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URBANIZATION IN TANZANIA - THE DYNAMICS
OF
MARKET FORCES: THE CASE STUDY OF MBEYA

by

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

M.A. (Soc.) Carleton

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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MARKET FORCES: THE CASE STUDY OF MBEYA

Submitted by

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

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August, 1988

Abstract

This study focuses on the *Formal* and the *Informal Relations* critical to the rapid urbanization of Mbeya. Located at Tanzania's *dynamic* south-western frontier, Mbeya is the region's main centre of commerce, industry and culture. Both the town and its *subsistence oriented* rural areas are involved in the *capitalist status quo*. Given its location, Mbeya also participates in the process of capitalist international relations of *landlocked* neighbour states. In spite of its central role in the reproduction of capitalism, however, Mbeya lacks major industries with corresponding employment capacities. This limitation lends itself to the existing production relations whereby only a small fraction of the "*urban proletariat in the making*" is absorbed in the *formal wage-sector*. Parallel to this development is the concomitant growth of the large *informal sector*. In some capital cities of the poorer Third World countries, the *informal sector* is estimated to cater for up to 90% of the working population, and, it is conceded that there is a high degree of involvement even in the relatively wealthy ones. The corresponding figure for Tanzania's main urban centres is between 40-70 percent, Mbeya's own being in the upper seventies (76.8%). Both the unprecedented involvement of the *informal sector* and the inadequacy of the *formal sector* to cope with the skyrocketing urban population are common in urban areas of developing countries. The portrayal of the *formal sector*, however, as being the solely progressive one in their urbanization process has continued to dominate *urban analysis*. This case study of Mbeya is an attempt to address this bias. It appears to us that this bias is oblivious of the subsequent urban struggle for subsistence inherent in the *informal relations* of these countries. We consider some of the experiences of Mbeya potentially extenuating the *formal sector bias*. In the light of this, the central postulate of our *thesis* to treat these relationships co-terminously appears to be supported.

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To the MMC Directorate and to so many of Mbeya's **urban-proletariat-in-the-making** I am really thankful for so much in this study that discourages me from mentioning any one in particular.

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Chapter One

Preamble

1.0 Preamble

The study presented in this thesis is part of this writer's research interest in world urbanization in general and third world urbanization in particular. In this analysis the concept of third world countries will be used interchangeably and synonymous with:-

- i. developing countries;
- ii. less developed (or industrialized) countries (LDCs); and,
- iii. peripheral capitalist societies.

Similarly, for analytical reasons their states will be collectively prefixed:-

- i. developing;
- ii. peripheral capitalist; and, or,
- iii. post-colonial,

but in reality these states, like the countries themselves are anything but homogenous. Increasingly, studies have shown them quite diverse in their individual characteristics including socio-economic and political aspirations and, or orientation. On the other hand, within this idiosyncrasy, the aim of a case study like the one at hand is to examine comparable and contrasting features in as broad a terrain as possible.

The remaining part of the exposition will treat this introductory chapter under the following separate subheadings:-

- 1.1 Definition and Scope of the Problem;
- 1.2 A Theoretical Proposition;
- 1.3 A Conceptual and Theoretical Overview;
- 1.4 Rationale Of The Study Area; and,
- 1.5 Summary and Conclusion.

To some extent there is a certain arbitrariness in this division since there are strong interconnections between these topics. The main aim, however, is to attempt to bring out more clearly the problem under investigation, namely, third world urbanization, what sustains it?, what is problematic and why?

1.1 Definition and Scope of the Problem

This study is an attempt at a critical examination of the urbanization of Mbeya, a burgeoning urban municipality at the south-western frontier of Tanzania. Like many urban centres in the country, Mbeya lacks large scale industries - primarily labour intensive ones, with significant employment capacities comparable to the ones already heavily concentrated in Dar es Salaam (cf. Jensen and Mkama, 1968; Mascarenhas, 1973; Kaplan, 1978) Arusha or Tanga. Dar es Salaam, however, is the country's first and largest capital and port-city - well placed even in terms of international trade and so inevitably attracts the *lion's share* of the country's resources including its scanty foreign accrued resources. As a settlement, Dar es Salaam is currently past its centennial year since its remote *invasion - cum - founding* by Seyyid Majid, an Arab Sultan of Zanzibar, and a descendant

of the *legendary* Seyyid Said, the first Arab Sultan of the Isles. At the present time the city has an estimated population exceeding a million and a half inhabitants. On the other hand, Mbeya which is also comparatively very recent, has also attracted the population to its environs *en masse*. At the time of this survey (i.e. May-October, 1986) the figure of over 153,045 inhabitants residing in Mbeya was furnished to us by an economist of the Mbeya Municipality. As the economist confided, in its various planification programs, the Mbeya Municipal Council (hereafter MMC, also to be used interchangeably with the *Municipal*) deems this as the *working figure*. In itself, this urban population in an urban centre with the limited industrial infrastructure noted above is of sociological interest.

Taking into consideration the dearth of large scale industries, the study, therefore, undertakes to examine the 'formal' and the 'informal' relations contributing to the rapid growth of the municipality under the consideration and sustaining its prevailing level of urbanization. The purpose of the study is to explain the relationship of third world urbanization to capitalist development. The questions to be faced, then, are:-

- (a). What is urbanization?;
- (b). How can one account for the urbanization of Mbeya?;
- (c). What sustains it?; and,
- (d). What is problematic and why?

In this introductory chapter, while one sets in perspective both the tone of the study and the framework of reference for the discussion, these problems cannot be resolved here conclusively. On the other hand, however, primarily in this study as a whole, these and other pertinent questions will be addressed sequentially.

Considered in passing, it is well-known that there is no consensus about the definition

of urbanization. Indeed, even the most common criterion for urban population which is, a minimum number of people, presents figures which differ from country to country. For example, and to paraphrase a recent United Nations (1987:1) source:-

an urban population is defined as at least 200 persons in Denmark, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, but as 20,000 in Mauritius and Nigeria, and as 30,000 in Japan, most countries choose a minimum between 2,000 and 5,000 persons.

In Chapter 2, several definitions will be considered and a working definition for the study at hand shall be adopted. At this point we are now ready to consider how the urbanization of Mbeya can be accounted for.

In brief, data from consecutive censuses (cf. Table 5.1) and material from this survey as well as an earlier survey of Mbeya by the author (cf. Comoro, 1981) are used to account for the urbanization of Mbeya. As would be expected, population size is employed as one of the major indicators of the growth of a town and, or city. In Tanzania, up until 1967, the population criterion for a settlement to be considered urban was over 5,000 inhabitants (Clark, 1978: 39). In 1967 the Central Statistical Bureau raised the level to 10,000. At that time Mbeya, aged 32 years since it was officially commissioned, barely passed the mark. The population of Mbeya then as recorded by the national population census of 1967 was 12,479 inhabitants. A decade later, however, another national population census recorded some 78,111 inhabitants in Mbeya Urban. What is noteworthy is that according to data abstracted from these successive national population censuses, in barely one enumerating decade, the population of Mbeya increased more than six times. Should this unprecedented pace persist, it will take little time for all rural-like satellite settlements outside the town to coalesce with downtown Mbeya with the result that a large city will have developed. Otherwise the present *burgeoning* of Mbeya also noted by Peil and Sada (1984) exceeds Tanga and Zanzibar which, of course, other than Dar es Salaam, are deemed to be more

important and better located port-towns in Tanzania. Considering that Mbeya is growing faster than these traditional port-towns in spite of its location in the rugged mountainous terrain primarily provides impetus for this study.

Given this statistical overview of the unprecedented growth of Mbeya town, of course, in spite of its nonindustrial base, the pivotal question, then, becomes "what sustains it"? In large measure, there is no consensus to this problem precisely because different researchers and or theorists look at the process, problems and prospects of third world urbanization divergently. Under these circumstances, a disagreement on what is 'problematic'? and 'why'? are questions which cannot be avoided.

On the one hand, there is the 'conventional' explanation of third world urbanization. On the other hand, there is the explanation which questions the adequacy of the conventional explanation of contemporary third world urbanization. The present study shares the view point espoused by the latter approach. It has been argued that "Conventional sociological theory is unable to account for endogenous change at the structural level" (Appelbaum, 1978:67). In this study, we have used the term 'conventional' interchangeably and synonymous with the terminology 'dominant (or formal) Western perspective'. Our main concern with the conventional theory is the approach of some theorists who tend to apply the Western perspective *wholesale* to explain social realities of third world processes, the third world urbanization process being a case in point. In our opinion, this perspective does not explain specific conditions in third world urbanization, notably, informal sectors/relations which were not experienced in the Western urbanization process. This point of view draws added support from a critical "urban ecology and urbanization in comparative perspective" of Franklin D. Wilson (1984).†. According to Wilson,

† cf. Wilson's article "Urban Ecology: Urbanization and System of Cities" Annual

(1984:300) "Efforts to explain current patterns of urbanization in developing countries are varied, reflecting both different theoretical perspectives and the fact that these nations do not conform to a single pattern". Hence, in terms of a wholesale application of a *Western perspective*, hence, our main point of departure, it is explicit in Wilson (1984:300ff) that the approach both ignores external forces (i.e. informal relations) on the urbanization process and it assumes the existence of ideal patterns of urbanization that can be used to assess those prevailing in developing nations. Admittedly, this comprises a major weakness of the holistic approach in question.

On the other hand, it is our contention that a case-study approach has both, the potential for poignancy and for bringing to bear upon empirical evidence from the field that by and large the holistic approach mentioned here simply glosses over. For that matter, it is our conviction that our ethnographic approach to data collection in the Mbeya survey meet these requirements. Furthermore, it can be argued that our strategy in the Mbeya case-study is fundamental to an understanding of the problem at hand from its grass roots. It is our hope, therefore, that the analysis of Mbeya will do away with the aforementioned impediments of the conventional approach.

Our concern with the formal and informal relations of urbanization is obviously compatible with an important methodological concern. Unlike the conventional approach hitherto, we assert that the process of urbanization in Mbeya, or of third world urbanization *per se* has its own dynamics, but, should be analysed not as separate from and independent of the large society. It is our intent, therefore, to situate the analysis of formal-informal relations within the 'articulation thesis', along the lines of the neo-Marxist tradition, in particular Samir Amin's (1974) "Conservation dissolution thesis". It is noteworthy that

the neo-Marxists argue that capitalism did not completely destroy the pre-capitalist modes rather it transformed them to suit the economic interest of the metropolitan capital. Suffice to say that evidence from Mbeya data clearly reflect this neo-Marxist prognosis. At this point, the analysis has been set to proceed with the consideration of the problem at hand as indicated in the preamble.

The period covered by this study extends beyond the time of its official founding a decade and half a century ago to date. It is important to note, however, that Mbeya began experiencing spectacular growth from the late nineteen sixties. It will be sufficient at this point to note that the spectacular growth of Mbeya commenced at a period when the emergent national policy avowedly insisted on pursuing rural development programmes. Considering that the direction and emphasis of national policies of the epoch was overtly anti-urban, to ask the question "what sustained this growth?" becomes even more to the point. Given these anti-urban sentiments, it can be argued that the rapid urbanization of Mbeya provides a challenging case study both to the post-colonial *status quo* in Tanzania and to the dominant Western perspective of the city.

The argument here, in view of the post-colonial state is that the rapid and uncontrolled urbanization of Mbeya is a manifestation of the state's own pre-occupation with a diametrically opposed entity and development blueprints, respectively, rural areas and agrarian policies (cf. Chap 3, esp. sec. 3.3, Arusha Declaration and other post-independence policies). Much of this rapid urbanization, therefore, is related to the development and growth of the informal sector.† We think that the informal sector sustains the urbanization of Mbeya. We also think that for many urban-proletariat-in-the-making in third world, the informal sector is the backbone of subsistence. Paradoxically, however, governments in

† cf. our working definition of formal and informal relation on sec. 1.3.

LDCs have had the tendency to fight the informal sector (Leys, 1973; Bromley, 1978), instead of appreciating it for its potential and service to society. Because of this antagonistic relation, the post-colonial state or its instruments often leaves the informal sector to fend for itself. It can be argued that by leaving the informal sector to fend for itself, the post-colonial state or its agent is being lax and negligent in its own role to society.[†] Examined carefully, however, the tendency of the post-colonial state or its agents to let the informal sector fend for itself is an historical one and it is related to the development of capitalism in the third world. It also relates to the way in which the dominant Western theories of urbanization have perceived and portrayed the formal sector of the economy, namely, a central phenomenon. This view, however, is uncritical of the limitations of the formal sector of the economy, and it is, therefore, oblivious of the impact and the contribution of the informal sector. Furthermore, this view point literally ignores the realities of the articulation thesis. It can be argued, however, that a critical analysis of the development of capitalism in the third world cannot ignore this perspective of the articulations of the modes of production.

On the other hand, the argument, in view of the dominant Western perspective of the city is also an *epistemological* one. As we shall argue (cf. Chapter Two esp. section 2.3), some analysts of third world urbanization have used the Western perspective of the city wholesale and uncritically. It is, however, the view point of this author that this is inappropriate and that there are serious limitations in applying this theory wholesale to try to understand and explain the contemporary process of urbanization in the peripheral capitalist societies such as Tanzania. To make only one observation at this point, a total

[†] cf. point number 3 in the recap concluding Chapter Two, see also Chap. 8. esp. recommendation number III.

disappearance of the pre-capitalist modes of production has been attained only in the few advanced capitalist countries, hence, a wholesale application of the Western perspective is in the interim not as universal as some theorists have treated it.

To return to the crucial point of rapid urbanization, Mbeya is not alone in this matter. Rapid urbanization is increasingly becoming the character of the third world region.

According to Gugler (1970:1):-

The most easily perceived expression of the twentieth century social change in East Africa, as in most sub-Saharan Africa, has been the creation and rapid growth of towns.

What is not so easily perceived, however, is the interplay of both external and internal factors pertinent to the growth of towns and cities. Analysts of Third World urbanization, particularly those who have subscribed to the modernization theories wholesale, have perceived the external factors as progressive to the process while the internal factors as the retrogressive elements. On the basis of our framework of reference, this is a problem area because both, and not just one of these entities contribute to the growth of towns and cities. We find, therefore, that this perspective of the modernization theorists is rather too simplistic. On the contrary, we think it will be enlightening to note here at the outset the instructive experience of Arthur J. Field (1970), editor of *City And Country In The Third World*, that:-

Urbanization, the growth of city populations in absolute numbers and in relation to the total society and the spread of secular scientific, and materialistic values, is a universal phenomenon, a characteristic of modern times which seems to proceed by its own irresistible dynamics. (A.J. Field, 1970:225)

Indeed, the characteristics of urban growth and the problems of urbanization in Africa contain many elements comparable to those prevailing in other underdeveloped areas (cf. Beyer, 1967; McGee, 1967). They also have similarities with urbanization in the West at

a comparable period of growth, though some would question the validity of recognizing the comparability of these periods (Hance, 1970:292).

While it is imperative to acknowledge the universality of this process, it is important not to overlook the unique character of each situation. Given this view point, it must be stressed that third world urbanization is much more complex than the external-internal protagonists have presumed. These protagonists make a direct correlation between:-

1. the 'external' and 'formal relations'; and,
2. between the 'internal' and 'informal relationships'

Like the concepts of external-internal, the concepts formal-informal can be perceived to reflect the original debates on social change, urbanization being a prime example.

Many contemporary urban researchers are aware of the existence of the formal-informal relations as distinct entities. It is our contention, however, that these aspects coexist as reciprocal relationships. Therefore, what is *problematic* here is that hitherto, these parameters have not been analytically juxtaposed. It can be argued that analyses which manifest no appreciation of one of these reciprocal relationships are not quite distinct from the external-internal prognoses. Similarly, they are unable to perceive in both the formal and the informal sectors, elements progressive to the process of urbanization.

Critically observed, these phenomena are based on approaches which tend to reflect the Western world's perspective of urbanization. At this point it is sufficient to say that approaches which measure urbanization exclusively by formal Western World's perspective inappropriately equate urban centres of Third World countries with those of the core. We shall argue that both in theory and in practice, uncritically equating urban centres of developing countries with those of the developed countries runs into serious problems of

perceiving as homogenous what, are, but theoretically and empirically very distinctive urban entities. As a result of inadvertently equating the two entities, the analysis of the internal dynamics of the urban centres of developing countries is subjectively limited. It will be in order at this point to stress that the two have different historical backgrounds so that a one-to-one correlation between third world and Western world's experience of urbanization is *ahistorical* and inappropriate. Even more to the point, those espousing the Western world's view point see those real third world factors which they did not experience during their comparable stage of urbanization not only as peripheral to the urbanization process but also as actual *anomalies*. In sum, it is our contention that this *core-centric* reductionist tendency projects as adverse contingency factors which are fundamental to the understanding of the urbanization process in peripheral countries. In the light of this, we think it is consistent to question this wholesale application of a Western perspective of urbanization to the experiences of peripheral societies.

Contrary, however, to the core-centric's view point of urbanization, it will be consistent to conceive the involvement of what might be arbitrarily called 'non-capitalist relations' (i.e. the informal relationships, cf. Bromley, 1978) as being fundamental to the on-going urbanization process in socio-economic conditions where capitalism has not completely transformed the existing societies. Hence, the articulation thesis as our main framework of analysis obtains. In the urbanization experience of Mbeya, the latter shall be one of our main perspective.

Paradoxically, however, as many scholars (e.g. Hart 1973, Bienefeld 1975, Drakakis-Smith 1987) would agree, the so called 'non-capitalist relations' facilitate urbanization in LDCs, a particular cultural variant of which mediates the transformation to a system of capitalist social relations. Mandel (1968:125) aptly put it when he said:-

Capital can appear as soon as there is a minimum of commodity circulation and of money circulation. It is born and develops within the framework of a pre-capitalist mode of production (village community, petty commodity production). Whatever dissolving effects it has on such a society, they are limited by the fact that it does not change the basic mode of production, especially in the countryside.

Data gathered in the course of the Mbeya survey shall be quite explicit that the struggle for subsistence by the large majority subsisting through informal means is directly related to the general conditions necessary for a "minimum of commodity circulation and of money circulation" to occur. In Tanzania, this perspective whereby non-capitalist relations are incorporated as fundamental aspects of the process of social change, has not before been the **central focus** in a sociological research undertaking. We shall contend that elsewhere in the diverse LDCs, such studies are far apart and less far reaching, hence, fail to consider small scale local factors and practices which matter for the production and reproduction of the overwhelming majority of the population.

It is useful to indicate at the outset, however, that some anthropological studies (Lewis, 1951; Peattie, 1968; Leeds, 1969, 1971; Jelin, 1974; Pelman, 1976; Lomnitz, 1977, Lloyd, 1979) have dealt extensively with prevalent formal-informal and other indigenous forms of struggle for subsistence in respective third world urban societies. To highlight on a few of them at this point is in order.

1. Summarizing the findings of his first study of Mexico City, Oscar Lewis (1951) noted among other things that:-
 - (a) The peasant adapted to city life with far greater ease than their United States (US) counterparts;
 - (b) Family life remained quite stable and extended family ties increased.

In our perspective (cf. Table 6.5) this leads to the bourgeoning of the "income pooling" population of respective urban households. It also leads to an increasing involvement in the informal economy of the city by those households — members not involved in the formal economy of the city.

2. In Brazil, Elizabeth Jelin (1974) distinguishes four main forms of economic activities outside the large-formal sector, including family enterprises relying on the intensive exploitation of family members; self-employment in a variety of activities.

The importance of family members in self-employment in the informal economy of the city, hence, in income-pooling activities is quite noticeable.

3. On the other hand, according to Pelman (1976), it is recognized that the city cannot grow fast enough to provide adequate employment or to offer adequate urban services. The existence of wide spread unemployment or under employment and of inadequate infrastructures in the favela/squatter settlements is seen as the normal outgrowth of rapid-urban migration (Pelman, 1976).

It can be argued, therefore, that additional forms of employment and urban services are provided for by the informal economy of the city. By the same token and to paraphrase Roberts (1978), extensive accounts of economic activities in the informal sector are provided by Leeds (1969, 1971), and Machado da Silva (1971) for Brazil, by Pettie (1968) for Venezuela, by Hart (1973) for Ghana and by Eckstein (1975) for Mexico.

This research, then, albeit on urbanization in Tanzania will be informed by the foregoing research on urban life in third world cities in Latin America.

Considering urbanization in the perspective of J. Gugler (1970) to be "the most easily perceived expression of the twentieth century social change in East Africa", since this

study deals with the urbanization process, its contribution should be viewed in that light.

1.2 A Theoretical Proposition

This study is advancing the *thesis* that in urban areas of less industrialized countries such as Tanzania, the informal sector is a dynamic factor contributing to the urbanization process which is described elsewhere as *dependent*. The process is, in our view, dependent not only on the core or internally based formal institutions but also on the local factors. The provision of shelter, food supply and, the absorption of the surplus population of 'nonwage-earners', in sum, provision of general subsistence - to mention as examples the most dire needs, are all hinged to the informal sector. It is our contention that sub

sistence for the large majority of non-wage earning population is gained through their attachment to a 'non-formal' employment sector. Since Tanzania is not an industrially advanced country, a significant proportion of the wage-earners are unable to reproduce themselves entirely on a wage basis. In Marxist terms, the working population is not fully *proletarianized*. It can be argued, therefore, that the informal means contributing to the reproduction of urban population is not only a struggle for assaulting urban poverty but also an essential part of the entire urban cycle. In summary, in urban areas of less developed countries (LDCs) like Tanzania, the coexistence of unequivocal contradictory sectors of informal-formal serves the interest of international capitalism in that the latter does not have to concentrate on the costly social reproduction of labour power. It is our contention that the formal and the informal sector are in fact part of the totality of capitalist mode of production and that peripheral capitalist production and reproduction could not exist without them.

In the light of the foregoing, this study, therefore, puts forward the following tentative propositions:-

1. Mbeya has a central role in the reproduction of capitalism;
2. the process of urbanization in Mbeya is linked to the conditions of its better endowed hinterland;
3. its rapid growth since the late nineteen sixties has been occurring without the concomitant growth in formal institutions to cater for the basic needs of the escalating population. Concurrently, a large informal sector has grown to cater the goods and services which are both inadequately provided for and, or not provided for by institutions of the formal sector;

4. these formal-informal relationships not only overlap but are also integral to one another. The former has direct linkages to external forces of the market. For that matter, the latter is not independent of the external forces given the articulation of societies to the dominant capitalist system; and,
5. the informal sector and the formal sector comprise a symbiotic whole. Without the reciprocal relationship of these sectors, subsistence for the large majority of the urban inhabitants will not be forthcoming easily.

Sources of information on which the analysis of these propositions will be based derive from a survey carried out in Tanzania (see Chapters Four, Five and Six).

1.3 A Conceptual and Theoretical Overview

It was noted earlier (sec. 1.1) that this study undertakes to examine the 'formal' and the 'informal' relations contributing to the rapid growth of Mbeya and sustaining its prevailing level of urbanization. At this point, our working definition of the key concepts "formal and informal relations" is in order. By definition:-

formal and informal are basically relations of production easily identifiable within the capitalist mode of production, formal relations being wage-labour (hired labour), informal relations being the self-actualizing (unhired labour). Unlike the state and, or privately (as well as foreign) controlled wage-labour, the largest proportion of the self-actualizing informal undertakings are household-oriented income pooling activities. Whereas these two dominant relations are in essence reciprocal, in large measure, the fundamental paradox is that in many third world countries subsistence for the majority of the urban inhabitants depends upon the self-actualizing household and their informal sector activities.

It is for this reason, among others, that this study has focussed on the household as an important a *unit of analysis*.†. In large measure, however, it can be argued that the

† In this case-study of Mbeya's urbanization process, the informal sector is estimated to

conventional approach has failed to recognize that the self-actualizing undertakings in urban areas of many third world countries sustain the urban subsistence for households falling on *both* sides of the divide *formal/informal*. For that matter, conventional approach has also failed to recognize the contribution of the informal sector to the development of peripheral capitalism in the third world countries, third world urbanization as an integral part of the process of capitalism in developing countries being a case in point. Empirical evidence presented in this study, however, primarily indicates that the informal sector has an important contribution to make in the various third world processes.

The theoretical consideration of the concept of informal sector has appeared recently in literature emanating from the concerns of some economists in the 1970's. To cite a few examples, Hart (1973); Leys (1973); Bienefeld (1975); Mazumdar (1976); Bromley (1978); and, of late, Drakakis-Smith (1987). In brief, these authors have addressed the concept of informal sector in relation to urban self-employment and small enterprises of a subsistence-oriented nature, with the view of highlighting urban unemployment and poverty. In our view, epistemologically, they have pursued the *quantitative* aspects of urbanization, hence, have limited the contribution that *qualitative* aspects of the same process could make. It is our contention therefore, that, critically considered, this point of view perpetuates the centrality of the formal organization whereby more often than not, society is seen in the eyes and standard of the developed West. As we have already indicated, however, our intent is to incorporate both the logic and praxis of the 'formal' and the 'informal' sectors. The position being espoused by this study holds that both formal and informal

cater for up to 76.8% of the working population. The critical involvement of the survey household in the various formal and informal economic activities is presented in Chapter Six

relationships contribute to the processes of society in several important ways.

The decade of the nineteen seventies is also associated with a large-scale publication of research findings and general dissemination of ideas, respectively by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex. Topical policy discussions of the 1970's which are not without an important interrelationship to the logic of the informal sector (cf. Bromley, 1978) include:-

- i. Redistribution with Growth;
- ii. the New International Economic Order (NIEO);
- iii. Basic Needs;
- iv. the Urban Crisis; and,
- v. Reaching the Poorest of the Poor (cf Lipton , 1976).

However, what appears to be dismissed is the fact that even the economic activities of the so-called *poorest of the poor* are articulated to the prevailing economic order. Drakakis-Smith (1987: esp. Chapter 5) in his exploration of the growth of the concept of 'informal sector' until it was widely accepted in the mid 1970's is more explicit on the linkages between the informal sector which others refer to as the 'petty-commodity production' and the rest of the urban economy. Accordingly he argues that:-

in some of the capital cities of the poorer Third World countries almost 90 percent of the working population may be linked to the informal sector, but even in relatively wealthy ones there is often still a high degree of involvement. (Drakakis-Smith, 1987:66)

In this study of the urbanization of Mbeya, the articulation of the informal sector is the point for further discussion.

The terminology urban informal sector, informal relationships, commonly used by these economic analysts appears to be an extension of the concept of *traditional*, while the term *formal* is deemed more-or-less analogous to the 'modern sector'. As we have already noted, the formal-informal sector economic models developed in the 1970's basically as a reaction against the popular model of the day namely, Tradition-Modern. The major critique of this earlier model was that Third World governments were unscrupulous in their socio-economic undertakings. Primarily they were being criticized for concentrating on the modern sector in terms of investments and other subsidies while largely leaving the traditional sector to fend for itself. Ironically, some studies of urbanization operate within this modern-sector *problematique* which is but a one-dimensional view of the dynamic process of urbanization. Suffice to say at this point that, in this analysis of Mbeya an attempt shall be made to provide a critical assessment of the formal and the informal sectors as they contribute to the process of urbanization of the town, and how this process reflects the urbanization character of Tanzania as a Third World country.

As a Third World country, Tanzania is in many ways similar to most countries of its category; notably that it has borne the burden of colonialism; and has had its social and economic structures formed and deformed by international capitalism (cf. Clark, 1978) - phenomena which bear not only upon its past but also impinge upon its prevailing socio-economic infrastructure. Suffice to point out here that in Tanzania as in her counterparts elsewhere in the Third World, the on-going process of capital accumulation bears upon the other social, economic and political processes, including the process of urbanization. Tanzania and other Third World countries share many qualities, for our immediate interest, their rapid urbanization without concomitant industrialization being one of the most salient features. One United Nations (UN) perspective regarded rapid urbanization as:-

occurring ahead of any systematic, full-scale movement towards the modernization of agriculture or an urban employment structure (UN Report, 1970:1-38)

Outlining the same phenomenon Magubane (1979) has described the structure of capitalism in Africa in terms of a combination of *burgeoning* urban structures and *limping* industrial development. But, while the rapid pace of urbanization is a well acknowledged fact, the impact of this phenomenon on the concrete circumstances of Mbeya, which in this aspect replicates her African as well as Third World parallels, remains the subject for further scrutiny in this *thesis*. We must not overlook, however, the fact that as capitalism has penetrated these peripheral societies as the dominant mode of production it also develops unevenly; by the same token, Third World countries as well as being similar in many aspects, have unique and sometimes remarkable differences.

Based on this case study, the present thesis will contend, among other things that, in the peripheral capitalist countries such as Tanzania, without the interplay of the formal and informal relationships there would be no meaningful capital accumulation. Urbanization being an integral part of the accumulation process, the logic of this interplay becomes more imperative. It is the contention of this thesis, therefore, that, studies of urbanization which omit the partnership role-type of the informal sector are minimizing a dynamic linkage in the understanding of the urbanization process in peripheral countries, hence, must be deemed to be only partially complete.

1.4 Rationale Of The Study Area

One of the preliminary reasons for selecting Mbeya as a *study area* is the researcher's own familiarity, hence, cumulative knowledge of the town and its sub-urban hinterland mainly as a student (1963-1966 - Rungwe Alliance). Teacher (1969-1976) and a Researcher

(1981 - "Urban Housing Provision For Low Income Population in Mbeya", M.A. Thesis Project, UDSM). Among other things, this background may enhance one's propensity towards observation, description and analysis. As shall be noted in the Methodology Chapter, Pons and Francis (1983) regard the latter as fundamental to *sociological urban research*. In addition, the following also played a role in the selection of this urban site:-

- i. Mbeya's own strategic border location to the south of the country; and,
- ii. its sudden and dynamic demographic transition, a characteristic unprecedented elsewhere in the country.

In Africa, the constellation of a multiplicity of interests and, or disputes around borders is highlighted in a comprehensive coverage of pertinent essays in the book edited by Dr. Carl Gosta Widstrand, entitled *African Boundary Problems*, a 1969 publication of *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*. To paraphrase Dr. Widstrand, (1969:168), "It is difficult to discuss boundary problems without going extensively into all other related spheres, notably, border regimes and their attendant jurisdiction; constitutionalism/international relations concomitantly with politics; inherent ethnic relations with sociology, *etcetera*". The present study of Mbeya, which is Tanzania's strategic border town, highlights these relationships. Further reference, however, on border interests and, or disputes may be obtained in the aforementioned publication.

To refer in passing to the idea of border location, Mbeya has functioned politically as a strategic platform for the protracted liberation of countries to the south. But most importantly, from 1965, particularly following Southern Rhodesia's (elsewhere *hereafter* 'Rhodesia') *Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)* for its minority whites under the prime ministership of Ian Smith, Mbeya has played an increasing economic role. Until

its abrogation of constitution Rhodesia was a British colony and, like her neighbouring ex-colonial nations, was undergoing the laboriously protracted process of de-colonization. Since the developments of the Rhodesia crisis, Mbeya has functioned as a gate to the sea ports of Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Mombasa (in neighbouring Kenya) for its landlocked southern neighbours.

Furthermore, in the subsequent diplomatic strain on the 'Rhodesia' phenomenon between Britain and Tanzania, the former froze its aid to Tanzania to the tune of more than 152.84 million shillings interest-free loans (cf. Nnoli, 1971; Miti, 1983). This exacerbated the already worsening financial situation triggered a year earlier by the withdrawal of West German's military and other developmental assistance worth more than 240 million shillings. This diplomatic showdown was a consequence of West German diplomatic representation in Zanzibar which had recently amalgamated with mainland Tanzania. It must be acknowledged, however, that Tanzania's mishaps with her European benefactors fostered new bilateral linkages elsewhere, notably, with Canada (military assistance), China, (miscellaneous, including the construction of the Tazara).

To return to the idea of Mbeya's strategic location, we shall argue that the international borders and political economy of neighbour states have had some impact on the urbanization process. Nationally, it's isolation and distance from Dar es Salaam which is Tanzania's first capital city and largest port which, as we have already noted, appropriates the *lion's share* of the nation's meagre resources makes its growth both autonomous and dynamic. Unlike Dodoma which is currently the capital of the ruling party (CCM) and government business, Mbeya does not have an *image problem* that this secondary city (i.e. Dodoma) has because of the apparently irreversible pre-eminence of Dar es Salaam. This notion of a dynamic Tanzanian south-western frontier is pursued later (cf. Chap. 4, esp.

sec. 4.1) in more detail.

1.5 Summary and Conclusion

With this background, the task ahead in this analysis is:-

- i. to probe for and analyse the social forces unleashed to culminate into such an unprecedented population concentration in Mbeya;
- ii. to probe for and analyse the social, economic relationships and cultural patterns established and the extent to which they help sustain the on-going process of urbanization; and,
- iii. to attempt to project the urbanization experience of Mbeya nationally and beyond Tanzania's borders in Africa.

In sum, the central concern of this *thesis* is to understand the role of the formal-informal sector relationships and their attendant reciprocal interplay in the process of urbanization in peripheral capitalist countries such as Tanzania. In this regard, a critical understanding of the involvement of the urban households (cf. Chapter Six) in the formal-informal urban and peri-urban economies is essential. In the course of this study, the *perspective* of students of Third World Urbanization who on the one hand *magnify* the role of the formal sector and on the other hand tend to minimize the role of the informal sector will be questioned. This thesis will also submit that without pragmatically considering the two relations coterminously, the urbanization process of peripheral capitalist countries such as Tanzania cannot be well understood. As we have contended this process will make little sense if done entirely in isolation, that is. without looking broadly at the

urbanization perspective of Tanzania and beyond. An attempt will be made to compare the perspective of urbanization in Tanzania and other Third World societies with that of Industrialized Western societies in order to highlight the similarities and or differences which consequently contribute to the prevailing mode of urbanization in Third World countries.

Finally, the foregoing has described in passing features specific to Mbeya *vis-a-vis* the core. In large measure, it can be postulated that these features, at the behest of the dominant mode of production, blend with the functions of the formal and the informal sectors. Since, within the logic of the dominant mode of production, both the formal and the informal sectors contribute fundamentally to the urbanization process of Mbeya, an earlier proposal to be sceptical of the adequacy of existing explanations obtains. By way of conclusion, it has been explicit in the preceding discussion that our study shall consider the relations of production in which the urban population is involved as constituting the character of the urbanization process. The problem at hand is to explain this character of urbanization of Mbeya, and to some extent, of the Tanzanian urbanization *per se* more critically than hitherto. Our emphasis on the urban household as a *unit of analysis* (cf. sec. 3.1) coupled with empirical data on "Monthly Income and Monthly and Daily Expenditure" of the survey household (cf. Chapter Six, esp. Table 6.11-614 & Figures 6.1-6.4) and the extent that these statistics highlight on the importance of both the urban informal sector and the self-actualizing households - linkages which we consider to be missing in many of Tanzania's (and to a large extent, of third world) urban studies hitherto, comprises the contribution of this thesis to third world urbanization. At this stage of the introduction it is sufficient to say that the character of urbanization of Mbeya, hence, of Tanzania, as a Third World country *per se* is the subject for further discussion.

With the above background, the findings of the present study, it is hoped, will contribute to the existing knowledge of *Third World Urbanization*. The remaining six chapters of this *thesis*, will be concerned with the following:-

- i. In Chapter Two, a critical overview of urbanization will be presented;
- ii. in Chapter Three, a brief analysis of the country's (Tanzania) geographical location and political economy will be presented with an overview of urbanization;
- iii. in Chapter Four, the survey methods and strategies employed in field data collection will be described;
- iv. Chapter Five and Six will present the field data. The former will comprise a descriptive ecological overview of the Survey Area, and the latter will look at the formal-informal economics and their mechanisms and the Involvement of Survey Households;
- v. Chapter Seven involves a critical examination of Tentative Propositions and the Survey Data; and, by way of conclusion,
- vi. in Chapter Eight, a summary and conclusion of the study will put forth some *tentative hypotheses* for further research.

Chapter Two

Urbanization: An Overview

2.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to present an overview of urbanization. The presentation of the chapter at hand is organized in five sections as follows:-

- i. 2.0 Introduction;
- ii 2.1 World Urbanization;
- iii. 2.2 Urbanization: A Working Definition;
- iv. Third World Urbanization; and,
- v. Summary And Conclusion.

According to the material reported in the opening chapter, Developing Countries are increasingly experiencing an astonishing pace of urbanization. Breese (1966), Berry (1976), Roberts (1978), Gilbert and Gugler (1982) - to mention only a few, are among those who come to this conclusion. It was also noted that the increased *tempo* of urbanization is a readily acknowledged factor. It can be argued here, however, that enjoying much less unanimity among the students of urbanization are other facets attendant to this process. Noticeably:-

1. the definition of urbanization;
2. factors giving rise to the process of urbanization; and,
3. relations sustaining unprecedented urban growth,

to cite only three examples, are all primary areas of contention. In the social sciences, disagreements among scholars is neither unusual nor intellectually unhealthy. According to Hagedorn (1986:4)

social sciences get the spark for many of their most important discoveries and ideas directly from the interactions of conflicting factions within the discipline.

Speaking about fellow sociologists, Hagedorn (1986) has pointed out that many disagree among themselves as to precisely what they should study and how they should study it. Here is a case whereby the "sociological imagination" (C. Wright Mills, 1959) of the individual prevails.

Looked at differently, the various facets various analysts decide to study are a welcome contribution to the discipline. The growing specialization evolving within this *young science* may be seen as one of the important consequences of intellectual disagreement. Implicit in Pons and Francis (1983), (see also Chapter Four of this survey), this precedence augments the diversity required in urban sociological research. At this juncture the inevitable question is, what is urbanization? To begin with, as it may be abstracted from

The New Encyclopedia Britannica:-

The term urbanization refers to the process by which a population becomes concentrated in cities or urban places. The process may proceed in either of the two distinct ways: (1) through an increase in the number of urban places or (2) through an increase in the size of the population resident in each urban place. Although the term is sometimes used to refer to consequences of living in urban places, scholars prefer, for that purpose, to use the word urbanism, as in urbanism as a way of life. (1982, 15th Edition)

Considering that many students of urbanization have looked at the urban question extensively, yet, as individuals they are still defining the process differently; even this encyclopedic definition must be deemed just one among several upon which students will not agree conclusively. In order to explain succinctly the broad panorama of urbanization

we have to retrace the works of notable urban theorists. Given, however, their large numbers, their diversity of approaches to the subject of investigation cannot be considered adequately within a single volume of the present nature. For the immediate purpose of this analysis, therefore, we shall review just a few which the author deems to be the most important ones in relation to our hypothesis under investigation. As a departing point, given the international character of capitalism, let us proceed with the examination of the concept and the process of urbanization globally by an arbitrary division of the society in terms of World and Third World.

2.1 World Urbanization

Although urbanization and the formation of towns and cities are primarily the same, it is difficult to determine precisely the origin of cities in history. In the eloquent brevity of Mumford (1961:3),

a large part of their past is buried or effaced beyond recovery.

Thanks, however, to some oral archaeological reconstruction, some of the ancient cities hitherto deemed *buried* or *effaced* beyond recovery can be reconstructed from their ruins. For that matter, a time will come when a large part of 'ancient city civilization' of some of the cosmopolitan cities of antiquity such as Babylon, Jericho, Jerusalem, Nineveh;† or Memphis, Rome, and Thebes (Schneider 1963; Weber 1968; Palen 1981) once *buried* or *effaced* beyond recovery will be readily available for analysis like our own *burgeoning* cities today. It is suggested that some of the cities of antiquity had comparable trends with cities to day. More assertively, Weber (1968: 6) has pointed out that:-

The development of the arts and sciences, the prosecution of industry, and political

† cf. *Biblical accounts on ancient cities' destruction, notably, Joshua 6: 2, 20; II Kings 23: 27; Jeremiah 21-39, & 51-52; Zephania 2: 13-14*

activity were phenomena of great capitals like Memphis, Thebes, Nineveh and Babylon.

As contemporary researchers, however, we appreciate this background of ancient city formation, albeit we cannot immediately relate to a similar formation on-going at the present time.

It is noteworthy that the formation of towns and cities in the Nineteenth Century has immediate relevance to the present study which focuses on Mbeya in Tanzania, a comparatively recent burgeoning peripheral urban centre. The sociological interest on the urban question derives primarily from the work and writings of the Chicago School notably, the works of Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (cf. Park and Burgess, 1967). Whereas in the present time their ecological approach and empiricist effort to describe the city cannot explain sufficiently the complexities of modern city, it remains a fact that they posed crucial questions which still dominate the thinking of urban sociologists.

It follows that, at a higher level of theoretical abstraction, Capitalism which is the dominant mode of production can be shown to provide the linkage in the formation of towns and cities in the Nineteenth Century. It is our intent in the following exposition to use the theory of the *mode of production* as the main framework of analysis. Central to that, the study will attempt to establish the association between the process of urbanization in urban areas of Third World countries and the dominant mode of production, which in this case is the *peripheral capitalist mode of production*. Concomitantly, the existence of relationships between the two notions would suggest the prevalence of the *articulation of the modes of production*. (cf. Amin, 1972, 1974; Foster-Carter, 1978; Chevalier, 1982; Berman, 1984). Critically considered, this arrangement suggests the prevalence of much broader capitalist relations. Suffice to say that our concern is on those relations somewhat

ignored by the general theory. We shall return to this point later in this analysis to explain some tentative inferences made in the presentation. By definition, and to extrapolate Mandel (1968):-

The Mode of production is understood to be the ensemble of social productive forces and production relations connected with them and 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, whereby the production is geared to exchange, that is to say, commodity production for profit becomes the central purpose of production. Alongside the term *mode of production*, Marxist scholars have used the term 'socio-economic formation':-

A socio-economic formation is usually understood to mean not only the mode of production prevailing in a given society, but also the sum-total of specific features and differences of the given form of society from any other: its economic and political system, the prevailing forms of ideology etcetera, (Leont'ev, 1965)

Based on this background it is possible to examine the current process of urbanization in peripheral capitalist societies. On the other hand, on the basis of this background the towns and cities of antiquity fall outside both the order and logic of the capitalist Mode of Production. It appears that these circumstances lend support to Mumford's (1961) observation which purports inaccessibility to much of ancient material including the history of towns and cities. In this regard it will be simply sufficient to deem merely as references those sources which allude to historical and other cities of antiquity.

At this point, the background has been set to proceed with the notion of World Urbanization closely associated with the western capitalist countries. As a conjuncture to the central theme of this analysis, two observations may be advanced at this point. First, consistent with the definition of mode of production, capitalism was identified by Marx

(cf. *Das Kapital*), as an economic system characterised by the private ownership of all major means of production; the accumulation and investment of capital in the competitive production process. Second, the development of capitalism at the core countries, Great Britain being the most comprehensive example of Marx, has been described as having occurred under normal conditions (Kemp, 1969). These conditions involved:-

1. organizing production for optimal profit through conscientiously planned individual production; and,
2. a division of labour fostering both the intensification of labour and efficient use of machinery.

More appropriately, this process has come to be known as industrialization. The main point here is that at the core countries urbanization and industrialization developed together and have gone hand in hand. (Kemp, 1969, Mandel, 1972, Deane, 1965, Roberts, 1978 etc.). In the same vein, it is quite explicit in Bach (1980:295), Hopkins and Wallerstein (1977:1230) that, Capitalism arose only once and it is, as it was, a world system from inception. It is important to emphasize, however, that the main feature of capitalism as a world system is its unequal development. This phenomenon is much more apparent in third world urbanization. We shall return to this point.

Deriving from these observations we think that world urbanization cannot be understood clearly without thoroughly examining the development of capitalism to which it appears closely related. For the purposes of this presentation, however, we primarily attempt an historical overview of the subject based on considerations similar to those by Marx in *Das Kapital*, and those by Dobb, 1963, Deane, 1965; Moore, 1966; Kemp, 1969; and, Mandel, 1972. These works are quite detailed and require no lengthy repetition

here. It is common knowledge that the capitalist mode of production first developed in Great Britain under conditions simply described as original or natural. Albeit, England is no longer the undisputed leading industrial power, strong and industrialized rivals have appeared on the scene: the United States, Germany, France, and Japan (Magdoff, 1969: 27). That notwithstanding, the historical experience of the first country to undergo an industrial revolution deserves mention.

The production of commodities, characteristic of the capitalist mode of production and central to Marx's theory of value (cf. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1. Chap. XII, 1938, 3rd edn.) can be said to have begun with the development of the *enclosure system* (Moore, 1966). Two distinct processes may be identified with the enclosure system. This system was concomitant with and essential for the early industrialization *take-off* process in Britain and had contributed materially toward destroying the *feudal fetters* on production (Mandel, 1972). More precisely, the system was responsible for uprooting the peasants from the countryside and consequently for the creation of a propertyless class called by Marx, the *proletariat*. Critically considered, the latter were essential for commodity production. Being propertyless, and in order to subsist, they had to sell their labour power for wages to the class that owned and had appropriated the means of production called the *capitalist class* or the *bourgeoisie*. Given its class position, the capitalists controlled the production process and the maximization of the products of labour. It is from this perspective that the two classes have been described as having *antagonistic* and *irreconcilable* interests, to use Marx's own terminology. The victims of this phenomenon were deposited within the precincts of *nascent* factories and other cottage industries. In the interim it will be sufficient to note that this movement of the countryside population is comparable to the modern-day process of rural-urban migration. In this study, our conception of

"rural-urban migration" is based on the studies by Mitchell, 1956; Todaro, 1969, 1971; Harvey, 1976 May, 1977, to mention just a few. 'Rural-urban migration' is a point for further discussion.

Antecedent to the urbanward movements by the countryside population, however, was the agricultural revolution that gradually swept across Western Europe approximately a century earlier. It is commonly argued that the British industrial revolution was associated with an agricultural revolution (cf. Deane, 1965 esp. Chap. 3). Similarly, elaborating his theory of "the stages of economic growth", Professor W.W. Rostow has claimed that:-

revolutionary changes in agricultural productivity are an essential condition for successful *take-off*. (Rostow, 1967: 8)

Given this background, what remains to be articulated is the relationship between the agricultural revolution and urbanization. In general, the latter will facilitate an understanding of the relationship between the rural or countryside and the urban or towns and cities.

To return to the elaborate British experience, Deane (1965) has discussed four salient features pertaining to its agrarian revolution. Briefly, these include:-

1. farming in large-scale consolidated units;
2. extensive arable farming and adoption of intensive livestock husbandry;
3. transformation of a predominantly self-subsistent village community into an agricultural labour community dependent on the conditions of national and international markets; and,
4. large increase in agricultural productivity in volume of output produced per unit of the full-time labour force in agriculture.

Similarly, in his study entitled *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, Weber (1968) has advanced a comparable argument. In the Third Chapter of his study he delineates the following as the main causes of concentration of population:-

1. The divorce of men from the soil;
2. The growth of commercial centres;
3. The growth of industrial centres; and,
4. Secondary, or individual causes by which he meant:-
 - (a). economic;
 - (b). political; and,
 - (c). social.

Considered critically, these features corroborate tentative conclusions arrived at by many contemporary analysts of urbanization and shed some light on the essence of modern, that is to say capitalist urbanization. It can be suggested that surplus in agricultural production was fundamental to the reproduction of labour power required in the new industrial towns.

One inevitable question about the formation of towns and cities in the Nineteenth Century seems to be about the point in time in history when capitalist towns and cities of some potential size are agreeably said to date. Breese (1966) sums it up as follows:-

It was not until the nineteenth century that there was a potential for the development of cities of any size, partly, due to increases in agricultural surplus, improved transportation, and political security. Once urbanization began it has proceeded apace. (Breese, 1966).

Apparently, the role of agriculture in the development of capitalist industrial towns and

cities seems to be significant for Breese (1966) as much as it was for Deane (1965), Weber (1966) and many others. It can be argued that comparable to their parallels of antiquity located in the alluvial plains of rivers (cf. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, (1982) 15th Edn. pp. 1062ff.), nineteenth century towns and cities attained their paramount position due to agricultural surplus generated from their crop-growing hinterland. As we have indicated, surplus production in agriculture had a direct impact on the reproduction of labour power which was required in the new industrial towns and cities, hence, on the urban-proletariat-in-the-making.

In view of the complexities of definition and the absence of widespread census taking prior to 1800, the difficulty of precisely tracing world urbanization prior to the beginning of 19th century should be readily understood. On the other hand, according to *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, (15th Edition pp. 1062ff.), since 1800, the proportion of the world's population resident in cities of 20,000 or more (and 100,000 or more) has been adequately summarized. For our purposes: the figures indicating percentage of increase in total world population and world urban population (Table 2.1); and, percentage of world's population living in cities (Table 2.2) sufficiently makes the point related to their essence and the dynamic among factors contributing to their very procreation.

TABLE 2.1

Percentage Increase in World Total and In World Urban Population

Years	World Total	20,000 or More	100,000 or More
1800-1850	29.2	132.3	76.3
1850-1900	37.3	193.5	222.2
1900 - 1950	49.3	239.6	254.5

Source:- United Nations Secretariat, Bureau of Social Affairs. N.Y., United Nations, 1957,
Quoted in Breese, 1966:17.

Note that since the turn of the century, the largest agglomerations, in this case those areas of concentration of 100,000 inhabitants or more, have been getting larger and larger; bringing forth the comparable terms such as *Metropolis*, *Megalopolis* - titles associated with very large cities such as London and New York, to name just two examples. It can be argued that this burgeoning tendency is the result of the complex interplay of many social forces, industrial and agricultural productivity being the prime ones. Emphasizing a related point, Weber (1968) argues that:-

Cities are made up of persons who do not cultivate the soil, their existence presupposes a surplus food-supply, which in turn promises either great fertility of the soil or advanced stage of the agricultural arts, and in either case convenient means of transportation, (pp. 162).

Weber emphasizes that all the three conditions were present in the river valleys of the Nile and Euphrates when Thebes, Memphis, Babylon and Nineveh, the first great cities of history arose.

In the accompanying Table, Davis (1969) has gathered together some United Nations Population data which portrays a different tendency from the first table. The latter case demonstrates that the proportion of the world's population that was urban increased much more substantially in places of less population concentration, in this case, urban areas of 20,000 inhabitants or more.

TABLE 2.2

Percentage of World's Population Living in Cities

Year	Cities of 20,000 or More	Cities of 100,000 or More
1800	2.4	1.7
1850	4.3	2.3
1900	9.2	5.5
1950	20.9	13.1
1970	27.8	24.0

Source:- Kingsley Davis, The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in The World, *The American Journal of Sociology*, March 1955; and, World Urbanization Statistical Year Book, 1969.

According to this analysis, by the year 1970 about 28 percent of the world's population was resident in urban places of 20,000 or more inhabitants. The upper limits of both urban places of 20,000 and of 100,000 or more are all skyrocketing. In other words, urbanization is indeed becoming a world phenomenon. At this juncture, it is important to pose for a working definition of the concept of urbanization drawing tentative conclusions that the

prevalent definitions are influenced by the foregoing background.

2.2 Urbanization: Towards A Working Definition

Whereas the terminology (*urbanization*) is applied to designate forms of social differentiation and particular forms of occupation and population density (cf. Comoro, 1984:21), it is well-known that there is no single definition of urbanization conclusively accepted by all urban researchers and, or theorists. The difficulties posed by this dilemma are very fundamental as they reflect the outcomes of individual studies. To overcome this limitation, this section seeks to consult a variety of sources which this author deems to be pertinent to the case-study at hand. These are, however, for illustrative purposes only and there is no pretence to provide an exhaustive and generalizable documentantion. To begin with, Castells' (1977), in his book entitled:- *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, sees urbanization in terms of both:-

the constitution of specific spatial forms of human societies characterised by significant concentration of activities and population in limited space and to the existence and diffusion of a particular cultural system, the urban culture. (Castells, 1977:5)

Conversely, Saunders (1981:9ff.) is critical of the conception of urban sociology that is premised upon the notion of space as its peculiar theoretical concern. According to Saunders, "each of the different approaches to urban sociology has *founded*[†] on the attempt to fuse a theory of specific social process with analysis of spatial forms". For him, each of these constitutes a distinct area of analysis and they cannot be held together in a single theory of urbanism. More interestingly, and according to Saunders (1981:249), "despite their very different approaches and concerns, Weber, Durkheim and Marx and

[†] *Emphasis added*

Engels all came to very similar conclusions as regards the analysis of urban questions. All agreed that the city played an historically specific role in the development of Western Capitalism, but they all also argued that, once capitalism had become established, the city ceased to be a theoretically significant category of analysis".

On his part, Smith (1979:235) regards urbanization as "the concentration of population in relatively compact settlements". He observes that urbanization is often confused with capitalism, and that the effects of capitalist economic development are mistaken for effects of urbanization. For that matter, Smith (1979:235ff) is critical of the fact that many of the consequences of the economic necessities of Western capitalism itself, notably, displacing tradition and custom, creating an industrial proletariat, exploiting nature, and disrupting local communities† are erroneously blamed on urbanization. In his own words, "tracing these consequences to urbanization clearly puts the cart before the horse".

On the other hand, Roberts (1978:9) contends that:-

urbanization in the *modern period* has entailed a profound process of social and economic transformation. Agriculture has become a less direct source of livelihood and a steadily decreasing proportion of the population in both developed and underdeveloped countries is employed on the land. Furthermore, urbanization has also implied an increasing territorial division of labour

Carefully analysed, Roberts' (1978) contention suggests that part of the rural population which is liberated from the land will flock to towns to assume non-agricultural activities. Towns themselves, as a result of *territorial division of labour* acquire economic integration with other societies. Roberts' contention of *modern-day urbanization*, however, is much more a portrayal of developed countries than of developing countries. Admittedly, however, in developing countries in one form or another, agriculture has not yet ceased to be a way

† cf. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, (London: Oxford U. Press 1973)

of life despite the rapid influx to towns. The implication, therefore, is that to impose this definition dogmatically to the circumstances of developing countries amounts to trying to impose and accept a situation that does not exist in reality.

For his part Hay Jr., (1977:72) defines urbanization as denoting:-

a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, technological, geographical, and cultural factors, mediated through the social organization of production

To make a quick assessment, Roberts' (1978) 'territorial division of labour' and Hay's 'social organization of production' are not totally unrelated. To be sure, a territorial division of labour begets a social organization of production of the kind that Marx and Engels, in the *German Ideology* frequently allude to the foundation of the antagonism between town and country. Be that as it may, "urbanization seems to proceed by its own irresistible dynamics", (Field, 1970:225).

An endless list of variously defined concepts of *urbanization* is not the main point of this analysis. Admittedly, the ones cited above make succinct the point that a one-to-one consensus is lacking.† Yet, however defined, most students of urbanization in developing countries should concur that the process is essentially the product of capitalist development and expansion. Interestingly, Gilbert and Gugler (1982) have contended that Karl Marx once described modern history as the "urbanization of the countryside". The co-authors describe this as a perculiary accurate aphorism for most parts of the Third World, suggesting even a possibility of arguing that without the intrusion of industrial capitalism some Third World societies would still lack major cities. Coincidentally they conclude that:-

† cf. Wilson's (1984), *argument on the multiplicity of patterns of urbanization in developing countries*.

In major parts of America and Africa urban development was superimposed by capitalism on essentially rural societies. (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982:13)

Carefully considered, in Gilbert and Gugler (1982) we encounter a remarkable unanimity with other conceptions reviewed here. Abstracting from all the definitions cited here, this study will identify the following with the process of urbanization:-

1. A quantitative and qualitative growth/development of towns and cities whereby a numerical increase in respective population of town/cities and the extension of their boundaries to engulf land previously outside their jurisdiction identify their **quantitative parameters**; and,
2. Identified with **qualitative parameters** of growth/development of towns and cities is a diversity of their activities representing various forms of the struggle for subsistence under conditions of meager resources and limited opportunities. Similarly, inadequacy of and, or a deterioration of services in given locations particularly the neglected old ones but also including those recently claimed or those yet to be claimed but caught up in the frenzied burgeoning of these towns and cities.

It is our contention that studies of urbanization in developing countries were content with the *quantitative* aspects of urbanization. One fundamental problem which is not addressed properly by the *quantitative* perspective is to determine how the mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians who cannot reproduce themselves solely on urban wages continue to subsist in an uncompromising urban environment. The due concern of this case-study, however, which is to explain both the formal-informal relationships of third world to capitalist development (cf. p. 3), both the *quantitative* and *qualitative* aspects of the process under the consideration shall be examined. In this survey of Mbeya's urbanization

process, therefore, the problem concerning the mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians who cannot reproduce themselves solely on urban wages but who continue to subsist in an uncompromising urban environment, is the central subject of the present *thesis*. It is our contention that this was not the priority of previous researchers and in particular those who have been attempting to extrapolate the Western experiences globally. In this study we shall maintain that such an approach deprives other experiences the opportunity for an objective analysis. It is our conviction that by relating critically the formal and informal sectors of an urban area to one another we can facilitate a plausible explanation of their hitherto seemingly separate cultures. Given the conclusion arrived at in section 2.1 namely, that urbanization is indeed becoming a world phenomenon, to proceed with third world urbanization is now in order.

2.3 Third World Urbanization

As we have noted, Breese (1966), Weber (1968), and Roberts (1978) have all associated urbanization with an increase in agricultural surplus. It is important to point out at the outset among other things, however, that, in the Third World Countries, both the modern development of agriculture and industry are not endogenous but they derive their impetus from factors related to the expansion of capitalism. This leads us to the central point that the capitalist mode of production is itself not indigenous to the Third World countries but one that has been imported. It can be argued that the other processes integral to capitalism have followed suit. Deriving from this notion we may identify two types of analysis of Third World urbanization:-

- i. a one-dimensional view which tends to overlook this superimposition, consequently reflecting the perspective of the core countries uncritically; and,

- ii. an analysis which acknowledges the dominance of capitalism (formal sector) but does not ignore the fundamental contribution of the informal relations in the development of peripheral capitalism (cf. p. 56, p. 173ff).

Generally, the first approach will be considered identical with the theoretical view point of the conventionalists. A point of view commonly shared by the neo-Marxists holds that a conventional urban social science explains urban phenomena only partially, failing to identify fundamental causes. Similarly, in describing a conventional approach, Jaret (1983:499) has contended that:-

urban research is deemed conventional when urban problems are viewed as discrete isolated phenomena or when certain urban forms or processes are considered inevitable or universal.

Considering that in the Third World countries capitalism has been imported from abroad, the validity of perceiving its urban problems as being isolated or some of its processes as being inevitable may be debated. This study, however, shall propose to advance the latter type of analysis. This perspective shall be described as the 'dynamic approach'.

To return to the main framework of analysis namely, the theory of the mode of production, we should recall that capitalism developed in Britain first under conditions which have fostered a concomitant development of industrialization and urbanization. On the other hand, despite the persistent drive for self-expansion of capital, the development of capitalism outside the core countries occurs under *perverse* conditions which are fundamentally different from those experienced at the core countries during their industrialization drive. The difference reminds us of the *superimposition thesis* of Gilbert and Gugler (1982), which can effectively account for the perversiveness observed in the latter countries. Various analysts including:- Baran, (1957); de Souza and Porter, (1974); Wallerstein,

(1976); Stohr and Palme, (1977); Stohr and Taylor, (1981), have debated this issue more clearly to require any lengthy repetition here. What has been done in this study, however, is to recapitulate in brief the main arguments concerning the development of Third World countries.

Describing the expansion of capitalism outside of Britain, Patel (1974) has contended that:-

In less than two centuries, the process of industrialization has spread from a tiny triangle in Britain to nearly 25 percent of the world population. But it has so far largely by-passed the Third World. (Patel, 1974:1)

Yet, urbanization in developing countries is deemed closely linked with the industrial-commercial economy (i.e. capitalism) which has spread from the northwesternmost corner of Europe in all directions. While it may be stressed that capitalism is an integral component of the process of urbanization in both the developed and the developing countries, there is also a need to highlight the point of emphasis in this study namely, that the urbanization experiences in the two entities is quite different. This point will make little sense if the incorporation of countries at the periphery, via the process of capitalist penetration, is not a central part of analysis. Furthermore, it is necessary to analyse:-

1. how this process is connected with colonialism;
2. how colonialism is in turn related to the capitalist division of labour; and,
3. how these two follow objectively from the inherent laws of motion of capitalism.

Of importance here is what these connections mean to the process of urbanization in the Third World countries. For purposes of this discussion however, we shall give more consideration to the notion of the *international division of labour* because of a conviction

that it is largely responsible for the demographic structure obtaining in the Third World. In addition, since the majority of the Third World proletarians are the urbanites whom we shall argue are not able to reproduce solely on wage basis, it is our conviction that the division of labour is also largely responsible for the proliferation of inequality which is clearly manifested in urban areas. It is our contention that the proliferation of inequality goes unchecked allowing the optimal interest of capital to be fully maximized.

In the light of these contentions, it can be argued that colonialism and capitalist penetration of the Third World are intricately related; the process of proletarianization in the Third World is one of their historical conjunctures. Considered literally, proletarianization would mean becoming proletarian, proletarianization being a process of eroding property rights (cf. Chevalier, 1980; Clement, 1981). Historically this process developed with capitalism and has gone hand in hand with it. At different historical phases, the Third World as it is portrayed today has harboured varied relationships with its opposite counterpart the Western World identified with the Western capitalist countries. Note, however, that Chapter One has been quite explicit that the categories *Third World* and of course *Western World* are for analytical purposes only. We are aware that there are gross disparities within each of the two entities and that generalization is sometimes very deceiving. With this view point in mind, two major phases will be considered here in brief.

The earlier of the two phases, namely the period of mercantile trade involved what Marx called the *primitive accumulation of capital*. Among other things, mercantile trade is *infamous* for its massive drain of resources from the Third World by various agents of the core countries. A few primary examples may be cited from literature, the following notable ones from Dobb (1963:192) which are but the tip of the iceberg, being included:

- i. Vasco *da* Gama is said to have returned to Lisbon in 1499 with a cargo which repaid six times the cost of the expedition;
- ii. Sir. Francis Drake returned in the *Golden Hind* with booty that has been variously estimated at values between half and one and a half million sterling on a voyage that cost some 5,000 pounds sterling; and,
- iii. The East India Company is said to have averaged a rate of profit of about 100 per cent in the seventeenth century.

On the one hand, mercantile trade strengthened the economic position of only a handful of aggressive rivals from the Western World. On the other hand, in the Third World it initiated relations of production which have proved difficult to reverse, the incessant erosion of property rights being a prime condition. It is by the same process of eroding property rights that the proletariat comes into being. The connection between colonialism and the proletarianization process in the Third World is indicated further in the latter phase.

Superseding the phase of primitive accumulation of capital is the phase of formal incorporation of the Third World into the colonial and subsequently the cash nexus system. *Imperialism* is the term Lenin (1968) used to refer to this stage of capitalist development. Quintessentially, and according to Appelbaum (1970:91), "Lenin felt that the stage of imperialism followed inevitably from the development of capitalism in the direction of monopolistic concentration of capital (*predicted by Marx*) and the ever-expanding demand for raw materials and markets that results." Of particular interest here is that this stage triggered the process of formal incorporation of the Third World and subsequently the proletarianization process. A review of the needs and internal conditions of the core countries

which had a direct bearing upon the conditions imposed on the Third World countries would be quite enlightening. We shall, however, not dwell on such details presently but, for reference, they do appear in the works of Dobb (1963); Mandel (1968); Kemp (1969). What we will do at this time, however, is consider the mechanism within which on the one hand the needs of the centre are effected. On the other hand, it will be informative to analyse the framework within which conditions are imposed upon the Third World to reciprocate to the needs of the centre and what this means to the process of urbanization. Critically considered, the international division of labour is both a manifestation of the intricate situation providing the linkage of both entities, namely, the *core* and the *periphery*.

The concept of International Division of Labour may be conceived identical to that of Capitalist Division of Labour. According to Gorz (1976:vii), the essence of division of labour under capitalism is conceived to be:-

the confiscation by capital of the knowledge, the judgement, and the will practiced by the independent peasants or handcraftsmen and concentrating them in its machines, its organization of labour, its technology.

Implicit in this assertion, the capitalist division of labour facilitates a separation between manual and intellectual labour. It is important to understand this separation historically because it touches upon important features which helps to explain the central role that peripheral societies have come to occupy.

As it may be recalled, our conception of the formation of the Third World proletarians emphasized the notion of erosion of property rights. It suffices to note that the same notion is quite explicit in Gorz's (1976) definition depicting conditions at the centre. Secondly, and more important for the immediate concern, it has been envisioned here that through the international division of labour we can primarily explain the two major phenomena:-

1. how the needs of the developed countries were met; and,
2. how, in the developing countries, new needs were created, hence the notion of the *imposition* of conditions to reciprocate to the needs of the centre.

On the basis of the excerpt from Gorz (1976), the explanation presumed earlier can be deemed to be supported. At this point, we are now ready to discuss how the needs of developing countries were met.

In an earlier part of this discussion we expressed an intention to limit ourselves, hence, by-pass fine details elaborately presented elsewhere (cf. Dobb, 1963; Mandel, 1968; Kemp, 1969), to be consistent it is, therefore, simply sufficient here to say that basically cheap labour and key miscellaneous industrial raw materials, including extensive markets that they could control, were the dire needs of the historical epoch of developed countries.

It follows that, in developing countries, new needs and conditions to reciprocate were created. It is important to point out here that there is evidence in the literature (cf. Dobb, 1963; Mandel, 1968; Kemp, 1969) that the system of production emanating from the needs and conditions at the centre namely, industrialization, had multiple effects at home. They include flooding of the home market with manufactured consumer goods, but at the same time lowering the purchasing power of the people, concentration of capital in a few industries and centralizing production. Obviously, in Marx's conception, this leads to a fundamental crisis of capitalist production. To paraphrase Appelbaum (1978:76), it is impossible to sustain a rising organic composition of capital indefinitely without undermining the necessary profitability on which capitalist production rests. In the same vein Heilbroner (1980) calls our attention to the irreconcilable conflict between the forces of production that are ever more technically interconnected, scientifically complex, and

rationally unified, and the relations of production that remain stubbornly individualist, competitive, and antagonistic. He contends that, "the doom of capitalism is that it creates technical structures of production that exceeds its institutions of social control (p. 124). It is not surprising, therefore, that some analysts are not skeptical of Marx's (1977) powerful apocalyptic declaration (cf. Capital, III:250 Ninth Printing) that "The real barrier to capitalist production is *capital itself*".†. Consequently, however, 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 (Mandel, 1972), notably the undeveloped countries of the third world which are fundamental in offsetting the accumulation crisis at the centre.

In sum, the consequences of various effects of industrialization for the home market were detrimental enough to want to initiate changes in the system. These effects underlie its exportation to the peripheral countries. Primarily, therefore, in order for this social system of production *imported* from the centre to function at the periphery, it was imperative to create in the latter countries new needs and conditions to ensure the latter's response to the escalating demands of the former. Both the creation of new needs and the imposition of such conditions to comply to the emergent situation have been adequately theorized and well presented by a number of Third World analysts including:- Frank (1969); Amin (1972); Emmanuel (1972); Rodney (1972); Rweyeniamu (1973); Foster-Carter (1978) to mention a few. Briefly, however, we shall recapitulate the *thesis* which at this juncture drives home our major point of contention.

To recapitulate, in order for the capitalist system of production to be imposed on the peripheral societies it was imperative that the latter's so called *pre-capitalist* ways and means of production be made to coexist with the incipient system. The thesis of

† *emphasis in the original*

articulation of modes of production (cf. Amin, 1972, 1974; Foster-Carter, 1978; Chevalier, 1982; Berman, 1984) whereby capitalism as the dominant mode of production coexists with other *less dominant* modes of production in the peripheral (*capitalist*) social formation is a case in point. It has been demonstrated elsewhere that in some situations capitalism destroyed the existing production relations and imposed one of its own. The case of the Indian Textile industry destroyed by the British capitalism, transforming India into a mere producer of raw cotton for shipment to England is often cited as a clear case in point. Elsewhere pre-capitalist relations of production have been conserved and left to coexist with capitalism, peasantry being a relevant example, (cf. Frank, 1969; Rodney, 1972; for Latin American and African experiences respectively; and, Shanin, 1971, for a general perspective). Articulation of the modes of production may therefore involve both destruction and, or conservation of existing pre-capitalist forms of production. These conditions will impinge upon proletarianization, a process which is a central pre-condition to both industrialization and urbanization.

Following from the above it is important to point out that with either strategy of these modes of production, the erosion of property rights was involved and that once initiated it progressively crept along. The following is approximately the general trend of the process:-

1. Land alienation to establish the administration and other social infrastructure precedes the one which had involved the alienation of large tracts of land for the plantation economy, mining and other quarry sites; and,
2. land alienation renders the affected victims propertyless and in dire need for some means of subsistence. These become the first labour targets of the new social system.

Labour has always been one of the imperatives to serve the interests of capital. Indeed, Baran and Sweezy (1966) as well as Braverman (1974) among others, who have closely studied the capitalist labour process clearly spell this out. In Braverman's (1974:139) own words:-

the transformation of working humanity into a labour force, a factor of production, an instrument of capital, is an incessant and unending process.

Yet, in the self sustaining subsistence economies this vital commodity, labour, has not always been sufficiently available or forthcoming. As a result, mechanisms for its solicitation do get underway. Among the most effective ones used in the Third World being the deprivation of the target population of the capacity and means to provide for its own subsistence. The most common strategies have included forced labour, various forms of taxation which in the final analysis had labour compulsion techniques. Both of these were commonly used during the German colonial administration of Tanzania (November 1890-1919).

Additionally, the introduction of primary cash crops to a limited area to be grown by peasants and concomitantly the creation of labour reserves elsewhere complemented other methods mentioned above to create favourable conditions for capital to operate. As a result, the peripheral economy has been tied to the needs of the market. Of importance here is that some of its precapitalist forms of production were conserved and were allowed to coexist with capitalist production. On the other hand, however, it is noteworthy that all these methods were used in varying degrees and with varying effects in different countries in the Third World. For instance, while in Tanzania only a small percentage of land was alienated (cf. Clarke, 1968), in Latin America the peasant is almost virtually both without land and, or without access to it. In India too, its unique *Caste System* has pauperized

peasantry.

It follows that while in Tanzania only a small percentage of land was alienated, the impact of land alienation notably, destruction and disruption of the pre-capitalist social systems through which the population reproduced itself (cf. Comoro, 1984:14ff) continued to affect a greater proportion of the population than that directly affected by the 1% of land alienated. A negative aspect of the articulation of the modes of production and the coexistence of multiple forms of production is best presented by Rodney (1972:239) who in reference to the African peasantry has argued that:-

the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe.

We shall assume that in Rodney's perspective, rural conditions are potential for both a rural exodus and a mass urban drift. The Indian sub-Continent and Latin American countries have some of the largest urban agglomerations resulting from demographic conditions imposed by the prevailing divisions of labour.

To return to the point of demographic structures obtaining in Third World countries, it is our contention that the structure of the population is largely changed by the re-location of basic services and industries in urban areas. Theoretically, the process of proletarianization which is accompanied by depriving the proletariat of some property rights such as land; means of production; and, therefore means of subsistence, up-roots the rural population who migrate to urban areas in search of alternate means of subsistence. Therefore, the urban areas and the rural areas experience unequal development. The process of proletarianization in the Third World, however, unlike that of the core countries, is largely a partial one. In this regard, the articulation of the modes of production provides the appropriate conditions in urban areas for the coexistence of forms of production

other than the formal wage-labour per se. Despite their on-going drift urbanward, the urban-proletariat-in-the-making still retain relations with the base. Marxists would argue that the tendency to maintain relationships with their rural bases affects their class consciousness, hence, affects the development of a *vanguard/revolutionary* proletariat. We shall not consider the question of consciousness here, but it is sufficient to note that the level of consciousness will depend on a number of factors, the degree of exploitation and the degree of concentration of labour being the prime ones.

2.4 Summary and Conclusion

In summary, urbanization, that is to say, the concentration of population in relatively compact settlements, to paraphrase Smith, (1979), is a consequence of the economic necessities of Western Capitalism at a particular time in its historical development. The role of agriculture or surplus production from agriculture has a direct impact upon the production and reproduction of labour power. In other words the development in agriculture is important to both the processes of proletarianization and urbanization. In the Third World countries the process of proletarianization is only patially complete, particularly in the sense that the proletariat themselves do not reproduce solely on urban wages. In turn, this is a necessary corollary of the logic of capital as much as it is the outcome of the specific type of *proletarianization*. Juxtaposed against the background of rapid growth of towns and cities of the Third World, is the central question, "how does the mass of proletariat and semi-proletariat who cannot reproduce themselves solely on urban wages continue to subsist in unpromising urban environments?" In this study, this is the subject for further analysis. At the present time, the following broad observations can be made:

1. The foregoing has suggested that the process of penetration of capitalism to the periph-

eral societies has incorporated the latter into the larger world system. This process, it is argued, is achieved through the international division of labour which is itself linked to colonialism. Apparently, this incorporation is inevitably enforced in order for capital to function optimally. What is more important here is that the problems of capital to expand are systemic and hit hardest in societies where surplus value is repatriated *en masse* or otherwise to develop other societies. Gunder Frank's (1969; also adopted by Samir Amin, 1974) *centre-periphery metaphor* usefully identifies this to be a dominant exploitative relation between LDCs and developed Western capitalist countries. The impact of these processes which have been superimposed on to the peripheral societies is a multiplication of activities in their evolving urban centres.

2. As the centres of concentration of capital/production relations, the towns and cities have become centres for administering the economy because of their capacity to draw resources from the hinterland. Of these, labour is one of the quickest to respond, hence, making the cities and towns large population centres as well. Together, capital and labour form a fundamental urban relation. It is the philosophy of this study that in this dominant urban relation, only the formal aspects of the labour component have been recognized. In this regard it can be argued that an important side of the totality of these relationships is being overlooked.
3. To return to the notion of town/cities as being centres for administering the economy, the role of the state becomes the immediate point of reference. It is our contention that whatever role the state may be seen to play, in this peripheral capitalist social formation, the total effect of the coexistence of the *indigenous* modes of production and the imposed - which is the dominant one namely, the *peripheral capitalist mode*

of production profoundly affects its anticipated mediatory role. This perspective of the *paradoxical* role of post-colonial state which has already been hinted in Chapter One (p. 7), will be reflected in the recommendations in the concluding chapter.

Finally, it can be postulated that the Third World relations demonstrate what appears to be a fundamental vicious-circle between and among the central relationships to which its essence may be referred. Foremost, colonialism and the capitalist division of labour in their complex totality are the relations which have facilitated the superimposition of capitalism in the peripheral societies. The Laws of motion of capital are an inherent part of this complex totality. Given this background, it will be invaluable to consider Third World urbanization as an inherent part of the social infrastructure necessary for capital to operate at the periphery. It is also our contention in this study that there is a wide-spread involvement of the household in the *self-actualizing* activities which underwrites the social costs of capital†, necessary to reproduce the urban-proletariat-in-the-making, hence their movemments back and forth on both sides of the formal/informal divide (cf. Chap. Six). This phenomenon which suggests the importance of the informal sector has not been considered before. In our opinion (cf. p. 173ff), in their complex totality, the multiplicity of petty socio-economic activities on-going in urban areas of developing countries as part of the informal economic relation must be deemed as an inherent part of the development of peripheral capitalism. It can be asserted that the infrastructure implied here includes both quantitative and qualitatiive features of the society under the consideration. The following chapter which looks at Tanzania's political economy and and attempts an overview of urbanization will pursue this subject further.

† cf. p. 13-14, p. 183ff

Chapter Three

Tanzania: Location, Political Economy and Urbanization - An Overview

3.0 Introduction

It was asserted in the Introductory Chapter that as a Third World entity, Tanzania is in many ways similar to most countries of its category. It was observed, however, that as a result of the characteristics inherent in capitalism, Tanzania and her parallels throughout the Third World have major distinguishable features. Granted that, it is our contention here that the common features make some aspects of the Tanzanian experience generalizable. On the other hand, the unique aspects of the urbanization experience of Tanzania also calls for a thorough examination of the prevailing generalizations which, as we have indicated closely reflect the experiences of Industrialized Western societies accepted somewhat wholesale, therefore, in our view point, uncritically. As we stated in Chapter One (p. 3), the purpose of this study is to explain the relationship of third world urbanization to capitalist development. The thesis of the articulation of the modes of production is the central framework of reference. It is the intent of the present chapter, therefore, to show how, within the articulation of the modes of production framework, urban areas of Third World countries like Tanzania are “pockets of concentration of social infrastructure” intricately connected with the export enclave economies. The remaining part of the presentation of this chapter is divided into the following four sections:

3.1 The Geographical Location of Tanzania;

3.2 Political Economy of Tanzania;

3.3 Urbanization in Tanzania - An Overview; and,

3.4 Summary and Conclusion.

To begin with a brief description of the geographical location of the study country is quite in order.

3.1 The Geographical Location of Tanzania

Tanzania is strategically located on the eastern coast of Africa where it shares boundaries with eight other independent African states (Figure 3.1). Five of the states with which Tanzania shares borders are landlocked countries which have to depend on Tanzania and/or other neighbour states for:-

- a. outlets for their primary commodities to the larger external buyers; and,
- b. inlets for their imported manufactured consumer goods from the external suppliers.

We shall return to these points.

- i. at the northern frontier are the republics of Kenya and Uganda. The latter has no access to the strategic sea-ports save *via* Kenya's port of Mombasa;
- ii. at the south and south-western frontier, which is also the location of Mbeya Region, Tanzania shares borders with Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique and Zaire. Mozambique and Zaire have their own outlets to the sea which, respectively are the Indian ocean and the Atlantic ocean. Malawi and Zambia however, are landlocked southern neighbours.

FIGURE 3.1: A GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE STUDY COUNTRY

After Comoro, C.J.B., "T.J. Shantytowns In Dar es Salaam: A Study Of Housing Process"; Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, (1984:6)

We should mention here in passing the importance of the TANZAM (i.e. Tanzania to Zambia) Highway and the TAZARA (short form for TANZANIA ZAMBIA RAILWAY AUTHORITY) Line for the Zambian economy. Mbeya town serves as the most important inland station in Tanzania both for the TANZAM/TAZARA and, lately, for the Malawi bound cargo from the ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam;

iii. On its western frontier, the country shares borders with Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

Zaire stretches almost through the entire western frontier of East Africa, Rwanda and Burundi sandwiched between Tanzania (eastward) and Zaire (westward) being among the landlocked neighbour states; and,

iv. finally, on its eastern frontier, Tanzania is bathed by the Indian ocean. Its long coastline is punctuated by several shelterd harbours, including Dar es Salaam, Tanga, and Mtwara. As noted in Chapter One, Dar es Salaam which is the first capital and port-city is the most important Indian ocean sea-port of Tanzania.

The distance in miles of shared borderlines between Tanzania and neighbour states is shown in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

The Length and Status of International Boundaries in Tanzania

Sovereignty (either side)	Length (miles)	Status
Burundi-Tanzania	280	Demarcated
Kenya-Tanzania	478	Demarcated
Malawi-Tanzania	520	Demarcated
Mozambique-Tanzania	470	Demarcated
Rwanda-Tanzania	470	Demarcated
Tanzania-Uganda	260	Demarcated
Tanzania-Zambia	210	Demarcated
Zaire-Tanzania	285	Demarcated

Source: Extrapolated from Anthony S. Reyner "International Boundaries in Africa" reprinted in *African Boundary Problems* (ed.) C.G. Widstrand, pp. 186-189,

It can be argued among other things that, the vast borderline which Tanzania shares with other sovereign states including the open eastern sea board which meets the international boundary impinges upon the country's internal and external policy.

Bounded by these borderlines, Tanzania covers an area of 945,087 Square Kilometers. According to the last national population census which was conducted in 1978, 17.5 million people inhabited the country. By mid-1984, however, the population was estimated at 20.5 million and growing at an annual average of 3.5 percent, which is one of the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (cf. *Country Profile: 1986-1987, Quarterly Economic Review (Tanzania)*, May, 1986). Based on the mid-1984 statistics, mainland urban population was estimated

at 2 million. Overall, the urban population is estimated to have grown by an annual average of 7 percent in the 1970's. The total population is projected to reach 26 million by the year 1990 (QER, May, 1986).

According to a United Nations' (1987) observation, "Africa has had exceptionally high urban growth in the recent past" (UN., 1987:4). The following United Nations' (1987) annual average growth figures for urban population in other countries provide a useful comparison for Tanzania's 7% growth:

East Africa's Annual Average	6.6%;
Africa's Annual Average	4.9%;
Less Developed Countries	3.4%
More Developed Countries	0.9%;
World's Annual Average	2.9%

Source: The Prospects of World Urbanization Revised as of 1984-85, United Nations, 1987:4 extrapolated from Table 4,).

To return to points (a) and (b) above, we have indicated that Tanzania provides an outlet-inlet, respectively, for neighbour states' primary commodities and imported manufactured consumer goods from external suppliers. It is important to note at the outset that the nature of the economy of Tanzania and neighbour states, or of Third World countries *per se* in a category similar to Tanzania, is primarily an export-import oriented enclave economy. It is noteworthy that the enclave nature of these economies has been created historically and continues to function in this structural form due to the prevailing division of labour (cf. Hayuma, 1979). Indeed, this process whereby the countries at the periphery engage in exportation of primary (often raw or semi-raw) commodities and importation of manufactured consumer goods is mediated by the capitalist relations of production.

In the last analysis the relations of production, exchange and consumption between the export^g Third World countries and the importing and re-exporting developed countries the world over operate on unequal footing (cf. Emmanuel, 1973; Hayuma, 1979). We shall also suggest that countries such as Tanzania which afford passage and, or transport goods for others that do not have direct access to the sea-ports are merely performing this role on behalf (*or at the behest*) of capital. At this point we may address ourselves to the socio-economic consequences that bear upon a Third World country such as Tanzania which performs the role of capital. A look at the political economy of Tanzania is now in order.

3.2 Political Economy Of Tanzania

To examine carefully the political economy of Tanzania we propose to consider this subject historically, with reference to the dominant mode of production. As we noted earlier, Tanzania, like other Third World countries, has been historically incorporated in the capitalist system. In terms of this study, this means that production is mainly geared to serve the needs of international capital. In turn, this alleviates the accumulation crisis at home (i.e. the centre). It is argued by notable economists, for example Seidman (1972) that, Lord Lugard, who played a significant role in both East and West Africa, quite frankly explained the goals of the British colonizers. Having considered the growing population of Europe together with its industrial expansion, Lord Lugard (1965) asserted, that it

led to the replacement of agriculture by manufacturing industry, with the consequent necessity for new markets for the product of the factory, and importation of raw materials for industry and food to supplement the increased population.

The tropical regions, he argued, fulfilled these growing needs. Given the differences in

technology, this also means that Third World countries are basically expected to be the producers of non-competitive primary agricultural products and other cheap raw materials, while their opposite counterparts in developed countries basically remain as the producers and distributors of industrially manufactured goods. These major differences characterise as well as impinge upon urbanization and class formation in Third World countries such as Tanzania. Under the prevailing production relations, urban areas become service centres and the majority of the population involved in the service sector cannot be expected to reproduce themselves fully as well as the industrial proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries of the West, hence, the term used in this study, "urban-proletariat-in-the-making". For that matter, it will be in order to suggest here at the outset that the political economy of Tanzania is similar to other export-import enclave economies in developing countries in that it is not functioning freely or in isolation from the impinging forces of the global capitalist system. Speaking of which, Barkin (1981) aptly put it when he said,

The logic of allocative decision is now global even when investment and production decision are made by national governments or local capitalists, it seems increasingly clear that global economic and political structures strongly influence the individual decision maker. (Barkin, 1981:158)

From this point of view, the 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. The latter, it may be noted, are the majority producers in many Third World countries. In the case of Tanzania, based on the mid-1984 statistics, this category approximately comprised some 18 million inhabitants *i.e.* four-fifths of the total population. Considering peasant production to be the backbone of the economy in many

Third World countries, it is our opinion that the political economies of countries such as Tanzania are intricately connected with significant interest of the centre over a wide international spectrum. To highlight the notion of global economic and political structures pertaining to the situation of Tanzania, a brief summary of the latter's incorporation into the international system is in order.

The history of the social development of Tanzania, the colonial impact being inclusive, is quite diverse. It may be stretched back to the time of *African slave trade* generally conducted by outsiders for profit motives. According to Dobb. (1963:193):-

in the African slave trade in which the Duke of York and Prince Rupert participated, profits reaped were *lucrative*, between 100 and 300%,

For purposes of examining the political economy of Tanzania, we will begin with November 1890 when Tanzania became a German colony. As a matter of history, Tanzania has been occupied by two colonial powers, first it was occupied by the Germans (1884-1919) and then the British (1919-1961). Even before the German colonization, however, many foreign nationalities, Phoenicians, Persians, Chinese, Portuguese (cf. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*) to name just a few, had already established commercial contacts with this part of Africa. In Tanzania, commercial ties beyond the German and British circles have been maintained continuously ever since. In a remote sense, colonial occupation of Tanzania (formerly - *Tanganyika*). † lacked continuity, for it was indeed interrupted by change of colonial administrators (German/British), but much more so by the two World Wars

† In 1920, and according to the *Treaty of Versailles*, this part of *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, upon becoming a 'Mandate' administered by the British was christened '*Tanganyika*', a name believed to have been coined by Sir. Cosmo Parkinson - a British Civil Servant (cf. Duggan and Civile. 1976, chap. 3).

(1914-1919; 1939-1945) the first one subsequently resulting in a change in the colonial administration.

As a German colony, it was in fact a part of the larger *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*. The latter had included the present Burundi and Rwanda which as we have already noted are among the landlocked countries. The point here is that, these countries were initially occupied by the respective colonial powers as part of the *scramble for Africa* and consequent *partition* of the continent (cf. Iliffe, 1969; Amin, 1972; Davidson, 1974; Fage, 1978). As Samir Amin notes:-

the partition of the continent at the turn of the century, multiplied the means available to the colonialist to attain capital at the centre. (Amin, 1972:503)

It can be argued that the partition of the continent was a reflection of the (commercial) interests in the peripheral societies nurtured in the centre and that the process whereby such interests were realized is epitomized by the process of incorporation of the latter into the capitalist system. According to Moffett (1962; see also Duggan and Cville, 1976:21), German nationals exerted pressure to their government to join other European nations' economic *scramble* for African territories. It is often said that lack of communications had restricted the German colonialists to the coastal regions during the early years of their occupation and climate restricted the nature of their crops. They were, however, successful in establishing primary plantation crops in the area namely, sisal, cotton, coffee and tea which to date remain the country's major cash crops (Duggan and Cville, 1976: 21). Of these, sisal had been the most strategic to the Germans. According to Rweyemamu (1973):-

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. (Rweyemamu, 1973: 25)

Evidence after they lost the war, in whose battle they had heavily invested in order to win, the economy was not in apt form and shape to receive and adapt the external technologies or to curb the surplus being siphoned away.

Under the British colonialists the status of Tanzania became even more precarious. In the first place, while the British were given the mandate for immediate occupation of the territory, administratively they had to submit to the authority of the recently assembled League of Nations. Paradoxically, however, administering this country as *per* the Article 22 of the League's Covenant, the unique status of the territory could not be unilaterally altered either by the League or by the Mandatory Power (Duggan and Civile, 1976: 25). It seems plausible, therefore, to argue that the British were deprived of the governing autonomy comparable to and exercised by their predecessors under the Kaiser's suzerainty. Furthermore, they could not *usurp* the economic monopoly of the territory as the Germans had done since the mandate guaranteed equal opportunity for trade and commerce in the area for all members of the League of Nations. Under the circumstances:-

The first British governor to Tanganyika, Sir Horace Byatt, had the twin task of repatriating German settlers and disposing of their properties, which reportedly, besides the British were predominantly purchased by Greek and less predominant by Asian buyers. (Duggan and Civill, 1976; 25)

To cite one telling example, the distribution of ownership of sisal production (Table 3.2) reflect the proportions that have just been mentioned, that is, in terms of ownership and operation, the sisal industry was very much foreign owned. The same goes for the orientation of the control of the country's political economy.

TABLE 3.2

Distribution Of Ownership Of Sisal Production, 1958, By Race and Ethnicity

Race	% Production	Total
Greek	32.0	N.S.
British	31.3	N.S.
Swiss	8.7	N.S.
Dutch	2.1	N.S.
Italian	0.8	N.S.
German	0.4	N.S.
Total European	75.3	75.3
Asians	24.1	24.1
Africans	0.6	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: C.W. Guillebaud, "Economic Survey of the Sisal Industry", 1959, cited in Friedland, W., (1969:18)

The data in Table 3.2 lead one to suggest that the Tanzanian colonial market was fragmented among different members of the League of Nations and, or interest groups, as was required by the League's arrangement. It can be postulated here, therefore, that this arrangement:-

- i. increased competition among trading partners;
- ii. increased the repatriation of resources and surplus to the external market;
- iii. limited the capacity for internal accumulation and re-investment; and,

iv. retarded the incipient local capitalist class.

This final assertion ties in with an often heard argument that it is not within the interest of monopoly capitalism to completely institute capitalist development outside its frontier. One thinks it is important to note this point because following from this realization, even the question of transfer of technology which is presumed to countercheck dependency relations is rendered very sceptical. The nature of production, it must be noted, was predominantly export oriented, a situation which has continued since the country's political independence in 1961. Furthermore, even during the colonial rule, this situation had coexisted with a corresponding overall dearth of social infrastructure, hence it must be stressed that economically, the country remained vulnerable to external forces. In sum, it can be argued that since the nature of the political economy of Third World countries such as Tanzania is oriented towards producing for the market, it can be debated that the purpose of producing for the market merely satisfies the same dominant structure that had created this unbalanced pattern. Urban areas of these countries may be deemed as *pockets of concentration of social infrastructure* intricately connected with the export enclave economies.

The main purpose of most of these pockets of concentration is primarily handling services and rudimentary processing of the raw materials where necessary and applicable. In the light of these contentions, it is in our interest to find out the extent that an export-import oriented enclave economy is able to reproduce the urban-proletariat-in-the-making involved in different sectors of the urban economy. While this problem cannot be resolved here conclusively, certainly there is support for the contention that export-import oriented enclave economies perpetuate dependency relations, hence, retard indigenous development. As a sociological problem, the latter is deeply embedded within

the *pseudo*-industrial urban culture imposed by capitalism whose function in the Third World countries is generally considered to be intractable. In the previous chapter we noted the essence of the process of proletarianization in peripheral capitalist societies such as Tanzania to be a process of eroding property rights. Becoming a *proletarian* in these peripheral capitalist social formations presupposes the occurrence of the penetration of *simple commodity production* by capitalist relations whereby former 'independent' producers become wage-labourers. As we have noted already, the incorporation of peripheral societies was accomplished in the historical process of colonization and subsequent capitalist division of labour. Basically:-

peripheral capitalist societies were assigned the role of being granaries and suppliers of raw materials while the industrialized countries assumed the responsibility of being suppliers of manufactured and other industrialized products (cf. Hayuma, 1979:350)

This arrangement called for subordination of local conditions of production for the needs of the market (cf. Frank 1969, 1972; Amin 1974; Foster-Carter 1978), an arrangement which in the final analysis does *not*† generate conditions favourable for capital to be accumulated in the periphery. What is noteworthy is that accumulation of capital is deemed a fundamental requisite for development.

It follows, then, that factors which called for the subordination of local conditions of production for the needs of the market complemented the erosion of property rights. In other words, put simply, the proletariat was gradually created by a combination of local conditions and factors imposed by the external society. To cite the examples of Tanzania, the proletariat was first created by a combination of:-

- a. forced labour, particularly under German colonial administration;

† *Our emphasis*

- b. compulsory taxation (cf. McCarthy, 1982, esp. Chap. 2; Tanganyika Territory Reports 1925-1938) both under German and the British administration;
- c. systematic incorporation of Africans in cash crop production especially, coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco (cf. McCarthy, 1982, esp. Chap. 6ff.) gradually alienating others from direct access to money cash outside of wage-labour. The latter group comprised the majority of Tanzania's population; and,
- d. to a lesser extent, land squeeze, a factor which could be related to prosperous, over-crowded cash crop growing areas - the hinterlands of Mbeya, Moshi and Bukoba being the prime examples.

Data, however, to support the latter (namely, land squeeze) have not yet been sufficiently documented for further application and discussion. All in all, considering that conditions favourable for capital to be accumulated in the periphery were not created, it is quite in order to debate whether the conditions to reproduce the proletariat in the periphery were also sufficiently created.

As a way of life, wage labour is more concentrated in towns and cities, and the concentration of proletarian people directly or indirectly involved are residents there. The population concentration in towns and cities is essentially a factor of the process of urbanization which takes place as a result of:-

a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, technological, geographical, and cultural factors. (Hay, Jr. 1977: 72)

Owing to the nature and logic of capitalism which operates unevenly in the peripheral societies, the proletariat of these social formations are unable to reproduce themselves entirely on wage basis. It can be argued that for their survival other forces must intervene.

and one of the persistent ones is a way of life where traditionally the kinship system of help among relatives is in force. But, under capitalist relations of production, the arrangement is such that population not directly involved in the urban labour market, the entire hinterland being inclusive, becomes intricately involved in the reproduction of the semi-proletarian and the dominant system at large. It is imperative to recall Barkin's (1981:158) contention that:-

it seems increasingly clear that global economic and political structures strongly influence the individual decision maker.

Certainly there is support for the contention that even the 'non-capitalist' producers such as peasant producers in many Third World countries are influenced by the same forces. We shall return to this point in the following chapters. At this juncture, however, it will be sufficient to say that, the process of proletarianization in developed industrial states of the West is such that the proletarian is solely dependent on capitalist wage-labour relations. As we shall see, the predicament of the proletarian in developing countries like Tanzania is reflected in its process of urbanization to which we shall now turn.

3.3 Urbanization in Tanzania - An Overview

Evidence of urban tradition on the East African coast goes back many centuries. How far back Tanzania's urban history goes is not clear. Some settlement is known to have existed before the christian era, but exact dates are not known, (Hayuma, 1979: 353). While the urban tradition on the East African coast cannot be clearly dated, the genesis of modern (used synonymously with - capitalist) urbanization in Tanzania can be approximated. The handful of administrative posts and centres that was established by the German colonial rulers after the scramble for Africa in the 1880s are useful departing points. It is

noteworthy at this point to observe that this identification of modern urban centres with the administrative posts established by colonial rulers corroborates Gilbert's and Gugler's (1982) argument of the superimposition of urban development by capitalism discussed above. Bagamoyo and the inland towns of Mpwapwa, Iringa and *Neu-Langenburg* (now Tukuyu) which in 1901 became the centre of German southern headquarters near Mbeya may be mentioned here in passing as having historical significance of the German era. Bagamoyo which had originally served as a port for the *infamous* slave trade was temporarily a German centre on the coast near Dar es Salaam. Coincidentally, one of the oldest streets in Tukuyu called *Bagamoyo* is inhabited by people who culturally have a lot in common with the coastal people of Bagamoyo who by the 1901 historical landmark were more than one thousand inaccessible kilometers away. Mpwapwa which is also a way station on the *infamous* slave trade route became their workshop for arms and ammunition used in the fateful World War I. On the other hand, Iringa was their strong fortress of the southern highlands against the Hehe tribesmen who fought a protracted war opposing German colonial domination. Having acquired supremacy and land on the coastal zone, their next effort, Coulson (1982) observes, was:-

to subdue the Hehe, then under Mkwawa the strongest inland tribe. (Coulson, 1982: 30)

Tukuyu, in Mbeya region was another German stronghold most probably against hostile neighbours south of the border (i.e. the British and their allies, the Boers to the south).

Given the nature and logic of colonial administration which *inter alia* was to serve the export enclave economy, it is our suggestion that such posts and centres were not established on unoccupied land and, or in isolation from the inhabited localities already experiencing some expansion in the subsistence activities. As a point of information, to

date, the hinterlands of Mpwapwa and Iringa are famous for maize production, a perennial crop comprising the staple food for a large majority of Tanzanians. Likewise, Tukuyu's Rungwe district which is also the hinterland of Mbeya municipality, provides the latter with various food crops including bananas, rhizomes, legumes, vegetable, and oilseeds. Also Bagamoyo and its hinterland which is also a section of the hinterland of the nation's first capital city produce paddy. Rice is the most popular food in this capital city as well as the entire East African coast. In other words, existing localities which in subsistence terms were already self-sufficient, provided the base for the modern superstructures imposed on them. It goes without saying that the latter have been heavily dependent upon the former in terms of cheap labour and food supply. It is provisionally contended here that the early settlements along the coast upon which modern towns and cities like Mogadishu (Somali Republic), Mombasa (Kenya's principal sea-port), Tanga, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, Mtwara, and Zanzibar, (the Isles prime port and urban centre) *etcetera*, have been superimposed, originally existed as:-

- a. farming and, or fishing villages;
- b. market villages and, or both.

It is our contention that as a result of this mutual coexistence with their immediate hinterland, subsistence reproduction was not difficult to attain. It can also be asserted that inland towns have outgrown the traditional settlements on which they have been superimposed. Likewise we shall presume that in subsistence terms they are supported by their self-supporting hinterland. It can be argued that inland towns which are both more numerous and comparatively more recent than those on the East African coast may have been established for various interrelated economic interests, among others:-

1. to oversee in their hinterland any activities related to or augmenting the export relations; and,
2. performing the function noted here, it was imperative for them to be located where direct linkage to the major sea ports was a factor.

This last point drives home one of the primary perspectives of urbanization in developing countries such as Tanzania namely, the theory of *favourable location*. Closely examined, the social infrastructure presumed here suggests a concomitant development of a communications network (roadways, waterways, railways, airways) in the country linking the various centres to the sea ports. A brief examination of the 'urbanization perspective' of Tanzania will now be in order.

It is important to emphasize that Tanzania, like other states in the post colonial stage still remain firmly articulated to the centre. Subsequently, its urbanization is clearly occurring not in isolation or independently from the influences of its relation to the centre. On the other hand, it is professed that post colonial states have relative autonomy in matters pertaining to decision making which also includes making choices and, from their vantage point, imposing them. Given this complex duality, namely, on the one hand, the post colonial state's subordination to the dominant interests of the centre, and, on the other hand, its avowed relative autonomy, the point of demarcation of the two apparently uncollaborated relations remains, however, a subject for further conjecture. For purposes of the discussion in this chapter, however, we shall attempt to highlight the influences of both the post colonial state and the centre or bourgeois state on the process of urbanization.

Tanzania, as we have already indicated, is predominantly an agrarian country. Indeed, as late as 1984, out of an estimated 20.5 million inhabitants (cf. QER, May, 1986)

approximately 18.5 comprised the rural population. It is therefore only appropriate that the blueprints of Tanzania's post-independence era such as:-

- i. The Arusha Declaration (1967);
- ii. Socialism and Rural Development (1968);
- iii. Villagization (1969, enforced by the Villagization Act of 1975);
- iv. Decentralization (1972); and,
- v. The Human Resource Deployment Act (1983),

to mention these five, are avowedly planned for rural development. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that much of Tanzania's urban growth was unplanned and haphazard. It is our contention, however, that the bias in favour of the rural sector by the state's own manifestoes and subsequent policies such as cited here has its background in pre-independence interactions and it will be difficult to discuss contemporary anti-urbanism without considering this background.

While one is basically asserting that the dominant colonial structural relationship appears to have been reconstituted after independence, it is important to note that independence brought additional (*structural*) demands. It is our opinion, however, that the latter are by no means contradictory to the *status quo*. If there is one thing in which the *protagonists* and the *antagonists* of the Tanzanian situation agree, it is the path of development independent Tanzania pursued after December 9th, 1961, namely, the **capitalist road**. It can be argued that the focus on the rural areas is an inherent part of colonial legacy in peripheral capitalist societies where agriculture is the mainstay of the economy. In Tanzania, the following projects which pre-dated independence support this

contention:†

1. **1946-1955, The Groundnut Scheme.** This mega project entirely masterminded and managed by the British involved some 50,000 acres of land at three sites for a total of 35 million pounds. Unfortunately, the scheme was a total disaster. Technically, it can be asserted that there was only a superficial feasibility study on the suitability of the soil, the adaptability of the seeds to the rainfall conditions of the project sites, hence, the consequent fiasco;
2. **1956-1967 The Focal Point Approach, or The Improvement Approach.** The general practice here was that the Extension workers, that is to say, the government's agricultural field workers, concentrate on the so-called progressive farmers or groups. The former was re-named the *Improvement Approach* after Independence admittedly, to avoid the impression that only certain groups were covered, but the policy stayed much the same;
3. **1953-1974 Marketing Cooperatives.** The latter were established to sell to Government Marketing Boards. Later they were expanded (with some government assistance) to cover the whole country by the early 1960s.
4. **1953-1962 Settlement Under Close Supervision.** In this case, land cleared for the Groundnuts Scheme was used to establish African capitalist farmers on plots of 20-100 acres; and,
5. **1963-1966 Planned settlement schemes.** This project, although *post-independence*, followed a similar path to those above and included a river basin development better

† for details consult the 'Review of African Political Economy' - (RAPE) No. 10 (1977:

known as **The Transformation Approach**. In a summary, this was the main agricultural policy of the 1964-1969 (i.e. the 1st) National Development Plan. But only 23 schemes were started, most were expensive, over-capitalised failures.

To recapitulate, the focus on the rural areas was not and still remains non-accidental for the obvious reason that agriculture is the dominant sector of the Tanzanian economy. Additionally, agriculture may be deemed both the cornerstone of progress and the largest foreign exchange earner. Since Tanzania may be deriving a large part of its national income from exports originating from the rural areas, exports may therefore crucially affect economic growth. Contrary to what may be presumed, the rural emphasis by the colonial administration which appears to be repeated by the post-colonial state was a move designated to harness the former for its invaluable resources. It is noteworthy that the overriding concern on the rural areas by both the colonial administration and the post-colonial state is by no means contradictory to or incompatible with the overriding imperatives of the prevailing division of labour. It is well-known that division of labour is also central to the existing global economic and political structure itself. We must not forget, therefore, Barkin's (1981:158) critical assessment that the crucial matters of decision over these matters are strongly influenced by global economic and political structures. By the same token, therefore, the situation in Tanzania is not an exception to this rule.

To return to our central concern here, the largest percentage of investment on development paradoxically, but by no means surprising, remained in the urban areas. This was of course, diametrically opposed to the egalitarian nature of the *planning blueprints*, and exacerbated unequal development already in place. As noted in Chapter One, the nation's first capital was receiving the lion's share. It can be argued that this was complementary to the export-import enclave nature of the economy itself. Emanating from this, the point

we wish to emphasize is that, despite the emphasis on rural development in Tanzania, in the last analysis, urbanization and urban growth have been and continue to be the predominant social processes.

Attempting to explain the urban social change in Tanzania, it appears that analysts have approached the urban question from the Western point of view of the city. By definition, a 'Western view of the city' is one that deems urban entities as centres of economic growth and prosperity. As a result we can surmise and think that this view lends itself to the following:-

'the centres have capabilities of *trickle-down* or *spread effect*'.

Among others, the theories of diffusion which fall under the general rubric of modernization purport civilizing urban effects have the propensity to be diffused to rural areas.(Sjoberg, 1960; Todaro, 1969, 1971; Mitchell, 1970). Here it is presumed that they give impetus for development and progress to occur.

In their intellectual totality, urban entities the world over, are deemed centres of economic growth and prosperity. It is our contention, however, that development and progress in urban areas of Tanzania is sustained by the urban informal sector and rural communities which are without the prestigious investments of the capital cities like Dar es Salaam. Hence, it appears to us that the "trickle-down effect" is clearly the-other-way-round. In spite of that, in Tanzania, students of urbanization researching on or debating about this phenomenon have generally been faithful to the Western-oriented tradition. Prominent among works coloured with the theoretical overview mentioned here include:

- i. Mascarenhas, *Urban Growth* in Egero and Henin, (eds.) *The Population of Tanzania: An Analysis of the 1967 Population Census*, (1973), pp. 76-97;

- ii. Mlay, *Recent Rural-Urban Migration in Tanzania with reference to movements into Arusha and Moshi Towns*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London University, (1974);
- iii. Sabot, *Open Unemployment and the Employed Compound of Urban Surplus Labour*, Economic Research Bureau (ERB), Paper No. 74.4 University of Dar es Salaam (May 1974);
- iv. Bienefeld, *The Self-Employed of Urban Tanzania*, Economic Research Bureau (ERB), Paper No. 75.11 University of Dar es Salaam, (June, 1975);
- v. Diffe, *Wage Labour and Urbanization*, in M.H.Y. Kaniki (ed.) *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*, Longman, 276-306, (1979); and,
- vi. Ishumi, *The Urban Jobless in Eastern Africa: A Study of the Unemployed Population in the Growing Urban Centres, With Special Reference to Tanzania*, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala (1984).

To summarise a view point implicit in most of these studies, urbanization is perceived as comprising the increase in population of existing towns and also increase in the number of towns (Mascarenhas, 1973: 76-97). On the basis of our definitions, these studies clearly perpetrate the *quantitative* view of urbanization. In developing countries like Tanzania there is, however, the need to pronounce both the *quantitative* and the *qualitative* aspects of urbanization. In this study, this point is pursued further. It is our contention that both the rapid urban growth, and the multiplication of these centres of growth at rates which could not simply be ignored, plagued theorists to seek explanation from previous experiences, comparable or not comparable. Western approaches which had evolved out of the analysis of experiences of urbanization already carefully documented, provided the latter with some analytical framework.

Empirical studies such as the national censuses have generally monitored population growth from one enumerating period to the next. Applying these data, Figure 3.2 adapted from Mascarenhas's (1973) study depicting urban evolution and urban growth in Tanzania between census years (1948-1967), both the urban evolution and the burgeoning of these centres of growth are illustrated, (see also Table 3.3).

FIGURE 3.2: TANZANIA URBAN AREAS

After Mascarenhas, C.A., "Urban Growth" in Egero and Henin, (eds.), The Population of Tanzania, An Analysis of the 1967 Population Census: BRALUP and Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam, (1973:82).

TABLE 3.3

Tanzania Mainland: Population and Rank Order of Towns †

1948		1957		1967	
Towns	Population	Towns	Population	Towns	Population
DSM	69,227	DSM	128,742	DSM	272,821
Tanga	20,619	Tanga	38,053	Tanga	61,058
Tabora	12,768	Mwanza	19,877	Mwanza	34,8861
Mwanza	11,296	Kigoma/U	16,255	Arusha	32,452
Dodoma	9,414	Tabora	15,361	Moshi	26,864
Lindi	8,577	Mtwara/M	15,266	Morogoro	25,262
Morogoro	8,173	Morogoro	14,507	Dodoma	23,559
Moshi	8,048	Moshi	13,726	Iringa	21,746
Iringa	5,702	Dodoma	13,435	Kigoma/U	21,269
Arusha	5,320	Lindi	10,315	Tabora	21,012
Bukoba	3,247	Arusha	10,038	Mtwara/M	20,413
Mbeya	3,179	Iringa	9,587	Musoma	15,412
Musoma	2,962	Musoma	7,207	Lindi	13,352
Kigoma/U	-	Mbeya	6,932	Mbeya	12,479
Mtwara/M	-	Bukoba	5,297	Bukoba	8,141

Source:- Recorded Population Changes 1948-1967, Population Census, Vol. 2, Dar es Salaam, 1970

Nearly two decades separate the present study of Mbeya from the year (1967) for which we have the most current information on urban growth in the study by Mascarenhas. Considering what we know of Mbeya today (cf. Chapter One) which in 1967 was only a small town of 12,479 inhabitants, it will be prudent to think that the perception of urbanization suggested here may be supported.

Consistent with the perception commonly shared by many students of urbanization in Tanzania, research work in this area has also been concerned with population movement, (cf. Claeson and Egero, 1971; Egero and Henin, 1973; Mlay, 1974). Unequivocally popularizing the perception that urban entities are economic centres of growth and progress, Mlay (1974), has conceded that:-

There is a growing consensus of research findings that rural to urban migration is primarily motivated by the economic factors, even when other reasons such as family ties and the pursuit of education and vocational training may initiate the first move. (Mlay, 1974:1)

Here we encounter a case *sui generis* whereby the researcher has chosen to disregard totally all the antecedent so-called noneconomic reasons even though he admits they may have initiated migration itself. In the final analysis, such a view point espouses the *quantitative* side of the urbanization process solely and exclusively. It is our contention, however, that the *qualitative* side of the urbanization process which appears to be ignored by a perspective which espouses only the economic factors is an important one. We think, therefore, that Mandel (1968:44) is more succinct when he says that:-

There is no economic automatism, independent of social forces.

Another portrayal of urbanward-drift which does not, however, singly allude to economic factors is made by Leishman (1980). Accordingly, the latter clearly points out that:-

Migration from rural areas into the large cities is a world-wide phenomenon.

developing nations whatever the stage of industrialization (Leishman, 1980:15).

Given that, it is our contention that to attribute the causes of this world-wide phenomenon to economic factors alone leaves unattended the whole sociological spectrum and prevailing imperatives which triggers this process. Theoretically, a desolation of the countryside is often cited among the major causes of "rural-urban" migration in the Third World countries. More concretely, theories of migration capitalizing on the *centripetal* and the *centrifugal* forces (Todaro 1969, 1971; Mitchell 1970) seem to embrace the *thesis* of the *desolation* of the countryside as given and *unproblematic*. It is our opinion that if anything, the so-called desolation cannot solely be economic. At this juncture, however, it must be conceded that while the urban entities are more affluent, it must be stressed that the countryside which makes this affluence possible is still the self-supporting home for the majority of third world population. Much more important, however, we think it is correct to submit that the countryside's propensity to produce and re-produce itself has not only been conserved but also co-opted to reproduce the economic necessities of capitalism in urban areas. Hence, the articulation of the modes, and the forms of production as the dominant framework of analysis obtains.

In the same vein Mlay's (1974) studies focussed on wage employment as did those of Sabot (1974), Bienefeld (1975), and, Ishumi (1984). By ignoring all forms of subsistence other than wage labour these studies advance the argument of the 'formal' as opposed to the 'informal activities' in the urban sector. Ishumi (1984:25) went so far as to label the urban inhabitants outside the formal wage-employment as:-

diverse groups without any *proper attachment*, job or any form of *gainful employment*.

- a. first type comprises of older-age street beggars and loiterers, the seemingly real destitute; and,
- b. a second type comprising of street trooping, highly mobile gangs of youngsters and adolescent youths.

Between these two types, Ishumi notes that there is a whole range of floating individuals of diverse ages, characteristics, disposition and vantage points. Paradoxically, however, in spite of the fact that he admits of the prevalence of the so-called diverse characteristics, dispositions and vantage points in relation to some of the non-wage-earners, Ishumi (1984) has characterised the entire category of non-wage earners as sharing the same lowest common factor he describes as:-

lack of proper gainful employment (Ishumi, 1984:25)

At this point the question may be asked, *proper* and, or *gainful* to whom? and by whose *criterion*? We shall recall, however, that for Marx, under the capitalist relations of production, the so-called "reserve army of labour" had a proper function for capitalism. Capitalist relations of production dominate in urban areas of developing countries such as Tanzania, hence, we expect to find groups comparable to the reserve army of labour but within the logic of peripheral capitalism and the articulation of the modes of production.

Far more important, however, considering that the so-called *proper* (synonym for 'formal') or *gainful employment* seems to miss a wide range of economic activities its use in analysing the situation in Tanzania must be questioned. The use of these concepts alone in the analysis of economic activities means that only formal gainful employment will be captured and the informal activities will be treated as non-issues or matters peripheral to the dominant mode of production. Mingione (1981), however, puts forward a point of view

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more in keeping with that taken in this study. According to him (1981:30ff):-

exploitative capitalist social relations do not occur only in the strict reproduction area but also and necessarily within the general social reproduction process which is formed to reproduce the very possibility of exploitation. In this sense exploitation not only strikes the *productive workers* in the social relations other than the immediate production of surplus value, but it also involves various social groups, which cannot be considered *productive workers*, in different aspects of their everyday life.

Critically examined, the assertion that 'non-capitalist relations' in LDCs enhance urbanization (cf. Chapter One) draws significant support from Mingione's (1982) contention above. By the same token, the categorization of the urban population into groups with and, or without proper and gainful employment, (Ishumi, 1984) or the general focus towards 'wage-employment' coupled with overt bias against other forms of urban subsistence, (Sabot, 1974, etc.), puts serious limitations on the analysis of these urban areas. As a corollary to Mingione's (1981) critical observation, it is useful to note that:-

In urban settings, and as part of the process of capitalism in those settings, ... a part of urban life is *deskilled*. (Gordon, 1980:467)

Hence, what has appeared to some researchers as an improper attachment and lack of gainful employment (Sabot, 1974; Ishumi, 1984) is but an inherent part of the struggle by the urban-proletariat-in-the-making in assaulting the urban poverty imposed upon them by capitalism.

In the light of these contentions, it appears that studies of urbanization in Tanzania which have been cited above cover a wide range of subjects. Closely examined, however, they merely deal with a selection of aspects of urban growth notably, *quantitatively* rather than *urbanization per se*. To repeat the point aptly made by Mascarenhas (1973; and echoed by Ishumi, 1984):-

Although it is difficult to come to a precise definition of, or to completely isolate,

the two terms, the former is generally considered to be numerical growth while the latter has a sociological connotation and implies a way of life. (Mascarenhas, 1973:76)

Commenting on the dearth of urban sociological studies, Ishumi (1984) has suggested that:-

It would be wrong and perhaps myopic to assert that no study at all has been conducted on the urban sector of Eastern Africa. But it is correct to submit that any recent studies specific on the urban sector of the region are very few and largely biased towards structural and geographical themes, micro and macro-economic aspects. (Ishumi, 1984:19)

Considering urbanization *a la* Hay Jr. (1977) to be denoting "a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, technological, geographical and cultural factors", studies already accomplished leave something to be said. As a part of the studies already accomplished and those yet to come, this survey of Mbeya does not necessarily challenge the observations of other researchers. But by way of contributing to the urban question, among other things, this analysis will question those generalizations as well as other theoretical and/or analytical aspects which are based solely on the formal. In addition, an examination and analysis of the *qualitative* side of urbanization shall be given equal weight to the *quantitative* data.

In the light of these contentions, some students of Third World urbanization have accepted uncritically a Western view of the city as a centre of economic growth and prosperity. It can be argued that modernization theories which explained social change of the West are being applied wholesale to explain its *diffusion* in developing countries such as Tanzania. Yet, in spite of the persistence of this theory, in developing countries like Tanzania, development, let alone development with equity (i.e. modernization) has been hard to come by. Elsewhere, Hawley (cited in Friedman, 1964, esp. chap. 5), among

others, repudiates the theory of diffusion observing that while Western imperialism had fostered the rise of huge *entrepot* cities in colonial holdings throughout the Old World, even monolithic cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Manila, Jakarta, Hongkong let alone many lesser ones, stood apart from their environs and exerted little influence on them. In summary it can be argued that in developing countries, even though development with equity is yet to be seen, the modernization perspective continues to plague urban theoretical analysis. Speaking of Tanzania, Sandbrook and Stren (1983:22) have noted that:-

Tanzania has undertaken a series of urban initiatives that are both innovative and explicitly related to a coherent development strategy ... and to the objectives of attaining greater equality while achieving greater state control over the urban economy.

To support their position these two authors cite a series of acts which they believe could contribute to Tanzania's development programme:-

- i. 1962 - the setting up of a National Housing Corporation with an explicit mandate to build houses for the lower-income groups;
- ii. 1963 Act - whereby all freehold urban land was converted to government leasehold, and whereby the previous owners were forced to pay rent;
- iii. developing a sites and service scheme and producing a larger number of very low-cost houses for rental to the public;
- iv. 1973 - the setting up of a Tanzania Housing Bank to finance low-cost housing in both the urban and rural areas; and,
- v. 1974 - setting up a *Workers and Peasants Housing Fund Act*, to add further to the resources available to the state for use in the low-income sector.

Paradoxically, however, according to the same co-authors:-

In spite of these institutional reforms aimed at state control and in spite of greater equality in urban income distribution, the numbers of squatters on urban land began to reach alarming proportions. (Sandbrook and Stren, 1983:23)

That is, despite a series of urban policy initiatives the state still failed to meet their objectives. Hence, the question may be asked, to what extent have the governmental institutional reforms satisfied the needs of the overwhelming majority of the common urban dwellers, including the squatter area residents? But, then to what extent have the governmental institutional reforms been independent of the global economic and political structures which are noted (cf. Barkin, 1981) for their strong influence over decisions no matter who makes them? This problem, however, cannot be resolved here conclusively. On the other hand, it is our contention that this outcome further reinforces Hawley's (1964) observation that not even from the *monolithic cities* cited in his study, let alone many lesser ones, does a trickle-down effect of cities to their *environs* obtain. Despite this, modernization theorists lay great stress on the trickle-down effects or, diffusion process and the spread effects at large (Todaro, 1969, 1971; Mitchell, 1970). Given these conflicting views and Sandbrook and Stren's evidence above, our quest to understand the contribution of the urban informal sector takes on added importance.

3.4 Summary and Conclusion

In 1935 Mbeya was officially gazetted as a township (cf. *Tanganyika Territory Ordinance 1935*, 1936:172). As we shall discuss in the data presentation chapter, official settlement in Mbeya pre-dates the 1935 gazettement. Based on data on "Population and Rank Order of Towns" (Table 3.3), more than three decades since it was founded, Mbeya ranked among the lowest in terms of urban population concentration. As we noted earlier

(chapter one), however, in only one decade Mbeya grew much more rapidly than some of the traditional port towns or cities including Zanzibar and Tanga (cf. Peil and Sada 1984). By the 1978 census the recorded population skyrocketed to 78,111, that is by a 525 percent increase over the 1967 figure of 12,479.

Like most Tanzanian urban centres today, Mbeya lacks major industries with corresponding limited employing capacity. Interestingly, data at the commencement of its rapid population boom indicate it had less than 13 percent of the workers in the region (cf. Jensen and Mkama 1968). Paradoxically, however, statistics of population growth between 1967 and 1978 and after have shown an unprecedented increase despite a lack of potential employing industries and indeed in spite of the national policies which emphasized the rural development programmes (cf. Nyerere's and the ruling party's, i.e. TANU/CCM's various publications already mentioned). Admittedly rural programmes were intended to deter the rural urban drift if not reduce the rural-urban *detente*. It must, however, be noted that unlike many urban centres in Tanzania, Mbeya has a favourable agricultural hinterland with (in some rural districts) rich volcanic soils, sufficient and often reliable rainfall, conditions which enable the extensive growth of a variety of food as well as cash crops. The main cash crops in the region include coffee, tea, cocoa and pyrethrum for the world market where intermittent fluctuating prices affect Tanzania's accumulation process as well as tying the immediate producers to the world market mechanisms. On the other hand, rice, maize, wheat, various kinds of millet, bananas, temperate fruits, rhizomes, a variety of legumes, a variety of oil seeds, and, a variety of vegetables comprise the chief staples realised in local markets (cf. Plate 2A and 6A). Its yearly crop surplus assures the immediate producers an additional (to cash crops) source of income at local markets, whose supplies and prices they can largely and evenly determine. By the same token,

therefore, it can be argued that Mbeya has favourable articulation relations. In the light of the above contention, the prosperity of Mbeya's countryside calls for the rejection of the theory of the desolation of the countryside as a valid explanation for the urbanization of Mbeya. The main common occupation in Mbeya region's rural and urban areas as of 1978 (Table 3.4) particularly support this assertion.

TABLE 3.4

Population By Sex And Main Common Occupation In Mbeya Region 1978†

Category	Rural			Urban		
Occupation	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Cutlivators	176,447	242,847	419,294	8,832	16,454	26,286
Livestock rearing	397	184	581	33	22	55
Fishermen/Hunters	400	68	468	12	3	15
Mixed Agric.	3,508	802	4,310	159	259	418
Agr.Labourers	1,086	68	1,154	75	32	107
Craftsmen etc.	2,342	71	2,413	4,488	99	4,587
Sales/Clerical	2,772	531	3,303	2,316	1,352	3,668
Professional/Tech.	4,085	1,309	5,394	2,083	932	3,015
Managers/Admin.	640	-	640	246	17	263
Nonagric-Labourers	1,919	456	2,375	1,663	245	1,908
Other Workers	1,798	1,490	3,288	2,173	784	2,957
Students	107,041	90,126	197,167	10,014	9,447	19,461
Other Unoccupied	165,830	176,265	324,095	15,364	19,290	34,654
N.E.S.	429	329	758	154	75	229
Total	468,694	514,546	983,240	47,612	19,011	96,632

Source 1978 Population Census Vol. IV, A Summary of Selected Statistics, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs Dar es Salaam 1982 (abstracted From Table 11. pp. 46).

† n.b., N.E.S.=Not Elsewhere Specified

Given this, it is sufficient, therefore, to say that unlike many urban centres in Tanzania, Mbeya has an economically stable agrarian hinterland and prosperous countryside, factors which, coupled with the national agrarian policies, should slow or make redundant the unprecedented urban drift evident in the population figures cited here. Given all the factors Mbeya is endowed with, this study begs several questions hitherto inadequately addressed by the conventional approach to urbanization in Tanzania:-

1. What are the social forces which have fostered Mbeya's unprecedented rapid population growth and concentration?;
2. Granted the disproportional employing capacity, how is the overwhelming majority, especially the *non-wage earners* reproduced?;
3. Given also the peripheral capitalist nature of the Tanzanian economy in the world capitalist system, are the so-called wage-earners significantly able to reproduce themselves entirely on a wage basis?; and,
4. If, as we have maintained, neither the wage-earners nor the non-wage earners can reproduce themselves in isolation and independently from one another. how can we explain their reproduction and therefore the form of urbanization which is unfolding in Mbeya?

We think it will be quite in order to address ourselves to these phenomena for purposes of better explaining why such unprecedented growth of Mbeya has occurred considering that:-

- i. there is sufficient evidence that its hinterland is prosperous enough to become Tanzania's bread basket (cf. Sunday News No. 1722, March 16, 1986);

- ii. the town itself like most urban centres outside Dar es Salaam lacks major industries with the capacity to absorb *en masse* the labour deposited downtown; and,
- iii. paradoxically, the emergent national policy of pursuing rural development programs which in themselves are anti-urban and hence capable to deter or slow such unprecedented urban drift and, or growth are in effect.

From the existing perspective of urbanization in Tanzania, the following are some of the primary theorems embraced by most analysts:-

- i. the theory of favourable location (Mascrenhas, 1973);
- ii. the theory of the desolation of the countryside (Mlay, 1974, 1977); and,
- iii. urban wage-labour theory (Sabot, 1974; Bienefeld, 1975; Iliffe, 1979; Ishumi, 1984),

all of which, in varying degrees have helped to explain rural-urban migration. Together, these have been popularly used to explain and understand the process of urbanization in developing countries. The case of Mbeya, however, seems in our opinion to present significantly hard-to-deal-with evidence which cannot be ignored. It is a fact that Mbeya, though not a traditional port town or city, since the late 1960s:-

- a. has been growing at *par* and or more rapidly than those traditionally favourably located (Peil and Sada, 1984);
- b. the desolation of the countryside as one of the primary causes of urbanization does not seem to be applicable since Mbeya is almost deemed the *bread basket* of the nation (Sunday News No. 1722, March 16, 1986); and,
- c. urban wage-labour theory (Sabot, *etcetera*) has little support in Mbeya's case when

rural and urban occupation data (Table 3.4) are examined.

Considering that even the *pragmatic* national policies of the nineteen sixties did not particularly slow down Mbeya's urbanization, it is our submission that the process encompasses a much more complex configuration than the strict formal bias projected by existing theorization. Subsequent to that, we are suggesting that it is important to probe its on-going agglomeration beyond these conventional expressions. We shall also submit that our intent to consider the *formal* and the *informal* sectors as necessary and related aspects of the complex process of peripheral urbanization in the Third World countries is a *dynamic* one and a *breakthrough* over the hitherto generally ignored relations.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.0 Introduction

As we have already indicated in Chapter One, especially section 1.5. (see also Chap. Five, esp. sec. 5.2), in this study of the urbanization process of Mbeya we wish to survey the following:†

- (a) social forces behind the rapid urbanization of Mbeya;
- (b) the population and its demographic characteristics;
- (c) migration and urban residential patterns;
- (d) informal aspects alongside formal aspects contributing to the urbanization process;
- (e) an overview of urban means and mode of subsistence in Mbeya;
- (f) *income-pooling* relations for both formal and informal sectors;
- (g) the notion of *informal means of subsistence* and *better endowment* of Mbeya's hinter land; and,
- (h) the *articulation* relationship of Mbeya and its peripheral locations.

The concepts informal and formal have a long history in sociology. They can be traced back to the early beginnings of sociology as a science of society. The founding father of

† cf. *specific questions from the 'Interview Guide' - (Appendix 1A); and, a detailed explanation on how the 'Interview Guide' correlates with the hypotheses of this study - (Appendix 1B)*

Sociology, Auguste Comte, analytically divided the discipline of his time (i.e. physiology) into two major parts. He used the concepts of *social static* and *social dynamic* respectively to distinguish the less complex societies from the more complex ones. It can be argued that the concepts of informal and formal have comparable attributes. Moreover, it can also be suggested that the tendency to dichotomize society, having been heralded by Comte, has continued ever since. To cite a few examples in passing:- Toennies' *Gemeinschaft versus Gesellschaft*; Durkheim's *mechanical versus organic solidarity*; Spencer's *homogeneity vis-a-vis heterogeneity*; Weber's *Zweckrationalitaet vis-a-vis Wertrationalitaet*; Marx's *pre-capitalist versus capitalist, country and town* etcetera.

The concepts formal and informal are, therefore, not totally unfamiliar to most contemporary urban researchers. The formal and the informal sector are directly related to the prevailing mode of production. Admittedly, in their totality, formal and informal economic activities comprise the character of production and reproduction of the society under the consideration, hence, they are the constituent aspects of the prevailing mode of production.

Surprisingly, however, in the analyses of Third World urban areas by the modernization theorists, the informal aspects receive very little attention. Implicit from the foregoing, therefore, this study is a reaction against this one-sided approach. The modernization theorists have long recognized the concepts informal and formal, but considerably they have placed more emphasis on the latter than on the former. In this study great emphasis is placed, however, on the interrelations of these phenomena in our analysis of Mbeya urban area.

Distinguishing between informal and formal activities, Bromley (1978:1033), contends that informal activities are a way of doing things characterised by:-

- a. ease of entry;
- b. reliance on indigenous resources;
- c. family ownership of enterprises;
- d. small scale operation;
- e. labour intensive and adapted technology;
- f. skills acquired outside formal school system: and,
- g. unregulated and competitive markets.

On the other hand, he argues the characteristics of the formal sector are the obverse of these namely:- (pp. 1034)

- a. difficulty entry;
- b. frequent reliance on overseas resources;
- c. corporate ownership;
- d. large scale operation;
- e. capital intensive and often imported technology;
- f. formally acquired skills, often expatriate; and,
- g. protected markets through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses.

Bromley also notes that the informal sectors' activities are largely ignored, rarely supported, often regulated and sometimes actively discouraged by governments. Suffice to note at this point this inconsistency on the part of the authorities towards the informal as well as the tendency :-

- i. ignore;
- ii. regulate; and,
- iii. rarely support it,

This clearly indicates how little this sector is understood let alone appreciated. The same, however, cannot be said about those who obtain their livelihood from the informal sector. In Kenya where Leys' (1973) interpretation of ILO's somewhat negative conception on this subject were directed (cf. Chap. 1), the economic activities of the informal sector are popularly known as the "Jua Kali"[†] activities. The term "Jua Kali" tacitly if not explicitly conveys two messages. The first message is that the population involved in the informal sector toils under the scorching sun, in open-air markets (cf. Plate 2A, 2B, and 6A to 6C) or similar uncompromising conditions both to make a living and to participate in the interest of the dominant economy. The second message which is somewhat half-exposed by the term *Jua Kali* is that those who are involved in such activities are industrious, inventive and innovative. Since the participants of *Jua Kali*-oriented activities comprise the majority of the urban-proletariat-in-the-making in the third world, it can be asserted that if their role is not taken into consideration as it has been the case hitherto, our understanding of the urbanization process of these countries will be severely impaired.

At this point, two main reasons for the rationality adopted in this study may be considered. Foremost, we hold the opinion that an analysis of urbanization of third world which cannot take into consideration the role of the informal sector leaves much to be said. The approach stems from a conviction that both the formal and the informal activities are inherently parts of the broader capitalist division of labour. Admittedly, urbanization

[†] a Swahili term, which, literally translated means the 'hot sun'

being a specific manifestation of capitalist division of labour, both the formal and the informal activities significantly count towards its consequent enlargement. Second, taking into consideration the position intended to be maintained by this study, it becomes necessary to subject to analysis approaches which fail to account for the prevalence and the role of the informal sector in peripheral capitalist societies such as Tanzania.

In sum, the strategem adopted is consistent with the notion that under the circumstances obtaining in peripheral capitalist countries such as Tanzania, informal and formal activities not only coexist but are also interrelated. It is important to stress the point because to be overwhelmed by the other approach will amount to losing sight of the interplay between the informal relationships and the prevailing urban culture or practices which is integral to the very coexistence of the formal and the informal parameters themselves. To recapitulate, the argument of the opening chapter propounds an analytical juxtaposing of the formal and the informal sectors to probe for the social production and reproduction of the population involved in the survey. It can be argued that the social production and reproduction of the urban population would both reflect and portray the process of urbanization unfolding in Mbeya. In the remaining part of this chapter both the study area and the methods of data collection will be outlined.

4.1 The Study Area

This survey is primarily concerned with the *urbanization* of Mbeya, an inland Tanzanian town located in a high mountainous region. On the one hand, in spite of its rugged terrain location Mbeya has adequate road connections with other centres in the region namely:-

1. tarmac road to Kyela, via Tukuyu;

2. tarmac road to Tunduma† *via* Mbozi/Vwawa; and,
3. an all weather gravel road to Chunya.

The town of Mbeya remains strategically located between two high mountain ranges and between two arms of the *Great Rift Valley* on the only possible route southwards to Zambia, Malawi and Zaire (cf. MMPR Vol. 1, June, 1984, pp. 17ff). The town currently harbours the administrative headquartes of both the District and the Region (*i.e. the Province*) both of which are also known by the same name, Mbeya. As a Region, Mbeya is one of the twenty regions on mainland Tanzania. The United Republic has a total of twenty five regions, five being located in the island of Zanzibar.

Mbeya region is located at the south-western frontier of Tanzania (*Figure 4.1A*). At this south-western frontier, Tanzania shares borders with the landlocked republics of Malawi and Zambia beyond which lies yet another landlocked country namely, the Independent State of Zimbabwe. The UDI of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1965 ushered an unprecedented concern to the landlocked countries to the north. One of the protracted results of that has led Tanzania to be the provider of both a safe *haven* for the landlocked nations and an *outlet-inlet* to and from the surrounding world. Paradoxically, enough, these arrangements have necessitated the development of key social infrastructure which have been fundamental to the urbanization process of Mbeya.

† *i.e. The Tanzam Highway to the border post*

FIGURE 4.1A: MBEYA REGION; THE NATIONAL SETTING

Considering that it is at this south-western frontier that Tanzania shares borders with four of its eight neighbouring countries, with its better infrastructures in the region, it is not surprising that Mbeya has developed into a thriving centre. During the epoch when the country had only eight provinces as they were referred to then (see **Appendix No. 2**), Mbeya, together with the present Iringa region comprised the former vast *Southern Highlands Province (SHP)* with Provincial Headquarters at Iringa. Later developments, however, both *national* and *international* have influenced the shift of the provincial administrative headquarters to Mbeya.

As well as currently being the administrative headquarters of the District and the Region, Mbeya additionally functions as the centre of commerce, industry and culture. Mbeya town is the only settlement with an *urban* status in the whole of the *dynamic* Mbeya region. Furthermore, it has already attained the status of *Municipality* while the other five townships in the region namely:-

1. Chunya;
2. Ileje/Itumba;
3. Kyela;
4. Mbozi/Vwawa; and,
5. Rungwe/Tukuyu (Figure 4.1B),

FIGURE 4.1B: MBEYA REGION'S SIX DISTRICTS

Source: National Population Census: Preliminary Report, (1978:106)

remain predominantly semi-rural. Note that, according to the Tanzanian urban structure, a municipality can be regarded as a *city-in waiting*. On the other hand, while it is the semi-rural districts of Mbeya Region which have the immediate contacts with the neighbouring states, it is Mbeya urban area *per se* where the propensity towards urbanization is most visible. For that matter, we think the thesis of the articulation, whereby some traditional forms of production have been conserved to reproduce the dominant system is a plausible explanation of the prevalent urbanization.

4.2 Field Activities

Early in the survey, a *pilot* visit was conducted at Mbeya and the adjacent Tukuyu township, Itumba - an administrative centre of a recently formed Ileje district, as well as the minor settlements of Tunduma and Mbarali. The pilot visit facilitated the survey in several important respects, particularly in terms of making decisions on the project size, sampling procedure, and fieldwork schedule. On the basis of preliminary information, Mbeya Municipality covers an area of approximately 21,000 Hectares of which 4,400 Hectares are within the urban built area (MMPR, Vol. II, June, 1984, pp. 15ff). In anticipation of the rapid growth of the town, the Municipality had, by the time of this research, already extended its boundaries to engulf some fourteen rural settlements. Mbeya Region covers an area of 60,348 Sq.Km., equivalent to 6.8 percent of Tanzania's mainland area (MMPR, Vol. I, June, 1984, pp. 10). The population of Mbeya at the time of this survey was 153,045 inhabitants, and the number of **Urban Households** was said to be 31,200.

Since the central interest in this study is the urban population and how it reproduces itself in its urban domicile, among other things, it was deemed appropriate early in the survey to get sufficient background knowledge of the major residential areas. Mbeya

Municipality now has 20 administrative wards as opposed to 17 as per the 1978 national population census. Each one of these ward arrangements could have provided a convenient *Sampling Frame*.

On the other hand, based on the working priorities of the MMC, it became apparent that while the Council adopted the enumeration wards used for the 1978 census as *planning areas*, there was no one-to-one correspondence between the administrative wards and the so-called planning areas so adopted. Admitting to this particular discrepancy, the *Background Studies* to the Mbeya Master Plan Review has noted that:-

Boundaries for some wards adopted as planning areas do not correspond to those of the administrative wards. (MMPR. Vol. I. June, 1984, pp. 26)

Precisely because of this lack of symmetry in the boundaries:- Azimio; Ghana; and, Kanisa, former (i.e. 1978) population census enumeration wards, during this survey were merely categorized as *planning areas*. So too were Sisimba; Maendeleo; and, Majengo but with one difference which matters, namely, unlike the former, the latter remain among the current twenty wards (Table 4.1). Note that the Wards presented in Table 4.1 are as per the 1978 national population census. The point to be discussed further is that, the situation has changed drastically due, among others to the rapid urbanization experienced by Mbeya town.

TABLE 4.1

Mbeya Population by Wards, June 1984 & May-Oct. 1986

Wards	June, 1984	May-Oct., 1986	Pop. Change
Kanisa	3,866	N.I.	N.A.
Ghana	4,940	N.I.	N.A.
Maendeleo	3,222	10,087	+
Majengo	6,658	9,082	+
Mabatini	6,766	10,756	+
Sisimba	3,114	3,312	+
Iyunga	10,095	8,850	-
Nzovwe	7,303	13,932	+
Itende	2,685	3,882	+
Isanga	5,584	11,542	+
Sinde	9,886	13,701	+
Ilemi	1,396	3,619	+
Azimio	1,933	N.I.	N.A.
Nonde	10,202	7,078	-
Ilomba	11,598	10,846	-
Ruanda	11,276	14,902	+
Mbalizi Road	6,873	5,326	-

Source:- June 1984 Data from Mbeya Master Plan Review (MMPR, Vol. II, June 1984) :

May-Oct 1986 Data from Mbeya Municipal Council (MMC) Working Figures.

In only four of the 17 wards for which we have information was there a decrease in population size between 1984 and 1986, namely, in Iyunga, Nonde, Ilomba and Mbalizi Road (Table 4.1). This is somewhat surprising given the general rapid growth in Mbeya. This differential growth in the various residential areas while the region as a whole was growing may be accounted for by a number of factors including:-

- a. sorting and sifting of the population in respective residential areas;
- b. internal migration which, more often than not is affected by state or urban developmental programs; and,
- c. changes of boundaries which also engender inclusion of new population or exclusion of the previous one *etcetera*.

The latter case, however, is a rare phenomenon. It is our contention that the sorting and sifting of the population in respective residential areas is quite common among urban populations in the peripheral capitalist societies. It can be argued that the three factors mentioned here are not necessarily mutually exclusive. To be sure they contribute to both the *overlap* and the *overspill* of the population from one designated residential area to another. It can be asserted that the overlap and the overspill of the population from one residential area to another is a dominant characteristic of the urbanization of Mbeya and, perhaps of many other burgeoning urban centres in the third world. In turn, this foretells a reciprocal coexistence of the formal and the informal economic sectors. For that matter, it is sufficient to say at this point that in spite of the current official designation of **Kanisa**, **Ghana** and **Azimio** as planning areas, like **Sisimba**, **Maendeleo** and **Majengo**, they remain popular residential locations in Mbeya town.

Our point here is that a lack of immediate correspondence between the boundaries of the planning areas adopted by MMC and the current administrative wards, makes sampling difficult. This phenomenon also renders demographic statistics of popular residential areas difficult, it makes worse an already complicated sampling situation. As we found out during the pilot survey, at best, population figures held by different authorities in the planning *cum*-residential areas were conflicting and at worst they were questionable. In addition, a discrepancy in population sizes affects other measures which may usually be deemed *ideal* as attributes of units of analysis - in this particular instance, *Ten Cell Units* and *Household Units*. Yet, be that as it may, one accepted these discrepancies as reflections of the rapid urbanization superseding the available resources.

4.3 Sampling Procedure

According to Burton and Cherry (1970), "sampling is defined as the selection of parts of an aggregate - sampling requires the subdivision of the material to be sampled into sampling units. These may be natural units (for example, individuals) or aggregates of these (families and households) or artificial units (areas on maps)" (p. 95). This case study of Mbeya has focussed on both specific residential areas and the urban household as a unit of analysis. It has been our observation that in the peripheral capitalist societies such as Tanzania, households are additionally comprised of extended family relatives (cf. Table 6.5). We shall return to this point.

A complete description of the sampling procedures involving the household as a unit of analysis will be presented in Section 4.4. At this point, an overview of the residential areas involved in this study is in order.

The study area in Mbeya (cf. Figures 4.2 and 5.1B) was divided into four - major

inhabited zones namely:-

1. Central Area which includes Azimio, Kanisa, Maendeleo and Sisimba;
2. Mabatini which includes Mabatini itself, Mbalizi Road and Simike;
3. Majengo which includes Ghana, Majengo itself and Nonde; and,
4. Mwanjelwa which comprises Ruanda and Sinda.

Areas not included in the sample are much more rural-like, far from the centres of formal informal activities of the four zones delineated here, therefore, not directly affecting the day-to-day activities of the sample population.

FIGURE 4.2: RESEARCH SITES; AN APPROXIMATE LOCATION SKETCH

Included within the Sample, represented by the 'Four Major Inhabited Zones' delineated here are those residential areas which both *MMPR Team* and the *MMC Bureaucracy* concede should be included. Among others, the following were the fundamental characteristics both of them have attributed to the same residential areas,

- a. *planned* sections of the town;
- b. *upgraded* areas;
- c. *unplanned* areas; and,
- d. most *densely populated* areas.

Based on this categorization the survey has included all of the areas as subsumed under the following four descriptions:- planned, upgraded, unplanned, and densely populated (Table 4.2). It should be noted that those residential locations categorized as *Densely Populated* have up to 250 inhabitants per hectare.

TABLE 4.2

Surveyed Areas By Basic Characteristics

Planned	Upgraded	Unplanned	Densely Populated
Azimio	Ruanda	Mabatini	Azimio
Ghana	Sinde	Nonde	Ghana
Kanisa	-	<i>Simike</i>	Kanisa
Maendeleo	-	-	Majengo
Majengo	-	-	Nonde
Mbalizi Road	-	-	Sinde
Sisimba	-	-	-

4.4 Unit of Analysis

As we indicated in Section 4.3, the urban household comprised the unit of analysis for this case study. According to da Vaus (1968):-

A Unit of Analysis is the unit from which we obtain information: it is the unit whose characteristics we describe. In survey research the unit of analysis is often an individual.

Given our unit of analysis, it has been the intent of this study to adapt the conception of Wallerstein's et al., (1982) which regards the households in terms of income pooling categories. According to this conception:-

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 individual perspective. Rather, they participate in small groups which over the long term pools its income in order to expend it on consumables and investments. (Wallerstein et al., 1982)

Given the Wallenstein et al., (1982) conception, it is the point of this study that the urban household is critical for an understanding of both the formal and the informal relationships.

To return to the notion of the procedures of sampling (cf. Sec. 1.3), the 57 urban households involved in this study (cf. Table 4.4) were obtained by using a random method (Moser and Kalton, 1971). The households under the consideration were identified from the "Chama cha Mapinduzi" (CCM) Branch Office's comprehensive tailor-made lists. Included among the important tailor-made lists in the various CCM Branch Offices are:

1. List of party (CCM) members;
2. lists of voters in the presidential election of the previous year (i.e. 1985);
3. lists of Ten-cell units, each unit comprising ten households; and,
4. lists of urban households resident in the respective areas used to facilitate the distribution of scarce commodities.

The survey population was sampled from the fourth of the lists delineated above. The latter was deemed by this researcher to cover all the main categories of the urban population, notably:-

- a) party members and non-party members;
- b) voters and non-voters;
- c) ten-cell leaders as well as ten-cell members etcetera.

Using random numbers from Moser and Kalton (pp. 153) the specific households in each of the four zones were drawn.

In deciding on the size of our sample (i.e. 57 households) we took into consideration

the relative homogenous nature of the neighbourhoods in each zone. We shall return to this point.

Finally, two sampling related procedures are noteworthy. The first one being the 'contacts' and the second one is related to a replacement of 'not at home respondents'. The term 'contacts' as defined after Table 6.7 stands for those household members other than the household-heads who provided the researcher with the required information about their respective households (Appendix No. 1A). It is important to emphasize, however, that there was no 'special' way of selecting the 'contacts' and that their respective households were already among the 57 selected by a random method. On the other hand, however, the replacement for 'not at home respondents' occurred twice. Once in both Majengo and Maendeleo. In both cases, we were unable to make contacts and to establish an adequate rapport with any of the household members. To select the replacement we picked the next household in the list and proceeded with the interview.

4.5 Methods Of Data Collection

Introducing the "30th Sociological Review Monograph" on *Urban Sociological Research* Pons and Francis (1983) have suggested, among other things:-

1. the need for more purposeful community and ethnographic studies; †
2. they stress the relevance and status of observation, description and analysis;

† But the editors (Pons and Francis) see no reason why these should be characterised, in the way some writers do as anthropological in style, content, and relevance. Source: *Urban Social Research: Problems and Prospects*, (ed.) V. Pons and R. Francis, (1983), Routledge & Kegan Paul

3. they argue for *diversity* as a requirement in *urban sociological* research; and,
4. as their colleagues we are reminded (by the co-authors) of the complexity of *(our)* field of study, the problems inherent in simplifying knowledge and the objects of knowledge.

It can be surmised that *contemporary urban research* diversely echoes the Pons/Francis (1983) sentiment. Having decided the above to be a generally acceptable view, the present *study of Mbeya* has followed suit. Similar to Pons and Francis (1983), the perspective of the Mbeya study shall deem the lack of attention paid to the 'informal sector' and/or to its reciprocal role as the simplification of knowledge *per se*. Like Pons and Francis (1983), we are also concerned to augment this notion to the inadequacies manifested in the prevailing perspective of urbanization of the *peripheral capitalist countries*.

Deriving from the above, the methods used in the collection of our data fall broadly into two descriptive categories namely, the *primary* and the *secondary*. *Secondary* data collection has involved the abstraction of information and other quantifiable data from a number of sources while the *primary* data have been gathered via:-

- a. Observation;
- b. Oral Tradition;
- c. Conversation;
- d. Dialogue; and,
- e. Scheduled Interviews.

After the pilot survey the *interview guide* was modified. It now contained 43 questions about the people, their urban domicile and their day-to-day activities. It was to gather information from the 57 households involved in the survey. More questions followed in

observation and perception presented them. In addition, observation often superseded the other methods; particularly in situations where it appeared that further questioning was deemed to be prying. These strategies afforded this study the following information gathering opportunities which, descriptively fall into the following three situations:-

Official:-

1. An interview with MMC Principal Economist; and,
2. An interview with MMC Urban Planner.

Semi-Official

3. Discussions with Mbeya District Executive Director (DED);
4. Interviews with the Party (CCM) Chairs of Azimio, Kanisa, Mabatini, Majengo, Mbalizi Road and Sisimba; and,
5. Interviews with the Party Secretaries of Kanisa, Majengo, Maendeleo and Sinde.

Unofficial:-

6. Oral Tradition with a World War II veteran at *Simike*;
7. Discussions with a group of "Wazee" - literally *senior citizens* from *Simike* area;
8. Discussions with a Hotelier at Mabatini;
9. Conversation on board the Dar es Salaam bound TAZARA Express with a retired Court Interpreter; and,
10. Discussions with an Acting General Manager of *Saruji* (hereafter *Mbeya Cement Factory*).

It was our regret that we were unable to arrange an interview with a controversial official, the Regional Trade Officer who reportedly was always busy attending to some trade matters of interest to Mbeya itself and to the regional as a whole. This, however, did not prevent this study from seeking the relevant information from other more accessible personnel.

4.6 Summary and Conclusion

Based on the notion of **residential areas** the *Survey* (Table 4.2) covered the equivalent of 55 percent of the total residences in Mbeya. By way of conclusion, the summary which follows portrays a statistical overview of the **Mbeya Survey** by:-

- a. Areas Surveyed;
- b. Households by Major Residential Zones;
- c. Population involved by Major Residential Zones; and,
- d. Average Household Size by Major Residential Zones.

TABLE 4.3

Areas Surveyed†

Survey Categories	Corresponding Residential Areas	Densely Populated Areas
Planned	7	4
Upgraded	2	1
Unplanned	2	-

Based on the notion of residential areas, a greater proportion of the areas surveyed are residential locations categorized as 'planned' (Table 4.3). In addition, a sizable proportion of the survey area which is planned is also "densely populated". On the other hand, an equal number of 'upgraded' and 'unplanned' areas is included in this survey. In both cases, as much as half these areas are categorized as 'densely populated'. It is interesting to note that 'densely populated areas' are a common spatial characteristic in several residential sections in Mbeya Urban (Table 4.3), including those claimed to be 'formally planned' (cf. Table 4.2). These overcrowded conditions support an important form of urban culture in peripheral capitalist societies such as Tanzania. It can be argued that the 'informal relations' geared towards the struggle for subsistence are an inherent part of this culture.

† Note that, Simike Residential area which apparently neither the MMPR Team nor the MMC have in their records as an autonomous locale has been excluded in the above calculations. As a proportion of Total Area Surveyed, the Most Densely Populated section is greater than one half.

TABLE 4.4

Major Residential Zones

Category	Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa	Total
No. of Households	8	28	10	11	57
Total IPP	111	296	12	165	700

Key: IPP = Total Income-Pooling Population

Total income-pooling population (Table 4.4) includes members of the extended family and visitors of the respective survey households. Table 6.5 provides a comprehensive breakdown of the IPP. Considered from an income-pooling perspective, the survey households have a large number of occupants per household compared to the national average of 5 (cf. Karlsson et al., 1980). Considered, however, from a perspective of household population (cf. Table 6.5), the average number of occupants per household is (6) almost equal to the national average as of 1980 (cf. Karlsson et al.,). As argued by Weale (1986) "Official (secondary) sources are a good starting point for research but they are rarely a finishing point." It can be argued that given the prevailing level of development of the country's infrastructure the capacity of the enumerators to reach the entire population for purposes of a national census may be questioned. On the other hand it is our contention that a small scale survey such as the Mbeya case study may not face problems of access to the survey population.

The differences between the official mean of 5 and those projected by the sample population of the Mbeya case study in 1986 may, among other things, be accounted for by the time factor. It is noteworthy that Mbeya has been experiencing an unprecedented

growth (cf. Table 5.1; Peil and Sada, 1984 etc). It is our contention that this rapid growth partially explains the size of Mbeya's household occupancy in 1986.

On the other hand, however, whereas the national population (from which the official average of 5 persons per hh. has been calculated) enumerated the population from a nucleus family perspective, we have surveyed the sample population from a household-cum-income-pooling perspective (cf. Table 6.5). This perspective has included members of the extended family and rural family relatives who visited the urban households for extended periods of time as part of their own reproduction in the rural areas. It is our contention that the reproduction cycles of these rural-based family relatives contributes to the subsistence of their urban-based family relatives.

At this point to comment on the representativeness of our sample and to justify the omission of significant tests is in order. First, it is noteworthy that the units surveyed which were drawn from "lists of urban households resident in the respective areas used to facilitate the distribution of scarce commodities" -- as opposed to the other three lists (cf. Sec. 4.4), constitute a fair cross section of the population. Second, as we have already explained a probability sampling was used -- hence each household had the same chance of being included in the sample. Third, the relative homogenous nature of the residential location in respective zones explains the interrelated subsistence activities prevailing in the zone (cf. Table 5.7, 5.8 and 5.10). Given these considerations, this researcher deemed the omission of significant test justifiable.

Three of the Four Major Residential Zones have on the average 9 Sample Survey Households. Together with Mabatini which has 28 survey households, they have an average of 14. Given the prevailing circumstances, Mabatini appears to be *over-represented* (Table 4.1). This is a case whereby Hoinville and Jowell's (1977) conception of proportionate and

disproportionate stratification refers to the *variable sampling* situation. The decision to over-represent the Mabatini Zone was arrived at during this Survey, having considered *de facto* that the zone combines residential areas with contradicting spatial characteristics, namely:-

- i. planned areas; and,
- ii. unplanned areas, with the attendant *peri-urban* activities.

Other urban features of Mbeya include: (a) upgraded areas; and, (iv.) areas most densely populated (Table 4.2). It can be argued that most urban centres at the periphery may, however, combine the three salient features identified at the Mabatini zone, over a wide terrain, corresponding to the locations of different activities geared towards subsistence

It is our recollection of the field experience that each of the four zones delineated in the foregoing discussion have played a notable role in the urbanization process of Mbeya. It was our contention in the opening chapter that in urban areas of Less Industrialized Countries, like Tanzania, the seemingly contradictory sectors of informal and formal serve, the interest of international capitalism, particularly in terms of *underwriting* the 'costly social reproduction of labour power'. In Chapters Five and Six where attempts will be made to present critically the survey material, the role of individual residential locale in the zone towards the reproduction of 'labour-power' will be closely examined.

Chapter Five

Description of the Survey Area

5.0 Introduction

Mbeya was founded as a government station in 1927 to coincide with the interest in gold mining at Lupa in neighbouring Chunya district discovered around 1923. As we have already stated, its official commissioning as per the announcement in the government gazette came into effect about a decade later. By the year 1935 Mbeya had:-

- (a). road,
- (b). air connection, and,
- (c). telegraphic communication with the rest of the country.

Road, air connection and telegraphic communication were the basic social infrastructure for its consequently rapid urbanization. At this point we shall suggest that these communication networks facilitated mobility of the population to Mbeya and beyond. We think that the shifting of the Provincial Headquarters from Iringa to Mbeya in 1936 was a further impetus to the growth of the latter.

Prior to its official founding in 1927, a village settlement called Igale was the main colonial centre of interest after *Neu-Langenburg* (now Tukuyu). Igale is south-east of Mbeya and is sited along the mountain route which formed a shorter cut between Tukuyu and Mbeya; it is equidistant between these two towns. It is to this remote peasant village that the present dynamic Mbeya owes its origin. Both Tanzania's former colonial masters appear to have left some imprints at Igale which bear witness to their powerful presence

in the region in the quest for the control of native labour. Today, having been bypassed by the new German built tarmac road, Igale appears to be generally unimportant.

Interestingly, the tarmac road which on the one hand joins Mbeya and Tukuyu with Kyela near Itungi port north-east of Lake Malawi, and on the other hand affords access to Dar es Salaam on the eastern seaboard, has exposed Mbeya to prosperity. By the same token, these circumstances are making Igale even less important.

As previously indicated (cf. MMPR, esp. Vol. I. June, 1984), Mbeya is situated in a gap between two mountain ranges and two arms of the Great Rift Valley. Contrary to what might have been expected, the rugged terrain does not stand out as the natural barrier to the growth of the town (cf. the rugged built terrain at the background of 'Plate 1' and 'Plate 3A'). Since it began in the late nineteen sixties, Mbeya's unprecedented growth appears to be proceeding *apace*.

Chapter Four noted that due to the rapid urbanization experienced by the municipality of Mbeya, a lack of symmetry (cf. Table 4.1) of boundaries of the existing residential areas became a notable phenomenon. Generally, it is assumed that this asymmetry was influenced by the nature of population growth and mobility. According to most of the old respondents in the sample survey (hereafter "Wazee"), before its semi-official founding in 1927 Mbeya was predominantly a vastly dispersed settlement, probably with a small number of homesteads from one hill or ridge to the next and from one valley to the next. Tukuyu which is now the second most important urban centre in the region used to be the number one German station. As Gwassa (1969:104) has pointed out,

von Soden, the first Governor of colonial Tanganyika wished to use missionaries as agents of German colonization. Thus he tried to use Berlin Lutherans and German Moravians to establish German influence in Mbeya region. Later German stations were built there.

For an overview of Church activities in Tanzania, Professor Hirji, provides important insights in his essay entitled *Colonial Ideological Apparatuses in Tanganyika under the German* included in the book edited by Professor Kaniki (1979) entitled *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*. Today, it is simply befitting to note that the residential location in Mbeya where the largest and oldest Moravian church rubs shoulders with residential housing is called "Kanisa". *Kanisa* is the 'Swahili' word for *Church*.

In administering colonial Tanganyika, however, the Germans did not hide behind the Church's *humanitarian mission* to convert the indigenous peoples according to some Weberian notion of *ascetic* and, or *frugal* life styles. On the contrary, they administered the country more directly by what is presently known as the *Akida and Jembe* system (cf. Lumley, 1976, esp. Chap. 2.), whereby the 'Akidas or Jembes', usually Africans, were appointed to ensure the participation of fellow indigenous peoples in the capitalist interests of the German colonial elite.

At the end of WWI, the British were given a mandate by the League of Nations for the administration of Tanganyika. This marked the beginning of the end of German expansionism abroad as well as at home. One of the terms of the League's mandate was to exclude the 'Direct Rule' approach of the German colonial administration. Sir Donald Cameron the second British Governor of Tanganyika arrived in April, 1925 from Nigeria where he had served under Lord Lugard (Listowel: 1965, esp. Ch. 8). Cameron brought from Nigeria the system of native administration called 'Indirect Rule', otherwise rule through the tribal chief. This attempt to foster indigenous native development did pacify the country somewhat but one of the consequences was to provide more power to the British colonial officers because of the opportunity it gave them *to divide and rule*. This arose in part, because of the ambivalence of the League of Nations itself regarding the

mandate it gave to the British. None of this really helped indigenous development. It can be postulated that much of the indigenous development hinged on the existing ecological balance. Furthermore, it can be asserted that the relief and the climatic conditions of Mbeya, whose description follows below, bear upon the political economy of the study area.

5.1.1: Topography

The relief of Mbeya region at large is predominantly mountainous. The municipality which is itself situated on rugged terrain bears a great imprint of the background of its region. Like its region, the municipality is a town of undulating hills and ridges. Describing the downtown landscape, The MMPR, (Vol. I, June, 1984: 20) has noted that:

The terrain in the mid-section generally descends from over 2,000 metres in a southward direction to Meta river valley (about 1,650 metres) from where it ascends to 1,780 metres and drops again to 1,600 metres along the Nzovwe river valley.

The only exception to this rugged terrain is a narrow plateau on which the airstrip adjacent to Ruanda residential ward (see also Figure 4.2) is located. The plateau leads away from the immediate outskirts of downtown, terminating on the western escarpment of the eastern rift valley

A scenic drive to Chunya township which is about 45 miles to the north of Mbeya provides a fascinating view of the rift valleys and the municipal's landscape. Similarly, a magnificent view of the eastern rift valley and the municipal's landscape immediately at the foot of mount Mbeya obtains during another scenic drive to the township of Tukuyu which is also about 45 miles to the south east of Mbeya. A topographical description of Mbeya by the late Father Philip Leedal of Mbeya White Fathers is also quite enlightening.

As a writer of the major part of the guide "Welcome To Mbeya" (n.d.)† Father Leedal wrote;

Everyone has heard of the African Rift Valley. From our view point above Mbeya town, we look north-west and south-east up and down the western rift valley, whilst round the corner, as it were, of the Mbeya range from where we stand and looking east, is the terminated end of the eastern rift valley...

This rugged terrain was caused by erosion which has taken place during the past 150 million years (MMPR, Vol. I. June, 1984:20).

5.1.2: Climate

i. Temperature

Mbeya has a cool and pleasant climate generally with moderate temperatures. Annual minimum temperatures are attained in July with a mean of 14.5 degrees celsius while the maxima are attained in November with a monthly mean of 20.1 degrees celsius. According to Meteorologic records (n.d.), the lowest temperature ever recorded in Mbeya over the past thirty years was -1.1 degrees celsius. Conversely, the highest temperature ever recorded was 31.1 degrees celsius.

ii. Rainfall

Mbeya has a clearly defined rainy season spread over eight months of the year, namely, September to April. Annual average rainfall received is 883 mm. January is the wettest month with up to 199 mm of rain. The driest months of the year in Mbeya, namely, May to

† "Welcome to Mbeya" is a booklet based on a guide to Mbeya Region. originally prepared by the now defunct "Mbeya Tourist Association" and revised in 1969

August also correspond to the coldest period of the year. Furthermore, the south-easterly winds gusting for six months from May to October, often reach up to 11 knots during day time. Municipal records indicate August and September as experiencing the highest winds of up to 15 knots while the lowest in January and February reach about 7 knots. Given the weather in September, the first rains tend to come with severe thunderstorms and gale-type winds which often results in blowing roofs off the top of houses

5.2 Political Economy Of Mbeya - An Overview

It is implicit in Chapter Three (esp. sec. 3.2) that the political economy of Tanzania is strongly tied to the interests of international capital. For that matter, urban areas, including Mbeya itself, may be deemed as pockets of concentration of social infrastructure whereby these interests are realized. In the previous chapter the data gathering methods used in the problem at hand were described. The hypothesis under investigation deals with the reciprocal coexistence of formal and the informal relationships which have contributed to the rapid growth of Mbeya. Needless to say, an attempt to understand how these forms of relations have contributed to the urbanization process is of critical concern to this study. As we have suggested, the previous approaches have not attempted to juxtapose these reciprocal relations. We suppose then, that, this explains why these approaches perpetrate only the formal Western view of the city. It is, however, our intent in this study to show, among other things, that the formal Western view of the city does not explain everything which pertains to the towns and cities in LDCs.

Given all the factors which we have shown Mbeya to be endowed with, the remainder of this inquiry attempts to address the following:-

1. What are the social forces to which the unprecedented rapid concentration of popu-

FIGURE 6.1A

lation in Mbeya is a response?;

2. Granted the limited employing capacity of Mbeya, how does the overwhelming majority, (especially the *nonwage-earners*) reproduce?;
3. Given also the peripheral capitalist nature of the Tanzanian economy in the world capitalist system, are the so-called 'wage-earners' able to reproduce themselves entirely on wage basis? In other words, is the working population fully proletarianized?; and,
4. If as we have maintained, neither the 'wage-earners' nor the 'nonwage-earners' can reproduce themselves in isolation and independently from one another, how can we explain their reproduction and therefore, the form of *urbanization* taking place in Mbeya?

In these two chapters (i.e. five and six) in which the data gathered for this study (see also Chap. Four, sec. 4.0) are presented, the following information will be presented:-

- i. demographic process, migration and residential patterns in Mbeya. The largest proportion of 'wage-labour age' (Table 5.3, 19-55yrs) alongside the limited wage-labour opportunities (Tables 6.2 - 6.4) being an indication of the coexistence of 'formal' and 'informal' relations;
- ii. an indication and measure of rapid urbanization and the 'informal' and 'formal' aspects contributing to the process, hence, the contribution of both *qualitative* and *quantitative* parameters;
- iii. an overview of the 'informal' and 'formal' urban means and modes of subsistence emphasizing on the importance of both *qualitative* and *quantitative* indicators;
- iv. a documentation of the 'income-pooling' practice on both sides of 'formal/informal'

divide;

- v. the notion of 'better' *endowed* hinterland and its immediate relationship with the 'informal means of subsistence' indicating that the urbanization of peripheral capitalist countries may hinge on its better *endowed* hinterland, hence, our reservation against a wholesale application of theory of the *desolation of the countryside* (Mlay, 1974, ect.); and,
- vi. the overlapping and interdependence of the 'formal' and the 'informal' relations, hence, our *skepticism* in view of the exclusive portrayal of the centrality of the formal sector.

In brief these data (cf. Appendix 1B) relate to the complex configuration of the nature and urbanization perspective of peripheral urban centres. It is our contention that such a complexity is virtually unnoticed in a perspective which espouses only the *formal aspects* of urbanization. Here in chapter five the main part of the presentation deals with a description of the areas surveyed and the accompanying distribution characteristics of formal and informal economic activities. To begin with, a presentation of demographic process is in order. The relationship of demography to urban development is implicit in most definitions of urbanization (cf. Chap. 2. esp. sec. 2.2).

5.3 Demographic Process in Mbeya

The first report of the *Mbeya Master Plan 1974-1994: Main Report*, (1975:7) (hereafter MMP, 1975) has observed that:-

the first population recordings of Mbeya is in 1948.

Based on and compared with the consecutive recordings, this report has considered Mbeya one of the fastest growing towns in Tanzania. The population and the rapid rate of growth

of Mbeya since the 1948 recordings illustrates this point (Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1

Population Growth of Mbeya Urban: 1948-1978†

Year	Population	Ave. Annual (%)
1948	3,179	N.I.
1952	5,566	15.0
1957	6,932	4.5
1967	12,469	6.1
1978	78,111	18.5
1986	153,045	10.6

Source: 1967 and 1978 Population Census Reports. (see also MMP, 1975, esp. pp. 5ff);

Understanding the trends of population growth of a burgeoning town like Mbeya is of importance to the Municipal Council's administration. Nationally organized enumerations are conducted once every decade. On a regional basis, however, intermittent surveys to up-date trends of growth tend to be more frequent (cf. Table 5.2). Given the rapid urbanization of the periphery, these intermittent mini-censuses may both facilitate prediction of demographic trends and anticipate plausible programs for the growing population. Population projections and estimates for Mbeya up to the turn of the next century were also obtained (Table 5.2).

† 1986 figures obtained during this survey, are also the Working Figures of the MMC.

TABLE 5.2

Projection And Estimates Of Mbeya Urban Population

Year	Popul. Projec. & Estimates	Ave. Annual (%)
1971	52,150	N.A.
1981	107,391	7.5
1985	143,417	-
1990	205,894	-
1995	295,588	-
2000	424,354	-
2005	609,216	-

Sources: Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development (M.L.H.U.D.), 1975; Socio-economic Surveys, Mbeya, 1981; MMPR Vol. II, Main Report (1984) esp. pp. 11ff.

A household survey conducted in 1981 by a team of sociologists, planners, engineers, economists, and architects when the projected population of Mbeya exceeded the 100,000 mark also provided data on age and sex distribution in Mbeya. A total of 1,126 households representing a controlled sample of 5.5 percent of all households in Mbeya provided these data (Table 5.3). For both sexes the 'wage labour age-group' (19-55) contained the largest percentage of people and the 56-plus age group contained the smallest percentage for both sexes, individually and combined (Table 5.3).

TABLE 5.3

Age And Sex Distribution (%)

Sex/Age-Group	0-6	7-18	19-55	56+	Total
Males	13.1	15.9	22.1	0.9	52.0
Females	12.2	13.9	21.0	0.8	48.0
Total	23.5	29.8	43.1	1.7	100.0

Source: Household Surveys, June and October, 1981

Examined carefully, in each of these *age-groups*, the percentage of the male population is proportionately greater than the percentage of the female population. It can be argued that these proportions reflect the existing *gender* inequality in urban-wage labour opportunities already in place in third world urban societies. Given this discrepancy (Table 6.1 - 6.4), it is reasonable to expect a greater proportion of the *dynamic* 'wage labour age-group' to be actively involved in the informal economy. Given the mobility of this 'age group' (cf. Ishumi, 1984), it is also reasonable to expect the informal economy to be quite *dynamic*.

It was noted earlier that the boundaries of the residential areas showed a lack of symmetry. An examination of the data concerning the populations of the planning/administrative wards bears this out. They range in size from 14,902 to a low of 2,516 (Table 5.4).

TABLE 5.4
Mbeya Municipality Planning/Administrative Wards†

Plan./Admin. Wards	Current Population
Maendeleo	10,087
Majengo	9,082
Mabatini	10,756
Sisimba	3,312
Iyunga	8,850
Nzovwe	13,932
Itende	3,882
Isanga	11,542
Sinde	13,701
Ilemi	3,619
Nonde	7,078
Ilomba	10,846
Ruanda	14,902
Mbalizi Road	5,326
Mwansekwa	2,648
Iziwa	3,517
Uyole	6,426
Itezi	4,302
Mwansanga	2,516
Igawilo	6,721
Total	153,045

† Source: MMC Economist's Records, May-Oct. 1986

The twenty wards of Mbeya contain a population of 153,045 and 31,200 households, that is, an average of 4.9 inhabitants per household. The national household average is equal to 5 (cf. Karlsson et al., 1980). Seventy six percent of the population, according to a survey, had built their own homes from their own resources while only 2.5% and 2.7%, respectively, had obtained a bank loan or a private loan (MMPR, Vol I, 1984:32). Under these conditions it is not difficult to assess the quality of this housing.

Table 5.4 does not include the residential areas of Kanisa, Ghana, and, Azimio (cf. Table 4.1). On the other hand, Mwansekwa, Iziwa, Uyole, Itezi, Mwansanga, and, Igawilo, have been included. In spite of this exclusion in the official statistics, however, our survey noted that, Kanisa, Ghana, and, Azimio were still popular residential areas. This phenomenon raises the key question of land use to which we shall now turn.

It was noted in Chapter 4 that the municipality of Mbeya covers about 21,000 hectares, of which, approximately 4,400 are within the built up area (cf. MMPR, Vol. II, June, 1984). Records indicate the following (Table 5.5) to be the corresponding distribution of land use, (cf. Figure 5.1A - Land use map).

FIGURE 5:1.A

TABLE 5.5

Distribution Of Land Uses In Mbeya Urban Area

Land Use	Area in Hectares	% of Total
Residential/Planned	984	-
Unplanned	712.8	-
Total	1,697.2	37.7
Farms	1,368.0	30.4
Institutional	399.3	8.9
Open Spaces	360.6	8.0
Forest Reserve	300.0	6.7
Industrial	284.9	6.3
Central Areas	67.6	1.5
Commercial	26.6	0.5
Total	4504.2	100.0

Source: Land and Surveys, October 1981, June 1982, and December 1983

The land use data for Mbeya urban accounts for only 4,500 hectares yet the municipality of Mbeya contains 21,000 hectares (Table 5.5). Earlier in Chapter 4 it was noted that the proportion of most densely populated residential areas was on the increase. Under these conditions it is difficult to understand why the surplus 16,000 hectares has not been able to alleviate the reported shortage of residential land. A closer examination of the municipal's statistical information, however, will indicate boundary changes to be mainly responsible for what appears to be an urban land surplus. An explanation of this contention follows

below.

Since 1935 when Mbeya was designated a township, there have been three changes of township boundaries. The original boundary was displaced only as late as 1978 in accordance with recommendation of the original Mbeya Master Plan (i.e. MMP, 1975). The Mbeya Municipal Council was itself set up in the year 1978. The present boundary of the MMC was established in 1982 in order to accomodate the municipal's burgeoning population growth (Table 5.4). It will be in order at this point to highlight the rural aspect of Mbeya municipality which also indicates the rapid urbanization of this town.

According to the MMC, six out of the total number of wards shown in Table 5.4 are categorized as being in the rural parts of the municipality. In all, precisely, there are fourteen rural settlements within the municipality (cf. Figure 5.1B). The fourteen rural settlement - cum - municipal villages are:-

- i. Mwansekwa; ii. Uyole Juu; iii. Uyole Kati;
- iv.. Iyunga; v. Itende; vi. Ilomba;
- vii. Iziwa; viii. Itezi; ix. Mwansanga;
- x. Igawilo; xi. Swaya; xii. Nsenga;
- xiii. Nsalangu: and, xiv. Mbowe (Iganzo).

FIGURE 5:1.B

In the final analysis it can be argued that the inclusion of so many rural settlements bears upon the difference between urban land occupied *de facto* and urban land claimed *de jure* by the municipality. Of these fourteen municipal villages, Uyole Kati stands out as the major exception. The latter is located at the junction of two major highways, namely, the Tanzam Highway and the Itungi Port Highway. The Tanzam Highway connects Dar es Salaam to important Zambian towns and cities involved in the export and import industry. Being a landlocked country, Zambia is dependent upon Tanzania's vital sea-port as an outlet to the outer markets.

The Itungi Port Highway which was constructed by a German multinational in the nineteen seventies, connects to Dar es Salaam both Tanzanian southern lake shores, notably, the otherwise semi-accessible Liuli and Mbamba Bay, and, the northern provinces of Malawi. Like Zambia, Malawi is also a landlocked neighbour state. Consequently, trade and commerce are the main occupation of Uyole Kati. We shall assume this to be true of similar roadside communities elsewhere. This highway which goes via the former German town of Tukuyu also facilitates the transportation of people and commodities between Tukuyu and Mbeya. This interaction is important to the urbanization of both towns. In addition, more way stations and their peripheral communities can be linked to Mbeya, hence, expanding the sources of food supply for Mbeya, hence, making it much more convenient for capital to coexist with the pre-capitalist relations and, or forms of production. At the same time, an additional inflow of rural peasants will visit towns as part of the *alternate cycle* to enhance their reproduction power (cf. Chap. 7). On the other hand, unlike Uyole Kati the main occupation in most other municipal villages is peasant agriculture.

Considered also as being favourably located and easily accessed municipal villages

are Uyole Juu, Mwansekwa, and Iwambi. Iwambi is located along the Lusaka (Zambia) bound Tanzam Highway, within reach of both Mbalizi and Songwe. According to MMC projections, Mbalizi and Songwe are satellite towns located about 25 kilometers from downtown Mbeya and are currently outside the municipal boundary (cf. Figure 5.1B) but not totally in isolation and independent from forces affecting Mbeya's urbanization *per se*. Songwe is the location of two recently established heavy manufacturing industries with immediate connections to the Tazara Railway Line passing nearby, namely:-

- i. The Mbeya Cement Factory; and,
- ii. The Mbeya Textile Mill.

According to feasibility studies, at full capacity the two factories will employ 3,500 workers. Based on the government's own paper, the "Daily News", (cf. Daily News No. 3248, July 29th, 1983);

the 450m Mbeya cement plant was to start work on August 1st, 1983. At full capacity it would produce 250,000 tonnes annually.

According to the Acting GM at the time of conducting this survey, given power supply, the capacity to reach prescribed targets is not impossible. As we learned the facts, however, we think that two impediments come into immediate play here:-

- i. the unstable supply of requisite *Limestone* from Tanga. Relative to the location of the plant at Songwe, this indispensable source is located at the far eastern end of the country.
- ii. alternatively, the nearest source of limestone supply only recently established at Iringa, approximately 400 Kilometers away of road connection has been plagued by a lack of reliable transport.

In order to have access to the limestone from the Tanga source the plant at Songwe has to use two railway systems for transporting the material, viz the Tanga line to Dar es Salaam and the Tazara Line from Dar es Salaam to Songwe. Unfortunately, the tracks of these two lines are of different gauge, hence, slowing the progress of the materials since they have to be transferred from cars on one line to cars on another, rather than simply transferring cars. This minimizes the possibility that full capacity of the plant (as per government blueprints) hence, increased wage labour opportunities is not within easy reach (Daily News No. 3248, July 29th, 1983).

Based on the foregoing analysis, only four of the fourteen municipal villages have been identified as being favourably located. The majority are characterised by poor accessibility, hence, "they depend on Mbeya urban area for public services".(MMPR (Vol. I, June, 1984:27). We shall argue that in the interim they cannot be the immediate solution to the congestion of the most densely populated townships. In her study of Tanzania's Mwanza Township, R.E. Greble (1971:iii) pointed out that:-

The interrelationship of Mwanza town and its region involves the town providing social, economic, and political services to the region, and the region supporting the town by producing the crops on which the town's growth depends, and the region relies on the town for its services

We assume this to be true of other townships in Tanzania and perhaps in most LDCs. Some years before Greble, Epstein (1969:134) came to a similar conclusion that:-

Urban centres most often exist in equilibrium with their hinterland and their total environment

This orientation towards the relationship of the main urban centre to its townships in the hinterland should help as we attempt to appreciate the informal relationship as well as the formal as the process of rapid urbanization takes place in the municipality of Mbeya.

5.4 The Distribution Of Population & Of Formal-Informal Economic Activities By Surveyed Areas

In the methodology chapter (chapter 4) the study area was divided into four major inhabited zones, viz, Central, Mabatini, Majengo, and, Mwanjelwa. This presentation of the distribution of population and of formal-informal economic activities will be limited to these areas. Table 4.2 presented in perspective the area surveyed during May - October, 1986 Field Work. Based on the information we already have, 54.54 percent of residential areas surveyed (cf. Table 4.3) have been categorized as 'Most Densely Populated'. These population statistics suggest the prevalence of strain in the availability and, or adequacy of formal institutions with the corresponding means of subsistence. At its edges, however, the Mbeya urban municipality is sparsely populated and to the best knowledge not overcrowded. Besides, almost 16,000 hectares of the municipal's land have not fallen under any of the disclosed occupancy and/or urban land use (Table 5.5). On the other hand, this spatial relation suggest the prevalence of means of subsistence independent of the major urban (formal) institutions. It can be argued that all major urban centres at the periphery have a comparable residential pattern, namely:

- i. Low density areas;
- ii. Medium populated areas; and,
- iii. Densely/Overcrowded areas.

Based on the information that we have about Mbeya, other major urban centres elsewhere may differ from it in that, at best, land at the seams could be occupied or at worst congested (cf. Dwyer, 1974:204).

Mbeya township like Tanga township is characterised by a peculiar *urbangraphic* feature, that is, the presence of farms. In the case of Mbeya the farms are large, namely:-

- i. Itende's 121 hectares of coffee;
- ii. The Uyole Agricultural Research and Training Institute (ART) east of the Tazara Railway Line covering 950 hectares;
- iii. Iwambi's 298 hectares of cattle ranch; and, not to mention,
- iv. 300 hectares of eucalyptus and coniferous forests to the south of the municipal's administrative centre most of which are not only within the circumference of the municipal boundary but also in locations amiable for residential development.

In the case of the major residential areas of Tanga (Kisosora, Ngamiani, and Majani Mapana), their countrysides contain a large number of *mini-shambas*, that is cultivated plots growing cassava and batatas, plots of mango and coconut trees. In addition, in the east and northeast-ward direction urban expansionism is limited by marsh-land beyond which lies yet another territory prohibiting urban sprawl or invasion, namely, the Amboni Sisal Estate, Factory and its complex community. In sum, the two municipalities are similar in that farm sites/estates occupy a specific 'amiable' peri-urban location obstructing residential speculation or other urban developmental schemes.

It is our understanding that 'low' 'medium' and, 'high density' spatial arrangements of urban areas are a result of an interplay of a combination of societal variables. Hence, in order to identify the relations which have influenced the spatial arrangement obtaining in Mbeya, we will use an historical approach. In the previous chapter the survey areas were classified as 'Planned', 'Upgraded', 'Unplanned', and, 'Densely Populated' and six of the survey areas, Azimio, Ghana, Kanisa, Majengo, Nonde, and, Sinde, were said to be the

'most densely populated'. The point we wish to emphasize here is that, 'high population density' has occurred in both *planned* areas and *unplanned* areas. Since much of the *upgrading* has been only a superficial face-lifting (cf. Comoro, 1981: esp. Ch. 6), it is our contention that over the period of time, in the *unplanned* and *upgraded* areas conditions amenable to *overcrowding* are likely to escalate. One of the consequences of this structure is the burgeoning of the informal sector which, however, continues to exist in a reciprocal relation with the formal sector. In order to understand the interplay between the 'informal' and the 'formal' relations, the individual areas surveyed shall be considered as parts of the total urban relations in Mbeya which is in turn a part of the broader Tanzanian society. The Tanzanian society itself, like its third world counterparts is considered not independently and in isolation from the forces of the international capitalist system.

TABLE 5.6

Survey Population By Major Inhabited Zones

Azimio	Kanisa	Maendeleo	Sisimba	Total Central
1,933	3,866	10,087	3,312	19,198
Mabatini	Mbalizi Rd.	Simike		Total Mabatini
10,756	5,326	3,868		19,950
Ghana	Majengo	Nonde		Total Majengo
4,940	9,082	7,087		21,109
Ruanda	Sinde			Total Mwanjelwa
14,902	13,701			27,602

Source: Survey Data May-October, 1986

It should be noted that the 1986 population of Mbalizi Road has declined by 22.5% when compared to its 1984 population (cf. Table 4.1). At the same time the population of neighbouring Mabatini has grown by 58.9% during the same periods. The boundaries between the two areas are not very clearly marked, hence, we will disregard these changes and assume rising internal migration to be the cause of this variation in population densities. The same would not apply to Maendeleo, however, because its boundaries have remained unchanged and it shows a population increase of 213% between 1984 and 1986. Attempting to explain this unprecedented demographic situation in this residential location, the party (CCM) secretary of Maendeleo remarked:-

People are always on the move sorting and sifting themselves among locations. Under these circumstances to enumerate some of them in more than one location at any enumeration period is highly credible

Paradoxically, however, even when compared to the official working figures of the 1984, real figures revealed to us by the secretary of Maendeleo indicated that up to 16% of the population was not enumerated then. Likewise, the survey population of Nonde indicates a decline of 30.5% compared to that of barely two years back. Again, considering that the latter also shares *unmarked* borderlines with neighbouring Majengo whose population suddenly increased by up to 36.4%, it will be prudent to make assumptions similar to those levelled against Mabatini and Mbalizi Road. In the former case, it appears that the population movement originated from a 'properly' planned residential area to one 'haphazardly' occupied. In the latter, the alternate is the case whereby a population shift has originated from a 'haphazardly' occupied area to a planned neighbouring location. Since we found no evidence to suggest in the cases presented here that these population shifts were in response to some developmental or any other state programs, the question is, what is it that attracts people to the various location within Mbeya?

Considered from the western urban perspective, with their limited potential for industrialization, urban areas of peripheral societies lack a *centripetal* force sufficient enough to cause a dislocation of the population from the rural areas. Yet, it is surprising to note that despite the Mbeya's relative endowment of the rural areas (cf. Table 3.4), its rural population has been caught in the frenzy rural-urban migration process. The later, it is argued, is a 'universal' process whatever the stage of industrialization. (cf. Leishman, 1980). On the other hand, since the rural entity exerts its own *centrifugal* pressure, a total depletion of its productive population is avoided. Based on the analysis of the 1967 and 1978 population census reports, rapid population increases are observed to be above those of the natural growth rates and therefore the Main Report, (i.e. MMPR, Vol. II, 1984), has attributed the former to net migration. According to late surveys which have

their input in the MMPR:-

- i. as of 1981, only 34.2 percent of the population were born in Mbeya town;
- ii. 36.1 percent had migrated from within the region which, in 1978 had attained a population of 1,080,241 inhabitants with subsequent growth rates equivalent to the national average of 3.3 annually; and,
- iii. 27.7 percent of the population fell under the category 'outsiders' which included immigrants from other regions and from outside the country at large.

It is evident from these facts that Mbeya has a large immigrant population which, undoubtedly has been attracted by the forms of subsistence that the town is capable of offering. Speaking of which, during the survey we noted that each residential area had its own concentration of common activities which support urban subsistence. In the discussion which follows, a brief presentation of the economic activities in each zone is in order. Further information on specific subject in each zone is, however, summarized in Appendix No. 2.

5.4.1: The Central Zone

The central business district of Mbeya (CBD) is located in Azimio and Sisimba of the central zone. The Mbeya's CBD is similar to others in Tanzania's main towns in that it is Asian dominated (cf. Shivji's 1967 '*Dukawallas*': Comoro, 1981:30-31 - "*Uhindini*" and "*Uzunguni*"). Located here are:-

- i. The Central Market - an old market which used to co-exist with the original central bus terminus;

- ii. the Railway Station, Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) buses only (see 'Plate 4');
- iii. the Post Office; and,
- iv. most offices of the central government as well as official residences of members from the top echelons of the state, senior municipal bureaucrats, expatriates and most business and store owners residing on their own business premises.

In addition to the usual wholesale and retail commerce of the CBD pockets of petty hawking and vending were noted although they were not as prevalent as in other parts of Mbeya. We noticed that on weekdays (saturday included)†, popular petty hawking or vending included:-

- (a). newspaper vending, including a whole variety of fiction magazines;
- (b.) shoeshining;
- (c). roasting of green maize and green bananas; and,
- (d). mobile vendors with merchandise varying from children's favourite bubble gums (or as the children and the hawkers/peddlers themselves call it - Big 'G') to cosmetics.

The main location for newspaper and fiction magazine vending include locations outside the Post Office, in front of Mbeya Bookshop, and inside and outside the central market.¹ This indicates a mutual coexistence of the formal and the informal sectors. Examined closely, these informal vending sectors which coexist with the establishments of the formal sector accelerate the realization of commodities, goods and services.

Among those operating outside and surrounding the central market, we found young

† We noticed that on sundays fewer hawkers, mainly the mobile ones were active

Charles Mwapeleli co-owner and manager of a busy shoeshine service who became one of our real informants. We shall return to the 'income-pooling' activities of our informant in chapter seven to make a point on the symbiotic relations.

Alternatively, we observed green maize and green bananas were roasting in a location where they were of asset to the predominant formal sector activity. For example, this was quite popular near the 'Mbeya Enterprise Cinema' which does not provide the cinegoers *popcorn service*, and near the new central bus terminus (cf. 'Plate 1') which lacks adequate hotel or restaurant services for travellers. On sundays we noticed that only a few but highly mobile hawkers peddled the goods in the streets of Mbeya.

Kanisa and Maendeleo, the other two residential areas within the central zone differ from their CBD counterparts.² They comprise the oldest section of Mbeya and many of the residential buildings are in a state of near collapse which is ironic given the name "Maendeleo" which roughly means 'Development or Progress'. Some of the street roads have not only lost their smooth surface but are also progressively developing deeper pot-holes. Architecturally, residential buildings here are predominantly of the four room-type with a wide corridor or a large living room (i.e. *Sebule*). At the front side of most houses is a veranda which has become useful for a variety of domestic income pooling activities. Two walls of up to six feet join to the main house a semi-detached kitchen, store-room, and bathroom/latrine, forming an enclosed backyard. The roofing material of most houses here creates a conspicuous architectural design in this location. The material is made up of tins from kerosene and cooking oil containers, discarded oil barrels and other scrap metals, hence, this building style requires a lot of wooden poles. The poles when weakened by age give the impression of imminent collapse, hence, a dilapidated look to the area. It should be noted that the same is the predominant roofing style of Chunya township.

Chunya as well as Kanisa and Maendeleo experienced their growth³ during the same period, particularly, the period associated with gold mining at Chunya. We shall assume that in the subsequent gold rush which affected Chunya as well as Mbeya, what mattered was a roof over the people's head, rather than the kind of the material it was made of. Architecturally, however, what is noteworthy is that the veranda building style appears to be calculated to serve a variety of informal and domestic oriented 'income pooling' activities. The veranda, however, serves other purposes somewhat indirectly connected with the popular domestic-oriented 'income pooling' activities. For instance, people sit on the veranda to engage in or to listen to a conversation on common *gossips* of the town. In addition, oftentimes, urbanites tend to crowd themselves on the veranda to listen to the neighbour's radio in the corner. We think, however, that these informal practices are by no means without significant effects to the general quest for urban subsistence.

Kanisa and Maendeleo provide accommodation for a majority of lower to medium income bracket public servants in smaller semi-detached to large houses, group units and apartment houses scattered north and south of the Assemblies of God Church. This church (cf. Appendix) occupies the site of the former Jail House community and this community of lower to middle income civil servant's housing were once in one and the same quadrangle. In the mean time, the population here is more heterogeneous than the lower to middle income civil servants who were once the urban elite of this section of Mbeya and who originally dominated the area. The population, however, is predominantly African and it seems to us that it has adapted to the contemporary urbanization process as well as growing alongside the predominantly Asian dominated CBD (see the opening remarks sec. 5.4.1).

In terms of physical layout, Kanisa and Maendeleo display together an unmistakable

grid system of the kind downtown Tanga is so famous for and second to none in Mbeya. That notwithstanding, Maendeleo is an old dilapidated section of Mbeya town where it is easy to notice how urbanization has taken its toll. The composition of Maendeleo, as it began tells its own story. At the south-western end of Maendeleo, particularly, the site overlooking the New Bus Terminus, is a small estate of lower income bracket civil servant quarters whose nonemployed household members engage in the common petty trade of peddling "vitumbua", that is to say, the 'sweet rice-bread'. At the southern-most location game scouts were housed.⁴ Game Scouts are the type of people whose profession dictates a life of one foot in the community the other in the bush. In this regard, their families who remain in the town usually took a predominant role in the trade of cooking and selling *mtumbua*. Maendeleo appears to be famous for that. Here, streets are blackened by charcoal, the fuel used for cooking "vitumbua" brought to town by returning game scouts and or other temporary sojourners.

Charcoal also tempts people to engage in the selling of a home-made brew called "Kimpumu" which is served with water boiling hot and is sipped by means of a dry bamboo straw. This home-made brew is quite adaptive to the cool climate of Mbeya. "Komonj" is the name given to another brand of home-made brew commonly brewed in the region like elsewhere in the neighbour regions. hence the 'Swahili' term *Komonj*, literally 'common'. Note that in terms of our 'formal-informal' relations perspective, both "Kimpumu" and "komoni" are brewed to cater for several 'informal' (and 'formal') needs of the indigenous population. On the other hand the (more formal) bottled beer is intended for the consumption of urban elite. Socially, however, those engaged in this trade in residential areas like Maendeleo where public clubs are not provided for also

provide little rooms, namely, what the local people have called "Kabineti".†. Old people reminisce in the days of their time when the 9th street was so famous for several petty trading and services including the provision of *Kabineti* where the home-made brew was served and consumed.

In summary, the following commercial enterprises of the local residents obtained in the area during the Survey (May - October, 1986).

† pronounced like the English word 'Cabinet'

TABLE 5.7

Trade And Commercial Enterprises By Residential Location

Type of Enterprise	Kanisa	Maendeleo
Cooperative Shops	8	3
Privately Owned Shops	87	N.I.
Hotels	4	2
Guest Houses (Lodging)	3	4
Restaurants	3	2
Bars	2	3
Butcher	4	N.I.
Tailoring Mart	1	N.I.
Social Club (beer)	1	N.I.
a market rendezvous	1	N.A.

Source: Survey Data, May-October 1986.

It should be noted that there is a higher degree of formal economic activities in Kanisa. As a result, it is important to stress that Kanisa has developed into a commercial sub-centre of the CBD.⁵ On the other hand, the comparatively small amount of formal shops etc. in Maendeleo has led to a very active informal sector there. The point we wish to stress here is that, this comparison of Kanisa and Maendeleo is an important one in this analysis which attempts to understand the interaction of the 'informal' and the 'formal' relations. It is our contention that their similarities and, or differences shed some light on the urbanization process of Mbeya itself at large.

In terms of business entrepreneurship, it appears Macndeleo has failed to catch up with its northern neighbour Kanisa, (see 'Plate 5a', tailoring in front of a small shop and 'Plate 5b', two little shops next to each other). Businesses of this category are numerous here.

Key Summary To The Plates

- Plate 1** Central Bus Terminus, background (*left*):- part of Majengo and Ghana, Mbeya peak seen in the horizon.
- Plate 2A** Mwanjelwa Market - Food Section.
- Plate 2B** Mwanjelwa Market - Second Hand "*Mitumba*" Section.
- Plate 3A** Proliferation of outer peripheries.
- Plate 3B** Housing at the foot of the mountain.
- Plate 4** Dar es Salaam - Lusaka roundabout near the regional block, background *right* Mbeya railway station.
- Plate 5A** Soko Matola; Tailoring in front of a small shop with "*Mitumba*" spread on the ground.
- Plate 5B** Soko Matola; Two little shops next to each other.
- Plate 6A & B** Mwanjelwa Market; Food and Mitumba sections respectively.
- Plate 6C** A "*Lembuka*" rendezvous near the lake at Kyela.
- notabene:-** Plates No. 6A - 6C have been taken from *Daily News*, No. 4241, Saturday, October, 11, 1986.

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PLATES

Plate 2A

Plate 2B

Plate 1

Plate 3A

Plate 3B

Plate 5A

Plate 4

2. In the photograph shown below

Plate 5B

A quick visit to popular places in Mbeya

RIGHT — These women are awaiting customers to buy foodstuffs they have brought to Muanjelua market place near Mbeya town.

Plate 6A

LEFT — Part of Muanjelua market place also caters for second hand clothes (mitumba) business.

Plate 6B

RIGHT — Along the Lake Nyasa beach, these people relax with a local brew called "komoni" at Lyolelu. The brew is brought from Kyela. (All pictures by Ernest Milinga).

Plate 6C

5.4.2: Mabatini Zone

As we indicated in Chapter Four, this zone comprises of Mabatini itself; Mbalizi Road; and, Simike. In relation to statistics given in Table 4.3 the MMC did not have records of Simike as an autonomous locale and, hence, its data were excluded in that table. This survey, however, has included the latter as a notable locale in the zone under consideration. This precedence is also intended to indicate the rapid urbanization in this burgeoning urban centre. Whereas the MMC recognizes Mabatini and Mbalizi Road as two distinct wards, this survey was unable to identify the official dividing line which is deemed to distinguish them. Except for the two ridges which have been occupied lately in the Mbalizi Road section, here at Mabatini, on both sides of Mbalizi Road Highway residential houses are seen in a haze of concentration filing back to back. The municipal authorities, however, have categorized Mbalizi Road as a 'planned' residential area. Describing the existing land-use in Mbalizi Road residential area, its chairperson stressed that:-

The situation has reached insurmountable proportion. In certain instances, there is hardly room to build a water privy.

On the other hand, Simike is clearly demarcated from Mabatini and Mbalizi Road. It is separated from the latter by a 1959 American-built Baptist Tuberculosis Hospital.⁶ Lying immediately south of the hospital grounds, Simike extends southwards up to the northern frontier of Itende National Service Camp, caretaker of 121 hectares of coffee. Hence, both the northern and the southern frontiers of Simike are surrounded by barbed wire fences which make trespassing difficult. Similarly, its development eastwards is curtailed by the Tanzam Highway beyond which lies a well protected reserve forest. In the meantime, the only possible direction of growth is westwards. In that direction, however, lies the already overcrowded areas of southern Mabatini. This combination of circumstances makes this

an area of special interest for this study.

While Mabatini *per se* has been incorporated in the municipal boundaries only as recently as 1983, its history of occupancy, as we found goes further back than the 1983 annexation and it is also intimately related to the very becoming of Mbeya in general and of the Mwanjelwa Zone in particular.⁷ It is important to emphasize at this point that the first urban population of Mwanjelwa came from Mabatini. As we shall discuss below (cf. sec. 5.4.4), this population comprised of those people who were evicted from Mabatini together with the owner of a *notorious* motor vehicle garage, as well as those who were asked to vacate the place so as to allow a more urban-like development to take its course.⁸

The terms "Mabatini" and "Majengo Mapya" having special reference to urban stratification, derive from Tanzania's *Lingua Franca*, namely, "Kiswahili". Before the policy of 'Africanization' (cf. Nyerere, 1968, pp.27ff, 1973, pp.269ff.) most celebrated by the incipient post colonial state, urban residential differentiation in the country was largely based on a tripartite ethnic division (cf. Comoro, 1984: 34ff). Race, however, has also corresponded with economic stratification which is more explicit in urban areas, urban residential stratification being the case in point. It was our contention in an earlier study of Mbeya (cf. Comoro, 1981), that, when used with reference to towns and cities, "Mabatini" denotes an area recently occupied by the natives, part of the town popular for its corrugated iron sheets (i.e. *Mabati*) and distinct from settlements on the periphery of the town or city with metal scraps or grass thatched housing structures. Conversely, "Majengo" which is the 'Swahili' word for 'Buildings', is somewhat more downtown with fairer social infrastructure compared to "Mabatini". More precisely, it denotes modern buildings which usually belong to the indigenous people. Surprisingly enough, however, like the "Mabatini" areas which are somewhat less affluent, the "Majengo" areas do not

preclude the growth of an active informal sector of the economy. Together, "Mabatini" and "Majengo" are popular names among major East African towns and cities, for example,

- i. The Mabatini of Mbeya, Mwanza, Njombe (Tanzania);
- ii. The Majengo of Mbeya, Moshi, Dodoma (Tanzania);
- iii. The Majengo of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Naivasha (Kenya); and,
- iv. In Kampala, Entebbe as well as Jinja, though not precisely using the same 'Swahili' terms, *sociologically*, the *Kwaziba* and *Kisenyi* locations are no more different from the *Majengo* of Nairobi, Mombasa and *Mabatini's* of Mbeya. Mwanza etcetera.

Given the nature and composition of Mabatini residential area, it is not surprising that the types of activities on-going in the area are fundamentally subsistence oriented. Closely examined, trade and commercial enterprises of this location vary from similar functions at the downtown location. In summary, the following trade and commercial activities obtained in this location during this survey are noted in Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.8

**Trade And Commercial Enterprises Of Mabatini/Mbalizi Road, Simike,
Kanisa and Maendeleo**

Type of Enterprise	M/Mb Road	Simike	Kanisa	Maendeleo
Cooperative Shops	3	N.I.	8	3
Privately Owned Shops	17	3	87	N.I.
Hotels with Guest Houses	8	N.I.	4	2
Guest Houses only	N.I.	2	3	4
Restaurants	2	3	3	2
Bars	5	5	1	N.I.
Butchers	2	N.I. 4	N.I.	
Fish Marketing Coop.	2	N.I.	N.I.	N.I.
Grain Milling Machines	3	2	N.I.	N.I.
Garages & Workshops	2	3	N.I.	N.I.
Tailoring Mart	N.I.	N.I.	1	N.I.
<u>a market rendez-vous</u>	-	-	1	N.A.

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

The Mabatini and Mbalizi Road areas combined have a smaller proportion of 'formal economic activities' than do Kanisa and Maendeleo (Table 5.8). Simike, it appears has much less formal economic activities than does the combination of the Mabatini-Mbalizi Road areas. It should be noted, however, that there are many rural-type activities present in the urban municipal boundaries of Simike (Table 5.9).

TABLE 5.9

Animals Domesticated In Simike Area

Type of Animals	Total
Cows	109
Pigs	439
Goats	87
Sheep	63
Dogs	103

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

In brief, the economic activities found within the urban municipal boundaries of the Mabatini zone are related to our central argument, namely, the coexistence in the same narrow terrain of the formal and the informal.

It seems plausible to argue that in urban areas of developing countries, tolerance to the 'informal economies' is constituent to their rapid process of urbanization. In this case-study, the survey has identified in the central zone, Majengo and Mwanjelwa explicit indicators of the rapid rate of the urbanization process in Mbeya. Some of these indicators will be discussed below (cf. sec. 5.4.4)

5.4.3: Majengo Zone

As we indicated in the fourth chapter, this zone comprises the residential areas of Ghana, Majengo itself and Nonde. At this point, we understand the 'Swahili' meaning and implication of the terminology *Majengo* in its urban spatial location as referring to the proliferation of residential buildings generally owned and occupied by the Africans themselves. Urban residential settlement in Majengo commenced in the year 1956.⁹ Both its two immediate neighbours, namely, Kanisa and Maendeleo, or its less immediate neighbour Mabatini, have all played a seminal role in its development. In neighbouring Ghana, however, occupancy commenced around independence time (that is, 1961). Note that this occupancy came approximately two decades after Mabatini and Mbalizi Road had already become important settlements.

The signal of change affecting the rural nature of Majengo came about in 1954 following a 'town order' to terminate the functions of the hitherto popular club of local brew from its more downtown location in the market section of Kanisa residential area.¹⁰ Subsequent to this declaration, its functions and services were relocated at its present whereabouts in Majengo. Here at its spacious new location with improved facilities, the club was quickly nicknamed "Lejiko" mimicking the country's newly established 'Legico' (i.e. Legislative Council), this has now become the popular name of the club. The Majengo *Lejiko* provided the basis for open-air 'informal markets' when it opened on Saturdays and Sundays. Interestingly, however, through contacts at the *Lejiko* the proletarians-in-the-making were able to form or join other mini-associations of various group interests.¹¹

Among the first urban population of Majengo were those income pooling families actively involved in what the *Lejiko* would eventually provide. The latter immigrated from

areas already established like Kanisa, Maendeleo and Mbalizi Road. One consequence of this internal movement is that, population pressure at Kanisa and Maendeleo had its overspill getting a fresh start at Majengo and beyond. Majengo is among the planned residential areas. Since it was planned to accommodate and relieve pressure of population from semi-CBD - cum - residential areas like Kanisa and Maendeleo, its layout was found to be different from the others. Compared to these two, Majengo has:

- i. bigger residential plots;
- ii. bigger six-roomed type of houses; and,
- iii. better roofing materials (corrugated iron sheets).

Furthermore, at Majengo, houses have both small verandas and narrow corridors. These factors makes them less useful for *Vitumbua*, a household activity observed to be more prevalent at Maendeleo. Lastly, it was realized that Ghana which is nextdoor neighbour to Majengo, though a planned area, lacks a rigid building code as manifested at Majengo. Because of their planned residential nature it is not surprising that high-enrolment multi-streamed co-education primary schools developed in Majengo and Ghana. Another public - cum - private utility worth mentioning here is the Baptist Church the largest in the town, located close to both primary schools off Joka Road which demarcates the residential areas of Majengo and Ghana.

Based on the foregoing analysis it is correct to argue that at Majengo, the *Lejiko* has influenced both residential proliferation and common petty trading that sustain the club (i.e. the *Lejiko*) itself. It has been indicated that residential structures in Majengo are larger than those at Kanisa and Maendeleo. Likewise, their backyards which are completely enclosed by walls joining to the main house the kitchen, store, and other

backyard rooms, tend to be quite spacious. In some of these spacious backyards may be encountered thriving activities subsidiary and complementary to the *Lejiko* namely:-

- a. barbecuing (i.e. literally "Mishikaki") always hot and salted;
- b. the cooking and selling of soup bones (i.e. literally "Makongoro");
- c. the cooking and selling of plantain (i.e *Musa paradisiaca*) and/or a variety of yams with meat-balls; and,
- d. roasting hot and salted plantain

It is important to note that these activities are all part of the informal economy and may at times be peddled like other commodities.¹² In addition, the survey noted that *Kabineti* relations were especially more developed alongside the main stream backyard activities. The latter, however, is much more the case at Nonde than Majengo *per se*.

Nonde which is both a densely populated and 'unplanned' residential area has only recently been incorporated into the main stream of Mbeya urban. In this regard, two outstanding features strike the eye as witness to the rapid urbanization unfolding in Mbeya namely:-

- i. an abattoir once in the middle of nowhere is now in the middle of everything in this overcrowded residential location;
- ii. a large newly-built Lutheran Church with its main entrance bearing the brass inscription: Ephesian 2, 20-22, "Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone" towers above the adjacent residential structures.¹³ At Nonde, among the activities subsidiary and complementary to the dominant *Kabineti* system, barbecuing was noted to be the next popular form of income pooling. Other commercial pooling entrepreneurship

include cooperative shops, privately owned shops etcetera (cf. Table 5.10):-

TABLE 5.10

Trade And Commercial Enterprises Of Nonde Location

Cooperative Shops	4
Privately Owned Shops	2
Cooperative Clubs - Local brew	3
Privately Owned Clubs - Local brew	3
Bars	1

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

It was our observation that all 'Cooperative' ventures in Table 5.10 belong to the women's organizations, that is to say, "Ummoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania" (UWT). We can therefore suggest that women contribute to the urbanization process more than the *patriachal* system is willing to admit.

5.4.4: Mwanjelwa Zone

Ruanda and Sinda residential areas which are the constituent parts of Mwanjelwa were also a site of our previous research on Mbeya. The research which focussed on "Urban Housing Provision For Low Income Population" (cf. Comoro, 1981) is antecedent to the present study by nearly half a decade. This is a sufficient enough time span for utilizing some of those findings both as reference and a measure of social change. Describing the 'location and 'boundaries' of Mwanjelwa, the previous study noted that,

The Mwanjelwa squatter settlement is located between Mbeya town centre and the airport. The main boundaries to the area being the Tanzam Highway to the south, the old Mbeya/Iringa road to the west, branch of Sisimba river to the north and east. (cf. Comoro, 1981: 70)

The total area circumscribed by these borderlines was approximately 176 hectares. Based on Table 4.2, Sinda which shares a borderline with neighbouring Ruanda is categorized as the 'Most Densely Populated'. Together, the two comprise the only 'Upgraded' locale in Mbeya.

To return to the notion that Mabatini has particularly facilitated the formation of a settlement at Mwanjelwa, it was the recollection of the group of *Wazee* from Simike that, prior to its occupancy in the early 1960's Mwanjelwa was practically a wilderness.¹⁴

It was our indication earlier that, like Majengo, Mwanjelwa is a manifestation of the rapid rate of urbanization of Mbeya. It may be useful to set out other indicators below:-

- i. During our survey of 1981, Ruanda had a total population of 7,774 while Sinda had some 8,000 inhabitants;
- ii. In barely half a decade the populations of Ruanda and Sinda almost doubled (1981 Survey and Table 4.1);

- iii. The once clearly isolated Mbeya Aerodrome is now surrounded by both residential and non-residential properties;
- iv. the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) adjacent to the aerodrome has now been completely enmeshed by the local haphazardly-built housing;
- v. During this short period since settlement commenced here in the 1960's, the residential proliferation not only has sprawled back closer to the main downtown location but also the outer periphery has sprawled further away from the centre (see also 'Plate 3A and 3B'); and,
- vi. While the MMP (1975) had recommended that land to the east of Mbeya town centre which was then exclusively the location of Mbeya's only *golf course* should remain free from any building purposes, within the same planing decade, the *golf course* was replaced by what the MMPR (Vol. 1, June 1984:41) has described: "institutional - cum - commercial buildings".

To the best of our knowledge, the scarcity of building land in Mbeya was not such that parts of the social infrastructure such as the golf course should be torn down. Yet, paradoxically enough, at the rapid pace with which urbanization is taking place in Mbeya, even the key institutions, including some departments of the MMC itself have lacked *proper* location, let alone accommodation. Speaking of which, some of the MMC and Mbeya regional - cum - central government offices/department have imprisoned themselves at a small walled enclosure which used to be the Mbeya Soccer Stadium a stone's throw away from the cemetery.¹⁵

Last, but by no means least, it is interesting to note that while intact social infrastructure such as the golf course was decimated, social infrastructure such as the *Sokoine*

Stadium was established at the same construction free zone. The construction of the 'Sokoine Stadium' and its present location were not included in the MMP(1975). In sum, these are a few *indicators of the pace and characteristic of urbanization in Mbeya*. Generally they indicate that the haphazard-growth of this centre is not different from other third world cities which supersede available resources and bureaucratic (*i.e. urban plan*) blue prints.

According to the MMC economist, plans were well underway to arrest this situation by surveying land outside this ring not yet haphazardly occupied and allocating plots to whoever would meet the building code demanded by the municipality. It will also be in order to mention in passing at this point the factors which we consider significant to the accelerated growth of Mwanjelwa in particular and Mbeya in general, namely:-

1. foremost, as a result of Smith's UDI in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) November, 1965, there commenced the haulage of oil and other manufactured goods to landlocked Zambia and from the latter, exports, mainly Copper, were transported to the port of Dar es Salaam for shipment to overseas buyers. 'Fiat', the famous Italian trucks used for this operation had their main stop-over at Mwanjelwa at a location to date retaining the name "Mafiati", that is to say, a conglomeration of 'Fiat Trucks'; and,
2. second, thereafter, the construction of the Tazara Line, the Tanzam Highway and the Tazama (Tanzania - Zambia) Pipeline, when they were within reach of this location profound relationship was established between the construction sites and the neighbourhood.

To return to the point of 'landlocked' states, in Africa, the 1965 Rhodesia crisis with Britain became a socio-economic and political issue which affected seriously the stability

in neighbouring states, some of whom, including Tanzania, sought a permanent solution to the crisis.¹⁶ In Tanzania, the Tazara line, Tanzam highway and the Tazama pipeline are obviously *after the fact* solution in favour of 'landlocked' Zambia, whose immediate access to the sea was in the interim denied by Ian Smith's unsettled regime to the south. As we have noted in Chapter Four (cf. sec. 4.1), the development of these infrastructure have been fundamental to the urbanization process of Mbeya, particularly, the Mwanjelwa area, where the *hub* of 'informal' and 'formal' activities seem to be thriving. It will be quite enlightening in the proceeding discussion to revisit the impact of the Tazara, Tanzam and Tazama pipeline near Mbeya.

As a departing point, the MMPR, (Vol. I, 1984:38) has observed that,

Between 1970 and 1981, employment in the construction section has been growing at an average rate of 17.1 percent per annum.

This rate is much higher than previously anticipated because, originally, the statistical focus was only directed towards the railway line, the highway and the pipeline connecting Zambia to the Dar es Salaam sea port. An assumption by the original Master Plan for Mbeya, 1974-1994 (cf. MMP 1975) that, a decline in employment opportunities in the construction sector would occur following the completion of the major construction delineated here has not held up. This finding is supported by an earlier finding that when major construction becomes an on-going process in an area an active informal sector develops to provide services to those on the construction sites and at the same time these take the form of more - or - less permanent settlements (Comoro, 1984:87). In respect of Mbeya, it can be argued that since the mid 1960's construction has been going on in and around the municipality, Mwanjelwa being closest to most of the major construction and transportation projects.¹⁷ Thus, it is not surprising that housing of a more - or

less permanent nature has grown up in the Mwanjelwa area and that informal services to provide construction workers with cooked-food etcetera have come into being.

Admittedly, every building here shelters one sort of trading activity or another, not to mention the fact that the whole residential community appears to be hinged upon this predominantly *informal* market. The market quadrangle itself is fully packed with traders, most of whom live at the site, selling miscellaneous types of goods and commodities, foodstuff being the primary category. Additionally, on both sides of the road which cuts through the centre of this market, each house is either one of the following:-

- i. a small shop;
- ii. a restaurant;
- iii. a bar;
- iv. a beer store, *Kabineti* type or, in the 'semi-official' slang *stoo bubu*.†.
- v. a tea-room;
- vi. a kiosk;
- vii. a watch repair shop;
- viii. a shoe repair shop;
- ix. a tailoring shop;
- x. a photo studio, etcetera.

† "bubu" is a Swahili name describing someone who lacks 'the power of speech'. Interestingly, such stores practice price hiking and apparently the illegal precedence is borne speechlessly, hence, their names (i.e. "stoo bubu")

All of these, it should be noted, are part of the 'informal economy' which has grown up to serve the needs of travellers and others.

In a nutshell, it should be noted that in Mwanjelwa, hawkers and peddlers are highly mobile and, they operate everywhere including inside the town buses themselves which are always full of commuters travelling between the different sections of Mbeya or inside the other ontransit buses full of passengers. The merchandise of these hawkers and peddlers is mostly comprised of:-

- a. cigarettes, including those from across the border, notably, Peters Stuveysant from Zambia, Sportsman and Tembo brands from Malawi;
- b. packets of sugar from Zambia;
- c. dry cells (batteries), Tanzanian, Malawian and/or Zambian made;
- d. cosmetics and miscellaneous accompaniment like earrings, braceletes *etcetera*;
- e. wrist watches, sunglasses, and,
- f. fancy clothing (i.e. "Vidudu") and under garments *etcetera*.

As it may be recalled from the discussion above, "Mitumba" are second hand garments. It is important, therefore, to note that, *Mitumba* and *Vidudu* are diametrically opposed phenomenon. The former are less expensive and within the municipality, the *Mitumba* hawkers and vendors are not necessarily mobile. *Mitumba* dealers are, however, known to travel to various *Lembuka* functions outside of Mbeya to sell their merchandise. "Vidudu", however, are more expensive and hence tend to sell very slowly, hence, the peddlers are compelled to be quite aggressive and mobile.¹⁸

At "Mafiati" boys in their teens and beyond presumed to be aimless were noticeable

here and there. At first impression one of the most striking groups appeared to be idling besides a pile of worn out vehicle tires abandoned by the roadside. Interestingly, someone from the group was occasionally noticed to be running to speak hurriedly to a driver who has just pulled up a few metres away. This group of apparent idlers, immediately became conspicuous because everybody else in Mwanjelwa was clearly active and going about their business. Attention was specifically drawn towards their unfamiliar action of routinely running after a pulling-up motor vehicle, an oft repeated action. Ultimately, it dawned on this researcher that elsewhere someone associated to this group of teenager idlers apparent is custodian to tires and other motor vehicle accessories in road-worthy condition. It soon became clear when some motorists stopped that they recognized the reasons why groups of idlers were located by the side of the road. It can be argued that it is through the 'informal circles' that both buyers and sellers become knowledgeable of where to find what or whom to contact for what! But, it will be quite unrealistic and superficial to pretend that these circles of the informal economy do not extend beyond their own realm touching the very relations of distribution of the dominant economy.

In the light of this, it is our contention that researchers who have focussed on the 'formal wage-labour' ignore 'informal means' of subsistence such as described above. It will be enlightening to note that Mbeya's hawkers and peddlers who sell even commodities from across the border have distances to cover and neighbour states distribution systems to penetrate. Besides, by peddling goods in the streets, they lower the distributive costs of the capitalist enterprises as well as making for themselves and their immediate household an informal subsistence otherwise unforeseeable. In view of the foregoing, we think to suggest that they share the same lowest common factor namely, "lack of proper gainful employment" *a la* Ishumi. (1984:25) is an overstatement. On the contrary, we shall gen-

erally suggest that these 'informal groups', petty-traders and petty-commodity producers being included, are functional to the "dependent" nature of the industrialization process taking place in many third world countries.

Surprisingly enough, at the party (CCM) office in neighbouring Sinde, we found among other area statistics only two types of trading venture listed as on-going in the locality, namely:-

- i. 12 Cooperative Shops; and,
- ii. 4 Cooperatively Owned Clubs (local brew).

The statistics here did not indicate the number of other commercial activities we gather from other areas such as the number of: (i) Privately Owned Shops, (ii) Guest Houses, (iii) Restaurants, (iv) Bars, (v) Privately Owned Clubs (local brews), and (vi) Garages. It was observed during this survey, however, that every other roadside house along the Tanzam Highway and, to a lesser degree along the old Mbeya-Iringa road shelters one of the major trading activities mentioned above. In addition, in the interior streets the following were encountered in large numbers: (a) barbecuing, (b.) cooking and selling of soup bones (i.e. "Makongoro"), (c) cooking and selling of plantains with meat balls, and (d.) roasting of the hot salted plantain, all of which characterise the informal sector. The Sinde official statistics then, seriously understate the level of economic activity in the area.

To wind up this first data presentation chapter, it can be argued that the multiplicity of petty socio-economic activities on-going in the study area can be largely categorized as household-oriented, hence, informal means of household income-pooling which, in their totality underwrite the social cost of reproducing labour power. It is, therefore, our contention that all these activities support the *status quo*, and that without them it is

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difficult to see how peripheral capitalism which primarily relies on cheap labour power could exist. The second data-presentation chapter (chapter 6), below which revisits the articulation thesis undertakes a specific look at the formal-informal economies and their mechanisms and the involvement of survey households.

Chapter Six

The Formal-Informal Economies And Their Mechanisms: The Involvement Of Survey Households

6.0 Introduction

To recapitulate, the hypothesis under investigation deals with the reciprocal coexistence of formal and the informal relations critical to the rapid urbanization of Mbeya. As indicated in the previous chapters, it is the point of view of this study that an analytical juxtaposing of the formal and the informal relations, and a critical undertaking to examine in both elements progressive to third world urbanization has not been attempted before. In the light of these contentions, to undertake a brief excursus into these relationships at this point is in order.

6.1 Excursus on 'Formal' and 'Informal Relationships'

It is well-known that population concentration in urban areas of Third World countries exacerbate the pressure over the inadequate formal institutions already in place. At the time when the field work related to this survey was underway (May - October, 1986) the total population of Mbeya Municipality was 153,045 inhabitants (cf. Table 5.4). It has been the contention of this study that, like other main urban centres in the country, Mbeya lacks major, primarily labour intensive industries for its corresponding burgeoning urban population. This factor raises the dubious question of adequacy of wage labour opportunities for the growing urban population. Documented sources made available to this survey presented the general characteristics of industry in Mbeya (Table 6.1):-

TABLE 6.1

Types of Industry and Year of Establishment

INDUS./YEAR	FP	GTG	MRA	CCB	AGE	OTHER	TOTAL	%
Not Stated	4	-	-	1	1	-	6	17.1
Before 1970	-	-	6	2	-	-	8	22.9
1971-72	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2.9
1973-74	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2.9
1975-76	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	5.7
1977-78	1	-	4	-	-	2	7	20.0
1979-80	-	1	1	1	-	1	4	11.4
1981-	1	1	4	-	-	-	6	17.1
Total	6	2	18	5	1	3	35	100.0

Source: MMPR, Vol. I.

Key:

- i. FP=Food Processing;
- ii. GTG=Ginneries, Textile & Garment Manufacture;
- iii. MRA=Motor Repair and Associated Industries;
- iv. CCB=Cement, Carpentry and Building Materials;
- v. AGE=Agricultural Equipment; and,
- vi. OTHER=Wood Pole, Soap, Pemacco, Mbeya Plastics.

While there is admittedly a lack of department I industries (cf. Marx, Capital Vol. II), growth seems to have taken place of *capital intensive industries*. In a region such as Mbeya which produces a surplus of food, it will be quite in order to expect to find more food processing industries than shown here (Table 6.1). The limited number of food processing industries in Mbeya is, perhaps, the reason why the informal sector is very active in 'food related income pooling activities'. In general, over the period of eight years (1974-1981 - "Table 6.2") there has been a higher proportion of skilled labour. The years 1978 and 1981, however, when the proportion of *unskilled labour* exceeded that of the 'skilled labour' are the exception to the rule. It is important to note that in 1978 Tanzania was at war with Uganda's *forces of aggression* of General Iddi Amin. The war plus several other factors† slowed down Tanzania's economic progress and by 1981 the country's economic performance was at its worst (cf. Quarterly Economic Review of Tanzania, The Economist Intelligence Unit (QER) No. 1, 1979 esp. p. 4ff. and No. 3, 1981 esp. p. 7 ff.)

† e.g. a 30% fall in commodity prices, the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 (Tanzania spends about 60% of her foreign exchange earnings on oil) etc. cf. GUARDIAN, April 20, 1988, (p.11)

TABLE 6.2
Employment Trends by Skill, 1974-1981†

Year	Category	FP	GTG	MRA	CCB	AGE	OTS	Total	%
1974	Skilled	41	-	19	15	-	-	75	61.5
1974	Unskilled	6	-	16	25	-	-	47	38.5
1974	Total	47	-	35	40	-	-	122	100.0
1975	Skilled	40	-	81	17	-	-	138	61.5
1975	Unskilled	6	-	40	30	-	-	76	35.5
1975	Total	46	-	121	47	-	-	214	100.0
1976	Skilled	27	-	79	21	-	-	127	53.1
1976	Unskilled	16	-	70	26	-	-	112	46.9
1976	Total	43	-	149	47	-	-	239	100.0
1977	Skilled	28	-	100	48	-	-	176	62.6
1977	Unskilled	16	-	55	31	-	-	105	37.4
1977	Total	44	-	155	82	-	-	281	100.0
1978	Skilled	28	-	35	41	68	1	179	39.6
1978	Unskilled	26	-	174	67	5	1	273	60.4
1978	Total	54	-	209	111	73	5	452	100.0
1979	Skilled	20	-	149	56	61	20	306	63.8
1979	Unskilled	3	-	80	56	16	19	174	36.2
1979	Total	23	-	229	112	77	39	480	100.0
1980	Skilled	40	-	120	180	62	46	448	59.2
1980	Unskilled	40	-	115	91	20	13	369	40.8
1980	Total	80	-	235	271	82	59	757	100.0
1981	Skilled	45	23	157	215	62	35	537	49.9
1981	Unskilled	53	58	209	100	26	92	538	50.1
1981	Total	98	81	366	315	88	127	1075	100.0

Key:

i. OTS=OTHERS

† Source: MMPR Vol. I

To return to the notion of 'skilled labour' and 'unskilled labour' (Table 6.2), the changing proportion of skilled and unskilled seem to be an indication that more capital intensive industries are developing. It is well-known that compared to labour intensive industries, capital intensive industries employ fewer people. This phenomenon seems to be exacerbating an already serious unemployment and underemployment problem. Hence, has a direct impact on the dynamics of the informal sector.

TABLE 6.3
Employment Trends by Gender†

Year	Category	FP	GTG	MRA	CCB	AGE	OTS	Total	%
1974	Male	46	-	33	38	-	-	117	95.9
1974	Female	1	-	2	2	-	-	5	4.1
1974	Total	47	-	35	40	-	-	122	100.0
1975	Male	45	-	117	45	-	-	207	96.7
1975	Female	1	-	4	2	-	-	7	3.3
1975	Total	46	-	121	47	-	-	214	100.0
1976	Male	42	-	145	45	-	-	232	97.1
1976	Female	1	-	4	2	-	-	7	2.9
1976	Total	43	-	149	47	-	-	239	100.0
1977	Male	43	-	151	58	-	-	252	89.7
1977	Female	1	-	4	24	-	-	29	10.3
1977	Total	44	-	155	82	-	-	281	100.0
1978	Male	53	-	203	102	68	4	430	95.1
1978	Female	1	-	6	9	5	1	22	4.9
1978	Total	54	-	209	111	73	5	452	100.0
1979	Male	21	-	224	93	69	36	443	92.3
1979	Female	2	-	5	19	8	3	37	7.7
1979	Total	23	-	229	112	77	39	480	100.0
1980	Male	78	-	229	239	72	86	704	92.9
1980	Female	2	-	6	32	10	3	53	7.1
1980	Total	80	-	235	271	82	89	757	100.0
1981	Male	92	21	363	277	78	116	947	91.7
1981	Female	6	60	3	38	10	11	128	8.3
1981	Total	98	81	366	315	88	127	1075	100.0

Key:

i. OTS=OTHERS

† Source: MMPR. Vol. I

The data available concerning the employment opportunities for women in the formal sector also reflects on womens' participation in the informal sector. With the exception of the garment industry (GTG) womens' opportunities for employment are very limited in the formal sector (Table 6.3). Since fewer opportunities are available for women in the industry more women tend to be involved in the informal sector to make a living (cf. Plate 6A-6C). The tendency to employ more men than women in the industry reflects Tanzania's social values on gender relations and women in particular. As McFarlane (1968:8) put it:-

Most of the impediments to human capital formation are embedded in the very fabric of a society, deeply rooted in the conventions of the culture, in fact are reflections of the social values of the society, (McFarlane, 1968:8).

We think that McFarlane's (1968) contention is useful in expressing gender occupation inequalities in patriarchal ideologies of third world societies.

TABLE 6.4

Source And Type Of Labour, 1974- 1981

Source/Type	Mbeya Town	Mbeya Region	Other Regions
Regular	57.1%	71.4%	84.2%
No. of Industries	24	10	16
Casual	42.9%	28.6%	15.8%
No. of Industries	42	4	3

Source: MMPR, Vol. I.

Data in Table 6.4 show that the source for both regular and casual types of labour in Mbeya town come from the town itself, Mbeya region as well as the other regions. This entails migration as well as labour mobility. Note that this labour force (Table 6.1, see also Tables 6.2 and 6.3) is competing for the few industries (Table 6.1).

Under capitalist production relations such competition has been objectively known to affect the purchasing power of the workers. In urban areas of peripheral capitalist countries such as Mbeya, (Tanzania), we think that the existing relations intensify the activity of the 'informal sector', hence, the involvement of the majority who cannot be absorbed in the formal wage-labour. A question may be posed at this point in relation to wage workers depicted in Table 6.4 that, "is the purchasing power they acquire for selling their labour power by itself adequate and sufficient for their urban reproduction"? To put the matter more succinctly, is the urban working class proletarianized? It can be conveniently asserted here that evidence so far presented in this thesis repudiates the theory of wholesale *proletarianization*. This circumstance lends support to and is consonant with our main theoretical framework that, on its own, the 'formal wage-labour' is inadequate for the

reproduction of the urban population, hence the reciprocal coexistence of the *formal* and the *informal* means of urban reproduction emphasized in the foregoing analysis.

The foregoing treatment of the areas wherein our survey population of 700 were resident presented a view of the inhabitants as being actively engaged in the informal as well as the formal sector. That is, in order to eke out an existence or maintain a standard of living a sizable proportion had to participate in the informal sector; by doing so they contributed to the continuance and the relative success of the capitalist mode of production yet, in large measure, were never accounted for in the economic production and other economic and population statistics.

In the following section we will be examining our survey sample from a household rather than an individual basis. On the one hand, this procedure draws a leaf from the experience of Wallerstein et al., (1982) according to whom, whereas the work-force in the capitalist world-economy is composed of individuals (cf. p.112), the workers rather look-up to their remuneration from the point of view of the subsistence of the entire household. Under the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that different income-earning members of respective households (cf. the Central Zone's Household No. 8) pool their income precisely to overcome the urban subsistence problems. On the other hand, however, the situation we encountered in the field made the selection of the *household* as a *unit of analysis* more imperative. At this point, therefore, to explicate the rationality of this choice is in order.

Foremost, in Tanzania, 'households' or "Kaya" as they are called in Swahili, are the basic *sociological*, economic and political units both in rural and urban areas. In the political *bureaux* throughout the country some forms of comprehensive tailor-made lists of household units are always available (cf. Comoro, 1984:47) and are usually usefully

adopted by many researchers in any number of undertakings. It is also our contention that households in developing countries have continuous subsistence relations. Furthermore, it can be argued that without the quest for a continuous subsistence relation, it would be very difficult for some or nearly impossible for many households to subsist under the prevailing urban relations which calls for continuous struggle back and forth on the formal informal sectors' continuum. More pertinently, it is our contention that the nature of household relation is more visible in the peripheral capitalist economy, and, especially in urban areas where contradictions of the system are more intensified. Lastly, it will be more enlightening to note that the conclusion to the previous chapter categorises the multiplicity of petty-socio economic activities on-going in the study area as household oriented and informal means of their income-pooling practices. This phenomenon supports an important postulate of this study which purports that the self actualizing households help to underwrite the social costs of reproducing labour power. The salient properties of the population which participates in underwriting the social costs of capital are summed up below (cf. Table 6.5).

TABLE 6.5

Salient Features of The Survey Households By Location †

Location	Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa	Total
No. of Households	8	28	10	11	57
Indigenous Hh.	3	13	8	6	30
Migrant Hh.	5	15	2	5	27
Hh. Population	53	125	72	65	315
Extended Family	19	53	14	40	126
Annual Visitors	39	118	42	60	259
Total I.P.P.	111	296	128	165	700

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

Key: I.P.P. = Income-pooling population (cf. Table 4.4)

In all, a total of 57 households were involved in this survey (Table 6.5). As we have already noted, in each of the four main survey areas, the average of 9 households was involved in the study (cf Table 4.4). The reasons for including more households in the sample for the Mabatini Zone (28hh) was stated in the methodology chapter, emphasizing that the Mabatini Zone combines the basic characteristics pertinent to the residential spectrum of Mbeya itself at large. Although Mabatini *per se* has been incorporated in the municipal boundaries only as recently as 1983 (cf. sec. 5.4.2), it can be argued that the Mabatini Zone is a composite representation typifying Mbeya's urban residential landscape. As

† the percentage of visitors has been based on their number/frequency in the period of up to twelve months preceding the Survey

we noted earlier, unlike other residential areas, in Mabatini, the numerous *rural-type* of activities present in the urban-municipal boundaries have not been concealed (Table 5.9). Rural-type activities are not uncommon in *Cities of Peasants*, to use Roberts (1978) terminology. Therefore, it has been rewarding to focus our attention on a large sample from this study area, in the hope of capturing unique features of urbanization in such an area wherein the formal and informal co-exist to such an extent. As we have contended (sec. 5.4.2), this survey was unable to identify the 'formal' boundary demarcating the 'planned section' of the Mabatini Zone from the 'unplanned section'. It can be suggested, therefore, that, in urban areas of LDCs, the social distance between 'formal activities' and the 'informal activities' is rather tenuous.

It was indicated in Chapter Four that these 57 survey households (Table 6.5) were obtained by a random method. It is, therefore, interesting to note that it is Majengo rather than the *rural-like* Mabatini *per se* which has the highest percentage of survey households that claimed to be *indigenous* to Mbeya. This is hardly surprising of Mabatini which we know to be a *haphazardly* occupied squatter settlement only recently (i.e. 1983) incorporated within the urban boundaries of Mbeya municipality. More importantly in this regard, however, is the observation on immigration to Mbeya (Table 6.6). It is Mabatini which has the largest proportion of all the survey areas which could not state the dates of commencing settlement in their current residential location. We think, however, that these important revelations could not be observed easily without somewhat maintaining a larger sample for Mabatini. The point we wish to emphasize here, therefore, is that, it appears that people in *haphazardly* occupied urban locations often live in fear of eviction by the state in the event of a residential *upgrading* or *re-settling* programme in the area. Hence, in fear of jeopardizing their social *reproduction system*, they have a tendency not

to disclose the correct dates that they moved in the location lest it coincides with the dates in the *presumed* official list of residents to be *ericted*.

On the other hand, we think that these proportions (Table 6.5) have been influenced by the location of individual zones as well as the opportunities available for given forms of subsistence. Compared with Majengo, Mabatini occupies a favourable location for 'informal sector activities'. In addition to that, Mabatini is both near the Tanzam highway and is also dissected by the Mbalizi Road which merges with the Tanzam highway at Simike, not too far away from the Tazara station. On the other hand, Majengo as partly seen in the background of Plate No. 1, occupies a higher rugged terrain terminating at the slopes of mountains and has no immediate access to any of the major routes, including those which connect Mbeya to its hinterland. Furthermore, it was noted earlier (sec. 5.4.3) that Majengo has developed on what until shortly before *independence*, was cultivated land, common grazing land and general location of cattle barns, hence, the largest proportion of indigenous households in the area is not entirely surprising. Like Mabatini, however, the Mwanjelwa Zone which occupies a fairer location, has a fair balance of indigenous and migrant households. It is obvious from these figures (Table 6.5) that the Central Zone which has added advantages (cf. 5.4.1) has the largest proportion of migrant households.

It is common knowledge in industrial areas that some employers have a preference for migrant labour, particularly because it is more dependent, vulnerable and easy to control. We think that migrant labour in Mbeya's central zone may fit these descriptions, hence, the limited amount of informal activities in the CBD. This, however, does not mean that the CBD is completely deprived of the informal sector activities. Some evidence to indicate pockets of informal economic activities in the area under the consideration are shown in both data chapters.

To return to our informant Charles (see Chapter 5), he had completed the seven years of compulsory primary education in 1985. His partner, a year or two older than him, had much less schooling. Urban realities of their residential location at the Isanga squatter settlement drove them to the CBD as participants in their respective household *income pooling* teams. Their location outside the central market is not by choice. They found it impossible to maintain a place in the central market and they were forcibly ousted from it by the long-time petty traders established there who continued to harass them even though they were located outside the central market. This harassment ceased only after the two shoeshiners were granted a 'formal' right of operation in an injunction outside the central market. Thus, contrary to what others have presumed concerning the establishment of business within the informal sector (cf. Leys 1973, Bromley, 1978:1033), the shoeshine boys found its entry quite as difficult as entering the formal sector. Furthermore, based on the reaction of the bureaucrat who provided the injunction, we can assert that the 'informal sector' is by no means 'ignored' or 'unregulated' by the government as presumed in earlier works. (cf. Leys, 1973, Bromley, 1978: 1033ff). At their little corner outside the central market where they have to pay a minimum operation fee relative to those located in the central market, Charles and his partner are strategically exposed to passers by on their way to and from nearby business corporations, namely,

- i. National Bank of Commerce, Mbalizi Road Branch;
- ii. Mbeya Cooperative Union (MBECU);
- iii. Mbeya Railway Station;
- iv. Mbeya Post Office; and,
- v Mbeya Regional Trading Company (RTC).

The two shoeshine boys were constantly at the service of an increasing number of passersby who *detoured* for a shoeshine. The service under the consideration cost the customer Tanzanian Shillings (hereafter Ts) 5.00 per pair. Considering the potential number of customers to be attended by the two shoeshine boys, we can see that this informal activity has made a positive contribution to their *income-pooling* activity. It is noteworthy that the prevalence of pockets of informal economic activities in the CBD's clearly indicates the symbiosis that we consider to be essential for these peripheral economies. Indeed, entirely on their own, and, without these symbiotic relations, third world economies cannot be expected to provide for all the requirements of the urban-proletariat-in-the-making. At the same time, however, the concentration of informal economic activities outside of the CBD drives home the point that subsistence for the overwhelming majority of the urban-proletariat-in-the-making hinge on forms of production other than the formal-wage sector. For that matter, it is obvious that without the articulation of these forms of production, the continuance of peripheral capitalism will be difficult.

By the same token, the situation at Mwanjelwa which has the most dynamic informal sector (cf. Plates 2A - 2B ad 6A - 6B) indicates that a sizable proportion of urban households participate in this subsistence-oriented sector. Almost the same can be said about Mabatini. As for Majengo, however, since an overwhelming majority of these households are indigenous ones it means that the indigenous households as well as the migrant households are likely to be engaged in informal sector activities. Most likely the members of an indigenous household supplemented the wage-labour income of the household via peasant activities and a combination of farming and the raising of cattle while the members of the small group of migrant households were involved in informal economic activities such as the *Kibineti* system and other food related hawking. On the other hand, at the Central

Zone, given a fairly small proportion of the indigenous households, we shall assume that the immigrants have more chances of entering the domestic-oriented labour market. To cite one example, many of them work as “boi”†, that is to say, ‘male servant’ for European and Asian families. Others work as night (or day) watchmen for the properties and businesses of these urbanites. These domestic-oriented wage labourers are a part of the formal urban structure more prevalent at the Central Zone than anywhere else in Mbeya.

In our survey of Mbeya, our conception of the extended family is that it is an essential part of the *income-pooling* relations. The larger the extended family, the greater the extent of *income-pooling* activity. Based on the data collected (Table 6.5), Mwanjelwa has the most *income-pooling* relations. This is hardly surprising because Mwanjelwa has the most active informal sector of the economy (cf. Plates 2A, 2B, 6A, 6B). Additionally, in this survey, we consider intermittent visitors to urban (also *sojourners to rural*) areas as being involved in an *alternate cycle* necessary for their reproduction, and, therefore, necessary for their subsistence at the locations they reside the longest or permanently. As we noted earlier (cf. sec. 5.2), Greble (1971) and Epstein (1969) are more explicit in these interdependence types of relation. In the light of these relations, Mwanjelwa which has the highest percentage of visitors (Table 6.5), contributes to the reproduction of the largest proportion of population in Mbeya.

The survey of Mbeya also considered the time period in which the survey population settled in their respective residential areas to be important in the general understanding of the major attraction in specific sections of the town, the town itself and urban life-style of its inhabitants. The year and (%) proportion of household immigration or settling in the respective areas are summed up below (Table 6.6).

† their opposite counterparts are called “yaya”

TABLE 6.6

The Year Of Hh. Immigration/Commencing Settlement By Location

Year	Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa
N.I.	2	12	2	3
1910s	1	2	2	-
1950s	1	3	-	-
1960s	2	4	-	1
1970s	1	4	4	6
1980s	1	3	2	1

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

As we have already stated above, the percentage of survey households that could not confirm the year of commencing settlement or immigration is greatest in Mabatini, the zone which includes the squatters of Mabatini *per se*, a planned area (Mbalizi Road) and a semi-rural area (Simike). On the other hand, in the central area, a quarter of the survey population settled in the decades of the nineteen sixties. Since this is the decade in which Tanzania achieved its political independence, we shall assume that this migration to the central zone was partly attracted by the prospects of independence. At Mabatini, the nineteen sixties and seventies were peak immigration or settling periods. Among the major attractions in this period include the newly-built American Baptist Hospital for TB patients and construction of the Tanzam highway and the Tazara. Ignoring the large percentage of the population that could not confirm their year of immigrating/settling, the nineteen seventies were nevertheless peak immigrating/settling periods for both our

household survey at Majengo and Mwanjelwa. As we have already indicated, the main attraction in Mwanjelwa coinciding with this period include the construction of the Tanzam Highway, the *Mafiati*, the Tazama pipeline, and the Tazara.

Given some indication of the main factors which attracted the population to specific areas, it will be useful to get an overview of the status of the population in the respective survey areas (Table 6.7) and how it relates to the main spatial activities in the location.

TABLE 6.7

Status Of Household Contacts By Location

Location	Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa
Hh. Heads	1	14	6	10
NonHh. Heads	5	3	4	1
N.I.	2	11	N.I.	N.I.
Males	6	26	4	9
Females	2	2	6	2
Married	6	25	7	6
Single	2	2	2	5
Others	N.I.	1	1	N.I.

n.b. in this study the term 'contacts' means 'informants' other than the household heads.

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

The majority of our contacts in Mwanjelwa, where informal relations are dominant, were also heads of households, but, in the Central Area where wage-labour is the dominant *production relation*, they were the non-household heads. In Mabatini, however, only half of them were household heads. It appears that Mabatini and Mwanjelwa maintain a *male-dominated* rural-type of structure. Male domination appears to be common even where wage-labour relations are more established in areas such as the Central Zone. In the Central Zone the proportion of male domination is as high as three quarters. This is a clear indication of *gender inequality* which is even more manifest in unequal employment opportunities. Of the four major residential zones, Majengo has the most female contacts. A closer examination of these proportions will reflect upon major urban characteristics of

the municipality at large. For example, the predominance of female (contacts) population in Majengo may be related to the "*kabineti*:" system and attendant food or local brew services while at Mabatini and Mwanjelwa, the mobile nature of peddling some of the goods and services which is coupled with the use of physical strength in the struggle for access and monopoly to customers or potential buyers, dictates male entrepreneurship and dominance. As argued by McFarlane (1968)

Ethnographers and anthropologists have documented the wide variety of occupations which may be defined as either masculine or feminine, (McFarlane, 1968:84).

In the case of Mbeya, however, it is obvious that the material condition prevailing appears to be bearing upon the stratification in the informal gender occupation.

It can be argued that different age groups have special attraction to different types of jobs and occupation. The survey population was categorized by age and the age structure indicates that 50 percent of the population of the Central Zone is in the upper forties (Table 6.8).

TABLE 6.8

The Age Group Of Survey Contacts/Hh Heads

<i>Zone/Category</i>	21-24	25-29	30-34	35-40	41-44	45+
Central	1	2	N.I.	1	N.I.	4
Mabatini	2	2	3	6	3	12
Majengo	2	4	1	1	N.I.	2
Mwanjelwa	2	2	2	2	1	3

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

We can say, therefore, that the population of the central area is more settled or less mobile. On the other hand, in Majengo, a sizable proportion of the population is under forty. As we have already noted, however, in Majengo, the proportion of the female population exceeds the male population (Table 6.7). We can, therefore, suggest that the younger they are the more appropriate they are for working in the *Kibinzi* system and attendant services. The Central Zone and Mabatini have an older population than the others. Central Zone with about half of its population at over 45+ and Mabatini with more than a half of its population at over 40. This is hardly surprising because as we have already noted urban settlement in both the Central Zone and Mabatini pre-dates all other residential areas in Mbeya.

Education and the level of education provides a good indication of the approximate occupational achievement (cf. Harp, 1971). Indeed, to paraphrase McFarlane (1968:3) "education and advancement ... is a truism". As would be expected, the level of education of the survey population is higher at the Central Zone where there is a higher concentration

of formal-wage occupation. It will be consistent with the logic of this survey.

TABLE 6.9

Level of Education Of Survey Contacts/Hh Heads

Zone/Ed. Level	Non/Adult Ed.	Primary Sch.Ed.	Secondary/College Ed.
Central	N.I.	3	5
Mabatini	4	21	3
Majengo	3	4	3
Mwanjelwa	3	5	3

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

Based on the information that we gathered, in all but more so in the Central Zone, the majority of Household Heads or Contacts have continued their education beyond primary school. Note that the *central zone* is also the location wherein the offices of the central government, Mbeya region and Mbeya district headquarters as well as the MMC are concentrated. Therefore, included among the inhabitants of this zone, particularly the population with a secondary or post-secondary education are immigrants who are in Mbeya serving in various professional oriented capacities. To paraphrase Sandbrook, (1982:47):-

The relationship between education and migration is obvious: Those who are best-educated have the best chances of securing a well-paid urban job

Elsewhere in Mbeya some of our *contacts* or *household heads* had informal schooling. Given this level of education, attempts by those with informal schooling to ascend on the social ladder could be seriously obstructed, hence, arresting the majority of them in the informal sector of the economy. The *typologies* of occupation of the survey population revealed the following (Table 6.10).

TABLE 6.10

The Occupation Of Survey Households

Typology	Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa
State & Publ. Workers	3	3	3	3
Other Wage Laborers	2	4	2	1
Trading	1	16	3	5
Subs. Peasantry	2	5	2	2

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986

Based on the data that we have (Table 6.10) wage-labour is not the predominant enterprise in all the major survey areas except the Central Zone. On the other hand, however, a quarter of the survey household in the central area which we presume to be affluent exist as subsistence peasants. We think that this indicates that the availability and accessibility of wage-labour opportunities are somewhat limited. Since when not formally engaged, 'Other Wage Labourers' or 'Casual Workers' have the tendency of opting for petty trading or other subsistence-oriented household ventures, we think it is prudent to argue that evidence points out that trading together with subsistence peasantry (Table 6.10) are the predominant household-oriented income pooling relations. Put it more concretely, the *informal* means of livelihood are inherently part of the larger urban production and reproduction of households. This point is a basic tenet in this study.

By way of concluding this chapter, let us return to the important notion of purchasing power. By definition, we shall term *purchasing power* as:-

the remuneration or income that workers receive for selling their labour power.

services and or goods. Salaries, wages and incomes are the most common expression of the aforementioned phenomenon.

The government *ordained* minimum wage for civil servants beginning from fiscal year 1987/1988 (cf. Budget Speech 1987-88: 69(ii)) is Ts 1,370 per month compared to Ts 1,055 paid during the financial year in which this study was conducted. According to the Budget Speech, (1987-88: 69iii.), the statutory wage in the country becomes Ts 1,260 as announced by the President on May day 1987. Furthermore, as of January 29th, 1987, the corresponding exchange rate became Ts 51.841 per \$. Tanzania's on going negotiations with the *IMF* are pushing the local currency further away from this point.† Coupled with the current *down swing* of the Western *stock market* to which all poor countries are intricately pegged, many of the local currencies of these poor countries are bound to be pushed into oblivion, further plummeting the already unstable peripheral economies.

It is clear that the income of some of the survey households (Tables 6.11 to 6.14) was less than the statutory minimum wage announced by the President six months later. Under the *ideal* capitalist production relations, the proletariat are able to be reproduced solely by their respective 'purchasing power'. By contrary terms, however, under conditions prevailing in the peripheral capitalist societies, 'informal networks' to subsidize the reproduction of the incipient urban proletariat are inevitable. Our data only provide a limited glimpse of the prevalence of this complex network (Table 6.5). To determine the importance of the informal relationships, the monthly incomes of our survey population *vis-a-vis* their daily expenditure was examined and the following statistical description obtained (Tables 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, and 6.14 and Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4):-

† as of January, 1988, the corresponding official exchange rate reached Ts 91.77 per 1 dollar (American).

TABLE 6.11

Monthly Income & M. & Daily Exp. by Survey Hh. In Ts - Central Zone†				
Household Number	Household Population	Monthly Income	Daily Expenditures	Monthly Expenditures
1	1	1100	N.I.	N.I.
2	9	N.I.	150	4500
3	5	N.I.	350	10500
4	8	810	200	6000
5	7	810	200	6000
6	9	4000	300	9000
7	7	5040	150	4000
8	7	5500	375.5	10725

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986

TABLE 6.12

Monthly Income & M. & Daily Exp. by Survey Hh. In Ts - Mabatini Zone‡

Household Number	Household Population	Monthly Income	Daily Expenditures	Monthly Expenditures
1	13	810	N.I.	N.I.
2	7	810	N.I.	N.I.
3	5	900	300	9000
4	7	1270	N.I.	N.I.
5	11	1500	30	900
6	6	1500	50	1500
7	12	1950	150	4500
8	1	2195	N.I.	N.I.
9	11	3000	200	6000
10	8	3500	350	10500
11	3	4500	150	4500
12	11	5300	170	5100
13	6	5550	185	5550
14	5	6000	200	6000
15	13	9000	300	9000
16	6	12500	250	7500

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986

n.b. This table excludes some 12 households which did not respond to questions no. 23 and 24 (cf. Appendix No. 1A)

† Daily expenditures are noted since this was the form in which the data were gathered, hence, *ceteris paribus* monthly equals daily expenditure times 30

‡ Daily expenditures are noted since this was the form in which the data were gathered, hence, *ceteris paribus* monthly equals daily expenditure times 30

TABLE 6.13

Monthly Income & M. & Daily Exp. by Survey Hh. In Ts - Majengo

Zone†

Household Number	Household Population	Monthly Income	Daily Expenditures	Monthly Expenditure
1	6	N.I.	N.I.	N.I.
2	1	N.I.	N.I.	N.I.
3	10	840	100	3000
4	5	1150	150	4500
5	4	1300	150	1500
6	10	1500	50	1500
7	10	2000	200	6000
8	9	3000	100	3000
9	7	4000	250	7500
10	10	6000	200	6000

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986

TABLE 6.14

Monthly Income & M. & Daily Exp. by Survey Hh. In Ts - Mwanjelwa

Zone‡

Household Number	Household Population	Monthly Income	Daily Expenditures	Monthly Expenditures
1	11	N.I.	N.I.	N.I.
2	3	N.I.	N.I.	N.I.
3	3	N.I.	50	1500
4	6	N.I.	60	1800
5	3	2085	100	3000
6	3	3000	70	2100
7	12	3000	100	3000
8	3	3000	100	3000
9	11	3000	200	6000
10	9	5000	N.I.	N.I.
11	1	6000	200	6000

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986

† Daily expenditures are noted since this was the form in which the data were gathered, hence, ceteris paribus monthly equals daily expenditure times 30

‡ Daily expenditures are noted since this was the form in which the data were gathered, hence, ceteris paribus monthly equals daily expenditure times 30

Fig. 3. M.I. INCOME & M. & D. EXPENDITURE
SURVEY HOUSEHOLDS - CENTRAL ZONE

MINCOME & M.& U. EXPENDITURE (Thousands)

Figure 3.2 MINCOME & M.& U. EXPENDITURE
SURVEY HOUSEHOLDS - MAEAM II

MINCOME & M. & U. EXPENDITURE (Thousands)

FIGURE 10 MINCOME & M. & U. EXPENDITURE
SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDS - 1968

M. INCOME & M. & D. EXPENDITURE (Thousands)

Figure 3.4 M. INCOME & M. & D. EXPENDITURE

SURVEY HOUSEHOLDS - MALAYSIA

It is **noteworthy** that, the incomes from formal sources such as urban-wages and salaries are relatively consistent, but, the incomes from other sources are irregular, seasonal or periodical. Hence, the conflicting results in Tables 6.11 to 6.14 between incomes and expenditure. Daily expenditure in Figures 6.1 to 6.4 are based on the field data in the way they were gathered. Monthly expenditure, however, have been determined from the corresponding daily expenditure figures. As we indicated in chapter 4, subsistence under these uncompromising conditions must be deemed to be supported by the "Jua Kali" perspective. An analysis of the income and expenditure data gathered indicates the following:-

1. At the central zone only one household of those for whom both income and expenditure data are available earned more than they spent (Household 7, Table 6.11), in the others monthly expenditure exceeded formal income by a wide margin (Table 6.11);
2. In Mabatini in the twelve households for whom both sets of data are available four households spent considerably more than their formal monthly income, five broke even and three spent somewhat less than their formal earnings (Table 6.12);
3. In Majengo in the eight households for whom both sets of data are available five households spent considerably more than their formal monthly income and three broke even (Table 6.13); and,
4. In Mwanjelwa in six households for whom both sets of data are available two households spent more than their formal monthly income, three broke even and one household spent less (Table 6.14).

In Mbeya, there is no existing documentation to show how urban households are able to reproduce under these uncompromising conditions. For that matter, it can be postulated

that subsistence for the households of Mbeya and perhaps those from other Tanzania's main urban centres, who spent more than their formal monthly income hitherto was a matter of conjecture. To get a better perspective of the reproduction of an urban household, we considered it worthwhile to make an *inference* of a household with a household population reasonably closer to the national average of five (cf. Karlsson, R. et al., 1980) and for whom both sets of data are readily available. Household number eight from the Central Zone was deemed ideal for this *inference*.

A distinction therefore lies between mere conjecture and an inference which has been properly drawn. Conjecture is a presumption based on the possibility or probability that a particular thing could or may have occurred without proof that it did occur. On the other hand, an inference is a conclusion reasonably drawn from facts established in evidence, (MacFarlane, 1986:69).

The following figures of a daily expenditure pertaining to the seven member household (number 8) from the central area (cf. Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1) whose total monthly income is Ts 5,500 were verified by the income and expenditure records of the household's head.

TABLE 6.15

Daily Expenditure Of A Seven Member Household From The Central Area

Minimum Requirement	Retail Price In Ts
Morning, a quarter pound of sugar @ 30.00	7.50
a loaf of bread	20.00
Lunch, 5 measures of rice @ 15.00	75.00
a Kilogram of meat	70.00
Cooking oil 2 measures @ 10.00	20.00
Onions	10.00
Tomatoes	10.00
Dinner, 5 measures of rice, @ 15.00	75.00
a Kilogram of meat	70.00
<u>Total material requirement</u>	<u>357.50</u>

Source: Survey Data, May-October, 1986.

Whereas the household total income of Ts 5,500 looks *deceptively high enough*, in reality, however, at this rate of expenditure, the income will be depleted in barely half a month. Given what we have, this statistical description leads us to the conclusion that the system is such that the *informal network* fundamentally facilitates in the reproduction of the urban population beyond the limitation of *formal wage-labour*.

6.2 Summary and Conclusion

In the final analysis, it is important to note that Mbeya town began from a modest

origin but was caught up in the *frenzied* administration of gold mining activities in Chunya 45 miles to the northeast. The impetus for its accelerated growth arose from its role in administering the regional economy. The regional economy is, however, not isolated or independent of the national and the larger peripheral capitalist economy. Hence, the process of urbanization in Mbeya is part of this process of peripheral capitalist societies.

Among other things, the findings of this chapter indicate expenditures of some households to be considerably more than their formal monthly incomes (cf. Tables 6.11-6.14 and corresponding Figures 6.1-6.4). It is important to emphasize that the differences between monthly incomes and expenditures cannot but be offset by the informal economy of the city. Furthermore, this dependence on the informal sector is such a wide-spread practice since even some of the better-off households (e.g. the Central Zone's Household No. 8) are intricately involved in it.

As we have asserted, Mbeya (cf. Chap. One, esp. sec. 1.2) has a central role in the reproduction of capitalism. Given the impelling forces of articulation, the hinterland of Mbeya which is also intricately involved in the urban economy, participates in the reproduction of capitalism. This practice supports the notion that self-actualizing households participate in underwriting the social costs of reproducing labour power. It is common knowledge that cheap labour which we perceive through the reciprocal formal-informal sectors is indeed essential, if not beneficial to peripheral capitalist development. Admittedly, the third world countries are endowed with this commodity and that on behalf or at the behest of capital, the existing *status quo* maintains this relationship.

Finally, since a sizable proportion of (i.e. 76.8%) of the population of Mbeya urban is catered for by means related to household's self-actualizing undertakings, it has been quite in order to perceive the informal sector as a necessary part of the process of urbanization in

the Third World. But while the informal sector is an essential partner in the accumulation process, it is important to emphasize at this point that the conventional theory avoids in *total* the contribution of this sector of the economy to social development. Chapter seven shall examine carefully the data presented and some of the tentative conclusion advanced in this data chapter.

Chapter Seven

Tentative Propositions and Survey Data: A Critical Examination

7.0 Preamble

It was asserted in the opening chapter that in urban areas of Less Developed Countries (LDCs) such as Tanzania, the coexistence of unequivocally contradictory sectors designated informal-formal serves the interest of international capitalism. It was argued that under the existing contradictory relations, international capitalism by its own discretion and logic, does not get involved wholesale in bearing the burden of social reproduction of labour. International capitalism is, however, readily dependent on labour power nonetheless. This fundamental contradiction is not addressed by conventional theory. If in LDCs international capitalism only exploits labour, but avoids the social costs of reproducing it, a question may be asked, what sustains labour in LDCs? Expressed in the Marxist perspective, capital exists as a social relation of domination and subordination and that it is imperative to its own logic to expand in order to maintain its position of power *vis-a-vis* labour. According to Clement (1981):-

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, thereby contributing to the realization of profit.

The formal sector which is considered to have close ties with international capitalism is the integral component of the labour process and the attendant wage-labour relations. Evidence from this study indicates that the informal sector, though hitherto ignored, is another integral component of the labour process in peripheral capitalist societies. Put more succinctly, the capital-formal labour relations triggers the process of urban-proletarian-in-

the-making. But under the prevailing intractable conditions of peripheral capitalism, the formal sector entirely on its own is incapable of satisfying all the essential requirements of the urban-proletarian-in-the-making. For that matter, the process of urban-proletariat-in-the-making largely sustains because of the unequivocal involvement of the informal sector. Therefore, as we have already indicated, what is problematic here is that hitherto the existing theoretical perspective has ignored the involvement and the contribution of the informal sector. By the same token, it is difficult to see how this perspective can appreciate the symbiotic relations of informal and formal sectors. As suggested, however, in the previous chapters, this study considers these symbiotic relations to be fundamental to urban subsistence in the third world. The data for this study have indicated that without the intricate involvement of the informal sector, the *presumed* independence of capital-formal labour relations becomes extremely limited. An inference of the central zone's household number 8 (cf. Table 6.15) which we found to be equally dependent on informal economic activities drives the point home. The point is that, since even the subsistence of a household falling under the affluent typology of "State and Public Workers" (cf. Table 6.10) is intricately dependent upon the informal sectors' economic activities, it is theoretically erroneous to ignore the importance and contribution of the informal sector. Hence, the articulation thesis used as the main framework of analysis in this study obtains. Needless to say, the articulation thesis recognizes both the formal and informal sectors as mechanisms of peripheral capitalism.

In the light of the foregoing, and based on the experience of the Mbeya case-study, it is appropriate to argue that:-

- (a). the process of urbanization of LDCs such as Tanzania cannot be explained solely by the dominant Western-oriented theory and praxis.

The dominant Western-oriented theory and praxis gravitates around the notion of institutionalized formal relations and clearly precludes the informal relationships. The position maintained by this study, however, is that the process of urbanization in LCDs as a matter of fact hinge on the reciprocal coexistence of informal-formal relationships. It can be argued that, as a sociological phenomenon, informal relationships are deeply embedded within the cultural frame of capitalist reproduction of peripheral societies and that it is theoretically erroneous to overlook their contribution. It will be appropriate, therefore, to consider the informal relationships on terms identical with the formal relations. Considering that in the peripheral societies capitalism, by its own discretion and logic does not revolutionize the productive forces fully, the informal relationships could also be perceived as the necessary consequence of the prevailing material conditions. Examined carefully, it is precisely the reciprocal coexistence of these contradictory sectors that gives impetus to the urbanization process in the peripheral capitalist societies.

In summary, the data presented in the preceeding chapter leads us to state that:-

- (b). Contrary to how the Western-oriented theory has implicitly or explicitly portrayed it, the informal sector equally appears to determine the process of Mbeya's *urban proletariat in the making*, hence, in the final analysis, effectively augments the process of urbanization unfolding with the complexity of the municipality.

In the remaining part of this discussion this proposition is examined carefully. An attempt is also made to project this conclusion beyond the experience of this survey of Mbeya. As a point of departure, we shall *revisit* our earlier tentative propositions, in the course of which data that illustrate our hypothesis under investigation shall be highlighted. The hypothesis under investigation has theorized about the reciprocal coexistence of formal

and the informal relationships contributing to the rapid growth of Mbeya and augmenting to its present level of urbanization.

7.1 Tentative Propositions versus Survey Data: A Critical Examination

It was our first proposition in the introductory chapter (p.13) that:-

1. Mbeya has a central role in the reproduction of capitalism.

The primacy of this role, we submit, is reflected in the fact that barely a decade since it was founded as a government station, it has developed: road, air, and telegraphic communication with the rest of the country. To date, this social infrastructure and attendant communication devices, however, have not been fully established to serve the rural areas where the bulk of the population and the mainstay of the economy obtains. In essence, these features are precisely capitalist. Capitalism, it is argued, develops unevenly. The role of capitalism at the periphery is consistent with the dictates of the international division of labour. In the previous chapters, it was noted that, countries at the periphery are usually assigned the role of being granaries and suppliers of raw materials while the industrialized countries assume the responsibility of being suppliers of manufactured and other industrialized products (cf. Hayuma, 1979). In other words, the key department 1 industries (cf. Marx, Capital Vol. 2. esp. Chap. XX, 1967) are retained in the industrialized countries themselves. These arrangements are precisely the salient properties of the articulation perspective itself. The effects of this socio-economic arrangement have already been discussed in the third chapter. At this point it is our contention that, the same mechanisms are at the core of capitalism itself. They include:-

- i. subordination of local conditions of production for the needs of the home (i.e. capitalist) market;
- ii. limiting the conditions favourable for the accumulation of capital in the periphery; and,
- iii. technological lock-in of the peripheral countries to their main trading partners.

The central role of Mbeya in this regard is to facilitate capitalist conditions for the few department II industries to operate optimally and to maintain a market relation with the producing hinterland. On the basis of the previous chapter, the Mabatini labour transit camp and the SILABU adjacent to the aerodrome may also be cited as illustrations of the role Mbeya played towards the reproduction of capitalism. In its aforementioned capacity, the former accommodated and provided basic amenities and incentives to the on-transit labour migrant encamped at the centre. This, it goes without saying, served capitalist interests in Chunya gold mines and elsewhere including mining associations in countries to the south.

As a result of this concentration of capital and limited social infrastructure specifically in urban areas, towns such as Mbeya appear as pockets of development. The description pockets of development correctly designates Mbeya as well as most other urban areas in Tanzania which preside over large *undeveloped* hinterland. It can be suggested that the coexistence of pockets of development and undeveloped hinterland inherently reflects the impact of the articulation of the modes of production. In turn the effects of this *uneven development* are noted to be bearing upon the urban areas themselves. In the Marxist urban perspective, suffice it to say at this point that, due to the concentration of capital, infrastructure and attendant communication devices in the so-called pockets of

development, the rural-urban relationships have become antagonistic.

Mbeya's central role in the reproduction of capitalism is not carried on independently or in isolation from or in contravention to larger societal forces. Since capital is said to rely on the state to intervene on its side in class conflict (Clement, 1981), it can be argued that at the highest level of interaction, the local state itself reciprocates by granting capital the right to harness other productive forces and means of production, subsequently the expropriation of profits occurs. Quintessentially, however, the so-called "trickle-down-effect" clearly becomes the other way around. This, then, enforces even further the importance and involvement of the informal sector.

Our second proposition maintained that:-

2. the process of urbanization going on in Mbeya is hinged upon the conditions of its better endowed hinterland:-

We have contended in the foregoing analysis that the description "pockets of development" correctly designates Mbeya as well as other Tanzanian towns. On the other hand, however, the second prediction which perceives Mbeya's hinterland as being better endowed, appear to contradict the premises we have established via the first prediction. It is common knowledge in the social sciences that appearances could be very deceptive. Be that as it may, based on empirical evidence on the Mbeya case-study, however, both predictions are within limits quite plausible. Furthermore, as noted above, the pockets of development *per se* have developed to serve the immediate interest of capital at the periphery. In this case, it is the production and rudimentary processing of raw materials or primary commodities for shipment to overseas where further processing is effected. To cite one example which should serve for many; tea which is extensively grown by indigenous peasant farmers as

well as absentee landlords, notably the LONRHO Group Ltd.† in the fertile crescent of the volcanic Rungwe district in Mbeya region undergoes basic preparation for export at various local points within the producing district, the tea factories of Katumba, Musekera, Rungwe and Chivanjee are examples. On the basis of such preparation, the finest tea is then exported to England *via* Mbeya. In England, the Tanzanian tea together with tea from other parts of the world is re-sifted, re-graded, re-packed and re-labelled before it is auctioned at the famous London tea auctioning market. Some of this tea finds its way back to the producing countries under guises such as:-

Red Rose - England's best selling tea (Canadian TV Commercial),

and at prices the producing peasant farmers cannot usually afford. It must be stressed that labels such as 'Red Rose', 'Tetley Tea' and the like, are in essence a trade mark lock-in many developing countries cannot hope to disengage themselves from. The effect of this trade relationship which Emmanuel (1972) calls the "Unequal Exchange" is also discussed by the latter in such detail it requires no repetition in this study. Note in this example of tea, however, that despite all trading inequalities, Mbeya incessantly maintains its role namely:-

- i. making and maintaining urban conditions less attractive for the cheap rural tea-labour, subsequent to that affording a stable supply of labour to the tea estates; and,
- ii. affording a thoroughfare for tea on its way to the home market.

† cf. Ann Seidman article "The Inherited Dual Economies of East Africa" for more information on Lonrho holdings (and other *foreign trading oligopolies*) in East Africa and other countries in Cliffe and Saul. (1972)

Urban areas such as Mbeya whereby facilities for handling or processing raw materials are located, basically attract urban wage-labour (cf. Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Given the limited opportunities of wage-labour (cf. Tables 6.1, 6.3 & 6.4) it has been useful to view these pockets of development for that part of their population not immediately involved in the wage-labour market.

Given limited occupational opportunities it is not surprising that there is intense competition for the few jobs available. Examined carefully, under the *ideal* capitalist production relations, competition for the few available wage-labour opportunities not only threatens the individual job security but also creates conditions that keeps wages at the level of *Socially Necessary Labour Time* - (hereafter *SNLT*) to reproduce the workers, (cf. Marx, Capital Vol. I, 1976, esp. chap. 7; Mandel, 1968, esp. chap.5). In this regard, proletarianization in its entirety may be presumed feasible. Due to technological innovation and change, production is often continued beyond SNLT, hence the process of valorization is attained (cf. Marx, Capital Vol. I, 1976, chap. 7). The presence of the large majority of the population not immediately involved in the urban wage-labour market corresponds to what is called, in the Marxian term, the 'labour reserve army' (cf. Marx, Capital, Vol. 1, 1976, chap. 25, esp. p. 781-794). Under capitalist production relations obtaining in the peripheral societies such as Tanzania, both the: (a) intense competition for the limited wage-labour opportunities; and, (b) the army of reserve-labour, also impinge upon the purchasing power of the workers, or, in the conception of this study, entire income-pooling households. Furthermore, wages have been noted to remain below the level of SNLT (Table 6.15) to reproduce the workers and their income-pooling households, (see also Tables 6.11-6.14 alongside Figures 6.1-6.4). Under the circumstances, surplus-values accrued are superfluous. In the critical consideration of Mandel (1968:134):-

Thirst for surplus-value is thirst for surplus labour, for unpaid labour over and above the labour that produces the equivalent value of worker's means of life.

It follows that, since under the conditions such as those which obtain at Mbeya, the workers are not fully reproduced on the basis of their wages, it has been our practice in this study to regard this category as the urban-proletariat-in-the-making. This notion leads us to the critical question of their mode of reproduction and consequently the nature and form of urbanization taking place in Mbeya. These phenomenon shall be examined along with the remaining tentative propositions. At this point it will be sufficient to say that since industrial urbanism is not primarily the dominant mode of production in Mbeya, complementary rural conditions as *per* Table 3.4, sustain the burgeoning of the municipality under consideration. Interestingly, data from Table 3.4 also indicate significant wage-labour relations in Mbeya's rural areas. Hence, our second tentative proposition which has underlined better conditions of Mbeya's hinterland obtains. By the same token, we are in essence questioning the wholesale application of the theory of the desolation of the countryside (cf. Mlay, 1974 etc.) one of the popular Western World's derived explanation of urbanization in LDC's, Tanzania being a primary example.

3. It was our third prediction that Mbeya's rapid growth since the late nineteen sixties has been occurring without concomitant and adequate formal institutions to cater for the basic needs of the escalating population. Subsequently, it was our contention that a large informal sector has grown to cater for the goods and services which are both inadequately provided for or simply, not provided for by the formal sector. But, according to the MMPR (Vol.I):-

Mbeya town is an education centre of growing importance in the southern parts of Tanzania. The town has four Secondary Schools, an Agricultural Research and

Training Institute, a School of Accountancy, Medical Assistants Training College and a newly built Technical College (MMPR, Vol.I, 1984:17)

These institutions are clearly *elite* oriented and they are generally both out of reach and of little use to people such as our informant Charles (the shoeshine boy, cf. Chap. 5 & 6) or many others who, for any number of reasons, cannot go beyond the seven years of compulsory primary school education. During our 1981 survey of Mbeya, we encountered an immigrant who first came to Mbeya as a *Baptist preacher*, but for reasons best explicated by the *dynamics* of the informal sector, we found this former preacher working as a tractor driver of the Agricultural Research and Training Institute at Uyole which offers post-secondary *diplomas* in home economics and agriculture related sciences to those Tanzanians who had made it beyond the seven years of compulsory primary school. At this institute, other colleagues of the tractor driver - cum - former baptist preacher may be deemed to hold low paying seasonal handyman jobs less enterprising than their counterparts peddling commodities downtown as part of the informal economy. More critically, the point is, these formal institutions have minimal impact on the majority who strive to earn a living: (a) in the streets of Mabatini and Mwanjelwa; (b) through the *Kabineti* systems of Maendeleo and Majengo; and, or, (c.) elsewhere in Mbeya, through means which are an inherent part of the informal economy of urban areas.

In the light of these contentions, it is our suggestion that it is the informal sector rather than the formal economy of urban areas which serves the needs of the larger majority of the urban population. Furthermore, we must emphasize that this sector serves the needs of the people on both sides of the formal-informal divide.

It is obvious from our study that Mbeya has shown a rapid rate of growth. As we stated in Chapter One, this growth rate has been noted by Peil and Sada (1984), among

others, to be exceeding that of better located port-towns including Tanga which, for a long time had held a number two urban position in the country. At this point, the notion that Mbeya's growth has not been influenced by favourable locations *a la* Tanga and Zanzibar can be postulated. Furthermore, its location, perched in a rugged mountainous terrain, (see Plate 1 and Plate 3B) by no means compares with the other two pleasant coastal towns. Given the unprecedented growth rate, it has been important for this study to deal with the question of whether or not such growth rates are coupled with corresponding formal institutions sensitive and pertinent to the basic requirements of the growing population. Some evidence from the field data already considered above indicate the opposite view point.

The first recorded census of Mbeya took place more than two decades after the town was officially founded as a government station in 1927. Not until 1952 a quarter of a century after Mbeya's foundation was it able to attain the status of an urban entity by the criterion of population. This is nearly three decades since the discovery of gold deposits at Chunya, a factor which had initially pioneered the official gazettement of Mbeya as the administrative town. At that point in time, the population criterion for a settlement to be considered urban was over 5000 people (cf. Clark, 1978) and Mbeya had already exceeded the mark by 11.12 percent (Table 5.1) It can be stated that under the prevailing production relations the proportion of the population which by the occupation criterion had become urban was smaller than the proportion which continued its subsistence along the traditional lines. In other words, unlike what was suggested in Chapter Two, the influx to towns notwithstanding, in one form or another, agriculture may have not ceased to be a way of life. It is also important to note that Mbeya at its Mabatini centre and the SILABU near the aerodrome was re-routing the on-transit labour migrant to Chunya, to the sisal

estates along the coastal belt, and to various wage-labour centres already mentioned, for this matter, some urban conditions for Mbeya itself were being compromised. It can be argued, therefore, that the urban status by population criterion in Mbeya could have been attained earlier than reported above. Carefully considered, from the time it was founded as a government station more than half a century ago, its rural background was basically exploited for labour and other hinterland resources not only to reproduce Mbeya itself but also other focal points of colonial interest.

It is important to note that for over a quarter of a century after Mbeya's foundation its annual growth of population was approximately 0.44 percent. It is, therefore, quite in order to examine carefully and to relate the one to the other, namely, causes of the subsequent rapid population growth in the nineteen sixties and seventies, hence, causes of the rapid process of urbanization. First, it may be presumed that the region's mountainous topography coupled with Mbeya's own rugged terrain were factors which had some bearing on the growth of population. Second, it is obvious that these imposing natural features ceased to be effective barriers after the mid-nineteen sixties. The critical question already posed, is:- "what social forces were unleashed which triggered the unprecedented skyrocketing of the population in Mbeya town"? According to the 1978 national population census, Mbeya became a one million inhabitant region, and the population of Mbeya town itself approached one hundred thousand. It is our contention that a consideration of this matter will be incomplete without fully appreciating the fourth and the fifth propositions.

In brief, the fourth proposition postulates that formal and informal relationships both overlap, and are integral to one another, and, in the last analysis, given the articulation of societies to the dominant capitalist system, both the formal-informal relations are not independent of capitalism itself. On the other hand, the fifth proposition holds that

without the reciprocal relationship of the informal sector and the formal sector, a meaningful subsistence for the large majority of the urban inhabitants will be seriously lacking.

Evidence from the survey (Table 6.15; Monthly Income & Expenditure Figures 6.1 - 6.4; Plates 2A, 2B, 6A, 6B) support both contentions. To return to the analysis of Mbeya's population growth, at this point, it seems deductively logical that the simultaneous growth of the town and the region at large lend some support to the notion of the prosperity of the countryside as was suggested in our second proposition.

The occurrence of the rapid growth of Mbeya from the late nineteen sixties as suggested in our third proposition is a matter of fact. From an observation in the first chapter, a United Nations (UN) perspective had already sounded the alarm regarding the rapid urbanization of third world countries. According to a UN Report (1970: 1-38) cited in the first chapter, the latter was said to be occurring:-

ahead of any systematic, full-scale movement towards modernization of agriculture or an urban employment sector ...

Our survey data have indicated (Table 6.6) that the decades of the nineteen sixties and seventies corresponded with the peak migration and consequent settlement which occurred in all the four major zones of concentration. Based on our third proposition, this growth is deemed to occur without concomitant *adequate* formal institutions to cater for the basic needs of the escalating population. Adequacy is a relative term and it can be argued that the so-called *basic needs* are phenomenologically different between societies as well as social classes. We the researchers being members of our own societies we will portray *basic needs* in our own image. For the purposes of this analysis of a burgeoning peripheral urban entity, however, it was our proposal in chapter one to consider as the dire needs:-

(a). the provision of shelter;

- (b). food supply; and,
- (c). the absorption of the surplus population of nonwage-earners,

In brief, considered carefully these needs together constitute subsistence *per se*. Coupled with empirical evidence, researchers of different disposition/exposition should be able to perceive objectively/subjectively the impact of the three most wanting needs to the present subject of inquiry.

To begin with, our previous studies of Mbeya and Dar es Salaam. (cf. Comoro, 1981; 1984) dealt with the critical question of shelter. Our conclusion on both occasions was that shelter continued to be a problematic area for the low-income population even in the economically-developed societies. It was our observation that in Tanzania, not even Dar es Salaam which appropriates the *lion's share* of the nation's and foreign accrued capital investments has solved its growing shelter crisis. This is true of many other primate cities in the continent (cf. Hance, 1970). In Tanzania, the urban national picture is even more precarious. According to a top official of the Ministry of Lands Urban Housing and Development at the turn of the previous decade:-

between 40 and 70 percent of the residents of Tanzania's main towns were living in unplanned settlement. (Mghweno, 1979)

In other words, in our perspective, shelter for 40 to 70 percent of the population was *informally* provided for and, as yet, this picture has by no means improved. In Mbeya, based on a collection of data and information from the MMC, it can be asserted that more than 76.8% of the existing shelter fall under the Mghweno's (1979) description. Considering that nearly 76.8% build their own houses without following any specific building codes or urban demands, the standard of a large proportion of urban shelter must be related to the *urban informal culture and, or praxis*.

The importance of shelter towards the reproduction of labour, hence the urban-proletariat-in-the-making cannot be understated. Engel's account of Manchester (CW. Vol. 2, 1975) provides a classical example of the *Housing Question* on class lines as well as a pioneer account of urban ecology. Under capitalism, the housing problem today is a manifestation of an inherent contradiction between the requirements of the housing market and the requirements of the labour market. In the final analysis, under these contradictory requirements, to ask "who provides housing for whom"? should be deemed quite an appropriate question. Since shelter is not, however, adequately provided for by the affluent formal sector, the majority of the urban-proletarian-in-the-making reside in self provided often cheap shelters including some informally provided by others. We have already stated in the preamble of this chapter that:-

international capitalism (which has closer ties with the *formal sector*) by its own discretion and logic, does not get involved wholesale in bearing the burden of social reproduction of labour ...

the provision of shelter being a case in point. Evading the provision of shelter to the majority of urban-proletariat-in-the-making, the formal sector is incapacitated to prevent capitalism from getting more and more affluent at the expence of degradation and, or real subordination of labour.

The fact that labour obtaining in developing countries is deemed cheap can hardly be contested here. What can be contested, however, is the assertion that oftentimes the conditions which customarily make this labour a *cheap commodity* are rarely exposed or analytically related to the intractable societal features in developing countries. It is our emphasis that the totality of capitalist profit motivated production relations at the periphery underlines the conditions of all other relations. the degradation of labour being of overriding impact. Given the level at which labour is maintained, it can be argued

that to attain an adequate provision of shelter within the formal relations framework is virtually impossible. Put in another way, without a critical consideration of the inputs of the informal sector, the process of providing shelter in urban areas of developing countries must be deemed incomplete. A critical consideration of the inputs of the informal sector in matters pertaining to the provision of shelter in urban areas of developing countries is compatible with our fourth proposition (p. 13). In view of the fourth proposition, it is our emphasis that the formal-informal relationships not only overlap but are also integral to one another. Many urban landlords (i.e. owners of rental houses), whichever side of the basic formal-informal divide supplement their subsistence by renting rooms or houses to other urban dwellers, likewise, falling on both sides of the same formal/informal divide. Occasionally, among some indigenous landlords, house rent becomes the only reliable source of monetary income. On the other hand, rural peasants who frequent the urban markets to sell their countryside produce are utilizing a reliable source of monetary income. By the same token, however, rural-urban sojourners (i.e. visitors) stand to gain by earning some money.

Speaking of visitors, survey findings indicate that the highest percentage of visitors in the town (112.72%) was identified at Mwanjelwa (Table 6.5). This is hardly surprising because as noted in Chapter Five, Mwanjelwa is the hub of on-going informal activities. The philosophy behind this praxis can be thus theorized:

- (a) in urban centres of developing countries such as Tanzania, alternate cycle-type of relationship whereby, peasants intermittently visit the urban area to enhance their purchasing power are, characteristic. This type of relationship is articulated to the informal sector; and.

(b) the propensity of urban residents to subsist in towns and cities is facilitated by occasional visits to the rural areas,

the subsistence of low-income game scouts who left their families downtown (see Chapter Five) provides a clear example.

The importance of food supply to communities with a large heterogeneous population engaged in different occupational activities can, like shelter, be traced historically. Implicitly, and for purposes of this study, the antecedent chapters have hinted at the historical link between the formation of cities of antiquity located in the alluvial plains of rivers† and food surplus. We shall submit at this point that this linkage is objective and fundamental. In modern times, the British experience as the first country to industrialize and to urbanize concomitantly is directly related to the revolutionary changes in agricultural productivity (cf. Deane, 1965; Breese, 1966; Rostow, 1967). Food supply must be deemed even more important to urban areas of LDCs where agricultural output is small and where industrial activity is predominantly service oriented. Additionally, in urban areas of LDCs such as Mbeya in Tanzania, however, food supply is intricately related to the absorption of the surplus population of nonwage-earners. As survey data for the zones of Mabatini, Majengo, and Mwanjelwa indicate, the food industry in its various rudimentary levels is the predominant income-pooling activity. The amount of food observed to be peddled in Mbeya underlines the contention of a prosperous agricultural hinterland. In this regard, the experience of Mbeya demonstrates that the distinction between town and country is not quite as phenomenal as the modernization theorists emphasize. Hence, our skepticism on the notion of the desolation of the countryside obtains. In the background of our earlier

† see also details in Chapter Two

definition, the term pockets of development fairly designates urban areas such as Mbeya. Customarily, the latter captivate a special role in relation to the granaries. The spatial arrangement obtaining through the division of labour is such that the hinterlands of these pockets of development are predominantly the granaries or food and raw material producers, the Mbarali State Farm, the country's number one rice producing project in Mbeya rural exemplifying the latter, while the pockets of development such as Mbeya service the few processing industries. Since these industries are only a few in number (cf. Table 6.1) and their employment capacity somewhat limited (cf. Tables 6.2 - 6.3), it becomes easy to understand why many urbanites are not absorbed in the urban wage-labour market. In brief, the urban population may be divided into two broad categories:-

1. the few wage-earners, the largest proportion of whom are attached to the existing formal organizations; and,
2. the majority nonwage-earning population subsisting by recompense or means other than income from formal organizations.

Earning a wage, however, does not necessarily provide adequately for all of the household's basic needs (Table 6.15). Hence, in reality, what we have in urban areas of developing countries is a burgeoning population, literally, with homogenous requirements, in the main, confronted by its own basic needs for subsistence. It may be implicitly suggested from the previous contention that, the formal sector, with its direct relation to capitalism meets some of these requirements, but only in part. At this point the question becomes, "how, for example, does the household number 8 from the central zone (Figure 6.1) whose income (cf. Table 6.15) is depleted in barely half a month make it through the remaining half until the next pay day"? Since our survey data showed that household number 8 was

the highest earner (Table 6.11), it is easy to imagine how much sooner the income of the other households dries up. It was our observation in the field, however, that the urban households in Mbeya whether containing wage earners or not did not simply perish at mid-month when their basic earnings would have been depleted. It appears that it is at this point that the role of the informal sector becomes clearer; that is, the formal and the informal complement each other. In the final analysis it can be argued that the role of the informal sector, including the involvement of the indigenous forces in the provision of squatter housing, in self-supplying and peddling of food to construction sites or residential areas is more profitable to capitalism. Given this level of involvement of the informal sector, it appears that the fourth and fifth proposition have been supported. Otherwise, it can be argued that without this level of involvement of the informal sector, urban subsistence for many households in Mbeya facing: (i) limited wage-labour opportunities; and, (ii) wages which are inadequate and deplete before the next one is due, would be impossible.

On the other hand, under the peripheral conditions such as noted above, namely, that urban households are able to subsist despite the depletion of some of their basic earnings, it is hardly surprising to note that it will be easy to get myopic to the limitation of this level of subsistence in meeting other urban demands such as education, sanitation, and health to mention these three. We think that the notion of *hidden poverty* explicit in Harp's (1971)† treatise of Canada which, from the nineteen sixties was regarded as one of the most urban countries in the world, is relevant to be applied in this context. In the specific situation of Mbeya, it is imperative not to overlook that this way of life is synonymous with "living

† cf. J. Harp, 'Canada's Rural Poor' in Harp and Hopley (eds.) **Poverty in Canada:** Prentice Hall, Inc. (1971:174-186)

from hand to mouth". This level of abstraction is supported by the survey's *Income and Expenditure* figures, (cf. Figure 6:1 - 6:4; and, Table 6:11 - 6:14). Living from hand to mouth is in our view point analogous to the vicious circle of poverty which, at the level of commonsense has the propensity to camouflage *real causes of poverty*, hence the need to see beyond *hidden poverty*. It is our contention that whereas "living from hand to mouth" may be advantageous to capital, particularly, for tying labour to the means of production, it is generally disadvantageous to the purchasing power of the urban-proletarian-in-the-making, hence to the process of accumulation at large. The process of accumulation when arrested within the boundaries of the producing countries, is considered necessary and sufficient to generate further development. Professor W.W. Rostow's (1967) *Stages of Economic Growth* in Western Europe's experience of capitalism is explicit and succinct in this matter. On the contrary, however, as Horace Miner, (1967:25) critically observes:-

the contemporary decoupling of the twin processes of urbanization and industrialization as well as the modernization of most of the world is going badly

In other words, the contemporary logic of capitalism in developing countries such as Tanzania ossify indigenous development and change, hence, Professor Rostow's (1967) *Stages of Economic Growth* are at the present time virtually impossible. To comprehend further the subject of urban subsistence, it will be more rewarding to re-examine the experience of household number 8 in order to bring out into the open causes and tendencies which underlie comparable subsistence praxis.

The empirical observation of this survey is that:

based on the calculation of Table 6.15, the survival of household number 8 for the second half of the month preceding the approaching pay-day is remarkable

Elsewhere, particularly in big cities, this phenomenon of nearly inexplicable and semi-

mysterious subsistence for a number of days in a month is well pronounced. In relation to Dar es Salaam for example, see Leslie's *Interlude* (1963:174ff) for a whole range of city *slang* expressing these tendencies. The *slang* is, however, an *informal* and verbal expression of the social praxis in which the urbanites find themselves in, and are thus compelled to struggle informally for their livelihood. Likewise, for Nairobi, in what are generally understood as bad dates of the month literally described "mwezi kona", there ensues a whole new *frugal* way of life concomitant with attendant artifacts best described by the Nairobi urbanites as "sukuma wiki" literally translated as pushing or accelerating the seven days of the week. This *asceticism* is embarked upon in anticipation that the remaining penniless days till the next pay will go by as fast and as painlessly, hence, "sukuma wiki". In a very revealing narration by Daudi Kabaka,[†] a well celebrated Nairobi vocalist in the decades of the nineteen sixties and seventies who modestly admits to be tantalized by the Nairobi urbanites, in this song, he is quite vocal that: "approximately a week before the mid-month pay and end of the month pay respectively, it was a common phenomenon in Nairobi to encounter urbanites wearing grim faces". Among them were the urban elite he was quite familiar with, who ordinarily expressed themselves very coherently in English, hence, presumed to be better educated. Considering that:-

education comprises the most important single class variable in accounting for variations in occupational achievement, (Harp, 1971:181)

the same category of the urban inhabitants is by all means the best paid. Ironically, at this time of the month, according to Kabaka, even the English speaking Nairobi (African) elite have exhausted their pay-checks. hence, the grim faces mentioned in his revealing Swahili song. In his narrative style, he indicates that in the pandamonium which ensues to make

[†] alias "Mtoboa Siri", that is to say, 'The Revealer'

ends meet, nothing appears to go in their favour. More specifically, he observes that their customarily articulated communication in English becomes labouriously incoherent, oftentimes ludicrous and, or evaporates altogether. To put in his own words:-

“Kiingereza kimekwisha ni Kiswahili”

Quintessentially, what Kabaka is soundly revealing here is that these urban elite whose wage-earnings are depleted have become less formal in their subsequent dealings. This amounts to saying that these “urbanites - cum - elite” have homogenous requirements and are confronted by basic needs for subsistence similar to the largest common majority. It would appear that participation in the informal relationships complement their regular subsistence which fails them every month just before the next pay. Kabaka may have been specifically fascinated by the fact that after the mid-month and end of the month pay respectively, the *frugality* noted above becomes fully reversed. Nonetheless, it is commonplace in big cities like Nairobi and Dar es Salaam that the period of whatever extravaganza that the urban-proletarian-in-the-making may find themselves in is bound to be as shortlived as facial cosmetics. In Dar es Salaam, the first capital city and certainly in other major urban centres in Tanzania, it is well-known that formal-wage workers are well immersed in what are commonly known as “Miradi”†, that is to say, special household income-pooling activities usually independent of the main household formal occupation. It seems to us that without the *Miradi* which are in large measure part of the informal economy of the city, many urbanites cannot eke out an existence. This cycle repeats itself, hence, the notion of living ‘from hand to mouth’.

To return to the experience of household number 8, on the background of the information summarized in Table 6.10, this seven-member household falls in the first typology.

† - a ‘Swahili’ term, literally translated as ‘Projects’

To be more precise, it was learned during this survey that both spouses of this household work with the Ministry of Education in different capacities. All of their five children go to school, three of them are attending secondary schools. It is common knowledge in Tanzania that secondary school entry is extremely competitive. This is a clear case whereby Hall and McFarlane's (1962)† fundamental postulate that:-

Children from the *middle-class* and *professional* homes enjoy a higher survival rate in the education system (Hall and McFarlane, 1962:13)

succinctly applies. Deductively applied, Hall and McFarlane's (1962) postulate is also demonstrably the case in the circumstances pertaining to our informant (Charles) and the other youth vending at Mbeya CBD (cf. Data Chapters). The two dropped out of school much earlier for any number of reasons, but most important of all, 'non-professional' parental background. Compared to Charles, the teenager co-owner and manager of a shoeshine vendor at the CBD compelled, apparently to discontinue school to join the ranks and files of his own household income pooling team, the five children mentioned above are still dependent on their professional parents and only help in the household activities during vacations or when free from school engagements. As we have acknowledged in the methodology chapter, it has been correctly anticipated by Wallerstein et al., (1982) that:-

the workforce in the capitalist world-economy is composed of individuals who do not normally calculate the work they do in exchange for some kind of remuneration from an individual perspective ...

the two wage-earning individuals working with different departments of the Ministry of Education are no exception to this rule. To our best knowledge, they drew together their earnings in a common household income pool. To minimize the impact of the escalating

† Source:- Hall and McFarlane, *Research Program on The Training of Skilled Manpower. Transition From School to Work: Report No. 10. (Dec. 1962)*

costs of living this household: (i) resides in a self-built house located away from the more expensive central area; and, (ii) obtains their main food supplies from their own "shamba" (i.e. plot of land, farm) located outside the town. This household purchased what could not be grown or raised in their "shamba". According to the household head, occasionally, they exchanged bags of maize for bags of rice which they do not grow in their "shamba", but which grows abundantly in Mbeya's rural districts. It is evident therefore that, household number 8 participates in the informal sector via barter exchange and, hence, is able to cope with an urban situation which sees their monthly expenditures to be double their monthly income from formal sources (cf. Table 6.11).

It follows from the above that household number 8, though objectively speaking contains professional workers (trained teachers), to exist in the city has to be involved in subsistence peasantry and intermittent barter exchange. To use the Marxist parlance, given the nature of capitalist relations of production at the periphery, the SNLT to reproduce this 'professional' household is beyond the realms of formal wage-labour relations. This experience suggests that without the mutual overlap of the formal-informal relationships, it would have been very difficult or impossible for the members of household number 8 to overcome or resolve the problem of their urban subsistence and reproduction. Given the fact that many of the households were in an even worse position than our study case regarding the difference between expenditure and income it is not hard to see how widespread is this pattern of urban survival by participation in both the formal and the informal sectors of the economy. This notion of the overlapping of the aforementioned relationships is a fundamental postulate of our fourth proposition which also postulates that these entities are 'integral' to one another. It can be argued that studies of the urbanization of developing countries which extrapolate the Western experiences wholesale-

do not address this fundamental postulate. We shall suggest that in part, this arises from their methodological bias which focusses on the quantitative aspects of urbanization and ignores the qualitative aspects of the process. As we have noted in the Mbeya case study, however, the qualitative aspects of urbanization are equally important. We think it is also important to see beyond this overlap of the theoretically antagonized relationships if we are to uncover the hidden links that bind together what, in the Western perspective, is but a perverse urbanization experience, the process on-going in Mbeya being a typical example.

Closely followed, however, evidence presented in the immediate example goes counter to the Western perspective. Note that:-

1. Household number 8 may be appropriately located in the first typology (cf. Table 6.10) arbitrarily designating its income-pooling members as professionals in their respective typology. Even this professional household, however, via formal wage-labour relations it could not reproduce itself. Hence, although in formal terms, this household was placed in the State and Public Workers Category (Table 6.10) half of its monthly income came from the informal sector (Subsistence Peasantry/Trading). That is, it could easily have been placed in the informal category. Hart (1973) in his study of *Informal Income and Urban Unemployment in Ghana* states this situation well,

typology refers to activities or roles, not persons: actual individuals are often to be found on both sides of the analytical divide and in more than one capacity ...
2. While shifting back and forth is inevitably an inherent characteristic of individuals in the process of third world urbanization such as manifested in Mbeya, Accra (Ghana) and so forth, it has its own inevitable limitation. Only wage-earners for example can at the same time come and go between their regular occupation and petty trading or

subsistence peasantry *per se*. Nonwage-earners can participate in all the of 'informal activities' but may only participate in the formal sector as 'casual workers' (cf. Table 6.4). Given the shifting back and forth of workers in the informal sector it is worthwhile to appreciate the overall dynamism of the informal relationships. With the exception of the central zone, the category involved in a nonformal wage-earning occupations has been shown to comprise the predominant proportion (Table 6.10). At Majengo, occupations was shown to be at *par*; and,

3. The contribution of peasantry to the urban way of life as directly demonstrated by the case of household number 8 and, indirectly, for many other households, leads us to suggest that in the urban areas of peripheral capitalist countries such as Tanzania peasantry is not a countryside chore alone, nor does it appear to be exclusively a peasant's way of life. Hence, to extrapolate Roberts' (1978) plausible synopsis, Mbeya and other urban areas of peripheral capitalist countries are indeed the "cities of peasants".

This list is by no means exhaustive, but it serves to illustrate a phenomenon missed by theories attempting to extrapolate the Western experiences globally, distinctively emphasizing the centrality of *formal* relations perspectives as if they existed totally in isolation from all other local social forces. Moreover, the same phenomena appear to be essentially opposed to the unproblematic idiosyncrasy of the Western World's urbanization perspective. On the contrary, however, we shall emphasize that the failure to put in perspective the contribution made by the indigenous forces† towards peripheral capitalist development cannot but seriously impair our attempts to understand the real causes of a slow and unequal development process in the so-called *developing countries* such as Tanzania. For these reasons we think the approach of this study of Mbeya which identifies the

† notably, the informal sector

contribution of the 'informal relationships' in the urbanization process in LDCs hitherto taken for granted, is a modest contribution of the Mbeya study towards the common pool of knowledge on the uncontrolled and rapidly urbanizing half of LDCs - cum - developing countries. By way of conclusion, Chapter Eight will provide a summary of the Mbeya study. An attempt will be made to set out some problems for future consideration or further research.

Chapter Eight

Summary and Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

This analysis of urbanization in Tanzania, the case-study of Mbeya has advanced the *thesis* that:-

in urban areas of less industrialized countries such as Tanzania, the *informal sector* is a dynamic factor contributing to the process of urbanization which is described elsewhere as "dependant".

This expresses the view that the process is not only dependent on the core or the internally based formal institutions but also on local factors not yet put forward in existing theories. The provision of: (i) shelter; (ii) food supply; and, (iii) the absorption of the surplus population of nonwage-earners have been cited as the basic needs hinged in the informal sector. Likewise, neither the relationship between shelter, food supply and the absorption of surplus population of nonwage-earners and the informal sector nor the informal sector itself have received much theoretical consideration. Interestingly, it has been suggested and supported by survey data that subsistence for the large majority of nonwage-earning population is through a nonformal-employment sector. Considering that Tanzania is not an industrially advanced country, a significant proportion of the wage-earners has been presumed in this study unable to reproduce itself entirely on a wage basis. It is for this reason (cf. Chap. 7) that a sizable proportion of wage-earners in major urban areas take on "Miradi" in order to eke out an existence. It is imperative to emphasize that relevant survey data for the Mbeya case-study have strongly supported this notion, hence our emphasis that existing informal relations underwrite capital's social costs of reproducing wage-labour.

Under the prevailing conditions it has been stated that the working population is not fully *proletarianized*, to use the Marxist parlance. It has, therefore, been contended that the informal means contributing to the reproduction of urban population is not only a struggle for assaulting the scarcity of urban resources but it is also an essential part of the entire urban cycle in a third world setting. In Mbeya the following informal sector economic activities which in their complex totality underwrite the social costs of capital in reproducing labour power were identified:-

- i. the front porch cooking and selling "*vitumbua*", a common activity of women at Maendeleo and other residential areas populated by the indigenous immigrants. Child labour in peddling surplus *vitumbua* in the streets, bus stops, the central bus terminus and the railway station, at construction sites, school yards, and at the clubs where the home made brews are consumed and other such *ad hoc* location is an important aspect of the cooking and selling *vitumbua*;
- ii. the backyard food industries and attendant "*Kabineti*" system of Majengo and Maendeleo;
- iii. the multiplicity of local clubs at Mabatini and Mwanjelwa with their attendant "*Vikao*" system ;
- iv. the fleet of street food vending and peddling at Mwanjelwa;
- v. the regular petty traders who flock *en masse* at the abattoir and those who sell their cooked or barbecued meat in various strategic locations scattered throughout Mbeya, notably, at the *Kabineti* systems of Maendeleo, Majengo, and at the *Vikao* systems of Mabatini, Mwanjelwa and so forth; and;

v. the peddling of Kerosene by little children of Mwanjelwa.

It is important to emphasise at this point that, it is their participation in these activities that permits these urban dwellers to continue to live in the area, despite the fact that they have no regular wages. In addition, we shall assert that their participation in these activities also contributes to the urbanization process and the profits of the capitalist enterprises abroad.

8.1 Summary and Conclusion

In brief, this thesis has looked at the reciprocal coexistence of the formal-informal relationships as the dynamics of the market forces integral to the pace and subsistence process in this burgeoning Tanzanian south-western border town.

Given this theoretical framework, this study has questioned the wholesale application of the Western World's perspective of urbanization to the experience of peripheral societies for their failure to relate analytically the formal and the informal sectors. In addition, this position also questioned the wisdom whereby: the external factors, hence institutionalized formal relations are deemed to be progressive to the process of Third World urbanization while the informal relationship is deemed quite *vice versa*: and, an eclectic analysis of the interplay of the external and internal factors which, while by no means myopic, is nevertheless totally oblivious of the contribution of the informal sector aspects of the internal entity. It has been the contention of this study that in their totality, these relationships foster the growth of towns and cities of the Third World.

The failure to relate analytically the formal and the informal relationships is in our view point unacceptable; and it appears that this approach arises from the Western per-

spective and tradition whereby formal organizations have been deemed central to processes such as industrialization and urbanization. Under the conditions prevalent in LDCs such as Tanzania this tradition, however, does not follow hard and fast. Based on the survey data presented in Chapters Five and Six, evidence has been overwhelming in detracting from the myth of portraying the unlimited primacy of the external - cum - formal organizations which manifests no appreciation of the interaction with the local informal factors as a major impetus to development and change. The experience whereby even professionals had to get deeply involved in means other than their specialized formal occupation to subsist is a case in point. This perspective certainly supports the contention that the subsistence of a larger proportion of urbanites is not provided for by the institutionalized formal relations.

The urban provision of shelter is another example which drives home the point that the institutionalized formal relations do not cater for the requirements of the majority of the urbanites. We have considered shelter one of the basic needs of the urban-proletarian-in-the-making. Considering that only at the turn of the previous decade, between 40 and 70 percent of the residents of Tanzania's main towns were living in unplanned settlements (cf. Mghweno, 1979), it is consistent and logical to acknowledge the importance of local factors, subsequently, the *dynamics* of the informal sector as demonstrated by this case-study of Mbeya.

In the light of these contentions, whereas the local forces are clearly involved in the accumulation process of the peripheral capitalist societies, the city's own accumulation process remains intractable and living conditions of its proletariat-in-the-making are generally perverse. Paradoxically, however, prevailing forces make the expansion of the informal sector inevitable hence, of a vicious-circle of informal sector, cheap labour and

dominant peripheral capitalist mode of production.

By way of conclusion, it will be worthwhile at this point to make the following broad observations:-

1. Although some of the 'administrative - cum - commercial town centres' in the country are urbanizing at an unprecedented pace, Tanzania, like many Third World countries is still considered as one of the least urbanized societies. Admittedly, however, this unproblematic labeling syndrome while it lacks comparable data (cf. Breese, 1966; Gilbert and Gugler, 1982) may be unanimously noted to be based on the advanced Western standards. It is our contention, however, that this tendency of super standard labelling syndrome which continues to plague some conventional theories cannot be resolved here conclusively. This study of Mbeya throws some light on problematic assumptions of conventional theory in this area. It has been the intent of this particular case study of Mbeya to pursue an alternative approach, more realistic, it is hoped, and sociologically more perceptive of the observable *micro* and *macro* level struggle for urban subsistence obtaining, and unfolding with the current complexities of the municipality.

To return to the notion that Tanzania, like many other Third World countries is still considered as one of the least urbanized societies, based on mid-1984 figures from *Quarterly Economic Review (Tanzania, May, 1986)*, more than four-fifths of the population of 20.5 million inhabitants lived in rural areas. Given this predominance of the agrarian background, it has been consistent to contend that the prosperity of Mbeya has hinged upon a *non-industrial* background. It is common knowledge that Western-oriented theories of urbanization emphasize the primacy of industry. Apparently, however, the situation

obtaining in Mbeya and its hinterland leads to the conclusion of the primacy of the hinterland, hence, of '*non-urban (industrial) relations*, to be precise, food supply which is fundamental for any community to diversify its activity is readily supplied from its hinterland. While the food supply variable is generally thought to be important, it has never before been centrally related to the dynamics of the urban informal sector. Carefully considered, this observation should influence the general perspective of urbanization of peripheral societies. It has been consistent therefore, in this study to subject to study the unilateral application theories of:-

- a. the desolation of the countryside; and.
- b. wage-labour and the centrality of formal organization.

as sole explanations of urbanization of the peripheral capitalist societies.

Following the logic of Roberts (1978), and others, in the *Exploration in Urban Analysis*, it is unequivocal that *Cities of Peasants* are commonplace in the Third World countries. In the light of this contention, our critical concern in this study to debate analyses of the towns and cities of peasants that tends extrapolate the Western World's perspective of the city wholesale obtains. We think it is correct to argue that these perspectives are overlooking some dynamic local social forces-factors and practices fundamental to the process of urbanization of Third World countries. It is our contention that closely examined, the Mbeya findings support this position. It is important to emphasize that all of the main activities which have been observed relate to the *informal sector* of the economy and, not the 'formal economy' of the city. The common activities in the 'informal sector' of the economy may also be cited as examples of local factors beneficial to capitalist development in this peripheral society, hence, compatible with our central contention on informal sector

relationship.

2. Mbeya and its hinterland have a favourable agrarian condition described as very productive and potential to make the region the country's leading 'bread-basket' (cf. Daily News No. 1722, March 16th, 1986). It was noted in the data chapters that Mbeya has up to eight months of rain, *ceteris paribus*, we consider this eight month period sufficient enough to tie the peasant to the land. Coupled with the region's food potential hinterland, these endowments are sufficient enough to make the student of urbanization in the Third World sceptical of the applicability of the thesis of the desolation of the countryside which is generally embraced by some Third World urban theorists as given and, or unproblematic. Admittedly, however, with or without a food potential hinterland, from the late nineteen sixties Mbeya began to be the repository of more and more people notwithstanding its small wage-labour employing capacity because of the propensity of the informal sector to sustain the subsistence of the majority who, for any number of reasons, migrated to the town. It was indicated that at the time of this survey, the total population of Mbeya was 153,045 (cf. Table 5.1), a figure which, in less than a decade had dwarfed that of the last census (i.e. 1978) by as much as 95 percent. According to Peil and Sada (1984), Mbeya is growing faster than the better located traditional port-towns of Tanga and Zanzibar. These unprecedented urbanward drifts emanating from a prosperous rural background to a nascent burgeoning urban centre with limited industrial activities have not been substantively analysed before because of the received conception that the centre is the prosperous entity from which emanate the *trickle-down effects*. To borrow from the same *misconception*, however, these 'trickle-down effects' from the countryside go totally unacknowledged, and in general, they remain theoretically narrowly con-

sidered. It will be instructive to recall A.H. Hawley's (1964) critical observation (cf. Chapter Three) of *Monolithic* cities fostered by capitalism such as Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Manila, Jakarta, Hong Kong and many lesser ones - standing apart from their environs and exerting little influence on them, a notion which inevitably leads studies like the present to the conclusion that:-

urban centres of developing countries are interlocked in an incessant *dependencia* grip generally to the disadvantage of the local countryside.

As we pointed out in Chapter Three, Mbeya, at the commencement of its rapid population boom, had less than 13 percent of the 'formal wage-workers' in the region. In other words, comparatively, there was more wage-employment elsewhere outside Mbeya at locations which are predominantly rural. It can be argued that these rural-urban endowment differences are currently reflected in the *dynamics* of the informal sector. Given what we have, it is no longer a paradox that population growth experienced in Mbeya from the late nineteen sixties, despite a lack of comparable potentiality in industries has essentially been reproduced by means other than formal wage-labour mechanisms. Under the prevailing conditions, we submit that the alternative means for urban subsistence obtain in the informal sector.

To recapitulate, the process of urbanization which "proceeds by its own irresistible dynamics" (A.J. Field 1970:225), has occurred in Mbeya. To be consistent with the stance of this *thesis*, the *dynamics* of this process in Third World urbanization have been largely taken for granted. On the other hand, if the perception of scholars deem it to be the general tendency that:-

As the larger Third World cities grow in size, employment opportunities in modern or large scale establishments do not increase at the same rate. (Stren, 1975:10)

it goes without saying that the informal sector which has already been taken for granted fills the gap created by the lag of 'modern' or 'large scale establishment'.

In summary, we submit that on the basis of this treatise which has attempted to consider the formal-informal relationships to be coterminous, evidence from this survey support the contention that:-

1. The process of urbanization in Mbeya is hinged upon the conditions of its better endowed hinterland as was suggested in our second tentative proposition. For this reason, Mbeya's central role in the reproduction of the capitalist system as hypothesized in our first proposition (p. 13), has been considerably enhanced. Carefully considered, the same summation may be arrived at in the study of comparable Third World urban centres presiding over massive undeveloped - better endowed hinterland. Given the city's allegiance to capital, implicit in the excerpt from Hawley's (1964) observation, a similar inference obtains even in the case of agreeably affluent cities presiding over less endowed hinterland.
2. Additionally, as we suggested in the third proposition, it is evident from survey data that Mbeya's rapid growth from the late nineteen sixties has been occurring ahead of any systematic concomitant and adequate formal institution pertinent to the basic needs of the population: shelter, food supply, and the absorption of a large population of non-wage earners being the primary needy areas.
3. Evidence from the survey clearly suggests the informal sector to be quite involved in the provision of shelter, food supply and the absorption of the large population of nonwage-earners.
4. Considering that in part, the informal sector also caters for the population falling

within the formal sectors occupational typology *de jure* but which *de facto*, in the quest for subsistence is compelled to move back and forth between the two basic divides. the notions of overlap, reciprocal and symbiotic character alluded to the 'formal' and the 'informal sectors' suggested in the fourth and fifth proposition are supported.

5. Furthermore, considering the articulation of societies to the dominant capitalist system, the fourth and the fifth propositions has been quite in order in its treatise of the 'informal' together with the 'formal sector' as comprising a symbiotic whole whereby their reciprocal character enables subsistence for the majority of the urban inhabitants on either side of the *divide* formal-informal. It has been the stance of this study that existing theory has not yet included the overlapping, symbiotic and reciprocal characteristics of these entities which this author deems to be fundamental to the process of urbanization in developing countries.

In the light of this experience of Mbeya, the study comes to the conclusion that:-

- i. several interacting forces are involved in the process of urbanization; and,
- ii. the informal sector has been shown to be a dynamic force of the market sustaining the process within which a large proportion of urban households on both sides of the basic formal-informal divide reproduce themselves.

In addition to the undeniable role in the production, reproduction and the provision of basic needs as delineated above, its propensity to circulate commodities, goods and services is extremely important to the urbanization process. It can be asserted therefore, that, if this **role** of the informal sector (peddling commodities, goods etc.) is not taken into consideration our understanding of the process of urbanization in the third world will be

seriously impaired, hence, make any attempts to affect policy in the urban areas very limited.

In the final analysis, we submit the *thesis* that:-

In the urban areas of less industrialized countries such as Tanzania, the informal sector plays a crucial role in determining the nature of the process of urbanization and of urban-proletariat-in-the-making.

8.2. An Overview Of Recommendations And Reflections Of The Mbeya Case Study

Evidence from the Mbeya study indicate that an increasingly greater proportion of Tanzanians live in this country's multiplying towns and cities. Some of the basic needs of these urbanites, however, are supplied by rural areas, hence, from the informal sector of the economy, and not from the formal economy of the city. It can be asserted pertinently that evidence from previous chapters suggest that due to the uncompromising urban conditions, the household has developed a great propensity to adapt to the informal sector mechanisms. In the light of this:-

- I. We recommend further urban studies on the role of the informal sector;
- II. It is important to point out that basic needs are phenomenologically different between societies or among social classes within a given society. Though it must be conceded that the problems of basic needs may not be resolved here conclusively, it must be stressed that, by addressing ourselves to these problems, we are opening up avenues which may suggest possible solutions to the problems. One problem which needs a fresh look concerns the circulation of commodities, goods and services. In this survey of Mbeya, the role of the informal sector in supplying all kinds of goods and services was evident but was obviously unable to cope with the problem at hand, hence, *our* first recommendation;
- III. Since the town is seen to be mainly reproduced from the hinterland, we suggest that efforts should be made to establish more favourable linkages with the producing hinterland. Put another way, we suggest that the town should meet the hinterlands *not* at its downtown through urban informal relationships in the squatter areas and simi-

lar *peri-urban* locations but closer to the hinterlands themselves and through formal relations and the economy of the city itself;

- IV. The instruments of the state should devise ways and means by which pockets of development could improve production relations with the producing hinterland. In the hinterlands of Mbeya, one plausible way can be a direct participation by the formal urban markets in major commercial activities such as the "Lembuka" *festive*. More importantly: (a.) these measures comprise a solution to our third recommendation and also, will amount to some spread effects of the 'pockets of development' to their *environs* hitherto debated to be nonexistent; and, (b.) the measures will enhance the purchasing power of the hinterland - a factor which has also been noted as beneficiary to urban dwellers. However, in order not to suffocate the urban informal sector entrepreneurs participating in many "Lembuka" *festive*, it is our recommendation that more sociological studies should be undertaken to determine what consumption imperatives these imported 'formal urban markets' can trade off with the *Lembuka* in such a manner that will establish closer subsistence ties.

We think that irrespective of the ideological stance of the day, this situation will be an incentive and a major improvement to the existing one-sided praxis whereby the peasants who also largely bear the burden of the country's social cost have to find their way downtown as a necessary part of their own reproduction cycle in the countryside. It is our hope that, in a country avowedly geared towards *equalitarianism*, these measures will help to further underwrite the costs of urban reproduction, admittedly, borne by the poor peasants. In this way, more time, effort and resources should be made available to urban authorities like the MMC to be better spent on other urban imperatives such as better

quality of life, better housing, and other social infrastructure. In sum, it can be postulated that the total effect for both the state and the *pockets of development* will be creating for themselves more *elbow-room* for other social development programs.

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APPENDIX NO. 1A

Interview - Guide For The Sample Survey In The Urbanization Of Mbeya

1. General Information on the Respondent

1. Categories of respondents by Sex and Household Status:-

Male/Female	Household-Head	Household member	Lone-II/h member
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2. Age in Years

Less than 20

21-24	25-29	30-34	35-40	41-44	over 45 (state)
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3. Residential Location in Mbeya:-

Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa	Other
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4. Level of Education:-

None	Adult Literacy	Primary Level	Post Primary (specify)
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II Information Regarding Household and Other Occupants

5. The marital status of the respondent:-

Married	Single	Other (state)
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6. Number of nucleus family members residing in the same household with the respon

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dents by <i>relationship</i> and <i>sex</i> :-		
relationship	male members	female members

7. Other members of the extendend family living together with the respondents by *kin*

<i>relationship</i> and <i>sex</i> :-		
relationship	male members	female members

8. Total number of visitors/guests to this household in the last six to twelve months:-		
none	male members	female members

9. relationship of the visitors/guests to the respondent (specify):-		
none	male members	female members

10. Their reasons for coming to Mbeya:-

a. looking for wage-labour?

b. selling farm produce?

c. visisting relatives?

d. any other (state)

11. Of these visitors, how many came from other towns?				
none	men	women	boys	girls

12. How many came from rural areas in Mbeva district?				
none	men	women	boys	girls

13. How many came from rural areas in other districts?				
none	men	women	boys	girls

III. Domicile - Details of Migratic , of the Respondents

14. State district of origin if different from place of birth

.....

16. Year migrated to Mbeya
17. Place you lived prior to emigrating to Mbeya
18. Reasons for migrating/moving to Mbeya:-
- a. formal in job transfer
 - b. in search of work
 - c. private entrepreneurship (state) e.g. petty trading *etcetera*
 - d. family ties, and,
 - e. any other (state)

IV. Occupation and Mode of Subsistence

19. What do you do for a living?
- a. work for the ruling party as
 - b. work for the government as
 - c. work a private entrepreneur as
 - d. self-employed/work in a household oriented venture as
 - e. any other (specify)
20. Where about in Mbeya town do you engage in the above named activity:-

Central	Mabatini	Majengo	Mwanjelwa	Other (specify)

21. How many other members of your household work in order to supplement the h/h income? (state numbers):-
- a. working for the ruling party as();
 - b. working for the government as();
 - c. working for a public organization as();
 - d. working for private organization as();
 - e. working for a household oriented venture or self-employed as(); and,
 - d. any other (please specify)().
22. Total number of members who do not perform any household oriented 'income pooling' activities:-
- a. Adult (males); and,
 - b. Adult (females)
23. How much do you earn per month?
24. How much income does the household 'pool' per month?
25. Estimate closely your household's daily expenditure.
26. Disregarding the actual household wages, i.e. in 'monetary income pooled'; closely estimate the households expenditure for **basic requirements** for:-
- a. the month;
 - b. a day;
 - c. a public holiday; and,

d. a day of your religion's holiday

27. State the source(s) of food supply for your household:-

- a. urban food stores, shops and markets in Mbeya town.....;
- b. urban food stores, shops and markets in Mbeya and other urban centres in the country
.....;
- c. food stores, shops, markets in Mbeya town and outside the town
- d. most of the above including provision from relatives residing in the countryside
- e. most of the above including your own "shamba" outside the town; and,
- f. none of the above except household's own countryside *shamba*

V. Housing Situation and Living Conditions

28. Present house occupation

- a. Owner occupied(*answer next question*);
- b. Tenant occupied(*proceed to question 30*)
- c. Any other (specify)

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

- a. No support
- b. Family labour
- c. Paid casual labour
- d. Financial loan from your employer.....; and,

e. Tanzania Housing Bank (THB) loan.....

30. Who is your landlord?

a. government;

b. National Housing Corporation (NHC);

c. The organization you work for (elaborate, e.g. public, private);

d. Private individual(s) (elaborate, e.g. parents, relatives etcetera); and,

e. Any other (elaborate)

31. How many rooms have you rented?

a. one room;

b. two rooms;

c. three rooms.....;

d. four or more than four rooms; and,

e. the whole house, (state number of rooms).....

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

a. other tenants; and,

b. the landlord

33. In total, how many families live in this house?

34. What is the average monthly rent per room?

35. What is the total number of rooms in this house?

36. If you are a landlord, do you sublet any rooms in your house?

a. Yes; and,

b. No

37. The number of rooms you sublet

38. How many people live in this house?

a. adults; and,

b. children

39. If you are a tenant, does your landlord live in the same house?

a. Yes; and,

b. No(state where he lives)

40. In all, how many households live in this house?

a. total number of households;

b. single persons household; (i). males; (ii). female

41. In terms of construction materials, type of house presently occupied is of a:-

a. permanent structure

b. semi-permanent structure

c. temporary structure

42. Which of the following provision are in the house you occupy:-

a. Tap water;

b. electricity;

c. separate kitchen;

d. separate bathroom/shower; and.

e. water privy/pit latrine

43. Briefly explain what should be done to make your environment a better place to live.

.....

Appendix No. 1B

How This Interview-Guide Corelates With The Hypotheses Under Investigation

1. Information obtained from question # 18 will provide both an indication and measure of (a) *rapid urbanization*; (b) *informal* aspects alongside *formal* aspects contributing to urbanization;
2. Question # 19 and 21 will provide an overview of urban means of and mode of subsistence whereby both the '*formal*' and '*informal*' relations will be quantified. More importantly, the notion of *income-pooling* for both the formal and the informal sectors will be documented especially from data retrieved from question # 21;
3. Again, question # 27 is expected to probe further on the notion of the so-called *informal means of subsistence*, better *endowment* of the hinterland (i.e. where the supplies are obtained). Note that question 27 is not only relevant to *hypothesis* # 1, but also some of the information generated can be used as a measure or indication of *overlapping* or *interdependence* of *formal/informal* as per hypothesis numbers 3 and 4;
4. The notion of *strong point of articulation*" will be measured by what is happening at the peripheral areas of Mbeya, particularly at the squatter settlement of Mabatini and the upgraded section of Mwanjelwa as well as evidence from way-stations or centres of hinterland districts;
5. Question # 22 will provide the study with some *cultural notion* based on the phenomena of extended family and kinship system;

6. The simple *arithmetical* differences between information from question # 23 and 26 (a) will indicate that subsistence is largely met by significant 'informal contribution'.
7. Section 'IV' measures the first part of hypothesis # 3. Further insight will be obtained if earlier demographic information (cf. Section I and II) and migration details (Section III) are projected here:
8. We think that the demographic information, migration details and social-economic activities of respective residential locations will help us better understand and analyse the *complex urban residential patterns* of Mbeya and its urbanization process. It is noteworthy that, the concentration in squatter areas is of specific interest to our informal sector bias. Squatter areas should be interpreted as locations providing a strong point of *articulation* stated in hypothesis # 2. Also, a variety of subsistence means to be found in these locations should be interpreted as providing stability which, because of certain urban imperatives, the centre cannot afford; and.
9. Another pattern which we shall construct and later make a *sociological* interpretation for it will comprise information abstracted from question # 19 and 20, namely, 'what do you do for a living'? 'where in Mbeya town'?. Again, because of certain urban imperatives, the municipal authority in Mbeya is anticipated to arrest certain activities to respective urban locations (as the specific pattern is expected to portray), e.g. large concentration of certain "informal" activities in socially low grade locations and few in areas with better infrastructure, for example Mbeya's own Central area. More importantly, the patterns comprise part of our interpretation of "*urbanization of Mbeya and the inherent dynamics of market forces*".

Appendix 2: Survey Notes

The Central Zone

¹In our judgement, the central market itself appears to be frequented by *outsiders* (i.e. people from out of town and foreigners). In this central market where few small-time hawkers and vendors may be seen co-existing with established shopkeepers and hoteliers, is a host of commercial activities ranging from the sale of sophisticated electrical wares to domestic roosters and hens. The merchandise under the consideration includes imported items, hence, probably the frequent visits of *outsiders*. On the other hand, popular locations of shoeshining operation include places inside and outside the central market itself.

²Kanisa and Maendeleo share the following characteristics, a similar:-

- i. geographical terrain;
- ii. social history; and,
- iii. architectural design.

They are separated, however, by an unmarked road dissecting them at their centre. Of these two, Kanisa is to the north of the boundary while Maendeleo is to the south. Together, they occupy a broad slope wider to the north where it is bounded by a government high school for girls (i.e. Loleza Girls Secondary School) at the foot of Loleza Hill, and the Mbeya Regional Hospital to the south of mount Mbeya. Currently, the latter is undergoing modifications for the purpose of functioning subsequently as a Zonal Referral Hospital for the three neighbour regions namely, Mbeya, Rukwa and Iringa. The terrain occupied

by Maendeleo narrows to the south where it terminates into a scrubland formerly used as waste material disposal site, occasionally set ablaze to control odor and to minimize the risk of possible diseases which may otherwise breed favourably at the site. Today, however, one Primary School (standards I to VII) occupies the rear end of this site. On both its eastern and western boundaries Kanisa and Maendeleo are bounded by gullies, respectively, the eastern one is a stone's throw away west of the Railway Station, hence seriously polluted by the sludges and oil wastes from latter, and the western one is to the east of Majengo. Given this geographical terrain storm waters from Mbeya's heavy torrential rains are a constant threat to the lives of children. Some older residents recalled an incident of a child being washed away by the unprotected storm drainage system, a fact which reflects dubiously upon the very concept of *planning* in such an area.

³Based on our interviews with various informants, notably: party chairs of Azimio, Mabatini, Majengo, Mbalizi Road and Sisimba, and, discussions with a group of "Wazee" at Simike area, the Jail House ('Lockup') was among the first official structures in the vicinity. The latter which was originally located at Tukuyu was moved to Mbeya following changes in the colonial power structure and consequent shift of local spheres of influence to Mbeya. Its early construction and use support the notion of the powerful presence of the colonial rulers and their quest for labour, since the 'in-mates' were actually seen by their relatives working in various public works like road maintenance, road construction and so forth. The Moravian Church north west of the Jail House is the other ancient structure more identifiable with the first colonial power. Both the Moravian Mission and the 'Lockup' have influenced the residential area in question. Unlike the various churches however, the 'Lockup' which, in the Mbeya's vernacular is known as *'nkafungu'* which means

'narrow confinement', to date remains unpopular. Since around independence time (1961) the Jail Community has moved to Ruanda ward and in its place stands the Assemblies of God Church. Note that at approximately the middle of Kanisa and Maendeleo residential areas is a large open ground, at the centre of which stands a complex originally known (and functioned) as the 'Social Welfare Centre'. According to the former Mbeya Court Interpreter (cf. Chapter Four), the Welfare Centre was predominantly used as a dancing hall where European beer was also sold and consumed. Speaking of popularity, such centres with similar functions were found in most other urban centres. This former Court Interpreter reminisced about the dancing and golfing competitions at the Welfare Centre and the golf course respectively. Competitors of the former included local civil servants and visitors, such as golfers from Nairobi and mining companies from countries to the south, notably South Africa and the two Rhodesias ("Northern Rhodesia", now Zambia and "Southern Rhodesia", now Zimbabwe), some of whom had also come to transport the recruited labour temporarily encamped at Mabatini. Today, the former 'Welfare Centres' are known as *Community Centres*.

⁴Mbeya's hinterland is a land of fauna and flora, and game scouts are of paramount importance for the preservation of wildlife. Old people tell the story of the son of *de Souza* a prosperous Goan (presumably) of Portuguese ancestry at the CBD who was mortally wounded by enraged buffalo bulls having invaded the big game territory without the jungle expertise of the Game Scouts who in downtown Mbeya he might have easily ignored as insignificant blue collar workers.

⁵Based on the material gathered from a number of respondents, notably, from interviews with the party chairs of Azimio, Maendeleo, and a group of "Wazee" at Simike, the

market at Kanisa which at the present time cater for the interests of the local residents not served by the central market at the CBD, began as a *rendezvous* under a gigantic baobab tree (i.e. the *Adansonia digitata*) where local brew was consumed. Old people recall of a solitary man belonging to the 'Safwa' tribe, the main tribe of Mbeya Rural District, who frequented the place not only for a drink but also with a drink and for the purpose of selling his countryside foodstuffs at nearly give-away price. Given his generally low prices vis-a-vis those of the central market, customers took him for an 'idiot'. As a result the market was dubbed after this pioneer character namely, "Soko (la) Mjinga" (i.e. the idiot person's market), a name popularly used until 1963 when it was re-named "Soko Matola" after (one *Binti Matola*) a late Member of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ruling party indigenous to Mbeya.

Mabatini Zone

⁶Two decades later, under the auspices of the government of Tanzania, the latter was transformed into a General Hospital to alleviate congestion at the government (now 'zonal referral') hospital. Thereafter, the Americans have gone back to missionary work and to the running of Baptist mission clinics elsewhere. As an indication of the extent that the Baptist mission has spread, it should be noted that the Mabatini Ward which has 10,756 inhabitants has ten churches of different denominations and the American Baptist is towering the list.

⁷According to our informants, notably: the chairpersons of Mabatini, Mbalizi Road and the group of Wazee from Simike, settlement at Mabatini commenced in 1937 following the establishment of a 'Transitory Labour Camp'. The camp was constructed of corrugated

iron sheets wall to roof, hence the name *Mabatini*. Immediately thereafter the current chairperson of Mbalizi Road was employed as the camp 'dresser' earning 30 (East African) Shillings per month. This camp was intended to cater for immigrants bound to join various labour starved sectors of the colonial economy in Tanganyika (and mining countries south of its borders) for which they have been recruited. As an incentive to the respective 'on transit boarders' who spent a maximum of three days at the Mabatini labour camp: (a) free boarding; (b) free meals; and, (c) free blankets to go, were offered. The title 'Dresser' was used in colonial Tanzania to describe male hospital assistants/attendants who were trained on the job. From this we can assume that the camp also offered rudimentary medicare services to those in transit. As the dresser named here indicated to us, other qualifications personal to himself include the fact that he had read the *Catechism* and was socialized in the art of hygiene (i.e. "Elimu ya Afya") at Iembula Lutheran Mission in his home district of Njombe, Iringa region. Iembula is famous for its modern Lutheran Hospital and its newly affiliated Nursing School. During his youth, however, on the job training for 'dressers' was the order of the day. Like the 'on transit' boarders at the Mabatini camp where he was employed, the dresser is a long distant migrant. Long distant migrants comprise a significant part of urban population in several urban areas in the country. It can be suggested that here at Mbeya, the first indigenous urban population appears to be the uniformed men namely:-

1. khaki dressed and baton wielding law enforcers (police) protecting the CBD and surveillance over other urban locations;
2. jail officers and 'in-mates' located at Kanisa area;
3. game scouts located at the southern parts of Maendeleo; and,

4. civil servants and other colonial regime station-handmen in various parts of the township.

⁸It is interesting to note, however, that urban development in Mwanjelwa surpasses that of Mabatini. It has been stated that Mbeya was officially commissioned in 1935. Barely two years latter, Mabatini became closely involved in the urban growth activities of Mbeya. On the other hand, according to a group of *Wazee* at Simike, settlement at Mbalizi Road commenced in 1936 with the establishment of the Native Authority (N.A.) School for the sons of tribal chiefs namely, the N.A. Mbalizi Road School. The latter's location was clear and isolated from local residential dwellings and or farming plots. Today, a co-education secondary school which has replaced the former N.A. school is almost engulfed by the rapidly expanding residential development.

Majengo Zone

⁹According to the party secretary at Maendeleo, when settlement at both Kanisa and Maendeleo was well underway, what is now Majengo was mainly:-

- a. cultivated land, especially little plots of finger millet which is the common cereal used for the preparation of local brews;
- b. an area where cattle barns belonging to Somali cattle dealers and other indigenous people were located; and,
- c. a common grazing land.

Furthermore, the party secretary of Maendeleo specifically mentioned one Mwambenja as the indigenous person with a barn as large and cattle as many as the traditionally nomadic

Somali people. “Mwa” is a common prefix to many surnames among Mbeya tribes (cf. Wilson, 1959) connoting the title *son of*. We can, therefore, suggest that among Mbeya tribes, male dominance is deeply embedded in the cultures of these tribes and that rural ties and in particular rural (and urban) women (see plates 6A and 6C) are an essential part of the process of reproducing young males in the town.

¹⁰It was a requirement by the towns’s order that on Saturdays and Sundays all local brew from all parts of Mbeya, (literally - Kanisa, Maendeleo, Mabatini and Mbalizi Road) be delivered to the “Lejiko”. This action attracted people to the *Lejiko en masse*. At the Majengo’s “Lejiko”,

weekends became a special treat not only to the proletarians-in-the-making but also to the various income-pooling family members who brought merchandise for sale to the crowds at the *Lejiko*. Admittedly, the general population appear to be used to such crowds which elsewhere have been called “Lembuka”. The latter are more popular Nyakyusa tribesmen culture of informal market scenario (cf. ‘Plate 6C’ a “Lembuka” rendezvous near the lake at Kyela) whereby plenty of goods and foodstuff for sale are displayed and whereby buyers equally flock in large numbers. Satellite settlements outside Mbeya and Tukuyu towns are specifically famous for the latter phenomenon.

¹¹For instance, “The Mbeya District Original Tribes Association” which was registered on September, 23rd, 1959 was a district wide body designed to resist control by the Nyakyusa immigrants. (cf. Tanzania National Archives ‘TNA’ 327/A/6/34/1/121 Sept. 1959; see also Iliffe, 1979). Three decades later, however, the dominance of the Nyakyusa immigrants is remarkably the same if not more than what it was when this association was formed. We can, therefore, simply suggest that, the impact of this association remains to

be seen.

¹²The main customers in these backyard industries appear to be the regulars at the *Lejiko* who *detour* for an appetizer. At the *Lejiko*, however, there is both room and opportunity for any of the backyard industries scattered in the residential areas. Nevertheless, the ones in backyards are said to be the most prosperous. It occurred to us by way of discussion with well informed respondents, among others, the DED of Mbeya that these 'informal' trade relationships are highly rated income pooling activities sustaining large families with diverse urban social needs.

¹³From its position, the abattoir is only a catapult throw away. Not far away from here is the incumbent Moravian Church. Time and again, a tainted stream of water may be noticed to escape from the abattoir with mixtures typical of the latter flowing past residential housing nearby. Unlike the abattoir, both churches occupy a higher ground and may therefore not be bothered by the effects of the adjacent abattoir. Like the abattoir, however, they almost share compounds with residential structures around and the culture of this densely populated locale. Even in such overcrowded residential locations, however, residents tend to find opportunities and means of livelihood. Given the prosperity of backyard activities on-going in the area, in the morning, the abattoir was noted to be surrounded by anxious crowds of people waiting to pick the best for their business: heads, tongues, humps, livers, hearts, and limbs. Of these five types, the heads and the limbs were said to be the best and popular or in the Mbeya terminology, *Makongoro per se*. It goes without saying that these buyers come from various parts of Mbeya, including Simike which while it has been noted to raise cows, goats, and sheep, it does not have a single butcher (cf. Table 5.8) of record. Peak crowds are noticeable on Saturdays for the abattoir

and on sundays for the two closeby churches.

Majengo Zone

¹⁴Its occupancy follows the eviction of the owner of a 'Motor Vehicle Garage' from Mabatini called *Bladi* Bwana Mwanjelwa (literally, 'son of a gun'). Ousted at the same time with the latter was one Mr. Mwanguku, the owner of a herd of cattle and a cattle barn in the surroundings. The conflict, however, was centred around B.B. Mwanjelwa's several apprentices who in the main, the people of Mabatini believed to be subsisting through pilferage. Subsequent to that there was a growing suspicion of the role of the proprietor himself, that is B.B. Mwanjelwa who inspite of continuous complaints from the local residents did little to improve the image of his apprentices and subsequently his own credibility. It was a growing belief among the residents of Mabatini that this proprietor could be an "accessory before the fact" or *vice-versa*, that is to say, "accessory after the fact", hence the name, *Bladi*, a nick name, which is easy 'Swahili' for describing suspicious characters of this type. In the consequent eviction process which was ultimately sanctioned and carried out by the Mbeya Town Council (MTC), the council's trucks were used to haul the latter's garage and accessories to a destination not yet inhabited outside the contemporary boundaries of the town. Likewise, to enhance in Mabatini an urban-like environment, Mwanguku was ordered to vacate the premises with his herd of cattle. The newly established settlement adopted the name of the evicted garage owner, that is *Mwanjelwa*. Further, the latter quickly developed into aone of the most dynamic locales in the whole of Mbeya. Several factors which have contributed to the cosmopolitan character of Mwanjelwa today have also been influential elsewhere in Mbeya.

¹⁵Permanent residence for some of these offices here began when the soccer field was occasionally being deployed as the *SABASABA TRADE FAIR GROUND*. Sabasaba trade fair is a yearly undertaking climaxing on July 7th , a day used to commemorate the formation of the *Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)*, the political party which has been superseded by the ruling party, namely CCM.

¹⁶It is noteworthy that today, seventeen years later, Tanzania continues to assure landlocked states of a safe haven of outlet to the sea, with the result that cargo handling infrastructure in Mbeya and Dar es Salaam (cf. *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 17, No. 25, 1986) and perhaps the ports of Tanga, Mtwara and Lindi continue to play an important role in the urbanization of these centres. Reiterating the *avowed* position of the host state on this matter, the government's own daily paper, (cf. *Daily News* No. 4388, Thursday 26, March, 1987), quotes the Isles (i.e. Zanzibar) minister of state in the President's Office in a speech opening a three-day training programme on ocean management attended by 13 representative of 13 countries of the Indian ocean Region in Zanzibar saying that:-

Tanzania has pledged to continue giving landlocked neighboring countries access to the sea, *emphasizing* that Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia and Malawi would always have the right of access to and from the sea through Tanzania under existing bilateral and region agreement

Barely two months later, the *Daily Nation* of Kenya, (No. 8218, Tuesday, May 12, 1987), reported on its front page under a bold title **Uganda Switches Coffee Outlet to Dar**. Apparently surprised by the new precedence, the *Daily Nation* observed that:-

The Uganda Government has switched its coffee export outlet from Mombasa to Dar es Salaam in what is viewed as a major change of policy. The coffee, which traditionally has been transported by road to the Kenyan port, will now be ferried through the lake port of Mwanza and moved to Dar es Salaam by Tanzania Railways. To speed up the coffee movement Uganda will base its own locomotives at Mwanza, Tabora and Morogoro stations to operate on Tanzania's central railway line.

Given this arrangement, more wage-labour and casual labour will be created in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam and in the way stations named here.

¹⁷Since the heavy trucks carrying goods to and from Zambia had to bypass Mbeya's centre town, it was imperative for Mwanjelwa to provide quickly for the transit population those urban facilities in high demand. Among other things, Restaurants, Bars with coin operated 'Juke Boxes', and Guest Houses almost appeared overnight. It is hardly surprising then, that, the most dynamic market in Mbeya has developed at the Ruanda section of Mwanjelwa which is close by the Tanzam Highway, the "Mafiati" and with a direct access to Tazara (see Plate 2A, 6A, and 2B, 6B Mwanjelwa Market - food section and second hand *Mitumba* garments respectively).

¹⁸The less mobile hawkers and vendors are located close to home sell, among other things, fresh or sour milk in one litre plastic bag containers, bread and a variety of tea cakes. Little children selling kerosene were observed to be active after dusk moving about in the dark announcing in Swahili "mafuta ya taa", that is to say, 'kerosene for your lamp'. In these informal relations of subsistence this form of child labour goes on unnoticed or is socially acceptable. Carefully considered, there is both, a business and a social logic to the timing and using the children for peddling kerosene after dusk. It can be argued that, no matter how overcrowded these locations have become, residents apparently seem to recognize even the parents of the child they are buying kerosene from such that, they will procure the commodity hurriedly and attempt to rush the children home since it was already too dark for little children to be away from home. In many cases, however, the adults are obligated to retrace their children who most often, for any number of reasons do not return home on their own.

TANZANIA PAST (PROVINCES) AND PRESENT REGIONS (MAINLAND ONLY)

PROVINCES	NORTHERN	TANGA	EASTERN	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS	WESTERN	LAKE
R E G I O N S	Arusha	Tanga	Dar es Salaam Coast Morogoro	Dodoma Singida	Lindi Mtwara Ruvuma	Iringa Mbeya Rukwa*	Kigoma Tabora Rukwa*	Mara Mwanza Shinyanga West Lake
	Kilimanjaro							

END

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