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“Assessment of Citizen Participation in Public Meetings in Tanzania: A Case of Rorya District Council”.

I recommend it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Master Degree in Public Administration (MPA) of Mzumbe University.

.....

Dr. Wilhelm L. Mafuru
Major Supervisor

We have examined this Dissertation and recommended it for acceptance

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Accepted for the Board of School of Public Administration and Management

CHAIRPERSON, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND
MANAGEMENT

**ASSESSMENT OF CITIZENS PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC MEETINGS IN
TANZANIA: A CASE STUDY OF RORYA DISTRICT COUNCIL**

By

Wilson Jacob Nyamanga

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
Masters Degree in Public Administration (MPA) of Mzumbe University**

2013

CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by Mzumbe University, a dissertation entitled; **“Assessment of Citizens Participation in Public Meetings in Tanzania: A Case of Rorya District Council”**.

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DECLARATION

I, **Wilson Jacob Nyamanga** declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that it has not been presented to any other university for an academic purposes or any other degree award.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am aware of the fact that it is the government policy that requires the employer to develop his/her employee in terms of skills and knowledge. But only this is not enough, developing an employee needs leadership initiatives of training program, budget and effectively implementation of the training plan. It is for this reason I feel guilt to express my special thanks to my employer, Thomas. G. R. Sowani, Regional Administrative Secretary. My thanks are also due to all Lindi Regional Secretariat Staff for their assistance and cooperation during my studies.

It was in class discussion when I suggested to my lecturer that I was thinking to use a shadow theory, a theory that require the researcher to dig deep or go back of curtain in order to understand the problem of our society. However, with all this in my minds, it was still very difficult to start this academic search from sky. And as we know, to impart somebody with theories, approaches, models and intellectual views which later used as a tool of critical thinking and analysis need an experienced academician and public administrative guru in particular. At this juncture I could not think of thanks a better person than Dr. Wilhelm Leonard Mafuru, who is a senior lecturer at Mzumbe University and who is at the same time, Assistant Dean of the School of Public Administration of Mzumbe University. This is one person I would most sincerely like to express my gratitude thanks towards in a special way.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my extinguished Lecturer Dr. Wilhelm L. Mafuru, my Dear Mother Pries A. Nyamanga, my beloved wife Everline and our children Mac' Odic, Mac' Agyperi, Mac' Adonia, Yunes and Mc' Phinihas Francis Nyamanga.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONIMS

RC - Regional Commissioner
DC - District Commissioner
DED - District Executive Director
DO - Division Officer
WEO - Ward Executive Officer
VEO - Village Executive Officer
UN - United Nations
GTZ - German and Tanzania Agency
USA - United State of America
RPC - Regional Police Commander
DAS - District Administrative Secretary
MP - Member of the Parliament
CCM - Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CUF - Civil Union Front
NCCR - National Conversion of Construction Reforms
TLP - Tanzania Labour Party
DP - Development Party
CHADEMA - Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CHAUSA - Chama cha Ustawi wa Jamii Tanzania
TBC - Tanzania Broad Casting
ITV - Independent Televisions
WADC - Ward Development Council
TASAF - Tanzania Social Action Fund
PAP - Politicians visa vies Administrators Partnership
O and OD - Opportunity and Obstacles for Development
LECIOPRAS - Leaders visa vies Citizens Open Performance Review Appraisal System

A B S T R A C T

Each author has a specific purpose in mind when writing an academic work, this search intended to assess the citizens' participation in Public Meetings in Tanzania. The research title designed to respond to the statement of problem. The research findings is presented in six chapters, Each written, structured and scanned according to Mzumbe University guide lines.

Believing that visual emerge can enhance learning, the contents are presented in the most lucid manner. All abbreviations are provided in the afore pages to help the reader to get the full words. About twenty three tables, three figures and six pictures are used not only to transform information easily but also to helps in getting complete knowledge of all chapters. The presentation of research data is followed by strong argumentations and critical thinking discussions attached by fresh examples in order to strengthen understanding of the readers from diverse background.

Chapter one provides comprehensive introduction of the study including background of problem, statement of problem, objective, significance, scope and limitations, delimitation of the study, conceptual framework and definition of the key terms. Chapter two deals with literature review where both theoretical and recent studies critically viewed. Chapter three is about Research methodology comprises research design, area of the study, sample and sampling techniques and data collection methods. Presentation, analysis, interpretations and conclusion of the research is dealt with in chapter four. In the presentation of the findings, the specific objectives are followed. Chapter five is the discussion of the findings and the last chapter is the conclusion and recommendations.

To sum-up, the overall findings of this study is that the citizens' participation is low, estimated to 33 percent and the reasons are from the fact that the education level is low, the citizens are not empowered for effective participation, unfulfilled promises hence distrust of the leaders, corruption, poor social services delivery, poor meeting facilities, corruption, irresponsibility of leaders and poverty . It also discovered that there is no legal framework guiding public meetings in Tanzania with an exception of village general assembly. The study also reveals two types of meetings, defined and undefined. Generally, the citizens have lost trust to their leaders.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Problem

A public meeting is one of parameter of public opinions towards running of government which saves the life of its citizens. To lead a good life and be a good person one must have a good government that adhered to the principles of good governance. People cannot attain good life and be good people under the rude, ruthless, dictatorial government which does not engage them in planning, decision making and be informed at all times on various matters. If the government is considered as an entity based on trust and mutual benefits, then its people will in turn feel much more secure, happy and will be successful at what they do (World Bank, 1992)

This is why the public opinion is one of the foremost right provided under the Constitution of united Republic of Tanzania of 1977, Article 18(1), that says, “Without prejudice to expression the laws of the land, every person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and to seek, receive and impart or disseminate information and ideas through any media regardless of national frontiers and also has the right of freedom from interference with his communications”. Sub-article(2) provides that, “Every citizens has the right to be informed at all times of various events in the country and in the world at large which are of importance to the lives and activities of the people and also of issues of importance to society”

From the United Nations point of view, for a country to be viewed to exercise good governance, it should practice the principle of participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness, efficiency and accountability in the way it conduct its affairs. The principle of participation basically provides all men and women with the voice in decision-making. Leaders and other

stakeholders alone cannot bring about development (UN Report, 1992). Sustainable development aimed at by Tanzania is based on these principles. The People participation should not only be in planning process but also citizens should participate in implementation to the same extent that it was involved in planning (Swanepoel, 1992).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The overall research problem addressed in this study is that of poor citizens' participation in public meetings, one of the vital communication channels between government and its citizens. The citizens' attendance in public meetings is discouraging. Both elected and appointed political officials such as President, Member of Parliament, Councillors and Village chairpersons and Prime Minister, Ministers, Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners respectively are puzzle of what is happening on the ground.

Studies carried in Tanzania shows that there is tremendous deterioration of citizen's participation in political and administrative arena. The study conducted in Mbarali, for instance, reveals that out of 70,673 village assembly members who were supposed to attend to 44 village assembly meetings, only 8,313 (12%) attended the meetings. The villages attendance ranges from 4%-22%. (Kaminyoge, 2008).

In Lindi and other places in Tanzania, the government hires lorries or buses to take people from neighbouring villages with a lot of promises such as to be supplied with food, drinks and go and return transport, in order to convince them to attend the national political leaders' meetings. This is done because the citizens within the respective areas are always reluctant and difficult to organize so that to ensure that the peoples' attendance and effective participation which is said to be capital to political leaders and policy telling platforms for effective implementation of policies become a day dream.

The meeting organizers which are bureaucrats on the other hand are not only at a crossroad but also in the dilemma of losing their jobs for their failure of organization of citizens' attendance in these meetings. Academicians have been asking how the Abraham Lincoln (1809-1965) definition of democracy, "the government of the people, for the people, by the people" can be effectively exercised without citizen's participation. Essentially, it is through participation in meetings people can be civilized, sensitized, mobilized and get chance for feedback on status of policies implementation by the government.

While in participatory democracy people are given positive role by actually initiate the policies and representatives are largely regarded as messengers conveying decisions of the constituents; In Tanzania citizens have been claiming that their representatives are no longer taking their views through public meetings as it was intended before. Members of the Parliament and Councillors on the other hand are on the defence that whenever they call them for the meeting, they do not attend. The question is why. What is behind this syndrome of poor participation in public meetings is the main drive of this investigation.

This research intends to employ the *shadow theory* as propounded by Carl Jung, the theory that require the researcher to go behind the curtain, expose the hidden or secret reasons of why poor participation. (Jung, 1990). Therefore, the research finding will open up the eyes of politicians and bureaucrats and acts like a candle in the gallery.

1.3 Objective of Study

The main objective of this study is to assess the level of citizens' participation in the public meetings in Tanzania. The main question is, why poor participation?

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

In addressing the above problem, the following are the specific objectives of the study:

- 1) To tress and find out the legal framework that guiding public meetings in Tanzania, a case study of Rorya District Council.
- 2) To identify the types and number of public meetings conducted for the period of the year 2011/2012.
- 3) To determine the level of the citizens participation in public meetings in Rorya and Tanzania in general.
- 4) To explore the challenges involved and the actions taken in the process of the citizens participation in these meetings and
- 5) To recommend feasible measures that will enhance citizen participation in the public meetings.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The research is significant in different ways as follows:

1. It reveals the level of citizen's participation in the public meetings in Tanzania. Thus in turn, enables the government to review its legal framework for the public meetings.
2. The findings provide the useful inputs to both leaders in one hand and bureaucrats who are meeting organizers on the other hand. The findings will help both administrators and leaders to strengthen their responsibilities and accountability respectively.
3. The study is one of the rare studies, so it is a catalyst for further researches. Its findings are reference in the further studies of the same nature and,
4. The study is a prerequisite of the award of the Master of Public Administration Degree of Mzumbe University.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study conducted at Rorya district, one of the districts of Mara Region from January to June, 2013. The study periods covered introduction to the field, Rorya district, training research assistants, distribution and filling of questionnaires, interview of respondents, secondary data collection, data analysis and report writing and submission.

Due to wide coverage of Rorya district, to cover the whole areas of 9,345.496 km squares surface land and some kilometre squares of Lake Victoria; divided into 4 divisions, 21 wards, 82 villages and 567 hamlets; to disseminate the questionnaire in the all area and collect them in time were very difficult. The high level of illiterate also affected the fillings of questionnaires. The researcher really faces the problem of transport especially in the rural area where the roads were so rough. All in all are the finance and time constraints. To meet the expenses and deadline of submission of this research was also the challenges of this study.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

To resolve all the problems and meet the deadline, the researcher employed four research assistants in order to speed up data collection. To resolve the transportation problem, the researcher hired a car and sometimes motorcycles to facilitate the exercise. He also adhered to time table which in turn ensured timely submission of this dissertation.

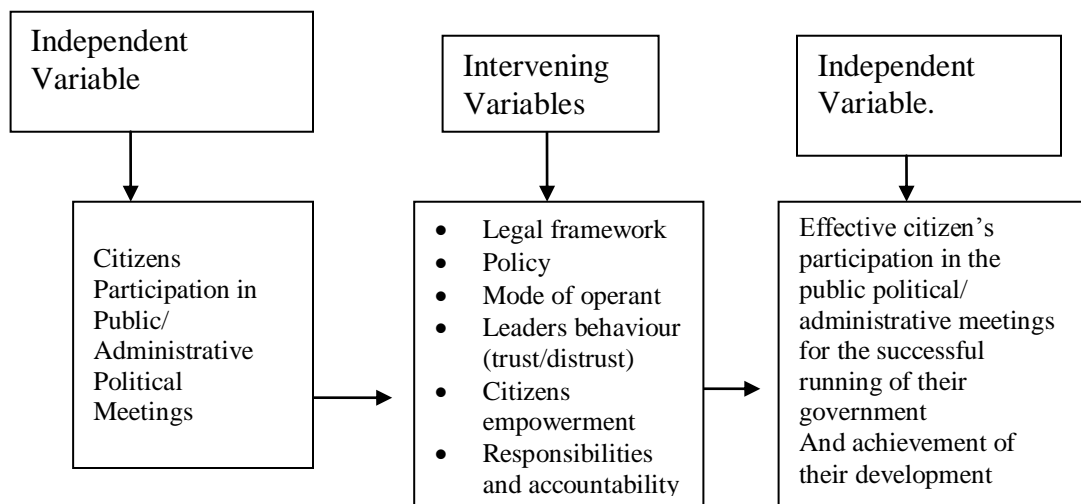
1.7 Conceptual Framework

In Tanzania the major yardstick used to measure citizens' participation in the public meetings are attendance and articulation of policies. In this case, majority participation is treated as synonyms to popular participation as advocated by new democratic theory. However, the meeting attendance is a process; the effective participation is

judged to output, the way people’s demand and wants are accommodated, considered and influence the decision making.

In this conceptual model, the assumption is that the public meeting is one of the vital and historical means of communication between citizens and their leaders. The effective citizens’ participation is inevitable for the successful running of all governments worldwide. The citizens should be empowered to play their roles in the daily running of their government. Participatory democracy seems to be partly depends on how competent citizens are in demanding for their rights. I believe on the foot of Dr. Killian that participation is shaped by one’s skills, knowledge, resources and time. But how competent are Tanzanians are in affecting participatory democracy? (Killian, undated).

Figure 1. Conceptual framework



Source: Field Data 2013.

1.8 Definitions of the Key terms

1.8.1 Citizens

A citizen in this study means an inhabitant of the nation and a member of the state, especially, one entitled to the rights and privileges of the state. Is a person owing a loyalty to and entitled by birth or naturalization to the protection of the state or nation. He is a resident, entitled to vote and participate in political arena.

1.8.2 Participation

A term participation in this dissertation refers to direct or indirect involvement of the masses in making and implementing decisions, controlling and administering programmes. The participation process involves receiving the information, discussing, debating and making decisions on all matters pertaining life.

1.8.3 Politics and Political Arena

From Greek, Politics means *politikos* of, for or relatively relating to citizens. The term is generally applied to art and science of running government or state affairs. A political arena is a state of keep-up the hottest political debates and shares the thought and opinions on political issues that matter to the citizens.

1.8.4 Meeting

Meeting is an assembly of citizens whether claimed or invited for the purpose of receiving information, discussing and making decisions. It is the communication channel from which its effectiveness depends upon the qualities of the members attending and their respective skills in communicating effectively through the constraints imposed by rules, procedures or conventions.

1.8.5 Public Meeting

Meeting is defined as an assembly in which members of a particular community participate freely with the intention of changing their ideas, debating, discussing and sensitizing a particular issue. Public meetings in this study, refers to meetings held by both elected and appointed politicians. These are President, Vice President, Prime ministers, Ministers, Member of the Parliaments, Councillors, Village Chairperson and Regional Commissioners, and District Commissioners respectively.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

A literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars and researchers. It is through literature review, the author consider the critical points of the current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic. Literature review is a secondary source of information that provides critical assessment of the relevant literature and offer insights of the topic (Taylor, Undated). According to Haywood and Wragg (1982) the purpose of literature review is to show that the writer has studied existing works in the field with insight.

There are various literatures that justify the need for the researcher to conduct the research in this area. This chapter present the literature review based on theoretical and recently research findings by different scholars on the topic. In both two sections, the major emphasis will be what the theorists and scholars say about the public meetings worldwide and Tanzania in particular and identification of the gap which call for further study.

2.1. Theoretical Literature Review

There are coherent theories of participation. This sub-chapter is devoted to examining the alternative theoretical explanation of participation that exists in the literature. The task is to evaluate their theoretical coherence and empirical predictions they make about citizens involvement in politics and administrative issues. In this research, is therefore prepares the groundwork for an analysis that identify the best model for explaining citizens participation. There are five theoretical approaches or models of participation in both politics and administrative issues.

2.1.1. Civic Voluntarism Model.

This is the most-well known and widely applied model. It is also known as the resources model and had its origins in the work of Verba and Nie (1972) in their influential research on participation in USA. The central idea of this model is to understand why people do not become political activists. Three answers come to mind: because they can't; because they don't want to be; or because nobody asked. According Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2008), civil voluntarism participation depends on the degree of statism, corporateness, trust and social capital towards the state.

The resource aspects of this model are time, money and civic skills). The psychological engagement aspect is defined principally in terms of individual's sense of political efficacy. According to this model, the social status of an individual- his job, education and income determines to a large extent how much he participate (Verba and Nie 1972).

According to Verba and his colleagues, the modes of participation classified citizens into six different groups on the basis of the types of activities they undertook. The first, inactive, who as the name suggests do little or nothing; the second, the voting specialist, who votes regularly but do nothing else; third, the parochial participants, who contact officials in relation to specific problems but otherwise inactive; fourth, the communalists, who intermittently engage in political actions on broad social issues but are not highly involved; fifth, campaigners, who are heavily involved in campaigns of various kinds; and finally, the complete activities, who participate in all kinds of activities.

2.1.2 Rational Choice Model

The rational choice model originate from Down's Seminal work, an Economic Theory of Democracy (1957) held that a rational man is one who behaves as follows: 1) he

can always make a decision when confronted with a range of alternatives; 2) he ranks all the alternatives facing him in order of his preferences in such a way that each is either preferred to, indifferent to, or inferior to each other; 3) his preference ranking is transitive; 4) he always chooses from among the possible alternatives that which ranks highest in his preference ordering; 5) he always makes the same decision each time he is confronted with the same alternatives (Downs 1957).

This model faces a key problem- the so called paradox of participation. For instance, rational actors will not participate in collective action to achieve common goals because the product of such action is public goods which has two properties; jointness of supply and the impossibility of exclusion (Samuelson 1954).

2.1.3 Social Psychological Model

In this social psychological model, Muller (1979) focus on the expectations-values-norms theory concerning with explaining the relationship between attitude and behaviour. According to Azjen and Fishbein (1969) such attitudes together with other factors make it possible to predict behaviour fairly accurately. This model is also known as social exchange theory.

Fishbein explained that the theory identifies three kinds of variables that function as the basic determinants of the behaviour; 1) Attitude towards the behaviour; 2) Normative beliefs; both personal and social; and 3) Motivation to comply with the norms. Thus the explanations-values-norms explain behaviour in terms of two broad classes of factors; expected benefits and social norms. In one hand, individuals are seen as utilitarian who calculate the benefit of different course of action, although in this model no distinction are made between the private and collective benefits of political action. On the other hand they are seen as the actors embedded in network of social norms and beliefs which provide internal and external motivations to behave in a certain ways.

The expected benefits of participation are weighted by individual's sense of political efficacy. In other words, individuals will participate if they believe that this will bring those benefits, providing that they also believe that participation is effective. Thus even if the individual expect high rewards from participation, he or she may not get involved if their sense of political efficacy is rather low.

2.1.4 Mobilization Model

The mobilization model asserts that individual participates in the response to political opportunities in their environment and to stimuli from other people. Put simply, some people participate because the opportunities for them to do so are greater than for other people and because they are persuaded to get involved by other people.

The opportunities for participation are obviously linked to the resources model since individuals with high socioeconomic status are more likely to have access to political parties, interest groups or campaign organizations than low status individuals (Verba et al 1995). Since the opportunities for participation are not uniform across the population, an interaction between resources and opportunities mobilizes some individuals to get involved.

2.1.5 General Incentive Model

The general incentive model of participation was introduced specifically to explain the incident of high-intensity types of participation, such as canvassing, attending meetings and running for office, activities that the focus of the concern of the researcher (Seyd and Whitely 1992). The essence of this theory is that actors need incentives to ensure that they participate in politics but that we need to consider a wider array of incentives than narrowly defined individual incentives that appear in the rational choice model. (<http://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472106201-ch2.pdf> downloaded on 10th November, 2012.)

2.1.6 Liberal theory of citizenship

Liberal theory of citizenship stressing formal rights and political channels with ‘civic republican’ approaches that emphasize the collective engagement of citizens in the determination of their community affairs. Politics is a fact of life in the government; people who ignore this fact of life do so at their own peril. A nation is made up of individuals and groups with different values, goals and interests. This set up the potential for conflict over resources. It follows that resources in any country are limited, which often turns potentials conflict into real conflict. The most important is the realization of the citizen in influence of resources distribution in their constituency. This to me is the politics of resources distribution and allocation from which its degree of influence depends on citizen’s power.

This theory continued to argue that most of decisions have to be made in political realm, where facts are rarely fully objective and, thus are open to manoeuvre and self interest interpretation, people are required to use whatever the influence they can to attain the facts supporting their goals and interests. That, of course, creates the activities we call politicking. So politics is all about the power.

According to Beerel (2009), power is an ever-present reality essential to all living things. Without power we die, both biologically and psychologically. We need power to take care of ourselves physically. May (1972) as quoted by Beerel, (2009) was on the opinion that we need power to be able to affirm ourselves in the world and build self-esteem. Power makes us interpersonally significant (to be considered by the others), power gives us the capacity to assert ourselves and make meaning out of life, power facilitate both self-realization and self-actualization. Power cannot be seen or touched, but we can observe its manifestations.

So, the citizens not only need power, but also want it. And they want it because with it they are able to determine the actions of their leaders in the direction of their own ends. But this can only be obtained in the Democratic Government like of Tanzania.

One of the puzzles of the researcher is whether the Tanzanians are empowered and involved in the running of their government.

Agere, (2000) however, critically comment that democratic government does not necessarily lead to good governance; at best it provides the basis for it. Good governance, therefore, encompasses many of the essential elements of democracy such as *participation*, opening up civil societies, respect for human, civil and property rights, as well as peaceful conflict management. He defined *participation* as a process whereby stakeholders exercise influence over public policy making decisions, and share control over resources and institutions that affect their lives, thereby providing a check on power of government.

In the context of the governance, participation is focused on the empowerment of citizens, including women and addresses the interplay between the broad range of civil society's actors and actions. It is about the creation of an enabling regulatory framework and economic environment, which generate legitimate demands and monitors government policies and actions. It occurs at various levels, through flexible and decentralized form of government; and also in private sectors. (Agere 2000).

2.1.7 Democratic theorists

The democratic theorists principally believe that the government is voted-in by the citizens through national general election. The voted in government is expected to be the government of the people by the people for the people as propounded by the democratic guru, Abraham Lincoln. By the people he was talking about the form of the government in which the supreme power is retained and directly exercised by the people. In contemporary democracy, it is the government by the popular representation, the form of the government in which supreme power is retained by the people, but is indirectly exercised through a system of representation and delegated authority periodically renewed through election. The people or majority votes not only

legitimize the government in power but also enhance the authority of confidence between government and the citizen.

Montgomery and Siffin (1966) quoted Professor Glenn Paige's following manifesto attacks deterministic perspectives which regard politics as an ever-dependent variable in a world of social change. Paige puts forth a preface to strategies and an argument that politics should be considered the realm of the prime movers in broad efforts at change and modernization. Without politics, there is no way to talk about development.

The functions of political party can be categorized into two phases, during election and after election. During election political parties in their political system are said to organize and mobilize the electorate, provide a financial and organizational basis for election candidates, and give individual candidates, who may be totally unknown as individuals, a party label which cues responses from the voters. In this phase, the public political meetings are pure politics in the sense that even appointed political leaders seize to be administrators and change like chameleon, advocates their party manifesto, and appeal to the citizens votes. Meeting attendance during this period is at least; though, mostly attendants are young.

The second phase is after election. The previous political fighters won the election, appointed in administrative posts are politically vested with a duty to implement party manifesto to the extent that ensure their survival in the political regime in the next general election. At this juncture, the most public political meetings also change to the administrative public meetings; hence public political-administrative meeting-dichotomy. This period is characterized with poor attendance not only in the administrative but also in the few pure political meetings held by political parties on all meetings; the main agenda are determination of political resources, distribution, expenditure and accounting for.

Talking on citizens' influence on the political resources, one of plural democratic theorist guru, Robert Dahl, as quoted by Newton (1976), argued that the main concern of pluralists is unequal distribution of political resources among the citizens. He was on the opinion that inequalities are not cumulative. This is to say, an individual or group with one important political resource such as money, may lack other resources, such as voting power or the incentives to engage in prolonged political struggle. Dahl has argued that 'a citizen (or political group) who has less of one resource than another citizen may nonetheless gain greater influence because he has other resources'. Though he may have less money, he may have more time, more energy, greater popularity and stronger ethnic ties. As a result nobody is likely to lose out completely.

Dahl's arguments seems to run contrary to a great deal of social science research finding suggests very strongly that resources are not only distributed unequally, but are distributed with cumulative inequality. Research has shown over and over again that those with more money often have more time to give to politics, have more political skills, fill more political positions, and have more information, more confidence, and more effective organization to defend their interest, and so on. Later Dahl himself admits that 'money and influence have certain interdependence. The poor man is not likely to gain high influence; but if he does, somehow on the way he is no longer a poor man. He also pointed out that political participation and competence reinforces one another in a cumulative fashion. The Birmingham research discovered that professionals, traders, manufacturing associations, social welfare are over-presented in the politics. (Newton 1976)

Most of democratic system require the elected and appointed officials to not only sensitise, mobilize and empower the citizens to participate in decision making but also to give out their opinions and interest through public meetings so as to be considered in the decision making body. However, this is not done and the reason behind is also the motive of this search. Simmel, Lipset, Tonnies, Laski and others are on the opinion that citizens participation, could be in theory, vital in maintaining stability, bring about

peaceful change, protecting democracy, reducing the intensity and violence of conflicts, acting as a channels of communication, giving citizens a sense of belonging and control, helping to integrate society, and bring about a host of other processes which are essentials to the political and social health of any large-scale society (Newton, 1976).

2.1.8 Elites-Citizens Theories

The elites-citizens theorists try to explore the cause of gap between the political elites and the citizens. “Michael’s Iron law of oligarchy holds that the leaders of any political organization are bound, sooner or later, to become isolated from the mass membership”. (Newton, 1976).

This research is grounded on the general incentives model and it will apply the shadow theory identifies both “good” which warrants approval and “bad” side which warrant rebuke. The theory splits between the two. According to well known psychologist Carl Jung who developed this theory, called bad side or disowned part of human nature *shadow*. The shadow part includes that side which never been conscious or un-lived life; those positive qualities we are afraid to realize or discouraged from showing (Bereel 2009). The researcher is very optimistic that whatever lies in citizens and leaders shadow side lead to poor participation is alive, well and waiting for expression and explanation. Using this theory, he will trace that part of problems that individuals or group does not feel free to express due to fear, shame, or incompetence.

The reason for application of this theory is because exercising leadership effectively requires heightened awareness of the shadow side. If the shadow side of the society will not be identified and explained for quick measure, the suicide bomber can erupt anytime.

2.2 The Literature Review of Recent Studies

Citizen's participation, whether invited or claimed is a basic right and must be understood so by them. Ward (1954) had the opinion that being a citizen is, in many ways, not so simple a matter as being serf, who had many duties but no rights. Citizen is much bigger and more complicated position. So citizenship, being a triangular affair has three angles, each angle carries with it certain rights and also, of course, certain duties. First, many adults seem to take years to understand what are the rights and duties of their rank as citizen. Second, school graduates and other young are very keen on their rights but not so keen on their duties. Perhaps they think that a citizen, being so superior to a serf, has rights but no duties. They have not realized that never in life can one have higher rank without its duties as well as its rights. Lastly, school students who will become an adult citizen in a very few years, so there is a reason why they should not find out where they will then stand.

Whitaker (1980) conducted a research on coproduction; citizens participation in service delivery. He viewed citizen's participation as an attempt to influence the formulation of public policy. The term citizen's participation to him indicates the lobbying, litigation efforts of public interest groups and citizen organizations.

The study conducted in Birmingham by Newton (1976) reveals that one's political leaders (councillors) fail to conduct public political meetings, they opting to other cheap alternatives. One, elites contact with citizens as individuals. Most of council members meet members of the public as individuals rather than as representatives of organized interests, and most of individual contact comes through advice bureaux. When the councillors asked what individual members of the public contact about, their invariable and immediate response was personal housing problems.

The second alternative was elite contact with voluntary organizations. It has been suggested that pressure groups are a more important channel of communication than political parties for the transmission of political ideas from citizens to leaders. All

studies of city politics in Britain show that council members are integrated into an extraordinarily wide range of community associations.

Third, elites contact with party organizations. Few council members spontaneously think of their party organizations in the city as a major source of public opinion, or as a major channel of communication with the public. The study discovered that most of council members attend their ward meetings regularly, but meetings seem to be preoccupied with organizational rather than political matters.

Fourth, elites contact with local government officers. The research findings show that local government officers are close to the citizens, therefore, could act as important intermediary channels between citizens and the elites. Large numbers (82 per cent) claimed to have consulted them on a major policy matter in the previous twelve months, and only one in seven claimed not to. In general, most council members consult officers, not because they have any special knowledge of public opinion, but because of their specialist and technical skills.

The study conducted by Kaminyoge (2008), where levels of participation was labelled in terms of village assembly attendance, reveals that, for instance, only 6 (27%) out of 15 villages assembly meetings hardly held in 4 villages. The finding continue to reveals that out of 70,673 village assembly members who were supposed to attend to 44 village assembly meetings, only 8,313 (12%) attended the meetings (Kaminyoge, 2008). The villages attendance ranges from 4% - 22%.

According to respondents, the reasons for the citizens poor participation are less awareness of the advantages of the meetings and lack of by-laws governing participation in village statutory meetings. On the other hands, the meetings are not held because of lack of funds to meet meetings expenses, leaders lack sufficient confident to satisfactorily responded to questions from citizens, inadequate feedback from top organs and ineffective mechanisms of delivering meetings information's and

agenda. And this is to both elected and appointed politicians who are at the same times are administrators.

The notion that politics and administration can be separated is a night mere and illusion. As Lynn and Wildavsky (1990) quoted Gaus (1950), “a theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics also”. They continue to argue that whether the sphere of interest being public or private, administration is always the servant of policy. Therefore, public political meeting in this study will also means the public administrative meetings since it is very difficult to draw a line between two.

Public political/administrative meetings are for both elected and appointed politicians. These are President, Vice President, Prime ministers, Ministers, Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners, Councillors and Village Chairperson. All of these leaders belong to a certain political party. It is very difficult to separate their political and administrative meetings in their daily routine. As Goodnow and White (1900) admit, “there is no Republican way to build a road between politics and administration”. According to Berkley and Rouse (2004), appointed administrators such as Regional Commissioners and District Commissioners are quasi politicians or executive de-facto politicians, function along the ruling party manifesto. Even their fate or life span is unpredictable as it is the life of the ruling political party.

According to Iyer (2003), “It would be the duty of the Chairman to see that the meeting is duly convened and constituted in accordance with the Act or any other applicable guidelines, rules and regulations before it proceeds to transact business. The Chairman should then conduct the proceedings of the meeting and ensure that only those items of business as have been set out in the agenda are transacted and generally in the order in which the items appear on the agenda. The Chairman should encourage the deliberations and debate and assess the sense of meeting. The chairman should ensure that the proceedings of the meetings are correctly recorded, and in doing so, he may include or exclude any matter as he deems fit.”

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Research methodology

3.1 Introduction.

This part consists of five sections. Section one is the research design. The area of study is given in section two. Sample and sampling techniques is explored in section three while data collection methods are dealt with in section four. The last section is the data organization, analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

A case study design was employed to assess the citizens participation in public political meeting in Rorya District council because it allow the contextual analysis and understanding of a complex issue or object in a limited area or number of events and then the finding or experience can be extended to other areas. It is an approach which takes a small unit of contemporary real-life situation of the society, assess it and then generalize the findings.

This design was selected in order to cope with resources scarcity, time constraints and the need for in-depth study of the contextual matter which require concentration of study. According to Kaminyoge (2008), “the case study design creates a conducive environment for combating a variety of evidence including interviews, documents and observations to conduct in-depth inquiry into social phenomena, in which research interest involves range of variables, but always maintaining the unitary nature of unit of investigation”.

3.3 Area of Study

The area of study was the Rorya District Council. Rorya DC for a long time has been in political dilemma which sometimes creates not only threats to bureaucrats but also to the citizens and forced the government to establish regional police area with

Regional Police Commander (RPC). Some bureaucrats lost their position and their job because of Rorya politics. Rorya District was carved from Tarime District in 2005. Despite of being new, Rorya District Council has already been headed by three District Executive Directors in a period of less than two years. Generally, Rorya is believed to be one of the most difficult place to manage in the Lake Zone.

Apart from afore said reason, Rorya is a researcher's place of domicile therefore, familiarization and accessibility are also the reasons made the researcher to choose Rorya D.C to be the area of study. The capital of Rorya District is Ingri Juu town. It is newly created district previously being part of Tarime district. It is bordered by Tarime district to the East, Musoma Rural district to the South, Lake Victoria to the West and Republic of Kenya to the North. The majority of inhabitants of Rorya district are of Luo tribe. Other ethnic groups are Kurya, Kine, Simbiti and Suba. Administratively, Rorya district is divided into four (4) divisions, twenty one (21) wards, 82 villages and 567 hamlets.

In the last national census of 2002 Rorya district had 171,057 people of which 82,322 were males and 88,835 were females. This represented a net 18 increase of 20,845 people over the 1988 district population which was 150,212 and a growth rate of 0.9%. In 1978 the district had 114,032 while the projected population for the year 2007 was 193,294, assuming the same growth rate. This increase is attributed more to the natural increase. About 48% of Rorya district population is composed of males while 52% are females (2002 Census). The overall sex ratio was 93 males for every 100 females.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

Rorya D.C has a population of about 200,000. It is obvious that an interview to more than 200, 000 people requires a big effort in many field. First of all, there is a big need of time and second, of money because it is necessary to employ many people to make the interviews, pay their trips to let them go to every village, etc. Moreover, there is an additional difficulty: it is complicated to get to each and every Rorya inhabitant,

because when we make the interviews, there will be people in hospitals, in trips, in shamba, in burial services, etc. In this situation, choosing a sample is omnipotent; it will be convenient to interview a certain part of the population, a sample chosen is an appropriate way to obtain the insight and later conclusions to be generalized for the whole population.

Due to the reasons above, it was convenient in this study to sample the population. But to get really good conclusions from them, a right choice of sample was to be made. As Barreiro and Albandoz (2001) pointed out, two possible errors which could be made in this stage was taken into consideration carefully when estimated the corresponding parameters in the population. One, selection error: Occurs if any of the elements of the population has a higher probability of being selected than the rest. A way to avoid this kind of errors was to choose the sample in the way that all the clients had the same probability of being selected. Two, non-answer error: it is also possible that some of the elements of the population do not want or cannot answer certain questions. Or it can also happen, when we have a questionnaire including personal questions, that some of the members of the population do not answer honestly. This error was generally very complicated to avoid it, the researcher tried as much to avoid such kind of questions. (<http://www.mathematik.unikl.de/~mamausch>: 11:58 am; 4/6/2012)

The sampling technique applied in this research was simple random sampling and purposive sampling. The simple random or Probability sampling is the one in which each sample has the same probability of being chosen from the larger population. An advantage of this is, it is simple and easy to apply when small population involved and it gives each member of population equal chance of being chosen. Using this method, 116 people were interviewed from 2 out of 4 divisions; 5 out of 21 wards; 12 villages out of 82 villages; and 80 out of 567 hamlets. Table 1 shows percentage of representation while Table 2 shows 30 key informants interviewed. The selection of

divisions, wards, villages and then hamlets was made through Simple Random Numbers.

Table 1. Sample size

| Area of Sample | Administrative area | Sample | Percentage of adm areas |
|----------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Division | 4 | 2 | 50 |
| Ward | 21 | 5 | 23.8 |
| Village | 82 | 15 | 18.3 |
| Hamlets | 567 | 80 | 14.1 |
| | TOTAL | 116 | |

Source: Field Data Collected 2013

Purposive sampling is the one in which the person who is selecting the sample is who tries to make the sample representative, depending on his opinion or purpose, thus being the representation subjective ((<http://www.mathematik.uni-kl.de/~mamausch/> 11:58 am; 4/6/2012). The earmarked correspondents interviewed through this method were 30 in which their composition is shown here in table 2 below.

Table 2. Positions and Number of Expected Key Informants who were selected Purposely.

| S/No | Title /Position | Number of Respondents |
|------|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | District Commissioner (D.C) | 1 |
| 2 | District Administrative Secretary (DAS) | 1 |
| 3 | District Executive Director (DED) | 1 |
| 4 | Member of Parliament (MP) | 1 |
| 5 | District Planning and Coordination Officer | 1 |
| 6 | District Legal Officer | 1 |
| 7 | District Community Development Officer | 1 |
| 8 | Voluntary Organization | 1 |
| 9 | Voluntary Association | 1 |
| 10 | Others | 1 |
| 11 | Political Parties: C.C.M | 2 |
| | CHADEMA | 2 |
| | CUF | 2 |
| | N.C.C.R MAGEUZI | 2 |
| | T.L.P | 2 |
| | D.P | 2 |
| | CHAUSA | - |
| 12 | Mass Media: T.B.C | 2 |
| | Radio One | 1 |
| | Radio Kaskazini | - |
| | I.T.V | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| | TOTAL | 30 |

Source: Field Data Collected 2013

3.5. Data Collection Methods

The two types of data, primary and secondary data needed was collected. Data collection methodologies employed to gather specific information from the field is random sampling and purposive method. In both random and purposive methods, self administered questionnaire, interview guide, and observation was employed.

3.5.1 Primary Data

Primary data collected directly from responded through questionnaires, interview, and observation.

3.5.1. 1 Questionnaires

In questionnaires, respondents were asked to fill-in answers in written form and researchers and research assistants collected the forms with the complete information. About 170 questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. The whole process was administered to ensure that the already filled forms are gathered soon. This would avoid the delay in filling and loss of the questionnaires. But still the researcher managed to collect only 146 questionnaires. It was very difficult to administer and collect the questionnaires distributed to the councils' members. Table 3 below shows the distribution of respondents interviewed in each village.

Table 3. Distribution of Respondents in Each Village

| S/N O | WARDS | VILLAGE S | ORDINARY CITIZENS | POLITICAL LEADERS | BURAUCRATS | TOTAL |
|----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | NYAMTHINGA | Manila | 4 | 1 | 1 | 06 |
| 2 | | Busanga | 8 | 2 | 1 | 11 |
| 3 | | Nyarombo | 7 | 2 | 2 | 11 |
| 4 | KIROGO | Burere | 13 | 1 | 1 | 15 |
| 5 | | Kirogo | - | - | - | - |
| 6 | | Radienya | 2 | 1 | - | 03 |
| 7 | MKOMA | Mkoma | 9 | - | 2 | 11 |
| 8 | | Kyariko | 15 | 2 | 3 | 20 |
| 9 | | Raranya | 8 | 1 | 2 | 11 |
| 10 | NYATHOROG O | Chereche | 7 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| 11 | | Ochuna | 7 | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| 12 | | Dett | 4 | 1 | 2 | 07 |
| 13 | District Office | | - | - | 1 | 01 |
| | Total | | 84 | 14 | 18 | 116 |

Source: Field Data Collected 2013

The questionnaires arranged in formal, written, closed and open-ended questions. While closed ended questions was attached by a list of all possible alternatives answers from which respondents had to select the answer that best fit their situation. Open ended questionnaires gave the respondent complete freedom of response. The first one applied to the community and particularly to the ordinary citizens and the next to the purposively selected group termed as a special group.

3.5.1.2 Interview Guide

30 respondents were identified and requested to answer some questions through questionnaires. The researcher and research assistants noted down the answers given or recorded. The structured interview, subjecting every informant in a sample to the same stimuli, for instance, asking each informant similar questions and this approach was applied so as to achieve high reliability of the information gathered. Table 4 shows the key informants interviewed.

Table 4 Key informants interviewed through Interview Guidelines

| S/No. | Title/ Position | Number of respondents |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Political Parties Leaders | 12 |
| 2. | Selected Councilors | 6 |
| 3. | Religious Leaders | 2 |
| 4. | Selected Village Leaders | 4 |
| 5. | Businessmen | 4 |
| 6. | Non government organizations | 2 |
| TOTAL | | 30 |

Source: Field Data Collected 2013

3.5.1.3 Observation

This method was applied so as to provide additional information about actual behavior and facts from the field. Direct observations allow the researcher to put behavior in context and thereby understand it better. The researcher being one of the bureaucrats and the member of the District council, invited in the Village Government meetings and Village general assembly meetings. In these meetings, the researcher achieved his objective of being participant observer.

3.5.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data collected through office records and documentations, records of previous public political meetings and other relevant written documents. In all process of data collection, the ethical issues associated with carrying out the research were adhered to.

3.6 Data Organization, Analysis and Presentation

The raw data collected was well organized in various levels from raw data to information, from information to facts and from facts to knowledge. The knowledge expressed together with some statistical degree of confidence. The data also analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative in order to induce deductions and inferences and then presented using both descriptive and statistical techniques.

In the presentation, the researcher provided demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of their sex distribution, age, level of education and training

obtained. For more analysis, the researcher indulges on respondent's activities carried by tracing the sector they employed, their occupation and their experience in their field. Thereafter, the data are analysed, interpreted and discussed in the line of researcher objectives, finally, the research findings was recorded for inference.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter intends to present, analyse, interpret and discuss the research findings of the surveyed two groups namely, ordinary citizens ($n=116$) and special group ($n=30$). In the presentation, the researcher provides demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of their sex distribution, age, level of education, training obtained, occupation and their experience in the field. Thereafter, the data are analysed, interpreted and discussed in the line of researcher objectives. Finally, the research findings are recorded for inference.

It should be noted that the objective of this study is to assess the level of citizens' participation in the public meetings. The effective participation of the citizens as stipulated in the conceptual framework above depends on many things including involvement and empowerment. In many societies, roles are assigned to the members of the societies based on their age, sex, education level, training, experience and income of the person. On the other hands, the effective participation of one's depends on these factors. Therefore, researcher's understanding of the respondents profile is very important as it will be shown in the analysis below.

4.1 Demographics Characteristics of the Respondents (Ordinary Citizens $n=116$ and Special Group $n=30$)

The researcher categorize sampled respondents into two groups of almost different characteristics of which he thought could bring sense in the final findings of the study. The first group involves 116 respondents taken randomly from the rural areas. The distribution of the respondents' villages is shown in the table 5 below. The special group of 30 people found in district council's office and selected purposively by researcher.

Table 5 Responded from Sampled Villages (n= 12)

| Villages | No.of Respondents | Percent |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Chereche | 10 | 8.6 |
| Nyarombo | 11 | 9.5 |
| Busanga | 11 | 9.5 |
| Manila | 6 | 5.2 |
| DC Office | 1 | .9 |
| Dett | 7 | 6.0 |
| Ochuna | 10 | 8.6 |
| Raranya | 11 | 9.5 |
| Kirogo | - | - |
| Kyariko | 20 | 17.2 |
| Mkoma | 11 | 9.5 |
| Radienya | 3 | 2.6 |
| Burere | 15 | 12.9 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.1.1 Sex Distribution of the Respondents

In this part, the researcher was interested to know how the sampled respondents were distributed in terms of sex. In the field, researcher met 116 ordinary citizens of whom 87 (75%) were male and 29 (25%) female. The ratio is 3:1 male to female respectively and another group termed as a special group of 30 comprises bureaucrats, politicians, religious, journalists and businessmen of whom 23 (76.7%) are male and 7 (23.3%) are female. Again this forms a ratio of 3.3:1 male to female respectively. Table 6(a) and Table 6(b) below shows the sex distribution of two groups studied.

Table 6(a) Respondents Distribution in terms of Sex, Age, Level of Education and Training (n= 116)

| Demographic Characteristics of Respondents | Respondents | Percent |
|---|--------------------|----------------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 87 | 75 |
| Female | 29 | 25 |
| Age | | |
| Below 25 | 24 | 20.7 |
| Between 25-40 | 48 | 41.4 |
| Between 41-55 | 33 | 28.4 |
| Above 55 | 11 | 9.5 |
| Level of Education | | |
| Primary Education | 71 | 61.2 |
| Secondary Education | 43 | 37 |
| Bachelor Degree | 1 | .9 |
| Master Degree | 1 | .9 |
| Training Obtained | | |
| None | 75 | 64.7 |
| Certificate | 34 | 29.3 |
| Diploma | 5 | 4.3 |
| Degree | 1 | .9 |
| Post Graduate | 1 | .9 |

Source: Field Data Collected 2013

Table 6(b) Respondents Distribution in terms of Gender, Age, Level of Education and Training (n=30)

| Demographics characteristics | Respondents | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Sex Male | 23 | 76.7 |
| Female | 7 | 23.3 |
| Age | | |
| Below 25 | 4 | 13.3 |
| Between 25-40 | 12 | 40 |
| Between 41-55 | 10 | 33.3 |
| Above 55 | 4 | 13.3 |
| Level of Education | | |
| Primary Education | 10 | 33.3 |
| Secondary Education | 14 | 46.7 |
| Bachelor Degree or Equivalent | 4 | 13.3 |
| Master Degree | 2 | 6.6 |
| Training Obtained | | |
| None | 6 | 20 |
| Certificate | 14 | 46.7 |
| Diploma | 1 | 3.3 |
| Degree or Equivalent | 4 | 13.3 |
| Post Graduate | 1 | 3.3 |
| Politics Administration | 4 | 13.3 |

Source|: Field Data 2013

4.1.2. Age Distribution of the Respondents (n=116)

The researcher was interested to know the respondents distribution according to their age. The result shows that; 24 (20.7%) respondents are below 25 years old, 48 (41.4%) have age range between 25 and 40 years, 33 (28.4%) of whom are between 41 and 55 years and 11 (9.5%) are above 55 years old. So, the majority of 71 forming about 62 percent were young with tender age between 15 to 40 years old. The table 6(a) above referred.

The study of special group (n=30) revealed that 4 (13.3%) respondents were below 25 years old, 12 (40%) were between 25-40 years, 10 (33.3%) were between 41-55 years and 4(13.3%) respondents were above 55 years old. This analysis has shown that the respondents' age ratio between young and adults is 2: 3 years old respectively. Table 6(b) above referred.

4.1.3 Level of Education of Respondents

Understanding the level of Education and training of the respondents of two groups was very important at this juncture. This is because in most cases, the respondents' constructive ideas or views required for effective participation are shaped by level of education and training. The study has shown that the majority 71 (61.2%) out of 116 respondents obtained only primary Education. 39 (33.6%) reached secondary education, level, 4 (3.4%) have higher secondary school, and only 2(1.8%) respondents have bachelor and master degree each. Table 6(a) above referred to.

The Education level of the special group (n=30) shows that only 10 (33%) out of 30 respondents acquired primary School level, 14(46.7%) obtained Secondary Education, 4(13.3%) had either bachelor degrees or equivalents and 2 (6.6%) posses master degree. Again, unlike ordinary citizens where majority of 61.2 percent reached only primary school level, Most members of special group are form four and above. Table 6(b)

4.1.4 Training obtained by Respondents.

The researcher was interested to know the training obtained by respondents after completion of their studies. The study of ordinary citizens (n= 116) has shown that 75 (64.7%) out of 116 respondents didn't attend any course after completion of primary school, 34(29.3%) acquired certification in different field, 5(4.3%) obtained diploma and 2(1.8%) respondents have either bachelor or postgraduate. Table 6(a) above depicts.

The study of the special group revealed that only 6(20%) respondents didn't attend any course after completion of their studies, 14(46.7%) obtained certificates, 1(3.3%) obtained diploma, 4(13.3%) obtained bachelor or equivalents, 1(3.3%) postgraduate and 4(13.3%) respondents acquired basic training in politics and administration. Table 6(b).

4.2 Activities Carried out by the Respondents (n=116) and (n=30)

The researcher's interest was to know the sector from which the respondents employed occupation and their experience to the field.

4.2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Occupation and Employment sectors

The study of ordinary citizen ($n=1116$) has shown that majority of 79 (68.1%) respondents employed in agricultural sector as farmers. About 50 of the surveyed population have 15 years and above experience in their field of occupation. This justifies that agriculture is the major carrier of this population. This is true due to the fact that these people are rural dwellers mostly characterised with low education as. Their life is therefore, likely to depend on all information pertaining agricultural activities such as good seeds, fertilizers, markets of their products, and transportation network to facilitate transportation of their products from homes to the market. In addition to that, this group is vulnerable to the diseases such malaria, diarrhoea, malnutrition and early child death. One may intelligently think of social services such as health, water, education and roads as basic needs of this population. Table 6(a) below referred to.

The study revealed that most of special group ($n=30$) which is 14(46.7%) respondents are civil servants, either bureaucrats or appointed politicians vested with the administrative and management roles in society, 11(36.7%) are elected politicians whom their main activities is agriculture. Most of them are councillors and partisans. The rest 4 and 1 are dealing with business and other activities respectively. These businessmen or women are trading with Rorya district council as either supplies or contractors. This group is literate, opportunistic and prominent in the community. Table 6(b) below depicts.

Table 7(a) Activities of Common Citizens (n= 116)

| Respondents Profile | Respondents | Percent |
|---|-------------|---------|
| Sector Employed | 79 | |
| Agriculture | 6 | 68.1 |
| Administration and Management | 4 | 5.2 |
| Politics | 7 | 3.4 |
| Industrial and Business | 13 | 6 |
| Education | 2 | 11.2 |
| Health | 5 | 1.7 |
| Others | | 4.3 |
| Occupation | 79 | |
| Agriculture | 16 | 68.1 |
| Civil Servants | 12 | 13.8 |
| Business | 9 | 10.3 |
| Others (Journalists, Religion leaders, etc) | | 7.8 |
| Experience in the Field | 19 | |
| 1-5 years | 26 | 16.4 |
| 6-10 years | 17 | 22.4 |
| 11-15 years | 54 | 14.7 |
| Above 15 years | | 46.6 |

Source: Field Data 2013

Figure 2. Respondents (n=116) occupation of the Respondents.



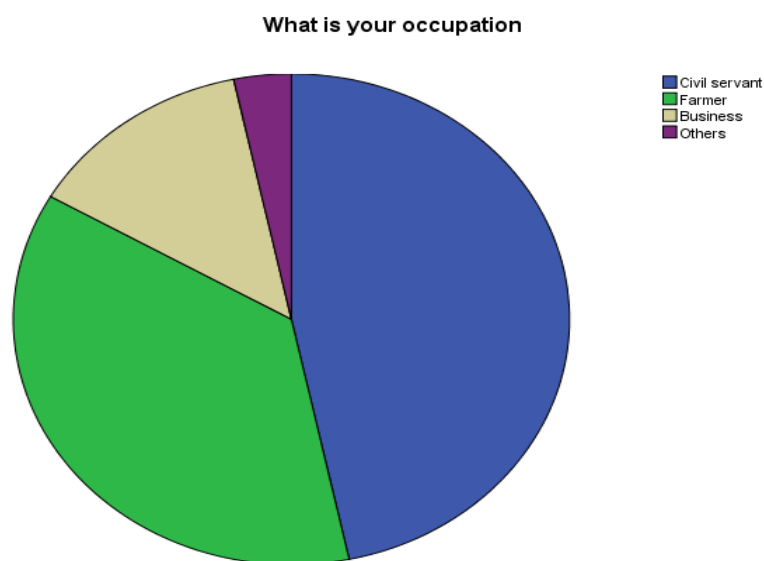
Source: Field Data 2013

Table 7 (b) Respondents Occupation (n=30)

| Activities | Respondents | Percent |
|---|-------------|---------|
| Sector Employed | | |
| Agriculture | 8 | 26.7 |
| Administration and Management | 14 | 46.7 |
| Politics | 3 | 10 |
| Industrial and Business | 4 | 13.4 |
| Technical | 1 | 3.2 |
| Occupation | | |
| Agriculture | 11 | 36.7 |
| Civil Servants | 14 | 46.7 |
| Business | 4 | 13.3 |
| Others (Journalists, Religion leaders, etc) | 1 | 3.3 |
| Experience in the Field | | |
| 1-5 years | 7 | 23.3 |
| 6-10 years | 14 | 46.7 |
| 11-15 years | 3 | 10 |
| Above 15 years | 6 | 20 |

Source: Field Data 2013

Figure 3. Respondents Occupation Distribution of Special Group (n=30)



Source: Field Data 2013

4.2.2 Respondents experience in their field (n=116) and (n=30)

The researcher was also interested to know the experience of the respondents in their carrier so as to be confident to their response. The study has revealed that an experience of majority of 54(46.6%) respondents have an experience of 15 years and above in their field, 26(22.4%) have an experience of 11-15 years, 19 (16.4%) have an experience between 11-15 years while 17 (14.7%) respondents have an experience between 11-15 years. Table 7 (a) above depicts.

The special group (n=30) studied has shown that majority 14 (46.7%) had an experience range from 6-10 years, followed by 7 (23.3%) with an experience of 1-5 years, 6 (20%) had 15 years and above and 3 (10%) had an experience of 11-15 years. Table 7(b) above referred to.

4.3 Research Findings

The researcher with research problem in his mind continued to explore to what extent the citizen participation in public political administrative meetings, one of vital communication channel, between government and its citizens. The major assumption is that the citizens' participation in these meetings is very poor in such a way that it hampered the government business and development in general. Therefore, the immediate action is required to rescue the situation. In reporting this research finding, the specific objectives clearly mentioned in section 1.3 above will be taken into consideration.

4.3.1 Specific Objective 1: To trace and find out the legal framework guiding public meetings in Tanzania, a case study of Rorya District Council.

Perhaps before asking our respondents if there is any law or legal frame work that guiding public meetings in Tanzania, let's ask the respondents whether they know what is public meetings.

4.3.1.1. Are you aware of Public political/administrative meetings? (n=116)

116 Respondents were asked if they are aware of public political/administrative meetings. The purpose of this question was to find out the awareness of respondents concerning research topic. The responses were as follows; 104 (89.7%) respondents agreed that they are aware of public political/administration meetings. Only 12 (10.3%) respondents refused. This feedback actually encouraged the researcher since majority knew the topic.

Then respondents said to be aware were asked by the researcher in sub-question to inform more what the public meetings is. The majority, 70 (60.3%) respondents stated correct that they are meetings held by both elected and appointed politicians, 14 (12.1%) said that they are meetings held by only appointed politicians, 11 (9.5%) were of the opinion that they are meetings held by either elected political leaders or held during election, 7 (6.2%) had more than one options while 2 (1.7%) respondents admitted that they do not know. Table 8 below depicts.]

Table 8 A meaning of public political/administrative meetings.

| Meaning | Respondents | Percent |
|--|-------------|---------|
| Public meetings held by elected politicians | 12 | 10.4 |
| Public meetings held by appointed politicians | 14 | 12.1 |
| Public meetings held by both elected and appointed politicians | 70 | 60.3 |
| Public meetings held during election periods | 11 | 9.5 |
| more than one option | 7 | 6.0 |
| I don't know | 2 | 1.7 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

4.3.1.2 Is there any Legal framework or Law Guiding Public Meetings?

In this area the researcher was interested to know if there is any legal framework or law that guide Hamlets Chairmen, Village chairmen, Wards Councillors, District Commissioners, Regions Commissioners and National leaders to held a certain number or kind of meetings and how to run those meetings. 47 (40.5%) respondents agreed that there is law, 33 (28.4%) denied that there is no law at all while 36 (31%)

respondents admitted that they do not know whether there's legal framework or law guiding politicians and administrators in holding a certain number of public meetings. The response was as shown in the table 9 below.

Table 9 Is there any legal framework or law guiding public meetings?

| Legal framework or Law | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 47 | 40.5 |
| No | 33 | 28.4 |
| I don't know | 36 | 31.0 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

The respondents were further asked in sub-question to mention that laws in specific. But nobody was in position to tell it. However, 58 (51.7%) respondents related it to the principal of teamwork that need the member of group to be well informed of on organization strategies and the feedback of their doings, 4 (3.4%) associated it with enforcement, 6 (5.2%) said that it is just administrative procedure, 12 people (10.3%) related it with the principles of good governance while 34 (29.3%) respondents declared beyond the reasonable doubt that they do not know anything.

Though, the documentary search revealed that the Local Government Act, 1982 No. 7 S.24 states that... *“There shall be a village assembly for every village...”* The regulation requires village leaders to hold four (4) quarterly meetings in a year. These meetings are supposed to be held each quarter in order to report on Income earned and expenditure incurred during three months. No any law require the Councillor, Member of the Parliament, District Commissioner, Regional Commissioner and other National Leaders to convene a certain number of meetings in a year. It remained that they may call the public meetings on their wish and as the needs may arise.

4.3.2 Specific Objective 2: To identify the number and types of public meetings conducted for the period of the year 2011/2012 and first two Quarters of 2013

The researcher wanted to hear from the respondents the number of meetings held in the year 2011/2012 and first two quarters of 2013, the reasons for not conducting those meetings as required (if any) and who used to call the meetings. Each village were supposed to have 6 public general assemblies during such specified period. Apart from these legally identified meetings the researcher expects other meetings to be held by councillors, DC, RC and other national leaders. It is assumed that apart from 6 public meetings required at the village level, Councillors would have been conducted 4 meetings, DC 2 meetings, RC 1 meeting and at least each village could had 1 meeting held by national leader. This would make a total of 14 public meetings each village. Fourteen public meetings terms twelve villages are equal to one hundred sixty eight public meetings (168). However, the finding was opposite.

12 (10.3%) respondents said that the public meetings held more than ten times, 23(19.8%) were in favour of 4 to 10 times. 46(39.7%) said that the meetings held were less than 4 times and 9(30.3%) respondents said that no any meeting conducted during 2011/2012. This finding is not differing from what shown in the table 10 below referred.

The respondents were also asked in sub-question to give the reasons for not conduct or conduct less than 4 times meetings as required by law. 47 (40.5%) respondents finger pointed the poor management. Only 3 (2.6%) said that it is due to citizens irresponsibility, 31 (26.7%) gave the reason of government irresponsibility, 30 (25%) pointed finger to both poor management and the citizens irresponsibility, 1 (.9%) gave the reason of casual vacancies of chairmen while 4 (3.4%) respondents admit that they do not know the reason behind.

4.3.2.1 Who used to convene the public meetings?

The respondents were asked to mention the one used to call the public meeting in their areas. The purpose of this question was to check out who call the said public meetings between elected and appointed political leaders. 15 (12.9%) respondents were in favour of hamlets chairmen, 60 (51.7%) pointed the village chairmen and 7 (6%) were in favour of both hamlets and village chairmen. 14 (12.1%) pointed councillors, 3 (2.6%) mentioned national leaders and 12 (14.7%) respondents said that, all hamlets chairmen, village chairmen, councillors, national leaders used to call the public political/administrative meetings.

The experience in the field has shown that only very few meetings held during 2011/2012 and first two quarters of 2013. The village leaders admit that they are required by the Local Government Act of 1982 (Which they do not know anyway) to hold a meeting in quarterly basis and main agenda is to report on Income and Expenditure of respective village. This is to say, the legally public meetings were supposed to be held on September 2011, December 2011, March 2012, June 2012, September 2012 and December 2012. For the 12 villages, the researcher was expecting to have six terms twelve meetings which is equal to 72 meetings. The study revealed that only 24(33.3%) public meetings out of 72 was held. Most of villages called either one or two public meetings out of six meetings required. Some villages like Radienya and Dett never ever hold any meeting since 2010 election.

The Dett's Village Executive Officer (VEO) was asked to give the reason behind and he said; *Wananchi wamekataa katakata kuhudhuria mikutano inayoitishwa na Mwenyiki kwa madai ya kutokuwa na imani naye.Nimeshajulisha uongozi wa juu*” means, people denied to attend the meetings held by the present chairman (the one who imprisoned from criminal case) simply because they have no confident with him. I have already reported the issue to the District Executive Director (DED)”. Other village leaders said, “ *watu wamekosa imani na mikutano hii kiasi kwamba tunaitisha*

na kutangaza sana lakini hawahudhurii” Means, people have lost confidence from these meetings in such a way that we do call the meetings and highly advertise it but people do not attend. The research findings from the secondary data revealed that 35 meetings in a year were postponed in these 12 villages because of poor attendance and 35 ad hoc meetings were adjoined during this period. Table 10 referred.

Table 10 Village General Meetings' Attendance during 2011/2012 and Two Quarters of 2013

| | Villages | Number of House holds | Estimated Popn | Estimate d Popln For the Meetings (40% of the popln) | Attendance for the year 2011/ 2012 | | | | 2012/2013 | | PER CEN TAG E | Postponed and ad hoc meetings | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| | | | | | 1 st meetin g Sept 2011 | 2 nd meetin g Dec 2011 | 3 rd meeting March 2012 | 4 th meetin g Jun 2012 | 1st meet ing Sep 2012 | 2nd meetin g Dec 2012 | | Post pone d meet ings | Ad hoc meeti ngs |
| 1 | Manila | 567 | 3,657 M 1,219 F 2,438 | 1,463 | 87 M 45 F 42 | | | 77 M 57 F 20 | | | 33.3 | 3 time s | 2 times |
| 2 | Nyarombo | 575 | 2,012 M 1,002 F 1,010 | 805 | 100 M 78 F 22 | 35 M 20 F 05 | - | - | - | 75 M 57 F 18 | 50 | 1 time | 1 time |
| 3 | Busanga | 1,032 | 3,521 M 1,628 F 1,893 | 1,408 | - | - | 82 M 59 Ke 23 | 66 M 62 F 4 | - | 139 M 99 F 40 | 50 | 4 time s | 1 time |
| 4 | Burere | 569 | 2,800 M 933 F 1,867 | 1,120 | - | 61 M 50 F 11 | - | 110 M 100 F 10 | 70 M 43 F 27 | | 50 | 1 time | 1 time |
| 5 | Radienya | 479 | 2,794 M 931 F 1,863 | 1,118 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | 3 time s | 4 times |
| 6 | Kirogo | 920 | 3,923 M 1,933 F 1,990 | 1,569 | | 43 M F | 83 M 59 F 24 | | | | 33.3 | 4 time | 3 time |
| 7 | Kyariko | 2,245 | 11,701 M 5,659 F 6,042 | 4,680 | | 450 M 350 F 100 | | | | 1,714 M 916 F 798 | 33.3 | 6 time s | 7 times |
| 8 | Mkoma | 1,398 | 5,867 M 2,791 F 3,076 | 2,347 | - | 69 M 59 F 10 | - | - | 75 M 34 F 41 | 64 M 53 F 11 | 50 | 3 time | 5 time |
| 9 | Raranya | 1,166 | 4,493 M 2,188 F 2,305 | 1,797 | - | - | - | - | 53 M 40 F 13 | - | 16.6 | 4 time | 2 times |
| 10 | Chererche | 612 | 5,025 M 2,347 F 2,678 | 2,010 | 218 M 122 F 96 | 253 M 174 F 79 | 106 M 82 F 24 | - | 265 M 235 F 30 | - | 66.6 | 3 time s | 3 times |
| 11 | Dett | 538 | 2,647 M 1213 F 1434 | 1059 | - | - | - | - | | | 0 | 1 time | 3 times |
| 12 | Ochuna | 375 | 1,586 M 749 F 837 | 634 | 112 M 88 F 24 | | - | - | - | - | 16.6 | 2 time | 3 times |
| | | | | Total | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 33.3 aver | 35 time | 35 time |

Source: Secondary Data Collected from 12 Villages of Rorya District Council 2013.

4.3.2.2 Types of Public meetings in Tanzania

The study also revealed that apart from quarterly income and expenditure report's meetings, other meetings held was that of social services delivery like maize distribution, provision of mosquito nets, Vaccinations etc; And such of development issues like schools construction, water supplies, health services and those of policy issues. Respondents interviewed explained that these meetings are held by both political and administrative leaders and the attendance of the citizens in these meetings do differ. The attendance rate is high compared to other kinds of meetings. The table 10 above shows the village general meetings held during 2011/2012 and the attendance recorded.

Further study required to investigate each type of meetings held and why people do attend service provision public meetings rather than other meetings. The table 11 below shows the types of public meetings help and responsible organs.

Table 11 Types of Public Meetings held visa vies Responsible Leaders

Leaders Responsible

| Public Meetings held for | Major Actors |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Service provision issues | Bureaucrats within Jurisdiction |
| Development issues | Politicians both elected and appointed but normally in the area of jurisdiction |
| Policy issues | National Leaders and Decision makers |

Source: Field Data 2013

The experience from the field has shown that only Development Meetings have proper arrangement with legal framework. For instance, at village level there are village government which has to sit in monthly basis and give the income and expenditure report to the citizens through village general assembly meetings quarterly (Local Government Act, 1982, No 7). At a ward level, there's Ward Development Council (WADC) which has to sits four times in a year. At the District Level, there is a District

Full Council which also has to sit four times in a year. The law provides that it has to be made publicly (The Local Government Act, 1982 No 7).

The researcher therefore grouped the all public meetings held in into two, one is defined and second, undefined public meetings. The categorisation based on legality, kind, procedures and the reporting system of the public meetings.

4.3.2.2.1 Defined meetings

Defined meetings are meetings that are legally stipulated and people have a power and mandate to demand. It is very important to differentiate between claimed and invited participation, in the defined meetings participation is claimed space rather than invited participation, the citizen can demand these meetings from the leaders but leaders however, are not ready since they cannot account for their actions and doings. It is my views that at this juncture the mechanism to enforce the leaders is omnipotent. It should be noted that the high degree of the citizens to enormous control the political process is the result of what happened to Syria, Egypt, and other places alike where the ruling governments overthrown by the citizens.

In these kinds of meetings, the procedures are at least followed. The meeting notice is given at least 3–5 days before the meeting day, in the meetings attendance is taken, agenda are read, previous notice is read, citizen question, discuss and decide. The meetings reports are send to the higher authority. Though, no feedback for implementation of the decisions is given by leaders and in the higher authority, the action upon the report is taken in very low profile.

Only critical issues arise in the reports especially those concerning funds are followed up. The administrative issues are almost ignored. For instance, in 12 villages studied, only 4 have village chairmen, 8 chairmen chased out from different reasons including theft, corruption, unethical behaviour, excess drinking and so on, the higher authorities furnished with reports but nothing have been done so far. The acting chairmen are not only miss peoples' legitimacy but also weak. Their weakness came from low

education and skills, no leadership authority. They do fear to be chased out by the citizens any time they misbehave since they are not elected. Their life in the leadership is also temporary as their position.

The findings also revealed that this type of meeting is coordinated by both politicians and bureaucrats, so it is **Politicians' visa vies Administrators' Partnership (PAP)**. But in this partnership, the politicians are working under big risk of peoples' power, hence became looser than bureaucrats. In the general assembly, politicians are normally requested by the citizens to account for their doings and when they fail to do so they meet peoples' power from which they normally chased out of the system.

The findings has shown that it is not only these chairmen whose committed unethical behaviour but also Village Executive Officers (VEO) although when chairmen are voted out by the people, the VEOs are transferred from one station to another with very minimal disciplinary actions. So, it is very doubtful if this kind of partnership will run long. On the other hand, it's also doubted if the elite group making law will enact the laws which requires them (national leaders, regional, district, and councils) to account for their action before the public meetings as it is at the village level.

The findings revealed also that citizens already recognized that the development projects have stacked because of maladministration of not only village leaders but also higher level leaders. They have lost the hopes trust and they have decided to ignore the public meetings. One of respondent said, ... "*Mikutano hii ya hadhara haina faida wala maana. Badala ya kuhudhuria ni bora nikafanye shughuli zangu.*" Means, these public meetings are unproductive and meaningless. Better doing my own business rather than attending. Hence poor attendance and participation as witnessed by the respondents themselves. As social psychological model suggested, citizens are utilitarian calculate the expected benefits, whether private or collective of participation are weighted by individual sense of political efficacy. Whenever they find that their participation is not profitable, they ignore.

4.3.2.2.2 Undefined meetings.

These are ad hoc meetings. They are ad hoc in the sense that they have no legal basis and special arrangement of time and place. Unlike claimed participation, this is invited participation. The citizens are just called upon when the needs arise. But they have no right to claim for the said public meetings. These meetings are such of social service delivery and policies issues and they normally dominated by politicians. In these public meetings apart from meeting notice, no attendance and minutes taken and not reported to the higher authority.

The study revealed that post elections; most citizens attend the public meetings with a hope of receiving strong strategic plans and how the promises will be fulfilled. However, later on the distance between leaders and citizen become wider and wider, hence citizen not only distrusts but also ignores leaders and their call of all whatsoever.

It is from this scenario whereby citizen like chameleon, have decided to change their behaviour and become opportunists, attending only public meetings in which they can benefits like that of food distribution, school parents meetings and meetings resolves social problems like witchcrafts, theft, investors, and others alike in order to cope with prevailing situation. The termed this situation as Leaders won-lose-Citizen win , which means, leaders won the election, ignored the citizens but later, citizens have decided to ignore them at all and win the situation. It is under this situation where the probability of these leaders to win the becoming election remained a mere day dream.

This is also translated as like citizens informing the political leaders that; we elected you and you promised to work for us, but you have decided to be away from us without considering that your time span is five years, thereafter we vote you out and we become the winner of the game forever. And in the course of five years, when you need me, I won't come and when you don't need me is when I shall come but for only issues I have direct advantages. For instance, no any leader is happy for a magnitude of people from his jurisdiction to appear in the national public meeting demanding free food.

4.3.3 Specific Objective 3: To Determine the Level of the Citizens Participation in Public Meetings

Determination of the citizens' participation level requires a lot of things to be taken into consideration. To measure the extent of participation the researcher had to establish not only the yard stick but also to get the views of both ordinary citizens ($n=116$) and special group ($n=30$). The special group comprises of bureaucrats, politicians both elected and appointed, religion leaders, journalists and other people signed with role of leading the community. The aim of having these groups separate was to check if they know their roles, to test their feelings as far as citizens participation in public meetings is concerned, testing difference theories in order to find out their application in Rorya District and Tanzania at large.

4.3.3.1 There are two views about the citizens' involvement; which view do you agree with?

These 30 respondents were given and required to choose among two views about the citizen involvement; one is that of "Michael's Iron law of oligarchy holds that the leaders of any political organization are bound, sooner or later, to become isolated from the mass membership". The second view is that leaders lack sufficient confident to satisfactorily respond to questions from citizens due to inadequate feedback from top organs. Hence, citizens distrust of the leaders. Their majority response favored the second theory as shown in the table 11 below.

Table 12 Testing two views of Citizen's involvement.

| The two views of citizens involvement | Frequency | Percent |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| First View | 4 | 13.3 |
| Second View | 23 | 76.7 |
| I don't know | 2 | 6.7 |
| 1 and 2 above | 1 | 3.3 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.3.3.2 Political leaders are required to take people's view through public meetings and sent to the decision bodies. If this is not done what is the alternative?

The researcher critically argued principally that political leaders are required to take people's view through public meetings and send to the decision bodies. If this is not done, what is the alternative? The response of the special group was as follows; 14 (46.6%) respondents had no alternative rather than the public meetings. They appealed that the citizens should be educated, mobilized and finally the bylaws should be applied to ensure their attendance and participation. 9 (30%) had opinions of using questionnaires to solicit the peoples' views, 5 (16.7%) suggested the use of sampling or representatives as the solution for poor attendance and 2 (6.7%) respondents admit that they suppose to resign from leadership for their approved failure to keep their promises. However, they conditioned their resignations to the pressure imposed by the citizens.

4.3.3.3 Is there any meetings notice and agendas disseminated before and during the public meetings?

The researcher purpose was to assess if the meeting agenda are disseminated and read in the public meetings and how many days people are informed on the agenda before the public meeting day. The 116 respondents had different views; 55 (47.4%) respondents agreed that the meeting agenda are communicated, 54 (46.6%) denied and 7 (6%) respondents said that they do not know whether agenda for the meetings are disseminated or not. Then 55 respondents, who said yes, were further asked in sub-question to tell how many days' agenda are disseminated before the meeting. The question was very interested in such a way that it replied by even other respondents as follows; 32 (27.6%) respondents were on the favour of 1-3 days, 11 (9.5%) said 4-5 days, 13 (11.2%) said 6-7 days and 60 (51.7%) respondents denied agenda to be disseminated before the meeting day.

4.3.3.4 Did the meetings procedures followed (opening of meetings by chairman, signing attendance register, reading previous minutes, matters arises or feedback and then agenda presentation, discussion and questions, and closing of meetings by the chairman/chairperson)?

Researcher was further interested to know whether the meetings procedure have been followed. The 116 respondents were asked if the meetings procedures have been adhered to. 84 (72.4%) respondents agreed while 28 (24.1%) denied and 4 (3.4%) respondents said that they do not know whether the actual procedures are followed or not.

The researcher's observation in two public meetings attended revealed that the meetings opened by the chairman, the attendance was taken, the previous minutes read but no matter arises or feedback was given, agenda were presented and discussion were made and questions undertaken but with minor control. The two public meetings were not closed in harmony since they end without agreements between citizens and leaders. On the other hands, leaders answer's to the citizens' questions did not met their expectation.

4.3.3.5 In the above meetings conducted, how many members attended?

The researcher further asked the respondents to comment on the trend of attendance in the meetings they used to attend. 25 (21.6%) respondents estimated attendance to be greater than two-third, 19 (16.4%) estimated attendance to two-third, 33 (28.4%) estimated the attendance to one-third and 39 (33.6%) said less than one third. The general analysis has shown that 77 (62%) were on the opinion that the attendance is either one-third or less than one-third. This finding also tallies to the finding of table 10 above.

Those who estimated the public meetings attendance to be less than one-third were further asked by the researcher in sub-question to give the reasons of why. 46 (39.6%)

respondents pointed poor management of the projects intended for social services delivery, 2 (1.7%) had opinion that it is citizens irresponsibility while 30 (25.9%) said that it is due to government irresponsibility, 27 (23.3%) gave the reason of poor skills of leaders, citizens and government irresponsibility, 8 (6.9%) respondents said that it is due to the poverty and social issues such as attending burials of their relatives, whipping birds in their shamba, conflict between paid and none paid political leaders and others, and 3 (2.6%) respondents denied that they do not know the reason behind. Some respondents gave the reasons of whip birds, and dangerous wildlife from their farms.

4.3.3.6 Is there any law governing attendance of the public meetings?

The researcher was interested to know if there is any law which govern the attendance of the citizens in the public meetings in Tanzania. And he added in sub-question, the measures that have been taken upon defaulters.

The 116 respondents were asked if the attendance is usually taken in the meeting. The purpose of this question was to find out if attendance is taken in the meeting meaningful. The finding was, 97 (83.6%) respondents agreed, 17 (14.7%) denied and 2 (1.7%) respondents said that they do not know. Then they were asked if there is any law that governing the attendance. 49 (42.2%) respondents agreed, 52 (44.8%) disagreed and 15 (12.9%) respondents said that they don't know.

Those who agreed were further asked to tell if is there any measures that have been taken to defaulters. 43 (36.2%) respondents said that there is, 68 (58.6%) denied and 6 (5.2%) respondents said to be ignorant on the matter. Then, those who said yes were asked to explain the very law used against defaulters. The majority, about 80 percent said that they are punished through by-laws. The documentary review of The Local Government Act, 1982 of Urban Authority, No. 88 says,

“...An urban authority may, in the by-laws they makes, annex to the breach of any by-law or any order made under it such fine, not exceeding five thousand shillings or such terms of imprisonment as it may deem fit and may, subject to the proceeding limitations, annex different fines and different terms of imprisonment for successive or continuous breach of any bylaw...”.

4.3.3.7 What should be done in order to improve the citizens’ participation in the public meetings?

These 30 respondents were then asked to suggest what should be done in order to improve the citizen attendance in public meetings. They appeal for themselves to be truly and trustful, implement and keep promises, report on income and expenditure in quarterly basis, using bylaws to ensure people attendance, empower citizens in order to use their rights of debate and giving their views through the public meetings. Most of them were of the opinion that the system change is inevitable for the above to be realized.

4.3.3.8 There are two theories of political representation. The first says that the representative should be the voice of the people and should act as they want him to do. The second says that the representative should exercise his own judgement and act according to his own conscience and his own assessment of the situation. Which do you agree with most?

The study then turned to the special group to test theories and get the insight of their feelings about the topic. The purpose of this question was to find out the model of representation preferred/used by the elected politicians in Rorya and Tanzania in general. 30 respondents were asked to choose the theory they prefers between first and second. 18 (60%) respondents preferred the first theory, 5 (16.7%) were in favors of second theory. 6 (20%) opted both theories one and two and 1 (3.3%) respondents choose none of the theory. The table 12 below shows the respondents choices.

Table 13 Testing Theory of Political Representation

| Political Theories of representation | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| First, the representative should be the voice of the people and act as they want to | 18 | 60.0 |
| Second, the representative should exercise his own judgments and act according to his own conscience | 5 | 16.7 |
| Both theory one and two above | 6 | 20.0 |
| None | 1 | 3.3 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.3.3.9 Speaking for yourself, do you think your main job as a representative can be done successfully without citizens’ participation through public political/administrative meetings?

These 30 respondents were then asked to speak for themselves and asked if their job as representatives can be done successfully without peoples’ participation through public meetings. The response given is presented in the table 13 below.

Table 14 Assessment of the need/importance of Public Meetings.

| Representation can be done without people Participation? | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 6 | 20.0 |
| No | 24 | 80.0 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

In the assessment above, majority of respondents (24 out of 30) declared that their jobs can’t be done successfully without people participation through public meetings. Therefore, in the following sub-question, the researcher was interested to know if is there any alternative way to get to know about the needs and attitude of members of public apart from public meetings. The respondents response were; 14 (46%) respondents said that there is no alternative apart from public meetings, 10 (33.3%) opted the use of Information and Computer Technology through e-government

including internet, websites and e-mails 2 (6.7%) suggested the use of small groups at the hamlet level and 4 (13.3%) respondents failed to recommend any method.

4.3.3.10 Can you think of any occasion when you called a meeting but attendance was ultimately poor to the extent that the meeting was postponed?

The respondents were then asked to think of any occasion when they called a meeting but attendance was ultimately poor to the extent that the meeting was postponed. The researcher wanted to gain the experience of this group in the field. 24 (80%) respondents agreed, 5 (16.7%) denied and 1 (3.3%) respondent didn't know whether he ever called a meeting or not. Those who agreed were asked sub-question to tell how they felt after poor attendance and postponement of the very public meetings, 2 (6.7%) respondents reported to feel normal, 5 (16.7%) reported to feel bad and 23 (76.6%) respondents felt very bad.

From the above findings, the researcher tends to continue believe that public meetings are the most preferable way of citizen involvement worldwide. If this approach is not successful, there should be an alternative. Therefore, in another sub- question, this group was asked to give the alternative approach. 21 (70%) said that there is no best alternative approach to it. It should remain and if possible the enforcement, civil education, and household mobilization should be applied. 5 (16.6%) said that the same approach should be used but people should use a strikes to force and guarantee leaders compliance and other 4 (13.3%) respondents suggested the use of street or village radios, televisions, e-mail as a means to disseminate messages and give the feedback. The Rorya District Commissioner put it clear as follows;

“...Siku hizi nchi nyingi wanaacha kutafuta kukusanya watu wengi pamoja ambao ki ukweli kila mmoja anakuwa na shughuli zake na pengine kutokuwa na nafasi wakati anapohitajika, na badala yake hutumia radio, TV, email kufikisha taarifa kwa wananchi na wananchi kutoa mrejesho kwa viongozi wao na ikibidi kukutana basi watakutana wachache katika ngazi ya mtaa au kitongoji ambapo wananchi wanashughuli zinazofanana...”

Means many countries are now-days turns to the use of small groups of the same nature of activities instead of bringing a big number of people together who are sometimes are really busy or not available while needed for the public meetings and mostly they opted the use of e-government where each individual can assess the information from their leaders and give the feedback, if any, at their appropriate time and pace.

The researcher was interested as it was also the objective of the study to dig down and find why the leaders are distrusted by the citizens. The leaders themselves were asked in sub-question to give the reasons; target was to listening from the horse mouths. 19 (63.3%) respondents admitted that they failed to keep and implement their promises to the citizens, 7 (23.3%) said that some of them are violating good governance principles including involving in corruptions of all kinds and 4 (13.3%) respondents admitted that they do not search to understand peoples' needs.

4.3.3.11 Have you made any effort to attract the citizens' participation in your area of jurisdiction?

The respondents of special group were then asked if they made any effort to attract the citizens' participation in their area of jurisdiction. The purpose of this question was to know if there are any efforts made by the leaders. Their response was as stipulated in table 14 below.

Table 15 Assessment of Leaders effort to attract the citizens participation in the public meetings

| The efforts made on citizens participation in public meetings | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 26 | 86.7 |
| No | 4 | 13.3 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

In addition to this, in the sub-question they asked to mention those efforts. They said to use prominent village elders, trying their level best to keep and implement their promises though they fails sometimes from the delay or not receiving budgeted funds from the government. One of the Councillors from the opposition said,

“...Serikali hii ndiyo inayotufanya tuwe waongo hadi kutoaminiwa na wananchi, kwa sababu tunakaa kwenye vikao na kuambiwa pesa zilizoidhinishwa kibajeti na shughuli za miradi zitakazotekelezwa ndani ya mwaka wa fedha, wanasiasa tunatumwa tukawahamasishishe na kuwaandaa wananchi ili wachangie asilimia 20 na kutekeleza miradi hiyo. Matokeo yake fedha haziletwi. Hivyo CCM na serikali yake ndo wamekuwa waongo namba moja...”

Means, it is the CCM and its government which is number one liar and made us distrusted by the citizens, because we sit in the meetings and given the approved budget and development project to be implemented in the respective financial year, we politicians asked to prepare the citizens so that to contribute 20 percent in the implementation of the coming projects. But later we are told that the budgeted and approved fund delayed or not released at all.

Other efforts made was civil education, the use of arts and village bylaws although this also opposed by the citizens they are not ready to continue contributing without being informed on the income and expenditure.

4.3.3.12 Do you agree with me that your promises to the citizens in the last election contributed a lot in your winning votes?

Self awareness assessment is very important at this stage, the researcher was interested to know if these leaders know that the promises they rendered to the citizens during election contributed to their winning. The finding has shown that majority, 27 out of 30 agreed that their promises to the citizens contributed to their winning in the election. The response was as shown in the table 15 below.

Table 16 Assessment of leaders self awareness on their promises and its Impact

| Promises contributed to win the election | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 27 | 90.0 |
| No | 1 | 3.3 |
| I don't know | 2 | 6.7 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

The researcher then asked 27 out of 30 respondents in sub-question to mention those promises they rendered. The respondents mentioned Protection and Security of their life and properties, Maintenance of Infrastructure and networking, Disclosure of Income and Expenditure, Environmental protection and to bring about development in general.

4.3.3.13 To what extent did you implemented your promises?

The respondents were then required to tell to what extent they implemented their promises. The objective of this question was to give these leaders a chance to judge themselves before being judged by the citizens. Only 1 (3.3%) respondent reported to implement all promises and extra, 4 (13.3%) reported to implement all promises, 14 (46.7%) said to implement a half of promises and 11 (36.7%) declared beyond the reasonable doubt to implement none of their promises to the citizens. From this finding, 25 (83.4%) respondents said to implement either a half or none of the promises.

4.3.3.14 Did you gave the feedback to the citizens about your failure or success in implementation of the promises?

In normal circumstance, a civilized person should give the feedback of his positive or negative doings. And in politics, the issue is not only feedback but also a good leader has to account for his doings. So the researcher asked 25 who didn't fulfill their promises if they convened the public meetings to give the feedback. The response was

as following below. However, the cycle of poor attendance which led to postponement of the meetings, hence, failure to meet the objective of giving feedback remains unsolved.

Table 17 Assessment of leaders’ feedback of their doings

| Did you give the feedback of your doings? | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 24 | 80.0 |
| No | 6 | 20.0 |
| Total | 30 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.3.3.15 What was the attendance in the feedback meetings?

The objective of the study was to assess the citizens’ participation especially in public meeting and the tape measure for this purpose was attendance, involvement and implementation of the decisions made in the meetings. The following table 17 below is the leader’s personal assessment of the attendance of meetings they convened to give the feedback for their partial or total failure in implementation of their promises.

Table 18 Assessment of leaders self awareness of their feedback meetings

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------|-----------|---------|
| Good | 7 | 23.3 |
| Average | 9 | 30.0 |
| Bad | 14 | 46.7 |
| Total | 30 | 100 |

Source: Field Data 2013.

4.3.3.16 Do you think that the citizens are empowered enough to participate fully in the agenda discussion?

The citizens’ participation as an objective of the study not only means attendance but also involvement of the citizens on all matter patterning their life, So the researcher was also interested to know if the citizens are empowered to discuss and give their views in agenda discussion. 46 (39.7%) respondents agreed, 43 (37.1%) disagreed, 24

(20.7%) said little and 3 (2.6%) failed to understand if the citizens are empowered or not. The table 18 below shows the finding.

Table 19 Assessment of Citizens empowerments

| Citizens are empowered to participate fully in Public meetings | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 46 | 39.7 |
| No | 43 | 37.1 |
| Little | 24 | 20.7 |
| I don't know | 3 | 2.6 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.3.3.17 What would have been your assessment on the impact of the public meetings?

The next concern of the researcher which was also the specific objective of the study is to assess the impact of the public meetings in the society. The respondents were asked to weigh out the impact of these meetings in their life and the result was as follows; 36 (31%) respondents said that what are discussed and decided are implemented, 38 (32.8%) said, what decided are not implemented and the feedback is not given always, 33 (28.4%) was on the opinion that what decided are for the leaders interest rather than citizens, 5 (4.3%) favoured both the second and third opinions and 4 (3.4%) respondents said that they do not know whether what are discussed are implemented or not. Table 19 below depicts. Generally about 76 (65%) respondents out of 116 respondents had adverse opinion on the implementation of the decisions made in the public meeting as it was observed by the researcher in the field.

Table 20 Impact of public meetings

| Assessment of the impact of the public meetings | Frequency | Percent |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| What are discussed and decided are implemented | 36 | 31.0 |
| What decided are not implemented and without feedback | 38 | 32.8 |
| What decided are for the leader interest rather than citizen | 33 | 28.4 |
| I don't know | 4 | 3.4 |
| 2 and 3 above | 5 | 4.3 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 201

4.3.3.18 To what extent are you satisfied with citizens' participation in the public meetings?

Testing peoples' fillings at this juncture was very important, so the researcher asked 116 respondents the extent they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the citizen participation in public meetings. 9 (7.8%) respondents reported to be satisfied 100 percent, Two groups of 19 (16.4%) are satisfied 75 and 50 percent each, 24 (20.7%) satisfied less than 50 percent and 45 (38.8%) were neither satisfied with the way these public meetings are conducted nor implementation of the decisions made in the so called public meetings of whatsoever. The table 20 below show the degree of satisfaction of the 116 respondents.

Table 21 Extent of citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the citizens' participation in public meetings

| Assessment of the citizens satisfaction or dissatisfaction | No.Frequency | % |
|---|---------------------|----------|
| 100% | 9 | 7.8 |
| 75% | 19 | 16.4 |
| 50% | 19 | 16.4 |
| Less than 50% | 24 | 20.7 |
| Not satisfied | 45 | 38.8 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

In sub-question, those who were not satisfied were then asked by the researcher to give the specific reasons for their decision. 47 (23.2%) respondents gave the reason of irresponsibility of the government and their leaders in particular, two groups of 7 (6%) each had the opinion that meetings are unsuccessful due to citizens and poor use of enforcement instruments respectively, 32 (27.6%) had the views that the meeting objectives were not realised and 23 (19.8%) were tired of the hegemony of the village government to act and decide matters on behalf of the majority through the public meetings. For instance, the Dett village government had an allegation of discussing and deciding issues on mineral exploration without involving the majority citizens through public meetings.

4.3.3.19 What is your opinion on the distrust leaders?

The researcher in finding the way forwards, assess the citizens 'views on the leaders who used to give unfulfilled promises. 20 (17.2%) respondents said that there should be a binding promises or contract between citizens and leaders, 62 (53.4%) had an opinion of termination rather than transfer, 19 (16.4%) suggested fines and imprisonment for those leaders who fails to fulfill their promises, 11 (9.5%) said that these kind of leaders should not be re-elected, 2 (1.7%) had the opinion of having leadership training institutions, and finally, 2 (1.7%) respondents said that there should be regular auditing of the government business from the village level to the national level.

The general observation has shown that people are fed-up with unfulfilled promises hence, citizens distrust the leaders and to me all suggested views are valid and should be implemented by the government. The table 21 below shows different views of the citizen on the distrust leaders.

Table 22 Impact of citizens' views on distrust Leaders

| Assessment of citizens' views on distrust leaders used to give unfulfilled promises | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| having binding promises contract between citizen and leaders | 20 | 17.2 |
| termination rather than transfer | 62 | 53.4 |
| fine and imprisonment | 19 | 16.4 |
| not re-elected | 11 | 9.5 |
| There should be leadership training institution to train the leaders of all level | 2 | 1.7 |
| regular auditing of village business | 2 | 1.7 |
| Total | 116 | 100.0 |

Source: Field Data 2013

4.3.3.20 What should be done to ensure citizens attendance and participation in the public meetings?

Lastly, the researcher asked these 116 respondents to give their suggestions of what should be done to improve the citizen attendance in the public meetings and participate fully in discussion and decision making. 49 (42.2%) respondents had an opinion of the needs for civil education to bring about awareness, skills and confidence, 21 (18.1%) suggested strong punishment through law enforcement, 9 (7.8%) insisted on reporting of income and expenditure as required by the law, 33 (28.5%) said that there should be proper facilitation of meetings and realization of their objectives. 3 (2.6%) demanded total change of the system of politics and administration and 1 (.9%) respondent didn't know what should be done.

All in all, the extent of citizens' participation is very low, estimated to 33 percent and both leaders and citizens are not happy with the situation. They both appeal for the action to be taken to rectify the situation. Most of them are on the opinion of the total change of the political and administration of Tanzania. Which kinds of change suit the Tanzania citizens, when and by who remain in the shadow side.

4.4. Specific Objective 4: To explore the challenges involved and action taken in the process of the Citizens participation (the shadow side)

The involvement needs coordination and space. In case of public meetings, the chairman and village secretary must arrange the meeting and invite the members. But in the field, the researcher revealed casual vacancies of the village chairmen. The documentary review analysis and physical verification reveals that only 4 (33.3%) out of 12 village chairmen elected by citizens in 2010 are in the office. 8 (66.7%) are out of office due to different reasons as stipulated in table 22 here below. This is a very big challenge of citizens' participation especially through the public meetings.

Table 23 Casual Vacancies of Village Chairmen and Reason for their absences in the office.

Present

| | Villages Chairman | YES | NO | Reasons for absence in the office |
|----|--------------------------|------------|-----------|--|
| 1 | Manila | Yes | | |
| 2 | Nyarombo | Yes | | |
| 3 | Busanga | | No | Allegation of involving in corruption to the dispensary building 2008/2009. |
| 4 | Burere | | No | Allegation of favoring social deviants such as thieves, drinkers, etc |
| 5 | Radienya | | No | Misunderstanding between chairman and village government because corruption issues |
| 6 | Kirogo | Yes | | |
| 7 | Kyariko | | No | Denied by village government through no confidence votes by siding with trade union demand office building |
| 8 | Mkoma | Yes | | |
| 9 | Raranya | | No | Death |
| 10 | Chererche | | No | Imprisoned from criminal offence |
| 11 | Dett | | No | Imprisoned from criminal offence |
| 12 | Ochuna | | No | Denied by village government through no confidence votes because of too drinking |

Source: Field Data 2013

The researcher felt the need of going too further at the curtain back and trace the poor services raised as a factor which discourage people to the public meetings. The findings were worse as you can see at picture 1 below. The roads are like valley or contours which the researcher studied in geography in secondary school. This roughness is very risk to pregnancy women whose has to be send to the hospital for the safe delivery, sick, and transport in general.

Picture 1. Poor roads to Chereche and Radienya Villages

Chereche's road



Radienya's road



Source: Field Data 2013

The respondents also raised the issues of corruptions in the public projects. And the researcher decided to go back of the curtain and find out the truth. The findings in two villages studied were worse. For instance, in Busanga and Chereche they raised the health projects which rejected by the government. To be specific, in Busanga they said that they asked by the Government to priorities their need whereby they selected a dispensary simply because of the problem they are facing to move from Busanga to Shirati hospital which is almost more than fifty kilometers. The project was to be completed in the financial year 2008/2009. At the roofing stage, 15 millions were released by the Rorya DED.

The researcher traced the truth and noted that on 17th March 2009, Check No. 045149 worth Ths. 5,000,000/= and; On 2nd July 2010, Check No. 072279 worth Ths. 10,000,000/= was released to the contractor.

The village chairman has allegation of colluding to the very contractor after being corrupted. As a result the roof neglected at this stage since 2009. The woods seen on the roof already perforated by pests and became useless. No action taken to the defaulters. The villagers annoyed. Some appeals that the village government will only be respected if and only if they complete the pending dispensary project. Otherwise, they cannot attend the meetings while women and children are dying from absence of health service. Picture 2 below shows very dispensary building rejected.

Picture 2 Busanga Dispensary partially roofed since 2009



Source: Field Data 2013

Alike Busanga case, In Chereche village, respondents reported the village chairman to be locked-out because of misuse of doctor's house fund. The doctor's house project was under TASAF and had to be completed in 2007. The source of fund was 80 percent from TASAF and 20 percent had to be contributed by the citizens through their own efforts and available materials in their area. TASAF released 26 millions equal to 80 percent of the project sum and citizens claimed to contribute silt, stones, water and others equivalent to 20%. The VEO was asked why the project remained incomplete up to the moment and he said that citizen not contributed their fund percent. The researcher traced the building to see whether remained part worth 6.5millions said to be citizen contribution. As you can see, the VEO explanation is quite different from the fact on the ground. In short, the village chairman has allegation of corrupting the project and not only locked-out but also chased away from the leadership.

Picture 3 Doctor's House Neglected since 2007 in Chereche Village.



Source: Field Data 2013

When this special group were further asked other challenges they face, the answer was the poor meeting grounds, poor office buildings and the leaders approved gilt in the court of law denied to leave the office as a result, citizen decide to lock them out. They insisted the urgent change. The researcher became very anxious to make a follow up of these additional views of this group of poor public meeting facilitation. The finding was as shown in picture 4 below.

A picture 4 Shows Public Meeting at Dett and Busanga Villages respectively



Source: Field Data 2013

The researcher also observed in the field some village government to works under good office while some in a not only worse but also in the condemned buildings as shown in the picture 5 here below.

Picture 5. Shows Ochuna Village and Burere Village Offices respectively.



Source: Field Data 2013

Note: the piece of trees and stones seen in the condemned Burere's office are used as chairs by the village government during their village government meetings.

The respondents also get bored with habit of some leaders who misbehaved, send to the court charged with criminal cases which they were involved with while in the office, approved guilt and imprisoned, but they are not ready to leave and turn the office properties. Sometimes it reach a time whereby the citizens either lock them out or appeal to the higher authority public meetings as shown in picture 6 below

Picture 6 Shows Chereche Village Chairman who locked out and Peoples' appeals



Source: Field Data 2013

The respondents were then asked by the researcher in sub-question to give the reason of why do they need the above change of the system. 25 out of 30 gave the reasons concerned to them (leaders) and only 5 respondents finger pointed the citizens. Their response is given in the table 23 below.

Table 24 The reason for the need of immediate change of the political system

| Why changes are inevitable | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Democracy is in dilemma | 7 | 23.3 |
| The citizens lost hope and trust to their leaders | 4 | 13.3 |
| Leaders negligence hampered development | 4 | 13.3 |
| Citizens being tired with unfulfilled promises | 10 | 33.3 |
| Most of citizens are not aware of public meetings | 5 | 16.7 |
| Total | 30 | 100 |

Source: Field Data 2013.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher explained thorough what has been found in the field through questionnaires, interview guidelines and secondary data in relations to research questions and the statement of the problem.

5.2 Discussion

The general objective of the study was to address the research problem aims at assessing the extent of the citizen participation in the public meetings in Tanzania. The major assumption was that there is poor citizen participation in these public meetings, the vital communication channel between citizens and their government.

In addressing the above problem the first task was to tress and find out the legal framework guiding public meetings in Tanzania. The study revealed that about 90 percent of respondents are aware of the public meetings, 60 percent managed to define it properly that it is a meeting convened by both elected and appointed politicians. Only one third ought to the existence of the law that guides the public meeting. Others were uncertain of the law or legal framework that guides these meetings. However, the finding has shown that nobody was able to tell or mentioned it.

It also revealed that apart from village general assembly designed for the purpose of village government to report on income and expenditure in quarterly basis, other public meetings are just ad hoc and called upon in directive of the top leaders as they wish and the needs may arise. For instance, the documentary search revealed that there is no legal framework or law require the member of the parliament, District Commissioner, Regional Commissioner, Ministers and other National Leaders to hold a certain number of public meetings in a certain period of time.

It is due to this gap where the national leader, His Excellence, Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, The President of United Republic of Tanzania has made his own system of addressing the public once a month, especially at the end of each month. His followers normally insist that, “...*Kwa utaratibu aliyojiwekea ya kuongea na wananchi kila mwisho wa mwezi...*” means by His own arrangement of addressing the public every end of the month. Here researcher remains with a lot of puzzle questions that need to be answered. For example, if the National leader, His Excellence, President has made that arrangement, why not his subordinates such as Ministers, Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners, Member of Parliaments, Councillors and Village Chairmen. And they should not only address the citizens through radios and televisions, but conduct the public meetings and get the people’s views, discuss and decide on issues of their life.

The second question need to be answered is, so long as this system has no legal framework, it is personal arrangement and willing, what about if Tanzania will get a president who have no such arrangement and will? If today the Members of the Parliaments, the councillors, the RCs and DCs (apart from the political funds they are given by the government) are meeting people as they may will, as the citizens become alerted on their rights and demand the situation become very worse. The more the citizens get enlighten and alerted, the more the citizens participation level becomes low and low hence, zero citizens’ participation, . This is because the room for discussion, debate and then decision will highly risk the leaders’ positions especially when they fail to account for their doings and hence, held accountable by the citizens.

The research also revealed that apart from village general assembly where the income and expenditure is reported, citizen discuss, question and decide matters pertaining their life, other public meetings rarely conducted by appointed politicians such as DCs, RCs, Ministers, and National leaders. In these other public meetings the village chairmen are only called upon to open and close the meetings. No feedback given to the citizens about the previous meetings of the same kind or the evaluation or report of

implementation of directives demanded by the leaders. It is the researcher's view that the system would have been improved for citizens' participation by giving implementation reports (feedback) giving a room for public questions, ideas and debate in order to get the public opinions and then decide on the way forward.

Another specific objective was to identify the types and number of public meetings conducted for the period of the year 2011/2012. The research finding reveals that there are two major types of public meetings; one is defined meetings and second, is undefined meetings.

The study also aimed at determining the level of the citizen participation in public meetings. The research finding has shown that the level of citizen participation is very low and call for an argent remedies. First of all, from the research findings, the lowest population eligible for public meeting was 1,586 of Ochuna Village while the highest ones was 11,701 of Kyariko Village. The researcher provided 40 percent of the population of each village as the population subjected to attend the public meetings. This percent excluded the elders, scholars, children and people with all kinds of emergencies. Therefore, the attendance in the 12 villages was supposed to range from 635 to 4,680 respectively. However, the attendance for the year 2011/2012 range from 35 (5.5%) to 1,714 (36.6%). From the research questions, almost 62% had an opinion that attendance was either one-third or less. These findings tally each other.

Those few who attend the public meetings are also ill in terms of education and skills as can be seen from respondents profile. No or very minimal civil education was given to the citizens, their level of education is very low and no training obtained by the majority after graduating primary education level. They are farmers using hand hoes traditionally producing food for their survival. Generally, these people are poor. It follows therefore, that because they are poor because they are not empowered; they can't debate, discuss and decide effectively and timely. This is contrary to the principles of participation. As Verba and Nei (1972) in the civil Voluntarism or Resource model of participation correctly suggest that, the social status of an

individual, his job, Education and income determines to large extent how much he participate. And according to classification of citizen's participation, Tanzania citizen are still engulfed by communalism legacy, intermittently engage in political actions on broad social issues but are not highly involved in peculiar issues for their development.

The leaders then take that loop-hall of citizen weakness either decide to twists decisions of which they are interested to or not to implement what citizens have decided and no feedback is given to the citizens. This said by 76 out of 116 respondents from 12 villages. The finding shows that citizens are not happy with this situation and they strongly recommended these leaders particularly bureaucrats to be terminated rather than being transferred as it is done now. To the politicians, they need a binding contract of promises they give during campaigns and those who break the contract should not only be taken to the court of law but also not to be re-elected.

The study also explored the challenges involved and the actions taken in the process of the citizens' participation in these public meetings. One of the major challenge facing these public meeting is the poor meeting facilities. No venue or a good ground with chairs prepared for the public meetings. In all villages in Rorya and Tanzania at large, citizens used to meet under identified big trees or a certain ground along the centres. In these places neither cleanness is done nor are chairs supplied. This being the case, citizens have to sit down on the earth regardless of the values of the clothes they wears. Sometimes they sit along the roads, paths and even far away from the leaders. While in public meetings, the defaulters of the meeting used to pass over and no action taken.

The second challenge is the poor working environment of some village government. They are working in the condemned buildings which have no doors, chairs and office equipments. You cannot imagine that the government business is carried in such places of Burere village shown in the picture 5, but it is the fact. This make people to

question the rationale of the government which cannot get its own satisfaction of facilities to consider their demands and wants, hence feel need of participating in the so called development.

Third challenge is the unfulfilled promises which in turn amount to incomplete projects. It should be noted that in the process of the choice of these projects, people used rational choice model, here called D and OD. So they are projects that rank the highest value in their preference ordering, therefore, their rejection is rejection of people's highest rank of preference. The politicians have a challenge of backing to the citizens; inform them the reason of why their choices were not implemented, discuss and find the way forward. I don't think and believe that being away by shifting the place of resident as done by politicians is the solution to this.

Another challenge is that of illiteracy. I attend several public meetings; only few can write their names especially women. When it comes to the time of writing attendance registrar, most of people asked to be assisted. What I saw in the field made me to assume that the illiteracy rate in the village is higher than it is expected. Illiteracy on the other hand affects the citizens' participation. A mere citizen who is lacking skills and knowledge to the extent that he cannot write and read cannot have a confidence to contribute his ideas, debate and even question the income and expenditure report effectively. From this finding, the researcher critically thinks that there is a mutual relationship between poverty and poor citizens' participation. However, another study needed for justification of this statement.

Lastly, no doubt that public meeting is omnipotent apart from the growing technologies which demand the use of e-government. Therefore, the government is obliged to legalize all necessary public meetings required in support of citizen development.

5.4 Summary of the Findings

In this chapter, the discussion about research findings in the relation to research problem, conceptual framework and research questions underlying the hypothesis that the citizens' participation in public meetings is poor and that there is no legal framework that guides the public meetings especially undefined ones in Tanzania. In summary, the finding from both primary and secondary data has shown that the level of citizens' attendance and participation is estimated to 33.3%. The study revealed that citizens are not empowered to participate fully in agenda discussion, debate and decision making. The reason given out by citizens for poor participation are being fed-up with unfulfilled promises hence distrust of the leaders, corruptions, irresponsibility of leaders, poor social services delivery, poor meeting facilities, and poverty. In this case, I fail to reject the hypothesis.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main objective of the study was to assess the citizen participation in public meetings. In addressing the above problem, the researcher had to trace and find out the legal framework guiding public meetings in Tanzania, identify the types and number of meetings conducted for the period of the year 2011/2012, determine the level of the citizens participation, explore the challenges involved and the actions taken in the process of improving the citizens participation in these public meetings and finally recommend feasible measures that will enhance citizen participation in the public meetings.

This chapter intended to draw the findings in a nut shell and show how the results obtained contributes to the improvement of the objectives of the study. The summary of the findings is given in relations of the specific objectives.

6.2 Summary of the Research Findings

The target of the study was to assess the citizens' participation in public meetings in Tanzania. In tracing the legal framework that guides the public meetings in Tanzania, the findings revealed that only village general assembly is stated in the law and regulation require four meetings in a year. Other meetings are held in personal wishes and as the needs may arise. The researcher discussed the dangers imposed to this gap and argued critically that there must be a legal frame that compel the rest leaders apart from village chairmen, to conduct a certain number of public meetings in a year and report to the higher authority on the implementation of the citizens wants and demands. In these meetings the citizens should be empowered to ensure effective participation. This will ensure accountability in all level of government.

In determination of the level of citizens' participation, the study revealed that it is very low, estimated to 33% which is below average. The fact has also shown that this level is decreasing tremendously time to time. First, the illiteracy rate in the rural areas is very high as it can be witnessed in the demographics characteristics of common citizens. From physical observation many members of the societies can't write and read and they are not empowered so as to participate effectively in discussion and then decision making on the things patterning their life. Gender biasness is also higher; women have no equal opportunity and roles in societies, hence lowering their chance to participate in the development arena.

Citizens are fed up with promises that cannot fulfilled, poverty and poor social service delivery together led to distrust of their leaders in such a way that they no longer feel to attend the public meetings. So the researcher has confident to conclude that the level of participation of citizens in public meetings is very low and the government should rescue the situation for it to survive.

The study is also revealed several challenges facing the daily running of these public meetings in Tanzania. These challenges are lack of legal support, poor facilitation of public meetings, unfulfilled promises, poor reporting system, corruption, poor meeting grounds, poor skills and knowledge about the agenda, illiteracy, the language and dependency. These are affecting the citizens' participation level.

6.3 Recommendation

Based on the above research findings and conclusion, the following are the recommendation which are grouped into two, one is for immediate correction and another for further research.

6.3.1 Recommendation for Immediate Correction

The followings are recommendations for the immediate action in order to rescue the situation:

- The government should enact a law that requires the political leaders such as Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners, Member of the Parliaments, Councillors to hold a certain number of public meetings in a year as it is in the village level. The public meeting reports should be reported to the higher authorities. The President should continue to talk to the public monthly as he is doing now and the citizens should be given a room to debate, discuss and ask the questions. The ministers of different ministries should also do the same and the citizens should have a chance to ask them questions and make them accountable. At the regional, district and ward level the law should require the responsible leaders to conduct a certain number of public meetings in the year.
- Civic education to the citizens should be given a priority by the government at all level must budget for it. It is civic educations that enlighten and enhance citizens' awareness on the needs for collective engagement of the citizens in the determination of their community affairs.
- In order to do away with habit of rendering a lot of promises which in turn are not fulfilled, I concurred with citizens whom suggested a system of having a binding contract between the political leaders and the citizens especially during electoral campaigns.
- The auditing department at the district councils should be strengthened and empowered in order to perform regular auditing in a all villages and government institution. This will reduce the corruption acts within the leaders.
- Reporting income and expenditure in quarterly basis should be a base of qualification and disqualification of both political and bureaucrats. Those who fail to do so should be withdrawn from the leadership and public service

respectively. The good performance with good reporting system will build trust to the citizens.

- Public meetings grounds must be clean shaded and supplied with chairs or any means to facilitate members unlike now where meetings grounds are unclean, no shadings and sometimes conducted along paths and roads where noises interrupting the listening.
- The citizens and their leaders should sign a performance agreement. This will be the Leaders vis a vis Citizens Open Performance Review Appraisal System (LECIOPRAS) and there should be an enforcement to the part fail to fulfil its role without basic reasons.
- The causal vacancies should be filled up immediately. The easiest with low cost approach is the political party worn the election to appoint internally the successor of the vacant post

6.3.2 Recommendation for further studies

- Illiteracy rate in Tanzania and particularly in the rural areas. How does illiteracy affect citizens' participation in public meetings?
- Why do the people attend public meetings on social services delivery rather than development and policy issues meetings as the social theory suggesting, is there any distinction between private and collective benefits they demanding.
- Political incentives needed by the citizens in order to raise political efficacy. The expected benefits of participation are weighted by individual's sense of political efficacy.
- There is mutual relationship between poverty and citizen Participation in Tanzania.

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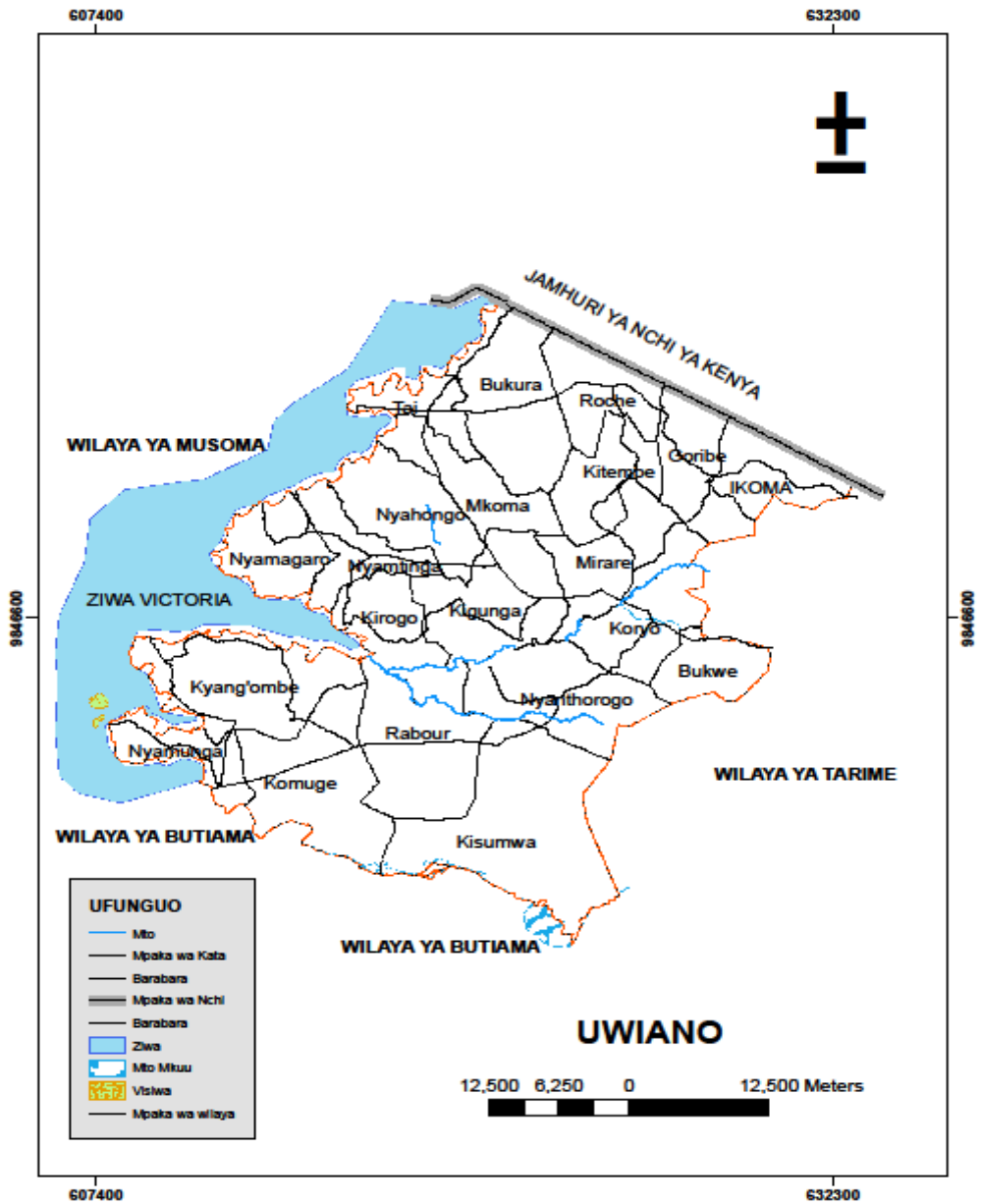
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APPENDICES

Appendix I A Map of Rorya District.

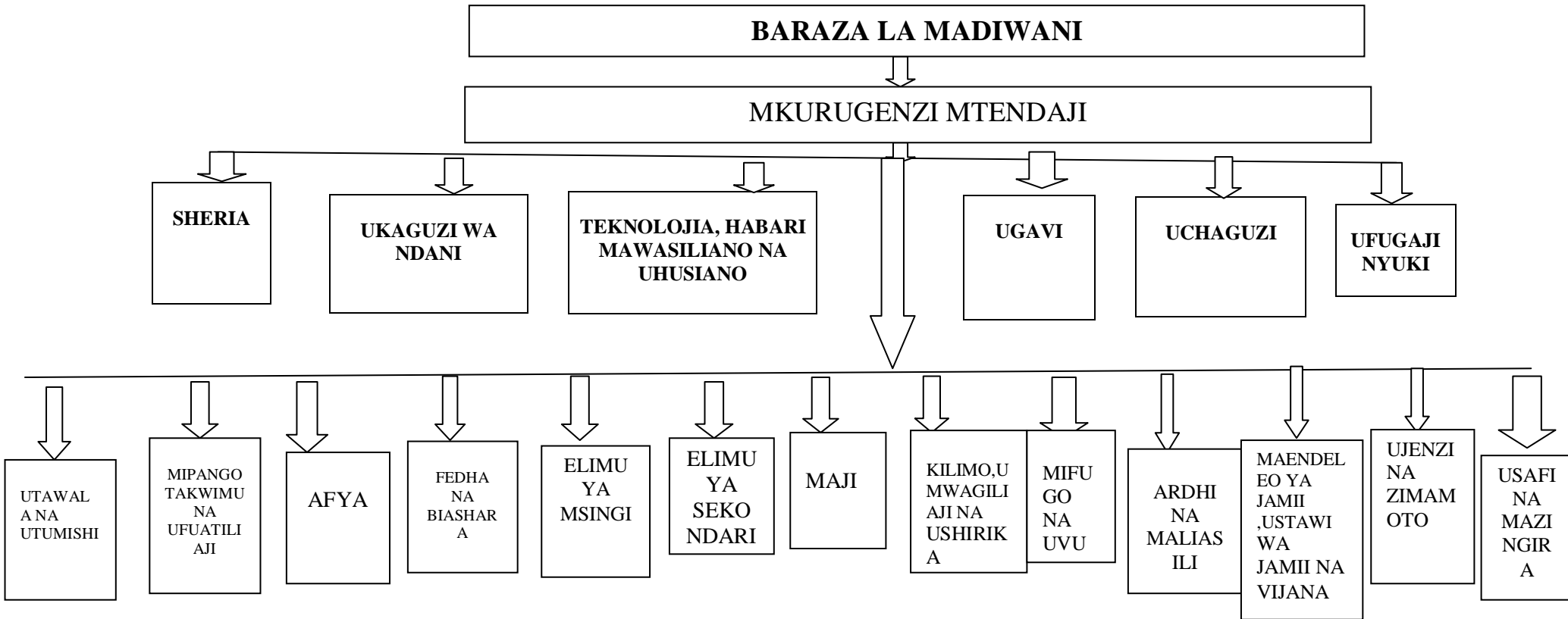
RAMANI YA WILAYA YA RORYA KUONESHA MIPAKA YA KIUTAWALA



Source: Field Data 2013

Appendix II Organisation Structure of Rorya District and Rorya District Council

**MUUNDO WA HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA RORYA ULIOIDHINISHWA
TAREHE 08 JUNE 2011**



Rorya District Council Office

Rorya District Commissioner's Office



Appendix III: Administrative Divisions Administration: Division, Ward and Village Levels

| Division | Ward | No. of Villages and hamlets | No. of Villages and hamlets Selected | Number of Respondents | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-------|-------|-------------------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| | | | | Div. officer | Coun-cilor | W.E.O | V.E.O | Village Council Members | Villagers | | | |
| GIRANGO | Roche | Roche Ratia Ng'ope Osiri | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ikoma | Ikoma Kogaja Nyamasanda | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Bukwe | Mika Nyasoro Buganjo | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Koryo | Nyanduga Utegi Mang'ore | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kitembe | Kitembe Nyambogo Sakawa | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Goribe | Panyakoo Nyamusi | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | Tatwe | | | | | | | | | |
| | Mirare | Malongo Ingri Juu Ryagoro Changuge | | | | | | | | | |
| SUBA | Nyamunga | Kinesi Kibuyi | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kyang'ombe | Mugundwe Mihara Ruhu Kyabibi Kyamusana | | | | | | | | | |
| | Komuge | Komuge Irienyi Kuruya Kyamwami | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kisumwa | Kisumwa Kwibuse Marasibora Nyanchabakenye Nyanjagi | | | | | | | | | |
| NYANCHA | Bukura | Bubombi Kironwe Nyambori Thabanche Bwiri | | | | | | | | | |
| | Tai | Masonga Nyahera Nyamagongo Sota | | | | | | | | | |
| | Mkoma | Raranya Kyariko Namkoma | | | | | | | | | |
| | Nyamtinga | Nyarombo Busanga Manila Siko Rwang'enyi | | | | | | | | | |
| | Nyamagaro | Kyangasaga Muharango Nyangombe | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kirogo | Kirogo Radienya Burere | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kigunga | Randa Masike Bukama Luanda | | | | | | | | | |
| | Nyahongo | Minigo Ryagati Nyabikondo | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | Omoche Manyanyi Nyamkonge Lolwe | | | | | | | | | |
| LUO-IMBO | Nyathorogo | Dett Ochuna Nyasoko Omuga Kowak Chereche | | | | | | | | | |
| | Rabuor | Rabuor Oliyo Makongoro | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL 4 | 21 | 82 | | | | | | | | | |

Appendix IV

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondents,

I am Wilson Jacob Nyamanga, a student of Mzumbe University pursuing a Master Degree of Public Administration 2011/2013. For academic purpose, I am conducting a research on Assessment of Citizens Participation on Political Public Meetings in Tanzania, a Case Study of Kilwa District. Therefore, humbly request you to assist me in filling these questionnaires. The purpose of these questionnaires is to collecting information regarding citizens' participation in public political meetings in Kilwa District Council. Information obtained will be treated confidential and primarily used for the purpose intended. If you are interested of the findings of this study, please attach your contact.

Regards,

Wilson J. Nyamanga.

Note: **Do not write your name anywhere in this questionnaire**

Instructions: Tick in the box provided on the right answer

Personal records

1. What is your marital status?

| | |
|--------|--|
| Male | |
| Female | |

2. What is your age?

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Below 25 years | |
| Between 25 and 40 years | |
| Between 40 and 55 years | |
| Above 55 years | |

3.0 What is your level of education?

| | |
|---|--|
| Primary school education | |
| Secondary school education (O-Level) | |
| High Secondary school education (A – Level) | |
| Bachelor Degree | |
| Master Degree | |
| Others | |

4. What training you obtained after secondary school education?

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Certificate course | |
| Diploma course | |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Degree or equivalent | |
| Post graduate | |

5. Which Position/Department are you working with?

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Administration / Management | |
| Politics | |
| Technical | |
| Operation | |
| Others (please mention) | |

6. What is your occupation?

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Civil servant | |
| Farmer | |
| Businessmen | |
| Others (Please, specify) | |

7. When did you join this organization?

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1 -5 years ago | |
| 5 – 10 years ago | |
| 10- 15 years ago | |
| 15 years and above | |

General Information

7. a) Are you aware of Public Political Meetings ?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

b).If the answer in question 7(a) above is **Yes**, What is it? Put a tick on the relevant box.

| | |
|--|--|
| Public meeting held by elected politicians | |
| Public meetings held by appointed politicians | |
| Public meetings held by both elected and appointed politicians | |
| Public meetings held during election periods | |

8. Is there any legal framework or law guiding public political meetings?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

b).If the answer in question 8(a) above is **Yes**, What is it? (Fill it in the gap).

.....

9.) a) How many public political meetings convened in the period of July, 2011 to June 2012?

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| More than 10 times | |
| 4-10 times | |
| Less than 4 times | |
| None | |

b) If the meetings were not conducted at all, or conducted less than 4 times; what were the reasons? (List them).

- i).....
- ii).....
- iii).....
- iv).....

10. Who convened the meetings? And How many meetings? (tick and write how many?)

| | |
|---|--|
| Hamlet Chairperson | |
| Village Chairperson | |
| Chancellor | |
| MP | |
| DC/ RC | |
| National Leaders (President/Prime Minister/ Ministers | |

11. Did the meetings procedures followed? (Procedure-Opening of meetings by chairman, Signing attendance registry, reading previous minutes, matters arises (feed back), Agenda – Presentation, Discussion and Questions, Closing of meeting- by chairperson)

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

12. a) In the above meetings conducted, how many members attended?

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| More than two third | |
| Two third | |
| Less than two third | |

b) If attendance was less than two third, explain the reasons that made the members not to attend the meetings:

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

13. a) Is there any law governing the attendance to the meetings?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

b) If the answer is Yes, are there any measures that have been undertaken to defaulters?

.....

.....

.....

14. a) To what extent are you satisfied with citizens participating in those meetings?

Indicate your answer by ticking in the respective box bellow.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Extremely satisfied | |
| Very satisfied | |
| Satisfied | |
| Somewhat satisfied | |
| Not satisfied | |

b) What makes you satisfied/dissatisfied with? Please explain.

.....

.....

.....

15. a) Are there meeting notice and agendas disseminated during the public meetings?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

b) If the answer is Yes, how many days before the meeting?

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1-3 days | |
| 3-5days | |
| 5-7 days | |
| None (Neither notice nor agenda) | |

16. What should be done to make sure that members attend the meetings?

.....

.....

.....

Appendix V

Interview Guide Questionnaires:

1. There are two theories of political representation. The first says that the representative should be the voice of the people and should act as they want him to. The second says that the representative should exercise his own judgement and act according to his own conscience and his own assessment of the situation. Which do you agree with most?

(MP and Councillors only)

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| One | |
| Second | |
| Both, one and two | |
| None | |

2 a). Speaking for yourself, do you think your main job as a representative can be done successfully without people participation through public political meetings?

b) If the answer in 2. a) above is No, What are the main ways you get to know about the needs and attitudes of members of public?

.....
.....

3. a) Can you think of any occasion when you called a meeting but attendance was ultimately poor to the extent that the meeting was postponed?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

b) If the answer is Yes, How did you felt?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Extremely bad | |
| Very bad | |
| Bad | |
| Not bad | |

4. a) There are two views about the citizen involvement; one is that of “Michael’s Iron law of oligarchy holds that the leaders of any political organization are bound, sooner or later, to become isolated from the mass membership”. The second view is that leaders lack sufficient confident to satisfactorily respond to questions from citizens, inadequate feedback from top organs, Hence, citizens distrust of the leaders. Which view do you agree with?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| One | |
| Two | |
| I do not know | |

b) Why do you say so?

.....

.....

.....

5. a) Have you made any effort to attract the citizens participation in your area of jurisdiction?

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |
| I do not know | |

b) If Yes, what sorts of things have you done?

.....
.....
.....

c) If No, why is that?

.....
.....

Thank you very much indeed for your great help and cordial co-operation. Your help will be of very great value to my life the development of our nation. Perhaps I could ask one last question? Do you think there is of importance about public political meetings which I have not asked about, or have not given enough attention? (Mention/ explain it)

.....
.....

Thanks,

With regards,

Wilson J. Nyamanga

MPA Student – Mzumbe University 2011/2013.