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Towards Community Participation in Municipal Solid Waste Management in Tanzania: A Conceptual and Policy Discourse

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Abstract: Tanzania like other poor countries in Sub-Saharan Africa faces massive urbanization. It has overwhelmed local government's resources for provision of municipal solid waste management (MSWM). Collective action including community participation (CP) strategy for sustainable MSWM as advised by the Global Agenda 21 has not taken off. Consequently, often the majority poor usually living in informal settlement lack adequate MSW services at the expense of their health. This article analyses past and present policies, approaches and social economic factors affecting CP in MSWM. The theoretical and conceptual framework for this study is built on theories and concepts of collective action in the management of common pool resources. The paper used recent secondary data from Dar es Salaam and Moshi case studies in Tanzania to analyse critically policies and approaches related to CP in MSWM. It concludes that, to a great extent policy, methodological and social economic factors have affected sustainable CP in MSWM in Tanzania and poor countries at large. Recommendations and future agenda are provided

INTRODUCTION

Developing countries are experiencing the world's highest massive urbanization at 6% growth rate per annum resulting in inadequate municipal solid waste management (MSWM) (UN-HABITAT, 2002). Consequently, it has adversely affected the livelihood of the majority poor living in informal settlements without such basic social services (UN-HABITAT, 2003; Tibaijuka, 1998).

Solid waste (SW) is defined as discarded materials that arise from human activities and are not free flowing (WHO, 1971). SW can be classified into four or five main groups according to their origin i.e. commercial, domestic, hospital and industrial wastes (Ngiloi, 1992: 52). Hospitals and industries generate obnoxious wastes, which legally have to be destroyed under strict controlled safe measures. Street sweepings form the fifth group. Household, commercial and street wastes form "municipal solid wastes" (MSW) and fall under Municipal direct responsibility (World Bank, 1994).

MSWM is defined as the control of generation, storage, collection, transportation, processing and disposal of solid waste in the manner that is in accordance with the best principles of public health within a defined urban area (Rwegasira, *et al.*, 1996:153). It is a major responsibility of local government; a complex task that requires appropriate organizational capacity and cooperation between numerous

stakeholders (Schübeler, et al., 1996:18). However, the after independence years in developing countries have experienced rapid urbanization due to various social economic factors as will be explained in the text. Today massive urbanization coupled with inefficient policies and methodology in developing countries has overwhelmed many urban authorities' efficiency in MSWM (Halla and Majani, 1999). Partly, it explains the UN Global Agenda 21's intervention urging poor countries' governments to involve local communities and other stakeholders to take collective action for sustainable MSWM in market-oriented economy (UNIDO View Document 3765). Effective community participation in MSWM to complement poor governments' efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania in particular, as will be discussed later, is limited by various historical social, economic, policy and methodological factors. Understanding them stimulates establishment of workable theoretical and practical framework for sustainable MSWM involving poor communities.

This paper briefly examines the impact of these factors on community participation for sustainable MSWM since the colonial, independence and neo-liberalised perspective in Tanzania. The significance of this work lays on the fact that once the policy, methodological and social economic impediments to popular participation are critically examined and resolved, may lead to new perception on how poor communities can be mobilized for better MSWM outcome.

This paper contains six sections. First, is the study's introduction. Second, policies, approaches and social economic factors affecting community participation in MSWM. Third, theories and concepts of collective action in the management of common pool resources employed. Fourth, the methodology used by the study. Fifth, presents analysis of policies and approaches. Sixth, the concluding remarks and future agenda of the study are provided.

POLICIES, APPROACHES AND SOCIAL ECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN (MSWM)

Delivery of MSWM Services during Colonial and Post Independence Period

The colonial government provided MSW services mainly to elite whites and Asian urban population. It employed discriminative and restrictive population policies aided by centralized conventional approaches to urban planning and management to achieve that end (Wiketwe, 1992). In this regard, whites and Asian privileged classes received a lion's share in social service provision. Local councils (LCs) collected much revenue through oppressive taxation systems mainly to support the centralized colonial administrative costs. The latter costs often received top-up grants from the mother colony (Rwegasira, *et al.*, 1996). Meanwhile, LCs retained enough funds for MSW service provision necessary to check epidemic outbreaks. Additionally, the government applied coercive public works for cleaning public areas and overcrowded residential areas for the majority poor (Wekwete, 1992). Thus, the colonial legacy employed a combination of oppressive and restrictive population policy to check rural-urban population influx; and coercive measures in form of public works in waste management. Consequently, poor communities were principally marginalized in planning and making decisions related to MSWM.

At independence, oppressive population policies were abolished. It incited rural-urban migration following the limited "urban lights" in the modern sector enclave (Kalwani, 2001). The new government retained the conventional approaches as sole provider of MSW service to a rapidly growing urban population. Later, massive urbanization particularly in 1970s and 1980s overwhelmed government's resources and capacities to provide MSW service freely (Ngware and Kironde, 2000). Tanzania's official adoption of socialist national policy in 1967 and her declaration of "free-of-charge" public social services provision for all citizens worsened the situation (Semboja and Terkildsen, 1995). Later this populist policy crushed under massive urbanization, which overwhelmed urban authorities' resources and capacities ending in MSWM inefficiency (Kalwani, 2005). This partly led to the collapse of the public sector and the consequent replacement of international Socialism/Communism with Neo-liberalism.

Table 1 suggests that, MSWM is a critical issue affecting many urban areas in the country, on the average, more than 60% of the waste is left uncollected. It is often crudely dumped haphazardly leading to blockage of the drains and various kinds of pollution causing health hazards (Ngulume, 2003). For example, Morogoro Municipality ranked first in uncollected MSW amounting 234 tons (90%) of 260 tons generated daily.

Table 1: Solid waste generation and collection in selected urban centres in Tanzania

Urban Centre	Waste generated daily (tons)	Waste collected daily (tons) %		Waste left uncollected (tons) %	
Dares Salaam	2000	480	24	1520	76
Mwanza	210	80	38	130	62
Arusha	200	120	60	80	40
Moshi	92	47	51	54	49
Tanga	400	216	54	184	46
Morogoro	260	26	10	234	90
Iringa	36	16	46	20	54

Source: Compiled from Rwegasira et al. 1996; DCC, Majani, 2000

Neo-liberalism is a global spread ideology used interchangeably with "Globalisation" being a "Neo-liberal" (Neo-conservative) approach to socio-economic regulation by nation-state advanced by Thatcher government in United Kingdom and the Regan administration in United States in late 1970s. It contains a set of neo-liberal economic policies imposed to developing countries by the powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IFM), the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank intended to quash capitalist crisis of shrinking profit rates by inspiring the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism. This Neo-liberal project is based on deregulation, privatization, promoting socio-economic flexibility and reining back the state. It spreads through globalization process by removing national barriers to the flow of capital and finance, and by setting off a process of 'competitive regulation' amongst countries (Bryson et al., 1999: 29-30). It involves all sectors including infrastructure services. The trend of liberalizing and privatizing infrastructure activities which

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began in the 1970s and 1980s has turned into a wave sweeping across the world today. This is a proliferation of Neo-liberal policies on the role of the state and its place in municipal service provision. However, many poor nations' radicals are skeptical with Neo-liberalism. They view it as capitalist metamorphism for intensification of developing world's poverty through entrenched expropriation of wealth to the metropolises using the free-market front door (Ronaldo, 2005). Neo-liberalism has come with a package of participatory approaches (PAs) to replace (CAs) in MSWM. This aspect is examined under the methodology section of this study.

The Effect of Urban Planning and Management Approaches to Community Participation in MSWM

As can be gathered from the previous section, different policies employed diverse approaches in handling MSWM. This section analyses each one of the approaches' effect to community participation as follows.

The colonial government introduced conventional approaches (CAs) to MSWM in developing countries. Conventional approaches are top-down, bureaucratic, rigid and non-participatory urban planning and management system normally served by urban 'Master plans' (Majani, 2000). They often work in relatively controlled urban population with a stable economic growth. In short, CAs worked during the colonial time because were designed and supported by the colonial government to serve a designated elite population. Some of the supporting elements to CAs included the following. This system works effectively in societies experiencing a small urban population growth relative to the economic growth rate. The exploitative colonial legacy imposed and sustained CAs in urban areas by applying restrictive population policies. Local councils (LCs) collected much revenue through oppressive taxation systems mainly to support the centralized colonial administrative costs. For example, MSWM costs often received top-up grants from the mother colony (Rwegasira, *et al.*, 1996). In such circumstances community participation was undesired as the government poured a lion's share in social service provision to its elite premeditated population. Besides, by sidelining the indigenous urbanites in many social aspects, the colonial government obviously killed the spirit of CP in MSWM.

At independence, CAs continued but with slight amendment including abolition of restrictive policies. As a result, the "urban lights" in a relatively modern sector pulled unchecked rural-urban migration and natural increase as seen above, flocked tourban areas (Kironde and Ngware, 2000). It accelerated massive urbanization, which later overwhelmed CAs' efficiency in MSWM (Halla and Majani, 1999). CAs are criticized for their rigidity to cope with the fast growth of developing countries' pervaded urbanization led to their failure to contain MSWM. Moreover, this failure is by and large, associated with CAs' marginalization of the local communities and other stakeholders from participating in MSWM (Kyessi, 2002; Meshack and Sheuya, 2001; Majani, 2000). Above all, the CAs' failures were in part, attributable to then existed national policy. Socialist poor countries like Tanzania declared "free-of-charge" public social services provision for all citizens (Semboja and Terkildsen, 1995). Later this populist policy crushed under massive

urbanization, which overwhelmed urban authorities' resources and capacities ending in MSWM inefficiency (Kalwani, 2005). It occurred as poor national governments championed to provide MSW services solely at the expense of CP and other stakeholders, consequently, the public sector collapsed.

Neo-liberalism advocates popular participation as advanced through Cities Sustainable Programme (CSP) through the environmental planning and management approach (EPM). Clarke (1994); UNCHS (1994); and Majani (2000) in a nutshell, define EPM as a programme integrated with local urban planning and management for strengthening it. It is a continuous process of involving local community participation in various pro-environmental sustainable activities. As outcome, it will maximize benefits to urban development derived from the environment by minimizing damage to cities arising from environmental wastes. Dar es Salaam adopted and practiced EPM for the first time in Tanzania. The outcome will be tackled in the methodology section where some case studies are presented to that effect.

In essence, this strategy attempts to rectify CAs' weaknesses in favour of collective action for sustainable MSWM (see Global Agenda 21 for more). However, as will be exemplified in the Methodology section, local communities are rarely involved in key decisions regarding MSW service provision especially in informal settlements.

Like the old popular legend says: there is always a remarkable distance between words and deeds. Despite EPM being articulate in its course, there exists a clear distinction between its good intentions and practices. The current EPM over-emphasis on privatization of MSWM as a panacea for achieving sustainable MSWM is viewed with reservations. For many Asian and African governments use privatization of MSW services in the Neo-liberalism time as a loop hole for securing private capital for other uses sidelining MSWM (Lee, 1996:144). In most cases, it is done by marginalizing the majority poor who rarely have any capital to enter into competitive . If this trend continues unchecked, may it jeopardize the spirit of community participation in MSWM initiatives.

Since even privatization of social services is not reliable, therefore, an appropriate CP strategy seems to be the hope for the poor to attain self-sustaining MSWM through collective action. However, even this alternative calls for thorough knowledge on various social economic factors affecting community initiatives to achieve sustainable MSWM, which at the moment is lacking (UWEP, 1996). The following section attempts to scrutinize some of the social economic factors affecting community participation in MSWM.

The Effect of Social Economic Factors to Community Participation in MSWM

There are various social economic factors, which are singled out in this section to show their impact to CP in MSWM. These primarily include poverty, psychological, and public awareness creation.

It is almost impossible to explain about "urbanization of poverty" i.e. another term for "massive urbanization" in contemporary literatures without associating it with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Much is written on the increasing poverty diffusion in many developing countries' urban areas as an after effect of stiff loan conditionality issued by the IMF. As a result, these harsh terms have intensified poverty to the common people. Ronaldo (2005: 149) considers globalization as the consolidation of a new model of capital accumulation with a bearing to the developing countries. He argues that, the structural adjustment programme (SAP), for example, has worsened the living conditions of the poor in the whole world. It has compelled poor countries to cut down public expenditure on health, education, and other social infrastructure. Likewise, many of the developing world's households are low-income earners averaged less than US \$ 500 per year, half the sum is spent on food and the rest cannot cover the cost of basic services (Aligula, 1999). These explanations show rampant poverty confound the majority of the urban and rural populations making it increasingly difficult for them to contribute financially to community participatory MSWM projects.

Psychological factors also have an impact on CP in MSWM as implied in then socialist Tanzania following her adoption of Neo-liberalism. The country's "free-of-charge" social services policy had long aftermath psychological effect to the majority urban poor. It reduced them to passive recipients of MSW services instead of being a potential source for effective service generation (Kalwani, 2001). It is counter productive to cultivating community participatory attitudes in a community-based MSW services provision situation. Thus, the national adoption of Neo-liberalism in mid 1980s did not necessarily go with attitudinal change for community participation in MSWM. It requires effective public awareness creation programmes on CP in MSWM to rectify the anomaly. However, such programmes have yet taken off due to various institutional impeding factors as reported by the case study of Dar es Salaam City in the Methodology section.

Concept of Community Participation in MSWM

For CP in MSWM to be effective one needs to contextualize the community participation approach concept. As Oakley (1991) puts it right, CP is a complex and fragile concept; however, many scholars see it as a continuum to illustrate the direct relationship between interpretation and development analysis. For example, UNCHS (1986) defines CP as: the voluntary and democratic involvement of beneficiaries in contributing to the execution of a project, in sharing the benefits derived therefore and in making decisions with respect to setting goals, formulating the project and in implementing the plans (UNCHS, 1986). To others the concept "community participation" entails involving project beneficiaries in the planning and implementation process, frequently through fairly brief and selective consultation procedures (Nanai and Nyirabu, 2001). In the same vein, Cohen and Uphoff (1979) view CP to include involvement in decision making process, in implementation and evaluation of different development programmes.

The foregoing conceptions do not conflict; instead they reinforce one another on what is required to be observed for effective CP in MSWM. Briefly, it entails awareness building and sensitization of community members to accept their being

involved in MSWM activities. Needless to say, many literatures have written extensively on socially, economically and technically disadvantaged local communities in developing countries in need of community empowerment. However, quite often governments lack political will and reinforcement of effective CP through mass education and awareness creation programme. As a result, community empowerment through learning, seeing and doing and to define and play their roles in society are not realized (Rugumamu, 2000:89).

Theoretical and conceptual framework

Collective action among different stakeholders particularly between local communities and the government as custodian of MSWM has been emphasised in the text. It rationalizes the employment of Collective Action Theory (CAT) if effective CP in MSWM is to take root in many local communities. This demands thorough knowledge of the CAT with a view to construct the conceptual framework for this study.

THEORIES AND CONCEPTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF COMMON POOL RESOURCES

Overview

The Collective Action Theory (CAT) assumes individuals can voluntarily participate in a developmental issue for a common goal and share resources to reach the set goal (Ostrom, 1965). Central, among other things, is the degree of people's willingness to cooperate in provision and maintenance of a collective good. As rational creatures, human beings' cooperation for a common paradigm is highly unpredictable. It depends on multiple factors debatable between "cooperation optimists" and "cooperation pessimists" (Dietz *et al*, 2002). The word "cooperation" is synonymous to "collective action." Collective action optimists refer to social scientists who assume that wherever cooperation is required for the mutual benefit of a group of people, it will naturally occur. Participation optimism originates from orthodox group theories prevailing in political science in the 1950s. They postulated that the existence of a collective interest was a sufficient motive for joint action, and that, if given a chance, people would try to influence decisions that affect their lives. Failures to live up to these expectations were considered abnormalities (Nagel, 1979). Collective action motive was tested in less resource costly or "free ride" events of public interest including public elections and voluntary organizations but frequently registered low turn out. It showed that any collective action oriented activity is locked in two conflicting motives - the "collective action optimism" and "collective action pessimism." This has led in the late 1960s to an increased pessimism in economics, political science and other disciplines about people's inclination towards voluntary cooperation. Three distinct paradigms have been particularly influential in supporting theories about the limited opportunities for people to further their common interests: the "logic of collective action", "prisoner's dilemma" and "the tragedy of the commons". Although these three paradigms share some fundamental views about the inherent conflict between individual interests and group interests, each of them has had powerful influence in academic and political circles (Nagel, 1979; Olson, 1965, Melucci, 1995). The logic of collective action theory was propounded by Olson (1965). It articulates factors related to unlikelihood of rational individuals to

participate in a group intending to pursue a common goal. By "collective action" Olson refers to group efforts aiming at promoting common interests. The logic is that, for such cooperation aiming at achieving tangible or intangible goals is shared by a group of people, which may benefit everyone once achieved regardless whether s/he contributed or not to its provision. In Economics, such goods or services bear characteristics of jointness of supply and impossibility of exclusion are termed "public goods". In this case, the theory recognizes the link between collective action and public goods and that all group goals and group interests are subject to the same dilemma. Further, Olson theory asserts that, group size, age and other group characteristics and coercion have attitudinal influence based on rationality in deciding whether one should cooperate or not in collective action project. By coercion, Olson referred to instance of a broader group of phenomena he calls "selective incentive", which are material or social rewards specifically oriented towards those who contribute to a collective action.

Over the years, the theory has improved through constructive criticisms as follows. Several social scientists including Marwell and Oliver (1993) argue that, Olson's assumptions were not exhaustive as there are many factors that may explain collective action other than those discussed by him. For example, Melucci (1995) discarded, among other things, the assumption that collective phenomena are simply empirical aggregations of people acting together. Further, Melucci differed from considering non-material rewards as acceptable selective incentives, and by recognising that also "extra-rational motivations" (such as moral motivations and self-realisation) may determine individuals' participation to collective action, it is possible to recognise many more situations under which it may occur. For more information on other basic inputs to the CAT read Kisoza (2007).

Prisoner Dilemma

In a nut shell, Ostrom's (1990) "Prisoner Dilemma" theory shares with Olson's theory of collective action in its generality and that, "rational people cannot achieve rational collective outcomes" (Ostrom, 1990). In effect the paradox that individually rational strategies lead to collectively irrational outcomes seems to challenge a fundamental faith that rational human beings can achieve rational results (Ostrom, 1990). This is tantamount to assuming that, common interest is exclusive of conflicts in the process to the set goals, a thing which is unrealistic. Instead, this contention gathers thrust on the essentials of a theory of state, which would be needed above all to enforce contracts and punish deviants, so that social order can be maintained. Abstractly, the theory can be employed to enforce social order related to the depletion of common pool resources and the failure of groups to provide or maintain public goods. However, the problem arises as Runge (1992) argues, is to enforce the game in real life situations, for it requires understanding of the complexities underlying joint action institutional structures. Thus, as Bromley (1992) asserts, it is essential to understand that the institutional structure of any game (or life situation) reflects the prior social purpose to be served by the human interaction under consideration. The existing institutional structure reflects, among other things, prevailing cultural and social norms regarding individualism and its relation to collective notions. In that sense, we can say that people's behaviour (or choices) is moulded by operating institutional contexts.

The Tragedy of the Commons

Another essential addition to the CAT was Hardin's (1968) "The tragedy of the commons," a metaphor he used referring threats to "common pool resources," which by 1968 seemed to have had "no technical solution problems" in general. The resources referred to population explosion, air pollution, deforestation, industrial waste control, and so on. However, Hardin is sympathized as victim of time then, for the existed socio-cultural context of the 1960s when the article was published had no critical concern on those "resource" as in the later years. This is substantiated by his subsequent publications when Hardin has already modified his position on "tragedy of commons." He criticized his own earlier assertion of "no technical solution problems" by saying it could be so only in a situation characterised by absence of management. He also distinguishes between unmanaged and managed common resources (Hardin, 1994; Monela, 1995). Common property regime is used to refer to property rights arrangement in which a group of resource users share rights and duties towards a resource (McKean and Ostrom, 1995).

This study intends to employ the CAT to analyse policy, approaches and social economic situation which affect community participation for sustainable MSWM. This paper will cover only those aspects shown in the conceptual framework. Specifically, it will analyse community participation in MSWM as an inter-institutional concept made of individuals and groups of people and institutions in a social cultural context in relation to the prevailing policy and approaches.

The conceptual framework exposes both "optimism" and "pessimism" of collective action centred on promotion of sustainable CP in MSWM. The CP is essentially divided into two interlinked parts with No.8 forming the hub. When appropriate factor MSWM approaches, social economic and policy issues (Nos.1, 2, and 3) are linked to respective local institutions (No.5) assume one of the two things to occur. It can be either collective action optimism to initiate CP (No. 4); or pessimism (No.6) where local government fails to mobilize other actors in MSWM. Whatever the case, the final point of departure is determined by the type of governance (No.8). If "good governance" reins (in the direction of positive effect arrows) may result in sustainable resource use (No.7) enclosing full involvement of all actors in resource exposure, generation, used and control. This leads to collective action scoring sustainable CP in MSWM (No.10).

On the contrary, if the trend assumes a pessimistic path (shown by negative effect arrows) as a manifest of a pessimistic or irresponsible local government and governance end in an unsustainable MSWM ditch (No.11). It is important to note that, any default in any one of the variables can lead to goal short falls. This emphasizes the need for constant feed back links for monitoring and evaluation of performance for rectification.

Feedback Effects

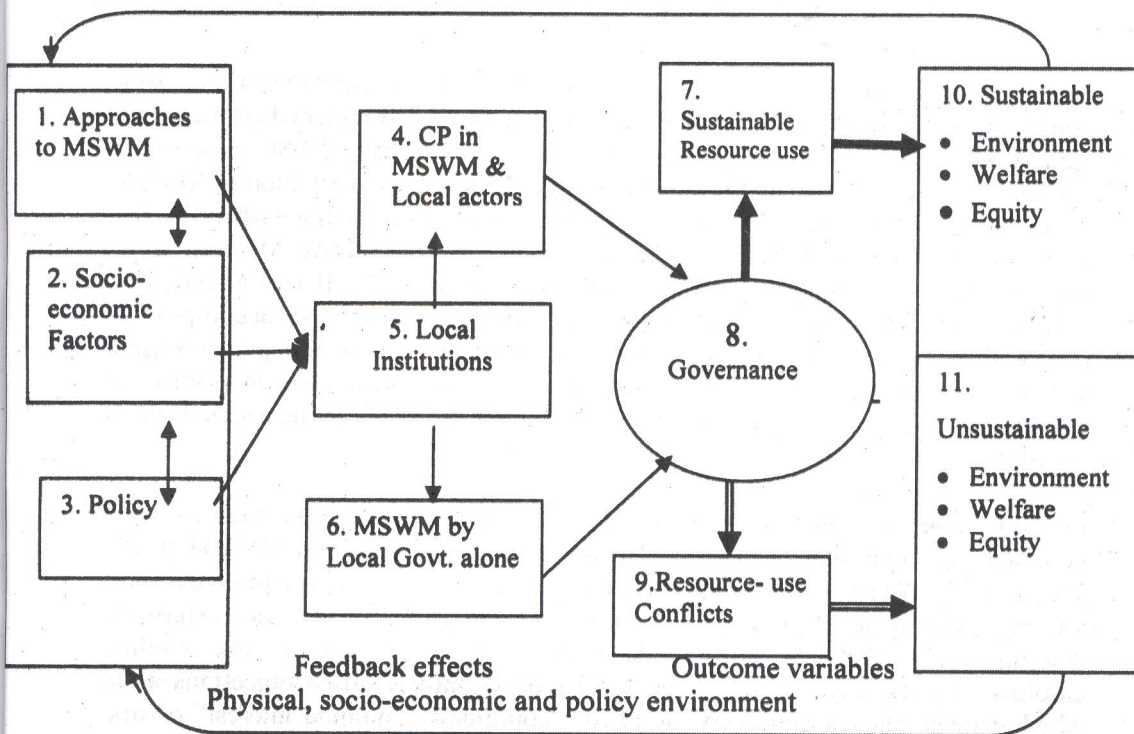


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Originally the model was constructed by Kisoza (2007:10) to show pre-requisites for sustainable agro-pastoral resource management. It was invoked by this study to show interrelationships of policy, approaches, and social economic factors for collective action towards sustainable CP in MSWM in Tanzania.

Key

→ Positive effect

⇔ Negative effect

METHODOLOGY

This study used information obtained from two previous case studies, which provided basis to show that policy, approaches and social economic factors have effect on community participation in MSWM. The Dar es Salaam case study has enlightened issues related to policy and approaches effect on CP in MSWM. While, the Moshi Municipality case study analysed social economic factors affecting CP in MSWM as provided in this section.

Study Case of Dar es Salaam City Council

This article has extracted information from a case study conducted by Majani (2000) on institutionalizing EPM for MSWM in Dar es Salaam City. Participatory research combined with household interviews was the main source of obtaining information used in that study. It was complemented with other literatures sharing certain experiences e.g. Kaare's (2002) study on factors affecting community participation in Dar es Salaam City. Majani's and Kaare's respective studies were conducted at the time EPM as a participatory approach had replaced conventional

participation in Dar es Salaam City. Majani's and Kaare's respective studies were conducted at the time EPM as a participatory approach had replaced conventional approaches by 1992. Thus, the case study secured rich EPM experiences containing various local institutions including community participation in MSWM in one integrated institutional framework. EPM started functioning when the Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) in 1992 convened a Consultative Meeting under the auspice of the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP). It was attended by selected stakeholders in urban environmental issues to discuss the 'decomposing' City with garbage affecting over 70% of its residents mainly living in informal settlements. The purpose was to involve its different stakeholders in prioritising environmental problems and strategise participatory intervention measures through the SDP.

Despite being an inter-institutional action framework, EPM is said to have systematically marginalized the local communities particularly in MSWM (Halla and Majani, 1999). First, the selection of "community representatives" was arbitrary and done in a hurry to implement the SDP, which was externally determined by the UN Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP). The method employed by the DCC to select the local representatives raised objections as to whether those chosen genuinely stood for "community common interest" or not. Moreover, the DCC under the EPM banner preached participatory decision making with local communities in MSWM; however, in real terms it played on the contrary. For example, the DCC fixed MSW service user rates arbitrarily using its legal given mandate of overusing by-laws even in the prevailing open market economy. Besides, the DCC entrenched in privatization of MSW service delivery almost at the expense of community involvement. Often, it contracted private MSW service providers and imposed them to community areas thereby denying community's "rationality" or rights to decide its partners in MSWM. As a result, many community members refused or could not afford to pay the frequently poor MSW services provided by companies. Eventually, several of the companies pulled out of service due to weak financial and technical base. They blamed the DCC for not building enough community awareness for households to pay MSW service user charges (Majani, 2000; Kaare, 2002).

Case Study of Moshi Municipality

This case study showed the impact of social economic factors basically education and income levels of urban residents on understanding the CP concept on one hand. Also, influence of these factors on residents' attitudes and ability to perform daily general cleaning of their immediate environment as a preventive measure against diseases (Kalwani, (2001). A household questionnaire was employed to interview Moshi urban residents on their levels of education and income in relation to their understanding and acceptance to participate in MSW service provision. It observed that, 69% of the residents living in informal and high-density settlements had more or less primary education commonly used pit latrines of which, 74.4% were dirty by all standards. 45% of the low-income earners could not afford to install flush toilet facilities.

On the contrary, 46% of the low/medium density residents achieved at least secondary education and primary health education. The latter category had relatively high income and afforded flush toilets connected to the public sewer or septic tanks. Conclusively, it confirmed that education and income had a bearing on understanding and providing financial resources contributory to receiving regular MSW and sewage collection services. Then in-depth questions were administered in both categories of residents. It showed those with relatively better education and income understood and accepted the cost sharing concept in MSWM as compared to the disadvantaged majority. Thus, the fast sprawl of informal settlements could be related to the widespread of ignorance and poverty to majority of residents and the consequent urban environmental pollution. It exposed how the disadvantaged majority still lacked knowledge on the CP in MSWM as part of cost sharing strategy. It, therefore, recommended to the local government and other agents of change increase efforts in community awareness building for sustainable MSWM.

Analysis of Policies and Approaches

Community participation in the form of voluntary organizations (VOs) is not totally a new thing in Tanzania and the developing world at large. VOs in various forms such as community-based organizations (CBOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), etc. have existed before and after independence. They provided invaluable social services to the society. Semboja and Therkildsen (1995) argue that, the few existed VOs provided such services in collaborated with the colonial and post independence governments in East Africa. But after independence policy consolidation, discouraged VOs' initiatives or nationalized them via populist policies like Tanzania's 1967 Arusha Declaration (Hyden cited in Semboja and Therkildsen, 1995).

The return of VOs for MSWM in the globalization process under Neo-liberalisation makes it a new thing. VOs are no longer voluntary as used to be. They have a price tag of the self-imposed IMF loan conditionality to poor countries like Tanzania in the 1980s and 1990s. They came with structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) coupled with privatization of infrastructural services as entailed in the on-going government reforms since 1996 (URT, 1996). Thus, CP in various developmental issues has returned in a different framework attached with increased democracy. It seeks popular participation in decision making, cost sharing and collective action with relevant stakeholders in MSWM and other developmental issues as spelt under Global Agenda 21. On this basis, the poor countries' governments require extra-efforts in raising community awareness to understand and accept this hard fact externally imposed under Neo-Liberalism. Likewise, Tanzania adopted CP approach (CPA) as a developmental strategy for effective MSWM in a market-oriented economy. However, she hardly had enough time to analyse policy, methodological, social and economic implications to the new strategy. For example, as above-mentioned, one of the psychological factors affecting CP in MSWM is the past socialist mentality of 'free of charge social services.' Moreover, the government has not yet shown enough proactive commitment in collective action for sustainable CP in MSWM by strengthening awareness building programmes. What is popularly seen on political stages is largely "rhetoric" on CP as a developmental concept devoid of concrete deeds.

Equally important, the government is supposed to change its approaches towards handling community developmental issues. The above-seen case study emblem how several local governments fail to involve the poor majority and provide them with the appropriate enabling environment for communities to participate fully in MSWM. It also reminds an earlier given remark. Though the EPM is well articulated in its endeavour to promote popular participation in MSWM, it leaves no proper implementation foot prints on the ground.

Many urban studies conducted in Dar es Salaam City have reported the mushrooming emergence of CBOs for MSWM frequently without effective capacity building arrangements (Halla and Majani, 1999; and Majani, 2000; Meshack and Sheuya, 2001; Kaare, 2002). These authors almost agree on the frequent short life expectancy of many of the formed CBOs in MSW service provision due to various social economic factors. The basic reasons provided for their disintegration included excessive donor dependencies causing their deaths whenever financial support ceased. Moreover, they operated uncoordinatedly, assumed a top tier and some even lacked community support (Majani, 2000). This section has analysed various policy, approaches and social economic factors, which affect the take off of collective action involving CP in MSWM in the country and developing countries in general.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has critically examined the policy, methodological and social economic factors which adversely affect effective community participation in MSW service provision in Tanzania using data cited from case studies. In summary, the author has exposed the following issues. The colonial oppressive policies managed to solely provide MSW service to a relatively small urban population particularly the elites. At independence in 1960s restrictive population policies were abolished leading to rural-urban migration. However, in that early independence time the new government managed to exclusively provide this service to then considerable small urban population. But the government using conventional approaches in 1970s and 1980s failed to provide MSW services adequately due to massive urbanisation effect. Then, the global social economic situation replaced international Socialism and Marxism with Neo-liberalism but without necessarily changing the poor communities' attitudes on the "free-of-charge" public MSW service provision. This factor compounded by poverty, lack of appropriate empowerment and awareness creation hinder the poor communities from participating in MSW service provision as spelt by the Global Agenda 21. It appears that, the government has not put much effort in CP awareness building for effective CP in MSW service provision as evidenced by companies' contractual termination with the DCC in MSW service provision in the community areas. Many of the CBOs' in MSW service provision are not sustainable but rather donor dependent in running their activities. This appears to be lack of appropriate community empowerment strategies and little knowledge of what is needed in collective action. Also, some local governments have not yet agreed to fully involve local communities as they still drag their feet on this strategy. They bank on unsustainable local enterprises to provide MSW service provision to community, which are no match to the global capitalist open market. Therefore,

effective community participation in MSW service provision needs to be nurtured through an integrated approach through holistic collective action, awareness creation, poverty alleviation and good governance. Future Agenda: How the government, private and popular sectors can collectively empower communities to achieve sustainable CP in CBOs MSWM projects for a healthy environment and improved poor communities' welfare is the question.

Many municipal governments' capacities and structures fail to collect, sort, treat, transport and dispose the MSW (World Bank, 2006). Consequently, vast uncollected waste causes various social economic problems. These include a breeding source of environmental borne diseases, amass in open spaces, clog drains causing flooding, diverse pollution, and disrupt infrastructure systems and normal community life.

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