

EXPLANATION FOR POVERTY MOBILITY IN TANZANIA IN THE LIGHT OF GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

In order to attain the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 (TDV 2025) whereby Tanzania has planned to have eradicated absolute poverty by 2025, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) (2005-2010) heeds governance as a key ingredient for poverty alleviation. However, there are many incidents of decisions about, and implementation of, economic and social development activities being inefficient, associated with bribery, not transparent, and inequitable. This paper analyses what governance issues really matter for poverty mobility in Tanzania. The data for the paper were collected through key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and individual life histories in Nkasi, Magu, and Newala Districts from September to November 2009 as part of a big study titled “Chronic Poverty and Development Policy in Tanzania...” It was found that: there were biases in provision of education, health and water services; in the education sector there were complaints of bribery in construction of classrooms, and allocation and transfer of teachers; access to justice was little among women and poorer community members; in some communities the education, health and water sectors were affected by lack of transparency in expenditure of community members’ monetary contributions and allocation of materials including medicines; participation in decision-making was little due to many community members not attending meetings in which the decisions were being made; and there was late completion of construction works and distribution of agricultural inputs. Based on the findings, it is concluded that the above problems exacerbate poverty. Therefore, it is recommended that the second phase of the NSGRP (2011-2015) should give more weight on governance issues, including the above ones, lest they constrain the pace towards the attainment of TDV 2025.

Key words: Governance, poverty, poverty reduction, NSGRP (MKUKUTA), TZS

Topic of the paper: Global Governance and Poverty Reduction

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information about Poverty and Governance in Tanzania

Since Tanzania gained political independence in December 1961, poverty alleviation has been at the heart of development plans. To start with, the government proclaimed three major enemies of the nation – poverty, ignorance and disease – which were due for extermination as soon as possible. Since then the government strove to eradicate the enemies and bringing about development on other fronts. Through implementation of Three-Year Development Plans of 1962-1964 and Five-year Development Plans of 1965-1969 spectacular success in poverty reduction was attained in terms of food security, income, education, and health services by the early 1970s. However, a series of natural, internal and external events occurred since the mid-1970s to the early

1980s and undermined the efforts to eradicate poverty. The bad events included drought in 1973, 1974 and 1975, oil crisis in 1973, the break up of the East African Community in 1977 and the war between Tanzania and Uganda from October 1978 to April 1979. In the 1980s, efforts to reduce poverty included home-grown economic recovery programmes: the National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) (1981) and the 1983 Tanzanian Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), prior to adoption of the international Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in 1986. In 1998 the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) was formulated with objectives to reduce poverty by a half by 2010. In 1999 the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 was formulated with an ambitious statement that “Abject poverty will be a thing of the past” by 2025.

In the light of the famous Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative, which was meant for accelerating and deepening the process of debt relief for highly indebted countries among which Tanzania was, Tanzania formulated the Tanzania Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) in September 2000 which guided Tanzania’s efforts to reduce poverty from 2001 to 2004. In 2001 Tanzania attained the HIPC completion point, after which substantial debt relief was granted. The relief and other resources were mainly channelled into the following priority sectors: (a) primary education, (b) basic health, (c) water and sanitation, (d) agriculture, (e) rural roads, (f) judiciary, and (g) land (URT, 2000). However, the resources were not sufficient even for the priority areas to lead to appreciable changes over three years when the PRSP was in its heyday. Due to this, it was realised that attempts to reduce poverty while the economy was not growing much were doomed to fail. Therefore, in 2005 the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), which is widely known by its Kiswahili acronym (MKUKUTA), was formulated; it guided Tanzania’s poverty reduction efforts from July 2005 to June 2010.

The end of the NSGRP Phase I coincided with two-thirds of the way towards the Millennium Development Goals (2015) and 15 years towards 2025 targets of the Tanzania’s Development Vision (TDV) 2025. During the heyday of the PRS, the GDP grew to 6.2% in 2002 but declined to 5.6% in 2003. Although the growth was higher than that in previous years, e.g. 4.0% in 1995, it was evident that the growth was not adequate vis-à-vis the required growth rate of 6 – 8% per year for effective poverty alleviation. That is why the PRS was changed into the NSGRP, with emphasis on economic growth to ease poverty reduction. One of the main concerns of the NSGRP was to ensure that improvements at the macro-level were translated into micro-level welfare economics.

The NSGRP adopted the outcomes approach, which counts on the contribution of all sectors towards growth and poverty reduction, and had three clusters, namely 1) Growth and reduction of income poverty, 2) Improved quality of life and social well-being, and 3) Good governance and accountability (URT, 2005). The NSGRP heeded the following main issues: 1) Stimulating private investment response; 2) Infrastructure; 3) Human resource development; 4) Building a competitive economy and an efficient government; 5) Deepening ownership and inclusion in policy making; 6) Paying attention to discriminatory laws, customs and practices that affect the economic and human vulnerable social groups (children, youths, girls, women, people with disabilities, the elderly, and retired people); and 7) Paying greater attention to mainstreaming cross-cutting issues. It also heeded the following crosscutting issues: 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) Gender, 3) Environment, 4) Governance, 5) Employment, 6) Children, 7) Youth, 8) Elderly, 9) Disabled, and 10) Settlements. However, in spite of the efforts that have been made to eradicate poverty; poverty, measured using various methods – qualitative or quantitative – is still prominent in Tanzania. In Cluster III of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty that is on governance and accountability, it is stipulated that the third cluster provides the bedrock for the first and second clusters, which are growth and reduction of income poverty, and quality of life and social well being, respectively

(URT, 2005). These words mean that governance and accountability are expected to help improvement in the other two clusters.

In view of the above, the main concern of this paper is to analyse the linkage that has existed between governance and poverty in terms of income poverty and non-income indicators of poverty, particularly education, health, and water. In doing the analysis, an analytical framework that is informed by Goran Hyden and Julius Court (2004) and Merilee S. Grindle (2002), which is presented in Figure 1, has been used by sorting governance issues (both positive and negative) found in 46 interviews: 9 focus group discussions, 18 life histories, and 19 key informant interviews out of 26 focus group discussions, 106 life histories, and 46 key informant interviews that were conducted for the whole research. The 46 interviews analysed here are the ones in which governance issues were more prominent; it does not mean that governance issues were totally lacking in the other 130 interviews not analysed here. Of the 46 interviews analysed in this paper, 14, 15, and 17 were from Newala, Magu and Nkasi, respectively, which were the districts covered for the research from which this paper has emanated.

1.2 Problem Statement and Justification for this Paper

Although the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) (2005-2010) heeds governance as a key ingredient for poverty alleviation towards the realisation of the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 (TDV 2025) whereby Tanzania has planned to have eradicated absolute poverty by 2025, there are many incidents of decisions about, and implementation of, economic and social development activities being inefficient, associated with bribery (at least circumstantially), not transparent, and unequal or at least inequitable. There are various factors evidencing the existence of such bad governance elements; for example the MKUKUTA Annual Implementation Report of 2008/2009 reveals that between 2007/08 and 2008/09 706 cases associated with corruption were investigated.

Therefore, this paper is important to reveal governance issues which really matter for poverty mobility in Tanzania, why the bad government elements occur, identify the groups of people who are more affected by the bad governance elements, and how the issues affect mobility out of poverty. The empirical information generated by the paper has the potential to inform policies which can be improved or formulated in order to improve governance so that it can create more conducive conditions for poverty reduction.

1.3 Objectives of the Research with Respect to this Paper

The specific objectives of the paper are to:

- (a) Find indicators of governance that were more important for poverty alleviation;
- (b) Assess views of community members on their movement out of poverty; and
- (c) Establish linkages between some indicators of governance and those of poverty.

2. OVERVIEW OF GOVERNANCE AND POVERTY

2.1 Overview of Governance

A popular definition of governance that is used by the World Bank and most other United Nations institutions is “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social development” (World Bank, 1994, cited by Olowu, 2004). However, a review of literature reveals that the term governance may mean different things to different people. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the differences in its meanings tend to crystallize along two separate lines, one regarding the substantive content of governance and the other one regarding its character in practice (Hyden and Court, 2004). With regard to the first line, governance is viewed as being concerned with the rules of conducting public affairs, but with the second line governance is seen as steering public affairs. With the view that governance is

concerned with rules of conducting public affairs, emphasis is on the institutional determinants of choice, but with the view that governance is concerned with steering public affairs; the concentration is on how choices are implemented.

In view of the above two prongs of the term governance, Hyden and Court (2004) define governance as “the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and social actors interact to make decisions.” Accordingly, it is apparent that having a comprehensive definition of the term governance that exhausts the concept at various levels is difficult. Whatever the case, governance has to be good so that it can enhance economic and social development, and help poverty alleviation efforts. Due to this importance, it is also important to not only define the term good governance, but also focus on its indicators so that analysis of the linkage between governance and development or poverty reduction can be in a position to determine and compare well-being levels where governance elements are better and where they are worse. Whereas the definition of good governance is given in this section, the indicators of the same concept are given in Chapter 3. Good governance is conceived from the process perspective with emphasis on rule of law, accountability, participation, transparency, and human and civil rights (Olowu, 2004). The same author contends that good governance results from the activities of public sector institutions as they work with other societal organisations to formulate public policies and programmes, which are implemented to improve the people’s welfare, reduce poverty, and realize other public and societal goals.

2.2 Overview of Poverty

Poverty may be defined as a state of deprivation and prohibitive of decent life that results from many mutually reinforcing factors, including lack of productive resources to generate material wealth, illiteracy, prevalence of diseases, discriminative socio-economic and political systems, and natural calamities, such as drought, floods, and HIV/AIDS (URT, 1999). However, this definition is not comprehensive since poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon. A comprehensive definition of poverty would have to include all of its indicators, which are innumerable; yet it would not make sense in some parts of the world because it is related to people’s livelihoods and life styles which differ across the world.

Research on poverty started in 1889 when Seebohm Rowntree did a research on poverty in England and reported in 1901 that he had found that 10% of the population of the English city of York was living below the minimum needed expenditures (World Bank, 2001). Despite research on poverty having started so early, not until during the 1950s did the United Nations (UN) make the promotion of economic development of poor countries an essential goal. Poverty alleviation was the main theme of the World Development Reports 2000/2001, 1990 and 1980. Globally, strategies for poverty reduction, which started just after the Second World War, have been developing concomitantly with global social, economic and political developments.

In the late 1990s, at the global level, poverty reduction strategies were reflected in terms of Poverty Reduction Strategies whereby 41 Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) including Tanzania were required to make efforts towards macroeconomic adjustment and structural and social policy reforms (Tan *et al.*, 2000). Despite efforts that have been made to reduce poverty, in some countries, including Tanzania, poverty has persisted. For example, the Household Budget Survey 2007 for Tanzania reports that the incidence of poverty decreased only slightly from 38.6% in 1991/92 to 33.6% in 2007, as seen in Table 1. Gauged against the Millennium Development target 1 (a), which has it that between 1990 and 2015 poverty should be reduced by a half, one finds that Tanzania still has a long way to go before realising the Millennium Development targets.

Due to the persistence of poverty in spite of efforts made to stem it, a new phenomenon of chronic poverty has emerged and is described as a condition whereby hundreds of millions of people exist in conditions of extreme deprivation throughout much or all of their lives (CPRC, 2009).

Table 1: Levels of poverty in Tanzania in various years based on the national poverty line*

Area	Level of poverty							
	Headcount ratio (%) based on basic needs poverty line				Headcount ratio (%) based on food poverty line			
	1991/92	2000/2001	2007	2010	1991/92	2000/2001	2007	2010
Dar es Salaam	28.1	17.6	16.4	14.05	13.6	7.5	7.4	Not readily available
Other urban areas	28.7	25.8	24.1	14.35	15.0	13.2	12.9	
Rural areas	40.8	38.7	37.6	20.40	23.1	20.4	18.4	
Mainland Tanzania	38.6	35.7	33.6	19.80	21.6	18.7	16.6	

Source: URT (2005); NBS (2002; 2008)

* The poverty line for Tanzania is Tanzanian shillings (TZS) 13,998 per adult for 28 days in 2007 prices; it is much lower than the international poverty line of US \$ 1 per capita per day.

The situation of poverty has more improved measured in terms of non-monetary indicators of poverty. However, the improvement, albeit relieving, is less than the targets set in the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) of 1998. The levels of wellbeing in the early 2000s and 2010 are given in Table 2, based on some indicators.

Table 2: Levels of well-being in Tanzania based on some non-monetary indicators

Indicators	Levels of the indicators		
	Level in 2000/2001 (%)	Level targeted by 2010 (%)	Level* attained until 2007 (%)
Cluster 1: Growth and reduction of income poverty			
Growth of the manufacturing sector	8.6	15.0	9.9
Growth of the agricultural sector	4.9	10.0	4.6
Growth of the livestock sub-sector	3.9	9.0	2.6
Rural men and women below the basic needs poverty line	38.7	24.0	33.6
Rural men and women below the food poverty line	20.4	14.0	18.4
Urban men and women below the basic needs poverty line	25.8	12.9	24.1
Urban men and women below the food poverty line	13.2	NRA	12.9
Cluster 2: Improvement of quality of life and social well being			
Net enrolment of boys and girls in primary schools	66.5	99.0	95.9
Percent of students passing primary school leavers' exam	28.6	60.0	52.7
Percent of transition from primary to secondary school	22.4	50.0	51.6
Net enrolment of boys and girls in secondary schools	6.0	50.0	27.8
Percent of students passing Form IV national exam (Division I - III)	25.8	70.0	26.7
Girls and boys enrolled at Advanced Level of Secondary school	NRA	25.0	NRA
Literacy rate of population aged 15+ years	71.0	80.0	72.5
Infant mortality	99.0	50.0	58
Under-five child mortality	14.7	7.9	9.1
Maternal mortality	52.9	26.5	NRA
Births attended by trained personnel	50.0	80.0	46.0
HIV prevalence among 15-24 years old pregnant women	11.0	5.0	5.7
Rural people with access to safe water within 30 minutes	42.0	65.0	40.0
Urban people with access to safe water within 30 minutes	85.0	90.0	80.0
Access to improved sewerage facilities in urban areas	17.0	30.0	NRA

Source: RAWG (2009); NBS (2008); NBS (2002)

* The level attained until 2007 is more or less the same as that of 2010. This means that the progress towards TDV 2025 was very low during the first 10 years of implementation of strategies to realise TDV 2025

3. CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE PAPER

The premise of this paper is governance; hence an analysis of governance issues that informs the paper is given first. Actually, it is from the governance issues explained in the following sections that the analytical framework for the paper (Figure 1) has been derived.

3.1 Classical Analyses of Governance

Various ways are available for analysing governance and how it is linked to various issues, such as poverty, democracy, and social and economic development. One of the common ways of doing the analysis is suggested by Hyden and Court (2004) who outline the basic principles of governance, according to the World Governance Survey, that reflect the emerging global consensus of what should and could constitute good governance as follows: (a) participation: the degree of involvement and ownership of affected stakeholders; (b) fairness: the degree to which rules apply equally to everyone in society regardless of status; (c) transparency: the degree to which decisions made by public officials are clear and open to scrutiny by citizens; (d) decency: the degree to which the formation and stewardship of rules are undertaken without humiliation of or harm to the people; (e) accountability: the degree to which public officials, elected as well as appointed, are responsible for their actions and responsive to public demands; and (f) efficiency: the degree to which rules facilitate speedy and timely decision-making.

Besides the above principles, Hyden and Court (2004) give six dimensions of good governance and 30 indicators of good governance, each dimension with five indicators, according to the World Governance Survey. One of the six dimensions is the socializing dimension whose indicators are freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful association, freedom from discrimination, opportunity for consultation, and public duties. Another dimension is the aggregating dimension whose indicators are representativeness of legislature, political competition, aggregation of public preferences, roles of legislative function, and accountability of elected officials. Another dimension of good governance is the executive dimension whose indicators are freedom from fear, freedom from want, willingness to make tough decisions, political-military relations, and attitude to peace. Another dimension of good governance is the managerial one whose indicators are scope of policy advice, meritocracy, accountability of appointed officials, transparency, and equal access to public services. Another dimension of good governance is the regulatory one which has the following indicators: security of property, equal treatment, obstacles to business, consultation with the private sector, and international economic considerations. Lastly, is the adjudicatory dimension whose indicators are equal access to justice, due process, accountability of judges, incorporation of international human rights norms, and predisposition to conflict resolution. Although the above good governance dimensions and indicators are useful in analysing good governance and its linkage with some other issues like poverty and others as mentioned above, their use has been challenged in the context of “good enough governance”, which is described in the following chapter.

3.2 Analysis of Governance in Terms of Good Enough Governance

“Good enough governance” is a new concept which is advocated by Grindle (2002) for the reasons given below. He contends thus: “advocating good governance raises many questions about what needs to be done, when it needs to be done, and how it needs to be done.” He adds that, when good governance is advocated as a necessary ingredient for reducing widespread poverty in poor countries as a condition for debt relief, these questions are more complicated. He argues, therefore, that much as good governance *per se* is desirable, such countries with a long list of things that “must be done” to reduce poverty should sort out the governance issues, with a view to addressing a reasonably small number of them that are the most important, hence the term “good enough

governance”. Accordingly, he defines “good enough governance” as “a condition of minimally acceptable government performance and civil society engagement that does not significantly hinder economic and political development and that permits poverty reduction initiatives to go forward”. Based on *World Development Reports* from 1997 to 2002/2003, Grindle (2002) has compiled a list of 178 items that development-oriented governments are advised to adopt and practice. The items are presented in Appendix 2 in six categories of characteristics of good governance, institutions needed to get good governance, items about which laws are needed to get good governance, policies needed for good governance, services needed to get good governance, and strategies needed to get good governance. Grindle (2002) urges countries in need of good governance to heed the items in the list, but he cautions that it may be difficult to identify a desirable condition or action that is *not* conducive to good governance. Besides the list of 178 items that comprise what is needed for good governance, Grindle (2002) gives a list of dimensions of poverty and governance, which are presented in Appendix 3.

3.3 Governance in the Light of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty

Tanzania has always heeded issues of good governance. Following the *World Development Report* of 1997 that was entirely on governance; Tanzania has given more emphasis on good governance as an ingredient for poverty alleviation. For example, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of Tanzania that was written in 2000 underscores a need to increase transparency and accountability, and financial support for sectors that are deemed key in poverty alleviation. Also, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) of Tanzania, which is popularly known by its Kiswahili acronym MKUKUTA, stipulates a number of governance issues to be heeded for poverty alleviation. The issues include proper use of public resources (financial, information and natural resources), management systems, personal security, tolerance and inclusion. It stipulates that participation in decision making should be achieved through local government reform processes, school committees, cooperatives and farmers’ associations. It also says that the structures and systems of governance should be representative and accountable. Human rights, a functioning and fair justice system, and war against corruption are also advocated for poverty alleviation. Other issues stipulated in the NSGRP are transparent and accountable use of resources in a fair and corruption free system. Information on policies, legal framework, laws and public finances are also important. The NSGRP recognizes public access to information as a human right as well as a key means to facilitating effective policy implementation, monitoring and accountability. Effective public administration is also advocated in order to ensure that systems of government are managed openly and in the interests of the people they serve (URT, 2005).

3.4 Grassroots Level Governance Issues

Any of the three ways of analysing governance described above (according to Hyden and Court, Grindle, and MKUKUTA) could be used to analyse the linkage between governance and poverty for this paper because each of them contains a reasonably good number of pertinent governance issues. However, they miss some low level governance issues, particularly some indicators of governance at the village and individual levels. Therefore, besides heeding the above indicators for this paper, some indicators that are more applicable at the grassroots level, have been devised from the experience gained during data collection and used to explain movement out of and into poverty. Specifically, the following indicators have been added: despair, supernatural powers, defying good advice, negligence, retaliation, de-enforcing rules and regulations, and misleading youngsters. The governance indicators used for analysis in this research are presented in Figure 1.

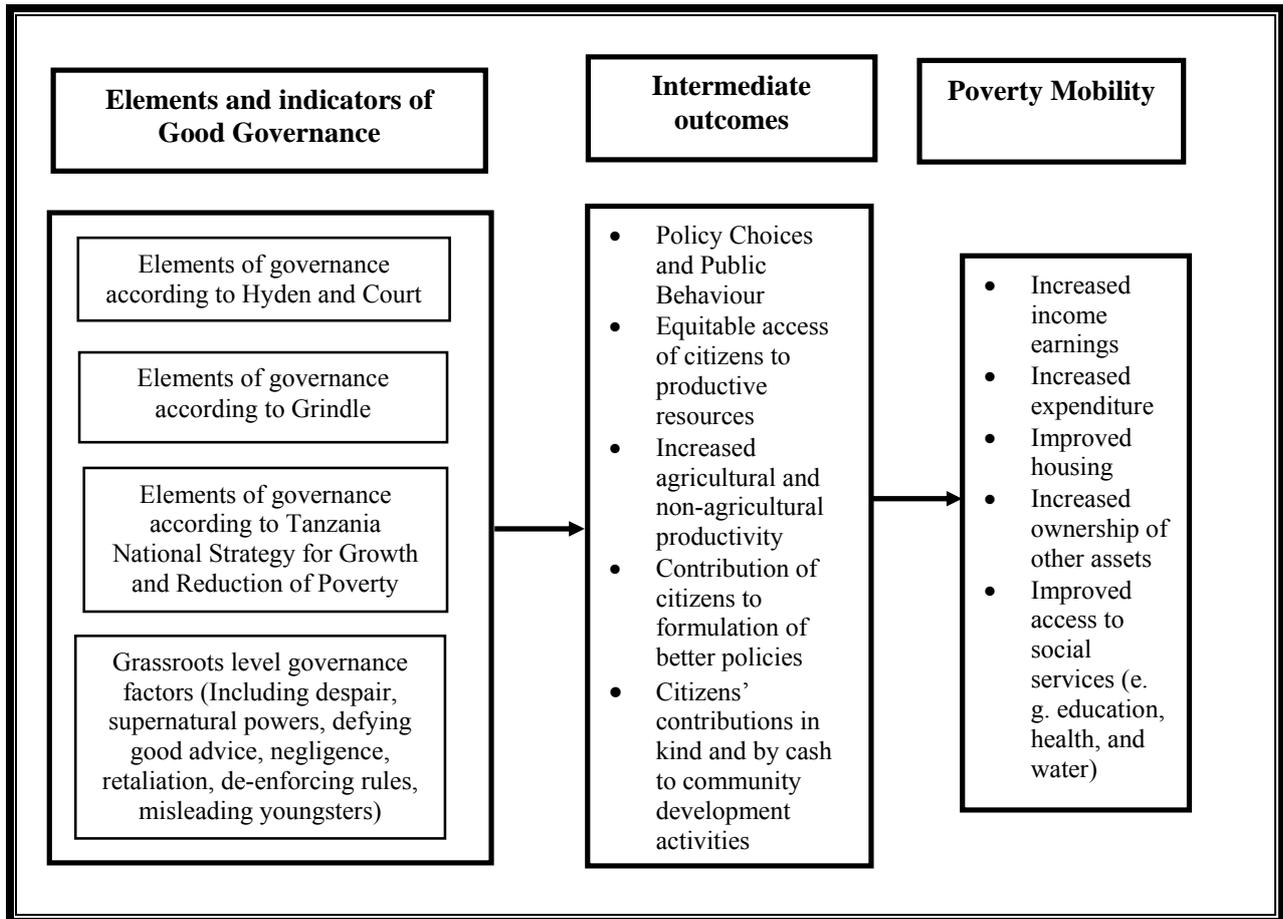


Figure 1: Analytical Framework for Linkage between Governance and Poverty Mobility

In Figure 1, poverty mobility is change (increase or decrease) in income and in education services, health services, and water services. Changes in these dependent variables are contingent upon changes in the elements and indicators of good governance listed at the left-hand side through the intermediate outcomes listed in the middle of the figure.

3.5 Explanation of Linkages among Some Elements of Good Governance and Poverty Movement

In general, the better the performance of various actors with respect to the indicators of governance under the four categories of elements of good governance presented in the analytical framework (Figure 1), the higher the chances of reducing poverty at various levels, and vice versa. Stagnation at almost the same level is also explained by poor performance with respect to some of the elements. A few specific examples are given below.

3.5.1 Linkage between some indicators of good governance by Hyden and Court and poverty

The more the freedom for people to express themselves with regard to how rules affect their opportunities to seek, receive, and impart information, the more the chances of the rules being regulated so that they can be pro-poor. Hence the poor can reduce poverty more effectively. With regard to the indicator of peaceful association, the extent to which citizens can form and belong to associations of their own choice and form associations for income generation increases chances for them to work efficiently (such as exploiting economies of scale) and reduce poverty. About public duties, the extent to which citizens respect rules that are necessary to achieve common and public goods, such as labour contribution for construction of community schools, dispensaries, and water infrastructures increases chances of reducing poverty at the community level. The indicator

of accountability of elected officials is concerned with the extent to which elected officials are accountable to their constituents. High accountability of the officials has the potential to increase chances of poverty alleviation at various levels through abidance by rules and regulations, and efficient and equitable use of economic resources. The accountability of appointed officials is reflected in the extent to which mechanisms such as audit, courts and other organs operate in holding public servants accountable. Bhattacharya (2003) contends that public officials should be accountable to the internal hierarchy, legislature, judiciary, citizens, and media. World Bank (1992, cited by Bhattacharya, 2003) suggests that accountability should be practised by leaders abiding by clearly formulated and transparent processes, safety and security of citizens, rule of law, public agencies' responsiveness to the needs of the public, social and economic development for the benefit of all citizens in an equitable manner, and readily available information through freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and so on. High accountability enhances movement out of poverty by deterring public officials from swindling public resources.

3.5.2 Linkage between some indicators of good governance by Grindle and poverty reduction

Fair and transparent national electoral processes bring in leaders who are legitimate, more competent and accountable. Therefore, people respect those leaders and heed what they tell them. Also the leaders work more efficiently and act fairly to all citizens. Therefore, chances of the citizens implementing what the leaders tell them, for example with respect to poverty alleviation, are high. Another linkage is that the presence of sound institutions for local and national representation facilitates raising people's voices for their needs and services, and in turn increases their chances of reducing poverty. Also, if pro-poor budget priorities for service provision are set, more people get access to various services, including education, health and water services.

3.5.3 Linkage between some indicators of good governance in MKUKUTA and poverty reduction

The element of proper use of public resources is vital to ensuring that resources like financial ones, are not squandered by a few people; instead they are well budgeted for various activities. The element of tolerance and inclusion is important to enable people belonging to various political parties to work together, for example in implantation of development projects at the village or street level. The element of participation in decision making is important to enable people to prioritise problems and solutions to the problems so that development projects to be based on the prioritisation will gain popularity and ownership among the community. This increases the level of success of the projects because people become committed to implementing them. The war against corruption is very important to create conducive conditions for people to get fair treatment, for example with regard to access to resources and services for poverty alleviation.

3.5.4 Linkage between some grassroots level indicators of good governance and poverty reduction

During data collection, despair, supernatural powers, defying good advice, negligence of responsibilities, retaliation, de-enforcing or violation of rules and regulations, and misleading youngsters were found to be factors affecting poverty reduction at the village, sub-village, ten-cell, household and individual levels. Whether they are really governance factors or otherwise may be sorted out, but however they are called, they have remarkable influence on poverty reduction. Despair, which is synonymous to loss of hope or depression, makes people to sit idle without struggling to improve their levels of well-being believing that it cannot improve. Supernatural powers may be spiritual or traditional. The latter category of supernatural powers includes practice or belief in witchcraft and magic while the former category is embedded in spiritualism. People believing in supernatural powers are likely to seek such powers so as to succeed in poverty alleviation. For example, instead of working hard to reduce poverty they may consult witch doctor or magicians to help them succeed in their agricultural or non-agricultural activities. Others (spiritualists) may spend too much time praying so that God helps them overcome poverty.

Defying good advice is related to people's failure to abide by technical recommendations, in most cases for quick short term gains. For example, if farmers don't follow recommended improved agricultural practices while if they followed them they would succeed, this is an instance of defying good advice.

Moreover, negligence of one's responsibilities without good explanation exacerbates poverty. For example, one whose main occupation is producing crop products for one's own food and cash for other needs but works so poorly that he/she cannot even produce or buy enough basic food items like maize that is the most basic food in Tanzania, is likely to remain poor and even become poorer. Retaliation has detrimental effects. For example, if one's livestock have devoured someone else's crops on farm under extensive system of livestock keeping the latter may respond by killing the livestock. Such retaliation can result in impoverishing people through causing loss to one another. In such a case if compensation is sought in lieu of retaliation, the result is better. With regard to de-enforcing rules, leaders are preoccupied with enforcing rules and regulations so as to increase development and hence reduce poverty. Such enforcements include making sure that proper weighing scales are used and various policies and rules are followed by every one. However, some people who are well aware of the rules, regulations and policies breach them deliberately for their own gains, but the breach affects other people or the government in terms of poverty reduction. Misleading youngsters includes giving wrong advice to subordinates. Such advice, if followed, may further aggravate well-being levels of those who follow the advice.

3.6 Geographical Location of the Research Areas

Data for this paper are part of a big dataset obtained through key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and individual life histories in Nkasi, Magu, and Newala Districts of Rukwa, Mwanza, and Mtwara Regions, respectively, in Tanzania. The data were collected from September to November 2009 under the auspices of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) that is based at Manchester University, UK. The research sites were selected based on inclusion of urban and rural communities in each of the districts and the areas having relatively high levels of poverty. Moreover, a range of agro-ecological zones across the three regions, including one or two clusters with cash crops, one or two clusters with some irrigated agriculture, and the sites having been less researched were the criteria for choosing the sites.

Based on these criteria, Rukwa Region was chosen owing to being remote and marginalised, producing maize as the main cash crop, having very poor markets, and being affected by grain reserve policies which prohibit exportation of maize to the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. Mtwara Region was chosen due to its main economic activities being fishing/farming and production of cashew nuts as the main cash crop. Mwanza Region was chosen due to having been affected by liberalisation, growing cotton, keeping large numbers of cattle, and fishing. The aim of the research was not to sample areas representative of Tanzania but to capture issues pertinent to poverty mobility. However, the findings were expected to bring to surface typical explanations for poverty mobility in Tanzania in general.

4. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The findings of the research are presented here in the light of the analytical framework presented in Figure 1. Since both good and bad elements of governance were found during the research, cases of good and bad governance are given. Besides, the linkages between the governance variables and poverty variables are given.

4.1 Findings with Respect to Growth and Reducing Income Poverty

The main economic activity in all the three districts was agriculture. Besides, some people were doing other activities which included trade, manufacturing, casual labour activities, and salaried employment, just to mention a few. Therefore, governance issues that were enhancing and those that were constraining improvement in farm and non-farm activities are reported here.

4.1.1 Governance issues enhancing income generation

In the agricultural sector, there were some governance issues which were enhancing income generation, which are presented here. In some communities there were farmers' associations. In all the communities where the research was done there was the warehouse system of crop products marketing, which was introduced in 2006 nationwide. In Magu District it was already working well, but in Newala and Nkasi Districts people were still sceptical about it. The warehouse system was a government plan to enable farmers to store their crop products for sometime waiting for prices to improve. By doing so, the farmers would get better prices, unlike without warehouses whereby traders buy the crop products during harvesting period at low prices, store the products and later on in the same season sell them at high prices even to the same farmers. In a seven-people village focus group discussion in Nchinga Village, Chikota Village, Newala District, most of the discussants agreed as follows: "...the warehouse system is better than the private buyers system because the price is stable (the same from the beginning to the end of a buying season); there is no cheating in measurement of the amount of cashew nuts one sells at the buying centre; and private traders from distant places do not go through villages buying cashew nuts using a bowl known as *kangomba* which weighs 1.25 to 1.8 kg when it is full but the buyers buy it for the price of 1 kg. We should be happy with the warehouse system since it has decreased the use of *kangomba*."

However, some of the discussants were against the warehouse system. This necessitated having a casual discussion with the Village Executive Office on the same issue; he said: "The warehouse system is much better than the private buyers. With the latter system, the price was good in only one year (2003) of all the 7 years (2000 to 2006) when private buyers were buying cashew nuts. In all the other years the price was very low. Worse, cheating farmers with measurements was too much. For example, some private buyers were being assisted by middlemen to buy cashew nuts from one house to another using *kangomba*. Contrary to that system, with the warehouse system, no farmer is cheated in terms of the kilos one sells, except those who sell by *kangomba* for their own reasons. The big problem with our village, which is behind most people blaming the warehouse system, is that most of them are members of the Civic United Front (CUF) opposition political party. Therefore, whatever plans are brought to the village, even if they are better than the previous ones, most people view them as political plans; hence they strive to criticize them. The only problem I see with the warehouse system is not paying the farmers all their money at once."

Besides the warehouse system of crop products selling in Newala District, there was a farmers' association known as Newala Farmers Association (NEFA). It had 11,703 members at the time of this study and had the benefits of the members being equipped with better knowledge on modern agricultural production, becoming aware of the fair prices of various crop products, and having collective voice to give views to send to higher organs for action, including bargaining for better costs of inputs and better prices of crop products. With respect to good governance, this finding is linked to the element of establishing agricultural research and extension institutions, which is in the analytical framework for this paper. Where such institutions worked well farmers had improvement in well being through agriculture.

Another governance issue that was enhancing income generation was the government decision in 2002 to waive a number of taxes that farmers used to pay, including government levy. This had a

positive effect on opportunities for smallholder farmers and other low income earners to increase income. In a seven-people village focus group discussion in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District, the discussants agreed unanimously with the following statement that was given by one of them: “Our poverty increased in 1983 when people were sleeping in forests running away from being forced to pay development levy. Agriculture declined a lot because many people were not cultivating; they were hiding. We are happy that paying development levy has been waived and transformed into deductions from the cashew nuts we sell. Such deductions are better than we being required to pay development levy because we get time to do our economic activities and one pays according to the amount of income one gets from cashew nuts one sells or other sources, unlike with development levy which used to be paid as a flat rate regardless of whether one had got income or not, and regardless of the amount of income one had obtained from one’s economic activities.” The implementation of the decision is linked to the pro-poor budget priorities and reforms for service provision elements of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002). Some poor people benefited from the implementation of the decision as illustrated by the above quotation, and in some other ways. Through budgeting, the government still obtained enough revenue from other sources.

In some villages, the Opportunities and Obstacles to Development (O & OD) planning approach; which is popularly used in Tanzania since 2004 to identify community problems, prioritise solutions to the problems in terms of development projects, and implement the projects; was used well. For example, in a six-people village focus group discussion in Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District, the discussants said that good governance prevailed in their community due to using the O & OD method of planning whereby villagers were assessing obstacles to and opportunities for development and deciding together how to overcome the obstacles and use the opportunities to plan development interventions. O & OD had been used to plan the construction of classrooms and dispensary buildings, and participation in water projects. Through HESAWA (Health, Sanitation and Water) Programme, the people of Wazabanga Village had used O & OD to decide that each of the 5 sub-villages of their village should have one well and that the sub-village that was more populous should have 2 wells. This element of good governance is related to freedom of expression and equal access to public services put forward by Hyden and Court (2004). It is also linked to the local decision making institutions element of good governance put forward by Grindle (2004), and to the participation in decision making element of good governance put forward by the Government of Tanzania in MKUKUTA.

During data collection in Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District, it was observed that authorities were in place to facilitate trade between Tanzania and neighbouring countries of Zambia, Congo DRC, and Burundi through Lake Tanganyika. For example, there was an immigration office to facilitate entry into and exit from Tanzania. Moreover, there was a Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) Office to educate taxpayers and ensure proper taxes are paid by traders. The presence of these services was facilitating community members’ endeavours to reduce poverty through cross-border trade. This is linked to the international economic considerations element of good governance put forward by Hyden and Court (2002).

Another good governance issues was the decision of the government that every district should have at least one cash crop and diversify income-generating activities. Interviewees hailed the decision since it enabled districts which previously did not have traditional cash crops to identify some food cash crops while those which had at least one cash crop diversified to include more cash crops. For example, rice was designated a food cash crop in Nkasi District where there was no formally recognised cash crop previously. In Magu District rice was identified as a food cash crop besides cotton that is a traditional cash crop, and in Newala District groundnuts and simsim were identified as other cash crops besides cashew nuts. Having a known cash crop attracts business

people to know more surely where certain crop products are available, increased markets for the crops, and hence more revenue from the crops. However, in some communities it was difficult to diversify as pointed out by a ten-people village focus group discussion in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District as follows: “We have been urged by the District Agricultural Extension Office to diversify our crop production by growing groundnuts and simsim, but the two crops do not thrive well in our area. Therefore, some of our community members are migrating to Ruangwa District where the two crops thrive better, to grow them.” Unlike Newala which had the problem of diversification, the problem was not in Magu and Nkasi Districts. This finding is related to the element of agricultural research/extension institutions and of land use planning put forward by Grindle (2002).

Improved rural roads between 2001 in 2005 was also said to be another good governance element had contributed to improvement in opportunities for income generation. The improvement in rural roads was among the priorities of the Poverty Reduction Strategy (2001 – 2004), and it is also among the development priorities for poverty reduction in the light of MKUKUTA. In some communities commendable strides had been achieved, as village Dafrosa Liku of Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District revealed: “Before 2005 we used to travel 2 hours from Wazabanga Village to our District Headquarters (Magu Town) from 0200 to 0400, but now cars are there waiting for us from 0700 to 2200; hence we go to Magu Town anytime we like, even thrice a day. This facilitates our livelihoods, like buying goods in Magu Town to sell in our village”. The village was 25 km from the District Headquarters and the improved road had no tarmac. In Nchinga Village, about 19 km from Newala District Headquarters also rural roads had improved. However, in Kalesa Village, 58 km from Nkasi District Headquarters (Namanyere), rural roads were still very problematic.

There was good news for traders; in 2005 annual license fees were removed; since then permanent business licenses are provided, unlike previously when such licences used to be paid for every year. Following this pro-poor growth reform, only those with annual turnover of Tanzanian shillings (TZS) 20,000,000 are the ones who pay for the licence yearly; they pay 10% of that amount, which is TZS 20,000. The rest pay for the licence once and for all. However, all must pay income tax annually. A key informant interviewee who was a successful business man, Steward Nyanguya, of Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District praised that reform by saying: “This reform is very likely to help most of us perform better in non-farm activities and reduce poverty more affectively”. This finding is linked to the obstacles to business element of good governance put for ward by Hyden and Court (2002). This finding, like the previous one, is linked to the obstacles to business element of good governance put for ward by Hyden and Court (2002).

During the research there was keen interest in land since it is the most important factor for agricultural production, which was the main economic activity of most of the community members. Therefore, probing was done into good and bad elements of governance with respect to land. Some positive findings were found. For example, in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District, the Ward Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer reported how he had participated in resolution of a conflict over land between Sukuma people pastoralists and Fipa people sedentary farmers. He narrated as follows: “In 1995 the conflict over land between the Sukuma and Fipa was escalating. Therefore, I reported it to the District Agricultural and Livestock Development Office. I was instructed to summon representatives of both parties (pastoralists and crop producers) to discuss the conflict. Officials from the district came, and we discussed the problem and agreed that any one who owned more than 50 cattle and did not want to reduce the number of his cattle to at most 50 should relocate to another place. Therefore, many Sukuma people left the area with their cattle. In 1995 there were about 16,000 cattle while the carrying capacity of the ward was estimated to be 5,000 cattle.” He estimated that during the time of this research in September 2009

there were only about 3,000 cattle in the ward. He was optimistic that such conflict would not recur, and if it did it would be resolved using similar ways and experience gained to solve the previous one. He estimated that land suitable for rice production in the ward was 3,200 ha and that out of the land the natives owned about 40% while the Ha, Sukuma and people of Congo DRC origin owned about 30%; 20% and 10% of the land, respectively.

At the village and ward levels some community members were also getting solutions to land conflicts. The following story about James Mwamwezi (19 years) of Mwandima Ward, Kalesa Village, Nkasi District attests to this. In 2005 James's uncle migrated to a distant place leaving behind a farm. Someone took the land as if it had been his right. James went to Mwandima Ward Office to claim the right to the land. The man who was using the land told him: "Don't claim for the land because it is not yours." However, he did not yield; he went on claiming for the land. Eventually he got it in 2008, produced rice on it in 2008/09, harvested 20 bags of rice in 2009, sold the rice, and got money to establish a kiosk business. This result and the previous one are linked to the conflict resolution institutions item of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002) whereby amicable conflict resolution is desirable for poverty reduction.

In some communities Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) were providing commendable services to poor community members. For example, Kalesa Ward SACCOS Manager in a key informant interview said that the clients of the SACCOS were praising it by saying: "At private lenders we used to have our money stolen". They clarified that usurious lenders normally lent at interest rates that were 100 to 200% of the amount borrowed. During the research, the interest rates were 21.6% per year for a salary loan; 25.2% per year for agricultural, trade and house construction loans; and 60% per year for emergence loans. However, in some places the performance of SACCOS was not so good, e.g. in an eleven-people FGD in Makazi Ward, Nkasi District, the discussants said that although some farmers had got credit from the Ward SACCOS, some people who had not yet applied for credit were sceptical about doing so for fear that their farms might be confiscated if they failed to repay the loan timely. In all the six communities where the research was done there were SACCOS, Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCA), and associations for helping one another with uphill manual activities. Such associations were helping the people improve their welfare. Wilium Semiono, Chairman of Mwandima SACCOS in Nkasi District, who was a key informant interviewee, estimated that 10 to 20% of women in the ward were members of ROSCA. The presence of such associations is linked to the micro credit/savings item of good governance, which has been put forward by Grindle (2002).

A notable kind of peaceful association was collaborative farm work, which is called *luganda* in the Kisukuma Language and is described in the Box 1. Such associations existed due to good governance of central and local governments, and they were helping people reduce poverty.

Box 1: *Luganda* (Collaborative Farm Work) in Magu and its Promise for Poverty Mobility

Luganda, in the Kisukuma Language, is collaborative farm work whereby people who have formed an association for that purpose work on farm of one of them and move to another one's farm until all the members are covered with the rotation. The members of *luganda* are chosen based on neighbourhood or age cohort and do the following activities: primary tillage, planting, weeding, harvesting, brick making, etc. The group may have 10, 20 or 30 members. The discussants estimated that about 600 households out of all the 987 households of Wazabanga Village were members of *luganda*. *Luganda* was said to have the advantages of: finishing in one day uphill tasks which one household would finish in a month; helping small households cultivate a large farm at once; farming for money to meet immediate cash needs of one of the *luganda* members or all of them; helping a member with a large area to get it weeded at once; perpetuating social capital; increasing food security of a household which was previously food insecure; and emulating the fast work of a tractor, but using the hand hoe. In the other districts where the research was done it was also reported that such associations existed. However, they were not so prominent as in Magu District.

Being members of primary cooperative societies through which cash crops, particularly cotton in Magu District and cashew nuts in Newala District, were being sold, was also peaceful association. This applied little to Nkasi District where there was no cash crop, but community members were required to use the warehouse system for maize and rice selling. In general, people were happy with being members of the primary cooperative societies since their crop products were being measured using well calibrated weighing scale, leaving alone a few cases of buyers cheating the farmers in terms of measurement. Moreover, selling crop products through cooperative societies assured them of known prices throughout a crop buying season, unlike selling outside a primary cooperative society whereby the prices of the same crop products varied greatly during the same buying season.

In some communities there was good implementation of community development projects. A good example was about construction of four classrooms and two water wells in Kayumbe Ward, Nkasi District. Mr. Dickson Mazora, Nkasi District, Community Development Officer (Key informant interviewee) praised Kayumbe villagers for good and timely implementation of the two projects and the village implementation committee whose chairperson was a woman. The villagers participated in the projects by providing labour and locally available materials, including stones and sand. For the water project, the implementation was done under guidance of the District Water Engineer (DWE). These two examples are linked to proper use of public resources whereby funds from TASAF and from the water department were used properly.

In some work places employers were facilitating their employees' access to credit. The credit was enabling them to improve their well being. For example, a nurse called Dafrosa Liku of Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District, in a life history interview, praised her employer, the District Executive Officer, for endorsing her loan application from the National Microfinance Bank (NMB). She borrowed TZS 900,000 and used it to start building a house for her family. This is linked to the micro credit/savings element of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

4.1.2 Governance issues constraining income generation

Although agriculture was the main economic activity, agricultural extension services were so inadequate that some farmers did not even know whether the services existed. For example, in a life history interview with her, Kito Natanda of Newala District, Mufunya Ward, Nkangala Village, failed to mention agricultural extension services provided by the government. The little awareness of farmers of agricultural extension services was mainly caused by an extreme shortage of agricultural extension workers, which was historical. In the 1970s Tanzania had an objective to have one agricultural extension officer for every village, but following the adoption of the international structural adjustment programme in the mid-1980s some agricultural extension workers were retrenched from civil service. This was followed by reduction in the number of agricultural extension workers trained, which led to the extreme shortage of agricultural extension workers. The shortage was made clearer by Ward Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officers in the three districts where the research was done. In Newala District, the Ward Agricultural and Livestock Officer, Mr. Ali Mselem said: "I am the only agricultural officer for all the 7 villages of the ward. I was posted here two years ago, I have neither a motorcycle nor a bicycle to visit farmers, and I am about to leave for a diploma programme of study. If the Government does not train many agricultural officers and facilitate their living and working in villages assisting farmers, the strategy of Agriculture First which has just been launched will not succeed." This quotation shows that, apart from the shortage of agricultural officers, the few available have poor work facilities. A village focus group discussion with 8 discussants in Nkasi District, Makazi Ward, Kayumbe said that Agricultural extension officers were not reaching farmers. They added that the government programme which started in the early 1990s to train field agricultural assistants in

livestock and field livestock assistants in crop production so that they serve both crop and livestock extension assignments aggravated the shortage of extension officers dealing with crops since all became livestock officers because that is where more money is earned.

In Nkasi District, Mwandima Ward Agricultural Extension Officer, Mr. Christoph Kipoya said that low response of farmers to agricultural messages and shortage of agricultural extension officers were among the main governance factors constraining agriculture. With regard to the latter problem he said that the whole ward had only two agricultural officers instead of every village having one Village Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officer (VALEO). With regard to the former problem, he blamed the people of the ward for being sceptical about participating fully in the warehouse system of selling agricultural products. He said: “A coastal person is a coastal person; he is too verbose but has fewer deeds than the words. Even if something is clear he procrastinates before acting.” He meant that the people of Mwandima Ward had the culture like that of the people of the coast of Tanzania along the Indian Ocean who are extensively cited as preferring leisure and verbosity to working. He was afraid that this culture would constrain the warehouse system. The warehouse system is linked to the Cooperatives and farmers’ associations’ governance item described in MKUKUTA I.

In Magu District, Kalage Ward Agricultural and Livestock Officer complained that some politicians had chameleonic behaviour by supporting agricultural plans and interfering with implementation of rules governing agriculture. He gave the example presented in Box 2.

Box 2: Political Leaders Constraining Enforcement of Rules Governing Agriculture

“Our agricultural rules stipulate that cotton should never be intercropped with any other crop. However, in many cases, farmers violate the rule. For example, in 1995 I caught farmers who had mixed cotton on farm with maize and cassava. By that time I was charged with supervising two villages, and I had been there before in the same agricultural season mobilising farmers against mixing cotton with other crops on farm. I arraigned them at a primary court for violation of the agricultural rule. Instead of the farmers paying the prescribed fine, they sent their leaders to report the case to the District Commissioner (DC). Their leaders complained to the DC that voters of UDP Party had been arraigned in the court of law lest they voted in the national political elections that were imminent. But the truth of the matter was that both CCM (Ruling Party) and UDP (Opposition Party) members had been arraigned. The decision was that they be released lest the elections were spoilt

Poor facilitation of farmers to use fertilisers was another governance related issue that was constraining poverty reduction through agriculture. Mr. Kipoya, Mwandima Ward Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officer reported that he knew only of 3 people all over the ward who were using fertilizers, albeit he had introduced the use of fertilizers on maize production in 2006. As a result of not using fertilizers, the yield of maize was low: 5 bags per acre in lieu of the potential yield of 30 bags per acre. He attributed the low use of fertilisers to poor levels of well being of the farmers and lack of credit facilities from Mwandima SACCOS or elsewhere.

Poor control over prices of cash crop, especially cashew nuts and cotton was also found to be bad governance that was constraining poverty alleviation. Village focus group discussants in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District said: “With private buyers the price of one kilo of cashew nuts was not known; it varied from TZS 200, 250, 270, 300, 500 between 1985 and 1995. Even during one selling season the price was low at the beginning of a season (e.g. TZS 300), and then it would go up, say to TZS 790, then towards Christmas it would decline again, say to TZS 400 since the private buyers were leaving for Christmas holidays before finishing buying the cashew nuts that were in the village.” If leaders in the cashew nut board had abode by the accountability of appointed officials and the accountability element of elected elements of good governance (Hyden and Court, 2004), the problem would not have happened.

Low prices of cash crop products and paying for the crop products in instalment were also other governance issues that were constraining community members in poverty alleviation. For example in Nchinga Village focus group discussants said: “The price of TZS per kg of cashew nut is too low in comparison with the costs of producing cashew nuts; the price should be TZS 1,500 per kilo. Yet, when we sell cashew nuts through the primary cooperative society we are given 70% of the money, i.e. TZS 490 per kg. The rest TZS 210 deducted from every kg of cashew nuts is paid after 2 to 3 months. For example, in 2008 they deducted TZS 50 for inputs (sulphur) that was to be supplied during the next season.” In the final village focus group discussion, some of the discussants said: “We are selling cashew nuts on credit unwillingly. We would not do so if the leaders were not oppressing us.” This finding implies lack of effective markets, which is a governance element, according to Grindle (2002).

Deducting cash from farmers’ sales of agricultural products without informing them in advance and without good explanation was also another governance issue. Village focus group discussants in Nchinga Village said: “From the TZS 210, they deducted TZS 50 for inputs (sulphur) that was to be supplied during the next season. They also deducted TZS 20 for roads, TZS 20 for water and TZS 10 for education. They paid us TZS 110 instead of TZS 210.” When we complained about so much deduction without even having informed us in advance, they told us: “Just go on complaining”. This finding implies lack of transparency on the part of district leaders. This governance element is extensively talked about in literature, e.g. Hyden and Court (2004), URT (2005), and Grindle (2002).

There was also late supply of agricultural inputs using cash deducted from cashew nuts sold through the primary cooperative union in Newala District the previous season. Village focus group discussants in Nchinga Village said: “What angers us is that the money deducted for sulphur to spray on cashew nut trees is not used properly. We need to spray our cashew nut trees 5 to 7 times from May to August, but the sulphur from the Government is not brought to us until August after the cashew nut trees have already been affected by fungal diseases.” This policy issue is related to sound institutions for local and national representation. Had the farmers been better represented in procurement of the inputs, the inputs would have been supplied timely to farmers.

Poor access to justice by women and poorer community members was also a governance problem constraining poverty alleviation. It was found that divorce resulted into women losing most of the wealth items they owned and had control over. With respect to land, it was found that women were not being allowed to inherit land (unless they got it through daughters if there had no sons). The problem which arises for women after separation is that there is no land, house, or extra income; yet, they have full responsibility for child maintenance. This information is elaborated in Box 3, with a real example.

Box 3: Poor Access to Justice by Women

Two women, Asna Burhan (32 years old) and Zainabu Makoka (35 years old) of Newala District; Mufunya Ward, Nkangala Village; were interviewed on women's access to justice. To start with they were asked: "You have said that a woman can lose land, house and support from her husband and she has to maintain the children (unless men demand ownership of the children). So, is there any way a woman can get support through the courts?" Zaina replied: "In fact, I lost everything when I was divorced." They informed the researchers that a case starts being heard by clan elders for arbitration and that if the solution is not found, the case is taken to the village office. They added that at the village office the rule is that 3 women and 4 men must be present to hear the case. They went on: "Problems still arise for women because land disputes are mediated by Islamic and Christian clergy, or clan elders. Even if the dispute resolution is held in government village offices, the tendency is a customary/conservative ruling in favour of men. Normally, 70% of family wealth goes to men and 30% goes to women.

The interviewees were asked: "Do you know of any examples where women took their post-divorce dispute settlements to higher level courts?" They answered positively and narrated about one woman who was the wife of a very rich man who owned 'many cars, trucks, lorries (even pistols!), nice houses, and livestock'. Her husband took the decision to divorce her, he 'overpowered her', forced her out of the house and took their children. The woman took it to the primary district level court. The district court decided in her favour: awarding her a house, 1 car, 10 cows, 5 goats and a number of chickens. Even though this was far less than half his wealth, the man decided to appeal anyway, and it was taken to the referral court. At the referral court, they again decided in favour of the woman to get a portion of his wealth. Then the man appealed again taking it to a higher regional level court. At this higher regional level the court, officials told the woman 'if you give us TZS 300,000' we can push this decision faster'. It was at this point that the courts failed her; she found that because her husband held the wealth, she could not pay the bribe. As a consequence, the man kept all his wealth and their children.

This finding shows that justice was poorly available and that even if it might be available at the low level of governance, higher level courts were corrupt. It also tells us that even rich women can't win in a world where men hold power/wealth. Such poor availability of justice can hardly enable people to reduce poverty.

Incidents similar to the one presented in Box 3 were confirmed by Chikota Ward Acting Executive Officer, Mr. Abdul Idrisa; he said: "If a man divorces his wife, the wealth is more taken by the man. If the woman believes she has been given too little or nothing, she normally says "*basi*", which means "that is it." He substantiated the above words with a vivid case whereby a man divorced his wife in 2008. He gave her a divorce letter and ordered her to leave the house, but he gave her no material things, except few clothes, not all of her clothes. The injustice was very clear to every one in the community. Therefore, neighbours advised the woman to take legal measures to claim for being given a share of the wealth she had generated with her husband. Instead of heeding the advice, she said in the Makonde language: "*Mali ainu kama ngulambedi nangu basi; Mnungu ana muhukumu.*" This means: "If I contributed to the generation of the wealth, that is it all; I leave the case to God to punish the man". This finding is similar to the lamentation of a poverty-stricken citizen of Armenia (Narayan, 2000, cited by Grindle (2002) who said: "People now place their hope in God, since the government is no longer involved in such matters." In the case of Chikota Ward, customary and Islamic laws have an upper hand on civil laws.

Another shortfall in law reinforcement was reported by Hilari Ndasi and Gladness Mabula (Ndasi's wife) of Magu District. A 15-year old boy who was found guilty of stealing TZS 500,000 from their shop was imprisoned for only 2 days and he did not return the money. They strongly believed that village leaders who handled the case shared the money with the boy. This case and the previous one are explained legal and regulatory framework, fair justice systems, human rights, access to justice, and antidiscrimination legislation elements of governance which are discussed by various writers, including URT (2005), Grindle (2002), and Hyden and Court (2004).

Poor publicity of national and local level development programmes and projects was also another governance problem. Some projects and programmes which were to be implemented by

community members and individual households were not known to the potential implementers. It was amazing to find that some people did not even know of MKUKUTA Phase I whose heyday was nearly ending in June 2010. This was revealed by the following question which was raised by the discussants during final village final village focus group discussants in Wazabanga Village, Magu District: “The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) Phase I has been here for almost 5 years and is about to be phased out even before most rural people have heard of it; what will you or the government do to see to it that MKUKUTA Phase II, which your research is going to inform, is known to the rural people, let alone their active participation in it? This technical question was asked by the Ward Councillor. Ward Councillors are quite knowledgeable because they attend a lot of district level meetings.

Unlike some good governance elements with regard to land we have seen in Section 4.1.1, there were more cases of bad governance with respect to land than good cases. For example, James Mwamwezi’s father ran away from his mother in 1993. Following the separation, someone took a one-acre farm on which his father used to produce rice and claimed that it was his while it wasn’t. James went to Kalesa Village Office over and over asking the village officers to help him recover the farm, but he got no assistance from them until 2008 when he despaired of getting the land. This is an example of bad governance whereby village leaders did not help the young man get land that he had the right to own. It would have helped him reduce poverty through rice production. Also, Andrew Mahai of Mwandima Ward, Kalesa Village, in a life history interview said: “If you don’t have money you can’t get your right.” He gave an example that he had lost part of his farmland to his neighbour. He emphasised: “The Hamlet Chairman and the Ward Executive Officer (WEO) did not bother to follow up the case despite my several reminders.”

In some cases, opportunities for generating income through trade across borders were shattered by upper levels of governance not facilitating local people to do the trade. Unlike in Nkasi District where there was a migration office as well as a Tanzania Revenue Office to facilitate cross-border trade in Mwandima Ward (Nkasi District), such facilities were not available in Newala District (Chikota Ward). This was revealed by Chikota Ward Acting Executive Officer in a key informant interview who said: “In brief the trade between Chikota Ward and Mozambique is poor because there is no reliable way to cross; we normally cross by local canoes which are operated manually since they don’t have engines. Goods to trade are few, and TRA is not there to streamline the trade between Chikota and Mozambique.” The little trade that was going on was said to involve the following goods from Tanzania to Mozambique: second hand clothes, mattresses, sardines, and cashew apples locally called *kochoka*, which are used to make local alcoholic spirits. From Mozambique to Tanzania the following goods were being traded: iron sheets for roofing houses, petroleum oil, gin alcoholic drink, and sugar. However, it was estimated that only about 10% of the traders of Newala were involved in the trade across the border. It was also emphasized that those who were doing the trade were residents at District Head quarters who knew the way and “how to talk” with the police and TRA officials.” The quotation “how to talk” implies bribery.

Although there were facilities for cross-border trade in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District, Nkasi District, village focus group discussants in Makazi Ward, the same district, complained that the government was preventing exports of maize across the border to Zambia. The only market for maize was the government, which bought 80 to 90% of the all the maize they produced. No traders from Dar es Salaam were going there to buy maize since it is very far from Dar es Salaam while there is maize all along the way from Dar es Salaam through Morogoro, Iringa and Mbeya Regions. They added: “Businessmen buy directly from farms, for around TZS 13,000 per bag of about 100 kg and then sell to the government at around TZS 20,000. The government wants all the maize delivered directly to the Strategic Grain Reserve stores; so, if farmers cannot deliver this, the government uses the ‘middlemen’. Transportation from farm gate to government stores cost

TZS 2000 per bag of maize. Farmers could join up and rent trucks to transport maize to Dar es Salaam markets, but at the time when they harvested they had no money; so, they just sold to the middlemen. Some villagers were complaining: “If the government does not give us inputs, why does it prohibit us to sell maize across the border? This finding is related to the international economic considerations item of good governance advocated by Hyedn, and Court (2004).

Artificial scarcity of land for production of more valuable crops was another governance issue constraining poverty reduction. For example in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District, some community members were creating land scarcity by hoarding land for rice production. As a result, the price of renting one acre of land for rice production per agricultural season was TZS 100,000. This was a very big amount of money. One key informant interviewee, Mr. Josephat Mpama said: “It is high time land for rice production were reformed so that most people have equitable access to it. If the land ownership and access are not reformed, the future is likely to see blood shed due to wrangles over it.” However, in a key informant interview with the Ward Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officer (Mr. Christoph Kipoya) to crosscheck the soundness of Mr. Mpama’s critical words, Mr. Kipoya was of the opinion that although newcomers owned about 60% of the land, the natives were not expected to complain because they had obtained it through legal means that prevailed when they obtained it. Mr. Kipoya also attributed the fact that natives owned less land for rice production to their nature of preferring fishing to crop production.

Another bad governance element that was constraining poverty alleviation was demolition of buildings in unplanned areas in towns. For example, John Doglass (41 years) of Magu District, Makalo Ward, Ndite Street was a victim of such demolition. His kiosk was demolished and shoes he was selling in the kiosk got damaged. He said that the incident completely grounded his well-being situation. He said: “I had no option but to start working as a casual labourer in home gardening and landscaping because I had no office”. He complained that landscaping was a difficult job as people were not willing to pay for it commensurate amounts of money. They were willing to pay TZS 2,000 or 3,000 per day, and there were only few people who wanted to do landscaping. The problem of demolition of houses is linked to the land use planning element of governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

Few people in the communities were retired civil servants. One of them who was a life history interviewee; Mr. Fortunate Mayala (73 years old) of Wazabanga Village, Magu District, Kalage Village; complained that payment of pension benefit was too little and was being paid at too long intervals (6 months).

Logistics for supplying of fertilisers and seeds were also a governance problem constraining poverty mobility. Eight focus group discussant in Kayumbe Village, Makazi Ward, Nkasi District said: “The delay in receiving fertiliser is a big problem. Fertilisers arrive late when crops have already been planted. So even if you have the money to purchase fertiliser, it arrives too late to be useful. In 1986 to 1997 when Sasakawa Global 2000 was operating in this area, everyone received fertilisers on time (through loans) and agricultural education was provided there were really good harvests. The problem was that there was no market where to sell the good harvests and therefore many people could not repay the fertiliser loan. Elsewhere, fake seeds were supplied. For example in Magu District, Kalage Ward, Wazabanga Village, farmers received fake cotton seeds from private buyers of cotton, unlike Nyanza Cooperative Union that always gave them good seeds. Also some private traders supplied farmers with expired agrochemicals which were not effective against cotton pests and diseases. This is related to enforcement of contracts, and penalties for dishonesty and fraud of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

Due to inadequate supervision of the agricultural sector which was characterised by use of poor technology and low productivity, eight focus group discussants in Kayumbe Village, Makazi Ward, Nkasi District said: “You may grow maize on 10 acres and harvest only 10 bags of maize instead of 300 bags. Farmers need seminars on good planting techniques as part of agricultural education. Farmers are farming, but they are not doing it wisely.” There are eight small hand-held tractors in the ward. This is an initiative by the Prime Minister. The problem is that they do not work on the dry land of Makazi. The FGD really criticised this initiative; they said: “It would be much better to use cattle for farming because they can be controlled. The hand-operated tractors use a lot of manpower; hence using them is very tiring. Some are privately owned; others have been given to particular groups.” It costs around TZS 18,000 to 20,000 to hire a power tiller for tilling one acre. This finding is related to the appropriate technology of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

There was also bias in lending tractors to people. In the final village group discussion in Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District reported that tractors, which were taken to the district in 2009 for lending to farmers under the Agriculture First Strategy whereby Tanzania is struggling to bring about a green revolution, were lent to some people who were not farmers. The Ward Councillor who was in the group explained as follows: “Some people have been bribing in order to get tractors even if they are not farmers so that they can hire out them to get money. He added that tractors were lent to people who had land title deeds in town and cited one person who had got 3 tractors by writing his true names in one case, his alias names in the second case, and his wife’s name as a person from a different family.” This issue of lack of transparency in distribution of tractors also applies to some other resources; for example, one life history interviewee, Abdulrahman Mnyachi, in Chikota Ward, Nchinga Village, Newala District complained that JK funds for entrepreneurship were disbursed on grounds that were not transparent. In 2006, after Mr. Jakaya Kikwete (JK) becoming the President of the United of Tanzania in 2005, he issued billions of money which were disbursed to every district for lending to small entrepreneurs. However, interviewees said that no one in Nchinga Village got a loan from JK funds. He said emphatically that intended beneficiaries were sidelined. In Nkasi District, Makazi Ward, Kayumbe Village there were also complaints about JK funds having not reached them.

Cases of elected leaders not being accountable to the people who elected them were noted at various levels from the village to the district level with regard to income generation and social services. An extreme case of lack of accountability on the part of elected leaders was found with one Member of Parliament, as summarised in Box 4.

Box 4: Lack of Accountability among Elected Leaders

Abdulrahman Mnyachi, a member of the ruling party (CCM) and the CCM Branch Secretary in his street could not spare telling the truth that their Member of Parliament (who was also a CCM member) was failing them with respect to bringing about development for poverty alleviation in the district. He said: “The Honourable MP seems to have forgotten the people of this his constituency while it is they who elected him. Since he was elected in 2005 he only visited the area in September 2009, which implies that he was there to ask for votes in the 2010 elections. During his visit, people complained to him about two major things; water shortage and the system of selling cashew nuts through the warehouse system which was mentioned to be disadvantageous to the farmers. With regard to water, 20 litres were being sold for TZS 500, which was high. He didn’t seem to care about peoples’ complaints, and he was just bragging that he was the Minister for Sports hence he didn’t have the mandate to address the problems that were facing them. To them, this was being arrogant; their expectation was that since he was in the government hierarchy, he was in a good position to channel their complaints to the responsible organs. About cashew nuts, the interviewee complained about the price of sulphur not to being stable; they saw this as a thing which their MP could have taken up. The price of sulphur was mentioned to fluctuate from TZS 17,000, to TZS 22,000, and sometimes it was as high as TZS 35,000 per bag of 50kgs.

Had the words in Box 4 been said by some one in CUF, which was the main opposition political party in the area, one might have thought that the words were on the basis of differences in the parties between them. Therefore, apparently, it is true that the MP was not accountable to the people. Such allegations did not come out so strongly anywhere else.

Unfair measurement of crop products was another governance element which was exacerbating poverty. Buyers of crop products farmers normally stole crop products from farmers through using unfair measuring tools and containers. For example, a tin container that normally weighs 20 kg when full of maize or husked rice is enlarged so that it weighs more. Alternatively, it is compressed so that it weighs less, depending on who is intended to be favoured (the buyer or the seller). In Wazabanga Village, this was being mitigated by having an auction market once a week on Monday when various goods are sold. This was helping the buyers and sellers get as fair as possible prices and indicator market prices of various goods. In Magu District where weighing scales were being used universally some agents for buying cotton were distorting the scales, and they would measure 95 kg for cotton that was actually 105 kg. In Newala District, a bowl known as *kangomba* which weighs 1.25 to 1.8 kg when it is full of cashew nuts, grains or beans, the buyers were buying it for the price of 1 kg.

Poor implementation of good plans was found to be another governance problem that constrains poverty alleviation. A key informant interviewee known as Octavian Sapi (49 years) of Nkasi District, Mwandima Ward, complained as follows: “Planning is easier than implementation; in July 2009 our Regional Commissioner came to our ward and explained to us that through Agriculture First agricultural extension officers, agricultural inputs and farm implements would be increased. However, I am sceptical about the implementation of the plans because we have had a similar agricultural plan called MAKIRU (An acronym for Kiswahili words meaning Green Revolution in Rukwa) which has been here for about 18 months but it is still even not well known among the villagers. If Agriculture First is going to be implemented as business as usual, nothing will happen with it.”

Poor popularisation of development programmes and projects was also cited as a governance issue constraining poverty reduction. As if the final group discussants had heard Mr. Octavian Sapi criticising the low popularity of MAKIRU, they talked bitterly about its low popularity. About the three-year strategy (2008-2011) to revolutionize agriculture in Rukwa Region one of the final village group discussants said: “MAKIRU and *Kilimo Kwanza* (Agriculture First) are good since they can help us increase agricultural production hence reducing poverty. However, the time of 3 years to implement MAKIRU is too short. Moreover, we don't know of the preparations about its implementation, particularly how the shortage of land for rice production is going to be solved. If the land problem is not solved, it is going to limit poverty reduction through agriculture since rice is the most profitable crop in our area.”

In some communities, usury was constraining movement out of poverty. James Cleopa (Kalage Ward Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officer in Magu District) clarified it as follows: “Some rich people make the poor to be poorer through usurious lending to them; they lend money to them at usurious conditions, especially when they need to buy agricultural inputs. Some of them lend TZS 10,000 and ask for being repaid TZS 20,000 or 30,000. Others lend TZS 10,000 and ask for being paid a bag of rice while the value of such a bag is TZS 40,000.” This finding is linked to the micro-credit/savings governance element of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

In a life history interview, Mr. Abdulrahman Mnyachi of Newala District, Chikota Ward, Nchinga Village talked angrily that one of the big community-wide problems that was constraining movement out of poverty was theft of cashew nuts while they were still on the farm. Thieves from

the same community were invading farms at night or early in the morning and collecting all the cashew nuts, but community leaders had not taken any measure to solve the problem. Due to the theft, people were spending nights guarding their farms instead of participating in productive activities. Moreover, households were being deprived of long awaited for cashew nut harvests, which would give them income. The Acting Ward Executive Officer (WEO), Chikota Ward, was asked to give his views on how to end the theft. He said: “The theft is a big problem; for example from one farm they can steal up to 30 kg of cashew nuts, which is a lot. If we arraign them in the court of law, they are jailed for only 2 to 3 months. If the punishment was bigger than that, I think most of the thieves would stop the theft.” This problem is explained by the fair justice systems element of governance that is described in URT (2007) and Hyden and Court (2004).

In a life history interview with Hawa Nanguku, Newala District, Chikota Ward, Nchinga Village, it was found that wages for casual labour work were so low that most people were discouraged from looking for such casual employment opportunities. This was compounded by bad habit of some employers who were paying even the low wages problematically after some people had worked for them. The interviewee said: “Payment to labourers is not done because they don’t have legally recognized contracts. This is related to the enforcement of contracts element of good governance advocated by Grindle (2002).

Shortage of rural financial institutions was also a governance problem constraining poverty reduction since only a few people could access microfinance services. For example, there was only one microfinance facility in Kalage Ward, Magu District and another one in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District. Little knowledge of the *modus operandi* of the financial facilities was making some people complain when they failed to meet minimum conditions for getting credit. Most of the people did not know and/or acknowledge their obligations and rights to the credit scheme. They didn’t have the tradition to save and buy shares; they just wanted to borrow. Whenever their loan applications were dishonoured due to lack of qualifications, they complained that they were discriminated against. Unlike in Kalage Ward (Wazabanga Village, Magu District) where villagers were benefiting from a Ward SACCOS, in Kayumbe Village, Makazi Ward, Nkasi District, there was a bad story: The National Micro finance Bank (the only banker of Makazi SACCOS) had stopped providing loans to SACCOS due to the misuse of funds by the leaders. However, SACCOS are allowed to operate a bank account, but it was found that very few farmers had bank accounts. Therefore, members were no longer getting credit from the SACCOS.

In some communities the freedom for expression was inadequate, e.g. in one life history interview in Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District the interviewee reported an undemocratic answer he got from a Ward Councillor as summarised in Box 5. This case shows lack or low transparency in collection and use of cash contributions from community members. Where such problems occur, chances of people moving out of poverty are slim. The contents of Box 5 are in line with the freedom of expression and voice for the poor elements of governance which have been put forward by Hyden and Court (2004) and Grindle (2004).

Box 5: Undemocratic Response to Citizens Asking Democratic Questions

Sometime in 2009, a member of parliament had a meeting with villagers at Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District. Robert Kashinje in the meeting asked the village and ward leaders to clarify why people who had paid TZS 10,000 as a contribution for Wazabanga Primary School construction had been given receipts showing TZS 5,000 like those who had paid TZS 5,000 without any fine. Those who paid TZS 10,000 were told that it was a contribution of TZS 5,000 and a fine of TZS 5,000. However, the receipts showed TZS 5,000 instead of the TZS 10,000. Instead of answering the question, the councillor said furiously: “The one who has asked a trouble-making question does not even have a home here; yet he is talking nonsense.”

4.2 Findings with Respect to Education

Education is one of the non-monetary indicators which are used extensively to measure poverty and well-being. It has a lot of multiplier effects on poverty reduction because one who has more formal education is able to work more effectively and efficiently using knowledge and skills gained during schooling and is more capable of gaining more knowledge and skills than one who has less or no formal education. For example, World Bank (1993) reports that four years of primary education boost farmers' annual productivity by 9%. Because education is so important for development, it has been included in the Millennium Development Goals, particularly Targets 3 and 4. The former is to: "Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. The latter is to: "Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015." The governance factors which were found enhancing education and those which were found constraining education were looked into during the research and are reported below.

4.2.1 Governance issues enhancing education

The government has expanded schooling opportunities at the primary education and secondary education levels through nation-wide programmes known as Primary Education Programme (PEDP) and Secondary Education Programme (SEDP) which started in 2001 and 2004, respectively. James Cleopa, a key informant interview in Magu District, Kalage Ward, Wazabanga Village praised the Government for having increased schooling opportunities through PEDP and SEDP and charging only TZS 20,000 per secondary school day student per year. However, he said that material needed to get a student enrolled in a public secondary school were at least TZS 127,000 in addition to the TZS 20,000 "school fees". This finding is in line with the girls' education element of governance advocated by Grindle (200) in the sense that PEDP and SEP have increased opportunities for girls schooling.

At some schools there was transparency in expenditure of school money. For example, discussants in a village focus group discussion in Kayumbe Village, Makazi Ward, Nkasi District, reported that there was a notice board showing expenditure. However, they said that most people were not interested in reading the reports. Whether the community members read the information on the notice board or not, the leaders fulfilled the accountability downwards item of good governance that has been put forward by Grindle (2002). The discussants added that parents were also participating actively in school meetings. This finding is also related to the participation element of good governance. It could enhance development by more parents participating in school development activities thereby improving education in the community.

In Nkasi and Magu Districts girls getting pregnancy while pursuing primary education were being allowed to resume studies after delivery. It happened with Hilari Ndasi's daughter in Wazabanga Village, Kalage Ward, Magu District and with Albert Ngeze's daughter in Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District in 2008 and 2009, respectively. A teacher in Wazabanga Village described the permission to resume studies by such girls as "manoeuvres by some teachers." We think it is high time such girls were allowed to resume studies legally, not by manoeuvres. Although it was not yet legally allowed, it was good for the girls and their parents. For example, Hilari Ndasi's daughter passed primary school examinations after delivery and was selected to join Kalage Secondary School for Form I in 2010.

4.2.2 Governance issues constraining education

Although school fees in a Day Government Secondary are TZS 20,000 per student per year, some parents are too poor to pay that little money, especially because other costs amount to more than TZS 100,000. Therefore, the Government has stipulated that students whose parents are very poor should be exempted from paying. In spite of this government regulation, some children from

households that are too poor to pay that amount of money are not assisted to get the schooling opportunity. This happened with James Mwamwezi of Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District who completed primary education in 2008 and was selected to join Mwandima Secondary School; his mother who had been divorced was unable to get TZS 20,000 to pay. It also happened to another young man called Filbert Senga of the same village who completed primary school in 2006 being 22 years old since he had started Primary School at the age of 16 years. Until 2001 there were primary school fees, TZS 2,000, but his parents failed to get the money. When primary school fees were abolished in 2001 he started primary education in 2002. He was selected to join Kipili Secondary School in 2007, but he failed to join the school due to the same reasons as those of James Mwamwezi.

Violation of the policy that children coming from very poor households be exempted from paying secondary school fees was elaborated by Joseph Masanja, a teacher at Kalage Primary School in Magu District as follows: “It starts with the Village Development Council members who claim for sitting allowances in meetings where the names of children to be exempted from paying the contributions are discussed. Therefore, the Village Chairman, Village Executive Officer and school chairman approach certain parents who are better-off and ask them for bribes so that they can get cash to pay as sitting allowance. Therefore, the parents who have paid the bribes get their children exempted from paying the school fees. It happened in 2009 when 4 children were exempted from paying school fees while their parents were not poor.” He was asked whether the poor parents/guardians whose children are sidelined complain anywhere. He said that they don’t because they don’t know what they should say to any authority about the corruption of that kind.

Biased implementation of some rules and policies was another bad governance element that was constraining poverty reduction through education. A point in case was the issue of allowing school girls who get pregnancy to be allowed to resume studies after delivery. Unlike in Magu and Nkasi District where such girls were being allowed to resume studies after delivery, it was not the case in Newala District. Happily, education leader wished such girls were allowed to resume studies. For example, Mr. Burhan Rajabu, Chikota Ward Education Coordinator, Newala District said: “Policy makers who are reluctant to pass the bill that pregnant girls be allowed to resume studies after delivery are afraid that it will lead to increase in pregnancies among school girls. However, in my view, the fear is unfounded. It is high time the bill was passed because some intelligent girls do sexual intercourse only once even unwillingly or through rape and get pregnant. If such girls were allowed to resume studies after delivery some of them would perform well academically and continue with higher education. The current fear of not allowing the girls to resume studies is marginalizing some potential pupils by denying them chances to continue with pursuing secondary education to higher education.” This and the previous two cases are related to the non-distortionary policy element of good governance put forward by Grindle (2002).

Poor governance had delayed construction of classrooms in Kalesa Ward, Magu District. Village focus group discussants suspected that villagers’ contributions of TZS 5,000 and TZS 10,000 for some of them per household, as seen in Box 5, had been squandered. This issue was followed up by interviewing a former head teacher (Joseph Masanja) who had resigned his school headship due to related problems. He revealed that he had resigned from being teacher because every time and then people wanted to involve him in corruption, something he did not like. About the TZS 5,000 and 10,000 contributions he said: “Definitely the leaders squandered the money. It appears that the District Commissioner had already reprimanded the leaders without the villagers knowing. That is why when Robert Kashinje asked about the issue during a meeting with the Member of Parliament the Ward Councillor silenced him; it was a secret which the leaders did not want to leak to the villagers and to other leaders like the Members of Parliament (MP).” This is related to the transparency element of good governance which is widely advocated by various scholars.

Moreover, Mr. Joseph Masanja revealed high level corruption in construction of classrooms under PEDP and SEDP, as summarised in Box 6.

Box 6: Extreme Bad Governance in Education

“The process to construct classrooms, teachers’ houses, toilets, laboratories and other school buildings is that the teachers identify the needs for construction and send them to the school committee. The committee confirms the needs and writes a summary of items to be purchased and activities to be done. Unhappily, before the Ward Education Officer or District Education Officer signs, he/she asks the school committee members to give him/her something. If they give him/her nothing, he/she does not sign to approve their purchasing requests; hence their intent to purchase materials for school construction is frustrated. After signing, they bargain where to get the bribe. They normally sell some of the materials to get the bribe. This results in substandard construction since they use fewer materials than the recommended amounts, e.g. the ratio of cement to sand. An education officer may approve TZS 18,000,000 and tell the head teacher that 12,000,000 of the money is his and that the head teacher will know what to do with the remaining TZS 6,000,000.”

Bribery was also reported in posting and retaining primary school teachers. Mr. Joseph Masanja said: “New teachers are allocated to schools whose head teachers bribe the District Education Officer. New teachers are also supposed to stay at their new stations of work for at least 3 years before they can be allowed to ask for a transfer to other schools. But it is common to see some teachers, especially ladies in rural remote schools teaching at a new school for one month and leaving after for another school in town. Some of the money that is used to bribe education officers is obtained from monthly contributions by pupil for paying voluntary teachers.” Due to acute shortage of teachers, community leaders in collaboration with head teacher have been given the mandate to employ people who have secondary education without professional qualifications. Therefore, TZS 300 that is charged per pupil per month under the umbrella of paying volunteering teachers is also used to bribe Ward and District Education Officers to allocate new teachers to schools and retain new ones to ensure they teach there for a long time.

Differences in adherence to different political parties were found constraining construction of a secondary school in Mwandima Village, Nkasi District. SEDP Programme formulated in 2004 and started operating in 2005 with the main objective to have at least one secondary school constructed in every ward. Elsewhere in Tanzania such schools started operating in 2005. However, in Mwandima Ward not until 2009 did such a school start operating. The explanation for the delay was antagonism between members of the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and those of the opposition party (CHADEMA). Most of the people of Mwandima are CHADEMA adherents. They associated SEDP with CCM; hence in most cases when they were told to contribute in kind or cash for construction of the school they were boycotting. This made the pace of construction of the school sluggish. This result is explained by the tolerance element of governance which is explained in URT (2005).

4.3 Findings with Respect to Health Services

Good governance issues enhancing health services provision were hardly found. At least one that was found is reported here.

4.3.1 Governance issues enhancing health services provision

In some communities health facilities were working well. For example, in Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District, Selina Ngungulo (a woman aged 39 years) reported, in a key informant interview, that at Mwandima Health Centre there were always medicines, especially against malaria. The health centre was reachable within five minutes on foot from Selina’s home.

4.3.2 Governance issues constraining health services provision

Unlike Selina Ngungulo who reported good health services in Mwandima Ward, elsewhere bad stories were given about health services. For example, in Kayumbe Village, Makazi Ward, Nkasi District, a key informant interviewee called Didas Magangu said the following: “Community

members contribute TZS 10,000 per household per year and become members of Community Health Fund (CHF). With this contribution, eight members of the household are eligible for accessing free health care for one year. However, very few households have joined the fund. The majority of households do not want to join CHF because medicines are not there in most cases. Paying at the service delivery point is also practised by those who are not CHF members. The cost is TZS 1,000 per head at a dispensary and TZS 2,000 per head at a health centre every time one goes there for treatment. The cost is for consultation and medication, but sometimes people are asked to buy drugs from private pharmacies because of shortage of medicines. Women and children under five years are exempted from paying for health services. However, in reality they do pay since most of the time drugs are not available; they only get free consultation and prescription.

Corruption was also reported in the health sector. For example, a tank for water was being constructed at Wazabanga Health centre in Magu District. Cement for constructing it was being sold to the Ward Councillor and to other village leaders. Because the cement was sod, the cover of the tank was built with too little cement; it was weak and broke down. Moreover, too little cement was used to build the tank itself. Therefore, when water was put in the tank it leaked. Therefore, the tank never kept water since 1999 when it was built. This is related to the anti-corruption element of good governance which is a concern of URT (2005) and Grindle (2002).

Erratic availability of drugs at the village dispensary and understaffing were reported in some places. A rural dispensary is supposed to have 5 workers, but there were only 2 at one dispensary in Chikota Ward, Newala District. This was reported by Burhan Rajabu who was the Chikota Ward Education Coordinator. This is related to the health services item of good governance advocated by Grindle (2002).

Old citizens aged 60 years and above are supposed to get medical treatment free of charge. However, that hardly happens. An example is the following narration by Jasmine Nandonde (63 years old) of Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District in a life history interview: “We are told that the elderly like me get free medical treatment, but in our village that is not the case; even Community Health Fund (CHF) does not work. In April 2009 I was suffering from BP; I spent my TZS 15,000 for treatment in the District Hospital, and that money will not be refunded.” In Magu District also such a case was found. In a life history interview with Edson Mndevu (69 years old) of Makalo Ward, Ndite Village, the old man was suffering from diabetes but was not getting any free medicines. However, he was lucky because he was getting financial remittances from his children who were working in a Mining Company provided. This is related to the non-distortionary policy item of good governance given by Grindle (2002).

4.4 Findings with Respect to Water Services

Target Number 7 of the Millennium Development Goals is to: “Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water.” In Tanzania one of the indicators of well-being with respect to water is the proportion of households with access to an adequate amount of safe drinking water within 400 metres. Since the research was not a quantitative one, the proportion of households below the poverty line was not determined. Instead, bad and good governance issues affecting supply of water for domestic uses were looked into. Unfortunately, in all the six communities there was no good story about the linkage between governance and water supply. Therefore, only negative stories are given below.

Unrealistic and unaffordable solutions were suggested to community members to solve the problem of shortage of water for domestic use. A key informant interviewee; Mr. Rashidi of Nkangala Village, Mkunya Ward in Newala District; said: “The government has been

campaigning and lobbying for rain water harvest for decades; this can never be a solution to such a serious issue in our area. After all who can afford the cost; one needs to have not less than TZS 2 million to have a well just outside one's house, then there is the whole issue of treating the water. This is such a complicated process and which even those with money won't afford. We need to address the real issue here. Just walk around the village, you will see the wells outside the houses and some of them have become traps into which people fall at night because they are not covered". This is linked to the governance elements of freedom of expression and opportunity for consultation put forward by Hyden and Court (2004). It implies that plans for solving the problem of water shortage were not participatory.

In Newala District there was very high scarcity of water supply for domestic uses. Mr. Abdul Idrisa, the Acting Ward Executive Officer, Chikota Ward, reported that bribery in supplying water was affecting other people's access to water. He added: "Every time we ask them to supply us with water, they tell us: *"Tuko mbioni"*, i.e. "We are in the process of bringing you the water". Village focus group discussants in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward elaborated the whole issue as summarised in Box 7

Box 7: Critical Shortage of Water in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District

"Tap water supply in this village used to be adequate from 1957 to 1985, but in the late 1980s it started declining. For the past 6 years water availability has become so scarce that it is mainly fetched by men, 7 km away at Makota. But the problem of water is exaggerated by workers of the water Department; there are water pipes in this village taking water from Makonde Water Supply Centre to Mihambwe. The staff members of the water department distribute water by bias; they distribute it to better-off people who have good water wells. For common people, like those in our village, they supply water to us when national leaders are coming or when the Uhuru Torch is about to pass through our village. This problem is constraining our efforts to reduce poverty since we spend a lot of time on fetching water".

Shortage of water supply for domestic uses was also said to be a problem in Nkasi District. Unlike in Newala where such shortage was attributed workers of the water department, in Nkasi it was attributed to unaccountability of village leaders as narrated by Novath Nanzalalila of Mwandima Ward, Kalesa Village as follows: "The leaders of his village are not responsible, and this is contributing to ineffectiveness in poverty alleviation." He added: "Tap water was introduced to the village in 1977, and during handing over of the project district level officials insisted that the villagers were responsible for maintenance of the taps through their contributions. However, due to poor follow-up of the village leaders, the tap water is no longer available since maintenance of the taps is not done. In the early 1990s wells using pumps were established but only few of them are working; others have become dysfunctional due to poor maintenance." This is related to the safe water and investment in basic social services and infrastructure elements of good governance explained by Grindle (2002).

4.5 Findings with Respect to Some Grassroots Level Factors

A lot of grassroots level factors were found linked to movement into and out of poverty. The leading ones were despair, supernatural powers, defying good advice, negligence of responsibilities, retaliation, de-enforcing rules, and misleading youngsters or subordinates. The ways in which these factors were linked to poverty are described below.

4.5.1 Despair and supernatural powers

Some people who were at levels 2 and 3 of well being had despaired; hence they were not working hard since they believed that it was not possible for them to move out of poverty, unless some supernatural powers were on their side. A good example is given in Box 8 about Albert Ngenze.

Box 8: Despair and Supernatural Powers Explaining Entanglement in Poverty

The well-being level of Albert Ngenze (49 years old) of Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District was stagnant at level 2 out of 6 (1 being the poorest level) between 1999 and 2009. He was described by men focus group discussants as someone who was almost not working on his half-acre cassava farm. He was a mason, but the discussants said that he was consuming excessive alcoholic drinks whenever he got money from masonry and not going back to work until he finished the instalment of the wages he had got previously, albeit he rarely had construction contracts. During life history interview with him, he was asked about his well-being position; he said that it had been at level 2 for 10 years. His answer was exactly as what focus group discussants said. Then he was asked why he had been stagnant at that position. He replied with a low but emphatic voice: “*Maisha yetu ni ya hivyo hivyo*”, which are Kiswahili words which literally mean: “Our life is just of that level”. This is exactly the same as what men focus group discussants said that most people in the village who were poor at levels 2 and 3 had despaired and were simply saying: “*Nemwi ni wafikwene*” in the Kifipa Language, which means: “I am of this level of well being.”

He was also asked whether he aspired for upward mobility. He replied: “*Mambo ya humu ni magumu sana*”, which literally means: “Things of this place are very difficult.” He elaborated as follows: “Sometimes when I grow paddy expecting to harvest about 20 bags of rice I harvest only about 5 bags due to some people applying their “expertise” which makes crops thrive well in their own farms at the expense of my crops on farm.” By the term expertise he meant witchcraft. He believed that this happened among about 70% of all the people’s farms in the village. He added that “some people” then despair and stop producing much. Analysing his words and belief in witchcraft shows that he was definitely among the villagers who had despaired. This is also deduced from men focus group discussion in which it was said that he was hardly working on farm. Such despair was also reported in Magu District where people who were stagnant at levels 2 and 3 were saying: “*twabibachene abise*” (i.e. “We are of this situation”). Then they were sitting idle. The two attributes, despair and belief in that kind of expertise, are likely to make any one believing in them remain poor or even become poorer.

4.5.2 Negligence

Some community members were not heeding popular policies, rules, regulations, and plans. This might be described as “cold boycott”, which is a kind of rejection whereby people violate silently certain instructions, invitations, policies, etc. This was common with government rules, regulations and policies, especially with respect to CHF and village meetings, as described in Box 9.

Box 9: Negligence and Poverty Mobility

Nation-wide, Community Health Funds (CHF) have been established whereby an average household of up to 6 people is required to contribute TZS 5,000 per year and get treatment free of charge for 1 year from a rural dispensary. However, only about 20% of villagers in Nchinga Village, Chikota Ward, Newala District had paid the money; the majority had opted for paying TZS 1,000 per person whenever they went to a health facility. Zulfa Saidi (34 years) of the same village reported unhappily in a life history interview that she was failing to get medicines from a nearby dispensary because the operation of the Community Health Fund (CHF) had failed due to community members not contributing cash. In this case the district management may be blamed for failure to mobilize people enough to pay; on the hand the community members may be blamed for being adamant to pay CHF contributions.

Another case of negligence or rather boycott was in terms of communities not attending public meetings. Statutory meetings of that kind are 4 in a year at the village level, but there are normally emergency and special meetings which are called any time depending on emerging issues to discuss and deliberate on. About this, Mr. Abdul Idrisa, Acting Ward Executive Officer, Chikota Ward, Newala District said: “One of the indicators of democracy at the local government level is attendance in meetings because it is there we make decisions affecting our development agendas. However, it is amazing that only about 40% of the people normally attend such meetings.” The reasons for not attending meetings were said to be people’s expectations of new things, and people being always busy, hence hardly getting time to attend meetings. Whatever the reasons may be, not attending meetings is bad since people miss first hand information. As a result, their implementation of the decisions arrived at during meetings is poor.

4.5.3 Retaliation

Doing something bad to someone in response to something bad he/she has done to you or to your friend or relative may not always be the best solution. In fact, it that is done at the community level may result in substantial loss on either side or both. In that case poverty alleviation may be

constrained. During the research some cases of retaliation were noted. A very notable one is presented in Box 10.

Box 10: Retaliation and Poverty Mobility

In a focus group discussion which comprised 8 women in Magu District, Kalage Ward, Wazabanga Village, the discussants said that some men were getting addicted to alcohol so much that they did not take care of their families. Some wives of such men worked harder to provide for their families even though their level of well being might not be as well as it would have been if the men were also working so hard. However, some women responded by drinking excessively too and being easy going with other men. This is acting according to the Sukuma adage which says “*Nigo gwa nchilu gukashililaga hi bega*”, which means “The luggage of a stupid person gets finished while he is carrying it”. It is interpreted that if someone who is not wise carries good things like fruits or fish or whatever, and on the way every one begs him/her, he/she gives them until he/she remains with nothing by the time he/she reaches his/her destination. The man drinking like that and taking other women to bed is likened to such a stupid. The adage reminds people to avoid being fools like that. Women reacting to men’s behaviour by drinking like them try to avoid their luggage (the family resources) being exhausted before they have enjoyed it too. If the family becomes bankrupt, the women have nothing to lose because even if they hadn’t done so, the resources would have been exhausted, anyway.

Although this scenario sounds like one about alcohol abuse, it is more of a retaliation case. Looking at it like a retaliation one enables one to apply it in a wide scope, e.g. if one’s livestock have devoured someone else’s farm the latter may respond by killing the livestock of the former. Such retaliation can result in impoverishing people through causing loss to one another.

4.5.4 Defying good advice

This may otherwise be called De-enforcing rules and regulations. During field work it was found in terms of community members violating some regulations at their own detriment. It is different from negligence and malice whereby people violate regulations in order to gain. The former case, for example, they neglect participation in community activities so that they can get more time to do their own activities. In the latter case they do something bad to somebody else at their own benefit. A serious case of defying good advice was community members’ continued use of *kangomba*, which was prohibited by the government. This case is summarised in Box 11.

Box 11: Defying Good Advice: The Paradox of *kangomba* in Newala

As seen elsewhere in this paper, *kangomba* is a bowl which weighs 1.25 to 1.8 kg when it is full of cashew nuts, grains, or beans. Buyers buy the contents of *kangomba* for the price of 1 kg. This means the seller is cheated. In order to stem this kind of cheating, the government prohibits the use of the bowl in lieu of weighing scales. However, people go using it. In a village focus group discussion Omary Nachingaya (39) said that using *kangomba* was not bad because it is normally used off-season, mainly when farmers need quick money, e.g. food, kerosene, schools fees, etc. Unlike Omary Nachingaya, Hassan Mbonde (71 years) said it was not good but that it was helping them during emergencies such in need of cash for burial, medical treatment, and lack of food.

The common stance of almost all the villagers on *kangomba* was revealed by Hassan Ali by the following statement: “The type of *kangomba* that has been abolished by the Government is not this; it is that of middlemen representing private buyers. This type of *kangomba* is helpful to us because we have harvest cashew nuts from October to January but the primary cooperative society buys cashew nuts from August to January and sometimes we sell cashew nuts to them and they tell us to wait for cash for about three weeks. Therefore, when we have urgent needs like buying food, buying medicines for a sick household member, or paying school fees, while we have cashew nuts, we cannot avoid selling them by *kangomba*.”

4.5.5 Misleading youngsters

Some parents were misleading their children on what was worth leading. For example, in Nkasi District, Mwandima Ward, Kalesa Village, Christoph Kipoya (47 years old) reported that in 2003 one boy was told by his father to make sure he did not pass primary school examinations so that the father did not get the trouble of paying for his secondary education because he did not have money. The boy did not agree with his father, but he kept silent; he told this to the Division

Officer. The latter cooperated with the head teacher to encourage the boy to do well in examinations. He did well and was elected to join Kapili Secondary School.

5. EMERGING ISSUES

The emerging issues that come out clearly from the empirical findings presented above are summarised below:

1. Reading closely the empirical findings of this research, it is evident that a lot of conventional indicators of governance are important as far as explanation for poverty is concerned. Moreover, the findings imply that negative points of governance were more applicable than positive ones. Also, the results show that the interviewees were able to explain negative and positive ways in which the indicators of governance affected them.
2. Classical approaches to analysing governance are substantially applicable to analysing linkages among governance indicators and those of other issues like poverty at various levels. However, there are some grassroots level governance issues which explain poverty but are not captured by the classical approaches of analysing governance. These include despair, supernatural powers, defying good advice, negligence, retaliation, de-enforcing rules, and misleading youngsters.
3. Where there are institutions supporting agriculture, including agricultural extension services, farmers' associations, agricultural input stockists, savings and credit facilities for agriculture, and agricultural marketing agents, reducing poverty through agriculture is more likely to happen. Agricultural extension service is one of the most important institutions helping agriculture, but if it is left as it was during the research when in some wards there was only one Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officer for 7 villages while he/she had neither a bicycle nor a motorcycle to visit farmers, the contribution of agriculture to poverty alleviation is likely to decline. The contribution is also likely to be poor if farmers will have poor or no access to financial services for agriculture and if markets for agricultural products will be poor.
4. Pro-poor reforms that have been implemented by the Government of Tanzania since 1999 when the local government reform started, and the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 was promulgated have enabled some people to make better strides for poverty alleviation. For instance, the removal of development levy and yearly payment for a business license have had positive impact on poverty alleviation.
5. The findings that; in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District; community members were well facilitated with regard to cross-border trade while in Makazi Ward (the same district) and in Chikota Ward (Newala District) the community members were not facilitated by the government, implies that people living in places which have potential for cross-border trade may not reduce poverty much if the government does not promote cross-border trade in the areas.
6. In the light of the Poverty Reduction Strategy and of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty Phase I (MKUKUTA I), some commendable strides have been made such as improvement in rural roads and increase in schools, health facilities, and water services. However, a lot still needs to be done since most rural roads are still not good; the increased schools still have shortages of teachers, books, libraries and laboratories; health facilities still have shortages of experts, medicines, and various equipment; and improved water sources are still inadequate.

7. Land suitable for production of high-value crops had so high demand that it was a potential source of serious conflicts which would undermine poverty alleviation efforts. In some places leaders had experience of solving some conflicts on land. This experience would inform resolution of similar conflicts in future.
8. The finding in Nkasi District that community members were praised by the District Community Development Officer for proper and timely implementation of school and well water in Kayumbe Ward implies that if community members are well educated, mobilized and taken on board from identification of problems, prioritizing pertinent interventions and taking part actively in the implementation of the interventions, a lot can be achieved in community development. The success can be better if the whole process is participatory like the use of O & OD which was praised in Magu District. The success will also be higher if there is injection of financial resources from the government or other sources to obtain materials which are not locally available.
9. The fact that of recent microfinance institutions in the form of SACCOS have increased in rural areas and at work places promises a lot for poverty alleviation. However, the finding that some of the SACCOS were not working well was scaring some people to join the SACCOS. Moreover, it was giving chances to usurers operating informally to lend to the poor usurious loans. Since it was also found that some people were complaining of being denied credit, even if they had not fulfilled the conditions for getting credit, it implies that some of the community members had poor knowledge of the *modus operandi* of the microfinance schemes.
10. Before the warehouse system of agricultural products selling was introduced in 2006 the price of cashew nuts was highly variable in one agricultural season because the traders were taking advantage of the loopholes that existed in the marketing system. The government did well to interfere timely.
11. Since incidents of bribery at low levels of the bureaucracy in terms of “material thanks” and corruption at higher levels of the bureaucracy in terms of substantial amounts of money as seen in Box 3 were well known, corruption was constraining poverty alleviation, especially for people who were unfortunate enough to pay bribes.
12. Since women, female-headed households, and poor members of society had poor access to legal provisions while they tend to be poorer than other members of society, if pro-poor legal reforms are not done, like the land law reform of 1999, the women, female-headed households, and poor members of society are likely to be more impoverished by unjust acts against them.
13. Although a booklet summarizing MKUKUTA Phase I document in Kiswahili was written and circulated, it was apparent from field work that the circulation was either not enough or the contents of MKUKUTA I were not adequately disseminated in meetings. Low publicity of national and local level programmes, projects, policies, and strategies constrains implementation of the same since potential implementers do not know of their importance. This partly explains low implementation of some priorities of MKUKUTA Phase I like in Mwandima Ward, Nkasi District where some community members had a cold boycott against participation in community activities.
14. Demolition of business and residential houses built in unplanned areas was one of the factors for downward mobility into poverty. This happened in some cases even without compensating the owners of the buildings for the demolition. If the owners of such buildings are not compensated, they may become poorer.

15. Based on key informant interviews with some old people during the research, it is concluded that most old people are among poorer members of society since they are too weak physically to work. The situation is worse for some of them who do not have relatives to help them produce food or send them remittances. Those of them who are retired civil servants have an advantage since they get pension payments. However, the payments being little and coming after every 6 months, as seen in the empirical findings, is not pro-poor.
16. The unfair distribution of tractors for *Kilimo Kwanza*, biased provision of JK funds for enterprises and lack of transparency in issuing credit in some Ward SACCOS show that in some cases and places economic resources meant for specific groups of people for poverty alleviation do not reach them. This constrains poverty alleviation efforts among those people and at large.
17. The finding that some elected leaders were not accountable to the people who had elected them, as seen in Box 4, had serious implications for poverty alleviation in the areas where the problem occurred. It was as if the leaders did not know the elections manifesto, the contents of MKUKUTA and other national policies and strategies.
18. It is paradoxical for farmers to go on selling their cashew nuts using a bowl called *kangomba*, which weighs 1.25 to 1.8 kg when it is full of cashew nuts while the government has been prohibiting the use of the bowl. No doubt *kangomba* contributes to impoverishing farmers. There is no good reason for the justification given by the respondents that *kangomba* is good when one has a little amount of cashew nuts to sell or when one needs immediate cash to solve an urgent problem. If there are weighing scales in nearby shops, why don't the sellers and buyers make use of them to get their little amounts of cashew nuts weighed objectively?
19. The finding that thieves of cashew nuts on farm were known and were being jailed for only 2 to 3 months instead of a number of years shows the existence of very serious corrupt elements in the legal system. It was surprising to note that no measure had been taken at the village and ward levels; the thieves were being taken straight to a primary court which was at the district headquarters.
20. Primary school teachers who allow female pupils who have got pregnancy to resume studies after delivery are philanthropically doing something good, albeit it is not legally good as the bill to allow such girls to resume studies has not yet been signed to become a law. By allowing such girls to resume studies, progress towards attainment of the Millennium Development Target Number 4, which advocates girls' education, is enhanced.
21. The increased number of primary and secondary schools and pupils and students in the schools, respectively, has created overwhelming needs for teachers, books, laboratories, and other materials and facilities, following PEDP and SEDP. However, it is good that the opportunities for schooling have been increased. The problems existing in the schools will be solved one after another as time goes by.
22. The finding that in almost all the communities health services were not good is partly explained by the reality that greater proportions of rural people depend on public health facilities, unlike in town where a smaller proportion of people depends on such facilities since they have more income, and private health facilities are more numerous. All the same, the results imply that a lot still needs to be done to improve health facilities in both rural and urban

areas. The finding that the shortage of water was a big problem in all the societies also implies that a lot needs to be done to improve water supply.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

In order for governance to contribute more to poverty alleviation towards attainment of the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 (TDV 2025) through the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty Phase II (MKUKUTA II) that comprises medium-term plans for realisation of TDV 2025, the following recommendations that are suggested by the emerging issues summarised above are worth heeding:

1. On the basis of the emerging issue that negative points of governance were more applicable than positive ones and that the interviewees were able to explain negative and positive ways in which the indicators of governance affected them, it is recommended that governance issues should be taken more seriously at the grassroots levels by disseminating various information more effectively to the grassroots and involving grassroots people more actively in development plans from conception of the plans to evaluation after implementation of the plans.
2. In view of the emerging issue that conventional approaches to analysing governance are deficient in that they do not hold for some grassroots level governance issues which explain poverty, such as despair, supernatural powers, defying good advice, negligence, retaliation, de-enforcing rules, misleading youngsters, and malice, it is recommended that policies should be formulated on such issues so that they do not constrain poverty alleviation for the simple reason that they are not codified. Moreover, since those factors may vary widely from one place to another one, Local Government Authorities should formulate by-laws to contain them.
3. Since one of the emerging issues is that where there are institutions supporting agriculture, reducing poverty through agriculture is more likely to happen, it is recommended that institutions existing for agriculture, like warehousing for agricultural products marketing, agricultural extension, primary cooperative societies, village and community banks that lend for agricultural activities, and SACCOS should be strengthened so that they can help agriculture contribute more to poverty alleviation. Moreover, new institutions supporting agriculture, like ones developing agricultural technologies and others should be established to help agriculture contribute more to poverty alleviation.
4. In the light of the emerging issue that some pro-poor reforms that have been implemented by the Government of Tanzania since 1999 when the local government reform started, and the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 was promulgated have enabled some people to reduce poverty more effectively, the government is urged to keep up the reforms and explore more ones that are more pro-poor growth.
5. Based on the emerging issue that in some places near borders with neighbouring countries where community members were well facilitated with regard to cross-border trade the community members were doing trade better than community members where such facilitation was lacking, it is recommended that cross-border trade should be more promoted for poverty reduction.
6. In view of the emerging issue that despite the fact that commendable strides have been made with respect to some priority areas of MKUKUTA I a lot still needs to be done since most rural roads are still not good; schools still have shortages of teachers, books, libraries and laboratories; health facilities still have shortage of experts, medicines, and various equipment; and improved water sources are still inadequate, it is recommended that previous issues in

MKUKUTA I which have not yet been improved adequately should be carried forward in MKUKUTA II, but without forgetting new priority areas of MKUKUTA II.

7. On the basis of the emerging issue that land suitable for production of high-value crops had so high demand that it was a potential source of serious conflicts which would undermine poverty alleviation efforts, it is recommended that conflicts over land should be prevented. This may be done by abiding strictly by land use plans and land laws lest wrangles over land occur and undermine poverty alleviation efforts. Moreover, land laws should be reviewed regularly with a view to increasing access to it by various groups of citizens, even the marginalised ones like the poor, women, orphans, and widows.
8. Based on the emerging issue that if community members are well educated, mobilized and taken on board from identification of problems, prioritizing pertinent interventions and taking part actively in implementation of the interventions, a lot can be achieved in development, it is recommended that the O & OD approach that is used in district councils to identify obstacles to development, identify opportunities and prioritise interventions to stem the problems should be kept up.
9. On the basis of the emerging issue that microfinance institutions in the form of SACCOS have increased in rural areas and at work places promises a lot for poverty alleviation, it is recommended that funds should be established to finance small and medium farmers so that agricultural production can no longer be constrained by lack of cash for buying basic inputs. If the financial services for agriculture are increased, usurers who lend cash to farmers on high interest rates thereby impoverishing them will be minimised. Lending to farmers should be preceded by providing them with education on how to use credit profitably and on conditions of the credit urging them to fulfil them. Farmers should also form SACCOS so that it can be more easily for financial institutions to serve them.
10. Since the warehouse system of agricultural products selling that was introduced in 2006 has started showing good signs, the government is urged to introduce it all over the country for major crop products produced in the areas. This should go hand in hand with looking for markets for the agricultural products to be stored in those warehouses.
11. In view of the emerging issue that corruption was lingering and constraining poverty alleviation, MKUKUTA II should give special attention to it with a view to stemming it. Together with this, mechanisms should be formulated to net officials who distort regulations, for example the regulation that children from very poor households should be exempted from paying TZS 20,000 that is the contribution per year for a day secondary school student.
12. Based on the emerging issue that women, female-headed households, and poor members of society are likely to be more impoverished by unjust acts against them if deliberate efforts are not made to increase their access to justice, e.g. ownership of land and other assets, it is recommended that special attention should be given to those groups with a view to increasing their access to justice.
13. In the light of the emerging issue that the Kiswahili abridged version of MKUKUTA Phase I document was either distributed inadequately or not disseminated widely through meetings, it is recommended that the Kiswahili full and abridged versions of MKUKUTA II be more widely distributed. Besides the distribution, the MKUKUTA II strategy should be disseminated in village and street meetings all over Tanzania.

14. Based on the emerging issue that demolition of business and residential houses built in unplanned areas was one of the factors for downward mobility into poverty, it is recommended that village, street, ward, district, town, municipal, and city authorities should stop people from constructing in unplanned areas rather than waiting for them to construct and demolish their buildings.
15. On the basis of the emerging issue that most old people are among poorer members of society and those of them who are entitled to getting pension payments get them after every 6 months, it is recommended that during MKUKUTA II old people should be taken more care of by ensuring that they really get free medical treatment and those of them who are entitled to pension payments they get them monthly, not once in 6 months.
16. In view of the emerging issue that in some cases and places economic resources meant for specific groups of people for poverty alleviation do not reach them, e.g. unfair distribution of tractors for *Kilimo Kwanza* and biased provision of JK funds for enterprises, it is recommended that objectively verifiable indicators forming a basis for one to get such resources should be developed before such resources are provided so that it can be easy to convict corrupt officials who violate the criteria. They should be punished according to the laws.
17. Based on the emerging issue that in some places citizens had no confidence with their leaders, it is recommended that there should be nation-wide plans to cast votes of “no confidence” to leaders even before their terms of office expire. Although such voting may not lead to removal of the leaders, it will alert them and subsequent ones to be more responsible to the citizens.
18. In view of the emerging issue that there was no good reason for the justification given by the respondents that *kangomba* was good when one has a little amount of cashew nuts to sell or when one needs immediate cash to solve an urgent problem, it is recommended that Local Government Authorities should formulate by-laws to end the use of not only *kangomba* but also other deceitful measurements since they contribute to impoverishing people.
19. In view of the emerging issue that very serious corrupt elements in the legal systems were apparent as thieves of cashew nuts on farm were being in jailed for only 2 to 3 months instead of a number of years, it is recommended that community members should form participatory watching means of their cashew nut farms and specify penalties to give to thieves they may catch stealing cashew nuts on farm. Not only that, but also they should appeal to higher organs if a thief is imprisoned for so few months.
20. On the basis of the emerging issue that allowing school girls who were getting pregnancy to resume studies after delivery was philanthropically good but legally bad, it is recommended that it is high time it was allowed all over Tanzania to speed up progress towards attainment of the Millennium Development Target Number 4, which advocates girls’ education..
21. Based on the emerging issue that it is good that opportunities for primary and secondary schooling have increased through PEDP and SEDP; albeit the schools are overwhelmed by needs for teachers, books, laboratories, other materials and facilities; it is recommended that MKIKUTA II should have objectively measurable targets to improve the schools without compromising the improvement with new needs for education. This should also consider the tertiary education system which absorbs secondary school leavers.

22. In view of the emerging issue that a greater proportion of rural people depends on public health facilities, unlike in town where a smaller proportion of people depends on such facilities since they have more income, and private health facilities are more numerous; it is recommended that efforts to improve health facilities should be equitable for rural and urban areas.

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Appendix 1: Interviews from which this paper is based

SN	Interview Number	District	Report Type	Governance Issues Found
1.	12	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agricultural extension being so unpopular that the interviewee does not know of them
2.	25	Newala	Key Informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor access to justice among women
3.	29	Newala	Key informant interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leaders suggesting solutions which are not feasible to the problem of domestic water shortage
4.	32	Newala	Focus Group Discussion (Village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad and good governance in production and selling of cashew nuts
5.	35	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theft of cashew nuts on farm
6.	39	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labourers not being paid, or being paid very little
7.	40	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Villagers declining to participate in Community Health Fund (CHF)
8.	42	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The old not being treated free in government health facilities
9.	44	Newala	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Villagers accepting deceitful measures of crop products
10.	54	Newala	Key Informant Interview with Ward Education Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female pupils being denied chances to resume studies after delivery
11.	55	Newala	Key Informant Interview with Chikota Acting Ward Executive Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Villagers not attending village meetings in which most decisions are made
12.	56	Newala	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shortage of and under-qualified Village Agricultural and Livestock Extension Officers
13.	58	Newala	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of Newala Farmers Association (NEFA): Good governance
14.	61	Newala	Focus Group Discussion (Village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good and bad attributes warehouse system of crop products selling
15.	72	Magu	Key Informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of medical care to the old
16.	83	Magu	Focus Group Discussion (men)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good governance by using O & OD in identifying and prioritising village projects
17.	95	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of support to meet costs of education for her grand children
18.	96	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad governance at the community level by leaders silencing citizens from asking questions about expenditure of cash contributions for development activities
19.	97	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good governance at work places by facilitating employees to form SACCOS and endorse their applications for credit from banks
20.	98	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad governance whereby pension benefits are paid after every six months while it is little
21.	101	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad governance in primary education
22.	102	Magu	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good governance in primary education whereby a girl was allowed to resume primary education after delivery when she was in Standard VI Bad governance whereby a thief who was proven to have stolen TZS 500, 000 from her shop was not imprisoned
23.	103	Magu	Life history Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As the previous person (Number 102) who was his wife
24.	107	Magu	Focus Group Interview (Men)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Customary laws dominating civil one
25.	110	Magu	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corruption in education and health services
26.	111	Magu	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Politicians interfering with reinforcement of agricultural rules Well organised ward level auction market to control deceitful measurements of crop products Presence of usury which exacerbates poverty of the poor

27.	112	Magu	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Praising the government for waving license fees for one whose business turnover is less than TZS 20 million per year and introducing permanent licences
28.	113	Magu	Key informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members praising a Ward SACCOS for giving them credit at reasonably low interest rates
29.	114	Magu	Focus Group Interview (Final)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How local networks, e.g. luganda helps movement out of poverty • Lack of title deeds for land • Low publicity of MKUKUTA I
30.	115	Nkasi	Focus Group Discussion (Village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late supply of fertilizers
31.	116	Nkasi	Focus Group Discussion (Kayumbe Village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good transparency in of expenditure of income for school construction
32.	139	Nkasi	Key Informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict of interest between health and water departments on who is responsible for sanitation issues
33.	140	Nkasi	Key Informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good and timely implementation of school and water well construction projects • Untimely formation of IGAs groups to benefit from WDF and YDF
34.	142	Nkasi	Key Informant Interview with Makaz Ward SACCOS management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of transparency in issuing loans from Makazi SACCOA
35.	144	Nkasi	Focus Group Discussion (Village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor access of community members to credit from Mwandima Ward SACCOS
36.	150	Nkasi	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High amount of cash contributions to primary education in Mwandima Ward
37.	153	Nkasi	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary school girls getting pregnancy resuming schooling
38.	154	Nkasi	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls getting pregnancy resuming schooling
39.	157	Nkasi	Life History Interview Mashaka Milunga (JamesMwamwezi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denied a chance to go to secondary school due to his parents being too poor to contribute TZS 20,000 • Denied by uncle the opportunity to till his father's land after his parents' divorced
40.	165	Nkasi	Life History Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption in cases over land
41.	166	Nkasi	Key Informant Interview with Mwandima SACCOS, Nkasi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges affecting access to credit • Cross border trade
42.	170	Nkasi	Key Informant Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad governance by ward and village leaders
43.	171	Nkasi	Key informant Interview with Mwandima Ward Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good governance: district level authorities solving conflicts over land
44.	173	Nkasi	Key informant Interview with a dairy farmer in Kalesa Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad governance at district level where development plans (with MAKIRU as an example) are poorly publicised and poorly implemented • Poor implementation of the policy to waive secondary school fees for children from very poor households
45.	176	Nkasi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus Group Discussion (Final, Kalesa Village, Mwandima Ward) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor flow of information to the grassroots
46.	177	Nkasi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Informant Interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad governance in water

Appendix 2: A list of elements of good governance

Characteristics of good governance	Institutions needed for good governance	Items about which laws are needed for good governance	Policies needed for good governance:	Services needed for good governance	Strategies needed to for good governance
1. Administrative capacity	28. Appropriate technology	59. Accounting /auditing/disclosure standards	81. Agriculture	118. Education	152. Access to services for the poor
2. Checks and balances	29. Agricultural research/extension	60. Anti-corruption	82. Land reform/land policy	119. Certification of producer/consumer skills	153. Alternative provision of social services/infrastructure
3. Coordinated policy, policy making system	30. Bank and finance regulation	61. Trademark protection	83. Rural credit/infrastructure	120. Girls' education	154. Asset creation for the poor
4. Credibility	31. Central banking	62. Enforcement of contracts	84. Agricultural technology	121. Lifelong learning	155. Building social capital among the poor
5. Decentralization	32. Civil service	63. Penalties for dishonesty and fraud	85. Banking	122. Local accountability	156. Capacity building in public sector
6. Effective/responsive institutions	33. Conflict resolution	64. Anti-discrimination	86. Biodiversity	123. Tertiary Education	157. Capital markets
7. Effective rules/constraints/monitoring	34. Debt management	65. Bankruptcy	87. Capital markets	124. Environmental protection	158. Community monitoring of services
8. Efficient/equitable/independent judicial system	35. Democracy	66. Biodiversity	88. Community development	125. Health	159. Compensating losers in transitions
9. Environmental protection	36. Effective markets	67. Commercial law	89. Community planning/management of forests	126. Cost recovery	160. Comprehensive approach to attacking poverty
10. Free press	37. Effective service delivery	68. Competition	90. Competition	127. HIV/AIDS	161. Comprehensive development framework
11. Foundation of law	38. Environmental/natural resource management	69. Contracts	91. Corporate governance	128. Information	162. Economic growth
12. Gender/racial/class/intergenerational equity	39. Inclusive markets	70. Environmental degradation	92. Disability	129. Safe drugs	163. Empowering the poor
13. Good investment climate	40. Local development	71. Foreign investment	93. Downsizing bureaucracy	130. Universal access to basic services	164. Engaging NGO sector
14. Incentives for public officials	41. Local governance	72. Gender/growth equity	94. Energy	131. Vaccines/communicable diseases	165. Environmental protection
15. Institutions for coordination/accountability	42. Local problem-solving	73. Human rights	95. Empowerment of women	132. Physical infrastructure	166. Focusing public action on social priorities
16. Investment in basic social services and infrastructure	43. Lowering transaction costs	74. Information	96. Fiscal restraint	133. Communications	167. Foreign investment
17. Learning/innovation institutions	44. Managing decentralization	75. Labor standards	97. Family planning	134. Cost recovery	168. Innovation
18. Local capacity	45. Participation	76. Monopolies	98. Fisheries	135. Electricity	169. Interdependence of development strategies
19. Macroeconomic stability	46. Information and technology for the poor	77. Pensions/social assistance	99. Foreign investment	136. Finance capital	170. International partnerships
20. Non-distortionary policy environment	47. Local demand	78. Property rights	100. Forests	137. Housing	171. Knowledge development
21. Participatory political processes/political pluralism/democracy	48. Local decision making	79. Intellectual property rights	101. Industrial development	138. Land use planning	172. Prevention, preparation for, response to macroshocks
22. Political stability/conflict management	49. Private sector governance	80. Quality of goods and services	102. Information and knowledge	139. Public transportation	173. Private sector development
23. Poverty reduction	50. Representation		103. Domestic R&D	140. Roads	174. Promoting equity
24. Property rights	51. Regulation		104. Information on rights/laws to poor	141. Safe water	175. Reducing vulnerability of the poor
25. Sound regulatory system	52. Risk assessment/mitigation		105. Insurance	142. Sanitation	176. Redistributing investment toward poor
26. Strong and capable state	53. Socially responsible behavior		106. Labor markets	143. Telecommunications	177. Technology
27. Transparency/Information	54. Sustainable development		107. Liberalized markets	144. Poverty reduction	178. Voice for the poor
	55. Telecommunications regulation		108. Open trade regime	145. Credit	
	56. Training		109. Privatization	146. Job opportunities	
	57. Transparent budgeting/accounting/disclosure		110. Pro-poor fiscal adjustment/market failure for poor	147. Legal aid/legal information for poor	
	58. Violence prevention		111. Reducing vulnerability of poor	148. Microcredit/savings	
			112. Regulation	149. Social funds	
			113. Selective affirmative action	150. Social safety nets	
			114. Social safety nets	151. Targeted transfers/subsidies	
			115. Taxation		
			116. Urban development		
			117. Water basin management		

Source: *World Development Reports* (1997-2002/2003, cited by Grindle, 2002)

Appendix 3: Dimensions of Poverty and Governance

Poverty	Governance Issues
Empowering the poor	<p>Rules for seeking and holding public office</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fair, transparent national electoral processes Power-sharing arrangements to ensure stability in heterogeneous societies <p>Oversight by political principals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parliamentary oversight with independent audit institutions Budget that is credible signal of government policy intentions Pro-poor policies Sound institutions for local and national representation
Improving coverage, efficiency, and sustainability of basic services	<p>Adequate, predictable resources for sectors, local authorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pro-poor budget priorities for service provision Stable intergovernmental transfers with hard budget constraints Hierarchical and transparent budgeting processes <p>Demarcation of responsibilities for delivery</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assignment of responsibilities according to subsidiarity principle <p>Capable and motivated civil servants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Merit-based recruitment and competitive pay Hiring to fill real needs, within a hard budget constraint Public service that earns respect <p>Accountability downwards</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Publication of accounts for local-level activities Dissemination of basic data on performance Mechanisms for client feedback, including report cards and client surveys <p>Flexible delivery</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involvement of civic and private (for profit) partners <p>Development of local capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incentives to deploy staff to poor and remote areas Appropriate autonomy in deploying staff
Increasing access to markets	<p>Legal and regulatory framework</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enforcement of antidiscrimination legislation Incentives for deepening of credit and land markets <p>Methods for reducing exclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enforcement of legislation against barriers to entry Provision of information on labour and credit markets Demarcation of responsibilities and budgeting procedures to support development and maintenance of infrastructure (e.g. rural roads) to enable physical access to markets
<p>Providing security</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> From economic shocks From corruption, crime, and violence 	<p>Rules for sound economic management</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hard budget constraint for sub-national and aggregate fiscal discipline Efficient administration of tax and customs Independent central bank to carry out monetary policy <p>Safeguards against economic vulnerability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognition of property rights over physical assets Access to speedy social insurance and other services through hub-and-spoke arrangements <p>Enforcement mechanisms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Independent and adequately funded court system Access to speedy recourse and redress Reliable and competent police <p>Efficient courts with competent judiciary and legal personnel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alternative mechanisms for dispute resolution

Source: World Bank (2001, cited by Grindle, 2002)