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Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

TWO SHANTYTOWNS IN DAR ES SALAAM

A STUDY OF HOUSING PROCESS

University — Université

CARLETON UNIVERSITY, OTTAWA ONTARIO CANADA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MASTERS OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1984

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TWO SHANTYTOWNS IN DAR ES SALAAM: A STUDY OF HOUSING PROCESS

by

Christopher J.B. Comoro, B.A. (Hons.), M.A.

c August, 1984 Christopher J.B. Comoro

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in Partial
Fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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August, 1984

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TWO SHANTYTOWNS IN DAR ES SALAAM:

A STUDY OF HOUSING PROCESS

submitted by Christopher J.B. Comoro, B.A. (Hons.), M.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

There are no singular or magical solutions to the problems of housing in the Third World. The problem is an inextricable part of the syndrome of underdevelopment. It arises from an imbalance between demographically explosive demand and institutionally as well as an economically restricted supply.

(Qadeer, 1980: 142)

This thesis has looked at the "housing process" of two shantytowns in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's capital, coexisting with industries in areas designated for the expansion of the latter. Together they are inhabited by approximately 1.6 percent of the city's population which exceeds one million inhabitants. Furthermore, they have identical background in terms of what they provide to the society and, ironically, in terms of the infrastructures they are basically lacking. Owing to their differences in physical; spatial; demographic and cultural aspects which are fundamentally a result of the unequal interactions of the Tanzanian society and the world system, I submit that they interact differently with the international system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Centrally this thesis was originated from a "work-shop" oriented Graduate Course at Carleton University. The course entitled - The Logic of the Research Process (Sociology 53.589) was conducted by Professor Steve Richer during the Fall and Winter terms of academic year 1982/83. At the expertise and encouragement of Professor Richer the foundation of this study was formally laid. The workshop tactfully encouraged the imitation of appropriate practices applied by various Professors invited to participate and share with us their ongoing research experiences. I owe them all individually confidence in their strategies.

The major debt of gratitude is to my sponsor (CIDA) and my employer (The University of Dar es Salaam) for supporting the programme and the project financially. I am also grateful to Dr. D. Farr of The Paterson Centre for International Programs for facilitating my May-August return trip to Tanzania for fieldwork. I owe special thanks to Professor D. Whyte (chairperson), Professor C. Gordon and Professor S. Richer for their initiative in the Research Committee which sat in the Spring of 1983 working selflessly to advise me on the project. Again, I am grateful to members of the Thesis Committee Professor C. Gordon (Chairperson), Professor S. Richer and Professor Carl G. Widstrand - currently on Sabbatical leave from the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden. As a team, their constant encouragement and active interest in the various stages of the form in which this study has finally come to has been of tremendous value to the ultimate conclusion of this study. Yet customarily I remain responsible for the final presentation.

It is not possible to thank all people and institutions that while performing their every day duties have been useful sources of information for this study. But I want to thank Mr. Zephania Maliki, CCM

Secretary, Kipawa Branch, Mr. Pazi (Kamanda) Peoples Militia Kipawa Branch, Mrs. Mwamkinga, CCM Ward Secretary at Kurasini and Mr. Laurent Siame, CCM Chairman, Shimo la Udongo Branch. Through them it was possible for me to interact with the households in the sample whose cooperation was a constant cause of motivation and encouragement. (C)

Lastly I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to members of my own household for their patience and understanding.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The present study on "Housing Process" examines two residential areas on the fringes of Dar es Salaam, the first capital city and the largest commercial centre in Tanzania. It is an attempt to advance a thesis that the two shantytowns in Dar es Salaam covered by this social survey interact differently with the "world system", a situation which underscores the suggestion that capitalism develops unevenly (Rodney, 1972; Rweyemamu, 1973). This argument will be supported by data I gathered in the field during the Summer Term of 1983.

In recent years the study of housing has been receiving increasing attention (Qadeer, M.A. 1980; Ball, M. 1981, 1983; Cardoso, A. and Short, J.R. 1982). Yet the solutions to the various ramifications comprising the housing problem does not seem to be forthcoming. This presentation will use the concept of "Housing Process". The studies by Ball (1981), Cardoso and Short (1982) uses the concepts of "Housing Provision" and "Housing Production" respectively. To reconcile the two perspectives, it is important to see production not in isolation from the use of the product and the means by which the user obtains it (Ball 1982: 264). Looking at housing as a social process, the approach of this case study combines both the production and the provision of shelter.

The term "Housing Process" suggests an activity of establishing shelter as part of the struggle for survival. This process is part of a total relation of production and reproduction of society. The prevailing relations of production and reproduction are contingent on the dominant mode of production. In the case of Tanzania, this is the capitalist mode of production.

Capitalism, as an economic mode, is based on the fact that the economic factors operate within an arena larger than that which any political entity can totally control. This gives capitalists a freedom of maneuver which is structurally based. It has made possible the constant economic expansion of the world system, albeit with a very skewed distribution of its rewards (Wallerstein, 1974: 348).

Tanzania is in many ways similar to most Third World countries: it has suffered under colonialism; and has had its social and economic structures distorted by international capitalism. Yet Tanzania differs from most Third World countries in that its main strategy for development since 1967 has been based on a declaration made at Arusha where it adopted a socialist strategy emphasizing equality (cf. Clark, 1978: ix).

During the period since the Arusha Declaration in 1967 (cf. Nyerere, 1977) national policies in Tanzania have become more egalitarian than before. Nevertheless a bias towards rural development has been quite apparent in the concomitant strategies. Indeed the majority of Tanzanians live in rural areas, hence taken literally the post-Arusha policies should be considered both pragmatic and radical.

On the surface therefore it would seem paradoxical to study an urban sector with less proportion of population but more opportunities for advancement. However, more than a decade after the Arusha Declaration, statistics from the Central Bank of Tanzania indicated that 80 percent of the country's population depend upon agriculture. To extrapolate from Nyerere's (1968) paper "Socialism and Rural Development" of September 1967 which maintained only 4 percent of Tanzanians lived in towns, data presented in this study suggests quite significant changes in urban population concentration.

My rationale for studying the urban area is three-fold.

First and foremost since large parts of the economy remain in private hands, and since the economy as a whole remains integrated into international capitalism (Clark 1978), it remains urban centred. Hence, capital-labour interaction essential for the comprehension of the housing process is more apparent in the urban areas and can be illustrated empirically. Jensen and Mkama (1968), Mascarenhas (1973) and Kaplan (1978) argue that Dar es Salaam has had the major portion of both capital and labour. Secondly, the study will focus on the urban section where informal housing coexists with formal institutions directly linked to the metropolis. Here the majority of urban immigrants are drawn into the city, yet they lack the means to provide themselves with anything but rudimentary shelter, and find themselves shifting among friends who do have accommodation in residential areas. Consequently these residential areas proliferate into concentrated shantytowns. In this regard my concern is to probe into the subsequent socio-economic political and cultural practices in the shantytowns. Thirdly, a clear comprehension of the practices named above will be useful in planning for the trends of urban migration in the future.

The main thesis in this study is that the housing process in the surveyed peri-urban residential locations is a manifestation of the ongoing interaction between the Tanzanian society and the larger international order, namely, the capitalist international division of labour. Approaching the problem historically, this study endeavors to provide a sociological explanation from a Marxist point of view elucidating the characteristics of and the underlying forces accountable for the rise and perpetuation of the prevailing housing process. Empirically, the sociological investigation of housing seems to establish a positive correlation between the quality

of the home and the social status of its inhabitants (Pritchard 1976). Yet, as both Turner (1972) and Gordon (1980) who, following a Marxian paradigm, succinctly relate the shelter relationships to the relations of production and the concomitant arrangements of labour control have observed, the vital aspects of housing are not quantifiable at all. Hence, one poses the question reflected in the analyses of the two authors namely, to what extent does the housing process satisfy the human "needs" aspects of housing? This problem cannot be comprehended without making a concrete analysis of a specific housing process. In this study I shall highlight on the experiences of the households in the two shantytowns.

The presentation of this study is organized into six chapters as follows:

- a) this first chapter offers an introduction of the main point of this study;
- b) Chapter Two deals with an historical account of Tanzania's incorporation into the world system;
- c) Chapter Three looks at the urbanization process and residential structure of Dar es Salaam;
- d) Chapter Four explains the survey method used;
- e) Chapter Five presents and discusses the survey data;
- f) Chapter Six offers a summary and conclusion of the study making some broad observations.

In Chapter Two I shall proceed with the analysis of the "world system" and the "incorporation of the periphery". The experience of Tanzania will be given more emphasis.

CHAPTER TWO
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF TANZANIA'S INCORPORATION
INTO THE WORLD SYSTEM

2.0 Introduction

The discussion of this chapter will be divided into three parts as follows:

- a) part one will present the geographical situation of Tanzania;
- b) part two will briefly consider the rise and development of the capitalist mode of production in the West and will introduce the incorporation of peripheral societies;
- c) the third and last part will discuss the colonial and post colonial experience of capitalist operation in Tanzania, introducing, in passing, factors which have generated the housing crisis.

2.1 The Geographical Location of the Study Country

The United Republic of Tanzania comprises the former sovereign states of Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Pemba Islands. The present study focusses largely on the mainland located on the east coast of Africa (see map 2:1).

It shares boundaries with eight other independent African States. In the north it is bounded by the Republics of Kenya and Uganda, formerly British administered sister states. In the south it is bounded by Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique; in the east by the Indian Ocean; and in the west by Rwanda, Burundi, and Lake Tanganyika beyond which lies the Republic of Zaire - the former Belgian Congo. Like other third world countries Tanzania is generally labelled a "developing country".

There is a general consensus among historians that the colonial ambitions over the Congo by King Leopold II of the Belgians led directly to the first European partition conference, the Berlin Conference of 1884 -

MAP No. 2:1 A GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE STUDY COUNTRY

1885. (cf. Fage 1978: 325). Such moves by the European powers were geared towards protecting spheres of influence, trade relations in specified geographical locations being a prime concern. These cannot be understood clearly without considering the central notion that capitalism was at a stage known as competitive development.

In contrast however, and according to Iliffe (1969: 11), the occupation of Tanganyika by German colonialists was not at first a defence of existing interests. Rather, the impulse came from the frenzied imagination of Carl Peters, who travelled to East Africa late in 1884 and obtained a number of "treaties" with inland chiefs. As argued by Iliffe, The German East African Company was theoretically responsible for administration from 1885-1890:

In November 1890 Tanganyika formally became a German colony, part of the larger "Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft" (cf. Iliffe 1969) as part of the scramble for Africa and consequent partitioning of the continent (Davidson 1974, Fage 1978). Put in the words of Amin (1972: 503ff), the partition of the continent, which was completed by the end of the nineteenth century, multiplied the means available to the colonialists to attain capital at the centre. One may therefore argue that the partition of the continent at the turn of the century generally was reflective of the interests in the peripheral societies nurtured in the centre and that, the process whereby such interests were realized is epitomized by the historical process of incorporating the latter into the capitalist system. Succinctly put, a conception of the growth of capitalism into a world system has decisively to include its incorporation of peripheral societies. In the analysis which follows I shall seek to understand historically both capitalist development and the progressive incorporation

of peripheral societies including Tanzania. I think neither the development of a world system nor the incorporation of the latter may adequately be comprehended if analysed in isolation. To follow Frank (1969, 1972) - a famous world system protagonist, "they are two sides of a single coin".

2.2 The Development of the World System: A Brief Consideration

To recapitulate the emergence and development of capitalism at the centre - a mode of production which has given the impetus for the global development of a world system - a look at the experience of Britain is in order.

In the Marxist analysis, the mode of production is understood to be the ensemble of social productive forces and the production relations connected with them based on a given type of ownership of the means of production. The capitalist mode of production is characterised by ownership of all major means of production by a certain section of society, where the production is geared to exchange i.e. commodity production. This mode of production is conceived as originating in Great Britain in the medieval period, born in the womb of feudalism, but given the impetus to develop by the "enclosure system" (B. Moore 1966). Two distinct processes may be identified here. On the one hand, this system which was concomitant with and essential for the industrialization process in Britain had contributed materially toward destroying the feudal fetters on production (E. Mandel 1972). In this regard we can say that the system had been responsible for uprooting the peasants from the countryside and the consequent creation of a propertyless class, a class fundamentally requisite for the epoch of capitalist commodity production. Marx called the propertyless class the "proletariat" and he called the owners of the means of production and

subsistence the "bourgeoisie" or the "capitalist class". In order to subsist the former had to work for wage or as Marx put it "sell its labour power" to the capitalist. Given its class position the latter maximizes the products of their labour. Hence the two classes have been described as having antagonistic and irreconcilable class interests.

On the other hand for Britain the system played a vital role in the process of industrial urbanization, a necessary outcome of the capitalist character of production at the centre. However the same has not been precisely replicated in the peripheral developing countries because of the nature of the capitalist division of labour. As conceived by Marx, the division of labour in a capitalist mode of production adheres to property rights granting the owner of the means of production and subsistence the appropriation of surplus value produced. Part of this surplus was used for private consumption of the capitalist while another part was ploughed back into production. Critically analysed, the ploughing back of the surplus into production had enhanced the self-expanding character of capitalism. In turn this partly accounts for triggering of its development on a global scale. Underlying this expansion in Western Europe had been the development of science and technology and its application to production. Under such conditions commodity production became more expensive while individual commodities became relatively cheap.

It follows that to realize the capitalist interest of 'maximization of profit' mass production was essential. In terms of labour this arrangement had dual effects. On the one hand it made labour power much cheaper (cf. Marx Capital Vol. I, Chap. XII, 1938, 3rd edn.), reducing the number of the employed and creating a large labour reserve army. This had a repercussion

of lowering the general purchasing power of the potential market. On the other, it made the labour power more productive consuming more raw materials in the process of production. As a result a need for more raw materials was created. It is important to note this point at the outset because as I shall argue, the quest for more raw materials has been an important factor behind colonization and consequent incorporation of non-capitalist societies into the capitalist system.

It follows that under capitalist relations of production, factors leading to requisite mass production have included mechanization of production and labour intensification. But faced with a growing reserve army of the unemployed and coupled with diminishing purchasing power, the home market became constantly flooded with manufactured consumer items. This situation was detrimental to the capitalist system itself affecting its capital turnovers, that is to say, the whole process of realization of profit.

According to the laws of motion of capital, capital tends to move to areas of low organic, that is to say, technical composition of capital (cf. Mandel 1972). In this regard, according to Marx it offsets the problem of realization of profit. Hence he argues that counteracting influences give the impression that a falling rate of profit has a tendential character (cf. Capital Vol. 3 Chapters 13-15, 1971, 4th edition). And as he demonstrates in Das Kapital, the rate of profit can neither rise nor fall without the mass of surplus-value also rising or falling. Important aspects counteracting the tendency of the rate of profit to fall discussed by Marx include, (i) intensification of labour by using efficient machines, for instance during his time the conveyor belt, or by elongating the working day, (ii) depression of wages below the value of labour power, (iii) cheapening of

the elements of constant capital (iv) relative over-population that is to say the reserve army and (v) foreign trade in industrial manufacture vis-a-vis raw materials which effectively led to the incorporation of peripheral societies. In sum total, this situation enhanced efficiency in production. Critically considered, the same influences which tend to make the rate of profit fall also moderate the effects of this tendency.

The incorporation of peripheral societies was accomplished in the historical process of colonization and subsequent capitalist division of labour. As Hayuma (1979) put it, they were assigned the role of being granaries and suppliers of raw materials while the industrialized countries assumed the responsibility of being suppliers of manufactures and other industrialized products.

The above arrangement called for subordination of local conditions of production for the needs of the market (Frank 1969, 1972, Amin 1974 and Foster-Carter 1978) - an arrangement which does not generate conditions favourable for capital to be accumulated in the periphery. Accumulation of capital is known to be fundamentally requisite for development. Given the above premises, a development of a powerful indigenous class to influence development has not been likely. According to a Marxist analysis such an economic arrangement affects the development of society; housing, a central focus of this study being just one aspect, follows suit. The background has been set to proceed with a specific analysis of Tanzania focussing on the colonial and post colonial experiences contributing to the housing process.

2.3 The Colonial and Post Colonial Experience of Capitalist Operation in Tanzania

To recapitulate basic information presented in the introductory

sections, Tanzania, formerly Tanganyika, at first was a German colony in the latter half of the nineteenth century. More precisely the post-scramble period from 1885 up to the end and defeat of the Germans in the First World War on November 11th, 1918, then administered by the British under the League of Nations up to December 9th, 1961, when it was granted political independence.

According to Rodney (1972), both Marxists and Non-Marxists have pointed out that the sequence of modes of production noted in Europe were not reproduced in Africa nor was there a mode of production which was the replica of the European Feudalism. Therefore I think it is important to comprehend material relations of production in Tanzania at the point in time of its formal colonization because this will facilitate an understanding of consequent interaction between the Tanzanian society and the International Economy. The economy in question may be described as a "subsistence economy".

On the eve of their occupying the country, the Germans introduced the "Plantation Economy" - a system of production unfamiliar to the prevailing local conditions and practices of a predominantly subsistence oriented agrarian society in Tanzania. Concomitant with this new economic system there developed a formal administration to facilitate the imposition and to man it. These administration posts were situated in locations that developed into present day urban centres. However important posts that developed mainly along the coastal strips of the mainland pre-date formal colonization.

Granted the unfamiliarity of this system of production, its imposition had to be accompanied by means to enforce its adoption by respective local societies directly affected. In other words artificial and coercive mechanisms were created to facilitate what the Neo-Marxist debates

have labelled the "articulation of the modes of production" (Amin 1974, Alavi 1975; Foster-Carter 1978) and the process of proletarianization.

By articulation of the modes of production it is meant the co-existence of different modes of production, one being dominant. According to analysts, in the peripheral societies capitalism has preserved some pre-capitalist modes of production because in that way it can operate more conveniently. Therefore articulation of modes of production involves both the subordination of local interests to the needs of the market and, where appropriate, a preservation of traditional social structures.

On the other hand proletarianization is taken to mean a process of eroding property rights. In this case it has involved the penetration of simple commodity production by capitalist relations whereby former independent producers become wage labourers (cf. Chevalier 1980, Clement 1981). Generally the relationship between capital and labour is structured in such a way that capital is granted the right to organize and direct work to expand its profits while labour, in exchange for wages, carries out the directives of capital, thus contributing to the realization of profit (Clement, 1981). Critically examining the functioning of the Plantation Economy in Tanzania we can make out the inherent salient features of both the articulation of the modes of production and the process of proletarianization. A few examples will be cited from sisal - the most important plantation crop introduced during the German colonization period.

The Plantation Economy in Tanzania

Sisal, the most extensively grown of the plantation crops, has leaves yielding hard fiber for the manufacture of cord. It was smuggled into the country from Mexico in 1882 by a prominent German. According to Rweyemamu (1973: 25), "The Germans built up a high-cost sisal industry

because they wanted to have cordage for their navy from an independent supply which they could control." The fiber has also been used for making carpets and miscellaneous varieties of domestic brushes. Recently, in a mixture of cement and other materials it is being used as a component in the manufacture of asbestos roofing materials at the Asbestos Company close to Wazo Hill Cement Industry outside Dar es Salaam.

As a first step the Germans declared a land policy in the Land Law of 1896, by which the whole of Tanganyika became crown land except for areas already claimed by local chiefs, native communities and individual landlords. According to Clarke (1968: 117), actual acreage of alienated land put to "good" use by the government and the settlers was slightly in excess of one percent of total land. Nevertheless it has been asserted that the alienation of land destroyed the pre-capitalist social systems through which the population reproduced itself. Furthermore it destroyed property in farmland, grazing land, homestead and crops coercing the victims into forced labour. As I shall discuss below, insufficient labour for immediate colonial needs led to further destruction of the pre-capitalist social systems to complement the 1896 land policy.

Emanating from the above, the plantations like other sectors of the economy both public and private, immediately experienced labour shortage. As a result of that, the colonial administration responded as explained in the proceeding exposition. It should be noted that the potential labour force, that is, the indigenous population was hitherto self-sufficient in providing for its own means of subsistence. It is because of this that the colonial administration introduced and applied various methods to deprive it of its capacity to support itself and hence, to solicit the required labour. The following enumerated in the order of their occurrence are the

major ones:

- 1) Forced labour which was heavily resisted resulting in the armed confrontation of 1905-1907 (Iliffe 1969: 9-29) had been modified into strategy number two.
- 2) The compulsion to pay taxes in monetary forms directly forced the people to migrate in search of wage labour. Consequently, this strategy reduced their degree of independence and capability in providing for themselves their means of subsistence (cf. Iliffe 1969, Friedland 1969).
- 3) In addition to these two techniques there was the systemic incorporation of Africans in cash crop production especially coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco, hence gradually turning them into dependents of the market economy.
- 4) An important strategy accompanying the introduction of the growing of cash crops among African producers was its limitation to a few areas in the country. This strategy deliberately made the non-cash crop producing areas "labour reserves". The western and southern provinces of colonial Tanganyika, notably Kigoma and Ruvuma may be cited as examples.

To enforce this situation, particularly in order to maximize the production of the principal export crop namely, sisal, a system known as the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established. Its main functions included the mobilization, coordination and transportation of the labour force to various foreign-owned sisal plantations on the coast. The second most important export, coffee was grown by individual peasant farmers in order to earn money for the compulsory taxation imposed by the respective colonial administrations. Cotton too and other export crops were grown on a small

scale basis by peasants in non-labour reserve areas with appropriate climatic conditions for the respective relevant cash crops.

Functioning together, these mechanisms created the conditions for labour supply and the type of labour force obtaining in colonial Tanganyika. In sum total, these methods of soliciting labour resulted in depriving the indigenous population of the capacity to provide for its own means of subsistence and to make it more dependent on a market economy, a situation not known to them before the penetration of capital. Consequently, the economy itself increasingly became articulated to the needs of the centre. Yet in spite of the mechanisms considered here, at no time was labour ever sufficient. It is important to note at this juncture that the traditional peasant economy was left to coexist with the capitalist system of commodity production for export, hence the articulation of the modes of production. It can be offered as a generalization here that this coexistence has had lasting consequences. As Rodney (1972) cynically put it at the turn of the decade, "the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe" (pp. 239). Yet in spite of its persistent traditional methods of production, the Tanzanian agriculture had been precisely penetrated by capitalist relations of production and is made to contribute to the subsistence of an urban population that cannot reproduce itself entirely on wages.

My concern in this analysis is to study the segment of urban class located in "informal" residential surroundings brought to the city by the process of rural-urban migration or included in the city boundaries by the sprawl of the city itself. Lacking opportunities, they remain self-employed (Bienefeld 1975) outside the formal wage sector. Yet in order to get some of their consumption needs - soap, sugar, bread cloth to mention just a few,

they have to have some purchasing power. Implicit in Chevalier (1980), under conditions that the self-employed worker has to sell his products in order to purchase his means of productive and personal consumption from the forces of capital-dominated market, one asserts that this self-employed worker is effectively exploited by capital. It is contended here that "selling in order to purchase" is necessary in order to afford life outside the formal wage sector. I shall return to this point later.

Critically examined, rural-urban migration has direct bearing on the various mechanism for soliciting labour considered above. As it may be recalled, these mechanisms were intended to create conditions favourable for capital to operate. Consequently rural-urban migration has been an inherent part of capitalist relations. Note, however, that the immigrant population increased the total population of recipient areas without a corresponding increase in socio-economic amenities, housing being a prime example. It is contended that this trend has escalated after independence. For instance Temba (1979) has observed that housing has been increasing at less than 0.5 percent whereas the population was doubling itself between one census and the next. However, housing had been a problem area even before independence.

Under the colonial administration there was no housing scheme for African labourers. Besides, they were also regarded as temporary residents in towns. But permission was given them to build their own houses on crown land in traditional materials and as such they were exempt from both overcrowding laws and building regulations (Stren, n.d. pp. 8-9). The above aspects directly contributed to both poorly self-built housing structures and congestion. With the low wages, prospective builders could only afford simple housing structures of coral blocks, mud and wattle, and coconut-palm-leaf

thatch, as they are still doing there to this day (Southall 1966: 485).

Again to compensate for low wage insecurities they maintained ties with their rural kinsmen. But again experience has indicated that solidarity among relatives contributes to proliferation of their residential areas and congestion per dwelling unit.

As I have already pointed out, this situation continued after political independence in 1961 at a higher level. Studies have found it desirable to divide the post independence period into two parts as follows:

1. the "colonial hangover", that is, the period immediately following the achievement of political independence.
2. the post-Arusha period, that is the period after the Arusha Declaration of February 5th, 1967.

In the former, the newly independent state had not yet formulated its 'independent' policies and was thus pursuing the policies inherited from the colonial state wholesale. To cite an often quoted example relevant to this study; - In 1963 the government embarked on a slum clearance programme (cf. Grohs' article in Hutton 1970: 157-173) in Dar es Salaam which persisted till 1969. Essentially the programme involved the demolition of the squatter houses in order to eradicate what the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development regarded as "dirt and old fashioned houses" and in their stead, through the National Housing Corporation, construct modern houses.

However, events later escalated the problem instead of eradicating it.

That problem has reproduced itself today into residential locations like the present area of study. Additionally the government was still pursuing the colonial housing policy providing housing for senior civil servants and top state officials. In addition to that, the government of the post colonial state carried on with the laying of social and economic infrastructure to

serve the market oriented economy; particularly major roads (Tanzam Highway) railway (Tazara), the port (Dar es Salaam Harbour). These various construction works taking place even in the post-Arusha period indicate the nature of the economy has changed little. This point is the subject of further analysis in the following chapter. What is immediately important here is that all of the above constructions have their base or are entirely centred in Dar es Salaam. Therefore they have all contributed to creating more low paying manual jobs proliferating and encouraging unsteady settlement - a characteristic of housing in the shantytowns.

In the light of what has been discussed above, by way of conclusion a few observations need to be made at this juncture. I have considered in this analysis the development of capitalism into a world system incorporating peripheral societies as a result. I have also discussed the incorporation of Tanzania into this system. As a first colonizing power, the German colonial administration established an export oriented plantation economy tying Tanzania to the market forces. This trend was perpetuated under the British colonial administration which superseded that of the Germans. Additionally, the construction of social and economic infrastructures to facilitate the economy have been ongoing to date. Basically, the reliance on cheap migrant labour has maintained throughout. It must be recalled, such labour-force was obtained by creating the following conditions for its emergence: (i) forced labour; (ii) compulsory taxation; (iii) introduction of primary cash crops to limited areas and (iv) the creation of labour reserves elsewhere where particular labour bureaux would be recruiting migrant labour. These measures also created favourable conditions for capital to operate and consequently tied the peripheral economy to the needs of the market. A common feature under capitalist relations of production is that

those who own the capital also controlled the decision making process and in their class interests were able to control effectively in their favour the economic destiny of the countries they occupied. Tanzania therefore being without the indigenous capital and relying on capital from external sources is precisely affected by its inability to effect critical decisions hence its economic destiny. One such area is housing. As briefly indicated above in both the colonial and the post-colonial administration housing is not separable from the total development of a society.

In the following chapter centered on Dar es Salaam I shall look at the process of urbanization and concomitant urban structures and forces which I think contribute to the housing crisis. The following dimensions of urbanization will be specifically considered:

- 1) The form and causes of urbanization;
- 2) The rate of growth and its impact on the conditions of urbanites;
- 3) The concomitant spatial and physical organization of the city itself and how it has influenced housing.

The three are separate here only for analytical purpose, but in the real world the one causes the other. In a word, they are aspects of a whole process.

CHAPTER THREE

URBANIZATION AND RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE:

A LOOK AT DAR-ES-SALAAM

3.0 Introduction

With the background on the second chapter, my objective here is to look at the process of urbanization, its form and causes, its growth rate and the corresponding residential structures arising therefrom. The main concern is to attempt to explain how the process of urbanization affects housing and the conditions of its inhabitants. Approaching the problem historically, I propose to follow similar periodization as in chapter one namely the analysis will have:

- 1) a phase covering the period of formal colonization (1885-1961);
- 2) a phase covering the period of political independence until the present.

Again a consideration will be made to look distinctively at the two periods after independence, that is, in terms of "Pre" and "Post"

Arusha Declaration.

One argues that there are distinctive features and qualities of urbanization in each phase which are the result of an interplay of several forces in the entire system. It is my contention that urbanization gives rise to a respective urban spatial system which comes to determine and influence housing organization. In order to proceed with this analysis one deems it instructive at this juncture to attempt a definition of the concept of "urbanization".

What is Urbanization?

Whereas the terminology is applied to designate forms of social differentiation and particular forms of occupation and population density, there is no one to one consensus among its various definitions. Nevertheless in an attempt to comprehend both the concept and the process to apply to

the experience of Dar es Salaam it is inevitable for one to borrow from the ideas of others. As a point of departure, the analysis by Soja and Weaver, (cited in Berry 1976: 233-266) pertaining to the urbanization of the entire East African region including Dar es Salaam is useful for our present purpose. They argue that urbanization in East Africa is almost entirely a 20th century phenomenon and quintessentially the product of European colonialism and economic exploitation which cannot be understood apart from the more pervasive process of "underdevelopment" initiated during the period of European colonial contact and continuing today within the context of international economic relations.

Taking a much wider region namely the Third World, Dattoo and Gray (1979), like Soja and Weaver see a connection between the process of urbanization and colonialism. Furthermore they see colonialism is related to international division of labour and that the two follow from the laws of motion of capitalism.

From the above exposition one gathers, the process of urbanization to be what Hay Jr. (1977: 72) defines as denoting "a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, technological, geographical and cultural factors, mediated through the social organization of production".

An equally comprehensive definition abstracted from Castells (1977: 5) maintains that,

The term urbanization refers to both the constitution of specific spatial forms of human societies characterised by significant concentration of activities and population in a limited space and to the existence and diffusion of a particular cultural system, the urban culture.

To use a simpler expression, 'urbanization' is understood to be a process of growth and development of towns and cities increasing in their respective population densities, expanding in their dimensions and having

a diversity of (non-agricultural) activities. I shall adapt the present definition (which has both aspects of Castells' definition) to describe the experience of Dar es Salaam. It must be recalled that, based on the argument made in the second chapter:

- a) the population of Tanzania is geographically predominantly rural, socially and economically dependent on rural agriculture or to use Liptons' (1977) expression, the majority "live on the land and off the land".
- b) granted that large parts of the urban economy remains in private hands (Clarke 1978), the social organization of production follows suit, in other words it is basically capitalist.

To add to the above contention, concluding an overly schematic presentation of the theory of urbanization under peripheral capitalism Walton (1982: 125) has suggested that,

- i) the global (core) economy determines and constrains the course of Third World development and that
- ii) patterns of urbanism, both spatial and economic reflect the interest or the requirements of the dominant "structure of capital".

In the last analysis the question to which we address ourselves is - given the structural constraints of the world system "created and controlled by the advanced industrial nations of the west" (Hay Jr. 1977: 72), what form and characteristic does the process of urbanization take? Additionally, what effects do these have upon the inhabitants, employment, occupation, income, housing and household structures - in sum total the (culture) way of life for the majority subsisting outside the wage sector?

3.1 Urbanization Between 1885-1961

As contended by Soja and Weaver, the "urbanization of East Africa Region" is a recent phenomenon, mainly associated with its interactions with Western countries. But unlike other major cities in the region, Nairobi of Kenya and Kampala of Uganda, Dar es Salaam had started from a non-Western base (cf. Segal in Obudho et al., 1978: 258-271). Yet despite its non-Western origin it has ultimately developed to its present state following a "formal Western colonization" (cf. Sandbrook 1982: 38). One may argue that other towns and cities whose existence pre-dated European contact have similarly experienced rapid development under Western colonial influence.

Certainly defining urbanization in terms of growth of towns, "population concentration" becomes one of the main criteria. In this perspective, towns and cities pre-dating capitalism had been possible so long as they could support a "large population". A few examples of such towns and cities in history were mainly located in river-valleys, fertile plains or other places which could be appropriately defended. The categorization of towns and cities based on the population criteria to date varies among countries. This suggests the importance of other indicators such as the concentration and diversification of activities and cultures. It may be asserted therefore that these phenomena which occur as a result of capitalist penetration gives modern urbanization its inherent character. The present study is concerned with this modern urbanization which is part of the global development of capitalism. With this background I shall proceed to examine the forms, characteristics and the effects of this process.

Berry (1973: 78) has suggested that towns and cities at the periphery started as administrative centres for the colonizing nations. Implicitly they were themselves part of the socio-economic infrastructure

being laid out to serve the colonial economy. Serving the colonial economy, in this regard, an export oriented economy, both capital and labour were required. The former was imported while the latter was to be indigenous, preferably "cheap" and or "unskilled". Essentially therefore, these centres were acting as labour attraction. Given the "right" conditions, this factor ultimately set in motion country-wide population mobility. The question is, how does Dar es Salaam fit this general pattern? As a potential recipient of the country-wide population influx how does it manage the population? What effect does this situation have on the economy? What follows is an attempt to probe these issues.

Dar es Salaam: Its Founding and Urban Development

Founded about a century ago in a sheltered harbour by an Arab Sultan of Zanzibar called Sultan Seyyid Majid - the former insignificant (Southall 1966: 463) village occupied by Zaramo fishermen and subsistence cultivators has been gradually transformed into a colonial and consequently first capital of the independent state. However, in a small way, evidence of its prominence much earlier (Mascarenhas 1966; Davidson 1969; Sutton 1970) as a trading and calling port by Persian Arabs, Indians, Chinese and other oriental traders driven by the monsoon winds pre-dates its founding. Discussing its occupation by Sultan of Zanzibar, Leslie (1963: 19ff) has pointed out that from the very beginning the growth and development of Dar es Salaam commenced with a land alienation by the Sultan and an eviction of the population particularly from settlements in the neighbourhood of the harbour itself. It should be noted that the growth of Dar es Salaam was immediately paralysed following the sudden death of its founder in 1870. This explains the predominance of German Architecture at the site of the first town. It is argued that by 1885 when they took over there was little

left of the Sultan's settlement.

The Germans chose Dar es Salaam as the capital of German East Africa in place of their previous headquarters at Bagamoyo 64 kilometers northwest of Dar es Salaam. Originally Bagamoyo was a major mainland station of the Arab traders more prosperous than Dar es Salaam. Like other coastal towns it was primarily an entrepot for the transshipment of commercial articles, slaves, ivory, copra etc., being exported and manufactured goods being imported (cf. Friedland, cited in Diamond et al., 1966: 245). Under the German colonial administration, that is, from 1885 - 1918, like the British after them (1919 - 1961), Dar es Salaam became the most important entrepot and the country's capital administering, coordinating and rendering services to the economy. Dr. Sutton has described it in the following terms:

The port meets the city on the land margins of the port where loading and unloading, storage for acceptance, delivery and excise, port and customs offices, and connections with the land transport system has to be catered for. It was here that important questions of planning had to be resolved.

(Quoted in Mascarenhas, 1970: 89)

To meet some of the basic requirements for the port to function, a significant "manpower" - labour force was to be involved not only at the port but also in other relevant sectors and services such as the producing hinterland, transportation and haulage system, semi-processing and processing, packing to mention but a few, all of which are new and learned trades. Indeed as argued by Slater (1977: 12),

One of the main features of the incorporation of peripheral social formation into the world capitalist system, was an erosion of the autonomy of pre-capitalist mode of production existent within these formations.

The analysis of the process for creating wage labour which one has advanced in Chapter Two is relevant here. More specifically, the strategy of creating

wage labour has been an important aspect of total incorporation. To recapitulate the main strategies: i) forced labour; ii) compulsory taxation; iii) cash crop production at selected areas; iv) making some areas labour-reserves all of which together enhanced the incorporation.

One of the major reflections of the outcome of the process of erosion of property has been the process of migration. Through the process of migration, the countryside was transformed into a major source of urban population, among others the labouring population. For instance Leslie (1963: 19ff) has indicated that the population of Dar es Salaam rose from just a few dozens before Seyyid Majid to about 93,000 at the time of her survey in 1957. Originally the location was occupied by a single ethnic group called Zaramo. But later, evidence in both Leslie (1963: 273-274) and Southall (cited in Diamond et al., 1966: 483-484) indicates the existence of up to a hundred other ethnic groups, including some from the neighbouring countries. This large number of ethnic groups indicates the extent of migration. I shall return to this point later.

Commenting on the subject of mobility, Leishman (1980) had the following to say: "Migration from rural areas into the large cities is a world-wide phenomenon among developing nations whatever the stage of industrialization of the economy." But, one would like to suggest that, the lower the stage of industrialization the more problems migration from rural areas into large cities will encounter and create. According to this study such problem areas include: (a) accommodation, that is to say, housing; (b) job opportunities and (c) urban services provided publically elsewhere. The study of Dar es Salaam will be used to explicate this argument.

A distinctive feature of urbanization in Africa towards the decades of decolonization in the 50s and 60s was an attainment of high

growth rates. Hance (1970: 217ff) is detailed on this point. This tendency of attaining high growth rates has tended to escalate in the post independence period. In the light of this observation I would like to propose the following at this juncture:

- 1) It is my contention that migration persists and escalates in the post independence period, and that shantytowns are among its manifestations.
- 2) It is also my contention that even after political independence, the (low) level of economic development and (foreign) ownership of capital persistently made agriculture a dependable source of livelihood even for those who have migrated from the farmland in anticipation of some urban employment which is hard to come by.

Again, ongoing activities in shantytowns reflect the above situation. In this analysis of the post-independence period, I shall attempt to provide substantive data.

3.2 Urbanization After Political Independence in 1961 to the Present (1983)

After achieving the political independence, the post-colonial states have generally inherited the colonial superstructure with its inherent manifold contradictions. This occurrence presupposes that the newly independent states have not yet evolved their own "independent policies and strategies". Tanzania has not been an exception to this rule. However, a transition towards a state of independent formulation of aforementioned strategies takes a gradual pace. However, it should be noted that in Tanzania this change has occurred within the independence decade.

For analytical purposes, the first phase in Tanzania lasted up to February 5th, 1967. February 5th, 1967 which is the day the Arusha Socialistic Manifesto was proclaimed, may be taken as a turning point of the

phase perpetuating the colonial policies and strategies. The Arusha Declaration is a policy statement which describes the direction and guidelines the country is to follow towards the aspired "socialist goals". Such policies influence practices and therefore determine both the forms and the trends of development. Nevertheless one argues that important decisions on production and investment in production have continued to be subordinated by capital which is an inherent phenomenon of the world system.

Until 1967 the post colonial state in Tanzania did not have a serious policy of its own to control migrational trends. To be fair, even the colonial state before it, apart from a negative attitude cultivated towards various forms of self-housing did not have a hard and fast anti-immigration policy. As a matter of fact, implicit in Stren (n.d.) cited in Chapter One above the colonial administration had a tolerant policy when it came to traditional building materials and laxity when it came to overcrowding laws and building regulations involving the same housing structures constructed of traditional materials. Eventually this situation got out of hand, and as Stren himself came to admit, urban migration consequently outstripped the government ability to distribute plots to Africans in what Stren has termed the "shanty days of 1946-8". Let me emphasize here that on the part of the colonial state, to enforce an anti-immigration policy would have gone counter to its major policy of requiring and creating cheap, unskilled temporary labour. Granted that the cheap character of labour persists to date, hence one argues that the policies perpetuate the shanty days.

The situation as it has been after independence is made clear by Hayuma (1979: 353ff.). He argues that there was a tremendous rush to towns as people sought to seize the employment prospects that were offered

by the emergence of the new nation, particularly Dar es Salaam, the first national capital. Two national population censuses in a span of a decade will drive home the point. In 1957, only four years before independence a national population census had recorded a total of 128,742 inhabitants living in Dar es Salaam. Ten years later, that is about ~~six~~ years since independence, another census found a total of 272,281 (see Tanzania Statistical Abstracts, 1964, 16; 1970: 46) living in Dar es Salaam, an increase of more than a hundred percent.

Urbanization with such high growth rates thus became conspicuous and attracted the attention of authorities. While it might be said that the authorities of the independent state no longer considered the people as temporary residents in towns paradoxically however in the ~~early~~ years following independence they pulled down 'squalid' housing mushrooming within the city accommodating a large immigrant population. Critically examined, this indicated that the new state authorities were not completely divested of the negative attitude the colonial authorities had cultivated towards certain settlements. It should be noted that, unable to provide alternative solutions, the problem was only temporarily masked.

A distinctive feature of the second, that is to say, the Post-Arusha period is its emphasis on a rural oriented development paradigm (cf. Nyerere, 1968, 1977), in other words "socialist policies". These egalitarian policies were geared to promoting agrarian development, and the "decentralization" policy (cf. Nyerere, 1972, D. Conyers, 1981) since 1972 was to be an effective vehicle for this strategy. While the blueprints have been succinct for rural development, paradoxically but not surprising enough, the material investments have persistently tended to be urban biased. It may be cited as an example the fact that despite the concerted

effort to decentralize, Dar es Salaam received more government functions, more enterprises projected to move to eight towns pinpointed for urban development in the Second Five Year Development Plan. According to Kaplan (1978: 151), "In the first year of the Second Five Year Plan only ten of about thirty major enterprises were established outside of Dar es Salaam". Again even among the ten enterprises established outside of Dar es Salaam, the majority were established in Arusha. It can be offered as a generalization here that such a concentration of enterprises in a few already important urban centres cannot be attributed to an allocative mode of an egalitarian state power. It is my contention that under capitalist relations of production, decision making in respect to spatial allocation of enterprises, is the monopoly of the owners of capital investments. I think it was more practical for the allocators of enterprises to take into consideration the available infrastructure, the market in relation to other markets, availability of labour force to mention but a few important ones. For this matter Dar es Salaam followed by Arusha with its East African Community background had the advantage over other urban centres. Across Africa the picture is pretty much the same in the continent's capital cities. Capital cities of Africa were also the main residential areas of financial investors, agents of multinational corporations and locations where immediate economic decision making was made.

Dar es Salaam has thus been endowed with more industries than any other urban centre in the country. Almost the entire Pugu Road is flanked on both sides with "Import Substitution Industries" manufacturing, fabricating, assembling, repair, and other processing plants. As a strategy for development, Import Substitution Industrialization has been criticised as inadequate in that through certain technical and management agreements

a recipient country is precisely "Locked-in" to the developed supplying country. Such mechanisms facilitate transfers of surplus from the former to the latter (cf. Chambua, 1982, esp. Chapter Two - also Rweyemamu's 1973: 91-105 critique).

Being a recipient of the most industrial infrastructure, Dar es Salaam naturally promised greater employment opportunities in the country attracting labour from other urban centres and most rural areas. For example in 1967 it accounted for 18 percent of the national labour or 46 percent of the total urban labour (Mascarenhas, 1973: 2). It is instructive to point out here that over a period of time, the population of the city grew larger and larger as Table 3.1 below precisely indicates. Population figures presented in the table indicate a rapid increase between 1886 and 1900. In 1900 the population of Dar es Salaam was twice the size of Nairobi at that time. As indicated in the table, population growth was slower until after World War I from which time growth has been steadily on the increase. But given the nature of industrialization strategy which is foreign owned import substituting industries, the process of urbanization being experienced here, unlike in the centre is not being accompanied by concomitant economic development. Instead of attaining capital accumulation, the foreign ownership nature makes the repatriation of profits irresistible. Rweyemamu (1973: 35) cited evidence of that which involved the banking and the insurance companies. Additionally and more relevant to the process of urbanization itself, it is explicit in Rweyemamu that the historical pattern of capitalist (industrial) growth cannot repeat itself here at the periphery because the unfolding industrial capitalism in the world economy has fundamentally altered the very conditions that gave rise to it.

TABLE 3.1: POPULATION GROWTH OF DAR ES SALAAM 1886 - 1983/84

YEAR	1886	1900	1921	1943	1951	1957	1960	1967	1978	1983/84
Total Population	5,000	18,000	20,000	37,000	72,000	93,000	128,000	272,500	851,522	1,000,000

Source: Southall, quoted in Diamond and Burke, 1966: 482

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning Dar es Salaam, Dar-es-Salaam (1968)

National Population Census Preliminary Report, Dar es Salaam (1978)

Government Projections, Dar es Salaam (1984) see also Special Interview: Africa Now, December 1983.

Describing urbanization experiences in developing countries a U.N. Source (1970: 1-38) has maintained that "The rapid urbanization in developing countries is occurring ahead of any systematic, full-scale movement towards modernization and without transformation of agricultural and urban employment structure". Lipton (1976) criticises such a trend. According to him, inadequate inputs of rural resources substantially reduces even the efficient use of urban resources (pp. 70-71). However, as evidence presented here tends to indicate, here is a situation where the urban resources themselves are inadequately provided. Magubane (cf. Obudho et al., 1979: 31-54) aptly describes this situation when he says, "The structure of capitalism in Africa is a combination of 'bourgedning' urban centres and 'limping' industrial development". Critically analysed, this explicates the conglomeration of the self-employed in the city - a factor which implies that agriculture has to meet the subsistence requirement of these people in addition to that of the wage workers who cannot reproduce themselves wholly in the wage sector. In this analysis I have maintained that these can be located in informal settlements such as the two case study areas under consideration. Concluding this chapter let us consider the type of residential structure obtained under circumstances of rapid and escalating rates of urbanization but without an accompanying economic growth.

3.3 Residential Structure

Significant in urban spatial organization under colonial administration was its racial segregation structure (Southall pp. 485ff, Segal pp. 258ff). As a matter of fact, a tripartite ethnic division - Africans, Asians and Europeans was reflected in housing patterns as well as in occupations. This formation has a background in the "Plan for Dar es Salaam"

prepared by Sir Alexander Gibbs in 1949. Introducing the proposal, Gibbs acknowledged that, "Although we have not racial zoning as such in the scheme we have assumed that, Low, Medium and High Density zones will be occupied in the main by Europeans, Asians and Africans respectively." Table 3.2 below presents occupancy as of 1967/78 population.

TABLE 3.2: POPULATION DENSITIES (PERSONS PER ACRE)

Year	1967	1978
Low density	6.3	8.1
Medium density	41.8	42.4
High density	85.9	106.0
Overcrowded	137.8	158.3

Source: 1. The Central Statistical Bureau (1968, 1979)
2. The National Capital Master Plan (1968)

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below which associates the labels of 'low', 'medium', 'high' and 'overcrowded' with residential areas for the 1967 and 1978

TABLE 3.3: 1967 POPULATION BY RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND DENSITIES

Category	Residential Areas	1967 ^{a)} Census Pop.	Net Area ^{b)} (acre)	Average Pop. Density (persons per acre)
Low Density	Oyster Bay Regent Estate	5,650	901.7	6.3
Medium Density	Msasani Kurasini Central Area Kinondoni Upanga	47,570	1,139.2	41.8
High Density	Mwananyamala Changombe Magomeni Temeke Ilala Buguruni	154,906	1,803.7	85.9
Over- crowded	Comm. Area Kariakoo	51,561	374.3	137.8
Total		259,687 ^{x)}	4,218.9	61.5

x) excluding a population of 13,134 living in the outskirts.

Sources: a) Central Statistical Bureau, Dar es Salaam, 1968
b) National Capital Masterplan. Dar es Salaam, Project Planning Associates 1968.

population respectively are good indicators of the magnitude of change in a variety of aspects of the city. Compared with 1978 figures below, net growth in most aspects is apparent. However, even on its own, the spatial distribution ranging from six persons per acre at the low density areas to 138 in the highest populated area leads to some alarming imbalances which seriously effect various salient features including housing. This imbalance is greater in the 1978 data.

TABLE 3.4: 1978 POPULATION BY RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND DENSITIES

Category	Residential Areas	1978 ^{a)}	Net Area ^{b)} (acre)	Average Pop. Density (persons per acre)
Low Density	Oyster Bay Regent Estate	14,108	1,742.2	8.1
Medium Density	Upanga Kurasini Central Area	63,671	1,501.7	42.4
High Density	Msasani Kinondoni Magomeni Chang'ombe Buguruni Temeke	321,879	3,036.4	106.0
Over-crowded	Kariakoo Ilala Comm. Area Mwananyamala	118,712	749.8	158.3
	Total	518,370	7,030.1	73.7

Sources: a) Central Statistical Bureau, 1979

b) National Capital Masterplan, Dar-es-Salaam, PPA 1968

Comparing information of the two census years above the following changes can be noted:

- i) there is a decrease of the medium populated residential locations;
- ii) more residential areas are becoming high density or over-crowded;
- iii) low density populated areas have changed fairly slowly compared to high density populated areas;
- iv) all residential locations have expanded in their area.

It has been argued that the process of urbanization in the developing countries is occurring without complementary economic growth. Inadequate resources to cater for the growing urban population is one among indicators of the situation mentioned above. In turn, scarce resources put a limit to attempts at equitable distribution. Note however, that the residential categories mentioned above correspond to certain inherent structures of urban resources. In Dar es Salaam as perhaps is the case in other cities in the developing countries - the low density residential areas happen to be the well placed, adequately serviced and given early priorities in other scarce resources. It happens that such areas are occupied by the upper echelons of the state and foreign expatriates (see also the fourth chapter) agents of international capital. Thus, urban residential structures are not accidental but an inherent part of the unequal peripheral society. Who then occupies areas lacking essential services? and how do they cope with this situation? This is the subject for further analysis here.

The present population of the city is estimated at more than a million inhabitants (see Table 3.1 above), the majority of them comprising those living in areas lacking essential urban services. The current population which is an increase three times the 1967 population (see Table 3.1) in barely less than two decades is also a significant part of the urban problem. As I have already stated, urban populations have increased in response to societal forces given a major push by the needs of capital. Hence it will be instructive to see the problem in this broad perspective closely related with capitalist development in the peripheral societies.

I have indicated above that the rapid increase in the urban population alarmingly outstrips the capacity of the state in resources and planning for the resources. It is my contention that this situation is

more apparent in the overcrowded situation of the shantytowns in the fringes of the city. It is important to note that overcrowdedness and migration are complementary - an effect and a cause respectively. Briefly let us recapitulate causes of urban population influx in Dar es Salaam.

Three major sources through which the population of Dar es Salaam has attained its present proportions may be delineated. These are:

1. By natural increase through the excess of birth over death, it goes without saying - owing to improved medicare.
2. By migration process.
3. By annexation of rural lands (cf. Segal in Obudho et al., 1979: 258, Schmetzer, 1980: 6 see also Bhooshan et al., 1981) usually a consequence of the urban sprawl which necessitates some changes of boundaries. The change is most noticeable if consecutive censuses are examined - our 1967/1978 censuses referred to above is a case in point. Note for example in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 the net increase in area is 66.6 percent. This is an indication of urban sprawl. Urban sprawl also increases total population as the same tables indicate.

It should be recalled that this study conceives a lack of essential services in urban areas common to the developing countries. My concern is to explain a more specific problem area namely "housing". As a social process, housing cannot be analysed separately from the larger processes which have been associated with dearth of resources in the urban area namely, escalating immigration and hence population concentration both of which have explicit relations to the dominant economic system of capitalism. Hence by way of conclusion I consider it appropriate at this juncture to restate the link between urbanization (therefore the world

system) and the housing question being considered here. As a first step, based on the discussion made above, I shall attempt a summary of the form, characteristics and effects of the process of urbanization, highlighting some remote causes which I think have augmented the housing process in Dar es Salaam.

According to this analysis, peripheral, that is to say dependent urbanization is given rise by and mediated through the capitalist social organization of production. Characteristically here the process is lacking a concomitant economic development. Like other urban centres in the peripheral societies, the city of Dar es Salaam is overwhelmingly service oriented. However, there is limited industrial activity comprising some import substitutional enterprises engaged in some semi-processing, processing, fabricating assembling and the like. Additionally, such industrial infrastructure being geographically concentrated in a few areas outside of Dar es Salaam - (for the reasons mentioned - Arusha) is attracting immense labour force beyond its capacity to engage, hence the large non-wage sector. Otherwise, here is a situation where migration has increased the urban population concentration substantially such that what we observe is a rapid process of urbanization characteristic of many developing societies. But most detrimental spatially it enhances an unbalanced development within the country. The affluent centres like Dar es Salaam and Arusha vis-a-vis their opposite counterparts namely, the regions which had previously been labour-reserves like Kigoma and Ruvuma may be cited as a case in point. An additional problem with this development strategy is the application of capital rather than labour in many enterprises makes the employment situation of the city more complicated. Bearing in mind the dearth of resources, the ongoing concentration of population potentially causes

spatial imbalance. But underlying all this is the fact that the majority of the main investors and owners of capital are non-nationals. At least this should explain some of the discrepancy in terms of appropriation of surplus and repatriation of profit by the investors.

In 1974 Dar es Salaam's status was changed from that of a city within the Coastal Region to an autonomous region in its own right. Undoubtedly this decision was influenced by several factors besides its sheer size. One possibility could be that the decision was taken as part of the decentralization process which started in 1972. For Dar es Salaam this meant its share of resources would have to be adjusted upwards. Administratively, as argued by Segal, the change which was intended to enable Dar es Salaam to consolidate and coordinate urban and peri-urban planning left the city divided into three urban districts namely Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke (pp. 258). But again, part of the enthusiasm in the decentralization process brought about the abolition of the urban councils. In 1978, possibly partly influenced by census results and partly by burgeoning urban problems, housing being a prime one, the councils have since been reinstated.

Implicit in the preceding analysis, the process of urbanization is an outcome of the production and investment patterns of the developed countries (see sections 2.2 and 3.1 above) whereby the interests of the owners of the means of production dominates thereby constrains those of the labouring classes at the periphery. The periphery and the centre have a direct interaction through the international division of labour which also gives production its inherent character. The producers who have been created by conditions set for capital to operate have also been compelled to migrate to urban centres to serve the needs of capital. The process of labour

migration has consequently progressed into an uncontrollable proliferation. This situation is reflected in the spatial and economic, that is, physical and social differentiation in the society. To paraphrase Lipton (1976), "urban poverty is especially noticeable because of the adjacent extremes of unconcealed affluence". Hence, Roberts has suggested that: "The uneven development of urban economy often implies a diversity of means by which people struggle, culturally and socially, not simply to survive but to better their position." (1978: 141) 'This study of housing will attempt to illustrate these issues. The study for which this report is being made has looked at the housing process of two informal residential locations namely Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo. At the time of conducting our field work, the two areas had a total population of 16,407 inhabitants. This figure is approximately 1.6 percent of the latest population of the city estimated at one million plus. Based on their relation to the local environment, that is, an industrial estate and a port area respectively, and the larger international economy, one would predict the following:

- a) the construction of industries and the expansion of the port influences the housing process;
- b) but the port and industries here do not operate in isolation from the international economy. Therefore, the housing situation in respective areas is also influenced by the international economy.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SURVEY METHOD

4.0 Introduction

Chapter One has introduced the thesis of this study. To recapitulate, one argues that the shantytowns of Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo in Dar es Salaam interact differently with the "world system" a situation which one argues may be considered an inherent part of the nature of the uneven development of capitalism. Similarly the chapter explains the rationale for doing this research in an urban area namely:

- (i) the centrality of the economy;
- (ii) the coexistence of informal housing and formal institutions directly linked to the metropole;
- (iii) projections for future planning to accommodate urban migration.

In this fourth chapter the main concern is:

- a) to discuss the reasons for making a survey of two areas and;
 - b) to describe the study areas and the methodology of data collection.
- a) The purpose of surveying two areas

The two shantytowns of Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo have been selected because they have identical background in respect to their service to capital namely:

- (a) They reproduce the labour force required in the formal sector like the industries they share urban land with.
- (b) they are also identical in respect to the service and disservice capital offers them in return. As Wallimann (1981) put it, "under capital, the worker, in exchange for wage, is prevented from appropriating the products of his labour. He is forced to produce in excess of what he is being compensated" (pp. 62), circumstances which

indicate that the relationship between capital and labour is an antagonistic one. Therefore, under the prevailing circumstances, in the peripheral societies one must accept that the reproduction of labour is made possible because of the "informal" relations networks. It must be recalled however that it is the opinion of this study that under the prevailing capital-labour relations in the peripheral societies, the "informal" and "formal" sectors not only coexist but also overlap.

- (c) But there are important differences existing between the two study areas. These are related to the fact that they both interact differently with the world system. This analysis will highlight on their similarities and differences and the differential impact they have on the housing process.
- (d) Finally, it is the opinion of this study that facts or conclusions based on data drawn randomly from two or more independent sample populations are statistically expected to be better approximation of the phenomenon being investigated.

b) The study areas and method of data collection

As I have already mentioned above, this social survey which took place during May/August 1983 had investigated the "Housing Process" of Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo. Kipawa is a residential location on the fringes of Ilala district while Shimo la Udongo is on the fringes of Temeke district (see Sketch map 4.1). A common feature in the two residential locations is that they are both occupying areas designated for other purposes. The former is located in an area reserved and designated permanent for the industries. In other words, all land presently not occupied or occupied by anything other than some industry is potentially for the establishment of

MAP No. 4: I LOCATION OF STUDY AREAS IN DAR ES SALAAM

Location of
Study areas

Map 2

(After A. C. Mawhood)

Tanzania Notes and Records
Number 71, 1970

some industry now or in the future. The latter is in the vicinity of the equally expanding port of Dar es Salaam. Hence in both cases the expansion of these residential locations is limited by existing enterprises. Additionally, the expansion of the existing establishments constrains limits and curtails the present or future expansion of the residential locations in question.

In both cases therefore it can be said that this arrangement does seem to influence the pattern, quality and quantity of housing. Put together these factors underly the "Housing Process" under consideration. With the background on the previous chapters, of sociological interest to this study is to probe into the means by which the shantytowns comprising this analysis reproduce conditions under which households subsist.

Between 40 and 70 percent of the residents of Tanzania's main towns have been described as living in unplanned settlements (Mghweno, 1979). In Dar es Salaam a 1978 study revealed that 60 percent of the population lived in squatter areas (Marshall MacKlin 1972: 52). In 1983 - the population being up by 17.4 of the 1978 (see figures Table 3.1), the percentage of squatting population is likely to be higher. Both Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo fall under the category of the "unplanned settlements". Sometimes an unplanned settlement can easily lack a systematic way in which intended categories of analysis may be ordered. In this particular case, despite their disorderly spatial structure, there existed a base for consistency.

4.1 Description of Study Areas

a) The area canvassed in this study --like the ward itself, is called "Kipawa". It was once an exclusively traditional-Zaramo village outside of Dar es Salaam urban boundaries. This study area is one of the four administrative zones in the ward (see Table 4.1). Up to date records at

the time of the survey as presented in Table 4.1 indicate that the whole ward had a total population of 32,591. The specific area studied whose population is 28.1 percent of the total population in the ward is close to the Vingunguti Industrial Estate. The industries in this particular area stretch on both sides of the Pugu Road all the way to the city centre. On its south east the residential area under study is bounded by the International Airport currently undergoing expansion. On its north east it is bounded by the Central Railway Line. The occupation or expansion of any area by the local inhabitants is understood to be quite temporary. Similarly in principle, in the event that any of the occupied area is purchased by a prospective entrepreneur or is required for public use, the inhabitants of that section are subject to eviction.

TABLE 4.1: STRUCTURE OF POPULATION BY BRANCHES: KIPAWA WARD

Branches	Total Population	No. of H/holds
Yombo	9,357	2,433
Kiwalani	4,707	1,327
Minazi Mirefu	9,360	2,088
Kipawa*	9,167	2,504

*An area surveyed in this study.

Source: Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Headquarters Kiwalani
(CCM - the country's ruling party.)

b) The second residential location studies is Shimo la Udongo in Kurasini ward. Shimo la Udongo - an area sandwiched between Kurasini and Minazini is only recently occupied. It is different from both Kurasini and Minazini which provide "formal" housing for senior civil servants, party officials, managerial cadres from the public sector and the expatriates. The only outlet for this residential location is seaward where the settlement

meets the port. Shimo la Udongo is one of the five administrative zones in the ward. Up to date records at the time of the survey (see Table 4.2) indicated that the whole ward had a total population of 29,728 the study area here accounted for 24.3 percent of the total.

TABLE 4.2: STRUCTURE OF POPULATION BY BRANCHES: KURASINI WARD

Branches	Total Population	No. of H/holds
Kurasini	5,424	1,337
Kiungani	7,041	1,064
Shimo la Udongo*	7,240	1,056
Mivinjeni	6,850	1,046
Minazini	3,173	335

*An area survey in this study.

Source: CCM Headquarters at Shimo la Udongo Ward Office.

Like in Kipawa, the expansion of the port industry imminently causes eviction to residents of Shimo la Udongo on and around the construction sites. Similarly occupation of the land reserved for the expansion of the port and related industries is just as precarious.

4.2 The Unit of Analysis

The household has been the unit of analysis for this study. The study had made use of a 'tailor-made' list of resident household available at the Party Offices in the study area. The updated household data we have utilized in this study had been prepared for Party and Government use especially for facilitating distribution of scarce commodities to the people currently ongoing in the Resource Centres specifically established for the purpose.

The Political Party - Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) is the single most organization which has entrenched itself deeply in the society from

the national to the grassroot level undeniably influencing the day to day lives of the people. Theoretically a "ten cell unit" comprising ten households is the basic unit of party organization at the grassroots level. One can argue that "ceteris paribus" every Tanzanian is literally a member of a given ten cell unit in his area of residence. According to the party organizational structure, a number of ten cell units in a given geographical area comprise a 'party branch' and are mediated through it. In sum total a hierarchical organization of the party maintains from the grassroot level through the branches, wards, districts, regions to the national level. In this study, operating from the party branches, I was able to come in contact with the sample population at the grassroot level.

The term "household" (i.e., "Kaya" - its Swahili version) has no uniform definition in social research. However, the conception of Wallerstein et al., (1982) is a most comprehensive one. Their point is -

The work-force in the capitalist world-economy is composed of individuals. However, workers do not normally calculate the work they do in exchange for some kind of remuneration from an individualist perspective. Rather, they normally make their calculations on the assumption that they participate in small groups which over the long term pools its income in order to expend it on consumables and investments. (pp. 438)

They call these units "households". They are emphatic that from perspectives other than that of "income pooling", the boundaries of a household may be defined somewhat differently.

This study is sensitive to the issue of household. As applied in the survey, one expected to encounter two major categories namely Landlord Households and Tenant Households either of which could be single or multiple. Further aspects of their composition are appropriately presented in the fifth chapter.

4.3 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Extrapolated from Tables 4.1 and 4.2 presented above, Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo have a total population of 3,560 households. Concretizing aspects of sampling Moser and Kalton (1971) have considered a "five" percent sample obtained by random method that is, an unbiased sample, large and generalizable enough. In this study one aimed at that proximity. Using random numbers from Moser and Kalton (pp. 153) I drew an approximate 5 percent (see Summary below) of the total household above. The result of this sampling was that a total of 195 households was obtained.

From this large sample one required general information on family size, districts of origin, dwelling place, namely the house, means of subsistence and division of tasks. This information came out through conversation, that is, "questions and answers" with adult members of the household. (see also the Interview Guide at the Appendix) For those activities which required movement and closer observation, especially movements to the central markets (Kariakoo and Kivukoni Fish Markets, see Summary of Observation in Chapter Five) one decided to make a random pick of a smaller sample of 50 households from that of 195 households, that one could closely follow and observe the samples' day to day activities. The two sample surveys are summarised in Table 4.3 below.

TABLE 4.3: SUMMARY OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE SURVEYED

	H/h involved Large Sample	As Percentage of total	H/h Involved Small Sample	As Percentage of Total
Kipawa	115	58.9	37	74
S/Udongo	80	41.0	13	26
Total	195	99.9	50	100

Based at and operating from the local offices of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, with the unlimited cooperation of the knowledgeable (of the people and the

place) party chairpersons and secretaries it was possible to meet with the informers from the sampled households.

4.4 Appraisal

It should be recalled that the list of households one utilized to draw the study samples had been prepared for facilitating distribution in the Resource Centres. Besides the fact that a lack of uniformity of definition may generate a variation in conception and emphasis, the point is, the very quest for the scarce resources could easily have tempted the individual household-heads to overstate the number of members in their households in order for them to get a bigger share of the respective scarce resources. In spite of such shortcomings one has accepted the consequent information presented here as one had the opportunity to interact with the real people confronting real housing problems reported in this study.

4.5 A Contribution of This Thesis to the Understanding of the Subject of Study

The chapter presenting the data is intended to highlight on the population in its environment of study, exposed to an affected by the national and international forces. It must be recalled, this background has been set in the theoretical chapters. The original data presented in this analysis contributes to the understanding of the subject matter. One argues that, on the basis of these data it will be apparent what people inhabit the shantytowns, what conditions exist in the shantytowns and how the inhabitants reciprocates to the environment to make up for their survival. The data which is amenable to this analysis critically examine the inter-relationships between the following socio-economic aspects:

1. the population and migration;
2. the household structures;

3. employment and occupation of shantytown inhabitants;
4. housing structures and occupancy patterns;
5. the post colonial state, agents of international capital and their role towards housing and basic amenities.

In the light of the whole exposition, it is my contention that Tanzanian economy, like the economies of many Third World countries is structured in such a way that the interests of capital are preserved. Closely examined, the form of capitalist penetration in the Third World countries has resulted in rapid urbanization without concomitant economic development. In turn this is both a fundamental cause and effect of the prevailing housing process. However, Tanzania like many Third World countries is not a fully developed capitalist society despite serving the interests of capital. Again, it is not a fully developed socialist society despite the policy of "Ujamaa and Self-Reliance" since 1967. But there are proper bureaucratic institutions at work. And these vehicles for implementing the "egalitarian" policies are themselves operating on "economic priorities" which are indeed "class priorities". To be consistent with Marx, classes manifest inequalities in society. Therefore this analysis would predict the following trends in Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo:

1. First and foremost the majority of the population in the shantytowns to be immigrants from outlying districts and regions. Kipawa which had originally been a traditional village is expected to have a greater proportional of non-immigrant population compared to Shimo la Udongo which is not a traditional village. Therefore the two study areas interact differently with the "formal sector" they share urban land and therefore one expects they interact differently with the "world system" too.

2. Their economies are expected to be predominantly "informal", a situation which will suggest they participate in the reproduction of cheap labour required by the formal sector, therefore, by capital.
3. The structures of their housing will be influenced by circumstances described in points 1 and 2 above, but importantly, this study foresees a situation where owing to the intermittent demolitions and evictions from the land, residential structures are going to be constructed of cheap semi-permanent materials. Unlike Kipawa, Shimo la Udongo which is occupying a disadvantageous position is expected to be hard hit by both the intermittent demolitions and the lack of room for expansion.
4. One also anticipates to encounter household compositions close to the national average which - based on the 1978 national population census is 5 people per household. One expects larger household compositions at Kipawa which, it must be recalled, is a traditional village incorporated in the new city boundaries.
5. In order for people to subsist as non-wage earners, this study foresees a situation where a greater participation in income pooling by members of the households is in effect. It is my contention that in spite of the predominance of "informal" relations, capital has nevertheless penetrated into these societies just the same.
6. Given the nature of the areas occupied by the two residential settlements being intended for the industrial expansion, it is unlikely that there will be any public accommodation by the state or agents of international capital. Hence concomitantly an absence of public amenities like planned road system, supply of electricity, adequate supply of tap-water, sewage system and other disposals of waste matter to name but a few.

By way of conclusion, one intends to use the following sources to validate these predictions:

- (a) Prediction number one will be settled by information obtained from part three of the interview guide (see Appendix number 1).
- (b) For prediction number two I intend to use various information gathered in the field relating to observation on what people do on a day to day basis.
- (c) Prediction number three will be covered by survey data on demolition of dwellings and information concerning materials used in housing construction.
- (d) Prediction number four is settled by information gathered through questions 1, 5, 64-66 (see the appendix. Tables 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 summarizes the relevant findings.
- (e) Prediction number five is settled by information collected through questions 31-32. Additionally, a summary of income putting by our questions 7-11 in Table 5.6 and 5.7 is available.
- (f) Prediction number 6 is settled by data abstracted from questions 57-63 and 75.

In sum total, the entire analysis is geared toward making the point on the specific type of Housing Process one has observed in the field. It is my expectation that, studying the Housing Process of the informal settlements coexisting with formal institutions directly linked to the metropolis offers an opportunity to probe and assess the impact of the international system on the socio-economic, political and cultural practices of the inhabitants in the survey.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION

With urban growth rates generally between 3 and 10 percent, Third World cities, in terms of their built environment and especially in housing provision, can be said not simply to be bursting but more accurately to have burst already at the seams.

(Dwyer, 1974: 204)

5.0 Introduction

'Housing' constitutes one of the most fundamental needs of mankind. Yet it is a problem area the world over. In the rich industrial countries of the west the availability of housing is tied to some complex social systems considered as external to the housing industry per se. These systems include the monetary system, the national economy and transportation, to name just a few. Hence caught in the current of the above forces, the housing industry is seen to follow a course controlled by at least three independently operating helmsmen namely, the system responsible for the availability and cost of land, of money, and the house itself (Enzer, 1971).

In the developing countries, its availability may not be conceived independently of the internal situation and the external forces acting upon them, in other words, the prevailing system of social production and reproduction. I have already discussed this point in the background chapters. My purpose in this chapter is to present a critical examination of the Housing Process at Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo in Dar es Salaam using data from the field and other documented information. Following Dwyer's (1974) analogy above, Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo, like other peri-urban settlements in Dar es Salaam are an outgrowth of the bursting of the city. Therefore it will be instructive to conceive the housing process presented in this report as being influenced by the city itself. Additionally, to relate the ongoing activities in Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo with the larger city

system will be in order. It must be recalled from the foregone analysis the city system is neither independent of the occurrences in the country nor the interactions with the larger world system. It is my contention that the data analysis elucidates this argument.

5.1 Some Terminological Explanations

Housing has been defined as the activity of building an environment which sustains life. It involves building up dwellings or houses, all human activities that take place in and around the house and the relationships between people living in the environment (BRU, n.d.). It may involve payments for the materials used and labour hired. Put it more accurately, housing is an ongoing "social process" hence the label "housing process".

The residential areas central to this study, Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo have been labelled "shantytowns". Shantytown is a term used to describe urban residential location with particular salient features physically and spatially. Based on the papers' definition of urbanization (see Section 3.0 above) such physical and spatial organizations are the outgrowth of towns and cities in the developing countries. In essence the term suggests a haphazard growth of human settlement in the predominance of some quasi urban features namely minimal or inadequate power supply, hence lighting system; uncertain water supply; absence of sewage mains; absence of garbage disposal systems to name just a few. Critically examined, this process of urban development typically occurring in the suburbs of many urban centres of Third World countries on a totally unplanned basis is deeply rooted in the process of development itself. Central to this is an excessive process of migration whereby people from the rural areas to the urban areas outstrip urban resources. Related argument on how the process of migration was necessary

for capitalist development in the peripheral countries is made in Chapter Three. In relation to Dar es Salaam one has considered how the city having the largest concentration of foreign-dominated wage employing firms potentially attracted the largest labour pool surpassing its capacity to employ and to accommodate to name just the critical areas. Housing is the major concern here. As argued by Dwyer, "Serious physical deficiencies are all too obvious in almost every city, but in no aspect of provision is the task so daunting as in housing." (1975: 16) In general the situation in Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam specifically fits Dwyer's point. It is also important to recall at this juncture Temba's (1979) informative observation on the escalating population vis-a-vis a negligibly under 0.5 increase in housing. Furthermore, the contention of Mghweno (1979) and Marshal Macklin (1972) that between 40 and 70 percent of the country's main towns residents are living in unplanned settlements and 60 percent of the city population lived in such areas in 1978.

In the light of the above discussion it is the intention of this study to consider shantytowns as comprising peoples' struggle for shelter and other basic needs which are inadequately available. One argues that in the course of the struggle there arises a complex network of relations of production and reproduction. These relations are penetrated by the world system and therefore are moulded by it. Ironically, while all the people are labouring to sustain the system, the majority who are not directly involved in the formal relations have the additional task of creating an environment to sustain their lives (cf. the definition section 5.1 above). The argument by Turner (1971) touches upon this matter. He argues:

In an economy of scarcity, the mass of the common people, though poor, possess the bulk of the nation's human and material resources for housing. Their collective entrepreneurial and managerial skills (and spare time) far surpass

the financial and administrative capacity of even the most highly planned and centralized institutional system - whether dominated by the state or by private capitalist corporation.

(Quoted in Dwyer, 1975: 187)

Implicit in the above contention, in their struggle for shelter and other basic needs, the poor conceive and execute everything that concerns their own destiny. The system is much more complex in that under capitalist relation of production they work more for less to reproduce the system in which their own system is articulated. Marx's concepts of "Socially Necessary Labour Time" and "Surplus Labour Time" may be used to describe this complex exploitative system.

Admittedly shantytowns in which the "poor" live exist within a social context and cannot be understood without relating them to this context. Hence, as I have already suggested there is a correlation between Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo and their locale. The proceeding analysis has theorized on socio-historical contexts which gave rise to the current people's struggle for shelter and inadequate public amenities. It is now instructive to deal with a concrete situation. It is my intention to offer a critical comparative analysis of the two study areas. The analysis will focus on the five major socio-economic relations mentioned in the methodology chapter. I shall repeat them here in brief:

- (1) population and migration;
- (2) household structures, economy and activities;
- (3) employment, occupation and class related issues;
- (4) occupancy patterns and other housing aspects;
- (5) the role of the post-colonial state and agents of international capital towards housing and basic amenities.

It is my understanding that this approach will lead the study to making

rational judgement of the various predictions one has advanced in the methods chapter above and consequently draw a conclusion befitting the study.

5.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

Based on the above contention, the Housing Process, like the shantytowns themselves is a complex phenomenon and can only be explained superficially if several interacting processes and factors are not taken into consideration. I shall begin with population and the process of migration proceeding with the presentation as per the above framework.

a) Population and Migration

This study intends to consider the shantytowns as part of the struggle for and against scarce resources. This calls at some point for a brief look at the distribution of population and a description of the residential locations in the city. It must be made clear at the outset that population must not be seen merely in terms of the increase in number per se but the totality of the interrelationship between demographic events and economic development. The discussion in section 5.1 confirms this statement.

The important issues this study intends to comprehend include:

- a) Who inhabits the shantytown?
- b) What are the prevailing social relations?
- c) How in the face of deprivation can the inhabitants make do with prevalent scarcity?
- d) Why scarce resources?
- e) Who benefits?

It was contended in the preceding discussion that population concentration was an important component in urban formation and the process

of migration a principal source of urban population. Forces which gave migration the impetus to occur in Tanzania have been presented comprehensively. Consequently the prediction number one that the majority of the inhabitants in the shantytowns would be the immigrants from the outlying districts and regions is a corresponding expectation. Here is how field data validates these assumptions.

Population Concentration

Theoretically this variable is testable by comparing data on population in time and space. A precise measure of this concentration would at least require the space dimension to remain somewhat constant. Yet it must be recalled that the space, including the shantytowns themselves, by their very nature and the dynamism of the urban society have not been static. Over a period of time, changes in various dimensions are inevitable. Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 reflect this idea. However, this survey did not come up with quantifiable measures of the spaces involved due to the intermittent changes upon them. Nevertheless this has not ultimately interfered with measures of concentration. Density confirms major assumptions positively. Table 5.1 shows a superfluous population increase in the space of just half a decade.

TABLE 5.1: POPULATION INCREASE IN KIPAWA AND KURASINI WARDS BETWEEN 1978 NATIONAL CENSUS AND THIS SURVEY MAY/AUGUST 1983

Ward	1978	1983	% Increase
Kipawa	16,227	32,599	99.98
Kurasini	16,375	29,728	81.5

Source: National Population Census, Preliminary Report, 1978
CCM Headquarters at Kiwalani Ward Office (Kipawa Ward)
May/August 1983
CCM Headquarters at Shimo la Udongo Ward Office (Kurasini Ward) May/August 1983.

Data in Table 5.1 indicates that, in both wards population increase has soared high between the national census of 1978 and this survey of May/August 1983.

Migration

Given the nature of development in the peripheral societies, it has been predicted that, migration would account for a larger proportion of urban concentration. Table 5.2 provides field data on migration. Domicile of the inhabitants of the shantytowns settles the first prediction.

5.2: MIGRATIONAL STRUCTURES: DOMICILE OF THE INHABITANTS FOUND IN THE SURVEY OF KIPAWA AND SHIMO LA UDONGO DURING MAY/AUGUST 1983

Location	No. of H/H	Domicile in %			Total
		Inside Dar-es-Salaam	Outside Dar-es-Salaam	Tanzania	
Kipawa	115	35.65	61.73	2.6	99.9
Shimo la Udongo	80	11.25	80.00	8.75	100
Total	195				

Source: The Survey May/August 1983.

Data presented in Table 5.2 above positively verifies the first prediction.

As it may be recalled, the first prediction had anticipated to find the majority of the population in these shantytowns comprising immigrants.

Data indicates this to be the case. As predicted, Shimo la Udongo has the greater proportion. Also data show that some of the immigrants even originated from outside the country. One found out, the non-nationals were from neighbouring African countries namely Mozambique, Zaire (formerly Congo), Malawi, Rwanda and Burundi, to mention those with significant proportion of migrant population. Unlike migrants from outlying districts and regions within the country whose immigration motives had been essentially economic, their's was largely political. In this perspective, Mozambique, Rwanda and

Burundi are the best examples. In these countries, the liberation struggle (especially in Mozambique) and the civil and political strife (Rwanda and Burundi) left the people crossing the national frontiers in thousands.

Among the non-national immigrants in the study areas were Arabs. These were the only ones from a non-African country. But unlike the majority of their counterparts namely, non-nationals, their immigration motives were predominantly commercial. It is important to note here that the immigrants from Congo - the "Manyema" ethnic group (cf. Leslie 1963, hereafter I shall address them as "migrants of Congolese origin") are the descendants of those Congolese who had been part of this commercial interest. Their ancestors had been slaves, guides, soldiers or middlemen on the caravans transporting slaves to the coast for shipment to the Zanzibar slave market and consequently auctioned and sent to buyers abroad.

In the light of the above exposition, one asserts that the process of labour migration socially uproots people from their cultures. It follows that in their struggle for existence in the urban system, migrants of common origin find it useful to stay together. As it may be noted, the point of migrant ethnic groups as important participants in the urbanization of Dar es Salaam has been mentioned in passing in section 3.1. To proceed with that analysis I shall discuss further here the impact of migration and therefore tribal grouping in residential locations. As a departing point, it should be noted that during the pre-independence period as Leslie (1963) suggests, there were several tribal associations in towns. Hence the assertion that migrants of common origin stay together find support in Leslie's findings. While those associations are evidently no more now, that is to say, after independence, people of common origin are often found together in crucial matters relating to their cultures. Counselling on or performing initiations, marriages, burial and thanks giving may be cited as examples. For the indigenous

Zaramo, "Gombesugu" or "Mdundiko" which are more than tribe dances, occasion the periodic program of cultural event, invariably supported by several members of the tribe. The same may be said of "Kioda" or "Kitoto" for the southern immigrants.

In some residential areas, the identity of some migrants has left distinctive imprints to date. Most commonly is the retrospective identification of a residential area with a particular tribal group. To cite examples from Leslie (1963) in reference to Kipawa, the indigenous Zaramo are more specific in saying, "Kipawa kwa Mzee Kitambaa" or "Kipawa kwa Kirakara", associating the residential area with the tribal head of the area. Other areas where immigrants settled had similarly been identified with a predominant migrant tribe or its head. For instance, several ethnic groups have settled in the former slum area of Keko. The location occupied by the "Ngoni" of Ruvuma (southern region), is named after a notable member of the tribal group who lived in the area called Ali Magurumbasi, alias, "Keko Magurumbasi". Additionally, an old halting-place for the travellers from the south named after an important southerner called Birali hence "Keko Birali". An Arab section of this slum area named after an Arab member of the Arab garrison. Ali bin Akida hence "Keko Akida". Other sections of this huge slum area include "Keko Machungwa" and "Keko Toroli". Probably the former had developed as an informal market that is "Genge" ("Magenge" plural) while the latter may have developed as a dwelling site for casual labourers. It is interesting to note that this huge slum area was growing apace with the adjacent Chang'ombe industrial site mushrooming to the southwest of Pugu Road. This industrial site is part of the Pugu Road Industrial Complex closer to the city centre. Therefore one asserts that there is a closer attraction between certain types of residence and industrial sites.

The two study areas being of similar category will elucidate this point.

However, it is important to note that Shimo la Udongo, in spite of its large composition of immigrant population does not have sections of its residential locations named after predominant ethnic compositions namely Makonde (Mozambican), Manyema (Congolese), Nyasa (Malawian). It is my conviction that it was the manner in which the settlements were occupied and not the timing per se which accounts for this difference. I shall return to the manner of their occupation later. I want to suggest that in my opinion, the mode of occupation has influenced the layout, that is, total patterning of dwelling units. In Kipawa there was a system whereby newcomers were given orientation in matters concerning where to build their houses, where to find shallow wells and where to cultivate. The Kitambaa/Kirakala lineage, as it may be recalled, an indigenous Zaramo family of Kipawa had claimed both the domain of Kipawa and exercised the system of orientating newcomers as stated above. Paradoxically, however, according to my assessment the housing layout of Shimo la Udongo where no established pattern of authority had existed is more systematic than at Kipawa. There is distinctive street-like formation here as opposed to Kipawa. I shall return to the analysis of patterns of land occupancy later.

However, the following important difference should be noted at the onset namely: in terms of the physical patterning, Shimo la Udongo has successfully adopted the modern housing layout structure while Kipawa has retained its traditional clustering. The former patterning is an influence of modern urbanism (hence the world system) while that of the latter is the influence of traditional homestead, hereditarily passed from one generation to the other through socialization. Critically examined, the differences in the patterning of layout goes beyond tradition 'versus' modern way of

building. For instance, recently there have been more evictions at Shimo la Udongo than Kipawa. Perhaps this is why there are less people per dwelling unit than generally anticipated. But perhaps this is why the housing layout here is neater than at Kipawa. This study formed an opinion that people were eager to settle hence they expressed their wishes in imitating urban development of the housing layout.

I have already mentioned about a tendency for migrants of common origin to maintain their identities. The reason could be a need to survive. More importantly for this matter is the tendency to maintain ties with their areas of origin where they may (or may not) retire to. While most migrant tribes in the city are believed to maintain ties with their original areas invariably, it is said that the Congolese immigrants have no ties anywhere else except in the city where they have maintained a feeling of exclusive solidarity. In Dar es Salaam, particularly the Kariakoo areas they are backed by their strong positions as house owners (cf. Leslie 1963). Critically examined the question of the Congolese immigrants being exclusively urban oriented could be appropriately supported by the nature of the process of migration that the pioneer generation of Congolese went through. It should be noted, these pioneers had been part of the Arab commercial interest in slave and ivory trade namely as slaves themselves or as porters of ivory (one could be both a slave and a porter) and soldiers, that is to say, co-slave raiders. The slave caravans themselves started from the western end of Tanzania at a place called Ujiji near Kigoma. These caravans which were destined for Bagamoyo approximately 1,280 kilometers away on the other side of the country proceeded eastwards across the territory. Today the Central Railway Line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma runs along a route almost similar to those ancient caravan paths. Bagamoyo which is situated about 64 kilometers

north west of Dar es Salaam was the principal entrepot of Arab commercial empire on the mainland of Tanzania.

On the background of this discussion, it can be asserted that in their predatory incursion, the Arab slave raiders may have sailed across Lake Tanganyika beyond which lies Congo* that is, Zaire (see map number 2.1 for places named) hence people of Congolese origin discussed above. One has argued that the process of migration socially uproots people from their cultures hence their attempts to form associations and other solidarity groups and maintaining relations with their home areas. It is clear from the above discussion that the manner in which the Congolese have come to be in Dar es Salaam distinctively differs from most other immigrants. One asserts that for them the social uprootedness caused by migration has been absolute. At least this should explain why their ties are mainly confined within their present locality. Perhaps it is from such background that Professor Illife (1969) has suggested these are the real urban proletariat in Tanzania.

The question of classes is fundamental to the understanding of the Housing Process in the shantytowns comprising this study. I shall return to it below. However, it may be noted at this juncture that, on the basis of Table 5.2, the population of the two shantytowns is comprised of:

- a) immigrants, both nationals and non-nationals invariably uprooted from original societies and ways of life by migrational movements related to capitalist development;
- b) indigenous population caught up in the sprawl of the city which occurs due to a rapid urbanization process endemic to the contemporary process of capitalism in the Third World countries.

In the light of the above contention, here is a case where one sees a differential impact of the world system on a grand scale. As it is probably understood, rural-urban migration depopulates the rural areas of their able-bodied manpower. Urban sprawl both scatters the overspill-population outside the main city and incorporates the peri-urban population into the new city boundary simultaneously. As it has already been said before, the net result is superfluous growth of population without adequate necessary services. Yet, given the nature of capitalist penetration which has given rise to both migrational movements and bourgeoning of cities without accompanying economic development, it will be "prima facie" hard to argue that the population of Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo is predominantly "urban proletariat" let alone "real" proletariat.

As I have already suggested, the data in Table 5.2 demonstrates variation between the two areas. It is my emphasis that among other factors, the period in history when each settlement was occupied has contributed to this structure. Of the two, Kipawa is more ancient hence, literally an indigenous village with a significant size of the indigenous population. The reverse is the case in Shimo la Udongo.

Until comparatively recently what is now Shimo la Udongo was unimportant forest of mango and coconut trees presumably planted indiscriminately by Hadhrami Arabs called Shihiri (in Swahili "Washihiri"). They were brought in the country in 1865 by Sultan Seyyid Majid (founder of Dar es Salaam - see section 3.1 above) for manual jobs in the development of the town. Therefore, these could be considered among the first proletariat of Dar es Salaam. In the meantime they comprise an important commercial class in the several locations in the city including the shantytowns. It was indicated in Chapter Three the Sultans endeavor to build a town of his new palace

was short-lived. After the death of the founding person, Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, under consecutive authorities the development of Dar es Salaam has proceeded apace. As part of this development, an area around Shimo la Udongo developed into a famous quarry site. To be sure, the shantytown of Shimo la Udongo is named after this quarry site. To be more precise, "Shimo la Udongo" is the literal translation of the English term "Quarry-Site". Many of Dar es Salaam's buildings of permanent construction particularly the spacious housing of nearby Kurasini owe their origin to the Shimo la Udongo quarries. These quarries (see Plate No. 4 - a portion is seen covered with banana plantation) were discontinued after the completion of the Port Access Road in 1981. This is long after the pioneer inhabitants had already started living in the vicinity as casual labourers at both the quarry site and surrounding construction sites. In a way, Shimo la Udongo has built Dar es Salaam but has ironically remained itself a shantytown. On the contrary, Kipawa has been incorporated into the city, as it may be recalled, through the sprawl of the city itself, yet has lagged behind the dynamic growth of the centre.

After quarrying at Shimo la Udongo had ceased, the Kunduchi Quarries located further outside the city on the north-west direction remained the single most suppliers of quarry materials. These quarries happen to be on the same ridge as the Wazo Hill Cement Factory outside of Dar es Salaam. This Cement Factory and the Quarries are about 30 kilometers from Dar es Salaam city centre but a few kilometers from each other. In sum total, besides other strategic constructions, the two are fundamental for the Urban Housing Industry - more precisely in the construction of housing structure of a permanent nature. Hence because of the distance of transporting materials from both Kunduchi and Wazo Hill, the construction of houses of

permanent structure makes such houses more expensive. It is my contention that the more expensive the houses of permanent materials become, the more costly those of less permanent materials get.

Following from the above contention one may argue that the process of housing construction will be constrained by the long distances to and from sources of construction materials. Indeed, distances to sources of construction materials, the availability and the accessibility of the materials themselves are an inherent part of the construction process. Since these factors may tend to increase the cost of housing construction, it must be suggested here that in this setup, the final beneficiary will not be the self-employed households in the shantytowns but rather it will be the working class households in the formal sector in the upper income brackets with regular income. Hence the self-employed households in the shantytowns will have different types of housing. At this juncture the background is set to proceed with the analysis of the population involved in the study.

To proceed with this analysis, a look at the age structures of the sample population is in order. One thinks that the structures of the population by age groups will indicate the kind of generation one is dealing with. More concrete conclusions may be arrived at from a critical analysis of the age structures of the two shantytowns which follows. In the frequency distribution Tables 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 I have summarised the findings. The impression one gets from the statistics is that the majority of household-heads are members of a younger generation that is, people in their twenties and thirties, a generation one would argue corresponds to the period when a wave of industrial promotion in the country had been increasing. The Pugu Road Industrial Estate is essentially an assembly

TABLE 5.3.1: AGE STRUCTURES OF HOUSEHOLD-HEADS IN 115 HOUSEHOLDS AT KIPAWAa) Frequency Distribution Table by Age Groups

<u>Class Interval</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1910 - 1920	9
1920 - 1930	6
1930 - 1940	6
1940 - 1950	25
1950 - 1960	34
1960 - 1970	35
Total	115

Notabene: 1. The lower class limit of each class interval not inclusive.
 2. According to this study, the household head is the owner of a house or a tenant answerable to the landlord.

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

line of the various import substitution industries commenced thereabout. Therefore chances are that the majority of the population was attracted to this industrial site for economic gains. The growth of the Keko slum area adjacent to Chang'ombe industrial site noted above seem to suggest the same. The two study areas seems to share similar experiences. However, it is not the intention of this analysis to jump so early into hasty conclusions about the matter.

Based on raw data comprising the frequency distribution Table number 5.3.1a; in absolute terms the oldest household-head was an elderly Zaramo who prescribed to the researcher his lineage to the Pazi clan, another Zaramo ruling family - alias Mzee Pazi. He indicated he was born in 1912 while the youngest, a teenager member of the Gogo tribe from Dodoma called Robert Madole, he was born in 1966. Hence in absolute terms, the range of the ages of the population of household-heads is 54 years. I would, however,

suggest a general skepticism regarding ages be maintained, particularly the advanced ones which are based on gross approximation. This is particularly the case with old people whose dates of birth were not recorded. This study found out that the old man, that is, Mzee Pazi was the head of a 14 member household. At the time of the survey he was already retired from government service at a Government Press close to Chang'ombe/Pugu Road junction where a few years earlier he had been working as a stationhand. He did not appear more aged than a 52 year widow called Asha who was head of a six member household. While appearances could be deceptive, considering that in Tanzania the official age for retirement ranges from 45 to 55 years, at 71, Mzee Pazi should have been retired at the latest the year when Robert, the youngest head of household in the list, was born.

According to the Tanzanian Constitution, an individual acquires a franchise status at the age of 18. This is an improvement of the situation prior to the 1965 general elections back to the colonial period when franchise status was attained at the age of 21. Hence according to this establishment, the young Tanzanians of Robert's age are at the vertex of tender age where in principle are legally dependent upon society for their livelihood. Yet 17 years is still a tender age for a household-head in a large city, and especially in a location where basic amenities are in short supply. However, unlike other household-head teenagers (there were only 2 more in Kipawa including a successful 19 year old Daudi Muhibu who owns a stall at the market, see Plate No. 2), Robert is the only member of his household accommodated at a Social Welfare Housing Scheme for the disabled at Kipawa and, like the rest of them taken care of by the relevant government institutions. Besides Robert, one can argue that like Daudi, many

younger heads of households are industrious youths drifted to town by urbanization and the promises it holds to individuals.

Presented graphically as in the following histogram, the population of household-heads illustrates how the youths are becoming a significant part of the urban population of household-heads.

b) A Histogram for Age Structures of Household-Heads in Kipawa

Notabene: The lower class limits of each class interval not inclusive

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

The structure of this histogram shows an asymmetrical distribution of the ages of the heads of household. Additionally the distribution indicated by this histogram is negatively skewed depicting the presence of old household

heads in their 60s and 70s. It should be noted that according to the latest five year plan an average life expectancy of 50 (as opposed to the previous average of 45) years was planned to be reached by 1980. However, according to the same source (cf. Karlsson et al., 1980) that goal has not yet fully been reached.

Comparable statistics of the 80 household-heads from Shimo la Udongo is summarized in Table 5.3.2b. The frequency distribution table which proceeds it sums up the occurrences of the various age groups of the heads of household of this sample from Shimo la Udongo.

TABLE 5.3.2: AGE STRUCTURES OF HOUSEHOLD-HEADS IN 80 HOUSEHOLDS
SHIMO LA UDONGO

a) Frequency Distribution Table by Age Groups

Class Interval	Frequency
1910 - 1920	0
1920 - 1930	2
1930 - 1940	6
1940 - 1950	28
1950 - 1960	25
1960 - 1970	19
Total	80

Notabene: The lower class limits of each class interval not inclusive

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

Hastily looked at, the impression one gets from Table 5.3.2a is a superficial similarity of the patterning of the age structures. However, closely examined, the two statistics are distinct enough. This study does not intend to treat any of the two as a "model" of the other. Their differences or similarities will be analysed critically.

Based on this frequency distribution data there are no household-heads in their 70s in Shimo la Udongo. The fact that Shimo la Udongo has not developed from an indigenous village like Kipawa should account for this difference. One argues that the predominance of a younger generation will have an impact on the average size of household population in the shantytown. However, the reader must not be biased by the average household size and overlook the individual households with a population more than double the national mean.

In the light of what has already been considered, one can advance a number of plausible explanations concerning the absence from the sample of the advanced age group. But it is the assessment of this study that the following two are determinant. One is that unlike Kipawa, Shimo la Udongo is not an indigenous village. As it may be recalled, the pioneers had been casual labourers at both the quarry site (alias-vibarua kwenye Shimo la Udongo) and the neighbouring construction sites namely, the Port Access Road, Port Expansion Projects, the TAZARA extensions to the port and the Warehouses to name just a few important ones. Generally construction work is too taxing for old people to afford. The second point is that since the place was uninhabited, it goes on to suggest that beyond the usual working day, the pioneers spent some time clearing the land and constructing their own dwellings. Demands associated with establishing a dwelling there at the point in time limited chances of not only the aged but also, as is evident in the table, the youths too.

Based on the raw data ensemble, in absolute terms the oldest household-head was born in 1925 while the youngest is a year younger than Robert of Kipawa, he was born in 1967. The old man is a member of the Luguru tribe from Matombo Village, in Morogoro Region. The Municipal town of

Morogoro is approximately 192 kilometers from Dar es Salaam enroute the TANZAM Highway. This elderly Luguru migrant who preferred to be identified simply as "Mjumbe wa Shina Namba Nane", that is, "a resident member at ten-cell unit number eight" had left his home area in Morogoro for Dar es Salaam in his early teens. Having successfully attended school at a Government Village School in Morogoro he moved to Dar es Salaam where he was admitted to what was then called Dar es Salaam Government Middle School, later, Uhuru Boys Primary School. Having attained a sixth grade he left school and joined the East African Railways and Harbours at Dar es Salaam Port as a security guard. At times he was temporarily transferred to the port of Tanga when his counterpart was on leave but Dar es Salaam remained his regular station. As a "required" official in a public corporation he was given a government accommodation, at first he lived at the Ilala Quarters where the type of housing ranges from one-room, two-room and three-room bungalows. Later on he moved to Mgulani at Kurasini for much bigger accommodation of the bungalow and semi-detached villas type. Mgulani is a short distance from Shimo la Udongo.

Like Robert, the 16 year old youth of Shimo la Udongo was living by himself. He comes from the nearby Kisarawe district. Until recently Kisarawe, like Dar es Salaam were part of the Coastal Region. With reliable transport, youths like this sixteen year old head and the only member of his household can easily migrate to the city. Unlike Robert, this youngest head of household from Shimo la Udongo who lives close to the Port Access Road makes a living by selling some fruits, groundnuts, eggs, etcetera. He purchases everything from the city market. His major buyers are the commuters of the city's transport system, that is, Usafiri Dar es Salaam (UDA). The UDA Bus Stop shade serves him for a shade where he displays his

limited but fast selling commodities.

The range of the ages of the population of the household heads at Shimo la Udongo is 42 years. With the majority at the forties. Presented graphically, this information may be summarised in the histogram in Table 5.3.2b as follows.

b) A Histogram for Age Structures of Household at Shimo la Udongo

Notabene: The lower class limits of each class interval not inclusive.

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

The structure of this histogram like the first one is asymmetrical. But unlike the first one, the long tail is pointing to a high score hence the distribution in this histogram is positively skewed, depicting the size of young household heads to be even more significant and vice versa. A younger, that is to say modern generation means more demand for housing and wage

employment hence a more formal interaction with the world system. According to data abstracted from the 1978 national population census (see Table 5.3.3), a predominance of young people (children inclusive) from both wards of the research areas is apparent. Critically examined the totals of young people vis-a-vis the old people presented in Tables 5.3.1 - 5.3.2 closely correspond with data in Table 5.3.3, namely, that there are more children and young men in Shimo la Udongo than Kipawa and vice versa. Comparable national figures of the 1978 census indicate that half the population was younger than 18 years, one quarter was younger than 7 years, and one quarter was older than 32 years. Furthermore data show that 49 percent were male and 51 percent were female (Karlsson et al., 1980: 2). This situation will be reflected in other conclusions that this study is going to make.

It has been suggested above that a younger population is associated with a more demand for housing and wage employment and a more formal interaction with the international system. It must be suggested here that it is also associated with labour migration. In this regard, and in the face of limited wage employment, the older people therefore will be reproducing through landlordism (cf. Mwita, 1978 for further evidence of landlordism as a way of life). For this matter the predominancy of older people with less chances of getting wage employment has to go with the predominant housing for letting and subletting, namely in Dar es Salaam, the six room-Swahili type of housing. Furthermore, the termination of formal relations such as following a layoff or a retirement usually resuscitates the informal network. There is one example from Shimo la Udongo. It concerns the eldest head of household referred in this study as "Mjumbe Wa Shina Namba Nane".

As a point of departure, it should be noted that at the time of

TABLE 5.3.3: POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX: KIPAWA AND KURASINI WARDS AS PER THE 1978 NATIONAL POPULATION CENSUS

(Age Groups as Percentages of Total)										
	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65	Total
KIPAWA										
Males	1,371	1,112	824	1,403	1,582	1,034	569	255	218	8,368
%	16.38	13.28	8.84	16.76	18.9	12.35	6.79	3.04	2.6	99.94
Females	1,513	1,200	816	1,589	1,367	659	355	186	244	7,929
%	19.08	15.13	10.29	20.04	17.24	8.31	4.47	2.34	3.07	99.97
Total	2,884	2,312	1,640	2,992	2,949	1,693	924	441	462	16,297
%	17.69	14.18	10.06	18.35	18.09	10.38	5.66	2.70	2.83	99.94
KURASINI										
Males	1,407	1,045	675	2,015	2,194	1,149	586	176	74	9,321
%	15.09	11.21	7.24	21.61	23.53	12.32	6.28	1.88	0.79	99.95
Females	1,362	1,099	806	1,935	1,134	431	176	68	43	7,054
%	19.30	15.57	11.42	27.43	16.07	6.11	2.49	0.96	0.6	99.95
Total	2,769	2,144	1,481	3,950	3,328	1,580	762	244	117	16,375
%	16.9	13.09	9.04	24.12	20.32	9.64	4.65	1.49	0.71	99.96

Source: The 1978 National Population Census Preliminary Report, pp. 236-243.

this survey he had already been retired of old age seven months earlier having attained a senior rank of Port Warden, heading a security personnel office. He enjoyed this social esteem which was remunerated with a handsome MSU 9 salary (which is close to TSH 4,000 per month) and a spacious well equipped public house at Mbulani for the last seven consecutive years of his public service. On his retirement this person could easily have gone back to his home area at Morogoro where already he owned a house and reasonable arable farmland. Yet it is interesting to note that his decision had not been in favour of re-joining his social base even when forces which alienated him from that base in the first place and kept him in town no longer persisted. It is also interesting to note that he could not await a ceremonious eviction from the executive public bungalow he was occupying. Instead he acquired from himself an ordinary type of dwelling at Shimo la Udongo. In fact, five years before retirement he quit public residence for his own dwelling leaving behind all the basic amenities. It is my contention that his decision which by the way seems to go counter to ordinary expectation does reflect a greater attachment and dependency to the prevailing social system that has reproduced him over time. But then the question is, what enticed this "port-bureaucrat" (to use the term loosely) to come and settle in the shantytowns? After all achievements one had expected him to retire to a more affluent location.

"Population and Migration" have been discussed quite extensively in this section because it is my conviction they are so fundamental to the process of urbanization. In turn, urbanization is related to other issues which this thesis is concerned with. They include the central focus of the study, namely, the "Housing Process". At this juncture it is understood that migrants comprise the predominant population of shantytowns. So that,

in principle question (a) raised at the beginning of this section has been resolved. The other questions namely: (b) the prevailing social relations; (c) how, despite scarcity individuals manages the urban way of life; (d) causes of scarcity; (e) inequality in distribution and consumption patterns, all require knowledge of the Political Economy of the post colonial state. In a way the Political Economy of Tanzania has been the subject of analysis in the second and third chapters where the central notion of classes and how they are formed has also been discussed. As it may be recalled, to make the point, the operation of the plantation economy and the various mechanisms towards the creation of wage labouring classes had been discussed comprehensively. Therefore, at this juncture one may add just a few comments on the issue. Indeed it suffices to point out here that in Tanzania "classes" in Marxist terms, and as formulated by Lenin, namely; large groups of people differing from each other:

- 1) By the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production;
- 2) By their relations (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production;
- 3) By their role in the social organization of labour, and
- 4) Consequently, by the dimension of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it (see also G. Carchedi, 1975, 1977) are in the process of making. But as Carchedi put it, "there is no automatic correspondence between economic identification of classes and their definition" (1975: 59). One thinks that this observation could also apply to the complex situation of the informal sector in which the inhabitants are reproducing.

b) Household Structures

Having identified major structural groups comprising the population of the research area, the present section advances that understanding to look at another variable considered as important for the comprehension of the housing process. In this section I am concerned with composition of the households in the study areas. Judged from the fourth prediction, size is a central criterion. Yet one also thinks that household composition like other aspects of the housing process will be influenced by several factors in society.

The aspect of size has already been documented in Table 5.1 (for further comparison see also Tables 4.1 and 4.2). As presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, the study areas have the following population and household sizes:

- (i) Kipawa 9,167 inhabitants in 2,504 households.
- (ii) Shimo la Udongo 7,240 inhabitants in 1,056 households.

On the basis of the 1978 national population census, the above statistics generate the following interpretations:

- (a) On average, Kipawa residential location has 3.6 inhabitants per household.
- (b) A corresponding figure in Shimo la Udongo is 6.8 inhabitants per household.

However, based on Table 5.1 the former had a greater population increase than the latter. It is my understanding that the mean may not necessarily be sensitive to extreme values. Hence the factor of sizes have to be looked more critically.

It is explicit in the methods chapter that (see especially section 4.2) this study considers landlordism and tenancy the major household

structures. Additionally, these structures can either be categorized as single or multiple households. The latter variables makes sense alongside a consideration of marital status. Table 5.4 summarizes the marital structure in the 195 households indicating the sex of the household-head.

TABLE 5.4: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX OF THE HOUSEHOLD-HEAD

Residential Location	Marital Status			Sex of Household-Head		
	Married	Single	Total	Males	Females	Total
Kipawa	76	39	115	96	19	115
Shimo la Udongo	47	33	80	61	19	80
Total	123	72	195	157	38	195

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983

It is indicated in Table 5.4 that in both shantytowns there are more family based households than non-family based that is, single-member households. Among other things, this situation suggests the need for co-operation in the struggle for subsistence. "In an economy of scarcity" (to borrow Turner's phrase), it pays to have a hand into every trade. For this matter families will tend to be larger. The data collected in this survey seem to agree with the fourth prediction. Based on the number of households, Karlsson et al., (1980) have worked out the national average household size to be about 5 people. The fourth prediction, taking many factors in consideration, puts that mean slightly above the national average of five. Tables 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 summarizes the survey findings. Note that in the statistics in Table 5.5.1 the mean is close enough to the national figure (of 5 people per household), a value which includes even the rural households which have much higher household composition. As it may be recalled from a suggestion already made, it will be important for

TABLE 5.5.1: HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY RESIDENTIAL POPULATION: KIPAWA

A Table Indicating Size of Population 'Vis' Number of Households.

No. of Households	No. of Persons per Household	Total Population
16	1	16
11	2	22
14	3	42
10	4	40
22	5	110
19	6	114
8	7	56
7	8	56
1	9	9
1	10	10
1	11	11
2	12	24
1	13	13
2	14	28
TOTAL 115		551

 $\bar{X} = 4.7$

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

the reader not to ignore the presence of household composed by numbers larger than the national average. It is also important to note that in spite of being affected by the extreme lower values (approximately 44 per cent of the households are) below the national average, the sample mean is close enough to the respective prediction for Kipawa. Presented in Table 5.5.2 is the comparable data for Shimo la Udongo. Note that unlike the statistics from Kipawa, the mean here has not come as close to the prediction. As in the previous case, the lower extreme values have caused the mean to be lowered. In short the statistics presented in Table 5.5.2 suggest that 60

TABLE 5.5.2: HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY RESIDENTIAL POPULATION: SHIMO LA UDONGOTable Indicating Size of Population; 'VIS' Number of Households.

No. of Households	No. of Persons Per Household	Total Population
28	1	28
8	2	16
8	3	24
4	4	16
6	5	30
10	6	60
5	7	35
6	8	48
2	9	18
1	10	10
1	11	11
1	12	12
Total 80		308

$$\bar{X} = 3.7$$

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983

percent of households have number of persons per household below the mean. As it may be recalled from an earlier argument, the predominance of young household heads has affected the sample mean here much more than at the former traditional village of Kipawa.

It has been indicated in Section (a) above that the two areas have been occupied at different periods. It is apparent from the preceding analysis that the reasons for the formation of Shimo la Udongo residence should be considered along the expansions of the port and its related infrastructure. Therefore it is my strong conviction that the housing process at Shimo la Udongo which is at its early stages is evidently being influenced by the surrounding formal establishments. I shall return to this point when

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dealing with the housing structures. It suffices to point out here that it is my convictions that the various demolitions and evictions discussed in this study have re-shaped the population as well as the housing structures. At this juncture, the background is set to discuss employment and occupation of shantytown inhabitants.

c) Employment and Occupation of Shantytown Inhabitants

Taking precedence of earlier arguments, the second and fifth predictions suggest that occupation, as opposed to employment would be the major means through which the shantytown inhabitants would be reproducing. This study distinguishes employment and occupation on the basis of these relations:

1. Employment is essentially institutionalized while Occupation is not.
2. It follows therefore employment is an aspect of the "formal economy" while occupation is an aspect of the "informal relations".
3. Historically, the former has contributed to the process of urbanization through the process of labour migration and consequently the urban problems associated with excess unemployed population. On the other hand occupation comprises the attempted solutions to the larger problems.
4. The Third World countries are linked to the international capitalist system through the "formal economic relations". These relations have created various formal institutions which operate within the framework of division of labour of the international system orienting production towards export. These employ labour required for such production. But it is the conception of this study that occupation is concerned with more immediate needs the formal economic relation does not provide. This includes those activities which will contribute or are attempting to contribute towards the acquisition of some of the amenities.

Yet it is important to stress here that the two economic relations are inseparable. This contention will be illustrated by survey data which concerns both of these variables.

Employment

Based on the social criteria set by this paper, employment has to be identified with the concentration of industrial establishments around. Among other things, the concentration of these establishments influenced the chances and sizes of the means of employment around. This survey was interested to know the extent to which formal labour relations had cut across the household in the interviewed sample (refer to the "Interview Guide" Section IV, see the Appendix). The finding is summarized in Table 5.6.

TABLE 5.6: A TABLE INDICATING THE PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH SOME OF THEIR MEMBERS WORKING FOR WAGE

Residential Location	Total Number of Household	No. of H/H with Some Members Working for Wage	As Percentage of Total
Kipawa	115	69	60
Shimo la Udongo	80	32	40

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

It is important to stress here that data in Table 5.6 does not represent the proportion in which the households are wholly reproducing through the formal relations. However, it provides the impression of involvement in formal labour relations by some members of the household. This study intends to maintain that social reproduction of the entire household is the matter of cooperative income-pooling which is predominantly done outside the wage sector. So that in specific instances, given the lower industrial wage levels, it can be argued that the informal sector is

essential for the reproduction of certain structures in the formal sector. This point will be discussed later alongside a consideration of the informal activities performed on the day to day basis by the shantytown population.

Occupation

At the beginning of this section I have attempted to summarize some issues relating to employment and occupation. The intention of this section is to understand the occupation of the inhabitants of the shantytowns. An attempt will be made to find out what is formal and what is informal about the shantytowns which by definition (cf. ILO Report on Kenya 1972, Leys 1973: 419-429) are conceived to be informal.

As it may be recalled, making an analysis of the port and the city, Dr. Sutton has suggested that the two meet somewhere on the land margins of the port (see the quotation in Mascarenhas, 1970: 89). It is my conception that, this analogy could not be applied wholly to Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo in their present situation vis-a-vis the industrial estate and the port-industry respectively. It is the assessment of this study that the two entities namely the industrial establishment and the shantytowns are parts of each other. The former requires the existence of the latter as sources of labour and cheap informal services. Specifically this study observed that cheap quick food services to be of the most important and required service for the labouring masses during working hours. Ironically, this requirement was not satisfactorily provided for by the labour employing establishments. Hence, the shantytowns and the informal relations must be seen important for these informal food services for those who cannot afford formal services at the canteens where such services are being offered. Interestingly, this survey observed that these informal food services offered by what their users have branded "Hilton Hotels"

(imitating the luxurious city hotels) to be mostly located in surroundings where construction was currently taking place. In such places, Canteen Services are not yet established, besides such services are too expensive for the casual labourers who are the majority in most manual tasks of construction and hence, the importance of the "Hilton Hotels". These services are known to persist throughout the construction phase and migrate to new construction sites as soon as the old ones are complete.

This study observed that:

- (i) these informal services selling home cooked food are scattered throughout the shantytown but mostly close to construction sites;
- (ii) where a major or protracted construction takes place, a corresponding settlement to cater for the immediate needs of the labouring people tends to grow.

The second observation is a possible explanation for the coexistence of informal settlements like Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo with the ongoing industrial expansion sites. As it may be recalled, it has been asserted that "Keko Machungwa" had developed in the service to the mushrooming industrial estate at Chang'ombe. It is important to note here that, food like shelter is a fundamental requirement to sustain life. Yet the formal economic sector has left to the informal sector the task of providing to the labouring people food and shelter. This informal practice seems to be an inherent part of labour relations. Formal institutions replicating establishments created by the world system economy are the final beneficiary in this imbalanced arrangement. In my point of view, division of labour has thus stratified both the "basic needs" and the mode in which they are being provided. Hence one argues that, the occurrences in the formal and informal relations are conjunctures in the division of labour.

Table 5.6 has provided an indication of involvement in the wage sector. One has taken care to stress that those statistics are not representing the ratios in which the inhabitants are reproducing through formal wage sectors. Furthermore, that neither is the reverse statistically the case. The 60 and 40 percent indicated earlier do not suggest here a 40 and 60 percent reproduction through the informal sector by Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo respectively. One wants to emphasize that while those figures also indicate a differential industrial concentration, both the two research areas are predominantly existing because they are reproducing through non-wage labour.

As it has already been indicated, this study considers households as income-pooling units (see also section 4.2 above). In turn this called for probing at the activities of various members of the household contributing to the subsistence of whole units. The idea of income pooling was not difficult to perceive though difficult to quantify. Practically in all households one encountered all capable members in one type of occupation or another which directly contributed to the livelihood of the household. For purposes of presenting to the reader what was taking place on a day to day basis, I made a random pick of 50 households from the large sample of 195 households for closer observation. This sample comprised of 37 households from Kipawa and 17 from Shimo la Udongo. Table 5.7 summarizes the observations concerning the main activities these members were doing either communally or separately for their households. One has used the label "independent" to refer to all those one-man trades or at the point in time, unshared skills. To give one example of each: (i) a single member of the household barbering all day long all by himself while other members are engaged in other domestic chores etcetera; (ii) "herbalism" and related

TABLE 5.7: A SUMMARY OF ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN INCOME POOLING AMONG MEMBERS OF THE 50 HOUSEHOLDS SELECTED BY A RANDOM METHOD

Residential Location	Total Number of Households Involved	Number of Households with Population Active In		% Expression of H.H. with Active Population In	
		Family Business	Independent Business	Family Business	Independent Business
Kipawa	37	23	14	62	37
Shimo la Udongo	13	10	3	76	23

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

practices when the herbalist has not taught another member of the household the art.

For both Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo the ongoing activities included the following:

- 1) local construction of dwelling houses;
- 2) selling of local construction materials;
- 3) carpentry especially making doors, windows and housing frames;
- 4) weaving palm thatch roofing materials;
- 5) small scale cultivation;
- 6) shop keeping;
- 7) hotel keeping;
- 8) butchering;
- 9) miscellaneous kinds of trading, hawking and street vending in food and fruits;
- 10) barbering;
- 11) tailoring;
- 12) embroidery;
- 13) miscellaneous types of manufacturing and repair in metal, leather and rubber;

- 14) making and selling local brew;
- 15) selling cold drinks industrially and locally processed;
- 16) laundry services;
- 17) coolie services;
- 18) water carrying (debe);
- 19) herbalism, to mention some of the conspicuous ones.

This study found out that an income-pooling day in the shanty-towns was organized in the following pattern:

Morning: selling breakfast which is mainly tea with buns, soft Arabic wheat bread called "chapati", sweetened Swahili rice bread called "vitumbua", cooked cassava, yams, boiled or fried eggs and bread.

Location: Usually at the market place, but every rendezvous such as a bus stop, a house verandah, outside a shop or a hotel, under a big shady tree, close to a construction site and so on.

Sellers: Women and children both pre-school age and schooling ones are mainly involved in this family trade.

Late Morning to Afternoon:

The selling of fruits, fruit juices, roasted meat, maize, cassava or yams, raw sugar cane, green coconut fruits, groceries, the provision of services such as shoe-shining, repair, laundry and so on.

Location: Usually does not vary much from the above and additionally in various streets in the shantytown as well as road sides where a temporary shade is erected.

Traders: Repair work is mostly done by elderly persons, the rest is mostly performed by young men.

After Dusk: Under the light of locally made lanterns burning on diesel or kerosene both men and women including their children are once more out in the streets roasting and selling fish (the catch of the day), the remaining of the days buns, "chapati", "vitumbua" fruits and so on. Otherwise, specifically this time of the day is utilized by selling cooked foods, tea and coffee. Generally the singles benefit from this late time activity in that they buy ready to eat food. Older people tend to go for the bitter sugar-less coffee.

Locations: Main streets close to or within the dwelling sections themselves are the commonest places for the evening trade sometimes continuing until close to midnight.

It was observed that most of the food items selling here had to be purchased from the central market at Kariakoo. In the case of fish, a popular after-dusk trade of the shantytown buying and selling goes on the whole day at the popular fish market of Kivukoni just to the north-west of the ferry. The division of labour is such that a member of the household goes to these places regularly. Young men often went to Kariakoo market just about dawn and were back to the shantytowns immediately later to start the daily routine. On the other hand it was the women and children more than the men who went to the fish market at Kivukoni. Here they both prepared the fish and then the women eventually processed them ready for immediate selling. They had the option to continue selling them on the spot since back in the respective shantytowns, fish sells well after sun-down. However, the Kivukoni fish market is self sufficient such that these

shantytown traders make very insignificant sales compared to the regulars here.

According to this study, this division of tasks appeared quite routinized. Additionally, the to and fro movements to buy the daily requirements at popular downtown markets involves transportation costs and daily interactions with centrally controlled markets - Kariakoo being the most complex of all. This is an important observation to make. The point one is concerned to make is that, very few of the Dar es Salaam residents can afford or manage to go to this central market regularly for their consumption needs. Yet without the purchasing power of the majority of the city residents, it would be difficult for this central market to remain in business. One way in which the central market tries to reach to its prospective consumers is through its weekly programme on Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam called "Kutoka Sokoni Kariakoo". This is a commercial programme summarizing the marketing situation. This study learned that the programme is of interest to the small scale traders who operate miniature groceries best known in Dar es Salaam as "Magenge" (see plate no. 1). The term suggests market relations lacking formal organization and operating without legal official permit. Yet it is through the "Magenges" that the central market interacts with the inhabitants of the city on a day to day basis. These activities are understood to be an inherent part of the informal sector comprising peoples own struggle for subsistence. An ILO Report (1972) for Kenya has described the "informal sector" as economic activities which largely escape recognition and protection by the government (cf. Bromley, 1978). This is not the case everytime everywhere. Some perspectives from Tanzania which support this assertion will be documented.

According to Leys (1973: 426), besides denoting primarily a system of intense exploitation of labour, a fundamental feature of the informal sector is that the economic activities (and inactivities) it comprises are linked intimately to the "formal sector". Goods and services are provided at a very low price, a fact which enables very high profits and wages of the "formal sector" which he thus describes as the "monopolistic sector".

Leys (1973) contention above regarding the existence of "intimate" linkage between the formal and the informal sectors is quite important for the point this paper wants to make. As it has been suggested in this discussion, the formal economy is related to the modern world economy through the process of labour and production. In his theoretical reprise Wallerstein (1974) has insisted that the modern world-economy is and can only be, "a capitalist world-economy" (pp. 350). Therefore one can surely argue that there is a linkage between the informal sector and the world system.

It has been suggested in section 2.3 that "selling in order to purchase" was a precondition for sustaining life outside the formal wage sector. The various activities going on at the study area refer to this argument. Certainly the people purchase other necessities like textiles, detergents, sugar, kerosene to name a few that the informal sector cannot provide. In order for them to acquire these factory processed necessities they have to recreate their purchasing power in the various income-pooling activities considered in the study. It must be suggested that through the structure where the population of the informal settlement has to sell in order to purchase, it is evident that in spite of its own plight, it is of use to the urban economy. This situation has been influenced by circumstances whereby wage employment is available for a few only seasonally and so the

informal means seem to be the only alternative. It is, however, useful to note that while the observers may consider the unemployed shantytown population as utilizing "alternative" opportunities coming their way, the people themselves consider the various activities they perform a way of life. Most popularly trade or its Swahili version, "biashara" comprising miscellaneous petty business - precisely the buying and selling of variety of items offers the population money incomes they require for purchasing some of their necessities. Hence, reflective in Chayanov (1966, cited in Lipton, 1976), the "self proprietors" of the shantytowns may aptly be called "consumer-producers" who, in the Marxist account depend upon corresponding market mechanisms for the acquisition of those goods and services which they have not produced and which they need (Chevalier, 1980: 8).

From this exposition trade stands a number one activity of the shantytown in the survey. As an indication of the bustling urban informal sector in the city we may quote from the "Sunday Interview" whereby the City Director had the following observation that the paper, that is Sunday News, had labelled "Dar es Salaam City Problems": "there has been an increase of unlicensed business selling beyond official price and that several service sectors such as garages....etc., were thriving in residential areas..." (Sunday News No. 1558, January 9th 1983). At least from such "official" overtones it can be suggested that the informal sector has not escaped official recognition as described by the ILO Report (1972) for Kenya and Bromley (1978). Yet, again as the report had suggested, one thinks imminent action may be taken following the observation of the City Director. The point is, informal activities and inactivities are overlooked up to a certain extent. Critically analysed, the formal sector overlooks all sorts of things at no cost to capital. Therefore, things get out of proportion

because the formal sector, hence the state does not provide the basic infrastructure for the informal sector. In Tanzania, intervention is usually imminent when situations get out of proportion, for example the sprouting of motor vehicle garages in residential areas. These may increase the risks of fire and other health hazards of which the environment is less equipped to combat. It goes without saying that with or without motor vehicle garages, as residential areas, the shantytowns are less equipped. It is the opinion of this study that housing in the shantytowns reflect this argument. In the section that follows I shall proceed with this argument.

d) Housing

This part of the discussion is intended to consider:

- (i) the structure of inhabited houses;
- (ii) their occupants.

In this consideration of housing, here is the opportunity to falsify major assumptions behind the "housing process". Assumption number six is relevant here. As Wheaton et al., (1966) aptly put it:

Housing is a unique among consumer goods in the degree to which its quantity can enhance or diminish the well being of individuals and families, the impact its location has on the structure and the financial health of communities, the role its production plays in the national economy and so on.

Implicit in Wheaton et al., housing is influenced by many factors interacting in society. So far, this analysis has considered a few of these relations namely:

- 1) population and migration; 2) household composition; and 3) employment and occupation. Additionally, an attempt has been made to explain these local relationships with the international system which is used as the main framework of the study.

While Qadeer, (1980) argues that

Housing needs are universal, but housing demands are specific to a nation and, even, a locality. Similarly, the production of housing is a matter of social practice and institutional framework of a country.

(pp. 142)

It is evident from the preceding chapters that, both the specific national housing demands and the institutional framework responsible for its production are not existing in isolation and independent from the interactions with the world system. It is worthwhile to define at this juncture processes relevant to this matter at the research area.

First and foremost is the process of migration. This has direct bearing on the existing urban housing situation. Yet, closely examined, the housing situation is immediately influenced by internal mobility which may or may not operate independently of the process of migration. In relation to Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo, it is the opinion of this study that the unprecedented but intermittent occurrences of internal mobility influences the temporary character of housing.

Mobility due to demolition of urban settlements

It has already been indicated that residential settlement in the two shantytowns is intermittently interrupted by the expansionism of the industrial enterprises, the port and the port industries. This factor accounts for most major causes of internal mobility in the study area. It is important to note here that the causes of expansionism directly results from the interactions with the international system. In itself the expansionism of the industrial establishment involves considerable amount of infrastructural development such as roads and railway connections to "strategic enterprises", warehouses etcetera. In turn, this causes a significant pulling down of dwellings and other structures which happen to

be in the way of an intended construction, consequently evicting the affected population. Both Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo have many such cases of demolition and eviction, a few will be cited.

While this survey was taking place, at Shimo la Udongo, the construction of a road branching off the Port Access Road to the Dock Yard had involved the demolition of some 49 dwellings. Those who were affected, in this case, house owners, were being allocated new plots at Mbagala Kanisani in Mtoni area which is a distant city suburb to the south of here. However, at the present rate in which the city is sprawling, soon enough such distant suburbs would be part of the burgeoning city just like Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo are at present.

It must be emphasized here that, the economic structure of the Third World engenders its major urban centres to attain unprecedented rapid growth rates. The case of Dar es Salaam, as it was revealed in a "Sunday News" interview, exemplifies this argument. According to the paper (Sunday News No. 1558, January 9th, 1983), by March of that year the boundaries of the city were to be expanded from 543 to 1223 square kilometers. By this expansion, some 50 new villages were expected to be included in the city. The expansion of the city boundaries so superfluously as these figures indicate, suggest a rapid rate of growth. This type of expansion does not have to cause demolition. Yet, its side effects include the making of scarce resources even more scarce. Under these circumstances what the people do reflects the struggle for survival.

It follows from the above that development of the industrial infrastructure which has been a major attraction to labour, has caused more internal mobility. This has occurred in two ways:

- (i) labour has been attracted to industrial sites;

(ii) settlements have been demolished for industrial sites.

Some of the important infrastructural development which have caused demolition at a point in time in both study areas are enumerated below. They include:

- 1) The modernization of Pugu Road into a double lane highway (see Plate No. 3) linking the International Airport nearby and the Industrial Estate to the City Centre and the Port at the Harbour.
- 2) The construction of the Port Access Road linking Morogoro Road Highway traffic to deviate from the city centre the bulky cargo to and from Zambia.
- 3) The New Port Expansion area where port's forwarding and clearing facilities specifically reserved to cater for the bulky Zambian Copper and other imported goods are in operation.
- 4) The construction of a railway past Shimo la Udongo as an arm linking the Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA) main station in Dar es Salaam, off Pugu Road to the port, opening up into the Tazara Yard at the harbour. Tazara is a joint corporation running the Chinese built Uhuru Railway Line linking the port of Dar es Salaam and the town of Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia. It is the largest carrier of Zambian cargo.
- 5) The construction of a huge Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO) Warehouse (see Plate No. 4) at Shimo la Udongo. Sudeco is a state holding company with allegiance to the Ministry of Agriculture.

The infrastructural features enumerated above have not been effected without considerable population exictions hence causing significant internal mobility. For example, according to a former Chairperson of the Council of Elders (1974) who was also a co-opted Chairperson of demolition of dwelling units

and other unwanted structures at Shimo la Udongo between 1974 and 1975, the construction of the Tazara Yard had involved the demolition of 161 occupied dwelling units. Surprisingly, the authorities concerned had unsuccessfully intended to withhold compensation, an issue that created a sharp division between the authorities and the co-opted chairperson. I have already mentioned that the reallocation of the plots was to be at Mbagala Kanisani. However, only 86 plots were available. In most cases, the rest return to the same areas as tenants, hence increasing the number of the occupants per room and per house.

Likewise, the construction of the arm of the Tazara Railway to the port via Shimo la Udongo had caused the demolition of approximately 18 dwelling units. These were duly compensated but were left to find their own new accommodations. Further evictions occurred at Shimo la Udongo to give room to the Sudeco Warehouse mentioned above. In all, some 86 demolitions accompanying land clearing for the construction of this warehouse were both compensated and allocated to new plots. Note that the tenants in the affected dwelling units having no claims to make, usually find accommodation in the remaining dwellings and so increase house congestion.

It is also interesting to note some inefficiency in other intended evictions. For example, while this survey was taking place, the land occupied by the market at Kipawa was evaluated by a land evaluating team from the Department of Lands in mid-August (1983). The survey gathered that previously the same area had twice been evaluated duly compensating owners of the structures and property earmarked for demolition. It was said that one of the projects involved the laying of water pipes for the area while the other concerned the intention to construct a warehouse. While the water pipes were laid, the "anonymous" entrepreneur who had

intended to construct a warehouse has not shown up even after compensations had been paid. What is more interesting is that, some of the recompensed individuals have their structures or property originally earmarked to be demolished for the pipe water or warehouse project still remain intact.

Looked at differently, the various constructions had offered thousands of jobs to the people attracted to prospective wage employment. Cumulatively, therefore, they have greatly contributed to the increase in the population of the city. But, and most important, the jobs lasted as long as construction itself had persisted and that when it was over many thousands of employed casual labourers become unemployed and were joining yet other unemployed in the city when they opted to remain there. It is instructive to emphasize at this juncture that both the demolition of dwelling structures and the temporary character of casual labour enhance an insecurity of tenure but which is generally a common phenomena in these parts of the city. In turn, both these factors namely: (i) demolition of dwellings in order to construct industries, warehouses, feeder roads and railways; (ii) unemployment caused by completion of projects or lack of employment opportunities etcetera have influenced the temporary character of houses built in the area. It will be instructive, therefore, to look at the aspect of "housing structures" more critically.

Housing Structures

Urban Housing in different residential locations has been categorised to fall into two, namely Permanent and Temporary Structures. Several factors put together are responsible for these major structural categorization of houses. These may include the following:

- a) the predominant land use;
- b) the economic, especially the financial capability of the inhabitants;

- c) the acceptable urban building standard and material whose equitable accessibility has a direct bearing on both the structures and the inhabitants residing therein.

Land Use

Urban land is invariably used. Physically different locations of an urban centre are identified according to the way they are used. Put it differently, land use gives a specific urban entity its physical organization of space and value of space (Bourne, 1971). In terms of land use the two residential locations studied here are occupying areas not designated for settlements, hence by definition they are squatter settlements par excellence. Because of the nature of the land they are occupying, seen from an urban (formal or affluent) perspective, their structures are categorized as of temporary standard. Yet the perceptions of many individual owners does not tally with this "official" conception. But besides this fact, the nature of the economy which is itself influenced by some affluent formation tremendously influences the categorization of housing stated here. According to statistics: "The whole city of Dar es Salaam had approximately 34.8 percent of its population living in permanent structures compared to about 57.4 living in semi permanent structures." (Mascarenhas, 1973, abstracted from Census Vol. 2, Bureau of Statistics Dar es Salaam). The above argument seems to be consistent with the assertions by Mghweno (1979) who has suggested that between 40 and 70 percent of inhabitants in Tanzania's main towns live in unplanned settlements. I think this is a question of economic capability as well as planning capability. I have discussed earlier that the process of urbanization in developing countries is occurring at a rapid pace outstripping the capacity of many such countries in resources and planning for the resources. The above figures are reflective of that.

Additionally, I think that the inability of many owners of dwellings to (a) gain access to standard building materials and (b) to acquire them, results in the construction of temporary structures inherent in the shantytowns. The common structures in the area (see Plate No. 5) are generally without firm foundation and are constructed of mud, pole and rope with metal scrap, tinned roof or palm thatch for the roof. Yet one contends that besides the economic factors one must not overlook the fact that many developers, especially the individual builders may be unable to gain access to building materials because of the inherent internal structure. Particularly the bureaucratic organization of building material industries - notably the distribution or the sales departments. Given that the small scale (used here to refer to prospective shantytown inhabitants' housing) developers cannot find "suitable" building materials in the informal market and at an affordable price, their present building culture will persist.

Besides a few hotels, bars, boarding and lodgings mentioned below, public schools are about the only structures of permanent nature - an uncommon phenomenon in the shantytowns. For example, the Kipawa Primary School (see Plate No. 6) like other public primary schools is operated by the City Council of Dar es Salaam. In terms of building materials, the common dwellings in the study areas are constructed of low quality materials. Despite the fact that the materials are local, housing construction is not as cheap as may be portrayed. According to both owners and constructors at Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo the value of construction materials required for the construction of an average house has escalated from 4,000 Tanzanian Shillings in the seventies to beyond 15,000 Tanzanian Shillings in the early eighties. One thinks other things follow suit and that in response to this general trend the shantytown inhabitants reciprocate accordingly with the

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3

Plate 4

Plate 5

Plate 6

P L A T E S

Plate Number One: A woman selecting groceries for part of the days meal at Kipawa's Market (Gengeni)

Plate Number Two: A trader at the Kipawa market with almost empty stalls towards the end of the day. Empty homemade baskets (Matenga) used for carrying commodities to or from Kariakoo's central market can also be seen under the market stalls.

Plate Number Three: A section of Pugu Road - the double lane highway connecting the industrial areas and the Airport to the City Centre and Port area.

Plate Number Four: Part of the huge quarry site at Shimo la Udongo covered with banana plantation. The white outline seen in the background is the immense Sudeco Warehouse close to the Port Access Road.

Plate Number Five: Some typical shantytown houses - a street at Kipawa area close to the Central Railway Line (not seen in the picture). Faintly seen at the verandah of the second house is a tailor at work, participating in income-pooling for his household.

Plate Number Six: Kipawa Primary School - operated by the City Council is close to the new Airport's International's Terminus. The school is constructed of durable materials (cement concrete blocks, burnt bricks and aluminum sheet roof).

informal economy.

A remote but equally important reason for the inhabitants of Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo to occupy areas designated for other development implicit in this argument is a significant lack of surveyed plots. However, one looks skeptically at the multiplication of private commercial buildings like hotels, boarding and lodgings and so forth in these non-residential areas. Mawenzi Hotel, Ruvuma Mpaka Maputo Bar Hotel and Lodging, Florida Transit and Kurasini High Way Inn may be mentioned as examples. Unlike the dwelling structures, these are licenced or "supposed" to be licenced businesses paradoxically being allowed to operate in areas where industrial expansions may eventually claim their toll. The question is why are those permanent structures constructed in the areas supposed to be industrial zones? Otherwise, how much are the restricted areas restricted? One would like to think that the licenced business in the shantytowns are interested in the monopoly of the undeveloped market competition. However, this is subject for further conjecture. One would also like to think that the question of "restricted" land is relative. It becomes absolute only when a "land developer" physically moves in and starts the project designated for the prospective area. While evictions may consequently occur, the new development still looks forward to utilising cheap labour such as that of the evicted inhabitants. The experience in Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo is a reflection of the above argument.

In addition to the above, violation, that is, construction of dwellings in areas that are restricted is seldom known to be punishable by the Courts of Law otherwise compensations to persons being evicted would not be effected. However, there is a sense in which restriction may be considered. This is in relation to the provision of the basic services and

amenities. Some of the basic services provided in the planned residential areas are not found in the areas haphazardly occupied. In order to appreciate the haphazardness of these areas, it is important also to have a sense of how they were occupied. Table 5.8 presents the manner in which the sample population of the 50 households respectively occupies residential areas in Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo.

TABLE 5.8: THE MANNER OF PLOT ACQUISITION BY HOUSEHOLD RESIDING AT KIPAWA AND SHIMO LA UDONGO MAY/AUGUST 1983

Manner of Plot Acquisition	(Areas of Residence Figures in %)	
	Kipawa	Shimo la Udongo
By official allocation	4.1	0
By inheritance	4.1	0
By the pioneers	41.6	20
Bought of individuals	37.5	40
Invasion of open space	12.5	40
Total	99.8	100

Source: The Survey, May/August 1983.

The data presented in Table 5.8 can be interpreted in various ways: Critically examined, the structure of plot acquisition reflects less official involvement in the housing activities at the study site. This situation agrees with the description of the area being haphazard. Also, data does not suggest the presence of any indigenous people at Shimo la Udongo. The reverse seems to be the case for Kipawa. However, it is suggestive in the above statistics that the few pioneers grabbed enough land to dispose to the late comers. It follows from the above figures that the apparent rampant, inconsistent and unofficial manner of plot acquisition agrees with the last two predictions. The adhoc manner through which individual households had acquired their plots - characteristic of the two shantytowns has also influenced disorganized housing process. The issue of

"unplanned buildings" even surfaced in the 1983/84 fiscal estimated for the Ministry for Lands, Housing and Urban Development (see Daily News No. 3227, July 5th, 1983). But needless to say, the state and its various institutions, specifically the Tanzania Housing Bank, the National Housing Corporation, the Registrar of Buildings, the Building Research Unit and the parent ministry responsible for lands and housing development, have contributed to the present housing situation due to their inability to provide housing to satisfy demand by the urban working class.

Both the National Housing Corporation and the Registrar of Buildings could engage in the construction of simple urban housing for rent using part of the money they collect as rent from the various houses and housing estates they manage. This would enhance urban planning and more control by public enterprises, hence more in line with the Arusha Declaration. Additionally, in the long run, such projects would be self-financing. In neighbouring Kenya it has been noted for example that in Nairobi, a private rental sector now provides low-income shelter in the squatters on commercial basis (Amis, 1984: 87-96). While this indicates an invasion of the informal market in Nairobi, for Dar es Salaam such an attempt would repudiate the conventional view of the Tanzania's Housing Bank operational principle (see Kabwoto's and Biswaro's analysis, 1981) which is economically biased in housing provision for high income earners. In fact the bank (THB) could profitably divert part of its "net surpluses" from the "General Reserve Fund" (cf. Tanzania Housing Bank Report and Accounts 1977) to invest into the 'immense' peri-urban market. Indeed for a country pursuing socialist objectives the public corporations named above will be bringing the services closest to the majority of the people who need them the most, an achievement this study can best describe "sui-generis".

Influence of the Economy

It can be argued that the haphazard building of houses perpetuates the development of shantytowns. Among other things, shantytowns reflect economic inequalities in society. It is the opinion of this study that the economy influences urban structures quite considerably. As it may be recalled from the preceding discussion I have labelled the ongoing economic activities in the shantytowns as "informal". It is explicit in Leys (1973; Bromley 1978 etcetera, that the informal sector is an inseparable part of the "formal" economy, a position shared by this study. As it may be recalled from the introductory chapters, the coexistence of formal and informal sectors have been created historically. Critically considered, urban housing elucidates this argument. In Dar es Salaam, like in other major urban centres, the colonial officials maintained a racial segregation in residential location (cf. Comoro 1981: 30-31) and housing consequently providing accommodation to European civil servants and other senior government officials in areas well selected and properly served. A few of such areas in Dar es Salaam have been mentioned earlier in this study. Based on the racial segregation policy, the colonial officials were prepared to permit Africans to build their own houses in separate locations using available traditional materials. Kariakoo, one of the earliest of these African locations located west of the commercial centre of the city is presently too crowded to permit any more settlement. As a solution, a tendency for constructing mini-highrises is imminent.

Implicit in Stren, (n.d.), African locations when they began, urban building styles and standards were less stricter. Stren tells us, "As long as Africans built in non-permanent materials, overcrowding laws and building regulations were not applied." (pp. 9). Therefore, one argues

that the above policy unquestionably paved the way to the proliferation of urban squatters which both the colonial and the post-colonial states' administration have unsuccessfully combatted in the later years, the slum clearance in Dar es Salaam and the consequent proliferation of shantytowns in its suburbs is a case in point.

It is also important to note at this juncture that, as part of the colonial racial segregation policy, Kariakoo which began as an African location was separated from the Asian's by a stretch of open ground called Mnazi Mmoja. The Msimbazi Creek separated the Asian locations at the Central Business District, Upanga and Seaview from the exclusive European areas of Oyster Bay and beyond. However, the Selander Bridge joined the European section and main city. As I have already indicated, the present residential pattern of the city is no longer racially biased as it had been before independence. As a matter of fact Kariakoo is now a much more cosmopolitan area than it was a few decades ago. Additionally it is significantly becoming a number two commercial district of the city. The mini-highrises noted earlier confirm this assertion. On the other hand, the open grounds of Mnazi Mmoja have become an important city park. Not only that but also the state uses this rendezvous as a political ground wherein to meet the masses on important dates commemorating the nations historical achievements.

It is my contention that the changes occurring to the earliest African settlement of Kariakoo noted here reflect the expansion of the entire city itself. It is accommodating the largest market in the city as well as serving as a major bus terminous. As argued by Schmetzer (1980: 6), being so centrally located with a busy market and excellent shopping facilities (it) became the second commercial centre attracting

a lot of fluctuating population from the surrounding region and up country. This has resulted in an occupancy rate of 12 persons per plot or a density of 140 persons per acre. This situation is totally outstripping and totally frustrating Sir Gibb's (1949) often relied upon plans noted earlier of 8 - 12 houses per plot or the average of 140 persons per acre.

Despite the few storey blocks being constructed at Kariakoo, the general housing conditions for the majority of the labouring masses here at the inner city have outlived their times and so require a major overhaul. Outside the city where this study was conducted, one encountered a few households that have left the city centre for various reasons, but which have bearing on the historical process of urbanization. One considers the few mini-highrises as indicating some land transaction between some of the indigenous population fleeing from the hustle and bustle of the city centre and other successful Africans, Arabs, and Asians business-persons yet who are less competent at the Central Business District. According to this study, similar to what is ongoing at the outskirts, here at the inner city the preparation of the subsidiary staples especially the products from the nearby shamba's like oranges, bananas, green maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and so on (cf. Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi 1968) consumed as snacks, earn the people involved their daily bread.

I have already looked at the escalation of migration of people to urban centres. I have also suggested that this movement was consistent with the requirement of cheap labour in the formal sector. As its volume outstripped the capability of the government to distribute plots to Africans who wanted to build their own houses, residential location characteristic of a situation where planning is absent and where population is overcrowded became inevitable. One argues that this vicious circle of problems is

inherent in an economy of scarcity. It has been suggested above that in Dar es Salaam, squatting began to take an alarming proportion after independence in spite of the governments attempt to control it. In the areas covered by this study, this phenomenon is indicated by people's invasion of unoccupied areas discussed above. This may be interpreted as people attempt to break even with the cul-de-sac of problems.

It follows that, neglected by the formal sector, the areas in question have attracted and practiced unofficial building styles, standards and materials. Looked from a perspective one has maintained above it can be argued that the accepted materials and standards have been economically inaccessible to the lower urban stratum. The earlier financial institutions, particularly the Permanent Housing Finance Company of Tanzania Ltd (PHFCT) with its inherent structures and practices "favoured mostly people with high income" (Mosi, 1980: 2). In this regard it can definitely be said not to have come to the aid of the low income, irregularly employed urban poor. It would seem this practice is perpetuated to date by the THB - a post independence institution superseding the PHFCT in 1972. This assertion is made following the THB's operational principle of financing "only projects which are economically viable, socially desirable and technically feasible" (Kabwoto and Biswaro, 1981: 4). I have already expressed my reservation of this matter citing a supportive experience of Nairobi by Amis, (1984). It is, therefore, difficult to see how this THB operational principle would consider housing needs of the inhabitants of the shantytowns. However, seeing things from the perspective of Amis (1984), it would be within the commercial interests of the Housing Bank to invest and develop a rental sector in the immense informal housing which is not yet commercially exploited.

Critically examined housing provision for the informal sector is indeed economically desirable granted the contribution made to the formal

sector by the self-employed inhabitants of the shantytowns. Under the circumstances I think it is important to suggest at this juncture that the majority of prospective builders can only afford to build simple living houses without extra support. Although I have established my position succinctly, in this limited case study sufficient information on the operation of building material industries has not been obtained to make a firm critique about their day to day practice vis-a-vis the housing process in the study areas. For this matter I think it is important for one to probe into the operation of various building industries such as the Saruji Corporation (cement), Aluminium Africa (roofing materials), Asbesco (roofing materials) Building Household and Electric Supply Company (BHESCO) to name the important ones, in order to argue about the availability of building material and the accessibility to the people.

Having dealt with structures and materials used, which one argues, have bearing on the operation of the economy, let us at this juncture consider equally the important aspect of tenure namely "occupancy" patterns.

Occupancy Patterns

Occupancy patterns fall into two large categories, - owner occupied and tenancy. A tendency for tenants to outnumber owners of dwelling units has been a predominant feature of urban tenure. Mascarenhas (1973: 103) put the ratio of owners of houses to tenants in Dar es Salaam at 1:2. In the study areas a similar pattern had prevailed. At Kipawa tenant households accounted for approximately 54 percent of the household population. However, at Shimo la Udongo the opposite tendency had seemed prevalent. This will be made clear after a closer examination of the following data in Table 5.9 showing occupancy patterns of the 50 households discussed earlier.

TABLE 5.9: TENURE INFORMATION ABOUT 50 HOUSEHOLD SELECTED BY A RANDOM METHOD FROM THE SAMPLE OF 195 HOUSEHOLDS AT THE RESEARCH AREA

Pattern	Areas of Residence		H/H Figures in %
	Kipawa	Shimo la Udongo	
Owner occupied	37.8	69.2	
Tenancy occupied	54.0	30.7	
Others*	8.1	-	
Total	99.9	99.9	

*This category included households boarding at the Social Welfare Camp at Kipawa (see also section on Migration above)

Source: The Survey May/August 1983

Data presented in Table 5.9 suggest that Kipawa shantytown offers more tenant accommodation than its counterpart. In other words, implicit in the earlier argument, due to the impinging forces of the world system, the indigenous village has been transformed to accommodate tenancy a necessary part in its existence. Historically this should be the case given the predominance of labour employing enterprises around. On the other hand, at Shimo la Udongo the inhabitants are predominantly self housed. This situation has bearing on the sizes of households which, as it may be recalled, are much smaller here than at Kipawa.

Tenancy is an important aspect of occupancy under circumstances where shelter is not adequately available. Size of dwelling unit is another. In Table 5.10 below I have summarized both sizes of dwelling units in the research area and the percentage of household occupancy in each category. Critically examined, the data presented in Table 5.10 elucidates the objective situation in the two study areas quite succinctly. On the basis of the data presented therein one can argue that the housing situation at Shimo la Udongo is comparatively tenuous. According to the data 15 percent

TABLE 5.10: SIZE OF DWELLING 'VIS' HOUSEHOLD OCCUPANCY IN PERCENTAGE

Size of Dwelling	Residential Location (Occupancy in %)	
	Kipawa	Shimo la Udongo
Cottage (Banda - one room/roof house)	5.4	15.3
Two room housing unit with a shared corridor (Banza or Verhandah "cooking place")	13.5	15.5
Three room housing unit	-	7.6
Five room housing unit	24.3	46.1
Six room (Swahili-Housing) type	56.7	15.3
Total	99.9	99.6

Source: The Survey May/August 1983.

of the population lived in cottage (banda) type of housing. Nevertheless these seemed to enjoy more privacy than their "better off" neighbours who lived in the six-room Swahili type of housing having to share the permanent presence of the landlord/landlady, narrow corridors used as cooking-place, compound and so on. Also a difference between the two shantytowns is illustrated by the predominance of the six-room Swahili type of housing.

In my assessment, this type of housing in urban areas when used for letting or subletting suggests a combination of culture and scarcity. To be sure, the predominance of six room Swahili type of housing has been adopted to suit the overcrowded situation accompanying urban development of Dar es Salaam. The inhabitants of this type of housing have to share many facilities of the house indicated above - hence a new urban culture. Based on Table 5.10 presented above, at Kipawa 56.7 percent of the households lived in such type of housing. This confirms ones earlier contention that Kipawa is predominantly an indigenous settlement and ones recent argument that it is also predominantly a 'tenant' town. Yet, having been with the inhabitants (owners and tenants) from both areas for a long time it became more apparent

that there was no formula for finding shelter for those who needed one, not even in the informal residential settlements such as the two shantytowns.

In his analysis of "Cities of Peasants" Roberts, (1978) has contended that:

"The first point to be made is that finding shelter is a problem that requires considerable energy and the helping hand of kin or friends". (pp.

146) The situation seen in the study areas resembles this description.

There is no established system of making the individuals know the availability of vacant dwellings for letting or subletting.

In allocating some of its residential housing which occasionally fall vacant, the government and also a few other institutions in the country use a merit system which they accept to be "rational". Dealing with individual house-owners, it was interesting to find out their approaches to letting or subletting. As I have argued above, there is no formula for this. Here are some common approaches dissimilar to the merit point system indicated above:

- a) Some house-owners make preferences of singles by sex, others would not rent rooms to singles.
- b) Some make it hard for couples with children, others prefer married with stable families having some members of the family at the house while the tenant household-head or otherwise is out working for wages.

This study also briefly looked at the question of 'house rent' an area lacking uniformity despite attempts by the post colonial state to protect tenants for example by the "Rent Restriction Act, Cap. 479 of Tanzanian Law" of 1962. This act lays down provisions pertaining to the relationship between landlord and tenant, it creates a rent tribunal the purpose of which is to determine and assess standard rent for every individual premises. However, dwelling units in the same premises differ substantially

in various construction matters. The point is some dwellings are semi-complete others not, some are of better and durable material and so on. These factors, coupled with personal inclination of the landlord will determine the house rent. The fact that there is no standard rent even to comparatively similar houses says something about the applicability of the Act referred to above. Note that the Act imposes a paramount duty on the landlord that before letting he/she must apply for the determination of a standard rent if letting for the first time - a standard understood to be applicable to lettings pre-dating the Act namely August 20, 1962, such that under Section 13(4) a "Landlord who fails to apply to have the standard rent determined or assessed shall be guilty of an offence". One may not get to know all that takes place contrary to the presumed contractual relationship between the landlord and the tenant. In this study one can only suggest that it is not easy to set any standard rent in premises like the shantytowns and that absence of one coupled with the use and the abuse on the part of the landlords of the relationship supposedly to exist; internal migration becomes the order of the day. Finally, as pertaining to the question of rent, this study was not able to ascertain what constitutes a "fair" rent hence it was only observed that there were variations in rent across the study area. One noted in both areas that only a small proportion of the population was paying a lower rent (not exceeding 50 TSH) per room. Hence, the conclusion on this aspect was that landlordism (see also Mwita, 1978) was a way of life being reproduced through the unregulated rental system.

To return to the question of space and its availability to the urban residents who wish to build their own houses, the existence of shantytowns imply non-availability of the space in question. It follows.

therefore that, as far as the question of urban use of space is concerned, the shantytowns developing in areas designated for other 'viable' economic purposes must not be treated as isolated but as inherent part of "national" development. Again, 'national' development as I have attempted to argue in this study is not occurring independent of the world forces. Therefore, spatial features like the shantytowns are not themselves totally independent of the influence of the larger system. It goes without saying therefore that the housing issue is not isolated from the existing economy. Addressing ourselves to the question of the totality of the economy, it is instructive to recall at this point the strong relation between the formal and the informal economy. I have already discussed above the relevance and contribution of the informal sector to the urban economy in general and cheap labour pool requisite in particular. The point to be emphasized at this juncture is that it was in the interest of the formal economy to perpetuate cheap labour policy reproduced in the informal sector of the economy. Probing on this point, this study was interested in finding out the incomes and expenditures of the inhabitants participating in the informal sector. Although the figures presented here are based on approximation due to lack of statistical base, they offer a reasonably acceptable picture of the interaction between the two sectors which at any point in time one separates only for analytical purposes. But, and I have suggested above, the whole economy is intricately tied to the needs of the market.

Based on the assessment of the money earning activities of the household doing self proprietorship one came out with the following income earnings as shown in Table 5.11. One interpretation which can be suggested in respect to the category of "undetermined" (which is greater at Kipawa) is that Kipawa should be seen to have a more developed informal system.

TABLE 5.11: APPROXIMATE INCOME EARNINGS BY PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD IN TANZANIAN SHILLINGS (TSH) PER MONTH

Approximate Income . Per Month	Percentage of Households Resident At	
	Kipawa	Shimo la Uungu
Undetermined	28	22
TSh 1 - 600	30	32
TSh 600 - 1,000	42	46
Total	100	100

- Notabene:
1. The minimum wage is TSh 600
 2. The exchange rate; TSh 12.50 to \$ 1. US
 3. Note however that as presented by the Finance Minister in the June (1984) Budget Speech for the fiscal year 1984/85, the new minimum wage is now TSh 810, an increase of 35%. However, it should be noted that without the cheap goods and services offered by the informal sector, the purchasing power of this new minimum wage just like the former will be very limited.

Source: The Survey May/August 1983

supporting a large informal community. While income earnings (Table 5.11), are similar Kipawa seems to enjoy the company of three other shanty communities (see Table 4.1) which enlarges the informal networks for subsistence. This differentiates the two study areas, especially considering the formal residential areas (see Table 4.2) sandwiching the latter.

As it may be recalled from an earlier discussion, the construction of an average house (see Plate No. 5) is approximately TSh 15,000 in the eighties as opposed to TSh. 4,000 in the seventies. Indeed it is clear from these figures that it is even harder now for a minimum wage earner to own a house than it was in the seventies. However, the majority of house-owners are not wage earners. These circumstances suggest the importance of the informal relations to make urban subsistence possible. In spite of the unprecedented increase in construction costs one thinks the struggle

for ownership of dwelling houses goes on unabated. But given this increase in construction costs, it can simply be offered as a suggestion here that granted the low level of the economy, in the struggle whereby everyone attempts to own a house, the housing units so constructed are cheap and they lack some of the material requirements. Indeed, characteristic of the housing process here is the inhabiting of the unfinished housing structures. This indicates both an ongoing process of construction and stagnated construction having to do with either availability of ~~reflective~~ material or capability to acquire the relevant material or both. Granted that better times when construction materials will be plentifully available and accessible to are not forthcoming; the housing process here will get worse without effecting some institutional changes, a situation which, in ~~sdm~~ total engenders the productivity of ~~the~~ economy itself.

e) The Relationship between the Post Colonial State and the Industrial Enterprises and their Role Towards Housing

It is indicated at the beginning of part D (Housing) in Wheaton's et al (1966) contention that housing is a "unique" among consumer goods. Briefly to continue with that perspective here at the beginning of this final section, Barton tells us:

Rental housing is both a market commodity and an investment. Under conditions of income inequality, extensive poverty, and residential segregation based on income, housing deterioration is a natural and even profitable consequence of the rental housing market. Changes in the relative position of housing within the market can cause buildings to lose exchange value though their use value remains the same.

(1977: 16)

The fact that housing is described as a market commodity and an investment of capital presupposes a direct bearing to both the state and the producing industrial enterprises in the society. This study has looked at shantytowns which by Barton's analysis above falls under the category "housing

deterioration". It has been suggested in the analysis that house-owners have the tendency to reproduce on rent, a tendency consistent with the observations made by Bartone (1977). It suffices to point out here that his analysis describes the effects of capitalist social relations over the control of housing as a commodity. The present consideration of housing process in the shantytowns may not easily jump to this conclusion hard and fast without critically considering here the relationship between the Post Colonial State and Industrial Enterprises in operation in the country and their role towards housing.

As a departing point, the following conception of Cardoso and Short (1982: 924) gives us a useful beginning. They argue that the exact form in which the state may influence the process of housing is dependent upon contingent factors and the general nature of state economic intervention. Additionally they assert that, insofar as the state regulates the general features of the product; organizes the distribution of locational advantages, through land-use planning practices; and guarantees the juridical contracts which lie at the basis of the labour process, it may play a pivotal general role in housing production, setting the context within which the agents of production operate and conditioning their decisions.

According to this study, the observation of Cardoso and Short (1982) are valid, but more appropriately a description of an advanced capitalist society. However, since this study has looked at the informal housing, here is a situation where the post colonial state operating on the same level with the agents of international capital has the room to maneuver in its role towards the existing housing process.

Emanating from this consideration, it can be argued that the housing process is a complex part of social development. This analysis has

maintained that both the post colonial state and agents of international capital interact with the producing population through the labour process (see Appendix Number 2, a diagrammatical presentation of the interaction between the International Capital and Labour through Production Process). Marx used the concept "labour process" to denote the general, historically transcendent process whereby humans interact with nature to produce values to meet their needs. Thus from this perspective labour is an ongoing process. The more developed, that is, diversified the economy is, the more detailed the labour process would be. Based on the discussion of this paper, the labour process in Tanzania cannot be understood in isolation from the impinging forces of the world system where it is articulated.

According to the argument of this chapter, the post colonial state in Tanzania and the agents of international capital in the country are performing the function of capital. For these institutions, a tendency to provide housing and other relevant material incentives has been more biased towards the formal economy and specifically towards the upper income group. The lower income group is left to develop on its own. In the housing process this has been more apparent. While there have been serious attempts (for instance the Act on rent matters Cap. 479 and Section 13 of the 1962; The Squatter Upgrading Projects, cf. Comoro 1981), evidence is not available to indicate progress or follow up in attempts by the state to standardize some practices affecting the income pooling units in the "informal economy".

The post colonial state and agents of international capital, despite the related functions they perform in the international division of labour, have some differences of interest in respect of reproduction of their inherent systems. On its own right the post colonial state in Tanzania has since independence become a major employer of wage labour. It can be

argued that the cheap character of labour inherited from the colonial state has not been quite dispensed yet. However, this assertion can be debated. After a change of policy in 1967 (see section 3.2), the post colonial state in Tanzania became a 51 percent shareholder in the majority of foreign owned enterprises. Under these circumstances it is expected the state will guarantee stable labour, besides establishing necessary conditions for production, and therefore capital to operate. Hence according to critics of labour relations in Tanzania (Loxley and Saul 1975, Mihyo 1975), given the monopolistic structure of capital, patent system, pricing mechanism, repatriation of profit and so on, inherent in the system; the final beneficiary is not the owner of the majority of shares namely the post colonial state in Tanzania, rather it is the external owners of capital and means of production. Therefore, given the above contention, what expectation does this perspective hold?

To summarize some immediate arguments of the chapter; on the one hand infrastructural development, more specifically the construction of various monuments starting from Dar es Salaam towards the direction of inland, have attracted unprecedented cheap migrant labour. To recapitulate the few examples from this discussion: the construction of the Pugu Road; the Port Access Road; Port Expansion; the construction of the Tazara Railway Line connections in the city; the construction of the New Tanzam Highway, in the Dar es Salaam section, the "Morogoro Road Highway"; the construction of the Tazama Pipe Line; Dar es Salaam's Pumping Station, to repeat only the notable ones. All these meant many jobs for the people, but only a few highly paid ones being permanent. In other words, each of such development projects recreates a population which is sometimes employed, but often unemployed when the projects are over. This

situation has major repercussions for accommodation and the housing process.

Whereas causes for the need to construct may be local, remote etcetera; decision to start construction of such infrastructures above cannot entirely be located in the post colonial states' decision making structures. Since the physical construction was to involve capital, sophisticated equipments, technology and expertise which the constructing country lacks, but with which the world system is better endowed, it is expected that both at the early conceptional stages, planning of strategies and consequent decision making would have involved local representation of international financing organizations. As contended by Barkin (1981). The logic of allocative decision is now global even when transnational capital is not involved in a particular activity. That is even when investment and production decisions are made by national governments or local capitalists, it seems increasingly clear that global economic and political structures strongly influence the individual decision maker (pp. 158). Barkin further argues that international markets and economic power structures are increasingly determining the individual decisions made in even more isolated parts of national economics, even when "non-capitalist" productive groups are involved, such as peasant producers in many Third World economies. Critically put, the activities and inactivities of formal economy affects the housing process. The formal economy, it must be recalled has direct relations with the world system. Therefore the assertion that housing process is affected by the world system should also hold.

It has been consistent therefore to relate the larger economic system with the emergence of the rundown houses characteristic of shantytowns. The immediate linkage between them being the various construction

projects which have been undertaken these being responsible for attracting a large mass of wage workers from the countryside. Yet, despite the usefulness of these workers, the system did not entirely cater to their housing needs. Hence, this situation, coupled with the fact that the migrants who moved to towns as casual workers in the various construction projects do not immediately return to their domiciles at the completion of work, the housing situation becomes much more problematic. It is the contention of this study that the ~~continued stay~~ in the city by the various people, irregularly employed, underemployed and self-employed escalates housing provision capacity as manifested by poorly erected structures everywhere in the city and its suburbs.

It must, however, be said that nationally, attempts to redress the imbalance have given rise to many strategies since the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Of those strategies, the "Human Resources Deployment Act No. 6 of 1983" is the most recent. Parts IV (Registration) and V (Transfer, Training and Rehabilitation of Unemployed Residents) closely affects the majority of shantytown inhabitants. In sum total, this is an Act to make provision for the establishment of a machinery designed to regulate and facilitate the engagement of all able bodied persons in "productive" work and for connected matters. It seems in ones opinion, the Act spells and legitimates in legal terms some major formulations of "Work" (Kazi) that the Arusha Declaration prescribed more than one and a half decades ago. While this study was taking place it was evident that the efficacy of the Act could be felt in the city's atmosphere at the grassroots level where this survey operated. Whereas the Act may have the propensity to create a "mini" de-urbanization tendency, paradoxically however, the dominant mode of production greatly enhances a counteractive process. Nevertheless, it is the opinion ..

of this study that this is too early to assess the achievements (or un-achievements) of the barely one year old Act.

In the final analysis this study contends that, performing the role of capital, the established system has to perpetuate the accumulation of capital through production. Following from this, it becomes imperative to work towards the reproduction of "appropriate conditions" for production itself to take place. According to this perspective the local state has to establish necessary conditions for a harmonious coexistence of capital and labour in the process of production. But, under the prevailing circumstances it is not practically possible to resolve the antagonistic relationships of capital and labour within the logic of the system. For this matter, attempts to redress the existing housing process in order to cater to the requirements of the overwhelming majority of the labouring people living in the poorly serviced shantytowns of the peripheral countries like Tanzania is immensely unmanageable. Indeed, under the prevailing situation, to follow the analysis of Qadeer (1980), the housing process remains an inextricable part of the syndrome of underdevelopment.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis has looked at the "Housing Process" in two sub-urban areas of Dar es Salaam which share common salient features with other suburbs of this burgeoning city. In the introduction I offered a brief social history of Tanzania - the country of study. My main contention has been that the urban housing process should be understood not in isolation, but in a specific historical context which has given rise to the physical and spatial organization of which it must be considered as part. The background considered the "rise and development of the world system" which according to protagonists (Frank 1969, 1972; Wallerstein 1974; Foster-Carter 1978), is thoroughly capitalistic. According to protagonists, the world system has determined and continues to determine and influence the ex-colonial countries like Tanzania whose economy is essentially capitalistic. With this background, expecting to offer some insight into the nature of the urban housing question, the study has focussed on two shantytowns where self-help housing has persistently encountered demolition to part of its existing housing stock brought about by the enlarging industrial sector with which it shares the urban land. This enlargement is part of the dynamic of the world system itself as it interacts with the Tanzanian society.

As a part of the development of a world system, this analysis has attempted to show how the capitalist international division of labour and the accompanying historical process of colonization had facilitated the consequent incorporation of peripheral societies into the dominant world capitalist economy. The experience of Tanzania has been applied as a specific instance. To recapitulate, the argument is aptly presented by Rweyemamu (1973) who suggested that the colonial system has been responsible for the creation of features such as the following: economic dependence

on foreign capitalist powers for sources of capital; entrepreneurship; capital and the manufacture of consumer goods with the concomitant systematic income drain by foreign capital. In short, foreign capital occupied leading sectors of the economy with the result that it suppressed or at least limited to certain fields the rise and development of the local national bourgeoisie (Szentes, 1970).

Urbanization, as manifested in the physical and spatial organization, came about historically as a result of the interaction between the West and the peripheral societies. Urbanization, agreeably a twentieth century colonial creation (Berry, 1973), has a direct bearing upon the process of migration. I have noted some mechanisms contributing to migration as including: forced labour; compulsory taxation; establishing and permitting the growth of cash crops marketed in foreign markets to selected areas; and the creation of labour reserve areas with the concomitant establishment of bureaus to mobilize labour from reserve zones - the SILABU mentioned in the study being a notable example. Culminating in the unprecedented process of population concentration, the consequent population migrating to urban centres was literally compelled to move to appropriate sections of the city to seek shelter, sorting and sifting itself among friends and relatives since the formal urban society maintained a selective accommodation programme which left them out. Such an arrangement which prevails to date has presently attained visible proportions. Based on the arguments made above, it is my contention that the whole informal, self-help urban housing sector - Kipawa, Shimo la Udongo and the like are a manifestation of the struggle for shelter and against high standards selective "Housing Process". It can also be said here that the affluent areas such as The Oyster Bay, The Regent Estate are the extreme direct opposite of the former. Both are

obviously the outcome of the same Housing Process.

To gain insight into this process which is reproduced by the existing mode of production I have probed into the urban socio-economic practices and cultural traditions of this class stratum brought to towns by migration. Inclusive are the inhabitants who have been incorporated in the city boundaries through the sprawl of the city itself. Two conspicuous examples for the city of Dar es Salaam discussed in this analysis include the making of Dar es Salaam an autonomous region in its own right in 1974 (cf. Segal in Obudho et al., 1979) a move which undoubtedly culminates in the annexation of rural lands and rural population. Additionally, the superfluous expansion of the city boundaries in 1983 (see Sunday News No. 1558), have had some comparable effects compatible to those accompanying a related move of 1974. Of importance here is that this unprecedented population concentration, by the same mechanism that uprooted the population from the countryside, has had the largest proportion of its urban population left outside the wage sector which originally caused its immigration. According to a recent Report to the Government of Tanzania by an ILO affiliate, namely the JASPA Basic Needs Mission (1982) an estimated 83 percent of the workforce in 1980 consisted mainly of small holders, for the most part orienting its output to its own consumption. The mission rejects an existence of open unemployment in the country. It seems to us that this situation is compatible with the country's aspiration since 1967's Arusha Declaration. By the Arusha Declaration's own orientation one must not lack "occupation". To be more precise, every able bodied person is required to work. Seen from the perspective of the mission, the Arusha Declaration predated but amplified ILO's World Employment Conference of 1976 on basic needs strategy for development. The mission centred the problem in what it

called the "underemployment" of the household head, scarce opportunities to earn a satisfactory income, that is to say, long working hours but less pay. Furthermore it cites what it calls "invisible underemployment" as Tanzania's problem to which it addresses its recommendations to the government.

Yet and in spite of the above contention, it is not ironic to have the staggering percentage of workforce cited above as being consumption oriented and in a situation where:

- (i) The economy has basically remained export oriented.
- (ii) The small industrial sector basically remained "highly" capital intensive by the standard of the labour endowed Tanzania.
- (iii) Additionally owing to the private ownership of capital and other major means of production, in the final analysis the consequent operation of the system within the existing structures is apparent physical and spatial inequalities which have reached visible proportions.

These features are reflective of the economic imbalance in capitalist development. Internally, the situation revealed an unbalanced development; for instance, a deliberate creation of labour reserve zones (see for example section 2.3 above) 'versus' cash crop growing areas or affluent urban centres employing wage labour. In conclusion, based on these considerations, I would like to make the following broad observations worth addressing in a critical consideration of a "housing process".

Implicit in this analysis is that the economic imbalance has led the poor to construct convenient shelters for themselves, according to their own capacities. Given the existence of affluence and poverty, the constructions by the poor urbanites, as seen from the urban perspective,

are always labelled "haphazard" structures and so on. Besides the unfavourable economic forces being extremely difficult on the urban poor, what is always described as a "haphazard" building style is also the result of insufficiently surveyed plots, and resulting in the avoidance of the accompanying costs to acquire such plots. In part, both the economic imbalance and haphazard building have been amplified by the rate at which the process of population concentration has been occurring. This should be an appropriate point from which to begin my conclusion.

It has been argued in this study that population concentration has been a major characteristic of the process of urbanization in the developing countries, including Tanzania. This social relation has led to the proliferation of urban areas. However, the ownership of capital and other major means of production enhances the export oriented character of the economy. To be more precise, the international division of labour gives the production process its inherent character of exporting raw materials and importing capital, technology, managerial skills and so on. As I have indicated in this analysis, this structure does not generate autonomous development for the recipient of capital, technology and other organizational skills. Rather it has been known to repatriate the resources. This point has already been suggested (see section 3.2). Besides the repatriation of resources, an uneven development is seen to occur because of the investment pattern and deliberate policies of concentrating the economic activities in limited areas. As I have argued in this study, Dar es Salaam - the first capital city of Tanzania, has been a focal point of economic activities. Harboured a sheltered port used transcontinentally and internationally it has enhanced the export oriented nature of the economy. But above all, it has the most concentration of industries and industrial activities. These factors have given Dar es Salaam the propensity to attract population and

labour. Again the same is reflective of the uneven development characteristic of capitalist development. Physically and spatially shantytowns with their quasi urban relations may be thus conceived. This study has looked at Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo - two shantytowns in Dar es Salaam exposed to the dynamics of the consolidation of the world system enhancing the growth and expansion of the industries and the port respectively. Shantytowns (and migrants) are known to be part of a universal process which began only a few decades ago with the intensified penetration of the tropical world by financial capital and the rapidly advancing technology of the industrial nations (Lloyd, 1971: 15). In Dar es Salaam their growth has been influenced by many factors including the high rates of growth of population. As one has contended in this analysis, the higher rates of population growth has been created by the economic requirements to serve the interests of capital. Interestingly, this trend escalated after political independence and, most importantly the urban situation, after the change of policy in 1967 following the declaration of the Arusha "Ujamaa" Manifesto, has maintained its long established bias.

Basically, since the Arusha Declaration in 1967 the ideology of Tanzania has been oriented towards the satisfaction of "needs" of the people. Granted that adequate food supplies come from the countryside, it is my contention that in towns and cities "shelter" remains the "primary" requirement. It is my contention that this need has indeed received less priority than justified hence catapulting urban imbalances and inequality, magnifying the housing problem to unbearable proportions. A simple example will serve to illustrate the point. During the First Five Year Development (1964-1969) the National Housing Corporation indicated that around 10,000 dwellings in the urban area required major repairs (which the Corporation

was answerable to) and 3,000 needed total rebuilding. Abstracted from JASPER's Report to the Government, the corresponding situation at the moment gives 40,000 houses as requiring major repairs and up to 10,000 as requiring complete rebuilding that is to say a 300 and 233 percent increase respectively. It should be noted that construction has indeed drastically declined especially by public corporations like the National Housing Corporation. The opposite is the case with private organizations.

Critically examined a decline in the construction industry can also mean a decay in the existing housing stock. But a decline difficult to avoid may be caused by a lack of funds which makes the problem simply horrendous. The following example, which is also abstracted from the JASPER Report to the Government of Tanzania, can mean both.

According to the Report, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs estimated about 431,500 low-cost and 48,000 medium-cost houses requirements in major regional towns during the 1982-83 period and about 90,000 and 10,000 for Dar es Salaam in 1986-87. Even with the low estimates of TSh 35,000 for a low-cost house and TSh 80,000 for a medium-cost house, the mission envisages the total investment of around TSh 19 billion for the given amount of houses. I agree with the mission that the amount expressed here is just too burdensome for the Government's limited resources distributed over several development projects. Additionally, and this is an important point to note, over the years, the requirements increase in absolute terms. This to us is an indication of some stagnation somewhere in the housing process. Given the nature of the economy, it is important to emphasize that there is no corresponding increase of the resources requisite for a healthy housing process. Enumerated below is a summary of my broad observations:

- I Indeed it goes without saying that the problem as I see it is essentially one of shelter; styles and standards are merely secondary. Therefore, in the first place I suggest that there is a need to rethink the validity of having and maintaining costly housing standards which benefit only a small minority. Such high standards traumatize the real problems compelling the state to embark on equally costly upgrading projects (cf. The Economic Survey 1975/76 especially pp. 82-84, Comoro, 1981). Rather, I would suggest a merger of the existing standards so that some of the many simpler and cheaper dwelling units could be constructed. Besides, they are manageable and could be maintained with less cost.
- II Granted that shelter per se comprises the real problem. I propose an operational target namely increasing the housing stock. In the conclusion to the fifth chapter we have observed how the problem is immensely unmanageable solely by the state under existing structures it objectively operates. Critically considered, the statistics immediately above convey the same reality. Remotely one could suggest: (a) a need for streamlining the strategies among the many building or construction industries and institutions concerned with housing such as the Tanzania Housing Bank, the National Housing Corporation, the Building Research Unit, the Registrar of Buildings, Saruji Corporation, Aluminum Africa, Asbestos Company and Building and Household Electrical Supply Company to mention only a few. (b) One could also suggest that towards that end, the Ministries of, first Lands, Housing and Urban Development, second, Industries and third, Trade to which the various organizations mentioned here are respectively affiliated, should call for a systematic study of these organizations so as to

eliminate possible duplications in their activities. Under the prevailing circumstances, a clear strategy for coordination and co-ordinated efforts by the parent ministries towards the achievement of targets set should become clear.

- III It would seem appropriate for the state to provide more surveyed plots through its relevant departments and require the various firms operating in the country to construct houses for their working staff. In addition to providing plots, I propose the state require that all construction necessitating demolition be replaced by a corresponding number of dwelling units to the number destroyed. In this way a balanced stock of housing can be maintained. These replaced housing units would be rental accommodation belonging to the firm until the latter recovers over-head investments (less compensation) when ownership could be transferred to occupants, that is to say the original owner of a demolished housing unit who would continue to pay the state for respective amenities in the house. Likewise, the various organizations collecting rents from houses and housing estates, be required by the state to divert part of their collections to the rental houses.
- IV Ultimately one would like to convey the message that as part of its socialist goals, it would be in the interest of the state to step up rural investments so as to create more rural incomes. In this way the unprecedented rural drain, which has burdened many African primate cities will be curtailed. As a matter of fact, an increase in rural investment will reverse a number of trends in the urban areas if it will help to curb the flight to the cities. If it does, the present congestion will be checked, ongoing construction will add to the housing

stock further easing congestion. Lastly, if the state could oversee on rental matters as per the "Rent Restriction Act, Cap. 479 of Tanzanian Law" of 1962 and direct some of the rental revenues to the improvement of urban amenities, the Housing Process would take a new and desirable turn.

Succinctly put, the above remarks could best be levelled against a "state capitalist regime". But Tanzania, it must be recalled is not one. Alternatively, some Marxist analysts would call for an instantaneous opting out, and socialist revolution in the anticipation of bringing about reform. But given our understanding of the world system, this analysis would regard "autarchik" the opting out alternative. Nevertheless, capital, through liberal means, is capable of the solutions to the problems this paper has identified. Caught within this enigmatic current this analysis does not commit itself to any conclusive solutions to the problems observed. Given the dynamics of the world system, hastily arrived at solutions are bound like cosmetics, to wear-off immediately. Finally, in this study one has identified the role of the state in Tanzania and its levels of interaction with the world system which gives phenomena like the "housing process" their inherent problems. The problematic issues identified are subject for further study. They cannot be resolved conclusively here.

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INTERVIEW-GUIDE FOR A SAMPLE SURVEY RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY: DAR ES SALAAM RESPONDENTS:

PROBLEM: HOUSING PROCESS IN DAR ES SALAAM: A CASE STUDY OF TWO SHANTYTOWNS

I. General Information on the respondents

- Others (Specify Sex & relation)
- Husband Wife Elder Son Elder Daughter
1. The Respondent _____
2. Age _____
3. Area of Residence _____ Kipawa
Shimo la Udongo
4. Education level _____
None (no formal Education) _____
Adult literacy stage (specify) _____
Formal Schooling class/
form (specify) _____

II. Household Profile

5. Who lives with you (state age and relationship) _____

6. Do they live with you all year round? (a) All year _____
(b) Part of the year _____ (Answer next question)
7. Where else do they live (a) Countryside Farming _____
(b) Other parts of the city with relatives _____
(c) Working for wage elsewhere _____
(d) Any other Answer (specify) _____
8. How do they contribute to the household economy?
(a) Contribution in income _____
(b) Contribution in services (state) _____
(c) No answer (specify) _____

9. How do you contribute to the household yourself? _____

10. Which members of your household contribute to the household economy in

(a) service? _____

(b) income? _____

III. Migration (mobility) details

11. How long have you lived in this place? _____

12. Your District of origin? _____

13. Which other area(s) of the city have you lived before coming here? _____

14. When did you live there? _____

15. Did you live with the present household?

(a) Yes _____

(b) No, much smaller (state the number of previous members) _____

To Question 16

(c) Much bigger _____

(d) None of the above (specify) _____

16. Where are other former members of the household? _____

17. How do they make a living? _____

18. Have you owned a house before?

Yes I have _____ Go to Questions 19 to 26

No I Haven't _____ Go to Questions 20 to 26

19. In what part of the city was your house located? _____

20. Were you evacuated from your former residential area?

I was evacuated _____ Answer question 21

I was not evacuated _____

Any other answer (specify) _____

21. Why were you evacuated? _____

22. Who evacuated you?

The City Council _____

A local landlord _____

Any other (specify) _____

23. Were you given compensation?

I was given some _____

I wasn't given any _____

24. What happened to your house?

Did you sublet it _____

Did you sell it _____

Has it been pulled down _____

25. What happened to the household? _____

26. Were you given another plot to put up a new house?

Yes I was _____ Go to Question 27-28

No I wasn't _____ Go to Question 29

27. In what part of the city? _____

28. What have you done to this plot?

Have you developed it _____

Have you sold it _____ Go to Question 30

Is it still undeveloped _____

29. How did you get the present plot you are occupying? _____

30. Why haven't you occupied your plot? _____

IV. Economy, Occupation, Income and Expenditure

31. What kind of work do you do (what do you do for a living)? _____

32. Are you employed by someone else, are you self employed, do you do work without pay in a family business? do you do domestic work?

32. (cont'd.)
 someone else (state employer and or employing firm) _____
 Questions 33-40
 Self-employed _____ Go to Question 41
 Performing domestic functions (specify) _____
33. What are some of your main responsibilities in your work place? _____

34. Does your employer offer you accommodation?
 Yes he does _____
 No he doesn't _____
35. How does your employer help you in your present accommodation?
 Pay all the rent _____
 Pays part of the rent _____
 Occupying employer's house _____
 None of the above _____
36. Does your employer offer workers some
 (a) Financial support? _____
 (b) Loan? _____
 (c) Material support? _____
 (d) None of the above? _____
37. What kind of business or organization are you working in? _____
38. Is your work permanent, temporary or seasonal?
 (a) Permanent _____
 (b) Temporary _____
 (c) Seasonal _____
39. What is your monthly pay? _____
40. Do you have a second job? _____
41. State your occupation
 Trade in _____ Go to Questions 42-44
 Craft in _____ Go to Questions 46-48
42. What is the source of your raw materials/commodities _____

43. Are you able to satisfy the local market?

Yes _____

No. _____ Go to Question 44

44. Where else can the residents get their requirements? _____

45. Is it cheaper there? _____

46. Where did you learn your skill? _____

47. Are you able to satisfy the needs of the market?

Yes _____

No _____ Go to Question 48

48. Where else can the residents have their requirements met? _____

49. How does the City Council help you in your service to the people? _____

50. Is your occupation permanent, temporary or seasonal?

Permanent _____

Temporary _____

Seasonal _____ Go to Question 51

51. What other occupations do you engage in other seasons (specify both) _____

52. What is your average daily earnings? _____

53. How many people you live with participate in generating household income? _____

54. How many people you live with do not participate in generating household income? _____ Go to Question 55

55. Are they wholly or partially dependent on you?

Wholly dependent _____

Partially dependent _____

Any other answer (specify) _____

56. What is the average daily expenditure of your household? _____

V. Housing Situation

57. Present house occupation

Owner occupied _____ Go to Questions 62-64.

Tenant occupied _____ Go to Questions 58-61 & 65

Any other (specify) _____

58. Who is your landlord?

Government _____

NHC _____

Private (specify e.g. Industry or Individual) _____

59. How many rooms have you rented? (specify) _____

One room _____

Two rooms _____

Three rooms _____

More than three (specify) _____

Whole house _____

60. How many rooms are occupied by other tenants and the landlord?

Other tenants _____

The landlord _____

61. What is the average rent per room? _____

62. How many rooms is the house? _____ Answer Question 66

63. Do you sublet any rooms in your house?

Number of rooms you occupy _____

Number of rooms you sublet _____

64. How many people live in the house?

Adults _____

Children _____

65. Does the landlord live in the house?

Yes ✓ _____

No _____ (State where he lives)

66. In all how many families live in the house?

Total number of families _____

Total number of singles (by Sex) Males _____

Females _____

67. Type of house presently occupied is a:

Permanent structure _____

Semi-permanent structure _____

Temporary structure _____

68. Materials used in the:

Foundation Floor Wall Room Roof Frame Doors Windows

Nil

Mud bricks

Mud and Pole

Burnt bricks

Cement blocks

Stone

Palm thatch

Scrap metal

Grass

Tiles

Aluminium

Wood

Poles

Timber

Glass

Others (specify)

69. What comments can you make in respect to the availability of building materials? _____

70. Did you get external support in building your house?

Nil _____

Family Labour _____

Neighbours Labour _____

Employers' Financial Aid _____

THB Loan _____

71. Did you ever seek support for building your house? From what organization?

72. State the relevant response you received _____

73. Which of the following provisions are available in the house you live in?

Tap water _____

Power supply _____

Separate kitchen _____

Bathroom/Shower _____

Water Prevey/Water tap _____

74. Which of the following public amenities are available in your area?

Schools (specify) _____

Health Centres/Dispensary _____

Markets _____

Cooperative shops _____

Tap water _____

Paved streets _____

Street lights _____

Others (specify) _____

75. What advice would you give to planners and the City Council about improving your area? _____

A SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF RELATIONSHIPS. VIS-A-VIS HOUSING

END

05.06.86

FIN