

# The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience

Sospeter Muchunguzi\*

Eastern Africa Statistical Training Centre, United Republic of Tanzania  
sospeter.muchunguzi@eastc.ac.tz

Received: 22/03/2023

Accepted: 26/03/2023

Published: 30/06/2023

## Abstract

Strengthening local participation is an indispensable ingredient for successful provision of quality services to the citizens. The study sought to resolve the puzzle of citizen participation in Tanzania by attempting to decipher why public participation is said to be ample but the quality of health and education services provided is still perceived questionable. The study is conducted within the theoretical lens of the decentralization by devolution model and Stigler's theory and posits that increasing the number of actors in governance may probably help to resolve why decentralization by devolution does not necessarily lead to quality service delivery.

**Keywords:** Citizen participation, quality service provision, Local Government, decentralisation by devolution

\*Corresponding author. Sospeter Muchunguzi [sospeter.muchunguzi@eastc.ac.tz](mailto:sospeter.muchunguzi@eastc.ac.tz)

## **1. Introduction**

Citizen participation is increasingly recognized as essential for improved performance in service delivery as argued by (Fung, 2015). The assumption is that once citizens are involved; accountability, transparency, trust, responsiveness and ownership of the development activities would be realized due to participatory decision making. The government of Tanzania has, at different levels, put in place legal frameworks and policies to enhance citizen participation. However, public dissatisfaction on social service provision by local government authorities persist(Layson & Nankai, 2015; URT, 2015). Ramphal & Nicolaides (2018) defined service quality as the difference between perceptions and expectations. The wider the gap, the more is the need to improve service quality by the service provider. The quality service in this study will encompass the dimensions of process quality and output quality(Parasuraman et al., 1985). Process quality can be identified during the process of delivery whereas output quality can be identified after. Parasuraman et al. (1985) also contended that quality of a service does not depend exclusively on the outcome of service but also on the service-delivery procedure.

Although quality of social services provided is still perceived to be unsatisfactory in the country very few studies have been conducted to decipher why such a situation prevails despite the fact that public participation is said to be ample. This study applied citizen participation to be confined to people who participate either directly or through indirect forms in Local Government Authorities. Direct forms include citizen contributions of money and/ or labour for construction of buildings and services provision as well as Village Assembly meetings. Indirect citizen participation encompasses citizen participation in election processes to get representatives from Hamlet or *Kitongoji* level, Neighbourhood or Village level, Ward level to District level while the basic public social services were limited only to secondary education and primary health care provided at the dispensary and health centres in the selected Local Authorities and with regard to quality service, the study focused on availability, accessibility and acceptability of public secondary education and health services as well as the competency of service providers themselves.

In order to get in-depth understanding of the subject matter, the study aimed to explore why citizen participation in the planning and execution of public social services plans has not enabled them to access quality services. Specifically, objectives of the study were twofold: To examine why citizen participation in planning has not led to quality education and health care provision; and to find out what citizen participation avenues can lead to responsive local government authorities able to provide quality public services.

## *The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience*

---

The initiative to implement decentralization by devolution as a means to entrench good governance aspects started when the Government undertook a decisive step towards empowering the local government in June 1996, when the Prime Minister announced the government's decision to restructure and downsize regional administration with the objective of making local government more efficient and effective (URT, 1998).

The vision for the future of local government system was formulated and endorsed at a national conference, "Towards a Shared Vision for Local Government in Tanzania", held in 1996. Following this conference the Government Adopted in November 1996 what came to be known as the Local Government Reform Agenda of 1996 and the wider policy intentions were outlined in the "Policy Paper on Local Government Reform" of October, 1998(URT, 1998). The aim of the policy paper was to set guidelines on how reform processes could be conducted so as to let Local Government Authorities improve public services in terms of quality, adequacy, accessibility and acceptability. It emphatically states the Government's vision as "*...having institutions which facilitate participation of the people in planning and executing their development plans and having institutions with roles and functions that correspond to the demands for their services to the people*" (URT, 1998). Therefore, the need for people's participation in the formulation of development plans and deciding on their priority issues so that Local Government Authorities can deliver services as required by the citizens is strongly emphasized.

The long-term goal of Local Government Reform is to reduce the proportion of Tanzanians living in poverty, by improving citizens' access to quality public services provided through autonomous local authorities. In this process of decentralization, Local Government Authorities are considered to be better placed to identify and respond to local priorities and to supply the appropriate form and level of public services to meet citizens' needs (URT, 2015).

The structures and mechanisms for citizens to articulate, aggregate interests are in place (For instance, Opportunities & Obstacles to Development(O&OD), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA),Community Initiative Support(CIS), Public Expenditure Tracking Systems(PETS), Public Expenditure Review (PER))(Cooksey & Kikula, 2005). The legal framework for citizen participation in Tanzania is also present. The policy and legal framework for citizen participation in Tanzania is derived from the National Constitution which sets forth the establishment of Local Government Authorities. Two Articles of 145 and 146 of Tanzania's Constitution (1977) provide for the establishment of Local Government Authorities and their purpose(Constitute, 2022).

Therefore, when one critically looks at Tanzania's Local government structures, it becomes discernible that the structures provide the main frameworks for citizen participation in

governance at the local level. Tanzania has a complex five-tier form of local government through which citizens can be actively involved in planning and execution of various public service plans.

On the one hand, literature suggests a range of potential outcomes from community participation. Citizen Participation is thus presented as the key to effective development and the reduction of poverty (Capra, 2016; Cornwall, 2008; Hickey, 2005). However, as Biancone et al (2018) argues the analysis of citizen participation is valid where participation structures and engagement of those categorised as citizens, leads to increased control by and accountability of local authorities to the people for the provision of public services and entitlements.

Citizen participation is said to ensure legitimacy and trust because it exerts pressure on local governments to be more participatory and responsive. It also generates social capital (trust, norms, networks, communication), increases capacity for local collective action; improves beneficiary targeting of services. It also leads to improved matches between services and beneficiary preferences as well as enhanced potential for scaling up of service delivery (Ali et al., 2023; Johnson, 2015).

Citizen participation further makes government actions and decisions to be taken in good faith. Citizen involvement in decision making leads to transparent decisions. Thus, transparency then leads to citizens build confidence in their local government. This in turn enables citizens to invest their synergies in efforts to improve the quality of public services they want (Brandsma & Meijer, 2022; Kujala et al., 2022; Radu, 2019).

Nonetheless, citizen participation in local decision making processes promotes accountability (Touchton & Wampler, 2023). This means that citizens are in a position to be informed by their local leaders about actions taken on their behalf. It is from this point that citizens can then be able to take corrective measures (Chaligha, 2008; Cornwall & Gaventa, 2017; Mouter et al., 2021)

On the other hand, a host of factors have been identified as obstacles to effective participation in development programmes and projects. One common barrier to meaningful participation, noted by (Nita et al., 2018) is lack of information by the participants. Simonsen & Robbins (2000) further echo this concern with the content of the information being discussed when they recommend paying attention to the amount of information and how it is presented. (Adikaram & Razik, 2022; Luciano et al., 2018) discusses three major obstacles to people's participation which are structural, administrative and social barriers. Structural obstacles form part of the complex and centralized organisational systems that

## *The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience*

---

control decision making, resource allocation and information, and are not oriented towards people's participation. This situation is usually typified by a 'top-down' development approach. Administrative obstacles relate to bureaucratic procedures, operated by a set of guidelines and adopt a blue print approach, providing little space for people to make their own decisions or control their development process. The social impediments include mentality of dependence, culture of silence, domination of the local elite, gender inequality, and low levels of education and of exposure to non-local information(Wong et al., 2011).

Another obstacle is "standardization of approaches"(Burgess et al., 2017; Ianniello et al., 2019; Shah, 1998) which contradicts the original aims of participation, to move away from the limitations of blue print planning and implementation towards more flexible and context-specific methodologies. According to Cooke & Kothari (2001), participation has been translated into managerial "toolboxes" of procedures and techniques. This limited approach gives rise to a number of critical paradoxes: projects approaches remain largely concerned with efficiency, and focus attention only on the highly visible, formal, local organisations, overlooking the numerous communal activities that occur through daily interactions and socially embedded arrangements. (Grzanka & Cole, 2021; Kiss et al., 2022) identify other barriers such as power structures within local communities, rigid professional attitudes among programme and project staff, little awareness among people of rights they may have or opportunities they may exploit, and little emphasis on qualitative achievements of participation. These barriers are situation-specific, and need to be carefully analysed in particular contexts. Furthermore, there are various redress mechanisms in place which can be alluded to when considering the barriers to effective citizen participation. For instance, there are also recall provisions at the Village (*Kijiji*) and Neighborhood (*Mtaa*) council levels. Villagers can remove the village chairpersons before their end of tenure. However, the weakness in this is that there are no mechanisms in place for the assembly to remove a councilor or a member of parliament before the end of tenure (Kajimbwa, 2018; Kessy, 2020).

A study carried out by Chaligha (2008) in some of the districts indicates that constraints to effective citizen driven planning and implementation were compounded by lack of real commitment on the part of village chairpersons, Village Executive Officers(VEOs), Ward Executive Officers (WEOs) and Councilors; lack of clearly defined and legally binding guidelines for popular participation involvement at the local level; poor qualified personnel for involving the community in local level planning as well as lack of financial resources. Hence, there is an urgent need to simplify and streamline the existing planning and budgeting systems.

Literatures on citizen participation by Masanyiwa (2014); Green (2009) and Schneider (2007) vindicate that a major problem is that there is a serious problem of lack of conceptualization and understanding of participatory decision making to the extent that the rhetoric of the district plans, largely based on village plans aggregated at the ward level is often presented as the reality on the ground. The use of participatory methods in Tanzania has not been associated with increased development effectiveness nor with greater relevance in local level programming. National Policy priorities continue to dominate village and district budgets through sector programmes such as ward secondary school and primary health care centres initiatives. Moreover, producing reports and plans is viewed as means for complying with the reform expectations, but is not necessarily seen as leading to their implementation. Implementation is viewed as the responsibility of government, not poor villagers and plans are not viewed by villagers as 'binding documents' but as artifacts of performative governance (Schneider, 2007, Green, 2009). It would therefore appear then that the source of funding rather than the extent of participation in planning makes the difference between implementation and non-implementation of district plans.

Despite all these flaws, participatory institutions have a broad legitimacy in both rural and urban Tanzania as an accepted way of doing development. Even where allowances are low or absent, participation is seriously engaged as an important activity despite the lack of tangible outcomes and the imposition of standard templates on village or Street development strategies.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

How to accomplish meaningful citizen participation in any country is a complex puzzle. With the increasing decentralization of fiscal, political and administrative responsibilities to lower levels of government, local institutions and communities, the notion of participation has taken on greater currency, emerging as a fundamental tenet in the promotion of the local governance (Arnstein, 1969). The theoretical framework is developed based on various theories of decentralization by devolution. Many theorists on Decentralization by Devolution are of the view that the more you decentralize, the more you improve the quality, access and equitable delivery of public services, particularly to the poor. People are able to participate in government at the local level, local government is answerable to local councils and to local needs and there is improvement of governance based on political and financial accountability, democratic procedures and public participation (URT, 1998). Other scholars argue that citizen participation creates an avenue for local government to engage grassroots' voices (preferences or needs) in their plans (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007; Mollel, 2010; Ringo & Mollel, 2014). However, there is always a basic structural tension in which the central government has the abiding

## *The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience*

---

temptation to retain control(Liviga, 2009). The weakness of this theory, therefore, is that the central government always fears to lose power to the local authorities on the one hand and if implemented, on the other hand, there is always a danger of elite capture whereby local officials tend to ignore the citizens' views and priorities for their own benefits. This study is of the view that although decentralization reforms have taken place in Tanzania for a couple of years now, public service provision is still perceived to be problematic. Thus, the model which assumes that decentralization may lead to quality service delivery needs to be studied further. A more refined approach which increases the number of actors in governance may probably help to resolve why decentralization by devolution does not necessarily lead to quality service delivery.

Another model that was designed in line with Decentralisation by Devolution framework is Stigler's menu (1957) cited in Ebel & Yilmaz (1999) and Mkoma & Rwekaza (2021). This theory maintains that, the closer the government is to the people, the better it works and it also maintains that people should have the right to vote for the kind and amount of public services they want. This means that for a government to promote broader citizen participation, the establishment of local governance structures is important. Stigler's menu therefore, refers to the fundamentals of democratic practices such as citizens' capacity to own the agenda of development and their ability to monitor the actions and in- actions of the individuals holding public offices on their behalf.

The gist of the matter is that the citizens at the local community are the principals and the employees in the local authorities are agents. However, this theory too has some weaknesses. These principles stress the power of the citizens in decision making through the relevant organs. Although it is important to have the services closer to the people, in some cases administrative divisions do not adequately cater for the people in terms of service provision. It is also noted that sometimes the power of the people is not exercised since choosing the leaders to represent the local population is not done in a right manner. Some scholars have argued that, when citizens are empowered, their participation in planning and implementation of public services provision the goals are effectively and efficiently attained (Gardner & Lewis, 1996). However, other scholars argue that while there is some small scale evidence to support the efficiency argument, the evidence for empowerment of citizens to demand quality services is often partial, tenuous and reliant on the rightness of the approach rather than on proof of outcomes(Clever, 1999).

There are two most referred approaches to citizen participation, namely, the technocratic approach and the democratic approach(Cabannes & Lipietz, 2018; Chaiyapa et al., 2021;

DeSario & Langton, 1984). The Technocratic Approach refers to the application of knowledge, expertise, techniques and methods to problem solving. In this approach, citizen involvement in relation to government planning and policy making is curtailed. On the other hand, the democratic approach is based on the assumption that all who are affected by a given decision have the right to participate in the making of that decision. Participation can be direct in the classical democratic sense or can be through representatives(DeSario & Langton, 1984).

The three theories on citizen participation, namely Decentralisation by Devolution (D by D), the Pluralist-republican model and Stigler's menu cannot be used to assess correctly citizen participation in the whole range of social service provision. A major criticism is that they are based on naïve understanding of power and the power relations that exist both between central and local actors and within local groups as also portrayed by (Samuel Hickey, 2004). A pluralist model entails that a participatory process may merely provide opportunities for the more powerful and serves to maintain exploitation and exclusion. With regard to Stigler's menu, the specification and interpretation of this theory in practice, is that a mere establishment of local governance structures does not necessarily lead to quality citizen participation.

In order to respond to resolve the paradoxical relationship between existence of legal frameworks and ambivalent service provision to the citizens, it is high time to rethink on the effective citizen participation framework. A model (figure 1) below is proposed with two assumptions. First assumption is that the decentralized local government structures need to work hand in hand with other independent bodies which should be charged with the oversight role as well as functions of coordinating government authorities and citizen organizations. The citizen organizations need to be strong and effective in disseminating civic awareness in matters related to governance and aggregating citizens' interests. By extension, this work posits that an integrative public participation model is required in order to realize the full potentials of citizen participation in education and health care services. This should start with building public support, disseminating information, collecting information, facilitating two-way communication as well as securing advice and consent. If all these are in place, true citizen participation which leads to quality service delivery will be realized. The second assumption of the model is that sometimes quality services if provided can be a motivator to citizen participation. However, other institutional structures are still required for harmonizing and coordinating citizen participation activities.

The diagram below which is an author's model summarises the argument.



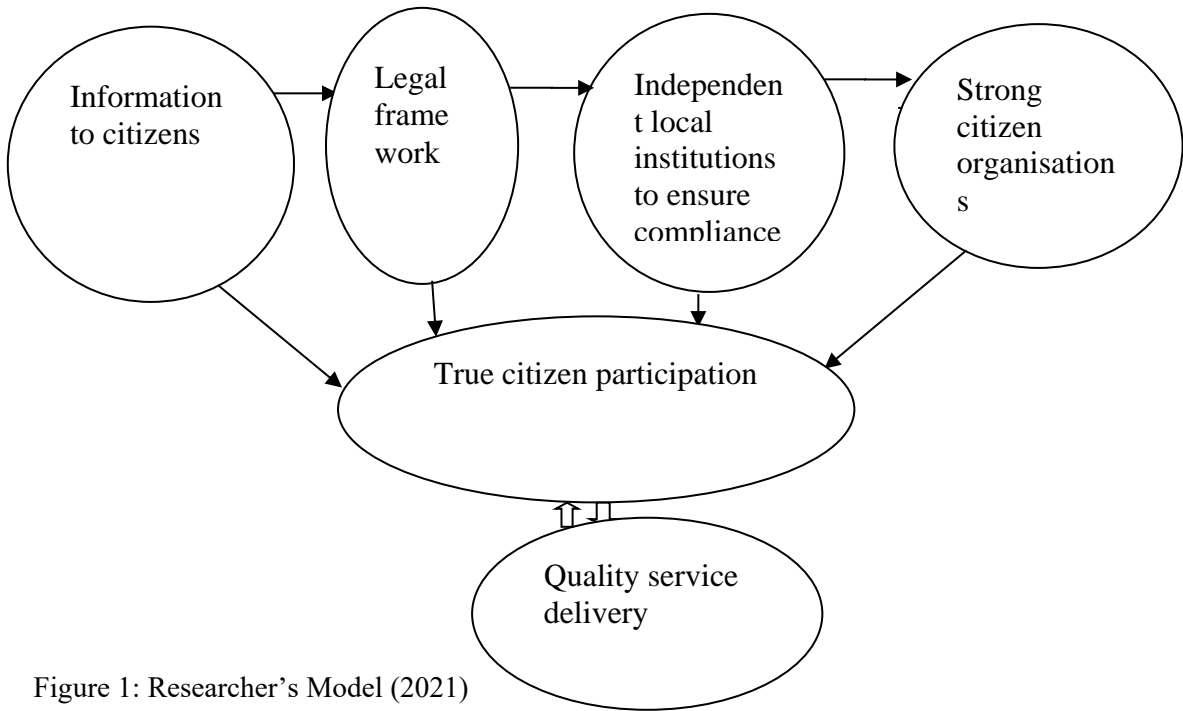


Figure 1: Researcher’s Model (2021)

In order to ensure participation that leads to quality service delivery, it is important to have a framework which does not only rely only on the existing legal frameworks but putting in place other avenues which work in collaboration with the existing framework. These will improve and ensure coordination which will in turn lead to effective citizen participation. Thus, putting in place independent institutions to ensure adherence to policies and guidelines by the local authorities as well as existence of strong citizen organizations to aggregate their interests and push for action are requisites for effective citizen participation and this can lead to quality public service provision. Thus, the proper coordination between and among these bodies is important.

### **3. Research Methods**

Exploratory research design was employed through the use of case studies in order to explain the question of citizen participation and its influence on public service delivery by local government authorities. The study was conducted in Ubungo Municipal Council and Kisarawe District Council located in Dar es Salaam Region and the Coast Region respectively. The major reason for selecting these two authorities is that the former is urban based with various sources of revenues while the latter is a rural based one and these are representative of other Local Authorities in facilitating a deeper understanding of the new insights on citizen participation.

Administratively, Ubungo Municipal Council is divided into two divisions namely Magomeni and Kibamba; 14 Wards and 90 Neighborhoods (Mitaa). Kibamba Division has 6 wards while Magomeni Division has 8 wards. The Municipality had a population of 845,368 where male was 409,149 and female was 436,219(NBS, 2013). The study was conducted in Ubungo and Makuburi Wards in Msewe and Mwongozo neighbourhoods respectively.

Kisarawe District Council is one of the local authorities in the Coast Region. Administratively, Kisarawe District is made up of 4 divisions, 15 wards and 77 villages(Kisarawe District Profile, 2012). The population for the District was 101,598(NBS, 2013). Specifically areas surveyed in this District were Masaki and Msimbu wards in Masaki and Homboza villages respectively.

Both purposive sampling and random sampling were employed. Purposive sampling was used for selecting two councils as case studies. Purposive sampling was also used to select categories of people to be interviewed. Random sampling was used in selecting respondents in the field. Respondents under the Public social services committees in various villages and/ or neighbourhoods (*Mitaa*) under study were also randomly selected. A total of 74 respondents participated in the study from the two selected councils. Two Wards in each District or Municipal authority were purposively selected the criteria being accessibility and proximity. In each ward, one village or neighbourhood (*Mtaa*) was also purposively selected in turn. Ordinary respondents in each ward under study were randomly selected.

A frame work for sample size distribution in the two areas under study was as follows:

Kinondoni Municipal Council	Kisarawe District Council	Total
Ward level leadership <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Two (2) Ward Executive Officers; one from each of the two sampled wards in the Municipality.</li><li>▪ Two (2) members of the Social Services Committee.</li><li>▪ Two (2) members of the Economic and Planning Committee.</li><li>▪ One (1) Education Coordinator</li></ul>	Ward level leadership <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Two (2) Ward Executive Officers; one from each of the two sampled wards in the Municipality.</li><li>▪ Two (2) members of the Social Services Committee.</li><li>▪ Two (2) members of the Economic and Planning Committee.</li><li>▪ One (1) Education Coordinator</li></ul>	<b>14</b>

***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

Two (2) Ward councilors from the two sampled wards in the municipality.	Two (2) Ward Councilors from the two sampled wards in the district.	<b>4</b>
Mtaa (Neighbourhood) level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Two (2) Neighbourhood (Mtaa) Executive Officers; one from each of the two sampled neighbourhoods (Mitaa) in the municipality.</li> <li>▪ Two (2) neighbourhood (Mtaa) Chairpersons; one from each of the two sampled neighbourhoods (Mitaa).</li> <li>▪ Two (2) members of Social Services Committee.</li> <li>▪ Two (2) members of the Economic Planning Committee.</li> </ul>	Village level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Two (2) Neighbourhood (Mtaa) Executive Officers; one from each of the two sampled neighbourhoods (Mitaa) in the municipality.</li> <li>▪ Two (2) neighbourhood (Mtaa) Chairpersons; one from each of the two sampled neighbourhoods (Mitaa).</li> <li>▪ Two (2) members of Social Services Committee.</li> <li>▪ Two (2) members of the Economic Planning Committee.</li> </ul>	<b>16</b>
Twenty (20) ordinary citizens.	Twenty (20) ordinary citizens.	<b>40</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>74</b>

Data collection methods comprised of questionnaires, interviews and Focus Group Discussion which were complementary to each other. Questionnaires were administered to all respondents, interview schedules were administered only to key informant such as Ordinary citizens; ward and neighborhood/ village level leaders. The questionnaire was administered by the researcher scholars recommend this method suitable to collect data specific to the problem under study (Saldana, 2013). The interview schedule was used as it allowed supplementary probing questions to be asked to seek clarification as the need arose. Focus Group Discussion which involved members of social services and planning committees as well as ordinary citizens was guided by broad pre-set questions but the participants were free to explore the topic as they deemed fit. Thus, data collection was generally done by triangulation method as it is considered the best method of extracting information in order to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon in a certain geographical setting (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007).

## 4. Results

The quest for citizen participation is multifaceted and quality of the associated outcomes varies depending on the quality of citizen participation. The study focused on Citizen Participation and Public Service Delivery, Ubungo Municipal Council and Kisarawe District Council being case studies. The assumption was that once citizens are involved; accountability, transparency, trust, responsiveness and ownership of the development activities due to participatory decision making would lead to quality public service delivery. However, the puzzle of the study basically was why quality service delivery is said to be unsatisfactory despite existence of clear frame works for citizen participation.

In this study, the endeavor was to get insight into whether there are avenues of citizen participation and if they exist, to explore their relationship and effect on quality service provision. In doing so, the discussion of the research findings involves first to establish whether citizens participate in planning priorities of services they require; secondly to establish whether service provision is delivered as per citizen plans and expectations and that satisfies the citizens; third, to establish whether citizen participation yields satisfaction in service provision and lastly whether citizen participation has an effect on responsiveness of government officials.

### *Citizen Priority setting during participation in meetings and Service provision*

The first objective of the study was to explore whether citizens participate in priority setting to put forward the type of quality service provision that meets their needs and expectations. The responses below (Table 1) indicate that there were ten respondents from Ubungo Municipality and ten respondents from Kisarawe District Council.

Table 1. Citizen Participation in meetings

<b>Do you normally attend Mtaa meetings in order to plan the kind of services you need?</b>				
Response	<b>Kinondoni Municipality</b>		<b>Kisarawe District Council</b>	
	Number of respondents	<b>Percent</b>	Number of respondents	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	8	<b>21.6</b>	31	<b>83.8</b>
No	29	<b>78.4</b>	6	<b>16.2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Data (2021)

As findings in table 1 show, most of the respondents (78.4%) in Kinondoni said that they do not attend Mtaa meetings while 26.1% answered in the affirmative. These research findings are consistent with the the 2007 survey data on the “Views

## *The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience*

---

of the People” in which it was revealed that civic participation in public affairs was low whereby only a few responded to have participated in a local level planning exercise (REPOA, 2007). Contrary to this in a rural based district of Kisarawe citizen participation was high. Thus, 83.8% of the respondents interviewed in Kisarawe District Council, said that they were attending village meetings while only few of them (16.2%) said they had no habit of attending village government meetings. A similar situation low face to face civic participation in public affairs in urban areas is also echoed by Lukensmeyer (2017) to be prevalent also in developed countries. However, the study findings indicated that in order to cope with this, technology was found to make remarkable progress in ensuring that data are more universally accessible, in building more direct connections between local governments and their constituents, and in improving service delivery. Thus, e-participation approach barked by provision of knowledge and sensitization to use technology needs to well researched and approached in developing countries like Tanzania so as to enhance civic participation and realise quality service provision by the government

When those attending village government meetings were asked during interviews and focus group discussion as to why they attended, they stated that by attending one knows the progress of the village and they are able to voice out their complaints. For instance, one of the respondents did show one achievement to be that of being able to raise concerns on why they were told to pay for the ambulance while this ought to be provided freely and this was resolved. The Ward Executive Officers (WEOs) in the surveyed wards in Kisarawe District, citizens said that attendance was high partly due to the use of local militia men (*‘sungungu’*). In Town, however, low level of attendance was explained by reasons of not bringing positive response to their demands and sometimes meetings for citizen development were carried out secretly. Similar results are also discerned from a study by Masiya et al (2019) in South Africa in which a study conducted in Nyanga, a township in Cape Town found that there was a continued decline in public participation at the local level often resulting in poor service delivery, tension between decision-makers and communities and concluded that citizen-focused service delivery can be enhanced by promoting citizen public participation which focuses on increasing collaboration between communities and municipal officials at the policy implementation stage. Thus, nurturing a culture of civic engagement in every stage of policy or policy

from initiation, implementation to evaluation may raise a bar of civic involvement and yield positive results of quality service provision.

***Perception on Citizen Participation and Quality of Service provision***

The research sought to decipher whether citizen participation resonates with quality of education/health service provision. The results (Table 2) show a comparative summary of results

Table 2: Perception of citizen participation and quality of education/health service provision

<b>Are you satisfied with the way you are involved in ensuring quality service service provision?</b>				
<b>Response</b>	<b>Kinondoni Municipality</b>		<b>Kisarawe District Council</b>	
	<b>Number of respondents</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number of respondents</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	2	<b>5.4</b>	34	<b>91.9</b>
No	35	<b>94.6</b>	3	<b>8.1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Data (2021)

On this question citizens were asked to state whether they were satisfied with the way they were involved in planning and implementation of their needed services. In Kinondoni, most of the citizens (94.6%) were dissatisfied while only 5.4% did state satisfaction. In Kisarawe, 91.9% of the citizens did show high level of satisfaction in the areas under this study while only 8.1% were not satisfied. It is thus evident that citizen participation is well managed in rural areas than in urban areas The reason for this was highlighted during interview and focus group discussion whereby citizens in Kisarawe said to be satisfied because some of their complaints were normally addressed unlike in Kinondoni where citizens felt to be alienated in project planning and implementation because their complaints seemed not to be addressed. This resembles a similar study conducted by Nguyen et al (2015) in Vietnam which found that citizens in large cities and citizens that belong to “unofficially poor” groups participate less and concluded that citizen participation needs to be of central importance in the management of cities' expansions. Thus, it implies that the more citizens get meaningfully involved the more service provision becomes appropriate and satisfactory

***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

---

***Citizen perception on performance of social services committees to ensure Quality Services***

The question asked whether citizens were satisfied with the effectiveness of committees in performing their duties to ensure quality education/ health services.

Table 3: Citizen Perception on performance of social services committees to ensure Quality Services

Are you satisfied with the effectiveness of the education and/ or health committees in ensuring quality service provision?												
Response	Kinondoni Municipality						Kisarawe District Council					
	Do not know		Yes		No		Do not know		Yes		No	
	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent
Health	-	-	4	10.8	12	32.5	2	5.5	5	13.5	14	37.8
Education	-	-	6	16.2	15	40.5	1	2.7	4	10.8	11	29.7
<b>Total</b>	-	-	<b>10</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>73.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>67.5</b>

Source: Survey Data (2021)

The results above (Table 3) indicate that in Ubungo Municipal Council, most respondents (73% ) were not satisfied while those who were satisfied were 27% only. Analysis indicates that those who were dissatisfied with the health and education committees at both ward and neighbourhood levels were 32.5% and 40.5% respectively. When the two are critically analysed, it seems the education committees outperformed the health committees far performed its duties compared to the education committee. Nevertheless, both of them were not able to perform to the level of satisfying citizens. This may indicate that, if all other factors contributing to quality service delivery remain constant, without proper citizen involvement on the way they should state what they want and how to hold accountable service providers, quality service delivery may rather remain rhetoric than reality.

In Kisarawe on the other hand, the results above (Table 3) show that about 67.5% of the respondents were dissatisfied while the satisfied with the performance of

committees in ensuring quality service provision were 24.3%. A further analysis vindicates that those who were dissatisfied with the performance of health and education committees at both ward and village levels were 37.8% and 29.7% respectively. However, some of the respondents (8.2%) indicated lack of knowledge on whether these committees did well or not. Hence, there was a miniature signal of satisfaction with the performance of such committees in ensuring quality service provision. This was further evident during the interview and focus group discussion whereby respondents emphatically stated that they never saw any changes in social services nor were they given any performance report during meetings that is why they were unsure of what the committees were doing. With regard to citizen satisfaction regarding effectiveness government in involving citizens to quality service provision, similar results were portrayed by the study by Mandla et al (2022) in South Africa in which it was found that while efforts to enhance service delivery were initiated and supported by policy there was still considerable mistrust in state institutions something which hindered effective governance in involving citizens to offer their support and concluded that there is a dire need of consolidating an environment where citizens can trust the state and support it directly or indirectly in its quest for inclusive and effective service delivery

***Perception on Citizen Participation and Responsiveness of Government Officials***

Table 4: Perception on Citizen Participation and Responsiveness of Government Officials

Has citizen involvement led to empowering the local communities to have voice and power in their localities?				
Response	Ubungo Municipality		Kisarawe District Council	
	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent
Yes	5	13.5	28	75.7
No	32	86.5	9	24.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Data (2021)

The results for this question on whether citizen involvement led to empowering the local communities to have voice and power in their localities were mixed. The results (Table 4) above indicate that in Ubungo, only 13.5% of the respondents



***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

---

answered in the affirmative while majority of the respondents (86.5%) disaffirmed the statement. In Kisarawe, however, minority (24.3%) of the respondents disaffirmed while over half (75.7%) answered in the affirmative. This is indicative of the situation that in rural areas citizens voices through authoritative village assemblies are to some extent heard compared to the urban areas and above all, it was evident that citizens in Kisarawe were satisfied because some of their complaints were normally addressed unlike in Ubungu where citizens felt to be alienated in project planning an implementation because their complaints seemed not to be addressed. Hence, this may imply that there is high level of distrust with the way local government respond to complaints of citizens. There is need therefore to enhance a conducive environment for vibrant oversight organisations which can amplify meaningful citizen participation and accountability of leaders for ensuring quality service delivery to the citizens is to be realised.

***Citizen organisations for ensuring quality service delivery***

The question sought to know whether citizens had organisations for ensuring that quality services are delivered. In all the areas of study, the respondents answered in the negative. 90% of the respondents did say that they lacked such an organisation. Table 5. Ability of citizens to monitor quality education/health service provision

Is there a Civil Society Organisation to monitor and ensure quality services provided?				
Response	Kinondoni Municipality		Kisarawe District Council	
	Number of respondents	Percent	Number of respondents	Percent
Yes	-	-	-	-
No	37	100	36	97.3
Do not know	-	-	1	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Data (2021)

As the field study shows (Table 5) above, there is prevalence of lack of citizen organisations for uniting them and aggregating their interests to influence the kind of quality services they want. While in Kinondoni, all respondents disaffirmed the

existence of such organisations, in Kisarawe the results were also nearly the same with 97.3% answering that there were no civic organisations to monitor and ensure quality social service provision nor do they seem to be participating in ensuring quality provision of education service but rather only involved in construction of buildings. This is evident that quality service provision remains primarily driven by local government officials not citizens themselves.

## **5. Conclusion**

In the local authorities surveyed, it was discernible that citizens are not adequately involved in monitoring health and education services provided to people in order to ensure effective public service provision. The study found out that citizen involvement carried out either through the committees or through local level meetings has always been characterized by manipulative means by some few individuals to the extent that citizens feel isolated.

The study has found out that the mismatch between policy intentions and practice seems to be emanating in the flaws in design of such policy frameworks and lack of political commitment to ensure meaningful civic competence in policy issues. The citizens are not the owners of the policies intended to ensure their participation but instead, they are kept distant to the extent that ownership remains only to the few bureaucrats who, unfortunately, are unwilling to ensure citizen empowerment. Furthermore, the study has also found out that lack of strong oversight institutions to monitor or bridge the gap between the informed bureaucrats and the uninformed citizens poses a great challenge in the way to hold accountable the trustees who are to ensure that they act in accordance with the citizens' priorities. The citizen participation therefore remains rhetoric than a reality since the leadership at the local areas does not adhere to the principles of good governance.

Regarding the existence of appropriate strategies to ensure effective citizen participation, the study has found out that there is existence of various rules and regulations that provide for the requirement and importance of citizen participation with the view of ensuring efficient and effective delivery of social services although, based on the study findings, there is great reluctance or lack of serious political commitment and there is great lack of efforts made to sensitize and provide civic awareness to the citizens so as to ensure effective implementation of such guidelines, rules and regulations that require local officials to ensure a sound or rather participatory development and implementation of development programmes in order to ensure public service delivery.

As for the question of citizen satisfaction with the health and education services provided, the study found out that in instances where citizens were effectively involved such as in

## ***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

---

construction of class buildings and though neighbourhood or village, hamlet or *vitongoji* government meetings where citizens have been given chance to air out their discontents regarding maladministration, there were positive results but in most cases where citizens are not involved especially in the prioritization of local needs as monitoring the delivery of public services, dissatisfaction was high. It is therefore concluded that strengthening local participation is an indispensable ingredient for successful provision of quality services to the citizens.

### ***Limitations of the Study and Areas for Further Research***

The case study design was used. This covered a small geographical area in order to gain in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. For that case, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other areas. Therefore, it is proposed that other researches be conducted in other areas and include more respondents and other dimensions such as water services accessibility and affordability in both rural and urban areas by replicating the proposed researcher's model to determine if similar results can be found.

### ***Policy Recommendations***

#### ***Policy Recommendation for effective citizen participation***

Regarding why citizen participation in planning has not led to quality education and health service provision:

First, the government should put in place and continuously review a comprehensive supervision and monitoring mechanism to ensure that meetings to discuss community plans are properly held, so as to minimize citizen complaints that they are sidelined by council authorities.

Second, additionally, external control mechanisms should be strengthened. Workers associations need to be strengthened and there should be a room for citizens forming their independent associations so as to work hand in hand with other governance actors in an effort to establish a responsive quality service delivery culture.

Third, although there are institutional, policy and legal frameworks in place, people's participation in the formulation of council plans are still inadequate. People especially in urban settings feel that poor plans and poor implementation is generally a result of their exclusion in their formulation as well as in their implementation. There is need to deliberately work towards changing people's mindsets and citizens' attitudes towards participation in policy formulation and implementation.

Furthermore, effective supervision and monitoring from higher levels of local governments to ensure that meetings are held is critical to ensure accountability and adherence to participatory procedures, including properly conducted meetings. In addition, leaders at all levels should be trained on their responsibilities as well as civic ethics and etiquette to ensure the proper conduct of their conduct. It should be remembered that there is neither a committee for employing nor disciplining government officials at the local levels.

*Policy Recommendation for responsive Local Government Authorities*

In order to address the objective of finding out what citizen participation avenues can lead to responsive local government authorities able to provide quality public services:

First, citizens on their part should be empowered through civic education to enable them to demand accountability from their leadership. This means that citizens must know their rights and responsibilities in the planning process. Hence, guidelines on participation in making community plans need to be developed using simple language and be made available and accessible to citizens in all localities. Client Service Charter needs to be well known to people and the promises or commitments to be made in each ministry should be agreed upon by the citizens.

Furthermore, communities should ensure that their local leadership is held accountable for its actions. This should be done formally through public forums such as hamlet, neighborhood (Mtaa) and village assembly meetings. Hence, closer supervision of village governments by local authorities is an imperative that cannot be avoided to ensure that meetings are held as per the set rules and procedures to avoid circumvention of the participatory process by the grassroots leaders.

Second, the Government should establish, design and institute policy dialogue mechanisms to ensure that citizens participate in the decision making process. In addition, the role of local leadership in policy formulation and implementation should be clarified to avoid ambiguities that restrict citizen participation.

## 6. Bibliography

- Adikaram, A. S., & Razik, R. (2022). Femininity penalty: challenges and barriers faced by STEM woman entrepreneurs in an emerging economy. *Journal of Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies*.
- Ali, M. M., Shepherd, S., & Ahmed, B. M. (2023). Promoting trust and police legitimacy in African Australian communities: A critical reflection on community engagement strategies and practical recommendations for police. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 1-46.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216–224. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225>
- Biancone, P., Secinaro, S. F., Brescia, V., & Iannaci, D. (2018). Communication and data processing in local public group: Transparency and accountability. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 13(10), 20–37.
- Brandsma, G. J., & Meijer, A. (2022). Transparency and the efficiency of multi-actor decision-making processes: an empirical analysis of 244 decisions in the European Union. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 88(3), 626–643.
- Burgess, H. K., DeBey, L. B., Froehlich, H. E., Schmidt, N., Theobald, E. J., Ettinger, A. K., HilleRisLambers, J., Tewksbury, J., & Parrish, J. K. (2017). The science of citizen science: Exploring barriers to use as a primary research tool. *Biological Conservation*, 208, 113–120.
- Cabannes, Y., & Lipietz, B. (2018). Revisiting the democratic promise of participatory budgeting in light of competing political, good governance and technocratic logics. *Environment and Urbanization*, 30(1), 67–84.
- Capra, C. F. (2016). The Smart City and its citizens: Governance and citizen participation in Amsterdam Smart City. *International Journal of E-Planning Research (IJEPR)*, 5(1), 20–38.
- Chaiyapa, W., Hartley, K., & del Barrio Alvarez, D. (2021). From end-users to policy designers: Breaking open the black box of energy technocracy in Thailand. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 73, 101912.
- Chaligha, A. (2008). Local Autonomy and Citizen Participation in Tanzania: From a Local Government Reform Perspective. In *Special Paper* (No. 978-9987-615-21-6; 08.26, Issue 08). [http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/32930/1/Local Autonomy and Citizen Participation.pdf?1](http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/32930/1/Local%20Autonomy%20and%20Citizen%20Participation.pdf?1)

- Cheema, G. S., & Rondinelli, D. A. (2007). Decentralizing Governance: Emerging Concepts and Practices. *Planning Theory*, 7(3), 336–338. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14730952080070030504>
- Cleaver, F. (1999). Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association*, 11(4), 597–612.
- Constitute. (2022). *Tanzania (United Republic of)'s Constitution of 1977 with Amendments through 2005* (pp. 1–64). Oxford University Press, Inc. [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tanzania\\_2005.pdf?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tanzania_2005.pdf?lang=en)
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* Zed books.
- Cooksey, B., & Kikula, I. S. (2005). *When Bottom Up Meets Top Down: The Limits of Local Participation in Local Government Planning in Tanzania* (No. 7). Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Cornwall, A. (2008). Unpacking “Participation” Models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal*, 43(3), 269–283. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsn010>
- Cornwall, A., & Gaventa, J. (2017). Participation in governance. In *International development governance* (pp. 405–413). Routledge.
- DeSario, J., & Langton, S. (1984). Citizen participation and technocracy. *Review of Policy Research*, 3(2), 223–233.
- Ebel, R. D., & Yilmaz, S. (1999). Intergovernmental relations: Issues in public policy. *World Bank Institute and Asian Development Bank*.
- Fung, A. (2015). Putting the public back into governance: The challenges of citizen participation and its future. *Public Administration Review*, 75(4), 513–522.
- Gardner, K., & Lewis, D. (1996). *Anthropology, development and the post-modern challenge*. Pluto Press.
- Green, M. (2009). Government through time: participation and poverty reduction in Tanzania. *Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper*, 145.
- Grzanka, P. R., & Cole, E. R. (2021). An argument for bad psychology: Disciplinary disruption, public engagement, and social transformation. *American Psychologist*, 76(8), 1334.
- Hickey, S. (2005). Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development. *Development and Change*, 36(2004), 237–262. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0012->

***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

---

155x.2005.00410.x

- Hickey, Samuel. (2004). *Participation: from tyranny to transformation: exploring new approaches to participation in development*. Zed books.
- Ianniello, M., Iacuzzi, S., Fedele, P., & Brusati, L. (2019). Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: a systematic review. *Public Management Review*, 21(1), 21–46.
- Johnson, C. (2015). Local civic participation and democratic legitimacy: Evidence from England and Wales. *Political Studies*, 63(4), 765–792.
- Kajimbwa, M. G. A. (2018). Benchmarking accountability of local government authorities in public procurement in Tanzania: A methodological approach. *Benchmarking*, 25(6), 1829–1843. <https://doi.org/10.1108/BIJ-08-2016-0120>
- Kessy, A. T. (2020). The demand and supply sides of accountability in Local Government authorities in Tanzania. *Public Integrity*, 22(6), 606–625.
- Kiss, B., Sekulova, F., Hörschelmann, K., Salk, C. F., Takahashi, W., & Wamsler, C. (2022). Citizen participation in the governance of nature-based solutions. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 32(3), 247–272.
- Kujala, J., Sachs, S., Leinonen, H., Heikkinen, A., & Laude, D. (2022). Stakeholder Engagement: Past, Present, and Future. *Business and Society*, 61(5), 1136–1196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00076503211066595>
- Layson, J. P., & Nankai, X. (2015). Public participation and satisfaction in urban regeneration projects in Tanzania: The case of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam. *Urban, Planning and Transport Research*, 3(1), 68–87.
- Leech, N. L., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2007). *An Array of Qualitative Data Analysis Tools : A Call for Data Analysis Triangulation*. 22(4), 557–584. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1045-3830.22.4.557>
- Liviga, A. (2009). Local Government Reforms in Tanzania. *17th Conference on the The State of Politics in Tanzania Held from 5th-6th October, 2009*, 1–19.
- Luciano, E. M., Wiedenhöft, G. C., & Santos, F. P. dos. (2018). Promoting social participation through digital governance: Identifying barriers in the brazilian public administration. *Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Governance in the Data Age*, 1–9.
- Lukensmeyer, C. J. (2017). Civic tech and public policy decision making. *PS: Political*

*Science & Politics*, 50(3), 764–771.

- Mandla, M., Victor, M., & Confidence, H. M. (2022). Service Delivery , Governance and Citizen Satisfaction : Reflections from South Africa. *Global Policy and Governance*, 11, 97–116. <https://doi.org/10.14666/2194-7759-11-1-6>
- Masanyiwa, Z. S. (2014). *Decision making under the Tree: Gender perspectives on decentralization reforms in service delivery in rural Tanzania*. Wageningen University and Research.
- Masiya, T., Mazenda, A., & Davids, Y. D. (2019). Effective public participation in municipal service delivery. *Administratio Publica*, 27(3), 27–47.
- Mkoma, R. N., & Rwekaza, C. T. (2021). Decentralization in Tanzania: Perceptible Efficiency and Effectiveness in Management of Community Health Care, Free Basic Education and Public Private Partnership. *HOLISTICA – Journal of Business and Public Administration*, 12(1), 57–68. <https://doi.org/doi:10.2478/hjbpa-2021-0006>
- Mollel, H. A. (2010). *Participation for local development: The reality of decentralisation in Tanzania*. African Studies Centre, Leiden.
- Mouter, N., Hernandez, J. I., & Itten, A. V. (2021). Public participation in crisis policymaking. How 30,000 Dutch citizens advised their government on relaxing COVID-19 lockdown measures. *PLoS One*, 16(5).
- NBS. (2013). *Tanzania in Figures 2012*.
- Nguyen, T. V., Le, C. Q., Tran, B. T., & Bryant, S. E. (2015). Citizen participation in city governance: Experiences from Vietnam. *Public Administration and Development*, 35(1), 34–45. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1702>
- Nita, A., Ciocanea, C. M., Manolache, S., & Rozyłowicz, L. (2018). A network approach for understanding opportunities and barriers to effective public participation in the management of protected areas. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 8, 1–11.
- Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1985). A conceptual model of service quality and its implications for future research. *Journal of Marketing*, 49(4), 41–50.
- Radu, B. (2019). The impact of transparency on the citizen participation in decision-making at the municipal level in Romania. *Cent. Eur. Pub. Admin. Rev.*, 17, 111.
- Ramphal, R. R., & Nicolaidis, A. (2018). Intelligent consistency-Ethical practices of Lean Six Sigma in quality service provision in the hospitality industry. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 7(3), 1–15.
- REPOA. (2007). *Views of the people 2007: Tanzanians give their opinions on: growth and*



## ***The Paradox of citizen participation and Quality Service Provision in Local Government Authorities: The Tanzanian Experience***

---

*reduction of income poverty, their quality of life and social well-being, and governance and accountability* (Issue December).  
<http://ezproxy.uct.ac.za/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=awn&AN=10972338&site=ehost-live>

- Ringo, C. J., & Mollel, H. A. (2014). Making Decentralization Promote Empowerment of the Local People: Tanzanian Experience. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 5(12), 1–7.
- Saldana, J. (2013). *The coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Second). SAGE Publications Pvt Ltd.
- Schneider, L. (2007). High on modernity? Explaining the failings of Tanzanian villagisation. *African Studies*, 66(1), 9–38.
- Shah, M. K. (1998). *The myth of community: Gender issues in participatory development*. ITGD Publishing.
- Simonsen, W., & Robbins, M. D. (2000). The influence of fiscal information on preferences for city services. *The Social Science Journal*, 37(2), 195–214.
- Touchton, M., & Wampler, B. (2023). Participation, Development, and Accountability: A Survey Experiment on Democratic Decision-Making in Kenya. *American Political Science Review*, 1–16.
- URT. (1998). *Policy Paper on Local Government Reform*.
- URT. (2015). *Tanzania Human Development Report 2014: Economic Transformation for Human Development*.
- Wong, E. L. Y., Yam, C. H. K., Cheung, A. W. L., Leung, M. C. M., Chan, F. W. K., Wong, F. Y. Y., & Yeoh, E.-K. (2011). Barriers to effective discharge planning: a qualitative study investigating the perspectives of frontline healthcare professionals. *BMC Health Services Research*, 11(1), 1–42. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-6963-11-242>