



Research on Poverty Alleviation

17th ANNUAL RESEARCH WORKSHOP

**“We can’t change things”:
A study on public attitudes to local governance in
Njombe, Ludewa and Makete**

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Draft Report

GVI

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Abstract

This is a study into the attitudes of key groups of actors towards local governance. The study has employed a predominantly quantitative approach, including a questionnaire survey of 977 citizens and smaller sub-surveys of village leaders. Some qualitative data was also collected, in order to aid interpretation of the quantitative data. Data was collected in the four districts of Njombe Town, Njombe District, Ludewa and Makete in early 2010.

The study aims to fill a gap in our understanding of prevailing public attitudes to local government and local governance. Previous research has generally been of a highly qualitative nature or has only peripherally touched on this theme. By filling this gap in the literature, the study ultimately aims to ensure that ongoing local government reforms are more likely to achieve their stated poverty reduction and community empowerment goals.

Five types of attitudes at the community and local government level are considered, identified from the literature as critical to how new policies and institutions of local government are interpreted at the local level. These are: i) popular perceptions of the role of key local government actors and institutions, ii) attitudes towards the past and present performance of key local government actors and institutions, iii) the perceived legitimacy (or otherwise) of a variety of possible governance-related actions taken by citizens, their representatives and local officials, iv) the nature and extent of citizens' past and present engagement with local governance, and v) perceptions of local democracy and politics in practice.

The study found a widespread sense of powerlessness among citizens, a sense that there's nothing they can do to hold local government to account, together with significant misunderstanding of the roles of local government. In particular, the scrutiny role of citizens and their representatives is not well understood and practiced. Results also show that village government and leaders are seen as performing better than high level government institutions. Finally, trust in several important local governance-related institutions is very low, including the police, courts, electoral commission, opposition parties, the media and NGOs.

These results suggest a need for increased civic awareness programmes on accountability and local governance, along with interventions to promote or strengthen demand side accountability pressures, including improved access to information. Further, there is a need to find ways of providing citizens with relatively risk-free and simple opportunities to help hold local government to account, and to build trust in key local governance institutions.

The study also suggests some general research areas that deserve more attention. One important theme regards to the understanding of the factors and conditions that contribute to citizens' sense of powerlessness, in order to identify means of encouraging and motivating civic action.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGAs NEC	Local Government Authorities
NGO	National Electoral Commission
PMORALG	Non Governmental Organisation
REPOA	Prime Minister’s Office for Regional Administration and Local Governance
SHIPO SSIs	Research on Poverty Alleviation
VEO	Southern Highlands Participatory Organisation
	Semi-structured Interviews
	Village Executive Officer

1. Introduction and Background

1.1 Background

Decentralisation by devolution is creating a local governance framework with the potential to deliver both responsive government and poverty reduction. However, fulfilling this potential is a much bigger challenge than simply putting new systems in place. The functioning of new institutions in practice will be influenced strongly by pre-existing attitudes and perceptions of key actors. For example, how do district (or village) officials perceive their responsibilities to higher levels of government in relation to their responsibilities to the community? How do community members and leaders perceive challenge and scrutiny of government – necessary and legitimate, or disrespectful and disruptive?

Perceptions and attitudes change over time and can be influenced by deliberate efforts. However, to do so requires first that they are well understood, and this is currently lacking. The main reason for this study, therefore, is to address the gap in our understanding of the attitudes of key actors towards local governance.

The local government reforms in Tanzania are underpinned by theoretical principles of decentralisation and good governance. These theories are largely dependent on assumptions of rational self-interest, and western political and economic models. There is only limited recognition of how historical, social and cultural factors necessarily influence how new policies and institutions play out in practice. Such policies and institutions are interpreted locally and aligned with local attitudes, beliefs and norms, deflecting the good intentions of policy makers.

And yet, very little is known about these attitudes beliefs and norms in predominantly rural Tanzania. Previous studies have either been qualitative and are therefore difficult to extrapolate, or have only touched on popular attitudes to local governance. This study aims to fill this gap.

1.2 The Study

This study collected detailed quantitative data on the attitudes of key actors towards local governance. Specifically, it involved a survey of 1000 randomly selected citizens, together with smaller samples of village government officials. A small amount of qualitative data was also collected through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews, to aid interpretation of the quantitative data. Data was collected within four districts, namely Njombe Town, Njombe District, Ludewa and Makete, all within Iringa region, in early 2010.

The principle objective of this research is to increase understanding of the attitudes and perceptions of key actors towards local government and local governance. This includes the following two key groups: i) community members, ii) village government officials.

This can be broken down into the following specific objectives:

1. To identify the popular perceptions of the roles of key local government actors and institutions.
2. To identify attitudes towards the past and present performance of key actors and institutions in local governance.

3. To assess the perceived legitimacy (or otherwise) of a variety of possible governance-related actions taken by citizens, their representatives and local officials.
4. To outline the nature and extent of citizens' past and present engagement with local governance.
5. To identify popular perceptions of local democracy and politics in practice.

2. Theoretical Background and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Democratic decentralisation as a system of government is motivated principally by a belief that it can provide greater responsiveness. Local government, by virtue of being both geographically and culturally closer to the community, is thought to be able to understand citizens' particular needs and priorities better than national government. Similarly, it is thought that citizens will be more able to engage with local than national government, influencing planning decisions and holding officials to account for poor performance (Ribot, 2004).

Initiated in 1998, Tanzania's process of Decentralisation by Devolution, or "D by D", has seen local government authorities (LGAs) given a wide range of new powers and responsibilities, including particularly responsibility for the delivery of key social services – schools, primary health services, rural water supply, rural roads and agricultural extension. Re-empowered elected councils oversee an executive team lead by the Executive Director.

Ten years in, this decentralisation process has been the subject of a number of studies. Notable in this is REPOA's Formative Process Research programme, which has made the decentralisation process itself the focus of its efforts. A variety of other studies and surveys have also intersected, although less directly, with the local government reforms, including the Afrobarometer surveys, Taylor's qualitative research into cultures of governance at village level, the Patterns of Accountability series undertaken for the Development Partners' governance working group, and a number of sector-specific studies looking at how decentralisation is playing out in the health or water sectors, for example. The findings of these studies will be discussed below.

But first, we will discuss the specific topic of this proposed study in a little more detail, drawing on literature on local governance in practice in Tanzania to explain why attitudes and perceptions are important in the discussion of an institutional framework. This will be followed by a discussion of how attitudes to local governance have featured in the literature mentioned above on Tanzania's reform process. This will assess the current state of understanding of the topic, and identify a number of gaps in our knowledge.

2.2 Why do attitudes matter, and which ones?

Much of the literature on governance frameworks has focussed on the two challenges of "getting the prices right" and "getting the institutions right". For economists this has largely been a debate between advocates of small government and a strong role for the private sector on the one hand – the so called Washington Consensus – and those who propose a bigger role for the state as provider

of services on the other. For those looking at the issue from a political science and public administration perspective, the challenge has focussed more on creating an appropriate network of government institutions and accountability relationships that provide for efficient and responsive government – the elusive formula for “good governance”.

Both these sets of debates emphasise the importance of institutions and formal accountability relationships over “softer” questions of culture, attitudes and history. They largely take as an assumption the idea that citizens and their representatives and government officials will all act primarily according to rational self interest. This can be usefully contrasted with the findings of a number of authors writing on governance in practice in Tanzania.

Goran Hyden (2005), in his *Power Analysis of Tanzania*, focuses on power relations, describing how pre-existing relations, underpinned by cultural beliefs and practices, affect development efforts, to the frustration of donor agencies:

“Policies are developed by consultants, approved by donors, negotiated with local partners, and adopted in consultations with little understanding of how underlying power relations will affect the implementation of these policies.” (p.6)

With regard to local government, he argues that from a power point of view, the drive to devolve resources to local governments is “problematic”: “[Councillors] are not interested in efficient use of these funds, nor the idea that they must be allocated according to a set of criteria determined by central government or donors. ... What matters to them is not the principle according to which resources are allocated but the tangible resource itself. Whether the resource reaches the beneficiaries in ways that are questionable, maybe even illegal, carry little significance to people who are poor and in need.” (p. 20) For Hyden, then, popular perceptions and expectations of the role of councillors influence their actions more than respect for accountability relationships as defined by law.

Brockington (2007; 2008) uses the term cultures of democracy to explain how village-level institutions of natural resource governance are influenced by local experiences of local government institutions as much as they are by the institutional framework in place. Where citizens’ primary experience of contact with local government institutions is one of “violence” – aggression, insults, appropriation of resources – as he found, new institutions are likely to face resistance from the community right from their inception. Expectations of future performance are shaped strongly by past experience. Where experience creates scepticism among citizens’ regarding either the ability or the motivation of local government, they are likely to be discouraged from engaging with local government, or at least from engaging according to “correct” procedures.

He goes on to suggest that democratic institutions and processes will only be valued when they have been fought for rather than imposed paternalistically from above. Taylor (2006a; 2006b; 2006c) went a step further with this idea, defining cultures of local governance as “the established practices and local discourses of governance”. He found strong qualitative evidence that these cultures were very influential in determining how village level HIV/AIDS committees function in practice. His case studies found that the carefully designed institutional framework and policy guidelines setting up the committees had been largely ignored in favour of doing things as they have always been done.

Finally, the Understanding Patterns of Accountability in Tanzania research series found that “concepts of accountability and transparency do appear to have meaning at the local level but the ‘good governance discourse’ co-exists with other cultures of accountability, so its interpretation can be ambiguous” (Lawson and Rakner, 2005, p.4). They describe these cultures of accountability by examining the vocabularies used by citizens themselves, which they identified as the vocabularies of good governance, local patriarchal tradition, religion and the market. These vocabularies, and the forms of accountability that they describe, are not entirely co-compatible, resulting in a situation where the legitimacy or otherwise of particular actions by local leaders is often ambiguous, subject to constant re-evaluation according to context and with different people reaching different conclusions. They emphasise recent history as the cause. (Lawson and Rakner, 2005).

The literature described above all challenges the predominant economic and political perspectives on local governance based on assumptions of rational self interest and western political models. It paints a picture of how institutional frameworks are locally interpreted according to a combination of historical and cultural factors.

Based on these examples, we can begin to identify the particular types of attitudes that are likely to be of particular importance. In particular, the examples from Hyden and Brockington both identify (i) citizens’ expectations of local government roles as important. Brockington also emphasises (ii) citizens’ views on the past performance of local government. This historical perspective also suggests that (iii) citizens’ experience of political engagement is also important. Taylor and the Patterns of Accountability series discuss (iv) perceptions of the legitimacy of particular actions, both by citizens’ trying to engage with local government and by local government itself. Finally, Brockington’s argument that democracy is valued only when it has been fought for suggests that (v) perceptions on the value of democracy are also worth considering. These five types of attitudes will therefore form the five main themes of this study.

The following section discusses the state of current knowledge in each of these five areas. In particular, we will aim to answer the question what does the literature tell us about these five types of attitudes with regard to local governance in Tanzania?

2.3 What do we already know about local attitudes to local governance in Tanzania?

Past studies of local governance in Tanzania have rarely focussed specifically on the attitudes of citizens and other stakeholders. Some literature, such as Hyden (2005), Taylor (2006a; 2006b; 2006c), the ethnographic component of the Patterns of Accountability series (Kelsall et al, 2005), and the earlier Village Democracy Initiative (Shivji and Peter, 2000) have taken a highly qualitative perspective. This has enabled them to identify and analyse attitudes that have been prevalent in very specific localised contexts, but this type of data is harder to generalise than a quantitative survey approach. The micro-survey component of the Patterns of Accountability series (see Kelsall et al, 2005) provides quantitative data but was based on a very small sample size – only 90 respondents – again undermining its generalisability. The Afrobarometer surveys (Afrobarometer, 2006; Afrobarometer 2008) provide more generalisable findings but focussed mainly on attitudes to national rather than local government. The citizens’ survey component of REPOA’s Formative Process Research (e.g. Chaligha et al, 2007; Chaligha, 2008) on local government reforms in Tanzania provides some data, but does not cover all five themes as identified above. All these

sources can all offer some insights into local attitudes to local governance in Tanzania, though we need to remain aware of their limitations.

(i) Popular expectations of the roles of key local government institutions

Hyden (2005) identified a perception that the role of an elected councillor is to attract resources to his/her constituents rather than to scrutinise the performance of local officials and ensure that due process is followed. Taylor (2006) found a perception that the role of lower levels of government was to carry out instructions from higher levels of government rather than to respond to local needs and interests.

The only related finding from any of the surveys mentioned above was that 47% of respondents in REPOA’s citizens’ survey had heard about local government reform (Chaligha et al, 2007, p.9). This is not itself information about how citizens’ see the role of local government, but nevertheless suggests that citizens’ understanding of changed roles under decentralisation reforms is likely to be limited.

(ii) Popular perceptions of the performance of key local government institutions

On this theme, we have a much wider range of evidence available, including some detailed survey data from Afrobarometer. Findings from the latest survey (Afrobarometer, 2008) include that 68% of citizens are satisfied with their local councillor and that 72% felt that their councillor was not involved in corruption (p.4). The surveys also found generally positive perceptions of local government service delivery – see table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Levels of citizens’ satisfaction with government efforts

Proportion of citizens who expressed satisfaction with government efforts	2005	2008
To address educational needs	85%	78%
In the health sector	70%	63%
To provide water and sanitation services	45%	46%

Source: Afrobarometer 2008, p.5

However, the Patterns of Accountability micro-survey (Kelsall et al, 2005) had more mixed findings. On the positive side, 70% of respondents reported that the performance of village and ward government was either good or very good and over 80% reported the same of the district council (p.17). On the other hand, they also found a litany of complaints from citizens on local government performance: ward authorities were described as “slow, unaccountable, poor in supervision, uncooperative, and didn’t provide or maintain certain services” (p. 18), “the ruling party discriminated in favour of its own members, its leaders were self-interested”, “the courts delayed cases, failed to resolve them, were corrupt and weak in making decisions or ensuring communal peace”, and “district councils sometimes failed to build schools, provide loans, or cooperate with the community” (p.18). The predominant experience of a majority of citizens (54%) of their council was of corruption (p.20).

REPOA’s Formative Process Research (Chaligha et al, 2007) found that a majority of citizens reported that all six groups of leaders mentioned (Village Executive Officers, Ward Executive Officers, council staff, Councillors, village chairpersons and Members of Parliament) all “do as best they can” (p.19). However, this survey also found that 59% of respondents described corruption as a serious problem in their council (p.23.)

In combination, these findings suggest that citizens' experience of local government is of delays and corruption, but that these are accepted as normal to the extent that the same respondents who identify corruption as their main experience of local government also express satisfaction with local government performance. This concurs with the qualitative findings of Taylor (2006a) that corruption and forcefulness are not only expected of local government but also accepted.

(iii) Citizens' engagement with local governance processes

On the level of citizens' engagement in political processes, the 2005 Afrobarometer survey (Afrobarometer, 2006) reports that 82% of possible voters had registered to vote in the 2005 elections, that 81% actually voted, and that the registration figure rose to 95% for the (then upcoming) general election in 2005 (p.14-15). Levels of involvement in other forms of political engagement varied widely, seemingly according to the relative passivity or confrontational nature of the engagement in question – see table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Levels of citizens' engagement in local politics

Proportion of citizens who, in the last year, have either "several times" or "often"	
Attending a community meeting	68%
Got together with others to raise an issue	53%
Attended a demonstration or protest march	9%
Contacted a councillor about a problem or give them your views	11%
Contacted a member of parliament about a problem or give them your views	3%
Contacted a political party official about a problem or give them your views	8%

Source: Afrobarometer 2006, pp.1 5-16.

In the same survey, 69% of respondents correctly knew the name of their local councillor, more than knew the name of the vice president (42%), but slightly less than knew their MP (75%) (p.22).

The Formative Process Research citizens' survey looked at participation in village and ward meetings, with just under half of all respondents reporting that they participated in meetings (Chaligha et al, p.9). However, participation in the preparation of village or ward plans was much lower, at 20% (p.11).

This is echoed in Patterns of Accountability micro-survey (Kelsall et al, 2005), which found that a "staggering" 71% of respondents reported that government had never consulted them on issues of democracy or development, and 87% that they were not aware of any mechanism for such consultation to happen (p. 27). This suggests that opportunities for citizens' engagement in planning processes are not obvious to them, and perhaps also that planning processes are not as consultative in practice as they are in policy. However, we should recall the small sample size.

(iv) Popular perceptions of the legitimacy of particular governance-related actions

Some of the qualitative evidence on this theme is quite shocking. Taylor (2006), for example, found that corruption and a forceful approach to governing on the part of village government was accepted and even expected. Brockington's (2007; 2008) findings are similar.

Survey data paints a less worrying picture. The 2005 Afrobarometer survey (Afrobarometer, 2006), for example, which reports mainly on the legitimacy of certain actions by national government, found that only 6% of respondents report that the president ignores the constitution either always or often (p.26). The same survey found that 70% of respondents stated that it was "wrong and

punishable” for a government official to give a job to an unqualified family member, and 73% said the same about an official demanding a favour or other service to do their job. However, a significant minority in each case, 23% and 21% respectively said that this would be “wrong but understandable”, suggesting some limited acceptance of these actions. And only 55% said it was “wrong and punishable” for an official to locate a project in an area where his friends live (pp.34-35). Finally, 76% of respondents agreed that it “candidates for elected office should never give gifts to or treat voters” (p.56).

Information on the perceived legitimacy of actions by citizens is more limited. Again, the 2005 Afrobarometer survey (Afrobarometer, 2006) is our best source, although it does not deal with governance in particular. Table 2.3 shows some of these responses, which range from 80% who say citizens should be more questioning of leaders to only 23% who agree that citizens should be free to join any organisation.

Table 2.3: Perceived legitimacy of citizens’ engagement in local politics

<i>Proportion of citizens who agreed or strongly agreed with the following statements:</i>	
As citizens, we should be more active in questioning the actions of our leaders	80%
People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how popular their views may be	43%
We should be able to join any organisation, whether or not the government approves of it	23%
The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down	32%

Source: Afrobarometer 2006, pp.1 1-13.

The more recent survey (Afrobarometer, 2008) show some decline, however, with only 48% believing that there is freedom of expression in politics, compared to 70% in 2005.

(v) Popular perceptions on the value of democracy

The quantitative evidence reports largely positive impressions of the value of democracy. The Formative Process Research citizens’ survey (Chaligha et al, 2007), for example, found that only 1.6% of possible voters declined to vote in local council elections because their vote “does not matter anyway” (p. 30).

The latest Afrobarometer survey (Afrobarometer, 2008), looking nationally, found that 74% of Tanzanians perceive Tanzania to be democratic (up from 40% in 2005) and that 70% are overall satisfied with the way democracy works (up from 39%). Similarly, 60% do not believe that competition between parties leads to conflict (up from 45%). (pp. 2-3).

This evidence seems to refute Brockington’s (2007; 2008) conclusion that democracy will not be valued unless it has been fought for.

3. Methodology and Hypotheses

3.1 Methodology and sampling

This study has used mainly quantitative methods, backed up by some qualitative data. A questionnaire survey was the main tool used, with some follow up conducted using focus group

discussions (FGDs) and semi-structured interviews (SSIs) to enable better interpretation of the quantitative results.

Two separate groups were questioned as part of this study: citizens and village government officials. The citizens' survey formed the main part of the study, with a sample size of 977 respondents. Smaller samples of between 40 and 80 respondents formed three sub-surveys focussing on village government officials.

A specific questionnaire was developed for each group, with some key questions included in all questionnaires to compare responses. The Afrobarometer questionnaire was used as a template for questions, to provide an additional source for later comparisons. It was adapted for the specific purposes of this study, to focus more on local governance institutions.

The study was conducted in four LGAs, namely Njombe Town, Njombe District, Ludewa and Makete. The complete population of these four LGAs formed the sampling frame for the survey.

For the surveys of citizens' and village officials, stratified and clustering approach to sampling was used. Specifically, 10 survey clusters were selected at random from a list of all rural villages and urban streets in the four LGAs. Stratification was used to ensure a representative balance of urban and rural communities is achieved.

For the citizens' survey, 40 households were randomly selected from a list of all households within the village or street that makes up the cluster in question. All present adults between the ages of 15 and 70 in each survey household were invited to participate, aiming for 100 respondents in each cluster, or a total targeted sample size of 1000 respondents. In practice, a sample size of 977 was achieved.

For the village government officials' sub-survey, the same 10 clusters were used. In each rural village, the village chairperson, village executive officer and two sub-village chairpersons' (selected at random) were invited to participate. In urban street clusters, the street chairperson and ward executive officer were invited to participate. The total expected sample size for this sub-survey was therefore 30-40 respondents, which was met in practice with an actual sample size of 40 village leaders.

The quantitative data from these two survey groups provided the bulk of the data for this study. A series of FGDs and interviews were used to deepen understanding of key issues and aid interpretation of the quantitative data. In particular, five FGDs of citizens' were conducted in three villages, balancing urban and rural communities, and brief semi-structured interviews of three village leaders. Ninety community members participated in the FGDs constituting 42 males and 48 females.

3.2 Assumptions

Few assumptions were made in order to estimate information on education, economy and employment of the respondents. Education is captured as a variable for whether the household head is none educated or had acquired formal education (primary or higher). Three categories of education were considered namely non educated, primary education and formal education higher than primary which include secondary, tertiary and professional education.

On the other hand, roofing material of the house was used as a proxy for the wealth of the household and three major wealth categories were considered namely very poor, poor and less poor. Three types of roofing were considered which include corrugated iron sheets, thatch and soil to represent less poor, poor and very poor wealth categories respectively.

For simplicity, all respondents were grouped into three major occupational categories namely unemployed, farmers and formal employment. It should be noted that unemployed include all respondents who are not engaged in any economical activity and most of them includes those in school i.e. students. On the other hand, farmers constitute those engaged in farming, casual labourers and small business owners. The decision to group them into one is supported by the reality that most of the respondents were engaged in all of the three activities at one point in a year. Lastly, all permanently employed respondents fall under the formal employment category which mainly include civil servants and those employed in non-governmental organisations working in rural areas.

3.3 Research Questions

This study is designed to increase understanding of an issue that has only had limited previous attention. It is not designed to test whether a particular theoretical proposition applies in practice. It is therefore not appropriate to propose specific hypotheses for testing. Instead a number of research questions, linked to the overall and specific objectives, are identified:

What are the attitudes and perceptions of four key groups of actors – citizens, village government officials, elected representatives and district council officials – towards local government and local governance, in terms of:

- i. Popular perceptions of the roles of key local government actors and institutions,
- ii. Attitudes towards the past and present performance of key local government actors and institutions,
- iii. The perceived legitimacy (or otherwise) of a variety of possible governance-related actions taken by citizens, their representatives and local officials,
- iv. The nature and extent of citizens' past and present engagement with local governance, and
- v. Perceptions of local democracy and politics in practice?

The study has examined overall attitudes in each of these thematic areas as well as comparing attitudes between each of the two survey groups. It has also compared attitudes across different social categories of age, rural/urban, sex and education level.

3.3 The use of mobile phones to collect data

Mobile phones were used in the interviews to record data and transfer it to Episurveyor database. Questionnaires were installed into the mobile phones, though each member of the survey team also had a printed copy of the questionnaire. Interviewees read off the printed sheet and entered the response straight into the phone, using free software called Episurveyor. The entered data was then either sent directly to a server from the phone or saved to a memory card and extracted later. The later was only opted when direct transfer of data could not work. See box 3.1 for a summary of lessons learned from this innovative aspect of the methodology.

Box 3.1: Lessons from the use of mobile phones for field-level data entry

Given that this is one of the first studies to use the mobile telephony technology for data collection in Tanzania, perhaps it is important to share the experience and most significantly, some of the challenges faced in the process.

First and foremost, there were difficulties in transferring data to the EpiSurveyor database. This was solved by resorting to saving completed forms to a memory card, which has added a little to the cost and will make collecting all the data together from each phone a little more time consuming.

It is also important to note that use of mobile phones necessitated the availability of electricity for charging the batteries. Some villages had no electricity and thus the field team occasionally had to travel long distances in order to reach villages that had electricity.

Notwithstanding the small challenges encountered in the use of mobile phones some of which are shared here, we were able to enjoy the unique advantages of this new technology. These include consistent input of data, rapid detection and correction of errors, and streamlined data entry which saves time by averting re-keying of data.

3.4 Ethical considerations

No participant of this study was forced to participate. A clear explanation of the study was provided to all those who were invited to participate and all were given the opportunity to decline. They were also able to elect to opt-out of the survey at any time, even if they initially agreed to participate.

No names of respondents were collected, in order to ensure anonymity. Where official titles could reveal the identity of a respondent, this information has not been made public. In addition to reducing possible any risk to participants, these measures has increased respondents' confidence in providing honest responses to sensitive questions.

4. Findings

4.1 Background information

This study involved citizens from four districts namely Njombe Town¹, Njombe District, Ludewa and Makete each contributing 20%, 43%, 20% and 17% of the community members respectively. The urban-rural distribution of the respondents was 20% to 80% respectively.

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents

	Njombe Town	Njombe Rural	Ludewa	Makete	Total
Male	92	230	115	80	517

¹ Despite the name, Njombe Town is a largely rural district, though it does include the urban part of Njombe.

Female	104	187	78	91	460
Total	196	417	193	171	977
Urban	99	99	0	0	198
Rural	97	318	193	171	779
Total	196	417	193	171	977
Young	71	156	47	66	340
Adult	90	199	110	72	471
Elderly	35	62	36	33	166
Total	196	417	193	171	977
Unemployed	9	18	3	19	49
Farmers	137	355	171	138	801
Formal employment	50	44	19	14	127
Total	196	417	193	171	977
Very poor	43	86	34	60	223
Poor	95	258	121	91	565
Less poor	58	73	38	20	189
Total	196	417	193	171	977

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

The study respondents were 53% male and 47% female (among the community members). The young made up 35% of respondents, slightly less than the adults (42%), but more than the elderly (17%).² Most of the respondents had primary school education (78%) while those with no education constituted 8% and the rest (14%) had education higher than primary school education. A high proportion of respondents were farmers (82%) while the rest (18%) were employed in business and other occupations than farming including civil servants. It was also observed that 80% households were headed by men while the remaining households (20%) were headed by females.

In addition, the research also included 40 village leaders, of whom 34 (85%) were male and 6 (15%) female. At village level government, it can be seen that male leaders vastly outnumber female leaders.

4.2 Attitudes Thematic Areas

(i) Popular expectations of the roles of key local government institutions

Contradicting perceptions are observed between village leaders and community members on the role of the village government. It was found that 36% of the community members felt that the role of the village government is to resolve conflicts while only 3% of the village leaders felt so. The survey also finds that about 39% of the interviewed community members felt that the role of the village government is to initiate projects for village development. In contrast, only 30% of interviewed village leaders felt that the village government is to initiate projects for village development. Village leaders' predominant view (48%) was that their main role is to enforce laws.

Table 4.2: Role of the village government

Role of the village government	Community members (%)	Village leaders (%)
To resolve conflicts	36.0	3.0
To implement national and district plans	11.0	20.0
To initiate projects for village development	39.0	30.0
To enforce laws	11.0	48.0

² The age groups are defined as young (below 35 years), adults (between 35 and 50 years) and elderly (above 64 years).

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

As it can be seen from table 4.2 above, 11% of the community members felt that the role of the village government is to implement national and district plans compared to 20% on the part of the village leaders. A greater discrepancy is observed between the perception of villager leaders and community members as 48% and 11% respectively, felt that the role of the village government is to enforce the law.

About 32% of the community members felt that the role of the district government is to initiate projects for the district development compared to 38% of the village leaders who had the same feeling. Moreover, 45% of the villager leaders felt that the role of the district government is to implement national plans while only 26% of the community members felt the same. Converging results are observed as 12% of the community members and 10% of village leaders felt that the role of the government is to resolve conflicts. A very small number of village leaders (3%) felt that the role of the district government is to enforce laws as opposed to 11% of the community members who felt the same.

Table 4.3: Role of the district government

Role of the district government	Community members (%)	Village leaders (%)
To resolve conflicts	12.0	10.0
To implement national plans	26.0	45.0
To initiate projects for the district development	32.0	38.0
To enforce laws	11.0	3.0
No response	19.0	4.0

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

It is also worth to note that a remarkable portion of community members (19%) had no response when asked to give their perceptions on the role of district government. Interestingly, 48% of the non educated community members fall into this group.

A slight mismatch in perceptions between village leaders and community members is observed as 13% of the former and 3% of the later felt that the role of councillors is to scrutinize district plans and its implementation by the district council. Likewise, a greater number of village leaders (35%) believe that councillors are responsible for ensuring district plans and budget reflect the community's needs and interests as compared to 30% of the community members who believe so. Conversely, an equal number of community members and village leaders (10%) felt that the role of councillors is to ensure that party policies are well implemented at the district. Moreover, both community members (39%) and village leaders (40%) felt that their councillors are responsible for bringing development or projects to their wards.

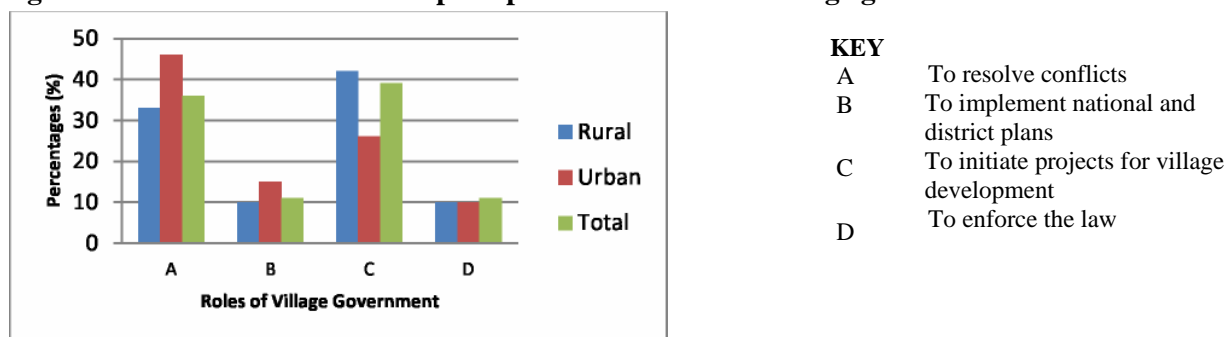
Table 4.4: Role of the councillors

Role of the councillors	Community members (%)	Village leaders (%)
To ensure that needs of the citizens are considered in the district plans and budgets	30.0	35.0
To ensure that party policies are well implemented in their districts	10.0	10.0
To bring development projects in his/her ward	39.0	40.0
To scrutinize development plans and its implementation by the district council	3.0	13.0

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

More mixed results are observed when comparing between the rural and urban citizens against their perceptions on the role of village and district governments. About 43% of the rural population felt that the role of the village government is to initiate projects for village development as compared to only 26% of their urban counterparts who felt the same. On the other hand, 46% of the urban citizens felt that the role of the village government is to resolve conflicts while 33% of the rural community members felt the same. Converging perceptions between community members and village leaders are observed on the two roles of the village government i.e. to implement national and district plans, and to enforce laws.

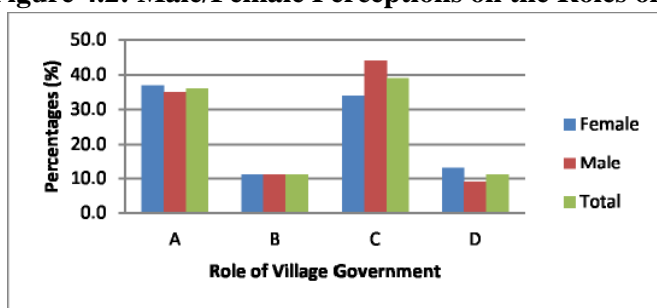
Figure 4.1: Rural/Urban citizens' perceptions on the role of village government



Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

A slight difference in perception on the role of village government as an initiator of projects for the district development is observed as 44% of males felt so as compared to 34% females. Otherwise, both sexes had similar beliefs on the role of the village government as shown in figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Male/Female Perceptions on the Roles of Village Government



Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

(ii) Popular perception of the performance of key local government institutions

The survey found out that village leaders are thought to take more account of the needs of the citizens than the District Officials. A sizable number of people (74%) are convinced that their views are considered when village leaders are making decisions as compared to reduced number (49%) who felt the same for District Officials. Conversely, a small number of people (12%) felt that village leaders consider instruction from high levels of government when making decisions rising to 27% for district leaders. Furthermore, only 9% of respondents felt that villages leaders considers their own interests when making decisions while 3% of the respondents felt that the village leaders considers the views of a small group of their friends and family members when making decision.

Table 4.5: Factors regarded by leaders when making decisions

Factors considered when making decisions	Village leaders (%)	District officials (%)
The views of people like you	74.40	49.00
The views of a small group of their friends and family members	3.00	2.00
Instructions from higher levels of government	12.00	27.00
Their own interests	9.00	7.00

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

A very small proportion of respondents (7%) felt that district leaders considers their own interests when making decision while a very small proportion of respondents (2%) believed that district

leaders consider the views of a small group of their friends and family members. It is also worth to note that a significant number of respondents (16%) had no response when asked to assess the factors considered by district leaders when making decisions.

About 71% of the respondents rated the performance of village executive officers as very well or quite well. The village chairperson and ward councillors received 66% and 50% votes respectively that rated them as very well performers. Likewise, 45% of the respondents felt that district officials performed very well while only 43% felt the same for members of parliament.

Table 4.6: Performance of local leaders

Local leader	Very well/quite well (%)	Averagely (%)	Poorly (%)	Don't know (%)
Village chairperson	66.03	21.60	5.02	6.96
Village executive officer	70.52	20.98	3.28	5.02
Ward councillors	49.64	21.29	3.28	16.79
Religious leaders	81.37	11.87	1.64	4.81
Members of parliament	43.19	19.04	25.38	12.18
District officials	44.83	26.61	3.79	24.05

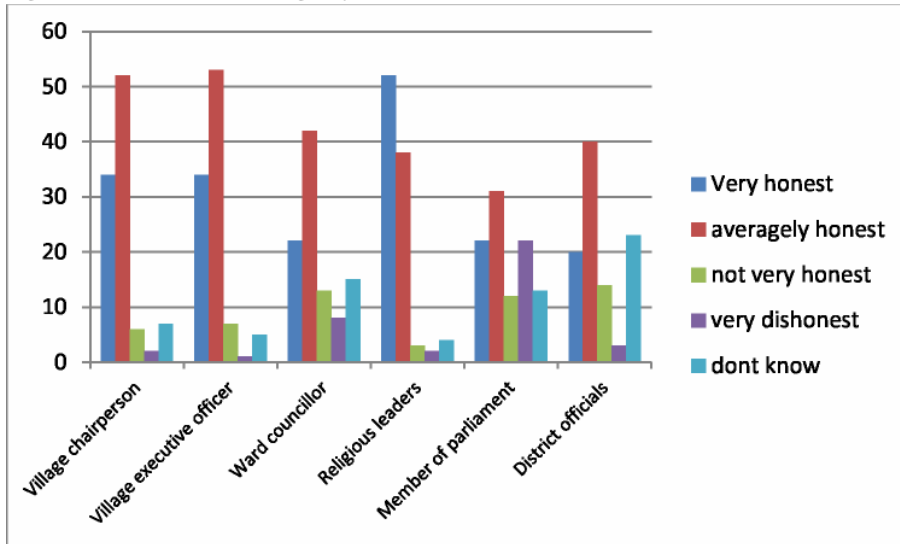
Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

About 25% of the respondents rated the performance of member of parliaments poorly. Similarly, 3.28% of the respondents rated ward councillors as poor performers. Religious leaders were highly rated performers by scoring 81% of the respondents' votes while receiving only 2% of the respondents who rated them as poor performers.

It is also worth noting that 24% of the respondents answered “don't know” when asked to assess the performance of District Officials. This could be attributed by lack of interactions between the citizens and the District Officials as it has been observed in other studies, for example REPOA, 2010. The same applies to Ward Councillors and members of parliament as 17% and 12% of the community members were not able to assess their performances respectively. Considering the proximity of urban citizens to district offices, it would be rationally correct to think that they would have more interactions with the district officials than the rural counterparts. Surprisingly, 30% of urban respondents were not able to assess the performance of district officials falling to 22% for rural citizens. The same is observed when respondents were asked to assess the ward councillors as 19% of the urban citizens failed to do so as compared to 16% in the rural.

Rating the integrity of leaders, equal number of the respondents (34%) felt that both the village executive officers and village chairpersons are very honest. Likewise, 54% and 52% of the respondents felt that the village executive officers and village chairpersons are averagely honest respectively. Moreover, 22% of the respondents equally felt that ward councillors and members of parliament are very honest while 20% felt the same for district officials. The study also found that the integrity of religious leaders was highly rated as 53% of the respondents felt that religious leaders are very honest.

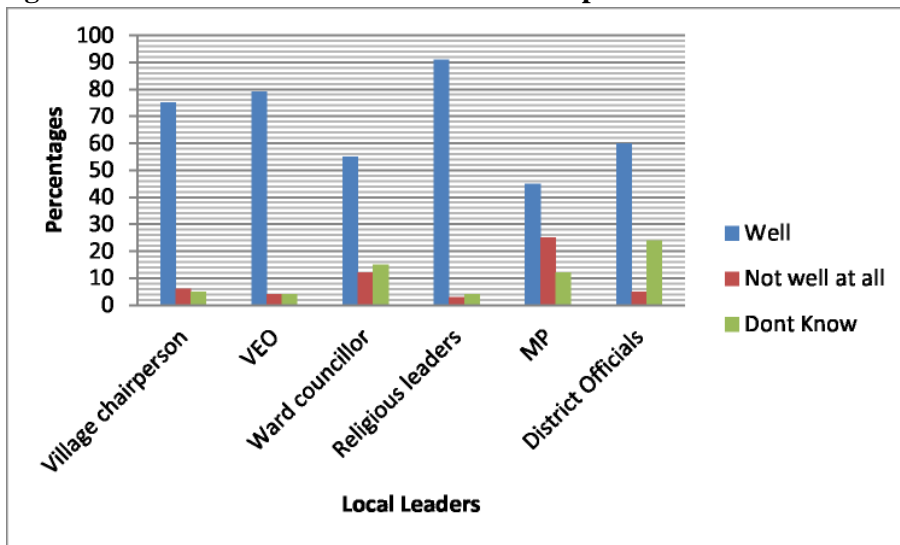
Figure 4.3: Rate of integrity of leaders



Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

Seventy nine (79%) percent of respondents felt that the performance of village executive officers very well or quite well reflect local needs. Next to VEOs are the village chairpersons (75%), district officials (60%), ward councillors (55%) and lastly the members of parliament (45%). On the other hand, a significant number of respondents (91%) felt that the performance of religious leaders very or quite well reflect local needs.

Figure 4.4: Reflection of local needs from the performance of leaders

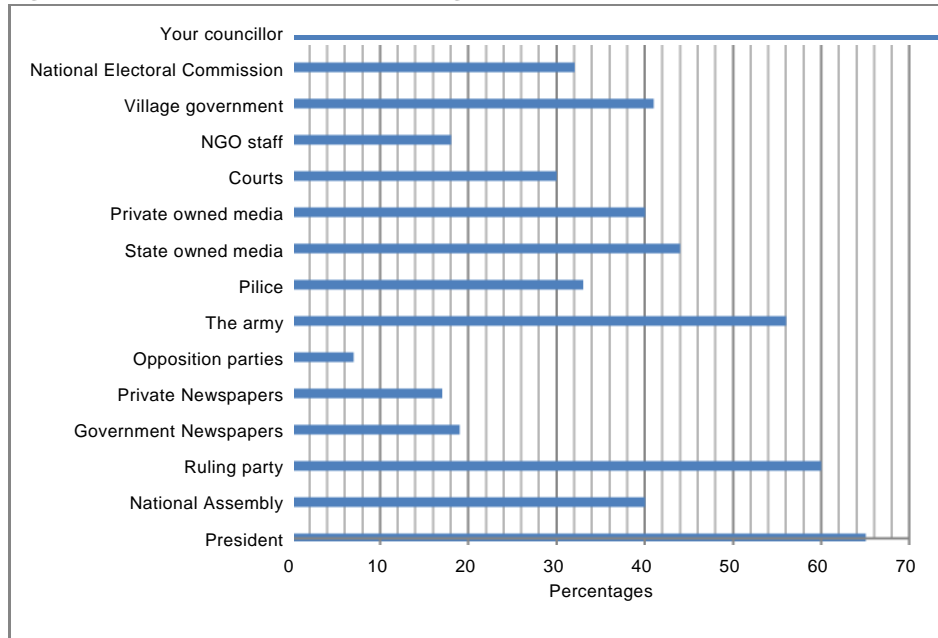


Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

Only 19% of the respondents in urban areas had a lot of trust in the police, rising to 36% in rural areas. On the other hand, 41% of the respondents had a lot of trust on the village government compared to 24% who felt the same for their councillors. Other results on citizen’s degree of trust on selected institutions include the ruling party (60%), the army (56%), national assembly (40%), the national electoral commission (32%), the courts (30%) and opposition parties (7%).

Furthermore, citizens were found to have a slightly higher trust on the state owned media (TBC1 or RTD) than private owned media (ITV, RFA etc) as 44% and 41% felt so respectively. A sizable number of respondents (65%) had trust on the president. Yet, it was also observed that a fairly larger number of rural citizens (68%) have more trust on the president than the urban citizens (55%).

Figure 4.5: Trust of the citizens on governance institutions



Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

(iii) Citizens’ engagement with local governance process

When asked about their engagement with local government process, about 40% of the respondents attested to be actively engaged in community development or self-help associations. Only 23% of the respondents were actively engaged with trade unions or farmers associations while 14% were engaged with professional or business organisations. Conversely, a fairly larger group of the community members (57%) attested to be actively engaged in religious groups including churches and mosques. The age and sex of community members was found to have no significant variation on the level of engagement with local government processes. However, a very slight variation is observed on the level of engagement in religious groups among the age groups as 58%, 54% and 58% of young, adults and elderly do so respectively.

A great number of respondents attested to have participated in the 2005 general elections as 80%, 80% and 79% of the community members voted for the president, members of parliament and ward councillors respectively. It was also observed that a higher number of rural citizens (81%) voted for the president as compared to 76% for the urban dwellers who did the same. The same is observed for members of parliament (80% rural, 73% urban) and ward councillors (80% rural, 71% urban). Conversely, 13% of the respondents had registered but did not vote and 7% did not register at all.

Table 4.7: Participation in the 2005 elections

	Voted	Was registered but did not vote	Was not registered	Don't know
For the president	80	12	7.0	0.3
For a member of parliament	80	13	7.0	0.3
For a ward councillor	79	13	7.0	0.3

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

Discussions with community members during FGDs revealed that many citizens within the study area felt that it is important for them to participate in elections. Connected to this, FGD participants affirmed that majority do participate in both, registration and voting. Absence of personal identification cards was found to have a positive effect on the rate of registration for voting. It was learnt that high turn up for registration was not only caused by desire to participate in elections but rather the need to secure a voter's identification card which is used for other identification purposes including banking and other official uses.

About 18% of the respondents attested that they would never attend a community meeting, and a further 22% said they had only attended community meetings once or twice. However, 26% of the respondents declared that they had attended community meeting several times while 29% had done so very often. A smaller number of citizens (5%) said they would attend a community meeting if they had the chance.

Other mixed results are observed regarding citizens' perceptions in forming group to raise an issue. About 40% of the community members declared that they had often or several times got together with others to raise an issue. A further 23% of the citizens affirmed to have joined a group to raise an issue once or twice. Conversely, 28% of the community members attested that they would never join with others to raise an issue while 10% would get together if they had a chance.

Radios were observed to be the most frequent means of receiving news and information to the citizens as half of the respondents affirmed to receive news through radio every day. About 44% of the respondents declared to have received news/information through public meetings a few times per month. Access to television and newspapers is very low as 61% and 53% of the respondents reported to have never received information or news from such news channels respectively.

(iv) Popular perceptions of the legitimacy of particular government-related activities

Both rural (79%) and urban (80%) citizens declared that they would never attend a demonstration or protest. In contrary, a disproportion is observed as only 5% in urban areas attested to have attended a demonstration or protest march once or twice, rising to 10% in rural areas. Only 6% in rural areas declared that they have not attended a demonstration but would do it if they had a chance, rising to 11% in urban areas. Likewise, 4% of the respondents attested that they have attended a demonstration or protest march once or twice.

In contrast, a higher number of respondents (73%) strongly agreed that as citizens, they ought to be more active in questioning the actions of their leaders. However, 83% of men share this perception as compared to 62% of women. Likewise, 81% and 79% of the respondents in Ludewa and Njombe rural respectively were found to be more supportive to citizens being required to be more active in questioning of their leaders as compared to 65% for Njombe town and 59% for Makete. On the other hand, a very small proportion of people (11%) strongly agreed that in our country these days, we should show more respect for authority.

Perhaps surprisingly, village leaders were found to have a higher perceived legitimacy compared to common citizens. About 95% of the village leaders strongly agreed that as citizens they should be more active in questioning actions of their leaders compared to 73% of community members who felt the same. In addition, 5% of the village leaders and 10% of the community members strongly agreed that in our country these days citizens should show more respect for authority.

On corruption, a high number of respondents (82%) declared to have never paid a bribe, give a gift or do a favour to government official in order to get medicine or attention from a health worker. Likewise, people denied doing the same in order to get access to productive land for farming (76%), or getting a good mark or access to getting a document or permit (74%).

Surprisingly, a very small number of people (3%) agreed to have paid a bribe, gave a gift or do a favour to government officials a few times in the past year to avoid a problem with the police. A comparatively equal number of people (4%) did the same a few times in order to get medicine or attention from a health worker. This is opposed to the fact that the survey found corruption to be the most important problem that the government has not addressed. Two scenarios may explain these unlikely results. On one hand, it might be true that the citizens involved in the survey have never been involved in any type of corruption, bribe or favour to governmental officials. On the other, it is also likely that citizen were not being honest and felt embarrassing to declare being involved in corruption. The later is supported by informal discussions with respondents in which they could only declare that other citizens do give bribe.

This is despite the apparently contradictory fact that 25% of the respondents felt that the most important problem that the government has not addressed is corruption followed by farming /agriculture (11%). Table 4.8: Testimony of citizens on bribes

	Never (%)	Once or twice (%)	A few times (%)	Often (%)	No experience in the past year (%)	Don't know (%)
Get a document or permit	74.0	3.0	0.8	0.3	22.0	0.0
To get access to productive land for farming	76.0	0.5	0.5	23.0	0.2	0.1
Get good marks or access to exam papers at school	74.0	0.8	0.5	0.2	23.0	0.4
Get medicine or attention from a health worker	82.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	9.0	0.1
To avoid a problem with the police	71.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	20.0	0.2

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

As opposed to a very small number of people (3%) who agreed to have paid corruption during the questionnaire survey, a differing picture was observed during the focus group discussions. Fear for embarrassment and guilt were found to be the main reasons for their silence and failure to openly declare to be involved in corruption. As one participant puts it this way, “fear is what makes us not to talk about corruption. But corruption has affected us in many aspects, even in developmental activities”.

However, both body language and auditory communications during the focus group discussions proved that corruption is a common phenomenon in all the study areas. It was also found that rural citizens are aware of the level of corruption at the national level. “For this village, we have small

types of corruption. For example, when you need a service from the dispensary, you are asked to buy two beers”³ affirms one of the focus group participants at Mang’oto village.

Another interesting finding was the understanding about the feelings of the citizens who pay bribe. “Corruption hurts even if you get attended”⁴ narrates a Mang’oto villager referring that corruption harms psychologically even those who can afford it. This is also true from an economical point of view, as money or other resources that were to provide for other needs are diverted to paying for corruption.

Most FGD participants believed that it impossible to end corruption. However, a small number of citizens felt that the level of corruption can be reduced if people adhere to religious teachings. It was also declared that efforts to curb corruption may be unproductive since citizens believe that the whole system is affected. Furthermore, it was conveyed that corruption has become as an accepted source of income for civil servants and leaders. For example, those in the higher offices give their subordinates requirements to deliver a set amount of money – the police and tax collectors were listed as among the institutions using such arrangements.

When citizens were asked to comment on corruption during elections, particularly where candidates would give gifts to citizens so that they get elected, surprisingly they attested they would accept them but yet chose their leaders according to their qualities.

Also in focus groups, citizens reported a belief that they have no capacity to contribute in the efforts to curb the corruption. They would not take any steps to complain or report someone when asked for a bribe. Two reasons were given to justify this – one being inability to do anything when the caught up with very demanding situations like a delivering woman at hospital which wouldn’t allow for taking a risk to lose life for both the mother and unborn child. Secondly, by means of precedence, citizens are demoralized to report new cases. It was declared that those who have once been reported were set free.

The study has found that personal interests and direct connection to the issue in hand are the major motivations to social action. For example, citizens were found to be intolerable to fight for issues related to land as it touches their cultural and livelihoods survival. Land was observed to be a very important property as 93% of the interviewed people said they would lodge a complaint through proper channels or procedures in case someone wrongly seized their family’s land. This also shows that citizens trust the existing laws and procedures for conflict resolution. Furthermore, 64% felt that they would lodge a complaint through proper channels or procedures if they suspected a school or clinic official of stealing. About 57% would do the same if they were kept encountering delays when waiting for a government permit or licence.

(v) Conversely, about 16% said they would do nothing in case they suspected a school or clinic hospital of stealing because nothing can be done. In addition, 14% of the respondents agreed that they would do the same if they were waiting for a government permit or licence, but kept encountering delays. Only 11% of the respondents would not worry if they were waiting for a government permit or licence, but kept encountering delays as things will be resolved given enough time.**Popular perceptions on the value of democracy**

³Kwa hapa kijinini rushwa ndogo ipo. Kwa mfano ukitaka kuhudumiwa kwenye zahanati unaambiwa nunua bia mbili.

⁴Rushwa inauma hata kama utahudumiwa.

Seventy five percent of respondents felt that in practice, elections in the country are not effective to ensure that members of parliament reflect the views of voters. Likewise, majority (71%) believed that elections do not enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.

Table 4.9: How elections work in practice on the value of democracy

	Not at all well/Not well	Well	Very well	Don't know
Ensure that members of parliament reflect the views of voters	75.0	14.0	2.0	9.0
Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what people want	71.0	22.0	0.5	6.0

Source: Fieldwork Survey, February 2010.

91% of the interviewed citizens believe that politicians never or rarely keep their campaign promises after elections. Likewise, 93% of the respondents felt that politicians rarely do their best to deliver development after elections. In addition 36% believes that politicians often offer gifts to voters during election campaigns as opposed to 54% who believes that politicians never or rarely do same. About 81% felt that politicians often or always make promises simply to get elected.

5. Discussion

5.1 Perceptions of the role of local government institutions

- Community members see the main role of village government as initiating projects (39%) and resolving conflicts (36%), while village leaders see their main role as enforcing laws (48%).
- Community members see the main role of district government as initiating projects (32%) and implementing national plans (26%). Village leaders put more emphasis on national plans (45%) but also see initiating projects as important (38%).
- A substantial portion (19%) of community members had no response when asked to give their perceptions on the role of district government. This proportion rose to 48% of uneducated community members.
- Both community members (9%) and village leaders (40%) saw the main role of councillors as to bring development projects in his/her ward, just above the 30% and 35% respectively who saw the main role as representing citizens in the district planning process.
- Those who saw scrutiny of plans and implementation as the main role of councillors were a small minority, at just 3% of community members.

These results represent some significant misunderstandings of the intended roles of various local governance institutions under decentralisation by devolution. The pace of change is slow, particularly in rural areas, with perceptions of local government institutions' roles reflecting past institutional arrangements more than the new system. The quasi-judicial role of village government was highlighted by both community members and village leaders. On the other hand, decentralisation by devolution puts significant emphasis on local initiating of projects, which was found to be reflected in local perceptions of roles.

Councils and councillors have a key role to play in devolved local government, acting as citizens' representatives in holding officials to account. In one sense, this role is recognised by citizens, in that they are perceived as having a key role in representing citizens in the planning process and in bringing projects to their wards. However, the vital scrutiny role of councillors is almost entirely missing from local perceptions. If local government authorities are to be held accountable for their performance through the council, the scrutiny role of councillors is crucial. But this is not reflected in popular perceptions of councillors' roles.

5.2 Perceptions of the performance of local governance institutions

- 74% of community members reported a perception that village leaders taking their views into account when making decisions, compared to only 49% saying the same about district officials.
- Community members rated the performance of village leaders as better than that of district level officials. Village Executive Officers got 71% positive ratings and Chairpersons got 66% positive, compared to councillors (50%), district officials (45%). MPs scored lowest (43%). A significant minority (25%) ranked MPs' performance as poor, while no other group of leaders were rated as poor by more than 5% of respondents.
- MPs were consistently rated lowest by community members in terms of performance, integrity and reflection of local needs in their work.
- Trust in the president, ruling party and the army was high, while trust in opposition parties, newspapers, NGOs, councillors, the National Electoral Commission, the police and the courts was low.

Confidence in local government actors appears to decrease as they become more distant from citizens. At village level, officials' and representatives' performance is generally seen as good, though ratings drop as distance increases through councillors, district officials and MPs. MPs' consistently low ratings match the general dissatisfaction with democratic processes in practice found elsewhere in this study.

The question of trust raises some challenging issues. Trust in the president was high, particularly in rural areas, along with trust in the ruling party generally. This is despite the lack of faith in the democratic process and lack of trust in key judicial and democratic institutions (courts, NEC, police).

And trust in several institutions that might be thought to represent citizens – NGOs, the media, councillors and opposition parties – was found to be very low. For those who see these institutions as key to the future of a healthy democracy, whether at local or national level, this lack of trust represents a major hurdle to be overcome.

5.3 Citizens' engagement with local governance process

- Increased voter registration said to be not only caused by desire to participate in elections but rather the need to secure a voter's identification card which is used for other identification purposes including banking and other official uses.

- Attendance at community meetings was said to be relatively high, with 54% of respondents claiming to have attended meetings several times or very often. However a significant minority gave less positive responses here – 22% had only ever attended 1 or 2 meetings and 18% said they would never do so.
- There was an apparent willingness to get involved in groups to raise an issue – 40% said they had done so often or several times, 23% had done so once or twice. Only 28% said they would never do so.

Attendance and community meetings and willingness to get involved in issue-raising groups both paint a divided picture. In both cases, just over half the respondents reported a willingness to engage in local governance processes, but with significant minorities in both cases reporting a reluctance to engage. Focus group discussions suggest that this reluctance may well be due to a lack of faith that attending meetings will make a difference, and a reluctance to join groups may well be linked to the perceived lack of legitimacy of public protest.

Preventing the lack of faith in democratic processes and in councillors and MPs from further undermining willingness to attend meetings and join groups will be an important goal for strengthening local democracy.

5.4 Popular perceptions of the legitimacy of particular government-related activities

- Public protest is widely seen as lacking in legitimacy: both in rural (79%) and urban (80%) areas, citizens declared that they would never attend a demonstration or protest.
- In contrast, the vast majority of respondents (73%) strongly agreed that as citizens, they ought to be more active in questioning the actions of their leaders, with 83% of men sharing this perception as compared to 62% of women. Only 11% strongly agreed that in our country these days, we should show more respect for authority.
- Reported personal experience of corruption is low, though about 25% of the respondents felt that the most important problem that the government has not addressed is corruption. Evidence from focus group discussions suggests that corruption was more widespread locally than people were personally willing to own up to.

There is an apparent contradiction between the low proportion of people who would be willing to join a public protest and the high proportion who agree that greater willingness to question of public leaders would be a good thing. However, there is no real contradiction here since public protests are only one of several possible ways of questioning leaders. Less confrontational methods are preferred for resolving issues – following the proper channels was by far the most commonly cited means of resolving problems. However, where focus group participants were aware of the formal means to make their leaders accountable, they proclaimed to have no trust in them.

One possible conclusion that can be drawn here is that effective and non-confrontational means for citizens to question leaders may well find significant support. However, there is also evidence here that it will not be easy to turn recognition of the value of questioning leaders into concrete action to do so. Once focus group participant, for example, argued that it is difficult for a minor to punish a senior, “Mdogo kumfunga mkubwa ni kazi kubwa”, and that it was therefore not worth trying.

The perceived legitimacy of corruption that had been found in previous qualitative studies was partly backed up by the focus groups here, though not by the household survey. Focus groups reported “petty” corruption as widespread, disliked and unavoidable. In contrast, survey respondents reported very little personal experience of paying bribes. This may be due to an unwillingness to admit payment of bribes when there is nothing to gain by doing so and when it potentially involves a significant risk.

Again the feeling of powerlessness with regard to accountability and local governance is relevant here. Citizens’ reported (in focus groups) to have very little trust in the government’s handling of corruption cases.

5.5 Popular perceptions on the value of democracy

- 75% of respondents felt that in practice, elections are not effective to ensure that members of parliament reflect the views of voters. Likewise, majority (71%) believed that elections do not enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.
- 91% of the interviewed citizens believe that politicians never or rarely keep their campaign promises after elections, and 93% felt that politicians rarely do their best to deliver development after elections.

This dissatisfaction with democratic processes as they work in practice is very strong and clear. It is backed up by the low performance ratings for MPs discussed earlier. This has implications for the decentralisation process, since this process puts significant weight on democratic accountability. Alternative means of ensuring demand-side accountability will be important while formal democratic accountability remains weak.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

The overall message from this study is that the local government reform process faces a major challenge from public apathy and **citizens’** scepticism about their ability to exert influence on those in power. This is evident from **the** low **public** opinion of democratic processes in practice, of the performance and integrity of MPs (and to a lesser extent also councillors), and from the explanations given for lack of willingness to complain about corruption or to take part in public protests.

However, the fact that citizens hold more positive opinions of local government actors when those actors are based closer to the community suggests that the core idea behind decentralisation – bringing government decision making closer to the people – is right. Citizens’ more positive views of very local leaders suggest that they feel more able to exert influence on and hold to account leaders who are physically closer to them.

The perceptions of both citizens and village leaders of the roles of key local governance institutions contain some important misunderstandings. It seems popular perceptions of roles have not moved in line with changes under decentralisation by devolution – less focus on implementing national plans and more on local decision making and local democracy. Most particularly, councillors’ vital role in scrutinising local government plans and implementation is almost entirely absent from public perceptions, an omission that significantly weakens attempts to base public accountability on local democracy.

It is a matter of concern that citizens reported such low levels of trust in several institutions with important roles to play in local governance, including judicial institutions such as the police, the courts and the electoral commission, as well as civic institutions such as NGOs, the media and opposition parties. All these institutions play critical roles in democratic governance in general and decentralised governance in particular. Overcoming lack of public trust in these institutions – either by public education or by earning trust through improved performance – will be critical for building confidence in democratic processes and overcoming citizens’ doubts in their ability to hold those in power to account.

This scepticism also suggests that encouraging citizens to take actions to engage in local governance processes will be difficult. Citizens’ overwhelming unwillingness to participate in public demonstrations is only partly offset by the relative willingness of some to attend meetings and join groups. Less confrontational forms of citizens’ agency are likely to gain more support, but overcoming apathy will be not be easy.

Finally, although the survey here did not report widespread personal experience of corruption, evidence from the focus groups suggests that corruption is widespread, unpopular and unavoidable. This seems to be a major factor contributing to public apathy and scepticism of ordinary citizens’ ability to influence those in positions of authority. It represents something of a vicious circle: corruption goes unpunished, which only strengthens the public sense of powerlessness, which leads to more cases of corruption going unchallenged.

6.2 Implications

The main challenge identified by this study for policy makers and other actors working in local governance in Tanzania to overcome is the widespread public apathy, lack of trust in some key institutions, sense of public powerlessness and scepticism that citizens’ can influence those in authority. In addition, there are challenges associated with public understanding of local governance processes and institutions.

A number of possible measures to address this are proposed below, grouped under three headings: policy measures within the local governance sector, suggestions for action by non-state actors, and suggested areas for further research.

Policy measures within the local governance sector:

- Strengthen and extend public education on the local government reforms, with a particular focus on the roles of councillors and citizens’ rights such as access to information.

- Take steps to reduce opportunities for corruption at local levels by, for example, conducting public education on steps they can take when encountering corrupt officials, improving access to information and increasing protection for whistleblowers.
- Promote a culture of openness and service in LGAs and lower level government.
- In addition, there are two broader policy challenges that are of relevance here but go well beyond the local governance sector: to combat corruption and build public trust in the police and courts. This is likely to involve a combination of public education and earning trust by raising standards of performance.

Suggestions for action by non-state actors:

- Develop tools that provide citizens with relatively low risk opportunities to take action that exerts influence on those in positions of authority and bring about change in the institutions that most affect their daily lives.
- Find ways to build trust in key non-state institutions with important roles in local governance, including NGOs, the media and politicians, including opposition parties. This may include public education, but it is likely also to include efforts to raise the standard of performance in these institutions.

6.3 Suggested areas for further research

First and foremost, the study has observed that citizens face challenges of powerlessness and lack of acting towards solving pressing problems. In this regard, an important theme for further research is the understanding of factors and conditions that contribute to citizens' powerlessness. Powerlessness of citizens has also made them fear to form and/or join movements to raise issues, question action of leaders or fight for their rights. The understanding of factors and conditions that contribute to citizens' powerlessness may help to shape for means in encouraging and motivating citizens to act.

The study has also observed that there is low citizens' understanding on multi-party democracy in the study area and this might apply to the whole of country. Opposition parties received a very low rank of trust from the citizen. Straightforward arguments for factors contribution to less interest of citizens on opposition parties would include low visibility of these parties, fear and overwhelming flow of misinformation. However, still we need rigorously collected data that will help us understand whether and under what circumstances such perceptions and behaviours occur. The empirical analysis of the negative perception of citizens on multiparty democracy is another type of study largely absent in the Tanzanian literature.

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Appendices

A. Household Questionnaire

Daraja Tanzania Governance Attitude Survey – January 2010 – Survey Form for Community Members

Eleza kwa mhojiwa kuwa

1. Utamwuliza maswali machache juu ya mitazamo na mawazo yake juu ya serikali ya wilaya na ya kijiji
2. Utafiti huu utasaidia mradi wa kuboresha kazi za serikali za wilaya na kijiji, na kuzifanya ziwajibike zaidi kwa wananchi
3. Jina lake halitahitajika
4. Yuko huru kutoshiriki katika utafiti huu
5. Kama hapendi kujibu swali lolote, yuko huru kutolijibu

0. Maelezo ya awali			
a) Questionnaire Number	b) Kijiji	c) Jinsia ya mhojiwa (me/ke)	d) Umri wa mhojiwa
e) Kiwango cha elimu (1-Hakuna; 2-Shule ya msingi; 3-Shule ya sekondari; 4-VETA; 5-Elimu ya juu)			
f) Unafanya kazi gani?: (1-Hakuna; 2-Mkulima; 3-Mwanafunzi; 4-Mwalimu; 5-Mfanyabiashara; 6-Mfanya kazi katika biashara ya mtu mwingine; 7-Mama wa nyumbani; 8-Nyingineyo)			
g) Katika nyumba unapoishi, nyumba yenu imezekwa na nini? (1-Nyasi / majani; 2-Bati; 3-Vigae)			
h) Mkuu wa kaaya ni wa kike au wa kiume? (me/ke)			
i) Mkuu wa kaaya ana miaka mingapi?			
j) Nani anafanya maamuzi katika kaaya yako? (1-baba; 2-mama; 3-mwingine wa kiume; 4-mwingine wa kike)			
Katika kaaya yenu, kuna watu wangapi wenye hali zifuatazo:			
k) Wajane	l) Yatima	m) wenye magonjwa ya kudumu	

1. Kwa maoni yako, kazi kubwa ya serikali ya kijiji ni zipi? (chagua mbili)

- (1-kusuluhisha migogoro kati ya wanakijiji; 2-kutekeleza mipango ya serikali ya taifa na ya wilaya; 3-kubuni miradi inayoleta maendeleo kijijini, kuzingatia matakwa ya jamii; 4-kuhakikisha kuwa watu wanafuata sheria)

a) Jibu la kwanza b) Jibu la pili

2. Kwa maoni yako, kazi kubwa ya serikali ya wilaya ni zipi? (chagua mbili)

- (1-kusuluhisha migogoro; 2-kutekeleza mipango ya serikali ya taifa; 3-kubuni miradi inayoleta maendeleo wilayani, kuzingatia matakwa ya jamii; 4-kuhakikisha kuwa watu wanafuata sheria)

a) Jibu la kwanza b) Jibu la pili

3. Kwa maoni yako, kazi kubwa ya Madiwani ni zipi? (chagua mbili)

- (1-kuhakikisha kuwa mahitaji na matakwa ya jamii yanazingatiwa kwenye mipango na bajeti ya wilaya; 2-kuhakikisha kuwa sera za chama zinatekelezwa vizuri katika wilaya yako; 3-kuleta maendeleo / miradi katika kata yake; 4-kuchambua mipango na utekelezaji wa kazi ya serikali ya wilaya)

a) Jibu la kwanza b) Jibu la pili

4. Kwa maoni yako, viongozi wafuatao huzingatia nini zaidi wakati wa kufanya maamuzi?

- (1-Mapendekezo ya watu kama wewe; 2-mapendekezo ya rafiki/ndugu zao; 3-maelezo kutoka ngazi za juu; 4-matakwa yao wenyewe)

a) Viongozi wa kijiji (jibu la kwanza) b) jibu la pili c) Viongozi wa wilaya (jibu la kwanza) d) Jibu la pili

5. **Kwa maoni yako, watu wafuatao wanatekelezaje kazi zao?** (1-vizuri sana; 2-vizuri kiasi; 3-wastani; 4-vibaya; 5-sijui)

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

6. **Kwa maoni yako, watu wafuatao ni waaminifu kiasi gani?** (1-waaminifu sana; 2-wastani; 3-siyo waaminifu sana; 4-wadanganyifu sana; 5-sijui)

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

7. **Kwa maoni yako, ni kiasi gani kuwa watu wafuatao wanazingatia mahitaji na mawazo ya wananchi katika kazi zao?** (1-sana; 2-kiasi; 3-kiasi kidogo; 4-hakuna; 5-sijui)

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

8. **Ni kwa kiasi gani unamwamini kila afuataye, au hujasikia vya kutosha juu yao kuweza kusema lolote?** [Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]. *Badilisha kwa awamu sehemu ya kuanzia*

(1- Hata kidogo; 2- kidogo; 3- Kiasi; 4- Sana; 5- Hajui)

a) Rais	b) Bunge la Muungano	c) Chama tawala (CCM)	d) Magazeti ya Serikali (Daily News, Sunday News n.k)	e) Magazeti huru (The Guardian, Nipashe, nk.)
f) Vyama pinzani	g) Jeshi	h) Polisi	i) Vyombo vya utangazaji vya Serikali (TVT au RTD)	j) Vyombo huru vya utangazaji (ITV, RFA, nk)
k) Mahakama za sheria	l) Wafanya-kazi wa	m) Serikali ya kijiji	n) Tume ya Taifa ya Uchaguzi	o) Diwani wako

9. **Ni mara ngapi unaweza kupata taarifa kutoka vyanzo vifuatavyo?** [Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua] (1-Hata kidogo; 2-chini ya mara moja kwa mwezi; 3-mara chache kwa mwezi; 4-mara chache kwa juma; 5-kila siku; 6-Hajui)

a) Redio	b) Televisheni	c) Magazeti	d) Mikutano ya hadhara
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11. **Kuzingatia chaguzi za kitaifa za 2005, yapi kati ya maelezo yafuatayo ni kweli kwako?**

9. **Sasa nitakusomea orodha ya makundi ambayo watu hujiunga nayo au huhudhuria. Kwa kila moja, unaweza kuniambia kwamba wewe ni kiongozi rasmi, mwanachama hai, mwanachama asiye-hai, au siyo mwanachama.** (1-siyo mwanachama; 2-Mwanachama asiye-hai; 3-Mwanachama hai; 4-Kiongozi Rasmi; 5-Hajui)

a) Kikundi cha dini (e.g., kanisa, msikiti)	b) Chama cha wafanyakazi au cha wakulima	c) Chama cha kitaalam au biashara	d) Chama cha maendeleo ya jamii au cha kujisaidia wenyewe
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(1- Ulipiga kura; 2- Hukupiga kura; 3- Hukujiandikisha; 4-Hajui)

a) Kwa mgombea urais	b) kwa mgombea ubunge	c) kwa mgombea udiwani
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12. **Hapa kuna orodha ya vitendo ambavyo watu huvifanya wakati mwingine kama raia. Kwa kila kimoja, tafadhali niambie kama wewe mwenyewe binafsi umewahi kufanya vitendo hivyo mwaka uliopita:** (1-Hapana, siwezi; 2-Hapana, ningefanya kama ningepata fursa; 3-Ndiyo, mara moja/mbili; 4-Ndiyo, mara kadhaa; 5-Ndiyo, mara nyingi; 6-Hajui)

a) Kuhudhuria mkutano wa jumuiya	b) Kujumuika pamoja na wengine kutoa hoja ya jambo	c) Kushiriki matembezi au maandamano (ya mshikamano au ya kupinga jambo)
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13. Ni yapi kati ya maelezo yafuatayo yako karibu zaidi na maoni yako? Chagua Maelezo A au Maelezo B.

[Mhojaji: Dadisi kupata uzito wa maoni: Unakubaliana au Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa?]

(1-Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa na A; 2-Nakubaliana na A; 3-Nakubaliana na B; 4-Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa na B; 5-Sikubaliani na chochote; 6-Hajui)

A. Kama raia, ni lazima tuwe na ari zaidi katika kuhoji vitendo vya viongozi wetu.

B. Hapa nchini kwetu, siku hizi inatubidi tuonyeshe heshima zaidi kwa mamlaka.

14. Katika mwaka uliopita, ni mara ngapi (kama ilitokea) ulilazimika kutoa hongo, kutoa zawadi, au kutoa upendeleo maalum kwa viongozi wa serikali?

(1- Hata kidogo; 2- Mara moja au Mbili; 3- Mara Chache; 4- Mara kwa Mara; 5- Sinauzoefu wa kitu hiki kwa mwaka uliopita; 6-Hajui)

a) Kupata kibali au nyaraka	b) kupata ardhi nzuri	c) kupata alama za juu shuleni au kupata kuona mtihani kabla	d) Kupata dawa au huduma ya matibabu toka kwa wauguzi	e) Kukwepa matatizo na polisi
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15. Kwa maoni yako, Ni matatizo gani makubwa yanayoikabili nchi hii ambayo hayajashughulikiwa na Serikali?

[Usisome kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua, kubali mpaka majibu matatu]

(1-Kusimamia uchumi; 2-Kipato/mishahara; 3-Ukosefu wa ajira; 4-Umaskini/Ufukara ulikithiri; 5-Kilimo; 6-Upungufu wa chakula/Njaa; 7-Miundo mbinu/Barabara; 8-Elimu; 9-Usambazaji wa maji; 10-Afya; 11-Ukimwi; 12-Uhalifu na Ulinzi; 13-Rushwa; 14-Haki za wanawake)

a) Jibu la kwanza

b) Jibu la pili

c) Jibu la tatu

16. Kutokana na uzoefu wako, ni rahisi au vigumu kiasi gani kupata huduma zifuatazo? Au huthubutu kamwe kujaribu kupata huduma hizo kutoka serikalini? (1-Vigumu sana; 2-vigumu; 3-rahisi; 4-rahisi sana; 5-Hajui)

a) Nyaraka za Utambulisho (kama vile cheti cha kuzaliwa, leseni ya udereva, pasi ya kusafiria au kadi ya mpiga kura)	b) msaada wa polisi unapouhitaji	c) Matibabu ya afya katika Zahanati/Kituo cha Afya iliyo karibu
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17. Je, ni kitu gani chochote ungefanya kujaribu kutatua mazingira yafuatayo?

[Usisome majibu ya kuchagua] [Ingiza alama moja tu]

(1-Ushofu, mambo yatatatuka iwapo ukizingatia muda wa kutosha; 2-Kupeleka madai kupitia sehemu zinazohusika au taratibu;

3-Kutumia mtandao na mtu muhimu/mwenye ushawishi; 4-Toa bakshihi hongo; 5-Ungana na pingamizi la umma; 6-Engine;

7-Hakifanyiki chochote kwani hakuna kitu cha kufanya; 8-Hajui)

a) Ulikuwa unasubiria kibali cha serikali

b) Mtu amechukua ardhi

c) Ulimhisi afisa wa shule au

au leseni, lakini wakawa wanakucheleweshwa?

yako kwa makosa

Zahanati/Kituo cha Afya kuiba

18. Fikiria kuhusu jinsi chaguzi zinavyofanyika katika nchi hii. Ni vizuri kiasi gani chaguzi (Kweli zinafanya hivyo?) [Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]

(1-siyo vizuri hata kidogo; 2-siyo vizuri kiasi Fulani; 3-vizuri; 4-vizuri sana; 5-Hajui)

a) Zinahakikisha kwamba wabunge na madiwani wanafikiria mawazo ya wapigaji kura wao

b) Zinawezesha wapiga kura kuwatoa madarakani viongozi wasiotaka kufanya vile wananchi wanavyotaka

19. Kwa maoni yako ni mara ngapi wanasiasa wanafanya mambo yafuatayo? [*Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua*]

(1-Hata kidogo; 2-Nadra; 3-Mara kwa mara; 4-Daima; 5-Hajui)

a) Kutoa ahadi ili waweze kuchaguliwa

b) Wanatoa zawadi kwa wapiga kura wakati wa kampeni za uchaguzi

c) Kutekeleza ahadi za kampeni zao baada ya uchaguzi

d) Kadri ya uwezo wao kuleta maendeleo baada ya uchaguzi

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

6. Kwa maoni yako, watu wafuatao ni waaminufi kiasi gani? (1-waaminifu sana; 2-wastani; 3-siyo waminifu sana; 4-wadanganyifu sana; 5-sijui) *[kama mhojiwa ni mwenyekiti, vuka swali (a), na kama ni mtendaji, vuka swali (b), nk.]*

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

7. Kwa maoni yako, ni kiasi gani kuwa watu wafuatao wanazingatia mahitaji na mawazo ya wananchi katika kazi zao? (1-sana; 2-kiasi; 3-kiasi kidogo; 4-hakuna; 5-sijui) *[kama mhojiwa ni mwenyekiti, vuka swali (a), nk.]*

a) Mwenyekiti wa kijiji	b) Mtendaji wa kijiji	c) Diwani
d) Viongozi wa dini	e) Mbunge	f) Viongozi wa wilaya

8. Ni kwa kiasi gani unamwamini kila afuataye, au hujasikia vya kutosha juu yao kuweza kusema lolote? *[Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]. Badilisha kwa awamu sehemu ya kuanzia*
(1- Hata kidogo; 2- kidogo; 3- Kiasi; 4- Sana; 5- Hajui)

a) Rais	b) Bunge la Muungano	c) Chama tawala (CCM)	d) Magazeti ya Serikali (Daily News, Sunday News nk.)	e) Magazeti huru (The Guardian, Nipashe, nk.)
f) Vyama pinzani	g) Jeshi	h) Polisi	i) Vyombo vya utangazaji vya Serikali (TVT au RTD)	j) Vyombo huru vya utangazaji (ITV, RFA, nk)
k) Mahakama za sheria	l) Wafanya-kazi wa	m) Serikali ya kijiji	n) Tume ya Taifa ya Uchaguzi	o) Diwani wako

9. Ni mara ngapi unaweza kupata taarifa kutoka vyanzo vifuatavyo? *[Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]*
(1-asilani; 2-chini ya mara moja kwa mwezi; 3-mara chache kwa mwezi; 4-mara chache kwa juma; 5-kila siku; 6-Hajui)

a) Redio	b) Televisheni	c) Magazeti	d) Mikutano ya hadhara
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13. Ni yapi kati ya maelezo yafuatayo yako karibu zaidi na maoni yako? Chagua Maelezo A au Maelezo B. *[Mhojaji: Dadisi kupata uzito wa maoni: Unakubaliana au Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa?]*
(1-Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa na A; 2-Nakubaliana na A; 3-Nakubaliana na B; 4-Nakubaliana kwa dhati kabisa na B; 5-Sikubaliani na chochote; 6-Hajui)

- A. Kama raia, ni lazima tuwe na ari zaidi katika kuhoji vitendo vya viongozi wetu.
B. Hapa nchini kwetu, siku hizi inatubidi tuonyeshe heshima zaidi kwa mamlaka.

18. Fikiria kuhusu jinsi chaguzi zinavyofanyika katika nchi hii. Ni vizuri kiasi gani chaguzi (Kweli zinafanya hivyo?): *[Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]*

15. Kwa maoni yako, Ni matatizo gani makubwa yanayoikabili nchi hii ambayo hayajashughulikiwa na Serikali? *[Usisome kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua, kubali mpaka majibu matatu]*
(1-Kusimamia uchumi; 2-Kipato/mishahara; 3-Ukosefu wa ajira; 4-Umaskini/Ufukara ulikithiri; 5-Kilimo; 6-Upungufu wa chakula/Njaa; 7-Miundo mbinu/Barabara; 8-Elimu; 9-USambazaji wa maji; 10-Afya; 11-Ukimwi; 12-Uhalifu na Ulinzi; 13-Rushwa; 14-Haki za wanawake)

a) Jibu la kwanza	b) Jibu la pili	c) Jibu la tatu
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(1-siyo vizuri hata kidogo; 2-siyo vizuri kiasi Fulani; 3-vizuri; 4-vizuri sana; 5-Hajui)

a) Zinahakikisha kwamba wabunge na madiwani	b) Zinawezesha wapiga kura kuwatoa madarakani
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wanafikiria mawazo ya wapigaji kura wao	viongozi wasiotaka kufanya vile wananchi wanavyotaka
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19. Kwa maoni yako ni mara ngapi wanasiasa wanafanya mambo yafuatayo? [Soma kwa sauti majibu ya kuchagua]			
(1-Hata kidogo; 2-Nadra; 3-Mara kwa mara; 4-Daima; 5-Hajui)			
a) Kutoa ahadi ili waweze kuchaguliwa	b) Wanatoa zawadi kwa wapiga kura wakati wa kampeni za uchaguzi	c) Kutekeleza ahadi za kampeni zao baada ya uchaguzi	d) Kadri ya uwezo wao kuleta maendeleo baada ya uchaguzi
20. Kutokana na uzoefu wako, ni rahisi au vigumu kiasi gani kupata huduma zifuatazo kutoka serikali ya wilaya?			
(1-Vigumu sana; 2-vigumu; 3-rahisi; 4-rahisi sana; 5-Hajui)			
a) Msaada katika kuandaa mipango	b) Msaada wa kudhibitisha sheria za kijiji	c) Mafunzo au msaada wa kukujengea uwezo	d) Msaada katika kutekeleza kazi zilizopangwa

21. Je, ni kitu gani chochote ungefanya kujaribu kutatua mazingira yafuatayo?	
[Usisome majibu ya kuchagua] [Ingiza alama moja tu]	
a) Wanakijiji wanapendekeza mradi wa maji, lakini serikali ya wilaya inasisitiza umuhimu wa kujenga shule (1-kuweka ujenzi wa shule kwenye mpango wa kijiji, kwa sababu ni muhimu kufuata sera za taifa; 2-kuweka mradi wa maji kwenye mpango wa kijiji, kwa sababu ni muhimu kufuata mapendekezo ya jamii; 3-kuweka miradi yote miwili kwenye mpango wa kijiji; 4-Hajui)	
b) Ulimhisi afisa wa shule au Zahanati/Kituo cha Afya kuiba (1-kutoa taarifa kwa wahusika katika ngazi za wilaya; 2-kumkamata na kumpa adhabu; 3-kutoa taarifa kwa TAKUKURU; 4-kumwacha aendeleo, kwani kila mtu ana mahitaji yake; 5-kuongea naye na kumshauri aache; 6-Hajui)	

C. Full Survey Results from community members

a) Sex of respondent

Sex	Numbers	Percentage
Male	517	52.92
Female	460	47.08

b) Age of respondent

Age	Numbers	Percentage
Youth (15 – 34)	152	34.80
Adult (35 – 64)	545	48.21
Elderly (Above 64)	280	16.99

c) Education

S/N	Education	Numbers	Percentage
1	No education	76	8.09
2	Primary education	766	78.40
3	Secondary education (Ordinary and Advanced)	132	13.51

d) Main occupation

S/N	Occupation	Numbers	Percentage
1	Unemployment	49	5.02
2	Farmers	801	81.99
3	Formal employment	127	13.00

e) Type of roofing material (Economic status???)

Roofing material	Numbers	Percentage
Iron	158	16.17
Thatch	814	83.32
Soil	5	0.57

f) Gender of household head

Gender	Numbers	Percentage
Male	779	79.73
Female	198	20.27

g) Age of household head

Age	Numbers	Percentage
15 – 35 (youth)	152	15.56
35 – 64	545	55.78
Above 64	280	28.66

h) Special/Minority/Marginalised groups

Age	Numbers	Percentage
Widows		
Orphans		
Chronic illness/disease		

(i) Popular expectations of the roles of key local government institutions 1.

Roles of village government

S/N	Role of the village government	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1	To resolve conflicts	348	35.62	214	21.90
2	To implement national and district plans	409	11.16	186	19.04
3	To initiate projects for village development	384	39.30	317	32.45
4	To enforce the law	103	10.54	177	18.12

5	33	3.38	83	8.50
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2. Roles of district government

S/N	Role of the District Government	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1	To resolve conflicts	123	12.59	82	8.39
2	To implement national plans	254	26.00	197	20.19
3	To initiate projects for the district development	309	31.63	307	31.42
4	To enforce laws	110	12.26	170	17.40
		181	18.53	221	22.62

3. Roles of the councillors

S/N	Role of the councillors	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1	To ensure that local development activities reflect the community's needs	291	29.79	206	21.08
2	To implement national and district plans	98	10.03	158	16.17
3	To ensure that local development activities reflect the community's needs	377	38.59	254	26.00
4	To enforce laws	30	3.07	119	12.18
		181	18.53	240	24.56

(ii) Popular perception of the performance of key local government institutions

4. Factors regarded/considered by village leaders when making decision

S/N	Factors considered when making decision	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1	The views of people like you	727	74.41	85	8.70
2	The views of a small group of their friends and family members	26	2.66	22	2.25
3	Instructions from higher levels of government	112	11.46	668	68.37
4	Their own interests	86	8.80	87	8.90
		26	2.66	115	11.77

5. Factors regarded/considered by district leaders when making decision

S/N	Factors considered when making decision	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1	The views of people like you	482	49.33	177	18.12
2	The views of a small group of their friends and family members	15	1.54	17	1.74
3	Instructions from higher levels of government	261	26.71	481	49.23
4	Their own interests	63	6.45	76	7.78
		146	15.97	226	23.13

6. Performance of local leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very well		Quit well		Average		Poorly		Don't know		No.	No.
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)		
1	Village chairperson	297	30.41	348	35.62	211	21.60	49	5.02	68	6.96	4	0.41
2	Village executive officer	339	34.70	350	35.82	205	20.98	32	3.28	49	5.02	2	0.20
3	Ward councillor	243	24.87	242	24.77	208	21.29	113	11.57	164	16.79	7	0.72
4	Religious leaders	575	58.85	220	22.52	116	11.87	16	1.64	47	4.81	3	0.31
5	Member of parliament	229	23.44	193	19.75	186	19.04	248	25.38	119	12.18	2	0.20
6	District officials	203	20.78	235	24.05	260	26.61	37	3.79	235	24.05	7	0.72

7. Rate of integrity of leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very	Average	Not very	Very	Don't
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		honest				dishonest				know			
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Village chairperson	328	33.57	504	51.59	54	5.53	21	2.15	69	7.06	1	0.10
2	Village executive officer	329	33.67	519	53.12	66	6.76	13	1.33	49	5.02	1	0.10
3	Ward councillor	215	22.01	411	42.07	123	12.59	77	7.88	149	15.25	2	0.20
4	Religious leaders	514	52.61	371	37.97	32	3.28	24	2.46	35	3.58	1	0.10
5	Member of parliament	212	21.70	304	31.12	119	12.18	217	22.21	122	12.49	3	0.30
6	District officials	193	19.75	394	40.33	139	14.23	28	2.87	220	22.52	3	0.30

8. Reflection of local needs from the performance of leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very well		Quite well		A little		Not at all		Don't know		No response	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Village chairperson	325	33.27	410	41.97	136	13.92	59	6.04	45	4.61	2	0.20
2	Village executive officer	341	34.90	432	44.22	128	13.10	36	3.68	38	3.89	2	0.20
3	Ward councillor	228	23.34	308	31.53	176	18.01	117	11.98	143	14.64	5	0.51
4	Religious leaders	524	53.63	292	29.89	85	8.70	33	3.38	42	4.30	1	0.10
5	Member of parliament	205	20.98	235	24.05	176	18.01	240	24.56	119	12.18	2	0.20
6	District officials	194	19.86	297	30.40	202	20.68	46	4.71	235	24.05	3	0.31

9. How much do you trust each of the following?

S/N	Item	Not at all		Just a little		somewhat		A lot		Don't know			
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)		
1	President	28	2.87	72	7.37	208	21.97	636	65.10	33	3.38	0	0
2	National assembly	30	3.07	112	11.46	281	28.76	391	40.02	162	16.58	1	0.20
3	Ruling party (CCM)	23	2.35	88	9.01	240	24.56	586	59.98	38	3.89	2	0.20
4	Government newspapers (Daily News, Sunday News etc)	37	3.79	138	14.12	313	32.04	188	19.24	299	30.60	2	0.20
5	Private newspapers (The Guardian, Nipashe etc)	52	5.32	147	15.05	304	31.12	162	16.58	310	31.73	2	0.10
6	Opposition parties	550	56.29	125	12.59	123	12.59	63	6.45	117	11.98	1	0.1
7	The army	25	2.56	103	10.54	218	22.21	550	56.29	81	8.29	0	0
8	Police	114	11.67	193	19.75	307	31.42	321	32.86	42	4.30	0	0
9	State owned media (TVT or RTD)	17	1.74	123	12.59	335	34.29	426	43.60	76	7.78	0	0
10	Private owned media (ITV, RFA, etc)	23	2.35	132	13.51	348	35.61	389	39.82	85	8.70	0	0
11	Courts	63	6.45	190	19.45	309	31.63	290	29.68	125	12.79	0	0
12	NGO staff	87	8.90	154	15.76	365	37.36	177	18.12	194	19.86	0	0
13	Village government	19	1.94	138	14.12	388	39.71	398	40.74	34	3.48	0	0
14	National Electoral Commission	39	3.99	119	12.18	208	21.29	310	31.73	300	30.71	1	0
15	Your councillor	108	11.05	169	17.30	343	35.11	230	23.54	125	12.79	2	0

(iii) Citizens' engagement with local governance process

10. Frequency of receiving news/information

S/N		Never		Less than once per month		A few times per month		A few times per week		Every day		Don't know			
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)		
1	Radio	135	13.82	38	3.98	66	6.76	255	26.10	480	49.13	3	0.31	0	0
2	Television	596	61.00	45	4.61	126	12.90	143	14.64	63	6.45	3	0.31	0	0

3	Newspapers	519	53.12	141	14.43	163	16.68	126	12.90	24	2.46	3	0.31	1	0.1
4	Public meetings	116	11.87	407	41.66	428	43.81	21	2.15	2	0.20	2	0.2	1	0.1

11. Engagement with local government process

S/N		Not a member		Inactive member		Active member		Official leader		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Religious group (e.g. church or mosque)	333	34.08	44	4.50	560	57.32	39	3.99	1	0.1
2	Trade union or farmers association	722	73.90	14	1.43	222	22.72	12	1.23	7	0.72
3	Professional or business organisation	821	84.03	10	1.02	132	13.51	5	0.51	9	0.92
4	Community development or self-help association	564	57.73	7	0.72	388	39.71	16	1.64	2	0.2

12. Participation in the 2005 elections

S/N		Yes		Was registered but did not vote		Was not registered		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	For president	785	86.35	120	12.38	68	6.96	3	0.31
2	For a member of parliament	778	79.63	130	13.31	65	6.65	3	0.31
3	For a ward councillor	771	78.92	131	13.41	69	7.06	5	0.51

13. Actions that people take as citizens

S/N		No, would never do this		No, but would if I had the chance		Yes, once/twice		Yes, several times		Yes, often		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Attended a community meeting	174	17.81	49	5.02	211	21.60	256	26.20	285	29.17	2	0.2
2	Got together with others to raise an issue	273	27.84	96	9.98	225	23.03	189	19.34	192	19.65	3	0.31
3	Attended a demonstration or protest march	781	79.94	67	6.86	89	9.11	27	2.72	11	1.13	2	0.2

(iv) Popular perceptions of the legitimacy of particular government-related actions

14. Which of the following is closest to your view?

S/N		Agree strongly with A		very Agree with A		Agree with B		strongly with B		very Agree with neither		Don't know	
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
A	As citizens, we should be more active in questioning the actions of our leaders	714	73.08	67	9.52	89	5.94	27	10.64	11	0.10	2	0.31

B	In our country these days, we should show more respect for authority												
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15. In the past year, how often have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to

S/N		Never		Once or twice		A few times		Often		No experience in the past year		Don't know	
			(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
1	Get a document or permit	725	74.41	25	2.56	8	0.82	3	0.31	214	21.90	0	0
2	To get access to productive land for farming	742	75.95	5	0.51	5	0.51	0	22.72	222	0.2	2	0.1
3	Get good marks or access to exam papers at school	726	74.31	8	0.82	5	0.51	2	0.2	227	23.23	4	0.41
4	Get medicine or attention from a health worker	798	81.68	21	2.15	40	4.09	30	3.07	87	8.90	1	0.1
5	To avoid a problem with the police	697	71.34	30	3.07	13	1.33	36	3.68	199	20.37	0	0.2

16. Most important problems that the government has not addressed

S/N		First answer		Second answer		Third answer	
			(%)		(%)		(%)
1	Management of the economy	55	5.63	68	6.96	50	5.12
2	Wages, income and salaries	17	1.74	13	1.33	24	2.46
3	Unemployment	31	3.17	29	2.97	37	3.79
4	Poverty/destitution	22	2.25	25	2.56	36	3.68
5	Crime and security	103	10.54	100	10.24	98	10.03
6	Education	3	0.31	5	0.51	3	0.31
7	Corruption	244	24.97	108	11.05	104	10.64
8	Infrastructure/roads	85	8.70	140	14.33	100	10.24
9	Food shortage/famine	93	9.52	108	11.05	76	7.78
10	Farming/agriculture	106	10.85	160	16.38	123	12.59
11	Health	20	2.05	23	2.35	25	2.56
12	Water supply	37	3.79	32	3.28	45	4.61
13	HIV/AIDS	94	9.62	50	5.12	76	7.78
14	Women's rights	11	1.13	15	1.54	10	1.02
			5.73		10.34		17.40

17. How easy or hard is to obtain the following services

S/N		Very difficult		Difficult		Easy		Very easy		Never tried		Don't know	
			(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
1	An identity document (such as birth certificate, drivers license, passport, voters card)	182	18.63	331	33.88	336	34.39	30	3.07	93	9.52	5	0.51
2	Help from the police when you need it	108	11.05	407	41.66	370	37.87	33	3.38	58	5.94	1	0.1

3	Medical treatment in a nearby clinic	147	15.05	387	39.61	411	42.07	29	2.97	2	0.20	1	0.1
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18. Anything you would try and resolve each of the following situations

	Don't worry, things will be resolved given enough time		Lodge a complaint through proper channels or procedures		Use connections with influential people		Offer a tip or bribe		Join in a public protest		Others		Nothing, because nothing can be done		Don't know	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
You were waiting for a government permit or licence, but kept encountering delays	108	11.05	553	56.6	26	2.66	64	6.55	4	0.41	8	0.82	134	13.72	76	7.78
Someone wrongly seized your family's land	8	0.82	912	93.35	31	3.17	4	0.41	1	0.1	1	0.1	16	1.64	3	0.31
You suspected a school or clinic official of stealing	5	0.51	62	63.66	87	8.90	0	0	3	0.31	29	2.97	157	16.07	72	7.37

(v) Popular perceptions on the value of democracy

19. How elections work in practice in this country

	Not at all well		Not very well		Well		Very well		Don't know	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Ensure that members of parliament reflect the views of voters	456	46.67	281	28.76	134	13.72	17	1.74	47	9.01
Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want	409	41.86	287	29.38	217	22.21	5	.51	58	5.94

20. How often do politicians do the following

S/N		Never		Rarely		Often		Always		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Make promises simply to get elected	68	6.96	71	7.27	386	39.51	404	41.35	47	4.81
2	Offer gifts to voters during election campaigns	266	27.23	260	26.61	311	31.83	43	4.40	95	9.72
3	Keep their campaign promises after elections	447	45.75	443	45.34	39	3.99	10	1.02	38	3.89
4	Do their best to deliver development after elections	320	32.75	597	61.11	19	1.94	13	1.33	28	2.87

D. Full Survey Results from village Leaders

Background Information

i) Q Number

j) Village (this may provide the geographical location which might be important in terms of different socio-economic levels and other factors within and between studied districts)

k) Sex of respondent

Sex	No.	Percentage
Male	34	85
Female	6	15

l) Age of respondent

Age	Numbers	Percentage
15 – 35 (youth)??	2	5
35 – 64	30	75
Above 64	8	20

m) Education

S/N	Education	Numbers	Percentage
1	No education	1	2.5
2	Primary education	30	75
3	Secondary education (Ordinary and Advanced)	9	22.5

n) Type of roofing material

Roofing material	Numbers	Percentage
Very poor	5	12.5
Poor	26	65
Less poor	9	22.5

o) Gender of household head

Gender	Numbers	Percentage
Male	37	92.5
Female	3	7.5

p) Age of household head

Age	Numbers	Percentage
15 – 35 (youth)	2	5
35 – 64	30	75
Above 64	8	20

(vi) Popular expectations of the roles of key local government institutions

21. Roles of village government

S/N	Role of the village government	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	To resolve conflicts	1	2.5	5	12.5
2	To implement national and district plans	8	20	12	30
3	To initiate projects for village development	12	30	16	40
4	To enforce the law	19	47.5	5	12.50
5	No response	0	0	2	5

22. Roles of district government

S/N	Role of the District Government	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	To resolve conflicts	4	10	2	5
2	To implement national plans	18	45	8	20
3	To initiate projects for the district development	15	37.5	17	42
4	To enforce laws	1	2.5	11	27.5
5	No response	2	5	2	5

23. Roles of the councillors

S/N	Role of the councillors	1 st Answer		1 st Answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	To ensure that needs of the citizens are considered in the district plans and budgets	14	35	11	27.5
2	To ensure that party policies are well implemented in the your district	4	10	3	7.5
3	To bring development projects in the his/her ward	16	40	12	30
4	To scrutinize development plans and its implementation by the district council	5	12.5	6	15
5	No response	1	2.5	8	20

(vii) Popular perception of the performance of key local government institutions

24. Factors regarded/considered by village leaders when making decision

S/N	Factors considered when making decision	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	The views of people	39	97.5	0	0
2	The views of a small group of their friends and family members	0	0	4	10
3	Instructions from higher levels of government	1	2.5	29	72.5
4	Their own interests	0	0	2	5
5	No response	0	0	5	12.5

25. Factors regarded/considered by district leaders when making decision

S/N	Factors considered when making decision	1 st Answer		2 nd Answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	The views of people like you	28	70	3	20
2	The views of a small group of their friends and family members	0	0	0	7.5
3	Instructions from higher levels of government	10	25	28	70
4	Their own interests	1	2.5	1	2.5
5	No response	1	2.5	8	20

26. Performance of local leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very well (%)		Quit well (%)		Average (%)		Poorly (%)		Don't know (%)	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Village chairperson	9	22.5	10	25	10	25	1	2.5	1	2.5
2	Village executive officer	13	32.5	8	20	9	22.5	0	0	0	0
3	Ward councillor	10	25	6	15	15	37.5	3	7.5	6	15
4	Religious leaders	17	42.5	13	32.5	9	22.5	0	0	1	2.5
5	Member of parliament	11	27.5	15	37.5	8	20	4	10	2	5
6	District officials	11	27.5	11	27.5	14	35	0	0	2	5

27. Rate of integrity of leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very honest		Average		Not very honest		Very dishonest		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)

1	Village chairperson	11	27.5	16	40	3	7.5	1	2.5	0	0
2	Village executive officer	10	25	16	40	3	7.5	1	2.5	10	25
3	Ward councillor	13	32.5	13	32.5	5	12.5	4	10	4	10
4	Religious leaders	18	45	16	40	3	7.5	0	0	1	2.5
5	Member of parliament	14	35	14	35	3	7.5	4	10	5	12.5
6	District officials	10	25	20	50	5	12.5	0	0	5	12.5

28. Reflection of local needs from the performance of leaders

S/N	Local leader	Very well		Quite well		A little		Not at all		Don't know		No response	
			(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
1	Village chairperson	11	27.5	11	27.5	5	12.5	2	5	2	5	9	22.5
2	Village executive officer	15	37.5	11	27.5	4	10	0	0	0	0	10	25
3	Ward councillor	14	35	11	27.5	6	15	4	10	4	10	1	2.5
4	Religious leaders	18	45	15	37.5	4	10	0	0	2	5	1	2.5
5	Member of parliament	12	30	14	35	6	15	5	12.5	3	7.5	0	0
6	District officials	9	22.5	15	37.5	12	30	0	0	2	5	0	0

29. How much do you trust each of the following?

S/N	Item	Not at all		Just a little		somewhat		A lot		Don't know	
			(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
1	President	0	0	1	2.5	6	15	33	82.5	0	0
2	National assembly	0	0	4	10	12	30	20	50	4	10
3	Ruling party (CCM)	1	2.5	3	7.5	14	35	22	55	0	0
4	Government newspapers (Daily News, Sunday News etc)	1	2.5	2	5	11	27.5	10	25	16	40
5	Private newspapers (The Guardian, Nipashe etc)	2	5	7	17.5	12	30	4	10	15	37.5
6	Opposition parties	12	30	7	17.5	8	20	2	5	11	27.5
7	The army	1	2.5	5	12.5	31	77.5	2	5	1	2.5
8	Police	4	10	8	20	12	30	14	35	2	5
9	State owned media (TVT or RTD)	1	2.5	6	15	10	25	20	50	3	7.5
10	Private owned media (ITV, RFA, etc)	1	2.5	4	10	21	52.5	10	25	3	7.5
11	Courts	2	5	9	22.5	15	37.5	10	25	4	10
12	NGO staff	1	2.5	6	15	13	32.5	16	40	4	10
13	Village government	0	0	3	7.5	12	30	25	62.5	0	0
14	National Electoral Commission	0	0	5	12.5	8	20	21	52.5	6	15
15	Your councillor	4	10	7	17.5	12	30	12	30	5	12.5

(viii) Citizens' engagement with local governance process

30. Frequency of receiving news/information

S/N		Never		Less than once per month		A few times per month		A few times per week		Every day		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Radio	2	5	1	2.5	1	2.5	11	27.5	25	62.5	0	0
2	Television	13	32.5	5	12.5	9	22.5	9	22.5	1	2.5	3	7.5
3	Newspapers	14	35	5	12.5	6	15	10	25	2	5	3	7.5

4	Public meetings	0	0	8	20	30	75	1	2.5	1	2.5	0	0
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(ix) **Popular perceptions of the legitimacy of particular government-related actions**

31. Which of the following is closest to your view?

S/N		Agree very strongly with A		Agree with A		Agree with B		Agree very strongly with B		Agree with neither		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
A	As citizens, we should be more active in questioning the actions of our leaders	38	95	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0
B	In our country these days, we should show more respect for authority												

32. Most important problems that the government has not addressed

S/N		First answer		Second answer		Third answer	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Management of the economy	2	5	5	15	2	5
2	Wages, income and salaries	0	0	2	5	0	0
3	Unemployment	1	2.5	2	5	0	0
4	Poverty/destitution	2	5	0	0	0	0
5	Crime and security	0	0	3	7.5	3	12.5
6	Education	11	27.5	0	0	1	2.5
7	Corruption	6	15	4	10	2	5
8	Infrastructure/roads	3	7.5	9	17.5	9	7.5
9	Food shortage/famine	5	12.5	3	7.5	5	12.5
10	Farming/agriculture	2	5	6	15	9	17.5
11	Health	1	2.5	0	0	2	5
12	Water supply	6	15	3	7.5	1	2.5
13	HIV/AIDS	1	2.5	0	0	3	7.5
14	Women's rights	1	2.5	3	7.5	1	2.5

33. Think about how elections are done in this country. How good are they?

S/N		Very difficult		Difficult		Easy		Very easy		Never tried		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	An identity document (such as birth certificate, drivers license, passport, voters card)	1	2.5	5	12.5	22	55	11	27.5	11	27.5	1	2.5
2	Help from the police when you need it	15	37.5	9	22.5	9	22.5	0	0	7	17.5	0	0
3	Medical treatment in a nearby clinic	11	27.5	25	62.5	3	7.5	0	0	1	2.5	0	0

34. In your opinion, how often do politicians do the following?

S/N		Never		Rarely		Often		Always		Don't know	
		No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	Make promises simply to get elected	1	2.5	5	12.5	22	55	11	27.5	1	2.5
2	Offer gifts to voters during	15	37.5	9	22.5	9	22.5	0	0	7	17.5

	election campaigns										
3	Keep their campaign promises after elections	15	37.5	19	47.5	4	10	1	2.5	1	2.5
4	Do their best to deliver development after elections	11	27.5	25	62.5	3	7.5	0	0	1	2.5

35. How easy or hard is to obtain the following services

	Never		Rarely		Often		Always		Don't know	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Assistance in developing plans	2	5	18	45	14	35	2	5	5	10
Assistance to enforce village laws	2	5	11	27.5	21	52.5	1	2.5	5	12.5
Training or assistance to build capacity	5	12.5	14	35	15	37.5	0	0	6	15
Assistance in the implementation of planned activities	8	20	15	37.5	12	30	1	2.5	4	10

E. Checklist for Focus Group Discussion

1. In your opinion, what proportions of people do participate in general elections?
2. What are the reasons for people not registering or not voting?
3. What factors would make a citizen to trust a leader or governance institution?
4. Most common type of associations/institutions for citizens engagement
5. What are the reasons for not engaging in associations? Or what are factors attract people to engage in associations?
6. What methods do you use to make local leaders accountable?
7. What methods do you use to fight for your rights?
8. In your opinion, what is the level of corruption within local leaders? Please explain.