

FINAL REPORT

STRATEGIC STUDIES ON CORRUPTION

CORRUPTION IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN TANZANIA

Submitted to

**Director General, PCB
and
UNDP Resident Representative**

By

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Executive Summary

The study is a modest attempt to understand a general “land scape and terrain” of corruption in the country’s LGAs which are governance institutions closet to the ordinary citizens. The following are some of the highlights of the findings: Corruption exists at different levels of the country’s LGAs. It is revealing to note that most people know it is illegal, immoral and unprofessional, however, there are practical situations and circumstances that create favourable conditions and temptations for some people to engage in the evil practice e.g. inadequate and poor service delivery, lack and/or low level of civic education, greedy, unethical, unruly and un-responsive technocrats/leaders, rigid, unknown and bureaucratic rules, regulations and procedures that provide both unnecessary discretion and opportunity for some service providers to engage in the pandemic vice; poor working environment and unattractive incentive packages for workers. In addition loopholes in the existing legal and regulatory framework which make absolute compliance very difficult. In addition the study has shown that there is petty and grand corruption going in some LGAs in the country. However the study shows that there is a firm political will and commitment to fight the pandemic evil as evidenced by various deliberate and bold political, social and legal/regulatory measures that are already in place and are more visible at macro level but are gradually taking roots at micro level. The study provides a number of recommendations that may help the crusade against the pandemic evil. These include the intensification of on-going reforms to enable all institutions of governance particularly those at sub-municipal/district level perform better in terms of service delivery and promoting participatory and democratic governance that will enable the grassroots leaders and ordinary citizens recognize and demand their rights and also accept their obligations to the state, LGAs and their local communities.

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Tradition and protocol demand that we acknowledge our social and intellectual debt to some of the people who have made an outstanding contribution to the study. We are deeply grateful and indeed indebted to PCB and UNDP for initiating this novel and creative idea on carrying out a scientific inquiry on corruption in the country's LGAs. In particular we extend our humble gratitude to General Kamazima of PCB and UNDP's Resident Representative in Tanzania for supporting this useful initiative. In the same spirit

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
D-by-D	Decentralization by Devolution
DC	District Commissioner
GOT	Government of Tanzania
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
LGA	Local Government Authority
MTP	Medium Term Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
O&OD	Opportunities and Obstacles to Development
PO-RALG	President's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government
PRSP	Public Service Reform Programme
RC	Regional Commissioner
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

1.0 The Contextual Framework

1.1 Introduction

The Government of Tanzania is undertaking various initiatives towards poverty reduction and attainment of sustainable social and economic development. The initiatives are founded within a very broad policy framework –based on the Vision 2025, which stipulates the vision, mission, goals and targets to be achieved with respect to economic growth and poverty reduction by the year 2025. The on-going decentralization by devolution and reform process, including the Local Government Reform Programme, is fundamental to the strategy for poverty reduction in the country.

It is important to note that Public service reform now consists of a number of distinct but related reform programmes, each geared towards the same overall policy objectives, but covering different aspects of reform. At the centre of these reforms is the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) tasked with operationalizing the government Public Service Management and Employment Policy, and currently concentrating on installing performance management systems throughout the public service. Charged with operationalizing the Local Government Reform, and currently concentrating on implementing decentralization by devolution policy is the Local Government Reform Programme. Currently, reform of local government involves the following five main areas: First, Fiscal decentralization, second, administrative decentralization, third, political decentralization, fourth, service delivery function of decentralization, and fifth, changed central-local relations.

The decentralization by devolution programme in Tanzania is a vast, dynamic and complex programme of change and change

management. It demands a qualitatively different mindset and involves a fundamentally new change in the way Government conducts its business across the whole of Tanzania. The decentralization by devolution policy is an integral part of the reform process going on in the country which affects every aspect of the country's social fabric. All this is taking place during a period of great social, political and economic transformation and changed management in the country and is not only affected by these changes but also by the dynamics of inevitable globalisation. In the more recent past, important milestones with regard to the Local Government Reform were the publication of the "Local Government Reform Agenda" (1996) and the "Policy Paper on Local Government Reform" (1998). The Reform Agenda stated that local government capacity and efficiency to deliver services to the people would be the *raison d'être* for the devolution of roles, resources and authority by the central government. Similarly, it is noted that "local government will be free to make policy and operational decisions consistent with the laws....and government policies". The Policy Paper stipulates clearly that the **"local government system is to be based on political devolution and decentralization of functions and finance"**.

It is important to stress that, operationally on the ground, existing Policy and Regulations are in place or under formulation. A number of commendable achievements have been recorded but there are also constraints or shortcomings. These include the following: First, the accountability of elected representatives and community leaders remains a glaring weakness of the system although it constitutes one of the key and strategic governance frameworks for implementation and sustenance of the project management at ward and village level. Here the remedy is open-ended and include process and quality of democratic elections,

coherent and reliable capacity development targeting these levels and demand from the community to hold their leaders accountable to them. Second, financial sustainability of O&OD need to be further verified not only considering donor point of view but also GoT point of view. Various documents/reviews indicate the existence of various “brands” of participatory approaches that are being applied in various parts of the country. However while one should not advocate for a single and inflexible use of participatory approaches, there is need to critically assess the various brands and determine the value-added in terms of relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, cost, replication and sustainability. The more effectively people participate in the governance process, the more effective it will be to combat corruption at all levels.

It is worth appreciating that the context for reform has changed significantly since the beginning of the MTP, in a number of different ways. However not all these changes in context could have been anticipated. For instance, some key factors which have influenced, and will continue to affect the pace of reform include: harmonisation of the legal framework for managing public servants at central and local government levels in line with the 1998 Policy Paper on Local Government Reform; more rapid than anticipated progress in implementing fiscal decentralization; pressure of work on PO-RALG due to its central and strategic position in a wide range of reform processes; an apparent acceleration in the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on local government; and increased donor resources being channelled through direct budget support with potential shortfalls in financing Basket Funded programmes. All these have direct and indirect impact and implications on corruption and anti-corruption war.

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) provides that Tanzania aims at building a democratic society

founded on the principles of freedom, justice, fraternity and concord, in which the Executive is accountable to the electorate through the Legislature. The Constitution also provides for independent judicial instruments to ensure justice and equality before the law prevails in the country. In recent years Tanzania has enjoyed political stability and has not suffered from internal conflicts which has undermined political, social and economic development in some African countries. The Government of Tanzania has intensified macro-economic policy reforms with the aim of creating a more stable macro-economic environment. These reforms are being pursued with the understanding that such stability is necessary to achieve sustained growth, which is required to reduce the pervasive poverty and corruption in the country.

There is a structural link between corruption and poverty. The causes of corruption are many and complex and may include one or a combination of economic, bureaucratic, inflexible and unprofessional monitoring, control and auditing by officials, poor incentive/motivation packages, quality of political life in the country, level of democracy and limited and inadequate basic service delivery etc. Levels of corruption in the country vary in volume, intensity, frequency and individuals who engage in the pandemic and cancerous practice. The nation incurs enormous losses as a result of some individuals engaging in various forms of corruption. There are various types of corruption existing in the country. These include: grand corruption and petty corruption and these may manifest themselves in other forms such as grafting, patronage, sexual abuse etc. The current Third Phase Government of President Benjamin Mkapa (since 1995) has shown great and serious determination to consolidate democratization process at all fronts including decentralization by devolution in

order to empower the ordinary citizens to be the masters of their own social and economic development, thus a reliable and committed army against all forms of corruption. It is worth stressing that Government efforts since 1995 have begun to bear fruits. The IT Perception Index has improved from 1.9 in 1998 to 2.7 in 2002. There is a clear positive trend of improvement since the publication of the celebrated Warioba Report. However corruption is still a serious and pandemic problem in the country. All the pillars of the state are in one way or another affected by the pandemic and cancerous problem. The Government is leading the way by deliberately enacting tough laws against corruption, revisiting various administrative directives, circulars and procedures to ensure real and potential loopholes are sealed. Advocacy and civic education programmes are being intensified. Nevertheless the Government alone cannot win the anti-corruption war. Given the nature, complexity and secrecy in which corruption takes place, the whole society has to rise up against the evil. Thus the private sector, civil society and individuals have an important and pivotal role to play to augment the on-going Government efforts to fight corruption. Undoubtedly, limited resources continue to threaten even the modest achievements Tanzania has registered in this field. These include finances, equipment, infrastructure, trained manpower etc. Equally important is the necessity to build and maintain a qualitatively different mindset among the leaders and the people to recognize the extent, complexity and seriousness of corruption in the country for its survival, security and prosperity as a nation. This cancerous problem can erode the social fabric of the nation if it is not arrested. In this war, Tanzania needs the support and goodwill of people and institutions not only from within but also from overseas who/can enhance the Government effort in capacity development

at all levels and at all fronts to reduce the existence of corruption in the country.

1.2 Corruption Profile in Tanzania

The following section provides a detailed description of the types and forms of corruption which currently exist, and focuses on causes, levels, costs, types and the overall impact of change (such as the on-going democratization and decentralization by devolution) on levels of corruption in the country. The causes of corruption are many, complex and at times may include simple human greed, immoral and un-ethical social behaviour, individuals who lack human and political integrity inadequate service delivery etc. The following are some of the causes of corruption in Tanzania.

First, **economic factors**:- For instance some economic policies in Tanzania have contributed to a number of distortions especially in late 1970s and early 1980s which, may have intensified corruption. The enactment of the Economic and Organized Crimes Control Act of 1984 which replaced the 1983 Economic Sabotage Act has its background in this cause, since rigid restrictions on trade can be a subject of abuse. e.g centralisation of the economy through nationalizations meant that the few powerful elites had the monopoly on the allocation of resources and in this situation corruption was inevitable. Second, **bureaucratic causes**:- For example, red tape and rigid rules and regulations imposed by central and local government contributed to increased corruption. Public officials became tempted to subvert them or rather be pressurized into subverting them for individual or group gain despite the fact that such acts are illegal, immoral and unprofessional. For instance one would not easily get a plot to build in Dar es Salaam unless one “oiled” the hands of some bureaucrats. Third, **inflexible and unprofessional monitoring, control and auditing by officials**

induce corrupt practices. For instance auditors would demand “KK” [Kitu Kidogo] “**something small**” in order not to take a particular official to court for having not balanced the books. Fourth, **social attitude**:- The tendency of having big and strong extended family or tribal ties has the potential to increase the opportunities and pressure for nepotism and favouratism or simply to look for additional income to assist them with basic needs. For instance relatives coming to town to stay (without a job) with a relative whose income is not enough to feed everybody in the house. Fifth, **ethical practice** intended to have clean and strict professional public officials who turn into beggars after retirement may have contributed to increased corruption. For example, it is claimed that those who choose not to engage in corruption retire with nothing except poverty and the Government retirement benefits are still very low and at times, uncertain. Sixth, **legal, regulatory and compliance framework** which have not become strong enough to fight corruption given that those who engage in corrupt practices are increasingly becoming more subtle and sophisticated. For example it is increasingly becoming difficult to get concrete evidence in order to effectively prosecute an alleged corrupt official. Seventh, **political factors**:- The linkage between corruption levels and the quality of political life in Tanzania is one of the causes of corruption due to fragile nature of civil society and private sector. For instance it is only recently that we begin hearing of some civil society groups shouting against corruption. Eighth, **natural resource endowment** such as precious minerals, oil, wildlife, forestry etc could contribute to increased corruption domestically and internationally, especially grand corruption. For instance it is claimed by some people that corruption is involved in the allocation of mining plots in Mererani where Tanzanite is found (and nowhere else in the world) Ninth, a **materialistic conception of success where power, money and**

status ostensibly play a leading role in the society. e.g some members of the public feel that those who engage in corruption live “better” with conspicuous pattern of consumption. Tenth, **simple human greed** due to lack of integrity and ethical nurturing and civic education among other factors, contributes to increased corruption. Low civic competence implies that there are fewer whistle blowers against corruption. Eleventh, **procurement and tendering system** could be violated by some unscrupulous individuals despite the existing tough regulatory framework.

Levels of corruption in the country vary in volume, intensity, frequency and the individuals who engage in the evil practice. The three pillars of Government – Executive, Judiciary and Legislature – are affected in one way or another and at various levels of each pillar. According to Warioba Commission [1999] each pillar tends to blame the other regarding the existence of the evil practice and how best to reduce the problem. Likewise, corruption exists at local government level and at the sub-municipal/district levels as well. Individual officials engage in the malpractice using subtle and at times, complex and sophisticated means to accomplish their misdeeds e.g. at primary courts, health centres etc. Unnecessary delays in locating a file or seeing a medical attendant may induce corruption. Given limited service delivery especially in the rural areas, some individual service providers take the opportunity to demand or induce illegal payment from those who demand and deserve such services. The main theme of President Mkapa’s campaign in the first multi-party elections in 1995 was his own determination, that of his party (CCM), and the whole Government to fight this evil pandemic in the country. Immediately after taking the reins of power, the President formed the now celebrated Warioba Commission in 1996 to look into the main causes, sources and loopholes of all forms of corruption and suggest effective means to

fight the pandemic evil. The main findings of the Commission included the following. First, the level of corruption had reached the pandemic level and that nearly every aspect/sector of the social fabric is affected. Both public and private institutions have become victims of the evil deed. Second, both grand and petty corruption exist in varying levels in the country. Third, some people had lost hope in the sense that they did not believe that they would get services they deserve without giving **“KK” “Kitu Kidogo”** [literally means paying for a service which they are supposed to be given free]. Fourth, the general poverty of the country has also paved the way for increased corruption. Given poor and inadequate public services e.g. education, health, water, electricity building plots etc. some people who were trusted with power and decision on these crucial pro-poor sectors were either engaged in corrupt practices, or were simply perceived to be corrupt, or both. Fifth, endemic and persistent corruption intensified poverty, eroded many of the efforts towards building good governance and made some people lose hope and faith in themselves and in their Government. There is evidence of individual service providers demanding bribes in order to speed up provision of e.g. electricity, getting a plot to build, securing employment, transfer or refusing transfer to another place, securing training opportunities inside and/or outside the country etc.

It is important to note that corrupt practices involve more than money, they also involve sexual abuse and harassment and loss of human dignity. Some citizens see corruption as an entrenched culture, thus when one wants to get a service one deserves, one looks for the way to **“oil”** the individual/system. [Warioba Commission 1996]. The nation incurs enormous losses as a result of some individuals engaging in various forms of corruption. It is not easy to provide exact figures but basing on Auditor General’s Report of 2001/2002 one would be safe to say the costs

may run into billions of Tanzanian shillings. These resources deny the innocent citizens the opportunity to get better social services e.g. clean and safe water, quality education and medicare, roads, clean environment, easy access to fair justice etc. As a consequence of all this the Government efforts to fight poverty become diluted while the majority continue to suffer at the expense of the few unscrupulous individuals who engage in this unlawful activity. Apart from the financial loss, there are also enormous psychological, political and social costs that the Government and innocent citizens have to suffer in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

Below are examples of some financial and political costs the nation suffers as a result of individuals who are indulging in various types of corruption (not in any order of priority): First, citizens may completely lose faith in their leadership and the leadership itself may be locked in endless wrangles. Government's legitimacy may be eroded. For instance despite Government efforts to fight corruption, there are some people who do not take the Government seriously on the matter. Second, social cohesion may be shaken in the country due to an increased gap between the **haves and have nots** which leads to increase in mass poverty, despair and even social agitation. Thus public insecurity and political instability may increase. Increasingly, we witness urban violence and armed robberies e.g. of banks and even bars particularly in Mwanza, Dar es Salaam and Arusha which took place recently. Third, inadequate resources and social services may hinder Government attainment of good governance and improved service delivery. Inadequate resources and service delivery force some people to engage in corruption by not following the laid down procedures e.g. school enrolment, admission to clinics and hospitals etc. Fourth, rise in administrative costs which in turn may force the government to increase taxes while provision of

service delivery remains poor. This has social and political implication to the country. It is still claimed that some Government offices have more labour force than is necessary. Fifth, erosion of courage and resolve to adhere to high standard of probity. It is argued that those who adhere to high standard of probity are **atypical!** Sixth, loss in overall productivity as more time and energy are devoted to ripping off the government system rather than enhancing its objectives in serving the public and fighting poverty. Annual reports of the Auditor General and Controller indicate millions of T.shillings remain un-accounted for and culprits are yet to be booked [URT, 2002]. Seventh, all these could lead to a mockery of the country's judicial system since those who are corrupt do buy justice and in some cases decisions are weighed in purely monetary terms rather than human values and respect. This claim is more rampant at the lower courts i.e primary courts. Eighth, environmental degradation due to pollution which results in various projects not being in line with Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and the just assented NEMC Act (2004). This has resulted into becoming a barrier to development due to unpopular decisions made and their side effects are enormous. It is claimed that the Leather factory at Kibaha is a cause of concern in the neighbourhood due to the terrible smell coming out of the factory. Before the Procurement Act, 2001 there were a lot of loopholes in the Government procurement system. It is claimed that over-invoicing and under-invoicing were common. For instance shoddy work on the road construction was attributed to corruption. Recently, it was claimed that the Dar es Salaam - Bagamoyo road had to be reworked in some sections because of the shoddy work. The Central Tender Board (CTB) was not spared either. Such anomalies were not confined to the Central Government Ministries only, the Local Government Authorities

(LGAs) were also victims of endemic, pandemic and persistent corruption. However the water tight Procurement Act (2001) has led to a lot of improvements. A number of loopholes in the procurement system have been sealed off. At the same time stiff penalties await those who will be found guilty of the violation of any aspect of the Act. Given the nature of the pandemic vice, the culprits apply various levels, types and forms of sophistication to ensure that they are not apprehended, and if they are, there is not enough concrete evidence that can stand the weight of the established law, thus they are set free because the courts of law have not been able to convict them. It should also be noted that various types of corruption involve different (and at times a variety of) types, ranging from bribes, sexual abuse and/or harassment, procurement, appointments, promotions, training, transfers etc.

It is important to appreciate that the Government is maintaining and sustaining macro-economic stability, restoring fiscal discipline, improving its capacity to provide basic service delivery and creating an institutional base for supporting a transition to a market led economy and greater participation by the private sector and civil society. The Government has reviewed various laws, regulations and directives in order to provide an enabling and conducive environment for private sector and civil society to participate in the economy. These reforms are pursued with the understanding that such stability is necessary to achieve sustained growth, which is required to reduce the pervasive poverty in the country, a phenomenon that is likely to impinge on the Government efforts to sustain democratization and decentralization by devolution. For the purpose of giving a general overview of anti-corruption struggle, we may point out key and strategic ingredients in the on-going war against corruption in the country. In brief the Government efforts since 1995 have begun to

bear fruits as it is demonstrated below:- The IT perception index has improved from 1.9 in 1998 to 2.7 in 2002. There is a clear positive trend of improvement since the Warioba Report was published. The findings of the current Report have indicated that the level of corruption has declined some what between 1996 and 2002 with some variations among sectors [ESRF/FACEIT, 2002: 123]. Second, the institutional ground work and framework for fighting corruption in the country have been put in place, to a large extent. For instance, various anti-corruption laws and regulations are now in place. Civic education is being intensified in order to enhance civic competence and participation in anti-corruption struggle. These institutional changes are consistent with reducing monopoly, reducing discretion and enhancing transparency and accountability at all levels. However, more needs to be done in order to achieve more significant results on the ground. There is still a lot to be done by the Government, private sector, civil society and individuals in order to coordinate and intensify the fight against corruption [ibid].

Third, although corruption is still a serious problem, there are clear positive developments, which have taken place since 1995 that offer good prospects for effectively combating corruption in Tanzania. For instance, unlike the pre 1995 situation, now the public are more open and forceful in discussing corruption in the workshops and in the media. In addition the media-print and electronic-carry regular feature articles and people's letters regarding the scourge have shown that general public awareness of corruption has increased since 1996. Many people are now aware of the political, social and economic negative effects of corruption in the society. Many realize it is a high risk adventure. In view of these encouraging developments the public can now be more easily mobilized to fight corruption. Greater efforts need to be directed

to mobilizing citizens to participate more effectively in the fight against corruption. Fourth, the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) has recorded an increase in the number of reported corruption incidences from 432 cases in 1998 to 1461 cases as of December 2000. These include reports from government departments, parastatals, political parties, institutions and the private sector. Until March 2001 there were (three) convictions against 91 acquittal and eleven withdrawals. The rise in reported cases is a clear evidence of the rise in public confidence and cooperation in the fight against corruption. Fifth, in Tanzania Revenue's Authority, the problem of corruption has been addressed widely, for instance, TRA's Act has been strengthened to plug any loopholes. Modern equipment and infrastructure have been supplied to TRA e.g. at Dar es Salaam port, mobile weighing bridges in various highway roads etc. Salaries and fringe benefits are now more attractive than ever before. Civic education to taxpayers is being intensified. TRA officials are trained to be more effective not only professionally but more humane when dealing with taxpayers. Recently, TRA management has formed a Probe Team to investigate malpractices in handling a container case in which it is alleged the Government would have lost millions of Tshs for several years and various measures have been taken from punitive to deterrent actions.

The steps taken have had a positive effect and it is no exaggeration to say that the level of corruption in the tax administration in the country has gone down appreciably since the TRA came into being in mid 1996. [Tanzania's Third Phase Government Fight Against Corruption, 1999 – 2001: 22]. Sixth, morale in the PCB has been very high. For example, an intensive investigation was carried out in the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements following a tip of organized criminal syndicate between

some land officers and a prominent businessman in the city who almost turned the Land Department into his own property. This said prominent businessman was taken to court, charged with bribing land officers in exchange for stolen city prime areas and land title deeds from the Ministry which he then sold to different businessmen. [Tanzania's Third Phase Governance Fight against Corruption, 1995 - 1999: 33].

Although the war against corruption has yet to be won, steady efforts and political commitment from the highest level are showing positive results. The Government has taken various measures to ensure that the Executive delivers quality services, is more transparent and accountable to the citizens. These include the following: First, the Government formed an independent Human Rights and Good Governance Commission to provide citizens with a legal and less bureaucratic institution where citizens can lodge complaints and solutions can be found first out of court, and where necessary in the court of law. The Commission is headed by a High Court Judge. Some people, particularly in the urban areas have begun utilizing the services provided by the institution. Parliament has also amended the Public Leadership Code of Ethics Act in February 2001 to empower the Secretariat to handle complaints of abuse by leadership at various levels.

It is important to emphasize that every Ministry, department, directorate or executive agency has been directed by the President's Office [Good Governance] to prepare and execute their own anti-corruption plans e.g. Manyara Region using the national guidelines but taking their concrete situation into consideration. Regions and districts are doing the same. Some modest results are visible e.g. it is increasingly becoming common now to hear from members of the public accusing some officials of creating an environment that stinks corruption. This was hardly the case a few

years ago. In addition each Ministry, department, directorate, region, district or executive agency produces a quarterly report on the status of corruption in their respective areas and these are compiled into one comprehensive report which is discussed in Parliament and made public. Maybe the next step is for the public to have more courage to come out in the open in greater numbers and reject demands for corruption from any public official.

2.0 The Conceptual Framework

2.1 Conceptual understanding

“Our country has witnessed an alarming increase in corruption activities which are associated with public servants on the one hand and the citizens who are the consumers of public service on the other. Corruption has been accentuated by loopholes which are inherent in the procedures, temptations, greed for power and profit, low wages and erosion of ethical standards. Moreover, state organs which are expected to prevent this increase have succumbed to this disease and therefore have left the people helpless”

– Warioba Report, 1996.

Corruption is one of the most written about topics (Hope 1997). Academics and Researchers have documented different aspects of this social, cancerous and pandemic vice, including its nature, extent, causes and cancerous. However most previous efforts to diagnose the factors accounting for its genesis and persistence, and to prescribe solutions to it have not succeeded to present a holistic approach that integrates its internal and external contexts and focuses on the totality of participants i.e givers as well as receivers and those who tolerate it. These have tended to emphasize the internal causes of corruption and to treat the receiver as the one who is corrupt. There are four justifications for the adoption of a holistic approach to the origins and subsequent

mushrooming of corruption in African countries Southern of Sahara in general and Tanzania in particular. First, it enables us to understand the pandemic vice in its historical totality by tracing it from the pre-colonial to the present epoch of post colonial state and globalization and all its inevitable implications. It is important to emphasize the legacy of colonialism as having played a major role in facilitating the perpetuation of corrupt practices.

Second, a holistic approach provides a more encompassing analysis of the vice by integrating both its internal and external causes. The third significance of a more wholistic approach to the corruption pandemic is that it treats the practice as an exchange relationship characterized by two equally guilty parties, giver and taker. Previous discussions about the subject appear to overly treat the receivers of kick-backs as the ones who are corrupt. In our view both the giver and the receiver engage in a corrupt exchange, that is both illegal and immoral. The final significance of a wholistic approach is the implications it has for the alleviation of the problem itself. Corruption is conceptualized as embedded in societal, economic and power relations. However, many of the anti-corruption efforts are part of liberal reforms that are based on the assumption that corruption is an individual act or personal misuse of public office for private gain. These liberal reforms are of limited value because they fail to take into account much of the dynamics that support corruption in Tanzania. [Human Rights Policy, 2004:3]. It is worthwhile acknowledging that corruption can occur within two different types of social, political and economic milieu. The first is a situation where individuals misuse public office for personal gain. This type of corruption takes place in a modern, rational, weberian bureaucratic system, where there is a clear division between public and private life. Societal norms support bureaucratic procedures that emphasize equal treatment based on

the unbiased application of laws. [Bloemberg, (2004): 7]. It is emphasized that corrupt behavior violates bureaucratic procedures, organizational norms, laws, rules, regulations and larger societal expectations for the appropriate behavior of its public officials. With the second situation the problem is not rogue individuals but, rather a system where corruption is embedded in society. [Ward, (2002): 7].

In this situation, corruption is institutionalized and becomes the norm rather than the exception. It is argued that the Tanzania situation fits the criteria of systemic corruption. Corruption has become part and parcel of daily life and is, contrary to the law, tolerated, accepted and institutionalized to the extent that both people who give and engage in corruption seem to have socialized and internalized the illegal behaviour. Some people hold the view that the country's efforts to combat corruption are built on an atomized, individualistic, legalistic definition of corruption that focuses on the misuse of public office for personal gain. However this view captures only part of what corruption is all about. Indeed legalistic rational bureaucratic conceptions do not take into account the analytic reality of corruption as a political, economic and social process that often has strong support from within the social networks to which a public servant belongs. Therefore, by ignoring this reality, legalistic solutions based on mere institutional changes and stricter compliance of laws and rules alone are unlikely to effectively contain the widespread and systemic abuse of office supported by social networks in and outside the formal structures and institutions. [Knack and Keefer 1995]. In our view, if legal and institutional reforms are not applied in tandem with fundamental societal transformation that alter power relations and raise civic competence at local level in dealing with the pandemic, then the prospects of making significant

inroads into reducing corruption will remain both remote, ad hoc, unsatisfactory and frustrating [Ngware (2004) 103]. In societies with systemic corruption, corrupt practices are embodied in existing power relations and therefore need to be analyzed in regard to their effect on the lives of people engaged in their daily struggle for social, economic and political existence. It is also argued that corruption in a situation of extreme poverty, the state in general and LGAs in particular becomes something like a welfare mechanism for those civil servants who can access resources, power and authority at the expense of the larger society.[Ngware, *ibid*]. While most accounts of systemic corruption emphasize the plundering of state and LGA resources by its functionaries, it should also be recognized that officials use their positions in the state and LGAs to extract resources directly from local communities, which in turn, make them poorer and even more prone to corruption.

While, no doubt, some of the gains from corrupt activities are for the personal benefit of individual public officials, these resources also feed social support networks based on patronage ties, religious affiliation etc. which in turn, unfortunately, continue to intensify it. For many public officials the obligations to these over bearing social support networks outweigh any sense of moral, ethical and professional responsibility to utilize public resources for a larger community good. Indeed membership in these patronage works, fueled by material shortages and economic hardship, force civil officials to disregard the notion of a public/private boundary line that makes possible the efficient performance of duties in western weberian bureaucracies. In brief, some civil servants are under pressure to abide by an alternative moral code that stresses their social obligations to family friends, cohorts, and clients. While liberal solutions do not account for the

context and embedded corruption, they should not however be disregarded. The behavior transcends acts such as the use of public authority, office or official position with the deliberate intent of extracting personal and/or private monetary rewards or other undue privileges at the expense of public good and in gross violation of established rules and ethical considerations. (UNO, 1990). It also includes theft, embezzling of public funds, sexual favours, abuse of state/LGA property, nepotism and/or granting of favours to personal acquaintances. The corrupt comprise both petty and major offenders. It is worth emphasizing that corruption dehumanizes both the giver and the taker and increases inefficiency and injustice. Indeed it undermines political institutions by weakening the legitimacy and accountability of both central and Local Government. (Johns 1998). Corruption also erodes economic growth and impairs economic efficiency. This occurs through the stifling of local initiative, creativity and confidence (Hope 1997).

The evil practice also breeds wastage, aggravates LGA budget deficit problems that should be available for infrastructure, public services and anti-poverty programs and serves as a heavy tax upon investors. It should be emphasized that corruption flourishes where state and LGAs guarantees of basic social, political and economic rights are weak. (Knack/Keeber 1995). Conventionally, corruption has been fought through the use of penal statutes. However, regulatory framework alone has not proved to be an effective solution anywhere in the world. Corruption has been increasing because, among others, many people are not aware of their basic rights. It is in this context that any long term anti-corruption strategy should incorporate civic engagement and empowerment of the ordinary citizens in addition to a tough and effective complied with legal and regulatory framework. Corruption

is rampant in the LGAs for lack of a leadership committed to its eradication.

“It has become evident that the greatest source of corruption in the country is not the poor economy and low salaries; although these too have played some part. The greatest source is the laxity of leadership in overseeing the implementation of established norms”

[Warioba Report, 1996:9]

The qualities for leadership derive their legitimacy from the procedures used to find the leaders as well as the principles governing the management of those procedures as evidenced by the last year's grassroots elections. It should be emphasized that leadership is a trust that is bestowed on an individual by the people who are ultimately sovereign.

The number of plots which are surveyed every year has been decreasing because of budgetary limitations on the amounts set aside for the surveying plots. As a result applications for plots have been more than the number of plots being surveyed which has resulted in people giving bribes in order to be allocated plots. The enormous economic problems which befell Tanzania in the early 1970s forced the Government to take various political, legal and economic measures to combat the pandemic. These measures coupled with the cost of living surging upwards without a corresponding increase in the incomes of public servants forced them to “invent strategies” for raising extra income in order to make ends meet, most of which were illegal, immoral and unprofessional. The working environment of LGA employees has a functional relationship with the productivity of an employee. The environmental considerations include the working place, working tools, remunerations and human relations. Needless to say the

situation in LGA is more than pathetic. PCB (2003) “**Takrima**” during the last grassroots elections involved provision of tea, “**pilau**” and local brew by candidates through their chosen supporters. Campaigns were not transparent, relevant election laws, rules and regulations were hardly known by the candidates and those who knew them, tried to circumvent them. Takrima involved: giving money, food, khanga etc. Many people agree over 90% [consistent with PCB study], that Takrima promotes corruption. House to house campaigning is in most cases engulfed with corruption. [Ngware 2004 to PCB]. LGAs deliver a range of services that directly influence the quality of life of most people and the quality, range and adequacy of such services may induce corruption.

One the other hand reforms can entrench the powers of local elites; weaken national institutions, exacerbate social division and even provoke violence, deepen inequality and cause regression of social and economic rights because of corruption, shortfalls in resources or discrimination and loss of economies of scale and abuse of human rights. It is emphasized that the human rights framework is designed to increase the accountability of LGAs. The framework emphasizes accountability, transparency, participation, equity and non-discrimination at local level. It is important to note that good governance includes the following elements: - rule of law, competitive, democratic periodic elections, transparency, an active civil society and respect for human rights and accountable individuals/institutions which recognize people’s supremacy. What can a conscientious local government do to ensure transparency? Key to above is the existence of a variety of independent perspectives on the issues, or checks and balances. However none of them are fool-proof or perhaps corruption proof. They are not sufficient conditions, but they are necessary ones. First, is the

existence of the opposition in the local arena which is very weak or non-existent in most parts of rural Tanzania. A second is the active role of independent local media in generating and disseminating information. “Independent” is the key word here, because even though such media may be formally independent, they are often dependent upon the information given to them by local government. However the reality in Tanzania is that the information flow in particular and media in general is very weak or non-existent in most rural Tanzania. [Ngware, *ibid*].

A third necessary element are independent CSOs, and CBOs and NGOs and all effective monitoring organs. These are now gradually emerging but are still rare in some parts of rural Tanzania. Local governments can meet the expectations of their citizens. But they are only likely to do so effectively and efficiently if they make a deliberate concerted effort to identify those priority areas and respond to them accordingly. However key governance issues must be improved e.g. on transparency: Some local governments try hard to be more transparent, but majority sidestep or plainly contravene rules of transparency that central government have introduced. In our view, where local government officials do strive to be transparent, it is because of selfishness to serve their personal interests more than the dictates of political environment and/or regulation. The problem is compounded by the fact that in most cases, civil society is fragile (particularly in the rural areas) and ill equipped to monitor local officials or call them to account on the basis of sound and objective information. For instance, the lack of human rights norms accompanied by the absence of transparency in the conduct of local affairs suggests that huge problems lie ahead including the intensification of corruption and corrupt practices. Some of the most successful cases of local government occur when ordinary citizens show a

high level of commitment to and pride in their community and its services and are in the driver's seat. This is often linked to the political will and skill of local political leaders and technical staff. But it is also rooted in a deeper culture of popular participation in civic affairs which is just gradually emerging in Tanzania. This is a more effective weapon against corruption. There is need to strengthening the public's resolve to resist corruption, by encouraging the engagement of civil society, and fostering groups of concerned citizens to stand up against corrupt practices and those who engage in it. [ESRF/FACET (2002)]. One problem in our view, is that people in this country still see corruption from a personal perspective, based on personal experience rather than as a systemic and development – hindering problem and a heavy high risk adventure. Corruption in local government has wide ranging effects on political and social life of a society. Politically, for example, corruption undermines democracy and good governance by subverting formal processes such as set regulations and rules needed to ensure compliance by all in society. It also undermines any efforts to build the capacity for efficient public service delivery and mechanism of sustenance. In this way corruption undermines the legitimacy of LGA system and such democratic values as trust and tolerance which finally contributed to increased corruption in the country.

Since the Warioba Report, corruption is still prevalent in the country's LGAs. However the level of corruption has reportedly declined in the delivery of education services, land allocations, revenue collection, human resource management and procurement. However corruption is now carried out more secretly than in the 1990s.

2.2 Study Objectives

The study objectives include the following: First, to find out the areas of Local Government system that are most prone to corruption. Second, to investigate whether the rules, regulations and disclosure provisions at national level also existed at the LGA level. Third, to find out the nature, extent, causes and consequences of corruption in the Local Government system. Fourth to investigate whether there are citizens' groups campaigning against corruption and how effective they are. Fifth, the study aimed at finding out whether corrupt practices are influenced by one's origin or position in society. Last but not least, the study aimed at finding out why the national prescribed solutions to fight corruption have so far not succeeded to bring corruption at a controlled level within LGA and what should be done to fight the evil.

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Conceptual Framework

Research method is the attribute which distinguishes research activity from mere observation and speculation [Shulman, 1981:5]. Major controversies in research on governance issues frequently focus on problems of identifying the appropriate research method. When one speaks of research, one normally speaks of a family of methods which share the characteristics of scientific disciplined inquire. Regardless of one's perspective on research methods, scholars tend to agree that there are two main approaches to any scientific inquiry: "Quantitative" and "Qualitative" methods. Within each method there are numerous sub-divisions. There is a traditional controversy among researchers on which approach is better, more scientific than the other. It is emphasized that this study is neither about the controversy nor does it attempt to resolve it. Rather, the purpose of this section is

to provide a conceptual understanding and a framework of the choice of the method used in this study.

In this study the researcher mainly used, for lack of a better term, “qualitative” methods for data collection. The philosophical roots of qualitative methods emphasize the importance and relevance of understanding the meaning of human behaviour and the social, cultural, economic and political context of the problem or issue being investigated [Patton, 1987:20]. According to Kirk and Miler [1986, 12-13] qualitative research is a sociological and anthropological tradition of scientific inquiry. More critically, the method involves sustained interaction with the people being studied in their own social, cultural, economic and political setting.

The qualitative approach was used to search for themes, such-themes or patterns which exist and are dominant in the realm of corruption in the country. The qualitative researcher is interested in understanding how a respondent views a situation or a problem under investigation. Generally, the approach seeks to get at the “meaning” of things, situation or problem as understood, experienced and constructed by the respondents themselves; it is therefore focused on the content of knowledge, experience, the words, feelings viewpoints, thoughts and attitudes of the subjects [Patton, 1980:302]. It should be emphasized that the qualitative perspective in no way suggests that quantative methods are less effective or irrelevant. On the contrary, it merely specifies that it is crucial [and indeed a deliberate choice/decision] to try to picture the social world as it actually existed to those under study, rather than as a the researcher imagined it [Filstead, 1970:4]. Therefore such data collection instruments like in –indepth open-ended interviewing, Focus Group Discussions [FGDs], critical analysis of formal/official, and informal/un-official documents were used in carrying out the study. In addition an interview guide was used in

which various sub-themes were included in order to ensure there is a comprehensive coverage of all important aspects/issues related to the investigation. [See Appendix I]

In other words the research approach chosen for the study was linked to basic philosophical questions about corruption e.g. nature, scope, causes, impact, implications, anti-corruption strategy etc. i.e. the social reality of the problem and fundamental issues about what is important to know about the pandemic evil as articulated by a diversity of people on the ground. Nevertheless it should be emphasized that there are strengths and weaknesses to any single data collection instrument and the use of more than one method allowed the researcher to combine strengths and corrected some of the deficiencies of using only one instrument or source of data. It should be noted that building checks and balances into a research design through data collection techniques was very helpful to the researcher. Several studies confirm this assertion. For example Denzin [1978:2] asserts:

“No single method adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors ... Because each technique reveals different aspects of empirical reality, ... multiple methods ... must be employed. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation”

In the same vein Psathas [1968:10] emphatically says

“Any social scientist who insist that (s)he can understand all of man’s behavior by focusing only on part which is overt and manifested in concrete, directly observable acts is naïve to say the least”

3.2 Document Analysis

Another instrument used for data collection was an in-depth critical analysis of available documents. In the words of a Chinese proverb:

“The palest ink is clearer than best memory”

[Webb, et al 1966:11]

Available documents/records official and non-official related to the study were critically examined. They produced useful descriptive information about corruption in the country in general and in LGAs in particular. In addition they were very instrumental in cross-validating findings obtained through other instruments used in the study. They also produced descriptive information about socio-economic, cultural and political context that was directly related to the main theme of the study. As Guba and Lincoln [1983:232] correctly underlined:

“Both documents and records represent a “natural” source of information. Not only are they, in fact, an “in-context” source of information—that is, they arise from the context and exist in it but they consist of information about the context. Records show what happened in the context, and contents, and documents record a variety of other evidence about the environment and people’s perceptions of it. They are thus repositories of well grounded data on the events or situations under investigation”

It is in this context that documents/records critically examined were a stable source of information. They were analyzed and could be re-analyzed without undergoing drastic changes in the interim. They were a rich source of information, contextually relevant and were grounded in the contexts represented. They were

often legally un-assailable representing the requirement of accountability. However like any other research technique the use of documents and records posed some problems. Historically they have been attacked as possibly unrepresentative, as lacking objectivity, as of unknown validity and of deliberately deceiving [Allport, 1942]. But these objections were not as serious as might at first be imagined, particularly in a study like this one in which the researcher used a multiplicity of data collection instruments. After all, the possibility of deception and absence of objectivity, reliability and validity exists in any data source and must always be considered [Lincoln and Guba, 1985:20]

3.3 Data Analysis

It is a known fact that one of the characteristics of qualitative research is the production of a large amount of data. It is in this respect that the process of organizing and systematizing the data becomes very crucial. Patton [1980; p. 299] stressed that: **“... there is no right way to go about organizing, analyzing and interpreting qualitative data”**. Some procedures, however, are commonly used in this process. Michael Patton [1980] mentioned a series of steps required, namely:

- (a) Going over notes,
- (b) Organizing the data,
- (c) Looking for patterns and themes,
- (d) Checking emergent patterns against the data,
- (e) Cross validating data sources and findings,
- (f) Making linkages among various parts of the data and emergent dimensions of the analysis [Patton, 1980, 297].

When the above procedures were completed, the researcher stated the detailed process of analysis. This involved the following:

First, interview notes were read, analyzed and annotated. Second, elements, themes and patterns concerning the research objectives

and the framework dimension were sorted out and closely examined. Third, the consistency of the salient elements was studied and the amount of variation within each feature, pattern or theme was critically examined. The data obtained through intensive open-ended interviewing, FGDs and document/record analysis were used to cross validate findings, patterns and conclusions [Patton, 1980, 305]. Then categories were formulated for each research objective. In brief the data collected from interviews, FGDs and document analysis were categorized into themes, sub-themes or patterns as they reflected the research objectives/questions. These themes and sub-themes are clearly brought out in Chapter Four on findings of the study.

3.4 Study Sample

The study was carried out in five LGAs in Mainland Tanzania. These were Babati Town Council [Manyara Region], Dodoma Municipality [Dodoma Region], Kinondoni Municipality [Dar es Salaam Region], Mbeya Municipality [Mbeya Region] and Tanga Municipality [Tanga Region]. A total of 16 wards were covered and 111 people interviewed. The details are shown in Table I below:

Table 1: Study Sample

S/N	Name of the Local Government Authority	Wards	Number of Respondents		Total
			Females(F)	Males(M)	
1.	Babati Town Council	- Bonga - Gallapo - Babati Town	4	18	22
2.	Dodoma Municipality	- Majengo - Chadulu	8	17	25
3.	Kinondoni Municipality	- Mlalakuwa - Mbweni - Ubungo	3	11	14
4.	Mbeya Municipality	- Igawilo - Mabatini - Forest Ward	7	16	23
5.	Tanga Municipality	- Ngamiani-Kaskazini - Kiomoni - Majengo - Ngamiani-Kusini - Central Ward	14	13	27
	Total		36	75	111

Source: Field Work, 2005

In addition some NGOs and CBOs were also included in the study in order to ensure we get a variety and diversity of viewpoints regarding corruption in LGAs. These are shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Study Sample of NGOs and CBOs

S/N	Name of Local Government Authority	Number of NGOs/CBOs
1.	Babati Town Councility	1
2.	Dodoma Municipality	2
3.	Kinondoni Municipality	2
4.	Mbeya Municipality	6
5.	Tanga Municipality	3
	Total	14

Source: Field Work, 2005

4.0 Major Findings of the Study

4.1 What is your comment on corruption in your area? Also; What circumstances may force you to engage in corrupt cases?

Every respondent mentioned that corruption existed in his/her area, the only difference was in the degree of magnitude. However respondents stated that it was difficult to provide direct and concrete evidence on existence of corrupt acts/persons because they are performed in great secrecy. In addition whistle-blowers fear retribution from the rich and powerful in society. The study findings indicate that corruption is perceived, defined and its implications and consequences viewed differently by different categories of people depending on their position, class interests, level of education and whether or not they were gaining or losing from corrupt practices. Some respondents from PCB and civil society groups perceived corruption in this way:

“... corruption is breaking of law, order and all the norms of a humane civilized society ... and is indeed abusing of the country’s constitution, laws and regulations for individual/private gain at the expense of the larger society”

[Our Translation]

Most respondents from the sampled LGAs viewed corruption invariably in this way:

“...as oppression and exploitation of people’s rights and wealth”

[Our Translation]

Box 1: Lavish civil servants alarm MPs

*Members of Parliament yesterday asked the Public Leaders Ethics Secretariat to conduct a probe on top public officials who have lavishly upgraded residential houses they bought from the government by using funds suspected to have been ill-gotten. Some legislators who took part in a debate on code of ethics and conduct of the public service held here yesterday said they have reasons to believe that some houses have been lavishly renovated by using **dirty money**. The secretariat, which is charged with Monitoring of Public Leaders and Abuse of Power Accountability and Transparency, has promised to work on the suggestion once furnished with evidence.*

Daily News, Monday February 7, 2005 [our emphasis]

Yet one LGA official in Babati Town Council dramatized corruption in this way:

“Corruption is like HIV/AIDS. In the beginning when the message spread about it was intended to scare people, most of them pretended to be hypocritical about their behaviours instead of being open. As a result the spread of HIV/AIDS grew in alarming rates. But now as the approach changed to more education, people have become more open, recognized the problem and there is some success in combating the pandemic.

That is similar to corruption and anti-corruption war”

[Our Translation]

Box 2: TAMISEMI research on corruption promising

The President’ Office (Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government) in collaboration with district councils, Dar es Salaam Zone is planning to collect views from the people on the magnitude of the corruption problem in the area. Report have it that the views to be collected right from ten-house cell leadership to the district level would provide a picture or graph on the extent of the vice and maybe come out with suggestions on how best to tame the vice.

The Guardian, Monday, February 28, 2005

However some respondents from the grassroots and some public service providers viewed corruption in terms of inadequate, inefficient service delivery and unresponsive behavior of some staff providing services to the public e.g. in primary courts, dispensaries, primary schools, pension offices, trade offices etc: This is how one respondent in Babati Town Council put it:

“... when searching for public service ... we are instructed to “come tomorrow”, which in reality means giving KK – Kitu Kidogo – “something” to the official and you either get what you want immediately or the process becomes slower and more frustrating”

[Our Translation]

Box 3: Fighting corruption an uphill task

*Corruption has been described as a major problem in the country that causes headaches to leaders and its solution is baffling political and religious leaders as well. Fighting corruption deep-rooted in society is an uphill task, which requires political will, for mere rhetoric would not eliminate it. In his book, Yusufu Makamba, the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner, **How the Holy Quran, the Hadith of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and Holy Bible**, says the meaning of corruption is wider than not just using one's position and responsibility for amassing wealth. He says high level of corruption continue to persist in the country despite various efforts made to fight the phenomenon. According to him he views corruption as lack of ideals and good conduct in society.*

Sunday Observer, March 27, 2005

Generally, there were mixed feelings regarding traditional hospitality – TAKRIMA. One LGA official in Tanga Municipality had this to say:

“... TAKRIMA ... may or may not be an act of corruption depending on what such act of hospitality means, its purpose and how it is viewed, organized and when it is organized. If Takrima takes place before the service or event, it implies some attempt to influence a decision to win certain favours, and in this way, it is definitely corruption, not thanks giving”

[Our Translation]

Box 4: Takrima inakwaza demokrasia – Tendwa

Msajili wa vyama vya siasa nchini, John Tendwa amesema, takrima ni kikwazo cha ukuaji wa demokrasia ndani ya vyama vya siasa. Akizungumza na MTANZANIA Jumapili ofisini kwake wiki hii, Tendwa alisema, takrima ni miongoni vya vitisho dhidi ya juhudi za ujenzi wa demokrasia ndani na nje ya vyama vya siasa.

Mtanzania Jumapili, Februari 27, 2005

Yet other respondents were more crystal clear and categorical on TAKRIMA as pure corruption practiced by the rich and powerful in society. It is legalized corruption. This is how one citizen in Dodoma Municipality puts it:

Box 5: CCM to disqualify corrupt aspirants

Chama cha Mapinduzi has said it is seriously considering all allegations of unethical behaviour being presented to various party organs against presidential aspirants. CCM Secretary General Philip Mangula said in an exclusive interview that where necessary, the party will use even circumstantial evidence to act on culprits. Mangula noted that in 2000, the party nullified the nomination of four parliamentary aspirants after circumstantial evidence emerged linking the contenders with unethical behaviour.

The Citizen

“... if Takrima is a form of traditional African hospitality... why did our Government take the trouble to take it to Parliament and make it a law? Who provides this so called Takrima? To whom? Why? What was missing when this Act was not in place? It is embarrassing for our Government to allow the existence of this Act... it should be abolished henceforth since it makes the fight against corruption very difficult indeed”

[Our Translation]

Box 6: Of ‘Takrima’, electoral graft and ‘kautaratibu’

Honestly speaking, The Tanzania Law Reform Commission (TLRC) does not like itself. It is recommending the scrapping of a clause in the National Election’s Act legalizing traditional hospitality (takrima). It says the provision provides for loopholes for corrupt practices during elections. Since when the ‘loophole probability’ has been news. It has never been news at all. All along we knew Takrima as a ‘coded’ word that not only provided room for corruption, but also the word itself meant corruption. Electoral graft, that is.

Sunday News, January, 30, 2005

The findings further revealed that respondents from different social groups had different understanding of what is corruption. That was true of respondents from grassroots/ community level as well as those holding various service delivery posts in LGAs. In their various explanations, respondents were of the view that corruption violates people's rights, exploits and oppresses them. It is against the constitution and laws of the land. Also in their views respondents admitted that corruption exists and they opposed it. However, respondents revealed that it was difficult for them to give concrete evidence of corrupt acts and persons. Although they openly gave their conceptual understanding of corruption in their environment, on the other hand, they stated that the nature of corruption itself made it difficult for them to give any concrete evidence because it was conducted secretly and in most cases the culprits are seemingly more powerful than the victims. The study findings reveal that there were various causes that induced corruption. These include some of the following: First, poor, unreliable and inadequate provision of basic service delivery to the public e.g. education, health, water, transport, necessary information to enable a person follow up an issue or solution e.g. pension, salary, salary increment, transfer, demotion, promotion, training employment, seeing a senior official etc. This is how one respondent in Babati Town Council put it:

“... I have been chasing my pension for almost three years now but in vain. Whenever I visit them I am given various excuses but they boil down to “we are working on it, come tomorrow, next week or next month”

[Our Translation]

Box 7: Corruption is a real threat

Tanzania improved its corruption record according to The Corruption Perceptions Index 2004, released earlier in the week, which ranked the country as the 56th most corrupt of 146 countries. This is encouraging, considering the fact that Tanzania recorded cleaner stance amongst the East African countries with Kenya declared 17th most corrupt nation and Uganda 39th. A total of 16 African countries were more corrupt than Tanzania. These included Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Chad, Angola, Cameroon, Niger, and the Democratic Republic of Congo among others. However, rather than focus on the countries that have been ranked more corrupt than Tanzania and rejoice in it, the focus should really be to study those countries whose records have improved tremendously towards a cleaner record. If the country is serious in its fight against corruption, which is the only way of attaining the Millennium Development Goals, in particular reducing poverty, then the battle must begin at fighting bribery at this early stage in the election campaign stage.

Sunday Citizen Dar es Salaam, 20 March, 2005

Yet one lady, a primary school teacher in Kinondoni Municipality had this complaint to make:

“I have been following up my salary adjustment and transfer allowance for sometime now but all I am being told is that either the boss is out of office or my file is misplaced. Even if you don’t want to believe it... but I tell you it stinks corruption of one form or the other”

[Our translation]

Another alleged victim of corruption in Mbeya Municipality – a female nurse – complained of harassment in this way:

“ I am being overworked unlike my male counterparts... whenever I complain I am threatened of demotion, transfer or simply nobody pays attention... what can I do while I need this job to survive... Is this not corruption?”

[Our translation]

Box 8: Vigogo wanne kizimbani kwa kuhujumu uchumi

Wao wanashitakiwa kwa pamoja kwa makosa 12, miongoni mwa makosa hayo ni kutoa nyaraka za udanganyifu kwa mwajiri, hujuma na wizi na hatimaye kumsababishia mwajiri wao hasara ya jumla ya Sh 64,669,500.

Mtanzania Jumapili, Februari 6, 2005

Second, most respondents argued that while the abolition of nuisance taxes like development levy was commendable, a “new” form of corruption has emerged and the main alleged culprits are some VEOs, WEOs and ward tribunals leaders. This is what one petty trader said in Dodoma Municipality:

“The municipal market officials harass us everyday. They would tell you that your business is illegal, you’re spreading cholera or you are operating in a dirty place. The rates we pay them change everyday and depends on the officer. If you resist giving them something, you will be forcibly removed and both your business and life are ruined. I don’t like to engage in corruption... but I also need to take care of my family. The choice for me is obvious!”

[Our Translation]

Yet one woman respondent in Tanga Municipality put the blame on non-payment of VEOs to the Government. This is how she put it:

“There is no police post in my village and whenever there is a problem we go to VEO even during the night. But the VEO himself complains that he is hungry, he has no formal contractual employment. His office is in bad shape, he keeps all the records at his residence and before he listens to your problems, he gives you a litany of his own problems and frustration... you end up

solving his own financial problems and not the services you expected from him. Is this not gross corruption?”

[Our Translation]

Box 9: How much money is too little for police officer to take as a bribe?

I didn't know that our police force is so rotten. Particularly the guys who dress in white and sometimes stand for traffic lights. Five minutes passed. Ten Fifteen. And sure enough the police officer came back. This time around he parked the motorcycle about ten metres from the road and called the driver. They talked for about five minutes. The driver came back to me. "Mzee, huyu jamaa anataka shilingi elfu kumi na mimi ninazo tano tu. Naomba tano halafu tutajuana". The police was demanding 10,000/= from the driver, but he had only 5,000/= but the law enforcer wouldn't take anything less. I told him I didn't have any money, and he should insist that the police officer accepts what he has. Another five minutes and the officer took the 5,000/=, handed over the key and the insurance cover and left.

The Guardian, Thursday, March 10, 2005

Third, findings further revealed that corruption was perceived to exist whenever there was intense political competition (although this was supposed to check it) as evidenced during the last grassroots elections. This is what one respondent from Tanga Municipality said:

“... you know each political party wants to win. Hardly do some people care for a party's policies or manifesto. It is the individual candidate and his supporters who should “galvanize or oil” the voters to ensure victory. However this is not done openly but discreetly. Tea or pilau (special tasty dish of rice) is given to potential voters a day or two before elections, not at the house of the candidate but at a friend's house and as you enjoy the dish, you are all reminded that the Takrima of the dish is from the candidate. Is this not obvious corruption? Everybody knows it regardless of their leadership positions”

Box 10: Wapiga kura tusikubali wagombea watununue

*Kuna usemi wa Kiswahili kwamba, vitendo mwana, majuto mjukuu. Usemi huo, umedhihirika mara nyingi yanapotokea matatizo yanayosabishwa na uzembe. Tumeshuhudia katika chaguzi nyingi wananchi wakichagua viongozi bila kufikiri au kufanya utafiti kuhusu ukweli wa kiongozi wanayetake kumchagua. Wengine hulazimika kumchagua Fulani ili kulipa fadhila alizofanyiwa na kiongozi husika au chama chake wakati wa kampeni. Hayo ni matumizi mabaya na maana potofu ya neon kampeni. Kufanya kampeni ni fursa ya chama kumnadi mgombea wake, au mgombea kujinadi, ili wapigakura waweze kumfahamu yeye na sifa zake na kuweza kiuchanganua ni kiongozi yupi atakayewafaa. Lakini kampeni nyingi za vyama vya siasa na wagombea wenyewe siku hizi, hutumia fursa hiyo kutoa zawadi mbalimbali kwa wananchi, ikiwamo fedha, ili kuwashawishi kumchagua kiongozi wa chama husika. Wengine wamehalalisha rushwa kwa **kuiita takrima**. Hivyo chonde chonde wapigakura, uchaguzi ndio huo unakuja, na baadhi ya watu wanaotaka uongozi tayari wameishaanza **kugawa rushwa** kwa baadhi ya wapigakura wao. Narudia tena, zawadi zao chukueni, lakini akili kichwani mwenu, msibabaike siku ya kupiga kura.*

Tanzania Daima

Fourth, study findings indicated that corruption becomes rampant and pandemic where there is poor civic awareness of individual basic rights, poor or low participation in the community governance process and weak or underdeveloped civil society. This is how one desperate and deeply frustrated husband from Mbeya Municipality put it:

“My wife was about to deliver but she needed blood transfusion. It was a Sunday and the officer in charge was not available. We were required to donate blood and we were ready to do so. However there was another snag, the blood had to be screened for HIV/AIDS and it was our responsibility to locate the person, “convince” him to come, pay for his return transport and “a small lunch” after the work. I knew all this was illegal and immoral but illegality and immorality was

secondary, the primary objective was to save my wife's life. Would you do it differently if you were in my position?"

[Our Translation].

Box 11: Chukieni vitendo viovu kama vile rushwa, Nagu awaambia watumishi.

Waziri wa Nchi, Ofisi ya Rais, Menejimenti ya Utumishi wa Umma Dk. Mary Nagu, amewataka watumishi wa umma na wananchi kwa ujumla, kuchukia vitendo viovu ikiwemo rushwa, ubadhirifu, wizi na matumizi mabaya ya mali ya umma. Waziri nagu pia amewataka watumishi hao kutosita kutoa taarifa pale wanapokuwa na uhakika uovu huo unatendeka. Hata hivyo, amewatahadharisha kuwa, taarifa hizo za uovu zisiwe za hisia bali ziwe zenye ushahidi na uthibitisho na kwamba serikali itawalinda watoa taarifa wote. Hata hivyo, alionya kuwa, maslahi duni kwa kada za chini isiwe ndiyo kigezo cha ukiukwaji wa maadili ya utumishi wa umma.

Tanzania Daima April 2005

Fifth, the findings from the study reveal that rigid, unknown and bureaucratic rules, directives, regulations and procedures induced various forms of corruption. This is because they allow service providers to have greater discretion in reducing the required time for a particular service to be provided to the client. This is what one female respondent from Babati Town Council said:

"I have applied for a plot since 2003 and whenever I enquire on what is happening, I confront delaying tactics and other snags. However I know a friend of mine who got her plot quickly because she "oiled" the system. She keeps on reminding me that I would get my rights in heaven while she gets hers here on earth. This is the level of corruption and the way some people treat it in our country"

[Our Translation]

Sixth, inadequate and/or lack of necessary information, transparency and accountability is also an inducement to corrupt practices. This is how one parent in Mbeya Municipality put it:

“The teacher looked at my daughter and immediately told me that she could not be admitted into class 1 because “she looks older” than what the stipulation from the Government said. I produced a birth certificate but this did not help because he said he doubted it. On my further insistence he told me that the class was already full and I should look for another school. However because I knew my rights and was not willing to engage in any form of corruption, I reported the matter to my councilor and finally the kid was admitted into class one”

[Our Translation]

Box 12: Temeke yapanga mikakati wa kukabiliana na rushwa

Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Temeke jijini Dar es Salaam, imepanga mikakati ya kupambana na rushwa. Hatua hiyo imekuja baada ya halmashauri hiyo kukutana na viongozi na wakazi wa kata zake 24. Akizungumza wakati wa ufunguzi wa warsha ya siku moja ya mipango juu ya mapambano dhidi ya rushwa katika halmashauri hiyo, Mkuu wa Wilaya hiyo, Baraka Konisaga alisema, serikali imezungumzia rushwa kwa muda mrefu lakini hakuna mabadiliko ya kupungua kwake katika jamii. Alizitaja rushwa hizo kuwa ni pamoja na taratibu za uchaguzi, nafasi za elimu ya msingi na wageni ambao sio rasmi wengi. Naye Kamanda wa Taasisi ya Kuzuia Rushwa (TAKURU) Mkoa wa Dar es Salaam, Joyce Shuli aliwaelezea wakazi ho athari za kutoa na kupokea rushwa.

Mwananchi Jumamosi Machi 12, 2005

Seventh, general poverty of the people, poor remuneration, lack of necessary facilities and un-attractive working environment induce greater real and perception on corruption. This is what one Medical Officer in Tanga Municipality said, demonstrating anger and frustration during our discussions:

“We are understaffed and over-worked in an environment of extreme poor and/or inadequate facilities and equipments. For instance pregnant mothers are supposed to get free basic services from our Health Centre. But what we get is far below what is actually required. When we tell people that we don’t have, say gloves, they claim that we want corruption from them, which is not always the case. Some of us are working hard with all the commitment in this very difficult working environment. One or two unfaithful servants should not make all of us look like thugs, if people don’t appreciate what we do, at least they should not insult us that much”

[Our Translation]

Eighth, study findings further reveal that conflicting, uncoordinated and unharmonized regulations, directives, laws and policies fuel the perception on corruption and possible corrupt practices. A few examples will help drive home the point. One female respondent in Babati Town Council who runs petty business claimed that the nuisance taxes have been abolished but both the Finance Act, 2004 and directives from the Ministry of Trade and Industry demand that she pays the required taxes. This is how she angrily puts it:

“I am terribly frustrated and surprised that I am getting different signals from different arms of the same Government. Which arm of the Government should I trust and obey? Is this not a ploy to give officials opportunity to demand corruption?”

[Our Translation]

Yet one respondent from Mbeya Municipality claimed that the perception on corruption and corrupt practices are fueled by incongruent and contradictory statements from the politicians and technocrats at various levels. This is how one parent in Tanga Municipality put it:

“We are told primary education is free and that no child will be denied education because of inability to contribute some funds towards classroom construction or buying of desks. However teachers continue to demand, and indeed harass our children if we are unable to give various contributions which they demand and we are not involved in deciding them. Once we manage to contribute, that is the end of it... no feedback is given on how such funds have been used. Is this not gross corruption, give me a better definition.” [Our Translation]

Another respondent complained that tuition in primary school was legalized corruption since it lacked both moral and professional justification. This is how one class seven primary pupil in Tanga Municipality angrily put it:

“I know my teachers are paid by the Government... yet they impose mandatory tuition on us and if you don’t join, they hate you and you have no chances of passing your final exams... hence you can’t go to secondary school. My parents are poor... and I don’t know what my fate will be, come next year. The Ministry of Education remains ambivalent on the issue and we children of the poor will continue to be marginalized and excluded from further education”

[Our Translation]

4.2 Claims of Corruption Scandals

The study was also interested to find out if respondents had heard of any corruption scandal recently. A number of surprising findings were given. It is worth emphasizing that these findings were either mere perceptions, claims and/or some were based on some concrete cases pending in courts (in such specific cases, we may resist to say more on a particular claim). One concrete corruption case which was allegedly reported by PCB in Mbeya Municipal Council was the one involving an official in salaries section. The person was the Head of Salaries Unit who was alleged and sued to court by PCB for corruption, economic sabotage, and embezzlement of public funds causing the alleged loss of Tshs. 70,608,994/=. According to the investigation by Regional PCB, the alleged culprit committed such corrupt acts at different times between October to November 2002 and January 2003. The amount mentioned above was big and had denied the municipality

an opportunity to provide better service delivery to the citizens.
This what the PCB official in Mbeya said:

“It seems there was organized systemic corruption and both the Municipality and Government have lost a lot of money. The amount mentioned here is only what PCB has been able to unearth and we have no doubt more can be uncovered in other Municipality Departments and the fighting is going on”

[Our Translation]

Box 13: 100 suspended in local government clean-up drive

At least 10 District Executive Directors (DEDs) and 105 high ranking council officials have been suspended countrywide over alleged multimillion shilling “ghost workers” scam, the Daily News on Saturday has reliably learnt. The Chief Secretary, Mr. Matern Lumbanga, told this reporter from Bagamoyo yesterday that the move was part of “cleaning up” of government departments against theft and dishonest workers.

Daily News Saturday, January 29, 2005.

Further study findings revealed various claims of corruption in various local government departments. Cases of allegations of corruption are rampant and notorious especially in the areas of health, tendering, land section, TRA, PCB, revenue, education, primary courts, natural resources, business section and police. Also allegations of corruption scandal were mentioned against private business sector particularly from borrowers and managers. However, all allegations were mentioned as generalized cases based on mere rumours, and no concrete evidence was given. For example, in the health sector, respondents revealed that it was common for patients to give out money to the nurses or doctors in order to receive their attention from regional/referral hospitals of Bombo (Tanga), Dodoma, Mbeya and Muhimbili as explained by

some respondents at different times; One citizen from Kinondoni Municipality had this to say:

“The situation is worse in regional/referral hospitals. In order to obtain treatment you must either personally know an influential nurse/doctor (whom you have to “thank” after the service) or have cash money to ‘speak through’ or lose your life or that of your relative”

[Our Translation]

Box 14: Musoma Council staff booked over 1bn/- theft

The Musoma District Executive Director and 14 other senior staff of the council appeared in the Musoma Resident Magistrate’s court Thursday to answer charges of committing sabotage and embezzling more than one billion shillings belonging to their employer. The accused person are alleged to have stolen 1.029bn/- between January 2002 and February 2003, through preparing false accounts transactions used in applying for payments for “ghost” individuals, as well as preparation of dubious stafflists.

Sunday Observer, March 2005

On the other hand, it was interesting to note that respondents claimed that services provided at dispensaries and health centers involved smaller amounts of corruption than those at bigger hospitals. One reason mentioned was the role played by community Health Service committees which were actively and effectively delivering at the lower levels of health service delivery ,unlike at the bigger hospitals where such committees did not exist. On further probing, some respondents were either reluctant, or afraid or simply did not have the facts about the various alleged corruption scandals they were mentioning. However there were occasions during the field study that some respondents came out openly to name some institutions that were notorious in corruption. For instance, respondents revealed that National

Health Insurance facility was affected by corruption that involved paying for cash money to nurses/doctors for service because identity cards were not ‘seen to be enough’ for patients to receive treatment, especially in regional/referral hospitals. One woman respondent complained bitterly on this situation regarding Bombo Hospital in Tanga Municipality:

“To rely on your health identity card makes the doctors and nurses mark you as a troublesome patient not ready to cooperate. That endangers your life. Health Insurance identity cards have turned to be as useless as ‘free service’ under Ujamaa system. You must either be known (by your position in LGA as senior official) to be served, or you must know the doctors/nurses. If the two are not applicable, you must pay the nurse/doctor to facilitate and expedite the process, otherwise you’re forced to engage in corruption”.

[Our Translation]

The respondents from Municipal authorities in Dodoma and Tanga confirmed such allegations admitting that there were such complaints, some were proved as genuine cases, although others were associated by poor service delivery and scarcity of medical facilities. However, while the situation in Bombo Hospital in Tanga Municipality was stated as ongoing and alarming, in Dodoma Regional Hospital things were said to be better after recent changes which were made in the administrative personnel. There were also claims of corruption scandals in tendering. In Tanga Municipality, respondents from Ngamiani Kaskazini and Central wards complained bitterly about the tender which was given to a private company to collect wastes in the Municipality, **Kimonga Investment Company**. Some people from communities/grassroots alleged that the tendering involved corruption by some Municipal officials because they were not involved in the process to approve

the viability of such company which seem to have no competence to deliver the required service. The findings further revealed that the company had no enough/required working capital and implements e.g. The company hired cars from the Municipal council. Instead of two cars to collect wastes in four wards, it was only one car, which was worn out with very low capacity to do the work that was operating.

That weakness was admittedly accepted by the company representative who said the other car was non-operating and the remaining one had great mechanical problems. As a result, it was confirmed by both the members of the community and community health officers who said the agreement for the company to collect waste after every two days was grossly breached such that collection was done once in three months or not at all. This is what one businessman said: (despite the fact that each household contributed 1,000 Tshs monthly, (12,000 Tshs annually):

“I have paid a total sum of 12,000 Tshs to get the service for the whole year. But this is the third month, the wastes are not collected, and bad smell is everywhere. I have to bribe them in order to do their duty”.

[Our Translation]

Box 15: Mkurugenzi Halmashauri Iramba kizimbani

*Mkurugenzi Mtendaji wa Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Iramba, mkoani Singida, juzi alipandishwa kizimbani katika Mahakama ya Hakimku Mkazi wa Mkoa, akikabiliwa na mashitaka matano ya kughushi hati za malipo na kujipatia kiasi **cha sh. Milioni 22.5** za Mfuko wa Maendeleo ya Elimu ya Msingi (MEM) mali ya halmashauri hiyo. Mwendesha mashitaka alidai kuwa, Desemba 6 mwaka 2003 alighushi hati ya malipo namba 02779 yenye thamani ya sh. 2,204,000, mali ya halmashauri hiyo kwa lengo la kukamilisha ujenzi wa vyumba vya madarasa ya shule za msingi katika wilaya hiyo.*

Majira, Februari 12, 2005.

Worse still, due to such a situation, there emerged another scourge whereby the workers coming with the cars demanded to be paid 500 Tshs so that they could collect the wastes, without which they just passed by. This how one respondent put it:

If you want them to collect your wastes, you pay them 500 Tshs as their allowance. I paid them last month and they collected the waste. You either decide to pay 500 Tshs, on top of 1000 Tshs which you have paid or you remain with your waste stinking. This is not shredded in secrecy but daylight corruption”.

[Our Translation]

Box 16: Billions spent to ‘buy’ votes

*“I can’t say I will refuse the money at this stage as the amounts being offered are staggering” Some CCM presidential hopefuls are dishing out billions of shillings in an attempt to buy the support to various members of the party’s Central Committee (CC) and National Executive Committee [NEC] who hold the key to the selection process. A source, who is an MP and a member of NEC, told Sunday Citizen that different presidential aspirants’ camps have already approached some of his colleagues. “There are however some of us who have not yet been approached but we are waiting. We know our turn will come and I can’t say I will refuse the money at this stage as the amounts being offered are staggering” he revealed. Though it is not all candidates who are involved in such dirty campaigns, some powerful and popular names have been linked to the practice. CC members are being promised around **Shs 10 million each**, the source says, so that they vote for the given candidate among the five who will be recommended to the NEC meeting to be held on May 2. There are 37 CC members in total.*

Sunday Citizen 20 March, 2005

On further probing on what they were doing to arrest the situation, some respondents claimed that measures were being

taken including refusing to pay the shoddy company because it is doing nothing. But they complained they could not do anything else because the company is allegedly protected by some Municipal authorities but this was vehemently denied by the responsible Municipal authorities. Similarly, some community health officers said they have reported the situation to the municipal authority and despite some promises to investigate the issue, nothing tangible has happened. However the response from the authorities was that the issue was being attended to. The Tanga Municipal Health Officer revealed that the problem was known by the LGA and measures were in process, including terminating the tender of that particular company but cautioned that the establishment of the service was done following the legal procedures based on and agreed by law in which various communities were represented. Moreover, he complained about lack of readiness from service users to contribute the user charges and the negative influence of some politicians, especially from opposition parties, who mobilized the people not to pay for wastes collection.

However, the findings generally revealed to a certain extent, that there was corruption involving some company's employees who demanded extra 500 Tshs to collect the waste despite the agreed official payment of 1000 Tshs per month. This was stated by respondents themselves. Also, the incapacity of the company to deliver the service as required resulting into the scourge that people suffered had intensified the corruption allegations and perceptions. As the findings revealed, some people from the communities complained against the municipal leadership allegedly for not taking viable measures to settle the problem. Poor service delivery was also the source of bitter complaints from some people and that they were not fully involved. Even if there was no corruption between the company and Municipal authorities, the

state of the garbage collection made people feel that not enough is being done to solve the problem alleging that the LGA was corrupt and unresponsive to citizens' problems, an allegation that was vehemently rejected by the municipal authorities.

4.3 International NGO and CBO corruption scandal in Mbeya

Another allegation of corruption scandal was revealed in Mbeya municipality. There was wide-spread allegations that one international NGO was involved in corruption where-by its senior executive asked a local private station for orphans by the name of **Kituo cha Malezi ya Huruma, Simike** to sign a shoddy grant of 50 million Tshs for that center but the money should not be used for that purpose rather she would just receive some amount and remain silent. The patron for the center is alleged to have confirmed the incidence. The same findings were also received from some journalists in Mbeya. This is how one journalist put it:

“They wanted to use her name and station so that she would sign their forms for 50 million Tshs and the secret had to remain between them. She did not accept. But we investigated the matter and found out that the money was already mismanaged and they rather wanted to use her as a mere rubber stamp to legalise corruption which had already taken place”.

[Our Translation]

Box 19: Viongozi wahojiwa kwa ubadhirifu Geita

Viongozi wa serikali ya kijiji na kamati ya ujenzi wa Sekondari ya Kata ya Kaseme, Tarafa ya Busanda wilayani Geita mkoani hapa, wamehojiwa na polisi kutokana na ubadhirifu wa fedha zaidi ya sh milioni 9 zilizochangwa na wananchi. Viongozi hao walikamatwa Januari 23 mwaka huu na kuhojiwa katika Kituo cha polisi cha Geita, kufuatia mkandarasi kulalamika kutolipwa fedha zake na viongozi hao licha ya wananchi kukamilisha michango ya ujenzi huo. Habari zimedai kuwa, kukamatwa kwa viongozi hao kumetokana na kutoweka kwa fedha za ujenzi huo benki na hatua ya kushindwa kumlipa mkandarasi aliyemliza vyumba vitatu vya madarasa. Kamanda Zelothea lisema, wanafanya uchunguzi zaidi juu ya fedha hizo za wananchi kufuatia malalamiko hayo na kuongeza kuwa, waliohojiwa ni baadhi ya viongozi na waliachiwa kwa dhamana. Hata hivyo, hakutaja jina la mkandarasi ingawa alieleza kuwa katika makubaliano yao ya awali, viongozi hao wa kijiji na kamati ya ujenzi walikubaliana na mkandarasi kujenga vyumba vitatu hadi hatua ya linta kwa gharama za zaidi ya shs milioni 9, lakini walishindwa kumlipa.

Mwananchi, February 2005

However, when interviewed, the ward councilor, WEO, and personnel from Social Welfare refuted the rumours and gave a scandalizing profile of the owner of the center as troublesome, uncooperative and problematic. Similarly, the rebuttal from the alleged NGO was not satisfactory to answer the allegations. This is what one of their official said.

“We are new in the office. It is a new arrangement that they have decided to station their staff at district level to monitor the implementation of their projects. In the past they just left all mandate to the local government council. It is shown through experience that things were not very efficient and that is why they decided to adopt the new system. But we have not heard about that scandal.

***May be if we trace the background through
our files”***

[Our Translation]

Box 18: NGOs and their role in fighting corruption

*As general elections approach, the government and various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are trying to come up with programmes aimed at making the forthcoming polls free and fair. Both government and NGOs claim to be non-partisan with the primary idea of making the people use their basic human rights principle of voting for a person they prefer. A score of groups, however, **see corruption as the main element that may deter these elections from being free and fair**, and that is why, the takrima law, was the hottest topic discussed in the last Parliamentary session in Dodoma two weeks ago. The Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT), a religious body, has recognized corruption as a dangerous enemy and therefore came up with an initiative to combat the vice, as well as suggest other ways. Having seen government's efforts in fighting corruption, specifically President Benjamin Mkapa's efforts to eliminate graft, ordinary wananchi wait in great hope these new CPT propositions, which might rescue the country. This is what CPT said recently. "We (the) Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT) recognize that to be effective, the war against the vice of corruption begins with the commitment of the individual person and institution," With such recognition, the Professionals, have committed themselves not to behave corruptly by giving or receiving bribes, treating their subordinates unjustly or remunerate them inadequately. They have committed themselves to follow the respective codes of professional ethics with due diligence. CPT has defined corruption as "an abuse of one's position of power, or wealth or function for one's own illegitimate benefit or advantage, or to deny another person a right he/she legitimately deserves". In Tanzania corruption is increasingly being accepted as a normal part of our human fabric, and that almost everybody is involved, either actively or passively, by doing wrong things or tolerating others who do corrupt things and not daring to speak up.*

The Guardian, February 25, 2005

While one cannot make a hasty conclusion on the saga, it is safe to say that there is a possibility of breakdown of communication, mistrust, conflict of interest, non-participation of

key stakeholders and smell of possible corruption in one way or the other. As the findings reveal, what was clearly missing was friendly and mutual relationship between the municipal authority and the Orphans Center as partners in development. The fact that the alleged corruption scandal happened when the NGO programme was supervised by LGA without local representative from the said NGO, a system which has now been changed, begs more questions than answers. However, that corruption allegations were given by various respondents was all not good for the municipality and the said company as well in gaining public trust and esteem. The situation also consolidated the state of perception or belief of existence of real corruption within the municipality's jurisdiction. Moreover, similar cases were revealed from findings by respondents who stated that there were many NGOs and CBOs in Mbeya region which were 'briefcase based' and they were more involved in corrupt practices than delivering social services. Time constraints did not allow us to investigate them all but suffice it to say where there is "smoke, there might be fire".

4.4 Corruption Scandal involving TRA officials against small business people

Although not part of the LGA system, TRA was a sector which was vehemently and repeatedly blamed for corruption especially by small business people. It was interesting to note that even tax agents and market business officials in municipal and district councils gave and/or confirmed complaints against corruption and perception of corruption which allegedly TRA officials were involved. The common explanation given by respondents in Tanga, Babati Dodoma, Mbeya and Kinondoni Municipalities was on the loop-hole used by TRA officials in their practice to "estimate" income tax for small business people. The findings further revealed that there was no standard yardstick or

measurement other than “bargaining or negotiating” which led to allegations and perception of corruption. As one respondent who was a market tax in Dodoma Municipality said:

“The TRA officials have turned the whole issue into self-seeking benefit. They are not there to serve the interests of the government and/or the public at all, but just enriching themselves...This is pure stealing from the poor people and making the Government poorer”.

[Our Translation]

According to the findings, more complaints were directed against the newly introduced system whereby small business people are also required to pay income tax to TRA unlike in the past when they paid to their councils. Small business people gave views that TRA was efficient and friendly with external investors who seem to be favoured in acquiring all favourable and lucrative opportunities for competitive investment but not for local business people who are not regarded by TRA in any way other than remaining the victims of harassment by some TRA officials for their own private gain.

Giving the example of Kinondoni Municipality, some respondents from the association of daladala drivers at Mwenge, cited the case of obtaining the new plate numbers for vehicles in Dar es Salaam from TRA. The findings revealed that if somebody wanted to follow the official procedure, there were unnecessary delays in vehicle checking and testing by police, licencing authority, TRA TIN number, insurance, income tax, etc which could take them even more than two weeks to get the plate number for the official cost of 30,000 Tshs. But through the use of **“greasing the system”**, it was possible to accomplish every thing and get the plate number within two days, without even taking

your vehicle for testing, if one pays Tsh 75,000 Tshs. The findings revealed that more people opted to adopt the method of “greasing the system” to avoid wasting time, disturbances and sometimes harassment from concerned authorities. Undoubtedly, greedy and unethical servants become a cause of people subscribing to corrupt practices to overcome such institutional obstacles instead of fighting the pandemic vice.

4.5 The Corruption scandal by traffic police on daladala drivers/conductors

Allegations of traffic police demanding bribe from daladala drivers on basis of various real or cooked traffic cases was common in the study sample. As one daladala driver at Mwenge, Kinondoni Municipality said,

“We have accepted corruption demanded by traffic police as a traditional way of life. We know whenever the traffic police demands some money, we must give them money. Normally, they don’t demand a big amount but they may visit you several times in a day. You may give them 2,000 Tshs in the morning, the same amount in the afternoon or another similar sum in the evening. Also you may give the traffic police at Mwenge 2,000 Tshs when you reach Ubungo bus stand, the other one wants 3,000 Tshs. You must give him, after trying to bargain. Otherwise, they just create any legal offence and tell you to take your car to police terminal. Consequently, there you will have to enter into longer process, waste your day and even more money. However if you cheat them the vehicle belongs to a big potato, they smile at you and leave you to go”

[Our Translation]

Box 19: ‘No letup in Traffic Police corruption’

*Corruption within the Traffic Police persists, in spite of recurrent outcry and condemnation by the public, and warnings from top bosses of the law enforcement organ, that culprits face dire consequences. A cross-section interview conducted by the Sunday Observer in Dar es Salaam this week yielded fresh misgivings over corrupt practices by unscrupulous traffic police officers. In addition to the misgivings, interviewees also wondered why there is no letup in the morally detestable phenomenon, which is associated with people who are supposed to be models of law enforcement. A commuter bus (daladala) driver, Thomas Msonga, said corrupt officers were relatively more active during peak hours. “They frame all manner of offences as well as citing mechanical defects of our vehicles, with the intention of getting bribes from us” Msonga, who plies the Mwenge-Kariakoo route, complained bitterly. A cynical interviewee who sought anonymity wondered why some traffic police officers **had pot bellies, and another queried the discrepancy between their relatively low salaries and flashy life-styles**. Yet another interviewee said the fact that many young people who join the police force wish to be posted to the traffic department is a pointer to the illegally lucrative benefits that it offers. The spokesman of the Police Force, Aden Mwamunyange, said it is wrong, both to bribe traffic police officers and for the latter to solicit them.*

Sunday Observer, March 27, 2005

The findings from respondents revealed that the daladala drivers could not resist paying bribes to traffic police because of the poor quality standard of the daladala cars which most of them enter the country as second or third hand cars. As such when traffic police check those cars there is no way they cannot find them with a technical problem that may cause a legal offence. This makes the daladala drivers vulnerable always ready to compromise while the traffic police have adopted that practice as a way of life. What seems most surprising is that both the daladala drivers and the traffic police do it with no fear at all! They do it with impunity

and bargain with you as if corruption was legal, not a high risk undertaking!

4.6 Corruption scandal by TANESCO Workers

TANESCO services to households was another area that the study findings noted corruption scandals by some TANESCO employees. Respondents revealed that the main source for demanding bribes for services was the claim by some TANESCO employees that they are few in number and there is too much work assigned to them. The findings revealed that although in principle it is stated by TANESCO regulations that it is the role of the company to service the part of electrical connection from the meter to the service line, hardly do they appear to provide that service whenever they are required to do so unless the user offers them money. Three respondents at Mlalakuwa in Mwenge Kinondoni Municipal said the following in different occasions;

“Even if you tell them there is emergency, you may chase them even a week but they never come unless you give them bribe. Otherwise, they will always say they are too few and they have a lot of work, so they are going somewhere else. TANESCO employees must be bribed to offer any service. If you insist it is their role to provide that service, they give you their mobile numbers and tell you to call them at you own time. When you call, they say they are too busy but ask you ‘so what do you say’ if you promise to bribe them, they come even during the night”

[Our Translation]

Another respondent in Mbweni, Kinondoni municipality said:

“I had to give the TANESCO employee 10,000 Tshs to come to do maintenance on my meter after they ignored me for 5 days without electricity. Even when I complained at

their office at Kinondoni, they sent them, but when they arrived at my home, they said they had no particular equipment to solve the problem and they left”

[Our Translation]

Yet another citizen had this to say:

“I don’t understand why the Government has allowed TANESCO to have this monopoly of the vital and sensitive service. I think such an exclusive monopoly is the cause of real or imaginary corruption because TTCL were behaving the same way before privatization but now they beg us to use their services”

[Our Translation]

The findings further revealed that retrenchment of employees in TANESCO was seen by customers as the cause of the increase of corruption (or perception of it) because even when the customers went to the service stations, sometimes it was difficult to be provided with electricians on claims that they were too few and busy. Worse still the retrenched employees are always at Kinondoni offices looking for desperate clients whom they can provide “illegal” services and are being supported by their old friends who are not retrenched, notoriously they are called “VISHOKA”.

4.7 Do women, men, youth disabled, etc experience corruption differently,

- *Do they view corruption differently?*
- *Are there claims of sexual harassment?*

Respondents revealed that although women, men, youth and disabled could experience corruption just the same way, there could be differences which resulted from their different needs, perception, gender and position in society. The nature of their

needs determined the situation under which they face corruption, depending on individuals, organizations and regulations which they interact with as they demand public services. The findings reveal that in the case of men and women, the two do experience corruption **differently** because women are mostly the victims of sexual harassment when they come across men of influential positions but who are immoral and unprofessional. However, respondents stated that, sometimes there may be a slight difference which exposes men as the victims when it happens that women tempt or induce them to accept “sexual entertainment” as an offer in order to favour them. But in both cases, it was revealed that, mostly it was women who were forced to provide “the bribe” while men were “receivers” of the illegal, evil and cancerous vice. In the case of the disabled, it was revealed that, where organizations and regulations did not recognize the need to provide specific opportunities for them, they become vulnerable and helpless victims of circumstances that may force them to provide bribes to obtain their needs in difficult situations which the disabled people find themselves.

Given that youths, men, women and disabled – are facing enormous problems of unemployment, they easily become victims of corruption. This happens when they are seeking for jobs, housing, scholarships, promotion, transfer, political/leadership position etc. The findings revealed that, in the above situation, while it is not easy for example, to ask for sexual favour from an old married woman aspiring to contest for a political position in a certain political party, it was possible to do so from a young girl who wanted the same post when she comes in need of support from powerful and influential lust men in given a political party . Likewise, while it was not easy/common for a **barman** to be asked to offer sexual favour in order to be accepted to serve in a bar or

grocery, it was rather a common practice for the **barmaids** to offer “sexual entertainment” to bar owners and managers as a way to be accepted to work in such places. Also, unlike barmen, the bar maids are asked for sexual favours by their customers, at times, for as low as a single bottle of beer.

In reality the findings revealed that different gender needs led to different possibility for people to experience corruption differently and have different views about it. However, the perceptions that there were loopholes for sexual harassment, especially to women in LGA was generally mentioned but without providing any specific and concrete evidence of victims. Any attempt to obtain such evidence openly was difficult especially in LGAs offices due to the fact that where such cases happened, the concerned individuals were all beneficiaries or the victims (women) who had to keep it secret because it was embarrassing and/or humiliating to discuss the matter in public. Another difficulty seemed to be the fact that the offenders/culprits were the powerful people holding positions that would affect the victims under them in case they expose them. So the whole scenario is kept under tight secrecy that is difficult to reveal. On the other hand, where it applied to barmaids, it was relatively easy to get information on how they were sexually harassed by their managers, employers and customers. One difference revealed by the findings was the fact that, most of barmaids hated being harassed sexually but extreme poverty left them with no choice. As narrated by one barmaid in Tanga municipality:

“Your manager has freedom to decide who to go to bed with among you. He can even decide to go with two of us. If you reject, that is the end of your job, on the spot. This is a common practice from one bar to another. I hate this terrible job, but I have no choice”. [Our Translation]

Another victim from Mbeya Municipality said :

“Just imagine, where the condition to serve in bar demands you to buy your own uniform and keep it clean, sometimes you are forced to have two pairs at your own expenses. Remember, your pay per month is 15,000 Tshs while the uniform costs more than your pay. Yet, you need to feed yourself, to pay for rent, electricity etc. Here there is no way you should not hunt for the potential customers who can make you survive ... I fear HIV/AIDS ... but I may live a bit longer with the pandemic but not with starvation or hunger”

[Our Translation]

Similarly, the disabled (dumbs) from Mbeya Municipality (CHAVITA) said in different occasions that they pressed the municipal authorities to meet their needs such as educational facilities for pupils in primary schools or employment opportunities, but they are not given any serious attention. This is what one disabled person said:

“Given this situation we get tempted to believe we need to use other means such as bribing to get these services”

[Our Translation]

But responding to that allegation, the Municipal Director said that CHAVITA need to channel their plans/needs through ward development plans for immediate attention and specific actions.

4.8 Who gains most in corruption? Who loses most? Why?

Respondents' views showed that hardly does a person who wants/demands corruption becomes the loser whether he/she is the giver or the receiver. It was revealed that when a person asks/tempts to give bribe or any other form of corruption, there must be something of higher value/benefit expected to be obtained in return. As such in cases where both the giver and receiver are in

unholy “agreement” to engage in corruption, they are all beneficiaries in the short term, but are losers in the longer term in relation to justice, integrity and equality. However, some respondents had the view that always the receivers gain most in any corruption act because they do not give anything or part of that which they receive, neither do they pay for it partly as it is the case with those who engage in corruption. The findings further revealed that in most cases those who engage in corruption cause the loss to the public/government or private owners/employers by simply using their positions to violate principles, abuse their offices, trust and confidence of the public. However, where it happens, those who receive may risk the possibility to lose their positions, be sued etc. but in most cases, despite corruption being a high risk undertaking, alleged culprits get away with it for various reasons.

In addition, it was revealed that there is the third part which involves the absolute loser who is either the government/public or the employer by losing tax, or property or public trust. Similarly, both the rich and the poor suffer/lose in corruption although the poor may suffer most due to their vulnerability and poverty. The findings further revealed that in reality anyone who craves to manipulate regulatory or institutional system for private benefit is engaging in corruption and gains from it. But when the system is corrupted and basic freedoms, rights and services are to be paid for, [because of corruption], it is the poor who suffer most since they cannot demand to pay for them through corruption. Although it is true that even the rich people feel the pains when they pay for what they ought not to, but when it comes to the losers, the poor suffer most because corruption exploits, de-humanizes and suppresses them to more impoverishment materially and psychologically. In the local governments, these are the people

from poor households who fail to pay for basic medical services in private health clinics and they fail to receive them under subsidized cost sharing in governmental hospitals. They are also the victims of injustice in the primary courts and police stations. Corruption and corrupt officials make them swing from hard rocks to hard stones on daily basis!

4.9 What is the impact of corruption on you?

The findings from respondents revealed that people view the impact of corruption on them as mostly denying them justice, respect, dignity, integrity and increased humiliation and poverty. Those in basic levels of local government service such as VEOs, WEOs, ward public health officers and other extension officers said it was due to corruption by some leaders in higher positions that make them live in extreme poverty with low salaries, lack of stationeries and unattractive working environment. As some respondents from Tanga Municipality invariably put it in this way:

“How much is spent by the central government on luxurious consumption while there is no even basic needs at grassroots levels? They buy cars costing up to Tshs 60-90 millions just for a single person while for us we do not have even papers or pens to serve the citizens. Do not even mention the possibility of getting a bicycle for facilitating transport”

[Our Translation]

Box 20: Musoma DED, 14 officials arraigned

The Musoma District Executive Director (DED), Yohana Tesua, and 14 officials in his office including the current DED for Lindi District Council, Sprian Mwita, were on Thursday arraigned before the Mara Regional Resident Magistrate’s Court accused of economic sabotage and embezzlement of council funds amounting to 1,029,314,464/-

Daily News, Saturday, March 26, 2005.

Respondents from grassroots were of the view that it was due to corruption that even basic public services such as medicines for hospitals, health centers and dispensaries did not reach them. They complained that such facilities were corruptly grabbed by few who place them in their private business and again the poor had to buy them at higher prices in case they were able to afford. This is what one citizen from Tanga Municipality said:

“This means corruption costs life, if you go to Bombo Regional Hospital you have to choose whether to sell your clothes or chicken to get money in order to give to some doctors and nurses to treat you or you die like a chicken”

[Our Translation]

Box 21: Vigogo Musoma kortini kwa wizi

Taasisi ya Kuzuia Rushwa (PCB) mkoani Mara, juzi iliwaifikisha katika Mahakama ya Mkoa, watumishi 15 wa Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Musoma Vijijini, kutokana na makosa mbalimbali, yakiwamo ya wizi na ubadhirifu wa mali ya umma unaofikia zaidi ya Shs bilioni 1.29. Kamanda wa PCB mkoani Mara, Leonard Mtarai, alithibitisha jana kwa simu kutoka Musoma kufikishwa kortini kwa vigogo hao wa Halmashauri, akiwamo Mkurugenzi wake, Yohana Tesua.

Mtanzania, Machi 26, 2005

In reality, for those who engage in corruption to make their business quickly and more profitable view corruption not as a pandemic vice but a risk that was positive to them. As the findings revealed, these are those who obtain tenders from the local government by paying bribe, they get employment in public institutions without the necessary qualifications or secure various plots from prime land or strategic areas to accumulate more wealth for themselves at the expense of the poor. This makes the efforts to combat corruption increasingly difficult if not impossible.

4.10 Are there procedures, including disclosure provisions for:

- *Top Technical staff of LGA?*
- *Top political staff of LGA*
- *Village VEOs/ Chairpersons?*

The findings revealed that respondents were of the view that such provisions were important and could help to check against corruption especially in a situation where people are getting rich abruptly and in dubious ways. However, respondents claimed that such disclosure provisions do not exist while others said they were there. All the same, some respondents claimed that disclosure provisions for VEOs/Chairpersons were not practical given their low income status and/or insecure employment of such people who were perceived to be too poor to own any noticeable property worth disclosing. Whatever form of corruption they engage in ends up in making ends meet and most of the time the ends hardly meet, they remain parallel! It was observed that even the documents such as ethical codes for councilors were not known by people at grassroots levels. It was also not easy to find the documents or any other easily available at the grassroots levels such as wards or villages offices. In practical terms this means a fertile ground for corruption to continue to exist since the right/official information is hardly available to both the relevant officials and the public.

4.11 Are there rules/regulations and procedures concerning GIFTS/ HOSPITALITY for LGA:

- (a) Technical staff?
- (b) Political staff?

Box 22: Takrima ni rushwa, si ukarimu wa Kiafrika

Hatimaye Bunge limehalalisha “takrima” kama nyenzo mojawapo katika kampeni za uchaguzi kwa wagombea nafasi mbalimbali za uongozi. Akifafanua bungeni wakati wa mjadala wa marekebisho ya kumi na nne ya Katiba ya nchi mapema Januari, mwaka huu, Mwanasheria Mkuu wa Serikali, Andrew Chenge, aliliambia Bunge kwamba “takrima” si rushwa, bali ni aina Fulani ya ukarimu wa Kiafrika uliojikita katika utamaduni wa Kiafrika ambao si vyema kuupoteza. Kwa tafsiri huru, rushwa ya kisiasa ni kitu chochote chenye thamani ya kiuchumi au kifedha kinachoweza kutolewa na mtu au watu, kwa lengo la kumfanya au kuwafanya wabadili msimamo, mawazo, mtazamo, kinyume na wajibu wao wa kijamii juu ya mali ili apate kuheshimiwa, kupendelewa, kufikiriwa au kusimika uhusiano wa karibu kisiasa na kijamii ambapo bila hivyo asingestahili kupewa, kwa manufaa ya kisiasa kwa mtoaji. Takrima si kitu cha shuruti, lakini mara nyingi mtoaji anaelewa madhumuni, lengo na manufaa ya mbele yaliyofichika.

Rai, Machi 10-16, 2005

The findings from respondents further revealed that no serious attention was being paid on laid down regulations and procedures concerning “gifts/hospitality”. Some respondents argued that TAKRIMA Act has legalized corruption but coined polite words like gifts and hospitality! However, observations and findings from some LGA staff revealed that gifts/hospitality could encourage cronyism and could also be used to solicit illegal favours and promote double standards in service provision whose final outcome is intensification of corrupt practices.

4.12 Is there a LGA strategy to combat corruption?

The situation here differs from one council to another but on the whole the fact is that either there was no LGA strategy to combat corruption at all or there were efforts towards drafting such a document. In Tanga and Mbeya Municipalities, there was no such explicit strategies or plans of their own:

“We are just using the National anti-corruption strategy”,

[Our Translation]

Box 23: Dodoma scales down corruption

Efforts to curb corruption in Dodoma Region have succeeded significantly with the number of complaints taken to the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) plummeting from a total of 88 during the year 2001 to 66 in the last 18 months. Regional PCB Commander Fidelis Kailu told a workshop recently that the figures might denote a decline in incidents of graft but they, to some extent, could be misleading. He said government, institutions, religious establishments; NGOs and the private sector harbour corrupt elements. He said his bureau was investigating incidents of bribe taken by members of the Police Force, the Dodoma Municipal Council, courts of law, the Regional Hospital, banks, the Prime Minister’s Office, the Immigration Department and political parties. Other suspects under the PCB spotlight work with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security, the private sector, the Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing, the Capital Development Authority, Religious institutions and the Tanzania Railways Corporation.

Daily News, Monday April 4, 2005

However in Dar es Salaam, there was the regional strategy to combat corruption and it was also deliberated by all the three autonomous Municipalities of Ilala Kinondoni and Temeke. In Dodoma Municipality, the strategy was already planned and was in the process of being finalized although the local staff did not appear to have any concrete knowledge about that strategy despite claims by the leadership that all stakeholders are being involved in the process. In reality, the findings revealed that there was some weakness and laxity by some LGAs as regards developing LGA specific strategies to combat corruption in their areas of jurisdiction. Observations during the interviews with respondents indicated that they thought it was sufficient to use the national anti-corruption strategy although when further probed, they

agreed it was more practical and efficient to prepare their own within the national framework. Although they sometimes claimed they were using the national anti corruption strategy, hardly did the findings from some respondents demonstrated that there was something more tangible they were doing apart from relying only on law enforcement agencies. No wonder some councilors and council directors were saying openly that there was no need for preparing their own plans. Some LGA officials from Mbeya Municipality claimed that the National Anti-corruption strategy was enough. This how one senior LGA official put it:

“The problem is that we have not even been able to work on the national anti-corruption strategy, then what rationale are we using to developing a local strategy?”

[Our Translation]

Box 24: Repeal law on takrima – Bisimba

The next Union president must ensure the repeal of the hospitality law to curb corruption, guised in the name of takrima, Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) Director Dr. Hellen Kijo Bisimba, has said. Speaking to journalists after the official opening of a one-day Anti-Corruption Stakeholders’ Conference held in Dar es Salaam yesterday, Dr. Bisimba noted that there was an immediate need of repealing the Hospitality Law to salvage the country from corruption.

The Guardian, April 2005

In addition it was usually the top brass of LGAs who had read the National Anti-Corruption Strategy which others simply claim they had seen the document.

4.13 What is your assessment of LGA strategy to combat corruption in terms of its effectiveness?

In areas where there were LGA efforts to formulate strategies to combat corruption, findings revealed that, at least, the staff had an opportunity to discuss about efforts to combat it. In Kinondoni Municipality the findings revealed that the regional anticorruption strategy was discussed in annual workshops in which different stakeholders from government, civil society and private sector attended and participated. All efforts were made to ensure that the whole process was inclusive and participatory. This is how one respondent from Mlalakuwa ward, Kinondoni Municipality said:

“The annual workshops are very effective because stakeholders get opportunity to give their views on the situation of corruption within the region and the country at large and also we provide our ideas on how to fight graft in our communities”

[Our Translation]

Box 25: Decentralisation improves service delivery – enjoy

Development partners have said decentralisation process in the country is a positive move towards enabling local government authorities to play their role according to the will of the people. Speaking on behalf of the development partners at the Local Government Support Project (LGSP) in Dar es Salaam, the Embassy of Ireland Charge d’Affair, John McCullagh, said increasing availability of development funds at local level has reduced the need for area-based funding outside the national budget. “This system will ensure distribution of donor funding to the district councils, McCullagh said.

The Guardian, Wednesday, April 20, 2005.

In reality, the findings revealed that there was no objective assessment from respondents that was based on concrete indicators to assess the effectiveness or otherwise of anticorruption

strategies in their local/communities. The findings further revealed that where the LGAs were in the process of formulating strategies to combat corruption, the process was not wholly owned by the people but was dominated by the technical staff and politicians and hardly supported and promoted locally as it was observed in the case of some ward development plans.

4.14 Any Full Council meeting that discussed corruption in the last three years?

The findings from respondents revealed that there was neither a special Full Council meeting that discussed corruption in the five sample councils nor a specific agenda on corruption within the Full Councils although “Corruption would be mentioned here and there in passing” during the discussions. This is how one senior LGA official in Tanga Municipality put it:

“I am not even ready to say that the Full Council has ever been serious in discussing corruption. Whenever it happens such agenda emerges within the council meeting, they just take it as a joke but not serious at all. Normally we discuss it as AOB!!”

[Our Translation]

Box 26: Local authorities head graft list, says government

The government has failed to meet important socio-economic goals because of entrenched corruption among local government workers, a senior government official has said. Tabora Regional Administrative Secretary Peter Barie made the remarks yesterday when he closed a three day workshop in Tabora on the fight against corruption in local authorities. He said that dishonest council employees sabotage government delivery service plans. “Local authorities stink of graft and embezzlement of public funds” he observed and warned, “The situation isn’t only dangerous to national economy, but also to individuals”.

The Guardian, March, 2005

In reality the findings reveal that corruption was not an issue that was taken seriously by Full Councils in the sample study. This is explained by the fact that, some of the LGA councils did not seem to have any serious anti-corruption strategy, that is specific and relevant in their areas, i.e which is locally based and owned. In some cases even the national anti-corruption strategy was not actively and popularly given emphasis within councils. The National Anti-Corruption is thinly/poorly articulated as you move away from the LGA Directors!

4.15 Does your LGA has its own system/mechanism of checking against corrupt practices?

The findings from respondents revealed that the commonly conceived mechanism/way used to check against corruption was “council director’s administrative warnings”. Some respondents from the councils’ staff were always referring to the fact that the warnings are emphasized in the meetings that if any one is proved to be guilty of corrupt practices, due process of law will be followed, there will be no compromise or tolerance of such evil deeds. In addition, some respondents, including councilors, confirmed that during their own council meetings they would “remind themselves” about ethics and conducts to ensure that laws, regulations and integrity are kept in place and adhered to. There was also a tendency to place suggestion boxes. Also “corruption free Zone” papers placed on walls in councils to enable those with complaints and suggestions to register them but the study was not able to determine their effectiveness in fighting graft.

4.16 Are there rules requiring political independence of LGA personnel?

The findings from respondents revealed that from LGA policy and regulations as well as other provisions from sectoral Ministries, including PO-PSM, all stipulated the need for the LGA

personnel to be impartial in serving the public regardless of their political parties. Respondents said that according to Standing Orders and other regulations they were supposed to provide services impartially and professionally, and they were not allowed to make decisions on the basis of favouring a certain political party. Also, they were not supposed to act under anybody's political pressure in order to discharge their duties except to adhere to the laws of the land and policies of the Government in power. The findings further revealed that, in practice, it was not very categorically practical to talk of total impartiality by LGA staff from political influence particularly by some councilors, DCs and RCs. It was claimed that some irresponsible utterances from some of the political executives left one with no doubt that their impartiality was very doubtful and possibly they could also be violating the laws of the land. This is what one RC is alleged to have said regarding the last Grassroots elections and the forthcoming General and Presidential Elections in October, 2005.

“So long as I remain the RC in this region, I am going to make sure CCM gets a resounding victory and opposition will hardly feature... unless the President transfers me to another region”. [A respondent, version of what was allegedly said].

[Our Translation]

Box 27: Mkurugenzi Moshi apewa siku 90 kubatilisha matokeo ya uchaguzi

Mkurugenzi Mtendaji wa Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Moshi, Robert Kitimbo amepewa muda wa siku 90 kubatilisha matokeo ya Uchaguzi mdogo wa serikali ya kijiji cha Kikarara kata ya Old Moshi Mashariki kutokana na kukiukwa kwa taratibu za uchaguzi. Kwa mujibu wa barua aliyotumiwa na Wakili Lumambo & Co. Advocates wa mjini Moshi kwa niaba ya Mbunge wa Moshi mjini, Philemon Ndesamburo (CHADEMA), Mkurugenzi huyo ametakiwa kutekeleza madai hayo la sivyote atashitakiwa Mahakamani. Alisema kitendo cha Mkurugenzi Mtendaji kutupilia mbali pingamizi la kupitia CHADEMA kwa barua yake ya Februari 14, kimewahalalisha wananchi hao kuwa ni wakazi halali wa kijiji cha Kikarara wakati sio kweli. Alidai uamuzi huo wa Mkurugenzi wa kuwahalalisha wakazi hao kwamba wanaishi kwenye kijiji hicho, unapingana na mipaka halali iliyowekwa na kutangazwa na serikali kupitia gazeti lake namba 293 la Julai 15 mwaka 1994. Uamuzi huo ulidaiwa kuingilia uhuru na haki za wakazi halali wa Kikarara kwa vile Mkurugenzi huyo Mtendaji ambaye pia ni msimamizi wa Uchaguzi huo, aliingiza watu wasio wakazi halali wa eneo hilo na kuwaruhusu kupiga kura hali ambayo imewaathiri wakazi halali wa Kikarara katika uchaguzi huo. Alisema endapo Mkurugenzi Mtendaji hatabatilisha uchaguzi huo ndani ya muda wa miezi mitatu kwa kufuta matokeo ya wakazi hao watano, atafunguliwa kesi Mahakamani chini ya kifungu namba 6(2) cha sheria ya mwaka 1994.

Mwananchi Jumapili Machi 27, 2005.

Similarly, respondents revealed that there are complaints that some LGAs personnel often favour the ruling party as claimed by opposition parties. This is what one respondent from Mbeya Municipality said:

“There are all indications that the DC, LGA Directors, WEOs, Divisional Secretaries and VEOs openly favour CCM and are totally against the opposition and they do so with impunity. Is it not my constitutional

***right to belong to a political party
other than CCM?”***

[Our Translation]

4.17 Have you received complaints against some LGA personnel who are not impartial in serving the public?

The findings show that most of the complaints made against personnel who are not impartial are on political grounds, especially from members of opposition camp. The findings further revealed that such complaints are common, especially during elections although not often are they reported officially to legal authorities. Less often, there are also complaints based on gender discrimination, nepotism, tribalism and religious affiliation. The study was not able to verify these claims/allegations. But advisedly, they should not be dismissed out of hand. Undoubtedly, most senior LGA officials vehemently denied these allegations claiming that they followed the stipulated laws. The findings further revealed that there were cases under which neutrality principle in serving the public was not observed. This was explained as a big problem in health sector where respondents said service was mostly provided basing on one's status, wealth or friendship. Also, where political competition was strong between two contending political parties, as it was the case in Tanga municipality in Ngamiani Kaskazini, alleging that members of opposition were marginalized from public services. However these allegations were strongly denied by the Municipal authorities.

4.18 How is recruitment done in the LGA?

Reaction from respondents comprising both the LGA staff and members from public argued that recruitment for the posts that the LGA had mandate to employ was done by publicly advertising the vacancies through newspapers and applicants are openly interviewed by authorities in a fair and transparent

manner. Selection of successful applicants is done competitively for employment basing on their competence, merit, qualifications and experience. The heads of departments and top LGA authorities expressed their views that this new system has helped to avoid the loopholes for favoritism, nepotism, tribalism or any other unethical behaviour in which the new personnel are recruited. The findings from respondents further revealed that although regulations for recruitment were provided for by law but there were some acts of favouratism which dominated some LGA system on some employment issues. This is how one respondent from Tanga municipality put it:

“Advertisements of vacancies in newspapers is just done to fulfill the procedure and justify the process. In most cases, some influential people in LGA are the ones who support their applicants to secure employment. It happened during recruitment of VEOs and Voter Registers recently and there is little you can do about it”

[Our Translation]

Box 28: The stigma of sexual promiscuity, gender discrimination in Tanzania

*Within the contemporary African situation, individuals are at cultural and economic crossroads. African societies, therefore, after experiencing inconsistency in value system as individuals seem to be choosing for themselves convenient values to follow in a given situation as many people experience throughout the globe. The above, notwithstanding, researchers on social, cultural, economic, political and other phenomena change with regard to gender relations indicate that generally, traditional definitions and expectations of masculinity and femininity in sexual behaviour prevail. **Men remain the active determinants of when, where, with whom and how sexual intercourse takes place. Women in general are still passive and submissive participants of sexual relations in most African cultures.** In their attempt to conform to the cultural expectations and the need to display their sexual prowess, some men, and at times some women in our societies, engage in irresponsible pre-marital and extra-marital sex, which lead to sexual discrimination.*

The Guardian Saturday, 9th April, 2005

However we were not able to verify these allegations which were vehemently rejected by the Municipal authorities.

4.19 How is nepotism and cronyism managed in your LGA?

In reality respondents' findings revealed that it was not easy for somebody to get employment in LGA if such a person was not known by influential people in either LGA or central government. Although in general the findings revealed that emphasis on open and transparent recruitment system adopted has reduced the possibility for cronyism and nepotism as it was in the past, there were still some cases that cronyism and nepotism was allegedly practiced. The views from some respondents further revealed that the ongoing reforms in public service sector and indeed the Local Government Reform have helped to reduce cronyism and nepotism because they ensure transparency, and more openness in running LGA system unlike what was happening in the 1980s and 1990s. Respondents further noted that the new regulations that demanded employment vacancies, tenders, etc to be publicly declared and openly advertised and competed for guaranteed management of cronyism and nepotism and promoted justice, openness, transparency, accountability, rule of law and equality in the society. Most respondents commended the Government for embarking on these reforms.

4.20 Are the procedures/criteria for administrative decisions published or declared for e.g.

- *Granting permits?*
- *Licences?*
- *Building plots?*
- *Tax assessment?*

Box 29: Integrity and good governance: The current situation in Tanzania

“We have persisted in our resolute struggle against corruption, including roll out plans, the establishment of anti-corruption bureaus at the district level, and enhanced accountability for resources transferred from the Central Government to the district level. Tanzania’s efforts in fighting corruption are starting to win international recognition”. Those remarks were among the highlights of a speech delivered by President Mkapa, at the 4th International Investors’ Round Table (IRT) meeting held in

Dar es Salaam 23rd November 2004.

The findings from respondents revealed that some administrative decisions were published and declared in public mass media. Also they said that it has become a common practice that such decisions are placed on notice boards open to the public in the district and regional headquarters. However, some respondents also noted that to the good number of local population the laws, regulations and procedures for permits, licences, plots and tax assessment were not well known to them and unethical and greedy officials normally take advantage of this anomaly to demand bribes from them. The findings from respondents further revealed that although some administrative decisions were made public, not a good number of the public, especially people from grassroot levels, were aware about these decisions which they were supposed to implement. Thus in case of failure to do so, officials capitalize on the “offence” and demand bribe from the people. In addition the findings further revealed that people in villages are hardly accessible to newspapers and therefore could not get the right information at the right time. The whole situation is compounded by low civic rights awareness among the rural people.

4.21 Are there administrative checks and balances on decisions of individual public officials?

Respondents' findings revealed that decisions of individual public officials could face checks and balances from basic village, mitaa and ward level leadership on the basis of seniority of administrative positions. The findings further revealed that complaints from the head of department could also be forwarded to the LGA director who, according to respondents, was the most senior and powerful. However, respondents also mentioned the Full Council as an important forum to exercise checks and balances against various decisions made and which people raised complaints. The offices of the mayor, DC and RC were also mentioned as other avenues for administrative checks and balances. Some DCs and Municipal Directors called them "clinics" given that people make long queues to visit them on specified days. In reality, the findings further revealed that although respondents could mention an administrative machinery that provided checks and balances on various decisions, there were problems on the effectiveness of mechanism especially when it came to the question of which office the public turned to for the right information, support and action. To be precise, there was a dilemma faced by LGAs on the ad-hoc, uncoordinated and erratic political directives and orders from some DCs and RCs. One Council Director said:

"Those are merely political figures. People go to them because of their political influence and interests. But council's director operates on the basis of stipulated laws, rules and regulations. To avoid quarrelling with them, we to listen to them but they know some of their directives are impossible to implement but they feel good when the public cheers them"

[Our Translation]

It was interesting to note that hardly was judiciary and Ward Tribunals mentioned in the findings as some of the administrative checks and balances available to them to check the possible abuse of power and authority. This could imply that respondents' answers revealed lack of awareness on the position and functions of these institutions at the LGA level or have lost confidence in them.

4.22 Are LGA technical/political leaders obliged by law to give reasons for their decisions?

Respondents' findings revealed that where it is legally required to give such reasons, some leaders do others do not. The heads of departments said whenever they deal with administrative issues which are serious such as transferring a civil servant, providing punishment or penalty, or forwarding a case to the higher authority, they always give reasons to the relevant LGA committees. The findings further revealed that it is not always the case that reasons given for various decisions were known and effectively communicated to the victims consumers of the particular decisions. The reasons given were often more general like "for the sake of peace and security, due to unavoidable circumstances; to observe the rule of law and order," etc. It was observed in the study that some business people, CBOs and NGOs dealing with environment in Tanga and Mbeya municipalities had registered various complaints against various decisions made discretionally by some LGA leaders but no clear and proper reasons had been given in advance.

4.23 Are there misuse of public offices?

The findings show that misuse of public office was existing leading to financial embezzlements, cronyism, nepotism and tribalism especially in recruitment of staff and intensifying conflicts between technical staff and political staff. Respondents,

in various cases, raised complaints against some political and technical staff who were suddenly getting rich beyond their reasonable income but hardly are ordinary citizens capable of taking them to task. In reality, given the low and fragile status of participatory democracy and transparency in LGAs, misuse of public office may happen but the worst part of it is lack of appropriate and timely civic and moral courage to expose such misconducts. Practical cases that reveal capacity to exercise/watchdog job as executed competently and diligently by PCB in Mbeya, where it has been possible to unravel a big scandal/fraud in the Municipality are still rare.

4.24 Have you experienced unnecessary bureaucratic delays in any LGA office?

The findings from respondents revealed that bureaucratic delays in some LGA offices were common practice due to institutional and technical problems such as low/poor living wages, frustrated manpower, working facilities, and high demand. The overall end result is both the increase in the perception of corruption and also real corruption taking place before one gets the service one is entitled to. In reality, although some signs of bureaucratic delays, especially in courts, health centers and land sections were associated with corruption, it was also revealed that scarcity of services, shortage of qualified technical manpower, inadequate equipment and poor capacity to cooperate with the rapidly raising demand for services was also a major cause.

4.25 Are there claims of corruption in tendering?

The findings revealed various claims of corruption in tendering. Respondents gave views that although there were tender boards, that did not guarantee the possibility to bribe the members to influence decisions. Similarly, respondents gave claims that some bidding companies at LGA level belonged to relatives or close

friends of some senior technical and political leadership of LGA or central government. Under such situation the possibilities for loopholes for corruption were inevitable. However the study found it very difficult to verify such claims although there are “circumstances” which may lead one to believe that “environment for engaging in corruption is there. The findings from respondents revealed that complaints against corruption were common where those who received tenders did not supply services with the necessary satisfaction and expected quality to the public. The case of tenderer to collect waste in Tanga municipality mentioned previously in this study is a practical example. Such claims become stronger where the responsible authorities seem to take no measures but concerned tenders continue to provide poor and unqualified services to the public.

4.26 Are Public expenditures audited annually?

The findings from respondents suggested that public expenditures are audited annually. However, respondents were not informed of the process involved in auditing the public expenditure and what happened if they are not clean. In reality, respondents knew in principle that the public expenditures have to be audited but hardly do they follow up on the status of auditing, the problems encountered and any measures taken to address them. Some LGA technical staff normally think that such information is too technical to the public!

4.27 Are audited reports made public?

Some respondents revealed that the audited reports were accessible to any person from the public in case of the need. Nevertheless, there were conflicting views on whether the audited reports were advertised in newspapers. Whereas some respondents said yes but they were others who said it was only the budget but not the audited reports that were easily made available to them.

However a number of problems were associated with audited reports. First, most people did not know it is their right to view them. Second, even if such reports were easily available, most people lacked the skills and knowledge to understand them. Third, some LGA technocrats still treat such reports as “TOP SECRET”.

4.28 Does your LGA receive allocations that are proportional to the responsibilities they bear?

The findings revealed that it was a common complaint by all councils in the study sample that the allocations they received were far from their proportional required amount to cater for practical volume of responsibilities they are bearing. Budget deficit was a problem articulated by all government departments of LGAs. There were claims that the situation became worse after the Government unilateral abolition of some taxes and the perception by the public that they were not required to pay any more taxes! In reality, budget deficit was considered to be a serious problem in most, if not all LGAs. The findings further revealed that such crisis has led to categorizing some service departments as “special/first priority departments”, while others became least considered. While education and health seemed to be given priority, others such as community development and culture suffered most.

4.29 Were there claims of corruption in last year’s Grassroots elections?

Some claims were merely based on people’s perceptions while others pointed to the circumstantial evidence on the possible existence of corrupt practices. In reality, allegations of corruption varied according to the nature of, intensity of candidates’ rivalry and political competition in a given area. In some areas where there was strong opposition parties like the case of Ngamiani Kati and Ngamiani Kaskazini wards in Tanga Municipality, claims that voters were bribed by free beer, food or cash money etc during

campaigns were common. However it was very difficult to verify all the claims but it is also a fact that one should not dismiss them out of hand.

4.30 Were there claims of corruption by political parties during last grassroots elections?

Some respondents complained that the ruling party conducted and organized campaigns which involved corrupt practices against other political parties' candidates. Such campaigns were alleged to be funded by rich members in higher political posts so as to bribe voters to support the candidates from the ruling party. There were further claims that those rich people funded the grassroots' elections for their party in order to guarantee better chances for themselves to be nominated as party candidates in the forthcoming Presidential and General elections. The study was not able to verify these claims, although circumstantially, politics and corruption seem to have become soul-mates either in perception and/or reality.

4.31 Do political parties hinder or promote corruption?

As revealed by the findings, political parties can both either hinder or promote corruption in LGAs. They can hinder corruption when they blow whistles against corrupt practices by anybody be it the ruling party the government, private companies or civic groups. Likewise in cases such as stiff competition to capture more seats as councilors, political parties can promote corruption when they decide to use "all possible means", including illegal and unethical corrupt practices to capture power against all the national and international norms and standards. Findings further reveal that allegations were either not taken seriously or simply the allegations could not be substantiated with the necessary legal evidence to enable the courts of law to convict the alleged culprits.

4.32 Do you think Decentralization by devolution has:

- *Entrenched the powers of local elites?*
- *Weakened national institutions*
- *Exaruated social divisions?*
- *Deepened inequality?*
- *Caused regression of social and economic rights? [because of corruption]*

The findings from respondents revealed that decentralization by devolution has a contradictory impact on corruption in LGAs. Some argued that the process has entrenched the powers of local elites by giving them more autonomy to exercise their authority over the people but not necessarily because of corruption. The latter was rather viewed to be the outcome of misuse of power by the local officials and not necessarily related to corruption. Yet others argued that there is no evidence to prove that national institutions at local level have been weakened through the process/policy of decentralization by devolution. There were mixed views on the issue whether or not social division has been exaruated by the policy and process of decentralization by devolution. There are views which maintain that with the decentralized system of governance local elites are now at more liberty to practice cryonyism, nepotism, tribalism etc than was the case before powers, resources and authority were decentralized to the local level. There were also views which were contrary to the above view. They argued that with the on-going policy of decentralization by devolution there is less tension in the society because of greater openness, traparency and accountability. However there were respondents who argued that the policy has deepened inequality because of increased corruption. They further

argue that this is because more power, authority and resources are now at the disposal of LGAs, thus creating greater inducement and temptation for corrupt practices. Worse still it is argued that the policy has not yet effectively reached the mtaa, kitongoji level – vulnerable levels when it comes to corrupt practices and local elites who abused their positions as evidenced by claims of embezzlement of community contributions and MEM funds by some local elites. In most cases, the reality is that corruption of any form at any level of the LGA in the process of decentralization by devolution is not the result of the policy itself but the failure/weakness in the implementation process of devolving power, authority and resources to the people. Those weaknesses include:

- Lack of effective checks and balances established hand in hand with decentralization reforms at LG level
- Lack of training to ensure awareness of the ongoing reforms by the public at grassroots level.
- Weakness in monitoring and controlling decentralized power and resources to the council level.
- Failure to enforce/push the process of ongoing reforms to reach the basic levels at village/mtaa and ward with the same strength as it is at council level.

4.33 Has decentralization by devolution enhanced:

- *Political participation? How?*
- *Increased local autonomy? How?*
- *Empowered disadvantaged groups? How?*
- *Led to a more accountable local government? How?*

According to the findings decentralization by devolution had the following impact: First, enhanced political participation to a certain extent because the councilors from different wards are now

more involved (by law) in various crucial decisions, including tabling and discussing the budget through the committees and Full Council, and making by-laws. Also through the WDC people from grassroots and civic groups are more involved in planning their own development activities and determine their priorities. They have greater **voice** now than ever before. Second, enhanced local autonomy at district/municipal council level through gaining greater autonomy to decide independently and implement decisions on matters concerning local government, especially at basic level of village/mtaa and ward instead of decisions being imposed on them by either the Government or LGAs. Third, however there were respondents who argued that the policy has not empowered the disadvantaged groups which include the disabled people and civil servants at basic level of village/mitaa and ward categories. These groups were seen to have no or little space/voice to participate in decision making and in demanding their rights. They argued that the municipal/district councils have been far from them, too powerful on them and technically, are reluctant to trust them with power and resources as required by the policy of decentralization by devolution. Fourth, while it is true that there is enhanced accountability by LGA, however, only for councilors and their interests but not to the people at the grassroots level. Some people at the grassroots level feel that LGAs technocrats have little interest in their welfare.

In addition, decentralization by devolution seems to be stuck at the level of district/municipal councils due to various reasons including, and most importantly, lack of willingness and political courage and will by the district and municipal councils to disempower themselves. One junior village staff from Babati Town Council cautioned us not to document what she was revealing to us for fear of reprisals. This is what she said:

“Please do not go and ask them about our problems which we told you. They will fire us out of job. Do not write that we are the ones who complained, we will lose our jobs”.

[Our Translation]

Likewise, also some WDCs have not been responsive to the rights and demands of disabled and other marginalized groups such as blind, deaf, etc.

4.34 What is your assessment of the quality of service delivery in your locality?

Basing on the findings from respondents, there was a lot of dissatisfaction with the existing poor quality of services delivered or their inadequacy. The unsatisfactory services included water, cleanness, safety and security, rude village leaders, health, land allocation, administration, etc. It was notable that the poor and inadequate service delivery paved the ground for increased graft as people become desperate to access such limited services. In reality, provision of services was considered poor in terms of quality, availability and quantity. According to respondents, health services at dispensaries/health centers, although not satisfactory and poorly provided, could be obtained and accessed better in comparison to the district or regional hospitals as it was the frustrating experience at Bombo Hospital in Tanga, Dodoma Regional Hospital, Muhimbili in Dar es Saam as well as Mbeya Referral hospitals.

4.35 Has existing type of service delivery led to MORE/LESS corruption in your locality?

As revealed by the findings, poor services at various levels have led to more corruption as existing and growing demand push people to access such services at any cost. In reality, the worse the availability and quality of services delivered, the more the corruption in reality or in terms or perception. As revealed in

previous findings, poor salaries and lack of working equipment e.g stationary services at village/mitaa and ward levels has led to various corruption allegations. Most of these allegations are claimed to be true although not easy to verify in legal and administrative terms. In health sector, inadequate medical facilities, lack of enough manpower with poor remuneration has led to loopholes of corruption in the sector as is the case in other service delivery sectors e.g. primary education, electricity, water, primary courts building plots etc.

4.36 How can your LGA improve the following:

- *Accountability?*
- *Transparency?*
- *Participation?*
- *Equity?*
- *Non-discrimination?*

The findings revealed that the LGA can improve the above through: First, accountability – empowering people at basic level of village/mtaa and ward to gain more confidence and question the district or municipal councils on various decisions they make. That can be achieved through LGA providing training to people to enable them deliberate more effectively on the ongoing LG reforms. Second, transparency – reviewing and making the reform process more open and inclusive to the public, especially at basic level of Kitongoji, village and mtaa. Third, participation – enforcing, monitoring and evaluation through closely participatory approach in governance and development at all levels of LGA to be observed as institutionalized and legally binding. Fourth equity – taking deliberate measures in planning and decision making to balance and mainstream inclusiveness of gender, marginalized and disabled interests. Fifth, non – discrimination – recognizing

representation of needs of special and marginalized groups such as the deaf, blind, children, youths and women from the village/mtaa level. In doing so their needs may be given priority and incorporated in ward development plan to the district/municipal. Sixth, the findings revealed that issues of accountability, transparency, participation, inclusiveness, equity and non discrimination have not been given priority to reach the basic levels at village/mtaa and ward. The representation system by councilors from wards also seemed to leave the basic levels far from the district and municipal center, where councilors give more priority to their political interests than peoples' own interests. Instead the district/municipal councils become more accountable to councilors' needs which finally may not truly be the needs of the public at local level. Finally, most people in local communities are further excluded and marginalized at the basic levels where participatory democracy, accountability and transparency appear to exist on paper but hardly so in real life.

4.37 Name forms of injustices created by corruption in the society

According to the findings, some forms of injustices mentioned as a result of corruption in the society were: First, dehumanization – especially where corruption involved sexual harassment and disregard of human rights. Second, denial of what is due to a person as his/her basic rights. Third, payment for the goods/services that were supposed to be freely and legally obtained. Fourth, various forms of discrimination against women, youth etc. Finally, marginalization/exclusion – directly or indirectly of people as they seek services from LGAs. Some respondents from LG communities were courageous enough to provide names/forms of corruption in the process of interviews. For example some small business people in municipal markets at Dodoma, Tanga and Mbeya municipalities claimed that they had provided some names

[in the suggestion boxes] of some alleged corrupt officials but so far “all is business as usual”. Barmaids in Babati Town Council and Tanga municipal council expressed views revealing “gross dehumanization and exploitation” as forms of injustice that they face due to corruption but those who engage in the evil practice are more powerful than they – victims of corruption and argued that they are always at the receiving hand and that they could do nothing (sic). However relevant LGA officials denied all these claims.

4.38 What is your assessment of governance in your locality? e.g

- (a) Rule of law?*
- (b) Respect of human rights?*
- (c) Legal protection?*
- (d) Final accountability?*

The findings from respondents revealed that these aspects could be seen at three levels, namely at the level of correspondences between central government to LG, district or municipal council to ward, village and mitaa and between the people and LGA. Aspects of rule of law, respect of human rights and legal protection were named to be poorly observed from central government to the grassroots levels. There were complaints against the modality of communication from one level to another i.e was in form of orders and commands which disregarded the spirit of reforms and was against human rights as they did not even respect legal autonomy LGAs in discharging their duties.

In reality, there were views from some respondents that revealed the state of governance in their localities as follows: First, in Tanga, Dodoma, and Mbeya municipalities the business people were against the approach used by LGA to communicate with them because it involved bureaucratic, coercive and commandist approaches instead of mutual dialogue participation and respect.

Second, in Mbeya Municipality, some leaders in Igawilo and Forest wards expressed their criticism against the approach by the Municipal council regarding some of its officials who preferred top-down, autocratic and bureaucratic approaches instead of engaging in mutual dialogue with the local communities. In our view a top down approach provides a fertile ground for increased corruption and/or perception of it.

4.39 What are your views on PCB at:

- (a) *National level*
- (b) *Regional level*
- (c) *District level*

Respondents from gave different views on PCB, some praising it while others blaming it: For instance, at general level, there were views that Corruption Act establishing PCB does not enable it to be more efficient and effective in terms of becoming more independent. Various PCB officers from Tanga, Mbeya and Dodoma regional bureaus invariably advised that:

“PCB Act should be amended to make the culprit alleged for corruption responsible to prove oneself innocent instead of requiring PCB to bear the responsibility to prove that the culprit is guilty of corruption”

[Our Translation]

On the other hand PCB at regional level in Mbeya and Dodoma municipalities were praised for focusing on providing civic education to people on how to combat corruption and increase awareness of their own rights. Full of praise, this is how the Dodoma Municipal Director said:

“They are trying their best. We commend them. People with problems nowadays go to PCB to register their problems”

[Our Translation]

However some respondents gave their views that some PCB officials were not as **“clean as may be expected”**. Respondents said that there were cases in which some PCB officers were either involved directly in corrupt acts or collaborated with corrupt police to engage in corruption against citizens. It was not possible to verify these serious allegations against PCB. Some respondents at **district level** observed that PCB was mostly located in towns, municipal and district levels. This is how one WEO from Kiomoni Ward in Tanga Municipality said:

“They do not focus attention at basic levels in villages, ward, mitaa and vitongoji were victims of corruption suffocate to the maximum”

[Our Translation]

Respondents’ views suggested that PCB’s focus on district and sub-district levels would ensure provision of civic education to people on awareness of corruption and best ways to combat it. Also they should assist the basic levels to prepare anti-corruption strategies through bottom-up, demand driven and inclusive/participatory approaches.

In addition, some respondents gave views that it was at sub-district level where institutional, democratic and governance structures were more fragile. They further argued that some PCB staff need to demonstrate more transparency, accountability, commitment and integrity in fighting graft. This is how one citizen from Babati Town Council put it:

“... some of the (PCB) staff are always seen drinking with the same LGA officials who are notorious in demanding corruption before they give you the service the public deserves”

[Our Translation]

Findings further revealed that the requirement by the corruption law that PCB establishes evidence on alleged culprits

made it difficult to file cases against high ranking officials who are involved in grand corruption because the evil deed takes place in great secrecy and the level of corruption was highly sophisticated. At this level it became difficult for PCB to establish any evidence. As the PCB Commander in Mbeya said:

“People complain that we do not deal with the big fish but just target the small fish. But in fact it is the nature of our law that protects them since it is rather difficult to establish evidence that may lead us to sue them given their sophisticated level of corruption. Hardly do you find any one coming to us complaining about corruption involving say 4 billion Tshs by business person and TRA because it is not easy for an ordinary citizen to get such details. However many people come to us to report corruption involving VEOs, WEOs and ward tribunals, police etc because they directly affect them as victims and PCB takes such allegations seriously. We do not fear the big fish but the problem is that, the law demands concrete evidence be established otherwise the courts of law will not convict the alleged culprit”

[Our Translation]

Findings further revealed that where there was prompt action and better performance by PCB, it was contributed by committed and people of high integrity within PCB leadership and existing good cooperation between PCB and municipal or district council leadership in order to rid people of graft. That was seen in Mbeya Municipality where a civil servant was sued by PCB, as a result of cooperation with various departments of LGA – all facilitated the process of dealing with the culprit. The commitment of leadership from PCB in Mbeya was observed also in the common practice in building coalition efforts with civil society and private

sector in order to combat corruption more effectively. Religious organizations such as TEC, and others such as OPEN HEART, FORDIA, etc were actively involved in providing not only service delivery but also in providing civic education to enable people **know** and **demand** their basic rights. It was also revealed that in Dodoma and Mbeya municipalities, there were allegations of PCB officials who collaborated with corrupt policemen to demand corruption from people instead of assisting them. In Mbeya, some citizens claimed they were victims of this practice. However we were not able to verify these claims.

4.40 Are anti-corruption efforts making difference?

Respondents gave various views which may be categorized in three groups: First, there were those who said there were no practical efforts done to combat corruption but mere rhetoric on corruption and anti-corruption struggle. This group held the view that corruption has permeated every aspect of the social fabric and no surgical measures will cure the problem. This group held the view that corruption was increasing because there were hardly any tough measures that forced people to change their selfish ways of life. This is what one WEO from Ngamiani Chini Ward in Tanga Municipality said:

“As long as salaries are still low for most of employees and working conditions not improved, especially for primary school teachers, health workers, VEOs and WEO, corruption will always persist,”

[Our Translation]

Second other respondents argued that serious efforts to combat corruption are in place but are not making the necessary impact since most attention is directed at only petty corruption leaving grand corruption almost intact thus leading some people to feel that there is no serious war being waged against the evil. As

some respondents argued, grand corruption involves powerful leaders and the rich people who seem to have transformed graft into tax-free industry, and with impunity. The third group is of respondents that had mixed views. In Mbeya they commended expansion of PCB to district level thus enabling people to get civic education that increased their awareness against corruption. Some people said corruption was increasing because some leaders were neither strict nor committed to fighting it. Yet they were some respondents who had lost hope, believing that they would continue to be victims of corruption since the few and powerful benefit from the evil deed and have no interest to combat it at all.

Some respondents commended the Government for spearheading various reforms which aim at improving the economy and governance e.g reforms which are on-going in various sectors. These reforms have contributed to reducing corruption loopholes and thus reduce corrupt practices through ensuring efficiency, accountability, transparency and customer caring, for example, the experience on land reforms that focused on surveying plots using customers' fees in Babati, Tanga, Mbeya and Kinondoni Municipal Councils all revealed that there is reduced corruption which was involved in securing plots, and right to occupancy as well as the notorious double allocations. Such practical collaborative and cost-sharing measures are very effective in reducing corruption and instill more confidence in the public that it is possible to fight the pandemic evil. Also reforms in LGA through decentralization by devolution in projects such as MEM and TASAF have shown reduced level of corruption through greater financial transparency and accountability where village communities themselves controlled and monitored the projects. Where there was corruption, such transparency and accountability have enabled citizens to

expose the problem in most cases as was the situation mentioned above in Mbeya municipality.

4.41 Is there a forum/space for ordinary citizens to register/report complaints against corruption?

Respondents gave their views that there were mechanisms for ordinary citizens to register/report complaints against corruption through **suggestion boxes** which were fixed on walls in dispensaries, hospitals, schools and in various municipal and district council offices. In some wards, villages and mitaa there were also such boxes. Respondents said citizens could secretly place their complaints into those boxes. However we were not able to verify how often such boxes were opened, by who and steps taken on the various suggestions people made. Also respondents said complaints were channeled through PCB or village, mitaa and vitongoji leaders. As one WEO in Ngamiani Chini ward, Tanga municipality said:

“I receive such complaints from mitaa leaders and forward them to the higher level e.g. at district for further follow up and that is where my role ends” (sic)

[Our Translation]

The findings further revealed that although some space/forum existed for citizens to register corruption complaints there were perceptions that no serious efforts from the relevant authorities taking measures which could later encourage such citizens to be more active whistle blowers. This is what one citizen from Mbeya Municipality said:

“You just put papers in suggestion boxes in hospital and nothing happens. There is no feedback for the complaints. It is wasting of our time and resources. It boils down to simply

paying lipservice to anti-corruption struggle”

[Our Translation]

However some respondents view PCB as very helpful in fighting corruption and there are cases where follow-ups against complaints has resulted in suing the culprits as has been the case in Babati Town Council where a magistrate at primary court has been booked and in Mbeya municipality where an officer with the treasury has also been booked. However some respondents argued that given PCB offices are at district level, they still appear to be far from people and in most cases their offices are located in hidden areas, inaccessible to people and some of their officials act and behave more or less like police or intelligence officers, a phenomenon that make people fearful of them. In other cases councilors are alleged to be involved in corruption by not paying business licences through cooperating with licencing officers and makes citizens feel that the whole crusade against corruption is a big joke.

4.42 Are there complaint mechanisms for public servants and whistle blowers?

Respondents revealed that there are mechanisms for public servants in which they could report cases to their heads of departments or to PCB for further action. The problem is always whether there is enough legal evidence to secure convictions from courts of law. As regards whistle blowers protection measures, respondents said that was an area which had serious weakness as far as anticorruption law is concerned in Tanzania. One senior PCB official in Mbeya had this to say on the issue:

“Unfortunately, in our law, there is no any stipulation to protect the whistle blowers other than asking him to provide evidence for whistle blowing. This is one of areas that is very

discouraging and frustrating the whole process of anti-corruption struggle,”

[Our Translation]

Similar complaints were registered by respondents that the laws in Tanzania are not helpful to whistle blowers because the whistle blowers are at a great risk since it is not easy to provide the necessary evidence and can also face retribution from the alleged culprits who are normally rich and powerful in society. The findings further revealed that whistle blowing is one of areas with weakness in the process of facilitating anti-corruption war in Tanzania. This is because of low civic education given to the citizens, difficulties in ensuring compliance with the laws against graft and the fact that the evil deed is always carried out in great secrecy. In addition, one Senior Municipal Officer in Tanga had this to say:

“Where it is the officers themselves that are involved in corruption, it becomes impossible to report such a case. Corruption is conducted secretly and any attempt to blow whistles need to be made carefully, otherwise whistle-blowing can hardly be effective on its own and can put one’s life at risk”

[Our Translation]

Moreover, numerous cases are over-whealmingly discussed involving various corruption allegations such as one involving company in Mbeya municipality, traffic police at Mwenge and Ubungo in Kinondoni municipality, or Bombo Hospital in Tanga Municipality remain mere media stories since people’s perception is that no one takes serious measures to act on them. This itself does not encourage whistle blowing. However discussions with some LGA officials in the study sample showed that steps were being taken to deal with some corruption allegations and they

further argued that fighting graft should be based on law, hard evidence and carried out in a systematic way. It was further stated that mere rumours or perceptions on corruption are not enough to convict somebody. In addition some administrative steps are being taken whenever there is a good and fair reason to do so.

4.43 How are local civil society groups involved in the affairs of LGA?

Some respondents revealed that LGA involved civil society groups to some extent while on other hand there were some who did not involve civil society groups. Respondents further revealed that in various meetings including preparation and implementation of councils' strategic plans, NGO's and CBOs were invited to give their contribution. This is what the Mayor of Mbeya Municipality said:

“We call them through their leaders and tell them we want to do this and that. What role can you play here? If it is planting trees, they may say, we have so many trees and we will plant them in a given area. If it is to give education to orphans, we say the council will pay for 20 orphans then different CSOs say they will pay for this number, etc. That is how we cooperate with NGOs and CBOs and so far it is effective”.

[Our Translation]

In Mbeya Municipality, it was also noted that some NGOs had greater impact to the extent of organizing seminars and facilitating training of LGA personnel on corruption and anti-corruption strategy as it was provided by one NGO called **Open Heart** which did so on several occasions. It was also noted that some NGOs were active in providing welfare services such as taking care of orphans, environment, HIV/AIDS prevention, construction and maintenance of schools etc. The findings further

revealed that there were areas of conflictual relationship between civil society groups and the local governments. Those areas included urban planning operations where CSOs often criticized the government in the manner they use to evict the small business people from their original and profitable locations to new loss making ones. Some human rights based CSOs regularly criticized the LGAs for using undue excessive coercive means instead of education and dialogue. Nevertheless LGAs officials denied that excessive force was applied.

However, the findings further revealed that there were some briefcase NGOs/CBOs and some were owned by the same government leaders. This is what one respondent from Tanga Youth Aids and Environmental Conservation Association (TYAECA) in Majengo Ward, Tanga Municipality said:

“You find an NGO whose history is not known but it is getting Tsh, 40 millions for taking care of orphans. Yet, if you follow up, you discover they are 2 – 3 children in someone’s residence which is referred to as orphanage care center. This is pure corruption”

[Our Translation]

4.44 Is there an independent mechanism to handle complaints of corruption against:

- *The police?*
- *LGA officials?*
- *Judiciary staff?*

According to respondents, independent mechanisms to handle complaints of corruption were either lacking in some LGA, police or judiciary staff or are not effective to combat the pandemic evil. This is how a respondent from Mbeya Regional Environment and Conservation [MRECA] put it”

“A mere mechanism to register complaints is not sufficient to fight the pandemic evil if we are not serious about enforcing strict compliance of the laws and regulatins”

[Our Translation]

The findings further revealed that reliable and independent mechanism and institution to handle corruption complaints would be more effective tools to combat corruption in LGA if and when people at grassroots level who are currently frustrated for lack of such platform would participate fully and in all aspects of designing and in the implementation monitoring and evaluation of any anti-corruption strategy. The findings from Mbeya and Tanga Municipalities indicated that PCB offices were based in urban areas and people in the remote areas find it difficult to reach such offices.

4.45 Are there people in this department (Judiciary) who have been accused of corruption?

Respondents' views in Babati Town Council, Igawilo ward in Mbeya Municipality and Ngamiani Kusini in Tanga municipality complained that there was rampant corruption in primary courts. Respondents claimed that it was common in courts to be told **“go and come tomorrow”**. Also prosecutors at this level and court assessors (**Wazee wa Baraza**) are used to telling people **“your case is dangerous and you need to wear on long sleeves shirt to be safe”**. However, even it was alleged that even if you pay them something, you still have no guarantee that you will win that case!. However there was a vehement rejection of these allegations from the relevant officials. The findings further revealed that though there were many complaints against some LGA, especially at local/community level, there were no practical evidence of people accused for corruption. However in Babati Town council, the

primary court magistrate was sued of corruption scandal in 2003 and the case still continues to date. As one respondent complained in this way:

“Now we do not have a magistrate for a longtime after the former one had been booked for corruption. The case seems will take a century before judgement is issued though we are suffering and due justice is denied and corruption continues to increase... we are also doubtful if he will be found guilt”

[Our Translation]

4.46 How effective is the Ward Tribunal?

The views from respondents revealed that people at local/community level supported the establishment of Ward Tribunals. However the existing tribunals are hardly effective in dealing with complaints against corruption. Nevertheless some people were more positive about these tribunals. In Gallapo ward in Babati Town Council, some respondents stated that the Ward Tribunal has been established as a measure to ensure justice is done. As one respondent in Bonga Ward, Babati Town council said:

“Ward Tribunals are very important. Even though, currently they are not active because they lacked financial support to sustain them but there is less corruption and efficiency is better than what we experience in primary courts”.

[Our Translation]

A similar situation was revealed in Kiomoni ward within Tanga Municipality where respondents said that the ward tribunal was there in principle but has not started working for various reasons. However, there were a number of corruption complaints against TANESCO services, health sector and local government staff that remained frustrating to people at local/community level as they could not find independent mechanisms to reveal their

complaints. Respondents' further revealed that Ward tribunal efficiency varied as stated below: In typical village areas – Ward tribunals were valued but hardly supported by LGAs, hence hardly active and function less professionally. Citizens have resorted to using traditional authorities/leaders, religious leaders, ten cells/households leaders for conflict resolution. However in town areas – there was tendency for people not to rely much on the Ward Tribunals and sometimes, they despised them and treat them as not their own. In semi-urban areas, it is where the ward tribunals were more active and in some cases very efficient as was the case in Igawilo ward and Forest ward in Mbeya Municipality.

The findings further revealed that in most areas ward tribunals dealt with various cases and settled such cases amicably. Respondents commended such tribunals and said they were less corrupt, they settled their cases quickly and more efficiently and reduced the number of cases forwarded to primary courts which were themselves inefficient and corrupt due to lack of human resource capacity and poor working environment which in their totality, induced greater corrupt practices among the primary court workers – courts clerks, messengers, courts assessors and some magistrates themselves.

4.47 Is rule of law respected in courts?

Respondents' views on the situation surrounding day to day operation of primary courts revealed a lot of dissatisfaction with their performance that did show there was no respect for the rule of law. There were various cases narrated to explain how people's justice was denied and grossly violated. As articulated by a senior PCB official in Tanga municipality,

***“The working environment of primary court magistrates is so difficult that you find them without papers, transport or even other basic facilities.*”**

As a result once they are offered a lift on their way to office or “rewarded” a TV set they go against professional ethics and treat culprits with favour. Now how can justice be there? Is this the observation of professional ethics?”

[Our Translation]

The same situation was revealed by PCB Bureau chief in Babati who said that in courts, there was a tendency to postpone cases continuously and indefinitely beyond common sense such that the poor, who are coming from remote areas fail to afford cost of transport such that they end up abandoning the case. In addition the Regional Bureau Chief says:

“Also file names could be called with very low voice to avoid the people from hearing so that cases are postponed. All these situations are clear indications of corruption which cannot guarantee justice can be done”

[Our Translation]

There were also complaints against rigid and bureaucratic court procedures which ordinary citizens do not know. This is how the Manyara (Babati) Regional Bureau Chief put it:

“Procedures in our courts are not clear to people. Sometimes simultaneous sessions go on within three chambers, you find the accuser and accused do not know which chamber one’s case is being held, by who, sometimes the conversations that go on with the police within the court shows that the possibility for graft is very high”

[Our Translation]

4.48 Do courts of law experience political interferences?

Generally, the views from respondents revealed some lack of confidence with judiciary system at both primary and district levels. In their own views, they preferred other means such as

strong ward tribunals which could help them settle disputes and avoid going to the courts which they described as unprofessional, lack capacity to ensure justice, cared little about ordinary citizens, especially the **voiceless and the poor** who are the daily victims of corruption that is done with impunity. In reality, the findings further revealed that although there was no direct evidence that revealed whether there was political interference in courts of law, the latter could not be an exception with the judiciary given the fragility of grassroots democracy and regarding lack of respect of rule of law. Regardless of whether one is a politician, citizen or technocrat as revealed by one senior government official in Dodoma Municipality. This is how one respondent from Dodoma Municipality put it:

“If the councilors had influence not to pay for business licences and also could harvest natural resources existing in their areas, even in those restricted in the by-laws, on claim that those were their “allowances” given their position, there is the same possibility to use the same influence to interfere with court decisions given the fragility of legal institutions at the local level.”

[Our Translation]

4.49 Is the media playing an effective role in anti-corruption struggle?

The study findings indicate that the local media both-print and electronic-play an important role in educating the public on the pandemic evil including exposing some alleged culprits. This is how one respondent from Dodoma municipality put it:

“I am an avid reader of local newspapers and there is no single day that I will miss an article related to

corruption of one kind or another in any newspaper I choose to read”

[Our Translation]

Another respondent from Tanga Municipality had this to say:

“A lot is being written about corruption in our newspapers but there is no follow up. You read about an alleged corruption scandal today... but you will not hear anything more about it. There is no investigative journalism in our country”

[Our Translation]

Yet another respondent from Mbeya Municipality had this to say:

“All you read about corruption in the newspapers is a small fish has been apprehended in one LGA and nothing about the big fish. In the television the discussions revolve around big money corruption but hardly anybody big has been convicted”

[Our Translation]

5.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The previous chapter presented and discussed the findings of the study. In this chapter the focus is on the conclusions that can be derived from the findings and we provide some viable recommendations for immediate and long-term action.

1. On the whole corruption and [perceptions on corruption] remain a daunting challenge not only to LGAs but for the whole country.
2. Ordinary citizens [and even LGAs] recognize its existence and consequences but despite various commendable measures to arrest the situation, corruption remains a pandemic and cancerous problem in society.
3. There is a general consensus that **TAKRIMA Act** is not popular, hardly understood and is taken as formally legalizing corruption by the rich and powerful **before and during elections**.
4. Rigid, bureaucratic, unknown procedures and unresponsive bureaucrats make people believe that they would not get the services they deserve without **“oiling the system” or “wearing long sleeve shirts”** i.e. bribing the officials.
5. Inadequate poor service delivery, poor remuneration, unattractive working environment, including lack of working equipment create conducive environment and temptation for engaging in corrupt practices. However it is equally true that contradictory and incongruent policy and political statements and interpretation between the politicians and LGA technocrats on one hand and between these and the citizens on the other fuels perception on corruption.

6. There is an increasing awareness by LGAs, civil society groups and citizens on the social, political, economic and even psychological dangers of corruption as evidenced by intensified and combined legal, political and civic education measures all of which have led to increased courage and confidence by the ordinary citizens to raise alarm on the pandemic and cancerous evil.
7. Despite the existence of the National Anti-Corruption strategy and some LGAs designing their own locally based anti-corruption strategies in line with the national framework, there is little evidence of the existence of any serious mainstreaming of anti-corruption strategies in LGAs activities.
8. Citizens complain more about corruption (or perception it) in the following service delivery sectors: primary courts, health, land, education, traffic police, TanESCO, natural resources, TRA and unresponsive and rude LGA bureaucrats.
9. Corruption affects everybody but there are sections of the population which are more affected and/or affected differently than others e.g. men, youth, disabled, women, old people etc. However at the end of the day it is the country and its people who suffer most.
10. The laid down laws, rules and regulations are in place and some are available at LGA offices but are hardly known by most of the staff and citizens which make compliance ineffective.
11. It appears that the political side of LGA [elected representatives] is less involved in anti-corruption strategy than the technical side hence making the fight against corruption less effective.

12. The study findings revealed that people have mixed feelings on the impact of D-by-D on anti-corruption struggle, particularly at sub-Municipal district level.
13. Conventionally, corruption and indeed perceptions of it flourish where democratic culture is fragile, service delivery is poor and inadequate low awareness on one's basic rights etc.
14. The study has shown that corruption has been thriving because, among others, many citizens are very poor, are not aware of their basic rights and lack the necessary courage and confidence to hold leaders and technocrats accountable to them. It is in this context that any long term and durable anti-corruption strategy should incorporate civic engagement and empowerment at all levels.
15. The study has also shown that corruption creates untold suffering and innumerable forms of injustice which affect almost every aspect of daily life for ordinary citizens and no sector of the society is immune from it. Indeed the pandemic evil is not a victimless crime. Rather it is an illegal, immoral, unethical and unprofessional transaction which carries substantial (direct and indirect) social psychological, political and economic costs. The study has shown that corruption (and/or perception of it) de-humanizes both the **giver** and the **taker** and increases inefficiency, injustice and loss of people's confidence in their leadership and indeed themselves. They become not only desperate but helpless victims in taming the evil. In addition it undermines political and executive institutions by weakening the legitimacy and accountability of both LGAs and Central Government.
16. The study has also shown that corruption erodes economic growth and impairs efficiency. This occurs through the

stifling of local initiative, creativity and confidence. It is clear that the evil practice also breeds wastage, aggravates LGA budget deficit problems, reduces resources available for service delivery and infrastructure and anti-poverty programs, which in turn, intensifies corruption and the vicious circle of poverty and corruption continues!

17. The study has demonstrated that the best way to conceptualize corruption is viewing it as a **process** in social, economic and political development that is more than a problem of individual morality or market imperfections. In other words understanding corruption requires a focus on power and power relations and the morals, values, ethics and material conditions that uphold them. In our view by analyzing corruption in LGAs as part of a broader process in social, economic and political development, societal power relations that sustain the process can be better understood and more effective anti-corruption strategies and action plans can be devised which will complement the on-going social, political and economic reforms. In other words, a wholistic approach to fighting corruption has a better chance of success than mere populist and legalistic solutions that target individual wrong-doers. Indeed there is need to intensify efforts to consciously transform social values as well as those of state, LGAs, civil society, private sector and other institutions that are stakeholders, actors and players in the crusade against corruption. This approach is further reinforced by the fact that corruption is a complex, multi-faceted and cancerous problem that requires a matching strategic framework that is embedded in complex and multi-faced approach that cuts across disciplines.

5.2 Proposed Recommendations

Given the study findings, analysis and conclusions, we propose the following recommendations for action – short and long term-by a variety of stakeholders, actors, players and individuals including Government, LGAs, civil society and private sector. Some of these recommendations focus on legal and regulatory framework while others focus on policy, rules and regulations, yet others target changing the mindset of service providers including those in service delivery and administration. It is emphasized that these recommendations should be viewed/considered in their holistic framework in which each aspect, player, actor and stakeholder, in their positions/locations play their active role in an effective collaborative partnership. For instance macro-economic stability is as strategically important as micro-economic stability in which citizen's economic well being is seen and felt to be improving while at the same time both at macro and micro level, individual citizens actors and players understand their basic civic rights and have the courage to demand them but are also conscious of their obligations to the State, LGA, civic society and other individuals.

[These proposals are not in any order of priority]

1. There is need to strengthen the public's resolve to resist corruption; encouraging an active and sustainable engagement and participation of all stakeholders: Government, LGAs, civil society, private sector, religious institutions and individuals. However in order for this to happen deliberate strategies and achievable action plans must be in place in terms of enhancing and sustaining civic education, service delivery, transformation of governance institutions to enable them become more responsive to people's needs, including having a **voice** in determining their affairs.

2. To be effective, efforts geared toward combating corruption (and perception of it) must depart from the traditional approach that views corruption as a mere individual problem and/or simply emphasizing internal causes alone instead of viewing the pandemic vice in a wholistic manner in which the focus should be on internal, external, individual, petty and grand corruption and indeed articulating it as a systemic problem.
3. It is worth noting that social action through cooperation and collaborative partnership among the Government, LGAs, private sector, civil society and individuals can be more effective in fighting corruption and result not only in reduction of corruption but also can facilitate good governance in the country in general and within LGAs in particular.
4. In addition, the exchange of experiences between all these stakeholders, actors and players can improve the effectiveness of anti-corruption strategies and actions at community, LGA, and even international levels.
5. It should also be emphasized that openness, transparency and accountability (at levels) are crucial to good governance. This means conducting all Central Government, LGA, civil society and private sector activities with greatest honesty, integrity and humility so as to eliminate corruption and/or perception of it. On the other hand there is need to empower those groups which are both marginalized and remain victims of the vice who continue to absorb the bitter costs of corruption. This could be an important strategic step toward reducing the pandemic vice in the country. In practical operational terms this requires commitment on the part of top leadership and major actors and players in LGAs as well

as well as conscious efforts to empower the local communities to fight corruption without fear or favour.

6. With intensified civic education ordinary citizens will know and demand their basic rights and accept their obligations. It is important that citizens understand what constitutes public property and the linkage between their taxes and public property and that they should feel obliged to take responsibility to discourage public officials from using their positions and offices for individual/private gain.
7. On the other hand a flexible, effective and known mechanism for protecting whistle blowers should be instituted including embedding it in the legal/regulatory framework. This is because the social pressures to remain silent for real fear of retribution from the rich and powerful in society. The study has shown that citizens understand the untold costs and suffering of accusing the rich, powerful and those who are well connected of corruption.
8. In our view citizen empowerment and engagement should entail the strengthening of the civil society that are willing to confront the evil practice head on and take on the institutions and individuals that maintain and sustain it. This is possible if LGAs and civic groups establish an effective collaborative partnership that ensures that combined efforts are in place to arrest the situation.
9. In addition citizen empowerment and engagement should entail the strengthening of civil society groups by widening and protecting its political and economic resources in order to enhance its political and economic vitality. Indeed empowerment and engagement should also provide the citizens increased access to state and LGAs and lay down rules of interaction between LGAs and society.

10. It is further emphasized that empowerment and engagement reduces their vulnerability and loss of confidence and enhances their ability to participate more effectively in politics and to check the self interested behaviour of official decision makers and each other. Most importantly, makes them effective watchdogs over corrupt LGA officials and also reduces their vulnerability to be corrupted, participating in corrupt deals or simply remain unconcerned when corruption is taking place in their own communities. Indeed where political and social empowerment are effective, social groups and private/individual interests can become, not the instigators, perpetrators or targets of corruption, but active and committed law enforcers. It is a known fact that citizen empowerment bolsters institutional reforms by enabling the citizens to act as the watchdog over institutional practices.
11. The Government and LGAs should ensure better salaries to raise the income of Local government servants, especially those at the grassroots levels e.g. of WEO, VEO etc. Their current allowances should be paid to avoid frustrating them and tempting them to engage in corruption. The Government and LGAs should intensify efforts to channel more resources to the grassroots level to improve service delivery provision, especially by providing and maintaining sufficient and reliable service delivery e.g. water, health, education, land allocation, justice in primary courts etc.
12. It is recommended that the Local Governments establish **special office bureau that could listen to sexual harassment complaints experienced by women in work places**. The measure may vary from counseling to conducting investigation and even taking disciplinary actions against alleged offenders depending on the nature of the

cases reported. Such bureaus could also organize civic education programmes to encourage victims to report any form of harassment against them. This could add strength in combating sexual favours as corruption in LGA offices than merely depending on such cases to be reported officially in departments or PCB, which sometimes demands legal evidence which is difficult to obtain.

13. The LGAs may need to propose by laws and regulations that govern the private businesses in their councils by providing for rights of casual employees, especially barmaids. On the other hand the barmaids themselves need to be encouraged to form workers' associations through which they could register and demand their rights. This is an area that CBOs and NGOs could provide support. Even TACAIDS may be potential agent in this area as the leading partner in the fight against AIDS. Another recommendation is for mainstreaming gender in ward development planning, so that specific gender needs for disabled, women, youths and disadvantaged employees may find a forum to channel their complaints/demands to LGAs.
14. We recommend that LGAs should take actions to enable people discuss such issues from mtaa/village levels at least by having a strategy that directs for and provides for the need to explore, document and report complaints regarding corruption allegations. This can be operationalized by forming anti-corruption committees at village and mtaa levels.
15. It is recommended that procedures including **disclosure provisions** especially for top technical and political staff at LGA authorities be strictly complied with by all relevant officials without exception.

16. The study recommends that LGA strengthens the existing community committees to become avenues where people could complain when they are discriminated against or marginalized. Education should also be given to public by LGA so that they may register their complains.
17. To some extent cronyism and nepotism in recruitment within LGA have taken roots. Although the ongoing reforms are commendable in reducing this problem, the study recommends that the new recruitment procedures be strictly monitored so that they may be strictly implemented to avoid abuse and violations by influential individuals.
18. The study recommends that publications or declarations on permits licenses, plots and tax assessment be placed in ward and village offices, so that they may be accessed by required members of public who should have a right to demand an explanation.
19. Training and awareness on the use of judiciary power at the LGA is also important to be provided by judiciary itself. Some NGOs and ombudsman need to play a more significant role of advocacy and activism in this area.
20. The study recommends that more efforts be directed towards entrenching and strengthening PCB to the basic levels of administration at village/mitaa. PCB's legal framework should also be reviewed in line with LGRP to empower it to deal with corruption in LGA, more efficiently and effectively.
21. Although efforts to establish tender boards are commendable and may be a step further to curb corruption, the public at grassroots level is not yet capable and competent to participate actively and get information on tendering issues. That is important to enable the public to play a more effective oversight watchdog role against corruption. The

study recommends that LGA take initiatives to deliberate and promote the Procurement Act at grassroots levels through training, information in simple ways such as fliers, etc.

22. The study recommends the need for LGA to promote public awareness on financial management through sensitizing the public to deliberate on audited reports. The LGA should ensure some components of the report relevant to specific wards/villages are made public in such localities as a way to promote public interest on the report.
23. The study recommends a more detailed dialogue on allocations be made to LGA by the central government. There is need of careful dialogue on how much goes to the central government and that which goes to LGA, taking into consideration that the public in reality is in demand of more services at the local level which is the responsibility of LGAs.
24. The study recommends that as political competition is further taking roots in Tanzania, it is important to give attention to serious monitoring of the grassroots elections to reduce corrupt practices or mere perceptions of it.
25. The study underscores the importance of training at the grassroots level by both the Central and LGA to ensure empowerment of people through their understanding of LGR process. That will enable them to demand accountability and participation in decision making and resource control from district/municipal council levels/down to the village/mtaa levels.
26. The study also recommends that in WDC, there should be representation of disadvantaged groups, especially those with special needs such as the blind, deaf, crippled, etc so

that their needs may be represented through ward plans and incorporated in the council plans.

27. Financial expenditure and revenue reports/statements be placed not only at the district and regional notice boards but also at ward, village and mitaa notice boards with components showing revenues, allocations and expenditures for such levels. Ombudsman and judiciary services should be improved at LGA basic administrative levels.
28. It is important that PCB at Regional and district levels focus more attention on mobilizing for establishment of grassroots-oriented and locally based strategies to combat corruption from the basic levels. That should go hand in hand with providing education on how/role of individual people at basic levels in combating corruption. Checks and balances against PCB staffs/allegedly participating in corruption must be in place and be known to citizens. This is important to avoid monopoly of power by PCB in regard to anti-corruption measures. One way to achieve this besides serious monitoring by PCB itself, is to mobilize coalition approach in anti-corruption process by cooperating with civil society, private sector and other government departments/sectors.
29. The study recommends that Ward Tribunals be strengthened and well established where they are not because they are more efficient in settling common disputes which are not complex but also less costful to operate where they are well planned. That is because unlike most magistrates at primary level whose necessary support for efficiency demands better salaries, transportation, security and other allowances for housing, etc. the ward tribunal teams in most cases just require reliable subsistence allowances. To ensure efficiency of ward tribunals it is important that their members be

monitored and that they should not have too many other responsibilities which make them under perform. Also they should be people of reputable integrity in the community.

30. The study recommends that the central governments focus attention to improve working conditions at the basic levels of the judiciary system [primary and regional courts]. That should include promoting and enforcing adherence to professional ethical conducts at this basic level and ensuring competent, reliable and effective human resource, conducive working environment and attractive remunerations.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Executive

- 1.1 What is your comment on corruption in your area?
- 1.2 Is there a LGA strategy to combat corruption?
- 1.3 What is your assessment of its effectiveness?
- 1.4 Any Full Council Meeting that discussed corruption in the last three years?
- 1.5 Any Researcher(s) who have come here in the last three years to study corruption?
- 1.6 Were there claims of corruption in last year's Grass-Roots elections?
- 1.7 Are there claims of corruption in tendering?
- 1.8 What are your views on PCB at
- 1.8 (b) Is there a code of conduct/ethics for staff and councilors?
Explain its effects.
 - National level?
 - Regional level?
 - District level?
- 1.9 Are anti-corruption efforts making a difference?
- 1.10 Is there a forum/space for ordinary citizens to register/report complaints against corruption?
- 1.11 Are there procedures, including disclosure provisions for:
 - Top Technical Staff of LGA?
 - Top Political Staff of LGA
 - Village VEOs/Chairmen?
- 1.12 Are there **rules/regulations** and **procedures** concerning GIFTS/HOSPITALITY for LGA:
 - (a) Technical Staff?
 - (b) Political Staff?

- 1.13 Are there restrictions on POST-LGA employment?
- 1.14 Does your LGA has its own system/mechanism of checking on corrupt practices
- 1.15 Are public expenditures audited annually?
- 1.16 Are audited reports made public?
- 1.17 Are audited reports scrutinized by the Full Council?
- 1.18 Are there rules requiring political independence of LGA personnel?
- 1.19 Have you received complaints against some LGA personnel are not neutral in serving the public?
- 1.20 How is recruitment done in the LGA?
- 1.21 How is nepotism and cronyism managed in your LGA?
- 1.22 Are there procedures/criteria for administrative decisions published or declared for e.g.
 - Granting permits?
 - Licenses?
 - Building plots?
 - Tax assessment?
- 1.23 Are there complaint mechanisms for public servants and whistle blowers protection measures?
- 1.24 Are there means for complaints by members of the public?
- 1.25 Are there administrative checks and balances on decisions of individual public officials?
- 1.26 Does your LGA receive allocations that are proportional to the responsibilities they bear?
- 1.27 Are there significant categories of public expenditures that do not require legislative approval at:
 - LGA level?
 - Ward level?
 - Village Government level?

1.28 Are LGA technical/political leaders obliged by law to give reasons for their decisions?

2.0 Human Rights

2.1 Do you think Decentralisation by Devolution has:

- Entrenched the powers of local elites?
- Weakened national institutions?
- Exacerbated social division?
- Deepened inequality?
- Caused regression of social and economic rights?

[Because of corruption?]

2.2 Has decentralization by devolution enhanced:

- Political participation? (How)
- Increased local autonomy? (How)
- Empowered disadvantaged groups? (How)
- Led to a more accountable local government? (How)

2.3 What is your assessment of the quality of service delivery in your locality?

2.4 Has the existing quality of service delivery led to MORE/LESS corruption in your locality?

2.5 How can your LGA improve the following:

- Accountability?
- Transparency?
- Participation?
- Equity?
- Non-discrimination?

2.5 . (b) Name forms of injustices created by corruption in the society

2.6 What is your assessment of governance in your locality? e.g.

- Rule of law?
- Respect for human rights?
- Legal protection?

- Respect for human rights?
 - Financial accountability?
- 2.7 How are local civil society groups involved in the affairs of LGA?
- 2.8 Were there claims of corruption by political parties during last grassroots elections?
- 2.9 What circumstances may force you to engage in corrupt practices?
- 2.10 Have you heard of any corruption scandal recently? (explain).
- 2.11 Do women, men, youth, disabled etc experience corruption differently?
- 2.12 (As above) Do they view corruption differently?
- 2.13 Who gains most in corruption? Who loses most? Why?
- 3.13 (b) What is the impact of corruption on you?
- 3.14 Are there claims of sexual harassment?
- 3.15. Are there misuse of public office? [explain]
- 3.16 Can political parties hinder or promote corruption?
- 3.17 Have you experienced unnecessary bureaucratic delays in any local government office? Explain.

3.0 Judiciary

- 3.1 Given your work, what is your assessment of corruption in this LGA/locality?
- 3.2 Are corruption cases increasing or decreasing?
- 3.3 Is the number of jail sentences increasing or decreasing?
- 3.4 Are incidences of corruption in public tendering/contracting increasing or decreasing?
- 3.5 In your view, which LGA Departments are more accused of corruption?
- 3.6 In your view, are public prosecutors independent?
- 3.7 Is there an independent mechanism to handle complaints of corruption against:
- The police?

- LGA officials
 - Judiciary staff?
- 3.8 What type(s) of corruption are most notorious in this area?
- 3.9 Has there been instances of corrupt LGA officials in the past three years?
- 3.10 Are there people in this department who have been accused of corruption?
- 3.11 What initiatives have you taken to fight corruption in your department?
- 3.12 How effective is the Ward Tribunal? (Explain)
- 3.13 Is rule of law respected in the courts? (Explain)
- 3.14 Do courts of law experience political interferences? (Explain)

4.0 General

- 4.1 What is corruption?
- 4.2 What is your assessment of corruption in your area?
- 4.3 How does corruption affect you and your family?
- 4.4 In your view, which Government Department is accused of having officials who are corrupt?
- 4.5 Are you aware of any measures being taken to combat corruption?
- 4.6 What more should be done to fight corruption?
- Has corruption decreased/increased in the last 5 years why?

APPENDIX 2: RESPONDENTS

SN	NAME	TITLE	SEX
BABATI/MANYARA			
1.	Phineas L. Nkko	RAS – Manyara	M
2.	Mrutu C.E	District Lands Officers – Babati	M
3.	Ngaponda P.S.M	DED - Babati	M
4.	Masembejo, L.M	Town Director	M
5.	Ndumbaro, L.W	Town Director - Babati	M
6.	Tarimo N.	District Chairperson - Babati	M
7.	Masasi R.D	VEO – Babati - Bonga	M
8.	Sanga, Joseph	Clinical Officer (Dispensary) Babati	M
9.	Sheikh Hussein Hassa Bilali	Head teacher -Hayatul Islamic Primary School	M
10.	AWE, B,	Senior Maternal Child Health Aid (MCH)	F
11.	Idris Zuberi	Mtaa Chairperson Dawar, Bonga	M
12.	Pascaline Nyota	Barmaid – Babati	F
13.	Aisha Omar	Barmaid – Babati	F
14.	Juma Shaaban	Citizen– Babati	M
15.	Sheikh A. Lema	Regional Sheik – Manyara	M
16.	Bakari Ali	Ordinary Citizen – Babati	M
17.	Mzee Hamisi Mweinjuma	Ordinary Citizen -Hangoni, Babati	M
18.	Mama Ramadhani	Ordinary Citizen -Hangoni, Babati	F
19.	Athuman M Sufrani	District Education Officer-Babati	M
20.	Wema S.	Councilor – Gallapo - Babati	M
21.	Sanga Peter	Trade Officer – Babati	M
22.	Semiti J.	Regional PCB Bureau Chief- Manyara	M

SN	NAME	TITLE	SEX
DODOMA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL			
1.	Mrs Senyagwa	RAS – Dodoma	F
2.	De Souza, Evarist	Municipal Natural Resource Officer	M
3.	Kuboja Emmanuel	Local Government Officer	M
4.	Makinga J.J.	Local Government Officer	M
5.	Bitegeko, C	Driector, LG-PO-RALG	M
6.	Lyatuu, E.R	Hord Specialist – LGRP	M
7.	Matumula W.P	HRD Specialist - LGRP	
8.	Hon.Dr. Wilbroad Slaa	MP-Karatu	M
9.	Hon. Mutungirei B.	MP- Kyerwa	M
10.	Malucru Daud, C	Municipal Eduation Officer	M
11.	Dr. Charles F.	Ag. MOH	M
12.	Jared J. Mariki	Municipal Trade Officer	M
13.	Mwasa Holda	Ag. Municipal Development Officer	F
14.	Mushi Constantine	Municipal Economist	M
15.	Ngombe Kennan, M	Municipal Treasurer	M
16.	Municha Simon, D.	Trade Officer-Majengo Market	M
17.	Bakari Namunda, A	Assistant Trade Officer -Majengo Market	M
18.	Mashoke Modester, J.	Assistant Health Officer -Majengo Market	F
19.	Martha Mazanda L.	Revenue Collector -Majengo Market	F
20.	Tamanda Janeth	Revenue Collector – Majengo Market	
21.	Tuni Dyness F	Public Health Nurse-Kikuyu Dispensary	F
22.	Mapunda Salome	Mhudumu wa Afya -Kikuyu Dispensary	F
23.	Muhembano Monica	Huduma za Mama na Mtoto-Kikuyu Dispensary	F
24.	Weston Imani, M.	Head Teacher-Chadulu Primary Sch	M
25.	Munyu Grace C.	Asst.Head Teacher-Chadulu Pr. Sch	F

SN	NAME	TITLE	SEX
TANGA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL			
1.	Swalehe Iddi Kama	Kitongoji Chairperson-Kiomoni Ward	M
2.	Mohamed Omari	WEO – Kiomoni Ward	M
3.	Mayasa Musa	Balozi wa Nyumba Kumi-Kiomoni W.	F
4.	Alefiyo Alex	Head Teacher-Kiomoni Primary Sch.	M
5.	Mussa Abdalla	Village Committee Member-Kiomoni	M
6.	Kapwani D.J	PCB Regional Bureau Chief-Tanga	F
7.	Minja Yusuf	Municipal Health Officer-Tanga	M
8.	Nchilla John	Municipal Civil Engineer	M
9.	Mramba Wilfred	Municipal Solicitor	M
10.	Dr. Pili Said	Acting Health Medical Officer	F
11.	Masasi Janet	Community Development Officer	F
12.	Malangi J.T.	Municipal Economist	F
13.	Kusiga, H.B	Municipal Urban Planer	F
14.	Njama Hassan A.	Municipal Internal Auditor	M
15.	Mama Omar	Senior Human Resource Officer	F
16.	Hon. Salim Kassim Kisanji	Mayor-Tanga Municipal	M
17.	Edith Munuo	Director-Tanga Municipal	F
18.	Awathi Semmela	Secretary-Tanga Market UBISO	M
19.	Mwanija Setebe	WEO-Ngamiani Kaskazini Ward	F
20.	Arafat Mohamed	Chairperson-Mtaa wa Lumumba - Ngamiani Kaskazini Ward	F
21.	Mariam Makoko	Chairperson-Pangani Mtaa-Ngamiani -Kaskazini Ward	F
22.	Abas Karimjee	Ordinary Citizen –Ngamiani -Kaskazini Ward	M
23.	Miss Belita	Health Officer-Ngamiani Kaskazini - Ward	F
24.	Shayo Eliuds	Health Officer-Ngamiani Kusini Ward	M
25.	Seif Andrew	Ordinary Citizen-Majengo Ward	M
26.	Miss Mariam Sharif	Barmaid – Majengo Ward	F
27.	Miss Amina Yusuf	Barmaid – Majengo Ward	F

SN	NAME	TITLE	SEX
MBEYA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL			
1.	Christopher Nyenyembe	Journalist	M
2.	Anna Kassela	Founder of Kituo cha Malezi ya Huma Simike	F
3.	Faraji Mmpungu	Regional PCB Bureau Chief-Mbeya	M
4.	Richard Mutakywa	Secretary-Open Heart Tanzania (NGO)	M
5.	Hon. Kapunga Athas	Mayor-Mbeya Municipal	M
6.	Hon. Mwalwecro Erick	Deputy Mayor-Mbeya Municipal	M
7.	Ayumba Chiduo	PCB Public Prosecutor- Mbeya	M
8.	Shija E.	PCB-Education Officer, Mbeya	M
9.	K'oming'o	Principal Human Resource Officer	M
10.	Ngasala, Aden	WEO – Igawilo Ward	M
11.	Hon. Nikusubila Mwaisakila	Councilor-Igawilo Ward	F
12.	William Mamalanga	Chairperson-Mbeya Region Environmental Association (MRECA)	M
13.	Hon. Halima Mwampyate	Councilor-Special Seats-Forest Ward	F
14.	David Sawanga	WEO-Mabatini Ward	M
15.	Hon. Patrick Makwalu	Councilor- Mabatini Ward	M
16.	Mwalwega Tussa	Chairperson-CHAVIWATA Mbeya	F
17.	Clement Mweyange	Vice Chairperson-CHAVIWATA Mbeya	M
18.	Tudei Wilson	Secretary – CHAVIWATA Mbeya	M
19.	Epafla Issaya	Treasury - CHAVIWATA Mbeya	M
20.	Berta Ndalanga	Member – CHAVIWATA Mbeya	F
21.	Quenne Majembe	Member - CHAVIWATA Mbeya	F
22.	Mbonea Kabwe	Municipal Director Mbeya	M
23.	Mulozi Marieta	Oversee Focal Person-AXIOS Mbeya	F

SN	NAME	TITLE	SEX
KINONDONI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL			
1.	Reginald M.	Councilor Mbweni Ward	M
2.	Joseph Kereme	Market Trader-Mwenge	M
3.	Kessy Martin	Market Trader- Mwenge	M
4.	Salum Said	Market Trader-Mwenge	M
5.	Ally Mohamed	Market Trader- Mwenge	M
6.	Mwenda Kasmir	Daladala Driver - Mwenge	M
7.	Benito Samwel	Daladala Driver - Mwenge	M
8.	Jesse Mwakipesile	Daladala Driver - Mwenge	M
9.	Maria Mwera	Market Trader - Mwenge	F
10.	Devotha John	Mama Ntilie - Mwenge	F
11.	Salma Jafar	Mama Ntilie - Mwenge	F
12.	John Kessy	Ordinary Citizen - Mbweni	M
13.	Komu Alfred	Ordinary Citizen - Mlalakuwa	M
14.	Robert Mutagabwa	Ordinary Citizen - Mlalakuwa	M