Implementation of International Programmes in Developing Countries

- the Example of SAICM in Tanzania

Authors: Martin Adolfsson and Johan Lindgren
Supervisor: Jan Olsson
The Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM) is an international framework on sound chemicals management with the objective that "by the year 2020, chemicals are produced and used in ways that minimize significant adverse impacts on the environment and human health." SAICM was adopted at the International Conference on Chemicals Management in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, in February 2006. To prepare countries to be able to implement SAICM the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) is currently running Pilot Projects in three developing countries and one county with economy in transition: Belarus, Pakistan, Tanzania and Panama. Between October and December 2007 we were doing a Minor Field Study in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, interviewing people involved in the implementation of their Pilot Project which is running from 2006-2009. Our paper consists of two parts, one descriptive and one analysing. In the first part we describe the initiation, the formulation, the implementation and the evaluation of SAICM and the Pilot Project in Tanzania and in the second part we analyse opportunities and hindrances for a successful implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania. How is the UN governing the implementation, what resources of finances, knowledge, institutions and time does Tanzania have and how is the implementation influenced by different actors interests? We argue that the there is a mixture of the top-down and the bottom-up models and that this mixture is fruitful, we argue that Tanzania has enough finances, knowledge and time to implement SAICM but lack institutions, and finally that the different interests are not too various to harm the process.

Keywords: SAICM, Tanzania, chemicals management, pilot project, implementation theory, top-down, bottom-up.
Acknowledgements

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Our love and gratitude also goes to Hanna and Julia. Thank you for your support and for loving us even though we are boring.

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Martin Adolfsson and Johan Lindgren
Örebro, June 2008
Min. stands for Ministry. The star (*) stands for the number of interviews with that person and the minus (-) explains that the member is also represented in the Secretariat. The only members of the Secretariat and the Steering Committee we didn’t meet was NEMC’s person in the Secretariat since he was in custody at the time and the chairman of the Steering Committee (the Permanent Secretary at the Min. of Health and Social Welfare) who directed us to Tanzania’s Focal Point Ernest Mashimba (GCLA).

### The Secretariat

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Mashimba</td>
<td>GCLA (Government Chemist Laboratory Agency)</td>
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<td>Magdalena Mtenga</td>
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<td>Josephine Kalima</td>
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<td>Enock Masanja</td>
<td>CREFT (The Chemical Risks Experts Foundation of Tanzania)</td>
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<td>Jamidu Katima</td>
<td>AGENDA (for Environment and Responsible Development)</td>
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<td>Fransisca Katagira</td>
<td>MAFC (Min. of Agricultural, Food Security and Cooperatives)</td>
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<td>Ernest Mwasubila</td>
<td>VPO (Vice President’s Office, Division of Environment)</td>
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### The Steering Committee

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<td>VPO</td>
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<td>Min. of Planning, Economic affairs and Empowerment</td>
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<td>Min. of Regional Administration and Local Governments</td>
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<td>OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Agency)</td>
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<td>NEMC</td>
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<td>TPRI (Tropical Pesticides Research Institute)</td>
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<td>AGENDA (Silvani Mng’anya)</td>
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<td>Tanzania Chamber of Minerals</td>
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<td>CTI (Confederation of Tanzanian Industries)</td>
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<td>Univ. of Dar es Salaam, Dept. of Chemical and Process Engineering</td>
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<td>Crop Life</td>
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<td>GCLA</td>
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<td>TFDA (Tanzania Food and Drugs Authority)</td>
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<td>TPAWU (Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union)</td>
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The rest of the Stakeholders we interviewed:

* Oryx Oil Co (company)
* Continental Chemicals Ltd. (company)
* Twiga-Chemical (company)
* Insignia LTD (company)
* TBS (Tanzania Bureau of Standards)
* Min. of Energy and Minerals
* TFNC (Tanzania Food and Nutrition Center)
* TUICO (Tanzania Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers)
* LEAT (Lawyers Environmental Action Team)
* ENVIROCARE
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In latter years the linkage between development and the environment has been highlighted. It seems like it is impossible to ignore the environment when talking about development. For instance people starve due to shrinking crops and drought that most likely are a consequence of the global warming that is caused by the use of fossil fuel. Another example can be found in the use of pesticides in the cultivation of bananas in Latin America. Peasants and agricultural workers spray the bananas with substances that threat their own health in order to be able to sell them. In this way there is a trade of between selling the product and thus get an income with the risk of becoming sterile or to cultivate without pesticides but being unable to sell since the market does not consider the product good enough.

A farmer in the South moreover has to consider the trade off between loosing the crop due to fungi or pests and the cost to invest in fungicides or pesticides. Fungicides and pesticides are good in the way that they save the peasant’s crop at the same time they are bad since they might be hazardous to humans and ecosystems in the environment.¹ This example shows that the linkage between environment and development is complex and that there are no simple answers.

Since we are both interested in questions concerning development and environment we thought that investigating a chemicals management project in a developing country could be of great interest since it is a hybrid counting with both fields. Think for instance of a poor peasant in the developing world that uses pesticides to a great extent in his cultivation. If he does not get training in how to use the substance he will probably use large quantities of it since it makes sure that the crop is not attacked by insects and can thus grow big. He will on the other hand probably due to lack of information neither think of the potential risks for himself and other people handling the pesticide, since it can take years or even decades for symptoms to show, nor the risk that the crop will shrink while the years go since the soil is being washed out or poisoned by the use of the chemicals.²

Another problem to have in mind when talking about environmental problems is that they are global; they do not stop at the borders between states. Rather the cost of such problems is often not born by the country that caused it but by others. For instance some pesticides that are used in the tropics are transported far across the

¹ Karlsson, Sylvia, 2000, Multilayered Governance, Pesticides in the South - environmental concerns in a globalised world, Department of Water and Environmental Studies, Linköping University, p. 14 & 24
² Karlsson, Sylvia, 2000, p. 27
causing trouble for ecosystems and human beings used.\textsuperscript{3}
the previously mentioned examples we think that
the linkage between environment and development is of high relevance and that
there is a need for more research in this field. Of course research has been carried
out. One example is Sylvia Karlsson\textsuperscript{3} thesis *Multilayered Governance, Pesticides in the South - environmental concerns in a globalised world*\textsuperscript{4} Still we believe that there is a need for more empirical research in this field and we thus
think that our paper can contribute to this. Moreover we have found that there is a
need for research on implementation in the third world. The implementation
research that has been carried out is foremost focusing on political programmes in
the developed world such as Pressman and Wildavsky\textsuperscript{5} classic *Implementation - How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing that Federal Programs Work At All...*\textsuperscript{6} Since the bureaucracy in many
developing countries functions in unpredictable ways implementation in that part
of the world is different from implementation in the developed countries.

In accordance with these thoughts this paper is about a United Nation\textsuperscript{5} project
called Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM). The
objective of SAICM is that in the year 2020 chemicals are supposed to be
produced and used in a way that minimize the adverse effects on human beings
and the environment.\textsuperscript{6} In order to be able to implement SAICM four Pilot Projects
are being carried out. Four countries are taking part in this which is a
collaboration between the United Nations Training and Research Programme
(UNITAR), the Inter-Organisation Programme for the Sound Management of
Chemicals (IOMC), the World Bank, the United Nations Development
Programme (UNDP), the Secretariat of the Basel Convention (SBC) and the
Secretariat of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
(OPCW). The countries in the project are three developing countries and one
country with economy in transition: Belarus; Pakistan; Tanzania and Panama.\textsuperscript{7} An
aim with the project is:

\textit{to develop an integrated national programme for the sound management of
chemicals and waste with a focus on governance, stakeholder participation, and
partnerships to support national SAICM implementation.}\textsuperscript{8}

Our paper is, more specifically, about the implementation of the Pilot Project of
SAICM in one of the four countries, namely Tanzania, which we visited in the
autumn of 2007 for nine weeks of field work carrying out interviews. Our first
main question is: how is the Pilot Project of SAICM implemented in Tanzania?

\textsuperscript{3} Karlsson, Sylvia, 2000, p. 27
\textsuperscript{4} Karlsson, Sylvia, 2000
\textsuperscript{7} UNITAR, www.unitar.org/cwm/saicm/saicm1.html, fetched 2008-04-04
\textsuperscript{8} UNITAR, www.unitar.org/cwm/saicm/saicm1.html, fetched 2008-04-04
Related to this are the questions: why was Tanzania chosen as one of the Pilot Project countries and how do different actors view the Pilot Project? Our second main question is: what opportunities and hindrances are there for a successful implementation of SAICM in Tanzania? Related to this are the following questions: how is the UN governing the implementation, what resources of finances, knowledge, institutions and time does Tanzania have and how is the implementation influenced by different actors’ interests?

Since the Pilot Project countries are brought from four different regions of the world it is likely that they are seen as examples that one could use later on when other countries in these regions are supposed to implement SAICM. The experiences from these four countries can hopefully be helpful in their neighbouring countries later on. With these experiences in mind the obstacles met can hopefully be passed in other countries, likewise it is easier to avoid the mistakes previously made next time. One gain with the use of pilot projects is thus that the experiences can be used in other cases as well. Hopefully the discrepancy between plans and reality can be bridged in this way. This would of course be of great worth especially in foreign aid where the gap might be even wider than in many other issues. Maybe it is due to the difference between intention and reality that SAICM is first being implemented through the Pilot Projects. If the project would fail, it would not be such a big problem as if SAICM would be implemented in all countries at the same time and fail. Maybe it should not even be seen as a problem if the implementation fails in the Pilot Project countries since the things learnt from the failure could later on be used in other countries as a warning example on how not to implement SAICM.

Except for the linkage between development and environment the paper is of great relevance since the problem to implement as intended is a pressing problem no matter the issue. When it comes to foreign aid the issue is even more severe than in many other issues. This might be since it is in general harder to control a project overseas than it is to control a project in a domestic municipality. Empirical studies that include implementation are often very complex and this study is definitely no exception.

1.1 Why this issue?

We had heard about the scholarship given by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) called Minor Field Study (MFS). When we had decided that we wanted to make an attempt to get the grant a period of hard work started. Since applicants for the scholarship must have a project to investigate and a plan on how to carry it out we had to find an organization that could help us. Unfortunately it was a lot harder than we thought to find a project that some organization wanted us to investigate for them. When we had almost lost hope the Swedish Society for Natures Conservation (Swedish acronym SNF)
replied to our request and told us about SAICM. We were told that there is a pilot project on SAICM going on in four countries. The countries are, as already mentioned, Belarus, Pakistan, Panama and Tanzania. Since we had decided in advance, that if possible, we wanted to go to Africa and due to the fact that one of us was living in Tanzania as a child the decision was not hard to make. Moreover we did not really want to go to Eastern Europe and since we do not speak Spanish we thought it would be unsuitable to go to Latin America. Pakistan was of some interest and could have been a back up for Tanzania, but since the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation linked us to the Tanzanian NGO AGENDA and they were ready to host us we decided that we wanted to go there. Fortunately we were lucky enough to get the scholarship and we went to Tanzania in the middle of October 2007 for a nine weeks study.

1.1.1 About our hosts AGENDA

Before we move on we consider it fruitful to present our host organization AGENDA in more detail. The proper name for the organization is AGENDA For Environment and Responsible Development. AGENDA which is a non profit non-governmental organization was founded in 1994 by the Danish Development Agency (DANIDA). Initially it was a project that aimed to help to develop the Tanzanian business sector through the promotion of environmentally responsible, transparent and accountable business practices. When the project was concluded it was transformed into an autonomous NGO. The organization was formally registered in July 1997. AGENDA is working with chemicals management and conservation of the environment. The organization’s vision is that the country’s socio-economic development should be attained equitably to all society’s members without harming the environment and human health. In accordance with this idea AGENDA is trying to increase knowledge among the Tanzanian public in order to create a culture of responsibility for the environment and sustainable development. AGENDA which is funded by membership fees has around 200 members from different parts of Tanzania. Membership in AGENDA is open both to individuals and organizations like NGOs and CBOs that support the organization’s mission. The members are drawn from research and academia as well as from the field of sustainable development and environment. Since the member’s participation is a key for legitimacy and performance it is important to develop a wide network of members committed to sustainable development. The organization employs eight day-to-day workers. The NGO’s only office is situated in Dar es Salaam but it has focal points in other parts of the country. AGENDA wants to improve the efficiency of the use of resources and reduce hazards and risks associated with chemicals. Moreover it is safeguarding the environmental quality and it is trying to minimize the quantity of waste. In order to achieve these goals the organization has a couple of objectives including the following: To promote safe handling and use of chemicals, to carry out activities concerning environment and sustainable development that are in accordance with national policies and needs and to promote an integration of a responsibility for the
management. Moreover it wants to collect, store and disseminate information on what technologies and environmental practices to use. Furthermore an aim is to supply research and surveys for practical purposes. The activities concerning the environment and development promoted by AGENDA are compatible with international treaties as well as national policies and legislation and local needs. In order to achieve the goals AGENDA is conducting research.  

1.2 Purpose and questions

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the implementation of the UN project Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM) in Tanzania. SAICM is a programme which objective is that in the year 2020 chemicals are supposed to be produced and used in a manner that harm humans and the environment as little as possible. Our questions are divided into three different levels:

1) How is the Pilot Project of SAICM implemented in Tanzania?

a) How was SAICM initiated?
b) How was SAICM formulated?
   - How do different actors view the Pilot Project?
c) How is the Pilot Project implemented?
   - Why was Tanzania chosen as one of the Pilot Project countries?
d) How is SAICM being evaluated?

2) What opportunities and hindrances are there for a successful implementation of SAICM in Tanzania?

a) How is the UN governing the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania?
   - Is the implementation based on the top-down or the bottom-up model?
   - Is the governing of the Pilot Project fruitful?
b) What resources of finances, knowledge, institutions and time does Tanzania have to implement the Pilot Project and SAICM?
c) How is the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania influenced by different actors’ interests?

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9 AGENDA - For Environment and Responsible Development, www.agenda-tz.org/vision.asp, fetched 2008-03-24, Mng'anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06
The paper is outlined along the following path: the first of our two main parts is trying to give a background on what SAICM is and how it was established. Furthermore it is trying to describe what has happened so far. In order to carry out this task in a clear and foreseeable manner we use the model of the policy process with its different stages: initiation, formulation, implementation, evaluation and review. In this way the first part is foremost descriptive. In the second part of the paper we will investigate what opportunities and hindrances there are to implement SAICM successfully. We are analysing this through three different themes: how SAICM is governed by the UN and within Tanzania, what resources Tanzania has and finally how the implementation is affected by different actors’ interests. In the rest of this chapter we will give a short introduction of the theories we are using, explain our demarcation and method and finally comment our material. In the second chapter we will develop our theoretical tools and in chapter three we are describing SAICM from initiation to evaluation. In chapters four to six we are analyzing what opportunities and hindrances Tanzania has for a successful implementation of SAICM and in the last chapter we are giving a conclusion and some reflections on SAICM in Tanzania.

1.4 Choice of theory

We are linking our paper to implementation theory. This is because SAICM is a United Nations programme which is supposed to be implemented at the national as well as regional and local level in the countries concerned. Implementation is of great concern due to the fact that the distinction between plans and reality is often quite considerable. The discrepancy between what is intended and what is actually carried out is large in more than one project. This might be the reason why SAICM is initially carried out through a couple of pilot projects. In our first part of the paper we are using the stages heuristic-model within policy process theory to describe the different stages of SAICM. In the second part of the paper we are analysing SAICM in Tanzania through implementation theory and for example we are using the theoretical tools top-down and bottom-up on our empirical data in order to be able to tell whether the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania is characterized by top-down or bottom-up governing.

As already told, the four countries that have been chosen as Pilot Projects have started to prepare for an implementation of the UN programme Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM). Due to the fact that we have been doing a field study in Tanzania the demarcation is quite obvious. In the study we are firstly investigating how the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania is being carried out and secondly what opportunities and hindrances there are for a successful implementation.

1.6 Method

Since SAICM is a quite new phenomenon and the implementation of it in Tanzania is even newer there is not much written about the results of the project so far. Therefore we have been making interviews with people involved with SAICM at different levels. The interviewed persons can be seen as informants in the way that we have been thinking of the field study as if we were doing a jigsaw puzzle. Seen from this perspective we have been asking different questions to different respondents in order to cover the whole picture. The interviews we have made can be seen as our main source of information. Besides this we brought from Tanzania several documents about SAICM that might be of relevance for the study.11

We have been interviewing people from the three different levels of engagement: The Secretariat, The Steering Committee and Stakeholders. The Secretariat consists of approximately ten persons and it is the institution that is working with SAICM on a day to day basis. The Steering Committee, the next level of engagement, has around 20 members. It is the institution that makes things move since it is the institution that makes the final decisions or if a cabinet or parliament decision is needed it is the institution that hands the issue over to them. We tried to interview all members in these two institutions. Furthermore we carried out interviews with a couple of Stakeholders, others, that are involved in the project like researchers, chemical companies, NGO’s and governmental organizations.12

The interviews were of a semi-structured character. The interview guides were adapted in order to fit the context of each respondent. The questions we had

12 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24,
Katagira, Franciska, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16,
Ntakamulenga, Robert, NEMC, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-19
Initially we received a list from one of our local supervisors in Dar es Salaam which we thought was a list on the actors involved in SAICM. Due to the fact that we later on realized that it was only a list over the actors that had taken part in a particular meeting we started to conclude the interviews carried out by asking our interviewees for other persons that could be valuable for us to interview. For some time our way to find interviewees had thus the character of snowball selection. To be frank we realized while we were carrying out our first interviews that we had not understood much about the project’s shape. When we realized that the Secretariat and the Steering Committee were the most involved institutions we decided to interview the most involved persons in these two bodies. Due to the fact that we thought that we had enough time we decided that we wanted to meet all the persons from the Secretariat and the Steering Committee which altogether consist of about 30 persons. As mentioned previously we did not get the chance to meet a few of the actors in these bodies but since we interviewed six actors that we thought gave us much valuable information two or even three times and also carried out a couple of interviews with ordinary Stakeholders we carried out altogether 38 interviews. The time frame of the interviews was different stretching from 20 to 70 minutes depending on the time available for the respondents. Limited time was even one of the reasons we carried out several interviews with a couple of informants another one is that it is hard to keep the power of concentration up for much longer than an hour.

1.7 Material and criticism of the sources

As already said our main source of information consists of interviews carried out in the late autumn of 2007. One big risk with interviews is that the answers given are depending on the interviewer. If an interviewee doesn’t feel comfortable there is a risk that the answers will not match what the person really thinks, rather they might mirror what he or she thinks that the interviewer wants. Our estimation is though that the risk for this is quite small since we did not ask personal questions but questions about a United Nations programme. The risk is still there though, for instance since we are slightly young compared to almost all interviewees and because we are white, not African. All interviews we made were carried out in English and although the main part of the persons were speaking decent English, the persons would of course had expressed themselves better if they had talked their mother tongue Swahili. On the other hand, if we would have chosen to

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13 Denscombe, Martyn, 2000, Forskningshandboken - för småskaliga forskningsprojekt inom samhällsvetenskaperna, Lund, Studentlitteratur p. 142 & 135
Karlsson, Sylvia, 2000, p. 58-59
14 Esaisson, Peter, Gilljam, Mikael, Oscarsson, Henrik & Wängnerud, Lena, 2004, p. 212
15 Denscombe, Martyn, 2000, p. 138-139
interview them in Swahili by using an interpreter we would have had a problem to

We went to the Government Chemist Laboratory Agency an institution under the
Ministry of Health and Social Welfare several times since five of the members of
the Secretariat were working there. Sometimes when we were asking them for
documents about SAICM we felt like if they were a bit reluctant to give us what
we needed. One reason for this might be that they felt like if we were trying to
find problems in the work they were doing. The printed material we use in our
empirical work consists of guidelines from UNITAR and other general documents
about SAICM. Since the documents and interviews are primary sources they are
by definition correct information, the validity question is rather whether they are
correct/enough sources for our purpose of the study. An important question is
whether the empirical data we have from Tanzania are in line with the guidelines
from the UN or if it is more a matter of window-dressing.
In this chapter we will first go through the policy process and its different stages and then implementation theory. The policy process will later on be used to describe the story of SAICM while implementation theory will be used in the second part of the paper in which we try to answer whether Tanzania has the ability to handle problems that might occur during the implementation of the Pilot Project.

2.1 The policy process

By using the traditional stages heuristic-model within policy process theory we will later give a descriptive summary of the whole process of SAICM in Tanzania. The process is divided in five phases: initiation, formulation, implementation, evaluation and review.

2.1.1 Initiation

Initiation is the decision to make a decision in a particular area; also called agenda-setting. Which actor or actors that bring(s) the issue on the agenda can vary since there are so many different actors on the political arena today compared to 20 years ago. Science, technology and media are three different influences to a policy initiation and depending on the political issue they are more or less useful as an explanation. Science and research is right now playing a starring role in the climate-change debate and one of the fundamental debates is the question whether the temperature changes are part of the earth’s natural changes or not. Nuclear energy is an example on how a technological breakthrough needs a political response and a discussion about the trade off in using nuclear energy between the short term economical gains and the long-term environmental risks. In some political areas media is an important actor to bring the issue on the agenda and one example is food scares. Last fall a TV-programme in Sweden disclosed that several food stores were repacking minced meat by extending the expiry date.

16 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273
17 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273-274
Formulation is followed by assembly of information which is a prerequisite needed in order to be able to formulate a concrete policy.\textsuperscript{18} Formulation is "the detailed development of a policy into concrete proposals."\textsuperscript{19} Within the formulation phase there are two different models, the rational model and the incremental model. In the rational model a comprehensive analysis decides the goals that need to be reached and in the next phase means are chosen to reach those goals. One view of looking at the rational model is through the economic term cost-benefit analysis (CBA) which means that you put a monetary value on each option and then choose the option with the highest net benefit. In the incremental ('small steps') model on the other hand, goals and means are decided together through a compromise between different actors with different goals. This model was a reaction against the rational model and argued for example that it had too high demands on policy-makers and that CBA left out 'soft' values like quality of life. The CBA divides the two models into the classical economic trade off between efficiency and equity.\textsuperscript{20}

2.1.3 Implementation

Implementation is "putting the policy into practice."\textsuperscript{21} This part of the policy process is probably the one that has caught most scholars and one important book looking at the challenge of implementation is Pressman/Wildavsky's "Implementation - How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing that Federal Programs Work At All..." from 1973. There are several different perspectives on implementation but one general division is to distinguish between top-down and bottom-up implementation. Top-down means that the bureaucrats under the politicians are implementing the policy in more or less the exact way as the political decision and the bottom-up means that local bureaucrats and people affected by the policy are reshaping the policy in the specific socio-cultural context. A third perspective is a mixture of top-down and bottom-up and is called the network approach. The network approach involves different actors from different levels.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{18} Hill, Michael & Hupe, Peter, 2002, Implementing Public Policy, London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi, SAGE Publications, p. 6
\textsuperscript{19} Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273
\textsuperscript{20} Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 274-276
\textsuperscript{21} Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273
\textsuperscript{22} Hill, Michael & Hupe, Peter, 2002, p. 41-43 & 57, Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 24-25
Evaluation is “appraising the effects and successes of the policy.” Although an implementation have for example included new schools, higher salaries for teachers and better textbooks it might not have had any effect on the pupils learning process. You need to distinguish between policy outputs (the government build new schools) and the policy outcomes (the pupils are improving their knowledge). Of course, to make a comprehensive evaluation all concerned actors needs to be asked. Thus the evaluation phase is about the difference between expectation and outcome.

2.1.5 Review

Review is the question whether to continue, revise or terminate? The normal procedure is that most policies will either continue or continue after a few small revisions and that very few will be terminated. The reasons why so few are terminated might be that policies by definition are meant to last long, termination can lead to conflicts; no one wants to admit that a policy was bad, termination of one policy might affect other policies and finally politics prefer new ideas rather than improving old ones.

The stages heuristic-model has been criticized for being unrealistic for instance in that the distinction between the different stages is in reality not as distinct as in the model but rather the distinction between them is blurred. According to Sabatier the stages heuristic-model has outlived its usefulness and needs to be replaced with better theoretical frameworks and he is summarizing his critique in four arguments. First he argues that the model lacks causal drivers which makes it hard to create hypothesis across stages, second he says that in practice the stages do not follow a straight line instead they influence each other in different directions, third he finds the model too legalistic and top-down and fourth Sabatier argues that the focus on a single policy cycle simplifies the actual process of multiple, interacting cycles at multiple levels of government. We agree on most of Sabatier’s critique but have although decided to use the stages heuristic-model since we are just using the model in its simplest form to structure our empirical data in foreseeable way and not as an analyzing tool.

23 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273
24 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 276-277,
Hill, Michael & Hupe, Peter, 2002, p. 11
25 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 273
26 Hague, Rod & Harrop, Martin, 2001, p. 277-278
27 Hill, Michael & Hupe, Peter, 2002, p. 6
In some way a pilot project with the objective to prepare for an implementation lies between the formulation phase and the implementation phase of the policy process. We have though decided to put it as the very first part of the implementation phase since it belongs more to this phase than the formulation phase. The implementation phase is definitely the most interesting part of our empirical study where the other phases are more peripheral. Because of this reason we are now giving a description of different schools within implementation theory. As mentioned previously the discrepancy between political goals and political reality is often considerable. Therefore implementation is a pressing issue. Talking about the implementation of political decisions there are three different schools: top-down, bottom-up and the third view, networks, which is a hybrid consisting of elements from both the first ones. In the following section we will try to make clear what these three different schools stand for. We will also try to make clear that these different schools can be linked to three different generations of implementation research.29

The first generation was characterized by great pessimism due to a couple of empirical studies in the 1970:s that had pointed out the gap between political decisions and the politics carried out. This generation's greatest contribution to the society is that it raised the awareness about the issue among the public in general and scholars in particular. A great profit with the second generation was that scientists in this period started to create theories and hypothesis concerning the issue. The second generation was characterised by debates between top-down and bottom-up scholars.30

The top-down view sees the implementation process as something that is initiated and overseen by the politicians who are to produce objectives that are not equivocal. The bureaucrats' role is just to execute the decisions made by the politicians. They are not seen as contributors to the policy formation. Moreover the opinion of the supporters of the top-down school is that a hierarchy that tells who is to do what is needed, that is a hierarchy giving each and every actor a specific role. In the top down field we find the two researchers van Meter and van Horn who claim that in order to implement a policy, consensus among the different bodies concerning the objective is needed. Among the scholars supporting this point of view we find Pressman and Wildavsky who say that the more institutions a decision have to pass, the less likely it is that it will be implemented the way the decision makers intended to. Sabatier and Mazmanian agree with the criteria mentioned above but add some things which they say are

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29 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 21-24,
30 Pülz, Helga & Treib, Oliver, 2006, p. 89
The bottom-up school can be seen as a reaction against the top-down point of view. Here the output of a project is of greater worth than the input. The things that are actually happening are the ones that are of interest. The reason it is called bottom-up is that it is starting its research at the bottom looking at the people who are actually carrying out the policies. They are not, like the top-down standpoint says, lacking discretion. They do not just have to obey but can contribute to the policy formulation. In this way the bottom-up school gives a greater responsibility to the so called "street-level-bureaucrats" that is doctors, teachers, police officers, social workers etc, since they have to solve upcoming problems when they are trying to implement a decision. Implementation is seen as a negotiation between different networks of implementers. The important role of the street-level-bureaucrats is something the researchers Lipsky and Hudson have been pointing out at different times. The street-level-bureaucrats do have power to do more than to carry out orders from the decision makers.  

What is characterizing the third generation is that it could be seen as a hybrid trying to bridge the gap between the first two generations. Furthermore it is also trying to be more scientific. Due to this scientific ambition it is according to this view important to come up with hypotheses, operationalized in a proper way and to produce empirical observations that are adequate. Anyway, only few studies have so far been carried out in this way. Another thing that is characterizing the third generation is that it casts light on networks as important actors in shaping the politics. Politics can be seen as teamwork where different actors are taking part to a great or small extent. The actors can be private or public, from the municipality or from the government. They can be representing their interests as business men or take part due to their profession as bureaucrats and politicians. In this kind of networks there is no clear hierarchy telling who is doing what. It is hard to say who is responsible for the network's actions. Moreover the shape of the networks is elastic in the way that they are changing from time to time. The work of the network is characterized by solving problems together but also conflicts since actors advocating different interests have to agree and collaborate.  

Networks can be said to be situated in between the top-down and bottom-up approach. But anyway there are more elements from the bottom-up approach for instance since the network approach says that it is hard to tell who effects the most. There is no such distinct hierarchy in the bottom-up nor the network approach. In order to be able to sort our material we thus chose to skip the

31 Pülz, Helga & Treib, Oliver, 2006, p. 89-93  
32 Pülz, Helga & Treib, Oliver, 2006, p. 89-91 & 93-94  
33 Pülz, Helga & Treib, Oliver, 2006, p. 89-91  
to analyse our material only by using the top-down and the bottom-up approach. For this reason we will now look at these two antitheses in

2.2.1 The top-down model

The top-down model is the fundamental foundation within implementation theory. The model is thus based on two different actors in politics, decision-makers and decision-implementators, and their relationship is described through governing and control. Direct governing means that the decision-maker tells the implementator exactly what to do while indirect governing means that the decision-maker affects the conditions for the implementator. This can for example be done by telling how the implementation shall be organized, by financial support, by setting up rules for the work and by recruiting the right people on the right positions. One variant of indirect governing is informal governing which means that the decision-maker tries to influence the implementator through informal channels. The decision-maker is also controlling that the implementation is in line with the objectives and if not, it is possible to change the governing process. Two important concepts are reliability and rationality. Reliability tells us if the implementator is in line with the governing from the decision-maker and rationality tells us if the results are in line with what the decision-maker was aiming at during the decision making process.\textsuperscript{35}

Rationality answers the question whether the political programme is based on a correct causal theory, i.e. if the implementation process is done to 100 % will we reach the objectives that were formulated before the implementation started?\textsuperscript{36} Does $X \rightarrow Y$ independent of the specific environment or do $X + Z \rightarrow Y$ where $Z$ is a factor that is difficult to observe?\textsuperscript{37} Is the outcome optimal, better, the same or even worse? The responsible actor is of course the decision-maker although the implementator has the obligation to report frequently to the decision-maker about the implementation to avoid unnecessary pitfalls. The focus in our analyse will though mainly be on different aspects of reliability since the rationality is high in this case (we explain this later on).

The more precise governing, the better governing is probably the most common view on implementation but in practise political programmes are quite often both vague and contradictory. The reason is most often that the political agreement is reached at the price of vagueness but this agreement is important since the issue can be removed from the political debate, since the decision can last for a long time and since it is easier to do local implementations in municipalities based on various political assemblies. On the other hand this could just be a way of

\textsuperscript{35} Lundquist, Lennart, 1992, \textit{Förvaltning, stat och samhälle}, Lund, Studentlitteratur, p. 78-79
\textsuperscript{36} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 20-21
\textsuperscript{37} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 34-35
\textsuperscript{37} Gustavsson, Jakob, lecture Statsvetenskap A, Lunds University, February 2005
sweeping the problem under the carpet since the debate will continue on other arenas. However, too precise objectives might harm the flexibility and for instance an issue including a lot of technical knowledge needs political elasticity for those professional employees involved. Also, vague objectives gives the implementator ability to handle future, unpredictable problems, vague objectives can easier adopt to future, unpredictable technological development and vague objectives might be intentional since the decisions-maker sees the debate between a network of implementators as a fruitful and necessary part of the political programme.38

The purpose of a political programme is of course by definition to reach the objectives of the programme but another purpose can also be to reach indirect and symbolic objectives between the lines. Then the purpose is to persuade and convince, i.e. to form peoples ideas of the reality. The governing aspect is here replaced by creating legitimacy and meaning among both the implementators, the decision-makers and the citizens. At first glance it might look dishonest that politicians try to affect people’s ideas and thoughts but on second thoughts we probably realise that politics includes both the power of thoughts and the power of acts. 39

A lot of the concepts and ideas within implementation theory described above are based on the top-down model since that was the leading approach during the first decade of implementation research. Although the research area today is a mixture of theories of top-down, bottom-up, network, governance etc. we think it’s necessary to give this background since the tools from the top-down model is still useful to explain empirical data and analyse what kind of governing it is and what kind of governing it isn’t. In other words, the later theories within implementation theory are also based on several of the top-down model concepts although these theories might have different definitions of the concepts and also, that they have added new concepts into the implementation vocabulary.

2.2.2 The bottom-up model

As already said the theoretical reaction to the top-down model is the bottom-up model where people on the bottom through network and street level bureaucracy are part of all phases of the policy process. The starting point in the bottom-up model is the situation where the public meets the private, i.e. in the classroom, on the hospital, at the crime scene etc. Citizens, professional employees, organizations etc. can be the actors that initiate the issue, they can be part of formulating committees, in a vague programme from the decision-maker they will make several decisions along the implementation part and in the evaluating phase they play an important role since they are close witnesses to the implementation. So, as you can see the bottom-up model is based on the top-down

38 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 30-32
39 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 33-34
When top-down speaks of negotiations between politicians, bottom-up answers that their basic data for decision-making is reports from researchers and salaried employees. When top-down speaks of implementation of objectives, bottom-up answers that it is implementation of a framework that needs to consider the local context where lots of decisions need to be made by teachers, doctors, policemen etc. While the top-down model is focusing on the legislation the bottom-up model says that it is an empirical question whether the legislation plays a governing role and if not, the legislation won’t be part of the analyse. While the top-down model is based on the decision-makers intentions the bottom-up model is based on implementators action. The street-level bureaucrats work beyond their formal authority in the way that they shape and interpret policies and allocate resources. In this way the street-level bureaucrats produce public policy or more specifically how citizens experience public policy.

The two views on how to carry out research on implementation can be seen as methods on how to make research and/or two different forms of presentation and not two different theoretical perspectives. The first one takes the political decisions as its base line while the other one is first and foremost concerned with the outcomes of the decisions. Is focus on the political decision or on the actual activity, and which view is best to use to show the survey of an implementation process? One view is not better than the other, they are both fruitful and can serve as complements to each other. Also, the two models have different abilities to explain different political issues.

2.3 Why are we using three themes?

In the second part of the paper we will analyse the opportunities and hindrances Tanzania has to implement SAICM through three themes: governing, resources and interests. But why have we decided to use these three themes? After a review of the research on possible problems with implementation we concluded this research area in the light of our field study and we ended up in those three themes. The themes were later on confirmed by a couple of previous researchers within political science. The first one is Johan P. Olsen and James G. March in an article in American Political Review (1984) who say that politics can be explained by three factors: preferences, resources and institutions. What do the actors want to

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40 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 25
42 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 25-26
which actors have to strive for their objectives? Which strength do the actors have to strive for their objectives? Which rules do the actors have to follow? The second one is Lennart Lundquist in Implementation Steering (1987) who is talking about three important conditions for the actor implementing the decision: that he understands the decision, that he is able to carry out the decision and that he has the will to carry out the decision.  

Finally we want to finish this chapter by three reflections. The first one is that the empirical studies within implementation theory often give a distorted picture of the reality. Most often there are failing implementations that are observed since they are more interesting than successful ones. The second one is that implementation problems ought to be seen as normal phenomenon within implementation theory. To implement a programme to 100 % is a theoretical utopia. But on the other hand, to avoid the other ditch we also ought to strive as far as possible to the unreachable goal.  

The third reflection is taken from Bent Flyvbjerg who argues about the importance of context and that everything has to be seen within its specific connection. Therefore, he argues, it is hard to generalize from the findings of one case. Anyway, we believe that some of the findings from the Pilot Project in Tanzania are possible to transfer to some other countries. The things learnt in Tanzania might not be very useful for the implementation of SAICM in Eastern Europe but since Tanzania and a neighboring country such as Kenya have many things in common the experiences from Tanzania might be helpful there. Furthermore the four Pilot Project countries are drawn from four different regions of the world which gives UNITAR experience from different contexts.

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44 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 29
45 Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 46-47
In the following part we will tell the story of SAICM from initiation to review by using the stages heuristic model.

3.1 Initiation of SAICM

The Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM) was adopted by the International Conference on Chemicals Management (ICCM) on 6 February 2006 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. SAICM is an international policy framework to create better management of chemicals and was developed by a variety of Stakeholders from different sectors and different countries. The objectives are in line with the initiative from the 2002 Johannesburg United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development which says that by the year 2020, chemicals are produced and used in ways that minimize significant adverse impacts on the environment and human health.\(^47\) A more general background to the initiative to SAICM is the UN Conference on Environment and Development 1992 in Rio de Janeiro with its Rio-declaration and Agenda 21.

Altogether, the initiative to SAICM is based on: 1) Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment, in particular Principle 22, 2) Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 3) Agenda 21, in particular chapters 6, 8, 19 and 20, 4) United Nations Millennium Declaration, 5) Bahia Declaration on Chemical Safety and 6) Johannesburg Plan of Implementation. Also, the initiative to SAICM is based on previous international conventions regarding chemicals in different ways: 1) the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, 2) the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal, 3) Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade, 4) Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants and 5) ILO Convention No. 170 concerning safety in the use of chemicals at work.\(^48\)

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A steering committee to formulate SAICM was established in 2002. The committee consists of four actors: the Inter-Organization Programme on the Sound Management of Chemicals (IOMC), the Intergovernmental Forum on Chemical Safety (IFCS), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank. The IOMC itself consists of seven participating organizations: the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the World Health Organization (WHO). The Committee has prepared the content of SAICM through three Preparatory Committee-meetings in Bangkok (November 2003), Nairobi (October 2004) and Vienna (September 2005). Between those meetings there have also been regional meetings for example in the African region, the Asia-Pacific region and the Latin American and Caribbean region.\(^49\) All those meetings have included a multi-Stakeholder participation with representatives from intergovernmental organizations (as mentioned above), governments and NGOs.\(^50\)

After the first Preparatory Committee-meeting in Bangkok the Stakeholders had agreed that they wanted to have SAICM but they didn’t know how they wanted it. So, until the second meeting in Nairobi each region had to come up with ideas on how to formulate SAICM. Before Africa had its regional meeting in Abudja, Nigeria, the Tanzanian NGOs AGENDA and TPAWU were hosting a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, involving NGOs from 14 countries in the region. The outcome of this conference was the Arusha Declaration and according to AGENDA this declaration inspired the African proposal for SAICM from Abudja which later on inspired the international proposal for SAICM in Nairobi, Vienna and finally in Dubai 2006.\(^51\)

One of the leading countries in the development of SAICM has been Sweden, for instance objective 4 “poison-free environment” of the 16 Swedish objectives for the environment is the foundation of SAICM and the negotiations in Dubai was


\(^{51}\) Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28,
Mnganya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-11
headed by the former environment ambassador of Sweden Viveka Bohn. On one hand the objectives in SAICM are based on the current legislation on chemicals management in many of the developed countries which have made SAICM a matter for developing countries to copy these goals as in the rational model. On the other hand the problem is that the developing countries do not have the same conditions as the developed countries had when they were developed which have made it harder to just copy and paste our chemicals management. So, the formulation of SAICM has also been incremental with a deliberative discussion of how to fit chemicals management into the specific context for developing countries.

The SAICM framework from Dubai 2006 is based on three different texts. The Dubai Declaration explains the important connection between chemicals management and poverty reduction, the need of including women in the decision making, the responsibility for the industry and to mobilize finances for SAICM and integrate SAICM with other UN-organizations, developing banks and funds. The Dubai Declaration also includes commitments to SAICM by Ministers, heads of delegations and representatives from the civil society. The Overarching Policy Strategy focus on the political principles for SAICM, the needs for the strategy, objectives for risk reduction, knowledge and information, governance, capacity-building, technical cooperation, illegal international traffic and last but not least the financial structure. USA succeeded with the idea that the connections between SAICM and the World Bank should be cancelled since they argued that the World Bank’s objective is to reduce poverty through economic growth and not chemicals management. In Dubai they also decided that ICCM shall meet again in 2009, 2012, 2015 and 2020. The Global Plan of Action includes specific “work areas” and activities and is recommended as a working tool and guidance document. There are 273 proposals on activities which are connected to the political strategy and each activity has its own objective and timeframe, progress indicators, implementation aspects and responsible actors. Some activities that ICCM could not reach agreement on will be discussed on the next meeting in 2009. Furthermore, the ICCM adopted four resolutions on Implementation arrangements, the Quick Start Programme (QSP), a tribute to the Government of the United Arab Emirates and on the Intergovernmental Forum on Chemical Safety.

52 Kortrapport från internationella konferensen om kemikalievändering (ICCM) för slutförande och antagande av en global kemikalieväntakt, Ministry of the Environment, Sweden, Dubai, Förenade Arabemiraten, 4-6 februari 2006, p.1
To prepare countries to implement SAICM until year 2020 the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) has formulated a three year long Pilot Project. Three developing countries and one country in economic transition have been selected to implement this project from September 2006 to August 2009. The four project countries that were chosen at a meeting between UNITAR and IOMC in June 2006 are, as you know by now, Belarus, Panama, Pakistan and Tanzania and they are supposed to be regional examples on how to implement SAICM. Altogether 44 countries applied.

The Pilot Projects are to be financed by the Government of Switzerland (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and Swiss Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN)) and they are based on the experience from earlier projects on chemicals management by UNITAR which were implemented in eleven countries starting 1996. The objective of the Pilot Projects is to develop an Integrated National Programme for the Sound Management of Chemicals and Waste which includes inter ministerial coordination, exchange of information, Stakeholder participation, coordinated priority setting and integration of chemicals management activities into national development projects.54

One part is to do a Capacity Self-Assessment report with the objective to find strengths and gaps partly in the governance structure in chemicals management and partly in the concrete handling of chemicals. Based on this report the two most urgent gaps will be chosen as the so called partnership projects and implemented by actors from the government, the industry and civil society.55 One other part is to mainstream SAICM into the national politics in the country so that politicians include chemicals management in the day-to-day work and the regular budgets.

3.4 How different actors view that the Pilot Project is a pilot project

In this part we will shortly tell how different actors active in the project, the UN and the Republic of Tanzania, view that the Pilot Project is a pilot project. What is their purpose with the project? To implement large projects is a complex task. As said previously the discrepancy between ideas and reality is often considerable. A means to be able to better carry out the decisions made might be to use pilot projects or feasibility studies. The use of pilot projects might depend from one project to another. Even if the Pilot Project would fail in Tanzania and/or the other countries it should not be seen as a failure since one can learn from the mistakes made there and carry the project out differently in other countries. In this way everything that happens in the project, good or bad, can be used for the purpose of carrying the project out in a better way in other places.

3.4.1 The United Nations’ view

Implementation research is sometimes called “research of misery” since it is impossible to implement a theoretical, political decision to 100% in practice. After long experience of implementing conventions, resolutions, frameworks etc. the United Nations different organizations have realized this problem and are now including this knowledge into their various programs. So at the Dubai meeting...
The IOMC was also focusing on “enabling activities” for countries to prepare for SAICM implementation. The Overarching Policy Strategy, in Paragraph 22 of section C(VII), says that:

Implementation of the Strategic Approach could begin with an enabling phase to build necessary capacity, as appropriate, to develop, with relevant Stakeholder participation, a national Strategic Approach implementation plan, taking into consideration, as appropriate, existing elements such as legislation, national profiles, action plans, Stakeholder initiatives and gaps, priorities, needs and circumstances.56

The Quick Start Programme (QSP) is one way for countries to get financial support to work on these areas and UNITAR is also providing assistance on how to create applications for QSP. The four Pilot Projects are in some way a special kind of QSP that was developed before the QSP was completed. These projects are in one sense second pilot projects since they are based on the experience from the eleven previous pilot-countries that were implementing projects on chemicals management through UNITAR starting 1996. So, although these four Pilot Projects are pilot cases in how to prepare for a SAICM implementation they have to be seen in the light of the previous pilot projects and the contemporary QSPs.

The key with all kinds of implementations is to use the “step by step-model” and take steps that are small and feasible and at the same time steps that make a difference. The objective of the Pilot Project in Tanzania is not to start to implement SAICM, the objective is to prepare to implement SAICM later on. This is a very important distinction that is necessary to avoid failing implementations due to urgent and insufficient programs. Time and patience are key factors when it comes to implementation and especially when it concerns developing countries with their differences in economics, politics, culture etc. compared to developed countries.

3.4.2 Tanzania’s view

It seems to us as if the general point of view among the actors in Tanzania is that the Pilot Project is foremost something that is good for Tanzania. In general the actors do not see the outcome of the Pilot Project as something that can later on be used in other countries to ease the implementation of SAICM. What we mean is that their focus is on the betterment of Tanzanian chemicals management and not the globe as a whole. In our interviews we were told that both local and global environmental issues are discussed at the Stakeholder meetings but it seems like the respondents by global meant global conventions such as the Rotterdam Convention that is about cooperation among actors in global trade on hazardous chemicals and of information sharing on those hazardous chemicals.57 Of course

57 Rotterdam Convention, www.pic.int/home.php?type=t&id=5&sid=16, fetched 2008-04-08
the scope of such conventions is global but they are anyway supposed to be implemented at a local level.

Take for instance the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) that is a convention that is trying to protect human beings and the environment from POPs. Those chemicals are kept intact in the environment for long time and cause damage wherever they spread over the globe. The chemicals that are toxic to human beings and animals accumulate in the fatty tissue of living organisms. Even though it is an international convention it is up to governments across the globe to implement the project. In addition to this view there seem to be one more. To us it seems like this, the second point of view, is foremost supported by, the driving forces, a couple of the members of the Secretariat.

The idea is that the things learnt from the Pilot Project in Tanzania can later on be used to help other countries as well. Tanzania is a forerunner that others can model upon. The driving forces in the project seem to have a bigger picture. Nevertheless one respondent, while asked about tips to Kenya if they were supposed to implement SAICM, answered that it is hard since Kenya is a different country with different prerequisites. Anyway they seem to adhere to the thought that Tanzania will be able to help others through its experience. One concrete advice to other countries implementing SAICM is to use a similar structure as the one used when the National Profile was created. A National Profile is a document that is presenting the chemicals management in a country. It is for instance about import and export, which areas use which chemicals and about legislation on chemicals.

3.5 Formulation of the Quick Start Programme

In Dubai IOMC also formulated the Quick Start Programme (QSP) which is a way for governments and NGOs to get financial support for small projects concerning chemicals management as a part of SAICM and the objectives of year 2020. To be able to apply the country needs to have chosen a national focal point and for NGOs there are additional criteria to apply. The objective of the QSP is to support initial enabling capacity building and implementation activities in developing countries, least developed countries, small island developing States and countries with economies in transition. The QSP is to be financed by a voluntary, time-limited trust fund under United Nations Environment Programme.

58 Kunsindah, Beatrice, TBS, Stakeholder, interview, 2007-12-19,
Mndema, Edna, LEAT, interview 2007-12-21,
Mzirai, Bertha, Oryx Oil Company, Stakeholder, interview 2007-11-27
59 Stockholm Convention, www.pops.int/old_default.htm, fetched 2008-04-08
60 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18,
Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
The QSP was developed in detail after the Pilot Project countries were chosen but can be seen as a kind of QSP since they play a similar function. Governments and NGOs are allowed to apply for QSP funds two times per year and at the moment the 4th round of applications are being handled.

3.6 Implementation of SAICM

The implementation of the Pilot Project in Tanzania started when personnel from the Government Chemist Laboratory Agency (GCLA) which is an institution under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare attended an international meeting on chemicals management and heard about the possibility to apply for money for a pilot project. A proposed project plan was written jointly by representatives from GCLA, the National Environmental Council, (NEMC), the Vice President’s Office (VPO), the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives and the NGOs CREFT and AGENDA. The persons that had written the application later on, when Tanzania’s application was approved became the Secretariat which we are supposed to write more about later on.

3.6.1 Why was Tanzania chosen?

But why was Tanzania chosen as one of the four pilot countries when there were 44 countries who applied? One reason the country was chosen as a Pilot Project country might be that it had participated in the preparations for SAICM. Another is that it had already started to work with this kind of questions for instance through an act called the Industrial and Consumer Chemicals Act which was launched in 2003. It covers the whole life cycle of chemicals. In the middle of 1990, furthermore, there was a worldwide movement on chemicals management as a part of the general environmental movement after the UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro 1992. At that point Tanzania slowly started to discuss this issue and together with UNITAR they established a National Profile that described the situation on chemicals management in the country. Today no other African country has updated their National Profile as many times as Tanzania and as part of the Pilot Project the fifth version will be released.

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62 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-10-24
63 Mlingi, Nicholas, Food Science and Nutrition Department, Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre, Stakeholder, interview 2007-10-25
64 Mtenga, Magdalena, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14
66 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
67 Matsana, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
Except for the Chemical and Consumer Act there are a couple of other acts dealing with chemicals such as the Food, Drugs and Cosmetics Act of 2003 the Environmental Management Act of 2005 and the Occupational Safety and Health Act that came into force in 2003. The Food, Drugs and Cosmetics Act deals with medical devices and the Environmental Management Act regulates so that the management of the environment is working in a sustainable way. What the Occupational Safety and Health Act deals with is quite obvious, the wellbeing of personnel in factories and the like. There are two more key acts in Tanzania related to chemicals, the Plant Protection Act of 1997 and several Water Utilisation Acts.  

Also, Tanzania has already established a National Implementation Plan (NIP) to implement the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) until year 2020 but partly because of lack of funds they haven't started the implementation yet. As many other developing countries Tanzania was also active in the preparations for SAICM in Bangkok, Nairobi, Vienna and Dubai, both with representatives from the government and the civil society. According to GCLA, Tanzania was also chosen since the civil society and NGOs already play an important role in Tanzanian chemicals management which is important since the implementation of SAICM per definition includes multi-Stakeholder participation. GCLA received 23 letters from Stakeholders supporting Tanzania's application to become a Pilot Project country. So altogether, Tanzania was chosen as one of the four countries since the country is one of the leading African countries when it comes to chemicals management although Tanzania is still a very poor country.

3.6.2 The Pilot Project

In order to be able to implement SAICM and to reach its goal on sound chemicals management by the year 2020 Tanzania is now in collaboration with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) implementing a pilot project called Strengthening Governance, Civil Society participation and Public Private Partnerships within an integrated National Chemicals and Waste Management programme. The project that started in 2006 and stretches to 2009 consists of four different phases: the first one, Phase I, Project Planning and  

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67 Kowero, Ollympia, Tanzania Food and Drugs Authority, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-05,  
Mzirai, Bertha, Oryx Oil Company, Stakeholder, interview 2007-11-27,  
Ntakamulenga, Robert, NEMC, first interview 2007-11-08,  
Salehe, Tamimu, Zacharia, Getrude & Lyimo, Samwel, TUICO, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-12,  
68 Mwasubila, Eustad, VPO, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-13  
69 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24
Initiation started in October 2006 and ended in January 2007. The second one, Phase II, which aims to develop a National Programmatic framework for Sound Chemicals and Waste Management and to implement SAICM lasted from February to December 2007. January 2008 and June 2009 constitute the beginning and the end of Phase III, Planning and implementation of two partnership projects. The projects last face will start in July 2009 and end in September the same year and it will consist of Project review activities.\textsuperscript{70}

The overall aim of the project is to:
- To improve generation, access and dissemination of information related to chemicals management;
- To raise awareness on sound management of chemicals and wastes;
- To enhance protection of human health and the environment;
- To improve capacity of sound management of chemicals;
- To improve regulatory regime of chemicals management; and to strengthen coordination of chemicals management and Stakeholder participation.\textsuperscript{71}

In order to be able to carry out this there are six more concrete objectives:
- To establish a national governance framework for SAICM implementation including concrete mechanisms for multi-sectoral collaboration and Stakeholder involvement
- To achieve progress for 2 specific areas of chemicals and waste management through Multi-Stakeholder partnership projects
- To strengthen capacities of public interest and labour organizations in National SAICM Implementation
- To develop skills, procedures and mechanisms to facilitate sustainable SAICM implementation beyond the duration of the project
- To integrate chemicals and waste management into national development planning
- To contribute to the development of methodologies and knowledge-sharing at the International level about SAICM implementation.\textsuperscript{72}

In addition to the members of the Secretariat and the Steering Committee we have been interviewing a couple of Stakeholders, so there are three different levels of actors.

3.6.3 The Secretariat of the Pilot Project

The Secretariat that consists of ten persons from different institutions can be seen as the first level of engagement since they are the ones working with SAICM on a day-to-day basis. It consists of people from GCLA, which contributes with five

\textsuperscript{70} Strategic Approach For International Chemicals Management (SAICM), Pilot Project, Almanac for 2007 SAICM Steering Committee, The United Republic of Tanzania, p. 2
\textsuperscript{71} Strategic Approach For International Chemicals Management (SAICM), Pilot Project, Almanac for 2007 SAICM Steering Committee, The United Republic of Tanzania, p. 2
\textsuperscript{72} Strategic Approach For International Chemicals Management (SAICM), Pilot Project, Almanac for 2007 SAICM Steering Committee, The United Republic of Tanzania, p. 3
persons, the NGOs AGENDA and CREFT and the governmental institutions of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives. In reality the people at GCLA function as a secretariat within the Secretariat since they are the ones that are actually working with SAICM on a day-to-day basis. The whole Secretariat normally meets once a month, sometimes it is more often. If Ernest Mashimba, the Government Chief Chemist at GCLA and Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, is around he chairs the meetings otherwise someone else can do it. Besides looking back on what has been done so far the Secretariat is also preparing papers for coming Steering Committee meetings. A paper written by any Secretariat member for an upcoming Steering Committee meeting has to be handed out to the other members of the Secretariat in advance.

3.6.4 The Steering Committee of the Pilot Project

The Steering Committee consists of around 20 persons and it is an institution that is trying to look beyond the three years of the Pilot Project. It is the institution that makes things move since it is the institution that makes the final decisions or if a cabinet or parliament decision is needed it is the institution that hands the issue over to them. The function of the Steering Committee is to ensure that the project is implemented adequately and that there is good coordination among the different actors doing this. Moreover it has a function to look beyond the limited time frame of the Pilot Project. The committee consists of representatives from the government, industry and business, the civil society such as labour organizations and NGOs. UNITAR provide guidelines on who to involve in the Steering Committee. Tanzania generally follow UNITAR’s advice but for instance the guidelines that claim that one representative from the agricultural sector in the government should be involved is not being followed since in Tanzania both the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives and Tanzania Pesticides Research Institute (TPRI), a semi-autonomous organization working with import, registration, use etc. of pesticides, is taking part. Altogether the committee has approximately 20 members from ministries, semi-autonomous governmental institutions, industry and business organizations and organizations from the civil society like NGOs and unions. The reason we say approximately 20

73 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat and Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24,
Mtenga, Magdalena, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14,
Ndiyo, Daniel, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-13
74Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
75 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24,
Katagira, Francisa, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16,
Ntakamulenga, Robert, NEMC, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-19
actor was said to be a member but after the person job they had not elected any new representative.\textsuperscript{76} The Steering Committee is headed by the Permanent Secretary (PS) of the Ministry of Health and Social Security even though the guidelines from UNITAR said that the chairmanship should be rotating because it helps to keep people engaged since they feel that they can affect. The reason the chairmanship does not rotate in Tanzania is that the Steering Committee wanted to have only one person to assure continuity.\textsuperscript{77} At the time when we where in Tanzania three Steering Committee meetings had been held but we were told that they have a meeting every quarter of a year. The invitations are sent out two weeks in advance so that the members receive them at least a week in advance. Together with the invitations the members of the committee receive information on what will happen at the coming meetings. They are told what issues they are supposed to discuss and which decisions they have to make. The decisions made are made in consensus but this might change this year since there are plans to start to make decisions through voting instead. Since the members or the actors are drawn from different fields and thus have different competence, the Secretariat sometimes calls the Steering Committee members and asks them for advice.\textsuperscript{78} Due to their central position in the project we have been trying to interview all the members in the Secretariat and the Steering Committee but we failed to interview a few. Unfortunately we did not get the opportunity to interview the chairman of the Steering Committee, The PS of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare who is the highest civil servant in that ministry.\textsuperscript{79}

3.6.5 The Stakeholders of the Pilot Project

The third level of engagement in SAICM in Tanzania consists of the actors that are not members of the Secretariat nor the Steering Committee. Among the Stakeholders are for instance companies, NGOs, governmental organizations and people from the university. The Stakeholders are chosen carefully even though it is also an economic question. For instance it might not feel useful for actors from the mining industry working 900 km away to go to Dar es Salaam to attend a meeting that lasts for two hours. In response to this problem members of the

\textsuperscript{76} Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Industry & Agriculture (TCCIA), phone calls with different people, November 2007
\textsuperscript{77} Kalima, Josephine, GCLA , member of the Secretariat, second interview, 2007-11-30,
Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat and Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24,
Rwazo, Alcheraus, TPRI, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-12-01,
Strategic Approach For International Chemicals Management (SAICM), Pilot Project, Almanac for 2007
SAICM Steering Committee, The United Republic of Tanzania, p. 3
\textsuperscript{78} Diwani, Salum, Crop Life Tanzania, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-04,
Ndiyo, Daniel, GCLA , member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-13,
Ntakamulenga, Robert, NEMC, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-19
Riwa, Peter, OSHA, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-22,
Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM), Third Meeting of Tanzania UNITAR-SAICM Pilot Project Steering Committee, 13th September 2007, United Republic of Tanzania
\textsuperscript{79} Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, chat 2007-11-09
Steering Committee for instance represent not only themselves but also people from other parts of the country that are members of their organization. Besides this it is also an economic question. The budget is limited and there is no room for travel costs and hotel nights. Stakeholder meetings are held approximately four times a year. Even though the Stakeholders constitute the third level of engagement they have an important role to play since they participate in meetings where decisions on SAICM are made. For instance they took part in the National Forum held in the beginning of this year. On that forum the participants chose the two partnership projects that are supposed to be carried out within the Pilot Project. In order to be prepared for the meetings the Stakeholders receive documents which they have to read in advance before the meetings.

Since it seems like SAICM is an issue that has to be approved at the highest political level in order to succeed we think it is important to complement these three bodies with one more, the Inter Ministerial Committee which is a forum where the Permanent Secretaries of all the ministries meet and discuss issues in which there is a need for coordination. The Permanent Secretaries are the most powerful non-politicians at every ministry. The reason we mention this institution is that it seems like the process is hampered until an approval by the politicians is a fact. In order to be able to fully implement SAICM, coordination is needed over ministerial borders and if this cooperation is supposed to become a reality it is important that the Permanent Secretaries of the key ministries meet and discuss the issue. There is a need to count with chemicals management in the budgets of the different ministries and to include it in developing programmes. Everything is ready for the first Inter Ministerial Meeting on SAICM to be carried out including an agenda and topics to discuss. The committee is supposed to be lead by the Chief Minister from the Presidents Office. Initially the PS of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare was supposed to lead the committee but since the persons deciding on the structure of the committee thought that it would be better if the chairman of the committee was someone at a higher level than the others in the committee the Chief Minister of the Presidents Office was elected.

3.6.6 The Quick Start Programme

In October 2006 the Tanzanian workers union Tanzania Plantation And Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) and their application ‘Strengthening the
The capacity of agricultural workers and workers' organization in the implementation of SAICM at enterprise and community levels was approved as a QSP by the Trust Fund Implementation Committee in the 1st round of the Quick Start Programme. The project consists of two main parts, the first is to develop awareness among agricultural workers in Tanzania on activities related to SAICM and the second is to solve the problem that people use former chemical containers to carry drinking water by creating a container puncturing scheme. The project includes 16 farms where one farm can employ up to 5000 workers. The project that will be implemented by TPAWU together with TPRI and AGENDA will last for two years. TPAWU is also cooperating with AGENDA in other projects, for example African Stockpiles Project, which we say some more about later on, and Poverty & Pollution. TPAWU's project is also connected to Tanzania's Pilot Project since they are both a part of SAICM and after a recommendation from UNITAR TPAWU is now a member of the Steering Committee in the Pilot Project. For some reason TPAWU had not received any QSP funds as late as December 2007 but when it comes it will come straight to TPAWU and not through the Government which is preferable according to TPAWU because of Tanzania's high level of corruption.

In the same round as TPAWU applied the Government of Tanzania through GCLA applied with another project proposal to get QSP funds. Since the content of the proposed QSP was too similar to the Pilot Project that Tanzania recently had been given it was not approved as a QSP. In the 3rd round of the QSP the Tanzanian NGO AGENDA applied together with two other NGOs from Kenya and Uganda (iLima-Kenya & NAPE), but because the national focal point of Uganda endorsed the project too late the proposal was found incomplete by the QSP Trust Fund Implementation Committee. The three NGOs, who are all members of the International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN), are planning to apply again in the 4th round with an improved version. The project is called "SAICM implementation in East Africa: law reform and capacity building for sound chemicals management in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda" and its objective is to change legislation to be able to implement SAICM in the different countries. The Swedish NGO CHEMSEC was helping them with their application. The reason why AGENDA is doing this application together with those two other NGOs is probably because its harder for Tanzania to get more applications

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84 Report from the second meeting, The Trust Fund Implementation Committee of the Quick Start Programme of the Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management, Paris 2006-10-18, p.7
85 Strengthening the capacity of agricultural worker and worker's organization in the implementation of SAICM at enterprise and community levels, Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union, p.4
86 Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31
87 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24
89 Mng'anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06
90 Mng'anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06
Also the Tanzanian NGO CREFT have been working on an QSP-application together with the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives in Tanzania but Francisca Katagira at the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, who attended a meeting in Geneva with representatives from UNITAR, confirms that Tanzania won't get any more funds for SAICM projects at the moment.92

3.7 Evaluation and Review of SAICM

Since evaluation and review are overlapping phases and since SAICM is still in its infancy we have decided to put these two phases together. In the Overarching Policy Strategy paragraph 24, 26 and 28 it is stated that all relevant Stakeholders shall evaluate and report on the implementation of SAICM. After an initiative from the Government of Canada an International Project Steering Committee (IPSC), consisting of representatives from the SAICM Secretariat, the QSP, the WHO, the EU, governments, regions, NGOs and the chemical industry, was established in April 2007.93 The IPSC is regularly sending out questionnaires to intergovernmental organizations, governments, NGOs and industries asking them about the implementation of SAICM. So far very few questionnaires have come back to IPSC, instead actors are complaining in different SAICM meetings.94 IPSC have since July 2007 had five teleconferences evaluating the implementation of SAICM. Since the four Pilot Project countries are representing four different regions in the world they can all be seen as forerunners for their own region, so the implementation of the Pilot Project in Tanzania is not just a matter of chemicals management in Tanzania but also an important guiding principle for the whole continent. Also, the last phase of the Pilot Project is represented by evaluation of the project.

In the second part of the paper we will answer the following question: What opportunities and hindrances are there for a successful implementation of SAICM in Tanzania? To avoid failing implementations there are a few general pitfalls that needs to be considered and we have decided to divide these pitfalls into three theoretical themes. All themes are based on a main question that is followed by more specific questions. Our three main questions are: How is UN governing the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania, what resources of

91 Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31
92 Katagira, Francisca, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16
94 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
How much time does Tanzania have to implement the Pilot Project and SAICM as a whole and how is the implementation of the Pilot Project influenced by different actors’ interests?
In our first theme we will return to the theoretical concepts top-down and bottom-up within implementation theory and categorize our empirical data on the basis of these concepts and finally we evaluate the current governing on SAICM implementation in Tanzania. Which concept, top-down or bottom-up, does best explain the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania? When we start to analyse our empirical data from Tanzania it is important to clarify that the theoretical concepts explained above are mostly based on 1) implementation of national programmes and 2) implementation in developed countries. The first factor that SAICM is an international programme will be discussed in this theme while the other factor that SAICM mainly focuses on developing countries will be discussed in the second theme concerning resources. We will now return to the stages heuristic-model and use it as a foundation to analyse tendencies of top-down and bottom-up in the implementation.

4.1 Initiation

The UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro 1992 and the international birth of the concept "sustainable development" was a tremendous compromise between the developed world who wanted sustainability and the developing world who wanted development. In order for the developing countries to get support for their growing industries the developed countries started to discuss new environmental policies, for example within chemicals management. At the same time, civil society and developing countries were involved in Rio de Janeiro and later meetings like Johannesburg 2002 and pushed along the question of the importance of a better environment as a part of the general development of poor countries.

4.2 Formulation

The formulation of SAICM from the UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro 1992 to Dubai 2006 was mainly established by a couple of developed countries with long experience of chemicals management. One of these countries was Sweden. For instance SAICM is based on objective 4 "poison-free environment" of the 16 Swedish objectives for the environment and the final negotiations in Dubai was

95 Parson, Ted, lecture, International Environmental Law, Nov 2006 at University of Victoria, Canada
headed by the former environment ambassador of Sweden Viveka Bohn. So, in other words SAICM is a process where developed countries want to “copy and paste” their sound chemicals management, which have worked fine for several decades, into the developing countries.

An important question here is, what kind of causal theory is SAICM based on? Since SAICM is based on positive results from sound chemicals management in developed countries and especially the countries in Scandinavia it seems to be a relatively strong causal theory, i.e. a high degree of rationality. Compared to other environmental issues, like for example climate change, chemicals management is internationally based on unity and consensus among both politicians and researchers. In other words, if Tanzania implements the Pilot Project and SAICM as recommended by IOMC they will most likely reach the objective that “by the year 2020, chemicals are produced and used in ways that minimize significant adverse impacts on the environment and human health.” The SAICM documents that were completed in Dubai 2006 are both comprehensive and sustainable so the part that will be of crucial importance in SAICM is instead the degree of reliability or the question of implementation.

On the other hand, one of the reasons why Tanzania was chosen as one of the four pilot countries was that Tanzania had taken part in the preparations of SAICM since the UN meeting in Johannesburg 2002 when countries decided to formulate SAICM. Tanzania has both been represented as a country and through NGOs like for example AGENDA at those Preparatory Committee meetings in Bangkok, Nairobi and Vienna. Jamidu Katima, the chairman of AGENDA, has been representing both AGENDA and sometimes Tanzania at those meetings and was especially involved in both the African- and the international Global Plan of Action. Another example of NGOs participation in SAICM is the importance the previously mentioned Arusha Declaration had in that it inspired the African proposal for SAICM from Abudja which later on inspired the international proposal for SAICM. Katima’s experience from his international work on SAICM is that NGOs play a bigger role in Africa compared to other regions.

So, although the UN includes a lot of staff that actually work for the UN officially the main actor in the UN are the member countries and since the beginning of the

96 Kortrapport från internationella konferensen om kemikalieshantering (ICCM) för slutförande och antagande av en global kemikaliesstrategi, Ministry of the Environment, Sweden, Dubai, Förenade Arabemiraten, 4-6 februari 2006, p.1
98 Mtenga, Magdalena, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14
99 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-21
100 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28 and Mngany, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee second interview 2007-12-11
101 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-21
Although they don’t have the right to vote in the different assemblies, the NGOs also have the right to participate in the UN meetings. The interesting question is though whether this representation of Tanzania and Tanzanian NGOs in the UN also means actual influence or not? Since our empirical data do not include the process at the UN meetings we won’t continue this discussion, we can only establish that Tanzania is represented in the UN through different channels and that power relations, like on other political arenas, are very difficult to measure.

4.3 Implementation

We will now look at the steering during the implementation and since the steering of the Pilot Project is being carried out on different levels we will now investigate what the steering is like from the UN and in Tanzania.

4.3.1 Steering from the UN

Many of the 273 specific objectives in the Global Plan of Action which is a part of the SAICM documents from Dubai are very concrete and direct in their governing. For example objectives 99-101 talks about the implementation of the Globally Harmonized System of Classification and Labelling of Chemicals (GHS) which for example means that Tanzania needs to have safety instructions on their chemicals in Swahili, the official language. The objectives in the Pilot Project might seem too high for Tanzania to implement within three years, but this is a strategic way of the UN to get things started although everything won’t be finished until 2009. I.e. it’s better with higher objectives than reasonable objectives and much better than too low objectives of course. According to Jamidu Katima the best thing that has happened during the first year of the Pilot Project is that although nothing is perfect they have started to roll.¹⁰²

At first glance the relationship between the UN and Tanzania looks pure friendly, the UN is there to help Tanzania “without strings attached”. But the financial part is the key for the UN to hold Tanzania in an iron grip. If Tanzania fails to implement the Pilot Project in the intended way the UN will end the cooperation and stop giving financial support. This is the case in all kinds of international aid, the governing doesn’t have to be direct since the developing countries have learned to read between the lines that unfulfilled objectives can risk current and future financial help. The World Bank got very criticized when they started to demand certain macro economic requirements on developing countries to get their normal economic support.

¹⁰² Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
In this sense SAICM is based on a clear top-down approach where the content of the agreement is uncontestable and where the knowledge goes in one direction from the developed countries to the developing countries.

As we concluded earlier the causal theory of SAICM is strong but the developing countries do play an important role in how SAICM is being implemented in the most proper way in developing countries. The main objective for UNITAR with the four Pilot Projects is to get experiences from developing countries that can be used on other developing countries later on. If UNITAR knew that the current content of the Pilot Project was the perfect way for developing countries to prepare for an implementation of SAICM they would have started projects in more countries than four. Except for the objectives that Tanzania has in the Pilot Project UNITAR also has indirect objectives for themselves. So, knowledge goes in both directions, both from the UN to the pilot countries and vice versa in a dynamic process.

While many of the 273 objectives in the Global Plan of Action in SAICM are very specific the objectives of the Pilot Projects are more vague and the governing from the UN is more indirect. The buzzword in the Pilot Project is ‘capacity building’ i.e. to create a capacity in Tanzania to be able to implement SAICM after the Pilot Project is over in 2009. UNITAR provide several concrete guidelines on how to create for instance different kinds of Committees and a National Profile which the countries can use if they want to and according to Jamidu Katima UNITAR just provide general frames and these guidelines are more like draft guidance that is being formed by the countries along the way.\(^\text{103}\)

For example one advice from UNITAR is that the chairmanship of the Steering Committee should rotate, but the Steering Committee decided that the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health should be the permanent chairman to get more continuity.\(^\text{104}\) Also, the guidelines from UNITAR says that decisions in the different Committees shall be made through consensus but to avoid a time consuming process Tanzania has asked UNITAR to let the majority decide by voting instead.\(^\text{105}\)

### 4.3.2 Steering of the Pilot Project in Tanzania

In Tanzania there is tendency towards a national top-down approach. The Secretariat, the Steering Committee and the Stakeholders are all almost exclusively based on actors from Dar es Salaam, in practice the capital although Dodoma is the formal one. Even if you can argue that the Pilot Project is just in the beginning of the SAICM process and that it is expensive to invite more actors.

\(^{103}\) Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18

\(^{104}\) Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, second interview, 2007-11-30

\(^{105}\) Ntakamulenga, Robert, NEMC, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-19
countries and within other political issues that the childhood of most political programmes are based in a centralized environment as a kind of greenhouse? The answer is yes, which confirms our previous idea that top-down is still the foundation of implementation models although it needs to be complemented with other models. According to Apolinary Tamayamali at the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments it is dangerous to try to implement it (the Pilot Project) on a local level now when the program is not yet ready for it.

Another factor in Tanzania is the great importance of hierarchies and titles of professions. Several times we talked to persons who directed us to their director although the director was less involved in SAICM and many persons we interviewed were careful to tell us their academic degrees and their position(s) in the organization/institution. There is also a link between the national and international level of hierarchy. If there is a clear top-down system in Tanzania where the power is focused on Dar es Salaam and a few leading individuals it is easier for the UN to implement a top-down approach since the straight implementation road is prepared. Like during the colonization era in Africa, Europeans gave preferential treatment to some group of people (for example the Belgians chose the Tutsi people in Rwanda) to make it easier to govern the country.

As we mentioned in the first part of the paper, one of the key objectives of the Pilot Project is to put this issue (chemicals management and SAICM) on the agenda of the Inter Ministerial Committee in Tanzania. According to the top-down model the UN affects the politicians in Tanzania who affects the local governments, governmental institutions and organizations in Tanzania, the governing is straight forward from top to bottom. But in our case there is an important u-turn on this model. The Tanzanian actors cooperating with the UN are not politicians but governmental institutions and organizations and it is their job to affect the politicians to put the issue on the agenda, not the UN’s. This is inline with the general approach within international aid nowadays that aid organizations help the poor fight poverty or help to self-help. The UN is helping Tanzania by giving them tools they can use to change their own politics. Once the issue is put on the agenda the politicians can affect actors on a lower level through new legislation and rules in the normal top-down way. In other words, the

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106 Mwasha, Theonestina, Chamber of Minerals and Energy, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-14
107 Tamayamali, Apolinary K., Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-07
108 Melvern, Linda, 2000, Att förråda ett folk ‒ Västmakterna och folkmordet i Rwanda, Smedjebacken, Ordfront förlag
110 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
4.3.3 Steering of the Quick Start Programme

To prepare countries to be ready for the implementation of SAICM the UN initiated and formulated a Quick Start Programme which means that governments and NGOs can apply to get financial support for projects connected to chemicals management. A Quick Start Programme Committee including UN organs and donors decides which applications that shall be approved. There are certain criteria that need to be fulfilled and there are additional criteria for NGOs.\footnote{Mng’anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06}

So far, one Tanzanian organization/institution has got a Quick Start Programme approved, the Tanzania Plantation and Agriculture Workers Union (TPAWU). The UN provides guidelines on how to do an application but the idea to a project, the structure, the budget etc. is totally done by the organization/institution. Also the implementation part is done by the organization/institution itself although it is financially supported by QSP funds. The outcome of QSPs is both a benefit for the country and its later implementation of SAICM and a benefit for the UN who gets experiences that can be used on other developing countries. Many of the persons we interviewed said that QSP is a good way for developing countries to prepare for a SAICM implementation although more QSP funds would be better.\footnote{Mng’anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06, Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, first interview 2007-11-14} QSP creates creativity and interest for chemicals management among actors on lower levels, the competition increases the level of the applications and although many applications are not approved they still have a chance to implement their projects through funds from other donors.

4.3.4 Steering of SAICM 2009-2020

According to Josephine Kalima at GCLA they can and should contact UNITAR whenever they run into thoughts and problems. So UNITAR’s governing in the Pilot Project in Tanzania is more like a “helping hand” than a “punishing whip”. Once Tanzania has established capacity to implement SAICM it is possible for the UN to increase their requirements and be more specific and direct in its governing. But to be able to be more direct later on, the first phase of indirect and vague governing needs to involve voices from “the bottom” and you need to have established a faith among a network of actors. You can’t go from nothing straight to coercion. This strategic and pedagogical approach to take small steps at a time is something the UN has learned after half a century of implementation
As we mentioned earlier the implementation of the Pilot Project in Tanzania looks centralized to Dar es Salaam but many of the persons we interviewed said that regional and local actors will be involved later on in the process. According to Alcheraus Rwazo at TPRI the politicians do listen to actors from other parts of the country, he says that it is more a matter of what system you have than where the actors are situated. Rwazo and Apolinary Tamayamali at the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments also say that there is a movement towards decentralization in Tanzania although it is only in its infancy and Tanzania is already more decentralized than its neighbour Kenya. Although, like many other developing countries Tanzania is also having a strong central government and will probably continue to have that during the next decade and the implementation of SAICM.

4.4 Evaluation and Review

Since developed countries are the main authors of the "SAICM book" they are also the main editors. They have the political and economic power to change or even cancel both the formulation and implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM although, developing countries and civil society are represented in the International Project Steering Committee (IPSC) established by the Government of Canada with the purpose to evaluate the implementation of SAICM. Jamidu Katima from AGENDA is one of the international representatives for NGOs in the IPSC. Also, it would be hard for the UN/developing countries to cancel SAICM since we now have an "international regime" on sustainable development which includes chemicals management in developing countries. It can be compared to a heavy wheel that has started to roll and it is hard to make it stop since there are always some actors that will push it on, although it might be the initiator who tries to stop it. Hopefully it will also be a "national regime" in the future so that it will be difficult for the Government of Tanzania not to implement SAICM.

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113 Rwazo, Alcheraus, TPRI, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-09
114 Rwazo, Alcheraus, TPRI, member of the Steering Committee, second interview 2007-12-09
115 Tamayamali, Apolinary K., Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-07
116 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
As we have seen, a lot of the objectives with the Pilot Project in Tanzania are indirect. The UN can indirectly get experiences from Tanzania that can be used on other developing countries. Although Tanzania won’t be able to fulfil all objectives to 100% the country will probably have put the issue on the agenda and started a process and discussion which is also an indirect objective. And the UN can indirectly affect the politicians in Tanzania by helping actors within the country to raise the question.

The top-down model is useful to describe SAICM where the developed countries with long experience of chemicals management are the main actor in both the formulating and implementation of SAICM. Also, in Tanzania the implementation so far is centralized to Dar es Salaam and some actors and it is up to the politicians whether the implementation of SAICM will succeed or not. The top-down model will be even more visible later on when the UN’s governing probably gets more direct. This top-down foundation needs to be complemented by the bottom-up model since there are many examples where there are “political arrows” in the opposite direction. Tanzania and Tanzanian NGOs have been active in the international preparation work of SAICM, the four Pilot Projects will give UNITAR new knowledge about the implementation mechanism in developing countries and the QSP is a way for institutions/organizations to take initiatives to sound chemicals management thanks to the “financial carrot”. But the most obvious example of the mixture of top-down and bottom-up in Tanzania is the u-turn effect where the UN affects governmental institutions and organizations (down), these actors try to affect the politicians (up) and if the politicians put the issue on the agenda they will implement it through the normal governing model (down).

4.5.1 The normative issue

So to summarize, there is mixture of the top-down and the bottom-up model in Tanzania but with a dominance of top-down. But so far we haven’t discussed which of the two models, top-down and bottom-up, that is preferable. Firstly, in the theoretical world there is no winner of the two models and secondly, the empirical world is most often a mixture of the two. A more fruitful question is instead whether this mixture of the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania is well balanced or not?

The top-down governing is fruitful in the way that developed countries have long experience of chemicals management and that the UN have long experience of implementation in general. Within Tanzania it is better to keep the first phase of the implementation centralized since its risky to “mass produce when the
Also, most of the people with knowledge in chemicals management in Tanzania are based in Dar es Salaam.

At the same time, there is a risk that a few actors are steering the process, both internationally and nationally, although it looks like many different actors are involved. That is a general problem in politics nowadays that the power is hided by the enormous group of actors involved. The theoretical concept multi-level governance that describes this group of many actors in politics are criticized by some scholars and called multi-level metagovernance since they argue that there are a few actors that steer the big network of actors. The problem that the power is concentrated to a few actors is that the process loses legitimacy and important contextual knowledge from people at the bottom.

The bottom-up governing is fruitful since the process will be more sustainable when national actors affect their own politicians thanks to help from the UN. This can also lead to confidence for those national actors in other political areas. Although the UN and developed countries have best experience of the scientific content of SAICM the developing countries and NGOs have good experience of how to implement SAICM in the context of the developing world. Also, the QSP creates creativity and interest for chemicals management among actors on lower levels.

At the same time, bottom-up can sometimes be time consuming and inefficient since many decisions need to be made by consensus both on the international and national level. Another risk of involvement of several different actors is the question of liability, who gets responsible for a failing part of the implementation where the decision process was unclear and vague due to many actors?

All in all, the mixture of predominantly top-down with important elements of bottom-up is mostly favourable for the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania. The top-down is above all and ought to be dominant at the international level with a lot of constructive governing from the UN. On the national level the difference between top-down and bottom-up is smaller and ought to be even smaller, above all during the later phases of the implementation. Although the mixture for the most part is good, there are some specific parts of the governing aspect that need to be improved.

4.5.2 Shortages

The first part concerns the three different levels of actors, the Secretariat, the Steering Committee and the Stakeholders. As we mentioned earlier there are

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117 Tamayamali, Apolinary K., Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments, interview 2007-12-07
When it comes to the list of members of the Steering Committee, there are some that are formally members but haven’t been on a single meeting yet.119 And some actors that have been replaced by a new representative from their institution/organization for different reasons. We will write more on this in theme two.

Some argue that the invitations to the Steering Committee meetings need to be sent out earlier in advance.120 Others say that the communication between the Secretariat and the Steering Committee needs to be better.121 There are different views on the documents that are sent out attached to the invitations, some say they should also be sent out earlier in advance while other are very satisfied with both the content and the time frame of the documents.122 All in all, it needs to be more continuity concerning both the presence and the content of the meetings at all three levels, the Secretariat, the Steering Committee and Stakeholders.

Desirable is also more cooperation between the four countries implementing the Pilot Project: Tanzania, Panama, Belarus and Pakistan. We think that more experiences can be exchanged already although the implementation is in its infancy. Also, the national governing needs to focus more on the connection between SAICM and previous acts and policies in Tanzania, for example the poverty reduction programme with the Swahili acronym MKUKUTA.123 A big problem concerning the QSP that the Tanzanian union TPAWU was approved is that they hadn’t received any money in December 2007, almost one year after they were promised to get finances.124 Except that it affects this particular project it also reduces the trustworthiness for the whole QSP. A general problem is the delays that have occurred in the Pilot Project, for example the Capacity Assessment report took longer time than expected.125 A problem might be that almost all actors involved are chemists in profession, perhaps more knowledge in organization theory, implementation, and negotiation technique would be fruitful. Even this issue is discussed more in theme two. According to Jamidu Katima it would be better if some work in the Pilot Project was made by consultants. Time is money.126 This is an important key in a successful governing process, to delegate right duties to the right people.

An interesting thing we noticed among some actors was that they were a bit in advance in mind compared to the time frame. One actor thought the awareness

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119 Madabida, Ramadon, CTI, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-26
120 Diwani, Salum, Crop Life Tanzania, Steering Committee member, interview 2007-12-04
121 Naftal, Jimil, Ministry of Finance, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-06
122 Kunsindah, Beatrice, TBS, Stakeholder, interview, 2007-12-19
123 Mndema, Edna, LEAT, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-21
124 Mjema, Emmanuel, Ministry of Planning, Economic Affairs and Empowerment, Steering Committee member, interview 2007-12-18
125 Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31
126 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, second interview, 2007-11-30
127 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
was too low among the Steering Committee members (that is one objective of the Pilot Project), one actor said that Tanzania needs a policy concerning chemicals management before financial support (to create a policy you might need to conclude the Pilot Project first) and one actor said that no money have been received yet to teach industrial workers in chemical safety (this is a part of the implementation of SAICM that starts after the Pilot Project). The problem is not that these actors have misunderstood the time frame a bit, no the problem is that these voices and engagement don’t get enough attention and risk to drown in the herd of actors.

127 Salehe, Tamimu, Zacharia, Getrude & Lyimo, Samwel, TUICO, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-12
## Governing Theme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Top-down</th>
<th>Bottom-up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formulation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mainly</strong>, developed countries, with long experience of chemicals management, formulated SAICM.</td>
<td><strong>To a certain degree</strong>, developing countries/civil society were/was more involved in how SAICM should be implemented than the actual content of the objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implementation, internationally</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mainly</strong> a question of “copy and paste” guidelines from the UN and developed countries.</td>
<td><strong>Some</strong> important experiences for the UN learned from the four Pilot Projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implementation, nationally</strong></td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong> centralized (during the first phase) and the question is if politicians will put the issue on the agenda.</td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong> a matter of the UN helping actors in Tanzania to influence the politicians. The u-turn effect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QSP</strong></td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong> initiated and formulated by the UN/donors who also make all decisions.</td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong>, creates creativity among actors who also implement the projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implementation of SAICM 2009-2020</strong></td>
<td>The UN increases the demands, goes from indirect to be more direct. If put on the political agenda, centralized implementation.</td>
<td><strong>The same</strong> level of influence internationally. In Tanzania, more decentralism than now but still low.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Evaluation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong> done by the UN and developing countries that have the political and economical power to change or cancel SAICM.</td>
<td><strong>Partly</strong> done by developing countries/civil society who are in IPSC. Since SAICM is part of a “regime” it is difficult to cancel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td>Developed countries have long experience of chemicals management and the UN have long experience of implementation in general.</td>
<td>The UN help national actors affect their politicians, creates sustainability and confidence on other political areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>A risk that a few actors are steering (both internationally and nationally), although many are formally involved.</td>
<td>Time consuming/inefficient because of consensus (both internationally and nationally).</td>
</tr>
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The matrix is a summary of the governing theme.
The Resource Theme

As a developing country, Tanzania except for general difficulties with implementation, face problems that are specific for the developing world such as lack of resources for instance in money and knowledge. We will in the following part discuss Tanzania’s resources and the country’s opportunities and problems concerning sufficiency and scarcity of those. Is it possible for Tanzania to carry out the Pilot Project successfully and moreover to implement SAICM? Does the country have finances, knowledge, institutions and enough time to do that?\(^\text{128}\)

According to our interviewees the hindrances on the way to a successful implementation consist of lack of resources such as funding, experts, technology and equipment. Other things mentioned were that there are too many industrial chemicals in the country and that the country imports a way too big quantity of chemicals. The problem is that when too much is imported, much is left over and unfortunately it is hard to sell the product the following year since by then there are new pesticides, or whatever it may concern, that are better. As a result stockpiles of obsolete chemicals are being built up.\(^\text{129}\)

5.1 Financial resources

A central theme in implementation is finances. Is there enough money to implement the project as intended? The truth is that without money there is not even a chance to implement the intended project since money is a prerequisite, a fundamental ingredient. Even if knowledge is needed as well it does not matter how much knowledge there is if there is no money. In the developing world, where finances are in scarcity, projects often fail due to lack of money. Resources in general are something that everybody wants more of no matter the level of development. In the developed world schools might state that they can not give the pupils the education needed due to lack of finances. More money would give the opportunity to hire more teachers which would result in smaller groups of

\(^{128}\) Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 29
\(^{129}\) Katagira, Francisca, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16,
Ntalikwa, Justin, Chemical Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-26,
Mwash, Theonestina, Chamber of Minerals and Energy, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-14,
Mzirai, Bertha, Oryx Oil Company, Stakeholder, interview 2007-11-27
During the preparation for SAICM several ways of funding were discussed among those to finance the project through the UN body Global Environment Facility (GEF) that helps developing countries fund different kinds of environmental programmes. Another proposal that came from NGOs was that 0.01 percent of chemical companies’ accumulated turnover should be used. None of these proposals were realized. Nevertheless money does not seem to be a problem for the project.131 The economy of the project is secured by many governments of both developed and developing countries and different kinds of organizations. According to the donors of the project money is not a problem. The problem is that chemicals management is not prioritized by the countries that are trying to implement SAICM.132

The total amount of the Tanzanian Pilot Project is USD 215,189. USD 72,946 is supposed to be taken from domestic resources while the rest is from UNITAR. The budget is divided into different work areas where there is a need. These areas are subdivided into different activities. It is also told who the actors of the activity are and what timeframe one expects to use to carry out the activity. Furthermore there are specific indicators of progress, implementation aspects and lastly the calculated budget for the project divided into the share that is supposed to be taken from the money received from UNITAR and local sources.133

In accordance with the statement in the beginning of this part about finances that actors in whatever project it might be want more resources no matter what they do, we met the thought among many actors that there is too little money in the Pilot Project. Of course a bit more than USD 200,000 is not that much but anyway it is an amount that, if it is used wisely, can help Tanzania to start its work towards fulfilment of SAICM’s goals. Moreover there will hopefully be more money in the project later on if all ministries start to count with the issue in their budgets. As for now four core ministries have accepted the need to earmark money for SAICM. The ministries are the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Planning and the Ministry of Industry.
Just like all ministries have to count with HIV/AIDS or poverty reduction in their budgets there is a need to count with chemicals management. At the moment issues like HIV, malaria, education and roads are prioritized. Maybe it is difficult to convince the politicians that chemicals management is important since in order to collect money from the country’s own resources it seems important to have a policy on how to deal with chemicals. Without a policy, we were told, there will be no money for the project since the ministers do not take the issue seriously even though there is a political will to take care of the issue. To make the issue matter to the ministries it is important that the Permanent Secretaries discuss the issue in the Inter Ministerial Committee and raise it up on the different ministries agendas so that they include it in their budgets. Moreover we were told that there is no need for an act on the issue since there are so many acts already in which chemicals are included. What is needed is coordination between these different acts. Whatever the coordination might look like it is clear that some kind of comprehensive policy is needed in order to make the ministries count with SAICM in their budgets. It is important that chemicals management becomes a part of the ordinary budgets and is not seen as an additional cost. A metaphor for this thought is that if you are supposed to build a house it is better to include the cost of building rooms inside the house in the initial budget and not to wait until the outer walls have been built up and then try to get additional funding.\textsuperscript{135}

A potential problem that is linked to finances is that there is a risk that the work with SAICM ends when the Pilot Project ends. In order to avoid this kind of scenario it is again important to put SAICM on the Inter Ministerial Committee’s agenda so that the Permanent Secretaries of the different ministries discuss the issue and in the prolongation make their ministries include SAICM in their budgets and allocate money for the particular issue. Furthermore it might in the prolongation be easier to receive further funding if the issue is on the Inter Ministerial Committee’s agenda since it shows that the country gives the issue a high priority. This in turn guarantees that a good job is being done. At the time when we were in Dar es Salaam the work with SAICM was hampered by the fact that the Permanent Secretaries had not yet discussed the issue. We were told that everything was ready, that a concept for the Permanent Secretaries was

\textsuperscript{134} Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28, Mwasha, Theonestina, Chamber of Minerals and Energy, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-14, Mwasubila, Eustad, VPO, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-13

\textsuperscript{135} Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18, Kowero, Ollympia, Tanzania Food and Drugs Authority, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-05, Naftal, Jimlif, Ministry of Finance, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-06, Ndiyo, Daniel, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-13
Tanzania has not received all the money yet but receives it little by little. The country has to fulfill small objectives, make results, along the way on their way to fulfill the project’s main objective in order to receive more of the funding. This is good since it prevents corruption in the way that results must be made. UNITAR does not just hand out money without any performance from the country itself. The part of the finances that comes from UNITAR is received in time as Tanzania shows progress. The part of the project’s budget that is from the government, that is the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, is received in time most of the time since Eustad Mashimba, SAICM Tanzania’s focal point, is working hard to receive it. This kind of arrangement, that the money are received little by little, is good since it would be easier to embezzle if all the money came at a time. Also this type of arrangement shows whether there is political will or not in the country in the way that Tanzania has to show results in order to receive more. If the ambition is there the money will come.  

The reason we mention embezzlement is that the corruption is quite severe in Tanzania even though it is lower than in many other countries in Sub Saharan Africa. A means to measure the extent of corruption is through Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). CPI that is provided by the organization Transparency International is mapping the extent of corruption in countries based on experts’ perceptions and opinion surveys. The scale goes from zero which is the highest level of corruption to 10. In 2007 CPI for Tanzania was 3.2 which is an improvement from 2001 when it was 2.2. The Tanzanian government has been fighting corruption ever since the country’s independence and it has in latter years battled corruption with more effort through a new anti-corruption strategy. Nevertheless the corruption rate in the country is high. Transparency International considers a CPI between three and five as a serious challenge. Five is considered as a threshold for severe corruption. 

The figures provided by Transparency International might change to next year since two big corruption scandals have been discovered lately. The first one is a scandal that forced the governor of the Bank of Tanzania, Daudi Ballali, to resign in the beginning of January this year since it had been discovered that transactions to approximately 20 local firms, some of them fictitious, had resulted in that at least 120 million American dollars disappeared.  

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136 Dominic, Dominic, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14, Mtenga, Magdalena, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14  
137 Ndiyo, Daniel, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-13, Dominic, Dominic, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14  
more embarrassing for the government is a scandal in which an apparently fictitious power grid company, Richmond Development, from the United States that is not registered in either the USA nor Tanzania got a contract on USD 172,5 million even though they did not have the right competence. They were supposed do provide the country with electricity in a time of scarcity. The discovery of irregularities in this affair that cost the Tanzanian government USD 100.000 each day, made the Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa, the Minister of Energy and Minerals Nazir Karamagi and a former Minister of Energy and Minerals, Ibrahim Msabaha, resign. The inquiry claims that Mr Lowassa’s office during the time of the contract made the government extend Richmond Development’s contract even though Tanesco, the state-run energy company advised them to do the opposite since the company did not have the expertise and experience. Moreover it did not have the finances to carry out the project.\textsuperscript{140}

In our study we did not see or hear much about signs of corruption but the little we heard while we were carrying out an interview gives a hint of its existence. It was our interviewee at TPAWU, the Workers Union that has a QSP that told us that they had to fight so that the money for the project was transferred straight to them and not through the Focal Point of SAICM in Tanzania or any other part of the government. He told us that he is sure that the amount TPAWU receives would have shrunk otherwise on its way through different institutions, that a problem to deal with in that case would have been corruption.\textsuperscript{141}

5.2 Technical Resources

In general the knowledge among the public about chemicals in the country is very low. Nevertheless there are many actors in the project among which the knowledge is high. Among the actors interviewed are people with very different professions from human geographers to professors in chemistry. It is probable that people that have been studying at the university, no matter the subject, have a deeper knowledge about chemicals management than the overall Tanzanian since the level of education is in general low in the country. Despite the seemingly high level of knowledge among the actors an often returning thought when asking about obstacles on the way towards a successful implementation was that there is not enough knowledge, that there is a need for more technically skilled people.\textsuperscript{142}

Another thing to have in mind is that even though most of the actors have been studying chemistry and the like it is not sure that the quality of their education is as high as in the developed world even though many of the persons in leading


\textsuperscript{141} Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31

\textsuperscript{142} Riwa, Peter, OSHA, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-22
Tanzania is ahead of its neighbours in chemicals management. One example is updates of the National Profile where it is even ahead of South Africa which is a far more developed country. A National Profile is a document that presents the chemicals management in a country. It includes import and export of chemicals, what different chemicals are used for in the country, Tanzania’s agreement to different international conventions, legislation on chemicals management and so forth. The National Profile contents valuable information for both foreigners that for instance would like to invest in the country and Tanzanians. At the moment when we were in Tanzania the work with the fifth version of the National Profile was being created. Tanzania is the only country in Africa that has updated the National Profile so many times. This work is predominantly based on devotion from NGOs through Jamidu Katima from AGENDA and Enock Masanja from CREFT. Another thing that gives a hint that there is technical competence in the country is the creation of the Arusha Declaration. As said before the Arusha Declaration was the fruit of a conference for NGOs in the region hosted by the Tanzanian NGOs AGENDA and TPAWU. The declaration was later on considerable for the African proposal for SAICM as a whole.

There are a couple of driving forces in the implementation process that are very much engaged in chemicals management generally and more specifically in the project. Amongst them are for instance two researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam that are also engaged in NGOs, Jamidu Katima, and Enock Masanja and Silvani Mng’anya from AGENDA. Katima took part first in the preparatory committee for the African Plan of Action and then in the preparatory committee for the Global plan of Action which is one of the three main documents of SAICM. Katima first participated as a representative for the NGO AGENDA and later on as a representative for the Tanzanian government. Furthermore he is also one of the leaders of the International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN) which consists of NGOs from around 50 countries. The elimination of POPs

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143 See for instance: Mwasubila, Eustad, VPO, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-13, Katagira, Francisca, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16
144 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
145 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28, Mng’anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee second interview 2007-12-11
146 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-21, Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28, Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-14,
can be seen as one objective amongst others under SAICM which, as we see it, can be viewed as an umbrella with different goals within it. Except for POPs there is for instance a project called Africa Stockpiles Programme (ASP) which has the objective to address and accumulate obsolete pesticides across the African continent. The NGO Network Coordinator for the project in Tanzania is Mng'anya. Masanja is also engaged in the environment at the international level. He is a member of the Tanzanian team of the Montevideo Programme on review of environmental laws under the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP).

In Tanzania as well as the rest of Africa we were told that NGOs are strong and that the governments really count with them as important actors. From others we heard that the government does not count with NGOs generally but that it is different with SAICM since it is included in the project to engage NGOs. Whether NGOs are seen as important actors in general or if the case is different with SAICM due to the objective to involve NGOs does not matter much right now. What is important is that NGOs are counted with in the project.

If NGOs are seen as experts that can contribute to the project it is an interesting question whether all NGOs working with chemicals in some way are welcome? If this is not the case one can wonder how it is decided who to include and who not to include in the project. UNITAR provide guidelines on who to include in the Steering Committee. On some issues Tanzania has chosen not to follow the guidance and on other questions it seems like the Secretariat has chosen to follow the guidelines down to the last detail. One example is a trade union which is a Stakeholder. They were apparently indignant that their organization could not become a member of the Secretariat nor the Steering Committee. The reason, they were told, was that there is already a union in the Steering Committee and that there is no room for more actors. Many actors want to get more involved.

Africa Stockpiles Programme, www.africastockpiles.net, fetched 2008-04-17
Masanja, Enoch, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-14
Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-21
Mndema, Edna, LEAT, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-21
Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, second interview, 2007-11-30
Mashimba, Ernest, Coordination of Quick Start Projects in Tanzania, Third meeting of the Quick Start Programme Trust Fund Implementation Committee, 24 May 2007, SAICM,
Msangi, Yahya Khamis, Tanzania Plantation and Agriculture Workers Union (TPAWU), member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31,
Salehe, Tamimu, Zacharia, Getrude & Lyimo, Samwel, TUICO, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-12
Furthermore we experienced while carrying out interviews that most of the actors interviewed, are chemists, engineers, biologists or the like. Not many of the personnel working with SAICM, not even in the ministries are educated in the social sciences.

Tanzania seems to have the technical skills needed for the project. Tanzania has much knowledge in the NGOs active in the Pilot Project. The objective that NGOs should take part in the process can be seen as a way to open up so that knowledge existing in the country can be used for the good of the public. Still most of the people engaged in the most active NGOs are educated in the natural sciences. For this cause there might still be a need for people that are educated in the social sciences that are used to policy implementation.

5.3 Institutional Resources

A fundamental problem in Tanzania is the country’s imports of large quantities of chemicals. When the chemicals are not sold they are stored in some stockpile and will probably not be sold the following year either since by then there are new and better chemicals. In this manner stocks of obsolete chemicals are being built up. There is a need for experts that can help to create legislation on import of chemicals. Not only legislation is needed but also power to enforce the laws. There is a need for people trained in the social sciences that have the skills to realize the plans. Even if there is a will it is hard to carry out the plans unless there is knowledge on how to do it. Generally there is a need for education. The average knowledge among the manpower has to increase in order to be able to implement SAICM successfully. But it is not only the people that work with SAICM that have to increase their knowledge, every institution must start to educate to raise the overall knowledge about chemicals.

Furthermore, a problem that was illuminated in our interviews is that it is a problem that Tanzania borders eight countries since it makes it hard to control the inflow of chemicals. Due to the porous borders chemicals that are banned in Tanzania might be smuggled into the country anyway. For this reason it is hard to regulate the import of chemicals. There is a market for these chemicals on the one hand because many times they are effective. If you for instance talk about pesticides peasants might buy the chemical because it is effective. On the other

153 Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31
154 Katagira, Francisca, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-16,
Ntalikwa, Justin, the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-26
155 Rwazo, Alcheraus, TPRI, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-12-01,
Kowero, Ollympia, Tanzania Food and Drugs Authority, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-05
Legislation on chemicals is needed. There are laws concerning handling, transport and storage of chemicals but the problem is that they are not sufficient. There are gaps and holes in the legislation. Furthermore there is a need for legislation on where and how to destroy obsolete chemicals in a safe manner. There is a need for some kind of coordination between the different laws. It might be in the form of a comprehensive new act or some kind of all-embracing policy. Except for power to enforce the laws people need training in how to handle chemicals. How are they for instance supposed to be stored? A concrete example is at laboratories like the ones at the University of Dar es Salaam where chemicals are stored in shelves in the room. Who knows what can happen to them in the hot and humid climate of that city? They might be dangerous.\textsuperscript{157}

To implement political projects is a problem at all locations. The outcome of a project is often different from the intentions the politicians had when the plans were launched. The prospects for successful implementation are yet better if the bureaucracy functions on the basis of predictable rules. Unfortunately this is often not the case in the developing world where the behaviour of people and institutions is often based on local particularistic rules and bribery and not on universalistic rules. This kind of state, which is not characterized by prediction is called soft state. Characteristic for the soft state is that rules and laws many times have to step aside for what counts i.e. to have the right contacts and money. They are the indicators that for instance decide whether the political programme will be implemented, if the worker will get the salary he or she has the right to or if the contractor will get the permission to build what he intends to. Due to the unpredictability the bureaucratic efficiency is low in the soft state. Except for the lack of or obedience to binding laws and rules these examples have in common that the political division of commons is made by the administration and not by the parliament or other political institutions. Thanks to the unpredictability of the soft state political conflicts are not settled in the political assemblies but in the implementation phase. The most important part of the policy process in the developing world is in many cases when the political issue meets the citizens, that is the implementation of an issue. An important point is though that the theories and concepts about institutions are foremost taken from the West.\textsuperscript{158} It is worth mentioning that even in states with grave corruption there are forces that fight for...
a more universal way of making decisions. This is emphasised by the fact that corruption scandals have been discovered. Unfortunately the case is often that even people who think corruption is bad adhere to bribery. This can be explained by the prisoner’s dilemma in the way that if I stop to give bribes and the rest of the society continues I will probably suffer since institutions will not give me the things I have the right to. Because of this uncertainty it is best for the individual to keep on giving bribes even though he or she thinks it is wrong.\textsuperscript{159}

There are a couple of reasons that try to explain the occurrence of soft states in the developing world: One explanation to the problem is that many of the developing countries were until recently governed by a colonizing foreign power. When the colonizers left, they often left the country with few workers with higher education. Quite similar with this theory is the dependence theory which is about the neo-colonialism that makes many developing counties dependent on the North in the way that they sell raw material to them. The rich countries in the north are the ones who set the agenda in the way that they only import raw material and no refined commodities. Another theory illuminates the level of development. It has a goal and is evolutionistic in the way that it states that the developing countries will reach the developed countries level of development later on. A problem with this kind of thinking is that it does not count with the context. Moreover we have a theory that is lifting up the importance to see different levels of development as different games. It is not fair to judge the performance of a gymnast by the rules of weightlifting. Something that is the right thing to do in one country might be totally wrong in another one.\textsuperscript{160} One example might be that in some cultures it is a matter of course to give a job to a relative or friend even if there are others that have a higher level of competence.

What is the Tanzanian reality like then? Does the country have the institutional means to carry out the Pilot Project and implement SAICM? A problem we came across is that there is, on some points, confusion over who is in the different bodies of SAICM. To start with there was, at the time we were in Tanzania, a vacant chair in the Secretariat. This was due to the fact that the person, who was representing NEMC, was for some reason in custody. When we asked whether someone else was supposed to take his place we were told that if he is not found guilty he will come back. Therefore the Secretariat, in reality, only consisted of nine members instead of ten.\textsuperscript{161}

Moreover we found a couple of indistinct matters when we were trying to interview all the members of the Secretariat and the Steering Committee. The first example is when we were interviewing a man who was supposed to be a member of the Steering Committee representing the Confederation of Tanzanian Industries (CTI). When we had been interviewing him for a while it all of a sudden was clear that he did not know that he was CTI’s representative in the Steering Committee.

\textsuperscript{159} Blomkvist, Hans, 2001, p. 220, 244
\textsuperscript{160} Blomkvist, Hans, 2001, p. 242-244
\textsuperscript{161} Ndiyo, Daniel, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-13
he did not even know about SAICM so we, the Swedish students, had to tell him. When he had made a few calls to investigate the issue it seemed clear that he had recently been chosen as the organization’s representative. Anyway it is still surprising that the communication can be as bad so that a person who is supposed to represent a big organization does not even know he is.\(^{162}\) The second example is Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Industry & Agriculture (TCCIA) which according to the list of Steering Committee members is supposed to be a member. When we were calling them trying to settle a date for an interview it became clear that they had been active before but when the organization’s representative quit his job they had not chosen a new one and therefore they were not active anymore. A third example on indistinct matters in the Pilot Project is about a person working at the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) who is officially a Steering Committee member. He had only attended one of the three Steering Committee meetings that had been held at the time we were interviewing him. Moreover he told us that he had not heard anything from GCLA about the other meetings. The reason for this is unclear but he suggested that the invitation letters might have been lost somewhere along the way. Another reason might be that the person sending out the letters thinks that Enock Masanja who is representing CREFT or Jamidu Katima who is representing AGENDA is representing UDSM and that they thus do not ask who they are representing. According to UDSM’s representative the interaction with GCLA is usually good but not concerning SAICM.\(^{163}\) Our fourth example is a member of the Steering Committee that had never been to any Steering Committee meeting. He had simply not received any invitations. We heard from the Secretariat that they, the ministry he works at, are not much involved in the Pilot Project. Whether the Secretariat of SAICM has sent out invitations that have been lost in the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments, where he works, or if they have forgotten to do so is hard to tell. It is anyway clear that something has gone wrong along the way.\(^{164}\)

In addition to these administrative problems we were told that the invitations to the different meetings are received too late. Sometimes the actors get the invitation letters as late as one week before the meeting is supposed to be held. It is thus quite probable that it is sometimes impossible for members to take part in the meetings.\(^{165}\) As we have already said the invitations are sent out two weeks in advance. Even if the actors would receive the letters immediately, two weeks before the meeting is quite late. It is likely that some actors can not attend the SAICM meetings due to the short period of time between the day when they

\(^{162}\) Madabida, Ramadan, CTI, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-26

\(^{163}\) Ntalikwa, Justin, the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-11-26, Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, first interview 2007-11-21

\(^{164}\) Tamyamali, Apolinary K., Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-12-07

\(^{165}\) Diwani, Salum, Crop Life Tanzania, Steering Committee member, interview 2007-12-04, Mng’anya, Silvani, AGENDA, member of the Steering Committee, first interview 2007-11-06
When the meeting is supposed to take place. Better advance planning would probably do a lot for the attendance in the way that the actors would most likely be able to attend the meetings on a more continuous basis.

Since SAICM in Tanzania is still in its infancy it might be hard to see the linkage between our theoretical exposition about the soft state and the project. Whether the institutions that handle the project function in a particularistic way or not will be more obvious later on when the project has come further. Anyway we believe we have found something that shows that there are particularistic tendencies. The fact mentioned in the part about financial resources that our interviewee at TPAWU expressed that it is good that they receive the money for their QSP straight from the donors and that they do not have to pass the Tanzanian Focal Point of SAICM, Mr Mashimba at GCLA, gives a hint that there is, if not concrete corruption affairs at least fear for the same.\footnote{Msangi, Yahya Khamis, TPAWU, member of the Steering Committee, interview 2007-10-31}

The need for experts is made clear by the fact that the analysis of the results of the Capacity Assessment was done by members from the Secretariat that did not know how to handle the programme, SPSS, which the analysis was done in. They learnt how to handle it at the time they analysed the data. Unfortunately some data was coded in a wrong way which resulted in that it had to be done once more. This process delayed the Capacity Assessment report. For this reason it would have been good to hire an expert on SPSS for the task. According to Jamidu Katima this was not possible due to economic reasons.\footnote{Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18}

The challenge to put chemicals management in general and more specifically SAICM on the agenda of the Inter Ministerial Committee is not just a matter of finances. That is an important part of it but in order to be able to create comprehensive legislation concerning chemicals and enforce it is urgent to create coordination of the acts different ministries work out of. As long as the politicians do not discuss the issue there will be gaps that hinder a successful implementation of SAICM. Yet if the issue is discussed in the Inter Ministerial Committee there is a good chance for sufficient coordination.

### 5.4 Time as a resource

As we said previously about how different actors see the fact that the Pilot Project is a pilot project it is important to have patience and let the process take its time to settle. It is often stated when talking about the countries of the North that a time frame of five to ten years is needed in order for a political programme to settle in
In countries with a soft state one can imagine that such a process will take even more time since its institutions do not function in a way that is seen as appropriate from a Weberian bureaucracy point of view.

The implementation of SAICM in Tanzania is a complex task with all the different actors from different bodies that are taking part. It is time consuming to coordinate the activities that are supposed to be carried out but it is better to let it take its time and do it properly than to do something quickly but untidily. One example is that it took more time than expected to collect information to the Capacity Assessment report and fulfil it. The process was delayed for instance since people who were supposed to answer the questionnaires for the Capacity Assessment were not around at the time when the people who were carrying out the task visited their institution in order to meet them. The parties then had to set a new date for the meeting and therefore the process took more time than expected. Moreover the national forum which is a meeting for all SAICM actors in Tanzania was delayed since the Secretariat wanted the Inter Ministerial Committee to discuss the issue before the meeting. For reasons like these Tanzania is now behind schedule.\textsuperscript{169}

To summarize, the project is after the schedule a couple of months but it does not matter since the objective is that the country is heading for the SAICM goals of the year 2020. Maybe it takes longer to implement a political programme in a complex organization in a developing country than in a country in the North but anyway it seems like there is enough time to implement SAICM as intended.

5.5 Conclusions on the Resource Theme

We will now analyze whether Tanzania has resources for a successful implementation of SAICM. We are quite ambivalent whether there is sufficiency in finances or not. The reason for this is that several of our interviewees have stated that a big problem is that the funding is not enough. At the same time we were told that the donors have said that finances are not a problem. Maybe both sides are right but that they are talking about different things. The actors in Tanzania might think that the finances that are distributed from UNITAR together with the domestic resources that the Pilot Project’s budget count with are supposed to cover the costs of SAICM as a whole while the donors see them as a good base line, a starting point, on the way towards sustainability. If there is a broad will that results in that the different ministries make chemicals management

\textsuperscript{168} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 41
\textsuperscript{169} Dominic, Dominic, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14,
Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, second interview, 2007-11-30,
Masanja, Enock, CREFE and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28,
Mtenga, Magdalena, GCLA, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-12-14
and SAICM a part of their budgets there will be enough finances. Our point of view is that the donors provide enough finances to get things started in chemicals management right now and that the rest of the project needs to be financed through Tanzania’s own economic resources. There is danger in all kinds of international aid that the receiving actor becomes too dependent on a generous donor and in the end when the donor stops to donate the receiver is unable to take action.

Even concerning technical knowledge the answer is not that obvious. An often returning thought when asking about obstacles on the way towards a successful implementation has been that there is not enough knowledge, that more technically skilled people are needed. At the same time we have got the impression that almost all actors are engineers, chemists, biologists or the like. Therefore we are a bit ambivalent on this point. Generally, among the public the knowledge is very low but we think there is sufficiency in technical knowledge among the main players of the project. As far as the persons who are supposed to carry out the project have knowledge it will work. That the knowledge is low among the public is a fact that the project is supposed to change.

We think that Tanzania does have enough technical knowledge within chemicals management to do a lot of changes on different areas where chemicals are used. Also, Tanzanian institutions and organizations have good cooperation with international actors that are even more educated in chemicals management and are willing to share this knowledge. Most of the technical preparations are ready, it is more a matter of giving SAICM a political priority and then to have sufficient bureaucratic institutions to implement this priority.

As far as we are concerned the big problem is that the institutions do not work in a satisfying way. Our impression is that people trained in the social sciences are in scarcity. There is a need for bureaucrats that are used to policy processes and how to implement political programmes. The organization of the Pilot Project has several parts to improve. The fact that there is indistinctness concerning for instance some members of the Steering Committee emphasizes this. Furthermore such an easy thing as to send out the invitations to the Steering Committee meetings earlier would also result in a better continuity since it would be easier for the members to plan and consequently to attend the meetings. Tanzania has several acts that involve chemicals in different ways. The problem is though that there are gaps between those acts. So there is a need for some coordinating policy between those acts and perhaps a new act that includes all different uses of chemicals. But most of all, Tanzania needs to improve the enforcement of its acts. For example, if companies do not follow the restrictions in the Environmental Management Act they need to be punished in some way, otherwise it will hollow out the content of these acts.

Environmental politics in general and for instance chemicals management are based on a high degree of technical knowledge. On the one hand, researchers have
the scientific data on how the environment is affected, but on the other hand there are always politicians who make the political decisions. Since SAICM hasn’t reached the political level yet in Tanzania it is hard to say whether this balance of science and politics is good but according to Enock Masanja the politicians listen to researchers as long as they provide solutions and not just complaints.  

All in all, Tanzania has enough financial support from donors to start the implementation of SAICM, Tanzania has enough technical knowledge in chemicals management, but Tanzania has scarcities of political priority and the political institutions that might hinder the implementation of SAICM until year 2020. The financial support and the technical knowledge together with international pressure are though useful tools to create political priority and we also think this will occur in the near future. Political institutions are more problematic; to create a Weberian bureaucracy takes time but once established it would be a long-term key for all political programmes in Tanzania. But does Tanzania have enough time to implement SAICM until year 2020? Tanzania has enough of time to create an sustainable financial situation for the implementation of SAICM through international and national resources, Tanzania has enough time to turn the technical knowledge in the country into practical benefit and Tanzania has enough time to influence its politicians to prioritize chemicals management. The question is though whether Tanzania has time and tools to change its institutions enough to implement SAICM completely, this remains to be seen.

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170 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
The implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania involves many different actors at various levels and although many of them, hopefully, share some core values when it comes to chemicals management there are certainly several different specific interests among the actors. In the case of SAICM in Tanzania, do the actors have many different interests and if so, how do you deal with this fact during the implementation?

6.1 Background

The theoretical starting point is of course that the implementator likes the political decision, otherwise the implementation will be very problematic. A political issue needs to be rooted in the implementator and the implementator must be motivated to implement, especially if the governing is vague or if the possibility to control is low. It is preferable to see the relation between the decision maker and the implementator as a relationship based on negotiation. Since the relation will last long the parties need to have mutual respect and be aware that it is a game of giving and taking. The decision maker should persuade and not let the implementator obey orders.\textsuperscript{171} Another aspect of interests is actors outside the relation between the decision maker and the implementator, for example a company that wants to oppose a new proposal on higher requirements for the environment because of economic reasons. To convince actors in the surroundings of a new political decision it might be necessary for the decision makers to promise higher objectives than the actual intentions.\textsuperscript{172} The implementation theories are mainly focusing on the implementator as a homogenous actor, but there are many different kinds of implementators and some implementators are very complex. According to Sannerstedt these complex implementators have an interest in financial support and because of that there is a tendency of adjustment to new requirements from the decision maker, the seamy side is that this adjustment can be more symbolic than real, especially if the possibility to control is low. In a few extreme cases the decision maker can also decide to establish an entirely new organization just for the implementation, according to Bo Rothstein a new public authority was created in Sweden during the 1930\textdegree s to enable the new labour market policy.\textsuperscript{173} But modern politics are based on a new tendency within implementation theory, many implementations involve several different

\textsuperscript{171} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 38
\textsuperscript{172} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 38-40
\textsuperscript{173} Sannerstedt, Anders, 2001, p. 42-43
6.2 Different actors interests

We will first look at possible differences in interest between the UN and Tanzania as a homogeneous actor. To generalize, Tanzania wants to implement SAICM as long as it gets enough financial and practical support from the UN and developed countries. When the country applied to become a Pilot Project the application was supported by many different actors within Tanzania. 174 Although the UN's main objective with the Pilot Project is to get experiences that can be used on other developing countries and Tanzania's main objective is based on self-interest these different interests are not contradictory. It is included in the very nature of this kind of political programme that the driving force for the individual country is the country's own gain. Without Tanzania's self-interest the UN would not be able to get experiences for other countries but also the experiences the UN wants include experiences of self-interest since all countries are based on self-interest.

To view Tanzania as a homogeneous actor is though a theoretical assumption, in reality there are several different actors in the country that host different interests. The reason different actors participate in the project might vary.

Because two of the most active NGOs in the project are headed by researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam we have chosen to talk of NGOs and researchers at the same time. It may come as no surprise that those NGOs and researchers are positive to SAICM. The head of AGENDA, Jamidu Katima and the head of CREFT, Enock Masanja are very active both in the international and national context. The two are among the most driving forces in the Secretariat. It is furthermore an important factor that they have been involved in chemicals management in Tanzania since the middle of the 1990s. 175 According to Masanja it is easier to act as an NGO than as an academic. 176

The responsible institution for the Pilot Project is GCLA and there are also many other semi-autonomous governmental institutions involved in the implementation. The persons we met from those institutions were mainly chemists to the profession and they were also positive to SAICM. For GCLA a successful

174 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA, member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24
175 Katima, Jamidu, AGENDA and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, third interview 2007-12-18
176 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
There is one union represented in the Steering Committee (TPAWU) and a couple of unions among the Stakeholders. Those unions are positive to SAICM since it strengthens the conditions for their workers in Tanzania.\(^{177}\) TPAWU is the only organization/institution in Tanzania that has got its QSP approved by the UN so far. There is a risk that they rather focus on their own project than the national Pilot Project as a whole but this does not have to be a problem just like it is not contradictory that Tanzania and the UN have slightly different objectives with the Pilot Project. TPAWU has its QSP that it is working towards but anyway the objectives of the QSP are in accordance with SAICM.\(^{178}\)

There are several companies and trade organizations involved in the Steering Committee and among the Stakeholders. On the one hand tougher regulation in chemicals management can mean cleaner work environment and healthier and more effective workers. Also, if companies using chemicals can avoid to get too much chemicals left after a process they can also do a financial benefit. On the other hand, tougher regulation in chemicals management can mean excessive costs for storing, handling and disposal of chemicals. But if the new regulation will change the legislation it will be even more expensive for the companies not to follow the law. The companies that are participating in SAICM are mainly doing it because they see that they can benefit in that the level of knowledge increases in their company which results in that the workers can protect themselves. Sufficient protection is important since direct contact with chemicals without any protecting gear can among other deceases cause cancer. A higher level of knowledge can thus contribute to a more safe life. The companies that hesitate to count with the environment in their production seem to do this due to lack of knowledge in the way that they don't think they have economy for it. The problem is that they do not see that in the long run they will gain since they will have healthier workers.\(^{179}\)

The question whether politicians will put SAICM on their agenda is of crucial importance for the implementation of SAICM. Although some politicians might have heard about SAICM politicians are not involved in the process yet. For politicians it is always a matter of priority, why should time and money be spent on SAICM instead of other projects? An important factor here for researchers is to convince politicians about the connection between chemicals management and the general development of Tanzania. It is important that the people who are lobbying can show how chemicals management and the environment more generally are

\(^{177}\) Salehe, Tanimu, Zacharia, Getrude & Lyimo, Samwel, TUICO, Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-12
\(^{178}\) Mashimba, Ernest, Coordination of Quick Start Projects in Tanzania, Third meeting of the Quick Start Programme Trust Fund Implementation Committee, 24 May 2007, SAICM
\(^{179}\) Bomani, William, Continental Chemicals Ltd., Stakeholder, interview 2007-12-03,
Kunsindah, Beatrice, TBS, Stakeholder, interview, 2007-12-19,
Mwakibete, Jaffer, Twiga-Chemicals, Stakeholder, interview 2007-11-09,
Mzirai, Bertha, Oryx Oil Company, Stakeholder, interview 2007-11-27
The politicians generally listen to the civil society if the message is packed in the right way that is if they come with solutions to problems. If the message is packed in the right way the politicians might even want to use it for their own purpose to win voices. A problem could be that politicians might be reluctant to implement SAICM since they believe that tougher legislation would hamper economic development for instance in that companies dealing with chemicals have to control their disposal more severe. It is a challenge to convince them that eventual environmental problems caused by chemicals might hamper development as well. Many persons we interviewed said that there is no political debate concerning SAICM right now and the trivial explanation of that is of course that SAICM is not yet a political topic in Tanzania. The interesting question is though whether that will change once SAICM is on the political agenda.

The knowledge of SAICM among journalists is low and among the public it is in principle non existent. When it comes to environmental issues in developed countries media and the public can play an important role and have an impact on the political decisions. Media in Tanzania is although to a certain degree concerned of environmental issues in general and there is a NGO called Journalist Environmental association of Tanzania (JET).

6.3 Conclusion on the Interest Theme

To summarize, the main part of the actors involved in the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania share some core values on chemicals management and Tanzania’s application to become a Pilot Project was supported by letters from 23 actors within the country. At the same time there are also many individual and specific objectives to be aware of in the UN and in Tanzania. Different opinions and interests are firstly a factor that is always present in all kinds of politics worldwide and secondly various interests are fruitful for a constructive development of the process. Of course, the interests can’t be too contradictory since that will totally lock the negotiations. In the case of SAICM in Tanzania the different interests are so far not hampering the process; rather they are necessary to create legitimacy for the decisions made during the implementation. The more interests represented in the decision making, the higher legitimacy will be during the implementation. An interesting factor is when the politicians put SAICM on their agenda, what will their interest be and will there be political debate over this.

180 Masanja, Enock, CREFT and the Department of Chemical and Process Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, member of the Secretariat, second interview 2007-11-28
181 Kalima, Josephine, GCLA member of the Secretariat & Mashimba, Ernest, GCLA, Focal Point for SAICM in Tanzania, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-10-24
182 Mwasubila, Eustad, VPO, member of the Secretariat, interview 2007-11-13
183 Journalists Environment Association of Tanzania, www.jet.or.tz, fetched 2008-05-15
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This actor Tanzania is right now willing to implement is a necessary foundation when it comes to interests within.
7.1 Conclusions

In this section we will shortly summarize what we have done so far in our essay and finally give a couple of reflections on SAICM in Tanzania. In chapter one we start by discussing the link between development and environment. This leads forth to the presentation of SAICM which is a UN programme that has the aim that by the year 2020 chemicals are supposed to be produced and used in a manner that harm human beings and the environment as little as possible. Currently there are SAICM Pilot Projects in three developing countries and one country with economy in transition namely: Belarus, Pakistan, Tanzania and Panama. We have chosen to investigate Tanzania. More concrete we ask two questions: “How is the Pilot Project of SAICM implemented in Tanzania?” and “What opportunities and hindrances are there for a successful implementation of SAICM in Tanzania?”

Chapter two is a theoretical chapter which we start by presenting the policy process and its different stages: initiation; formulation; implementation; evaluation and review. These stages of the policy process are later on in the essay used to describe SAICM. Since our essay is about the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania we are of course foremost interested in the implementation stage of SAICM. For this reason the review of the different stages of the policy process is followed by giving a summary of the status of the implementation theory. Three generations of implementation theory can be said to have passed so far: the first generation put the light on the fact that political projects are most often not implemented as the politicians intent; the second generation of scientists started to create theories and hypothesis about the issue; the third generation finally was a period of debates between supporters of top-down and bottom-up. In the summary of the status of implementation theory three different views appear namely; top-down, bottom-up and networks. In order to be able to tell what kind of governing that is characterizing the implementation in Tanzania we chose to rationalize and simplify so that we just had to count with the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives. Chapter two is concluded by telling that we will later on, in the second part of the essay, analyse what opportunities and hindrances Tanzania has to implement SAICM by analysing the implementation through three themes: governing; resources and interests.

The third chapter is a descriptive chapter. By using the stages heuristic model we describe how SAICM was initiated, formulated, how it is being implemented and
There are three different levels of engagement in the project in Tanzania. The first level is the Secretariat. The Secretariat consists of approximately ten members of whom five are from the Government Chemist Laboratory Agency (GCLA) which is a semi autonomous institution under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, two from NGOs and the rest from other governmental institutions. The Secretariat is the hub in the project in Tanzania. The second level of engagement is the Steering Committee that has approximately 20 members from ministries and other governmental institutions but also representatives from for instance companies, NGOs and a workers union. The third level of engagement, Stakeholders, consists of actors from for instance NGOs, companies, governmental organizations and personnel from the academia.

Chapter four, which is handling the governing theme returns to the theoretical concepts top-down and bottom-up in the way that we are categorizing our empirical data on these concepts. Moreover we evaluate the governing of the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania and ask whether the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM in Tanzania is best described by the top-down- or the bottom-up-concept. Our answer to this question is that there is a mixture of both these theoretical concepts but that there is a dominance of top-down. But the analysis does not stop there, rather we separate the governing into different stages and parts of the project. The top-down approach is above all and ought to be dominant at the international level with a lot of constructive governing from the UN that provides guidelines for most parts of the project. The reason we say that it ought to be in this way is that SAICM, even though the initiative came from states, is a project which is implemented from the top to the bottom. The project is implemented on a level above the state level, where the UN is, down to states. At the national level the difference between top-down and bottom-up is smaller and ought to be even smaller, above all during the later phases of the implementation. The reason for this is that now when the project is still in its infancy it is to quite a large extent centralized. Important is though that this will change as local governments get more active in the project along the way towards implementation of SAICM because in order to fully implement SAICM it is necessary that not just the central government works with the issue but that local governments throughout the country do it as well. The mixture of top-down and bottom-up is for the most part appropriate in this particular case. The shortages in the governing aspect are more separate parts than structural hindrances.

In chapter five, where we handle the resource theme, we discuss what resources and scarcities there are for a successful implementation of SAICM in Tanzania and ask whether the country has the resources needed of finances, technical knowledge, institutions and time to implement SAICM. The finances in the project that are taken both from UNITAR and from the county’s own resources are enough to start the project. The country also has enough technical knowledge in chemicals management but right now Tanzania lacks the political priority and above all the political institutions to implement SAICM completely until year
sufficiently functioning institutions. The legislation is not sufficient in the sense that there are gaps and holes in it. Furthermore, the coordination of the project from GCLA, the responsible institution, has parts that are insufficient. Among the people that are working with SAICM the devotion to the project seems to be sincere. The problem is though to make the politicians discuss the issue. Unfortunately it is impossible for the actors of the project to carry out the project without the political wheel. Lastly it seems like there is sufficient time to implement the project. To summarize Tanzania has time and tools to make SAICM financially sustainable, to use their technical knowledge and to convince politicians but the problem might be that Tanzania doesn’t have enough political institutions.

The sixth chapter is a chapter in which we write about, the third theme, interests. The reason we have a chapter about interests is that the implementation of the Pilot Project and SAICM as a whole in Tanzania involves various actors at different levels with various interests. On the one hand we have found that most of the actors involved share some core values on chemicals management. Moreover, GCLA’s application for the Pilot Project was supported by 23 domestic actors. On the other hand, the actors are, since they are taken from such a broad spectra, representing views that to quite a large extent are contradictory. The various interests on SAICM in Tanzania are both in line with the normal political procedures worldwide and are fruitful for a constructive development of the process. Different interests are so far not hampering the process; instead they are creating legitimacy for the decisions made during the implementation. The more interests that are represented in the process the more legitimate the implementation will be. Right now there is no political debate over the issue. But maybe there will be later on when the politicians put SAICM on their agenda. To sum up we have found that Tanzania, seen as one actor, is willing to implement SAICM. This, that the implementator is willing is a fundamental prerequisite in order to be able to implement all political programmes.

We have now answered the two main questions of the essay. In our last part we will give a short reflection on what experiences from SAICM in Tanzania that can be used in future political work and political studies.

7.2 Reflections

We will now do a couple of reflections based on our empirical conclusions on SAICM in Tanzania through three different perspectives. Do we see the same implementation problems in SAICM in Tanzania as in general implementation studies? Can the experiences from SAICM in Tanzania be used in other developing countries? Does the implementation of the Pilot Project say anything about general Tanzanian politics?
Implementation in general

Implementation studies are mainly based on national programmes in developed countries but researchers within political science have also started to look at implementations of international programmes and implementations in developing countries. Since our study includes both an international programme and a developing country we hope to contribute to this new field of implementation theory. International programmes are very different from national programmes since they are being implemented in the anarchy of states where there is no legitimate actor of force. International agreements are sometimes called "treaties without teeth" since there are seldom any punishments if you don't comply. Implementation in developing countries is very different from implementation in developed countries since many developing countries lack the political institutions that are needed and since there is a higher level of corruption.

Seen from this perspective we will compare SAICM in Tanzania with an implementation of a national programme in a developed country by using the thematical tools from our second part of the essay. Resources of finances, resources of institutions and interests are the most interesting tools to compare since they play a major roles in both scenarios while resources of knowledge, resources of time and governing are more peripheral since the first two play less important roles and since the last one is hard to compare.

If you study the implementation of a national programme in a developed country by using our thematical tools you would probably find that the institutions are strong but that the process might be hampered by lack of finances (since many potential projects compete for money) or by too various interests. The Weberian bureaucracy might be criticized for being lengthy and time consuming but on the other hand, if politicians come to a decision on a political programme this will in most cases be implemented sooner or later thanks to strong institutions. The problems might be before the decision is made, either there are no financial resources or there is a debate among politicians, media and the public on the issue. Of course there are sometimes failing implementations in developed countries due to lack of cooperation between political institutions, but overall lack of finances and different interests are more often hampering an implementation, mainly before the decision is made.

Technical knowledge is not often a decisive problem within implementation in developed countries since they usually have competent researchers within most research areas. The governing aspect is very dependent on which political issue that is concerned. The general development in politics today is that "hard politics" (like economy, national security, energy etc.) is still based on top-down politics while soft politics (like environment, human rights, gender etc.) is also strongly influenced by bottom-up politics. The last tool, resources of time, is as mentioned before a smaller problem in developed countries since these countries have strong, effective institutions. Weak institutions are the main cause to the need of time.
Our conclusion on SAICM in Tanzania is quite the opposite to the example from a developed country. We argue that Tanzania has enough financial resources to get things started and that the different interests are not too various to hamper the process. Instead Tanzania has scarcities in political institutions that might hinder the implementation. Thanks to the UN and other donors Tanzania does have enough finances to start the implementation of SAICM and one of the objectives is to include chemicals management into the normal budgets of different Ministries so that Tanzania gets a sustainable financial situation for SAICM. If the country doesn’t fulfil this objective the financial factor will definitely be a future problem since the UN and the other donors will gradually decrease their financial support. Since most actors involved in SAICM in Tanzania are technical people from governmental institutions and NGOs whereas politicians, media and public don’t even know what the acronym means there is no debate on the issue. Also, the people involved prefer national unity instead of debate since that will make it easier to get international financial support. The only possible problem when it comes to interests is that companies start to object SAICM later on when the legislation on chemicals changes and when this legislation is being enforced. But the most urgent problem with the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania is the weak political institutions that lack the Weberian structure from developed countries. To create strong political institutions takes time but is necessary for all kinds of political programmes in Tanzania.

As mentioned before, the technical knowledge in chemicals management is high enough to start the first part of the implementation of SAICM thanks to competent driving forces within Tanzania and thanks to cooperation with helpful international actors. The governing theme, is problematic to compare to “normal” implementation studies since SAICM is an international programme. Although, we see the same tendency in international politics as in national politics when it comes to hard and soft politics, the bottom-up perspective is more common in SAICM compared to for example an international agreement on nuclear power. Finally, resources of time, might be a problem in Tanzania later on if the institutions don’t get stronger.

So altogether, our empirical data shows that the implementation problems with SAICM in Tanzania differ from “normal” implementation problems, partly because it is an international programme but mainly because Tanzania is a developing country. It has been useful to use the same theoretical tools as in traditional implementation studies but our results are different from implementation of national programmes in developed countries. More empirical studies within implementation theory that concern international programmes and/or developing countries are definitely needed.
The experiences from SAICM in Tanzania

The main objective to have four pilot project countries from four different regions in the world is of course to get experiences that can be used in other developing countries, so Tanzania is an important example for the rest of Africa. Although Tanzania has a slightly higher level of technical knowledge in chemicals management compared to many other African countries (which was one of the reasons they were chosen) Tanzania is still a poor country with corruption, particularistic bureaucracy and a strong central government like many other developing countries.

An alternative choice of country could have been if the UN had chosen the least developed country within chemicals management in Africa. Although a Pilot Project in such a country would have several more implementation problems than in Tanzania, this increase of problems would also be an increase of experiences for the UN. The risk is though that the implementation of SAICM in such a country would be very time consuming or even fail during the first phases and not give any experiences at all, and that is probably the reason why the UN chose Tanzania since the chance is higher that the project will succeed and that the UN will get important experiences. On the other hand the problem of having the Pilot Project in Tanzania might be that the UN misses the important step from the average African country to the level of chemicals management Tanzania had before the Pilot Project. It is like a fire ladder on the outer wall of a house that doesn’t reach all the way to the ground to avoid playing kids on the roof; the UN gets experiences from a certain level but misses the first part.

In this sense it would have been better to use a country in which the level of knowledge is lower. On the one hand the case might have been that it would have been even harder to start to roll towards the goal, but if this had been done the experiences from that country would have been useful in more countries since experiences from a lower level would have been available. On the other hand, there is a time limit, the Pilot Projects are just running over three years and after that it is time to get started in the rest of the countries. Seen from this perspective it was probably good to choose a country that is ahead since it would probably have taken more time to see the results of a project in a country that starts from a lower level of development. In other words, experiences from the Pilot Project won’t explain why Tanzania was ahead in chemicals management compared to many other African countries before the project started.

Even though the UN lacks the first part of the ladder we think that the rest of the ladder is fruitful and useful in other developing countries and that the four Pilot Projects in different regions were a strategic choice by the UN. Of course, each country has its own national and local context and one of our interviewees said that it is important to keep this is mind when the implementation of SAICM starts in for example Kenya; one of Tanzania’s neighboring countries. Of course the UN can learn a lot from the Pilot Project countries but we think it is important
It is not as easy as to copy and paste. We believe experiences when implementing SAICM in another one but it is important for the UN to separate between experiences that are unique for Tanzania, experiences that are connected to an African context and possible experiences that are general for all developing countries. Together with the experiences from Panama, Belarus and Pakistan it will be much easier to do this separation of experiences. To conclude, we think there are similarities between Tanzania, other African countries and even developing countries in general that will make the experiences from the Pilot Project in Tanzania useful once the implementation of SAICM starts in those countries.

7.2.3 Tanzanian politics in general

The implementation of SAICM in Tanzania can not completely be compared to other political programmes in Tanzania since SAICM is an international programme and since the Pilot Project is mainly financed by the UN. One person we interviewed said that NGOs are not normally represented in Tanzanian politics but that SAICM is special since NGOs per definition are part of the process. Also, SAICM hasn’t reached the political table in Tanzania yet which makes it a bit harder to say too much about politics in general. Although, our findings that the political institutions are weak and the central government is strong are general conclusions. To establish strong political institutions would be fruitful for all kinds of political programmes in Tanzania, not only international environmental agreements. Also, we think that the u-turn effect, where the UN helps actors in Tanzania to influence Tanzanian politicians, can have a positive affect on other political areas in Tanzania in the future by increasing political confidence among non politicians.

Overall, the implementation of SAICM in Tanzania can say a few things about Tanzanian politics in general but there are many parts that cannot be observed since this is an international programme that is partly financed by donors and since the issue is not put on the political agenda yet. Perhaps this kind of programme is faster implemented in Tanzania than normal national programmes, partly because it has international donors and partly because there is an international pressure that demands better chemicals management.
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