local council;
- ii) Local administrators must work in a non-biased and non-politically partisan way. The separation of political priorities and implementation carried out by the administration is crucial. The administrators will implement all the decisions taken by the council and its committees. The executive, in this regard, acts also as the advisor to the political leadership; and
- iii) Professionalism; local administrators are supposed to have professional qualifications such as the relevant education and experience. Administrators are recruited from the labour market on a competitive basis and the recruiting authority is required to protect the interests of the staff when dealing with their training, promotion or discipline.

Committees have specific mandates that are carried out on behalf of the council. They do not develop their own policies but act to refine and implement council policies as approved. The local government Finance and Planning Committee, for example, plays an active part in preparing the budget, assisting the sector committees and coordinating inputs from them. It also carries out the regular financial performance control. The committee looks into the management of tax registers as well as elaborating carefully designed investment plans, which incorporate activities of possible donors and NGOs dealing with public services. Committees are either appointed or approved by the council and are subordinate to it. In all their work committees act on behalf of the council in more specific areas in order to follow the development and performance of the administration. It is, therefore, important to emphasize that the role of committees is to monitor work plans and protect council decisions. Hence, organizing and overseeing

committee work rests with the council that has the jurisdiction to co-ordinate the work of committees.

*Impact on Administrative Structures and Effective Management Systems*

The sector reforms being implemented in agriculture, health, education, roads, transport, and water have profound effects not only on LG staffing requirements, performance, and accountability but also on its administrative structure and the evolving management system. Sector reforms imply added responsibility for local councils that are expected to carry out activities that were formerly done by the respective ministries at the district level. The formation of education and health boards at the district level, for example, has increased the need for supervisory and coordination skills and control procedures. In terms of performance, the council has an added challenge to not only produce results but also to meet the minimum standards set by central institutions for service delivery. Councils are also required to carry out their activities in a transparent manner and employ participatory methods. Councils are further expected to co-ordinate activities and functions performed by the private sector, which until recently was not a key actor in service provision.

In response to these challenges facing LGAs, the central government has made arrangements for them to be given more financial resources (through the introduction of block grants); to employ their own staff at all levels including the directors; to engage in participatory planning using PPA methods; to contract out service provision to the private sector and individuals; and to adopt a monitoring and evaluation system prepared by PMORALG. Currently there is an ongoing LG restructuring process whose objective is to increase the capacity of the LGAs to carry out their activities and fulfil their obligations.

These measures notwithstanding, local councils still have problems in raising and collecting revenue; recruiting appropriately skilled and experienced personnel (the labour market is short of people in technical areas); getting grants from the central government on schedule; introducing and establishing PPA in order to involve the local population in the decision-making process; and co-ordinating and monitoring activities carried out by other organizations in their areas of jurisdiction. Shivji and Peter (2000) in their study on village democracy pointed out the following problems:

- i) tax payers not seeing the fruits of the taxes they pay;

- ii) tax sources that could be used by villages are being utilized by the district council; although promises are made to return a percentage of the tax collected from the village to the village, the promises are never kept, or payments are delayed or the amount is miniscule;
- iii) villages are not given meaningful information by the district council about the amount of tax collected and the amount that the village is entitled to receive.

It can therefore be said that, despite the efforts to improve LGA performance through the creation of a sound management system, which is transparent, responsive, participatory and, in the final analysis, accountable; the existing institutional relations have put a tremendous strain not only on the administrative structure but also on the pace of the reforms.

#### *Challenges of Poverty Reduction and Local Governance*

This section begins by describing local government reforms, paying attention to the Tanzanian experience. Its main objective is to answer the following questions.

- (i) Does the political leadership have the will to implement local governance reforms and poverty alleviation programs?
- (ii) Are the reforms geared to empowering local people to get involved in the planning process? Do they establish effective information systems that allow the poor to make informed decisions?
- (iii) Do councils have the structural, human and financial capacity to allow poor people to participate in local affairs?
- (iv) Do councils provide for rural finance that would allow the poor to create income-generating projects?
- (v) Do they allow the private sector and civil society to effectively participate in poverty alleviation programs?

As already noted, the Government of Tanzania (GoT) has embarked on a reform program for its LG system. The shared objective of LG reform and other sector reform initiatives is to improve the quantity and quality of, and access to the public services provided by, or facilitated through, the LGAs. In order to implement government policy, in April 1999 the Parliament passed the Local Government Laws (miscellaneous Amendment) Act, which was incorporated into the Laws of Tanzania as Act No. 6 of 1999. The Act

contains enabling provisions for the implementation of the local government reform program.

The institutional, policy and legal changes made to the LG system conflict with sectoral legal arrangements. In view of this, the government declared that the relevant sectoral laws should be reviewed and amended to bring them into line with the institutional, policy and legal changes brought about by the LG system. In tandem with these measures, the government is implementing other governance-related reforms, including public sector reform, public financial management reform and sector reforms in health, education, water and agriculture. This is a clear indication of the resolve of the political leadership to initiate and implement reforms, whose collective goal is poverty alleviation.

A more concrete government action was the adoption in 2000 of the Strategy for Poverty Reduction. The poverty reduction strategy for the Mainland is based on three considerations. First, the strategy is viewed as an instrument for channelling national efforts into meeting agreed objectives with specific inputs and outputs. Second, the poverty eradication strategy is to a large extent an integral part of the ongoing macroeconomic and structural reforms that are being supported by Tanzania's multilateral and bilateral partners. Finally, in keeping with the concerns of the stakeholders, and guided by the overarching orientation of the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and the National Poverty Eradication Strategy, the focus of the poverty reduction strategy concentrates on efforts aimed at (i) reducing income poverty; (ii) improving human capabilities, survival and social wellbeing; and (iii) containing extreme vulnerability among the poor. Zanzibar has adopted a similar strategy plan, and coupled with the Zanzibar Development Vision 2020, it aims at raising the status of the poor, improving the quality of life, and addressing social exclusion.

The government will implement the Poverty Reduction Strategy in the rural areas through two complementary initiatives. These are the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) and the Rural Development Strategy (RDS), both adopted by the government in 2001. Whereas the ASDS covers the agricultural sector, the RDS covers all dimensions of poverty reduction, including agriculture, non-farm economic activities, social services, and economic infrastructure. In addition to these policy initiatives, the RDS was prepared in the context of various structural reforms taking place in key

sectors, such as agriculture, education, health, civil service, transport, water, and local government.

The overall objective of the RDS is to provide a strategic framework to facilitate the coordinated implementation of sector policies and strategies concerned with the development of rural communities. In particular, the RDS supports the implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy and creates a development environment that allows rural communities and households to achieve sustainable livelihoods. In this respect the RDS identifies short and medium-term priorities that will support the goal of sustainable livelihoods, and contribute to the long-term goal, outlined in Vision 2025, of sustained economic growth.

It should be appreciated that the empowerment of local institutions in poverty eradication does not happen in a vacuum. It is necessary that such a process takes place in a consciously defined social, political, cultural, technological, and economic context. It should also be noted that empowerment should not be reduced to a mere technical or managerial process - important as that may be. Rather, the driving force in the empowering process is the political will by the central government, LGAs, private sector, NGOs, CBOs and indeed civil society itself.

The GoT and other actors have realized that empowerment of local institutions is one of the major strategic conditions for sustainable development. The central government has acknowledged that empowering local institutions, in the real sense, involves a change in the government's philosophical outlook in relation to development ideology and putting in place a constructive partnership through an effective sharing of power and responsibilities between various stakeholders, including LGAs, the private sector, and civil society in its various forms.

The resolve of the GoT to empower local institutions, and indeed the people, is seen in its governance reforms referred to above (PRSP, LGRP, and SRP). These reforms aim at giving the people and their local organizations the right and capacity to manage their own affairs, including implementing poverty alleviation programs. As mentioned, the government has adopted a number of strategies (PRS, RDS, ASDS) geared at empowering the local communities to tackle poverty. One step that is critical in tackling poverty at the local level is the involvement of people in the planning and implementation process of local council decisions. People's involvement in local affairs takes many

forms, some direct and formal while others are indirect and informal. How exactly people get involved in local affairs is the subject of the next two paragraphs.

The new administrative set-up for LG provides for public participation changing from being a general goal to being an obligation for local councils. Public participation in budgeting and planning has been introduced by means of a new institution - public hearings. Public participation in LG can now take place either through the electoral process or in various types of hearings.

- (i) Participation in the electoral process and voting;
- (ii) Participation in council meetings or other meetings organized by the council;
- (iii) Participation in village or community-based public meetings;
- (iv) Expressing views on local government issues to councillors; and
- (v) Participation in other types of public hearings.

Public hearings constitute a new dimension in governance in Tanzania, at least in a formalized way. The law provides for public hearings under section 111B of Act No. 7 of 1982 as amended in 2001. Public hearings serve as the instrument to internalize public participation in planning and budgeting. People get involved in the decision-making process through the following channels: (i) public meetings with responsible political leaders and staff; (ii) public participation in boards and committees governing public service institutions; and (iii) questions from the public to the mayor or the council members at council meetings.

Apart from the democratic dimension of hearings and participation, they serve the purpose of indirect control of the local council. This is particularly the case when hearings and complaint institutions are combined. The new legislation in Tanzania includes the addition of section 86A, which allows councils to establish service boards. These service boards constitute direct, popular access to the production or allocation of public services. Membership of the service boards is open to all citizens residing in the respective area of jurisdiction of the council. By involving non-council members, the service boards open the way for public participation by various interested parties representing a wide spectrum of stakeholders. While the law is very clear in calling for public participation, the actual situation on the ground is that meetings are not held and thus the communities are denied the opportunity

to contribute to identifying their pressing problems and to preparing community action plans. There is a need to build the capacity of elected leaders so that they can ensure that meetings are held as scheduled. One other factor that might help is to motivate the elected leaders themselves. Unlike Members of Parliament, who seem to have a good remuneration package, elected leaders at the council and village level do not enjoy comparable benefits.

Poverty reduction is, in principle, one of the main foci of Tanzania's national development agenda. The ongoing local government reform program, with its focus on reducing poverty and improving service delivery through building capacity for local level decision making and priority setting, provides a key opportunity for establishing cooperation between LGAs and community-based initiatives. Apart from being an effective link between development actors, LGAs are currently providing material and other support to development and service providers with a focus on small-scale enterprises owned and operated by disadvantaged members of society. It is envisaged further that, in both urban and rural areas, LGAs will continue to assist disadvantaged groups - especially women, youth, and the disabled - in project identification and feasibility studies and in the distribution of available financial resources in the form of soft loans to assist these groups to operate their enterprises.

Local government legislation requires every council to set aside a percentage of its revenue for funding development projects initiated by women and the youth. At the national level the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) was set up in 2000. TASAF's objective is to make funds available to LGAs to initiate projects that will lead to poverty alleviation. However, TASAF is inclined to aim at the direct delivery of infrastructure to communities without fully integrating planning and implementation procedures within LGs. In most rural districts in Tanzania credit facilities are lacking and poor people will, for a long time, continue to depend on their LGAs to initiate development projects. It is perhaps in recognition of this fact that local councils will assist in providing linkages between the private sector (small-scale and medium enterprises) and large enterprises, including banks, through the following measures:

- (i) The compilation and dissemination of accurate data on all social and economic activities in their areas of jurisdiction;

- (ii) The facilitation of a continuous consultative process between representatives of the various industrial/commercial organizations and LGAs at the various levels; and
- (iii) The involvement of the private sector in service delivery.

Active involvement and participation in policy dialogue and formulation and in the planning and service delivery process are expected to yield major development benefits, including providing a reliable platform through which the voices of the poor and marginalized can be heard and acted upon. It is necessary, therefore, that both GoT and LGAs have clear policies and strategies to allow the poor to initiate development and income generating projects. It is further evident that both GoT and LGAs are encouraging the private sector and civil society to participate in poverty alleviation programs. Participatory planning and general public involvement in LG development planning cannot be achieved solely through the use of participatory facilitation techniques. It is more important to create transparency in resource allocation and ensure that lower-level governments (village governments and ward development committees) make their annual budgets and plans indicating a planning figure for allocation of development funds.

In the next few paragraphs examine issues in relation to local government and poverty reduction. The discussion aims at providing answers to four related questions:

- i) What are the major national poverty-related problems?
- ii) What are the key factors underlying these problems?
- iii) What are the poverty-related challenges in rural and urban areas in Tanzania?
- iv) What are the poverty-related challenges in Zanzibar?

Tanzania experiences six problems that constrain efforts to alleviate poverty. The first deals with the allocation of public expenditures. Budgets are traditionally prepared on an incremental basis, assuming a continuation of last year's spending patterns plus a certain percentage for inflation and for growth in the demand for services. This works against the interests of the poor. The poor are most likely to lack access to government services and the government will need substantially higher subsidies to bring services within the reach of the poor.



The second problem is the coordination of public sector reforms and local government reform. Major reforms in key areas, especially local government, education and agriculture, are still being formulated/implemented, and their implication for poverty reduction and resource requirements cannot be assessed accurately. Moreover, cross-sectoral coordination has been stronger in the planning phase than in the execution of the reforms.

The third problem is defining the role of government, the private sector, and NGOs in the provision and financing of services. The rhetoric notwithstanding, public sector and local government reforms have not yet finished putting in place effective legal and administrative structures to allow unreservedly taking into account the views and priorities of the poor in the design of plans and management of the services that they directly use. Competent staff are not yet in place, especially in remote areas where the poor live, and they are not paid and managed in such a way that they have adequate incentives to provide the services that the poor demand.

The fourth problem is related to the role of international development partners. Substantial efforts toward poverty reduction by international partners are implemented outside the framework of the central government budget. To ensure maximum progress toward poverty reduction and improved predictability of budgets, these efforts need to be rationalized and aligned progressively to reflect the PRSP priorities. A large amount of international resources are channelled through specific donor-driven projects, sometimes involving duplication. An effective struggle against poverty requires continued efforts to channel these resources in the context of sector-wide development strategies.

A fifth problem is HIV/AIDS. Although accurate figures are not available, HIV/AIDS is an enormous problem in Tanzania and has affected those who are the most productive economically. By hitting the labour force, the youth in particular, the epidemic has a negative impact on the fight against poverty.

The sixth problem is rural-urban migration. This phenomenon complicates the nature and character of rural and urban poverty and the policies and strategies to fight poverty in two ways. On the one hand migration may be a result of poverty conditions in the rural areas, and therefore it can be seen as a coping mechanism. On the other hand rural-urban migration itself may

result in more misery for those who remain behind, while at the same time straining the services in the urban areas.

A number of factors are responsible for the situation Tanzania finds itself in with regard to the chosen policies and strategies for the fight against poverty. These factors can be categorized as legal, political, economic, managerial and administrative. They include:

- (i) Low availability of qualified, experienced and well motivated staff;
- (ii) Many ongoing projects have been initiated through a supply-based policy rather than being demand driven;
- (iii) Inadequate local revenue generation and collection leading to under-funding of projects and a failure to sustain previous projects; and
- (iv) Corruption. During the early years of independence the government used to say that ignorance, poverty and disease were the three great enemies of Tanzania. While they still remain as menacing as ever, a fourth and more pernicious one has emerged, namely corruption. This not only adds to the three enemies but it acts as a force obstructing all efforts to combat them. Corruption in countries like Tanzania interferes directly with economic activities. It stifles and often hampers development, hitting the poorest section of the population (Warioba, 1996).

Poverty is about people. Thus, it is logical to assume that the institutions closest to the people know better how to deal with the problem. These include the LGAs, CBOs, NGOs, community associations and clubs. The government has taken measures to provide an appropriate legal framework for devolving powers to the LGAs. The local government reform program is the vehicle for delivering empowerment through capacity building in financial management, and restructuring. At the same time, an NGO policy was adopted in 2000, followed by legislation that will facilitate and promote the activities of more than 8,000 NGOs operating in Tanzania.

The biggest challenge for the GoT is to operationalise both the ASDS and the RDS. To that end it is necessary to focus on the following:

- (i) Creating a conducive administrative and legal environment for the agricultural sector, by reviewing and harmonizing

- agricultural legislation, streamlining procedures for land acquisition, and facilitating stakeholders' participation in commodity boards;
- (ii) Building private and public sector partnerships, to enable greater private sector involvement in the provision of support services, input and output marketing, and investment in the agricultural infrastructure;
  - (iii) Consolidating institutional and legal reforms in the road sector to ensure adequate capacity and resources, and enhancing technical and managerial capacities of the local level governments and communities;
  - (iv) Rehabilitating existing health infrastructure and establishing an enabling environment for the private sector to participate fully in the provision of health services;
  - (v) Reviving adult education by improving the rate of adult literacy through functional literacy programs, expanded vocational training, and education and work opportunities for the youth;
  - (vi) Consolidating the institutional and legal framework for the provision of credit facilities for agricultural production and marketing; and
  - (vii) Encouraging the formation and proper management of cooperatives and ensuring that small-scale farmers/peasants are not excluded from such associations.

The hardships people experience as a result of poverty are the same in rural and urban areas. This fact notwithstanding, urban areas have unique problems compared to rural areas. In urban areas, for example, huge populations live in a small geographical area and their demands on services are more pressing than in some rural areas. The following are some of these challenges:

- (i) Improving infrastructure services;
- (ii) Curbing youth unemployment;
- (iii) Elevating the human capacity of the poor by providing them with elementary skills. This can be done by/or in collaboration with NGOs and CBOs. For example, those NGOs that extend credit to small entrepreneurs can also provide some basic skills in bookkeeping and marketing, and hygienic methods of food processing and preservation;

- (iv) Promoting income-generating activities. This refers to the development of a diverse and strong micro- and small-scale enterprise sector, which in effect means facilitating the development and expansion of the private sector to become the engine of growth; and
- (v) Creating an enabling environment for the growth of the informal sector, which provides substantial opportunities for employment and self-employment. According to available information (URT, 2001), informal sector employees are estimated to be not less than two million. This is more than twice the number of people employed in the formal sector (government, parastatals and private firms). Furthermore, the informal sector has the capacity to employ 62.5% of the yearly increase in the labour force in urban areas. The capacity of the formal sector is 8.5% (URT, 2001).

The challenges in Zanzibar are not very different from those facing the mainland. The major problem is that Zanzibar has for many years depended on one major cash crop and when the market price for this crop falls, it causes hardship for the people. Moreover, Zanzibar also depends on its port for revenue. When imports decline, the revenues fall and the Government, therefore, fails to meet its obligations. LGAs do not have major internal revenue sources, which makes it difficult for them to deliver. Agriculture is a major economic activity in Zanzibar and, despite efforts by farmers to increase their produce, the lack of reliable markets is a disincentive. It would be a good idea for Zanzibar to develop, with the full participation of its agricultural population, a rural development strategy.

### **Conclusion**

The legal and policy frameworks in both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar are directed at poverty eradication. What is happening now is that the structures and mechanisms are being put in place to achieve the laid-down objectives. The PRSP, in the case of Tanzania Mainland, and the ZPRP in the case of Zanzibar, are the strategies that have been formulated to guide the implementation of poverty reduction initiatives. What is now required are the democratic channels through which the people's energies can be mobilized. The availability of resources is another major challenge facing the poverty reduction exercise. The following tasks have to be taken into consideration when implementing poverty reduction initiatives: genuine devolution of powers and resources to LGAs; effective mechanisms for accountability of LGAs in order to ensure that they act in a transparent,

participatory and accountable manner; proper co-ordination by the central government to ensure that the right institutional framework is established and that LGs are given the right instruments (primarily finances and personnel) to undertake their tasks; oversight of LG staff to ensure they provide the services planned by the councils; councillors need to be required to take up new and expanded roles in a professional manner; and councils should undertake their mandatory functions.

#### REFERENCES

GoZ (Government of Zanzibar), 2001 (a), "Hotuba ya Bajeti ya Waziri wa Nchi Afisi ya Rais Tawala za Mikoa na Vikosi vya Serikali ya Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar Mhe. Ali Abdalla Ali (MBM) Akiwasilisha Makadirio ya Mapato na Matumizi kwa Mwaka wa Fedha wa 2001/2002 katika Baraza la Wawakilishi", Zanzibar, Juni.

GoZ, 2001 (b), "Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Plan", 10 July.

GoZ, 1998, "Local Government Authority Temporary Provisions Act No. 1 of 1998".

GoZ, 1995 (a), "Zanzibar Municipal Council Act No. 3 of 1995".

GoZ, 1995 (b), "District and Town Councils Act No. 4 of 1995".

GoZ, 1992 (a), "Local Government (District and Urban Authority) Act No. 11 of 1992".

GoZ, 1992 (b), "Taarifa ya Tume ya Rais ya Tathmini ya Madaraka Mikoani, Zanzibar Kitabu cha Kwanza", Oktoba.

GoZ, 1992 (c), "Taarifa ya Tume ya Rais ya Tathmini ya Mfumo wa Madaraka Mikoani, Zanzibar (Kitabu cha Pili)", Mei.

GoZ, 1986, "Local Government (District and Urban Authority) Act No. 3 of 1986".

GoZ, 1967, "The Zanzibar Municipal Council Appointment of Councillors Amendment Decree No. 14 of 1967".

GoZ, 1964, "The Zanzibar Municipal Council Appointment of Councillors Temporary Provision Decree No. 19 of 1964".

Liviga, A.J., 2004, "Review of the Local Government Reform Program", (Report submitted to the Government of Tanzania, President's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government).

\_\_\_\_\_, 2004, "Report on Local Government Reform for Zanzibar" (Report submitted to the Government of Zanzibar and UNDP).

\_\_\_\_\_, 1999, "Capacity Appraisal of Bukombe District Council", (Final Report submitted to Bukombe District Council).

\_\_\_\_\_, 1997, "Governance and the State of Local Government in Tanzania", (Final report submitted to the Planning Commission of the Government of Tanzania and UNDP Dar es Salaam).

Liviga, A. J. and Eke Mwaipopo, 2004, "Report on Seminar on Continuation of Finnish Support to Mtwara and Lindi Regions of Tanzania", (Report submitted to the Embassy of Finland, Dar es Salaam).

Max, John, 1991, *The Development of Local Government in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Educational Publishers and Distributors).

Mukandala, Rwekaza, 1995, "The Centre and Local Institutions of Governance", *The African Review*.

Mwaikusa, Jwani, 1994, "Local Government Policies in Tanzania - The Political Guinea Pig", in Donald Rothschild ed, *Strengthening African Local Initiative: Local Self- Governance, Decentralisation and Accountability* (Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs).

Nchimbi, Selastine Saligen, 1994, "Local Government - A True Institution of Democracy? A Case Study of Tanzania", LL.M. Dissertation, Law Faculty, Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam.

Ngware, Suleiman and Liviga A. J., 2005, "Terminal Evaluation of Capacity 21 (Tanzakesho)", (Final report submitted to the UNDP, Dar es Salaam).

Ngware, Suleiman & M. Haule, 1992, *The Forgotten Level - Village Government in Tanzania* (Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs).

Othman, H and Liviga A. J., 2002, "Local Governance and Poverty Reduction: Tanzania Country Paper for Africa Governance Forum V", May.

Shivji, Issa & Chris Peter, 2000, "The Village Democracy Initiative - A Review of the Legal and Institutional Framework of Governance at Sub-District Level in the Context of Local Government Reform Programme", (Final Report submitted to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government and the UNDP).

URT (United Republic of Tanzania), 2003, *Public Expenditure Review Study for the Year 2002/03* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 2001, *Preliminary Results of the Household Budget Survey 2000/2001* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 2001, *Budget guidelines for local authorities 2000 and Maombi ya Ruzuku ya Mwaka 2002/2003* (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer).

URT, 1998 (a), "The Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1998 (b), *Policy Paper on Local Government Reform* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1998 (c), *Manpower Survey Report* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1997, "Regional Administration Act, No.1 of 1997".

URT, 1997, *Health Statistical Abstract* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1985, "Ward Tribunals Act, 1985 (Act No.7 of 1985)".

URT, 1983, "Local Authorities (Election) (Amendment) Act No. 3 of 1983", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1982 (a), "The Local Government (District Authorities) Act No.7 of 1982", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1982 (b), "The Local Government (Finance) Act No.9 of 1982", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1979, "Local Government Elections Act, No.4 of 1979", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1977, "The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977".

URT, 1975, "Villages and Ujamaa Villages (Registration, Designation and Administration) Act, No.25 of 1975", (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

URT, 1969, "Ward Development Committees Act, 1969 (Act No.6 of 1969)".

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 1999, *Human Development Index*.

Warioba, J.S., 1996, *Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry against Corruption* Vol. 1&2, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

World Bank (The World Bank Group), "Issues in Political decentralization", <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/political.htm>