

Disparities Exist in Citizens' Perceptions of Service Delivery by Local Government Authorities in Tanzania

by Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, Lucas Katera and Erasto Ngalewa

This brief compares Tanzanian citizens' perceptions of service delivery by local government authorities between 2003 and 2006; summarising their perceptions of the overall quality of local services, as well as their satisfaction with services in the three key sectors of education, health and water.

Citizens' experiences and perceptions of public services are critical for identifying local needs and priorities, designing and implementing effective and efficient service models, and monitoring and evaluating progress in service delivery. The results of this reported study indicate that progress made in local service delivery varies significantly by sector and location, both between and within councils. To help redress imbalances, available resources should be more effectively and efficiently directed towards identified local priorities and under-served locations.

This brief summarises some findings from two citizen surveys conducted in 2003 and 2006. A total of 1,260 residents (53% male, 47% female) from six councils – Bagamoyo District Council, Ilala Municipal Council, Iringa District Council, Kilosa District Council, Moshi District Council and Mwanza City Council – participated in each study.

Overall Perception of Improved Quality in Local Government Services, Yet Localised Disparities Exist

Overall, citizens perceive that there have been improvements over time in the general quality of public services. The majority, 75%, of all respondents in the 2006 survey perceived that the overall quality of local government services had improved over the two-year period preceding the 2006 survey, compared with 54% of the respondents noting improvements in 2003 (see Table 1 overleaf).

TABLE 1. Citizens' Perceptions of the Quality of Local Government Services in 2006 and 2003 [in brackets] Compared with Two Years Prior to Each Survey, by Council (% of Respondents)

	Bagamoyo %	Ilala %	Iringa %	Kilosa %	Moshi %	Mwanza %	Total %
Better than before	88 [48]	86 [44]	87 [61]	75 [49]	43 [55]	72 [66]	75 [54]
About the same as before	5 [25]	11 [19]	7 [24]	18 [24]	11 [29]	8 [20]	10 [23]
Worse than before	4 [25]	1 [26]	1 [5]	6 [11]	45 [14]	16 [10]	12 [15]
Don't know	3 [2]	1 [11]	5 [10]	1 [16]	2 [1]	4 [5]	3 [8]

Source: Citizens' Surveys 2003 and 2006

However, substantial differences were recorded between the councils. For example, while almost 90% of residents in Bagamoyo DC perceived improvements in service delivery in the 2006 survey, the corresponding figure for Moshi DC was only 43%. Furthermore, 45% of the respondents in Moshi reported a deterioration in service delivery.

There is no statistical evidence that the actual quality of public services in Moshi DC is worse than in other rural councils in Tanzania. The survey data may therefore suggest that other factors have influenced citizens' perceptions. First, peoples' expectations impacts on their perceptions. Traditionally, the provision of public services has been relatively better in Moshi compared to many other rural councils in Tanzania. According to elected councillors and council staff interviewed in Moshi, peoples' views reflect that services are not improving with the speed they are accustomed to. In other words, the gap between Moshi and other councils on service provision is perceived to be narrowing. Second, the competitive political situation in Moshi, where both the ruling party and the opposition are relatively strong, might be a contributory factor, with residents more aware of what they can expect in service delivery.

Disaggregating 2006 survey data by location within councils also showed that perceptions of

service delivery were strongly associated with the services available in the immediate vicinity of the respondents. In Moshi DC, for example, 53% of respondents in Himo village perceived that services had improved. By the end of 2006, Himo village had four primary schools, two public secondary schools, a private secondary school, a private not-for-profit dispensary, a modern market, a modern abattoir, bus stand, relatively good roads and a village office building. In contrast, only 27% of respondents in Kirima Juu village had noted improvements; Kirima Juu having fewer services in comparison to Himo: one primary school, two secondary schools, and a few kilometres of good roads. In Mwanza CC, 87% of the 2006 respondents in the *mtaa*¹ where the council headquarters are located reported that services had improved, compared with 50% of respondents of the nearby Selemani *mtaa*. Peoples' discontent in Selemani might reflect their dissatisfaction with the promised specific services they have long waited for, especially road improvements.

Perceptions of Services

Table 2 presents survey findings on residents' satisfaction with various local services. Overall, results from the 2006 survey show that residents are most satisfied with the provision of education and least satisfied with agricultural extension services. These findings for education

¹ The *mtaa* (plural *mitaa*) is the lowest unit of government in urban areas in Tanzania. Each urban ward is divided into *mitaa* or neighbourhoods consisting of a number of households, which the urban council may determine.

TABLE 2. Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with Specific Services, by Council, 2006 and 2003 [in brackets]

Type of Service	Bagamoyo %	Ilala %	Iringa %	Kilosa %	Moshi %	Mwanza %	Total %
Primary school	78 [61]	84 [69]	84 [73]	79 [83]	76 [67]	71 [67]	79 [70]
Secondary school	43 [21]	61 [19]	65 [34]	60 [29]	57 [16]	50 [21]	56 [24]
Health clinic	11 [24]	38 [25]	15 [16]	24 [5]	14 [10]	13 [13]	19 [16]
Dispensary	24 [37]	57 [46]	73 [37]	43 [35]	31 [35]	41 [38]	45 [38]
District hospital*	38	59	62	58	17	31	44
Water supply	48 [10]	11 [18]	20 [35]	15 [21]	20 [19]	27 [30]	23 [22]
Road maintenance	38 [27]	13 [26]	10 [28]	11 [13]	34 [14]	43 [25]	25 [22]
Electricity supply	30 [10]	33 [24]	13 [15]	11 [20]	16 [28]	16 [19]	20 [19]
Marketplace	27 [12]	18 [19]	3 [5]	10 [4]	35 [25]	23 [15]	19 [13]
Agricultural extension service	17 [8]	7 [2]	20 [6]	13 [12]	17 [10]	11 [9]	14 [8]
Law and order	31 [12]	43 [22]	38 [28]	27 [25]	31 [10]	38 [15]	35 [19]

Note: *Data for citizens' satisfaction with their district hospital was not collected in the 2003 survey
Source: Citizen Surveys 2003 and 2006

and healthcare are broadly consistent with the Afrobarometer surveys (see REPOA *Afrobarometer Briefing Paper* 34), and suggest that the reforms have started to bear fruit and are becoming more tangible to citizens. Findings for three sectors – education, health and water supply – are examined in greater detail below.

Positive Reports for Education

Primary and secondary education stand out as the services most often rated as satisfactory by respondents from the Citizens' Surveys. Over three-quarters, 79%, of all respondents in the 2006 survey expressed satisfaction with primary education, up from 70% in 2003. Many 2006 respondents, 56%, were also satisfied with secondary education, up from 24% in 2003.

Under the Government's Primary Education Development Plan 2002-2006 (PEDP), the net enrolment ratio (NER) in primary schools has

steadily increased from 89% in 2003 to 97.3% in 2007², exceeding the interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) target of 90%. The gross enrolment ratio (GER) for primary education increased to almost 110% in 2005 from 106% in 2004, surpassing the 2003 Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) target of 90%. In 2006 the GER and NER rose again to 113%.

The Afrobarometer survey 2008³ indicates that 78% of the citizens perceive that the government is doing well in addressing educational needs.

Private-public partnership has played an important role in these achievements, since part of the increased enrolment is accounted for by private providers. Efforts to recruit and train more teachers have also slightly improved the teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools from 1:58 in 2004 to 1:53 in 2007. However, there are growing concerns about the quality of the education provided, due to the short duration of the teacher

² Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, various years

³ The results of this survey will be published soon. The publications will be available from REPOA.

training course, and the resulting quality of education provided to students.

Since the introduction of the Government's Secondary Education Development Plan's 2004-2009 (SEDP), the number of government secondary schools has increased nationally from 649 facilities in 2003 to 1,690 in 2006, representing an increase of 160% in three years. The number of private secondary schools also rose from 434 to 599 over the same period. By June 2007 the number of government secondary schools had further increased to 2,806. These initiatives have facilitated an improvement in the transition rate from primary to secondary school (Standard VII to Form I) to 68% in 2007, up from approximately one-third of students in 2003 and 2004. Unfortunately, as for primary education, the rapid increase in demand for teachers has led to shortened teacher training programmes, which has raised serious concerns about the quality of secondary tuition.

The survey data from the Citizens' Surveys also reveal substantial differences between councils with respect to secondary education. For example, 65% of respondents in Iringa DC expressed satisfaction with secondary education in the 2006 survey, compared with 43% of Bagamoyo DC residents. It is likely that the findings reflect differences in progress in the implementation of SEDP among the six councils surveyed. Results further indicate that implementation of the SEDP varies substantially within individual councils. For example, in Bagamoyo, less than 7% of residents in Kiromo village, and no residents in Mwidu village, were satisfied with secondary education, compared to over 80% of respondents in Kiwangwa village. Both Mwidu and Kiromo villages had no secondary school at the time of the 2006 survey, while Kiwangwa had one school. In Mwanza, the average satisfaction rate of 50% conceals marked differences between different locations, for example the contrast between Ilemela *mtaa* - 17% - and Igongwe *mtaa* at 73%.

Similarly, in Moshi DC, 57% of all residents expressed satisfaction with the provision of secondary education, but only 30% of respondents in Oria village were satisfied compared with 73% in Kirima Juu village.

Positive performance was also evidenced in the 'Views of the People' (VoP) and Afrobarometer surveys, conducted in March 2007 and July 2008 respectively. The VoP survey investigated various aspects of education, including distance to school, quality and quantity of classrooms, availability of textbooks and interactions between teachers and pupils. The survey indicated that great majority (75% of children attending primary schools) live close to schools and so spend less than half an hour to get to school. More than 50% were happy with the classroom in terms of both quality and quantity. Concerns, however, were raised on the number of desks and textbooks. The survey further investigated various aspects of teachers' interaction with pupils. Nearly 60% of the pupils said that teachers were rarely or never absent. Also, over 60% of pupils said that their teachers were gentle.

Health Services – Improvements, but Varying Views on Dispensaries and Health Centres

Improvements in key health indicators have been recorded for all case councils, with council data showing that the infant mortality rate has fallen, and the immunisation rate has risen to well above 80%. The incidence of waterborne diseases has also decreased in most case councils.

However, less than half of all respondents - 45% in the 2006 survey, were satisfied with services provided by dispensaries (up marginally from 38% in 2003); and less than 20% of respondents were satisfied with services provided by health centres in 2006 (up from 16% in 2003).⁴ This marked variation in levels of satisfaction with different

4 District councils are responsible for health services provided at three levels in the Tanzanian health system: dispensary, health centre and district hospital. Dispensaries form the second stage of health services in Tanzania. A dispensary caters for between 6,000 and 10,000 people and supervises all village health posts. Health centres form the third stage of health services. Each centre is expected to cover 50,000 people, which is approximately the population of one administrative division.

facilities may indicate that some health services have improved more than others.

Although the average data for the councils indicate that there have been improvements in health services in recent years, the progress is still slow, and the differences in service delivery both between and within councils are growing. For example, 73% of respondents in Iringa DC in the 2006 survey were satisfied with local dispensaries, compared with only 24% of Bagamoyo residents. Differences between villages within councils were even more striking. In Moshi DC, for example, more than 63% of the respondents in Mande village were satisfied with dispensaries in 2006, compared with only 17% in Lekura village. This can be explained as Mande village has a dispensary while Lekura does not. Generally, the pattern observed within councils is that where people are relatively more satisfied with the dispensaries they are less satisfied with the health centres - and *vice versa*. This perhaps means that those villages with health centres do not receive priority when it comes to dispensaries. Such a pattern indicates that the government tries to ensure that each village has at least one health facility.

The national survey '*Views of the People*', which was conducted in 2007, found that while citizens have higher satisfaction with maternity services, child immunisation, distance to the health facility and politeness of the staff, they are less satisfied with the availability of drugs, the costs and queuing time.

Access to Clean Water – A Continuing Problem

The Citizens' Survey 2006 reveals widespread dissatisfaction with water supply; less than one-quarter, 23%, of all respondents were satisfied with the quality of their water supply, and only 28% reported improvement in recent years. Sixty percent of the respondents say that water shortage is a major problem in their area, especially during the dry season.

This view is also shared by the Views of the People survey, with 63% of the respondents reporting shortages as common for both urban and rural areas during the dry seasons. The survey further indicated high dissatisfaction with water supply particularly in distance, cleanliness, cost and queuing time. Citizens perceive that these problems have been there for a long time and there have not been any observed changes. Among those who did see a change, overall, more respondents saw deterioration rather than improvement in water supply, cleanliness, cost and queuing time, although there have been some perceived improvements in reducing the distance to supplies in urban areas.

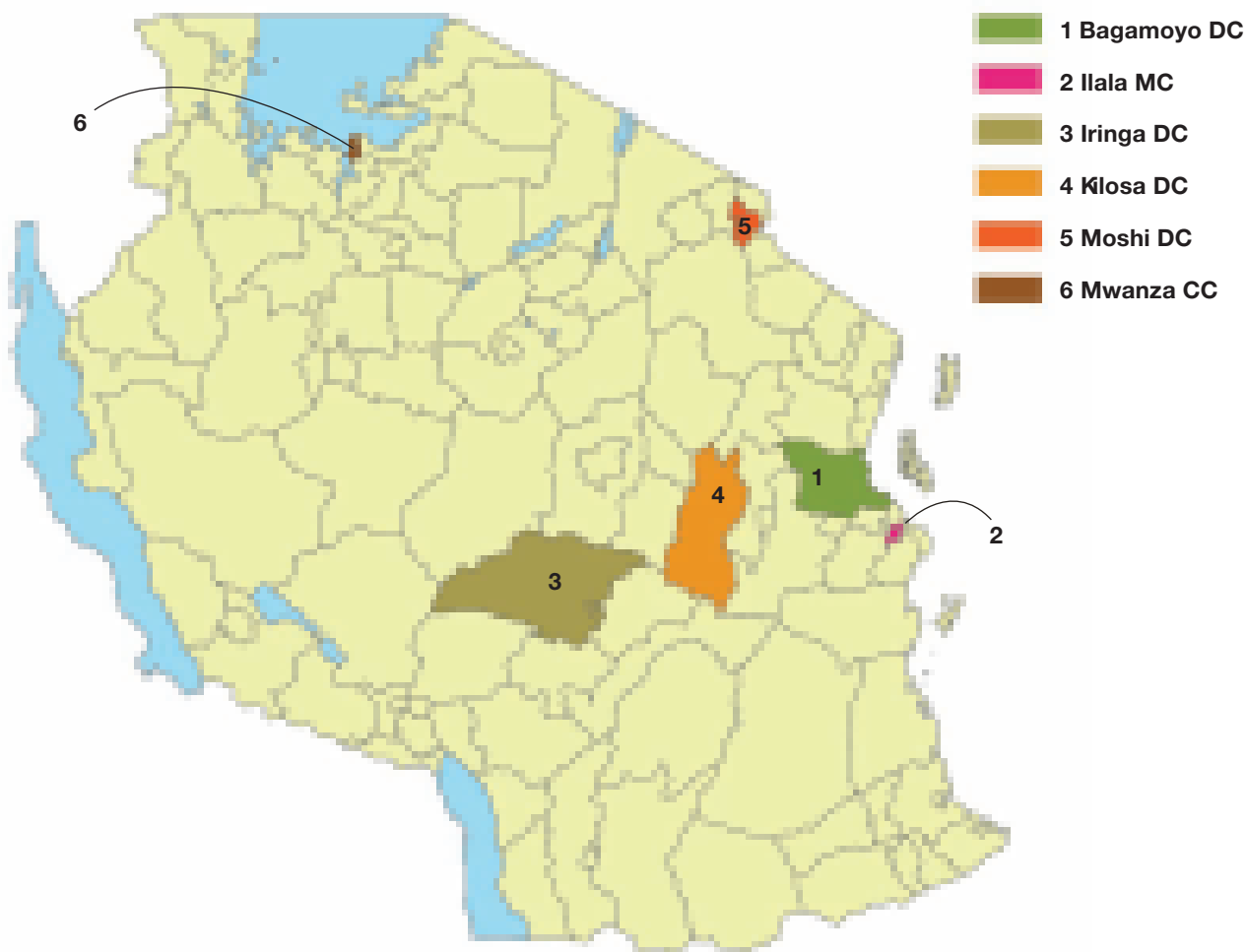
Consistently, the Afrobarometer survey 2008 shows high level of dissatisfaction with water supply. The survey revealed that more than 50% of respondents have gone without enough clean water for the home use at least once in the past one year. This dissatisfaction is perhaps due to the general perception that the government is not putting enough efforts in the sector. When asked how well or badly would you say the government is handling provision of water and sanitation, more than 50% perceive that the government is handling this poorly.

Major differences were recorded between the councils which took part in this Citizens' Survey. For instance, only 15% of Kilosa residents were satisfied with their water supply; while in contrast, 50% of Bagamoyo residents were satisfied with their water supply – a dramatic improvement from 10% of those respondents in 2003. The Wami River water supply project in Bagamoyo, which runs along the Dar es Salaam-Arusha highway, is the principal factor explaining the residents' increased satisfaction. Two villages, Mandela and Mbwewe, which are direct beneficiaries of this project, reported almost 100% satisfaction with water supply in 2006, compared with less than 20% satisfaction in 2003.

In rural councils, relatively higher satisfaction with water supply was reported in villages along main

roads or those located close to the council headquarters. Tanangozi village in Iringa DC, Kiromo, Mbwewe and Mandela villages in Bagamoyo DC, and Uparo village in Moshi DC are all located along main roads, and residents were relatively more satisfied with water supply. In addition, Mande village in Moshi DC and Mtendeni in Kilosa DC, which are both located near the council headquarters, were also more satisfied with water supply.

The Six Case Councils in Tanzania



Background

The six councils were selected on their basis of their resource base, location (urban versus rural), presence of donor support, degree of multipartism, and the degree of inclusion in phase I of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP). Further information on these study sites is given later in this brief.

Respondents in the councils were from 42 villages/*mitaa* (i.e. seven locations in each council, all located in different wards). Some of the villages/*mitaa*⁵ were located close to, and others more distant from the council headquarters. The two surveys had almost the same composition of respondents with respect to age, marital status, religion, level of education, and occupation.

⁵ The *mtaa* (plural *mitaa*) is the lowest unit of government in urban areas in Tanzania. Each urban ward is divided into *mitaa* or neighbourhoods consisting of a number of households, which the urban council may determine.

Bagamoyo District Council

The council includes Bagamoyo town, which is one of the oldest towns in the country, located in the Coastal Region by the Zanzibar Channel, 80 km North of Dar es Salaam. The total area of the district is 9,842 km². Its population in 2002, according to the census, was 230,000 people who were predominantly agriculturalists. The council's own revenue base is poor and it was not included in phase 1 of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP).

Ilala Municipal Council

Ilala is one of the three municipal councils within Dar es Salaam City Council. The main economic activities include manufacturing industries, services, trade and agriculture. The total area of the municipality is 210 km², of which 20% is rural with agricultural production. Its population in 2002 was 638,000. The council has a healthy own revenue base and was part of phase 1 of the LGRP.

Iringa District Council

Iringa lies 1,600 metres above sea level in the Southern Highlands, along the main highway between Morogoro and Mbeya. It has experienced a substantial growth in agricultural production in recent years. The majority (95%) of the population base their livelihood on agriculture. Iringa Town is a separate municipal council, while the surrounding area is organised in Iringa District Council. The total area of the district (before it was split into two districts in 2004) was 28,457 km². The population size in 2002 was 246,000 people. This council has a long history of donor support/area based programmes and was part of phase 1 of the LGRP.

Kilosa District Council

Kilosa lies in the Morogoro region, 220 km west of Dar es Salaam. It was a centre for Tanzania's sisal industry until this industry collapsed in the 1970s. Central parts of Kilosa DC are economically depressed due to the collapse in the sisal industry and more recently of the sugar industry. However, areas located near the main roads to Dodoma and Iringa experience increasing economic activity. In 2002, the population was estimated to 490,000 people. It was not among the first phase reform councils, however it has a long history of donor support.

Moshi District Council

Moshi is located at about 800 m above sea level and lies at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro in the northern part of the country. The area is the centre of one of Tanzania's major coffee growing areas. However, there has been a sharp decline in the revenues from coffee exports in recent years due to falling international prices. Moshi Town has its separate municipal council, while the surrounding area is organised in Moshi District Council. The area of the district council is 1,713km², and its population in 2002 was 402,000. The majority of councillors were from opposition parties and the council was not among the phase 1 reform councils.

Mwanza City Council

Mwanza is Tanzania's second largest city, located 1,100 m above sea level at Lake Victoria. It has fishing and other industries, but agriculture remains the most important economic activity. The total area of the city council is 1,342 km² of which 900km² is water. Its population in 2002 was 266,000. The council has a moderate own resource base and was included in phase 1 of the LGRP.

Continued overleaf

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Recent years have seen major improvements in public service delivery in Tanzania resulting from comprehensive central government and donor funded development programmes. The private sector has also contributed to service delivery, particularly in the education sector, where the achievements are most visible. This is reflected in an impressive increase in the enrolment rate for both primary and secondary schools. There have also been improvements in the delivery of health services and in law and order. These improvements are reflected in increasing citizen satisfaction with service delivery.

However, the provision of basic public services differs substantially both between and within councils. These disparities are not due to differences in local priorities, but are largely the result of resource constraints. The PEDP and SEDP have more effectively addressed geographical disparities by promoting universal access to schooling, but it remains critical to ensure that the quality of education is not compromised.

Much remains to be done, particularly in the water sector. Some areas have experienced improvements in water supply through donor funded water supply schemes, and improved water supply is the number one priority for a number of citizens in many councils, however this is not reflected in the council development plans - which to a large extent reflect central government's priorities.

In conclusion a more systematic approach to balancing national and local priorities in the provision of essential public services is needed, based upon detailed knowledge of local needs.

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Research on Poverty Alleviation, REPOA

P. O. Box 33223, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Plot 157 Migombani Street, Regent Estate
Tel:+255(0) (22) 270 00 83 • Fax:+255(0) (22) 277 57 38
Email:repoa@repoa.or.tz



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