

REACTIONS TO FALLING PROVISION OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN TANZANIA'S  
URBAN AREAS: DAR ES SALAAM CASE STUDY

A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE IN  
AFRICA CITIES: URBAN GOVERNANCE IN AN ERA OF CHANGE.\*

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## 1. Introduction

In the last three decades most, developing countries, which before were mainly rural, have transformed into the world of urbanization. In 1965 less than a quarter of the total population in the low-income countries were urban.<sup>1</sup> The nature, characteristics and repercussion of developing countries' urbanization and the failure of states and urban authorities to provide urban amenities are generally issues, which are well documented. However people or urban dwellers' response to urban crisis in developing countries is an area which has not been dealt with adequately in the past studies. In response to discontentment with central or local governments' performance, people have always taken action voluntarily, both individually and in collective with others, in order to improve their personal, neighborhood, locality, and or national welfare. These actions have taken many and varied forms, ranging from advocacy and campaigns for political, economic, social and environmental improvement to provision, production operating and maintenance of public amenities. It therefore seems appropriate to look more closely into the particular circumstances, which induced people to organize themselves, and the areas of service provision their newly formed associations cater for. Furthermore to analyze how already established organizations seek to expand their activities in grappling with the urban crisis, and how such expansion may have affected their original purpose and following, in addition to that, how urban associations are gendered, and the degree to which they incorporate the poor. Lastly to analyze the responses of central and local governments to these popular, collective actions. This study aims at analyzing peoples' response in Tanzania's urban areas to escalating shortages of urban services and the response of central and local government to popular collective action.

Dar Es Salaam, which is the largest city in Tanzania, is taken as case study. Given the fact that there is a proliferation of people taking action voluntarily, both individually and in collaboration with others in the country, there are obviously potentials for a very wide set of individuals and organizations with varied objectives and

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<sup>1</sup> World Development Indicators, World Development Reports (Various).

motivations. This study attempts to qualitatively analyze individuals and associations formed within civil society, bringing together individuals sharing the common purpose of mitigating the escalating urban problems. The study is therefore based on data collected through a series of interviews with informed local observers (City Commission officials in the Department of Community Development; government officials in the Prime Ministers Office and professionals). Data were also obtained from voluntary associations formed within civil society in the city of Dar Es Salaam, to bringing together urban residents who share some common purpose, i.e. mitigating the escalating urban problems. In this paper, these associations are referred to as people's organizations POs (mutual benefit grassroot organizations).<sup>2</sup>

### ***1.1 Urbanization in Tanzania***

The pattern of urbanization and characteristic features of Tanzania's urban areas is not quite different from what is observed in most of the other low-income countries. An enormous amount of literature dealing with these aspects already exists. This section aims at highlighting some particular elements of Urbanization in Tanzania.

Mainland Tanzania has a total of 20 regional headquarters and a number of small urban centers, which are either district headquarters or marketing centers located close to mining areas or close to agriculturally productive areas. Apart from being administrative centers, the regional headquarters also serve as industrial, commercial and service centers. District headquarters on the other hand are rather small urban centers with a limited range of activities almost limited to commercial and negligible activities in the services sector

The Urban population in Tanzania has in the last three decades more than quadrupled (Tab 1) making Tanzania one of the low-income countries with the highest rate of urbanization. By 1970, the proportion of urban population in Tanzania was only about 6.7 per cent. This proportion increased up to 24 per cent by 1995. If the population growth rate and the rate of urbanization in Tanzania remains the same as that between

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<sup>2</sup> Turner and Hulme (1997) also refers these kind of organizations as POs.

the two major census of 1978 and 1988, then there will be over 10 million people living in Tanzania's urban areas by year 2000. That will be about 28% or more of the total population of the country.

Table: 1. URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN TANZANIA

TYPE OF SETTLEMENT	UNIT	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995 <sup>1</sup>
Urban	1000	917.5	1605.9	2750.0	3853.3	5406.5	-
	%	6.7	10.1	14.8	17.6	20.85	24
Rural	1000	12776	14294.1	15831.0	18041.5	20586,5	-
	%	93.3	89.9	85.2	82.4	79.2	-

Source: StBa, LB Tansania 1994:33 Table 3.6

<sup>1</sup>World development Report (1997:230) Table 9

## ***1.2. Provision of Public Services In Tanzania's Urban Areas:***

Public services or utilities have to be provided, produced and maintained to ensure a sustainable flow of services to the public. Ostrom et al (1993) has given the distinction between provision and production in the public realm as follows:

Provision refers to decision made through collective-choice mechanism about: the kind of goods and services to be provided by a designated group of people; the quantity and quality of the goods and services to be provided; the degree to which private activities related to these goods and services are to be regulated; how to arrange for the production of these goods and services; how to monitor the performance of those who produce these goods and services.

Where as production refers to the more technical process of transforming inputs into outputs, making a product or in many cases rendering a service. (ACIR: 1987:7) in Ostrom et. al. (1993:75).

Like in many other cities in the world, urban authorities are responsible in the provision of urban public services in Tanzania. The history of urban authorities in the country dates back to 1910, when the Germany administration elevated Dar es Salaam and Tanga urban centers to municipal level. At independence there were 2 municipalities and 11 town councils, which were existing under the 1946 municipalities act, cap 105 and local government act of 1953 cap 333 (Mateso, 1993:3). These urban authorities were responsible for providing, producing, and maintaining urban services (Sanitation, water supply, surveying and allocating building plots and permits etc.) in their municipalities and townships respectively. In 1972 however, urban authorities were abolished and Tanzania adopted a “decentralization” move. The move was aimed at shifting decision-making power from state level to local level. Therefore Regional and district authorities were established and charged with the responsibility of providing, producing, and also maintaining all public services both in urban and in rural areas. The newly established authorities however had their thrust hinged on rural development, since that was the then government priority. Consequently provision, production and maintenance of urban public utilities like water supply and sanitation, roads and also urban planning and building regulations were neglected<sup>4</sup>. Unplanned settlement grew rapidly as there was no efficient and effective system to control them. As part of easing urban problems the government adopted a system of repatriating the urban jobless, homeless and beggars by force to the rural areas. Repatriation however, proved unfruitful as the repatriated were back in town within some few days of their repatriation. In 1982, the government decided to reintroduce again the local government and they started to function in 1984. Apart from other functions, local governments were charged with the responsibility of providing, producing and maintaining of public utilities and services in urban areas<sup>3</sup>. The local authorities however have failed to come up with a miracle, since urban problems have persisted and are escalating. These problems include among other things, inadequate housing, and shortage of surveyed housing plots to meet the growing house construction demand.<sup>4</sup> In addition to that, there is inadequate supply and maintenance of already available public utilities (e.g. water

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<sup>3</sup> Section 54 of the 1982 act No. 8

<sup>4</sup> The study conducted by JICA (1997) for instance revealed that 75% of Dar Es Salaam residents live in squatter areas, and that 65% of new housing are being constructed in squatter areas

supply and sanitation, as well as deteriorating urban roads). In 1991 only 51 % of the urban population had access to tap water (Mhamba 1996:35).<sup>5</sup> In the period 1991/92 only 139 per cent of the urban population had flush toilets, given the fact that water is a problem these flush toilets are rendered useless and often a source of bad smell and nuisance to those using them. In addition to that, about 84% used pit-latrines and almost 2 per cent didn't have any toilet.<sup>6</sup> However shortage or absence of evacuating tanks in some urban areas in the country, renders Pit-latrines difficult to maintain. The urban roads tarmaced during the colonial period are now almost all of them dust roads with deep and sharp potholes and most of them impassable by car. In fact some of these roads have become urban waste dumping grounds and using them is very difficult. As a result, most of the urban residents in Tanzania are living in substandard urban life without decent housing, clean and reliable water supply and sanitation services, very poor roads and unclean air. Not only that, the available public schools and health care units in Tanzania's urban areas leaves much to be desired. Apart from higher rates of urbanization, undoubtedly, ill-urban management and institutional bottlenecks have exacerbated these problems. The paper in the next section explores how urban residents have responded to these persistent and escalating deficiencies. The analysis begins with a general introduction of the city of Dar Es Salaam, which is our case study and then proceeds with the analysis of how residents in the city of Dar Es salaam have reacted to the urban problems.

## **2. The City Of Dar Es Salaam**

Dar es Salaam, which means haven of peace, is the largest and fastest growing urban city in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam with an estimated population of about 3.0 million is currently seven times larger than the next largest urban center of Mwanza (Sheuya 1997:6). The rate of growth of the city, which is between 8

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<sup>5</sup> Given the fact that water taps in Tanzania's urban areas are always without water, access to adequate and safe water supply for the urban population may be far less than what is indicated in the official statistics

<sup>6</sup> According to the latest Tanzania Households Budget 1991/92

and 10% p.a., is one of the highest rates in Sub Saharan Africa. The main source of growth is in migration of people from different districts and beyond the borders of the country. However natural increase plays an important role too. Dar es Salaam also is the headquarters of many national organizations, industries and ministerial offices and it is where all the offices of foreign country representatives and those of various multilateral and international organizations in the country are situated.

Until June 1996, Dar es Salaam City management was under the Dar es Salaam City Council (i.e. local government) which was the highest policymaking body in the city. However in June 1996 the state decided to suspend local government authorities in the city and appointed a commission (Dar es Salaam City Commission) instead, to manage the city. The Dar es Salaam city council was dissolved because it failed to comply with the provision of the local government (urban authorities) Act of 1982 and conducted its affairs in a manner that was incompatible with the realization of the purpose of that act. The Dar es Salaam City Commission was therefore formed by the Prime Minister's Office to replace the Council. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister's Office dissolved the Dar Es Salaam City Council and appointed the City Commission without any consultation with the city residents. Thus denying them the opportunity to participate in exercising power in the management of their local government's economic and social resources in a legal and formal way.

### **3. Mitigating Escalating Urban Problems in Dar Es Salaam Through People's Non Conventional Initiatives**

People's voluntarily actions for the intention of bringing about changes or improvements to existing unsatisfactory states of affairs in various settings (institutional, economic, ecological and social settings) in their neighborhood, locality and or national at large, generally involves two main aspects. The first aspect relates to efforts geared towards influencing actors [public (policy makers and executives), private and NGOs to

act in a way that will result into changes from unsatisfactory states of affairs to a satisfactory state of affairs. In other words to influence actors to design and implement intervention measures that would change the unsatisfactory situation to a satisfactory situation. It therefore involves actions that would induce different actors to focus their actions towards alleviating the existing problem. Such attempts to influence policy decisions and implementation can be done by the people either individually or collectively through open confrontation and mass protest, or through advocacy, lobbying and sensitization of the legislative and executive organs. In this case it therefore involves influencing the legislative and executive organs in the country generally and in urban areas in particular to design and implement intervention measures that would lead to availability of public goods and services in urban areas. This necessitates influencing policy formulation and implementation and the way public resources are currently utilized by these actors in the name of provision of public goods and services, to a better allocation and or generation of additional resources for effecting the envisaged changes in the unsatisfactory states of affairs. Attempts by urban people's organizations (the Urban Land Reform Task Force) in Philippines to protect the rights of the poor urban by influencing policy through the parliamentary process rather than through open confrontation and mass protest is one example of such initiatives.<sup>7</sup> Initiatives in this respect involve advocacy, lobbying and educating the legislative and executive actors. Advocacy, lobbying and sensitization do not end with legislative and executive actors only. It also involves inducing or instigating people or members of the public through advocacy, lobbying and sensitization, to take action against unsatisfactory states of affairs. Advocacy, lobbying and sensitization efforts in this respect are aimed at motivating people to act as well as providing them with information about their rights and proper procedures to get rid of their problems in the locality, neighborhood or country as a whole. Motivation touches upon people's feelings, attitudes, and devotions where as information approaches thoughts, insights and beliefs (Heideman 1993: 107). The second aspect of peoples reaction to unsatisfactory sates of affairs involves decisions by the affected people to take matters in their hands i.e. to perform operations themselves, either individually or collectively so as to solve problems in their locality,

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<sup>7</sup> For more detail refer to Covey (1995)

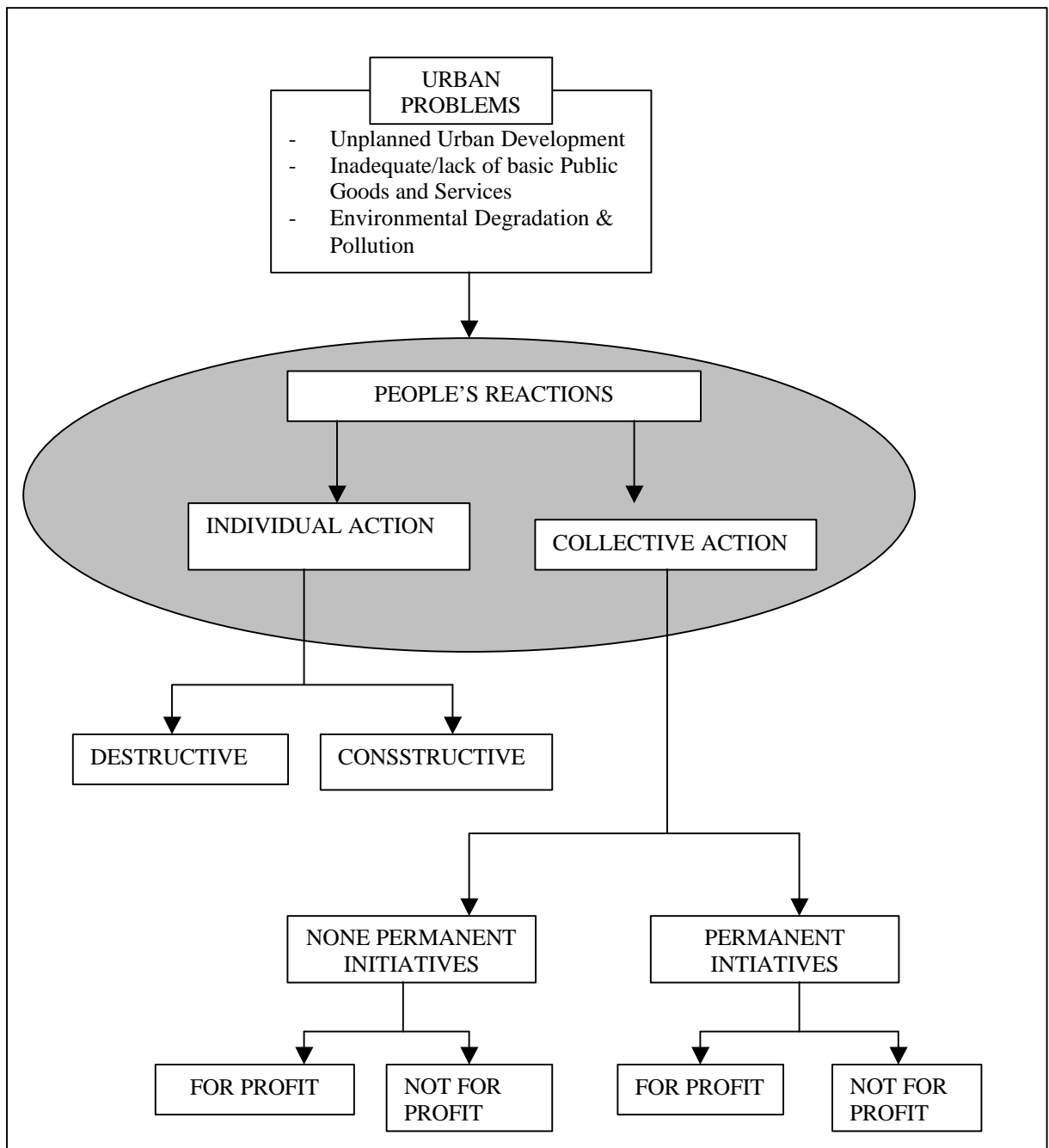
neighborhood or national at large. This is a process of allocating own resources (time, labor financial and material) so as to bring about changes to the unsatisfactory states of affairs. For the case of inadequate supply of urban public goods and services, the initiatives involve therefore provision, production, operation and maintenance of public goods and services needed by the people for improvement of their welfare.

The growing problems and shortages of urban utilities in Dar es Salaam city has led residents in the city to respond by indulging themselves in self initiatives to provide, produce and maintain the public utilities in urban areas themselves. One can distinguish two main patterns of people's initiatives that have imaged in Dar es Salaam city in response to shortages or problems in the availability of public utilities. Based on the nature of the initiative, objectives and impact on solving the intended urban problem. In this paper the two patterns are termed as "Individual Action Initiatives (IAI) and Collective Action Initiatives. (CAI)." The two patterns and there subsidiaries are represented in the figure below. Within these two main brands of people's initiatives, further arrangements are distinguished and each in turn discussed.

The destructive individual action is a strategy adopted both in the living and industrial locations in the city of Dar Cs Salaam, by individuals and by industrialists respectively. In their self-initiatives to provide themselves with basic public services, which the city council has failed to provide, households and industrialists adopt strategies, which jeopardize public interests in the community. The strategy carries along with it a lot of short run and long run negative effects not only to the individual but to the entire urban population and the environment as a whole. For instance in solving the problem of insufficient availability of officially surveyed building plots, residents have adopted a strategy of building their houses in unsurveyed areas without seeking any official permission. They latter look for a surveyor to survey the already built plot. The procedure frustrates future efforts to design urban streets, to construct urban drainage systems, to install water supply systems etc. and it becomes technically impossible to straighten up streets or install water supply systems without demolishing some buildings. Even if it was possible to demolish some buildings, lack of finance in both local and national governments to compensate the affected owners, forces the city authorities and the national government as well to shy away from undertaking such a

move. On top of that, humanitarian considerations also contribute to governments' lack of boldness to take any action against such unbecoming behaviors among residents in the city.

Figure 3.1: People's Initiatives in Solving Urban Public Utility or Service Problems in Dar Es Salaam City.



Apart from that, individual destructive actions also include households' emptying of septic tanks by pumping wastewater into the streets at night. Those using pit latrines dig a hole or an opening on the side of the latrine so as to allow waste to ooze out and let it be washed away by rain water. Households' solid waste is partly thrown at night on the streets so that it is destroyed by being trampled down by moving cars or passers by or thrown in open spaces. The latter is the overwhelming solid waste disposal strategy. Apart from being a nuisance to the entire neighborhood, the procedures pollute the environment and create more problems than solving them. In the low-density residential areas, households use on site treatment of solid waste due to availability of ample space for the activity. However that too pollutes the natural environment especially ground water which is the source of drinking water in many parts of the city. In the industrial areas untreated water from industries is allowed to flow into the natural water streams, furthermore hazardous solid waste is thrown in open spaces or in the general dumping areas which are normally located not far from the residential areas.

Within the individual action strategy, there are individuals who employ a constructive action strategy. These are individuals who voluntarily decide to allocate their own resources (time, material, finance and energy) to provide, produce and or maintain one or more of the public utilities or services. They do that to satisfy their own personal needs. Some times benefits of these kinds of initiatives spill over to the entire neighborhood or community. Especially for such public utilities with non-excludability attributes, i.e. public utilities which by nature of services they offer to the community, it is difficult to exclude others from enjoying those benefits e.g. roads and environmental cleanliness. This happens especially when benefits from a public utility or service provided, produced or maintained has non-excludability characteristics (i.e. when benefits of a good or service are available to a group, whether or not members of the group or community contribute to their provision). Such actions are normally found in such activities as construction and maintenance of access roads.

The second none-conventional strategy is what we call in this paper "collective Action Strategy". This action strategy can be further subdivided into two sub-groupings. These are "Non permanent Collectivity or short term collective action and "Permanent Collective action. Both types can either be for profit or not for profit. The non-

permanent or short-term informal collective efforts consist of informal Peoples' Organizations for profit and informal Peoples' Organizations not for profit. The first category consists of individuals who organize themselves for the purpose of making money out of an existing urban problem. Though through their collective action, members of such organization mitigate more or less temporarily the respective urban problem, the overwhelming motive behind forming the collective efforts is not to mitigate the problem, but rather earning bread for the day. The POs of this kind exploit the existing problematic situation to generate income i.e. to seek rent from user of the public utility by providing, producing and or maintaining the public utility concerned. Such initiatives are found In roads constructions and maintenance especially during the rainy seasons as well as house to house collection of solid waste in high density areas.

Within the non-permanent collective action initiatives, a second category of initiative is identified. This is a category formed by a collective efforts of people in a neighborhood or community sharing the same public utility problem, who organize themselves so as to find ways of solving that problem and thus improve the state of their welfare. In this case members of this sort of organizations expect to directly benefit from the outcomes of their initiatives. This sort of initiatives also evolves during disasters, where people in the neighborhood are indiscriminately affected by the disaster. They are thus naturally forced to unite together to find emergence means to rectify the affected areas and facilities though, possibilities are there for some to free ride on others' efforts. Collective action initiatives in this case has normally included efforts to pool resources together in terms of labor contribution and also forming committees to represent the affected neighborhood or community to the higher authorities in their efforts to solicit assistance. These kind of committees in some cases have eventually developed into permanent community based organizations, engaged in both provision, and or producing and maintaining one or more public services in their communities. The Hanna Nassif Community Based Organization (PO) which is a famous urban PO in Tanzania is a typical example.

Secondly are those organizations formed by a collective effort of the people in the community who are affected by the existing utility problem, but who are motivated by the existing utility problem to organize themselves to form a voluntary people's

association for the purpose of generating income to meet their cash needs. Membership in these kind of voluntary organizations is varied. Out of 28 for profit-people's voluntary associations, which are contracted by the Dar Es Salaam City Commission to collect solid waste, six of them are formed by women and membership is open only to women. This includes for instance, the Kinondoni Moscow Women development Association, Hanna Nasif Women Development Association, Tanzania Environmental Cleanliness Association, Skuvi 167, POCA and LIFEPRO. There is only one among the associations of this category with only male membership and the rest have mixed membership (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: People's Organisations POs in Dar Es Salaam Dealing only with Solid Waste Management.

District	Solid Waste Collection Location	Number of POs	Membership by Gender
Ilala	Middle Income Area	1	Women
	Low Income Area	2	Mixed
		1	Women
Kinondoni	Middle Income Area	2	Women
		8	Mixed
		1	Men
	Low Income Area	5	Mixed
		5	Women
Temeke	Middle Income Area	3	Mixed
	Low Income Area	1	Women

Source: Dar Es Salaam City Commission: Community Development Department

Activities performed by these POs primarily is solid waste collection (i.e. primary refuse collection) using various equipment and bring the solid waste to secondary collection sites where, Dar es salaam city council/commission and private companies can easily collect and transport them to the city dumping site. These POs also removes solid waste from drainage systems, street sweeping and grass cutting in there respective areas of operation. These kind of POs are normally very active in those activities related to the

environment where there is a widely published donor interest to support local-level initiatives. There fore members of these kind of POs use the PO as an enticement to attract donor funding. Not only that, they also use the PO as a way of getting contracts from the City administration to collect solid waste or clean the city. Since the number of this kind of POs is increasing, they are now competing for these contracts. In performing their activities, they have not restricted themselves only to their communities, but they are performing their activities all over the city where there is an identified need for their services or where they are contracted by the city administration or members of the community.

Apart from solid waste management in the city, the aim of the city commission to contract people's voluntary associations in solid waste management is to alleviate poverty among the poor urban residents. The city commission therefore contracts these voluntary organizations to collect solid waste in the middle and low-income areas of the city. In order to generate employment and income among the poor in the middle- and low-income areas, the DCC contracts the POs on the condition that they have to hire labor to collect solid waste within the locality or neighborhood where solid waste is collected. The Dar Es Salaam City Commission (DCC) in addition provides training and working tools to enable the POs collect solid waste more effectively and efficiently. Training is aimed to provide the POs with adequate technical skills in solid waste management and also to sensitize them on issues related to sustaining a clean urban environment. The DCC expects in turn that the POs will use the knowledge gained from such training to sensitize the urban residents in their respective working localities in the city.

The last kind of people's organization in our categorization is organizations emanating from collective initiatives of some members of the community into permanent people's organizations, which are not for profit. Normally the elite in the community who have either some connections to the local or national government, or to the donor community or both initiates these. Most of them have evolved from either individual destructive or individual constructive efforts to more organized collective permanent initiatives. Some have developed from temporally collective efforts or initiatives during hazards, into permanent efforts to bridge public deficiencies in

**Table 3.2: Not-for-Profit Voluntary Peoples Organisations (POs) in Dar Es Salaam**

District	Member-ship	Name of Peoples Organisation	Activities that Prompted Establishment of The Organization	New Activities
Ilala	Male & Female	Tabata Development Trust	Roads and water supply	Roads and water supply
	Male & Female	Wailes Community Development Association	Solving the problem of overflowing drainage canals in their locality, economic activities.	Same
	Male & Female	Buguruni Development Trust	Dealing with water and health problems in their area	Maintaining tertiary roads and their bridges in their locality; building public dispensaries; water wells; rehabilitation of tape water supply facilities; eliminating illiteracy and poverty in the locality
	Male & Female	Mburahati Barafu Development Association	Connecting their locality to the main road running to city centre.	Maintaining public health care units and public primary schools; digging water wells
Kinondo ni	Male & Female	Kijitonyama Development Co-operation		
	Male & Female	Mwinyuma Community Development Association	Providing and maintaining infrastructure (roads, drainage system etc.) in their area and health promotion.	Same activities
	Male & Female	Mbezi Msigani	Road maintenance in their locality.	Same activities
	Male & Female	Lubokwe	Road maintenance in their locality.	Same Activities
		UMWAHA	Taking over development activities from an organisations with the neighbourhood which split into two because of leaders fight for positions	Roads, drainage systems, and Water supply.
	Male & Female	Mpimbeki	Providing and maintaining infrastructure (roads, drainage system etc.) in their area and health promotion.	Same activities

Source: Dar Es Salaam City Commission and Survey Data

provision, production and or maintenance of public services in the community. An example of such a voluntary people's organization or association is the Hananasif Community Development Association. Establishment of the Hananasif Development Association emanated from problems, which were caused by floods in the Hananasif squatted area which destroyed houses in the locality and rendered many residents homeless. In their initiatives to solve this problem, people in the area joined hands together, and worked as a team to reconstruct the damaged houses and also to repair their tertiary roads and construct drainage systems in their locality which were not there before the floods. They also formed a committee of few representatives, which was charged with the responsibility of soliciting emergency assistance from the governments (central and local) as well as from the donor community. Latter the committee developed into a permanent Hananasif Development Association, which invited membership from all interested residents in the locality. The association also added one more development activity to deal with. It incorporated initiatives to provide residents with in the area with tape water. In addition to provision of these services, the association also took the responsibility to operate and maintain the provided facilities. The financial resources required to perform these activities were met from donor contributions, membership fees and user fees eg. road tolls for all vehicles driving into the locality. However because of leadership conflicts, which basically were motivated by the craving of leaders in the association to use the association's funds for personal gains, the association split.<sup>8</sup> Some leaders withdrew from the organization and established another voluntary peoples organization within the area i.e. the Hananasif Development Trust. Establishment of this trust caused even more conflicts among leaders of two associations and among members and residents in the locality as a whole. The governmnet had to intervene to try to solve these conflicts in the locality. In the process of resolving these conflicts, another peoples organization called "Umoja wa Maendeleo wa Wananchi wa Hananasif" (UMWA) which can be translated as Hananasif people's development association. This association has undertaken the development activities which were under the Hananasif Community Development Association.

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<sup>8</sup> Some evidence of these conflicts are documented by Nguluma (1997:71-73)

UMWA draws its members from the two conflicting POs and from the Hananasif locality.

It would seem important at this point also to mention those none governmental organizations (not for profit permanent organization) formed by a collective efforts of people in the community or outside the community who are in most cases not affected by any of the existing urban utility or service problem. In principle, these kind NGOs are normally professionally staffed, seeking to aid constituents externally to themselves, and are not directly accountable to their intended beneficiaries. These kind of NGOs have normally engaged themselves in helping communities in Dar Cs Salaam to construct primary school buildings, provide some school equipment and even assist the households or families. Plan international is one example of such NGOs, which are now active in the city. It is working with communities in Buguruni and Vinguguti areas in the city, where the NGO is supporting primary schools and helping pupils to pay for medical costs.

As illustrated in the preceding section; though engaged in development initiatives in one way or another, the People's organizations POs have demonstrated a diversity of missions, objectives and motives. The Permanent POs identified by the Dar Es Salaam City Community Development Department, amount to 38. Out of these, 10 deal with a number of activities geared towards development of their locality. They therefore perform a number of activities. The remaining i.e. 28 are Peoples organizations POs concentrating mainly with solid Waste management.

As far as initiatives geared towards influencing actors [public (policy makers and executives), private and NGOs] behaviors are concerned. Advocacy, lobbying and educating policy makers and executives so as to influence policy formulation and implementation have not been attempted. People's reaction in the city of Dar Es Salaam have not tended towards exerting pressure on policy makers and governments (central and local) executives, demanding changes in their modus operandi, to effective and efficient utilization of public resources to ensure adequate supply of public goods and services in the city. The invisible and less direct problems, which may form part of the main causes of the direct and visible problems, are completely ignored by the peoples reactions to solve the urban problems. Among the list of invisible and indirect causes of

the urban problems would include unprogressive attitudes of legislative and executive actors in the central and local governments; coupled with lack of commitment and transparency. For instance government's decision to abolish the Dar Es Salaam City Council and instating of the Dar Es Salaam City Commission have not attracted any considerable resistance, if any at all from Dar Es Salaam residents generally and more specifically from the various voluntary peoples associations. Advocacy, lobbying and educating have tended to be focused on residents of respective localities to join forces together to eradicate those urban problems in their locality which have a direct visible impact on their livelihood (e.g. Infrastructure; water supply; public schools and health care units). The focus has therefore been on mobilization of urban residents in a locality to pool their resources together and also mobilize addition resources in-cooperation from other sources so as to effect changes in unsatisfactory states of affairs in their locality or neighborhood.

The overwhelming reaction of people in the city to escalating urban problems can be said to be that of performing operations themselves, either individually or collectively. It has become an order of the day for Dar Es Salaam residents to allocate own resources (time, labor financial and material) either individually or collectively, so as to bring about changes to the unsatisfactory states of affairs in their neighborhood or locality. The initiative apart from being popular among Dar Es Salaam residents, it has gained support from the city authorities and the state generally.

The City Commission has recognizes the positive contribution of Peoples Organizations in the City in provision of public goods and services. Through its Community Development Department, the City Commission is now facilitating and mobilizing people within their locality or neighborhood, to establish Peoples organizations, which in Dar Es Salaam are commonly termed as Community Development Association to solve their urban public goods and services problems. By pushing its responsibilities back to urban residents in this fashion, the urban authority is masking itself from urban residents' expectation of their rights to be supplied with public goods and services by the governments (central and local). Given the fact that two governments collects taxes, levies and user fees from urban residents one would expect some public goods and services in return made available to the residents or some

accountability in the way the collected revenues are spent. The fact that these does not happen, leaves much to be desired.

#### **4. Institutions And Voluntary None Conventional Initiatives.**

North (1991:97) defines Institutions as:

humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights)

Formal constraints are enforced either by the local or national government regulatory machinery, where as the informal constraints are self-enforcing or are enforced by h the community.

##### ***4.1. Institutions and Individual Actions***

Though prevalent, destructive individual actions are constrained by both formal and informal institutions. There are provisions in the laws of the Republic of Tanzania and local government bylaws prohibiting people or companies to undertake such actions as performed by the destructive actors. However such laws and regulations are currently ineffective in constraining such destructive actions, first of all because they are very old. Most of them were inherited from the colonial government with no or little amendments if any since then. Therefore the then prescribed harsh punishment is currently just like a joke to the offenders, e.g. a fine of 1000 Tanzanian shillings for throwing garbage and waste in a manner which is not allowed by the law, is a very minor punishment to day. This is because a thousand Tanzanian shillings is just enough money to buy a single meal in a cheap hotel in the city, it would therefore not be a constraint to check such behaviors among urban residents. Secondly, enforcers of the rules and regulations are unmotivated due to very low remuneration of civil servants in the country. Low

remuneration motivates them to adopt perverse behaviors like corruption and rent seeking behavior in some instances and or complete laxity in some others.

Destructive actions are not only constrained by the formal constraints, but they are also constrained by the informal constraints. Emptying wastewater in streets and throwing solid waste every where in the neighborhood is perceived to be a detestable thing by the community. That is the reason as to why the activity is done at night. The fact of the matter is that, the very individual who does it wouldn't like others to do it, since they believe that would worsen the situation already unsatisfactory situation in their neighborhood. However everyone does it expecting others would not do it; consequently, such activities go on endlessly but not openly.

On the other hand, constructive action is neither constrained by formal constraints nor by the informal ones. This is because the outcomes of such initiatives are always advantageous to the entire community or neighborhood. It is often initially from such activities, when actors pool their individual efforts together and or mobilize even more others in the community to form a permanent community based organization. Some of the permanent POs, which are found in the city, are in one way or another, product of constructive individual action. Their activities do not only attract others, but also mobilize them to work jointly.

#### ***4.2 Institutions and Permanent Collective Actions***

Community based organizations emanating from permanent collective action initiatives in the country, are not anyhow constrained by the enacted rules and regulations. The formal institutions or regulations in the country provide for free establishment of organizations. An organization in Tanzania can be set up by registration in two different ways. An organization can be set up by registration under Societies Registration ordinance in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and an organization can also be set up by registration under the Trustees Incorporation Act at the Administrator General's Office.

However the permanent not for profit community based organizations are informally not accepted in the community. This is because their formation is based on

minority objectives in the sense that it is the elite in the neighborhood or community who initiates their formation. On top of that it is the same people who are in the forefront in running them. Depending on the type of people residing in the neighborhood, the elite forming these community based organizations range from rich people, educated and retired senior officials, government employees in eloquent neighborhoods to relatively educated and well-off people in the poor neighborhoods or communities located in squatters. The POs, which are initiated in the name of developing the community, are controlled by just a few people, with no any established organizational framework of accountability to the entire community. The elite are unwilling to totally integrate the community residents mainly because they indirectly obtain some personal gains from the voluntary organizations, and therefore afraid to loose those gains if the POs becomes entirely controlled by the community. The majority in the community though happily enjoying the outcome of the POs' efforts, they are not happy about them, and are reluctant to support them anyhow unless they are integrated into the POs. Given the fact that these POs also depend to a greater extent on external support, residents in the community view PO leaders as being opportunistic, i.e., using the PO as a conduit for personal financial gains and that contributes more to the majority's reluctance to contribute. On top of that, the belief that PO leaders leap personal gains from the PO also leads to elite in the community to fight for positions in the PO, consequently a lot of time is spent on solving leadership conflicts than in performing the POs intended tasks (e.g. Hanna Nassif)<sup>12</sup>. The fight for leadership positions also leads to witchcraft consequently jeopardizing objective effectiveness and efficient operation of the POs. Though these kinds of POs have a formal constituent (which is one of the requirements for registering a PO), the constitutions are normally made without allowing any input from members of or from people living in the community. On top of that, the constitution is made in such a way as to suit interests of the elite members of the PO, in terms of how leadership is elected; elected leaders' terms of office (which in most cases is more or less permanent); members meetings; which rarely takes place.

Despite the constraints discussed above however, one cannot belittle efforts of the voluntary peoples associations, which to a greater extent have supplemented local

government and national government failures to provide, produce and or maintain urban public services.

## **5. Conclusion**

The aim of this paper was to analyze how community based initiatives have developed in the city of Dar es Salaam as a result of rapid urbanization coupled with ill-urban management and deteriorating urban public services. The analysis included among other things the underlying factors behind initiation of community based organizations; i.e. the particular circumstances, which induced people to organize themselves, and the areas of service provision their newly formed associations cater for. Furthermore to analyze how already established organizations seek to expand their activities in grappling with the urban crisis, and how such expansion may have affected their original purpose and following, in addition to that, how urban associations are gendered, and the degree to which they incorporate the poor. Lastly to analyze the responses of central and local governments to these popular, collective actions as well as the institutional (formal and informal rules) requirements in establishing them; and what they have achieved so far. In conclusion, issues of sustainability of the community-based efforts are discussed and recommendations are given.

Inadequate supply of public goods and services in Tanzania's urban areas has attracted an array of reactions among urban residents. The reactions have ranged from individuals acting alone to collective reactions of people in a neighborhood or locality within the urban area. Some individual reactions have worsened the unsatisfactory urban situation (e.g. unsanitary urban environment) while others have worked towards

improving the situation. The positive contribution of individual reactions have in some cases prompted people in their neighborhoods and localities to form associations or organizations some of which have become permanent organizations. However most of the voluntary peoples organizations have been initiated by initiatives of one or more individuals in the neighborhoods and urban localities, through mobilizing others into such organizations. Most of these permanent voluntary people's organizations have broadened their activities to incorporate more development activities than those motivated their establishment. On top of that, they tend to be male dominated though exceptions exist in the case of POs whose members are entirely women.

Sustainability of voluntary people's efforts in the city to provide, produce and or maintain public services in a sustainable way, through establishment of community based organizations, will depend to a greater extent on the sustainability of people's organizations. The POs can only survive if at least the following two conditions are fulfilled: First of all, they must be generally accepted in the community. Secondly, they must have enough capacity in terms of own resources (human, financial and material) to enable them pursue their objectives.

Fulfillment of the first condition calls for the POs to first abide to the formal rules, i.e., to officially or formally get registered. This reduces or eliminates possibilities of tension between the POs and local or national governments to develop. Secondly, the POs must make themselves acceptable to all members of the community. This can be done through involvement of all members of the community in formulation of the PO's constitution objectives or aims; election of leaders. They must be accountable and transparent to the community by holding regular meetings with all members of the

community and openly reveal their financial statements for scrutiny by member of the community This can definitely motivate people in communities to have a sense of belonging to the POs. Most probably that would also motivate members of the community contribute own resources to the PO thus easing the resource constraints of these POs. However these POs cannot easily become accountable and transparent to the members of the community without sensitizing the elite who are currently leading them. Elite sensitization could be done by the NGOs and International Organizations (Plan international; International Labor Organization; World Health Organization; UNCHS (Habitat) which are currently already supporting some of the POs in the city of Dar Es Salaam in one way or another.

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