
DECENTRALIZATION IN TANZANIA: PERCEPTIBLE EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS IN MANAGEMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE, FREE BASIC EDUCATION AND PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP

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Abstract

Decentralization has been a means to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs. Tanzania has undergone a reform through decentralization by devolution (D by D) and shifted relative power to lower levels of government known as local government authorities. The purpose is to improve the management of local government affair including the management of community health, free basic education and the management of contracts through public-private partnership. The objective of this paper is to review and analyse on how D by D has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs in Tanzania. Data were collected through reviewing different documents including published journal articles, unpublished Master and PhD thesis/dissertations, government reports and online materials. Efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs are enhanced by D by D as there are improvements in the management of the community health fund as the number of households enrolled is consecutively increasing in the past five years from 543,328 in 2012/2013 to 2,251,055 in 2017/2018 giving a total of 13,506,330 beneficiaries out of the total population. In the management of free fee basic education, head masters, mistress and head teachers in Singida and Ruangwa districts are successful in overcoming the challenges of free fee basic education while there is improved community participation in the management of management of contracted services in Ulanga district council. This paper recommends for reviewing and analysing how D by D has enhanced management of waste collection, the use of Government electronic Payment Gateway (GePG) in revenue collection and the efficiency and effectiveness of Tanzania Rural and Urban Roads Agency (TARURA).

Keywords: Decentralization; Efficiency and Effectiveness; Management; Local Government Affairs

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1. Introduction

Most governments in the world are struggling to improve public service by bringing services closer to the people in the name of decentralization. Decentralization has of recent decades been reported to be a successful means to bring services closer to the people and it has helped in solving problems shouldered by the Central Governments (Shah, 2006&Kasfir 1993 in Saito, 2001). Thus, in order to improve public services delivery, many governments around the world have adopted different decentralization models to improve the management of various local government affairs. They include models like direct democracy of Swiss, the dual supervision model of French, the subsidiary, cooperation and administration efficiency model of Germany and the handmaiden (home rule) model of North American (ibid). While decentralization gurus commend it to have enhanced good Local Governance for different governments (Saito, 2008, Shah, 2006), comments by Mbogela and Mollel (2014) suggest that decentralization has granted autonomy to Local Governments in both developed and developing countries. They are also of the view that, decentralization has helped in improving service delivery to the communities by supporting efficiency and effective operation at the local levels. It is through these observed benefits, the government of Tanzania through different reforms of 1990s to present has had its initiatives to improve the management of local government affairs by bringing services closer to the people by implementing decentralization by devolution (D by D). In due regard, Tanzania has legally adopted the policy of D by D in 1998 which reflects promulgation of decentralization as provided in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 and the Local Government Acts number 7 and number 8 of 1982. In this paper we argue that effective decentralization has the propensity to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery in community health care, free basic education and public private partnership. After this introduction, the paper dwells on the conceptualization of decentralization and its theoretical foundation; the third section provides the legal framework of decentralization in Tanzania. In the fourth section we provide evidence resulting from literature review and reports and we argue that decentralization has enhanced service delivery in areas of community health care, free basic education and public private partnership (PPP). The last section provides the conclusion and policy implications.

2. Literature and Theoretical Foundations

2.1. *Conceptualizing Decentralization*

Decentralisation has been described by different scholarships like Vlahos (2013), Rondinell et al., (1983), Chaligha et al., (2007), Levine and Brand, (2000), Cheema and Rondinell, (2007), Slack et al., (2014), Anosisye, (2017) and Litvack and Seddon, (2000). Vlahos (2013) describes decentralization as a transfer of power from central government to local levels in either fully or relative powers. Others would describe it as a way to promote good governance at local level which is responsible and responsive to the needs of the people at a particular locality (Rondinell et al., 1983Chaligha et al., 2007). A penetrating description is provided by Levine & Brand, 2000 & Cheema &Rondinell, (2007)

who opine that decentralisation is a shift of responsibilities for planning, management and resource raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to field units of central government ministries or agencies, subordinate units or to semiautonomous public authorities, corporations, area wide regional and functional authorities and to non-governmental organizations such as private or voluntary organizations . Chaligha and colleagues (2007) together with Slack and colleagues (2014) argue that for local government to survive and deliver services efficiently and effectively there should be sufficient political power, administrative responsibilities, fiscal resources and coercive powers vested at the local level. Litvack and Seddon (2000) and Anosisye (2017) provide different ways by which transfer of power can be achieved. For them, transfer of authority, responsibility, resources and markets can be through deconcentration, delegation, devolution and deregulation. Since the era of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) in 1980s, and the need for government reforms has necessitated many governments including Tanzania to consider the importance of decentralisation.

2.2. Theoretical framework

This section provides the theoretical grounding for this paper. In the analysis of how decentralization has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs, this paper employs three theories considered vital in explaining efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs. Hence, decentralization Theorem complemented by efficiency services theory, and the Stigler's Menu are considered as building blocks in connecting decentralization and the enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs in Tanzania.

2.2.1. Decentralization Theory

The decentralization theorem and the efficiency services theory build a basis in the analysis on how decentralization could enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs. Developed by Wallace Oates in 1972 the decentralization theorem and the efficiency services theory commend that efficiency and effectiveness is achieved only when services are provided by a government that has a control over a minimum geographical area. Grounding efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs to the decentralization theorem and efficiency services theory, it is possible to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs only if services are handled by officers who know and live in the real context. Knowing and living the real contexts helps to identify problems, plan interventions, allows interaction during implementation and enhance evaluation of its performance. Staying in an area can influence close relationship and can make citizens free to explain their views on how things can be done. In reviewing decentralisation theory, it is observed that there are three strands on which it is based. They are participatory democratic theory, fiscal decentralisation theory and political economy theory. In this paper we employ only the first two strands which are participatory democratic theory and fiscal decentralisation theory.

Participatory Democratic theory postulate that, if all citizens participate to make their government accountable, representative democratic institutions at national level would not suffice. Lower and small units of representatives facilitate the participation of the maximum number of citizens (Pateman, 1970). In a sense, for efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery at local level have the ability to mobilise local energy, insights and initiatives in the design and implementation of development programmes. This is further facilitated by local knowledge of what is needed which further makes it easier for successful execution of the programmes. Given this understanding, we argue that this local knowledge is important for unusual solutions of complex or costly problems cheaply. More so, participation of potential users tends to be more sustainable because, as observed by Uphoff and Esman (1974), and Ostrom et al., (1993), they are responsive, transparent and accountable. In due regard, decentralisation enhances social welfare by making service more effective and efficient. On the other hand, fiscal decentralisation theory is based on economic theory of decentralisation and is based on Musgrave's (1959) dictats of separation of three major economic functions of the state that is allocation, stabilisation and distribution. While Musgrave agrees that the last two functions rest with the central government, local organs are more effective in respect of allocation. He argues that decentralisation is desirable due to preference differentiation and because expenditure decisions are tied more closely to real resources costs in a small jurisdiction.

2.2.2. *George Stigler's Theory*

The second most explanatory theory on efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local affairs can be premised on Stigler's theory. Developed in 1957, Stigler's theory provides that the closer the government to the people the better it performs than the one which is very far from the people. The theory assumes that, unlike the agency theory, there is little or no agency problem. That is, there is no separation of ownership from control, specifically when it comes to the relationship between citizens and the government. In this case, the goals are adopted by society through its government, and as long as those goals are perceived for a long time, they are necessarily efficient and effective. Inversely, the goals set by government for the people/society are presumed to be exceptionally "authoritative" even though no explanation is given by Stigler for the source of this authority.

In summary, these theories can easily make a base for discussing the extent to which efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs. All theories presume that when local governments are empowered and citizens are involved, managing local affair could be enhanced as people could have right to select the kind and number of public services they prefer. Reflecting on the nature of central-local relations in Tanzania regarding service provision, it would seem more difficult to achieve higher performance if all services could have been provided by the central government. This is because the central government is far from the people. Therefore, the theories employed suggest that if decentralization is well adopted and implemented, could result in enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs.

2.3. *Efficiency and Effectiveness*

Efficiency in the management of local government affairs is all about per unit cost of using public money. Mikesell (2011) asserts that efficiency is about performing and utilizing minimal resources the office has acquired with available funds. It is associated with resources used and the services provided. Efficiency is about value for money, as Allen et al. (2013) comment that efficiency is assuring that available inputs produce expected outputs. On the other hand, effectiveness in the management of local government affairs is about achieving expected output or outcome of public funded services and programs (Mikesell, 2013). For example, if the intension of the government is to supply teaching and learning or health services materials they should be supplied and made available to the target group. Therefore, given the assumptions of the efficiency services theory, the decentralization theorem and the Stigler's Menu, the closest and minimal central government interventions in local affairs could enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs as money could be used as planned and striving to meet expected results in local government affairs such as education health care services and PPP.

2.4. *Decentralization in Tanzania*

Recognising the trends of central-local relations from independence in 1961 and before Tanganyika territory when was mandated to British by League of Nations, there was virtually no local autonomy or direct popular representation. This is because, the enactment of Native Authorities Ordinance of 1926 – christened “indirect rule” reinstated chiefs who were to become subordinates of British appointed district commissioners. However, as time passed by, the British recognised the need for representation; they created district councils in 1953 in milieu of introducing electoral systems requiring voters to vote for a European, an Asian and an African. This move however was opposed by newly formed political party- Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954.

After independence in 1961 and a republic in 1962, the councils became within the direction of TANU, and following the Arusha Declaration of 1967, everything was turned into the confines of the central government (Mawhood, 1993, Jennings, 2003) leading to Tanzania a one-party system. This was followed by the total abolition of Local Authorities in 1972 in favour of deconcentrated system through regional development committees (RDC). While subscribing to Local Governments reinstatement of 1982, Nyerere (1984) castigated the 1972 reforms as a failure, as long as it did not have adequate local representation in decision making. In short, from colonial times to 1990s, there existed tension in central-local relations, which in due regard reflected the pattern of oscillation between de jure central and local control of state activities at local level. Regrettably, the central government retained the overall de facto supremacy through its local deconcentrated structure and its control of finances.

Realising these ups and downs in central-local relations in Tanzania, the government reflected on the need for other reforms in the name of Local Government Reform Programmes of 1990s which was christened as Decentralization by Devolution (D by D) in

Tanzania. Anosisye (2017) points that D by D in Tanzania is desirable because it involves shifting specified power, functions and adequate resources from the central government to local elected leaders who are responsible to make decisions on behalf of the local citizens to whom they are most accountable. Anosisye adds that the implementation of the first and second Local Government Reform Programs of 2000 to 2008 and 2009 to 2014 and the introduction of Local Government Miscellaneous Amendments Act No. 6 of 1999 paved the way to the establishment of autonomous local government authorities with meaningful functions, resources and power acceptable for making decisions, carry out the locally introduced development activities and improving the delivery of local public services.

Chaligha (2007), Ringo & Mollel (2014) and Ng'eni and Chalam (2016) point that bringing power closure to the people targeted to enhance transparency, autonomy and accountability in local government operations in order to improve service delivery to local communities. Ng'eni and Chalam add that, the Local Government Reform Programs then aimed at local operation openness allowing participatory planning process, to have autonomy in revenue mobilization and spending. Connecting the evidences of Chaligha, Ringo and Mollel and Ng'eni and Chalam with the assumptions of efficiency services theory, the decentralization Theorem and the Stigler's Menu, efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs could be achieved when power is left to the leaders who live and know the real situation.

2.5. *Legal Framework for Decentralization in Tanzania*

The transfer of authority to lower levels of government in Tanzania has legal blessings. Articles 145 and 146 (1 & 2) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania lay a foundation for decentralization. Article 145 (1) provides for the establishment of local government authorities in urban and rural areas while Article 146 (1&) justifies the transfer of authority closure to citizens so as to make a participative local governance where citizen can be involved in development programs from planning, implementation and evaluation of such programs and empower the local authorities to perform different functions within their areas of jurisdiction, secure law enforcements and citizen's security and consolidating democracy in the area so that development can be accelerate (URT, 1977). While subscribing to efficiency services theory, the decentralization theorem and the Stigler's Menu, the Constitution justifies the enhanced efficiency and effectiveness of local government authorities in the management of local government affairs.

Apart from the constitution of Tanzania, there are other complementing acts to warrant the existence of Local Government Authorities and their quench for improved efficiency and effectiveness. They are The Local Government Acts, No. 7 and No. 8 establish local government authorities in Tanzania. The Local Government Act No. 7 defines local government areas in rural Tanzania, their establishments, registration and variations, while the Local government Act No. 8 gives the same definition in urban Tanzania (URT, 1982). Reading and analysing the two Acts, local government in Tanzania are legally established for the purpose of enhancing efficiency and effectiveness in the management

of local government affairs. Sections 31 and 32 of the Local government Act No. 7 provides for the establishment and functions of Ward Development Committees in rural areas while sections 15 and 16 of Local Government Act No. 8 provides the same in urban areas. Recalling the efficiency services theory, the decentralization theorem and the Stigler's Menu; these laws empower local government authorities to improve the management of local government affair.

In addition, the National Public-Private Partnership Policy of 2009 establishes economic decentralization through privatization (Kersting et al., 2009). In Tanzania for instance, the government holds responsibility to deliver services to the citizens but it contracts out some noncore services to either community-based organisation or to business private sector but the government maintains its regulatory and monitoring services provided by private sectors (URT, 2009).

For improving health care service provisions, the government of Tanzania shifted the responsibilities to the government which is closer to citizens by enacting the Community Health Fund (CHF) Act (URT, 2001). This law gives local government authorities mandate to institute community health fund in a particular area for the purpose of ensuring legality in the management and administration of the fund.

Bringing health care services closure to the community, the objectives of the CHF Act are to mobilize financial resources from the community, to provide quality and affordable health services and improve health service management by empowering the communities in making decisions and by contributing on matters affecting their health (URT, 2001).

Moreover, for enhancing efficiency and effective in the management of community health care services, the government of Tanzania through the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MOHCDGEC) and the President's Office, Local Government and Regional Administration (PO-RALG) planed for community-based health program (CBHP) in 2010 so as to address identified weaknesses in the management of community health care services (URT, 2010).

3. Methodology

This paper reviewed and analysed different journal articles and unpublished master and PhD thesis and dissertations and government reports. The scope of the analysis is on how D by D has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs. Thus, it is limited to the management of the community health services, free basic education and public-private partnership.

4. Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Management of Local Government Affairs

The following section is an analysis of how decentralization has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of community health care services, free basic education and public private partnership.

4.1. *Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Management of Community Health Care*

One of the objectives of this paper is to assess the extent to which there is efficiency and effectiveness in the management of community health care in local authorities. While one would attest to the initiatives made by the government of Tanzania to improving health care services through Community Health Fund Act of 2001, the government of Tanzania established the community-based health programme (CBHP) (MOHCDGEC, 2010). Since the launching of the CBHP, there have been concerted efforts to ensure efficiency and effective management in the implementation of the program. To improve health care services at the local level, the government has been cascading the management of community health care services by setting a leadership and governance structure from national to village/Vitongoji levels (Delvin et al., 2017). For the programme to yield the expected results, there is the national, regional, district and ward level implementation initiatives for which each level has its roles to play. Thus, at the national level, there is a MOHCDGEC which formulates policies, laws, strategies and guidelines to guide the execution of the CBHP. At the regional levels, the Regional Health Management Team (RHMT) and the regional authority provide support to district level to plan, coordinate, overseeing the budgeting process, technical support and supervision of CBHP. At the district or municipal levels there are Council Health Management Teams (CHMT) for the CBHP implementation. More so is the ward level where the health facility in charge supervises community health workers (CHWs) (Ibid). In the same respect, the Ward Development Committee (WDC) oversees the implementation of the CBHP at village level and collaborates with the village government in developing and implementing health plans at the village level. The WDC also conduct resource mobilization activities by encouraging the communities to contribute to the health fund. Being a strategy to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in the management of community health care services, the WDC connects the village development committee (VDC) and the district council and provides administrative support to the CHW.

Down to the people there are village government and village health committees (VHCs) for the implementation of the CBHP. Reflecting the relevance of efficiency services theory, the Decentralization Theorem and the Stigler's theory, governance and leadership bodies at the lower and minimal level of government do manage various activities to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in community health services. Abiding to the CHF Act of 2001, the village government and the VHCs introduce sustainable mechanisms for financing program activities and being closer to the people and control a small area of jurisdiction, the VHCs promote the CBHP activities, design health plans, keep the health register, information board, and calendar, and facilitates the election of CHW candidates and support them in their routine work (Devlin et al., 2017). In analysing the cascaded function in health care services, it is evidenced by the structure and by Devlin et al. that when a big area is divided to small area, it is easy to manage the activities and high performance could be easily achieved as observed by Mpambije (2017) on success in managing the community health fund and tiba kwa kadi (TIKA) in Iramba and Bariadi district councils.

Moreover, efficiency and effectiveness are reported by the National health Insurance Fund (NHIF) fact sheet (2018) to be high in the implementation of the CHF/TIKA as there is a continuous increase in number of enrolled councils and households into CHF/TIKA. NHIF fact sheet reveal a consecutive increase of councils and households in the last five years; in 2012/2013 there were 543,328 households only, in 2014/2015 were 1,112,874 households, in 2015/2016 were 1,452,855 households, in 2016/2017 were 2,030,666 households and currently (2017/2018) there are 2,251,055 households leading to 13,506,330 beneficiaries counting 25% coverage of the total population. In 2018 the NHIF fact sheet shows a total number of 177 councils that have already established CHF/TIKA bylaws and instruments. From the NHIF fact sheet, the top five councils with enrolled households are Songwe (89.20%), Tanga (59.94%), Mbeya (58.62%), Tabora (46.93%) and Pwani (43.42%). These figures are empirical evidences that when services are brought closure to the people within a minimal geographical area like ward and village levels and when leaders at local level are empowered, efficiency and effectiveness are enhanced as people could be able to participate in decision making, implementation and evaluation of the program.

4.2. *Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Management of Free Fee Basic Education*

The second objective of this paper was to assess if there is efficiency and effectiveness in provision of free basic education at local level. While we would comment on government's initiatives to provision of free basic education from primary to ordinary level, there are noted challenges in basic education (primary and lower secondary education) provision. They include increased enrolment rates of students and financial deficit as observed by Mberege & Rwechungura, 2018 and The Citizen, 2018. Irrespective of these challenges, Mberege&Rwechungura, (2018), The Citizen, (2018) and Godda, (2018) on their part reveal that heads of secondary schools in Singida municipal council manage education activities in a more efficiency and effective way. Godda (2018) on his part reports that the heads of secondary schools (lower levels) are successful in managing education activities through participatory management approach. In a sense, these leaders are inviting the community to participate in managing education activities particularly issues related to free education. Godda concludes that the heads of secondary schools are successful in managing the era of free fee education because they use formal and informal leadership skills like peer coaching. Recalling the assumptions of the efficiency services theory, the Decentralization Theorem and the Stigler's Menu, these heads of secondary education are able to manage the free education and handling its challenges because they are closure to schools and working within the schools, the schools are small. As such, they are familiar with school environments rather than if the school was managed by somebody from the district or municipal council level.

Assessing the management of the free fee basic education in Ruangwa district, Mbawala (2017) revealed efficiency and effectiveness in the management of education affairs. The findings of the study indicated that 80% of school teachers were aware of the innovation. More so the stakeholders were involved in the implementation of FFE in many ways

including educating parents on the need to send their children to school and making sure that fee is not paid in school, at the same time improving performance of pupils. Due to implementation of FFE Policy of 2016 in Ruangwa District, 93% of teachers commend that it has brought about positive changes. For example, there is noted increase in pupils' enrolment, increased attendance in schools, demand for capitation grants in schools, increased supply of teaching materials than before, improved school services and buildings, opportunities for parents and guardians to engage in social and economic activities. Mbawala (ibid) reports that head teachers and head masters/mistress are able to manage the increased number of pupils/students, taking care of the provided teaching learning materials and infrastructure. Moreover, all these achievements are due to the fact that decentralization allows community participation in the management of educational affair as reported by both Godda (2018) and Mbawala (2017) that community participation enhances efficiency and effectiveness in the management of free education at local level. The management of education affairs from regional level to school level is well established as stated in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 of the education and training policy of 2014 that the government would establish leadership structure from regional to school level so that all education affairs are managed efficiently and effectively.

4.3. *Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Management of Public-Private Partnership*

Since Tanzania implemented economic decentralization in the form of privatization; contracting out and public-private partnership are being managed to the extent that efficiency and effectiveness of local government affairs are enhanced. The Public Private Partnership (PPP) Policy of 2009 explains how management of local government affairs could be enhanced. Reviewing the PPP Policy, there are different modalities of implementing the partnership. In operating existing public assets, PPP deals with service contracts, the government contracts with a private sector to provide services which were previously provided by the government (URT, 2009). On the other hand, a government can contract the management of assets in which the private entity is responsible for facility operation and maintenance (ibid). More to the point, a government can sign a lease contract which provides arrangement to the extent that the government permits a private unit a lease to private unit to operate and maintain the assets according to terms of the lease (URT, 2009). A PPP policy explains that a government can also sign a contract in terms of concession arrangement; the government permits the private unit exclusive rights of providing, operating and maintaining an asset over a long period of time according to set performance requirements by government. In this side of contracting out, the public sector has all the right to retain ownership of original asset and the private unit retains ownership of an asset for a specified period agreed during contract period.

These legally set procedures are seen to be enhancing the management of contracts between government and the private sectors. Evidences from Marijani (2017) show that local government in collaboration with faith-based organisation are efficiently and effectively managing health and water services in Ulanga district. Marijani reports that decentralization has enhanced the public-community partnership in Ulanga district

council where the communities are participating in different modalities such as passive, active, consultative, active specific and interactive participation in decision making, implementation and evaluation of government programs in health and water services. In a democratic government, participation is to be enhanced to the extent that it gives room to efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs as revealed by Marijani. The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania also stipulates that Local Government Authorities must promote public participation at local levels (URT, 1977). All these mechanisms are for improving the wellbeing of citizens through provision of a wider range of political, social and economic services. These enhanced efficiency and effective management of local government affairs are facilitated by the fact that the closer the government to the people and the smaller area of jurisdiction the better it performs in service provision.

5. Conclusions and Policy Implication

This paper has analysed how decentralization by devolution has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs in areas of community health fund, free basic education and public-private partnership being the focus. It reveals that when services are brought close to the people and are set within a minimal geographical area, and when local leaders and community members are given room to participate, efficiency and effectiveness in the management of local government affairs is enhanced. The paper has revealed success in the management of the community health fund as data shows an increased number of enrolled households in the 177 councils, improved management in basic education and an improved partnership between the public and the private sectors. As revealed from the literatures, value for money has been maintained as literatures show achievements objective of the community health fund, free fee education and contracting out to private or faith-based organizations. Given these observations, the paper recommends a further analysis on how D by D has enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in the management of other local government affairs like waste collection, the use of Government electronic Payment Gateway (GePG) in revenue collection and the efficiency and effectiveness of Tanzania Rural and Urban Roads Agency and many other programmes which are linked to local government affairs.

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