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**AN ASSESSMENT OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING
WITH REFERENCE TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

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INTRODUCTION

Tanzania is undergoing a massive and long term process of democratisation and liberalization. Serious efforts are being made to establish and sustain democracy and human rights in order to promote and sustain economic growth and social development. It should be noted that democratisation and liberalisation do not begin and end at the level of the central state. It is in this sense that one has to view the on-going structural reforms as initiating and providing both challenges and opportunities to sub-national governance entities like municipalities and sub-municipal institutions in the country where the majority of the people live and work. The Government adoption of Local Government Reform Agenda 1996-2000 [URT 1996], the Regional Administration Act 1997 (URT) and The Local Government Laws [Miscellaneous Amendments] Act, 1998 are a clear testimony of the political commitment the state demonstrates to the need and necessity of enabling people to participate in the governance process for their own development.

The philosophy and rationale behind all these efforts is the fact that the central state can best promote the development of its people by sharing its power, resources, manpower, finances and equally important, **ideas**. Nevertheless this can hardly be achieved without the leaders and local communities be well

informed. It is argued that only at local/community level can people get involved in the broad social, political and economic participation which forms the basis for developing and sustaining self help powers. It cannot be emphasized enough that this is the backbone of people's empowerment. However, for the empowerment process to be initiated and sustained, there is need for a deliberate process of dialogue which involves all citizens concerned and this can be achieved, among others, through people's participation in the decision-making process.

It should be emphasized that as Tanzania enters the 21st Century, the major challenge facing the nation's Local authorities is the enhancement of democracy and their economic base to redress the centrifugal impact of globalization and to cope with the structural imperatives of the demographic transition [Halfani 1997: 28-30]. It is in this sense that it is argued that the immediate task is to foster the process of political democratization and decentralization of power, authority and resources, as well as to create the structures for social integration and constructive civic engagement for sustainable development.

However, it should be noted that democracy and decentralization can only be permanently established if social, political and economic participation functions and resources are available at local/community level as well. It is a global experience that participation begins with local government and local community. For instance, self-help requires self-organization, self-confidence, commitment

and self-local governance. This however, is only possible if all citizens participate effectively in a social, political, cultural and economic sense. Participation means that local people organize themselves, accept responsibilities and demand as their human right, to be involved in local community decision-making, implementation and evaluation of their democratically agreed decisions and programs.

According to Swirling (1997) the shift from **government** (noun) to **governance**, (verb) from structure to process, from things to relations, from independence to inter-dependency, from linearity to loops, (feedback) from rational structuralization to patterns of chaos, is influenced by the combined universal disillusionment with the nature of the central state that monopolizes nearly **everything** and does not give enough space to other equally important constituencies, partners or stakeholders particularly those that are local community based.

It is in this sense that we concur with Hyden (1997) that the state **is not the only player** when it comes to the formulation and setting of public policy and its implementation. He further argues that the nature, health and texture of civic public realm is dependent on the substantive content of governance relations (ibid). In other words governance is the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm (Swirling op. cit 5). It should be emphasized that governance is about the way the power

structures (and relations) are managed for the day to day work and the framework with which civil society operates are articulated and managed so that together these two interdependent variables can make up a dynamic and healthy public realm (ibid). Needless to say civic education and training will greatly help to ensuring that the above objective is realized.

The other element in the governance process is the degree of **accountability** i.e. whether the rulers can be held accountable by the ruled via institutionalized procedures and process of regular and democratic free and fair elections, public oversight, referenda on controversial issues e.g. re-writing of the new constitution, death sentence, moving the seat of Government to Dodoma, etc.

It is in this sense that it is argued that an analysis of governance must start by identifying and analysing **where the locus of governance is** across a spectrum that runs from the central state through to decentralized levels: provincial, municipal, sub-municipal and local agencies of the state and then beyond the state to non-state institutions in civil society. Needless to say this needs to be accompanied by an objective analysis of the degree of mutual trust and reciprocity within civil society.

In other words, as Swirling (op. cit. 8) argues democratic local governance in a municipality and sub-municipality will develop if accountable and democratically elected and managed local Authority evolve in mutual partnership with well

managed formulations in civil society who are well informed, educated and committed to the **principles of subsidiarity and mutual trust and reciprocity** in the promotion and defence of local/community interests, have the political will, resources and capacity to formulate and implement policies and programs effectively and efficiently with municipal and sub-municipal governance occupying a strategic and centre-stage role without excluding other stakeholders particularly, the local community.

An exploration of the meaning and modalities of governance in Africa in the late 1990s comes at an opportune moment in the continent's history. The continent is urbanizing very rapidly. The on-going economic crisis poses a danger not only in terms of social and political instability but also incalculable human suffering as social service delivery is depressed and the ordinary people can hardly afford cost-sharing. The notion of local governance refers to a complex set of vertical and horizontal relations that are changing rapidly as a result of the fundamental transformations that are taking place across Africa at the social, political, economic and global levels.

As Tanzanian polity enters the 21st Century, the country does so within an environment where some factors will irresistibly influence her policy options and choices. These may include the following: First, the realities of the post-cold war "consensus" that some kind of democratic paradigm of governance is the most appropriate way to structure intra-state and state-society relations in the

developing countries. Second, the on-going serious social and economic crisis need to be addressed according to the so called market principles dictated by international economic regulations imposed by multilateral institutions like World Trade Organization, IMF and World Bank. Third, the ever-growing increase in demands for democracy, respect for human rights and sustainable livelihoods, efficient service delivery and goods that will emanate from enfranchised populations created by both democratisation and liberalisation processes etc.

Suffice it to say that taken together, these macro-processes will directly affect policy making in the state system, municipal governance, civil society and economy can imagine, articulate and implement new governance paradigms and strategies. It should be noted that the significance of these combined processes is that policy makers at various levels **must** concede that they cannot be managed by a highly centralized and bureaucratic political system that **disempowers both lower levels of the state system and non-state actors.**

In this paper an attempt is made to assess the extent of people's participation in decision-making with a particular reference to the country's local government system. The assessment will also entail identifying obstacles which hinder people's participation and a further attempt will be made to consider additional initiatives or reforms in order to enhance people's participation. Before winding up the paper an effort will be made to crystallize critical issues of discussion as they evolved in the paper. The discussion begins with a brief conceptual

framework regarding the relevancy and importance of **participation** in the context of good local governance.

1. GRAPPLING WITH CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION

“Our major resource is our people. We all recognize the inherent relationship between people and development. We are fully conscious of the fact that the primary objective of development is to improve the living conditions of our people. But we also know that it is the people who are the principal actors in the recovery and development process. It is obvious, therefore, that the success of the recovery and development process very much depends on the effective participation of the people in that process” [Emphasis, added].

[Retired] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, 1990, Arusha.

“There is no gainsaying the fact that the foundation for self-reliant and internally self-sustaining processes of development is people’s participation. It is the engine for launching the processes for economic transformation of the structures and material attributes of a society” [Emphasis, ours]

Adebayo Ade deji, Former UN - Under Secretary and Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, 1990, Arusha.

As Tanzania enters the 1st Century the language and thinking of development is undergoing a radical change. Reflecting this, the country’s leadership at various levels and indeed the people themselves increasingly use the words *participation, decentralisation, democracy, tolerance of diversity of views and sustainability* which are becoming popular as genuine concerns for fight against poverty, deprivation, environmental destruction and gender imbalance gains momentum.

Popular participation in local government and the decision-making process is inevitably necessary if citizens are to believe that they have a voice and that their concerns will be taken into account, while meaningful state-society interaction is essential for policy making and (for) developing a democratic consensus on long term perspectives. It should be noted that *participation* in decision-making as a concept is not new in Tanzania. It also needs to be emphasized that a participatory and democratic process can lead to the development of collaborative action where the objectives, roles and obligations are identified and mutually agreed upon. In other words, where there is participatory democracy in decision-making, chances are, tangible development results will occur. The opposite is equally true!

There is hardly any controversy that the key to the country's sustainable development lies in the mobilization of self-help potential of the local population for solving their own problems by better use of locally available resources through people's own involvement, participation and initiatives in the decision-making and implementation of those decisions. External assistance is welcome but should only be used judiciously as a stimulant to people's own initial efforts.

It is important to note that people's participation in decision-making (or any other activity) does not happen in a vacuum. It is normally hinged on a defined social, political, economic and cultural context. For people to be able to participate in the decision making process in local government, it is crucial that the civil

society becomes conscious of their human right to do so. An enabling environment must be created for this to be demand-driven.

Equally important are the leaders of outstanding wisdom and moral authority and (integrity) at all levels will be catalysts for this to happen and be sustained. [Munker, 1998: 7]. What clearly emerges as the only way to let people participate in the decision-making is that deliberate efforts have to concentrate on stopping the erosion of autochthonous values and the destruction of institutions at the grassroots level [Munker, *ibid*].

According to Chambers [1997: 2-6] it is easier to create an enabling environment for people's participation in decision-making if those of use in [middle and top] leadership positions are courageous enough to dis-empower ourselves! Chambers (*ibid*) drives home the point:

"The arrangement is that we are much of the problem, that is through changes in us that much of the solution must be sought Putting the last, First.... But to put the last first is the easier half. Putting the first last is harder For it means that those who are powerful have to step down, sit, listen and learn from and empower those who are weak and last".
(Emphasis, ours)

The problem is how, in conditions of continuous and accelerating change, to put people first and poor people first of all?

However, there is little doubt that participatory approaches, processes and practices enable both the local governments and local communities to express

and analyze their **multiple realities** more meaningfully. Indeed many poor people's realities are local, complex, diverse and unpredictable [Chambers, *ibid*]. Indeed, the values and preferences of poor local people typically contrast with those of the well-to-do outsiders, elites and professionals. It is in this way that participation, empowerment and mutual respect enable local communities and the marginalized people in general, to express and analyze their individual shared concerns and realities.

It is therefore gratifying to note that the Government of Tanzania is putting a lot of emphasis on building structures, institutions and organizations that promote participatory democracy and good governance e.g. cooperatives, village governments, trade unions, independent media, efficient civil service, local governments etc. It should also be emphasized that the country's constitution - Articles 145-146 (URT, 1995: 143) provides for the creation of Local authorities at village, district and regional levels for the involvement and participation of the people in the decision-making process and implementation of their democratically agreed development programs. This alone is no mean achievement!

Indeed greater participation and communication can be facilitated through the on-going Local Government reform Process, the development of representative and countervailing institutions of civil society, as well as through the effective

use of Local authorities' political machinery i.e. Full council and other related sittings [Ngware, 1991:2].

There is no doubt that local communities will feel confident to participate in the social, political and economic affairs of their locality only if they can benefit and if there is a general climate of stability, respect, oneness and tolerance of divergent views, access to a wide range of correct information and provided that there is a degree of legal protection. [Rugumamu, 1999] It is an open secret that the right information and communication at the right time and place still remained problematic in most local authorities in Tanzania. The next part assesses people's participation in governance process at the local level.

2. PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE:

Tanzania has been grappling with the fundamental issues of people's participation and local governance since independence in 1961. The struggle for independence itself was based on the mutually forged alliance between the political leadership and the people. In other words people's participation in the independence struggle was a strategic ingredient for the seizure of reins of political power from the British colonialists.

After independence various conscious efforts were made to strengthen people's power through the consolidation of local government system - a governance

institution closest to the people. Undoubtedly, mistakes and blunders were made as the government implemented various measures that were expected to enhance people's participation in the local government system. An agonizing and living testimony was the catastrophic abolition of the country's local government system in the period 1971/72 - 1982/84 which was replaced by the so called *MADARAKA MIKOANI* (deconcentration). Later, Mwalimu Nyerere has an agonizing reflection to make on this, he laments:

"There are certain things I would not do if I were to start again. One of them is the abolition of Local Government, and the other is the disbanding of Cooperatives ... We had these two useful instruments of participation, and we got rid of them"

- J.K. Nyerere (1985)

Nevertheless the Government continued its relentless effort to search for a better and more effective institution of local governance. This is evidenced by a series of Presidential Commissions on various aspects of local government system in the country e.g. Kent Report, Bomani Report, Mulokozi Report, Mtei Report, Mramba Report, Nyalali Report - to name just a few.

It is not far-fetched to argue that the present and on-going Local government Reform process has drawn heavily from the recommendations of the above celebrated reports.

In 1996, the Government adopted the Local Government Reform Agenda, 1996-2000, which was itself a result of participatory approach. In his Budget Speech,

on June 28, 1996, the Prime Minister contemplated a better form of Regional Administration that would ensure the following: [Nchimbi, 1997].

First, local authorities are given resources which would enable them render efficient and cost-effective services to the public. Second, local authorities are materially assisted in their fight against poverty. Third, the District and Urban councils are effectively accountable to the people. Fourth, local authorities are enabled to get more resources (technical manpower, revenues, and equipment) for enhancing people's development activities and improve the supply of basic services. In a nutshell all this indicates a firm commitment by the Government in ensuring the promotion and sustenance of participatory democracy and good governance for effective development.

It should be emphasized that the on-going Local Government Reform process provides fresh hopes for the grassroots people to participate effectively in the governance process. The reform process is based on political devolution and decentralisation of functions and finances within the framework of a unitary state [URT, MRALD, 1998:V] Local governments are now expected to be holistic, i.e. multi-sectoral, government units with a legal status. At the same time they have responsibility for economic growth and social development within their jurisdiction, facilitation of maintenance of law and order and issues of national importance such as education, health, water, roads, agriculture, environment etc. (ibid). It is emphasized that local authorities are constituting a unitary governance system all over the country based on elected councils and

It should be emphasized that the Government efforts are positive and that the attendant policy, legal and regulatory measures have enabled a certain degree of success to be achieved. Nevertheless local governance as an integral part of governance is a complex and dynamic process in which a variety of elements are inter-linked and mutually supportive [Rugumamu, *ibid*]. It is a continuous process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be undertaken.

As a process in which power (and power relations) are mobilized and utilized, participatory governance cannot simply be a smooth-sailing undertaking. Indeed it is bound to face various obstacles. This is the focus of the next part.

3. OBSTACLES TO PARTICIPATORY LOCAL GOVERNANCE

It is an open secret that there is rampant and endemic corruption of various degrees and intensity, involving functionaries in the various levels of Central and Local Governments in the country. In the words of the celebrated Warioba Report, URT 1996: 7.

"Many people who gave their views to the Commission ... said that corruption is rampant in the country for lack of a leadership committed to its eradication. Leaders appointed to help the President fight this scourge do not seem to realize the gravity of the problem in our social fabric..."

Needless to say, the above observation also applies to the leaders in the country's local government system. Corruption is a deadly cancer, be at national,

regional, district or sub-district level. *Wherever* and *however* it happens, it is **deadly**; it kills the country's foundation and its social fabric.

However, it is our submission that corruption that happens at the local government level and below - ward, village and mtaa - is equally, if not more dangerous, since it affects directly the ordinary citizens who are mostly marginalized people in the society. As a consequence, people lose trust and confidence not only in themselves but also in their governance institutions. The people and their governance institutions must fight this cancer with all the determination and resources at their disposal.

Second, there have been wide gaps between policy proclamations and real actions, and at times attempts at effecting large scale decentralization goals have produced negative and ridiculous outcomes [Rakodi, 1997: 412] e.g. the Decentralization fiasco of 1971/72 - 1982/84 period. Third, the establishment of a strong local government system responsive to the needs and requirements of the grassroots people without regularly reviewing other related legislations especially those related to the rule of law and good governance e.g. Constitution, the laws on corruption, Economic Sabotage and the Public Leadership code of Ethics etc.

Indeed such legislations (and the necessary enforcement) are of particular importance at the local/community level where the majority of the citizens live

and work. For instance if corruption, dishonesty, incompassion, inobjectivity continue to be allowed to thrive, there will be no rule of law and hence no participatory governance will take place. Fourth, it is argued that the creation of parallel structures weakens people's participation in the local government system. It is thus argued that since the country's local government system is a constitutional matter [URT, 1995: Article 145-146] the duties of other government structures (ministries and executive agencies) at the decentralized level should be clearly spelled out regarding how they should cooperate with the Minister responsible for Local Authorities and the sub-district institutions. [Nchimbi, 1997: op. cit.).

Fifth, it is also argued that the function of the District Commissioner in ensuring proper and effective communication of District Authorities' decisions down to villages, vitongoji and mitaa via Divisional Secretaries is a bit problematic [and from the point of view of local government, unnecessary]. This is because vitongoji, villages, mitaa and wards are directly under the local authorities while the Divisional Secretaries are purely and practically Central Government appointees! It should also be noted that technical staff at sub-district level are accountable to the Local Authorities and not necessarily to the Divisional Secretaries who are accountable to the District Commissioner [Nchimbi, 1997: *ibid*].

Sixth, political pluralism is still evolving in the country and that a lot of patience, trying, learning and re-learning is required. There is empirical evidence to show that there is more political tolerance and openness at the national level and in the urban areas than at the grassroots level, particularly in the rural areas. Some leaders - both technical and political - at this level hardly entertain people's participation in decision-making and are more accountable to themselves and their superiors than to the people! Needless to say, where transparency, accountability, participatory democracy are lacking, there is hardly any possibility for people to participate. Rather, these vices are ingredients for apathy; illegitimacy and dictatorship!

Seventh, there is a variety of criteria which can be used to measure people's participation in local governance. For instance to what extent grassroots people make decisions in resource mobilization, service provision and equity in the locally produced services? To what extent the people and their local authority know the human and material resources (and the potential) available in their locality for their own development? How often do they focus their discussions on such issues instead of thinking and organizing how to mobilize external (donor support or simply waiting for the Central Government to give them handouts?) [RIPS: 1998: 105]. Eighth, empirical evidence suggests [Ngware, 1997: 3] that women are marginally represented in the decision-making process in the country's local government system. Of the small number of women in local government, the majority are concentrated in the lower-paid ranks and in

technical fields traditionally associated with the stereotyped roles of women e.g. nurses, typists, messengers, teachers, Community Development workers etc. [MDP, 1998: 4-6].

It should be emphasized that there are a variety of real barriers to women's participation in the country's local government system - despite the on-going Local Government Reform Process, such barriers include the following: negative cultural beliefs and attitudes that do not create possibilities for female - gender advancement. Lack of resources, including education and training, is another barrier that limits women's effective participation in decision-making in the local government system. The electoral process, including applicable law and practice, is a significant factor in the promotion or hindrance of the participation of women in local government. For instance, misuse and abuse of the electoral system to commit actions of violence, corruption, bribery and attacks on individual candidate's sense of pride, dignity and integrity play a role in keeping women out of both national and local government elections [MDP: *ibid*, Ngware, 1995]. It is not far-fetched to claim that the absence of women in senior and middle level managerial positions in local government is partly due to discriminatory recruitment and promotion practices. Qualified women (few as they are) are often not recruited or promoted because of the stereotyped view of women as employees and managers. [MDP, *ibid*]. How many councils in Tanzania have women as District Executive Directors, City Mayors, City/Municipal Directors, Municipal/District Council Planners, Treasurers?

It should also be noted that the existing local government structures procedures and regulations were primarily designed by men and for basically, men! For instance councillorship is not a full time job, at times a lot of council business is scheduled and conducted in the evenings after official working hours. Undoubtedly, this is just one example of the processes that do not take into account women's tight and demanding gender roles and status within families.

Finally, the unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households, based on unequal power relations between men and women, limits women to develop skills and mobilize for effective participation in decision-making. Women acknowledge that political campaigns and representation are frustrating and time-consuming commitments [MDP *ibid*]. There is need to develop strategies for tackling women's multiple roles to be integral to any long-term effort towards increasing their participation in decision-making particularly at council and sub-council levels.

Ninth, it should be emphasized that the Government commitment to reforming the local government system is firm and unshaken [Joint Appraisal Team, 1997: 31-32]. However, there are indications that the interests of the politicians in the local government reform may exceed those of technocrats who have to discharge their duties on the basis of the existing laws, rules and regulations. Whereas the commitment at the top level politicians seems to meet with the

demand by the local communities for people's participation and better services, it appears that people at the grassroots level have little trust in the local government management capacity to deliver goods and services. What else should be done to ensure that there is a conducive and enabling environment for people's participation in the local governance's decision-making process? The next section concentrates on additional initiatives to address the above issues.

4. INITIATIVES TO ENHANCE PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

"It is not enough that we should simply seek new and better ways for managing society, the economy ... The point is that we should fundamentally change how we behave". (Emphasis, ours)

Vaclav Havel, 1992

The need to change attitudes of those in Central and local government should be considered an important priority so as to ensure that local government is respected and used (not abused) for enhancing people's participatory governance process. This requires more than changing the laws. It needs civic education and training on a regular basis. Such training should involve all stakeholders e.g. the State, individual Local Authorities, the private sector, the media, civil society etc. There is also need for relevant State and Local Government authorities to provide the necessary but flexible and implementable guidelines on the on-going Local government Reform Process e.g. on restructuring of individual Local Authorities (always bearing in mind that too much regulatory control is counter-productive).

Sound policy and implementation decision have to be made on sound and scientific data that reflect the material conditions and realities at the local/community level. It is in this sense we see the urgent need to revive the need for *District Files* in which basic inventory of human, material and other resources - from *Kitongoji, mtaa*, ward to council level will be readily available to both the Central, Local governments and any other appropriate user.

It is suggested that local authorities consciously design policies and programs that enhance their relationship and interfacing with both the civil society and the private sector. The epoch is gone when the Central Government or Local Government have to do everything for the people. Instead they should create and promote an enabling political, policy and economic framework and environment for the grassroots people to **decide** and **do** things for themselves. This is indeed liberation and empowerment. In other words effective participatory local governance requires sound social, political, managerial and operational principles that stipulate and stimulate the sovereignty of the grassroots people and equality of the people before the law. It is in this sense that political openness, mutual tolerance and participation are critical ingredients for an efficient and democratically elected local government system.

At the same time feasible policy and administrative mechanisms should be put in place to ensure accountability and transparency exist and are sustained in the daily operations of the local government by both councillors and technical staff.

Participation works for people's greater control of **resources** and gives them a solid voice within the local government structures [RIPS, 1998: *ibid*]. This can only happen if the central and local government policy decision-makers accept and are aware of the processes that participation initiatives at the local level and local communities become equal partners who not only participate but also **negotiate** in the development process - thus participation also becomes a powerful empowering and liberating process.

It should also be emphasized that there is an urgent need for sectoral legislation in health, water, education, environment, roads, agriculture etc. to be consistent with the new Local government policy and the on-going Local Government Reform Process in general.

The litany of necessary initiatives to enhance people's participation in local governance is endless. Suffice it to say that the Tanzanian people and their leadership have embarked on this massive transformation of the country's local government system with firm and conscious determination and political commitment. Definitely, there are, and will be hurdles on the way, but there is no turning back. To do so will be to betray ourselves, our people and history.

The next part provides a concluding summary with a focus on critical issues that formed the basis of this paper.

5. CONCLUDING SUMMARY: CRITICAL ISSUES OF DISCUSSION

In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss the status of democratisation going on in the country with a particular reference to people's participation in decision-making process in the context of Local Authorities. Major obstacles have been identified which continue to obstruct people's participation in the local government's decision-making process. A number of pertinent recommendations have been made, that if implemented, may reduce (if not eliminate altogether) existing obstacles to the effective decision making process at the local government level.

In this concluding summary, it is important to re-emphasize the following issues that have evolved in the discussion. First, there is no controversy on the importance and necessity for the people to participate in the decision-making process on issues that affect their destiny. The point of contention is **how best to achieve it**. Second, the paper has shown that there is a radical shift in the way the state and the people perceive the role of the State. Unlike in the recent past, there is a consensus that the State and the local authorities should only create an enabling environment that enables grassroots people themselves to take responsibility for their own development. This is the state of the art and doing otherwise is attempting a futile exercise of turning the clock of history backwards! Third, it has been demonstrated in the paper that there is a wide gap

between the government's good intentions and policies and their realization on the ground.

Indeed there are barriers which hinder the participation of people in the local government's decision-making process. Fourth, it was argued that, the State, local authorities, the private sector and indeed the Civil society should form a strategic alliance to ensure that people's human right to participate in decision-making process becomes a reality and is sustained. Fifth, the paper discussed at length the marginalization of women in the Local Government's decision-making process and argued that unless this situation is redressed, the whole exercise may fall apart as women constitute the majority of producers: workers and farmers in the country. Sixth, a number of pertinent recommendations have been made in order to address critical issues that have been raised in the paper.

In concluding this discussion let us recall what Dr. Slim Ahmed Salim, OAU Secretary General said in Arusha in 1990:

"The real challenge facing this Conference is to come out with practical, implementable and realistic proposals and recommendations on the specifics on how to effect popular participation of the people in the development process. It is my wish that this Conference does not become yet another theoretical and philosophical forum for articulating views which cannot be put into practical use."

[Emphasis, ours]

[East African Charter for Popular Participation in Development: p. 8].

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