

Handbook of Research on Sustainable Development and Governance Strategies for Economic Growth in Africa

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A volume in the Advances in Electronic Government, Digital Divide, and Regional Development (AEGDDRD) Book Series



Published in the United States of America by

IGI Global
Information Science Reference (an imprint of IGI Global)
701 E. Chocolate Avenue
Hershey PA, USA 17033
Tel: 717-533-8845
Fax: 717-533-8661
E-mail: cust@igi-global.com
Web site: <http://www.igi-global.com>

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kassa Teshager Alemu, 1975- editor, author. | Abebe Alebachew, editor, author.

Title: Handbook of research on sustainable development and governance strategies for economic growth in Africa / Kassa Teshager Alemu and Mulunesh Abebe Alebachew, editors.

Description: Hershey, PA : Information Science Reference, 2018.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017016121 | ISBN 9781522532477 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781522532484 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Sustainable development--Africa, Sub-Saharan. | Economic development--Government policy--Africa, Sub-Saharan. | Africa, Sub-Saharan--Economic conditions--21st century.

Classification: LCC HC800.Z9 S385 2018 | DDC 338.9270967--dc23 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017016121>

This book is published in the IGI Global book series Advances in Electronic Government, Digital Divide, and Regional Development (AEGDDRD) (ISSN: 2326-9103; eISSN: 2326-9111)

British Cataloguing in Publication Data

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book is available from the British Library.

All work contributed to this book is new, previously-unpublished material. The views expressed in this book are those of the authors, but not necessarily of the publisher.

For electronic access to this publication, please contact: eresources@igi-global.com.

Chapter 7

Decentralization and Local Governance in Tanzania: Theories and Practice on Sustainable Development

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ABSTRACT

Decentralization, local governance, and sustainable development are still exploratory, despite an increased importance in facilitating development of citizens. In facilitating development, many challenges remain in designing a more decentralized and governance mechanisms that are inclusive and can facilitate sustainability. This chapter addresses the problem of how to support decentralization and local governance on sustainable management of projects. Existing research in decentralization and local governance tend to focus on finding out how levels at which decisions are made facilitate sustainable development. However, there is little evidence that researchers have approached the issue of inclusion and exclusion, power, power relations, and dynamics as well as strengthening decentralization and local governance with the intent of enhancing sustainable development. Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview on how the decentralization and local governance in local government can be supported to enhance sustainable development.

INTRODUCTION

Tanzania is a democratic unitary republic with both a central government and a devolved government of Zanzibar which has autonomy for non-union matters ((Wakwete, 2007). Article 145 of the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania gives recognition to local government and is supported by the Local Government (District Authorities) Act 1982 and the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act 1982.

DOI: 10.4018/978-1-5225-3247-7.ch007

On the Tanzania mainland, there are three types of urban authority: city, municipal and town councils. In rural areas there are two levels of authority; the district councils with the township authorities, and the village council. On Zanzibar, urban authorities are either town councils or municipalities, while all rural authorities are district councils (URT, 2014).

In mainland Tanzania there are 26 regions, 40 urban councils and 132 rural district councils, whilst on Zanzibar there are five regions, four urban authorities and seven rural district councils (Mustafa, 2009). LGAs exist for the purpose of consolidating local services and empowering the people to participate in social and economic development. Local authorities are mandated to maintain law, order and good governance; to promote the economic and social welfare of the people in their jurisdiction; and to ensure effective and equitable delivery of quality services to the people (URT, 2014).

Local Government can be defined as a sub-national, semiautonomous level government discharging its functions in a specified area within a nation. By definition, Local Governments are the level of government that are closest to the people and therefore responsible for serving the political and material needs of people and communities at a specific local area (Wakwete, 2007). Such areas could be a rural setting or an urban setting, a village, a town, a suburb in a city or a city, depending on the size. Local Governments have both political and economic purposes (URT, 2014). Politically, Local Governments being the levels of governments closest to the people are suitably situated to provide a way for ordinary citizens to have a say on how their communities are governed. Local Governments provide opportunities for democratic participation of citizens in matters that affect them directly. They facilitate closer interaction between citizens and elected representatives (RTI, 2010). Economically, Local Governments provide basic services that affect people in their area of jurisdiction. Being close to the people, Local Governments are supposed to know better the needs of the local area and not only what the people can contribute but also how to engage them in economic activities (URT, 2014). There are two-tier systems of government: the Central Government and Local Governments. Local Governments are either urban Authorities (city, municipal and town councils), or rural Authorities (district councils). The latter incorporate small towns (township Authorities) as well as village councils (*ibid*).

Decentralization refers to the transfer of decision making from the central level to sub-national authority. The aim is to transfer power and resource to a level that is closer, better understood and more easily influenced by local people (RTI, 2010). This should result in gains in efficiency and appropriateness of service delivery as well as better governance and greater accountability. By creating the conditions for more inclusive and transparent operations, decentralization enhances citizen participation in local governance, allowing communities to take responsibility of their own development. Furthermore, there is greater chance of achieving economic growth if institutions provide for popular participation, local leadership and the decentralization of authority. Of all government services, those provided by local government most directly affect the day to day lives of individuals. Decentralizing governance enables people to participate more directly in governance process and can empower people previously excluded from decision making (Popic, 2011). Decentralization within the context of democratic developmental states must reflect these ideological and structural dimensions. Most typically, local governments and other sub national authorities are seen as carrying the State mission and mandate as they are part of the overall project to achieve economic and social development. Therefore, state performance in terms of achieving national targets (poverty reduction) has to be filtered through the lenses of the decentralized spheres of government (Wakwete, 2007). In Tanzania local government espouses the philosophy of sustainable ways to meet the socio-economic need of the people and improve the quality of life, particularly targeting the

most marginalized and poorest members of the community. To that end, decision making authority had to be transferred from the central government to local government. The Government has been taking deliberate steps to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of Local Government culminating into the Local Government Reform Programme (Yildiz, 2007). Despite the efforts ability of local government to perform works for which they were established for and facilitate sustainable development has remained low. The implications from this situation highlight the need to consider inclusion, exclusion and power; specifically, what are the power relations and dynamics as well as what mechanism can strengthening decentralization and local governance. This chapter therefore focuses on the decentralization within local government management of projects that aims at facilitating sustainable community development.

BACKGROUND OF THE CURRENT STATE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DECENTRALIZATION IN TANZANIA

The policy paper on Local Government Reform (1998) emphasises on local autonomy and community participation. In this policy local autonomy is regarded as necessary for development: if citizens feel empowered they will take their destiny into their own hands, which will in the end contribute to the development of the community (Chaligha, 2008). Community participation has a similar effect. Participation promotes accountability of the Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and ensures that the LGAs respond to the needs of the local population. In an effort to make community participation a reality, the government through the President's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government (PO-RALG) developed an 'Opportunity and Obstacles to Development' (O&OD) methodology to facilitate the bottom-up approach in planning (URT, 2005). The methodology was developed in 2001 and its main concern was to reduce dependency and create a sense of ownership in the community plan. The methodology was expected to augment local involvement at the decisions that are relevant for their specific community, such as health and education services. The O&OD Methodology is thus designed to promote community initiatives as well as to accelerate achievement of national goals in the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025. In the O&OD planning process, the sub-goals in the Vision 2025 become direct basis of setting specific objectives, under which planning items are identified such as opportunities, obstacles, interventions, costs and so on. Besides, the O&OD is intended to promote effective and efficient allocation of Local Government Capital Development Grants (LGCDG) as clearly elaborated in the Planning Guidelines for villages and *Mtaa* that the O&OD is an essential methodology to identify community preferences for which the LGCDG is disbursed (URT, 2006). The O&OD methodology involves three levels of government: the grassroots level that formulates wishes and preferences, the village and ward level where local wishes are translated into a village and ward plan and finally the council level that decides upon the grants and funds through the Council Comprehensive Development Plan (CCDP).

Empirical studies on decentralization in Tanzania, provides accounts that decentralization in development projects implemented at the local level are not successful and hence failed to achieve the objectives for which they were established (Ringo and Mollel, 2014). Tordoff, (1994) observed that although Tanzania has attempted decentralization the aim of decentralizations are yet to be achieved. This is because the current local government structure does not provide adequate conducive environment for decentralization to work effectively. This is caused by failure to use appropriate Theories, Techniques and Practice towards Sustainable Development.

Kessy (1999) argues that, the decision making process in local authorities is mainly done by local bureaucrats (Council officers in collaboration with District and Regional Commissioners) and not the elected members (councilors) as one would expect. Kessy (1999) found that, most of the decision making process, from agenda setting to the implementation stage, is mainly controlled by local bureaucrats. At the urban level, there is no counterpart of the village assembly. Though the law directs the *mtaa* to meet in every two months and submit minutes of the meeting to the Ward Development Committee (WDC), the *mtaa's* role appears to implement decisions already made by the higher authorities. Consequently, *mtaa* citizens do not seem to have decision making powers over matters affecting their lives (Yilmaz & Venugopal, 2010). In reality, in many LGAs budgets are compiled by the departmental heads and harmonized by the treasurer (World Bank, 2001). Local development needs are not always reflected in the LGA plans (Chaligha *et al.*, 2007). For instance, in a study of village and *mtaa* residents, the authors observed that the local development budgets were dominated by expenditure on education despite of the fact that residents usually put a towering priority on the improvement of water supply (Chaligha *et al.*, 2007). This inconsistency was probably because the ruling party directives have determined construction of schools as an exclusive priority (Yilmaz & Venugopal, 2010).

Yilmaz & Venugopal (2010) further argues that, even if citizen priorities were to be reflected in the plans and budgets, the ministry seems to have ultimate say on them. Central government always delays in issuing guidelines with final ceilings. Normally, the final indicative figures are released in May, a month before the budget session, while the planning and budgeting process in the councils is completed by March. In this case, plan and budgets that are approved by the councils are further modified by Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and Local government (PMO-RALG) and Ministry of Finance, thus circumventing the rules and laws governing the functions of the councils.

The study conducted by Mollel (2010) in three councils i.e. Morogoro municipal council, Morogoro district council and Kilosa district council in which he wanted to know whether local people's wishes are reflected in the council plans revealed lack of citizens voice in the councils' development plans. Of all six facilities studied within the councils, only one had its wishes reflected in the council plan. Mollel (2010) concede with Kessy (1999) where he reveals that the council staff developed plan that reflects the preset wishes instead of responding to local preferences. To them the guidelines and central priorities are compulsory requests that must be taken onboard. Strong tie exist between central ministries and local government staff which perpetuate central government dominance in the local level.

Ringo and Mollel (2014) found that community voice was less reflected in the Council Comprehensive Development Plans (CCDP). It is through CCDP community voices on development projects are expected to be observed. In most cases community levels development projects were superimposed by the central government. Community's wishes were only observed in situation where they coincided to "central government's priorities". It is argued that new strategies and mechanisms are needed to make decentralization a reality in promoting popular participation.

Based on the above explanations it is apparent clear that the ability of local government to perform works for which they were established for and facilitate sustainable development has remained low. The implications from this situation highlight that inappropriate approach were used. This chapter presents analysis of Theories, Techniques and Practices and how they can be used to attain Sustainable Development. Specifically, how inclusion, exclusion, power relations and dynamics as well as what mechanism can strengthen decentralization and local governance in Tanzania.

THEORIES, TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICE TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Theoretical Perspectives on the Foundations of the State, Local Government and Decentralization

Governments are composed of people. In any society, the state is a network of agents who enforce laws that sustain property rights and reduce moral hazard in other organizations of society (Myerson, 2011). Agents of the state could profit from abuse of their powers, and so they must be motivated by the expectation of greater long-term rewards for good service. But promised rewards for good service become a debt of the state which its leaders might subsequently prefer to deny. So the motivation of agents in the government itself is also a moral-hazard problem, which must be solved by political leaders who establish the government (Myerson, 2011). The problem of creating political networks that can exercise power across a nation is solved a new in every generation by leaders who rise to positions of power in their society (Bardhan, 2016). Political leaders are the ultimate guarantors of incentives in government, and corruption in government agencies can be reduced only where leaders are willing to make appropriate efforts for discipline. But any political leader needs a reputation for reliably rewarding the service of his active supporters and agents, without whom he could not gain power or apply it. So in any political system, the state must be expected at least to protect rights to promised rewards for the loyal supporters of the state's political leaders (Myerson, 2014).

The critical question of political economy, then, is whether property rights are securely protected only for small elite who actively support the national ruler, or does the circle of trust extend more broadly to include people throughout the nation. Members in the securely protected group require some legal and political power that could be used against a government official who failed to protect their rights (Call *et al.*, 2003). A broad distribution of such power to threaten the privileged status of government officials may naturally seem inconvenient to established national leaders, but people who have been admitted into this circle of political trust can invest securely in the state, increasing economic growth. A fundamental fact of modern economic growth is that it requires decentralized economic investment by many individuals who must feel secure in the protection of their right to profit from their investments. Thus, modern economic growth requires a wide distribution of political voice and power throughout the nation. In any society, leaders can govern effectively only when there is broad public recognition of their authority, and this in turn can depend on their complying with generally recognized constitutional rules that characterize the nation's political system. Political systems can differ on at least two major dimensions that fundamentally affect the distribution of power in a society: democracy and decentralization (Lijphart, 2012). Democratic political systems distribute political voice more broadly in a nation by making leadership of government dependent on free expressions of popular approval from a large fraction of the nation's citizens. Decentralized political systems distribute power more widely to autonomous provincial and local units of government (Devas and Delay, 2006). Power can be applied throughout a nation only by a political network that spans the nation, reaching into every community. Relationships between local and national political leaders are vital elements in the structure of any state. In any political system, national leaders can wield their power only with trust and support of local officials throughout the nation, and local leaders in turn rely on national leaders to affirm their privileged positions of local power. But under different constitutional systems, the primary leaders of local government may be agents appointed by the national leadership, or they may earn their positions by autonomous local politics. This

distinction between centralized and decentralized states should be seen as one of the primary dimensions on which states vary, potentially as important as the distinction between democratic and authoritarian states (Watts, 2015). This is to say decentralized federal democracy and centralized unitary democracy may have significantly different implications for economic development.

Inclusions-Exclusion in Local Government

Inclusion of the marginalized groups in local governance has been a serious problem in local governance in Tanzania. Inclusion in this context means the inclusion of the marginalized sections local community people in local local governance (Shortall, 2008). However, inclusion cannot be understood, without having any reference to exclusion. Exclusion needs to be countered to promote inclusion. Since exclusion and inclusion are inter-related, new insights on inclusion through sincerely analysis requires on both: causes, consequences and means of exclusion as also the ways in which marginalized groups work towards their inclusion (Dhamoon, 2013). Local communities in Tanzania have suffered social and economic marginalization for a long time and therefore are considered for affirmative action. Particularly in the rural setting, the socio-economic hierarchies are inter-related. Hence, the groups who occupy low position in social hierarchy such members of the community invariably occupy low position in economic hierarchy (Bhuyan, 2012). While the focus on exclusion - inclusion has largely centered on how they take place within local governance institutions, an important area needing further solution is to ensure that the marginalized are included in the development process for ensure sustainable development.

Effective planning at the grassroots level can only be envisaged if a large number of members actively participate in the planning process. At present 50 per cent members (women) inclusive are virtually outside planning meetings because they are not allowed to participate or mostly citizen and other weaker sections do not attend due to some social compulsions (Bhuyan, 2012). These members are less motivated to attend meetings because they do not expect any gain from such meetings but lose their one day wage. Participation cannot be imposed on the marginalized. In this aspect participation means direct involvement of people and not indirect involvement through their representatives. An equitable sharing of the benefits of development by marginalized groups is possible only when there is equitable participation by them in the process of development. By doing so, marginalized groups can influence the decisions at the higher levels through their joint efforts and common voice. This is "bottom up approach to integrated rural development." The process can be accelerated only when the marginalized groups become conscious on their rights and privileges and build up strength to achieve justice for themselves in the sharing of benefits of development. Marginalized groups' participation or involvement can better be understood as:

1. Participation in Decision-Making;
2. Participation in implementation of development programmes and projects;
3. Participation in monitoring and evaluation of development programmes and projects
4. And Participation in sharing the benefits of development (Bhuyan, 2012).

Direct participation of the marginalized groups in decision making is possible only at the local village, ward and hamlet level, discussion regarding community development projects such as drinking water, social construction, health projects as well as environment projects etc, is confined in the hands of small group of so called village elites, local government and central government officials. These schemes must

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be discussed freely in the open assemblies in the presence of all the villagers or all members so that marginalized groups have some say in the decision making and execution of these schemes (Bhuyan, 2012). More specifically, most marginalized representatives were facing the problem of non-cooperation from the official and leaders. These problems have not only been obstructing developmental works but also not enabling elected representatives to participate. These problems are not confined to specific areas only but exist everywhere in different degree of intensity. However, experiences gained so far also show that the affirmative action for women and marginalized group in local governments in Tanzania has resulted in social identities and political awareness among them and created an urge to become a part of mainstream political, economic, and social life.

Again, there are no indications of social cohesion at local levels. The political space given to marginalized sections has to some extent dealt a blow to the asymmetrical social structure and given greater space for their participation and involvement in decision-making at the local level (Ansar, 2014). Central government allows local government to make decision on their own so that they can among other things empower women who constitute about 51% of the country's population (Kigodi & Poncian, 2016). Many social scientists observed that due to reservation of seats many women were elected to local bodies. But in spite of their representation it has been found that the elected women representatives are treated 'as puppet' in the decision making authority. They hardly voice their own opinion regarding developmental administration.

Power Relations and Dynamics in Local Government

Though everyone possesses and is affected by power, the meanings of power and how to understand it are diverse and often contentious (Gaventa, 2006). Some see power as held by actors, some of whom are powerful while others are relatively powerless. Others see it as more pervasive, embodied in a web of relationships and discourses which affect everyone, but which no single actor holds. Some see power as a 'zero-sum' concept to gain power for one set of actors that others must give up some power. Since rarely do the powerful give up their power easily, this often involves conflict and 'power struggles'. Others see power as more fluid and accumulative. Power is not a finite resource; it can be used, shared or created by actors and their networks in many multiple ways (Labrecque *et al.*, 2013). Some see power as a 'negative' trait to hold power is to exercise control over others. Others see power to be about capacity and agency to be wielded for positive action.

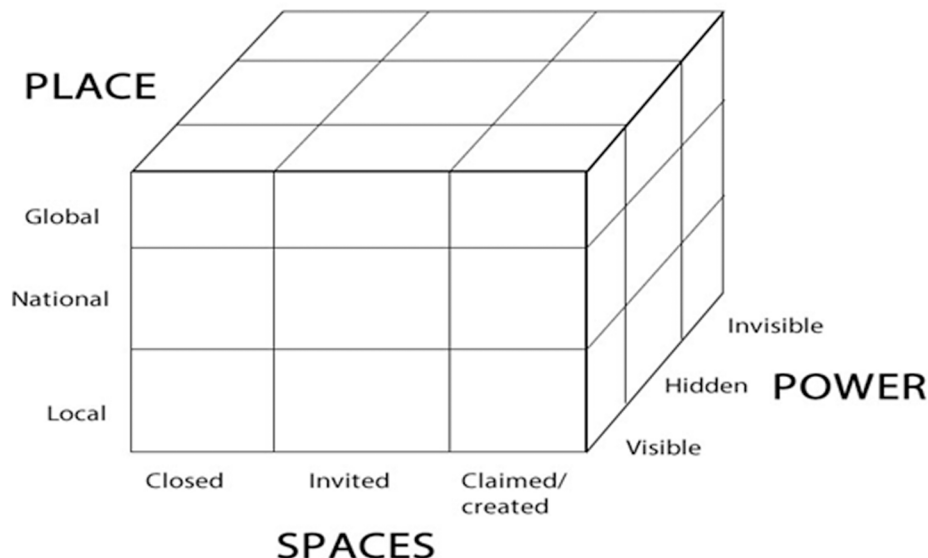
Power is often used with other descriptive words. Power 'over' refers to the ability of the powerful to affect the actions and thought of the powerless. The power 'to' is important for the capacity to act; to exercise agency and to realize the potential of rights, citizenship or voice. Power 'within' often refers to gaining the sense of self identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action (Yang *et al.*, 2015). Power 'with' refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building.

Local governance and decentralization in Tanzania are regarded as a means through which citizens can be involved in decision making and hence facilitate sustainable development. Despite an increasing acceptance in mainstream development discourse, local governance and decentralization approaches become techniques which did not pay sufficient attention to the power relations and dynamics within and surrounding their use, hence failed to facilitate sustainable development (Gaventa, 2006). The question therefore is mainly on the intersection of power with processes of citizen engagement in governance at the local level. Specifically, it is needed to understand how citizens participated in policy spaces in local

level, how citizens participated in policy spaces surrounding poverty reduction. In all of these areas, the issues of power and its links with processes of citizen engagement, participation and deepening forms of democracy were always lurking in the decentralization and local government in Tanzania.

In Tanzania local government setting search for sustainable development would be possible if approaches which could make the implicit power perspective more explicit, and which would help to examine the interrelationships of the forms of power which we were encountering in different political spaces and settings were used. The ‘three dimensions’ of power developed by Steven Lukes (Lukes 1974; Gaventa 1980) Luke’s three forms of power can be used to understand relation to how spaces for engagement are created, and the levels of power (from local to global), in which they occur. Understanding of these the spaces, levels and forms of power as themselves separate but interrelated dimensions, each of which had at least three components within them, these dimensions could be visually linked together into a ‘power cube’. By using this framework, assessment of the possibilities of transformative action in various political spaces can be done. Moreover, the approach could be a tool for reflection by activists and practitioners to map the types of power which may challenge attainment of sustainable development in local government in Tanzania, and to look at the strategies that may be used to overcome the challenges. Even though the ‘cube’ image (Figure 1) is criticized for being a bit too static in its portrayal of power, the approach was found useful in local government setting in developing countries, especially the cubes image was used to analyze and reflect on the ways in which they move from working for strengthening local participation, to engaging at the more national level. Based on that, the model is suggested to be used in local government whenever they want to attain sustainable development, because through the use of the mode it will make possible for decentralization to occur, and hence local participation and engagement of the citizens. In this chapter an elaboration and of different sides, or dimensions of the cube, their interrelationships and how this approach has can applied for in facilitating sustainable development in Tanzanian local government context is used.

Figure 1. Power cubes



The Spaces, Places and Forms of Power

The power cube is a framework for analysing the spaces, places and forms of power and their interrelationship. Though visually presented as a cube, it is important to think about each side of the cube as a dimension or set of relationships, not as a fixed or static set of categories. The blocks within the cube can be rotated any of the blocks or sides may be used as the first point of analysis, but each dimension is linked to the other. In this chapter, an analysis of the dimension of spaces, places and levels of power is presented, then conclude by showing to how and an understanding of this will lead to sustainable development in Tanzanian local government.

The Spaces for Participation

The notion of ‘space’ is widely used across the literatures on power, policy, democracy and citizen action. Some writers refer to ‘political spaces’ as those institutional channels, political discourses and social and political practices through which the poor and those organisations working with them can pursue poverty reduction (Webster and Engberg- Petersen 2002). Other work focuses on ‘policy spaces’ to examine the moments and opportunities where citizens and policymakers come together, as well as ‘actual observable opportunities, behaviours, actions and interactions sometimes signifying transformative potential’ (McGee 2004). In this chapter citizen participation is used as a starting point, ‘spaces’ are seen as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests. These spaces for participation are not neutral, but are themselves shaped by power relations, which both surround and enter them (Cornwall 2007). ‘Space is a social product it is not simply “there”, a neutral container waiting to be filled, but is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, of power’ (Lefebvre 1991). Inherent also in the idea of spaces and places is also the imagery of ‘boundary’.

Power relations help to shape the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities, discourses and interests. Using the idea of boundary power might be understood as the network of social boundaries that delimit fields of possible action’ (McGee 2004). Freedom, on the other hand, ‘is the capacity to participate effectively in shaping the social limits that define what is possible’ (Hayward 1998). In this sense, participation as freedom is not only the right to participate effectively in a given space, but the right to define and to shape that space. So one dynamic that is examined is the spaces for participation, to ask how they were created, and with whose interests and what terms of engagement. Therefore there are three continuums of spaces as explained below:

- **Closed Spaces:** Focus is on spaces and places as they open up possibilities for participation, in Tanzanian local government and decentralization systems still decision making spaces are closed. In that citizen are not involved or participate. This is evidenced by Mollel (2010) who found that, of all six facilities studied within the councils, only one had its wishes reflected in the council plan. That is, decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries for inclusion. Within the state, another way of conceiving these spaces is as ‘provided’ spaces in the sense that elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or, elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to ‘the people’, without the need for broader consultation or involvement of the people concerned. Many civil society efforts focus on opening up such spaces through greater public involvement, transparency or accountability.

- **Invited Spaces:** As efforts are made to widen participation, to move from closed spaces to more ‘open’ ones, new spaces are created which may be referred to as ‘invited’ spaces, i.e. ‘those into which people (as users, citizens or beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations’ (Cornwall 2002). In Tanzania for example, Engel (2010) found that, the ability for Civil Service Organizations (CSOs) working on behalf of the poor to influence policy is enhanced by ‘alliances with reformist elements within the state’ but also warns that entering into such alliances ‘inevitably surrenders some degree of autonomy’ (ibid.). In the experiences of CSOs raised above, entering the invited space has led to experiences of cooptation by pressure to affirm decisions already taken. Invited spaces may be regularized, that is they are institutionalised ongoing, or more transient, through one off forms of consultation. Increasingly with the rise of approaches to participatory governance, these spaces are seen at every level, from local government, to national policy and even in global policy forums.
- **Claimed/Created Spaces:** Finally, there are the spaces which are claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them. Cornwall (2007) refers to these spaces as ‘organic’ spaces which emerge ‘out of sets of common concerns or identifications’ and ‘may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue based concerns, or may consist of spaces in which like minded people join together in common pursuits’. For example in Tanzania law provides for “special seats,” with 30 per cent reserved for women appointed by political parties, based on proportional representation. However, now more than 1,000 women are claiming their space, contesting in their own right through their constituencies (Tripp, 2000). Other work talks of these spaces as ‘third spaces’ where social actors reject hegemonic space and create spaces for themselves (Soja 1996 Gaventa, 2006). These spaces range from ones created by social movements and community associations, to those simply involving natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist, outside of the institutionalised policy arenas.

It is critical though to note who creates the space those who create it are more likely to have power within it, and those who have power in one, may not have so much in another. These spaces exist in dynamic relationship to one another, and are constantly opening and closing through struggles for legitimacy and resistance, co-optation and transformation. Closed spaces may seek to restore legitimacy by creating invited spaces; similarly, invited spaces may be created from the other direction, as more autonomous people’s movements attempt to use their own fora for engagement with the state (Callard and Fitzgerald, 2015). Similarly, power gained in one space, through new skills, capacity and experiences, can be used to enter and affect other spaces. From this perspective, the transformative potential of spaces for participatory governance must always be assessed in relationship to the other spaces which surround them. Creation of new institutional designs of participatory governance, in the absence of other participatory spaces which serve to provide and sustain countervailing power, might simply be captured by the already empowered elite. The interrelationships of the spaces also create challenges for civil society strategies of engagement. To challenge ‘closed’ spaces, civil society organizations may serve the role of advocates, arguing for greater transparency, more democratic structures, or greater forms of public accountability. As new ‘invited’ spaces emerge, civil society organizations may need other strategies of how to negotiate and collaborate ‘at the table’, which may require shifting from more confrontational advocacy methods. At the same time, research shows that ‘invited spaces’ must be held open by ongoing

demands of social movements, and that more autonomous spaces of participation are important for new demands to develop and to grow (Gaventa, 2006).

Places and Levels for Participation

The concern with how and by whom the spaces for participation are shaped intersects as well with debates on the places, or levels where critical social, political and economic power resides. While some work on power (especially that on gender and power) starts with an analysis of power in more private or 'intimate' spaces, much of the work on public spaces for participation involves the contest between local, national and global arenas as locations of power. There are some that argue that participatory practice must begin locally, as it is in the arenas of everyday life in which people are able to resist power and to construct their own voice. There are others who argue that power is shifting to more globalised actors, and struggles for participation must engage at that level (Callard and Fitzgerald, 2015). In between, there are debates on the role of the nation state, and how it mediates power; on how the possibilities of local spaces often depend on the extent to which power is legitimated nationally, but shared with the locality (Gaventa, 2006). A great deal of work in the area of decentralization, for instance, discusses the dynamics of power between the locality and the nation state, while other literature argues for the importance of community or neighborhood-based associations as key locations for building power 'from below'. However, a growing body of literature warns us of the dangers of focusing only on the 'local', or the 'national' in a globalizing world. Globalization, it is argued, is shifting traditional understandings of where power resides and how it is exercised, transforming traditional assumptions of how and where citizens mobilize to hold states and non-state actors to account (Tarrow 2005; Batliwala and Brown, 2006). Concerns with global governance are producing new extra national fora in which citizens might be seeking to engage. Moreover, rather than being separate spheres, the local, national and global are increasingly interrelated. Local forms and manifestations of power are constantly being shaped in relationship to global actors and forces, and in turn, local action affects and shapes global power. Local actors may use global forums as arenas for action just as effectively as or more effectively than they can appeal to institutions of local governance.

Conversely, expressions of global civil society or citizenship may simply be vacuous without meaningful links to local actors and local knowledge (Batliwala, 2002). As in the example of the spaces of participation, this vertical dimension of the places of participation should also be seen as a flexible, adaptable continuum, not as a fixed set of categories. In many types of spaces, the relevance and importance of levels and places for engagement varies according to the purpose of differing civil society organizations and interventions, the openings that are being created in any given context. Civil society organizations identified eight different levels of civil society engagement in the public sphere, each of which has its own types of spaces, including the international, national, departmental, regional/provincial, municipal, communal and neighbourhood levels (Pearce and Vela, 2005). Many of these are shaped by the relevant legal frameworks of governmental administration, and may differ across rural and urban communities, yet increasingly, extra-local arenas seem to grow as centres of power and decision making.

For civil society, the changing local, national and regional levels of power pose challenges for where and how to engage. Some focus at the global level, waging campaigns to open the closed spaces of groups like the World Trade Organization (WTO). Other focuses more on challenging economic power locally. Yet, the interrelationships of these levels of power with one another suggest that the challenge for action is not only how to build participatory action at differing levels, but how to promote the democratic and

accountable *vertical links* across actors at each level. As Pieterse (1997) puts it, ‘this involves a double movement, from local reform upward and from global reform downward each level of governance, from the local to the global, plays a contributing part’ (Mohan and Stokke, 2000). At the same time, a growing concern among civil society organisations has to do with the lack of such vertical links between those organizations doing advocacy at an international level, often led or supported by international NGOs, with those working to build social movements or alternative strategies for change at the more local levels (Batliwala 2002).

The Forms and Visibility of Power Across Spaces and Places

The relationships of place and space *vis-à-vis* participation, also must be examined the dynamics of power that shape the inclusiveness of participation within each. Much of the literature of power is concerned with the degree to which conflict over key issues and the voices of key actors are visible in given spaces and places (Lukes 1974; Gaventa 1980; Gaventa, 2006) and is contended that,

- More pluralist approaches to power, in which contests over interests are assumed to be visible in public spaces, which in turn are presumed to be relatively open
- Second form of power, in which the entry of certain interests and actors into public spaces is privileged over others through a prevailing ‘mobilisation of bias’ or rules of the game; and
- Third form of power, in which conflict is more invisible, through internalisation of powerlessness, or through dominating ideologies, values and forms of behaviour,

VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) argue more simply for distinguishing between the visible, hidden and invisible (or internalised) forms of power.

The importance of this for how to analyse the dynamics of participation in differing spaces and places is relatively obvious. Historically, many pluralist studies of power have mainly examined power in its visible manifestations. One looked at who participated, who benefited and who lost in order to see who had power. But as we have seen, power in relationship to place and space also works to put boundaries on participation, and to exclude certain actors or views from entering the arenas for participation in the first place. Or power, in its more insidious forms, may be internalised in terms of one’s values, self-esteem and identities, such that voices in visible places are but echoes of what the power holders who shaped those places want to hear. Such power analysis points again to the importance of establishing the preconditions of participation in order for new institutional spaces to lead to change in the *status quo*. Without prior awareness building so that citizens possess a sense of their own right to claim rights or express voice, and without strong capacities for exercising countervailing power against the ‘rules of the game’ that favour entrenched interests, new mechanisms for participation may be captured by prevailing interests (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). While often these are different strategies involving different organisations and interventions to change power, in fact strategies are also needed which link across them. For instance, a policy victory in the visible arena of power may be important, but may not be sustained, if those outside the arena are not aware that it has occurred and how it relates to their interests, or are not mobilised to make sure that other hidden forms of power.

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ability of local government in Tanzania to perform works for which they were established for and facilitate sustainable development has remained low. The solution to this problem requires the use of appropriate approach that will consider issues of inclusion –exclusion as well as power relations and dynamics. When people participate in government affairs, government powers are obviously shared by the people at the local level. Powers do not remain concentrated at the center. Local government is the best solution of the maximum that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. A significant dispersal of power away from the center, by extending choice, encouraging initiative and innovation, and enhancing active participation, is likely to do more for the quality of government and the health of democracy than its centralization and concentration and hence it will facilitate sustainable development.

Based on the problems identified and the conclusions above the following recommendations are proposed to central government, local government and other stakeholders involved so as to ensure sustainable development.

For citizen participation to work, transparency of government information is needed, as well as the inclusion of members into decision-making from groups whose concerns are being addressed. Excluding the weak and powerless from decision-making is a cause of poverty because it denies them rights and creates unequal power relationships.

To ensure strong participation of citizens in local governance, citizens need to understand and want to exercise their right to participate in local political issues. They need to feel confident and know where and how to participate, while local institutions should be prepared to facilitate the citizen participation. Engaging citizens in local governance improves accountability and the ability of local authorities to solve problems, creates more inclusive and cohesive communities, and increases the number and quality of initiatives made by communities. One way to increase awareness and to empower citizens to have a voice is through increased access to technology and in particular social media. This can be done by for opening spaces for debate and dialogue and improving transparency and the hidden social structures that generate corruption.

Local government need to create an interactive platform to provide stakeholders with key information, bring together the various actors involved in local governance, empower citizens to demand accountability from elected leaders, and ensure equitable distribution and provision of goods and services. Further, education and training are crucial in empowering citizens to effectively participate in local governance.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This chapter shows how sustainable development can be facilitated by the use of power cube, specifically on analyzing inclusion, exclusion and power relations and dynamics. Even though power cubes is powerful tool in analyzing power relations and dynamics of various actors in facilitating development, the approach is not intensively used. The implications from this situation highlight the need to consider further research direction especially on what factors affecting adoption of power cube approach in identifying, developing and evaluating projects.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, power cube, if it can be used by local government in Tanzania when they to change and to reflect on where and how they do so, and how they work across boundaries with others who are also working for change, then perhaps the alignment of efforts for transforming power will become more possible. In this sense, reflections on power, and reflections by change agents on how their work affects power relationships in all of its dimensions, is perhaps the first step in making more visible, power's most hidden and invisible forms. Citizen inclusion in local governance ensures sustainable development because it involves ordinary citizens assessing their own needs and participating in local project planning and budget monitoring. It is important for improving public resource management and reducing corruption, by making public servants and political leaders accountable to the people.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Decentralization: Decentralization refers to the transfer of decision making from the central government to local government. A decentralized system encourages fewer tiers in the organizational structure, wider span of control, and a bottom-to-top flow of decision making.

Deconcentration: The form of decentralization in which the central authority redistributes authority through their autonomy agencies or functionaries of government. In essence, the responsibilities of central government officials will be shifted in regions, counties, or districts.

Inclusion: Means the involvement of the marginalized sections local community people in local governance. However, inclusion cannot be understood without having any reference to exclusion. Exclusion needs to be countered to promote inclusion.

Local Governance: Local governments are the level of government that are closest to the people and therefore responsible for serving the political and material needs of people and communities at a specific local area.

Power Cubes: The powercube is a framework for analysing the levels, spaces, and forms of power and their interrelationship. It is useful in exploring various aspects of power and how they interact with each other to ensure participation and influence change.