Full Length Research Paper

Strengthening intra municipal decentralisation through physical accessibility of services and openness in service delivery: The case of Morogoro municipal council

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Decentralization is a term which has gained popularity in development literature and has been a fundamental mode of administration which empowers grass root community to bring about development by themselves. In Tanzania, intra municipal decentralization is a new concept. It emerged in Western Europe in six Scandinavian countries as a result of amalgamation reforms. The study focused on localization with two main indicators; physical accessibility of office and openness in service delivery, and the question was: What is the effectiveness of physical accessibility of office and openness at neighbourhood and how can it be improved in Morogoro Municipality? Methodology used was qualitative approach of which judgmental sampling was used to select government officials for interview and simple random sampling was used to select neighborhoods to be studied. Researcher also used snow boll sampling to get citizens for focus group discussion because he was not familiar with research environment. In-depth interview was conducted with 15 municipal and neighborhood officials and four focus group discussions. An observation method was also used to cross check if respondents reported what they were doing. The study revealed that intra municipal decentralization is not effective because offices are not well accessible; staff use only one room and do not have reception areas. Schedule for meeting citizens are arranged by staff themselves and are often not accountable. The meeting of citizens with staff is limited because of ineffective layout of office and most people are not aware of open plan policy. Based on this, the researcher concluded that physical accessibility of office and openness is ineffective and recommended that financial resources be distributed to neighborhood based on population, size of the neighborhood and services they are providing and introducing intra municipal regulations. Priorities in fund allocation should also be reviewed to include office infrastructure and community participation should be sensitized.

Key words: Physical accessibility of office, intra municipal decentralization, openness, neighborhood decentralisation.

INTRODUCTION

Decentralisation is a mode of administration which has gained popularity in development literature. The aim of decentralisation is to empower people in decision making and resource allocation through increasing citizens' participation and development at grass root level. Intra municipal/neighbourhood is a new concept in Tanzania. It emerged from Western Europe and Scandinavian countries due to the push of amalgamation reforms. These reforms merged municipalities and raised a need for neighbourhood decentralisation to improve service delivery. The aim of intra municipal decentralisation is to close the gap between citizens and their representatives

by taking resources, power and authority more close to people. Localisation which is the focus of the study ensures accountability and taking services close to citizens through physical relocation of resources from central office to neighbourhood. As one of developing countries Tanzania has strived towards decentralisation for the past two decades. Different policies and strategies have been tried but they are yet to trickle down to the local community. Much power is still obstructed from going down to ward and street level and it remains at the district and municipal levels. The history of decentralisation in Tanzania can be traced back in phases.

Phase one can be traced back during colonial system which was by the then British government. Through native authorities act cap 72 established decentralisation system and transferred power to local communities. In 1953, the native authority was repealed to change electoral process at local level and give political legitimacy to local leaders through local government ordinance cap 333. The second phase can be traced from post independence in 1961 to 1972. In this phase, the government integrated the colonial local government structures into their government and political party TANU. Local authority's ordinance that had provided for 38 local authorities was abolished and repealed section which had established native authorities in 1962. Also, African chiefs' Act of 1953 abolished roles and functions of chiefs. The local authorities were introduced to take decision making close to people. The local government was by then under the movement of one party system which dominated. The ward development committees were established to replace village development committees and division secretary were replaced by divisional executive officers in 1967 (Shami, 2001). The third phase can be traced from 1972 to 1984. In this phase, the local government was decentralised through regional administration act. The party policy was to reorganise the government to conform to social development and to decentralise decision making and participation for matters which have local impacts. This involved the transfer of power and authority into region and district. Therefore, regional development council and district development councils were established under district and regional heads. Local authorities were abolished including all institution supporting service delivery like local government service commission and loan board and replaced by deconcentration form of decentralisation which involved the transfer of decision making power and authority into regions and districts but within the same central government (Shami, 2001; Ngwilizi, 2002; Olsen, 2007).

Following the failure of deconcentration system to deliver the intended results, the local governments were reintroduced in 1984. The introduction of local government system in the 1980s was accompanied by high expectations which were not realised due to the

following problems:

1. Institutional and legal framework is control oriented, fragmented, and complex with overlaps and conflict in some parts of legislations.
2. Roles structure and functions - The uniform structure established result into mismatching of council tasks and capacity and centralising of the most important activities to district headquarters.
3. Governance - The relationship between the political leaders at national level and local government and civil society and councils is weak
4. Finance - Local government have sources of finance which are difficult to collect and non reliable, central government interferes local government in revenue collection and does not provide clear grant system with correct incentives.
5. Human resources capacity and management - Local government lacks qualified staff to deliver services and management of local government staff is centralised and fragmented and therefore causes understaffing (URT, 1996; Olsen, 2007).

In 1996, the local government system was reviewed again with new vision and policy which is local government reform agenda and policy paper of 1998. The policy introduced shared vision of local government system focusing on Autonomous local authorities, cost effectiveness in service provision, democratic local government, efficiency in service delivery, poverty reduction, principle of subsidiarity, political accountability and transparency, ethical conduct and new central local relation. The government believed that with introduction of decentralisation by devolution, the local government could posses resources and authority in service delivery, be responsive, have competent and adequate human resource to manage service delivery, be free to make policies and operational decisions without interference from central government, be democratic and enjoy good cordial relationship with central institutions and contribute in achieving national vision for 2025 of which the focus is quality of life for all (URT, 1996). The actual implementation of these policies started in 2000 through local government reform program.

The changing of legal and policy framework has improved capacity and responsiveness of local government in service delivery and adequate funding, power to collect revenues, change in behaviour of control of local government by central government adequate and competent manpower in local authorities, civic education and communication. Most of the citizens do not have adequate knowledge of their right and responsibilities, quality of councillors. Since the existing legislation does not set standard of qualifications for councillors, most of them who are elected do not meet standard and they lack managerial and leadership skills. Decentralisation face challenges such as resistance to change both at central

and local level, lack of implementing capacity from the parent ministry, lack of publicing reforms at all levels, persistence of mismanagement of funds and overambitious and unrealistic time horizon to bring about new changes in the system (Mjwahuzi, 2005).

Definitions, types and forms of decentralisation

Decentralization refers to the transfer of authority and power in the hierarchy from central to local government or lower levels of government. It is further defined as the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from central government to subordinate semi autonomous agencies or private sector (Rondinelli, 1999; Basset and Beauvais, 2000 quoted by Adjei, 2007). It is also defined as transfer of power and resources to lower levels of local authorities which are largely or wholly independent to higher levels and which are democratic in some way. This can be evaluated on getting people more involved in politics that affect them, holding accountable government leaders, creating citizens oversight and control (Valderrama, 1999). In developing countries decentralisations reforms centred on human development and are pursued to address the problem of inefficient government, macro economic instability and ineffective resource allocation (Robertson, 2002).

Types of decentralisation

The first one is deconcentration, this means strengthening authority by moving executive agencies from central domain to the political system. Central government reallocates its officer in region. It is the transfer of power and authority from central government into regions and districts in the same central government without transfer of authority. This form of decentralisation does not promote effective grass roots participation in planning and decision making (Bergh, 2004; Adjei, 2007). The second one is devolution; this refers to power sharing between national and sub national government, whereby there is grant of authority and power in legally defined area of sub national government to tax and spend money for example in the investment (Crook and Manor, 1998), or it can be defined as the transfer of central government activities to lower level or sub national authorities basing on the principal of subsidiarity. It is transfer of decision making power and authority, financial allocation and management to semi autonomous units of local government. It is the transfer of responsibility to municipalities which elect their own mayor, raise their own revenue and make investment decision (Litvack, 1998; as quoted by Robertson, 2002; Bergh, 2004).

The third one is delegation; this involves transfer of authority and responsibility of planning and implementation of government activities to semi autonomous government entities which are not directly controlled by the government but ultimately responsible to it. Delegation can be explained by principal agent model whereby administrative agency delegating at the central is principal, local authority is agents and the citizens are clients (Bergh, 2004; Adjei, 2007). Forms of decentralisation include political decentralisation which focuses on transfer of decision making power to lower levels or to citizens for the purposes of increasing local democracy. Its aim is to give citizens and their representatives more power in decision making. Market decentralisation focusing on creating condition that facilitates the production of goods and services basing on market mechanisms and individual preferences, It basically means shift of government primary responsibility to private sector. According to World Bank, it is about privatization and deregulation of government responsibility to private sector which include community, cooperatives, voluntary organisations. Privatization can be of many forms but briefly it means allowing government activities to be performed by private enterprises and improving financing mechanism like through capital market with strong regulations to ensure the government does not bear the risk of borrowing and involving private sector in the provision of infrastructure.

Deregulation involves reducing legal constraint of private sector by regulating competition of private suppliers of goods and services. It includes improving allocative efficiency through shaping local user preferences and improving cost consciousness at local level. Fiscal decentralisation is a core party of decentralisation and it involves improving local revenues through property tax, sales or other type of indirect sources, self financing or user charges for cost recovery, intergovernmental transfers which involves the transfer of revenues collected by central government to local government, co- financing in which the users participate in the provision of services and infrastructure and authorization of municipal borrowing and mobilisation of resources and administrative decentralisation aims at distributing authority and responsibility in the provision of government services in different levels of government. It is the transfer of responsibility from central government to field units, subordinate levels or semi autonomous agencies (Adjei, 2007).

Decentralisation is the impact of inefficiency of bureaucratic system which is characterised by unresponsiveness; staff have no authority to respond to the public demands, uninformative; councils procedures are not known, inaccessible; services are located away from where people live, bureaucracies; every decision has to be made based on rules and there are delays in service delivery, unwilling to listen; staff are trained to focus on departmental goals and objectives and there is no chance for responding to public complaints, inefficiency; as results of duplication between

departmental and application of uninformed policies which lack flexibility, unaccountable; front line managers cannot be held accountable because they lack control over resource for service delivery (Bergh, 2004).

Objectives and reasons of decentralisations according to Burns (1994)

The objectives of decentralisation are confined to improving service delivery, strengthening local accountability, distributional aim and political awareness, staff development and cost control, reducing distance with inhabitants, taping local knowledge by increasing responsiveness, allocate decision making authority to most suitable level, increase efficiency and effectiveness, and protection of local identity.

Reasons for decentralisation among other things is to create proximity between the political representatives and citizens and therefore facilitates better mobilization and allocation of resources, more creative, innovative and responsive programmes which allow local experimentation and provides better opportunities for local residence to participate in decision making (Bergh, 2004).

Intra municipal/ neighbourhood decentralisation

Intra municipal decentralisation is defined as the combination of decentralisation and democratisation for the purpose of strengthening and improving the relationship and interaction between municipal councils and the citizens through improving decision making bodies and institutions at lower levels. It is the concept emerged in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century and some Scandinavians countries started at the sub municipal level (Ostaaijen, 2008). Criteria for intra municipal decentralisation includes; form of authority within a defined territory, responsible for a number of public tasks, taking a form of political decision making body, responsible for service provision, not completely independent to local authority but responsible for it (Ostaaijen, 2008).

Intra municipal decentralisation can be evaluated based on localisation of service from centralised to a more local level, devolution in service provision and decision making supported by human, financial and technical control, flexibility and multifunction in service delivery that is providing different services in cross departmental boundaries with multi disciplinary team, organisation management and matrix organisation, political decision making body elected by citizens or appointed by municipality to influence decision making at the municipal level, public engagement through established channels for influencing decision making. Intra municipal decentralisation however, may face the

challenge of capacity in terms of man power and finance for local authorities to implement neighbourhood decentralisation. Competency of different stakeholders on how to implement in terms of regulations and technical capacity, diversity and equity in different neighbourhoods (Lowndes and Sulvivan, 2008).

Neighbourhood decentralisation (an ideal type model)

Localisation is used as one of the major variables for evaluating the effectiveness of neighbourhood decentralisation. In this regard, it refers to physical relocation of services from central to local or neighbourhood. It is measured based on easy accessibility of service to local people, openness whereas the public has access to all staff and can ask questions, comprehensiveness whereby services decentralised should be relevant to people. It also includes the need for new skills due to closeness of staff to citizens such as communications, presentation and negotiation skills. Other criteria for evaluating neighbourhood decentralisation include:

1. Flexibility which refers to flexible form of management and multi disciplinary team working and multi skilling, local general or cooperate;
2. Devolution which refers to decentralisation of service delivery decision making and power to service delivery managers in a defined boundaries and financial expenditure rules, service standards and policy guidelines;
3. Organisational culture change which involves promotion of quality of service and local democracy through reorientation of management and staff values and norms of service delivery and empowerment of users;
4. Localisation (Bergh, 2004).

International empirical cases on Intra municipal/neighbourhood decentralisation

The case was written by (Ostaaijen and Gianoli, 2008). The cases chosen is the added value for intra municipal decentralisation; the comparison of Bologna, Rotterdam and Birmingham. This case study is chosen to represent empirical study from other countries around the world. In these three cases of comparative analysis neighbourhood decentralisation is practiced in different ways. All of them are from Western Europe. Bologna and Birmingham are among the first cities in Western Europe to decentralise under the model of neighbourhood decentralisation and Birmingham has recently adopted it. All three cases are analysed but the analysis is more confined to Bologna city from Italy because it is a model

city which has undergone neighbourhood decentralisation and more organised in governance structure of decentralisation than the other two cities

The study is based on neighbourhood decentralisation principles like localisation, flexibility, devolved management, organisational cultural change and decentralised democracy. Localisation mainly focus on physical relocation of services from the centre city to neighbourhood to increase physical accessibility, flexibility refers to increase of cross departmental function and promoting multi disciplinary teams and matrix organisation, cultural change involve increasing quality of service delivery and local democracy. Bologna and Rotterdam from North and south represent relatively established experience with intra municipal decentralisation and Birmingham represents the more recent Intra municipal decentralisation structure with directly elected bodies. The analysis of cases based on four themes which are;

1. Establishment of district;
2. Present structure of the district;
3. Relationship of the district and the central city and
4. District relation with citizens.

Historically, Bologna decentralised certain function to neighbourhood with mayor representatives in 1963 in each ward. Neighbourhood councillors were elected by the councillor at the municipal level. Under the two levels which are city and neighbourhood they have decentralisation commission which had advisory role and civil servants operating in the neighbourhoods were municipal employees and are accountable to the central city. The approach adopted by them, show limited transfer of power as weakness of neighbourhood bodies which had mainly consultative role

In 1970, there was reform and the channels for communications and influence were open to the public for the first time. In the later years, Bologna increased share of decision making and new bylaws to limit the power of the formulation of policy guidelines which shift implementation to neighbourhood. In 1976, all the local government authorities with above 40000 inhabitants could decentralise or delegate power to consultative bodies and neighbourhood could be given deliberate powers to neighbourhood council directly elected by local populations.

Good practices from the case

1. The function of the neighbourhood is functioning under the regulation and coordinated under intra municipal regulation;
2. The citizen's one stop shop represents the interface between neighbourhood and citizens where citizens get information about services delivery and increase the accessibility of services to the most lowest levels;
3. One stop shop provides information and promotes dialogue with service consumers and wider populations;
4. One stop shop collects suggestions, complains and promotes citizens participation;
And it is a registry office promoting access to decentralised services;
5. Each year the central city allocates the amount to neighbourhood to carry out its function which is proportionate population, size of the territory and depends on the number of services provided;
6. Neighbourhood have specific competencies in service delivery to take care of elderly and in support of civil society organisation and management of education cultural and leisure activities;
7. Neighbourhood can send enquiries to mayor and mayor has to answer within 30 days;
8. Mayor has the function of supervising decentralised services like transport, local economy and development planning;
9. The conference of neighbourhood is convened once a week for the purpose of promoting exchange of information.

The case aforestated implies that, Bologna is an example of neighbourhood decentralisation in Western Europe among the three cities. It is well organised in structure and it provides more comprehensive channels for neighbourhood to carry out their functions more independently. Several lessons drawn from this case can be used to improve intra municipal decentralisation to developing countries and particularly in Tanzania where the concept has not yet achieved the intended objective.

Decentralized governance and local government structure in Tanzania

In Tanzania decentralization is legally stipulated in the constitution of 1977 which recognize the need for devolved local authorities for the purpose of promoting mass participation, local democracy, and life of the communities through broadening the provision of social services (URT, 1977). Following the failure of decentralization by deconcentration policy of 1972 to deliver the intended results and re-introduction of decentralization by devolution of 1982 which also was not successful enough there has been a number of legislation to improve local governance. URT (1998) recognizes that with the introduction of decentralized governance the local government would posses power and authority, be free to make policies at local level which are consistence with national government without interference by central government, get qualified and motivated workforce recruited based on meritocracy and be democratic with leaders elected democratically. This can be seen in Figure 1.
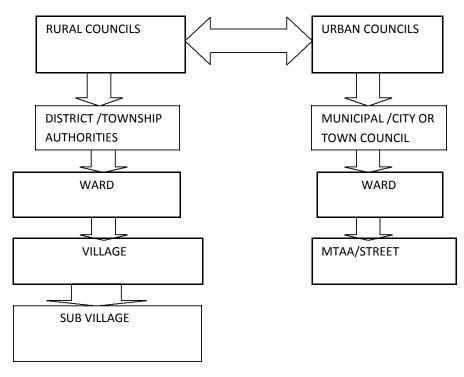
Figure 1. Structure of local government in Tanzania.

Structure of local government in Tanzania

Mtaa/neighbourhood is lowest level in urban council. It performs its functions under coordination of committees which is constituted by six members in each Mtaa elected by members in that Mtaa/village (Figure 1). The function of Mtaa includes:

1. To implement council polices.
2. To advice the council on matters relating to development plans and activities of the Mtaa.
3. To advice the ward development committees on matters concerning peace and security.
4. To keep proper records of the Mtaa.
5. To do other things as may be conferred to it by the ward development committees.

Decentralization in local government in Tanzania starts from sub village in district councils and Mtaa/street in urban council. At these levels plans are developed by sub village committees which are constituted by sub village chairman and other representatives appointed by chairman and then the plans are sent to village government for compilation. In the village government sub village is represented by chairpersons and the plans are tabled to village assembly for endorsement and the plans is then tabled to ward development committees (WDC) which is constituted by all village chairpersons (OECD 2001). This kind of participation is normally practiced where planning process is clear in rural areas.

In urban council there is lack of mobilization and sensitization due to the behaviour of local leaders who obstruct frequent interaction with citizens for the purposes of hiding their dubious activities. Therefore, accountability and transparency in urban councils is suppressed (OECD, 2001). Decentralisation is seen as an alternative method for improving service delivery and increasing efficiency. Theories suggest various types and strategies for implementing decentralisation policies and practices but in many cases the practice of decentralisation is against these theories and frameworks. Currently, there is plenty literature about decentralisation but few of these literatures suggest critically about how decentralisation can be improved at neighbourhood level in developing countries. Intra municipal localisation which focuses on bringing government close to people has not been effective. Much power and resources are concentrated at municipal level and the neighbourhood level lack power and resources to bring their own development. Local government are believed to be in better position to reflect people's needs and revitalising citizens' participation through democratic governance and ensure the right level of service delivery to the people.

In Tanzania for example, decentralisation at neighbourhood level is still stricken by imbalanced power sharing between municipal government and the grass roots and therefore, the latter suffer the lack of power and resources in implementations of policies which are congruent to community needs and preferences.

Decentralisation to the grass root is not given due weight, most power is still concentrated to higher levels.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The targeted population of the study was citizens at neighbourhood level (village and mtaa of the wards), local government officials at the neighbourhood or wards level and government officials at municipal departments. The sample size of the study was 40 respondents from two neighbourhoods which were sampled. The reason for this sample size is that, the nature of the study was in-depth and require qualitative data, thus researcher decides to take few respondents who were representatives from all categories of population to provide qualitative information concerning openness and physical accessibility of office. The researcher used simple random sampling to select the wards/neighbourhoods to be included in the sample. The respondents in first category were government officials at municipality and neighbourhood level. These were selected deliberately for the purpose of making sure that people who can provide information were included in the sample and second category was citizens in the selected neighbourhood. In this regard, the citizens were selected on snowball sampling technique whereby the researcher used government officials at the neighbourhood to get sample from citizens. The reason here is that, the researcher did not have experience with households in the targeted area. Therefore, the use of government officials helped him.

The researcher conducted in depth interview with local government officials at municipal and neighbourhood level to get in-depth qualitative data on the feeling and motivation of respondents on localisation at neighbourhood level. The researcher arranged with government officials concerning convenient time and place for interview, for example researcher used WEOs office for interview for some officials due to shortage of offices at neighbourhood level and at Municipal level he used their offices.

Focused group discussion was conducted with citizens and it involved carefully planned and designed discussion with a minimum number of 6 to 10 respondents to obtain information on the respondents beliefs and perceptions on localisation at neighbourhood level (Kombo, 2006). In the study, the focus group discussion constituted selected sample at the ward/Mtaa level. The researcher had four focus group discussions. Two focus group discussions were from Kihonda ward and the other two were from Mazimbu ward. These two neighbourhoods were sampled randomly from the municipality for the study. This helped researcher to get in-depth qualitative data through perceptions, attitudes and experience of respondents on neighbourhood decentralisation through localisation in a real life environment with face validity, speedy results and low cost.

Documentary review was also used for secondary data collection to get the information from documents and the magnitude of neighbourhood localisation and Observation method was used through staying with respondents in their working place to see if they do what they say. In this case the researcher was staying in the WEOs office and walking around in the staff offices and was able to see how citizens get service in the offices and information on the notice boards and also officers were getting difficult to trace information in the files when required.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The researcher used triangulation method through applying different research instruments and conducting interview and focus group discussion at different time to ensure validity. Interviews were conducted in different times of the day and observation was used to ensure that, the collected data from respondents reflects realities of neighbourhood localisation in the municipality. In this case, the in-depth interview was arranged in Kihonda and Mazimbu ward with respondents before and the venue used was their offices. Because neighbourhood offices are few sometimes researcher used WEOs office to interview respondents. For focus group discussion in Kihonda ward the researcher used a small hall, that they used for meeting to conduct focus group discussion and in Mazimbu ward, the researcher used organised and arranged chairs in the WEOs office for focus group discussion.

The researcher further arranged conducive environment for focus group to avoid interruption during discussion from other people for example citizens selected for focus group were given a specific venue which is convenient to meet interviewer for discussion. On the other hand in-depth interview was conducted in specific time and place which is convenient to respondent to avoid interruption during interview. The researcher used pre test structured interview, notes repetition, tapes recorder and local language (Kiswahili language) to ensure that the questions for interview are clear for in-depth interview. The use of local language created harmonious environment for interviews and all respondents were able to express their emotion and feelings about interview questions. Also, every respondent in the focus group discussion was able to contribute clearly in the discussion as the questions were well understood and the researcher clarified questions which respondents could not understand clearly for interview. Data analysis was qualitative and it involved:

1. Data familiarization: This involved reading the raw data from in-depth interview, focus group discussion and observation and tried to get the meaning of data and matching them with research questions. For example data relating to physical accessibility of office, openness, relevance of services decentralised were summarised after reading.

2. Constructing index: This involved grouping of data on the basis of themes. In this case the data concerning physical accessibility, openness, relevance of services decentralised were grouped into different themes.

3. Data labelling involved naming of themes: In this case data were named like those representing physical accessibility of office were labelled in numbers.

4. Sorting out of data and relating themes to respondent: In this case, data were cross checked and matched them with respondents like municipal officials, neighbourhood officials and citizens.

5. Categorization and interpretation of data. In this case data were summarised and put into different categories like physical accessibility and openness of office and later were analysed and interpreted.

6. However the researcher started with familiarization of data after collection and did not follow the sequence of analysis as it appears here but all the steps for analysis were observed.

Simple quantitative analysis e.g. the use of figures, numbers and tables for explanation was also use. The reason for including simple quantitative is ensure that quantitative data like the age and sex of respondents are expressed in quantitative manner.

Effectiveness of physical accessibility of office at neighbourhood level in Morogoro municipality

Theory: Physical accessibility is determined by office design, speed of service, layout of office and staff location from public entrance (UNDP, 2007) and (Burns, 1994). The findings from the study conducted through in-depth interview with municipal officials revealed that, offices at the neighbourhood are not well designed to allow the access of citizens to staff. Most of them are small and are not well ventilated. There are no enough chairs and tables in the offices and sometimes staff do not get a place to sit to discuss problems that they receive from citizens as their clients. Also, it was found out that there are no reception areas at the neighbourhood offices. This is because most of these offices were constructed in the past and they are not sufficient for current use. This can be evidenced in the following quotation from in-depth interview with municipal officials.

"I have visited all wards and in my experience I see they complain about the size of office. And there are no receptions areas at ward level, citizens complain about the access of staff at the ward level."

For office activities to run smoothly and to handle privacy cases, the staff are supposed to have their offices at neighbourhood but the findings through in-depth interview with municipal officials and observation revealed that, all staff at the neighbourhood share one common room where they have chairs and tables which are not enough to serve the citizens who come for service. This is because offices are small and are not design to have offices for all staff. This can be evidenced by onversation with municipal officials and picture taken by a researcher through observation.

"All staff are supposed to have their offices but still they don't have. Staffs need good office to perform effectively their job. The municipality has seen the problem and they are building new offices now" (Source: One of municipal officials).

Unlike neighbourhood offices, the findings revealed that

offices at municipal level are better compare to neighbourhood. Staffs at municipal level have their offices and they have reception areas. The municipal officials accepted to have this difference or inequality in terms of the quality of office between neighbourhood and municipal level and said that there is a plan for building quality offices at the neighbourhood which is now on progress. This is because there has not been serious attention for the construction of neighbourhood offices. They also claimed that the available fund goes to construction of school and hospitals and they need more sources of fund to help in constructing the offices at neighbourhood. This can be evidenced in the following quotation.

"At municipal level heads of departments and section /units have their offices. And there are reception areas, they use office assistant for reception but they are not always available. We need fund to build office for staff at neighbourhood. The available fund goes to school construction and other services and not building offices. Offices are small but there is plan for constructing big offices which is on progress, but the past offices are still small" (Source: Two municipal officials).

The interview with municipal officials and observation also revealed that, office design does not consider all categories of people. The officials accepted that, the interest of all people is not observed in the design of office at neighbourhood. The officials claimed that even at municipal level there is no design which considers the interest of all categories of people. This is because of the culture and the size of building which are constructed. They normally assume that all people can access the offices because they are small. This is seen in the following interview with one of municipal officials.

"Offices design even at municipal level does not consider disabled people. My office is in one story building but it takes time for disabled person to come in" (Source: Municipal officials).

In the same vain, the municipal officials claimed that there is limited budget in the construction of offices because fund allocated for development is not balanced at municipal level and neighbourhood level. The fund allocated to neighbourhood is not proportional to population, size of the territory, and services they are providing. For example capital development grants and property tax are all allocated on 50 to 50 basis of which 50% goes to ward and street level and 50% remains at municipal level. The anomaly here is that ward and street level save big population than municipal level and it is therefore ridiculous to allocate equally the fund.

"We receive fund for LCDG and we allocate 50 at municipal level and 50 lower levels but the priority at

lower level is construction All citizens are allowed to visit office at any time, offices are accessible at ward level but they are small and there is a plan for constructing new offices which will include reception" (Source: Municipal officials).

Other respondents through in-depth interview with municipal officials claimed that, there is improvement for neighbourhood offices. Offices which are under construction now are well designed and have improvements. There are offices for staff and some have the meeting halls. Focus group discussion with citizens revealed that offices are small. All staff use one office where there are tables and chairs and some of them are using very small rooms where they are keeping everything including files. The office is messed up because of that. Staff have no place to talk to citizens who have special problems like HIV patients who need privacy. The degree of access of citizens to staff is therefore limited.

Respondents claimed further that, there are no reception areas, offices are lab led for people who are visiting neighbourhood office to identify them but it is difficult for new people to get the staff they are looking for. In Mazimbu neighbourhood for example neighbourhood offices are mixed together with primary court offices and makes difficult for new people to identify the office. Also offices are not well designed and there is no enough space for serving citizens. The offices are of old fashion and were designed to save few people in the past.

"There are no reception offices but you can easily see staff in case of problem. Offices are small and we need effort to expand our offices, our experts are many compare to number of offices. Citizens are many compare to offices, in the past years we did not have this big population, we have to build new offices. There are no special offices to meet staff at mtaa level offices are at ward level, Waiting desks are not enough but still services have improved" (Source: Two members of focus group discussion at Mazimbu).

Concerning the access of office by all categories of people, respondents claimed that the office design does not often consider that because they assume all buildings at neighbourhood are small. This is important because disabled people are party of community. They need to be considered in the office design even at municipal level. Staffs are accessible but sometimes they do not visit the people with problem in the field for example the people who are doing urban agriculture and lives stock keeping normally need consultancy from experts. Staff on the other side claimed that they normally visit the citizens with problems but they face difficulties in transport because the government does not provide transport for them. Often they spend their own money to travel to the

field to meet citizens. On the other side, through focus group discussion revealed that, staffs in the office are accessible despite the size of the office. Citizens claimed that, staffs are trying to work hard and sometimes they are providing services even during weekend. The difficult they are facing is office infrastructure which needs to be improved. Tables and chairs are not enough. Concerning reception areas they claimed that, there are no receptions areas but that is not a serious problem because citizens who come at the neighbourhood office can normally read on the door labels or ask ward executive officer to show them the person they want to see as seen in the following conversation.

"*Offices have improved and it is easy to access staff, offices are good and have improved but they are still small, there is no problem of reception, it is easy to see staff in the office. There are no reception offices but you can easily see staff in case of problem. They can even provide services during public holiday" (Source: Focus group discussion at Kihonda neighbourhood).*

They further claimed that though offices seem to be improving there are no enough waiting desks for people who are waiting for service. The waiting time for service is often reasonable unless there are many people who are in need of service which happen rarely. The said what is needed is improvement and suggests looking for more funds for such improvement.

"Waiting desks are not enough but still services have improved. Offices are well designed and are good and staffs have their office chairs and tables are few. Offices have improved and it is to access staff, offices are good and have improved, there is no problem of reception, it is easy to see staff in the office. Offices have improved and it is to access staff .I suggest we look for people who can provide fund for us to improve our offices" (Source: Focus group discussion at Kihonda neighbourhood).

In-depth interview with neighbourhood officials revealed that, offices are small and not sufficient. Tables and chairs are not enough and there are no reception areas. Waiting desks are not enough and during rain reason citizens get wet waiting for service. Staff office is not sufficient and offices are not well ventilated with good windows. Offices are not enough for two to three people.

Council office and WEOs are not big enough. People have opportunity to log complains but it takes time for them to get services. This is because citizens with problems are many and staffs are few and offices are small compare to the current population of the neighbourhood. There are no reception areas, people read on the labels of the doors or ask Ward Executive Officer. Concerning access of citizens to staff they claimed that citizens have opportunity to meet staff but they often complain about the staff because they are not

always visited in the field. Staff agreed with the fact that they do not visit them often because they do not have transport but besides that they still provide service to them and currently staff have system of signing agreement with clients. Staffs who are providing a technical service like livestock officer sign an agreement with responsible citizen as an evidence of receiving service. They further claimed that all categories of people are considered in the office and disabled people have their office at the neighbourhood. The quotation below serves as evidence.

"Citizens have opportunity to meet staff but they always complain. Offices are good people have opportunity to ask questions and disabled people have their station here. We visit ward offices for enquires" (Source: Two of the neighbourhood officials).

Concerning the location of staff, they claimed that all staff are located in good areas where citizens can access them. Another means that staff use to access citizens is through associations like "shamba darasa" where by citizens are given information as group on how to improve agriculture. The location of their offices is clear and their offices are lab led and in case of problem WEO normally direct citizens with enquiries to the right place. The problem is that citizens do not get access to staff in the field when they need consultancy services because of what they are claiming as lack of transport.

"Location of staff is good and people can access them we all get services we don't get access to staff in the field. Am a member of shamba darasa association" (Source: One of the officials who is also member of shamba darasa associations).

On the other hand neighbourhood officials claimed that offices are sufficient at present but they need more offices in the future. They further claimed that citizens can access staff and have opportunity to log complain in case of problems. Location of staff is good and layout of chairs and tables is okay but they are not enough. The office is sufficient at present but in future it will not be sufficient because we need computer room

"People have opportunity to log complains but it takes time for them to get services, customers with problems are many and staff are few. We visit ward offices for enquires. Offices allow the entrance of all categories because there are no high buildings .All citizens get services on time except when there is a meeting. There are no reception areas but all offices have signs on the doors to show the name of office" (Source: Neighbourhood officials).

Staff are located where everyone can access them timely there is no problem. Layout of chairs and tables is good

but they are not enough. Offices are not well designed. There are no enough offices for doing conversation with people who have special problems. One office is used by staff and non staff in a time. This limits the efficiency in the delivery of services. They further claimed that staff are accessible all the time and citizens are able to ask questions in case of inquires but the problem is that there is no enough chairs and tables and the size of office is small, it does not promote privacy. In case of privacy like HIV patient case they meet outside. This makes difficult to serve people outside the office where there are no tables and chairs.

"Citizens have opportunity to meet staff and discuss their problems. Citizens can access staff and ask questions. We have no enough tables and chairs, it is only MEOs and health officer who have tables and chairs. There is no unnecessary delay, citizens can get service timely, if there is one getting service the following person has to wait for a moment we know about customer care and we care about our customers" (Source: Neighbourhood officials).

Findings from in-depth interview with government officials both at neighbourhood and municipal level and focus group discussion revealed that offices at the neighbourhood are small in size. Layout of chairs and tables is not sufficient in the office and offices are not well ventilated. Also offices are not well designed. This is because offices were designed in the past to serve few people but now there is big population compared to size of offices. Concerning the access of citizens to staff the findings revealed that staff members are not often accessible due to size of offices. Offices are small and sometimes staff members do not stay in the office. This is because staff members are not well motivated and managed and as a result they do their private jobs instead of going to the field. And sometimes they close their offices when they go to the field. The findings also show that, there are no receptions areas at the neighbourhood and the waiting desks are not sufficient in case of many customers. Based on the findings aforestated, physical accessibility of office at neighbourhood in Morogoro municipality is not effective. This is because offices are still small, there is lack of reception areas and staffs are not often accessible. Therefore, there is a need for deliberate initiatives to improve physical accessibility of office in Morogoro municipality.

Effectiveness of openness at neighbourhood level in the municipality

Theory; openness of office is determined by meeting of citizens with staff, meeting schedules and open plan policy (UNDP, 2007) and (Burns, 1994). Through focus

group discussion with sampled citizens, the findings revealed that the neighbourhood office has schedule and staff can meet citizens. Normally, members of staff have their schedule which they arrange to meet citizens in the field and two days in the office. They also have schedule to meet councillor at the neighbourhood office which is two days per week. Respondents claimed that all schedules are good but they need more days to meet citizens.

"Staff are committed and we get chance to meet staff and there are no problems. We have schedule and it helps us to know what time we can meet our councillor for example we meet him on Tuesday. There is a schedule to meet councillors and staff has scheduled to meet citizens" (Source: Focus group discussion).

Respondents claimed further that, staff are few and other resources like finance are not adequate at lower levels and it is therefore limiting access of citizens to staff for example one agricultural officer has to serve the whole ward which has 32 or 20 streets and there is no transport to go to the field.

"We have a shortage of staff e.g. agriculture officer is only one and health officer is only one, for example one officer can be scheduled to visit more than one street like chawino and madaganya at the same time. Resources are not adequate at the lower level. And we have few experts for example for agriculture officer is only one and when he goes to field he closes the office" (Source: Focus group discussion).

Concerning open plan policy citizens claimed to have open plan policy and proper guide for information sharing but the problem is that there is persistence of corruption in the provision of information in some cases. They claimed that members of staff are sometimes biased in the provision of information and they do not know their responsibilities they just stay in the office. They further claimed that citizens do not know their right because of low education and lack of civic education. See interview as follows:

"We have open plan policy and we have experts but offices are few and experts are few. There are staff at ward level but they do not know their responsibilities, the municipal officials should take blame. Citizens do not know their right because of low education, there is lack of civic education. There is open plan policy but corruption is dominant, staff can provide information to relatives and not everyone. Staff do not go to the field" (Source: One of the members of focus group discussion at neighbourhood level at Mazimbu).

On the other hand, citizens claimed that they do not have enough experts and schedule is not proper because

citizens are not involved in the preparation of schedule. Sometimes ten cell leaders segregate them in provision of resources like seeds for agriculture. Resources are not enough, there is open plan policy but corruption is dominant, staff do not go to the field and sometimes they are not in the office during working hours as can be seen in the following interview.

"There is schedule for meeting staff, the schedule for meeting staff is not proper. Staff like WEO does not stay at the ward office. Schedule for meeting staff is good but the problem is number of people visiting the office. Sometimes we get problems when visit staff in the office, you can find staff are not in the office during office hours" (Source: One of the members of focus group discussion with citizens at neighbourhood).

Findings from in-depth with municipal officials revealed that citizens normally meet director when they have a problem and the meeting of mayor is on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Director has schedule but he normally makes an appointment when he does not have time. Always it becomes difficult for director to follow schedule because he is busy as seen subsequently.

"At municipal level, the meeting with director is through secretary when there is a problem but mayor meet on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. We emphasize staff to have schedule with citizens. MD (Municipal director) has schedule but it is difficult to follow. He normally makes an appointment in case he does not have time" (Source: Municipal officials).

Concerning the access of staff officials claimed that normally members of staff are often supposed to be accessible but sometimes they are not. Often they pretend to be going to the field and instead they go to do their private jobs. According to regulations, staff are supposed to be in the office for at least three days in a week but always they do not stay in the office. Respondents claimed that, a week before the municipal human resources officer visited all the wards and found that most staff were not in the office. This is because of staff are not committed and accountable to their job and they are not motivated to go the field. See the interview as follows:

"Staff are supposed to be in the office for at least three days but always they don't stay in the office, they do their jobs. For example Municipal Human Resources Officer visited all the wards and most of staff were not in the office. We have punished many staff for not staying in the office" (Source: Municipal Human Resource Officer).

The staff claimed that the really work hard to meet citizens in case of the need for information but the problem they facing is transportation to the field. In this regard municipal officials claimed to be working on it and

said they have a plan to buy motorcycle for all wards and they have already bought some of them. Concerning open plan policy the municipal officials claimed to have open policy and said they use flies and books to make people understand it. They further claimed that the policy is guided by decentralisation by devolution but it is not observed because of bad governance. There is need of regulation from street level for citizens to meet staff as seen shortly.

"We use flies and small books and the D by D policy is clear about good governance. We need regulation from mtaa level for citizens to access staff but the practice is different because of bad governance" (Source: Municipal officials).

They further claimed that they prepare schedule themselves, they do not involve citizens and it is good because citizens do not complain about it. They further claimed that, they cannot promote privacy in the office because offices are small and what they do sometimes for privacy cases is meeting outside the office.

"The schedule is good and citizens do not complain about it. We do not involve the citizens to prepare it. There is a problem of size of office, the modern offices are good but past offices cannot promote privacy" (Source: Municipal officials).

Respondents claimed that, they emphasize staff to have schedule with citizens because they do not stay in the office. Several staff have been punished for not staying in the office. Staff have schedule and open plan policy which is guided by citizens' charter.

The in-depth interview with neighbourhood officials indicated that staff are often accessible but the problem is time limit and transportation to the fields. The time allocated and size of population does not match because staff are few and they have to meet many people. Concerning schedule they claimed to have schedule to meet citizens in the field and they prepare it themselves and citizens are comfortable about the schedule, they do not complain and once they meet they sign agreement with citizens as an evidence. Distance also is a problem which limits them to access the citizens in the field. The information is available all the time for citizens and they know the right of citizens to have information.

"We normally have a schedule to visit staff and citizens are comfortable about the schedule we make them participate in decision making and not about the schedule. The time for meeting citizens is not sufficient because one mtaa is twenty-five kilometres away from each other. They have schedule to meet staff from Monday to Saturday and in case of emergence you can call WEOs. Government officials decide for the time but citizens are comfortable about the time" (Source: Neighbourhood officials).

Concerning open plan policy officials claimed that they do not have big office enough to promote privacy. The said that everything is discussed in the office and claimed that they don t have specific open plan policy but they just have means of giving information to citizens and said that for staff they are accessible throughout the working days but councillors have specific days as seen in the interview response subsequently;

"There are no room for privacy, all problems are discussed in the office. We do not have specific open plan policy but we have a means of giving information to citizens. For staff they are accessible all the time but for councillor there is schedule to meet citizens which is two days per week on Tuesday and Friday from 11am to 1am" (Source: Neighbourhood officials).

Respondents claimed further to be few despite the effort of government to diversify their skills. They said they have big population to serve and they have to travel far for example 25 km away. Therefore, distance is limiting them to be effective. See the interview response;

"We are four agricultural officers, three are livestock officer and one agricultural officer, the government trained on multi skilling but we are not enough because everyone has to visit 11 streets and some 8 and 10 street. We board commuter bus or motor bicycle to visit streets which is far away and for Close Street we walk" (Source: Two of neighbourhood officials at Mazimbu).

The neighbourhood officials claimed that, they have schedule to meet citizens and citizens are comfortable about the schedule. The time for meeting citizens is not sufficient because of distance. Respondents accepted to have open plan policy but they said the policy is not clear to everyone and most citizens are not aware about their right to information. They further claimed that there is no room for privacy and time for meeting citizens is not sufficient but still citizens get information.

Concerning openness, the findings through in-depth interview from municipal and neighbourhood officials shows that, officials have their own schedule which they arrange privately to meet citizens in the field but they do not involve citizens in the preparation of these schedules. Sometimes, they pretend to be going to field according to their schedule but instead they go to their private business. Councillors also have schedule to meet citizens with problems at the neighbourhood but the findings shows that, the time allocated is not enough according to complains from the citizens.

On the other side, the findings show that there is open plan policy and they use flies and books to educate people about that but citizens are not adequately aware about the policy and some do not know their right to get information. There is also sign of corruption in information sharing according to citizens. Officials sometimes provide

information to people they know than others. Based on the findings aforementioned, openness at the neighbourhood level is not effective because schedules for meeting citizens are arranged but they are not often inclusive and sometimes they are not observed. This is because members of staff have discretion to arrange schedule unilaterally and citizens are not given opportunity to participate.

Conclusion

Although the government has right initiatives to decentralise services for the purposes of bringing them close to people, intra municipal localisation is not effective based on the following. Physical accessibility of neighbourhood office is still a problem, offices are small in size and access of citizens to staff is still limited as most members of staff do not often stay in the office and the office environment itself is not conducive to permit the exchange of information between citizens and staff. Offices are few and do not have the room for privacy. For example, people who have special problem like HIV patients have to meet community development outside to discuss their problems because there is no chance in the office. Neighbourhood offices do not have reception areas; they depend on labels in the doors. It is therefore difficult sometimes for new people to get the person they want.

For example, Mazimbu neighbourhood office is located together with primary court which sometimes confuses people about the right office. Concerning openness of the office staffs have schedules to meet citizens but these schedules are arranged by staff themselves they do not involve citizens. Members of staff are therefore not accountable to citizens concerning schedules and as a result they often do their private jobs instead of going to meet citizens in the field. Open plan arrangement at neighbourhood is also not effective. Although people visit neighbourhood seeking for information, still most of them do not know about their right to information and open plan policy is not clear to them. This is due to low education and illiteracy rate and some people do not have a culture of seeking for information.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter focus explanations of how intra municipal localisation at the neighbourhood level in Morogoro municipality can be improved. It focuses on answering last research question basing on the conclusion from the finding of the study. As seen in the findings, the sizes of the offices at neighbourhoods are small. The neighbourhood need to have big enough office to allow access of citizens to staff. Staff members need to have their own officers to give them a chance to serve citizens

who have problems. This problem can be solved through sensitizing community to participate in the construction of offices by contributing building materials like bricks and labour power. This is possible because some neighbourhood officers are located where there is access to brick making areas and where bricks are cheap.

Therefore by sensitizing community members, offices can be built with the lowest cost and in high speed and also community members can subscribe in procurement of other building materials like timbers and iron sheets. Besides that allocation of fund to neighbourhood should be proportional to population, size of the neighbourhood and services they are providing. The second problem identified was arrangement of schedule. To solve this problem, there should be good arrangement of schedule between staff and citizens to make sure that they are always in the office. Neighbourhood officials do not have well arranged schedules which are participatory and effective. The schedule for going to the field should be reviewed. In this regard, staff should involve citizens in the preparation of schedules and their responsibility concerning the schedule. Therefore, this will provide an opportunity for citizens and staff to know who is violating the agreement on the schedule and to control staff who use office hours to do their private jobs and to make sure that staff have enough time to meet clients who are coming in the during office hours. Citizens also should be sensitized on the use of schedule and it should be communicated effectively to avoid the coalition and some people going to office when staff members are in the field.

To put this in place, community members and staff have to work together on making schedules and creating accountability mechanism to those who will go against the schedule. Lack of reception is another problem identified. Reception areas are important at the neighbourhood office for responding to enquiries from clients. This problem can be solved through expanding labels on the doors and one sign post can be used in front of the office to show where to go. This will minimize confusion to people who are visiting the neighbourhood. Human resources capacity at neighbourhood should be improved also. Central government institution should review recruitment policy and recruitment of personnel to local government. The local government should also learn how to raise recruitment requests to convince central authorities to add more posts in areas like agricultural officers, community development officers and health professionals who are still very few at neighbourhood level.

The municipality should review transportation policy to provide allowance for transportation to field officers who visit citizens in the field by using their own money. This will motivate them to work hard and perform better their job. They can provide motor cycle for transportation on loan basis because most of staff are willing to get it even through loan. This can be on temporary basis but in

future the government should stress on the current plan for buying motorcycle for all wards to make sure that it is sustainable. The neighbourhood office also can involve community in providing transport to staff who are going to the field for some special cases like livestock and agriculture. In this regard, staff who have transportation problems will cooperate with respective citizen with special case in the field. Open plan policy should be reviewed. Citizens should be made aware of the open plan arrangement which stipulate the right of people to get information. In this regard, WEO can coordinate the training and communication of information concerning transparency people and the way it can be achieved at the neighbourhood. People who are living away from neighbourhood can be trained and given guidance in their areas under the coordination of street executive officers and street chairman. This agenda can also be communicated through meeting held especially at Mtaa/Street level. This is more effective because streets are more close to people. There is a need for intra municipal regulation; due to lack of neighbourhood radio and news paper communication at neighbourhood level can be strengthen by making effective meeting, notice boards and the use of letters. This can be done through taking notice boards to street level and ensuring that the meetings are held as per regulations through collaboration between street chairman who is political representative at street level and street executive officer.

Decentralised services can be strengthened through making effective community participation by using new approach which O&OD. This approach gives opportunity to identify the resources they have and planning according to them rather than receiving orders from above. In this for example water management committees should be strengthened and empowered through regulations. There should be effective notice boards control. Staff who are responsible should make sure that there is up to date information on the notice boards and the notice boards should be locked to avoid people who put their private information on them or removing the information. This help to communicate information which is accurate and safe and the people who read late on the notice boards can still find the information.

Means of sharing information should be brought close to citizens and notice boards should be taken close to people to supply information to people who live away from the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood office can install notice boards in every street through participation with street executive officers in respective street. This will help citizens who do not travel to neighbourhood often to get information in their residential areas. System of accountability of staff to citizens should be strengthening. Citizens should be empowered to hold accountable by providing them necessary information like involving them in the preparation of the schedule and training them on their right to information. These will help citizens to

identify some staff who are not working and it will help municipality to take disciplinary measures against them for the purpose of raising performance.

More training for citizens about their right is imperative. This can be done under the coordination of Ward Executive Officers (WEOs) to make sure that people know exactly the type of information they deserve to get from the neighbourhood office and responsible officers or place. Most of citizens do not have adequate knowledge about importance of information and their right to get information. They seek for information when they problems only. Therefore, their mind set need to be changed through training on the right and importance to information. There is a need to review budgeting system. Budgeting system is not participatory at the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood officials and citizens do not participate in the allocation of resources it indicate top down approach in planning. Involvement of lower levels of government in the preparation of budget is still a problem. Top down approach in planning and budgeting still exists at street and ward level are not fully involved in the preparation of budget .Therefore budgeting approach should change to be more participatory.

The system of training should be strengthened. This can be done through improving the training of staff who work in the same department and have different skills. Like agricultural department there staff who specialise in hot culture, others specialise in livestock and others agriculture. To minimize the problem of shortage of staff there should be exchange of skills among this staff so that they can avoid bypass for cases which are not in their profession. The can be supported by enhancing on the job training which facilitate the transfer of skills and knowledge to new staff who may not have adequate knowledge and hence making them efficient in their performance. This includes other training for example the existing training for citizens which involve training citizens in groups through associations that they call shamba darasa. These associations are formed by citizens who are trained in groups and members of this groups transfer the knowledge to other citizens in the field.

From empirical case of bologna city, they programme for promoting competency of staff in different professions. The municipality can learn from that by allocating fund allocated for training for street executive officers and other professional who have skills gap. The local government at municipal level should review the system property tax of which 50% goes to neighbourhood levels and 50% remain at municipal level. Neighbourhood level serves big population compare to municipal level and they should get big percent of this fund. Central government should also review system of capital development grant to local government which is also distributed on 50 to 50 bases. The increase of the distribution of this fund can provide broad spectrum and allocative efficiency in providing opportunities which include priorities for office expansion and means of

installing information like computers and training experts to use them.

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