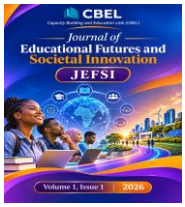
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Labour without Control? Levels and Forms of Community Participation in NGO-Led Development Projects in Kinondoni, Tanzania



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Abstract

Purpose: This study assessed the level and forms of community participation in development projects implemented by MyLEGACY, a non-governmental organisation (NGO), in Kinondoni Municipal Council, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

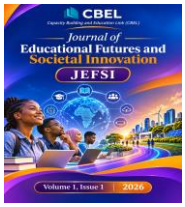
Design/methodology/approach: A convergent parallel mixed-methods design guided by Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation and Pretty's typology of participation was adopted. Questionnaires were completed by 190 community members selected through proportionate stratified random sampling in Msasani, Mikocheni, Manzese and Tandale wards, and semi-structured interviews were held with 19 MyLEGACY staff and 21 local government officials. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics and thematic analysis.

Findings: The overall level of participation was high (M = 3.59). Contribution of labour or local materials was the strongest form (M = 3.92; 76.3% agreement), followed by problem identification (M = 3.71), attendance at planning meetings (M = 3.54) and representation on project management committees (M = 3.51). Participation in monitoring and evaluation was only at a medium level (M = 3.29). Interviews indicated that project priorities were often set before community meetings, so participation was largely functional and consultative rather than interactive.

Research limitations/implications: The study covered one NGO in four urban wards and measured reported participation at a single point in time.

Practical implications: NGOs and local authorities should involve communities earlier in priority-setting, strengthen committees' decision-making authority and institutionalise community-based monitoring to deepen ownership.

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INTRODUCTION

Community participation has evolved significantly in development discourse over the past five decades. The concept emerged during the 1970s as a response to top-down development approaches that often failed to address local needs and priorities (Chambers, 1983). Over time, governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and development partners increasingly recognised that sustainable development requires communities to actively participate in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development projects. Today, community participation is widely acknowledged as a key principle for promoting inclusive development and enhancing project sustainability.

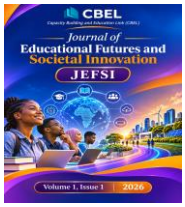
Community participation refers to the active involvement of community members in identifying needs, making decisions, mobilising resources, implementing development activities, and monitoring project performance. Arnstein (1969) explains that meaningful participation requires citizens to have genuine influence over decisions affecting their communities. Such participation promotes local ownership, accountability, transparency, and commitment, thereby increasing the likelihood that development projects will continue delivering benefits after donor support has ended.

Project sustainability refers to the ability of a development project to continue generating intended benefits after external financial and technical support has ceased. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987), sustainable development involves meeting present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In NGO-led projects, sustainability depends on communities possessing the institutional, financial, managerial, and technical capacity necessary to maintain project outcomes independently.

At the global level, community participation has become a standard principle of development practice. Large reviews show that involving beneficiaries in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation can strengthen ownership, accountability and the fit between projects and local needs, although the benefits depend on how participation is organised and on the support available after external assistance ends (Mansuri & Rao, 2013; Haldane et al., 2019). Participatory budgeting in Brazil, community-driven development in the Philippines and community-managed water schemes in Africa all show that participation can improve outcomes, but also that outcomes depend on programme design and on whether communities gain real influence (Labonne & Chase, 2011; Kleemeier, 2000; Marks & Davis, 2012).

In Tanzania, community participation has been promoted through the Decentralisation by Devolution policy and the National NGO Policy, and the Third Five-Year Development Plan emphasises participation as a means of promoting ownership and sustainability. Despite these commitments, studies of NGO-supported projects show that participation is often confined to implementation and remains expert-driven (Malipula & Ezekiel, 2023), and that local institutions frequently fail to continue activities after donor exit because they lack managerial, technical and financial capacity (Mkomagi et al., 2015).

Kinondoni Municipal Council illustrates this problem. MyLEGACY has implemented community programmes in sanitation, environmental conservation, livelihoods and school support, yet its reports indicate that 28 of 70 water, sanitation and hygiene facilities (40%) became non-functional within three years of handover and that many livelihood beneficiaries failed to sustain their activities (MyLEGACY, 2023–2024). Weak sustainability is commonly attributed to inadequate community ownership and limited participation in project management. However, there is little evidence on how much, and in what ways, communities actually participate in such urban NGO-led projects. Existing Tanzanian studies have focused mainly on rural and peri-urban settings and specific sectors (Kitula & David, 2015; Malipula & Ezekiel, 2023).



This article reports the first objective of a broader study on the effects of community participation on the sustainability of NGO-led development projects: to assess the level and forms of community participation in MyLEGACY projects in Kinondoni Municipal Council. It asks not only how much communities participate, but also which forms of participation dominate and how much influence those forms confer.

Theoretical Framework

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

Arnstein (1969) proposed the ladder of citizen participation to expose the difference between going through the "empty ritual" of participation and having real power to affect outcomes. The ladder has eight rungs grouped into three bands: non-participation (manipulation and therapy), degrees of tokenism (informing, consultation, and placation), and degrees of citizen power (partnership, delegated power, and citizen control). Its central argument is that participation should be judged by how much control citizens gain over decisions, not by how many people attend meetings or contribute labour. Later writers have kept this focus on power while adding that participation also varies according to who takes part and for what purpose (Cornwall, 2008).

The ladder gives this study a yardstick for Objective One. Each of the five forms of participation measured in the questionnaire can be located on it: being consulted on problems and attending meetings correspond to consultation, contributing labour without control over decisions reflects placation, and committee representation and community-led monitoring approach partnership. This makes it possible to judge not only how much communities participate in MyLEGACY projects but also how much influence that participation gives them.

The ladder has been criticised for treating participation as a single hierarchy in which more citizen control is always better. Collins and Ison (2009) argue that it overlooks situations in which shared learning between citizens and experts matters more than the transfer of control, while Cornwall (2008) notes that the same label can describe very different practices. This study therefore does not assume that the highest rung automatically produces the best outcomes; it uses the ladder to locate the depth of influence associated with each form of participation.

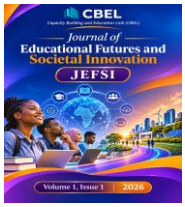
Functional and Interactive Participation

The five forms of community participation were further classified using Pretty's (1995) typology of participation, particularly the distinction between functional participation and interactive participation.

Functional participation occurs when community members are involved mainly to help achieve objectives that have already been determined by the organisation implementing the project. In this form of participation, communities may provide labour, materials or representatives to support project activities, but they have limited influence over the major decisions that shape the project. Participation therefore serves mainly as a means of implementing the project rather than giving communities control over it.

Interactive participation involves a higher level of community influence. Community members participate in analysing problems, identifying priorities, making decisions and determining how local resources should be used. Their involvement therefore goes beyond helping to implement activities that have already been designed. Instead, they have an opportunity to influence what the project does, how it is implemented and how its performance is assessed.

Using this distinction, contributions of labour and local materials and representation on project management committees are treated as forms of functional participation, whereas problem identification, attendance at planning and decision-making meetings, and monitoring and evaluation have the potential to be interactive. Whether they are interactive in practice depends on whether community members actually influence decisions



rather than merely being consulted. Combining Pretty's typology with Arnstein's ladder allows the study to examine both how much communities participate and the nature of their influence.

Empirical Literature

The studies reviewed agree that participation in development projects is common but shallow: communities are usually involved in implementing projects, while control over priorities, budgets, and monitoring remains with implementing agencies.

Reviews of large participatory programmes support this pattern. Mansuri and Rao (2013), reviewing nearly 500 studies of participatory development, found that participation is often dominated by better-off and better-connected groups and that participation induced by external agencies rarely shifts decision-making power unless it is backed by strong accountability. Casey (2018), synthesising randomised evaluations of community-driven development, likewise found that such programmes deliver public goods at low cost but leave little evidence of lasting change in local decision-making.

Tanzanian evidence is consistent with these findings. Marsland (2006) found that two meanings of participation coexist in Tanzanian development practice: an international discourse that stresses empowerment and local decision-making, and an older national tradition that treats participation as a citizen's duty to contribute to development. Malipula and Ezekiel (2023), studying NGO-funded classroom construction and water supply projects in Kibaha District, found participation to be low and visible mainly at the implementation stage, with expert-driven approaches persisting. Kitula and David (2015) reported that about 84% of cattle keepers took part in an O&OD cattle-dip project in Kyela District, where participation took the form of electing and training a management committee and paying dipping fees for maintenance.

In urban Dar es Salaam, Dill (2010) argued that community-based organisations, the model through which NGOs and the state usually organise participation, fit poorly with established local norms of participation and associational life. This helps to explain why participation structures introduced by projects in the city are often weak.

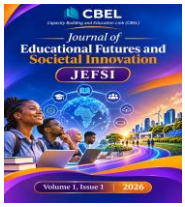
Taken together, these studies suggest that participation tends to be strongest where it costs implementing agencies least, namely labour and material contributions, and weakest where it would transfer control, as in planning, budgeting, and monitoring. Most of the Tanzanian evidence comes from rural districts or from single sectors, and none of the studies reviewed measures the level of each form of participation across an urban NGO's projects. This study addresses that gap by assessing the level and forms of participation in MyLEGACY projects in Kinondoni Municipal Council.

METHOD

Research Approach and Design

This study employed a mixed-methods research approach combining quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. The quantitative component measured the level and forms of community participation and examined its relationship with project sustainability, while the qualitative component explored respondents' experiences and explanations of participation-related challenges.

The approach was guided by pragmatism, which allows research methods to be selected according to the research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morgan, 2007; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). It was appropriate because the study required both numerical evidence on participation and sustainability and in-depth explanations of the challenges affecting them. Using only quantitative methods would have limited



understanding of these challenges, while qualitative methods alone would not have established the extent of participation or its statistical relationship with sustainability.

The study adopted a convergent parallel mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). The quantitative strand involved a cross-sectional survey of community members, while the qualitative strand involved semi-structured interviews with MyLEGACY staff and local government officials. Both strands were conducted during the same phase, analysed separately, and integrated during interpretation.

This design was selected because it enabled the researcher to combine numerical findings with participants' experiences. Unlike sequential designs, it allowed both types of data to be collected within the same fieldwork period. However, since participation and sustainability were measured at one point in time, the findings establish associations rather than causation.

Study Area

The study was conducted in Kinondoni Municipal Council, Dar es Salaam Region, Tanzania, which had a population of 982,328 according to the 2022 Population and Housing Census (National Bureau of Statistics, 2022). The municipality comprises diverse socio-economic settings, including the relatively developed areas of Msasani and Mikocheni and the densely populated settlements of Manzese and Tandale.

The four wards were selected purposively because MyLEGACY implements development projects there. The organisation's projects in sanitation, environmental conservation, livelihoods and school support provided a suitable case for examining community participation. The findings relate primarily to MyLEGACY projects in these wards but may inform other settings with similar socio-economic and project conditions (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2018).

Population, Sample and Sampling

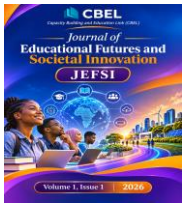
The target population comprised 613 people: 498 community members who had benefited from MyLEGACY projects, 57 MyLEGACY staff and 58 local government officials involved in coordinating NGO-led activities. A sample of 242 was drawn, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Population and sample distribution

s/n	Category of Respondents	Population Size	Sample Size	Percentage (%)
1	Community Members	498	198	81.8
2	NGO Staff	57	21	8.7
3	Local Government Officials	58	23	9.5
	Total	613	242	100

Source: MyLEGACY and Kinondoni Municipal Council records; Field data (2026).

Proportionate stratified random sampling was used to select community members, with the four selected wards, namely Msasani, Mikocheni, Manzese, and Tandale, serving as strata. Lists of MyLEGACY project beneficiaries were obtained from project records in each ward. The community sample of 198 was allocated to each ward in proportion to its share of the 498 beneficiaries, using $n_i = (N_i / N) \times n$, where N_i is the number of beneficiaries in ward i, N is the total number of beneficiaries (498), and n is the community sample (198). Within each ward, respondents were then selected from the beneficiary list using a random number generator. This technique gives every beneficiary in a ward an equal chance of selection while ensuring that each ward is represented in proportion to its size, thereby minimising researcher bias and improving the representativeness of the sample (Babbie, 2016).



Stratifying by ward was appropriate because the four wards differ in socio-economic conditions (the study area description), so proportionate allocation prevents any single ward from dominating the results, while random selection within each ward enhances the reliability and generalisability of the quantitative findings.

MyLEGACY staff and local government officials were selected purposively because they were directly involved in community participation initiatives, project implementation, monitoring or coordination. Staff were eligible if they had at least one year of experience with MyLEGACY in Kinondoni, and officials if they had at least two years of experience in a position related to community development or the coordination of NGO projects (Creswell, 2014).

Data Collection Instruments

Structured questionnaires were administered to community members. The participation section contained five statements on problem identification, contribution of labour or local materials, attendance at planning and decision-making meetings, representation in project management committees, and participation in monitoring and evaluation, each rated on a five-point Likert scale. Semi-structured interviews with MyLEGACY staff and local government officials explored participation practices, ownership and sustainability challenges (Bryman, 2016). Project reports, municipal reports, monitoring and evaluation reports and beneficiary registers were reviewed to provide context and to verify information from primary sources.

Validity and Reliability

Content validity was ensured by deriving items from the objectives, the theoretical framework and the literature, and by expert review of the instruments. Internal consistency was assessed using Cronbach's alpha with 0.70 as the threshold. The community participation scale (five items) yielded an alpha of 0.884, the project sustainability scale 0.891 and the overall instrument 0.902, all indicating good reliability. For the qualitative strand, credibility was supported by triangulating interview accounts with survey results and documents (Denzin, 1978).

Data Analysis

Questionnaire data were screened for completeness, coded and analysed in SPSS version 25 using frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations. The level of each form of participation was interpreted from its mean score using the ranges in Table 2, and forms were compared by ranking their means. Interview notes and transcripts were analysed thematically following the six phases of Braun and Clarke (2006), with quotations identified by key-informant codes. The quantitative and qualitative strands were analysed separately and merged at the interpretation stage, and each point was classified as convergent, complementary or divergent (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018).

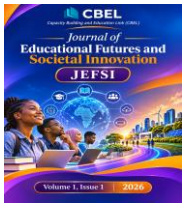
Table 2. Interpretation of mean scores

Description	Likert Scale	Mean Range	Interpretation
Strongly disagree	1	1.00–1.80	Very low
Disagree	2	1.81–2.60	Low
Undecided	3	2.61–3.40	Medium
Agree	4	3.41–4.20	High
Strongly agree	5	4.21–5.00	Very high

Source: Adapted from Sekaran and Bougie (2010).

Ethical Considerations

Research clearance was obtained from Kampala International University in Tanzania, and permission was granted by Kinondoni Municipal Council and MyLEGACY. Participants gave informed consent, participation



was voluntary, and anonymity was protected by using codes rather than names. Data were stored securely and reported in aggregate form.

RESULTS

Response Rate

Of the 198 questionnaires planned for community members, 190 were completed and usable (96.0%). Interviews were completed with 19 of 21 planned MyLEGACY staff (90.5%) and 21 of 23 local government officials (91.3%), giving an overall response rate of 95.0%. The interviews provided institutional perspectives that complemented the experiences reported by community members.

Level and Forms of Community Participation

The first objective was to assess the level and forms of community participation in MyLEGACY projects in Kinondoni Municipal Council. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with statements concerning problem identification, contribution of labour or local materials, attendance at planning and decision-making meetings, representation in project management committees, and participation in monitoring and evaluation. The responses were measured using a five-point Likert scale.

Table 3. Level and forms of community participation in MyLEGACY projects (n = 190)

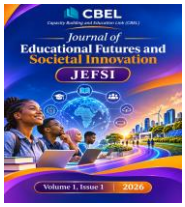
S/N	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA	Total	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	Involved in identifying the main problem the project intended to solve	15	20	25	75	55	190	3.71	1.22
2	Community members contributed labour or local materials during implementation	10	15	20	80	65	190	3.92	1.11
3	Attended meetings related to project planning and decision-making	18	25	30	70	47	190	3.54	1.26
4	The community has representatives in the project management committee	20	25	28	72	45	190	3.51	1.28
5	Community members participate in monitoring and evaluation	25	30	35	65	35	190	3.29	1.30
	Overall total	88	115	138	362	247	950	3.59	1.25

Note. SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; N = Neutral; A = Agree; SA = Strongly Agree. Source: Field data (2026).

The overall mean score across the five statements was 3.59. Since this score was above the neutral midpoint of 3.00, the results indicate that respondents generally reported positive experiences of community participation in MyLEGACY projects. However, the individual mean scores show that participation differed according to the activity involved.

Contribution of labour or local materials recorded the highest mean score (3.92), followed by involvement in identifying project problems (3.71). Attendance at planning and decision-making meetings recorded a mean of 3.54, while representation in project management committees recorded 3.51. Participation in monitoring and evaluation had the lowest mean score (3.29).

The standard deviations range from 1.11 to 1.30, indicating a moderate spread in respondents' ratings. The smallest spread was for contribution of labour or local materials (SD = 1.11), while monitoring and evaluation showed greater variation (SD = 1.30).



Contribution of Labour or Local Materials

Contribution of labour or local materials recorded the highest mean (M = 3.92). In total, 145 respondents (76.3%) agreed or strongly agreed, while 25 (13.2%) disagreed. This indicates that providing physical assistance or locally available materials was the most common form of participation. It does not, however, establish that every community member contributed, or that contributions translated into influence over decisions.

Problem Identification

Involvement in identifying the main problem that the project intended to solve recorded a mean of 3.71, with 130 respondents (68.4%) agreeing or strongly agreeing and 35 (18.4%) disagreeing. Participation in problem identification was therefore generally positive but not universal.

Planning Meetings and Committee Representation

The mean score of 3.54 indicates that respondents generally reported attending planning and decision-making meetings. In simple terms, a majority of respondents indicated that they took part in meetings where project matters were discussed. However, the positive response of 61.6% was lower than the 76.3% reported for labour and material contributions. Furthermore, 22.6% disagreed or strongly disagreed that they attended such meetings. This suggests that attendance at planning and decision-making meetings was less widespread than participation through practical contributions. The results concern reported attendance and do not, by themselves, show how much influence participants had over the final decisions.

Representation on project management committees recorded a similar mean (M = 3.51), with 117 respondents (61.6%) agreeing that the community had representatives and 45 (23.7%) disagreeing. The presence of representatives, however, does not necessarily mean that all community members were represented effectively or that representatives had substantial decision-making authority.

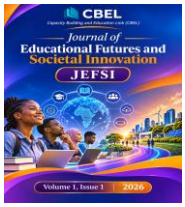
Monitoring and Evaluation

The mean score of 3.29 was the lowest among the five statements, although it remained slightly above the neutral midpoint of 3.00. This indicates that respondents were less positive about community involvement in monitoring and evaluation than about the other forms of participation examined. In simple terms, fewer respondents reported that community members were involved in checking project progress and assessing whether activities were being implemented as intended. The finding is important because 28.9% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, representing the highest combined negative response among the five indicators. However, the results show the reported level of involvement and do not independently establish why monitoring and evaluation participation was lower.

Qualitative Findings

Interviews with MyLEGACY staff and local government officials explained the pattern of participation. One MyLEGACY staff member observed: "Community members are normally very willing to contribute labour and local materials when they understand the purpose of a project. Their participation becomes lower when decisions about project priorities are already made before the community meeting" (KI-04). This suggests that participation is stronger in implementation and resource contribution than in higher-level decision-making.

Interviewees also noted that involving community members in decision-making could strengthen their sense of ownership (KI-11), but that ownership did not necessarily lead to effective maintenance where communities lacked money or specialised technical skills. A local government official explained that sustaining projects became difficult after NGO withdrawal when there was no clear arrangement specifying who should contribute funds, organise maintenance and report problems (KI-27). These accounts show that the shallow forms of participation identified in the survey have practical consequences once the NGO leaves.



DISCUSSION

High Participation, Limited Influence

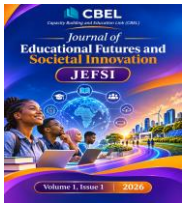
In answer to the first research question, the level of community participation in MyLEGACY projects was high overall (mean = 3.59, within the 3.41–4.20 range in Table 2). Four of the five forms recorded high levels: contribution of labour or local materials (3.92), problem identification (3.71), attendance at planning and decision-making meetings (3.54), and representation in project management committees (3.51). Monitoring and evaluation recorded a medium level (3.29). In terms of Arnstein's ladder, problem identification and attendance at planning and decision-making meetings correspond to consultation, because community members were asked for their views while, as KI-04 indicated, priorities were often set before the community meeting. Contribution of labour or local materials is not itself a rung of the ladder; it shows that communities carried out project work without controlling it, which places it within the degrees of tokenism (placation) rather than citizen power. Committee representation is the form that comes closest to partnership, although the questionnaire recorded whether representatives existed rather than how much influence they had. Monitoring and evaluation, the form that would give communities the greatest control over project performance, was the weakest. Because the statements measured whether each form of involvement occurred rather than the degree of power it conferred, this classification is interpretive and rests on the interview evidence rather than on direct measurement. Participation was therefore broad but concentrated in implementation rather than in control over decisions and monitoring. When the findings are interpreted using Pretty's (1995) typology, a similar pattern emerges. The strongest form of participation was the contribution of labour or local materials, with a mean score of 3.92. This represents functional participation because community members mainly contributed their labour and resources to support the implementation of projects whose main priorities had already been determined.

Representation on project management committees, with a mean score of 3.51, was also considered functional participation in practice. Although community members were represented on these committees, the questionnaire measured whether community representatives were present rather than the extent to which they actually influenced project decisions. Committee representation, therefore, cannot by itself be taken as evidence of meaningful community control over decisions.

The forms of participation that could have been considered interactive were less evident. Participation in problem identification (mean = 3.71) and attendance at planning and decision-making meetings (mean = 3.54) were largely consultative because community members were often involved after the main project priorities had already been determined. Similarly, participation in monitoring and evaluation recorded the lowest mean score of 3.29, indicating relatively limited community involvement in assessing project progress and results.

The result therefore supports the argument that participation is strongest where it costs implementing agencies least and weakest where it would transfer control. In terms of Pretty's typology, participation in MyLEGACY projects is predominantly functional: communities help to deliver projects whose objectives have largely been set in advance. In terms of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, most participation sits at the levels of consultation and placation, with only limited movement towards partnership.

These findings are consistent with Malipula and Ezekiel (2023), who found that community participation in NGO-funded projects in Kibaha District was visible mainly at the implementation stage, and with Mansuri and Rao (2013), who found that participatory programmes often involve communities in delivering projects without shifting control over decisions. They also reflect the duty-based tradition of participation described by Marsland (2006), in which contributing labour is regarded as the citizen's main role.



Implications for Ownership and Sustainability

The finding that monitoring and evaluation was the weakest form of participation is particularly significant for sustainability. Communities that do not take part in assessing progress are less likely to develop the information, routines and authority needed to maintain projects after handover. This helps to explain why a substantial share of MyLEGACY facilities ceased to function after handover. Stakeholder perspectives similarly emphasise that the people affected by a project should influence the decisions that shape its outcomes (Freeman et al., 2010). Deepening participation therefore requires not only more involvement but a shift in when and how communities are involved: from contributing labour after priorities are fixed to shaping priorities, budgets and monitoring arrangements.

The findings also echo Dill's (2010) observation that participation structures introduced by projects in Dar es Salaam often fit poorly with local associational life. Committee representation that is not accompanied by real authority may produce a formal appearance of participation without the accountability that sustains projects. Theoretically, the study shows the value of combining Arnstein's ladder with Pretty's typology: the ladder indicates the depth of influence, while the typology distinguishes participation that serves project delivery from participation that shapes it.

Limitations

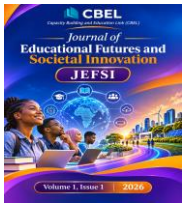
The study focused on one NGO in four urban wards and measured reported participation at one point in time, so the findings establish patterns rather than causal effects. The survey measured whether communities took part in each activity rather than how much influence they exerted within it, and some respondents may have overstated their participation. Future studies could observe decision-making processes directly, compare several NGOs and follow projects through and after handover.

CONCLUSION

This study assessed the level and forms of community participation in MyLEGACY projects in Kinondoni Municipal Council. It concludes that participation is high overall but uneven across forms. Communities participate most through contributions of labour and local materials and least through monitoring and evaluation. Problem identification, planning meetings and committee representation are reported positively but are largely consultative or functional, because key project priorities are often determined before communities are engaged. Participation in MyLEGACY projects therefore reflects substantial involvement in delivering projects but limited control over shaping and assessing them.

Recommendations

i. MyLEGACY and other NGOs should involve communities at the earliest stage of the project cycle, before priorities are fixed, through open problem-identification and priority-setting forums in each ward.
ii. Project management committees should be given clear terms of reference and genuine decision-making authority over local priorities, budgets and maintenance arrangements, with transparent selection of representatives.
iii. Community-based monitoring and evaluation should be institutionalised by training community members to track project performance and report problems, and by sharing monitoring results at community meetings.
iv. Kinondoni Municipal Council should require NGOs to agree clear post-handover arrangements specifying who funds, organises and reports on maintenance, so that participation during implementation is translated into ownership after donor exit.



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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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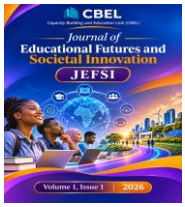
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