Living in a peri-urban area as part of a livelihood strategy
- The case of Mbezi Luisi, Dar es Salaam

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ABSTRACT
The aim of this study is to analyze the choice of living in a peri-urban area as part of a livelihood strategy. The method used for collection of primary data for the study was in-depth interviews and questionnaires, undertaken with residents of Mbezi Luisi, a peri-urban area in Dar es Salaam. In order to analyze this material, a theoretical framework consisting of both livelihood frameworks and migration theories was used. In addition, previous research made on migration patterns and livelihoods of the people living in peri-urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa was reviewed. The result of the study shows that people make active decisions in order to obtain a better life. From a livelihood perspective it was found that the peri-urban areas present unique livelihoods opportunities in comparison to urban and rural areas. I also found that a livelihood perspective may help urban and regional planners in their work.

Key words: Peri-urban, Livelihood, Livelihood framework, Mbezi Luisi, Dar es Salaam
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1. Introduction

The population growth of the developing part of the world is today taking place at a rapid pace. The population is growing and this is mainly due to a decrease in death rates. Between the years 1973 and 2000 the most rapid growth rates were found in Africa where the population growth in several cases, for example Tanzania, reached an annual growth of 3 per cent. This can be compared to the annual growth rates in the developed part of the world which is 0.3 percent. Even faster than the general population growth is the growth of the urban population in Africa. Partly because of the above mentioned population growth, but also because of the fast in migration to the cities. The urbanization rate for Africa between 1985 and 2000 is 5 percent per year. This is the highest urbanization rate in the world when compared to other developing parts of the world.\(^1\)

The ongoing urbanization in Africa, as well as the population growth, can thus be said to take place at a rapid pace. This is however not the only thing that is remarkable about the African cities. Not only is the urbanization rate high, but the number of people living in the cities is already high. In the year of 2000, approximately 37.9 percent of the African population was living in cities.\(^2\) A figure that is however much smaller in Tanzania, where only 25.6 percent of the population are considered to be urban.\(^3\) When compared to the urbanization that took place in Europe during the 19th century, there are some differences that can be seen. The main difference is that the urbanization that took place in the western world was a result of the industrialization. The combination of increased efficiency in the agriculture and the increased need of labor for the factories, made it natural for people to move from the rural settings to the cities. In most of Sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand, there has been no real industrialization. The need for industrial labour is not near as big in Africa as it was in the western world during the industrialization.\(^4\) Despite this fact, people seem to move to the cities to a large extent and it is estimated by the United Nations that 48.6 percent of the population in the developing world will live in cities by 2015 and 54 percent will live in cities by 2025.\(^5\). This in turn leads to a situation where the urban population is growing at a fast rate, while the urban job market, service sector and infrastructure do not keep up.\(^6\)

The official view on urbanization in Tanzania can, based on reports published during recent years, be interpreted as positive and urbanization is seen as an inevitable part of the Tanzanian development. This despite the fact that the official view has traditionally been quite negative, which the selection of Dodoma as a capital can be seen as a sign of. Urbanization is seen as an essential part of the modern society and the cities of Tanzania are expected to expand during the first decades of the 21st century. However, the focus of the Tanzanian government seems to be on the physical expansion of the city, which is seen as somehow problematic. In the national land policy, it is explained that the peri-urban areas character is shifting as a result of the rapid urbanization. This in turn leads to an imposition on the earlier land use in peri-urban areas. These areas can shortly be described as a dynamic zone that functions as the continuous transition from urban to rural. Peri-urban areas are characterized by rural elements as well as urban, the latter particularly as the areas have a strong integration with the city. The peri-urban areas are also characterized by the diverse and ever-

\(^1\) Szirmai, A. (2005) page148ff
\(^2\) Elliot, J.A. (1999) page 141
\(^3\) Szirmai, A. (2005) page148ff
\(^4\) National Bureau of Statistics (2009)
\(^5\) Hodder R. (2000) page 89ff
\(^6\) United Nations (2001)
\(^7\) Hodder R. (2000) page 89ff
changing land use. The imposition mentioned above has lead to an agreement on the necessity of a planned urban expansion.\(^8\)

This rapid urbanization and the imposition of the peri-urban land are among the key issues of the urban expansion in Tanzania today.\(^9\) As the city reaches its inner limits the expansion has to take place in the outskirts of the city. Urban development trends, such as urban sprawl, starts to prevail as people look into the outskirts for affordable housing opportunities. This means that the profile of the peri-urban areas will change dramatically as well as the living conditions. The peri-urban areas have special features that distinguish them from inner city areas as well as from rural areas. Many people see these newly developed areas as a good place for pursuing personal goals, which in many cases primarily is finding a better life.

In recent research on settling trends researchers have settled with settlement explanations like the one described above, finding a better life.\(^10\) They do not however, really investigate in what way people are looking for a better life. What are the expectations regarding the area they move to and in what way do they expect that the move can help them to proceed to better lives? To analyze these questions from a livelihood strategy perspective will help clarifying what the peri-urban areas can offer to their inhabitants. It can also clarify to which extent their expectations are founded in reality. This study will focus on these questions in a peri-urban area in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The peri-urban area that will be studied is Mbezi Luisi which is situated about 15 km west of Dar es Salaam city centre.

1.1 Aim

Larger urban areas are diverse and different parts of the urban area hold different opportunities for livelihoods and livelihood strategies. As peri-urban areas are becoming a more regular part of the urban environment, it is interesting to look at the opportunities and challenges that are present in the life in a peri-urban area. Different prerequisites such as demographic profiles, urban and regional planning and physical and social structures affects these opportunities. This study intends to investigate these factors in a peri-urban area in Dar es Salaam, Mbezi Luisi. The aim of the study is to analyze the choice of living in a peri-urban area as part of a livelihood strategy. The study will also analyze how this approach on peri-urban livelihoods can be used as a tool by urban planners for improving the livelihood opportunities for the peri-urban population. In order to execute this, the following research questions have been used.

- What does the demographic profile of Mbezi Luisi look like?
- Why do people live in Mbezi Luisi?
- How can the choice of settlement in Mbezi Luisi be analyzed through a livelihood approach?
- In what way can a livelihood approach be used as a tool for urban planners when trying to improve the lives of the peri-urban populations?

\(^8\) National Land Policy (1997) page 25
\(^10\) See for example Lupala (2002)
1.2 Method

In this study, empirical material has been collected and analyzed through a theoretical framework. Since the type empirical material differs, the study can be said to be both qualitative and quantitative. However, because of the research questions the emphasis is on the qualitative part of the study. In order to get the information needed to answer the research questions, in-depth interviews was undertaken with residents in Mbezi Luisi. The framework which has been used for analyzing the collected information consists of a livelihood framework, which focuses on access to different capitals, and a theoretical framework consisting of previous research within the research area.

In order to gain all the information and knowledge that is needed for this study, a number of methods have been used. First of all, since the study was undertaken in an area that was totally unfamiliar in beforehand, some brief observations were made at the first stage of the field study. The purpose of the observations was to get relatively acquainted to the area. This was important partly to get an image of how the area is built up but also to ease the selection of respondents. The latter was especially important since the area is not formally planned and there is no plot map.  

To collect information about the area Mbezi Luisi and the development that has been undergoing in the area, interviews were used. Interviews were made with officials at both Kinondoni municipal and Mbezi Luisi sub ward office. To complement the information received from these officials interviews were undertaken with two elderly women who have lived in the area for their entire life, which in both cases meant about 70 years. The women were found through respondents. The purpose of the interview with these women was to get information about the development during earlier decades from a primary source. This could not be given in the same way by the officials since they both were younger, and since only one of the officials had been living in the area for a longer time. The problems with both the elders and most of all the municipal and sub ward officials, is that they have an interest to make the area and their office look good. Therefore it is important to analyze the given information critically. It may have been better with printed material, but the problem is that there is no written material about the development of Mbezi Luisi. The information given about the general planning system in Tanzania should also be critically reviewed. If the information would have been given from someone at a central government office, the information may have been differently biased.

The first approach towards the respondents was made through questionnaires. 100 questionnaires were done orally to receive information about the basic demographic composition of the area. The rather large selection was made partly to get in contact with a lot of people in the area. In this way, people in the area would get somehow used to my presence in the area. It was also useful to complete questionnaires including basic questions before completing the deeper life course interviews. These since the respondents knew the purpose of the interview and were also more comfortable with me since they had met me before. Oral questionnaires also ensured that we would have the needed information instantly and in the cases people did not want to participate, this would become clear at once. Hence this was considered to be the best method in order to gain statistical information about the area.

When choosing the different houses for the questionnaire, it was not possible to make an entirely random selection of which houses to go to since, as mentioned earlier, there are no official plot map or other complete register of residents for the area. Instead I chose to take a map of the sub ward and draw up three subareas. In each of these subareas I then completed 33, 33 and 34

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questionnaires. In this way no certain part of the area was over or under represented in the study. To the extent it was possible, I also tried not to over or under represent households close to or far away from roads. This means that the spread of types of household, concerning location, was prioritized over total randomization, which however probably would have been complicated to attain anyhow. In each house, the respondent was the first adult whom was encountered in every household. Adult in this case meant at least 18 years old. The result from the questionnaires should be reviewed someway critically since the selection procedure may have lead to a biased result. This because of what has been stated above regarding the selection procedure, but also since all interviews were undertaken during daytime and because of the selection of respondent within the household meant that the first person to answer the door became the respondent.

To perform a livelihood study means that the respondent’s family’s lives and their survival strategies are researched. This is done through investigating the capital which the family has access to. These capitals are physical, financial, human, social and natural and are discussed in detail later in the study. This investigation is done by letting the respondents themselves talk about and discuss their access to different kind of capitals. Because of the nature of the needed information, after completing the questionnaires, 30 in-depth life course interviews were made. The selection was based on the information received from the questionnaires. The aim of the selection of households for the respondent interviews was to get a fairly even distribution between people who were originally from rural areas and people from urban areas. This lead to a selection of 14 persons who are originally from urban areas 14 who were originally from rural areas and 2 persons who had lived in Mbezi Luisi for all their life. Other from this, the selection was made randomly. The reliability of the study may be criticised since the selection of the respondents was not made entirely randomly. This was, as mentioned earlier, compensated to some extent by the subdivision of the area and the choice of houses with varying distance from major and minor roads.

During the interviews, the requirements of good research ethics from the Swedish Research Council were carefully followed. These requirements are the ones of information, confidentiality, agreement and usage. Before each interview, a few minutes were spent on informing the respondents about the study. Emphasis was also put on the fact that it was optional to be part of the study and that their names would be handled with confidentiality.

To perform a livelihood study means that the life of individuals and households has to be surveyed. Since the needed information is of qualitative rather than quantitative character, the main method is, as mentioned above, in-depth interviews. More specific, the information gathering have mainly been done through life course interviews with the residents of the chosen peri-urban area, Mbezi Luisi. The life course perspective is focused at the connection between age, place and mobility. The perspective studies migration from a dynamic perspective where social structures are taken into account when analyzing people’s moving patterns. The life course perspective uses a combinational model with many variables when conducting a study. The life course perspective also views the different choices of a person’s life as interrelated, they are all looked upon as influencing each other. The problem for me as a foreigner in this situation can be that people correct their answers in order to make a certain impression, this problem may however be even larger in for example a group interview with different respondents interviewed at the same time. This since respondents may not be willing to openly discuss their livelihoods in front of peers in the community. The in-depth interview is also superior to for example questionnaires when it comes to the amount of information and possibility to come up with new questions during an interview, and should therefore remain as the primary choice of method.

12 Swedish Research Council (2009-05-21)
13 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 105ff
The main reason why the life course perspective is applicable to a livelihood study is that it makes it possible to analyze the underlying reasons to people’s choices of settlement and livelihood. When this kind of deep interview is undertaken, it is possible to acquire deeper information about the person and the society that may affect these choices. The life course perspective makes it possible to investigate settlement and livelihood patterns between different demographic groups as well as different cohorts. This can entail information about which age groups are most mobile and which preferences different groups have. This may in turn also give indications about how different groups looks upon different opportunities that are given. Furthermore it is possible to review different age cohorts and how they have chosen to live during different decades. This is interesting since different social structures can be analyzed and used to analyze changes in settlement and livelihood.14

1.3 Field determination

This study has been carried out as a case study where one area has been focused on. A close up survey of a certain case, in a theory testing context is according to Esaiasson et al defined as a case study.15 The reason why one area was chosen for this case study, rather than choosing several areas for a comparative study, can be said to be twofold. It has partly been done because of the time limitations. The main reason however is that the aim is to make life course interviews, in order to make a deeper study of the area. The aim makes it more relevant to get deeper information about one area rather than having comparable information about several areas that would not generate equal depth. The information that has been used as a base for the choice of this study has been both discussions with Aldo Lupala, who is a professor at the Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam, and Lupalas dissertation.

The choice of the area for the case study was primarily based on the definitions of a peri-urban area that was found in my bachelor thesis, *Peri-urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa- a Dynamic and Changing Zone*. When these definitions where reviewed, there were some key variables which were taken into careful consideration. From these variables it was stated that the case study area should be situated in the proximity of Dar es Salaam. It should also be integrated with the city more than the rural areas, but less than a suburb. This can, according to Mbiba, be further distinguished by a few explicit variables: The spatial variable, the time variable, the function of the area, social exclusion and conflicts. The area should finally have documented changes in how the area has been connected to the city.16

In addition to these variables, there were some other variables that affected the choice of case study area. First of all, it is important that the area is information rich. This study is about peri-urban livelihood and it is therefore important that there are a lot of households that can be interviewed. Second, because of the fact that the majority of the peri-urban areas are not inhabited by the upper class, areas with a rather high socio-economic standard were filtered out for this study.17 Areas where similar case studies had already been done where also to be filtered out. For practical reasons, the area also had to be relatively easy to access, in order to perform interviews. Finally it is a good idea to avoid extreme or deviant cases, since generalisations about peri-urban areas will be more difficult to make. Even though this is not the main aim of the paper, it is always helpful in order to develop a deeper discussion.

14 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 105ff
15 Esaiasson et al (2007) page 121f
16 Mbiba (2007) page 1-6
17 Lupala A. (2002) page 175ff
It can be quite difficult to have knowledge about these variables beforehand. In addition to this, some of the variables are related to the research questions of this study. There is however a big difference in having a deeper knowledge about an area, such as the knowledge that will hopefully be obtained from this study, and brief knowledge that can tell something about the areas profile. The latter is the information that is valuable for the choice of case study, and even though there may not be perfect information about the area, there may be enough information available to decide if the area is appropriate for the case study. From these preferences and the information that was made available for the choice, several areas were taken into consideration. The area that best fitted the description above was Mbezi Luisi, which is why that area was chosen for this study. As an example of why Mbezi Luisi was seen as most suitable, it can be described how it responded to a few of the variables brought up by Mbiba. Mbezi Luisi is situated outside of the city centre area, but is still part of the Dar es Salaam region. Furthermore it has undergone substantial changes regarding integration with the city. Finally, there were indications that the area had both rural and urban traits.

1.4 Method and Source criticism

One of the major challenges with this study is that it has been performed in a different environment and context than the one I am used to working in. There are cultural differences which have to be considered during the research. The fact that I am a white person and the fact that I during all interviews had an assistant, may have influenced the respondents answers. The presence of white people in these areas is quite unusual and it is important to discuss what this can imply. My presence can lead to situations where people are afraid of the implications of their participation in the study. Situations where respondents modify their answers in order to present a certain image of the area can also arise. To avoid problems to the largest possible extent, I followed the guidelines given by Vallentine about interviewing in different cultural contexts. Most of all I emphasized that the respondents was free to choose whether they wanted to ask my questions or not and that they could end the interview at any time. I also tried to adapt to the social norms and dress codes in order to give a good impression. I was very clear about my role as a student and what role my research has. I also was very strict to explain that my research was a university study and that I would hold no funds to make improvements in the area. This did in a few cases make respondents hesitant to participate since they did not see the point of their participation. However, most respondents where very understanding to these facts.

There are also language difficulties which are important to notice. The respondents did not, except from a few cases, speak English. Because of this I had to work with an interpreter. According to Vallentine this can lead to some problems as interpreters can leave out on information or that some information will be lost in translation. In my case, the interpreter initially had a hard time translating all of the information. This problem was somehow overcome since we took a lot of time to really go through what the respondent had said. This was however still problematic since it sometimes could create interruptions in the interviews. Another problem is that when translating, there is a rather large risk of information being lost in translation. Since the interpreters level of English was fairly good, this should hopefully not have been a big problem.

The interviews had a clear start at the life course interviews, or biographical interviews. The questions that were asked in addition to the life stories were carefully worked out during the time when the theoretical part of the study was undertaken. This means that there were plenty of time to add, remove and rephrase questions during the interviews as new knowledge was gained. In the end,

18 Vallentine G. (2005)124ff
19 Ibid
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this lead to an interview situation where it was clear which information was wanted. Because of this it is should be possible to say that the validity of the study is high. The life course interview is although not an unproblematic method for this type of study. One problem is that answers about past events may be modified based on values that are held today. Therefore information about, for example, reason for moving may be based on beliefs held today rather than the actual reasons at the time. According to Boyle et al however, this is one of the main strengths with the life course approach. Since other events in the respondents life is brought up, a deeper understanding of the underlying reasons may be gained. At the same time the approach may help the respondent to remember since the question is asked in a context and not just one of many unrelated questions.

The interviews were performed individually with respondents, even though a livelihood study as this one aims to look at the family as a unit. The reason why the study aims at the household rather than the individuals is mainly because a family functions as a unit and not individually. In addition to this there is a problem with selection if individuals were to be researched rather than the households. This since those who are at home during the day to a large extent are housewives. The selection could be very biased and the validity of the study could be quite low as only part of the community would be investigated. What has been done therefore is that individuals have been interviewed, but the questions have related to the entire household.

This approach is far from unproblematic. To interview one individual about the entire household can be difficult since there is information that may be left out. A housewife may for example be unaware of what exactly her husband is doing and how much money he earns. Regarding the underlying reasons for moving to Mbezi Luisi, there may also be a level of unawareness among some people in the household. One person may not know the real reason for settling in Mbezi Luisi for another, and finally different people within a household may have different opinions on why they have chosen to live in Mbezi Luisi. Because of this, the information about moving patterns and reasons for movements has been focused on individuals rather than households. Information about the livelihood activities are however focused on the household since it is vital that the entire household is included.

On top of these problems regarding respondents, it is relevant to discuss which people have been willing to take part in this study. As mentioned earlier, I was very careful to ensure that all respondents understood that taking part in the study was optional. This lead to a couple of cases where persons that were first selected as respondents, in the end did not take part of the study. This can lead to a situation where some kind of information will be missed in the study. For example, people with extreme livelihood situations, in example very rich or poor people, may be unwilling to participate since they are not comfortable to share their life situation. Another problem with the respondents is that the cultural differences and the fact that I am a white man with an assistant, may have an effect on their answers. Respondents may modify their answers to questions if they for example think that they may possibly gain something or, as mentioned earlier, if they want to give an impression of their life for other reasons. There is also the gender issue, some women may feel uncomfortable with speaking to me as I am a male. As mentioned earlier, the best way to get around these problems is to be very clear about my role as a student and what role my research has.

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20 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 105ff
1.5 Disposition

This study is divided into five chapters, where this is the end of the first. The second chapter is the framework which has been used for the study. In the same chapter, migration theories and previous studies within the research area will be dealt with. In the next chapter, chapter three, the results from the case study will be presented. The chapter is started off with some brief information about Dar es Salaam and the development of the city. Thereafter the development of Mbezi Luisi is accounted for, followed by the findings from the in-depth interviews. In chapter four, the results are analyzed with the help of the livelihood framework and previous studies. The chapter is finished off with an attempt to compare the access to different assets or capital in peri-urban areas and rural and urban areas. The study is finished off in chapter five, where a brief discussion on future studies is held.
2. Theoretical framework

The information that has been gathered for this study will, as mentioned earlier, be analyzed through a livelihood framework. A framework which takes resources, access to resources and livelihood strategies into account is vital in order to make an analysis of the material. In addition to the livelihood framework, there is a section on previous research on peri-urban livelihoods.

In order to understand the migration patterns that are explored in this study, some theoretical material on migration will also be dealt with. In addition to general theories, peri-urban migration patterns in specific are discussed.

2.1 Livelihood approach

A Livelihood approach can in short be referred to as an approach that studies the survival activities of a household or person. The livelihood approach is a concept that has previously been applied to different settings. The model was primarily applied to rural settings drawing on research on how farmers react to changes regarding economics, politics and social factors. Research on Urban poverty in the 1990’s was made with the aim to develop a better conceptualization of urban poverty, since the traditional was seen as inadequate, and livelihood analysis from rural contexts were taken into account. This since it was found that several of the concepts were valid for the urban context. 21 There were of course also some parts of the rural concept that were not applicable, but even though there are differences, the key concepts are similar for all contexts. For example, the fact that most poor household need a strong and sustainable strategy to have access to assets is true for most contexts. The essence is to acknowledge the differences and see what is important in which setting. 22

According to Rakodi, who has done a lot of work on urban livelihoods, the livelihood approach is drawn on a conceptual framework that can be used to analyze and understanding the complexities of people's livelihood. The framework is useful to understand how people's livelihoods and choices to act in certain ways affect their lives. It is a valuable tool for analyzing the different ways people choose to support themselves, and the different trade-offs between the alternative income activities. 23 There may be slight differences in the definitions of what a livelihood may be, but according to Rakodi a commonly accepted definition is the one of Carney. 24 He argues that a livelihood is something that includes “the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for means of living”. 25 A livelihood perspective also presents a view that offers an integrated framework for analyzing the access to capital. 26

The livelihood approach contains the livelihood strategies which reviewed as the survival strategies of households. The households are believed to have access to a collection of different assets that are said to be both tangible and intangible. Examples of the first are money, food and land and examples of the latter are access to rights such as provision of certain services. The household’s livelihood strategies are then formed by their decisions on how these assets are used or how the households may get access to more of them. The strategies then depend on the household’s abilities to access these assets and their abilities to locate and take advantage of certain livelihood opportunities. 27

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22 Satterthwaite D. & Tacoli C. (2002) page 60f
23 Rakodi C. (2002) page 4
24 Ibid page 3
26 Beall J. (2002) page 72
The livelihood perspective focuses on the activities of the household. Mainly the productive activities are discussed, but also the reproductive activities. These activities are in many cases the base for social relations and networks and are therefore important when it comes to for example social capital. This is further discussed by Beal who argues that a livelihood perspective needs to embrace, apart from the productive activities, the social relations. Variables like age and gender, and the construction of the household are important in order to make a complete livelihood analysis.

The concept of livelihood which is used for this paper is based on the framework for the urban context. The terms urban and rural are complex and can be described as extreme ends of a continuum. On the contrary to what may be conceived from frameworks, most areas are therefore found in between the extremes. There are a lot of areas, not only peri-urban areas, which cannot be recognized as purely rural or purely urban. Although these areas may differ from the pure conceptual definition, Tacoli and Satterthwaite argue that they are applicable to livelihood frameworks. The fact that urban livelihood framework has much in common with the rural livelihood framework, as well as the fact that it is based upon it, gives an indication that there are many variables that are valid for all cases. For peri-urban areas, the urban framework should be more fitting since many traits in peri-urban areas are found near the urban end of the urban-rural continuum, but it is still important to have in mind that it is not an entirely urban context and therefore should also the rural context be considered to some extent.

2.1.1 Why a livelihood approach?

The main strength of the livelihood perspective and the livelihood strategies is according to Beall that it captures the dynamic, historical and relational processes which entail how people make a living as well as how they are building their worlds. With this she means that poor people themselves are not just passively going on with their life, but they respond to activity in the society regarding social and economic changes and make active decisions thereafter. And even though some argue that the poorest households do not have the necessary control over their assets and their surroundings, which means that they will have difficulties pursuing a goal-orientated behavior, both Rakodi and Beall argue that people do make decisions and that households construct strategies by making a number of choices based on economic circumstances, social context, cultural and ideological expectations and access to the resources.

The perspective of sustainable livelihood perspective can also be useful since it can be used as a prominent tool for communicative planning. The livelihood strategy helps planners to gain knowledge about peoples’ livelihoods, which assets people have access to and also which assets they may desire. If used correctly, planners may use the framework as a source of knowledge, which in turn can be helpful in order to plan for better livelihood opportunities.

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29 Beall J. (2002) page 73
31 Rakodi C. (2002) page 4ff
32 Beall J. (2002) page 71
33 Ibid page 84
2.1.3 Livelihood framework

The livelihood perspective has been conceptualized through a framework made by Tony Lloyd-Jones. The framework is a model that analyses livelihood strategies by looking at different assets. It can here be valuable to point out that one key aspect is that it is not the presence but rather the access to the assets that is of importance for livelihoods. The presence itself means nothing to the people if they cannot access the capital. This is also brought forward by Beall who emphasizes that access is, as she puts it, “the most critical resource of all”.

In order to secure a sustainable livelihood there are different management strategies which are commonly used that can be related to the Livelihood framework. Foremost the strategies concerns decision making that ensures sustainable access to assets. One of these management strategies is to invest in more than one asset and in that way investing in a diversified livelihood strategy. This may be a good strategy since it spreads risks and limits uncertainty. Another strategy can be to replace one asset for another. A third mentioned management tactic is to dispose one asset in order to compensate for consumption shortfall. A final strategy, which is mostly used during shocks or stresses, is to act in a short time perspective and utilize an asset now which takes away the possibility of using it in the future.

One thing that must be said about the livelihood strategies pentagon is that it is impossible for people with limited resources to achieve a high level of all different capital. Because of their low incomes they are forced to make a trade-off between different assets. If people for example want to live at a preferred location at an affordable price, they will probably have to give up other assets, such as space. This is what makes the livelihood strategy framework so useful. With the help of the framework and in-depth interviews, it is possible to recognize which assets people prioritizes but also which would help them to achieve a better life.

Figure 1: Livelihood framework, own figure based on Rakodi C. (2002) page 12

Human Capital is referring to the labour resources of the household. It can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively where the quantitative part is measured by the number of people in the household and the amount of time that these people spend on income earning activities. The quality of the human capital is measured to the educational level and the skills of the household members as well as their health. Both the quality and quantity of the human capital is of great
importance since more people can work in a large household than in a small and people with high skills will be more productive than those with low skill.  

Social capital is a complex term and definitions and the meaning of the term has been widely debated in different articles. In this study, the term relates to Narayan definition, which is “the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in the social relations, social structures and society’s institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objective.” It can be networks, different associations and other group relationships. Rakodi also debates social capital and states that, in order for social interaction to be classified as capital, it has to be persistent and function in a way that brings for example trust or knowledge to the community. The knowledge that is gained is important since it gives information about the opportunities and constraints that are present for the households. Social capital can also be access to favors among people within the community such as child care and smaller loans. The political capital refers to the access to the political processes and the decision making, as well as the possibility to affect these.

Financial Capital is the monetary resources that are available to the household. It includes savings, credits, income from work, pensions et cetera. It can also be access to relevant financial services which can help for saving and loaning money. Adequate credit services may be extra important in order to start developing enterprises. It is also important to acknowledge that financial capital is extra important in the urban context since the urban economy is highly based on a cash economy.

Natural capital is defined as the access to land, water and other environmental resources. Some argue that this is less important in the urban context. But in a city that is close to the water it may be important for fishing and more important however is the fact that urban and peri-urban agriculture is highly dependent on access to land. This means that natural capital in the end will be important to many households. Finally, the fact that environmental conditions in an area affect the health and well-being of people makes natural capital important in the urban context.

The physical capital is the basic infrastructure that can be accessed and the production equipments of the household. The physical infrastructure is highly important for both individuals and the community. It is important for health and education in the form of access to health care institutions and schools. It is also relevant for social interaction and may therefore contribute to human and social capital. Furthermore, it is important since is gains physical access to income-generating activities. Moreover, physical capital can be assets such as housing and household goods. Housing can be income generating both through renting rooms and as a location for home-based enterprises. Finally it is relevant to point out that even though the livelihood strategies is the same for the entire household, different individuals within the household may have different levels of access to the resources. This can be dependent on both age and gender. For example the man of the household may have better access to social capital through his workplace and the older children in the household may have better access to schooling than the younger ones.

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40 Rakodi C. (2002) page 10f  
42 Narayan (1997) page 50  
43 Rakodi C. (2002) page 10f  
44 Meikle (2002) page 46f  
45 Rakodi C. (2002) page 10f  
46 Meikle (2002) page 46f  
49 Rakodi C. (2002) page 11
2.2 Migration

Since this study focuses on the reasons behind migration related decisions and the implications of these, it is important to have some theoretical knowledge on migratory behavior. To understand how and why people in different situations may or may not migrate is highly relevant and these theories will help to understand this.

2.2.1 Push and Pull-factors and circulatory migration

Within discussions about migration, push and pull factors are often discussed. The factors are, as the name implies, factors that attract people to an area or factors that push people away from one. Pull factors can for example be improved employment opportunities, preferred environmental conditions or opportunities to pursue higher education. Examples of push factors are unemployment, cultural alienation or natural or human catastrophes. As time passes by and as there are differences between different cultures these factors may be considerably modified. Today the push and pull factors are also considered to be inadequate when used alone. There are push and pull factors found both at the target destination as well as the origin which makes it relevant to discuss other types of migration theories alongside the push and pull factors.50

One of these is circulatory migration. As stated above there are sometimes qualities at several locations that attracts an individual. In these cases the individual may move back and forth in a circular pattern which is why it is referred to as circular migration. An example of this is how people in Africa maintain the connection to rural life after migrating to the city through circulatory movement between urban and rural settings.51

2.2.2 Urbanization and the lure of the city

According to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson the city often holds two different images for the rural population. Either it is considered as a heavenly place with more freedom and progress than the rural life holds, or it can be seen as a place of criminality, disorder and hard work.52 For the people that actually do migrate to the city it is of course more relevant to discuss the image of the city as a heavenly place, the bright light city. It is stated that the people that hold this view of the city is 5 times as likely as others to migrate to the city.53 The lure of the city commonly contains hopes of liberation as individuals see a chance of choosing his or her lifestyle that is not possible in the rural settings. Another thing about the city that tends to lure people of all cultures to the city is the sense of modern life being present in urban areas. The city also contains a variety of services and products that cannot be found in the countryside.54 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson argue that migrants can be mislead by false images of the urban life from TV, newspapers, friends, family and future employers. However, they argue that most migrants have a good idea of what to expect in the city.55

The main reason for many migrants glorification of the city is the perception that the city contains the necessary means to get a better life. In addition to what has been stated above, the key issue for

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50 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 67
51 Ibid page 133f
52 Ibid page 129
53 Ibid page 130
54 Ibid page 129ff
55 Ibid page 133f
many migrants is the access to another type of labour market than is accessible in the countryside, as well as the access to higher education. The latter is especially emphasized since education often is seen as a mean to escape poverty. It can be difficult to analyze in migration to the cities through neoclassical economic models since the context of the urban labour market is quite different in Africa than in Europe and North America. This is because a large part of the urban population in Africa is engaged within the sphere of the informal economy. Because of this it is difficult to state that people move from rural to urban areas in order to get a specific job. It is more likely, according to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson, that the migrants come to the city and join the informal labour market and thereafter in some cases enter the formal job market.

2.2.3 Housing careers and strategies

According to Cadstedt, a dominating theory in housing studies around the world claim that people in general start their housing career as tenants. Thereafter they move on to acquire their own house as family situations change and finally they go back to being tenants when they become older. There are various studies that try to explain where and how people choose to live and what their priorities are. Some have argued that that poor people may prefer to be near the city centre and that this leads to a situation where they have to live as tenants as the only place to get land for a house is in the peripheral areas. However others have argued that it is common for poor migrants to choose to settle in the urban periphery. Cadstedt concludes that most people would want to have their own house sometime in a future, but she makes a clear difference between hopes and wishes and realistic strategies. Due to constraints related to housing strategies, such as construction costs, land costs et cetera, a lot of people simply find it unrealistic to plan for a house of their own.

2.3 The demographic profile of peri-urban areas

In order to get a deeper understanding for which demographic conditions are present in peri-urban areas, previous research on the topic is here presented. This is also highly relevant in order to get a better base for analyzes on why people choose to migrate to peri-urban areas.

Historically, migration has been of great importance in the creation of settlement patterns and livelihoods. It has also played a central role in the interaction between the urban and the rural. One example which illustrates this is taken from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. In the 1980s, it was very common for people to buy land in the city’s outskirts and move out to the peri-urban areas. This settlement trend occurred, according to Briggs and Mwamfupe, because of the growing economic crisis that prevailed at that time. The choice of moving to the outskirts was made as a precautionary measure, this in the sense that the land was used mainly to produce food for survival. Furthermore, this has led to a situation where the people that earlier lived in the peri-urban areas, mainly indigenous peoples, has moved even further out into the periphery. In the 1990s, there where increasing pressure on land in the peri-urban areas as many people from the northern parts of Tanzania increasingly migrated to the city. The pressure on the peri-urban areas increased further as

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56 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 131ff
57 Ibid page 101
58 Cadstedt J. (2006) page 96f
59 Ibid page 125f
the availability of land in the city and other informal settlements were very limited, which in turn lead to changes in demographic composition of the areas.  

Groth argues that both migration and fertility have created the demographic profile which is found in peri-urban areas. He argues that fertility is an important reason for the urban expansion and therefore also the expansion of peri-urban areas. This is because of the fact that countries in Sub-Saharan Africa almost exclusively have high levels of fertility. This may also be linked to fertility in the developed world during the period when the urbanization rate was at its highest in the western world. Migration to the cities can also be explained by changes in the agriculture that has occurred, as well as more general changes in society. Agricultural productivity and competitiveness has deteriorated, while the city’s attractiveness and the urban life have been given another status.

A large part of today’s peri-urban population is not originally from the area where they currently live. Bah et al writes about the example of Nigeria where between 50 and 80 percent of households in the studied peri-urban areas includes at least one person who has migrated. When migration to the city is examined, it appears that peri-urban areas function as an attractive and common place to live. At the same time it is common that people, because of increased housing costs in the city center are forced to move away from it, choose to live in these peri-urban areas. However, it is not only low income earners and other resource-poor people that are settling in the peri-urban areas. According to Tacoli there is also a large group of high-and middle-income earners that are moving to them. However, the reasons for moving to a peri-urban area differ between the different groups. Low-income earners move, as mentioned earlier, to peri-urban areas mainly because of economic incentives but also to get access to more space. For high-and middle-income earners on the other hand, the reasons are more related to the wish of living in a greener environment that is at the same time well integrated with the city.

The people that are moving to the peri-urban areas are according to Kombe usually young people. They are also in general poorly educated and poor. These poor people do furthermore, to an increasing extent, move to the unplanned areas of woodland. This migration is explained, as previously mentioned, mainly by the fact that people with limited resources see those areas as most accessible. In the case of Tanzania it is however important to recognize that the population is in general young and 44 percent of the population is under 15 years old. Maconachie and Binns study also supports the image of resource weak people moving to peri-urban areas. In their study from Kanu, Nigeria, he has found that a large proportion of the people who has chosen to settle in the peri-urban areas have done so because of poor condition in the rural environment. Rising costs for farming has made it very difficult to continue farming and has in turn led to a situation where poor farmers have been forced to sell their land and seek other livelihood opportunities.

Aldo Lupala writes about Nyantira, which is a peri-urban area in Dar es Salaam. According to him, the land use of the area was earlier dominated by the ethnic group Zaramu. Nyantira was in the 1970’s quite sparsely populated and due to a villagisation program, a large part of the population was resettled. There were some drastic changes however in the 1980’s as a lot of those who were resettled came back to Nyantira. So in that meaning, the movement into and out of the area had mostly been affected by the movement of people with a strong connection to the area. In the later

61 Kombe W.J. (2005)
64 Tacoli C. (2003)
65 Kombe W.J. (2005)
part of the 1990’s however, a dramatic inmigration from the Tarime district started. Several hundred of land seekers came to Nyantira looking for land.\textsuperscript{68}

In 1998 the population in Nyantira was dominated by these inmigrants. Apart from these and the original population there were also a significant amount of guest-migrant households. According to Lupala, the household size in this area is about 5 persons per household and the present population density is about 0.3 persons per hectare. When Lupala studied the reasons for moving to Nyantira, many of the retrieved answers pointed in the same direction. The demand and wish for large land plots was a major factor for choosing the area of Nyantira. All of the interviewed settlers stated that they were seeking land in less-accessible areas because of the affordable price. Another key factor is the fact that a lot of those in migrants described above, had an ethnical connection to the area. There were a high proportion of ethnic Kurya residents in Nyantira, which was seen as an attractive quality.

Moving patterns into the cities are according to Robson and Roque extremely complex. Origin, migration flows and the time and method of migration differ. According to their study, this leads to a pattern where people are settling in already populated, peri-urban areas where the social composition is heterogeneous. The lack of available land in the urban and peri-urban areas is another reason that people are unable to live near others who have much in common with themselves.\textsuperscript{69} Lupala also discusses the value of social ties in the peri-urban areas. In the case of Nyantira he has, on the contrary to Robinson and Roque, found that the social composition is quite homogeneous. This is in turn can be related to the fact that the primary capital in the area is considered to be “the social ties and the human energy of the youthful population”\textsuperscript{70}. This is to a large extent because of the fact that a lot of people work from their home community, but also because of the fact of shared values and norms. The latter has much to do with the fact that a lot of the population has come from the same rural area.\textsuperscript{71}

It is not only permanent migration that affects the demographic composition of the peri-urban areas. As Lupala touched on above, a large number of people whose family and permanent residence are located in rural areas choose to go to the city and peri-urban areas during certain periods of the year. An example of this type of temporary migration is given by Baker and Wallewik. They write about a 23 year-old man who initially lived on his farm in rural Tanzania, where he engaged in growing groundnuts. During the period August to October, however, he lives in the city and sells the groundnuts that he has grown. During the period when he lives in the city he shares a room with a friend from his home village. This kind of migration is becoming increasingly common, as an effect of increased livelihood difficulties in rural areas. Nor is it unusual that men leave their families at home to send money to them and return home only during certain periods.\textsuperscript{72}

2.4 Peri-urban livelihoods

In the same way as for the previous chapter, previous research on peri-urban livelihoods is important for the study and the analyses of the result. In order to get a deeper understanding for livelihoods, changes in these and how they relate to peri-urban areas, this information is crucial. These changes are repeatedly stated within the research, as it is said that the areas that are referred to as peri-urban areas are used in a different context than earlier.\textsuperscript{73} The changes in land use that have occurred.

\textsuperscript{68} Lupala A. (2002) page 105
\textsuperscript{69} Robson P. & Roque S. (2001)
\textsuperscript{70} Lupala A. (2002) page 114
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid page 106ff
\textsuperscript{72} Baker J. & Wallewik H. (2003)
\textsuperscript{73} See for example: Eaton D. & Hilhorst T. (2003), Bah et al (2003), Rakodi (1999)
can be said to have followed general urbanization trends. Within the research, peri-urban areas are described as areas which have previously been inhabited by people with more traditional local lifestyles, which have had significance for the land use. As urbanization has occurred and people have migrated to the city and the surrounding peri-urban areas at a rapid pace, the land use have changed. Because of this it is relevant to speak of the changes that have occurred in peri-urban areas in order to describe the situation of today.  

In the peri-urban areas, pressure on the land rises as more people come to the areas looking for a place to live. According to Rakodi, this is the case since the land that has previously been used for small scale agriculture, now is exposed to competition. She argues that this competition is partly formed by the increasing entrance of commercial agriculture and partly by the increased demand for land for housing, which in turn can be related to migration and population growth.

These changes in land use and the changing demographic composition of the peri-urban areas, has been important factors for how the employment and livelihood is formed today. Other from this, the decreasing incomes from farming has played an important role. This as an increasing number of people that are living in peri-urban areas are shifting to urban labor markets. Tacoli argues that the types of employment that are possible in peri-urban areas are much determined by the profile of the areas. As an example she says that in an area that has been developed as a residential area for high and medium income earners, a demand for a number of services such as trade and waste management is created.

These changes has also led to a situation where many of the people that are living in peri-urban areas use the city and are integrated with it in a way that was quite rare earlier. Because of the decreased incomes from farming, as discuss earlier, a lot of people are beginning to seek other types of income-generating activities. These are found largely in the city but because of the fact that it is advantageous to live in the peri-urban areas, many people choose to commute into the city for work and use the peri-urban area only as places to live. Tacoli argues that mobility and migration is associated with income diversification. The access to affordable transport increases the ability to take advantage of the employment opportunities in the city. This means that in the peri-urban areas that are dominated by informal settlements, small shops related to retail, groceries and minor food stands emerges. But many people who operate these various types of businesses are going to the city centre for business.

Baker and Wallewik write about people living in urban and peri-urban areas and describe the livelihoods of these people. According to them, the majority of the people whom have moved to peri-urban and urban areas are originally rural people. Today these people work within agriculture production and with production of alcohol, various types of small-scale retail and various types of services. Baker and Wallewik also write about people whom they describe as successful in the urban and peri-urban market. For example, they mention a young man who has a bicycle repair business which has a good reputation. Another man who previously lived in a rural setting has managed to take advantage of the opportunities that the peri-urban life presents. Now he owns a farm, a brewery, transportation et cetera and is considered to be very wealthy.

74 Rakodi C. (1999)  
75 Ibid  
76 Tacoli C. (2003)  
78 Tacoli C. (2003)  
79 Kombe W.J. (2005)  
Although there are new types of employment within the peri-urban areas emerging at the same
times as changes to previous types of employment, this does not mean that the agricultural sector
has completely disappeared. Kombe for instance mentions that agriculture remains as a main source
of income in many peri-urban areas. Another example that highlights this fact is the way that
agriculture still dominates some areas in peri-urban areas around Gaborone. In these peri-urban
areas, agriculture is the major source of income. Almost all the peri-urban land that has been
investigated by Nkambwe and Totolo was dominated, either directly or indirectly, by agriculture.

Lupala has from his study in Nyanatira, Dar es Salaam also come to the conclusion that agriculture
plays an important role in the livelihood of the peri-urban population. Out of the 44 persons that
were interviewed for the study, only two were engaged in activities that were not related to farming
in any way. Slightly more than half of the interviewees were engaged in poultry and gardening, while
8 people were engaged in commercial gardening and 4 persons in transporting eggs to city markets.
In other words it is quite evident that this is an area were the rural image with a lot of cultivation is
kept, but the interaction with the city has provided the population with opportunities to engage in
more urban directed livelihoods.

According to Allen, urbanization leads to a situation where people's activities in the peri-urban areas
are changing. Agriculture is, as mentioned earlier, changing to become more intensive and more
commercial and those who have the possibility adapts to these changes. The residents in peri-urban
areas are also looking for other types of activities that can be classified as more "urban". Because of
the increased integration with the city, people are also looking for work in the urban market. As
more people populate areas, at the same time as the areas become more urban, the informal and
the illegal labor markets are also growing. Tacoli writes that the peri-urban development means
that many jobs are created for the low-skilled labor force and low wage earners, such as simpler
occupations in the service industry. In addition, she believes that many peri-urban areas also are
developed more or less as industrial locations. However, in these areas, jobs are created for the
skilled and semi skilled labor force.

Robson and Roque argues that the economy in the peri-urban areas is much more reliant on cash
than rural economies. This can be related to the fact that peri-urban areas to a large extent can be
seen as socially heterogeneous. It is heterogeneous in the sense that people come from different
backgrounds and therefore have different habits and values. It is therefore argued that the
heterogeneous profile of the peri-urban areas leads to a situation where traditional institutions and
values, that come with the people as they move from various places, cannot continue in the same
extent as before. There are some exceptions, such as areas where the same people have resided for
a longer period, where family relations are strong or in some cases the church function as a uniting
force. This does however not change the general image of peri-urban areas as heterogeneous.

The problem that takes place when the situation mentioned above occurs is that the solidarity and
trust among people disappear. An example of how people feel that their everyday life changes in a
way that means less solidarity as a result of the increased use of money. Many of the persons that
Robson and Roque interviewed says that the increased use of money, and the increased need of it
has meant that there is less room for the exchange of services. The respondents mean that there was
a solidarity at their previous living sites that was created as people was helping each other out and as

81 Kombe W. J. (2005)
82 Nkambwe M. & Totolo O. (2005)
84 Tacoli C. (1999)
86 Robson P. & Roque S. (2001)
they could count on help from others when needed. When they then move to the peri-urban areas, they notice that they have to pay for everything, which in their mind leads to a substantial decrease in solidarity. 87

It is not only the types of activities that change in the peri-urban areas. People living in these areas are also beginning to be increasingly engaged in income diversification. As an effect of the improved proximity to the city, both physically and socially, the accessibility to the urban labor market is increased. The agriculture is often kept as either the primary or secondary livelihood source, but people are to an increasing extent starting to engage in other sectors such as trade, service and manufacturing. The type of income also varies between sectors. People may work for a salary in one sector, while they can work in other sectors, such as agriculture, to gain food. The latter is most common in small-scale agriculture. Tacoli also writes that in some cases, seasonal work exists in the peri-urban areas. When agricultural farms is growing and becoming more commercial, there is a growing need for paid labor. As some of these farmers are mainly active during certain periods, this creates opportunities for seasonal work. 88

2.5 Summary of the theoretical framework

There are numerous theories on why people choose to migrate in one way or another. Theories such as push- and pull and the lure of the city try to explain what is seen as attractive with a target location and why people choose to move there. The previous research that has been presented in this study has been focusing on questions that focus on the people that are living in peri-urban areas and to some extent why they have chosen to move there. The research on livelihoods in peri-urban areas that has been presented, has focused on which sources for livelihood are present in the peri-urban context and how these have changed over time.

This study relates to this research in the sense that it aims to build further on the knowledge about peri-urban areas, the people that live there and their lives, that is available today. It aims to go deeper into the explanations to why people have chosen to move here. This study also takes another type of departure as it aims to look at these questions from a livelihood perspective. The focus is to understand in what way people see the movement as a step in the right direction towards a better life.

The livelihood approach has previously been used mainly for the rural context, but also for the urban context. The approach aims at understanding and analyzing the complexities of people’s livelihood. The framework is useful to understand how people’s livelihoods and choices to act in certain ways affect their lives. This study will try to develop the livelihood approach and apply it to a peri-urban setting. Since the urban and the rural context are two ends of a continuum, an adequate interpretation of the framework makes it possible to apply it to a new setting.

87 Robson P. & Roque S. (2001)
88 Tacoli C. (1999)
3. Case study: Mbezi Luisi, Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam is a relatively young city. It emerged during the British colonial era in Tanganyika during the 19th century. After a while Dar es Salaam grew to be the administrative and financial centre of the country as well as the main port town. It was still the capital when Zanzibar and Tanganyika formed the country of Tanzania and remained so until 1973 when the capital shifted to Dodoma. Even though it is no longer the capital, Dar es Salaam remains to be the financial and political centre of Tanzania. The government and most ministries are still situated in Dar es Salaam.  

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Lupala, J. (2002) page 31ff
Today Dar es Salaam is the largest city in the country with an estimated population of 3 million inhabitants. It is divided into three municipalities, Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke which are furthermore divided into 73 wards and 276 sub wards. The population has increased very rapidly in Dar es Salaam for the last half century. Since 1967 the population has grown from about 250,000 inhabitants to the 3 million today. The growth rate has also been especially fast during the 1990s as the population did almost become twice as high in 2001 as it was in 1992. Another interesting point is that the spatial growth has been very strong since 1990 as the population density in the region dropped for the first time since the emergence of Tanzania.  

Figure 3: Regional map of Dar es Salaam with Mbezi Luisi circled in:  

3.1 General City planning in Tanzania and specific planning in Mbezi Luisi

According to Nuruteddy Kinawio, who is the town planner in charge at Kinondoni Municipal office, the planning process in Tanzania can be briefly described in the following way. The central government takes the initiative to plan an area and they then proceed to inform the affected part of the population about the plans to survey and plan the area. Even though all land in Tanzania is

90 Lupala, J. (2002) page 31ff
theoretically owned by the government, the fact that land is leased out on very long contracts means that there are many private land owners in practice.\textsuperscript{91}

Since many of the unplanned areas are already settled, there are often confrontation between the government’s and municipality’s which to plan, and the interest of the residents. Therefore there are often discussions between the population and the municipal in order to settle where building can be done, and to what extent residents need to be compensated. This is what is happening at the moment in Mbezi Luisi. Since the area is unplanned and there are only scattered plots there is a need for planning in the area. However it is very difficult to follow the guidelines set up in the general planning documents, given by the central government. The fact that the area has been developed without planning means that there is already an infrastructure as well as the implication that there are a lot of residents that need to be compensated if larger changes are to be made. According to Kinawio, the latter is not fully possible because of the limited resources of the municipality.\textsuperscript{92}

After the discussion with the residents, a planning scheme is put together by municipal planners. This scheme is supposed to be adapted to the planning documents that was mentioned above. However the central document, which is called the urban planning masterplan, is no longer up to date. Until it will be reviewed the planning will therefore not follow it to a very large extent. The plans that are made will later on be reviewed for approval by the ministry of land and later on the board of planning.\textsuperscript{93}

The planning for peri-urban areas is generally quite complicated. The complication lies in the fact that the municipal needs to follow the general planning guidelines and when there already is a lot of housing and other infrastructure present, this will be very difficult. It is difficult because, as mentioned above, this leads to a situation where a lot of compensation has to be paid out if the planners are to follow the directions. This problem can be defined as when development proceeds planning.\textsuperscript{94}

Mbezi Luisi is today at a stage where the municipality is looking to formalize and plan the area. In Mbezi Luisi, the complication described above with development proceeding planning is present. However Lucy Kimoi, who is a municipal planner at Kinondoni municipal, argues that the cooperation between the municipality and the residents are going quite well. They are trying to look at the current land uses in Mbezi Luisi and in that way optimize the prerequisites in the current situation.\textsuperscript{95}

Another problem that is described is that public facilities are provided by the central government and not the municipality. Electricity but most importantly water is provided by central governmental corporations and according to Kinawiro, they are doing this in an adequate way. Her opinion is that it could be done better by the municipality if they were given the authority.\textsuperscript{96}

3.2 Mbezi Luisi

Mbezi Luisi is a peri-urban area outside of Dar es Salaam, which is formally found in Kinondoni Municipal. It is situated about 15 kilometers west of the city centre and lies just north of the Morogoro Road, which is one of the major roads running out of the city. Within the municipal there are several divisions and wards and Mbezi Luisi is part of the Kibamba division and a sub-ward in

\textsuperscript{91} Kinawiro, N. (2009-06-02)
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid
\textsuperscript{96} Kinawiro, N. (2009-06-02)
Mbezi ward. According to Zuhuru Kilangi, who is the executive sub ward officer, the Mbezi ward has a population of about 45,000 people and the studied sub ward, Mbezi Luisi has a population of about 26,000 people. For the recent years the population increase rate has been at 4.1%, which can be compared to the total population growth rate of Tanzania which is 3%. The area has according to Kilangi no formal plot system. Instead there are mostly squatter plots, which mean that land owners sell parts of their land informally at the same time as people squatter in unplanned parts.  

Figure 4: View over Mbezi Luisi: Photo Alexander Fagerlund (2009-05-20)  

Mbezi Luisi has, as many other similar areas, gone through some major changes during the last 40 years. Mwanaisha Saidi and Hadija Njaratango are two well known elderly women in the Mbezi Luisi community who have lived in the area for their entire lives, which is about 70 years in both cases. The area was according to them formerly a rural area inhabited by indigenous people, mainly from the Zaramu tribe which they both are part of. The area was very sparsely populated and the distance between neighbors was generally quite high. The people that inhabited Mbezi Luisi were more or less exclusively engaged in farming, and mostly subsidence farming. There were some people that were engaged in paid farming, cultivating other peoples land, but these were mostly paid in food. Money was not used to a large extent since there was no major need for it. There was no market place in Mbezi Luisi and people did not really have access to commodities other than food and other basic supplies. The exception is those who went to Dar es Salaams city center to sell the harvested crops, these people would come back with merchandise from the city that they had bought with the money earned from the sale. This merchandise however was usually only used for trading once in Mbezi Luisi. 

The connection to Dar es Salaam was much weaker in the 1970s than it is today. There was no major road and the people that went to the city to sell crops, fruit and vegetables usually spent six hours one way only for travel. The infrastructure within the area was also less developed than today, there was only one dwell serving the area. But despite this, there was not a water shortage in the area according to Saidi. At the beginning of the 1970’s, the area did not have any schools or hospitals and the children had to walk more than an hour to reach their school.  

97 Kilangi Z. (2009-05-28)  
The initial change in Mbezi Luisi did according to both Saidi and Njaratango take place during the Nyere villagisation program. During this program a lot of the people near Mbezi Luisi were concentrated in what is today called Mbezi Luisi, which led to an increase in population density. The density was however still low in comparison with today and people were still exclusively engaged in farming. During this time there were some major upgrading being undertaken in the area. Among other things, there was a school built in 1975 and a hospital built in 1978. The government also set up a market in the area, which lead to a situation where people began to engage in other activities. From the beginning of the villagisation the area has become more and more densely populated. The indigenous people of the Zaramu got to keep their old plots even after being given new ones. During the 1980’s these plots were divided by the owners and parts of them were sold which has led to a densification of the area. This has been gradual and the area is still sparsely populated in comparison to other areas in Dar es Salaam. This development also leads to an in migration to the area of non indigenous people, which furthermore led to a situation where the traditional lifestyle was disrupted.

The other major change that affected Mbezi Luisi was the development of the Morogoro road in combination with the introduction of the Dala-dalas (local buses). These two changes took place in the late 1980’s and the early 1990’s and had a big impact on the integration with Dar es Salaam. It was now possible for the people of Mbezi Luisi to access Dar es Salaam and the urban market. It was also possible for the people from Dar es Salaam to come to the Mbezi Luisi market and compete with those who earlier controlled the business there.

According to the chairman of the Mbezi Luisi sub ward, Mbaruku Masudi, there have been a number of major physical improvements undertaken in Mbezi Luisi during the 21st century. Among these are the building of 5 bridges and the building of roads. Masudi argues that these roads where nonexistent earlier and the area is now much more accessible. These physical improvements have according Masudi lead to an increase of the land value in the area, but also an upswing for the businesses in the area. The introduction of electricity in the area has also lead to an upswing for the business sector as activities that rely on electricity, such as welding, has been able to set up operations in the area.

Today there are 12 primary schools in Mbezi Luisi, of which 5 are private and 7 are public. There are also 7 secondary schools, of which 5 are private and 2 are public. The area also has three private hospitals and one public hospital. According to Masudi about 60 % of the houses in Mbezi Luisi have access to electricity. Of the remaining 40 % he claims that about 2/3 of the households cannot be reached by the power lines and the remaining 1/3 cannot afford to have electricity. The water supply in the area is mostly provided by private entrepreneurs and only 20 % of the area has access to public water. The sanitation in the area is relying mainly on a private waste pick-up company that serves about 75 % of the area. Masudi also states that it is prohibited by the government to throw waste on the streets but it is at the same time not clear how the 25% that is not covered by the waste pick-up service are supposed to manage their waste.

There have also been improvements undertaken in Dar es Salaam region that have been important for Mbezi Luisi. The main improvement that has been made is the improvement of the Morogoro

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100 Saidi, M. (2009-05-26)
101 Njaratango, H (2009-05-27)
103 Njaratango, H (2009-05-27)
105 Masudi, M. (2009-05-29)
106 Ibid
Road that was made in the late 1990’s. Earlier the road was very narrow and therefore it was quite difficult and very time consuming to go to Dar es Salaam. After the improvements, the road is today wider and Dar es Salaam is now much more accessible. There are more people residing in Mbezi Luisi that go to work in the city and as Masudi puts it “Today Mbezi Luisi is a part of Dar es Salaam, before the improvements it was not”.  

This, in combination with the enlargement of the population, lead to a shift in occupation among the people and less people was engaging in farming. Since the population was becoming larger, there was an increased demand for vending and food business. It was not only a change in occupation taking place in Mbezi Luisi. A lot of the farmers in Mbezi Luisi were also starting to engage in the farming of cash crops during the early 1990’s as a result of the increased need of money.

Today, the business sector in Mbezi Luisi is consisting mainly of petty business. There are also some shops and different kind of construction and handicraft businesses. Masudi claims that the integration to Dar es Salaam today is quite high, but mainly works in one way. There are people that live in Mbezi Luisi and work in the city centre but there are very few that live in the central parts of Dar es Salaam and work in Mbezi Luisi. Masudi also states that even though there are some people that go for work in the city, the majority of the people are engaged in livelihood activities within or close to Mbezi Luisi.

The integration of the area to the city and the steady in migration to the area has also lead to a situation where the indigenous people in Mbezi Luisi are now quite few and also spread out. This has according to Saidi lead to a situation where the social relations are not as good anymore. While people would help to watch out for others in different situation earlier today people mind their own business to a larger extent and money is needed for all everyday activities. Another fact is that money was earlier sparsely used and people were more reliant on crops and the help from others. This has changed dramatically and today it is impossible to survive without money.

### 3.3 The Demographic profile of Mbezi Luisi

The first step to getting a deeper understanding for peoples’ decisions and actions in a peri-urban area is to identify living conditions and composition of the population. Information about age, number of people in households, origin et cetera gives an indication which is highly relevant for deeper analysis. Even though a survey does not entail the entire truth of an area, it gives a clear indication.

The age composition of the surveyed population in Mbezi Luisi can be said to be quite young. The average age of the respondents for the questionnaire was 36 and the median age 33. It is possible to discuss whether this is a fair appreciation of the age structure of the area, given that the time of the day when the questionnaires were undertaken may have affected the result. It does however give an indication of the kind mentioned above about the age structure. It is also relevant to know the age structure of the respondents while analyzing other variables. In the figure 5, it can clearly be seen that the majority of the population is between 18 and 40 years old, and thereafter the number of people decline for every ten-year group. In comparison, the age structure of the entire Tanzanian

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111 Njaratango, H (2009-05-27)
population can be reviewed in figure 6. When the groups under 18 are removed, it can be seen that the age structure of the entire country is quite similar to the one of Mbezi Luisi. This in turn indicates that the Mbezi Luisi is not an extremely young area.

![Age of respondents](image)

**Figure 5: Age structure in Mbezi Luisi: own graph**

![Age structure in Tanzania by age group](image)

**Figure 6: Age structure in Tanzania by age group: own graph based on National Bureau of Statistics (2002)**

The average age of the sample population can be compared to the average age of the interviewed residents who have moved to Mbezi Luisi at the time of their migration, which can be reviewed in figure 7. The average age was here 26 years and the median age 25 years. This entails that the age of migrants is quite low and when figure 7 is reviewed it is obvious that a large part of the migrants are relatively young but it is also quite obvious that people in the age span 26-30 is highly represented among the migrants. The respondents who have lived in Mbezi Luisi for their entire life are not included in this chart.
The level of education in the area is spread from no schooling to University diploma. The vast majority however have went to school for 5-8 years and a majority of this group went to school for 7 years. This is equal to the number of years that children attend school for their primary education, which is also the mandatory level of schooling in Tanzania (even though this is not always enforced). In figure 8 it can be seen that there is a rapid decline from primary schooling to secondary and further schooling, which can be interpreted as people in the area go to school for primary schooling only. The fact that there are a number of respondents that actually have attended primary schooling and University studies implies that the level of education in the area must not be seen as limited to primary schooling, rather the population is very heterogeneous as seen to level of education.

The shares of house owners and tenants in Mbezi Luisi are relatively equal. As can be seen in figure 9, 58 percent of the respondents live in a house that either belongs to themselves or a family member.

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112 The world bank (1999) page 84
The remaining 42 percent live in rented accommodation. An interesting fact that has been verified is that about 70 percent of all tenants said that their landlords are living in the same house or nearby in Mbezi Luisi. This implies that the rental market is not dominated by large investors who own several houses and lives outside the area.

![Type of housing in Mbezi](image)

Figure 9: Percentage of tenants and house owners: own chart

These figures can be compared to those obtained from Cadstedts study in Mwanza, which is the second largest city in Tanzania.\(^{113}\) She has compared the share of house renters in three different areas within Mwanza and the result can be seen in figure 10. What is interesting about the difference between the different areas is that Cadstedt states that there is a correlation between the proportion of tenants and the infrastructure and location of an area. Mabatani is an old, centrally located area with a relatively high level of infrastructure. Kawekamo is a younger area, but it is nowadays a quite central area. The infrastructure and access to services is also higher than in Kilolei, as well as cheaper transports to the inner city.\(^{114}\)

![Type of housing in Mwanza areas](image)

Figure 10: % of tenants and house owners in three Mwanza areas. Own chart based on: Cadstedt (2006) page 62

As one can see in figure 11, the number of persons within a household is spread over quite a wide range with a peak at 4-5 persons per household. It can also be seen that there are also quite many households with quite many persons per household. One thing that is not shown in the graph is that it is common within these larger households to be several adults, that is they do not only live as nuclear family units. In the chart below it can also be seen that about three quarters of the households contains at least one child.

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\(^{113}\) Cadstedt J. (2006) page 41

\(^{114}\) Ibid page 62
The demographic profile of Mbezi Luisi is quite heterogeneous in terms of the inhabitants' origin. All of the interviewed inhabitants are from Tanzania but that people come from different places from all over the country. To be able to get a relevant picture of the different origins of the people the answers have been divided into four different categories; Mbezi Luisi, larger urban areas, rural areas and finally peri-urban areas. Since the term peri-urban can be interpreted in a number of ways, it was defined as an area that lies outside of the city but is still connected to it.

As can be seen from the figure 12, the majority of the population is not originally from Mbezi Luisi. Almost half of the population is originally from rural areas and the next largest group is the one with an urban origin. The group of people born in Mbezi Luisi and other peri-urban areas make up the remaining 22% of the population. An interesting point of the settling pattern from the current population of Mbezi Luisi is that even though almost half of the population is from rural areas originally only a fraction of those have come directly to Mbezi Luisi. Rather, a lot of the people that originally come from rural areas have come to Mbezi Luisi via other areas of Dar es Salaam. Of the 30 respondent interviews that were undertaken, 14 were originally from rural parts. However, only three of these 14 persons have come directly from rural areas to Mbezi Luisi. A much more common
situation among the people that originate from rural areas is that they first arrive at more central parts of Dar es Salaam, such as Manzese or Kariakoo, and then move on to Mbezi Luisi.

3.4 Livelihood assets in Mbezi Luisi

Here, the results of the interviews will be presented. The structure departures from the livelihood framework and relates to peoples livelihoods, their reasons for moving to Mbezi Luisi and their general opinions about the advantages and disadvantages of living in Mbezi Luisi.

Since this study is focusing on the livelihood strategies of household the interviews have been focused on the economic activities of the household rather than the respondent itself. Therefore the number of economically active persons in the study exceeds the number of respondents. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, this has been done in order to avoid the receiving of only partial information of the households’ economic activities. It is also relevant to mention all major income generating activities of the household which is why for example rent and self subsidence farming may be added to the primary source of income. The number of households however is still 30 and therefore it is still possible to examine how large parts of the population that are engaged in different types of activity. The result of the interviews can be quantitatively reviewed below in figure 13.

The income level of the population of Mbezi Luisi is well spread. It ranges from households who can barely make it through the day and people who have large, newly built houses. The people engaged in petty business are generally poorly paid and the ones with formal employment are in general those who are best paid. There were also a couple of cases with well paid people who had their own business and had a few employees. The difference in income level is also visualized through the built up environment in Mbezi Luisi. There is both very basic housing, such as simple and small clay houses, in the area as well as large and modern single housing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic activity</th>
<th>Place of activity (distance from Mbezi Luisi)</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakery</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer brewing</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Man</td>
<td>Kimara (5 km), Entire</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual work</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi, Kariakoo (10 km)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing industry</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City Center (15 km)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi, Goba (7 km),</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dala-dala driver</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam Region,</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>Ubungo (10 km)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Ubungo (10 km)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish collection</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi, Mikucheni (10 km)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food vending</td>
<td>Morogoro, Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time cultivation</td>
<td>Iringa, Dodoma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guard</td>
<td>City center (15 km)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair brading</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel employee</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi, Mwenge (8 km)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musican</td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty Business</td>
<td>Mwenge (8 km)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration officer</td>
<td>Mikucheni (10 km)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam (15 km)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenants</td>
<td>road, City Center (15 km)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>Mwenge (8 km)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abroad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Luisi, Dar es Salaam region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13: Livelihoods in Mbezi Luisi: Own chart
When it comes to the reasons for settling in Mbezi Luisi, it is important not to see the choice to migrate as a decision made in a vacuum. Of the most important things to consider are the origin of the migrants and the last place of residence. It is also relevant to discuss previous migration in the person’s life. For example, in those cases were migrants originally come from a rural place but have arrived to Mbezi Luisi via the central parts of Dar es Salaam, it is highly relevant to understand why they were attracted to move to the city in the first hand. In this way, it is possible to achieve a more dynamic image of why people have chosen to live in Mbezi Luisi, what their expectations are and in what way they hope that it will bring them a better life.

Finally, when the advantages and disadvantages of living in Mbezi Luisi are discussed in this chapter, it is important to put the respondents view in their individual contexts. What may be positive for one respondent may be seen as negative to another. The expectations and previous experiences from other areas may very well have an effect on the answers. These answers may therefore often be most relevant when they are put into individual contexts and also in comparison to other areas.

3.4.1 Financial capital in Mbezi Luisi

As can be seen in figure 13, the most common livelihood activity among the respondents is petty business and food vending. Petty trading can for example be a person who sells telephone cards, peanuts, water, newspapers et cetera on the streets. These two activities are furthermore followed by different kinds of construction work. The two former activities do exclusively take place within or in the immediate surroundings of Mbezi Luisi. Another quite common source of income is the money earned by keeping tenants. This is as mentioned earlier an activity that in all cases but one, is only an additional income source. Even though it is only additional some of the respondents still argue that it still makes up a vital part of the households income.

From the interviews, it was found that several respondents have chosen to live in the city because of the fact that they can engage in other activities than farming and most of all engage in money generating activities. The access to this job market and the freedom that is given by having a cash income is regarded as very good, especially as several respondents say that they need to put less physical effort into their work. There are however also respondents who complain about the fact that everything has to be paid for. They argue that it is harder for them here than in their former, rural places of residence since they have to pay for every small commodity. Somehow paradoxally, some of the respondents who praise the cash generating job market are the same that complain
about the need of cash for all transactions. More than half of the respondents also argue that living costs are high in Mbezi Luisi, compared to both rural and urban areas. One man argues that it is more expensive in Mbezi Luisi since they have no primary market and that the food has to first be brought into Dar es Salaam city centre and then someone has to go into town and bring it out to Mbezi Luisi.

The possibility to change occupation is mentioned by several respondents as one of the main reasons for migrating to the city and one of the factors mentioned when discussing the search of a better life. A majority of the people that moved from rural areas to the city said that the access to the urban job market was one of the reasons for moving to Dar es Salaam. There was one man Dar es Salaam who choose to go to Dar es Salaam in the pursuit of a job. He was told by his brother, who was working at the American embassy, about how easy it was to find a good job in. For him it was the pure attraction of the city that was the motive for the move. Another example of the pursuit of a better life is found for two women with similar stories. Both were coming from families in rural areas that had been engaged in cultivation. They described this life as very unattractive and saw the city life as a much better alternative which was why they moved to Dar es Salaam. These two examples are not unique and there were in total eight respondents that mentioned access to the urban job market in different contexts, as the primary reason.

Of the people that mentioned the attraction of Dar es Salaam and the attraction of the urban job market as primary reasons for moving to Dar es Salaam, there is no united answer on whether their expectations were met or not. Based on the interviews, a few of the respondents seem to be genuinely happy with their life in the city, but while most people actually did find more or less what they came for, not everyone is really content with their life in the city. Those who were not happy, do on the one hand say that they did find a job that meant less physical work and more freedom, but on the other hand they imply that they expected more from the life in the city, that it was supposed to be even better.

3.4.2 Human capital in Mbezi Luisi

All but three of the 14 persons who originally come from rural areas of Tanzania did, as mentioned earlier, first move to the central parts of Dar es Salaam before coming to Mbezi Luisi. As migrants arrive to Dar es Salaam, it is very common that they initially stay at the house of a relative. In some cases the initial settling areas have also been chosen because of housing opportunities through employment. Several of these individuals mentioned the search for a better life as the main reason for moving to Dar es Salaam. What they mean by better life does however differ from person to person and the expectations of the big city life were not the same for everybody. Some of them migrated to Dar es Salaam solely because of the stories they heard about the great life in the city. There are for example two women who wanted to pursue further education and saw Dar es Salaam as the only possible place where they could do this. For one of these women it turned out well as she today is studying at the University of Dar es Salaam which is about 30 minutes away from Mbezi Luisi, while the other one did not find the means to pursue further studies and is today working as a tailor out of her home.

3.4.3 Social capital in Mbezi Luisi

Family relation is one of the more common reasons as why to live in Mbezi Luisi. Several of the respondents have mentioned that they have moved here since their parents, husband or other relatives had a house in which they could live in. This is commonly the reason why people end up in Mbezi Luisi but the reason they leave their former residential place can range from wanting to live with their spouse to feeling the need of leaving a destructive relationship. An example of the latter is
a young man who was badly mistreated by his father and his stepmother and therefore had to move. At that time he could not afford to live by himself so he went to live with his grandmother, where he could start a new career as a carpenter trainee. For the two informants that had been living in Mbezi Luisi for their entire life, the reasons for staying was mainly the strong connection to the area and the social ties to people in Mbezi Luisi. Another reason that was mentioned by a man as a primary reason for living in Mbezi Luisi was that he had inherited land from his grandfather who was an indigenous man that owned a lot of land. In this case, another age related pattern that can be seen. The people who moved to Mbezi Luisi in their teens or early twenties often did some for different family related issues, for example if a relative had a house in the area.

Another example of how family related events affected the choice of moving to Mbezi Luisi can be seen from the example of a female respondent. She said that the man who was to be her future husband was on vacation at her home village when they decided to marry and that they therefore moved to Dar es Salaam. There are also others who mention that their spouse, both husbands and wives, had a job or was going to get a job in the city and that they moved for that reason. There were also other kind of family relation that affected peoples migration decision, these however was mostly not about the move to the city itself but rather as people moved from other parts of Dar es Salaam. Other from this, family relations has mainly affected people in their choice on where in Dar es Salaam to move. This as family relations is a common reason as to why a certain area is chosen to live in.

Among the factors that relate to positive and negative aspects of living in Mbezi Luisi, social networks and relationships are mentioned. Some people, who have previously lived in the countryside, say that they feel that the social ties are weaker in Mbezi Luisi than in the previous place of residence. On the other hand, there are others who mention the good atmosphere and close relations between neighbors as one of the best qualities of Mbezi Luisi. For example several women claim that they help each other out with childcare. There is no clear pattern of which parts of the population that feels that they would get a lot of support from friends of relatives in the area. There are people both from rural and urban areas that state that they feel a strong relationship. There are some tendencies that are pointing on the fact that people that have lived for a long time in Mbezi Luisi has stronger networks, but there are also exceptions among this group and therefore the pattern is not very strong. What can be said however is that people with a lot of relatives in the area generally feel that they have access to support. One positive thing that relates to social capital in Mbezi Luisi is the absence of criminality. People seem to agree that the area to a very large extent is spared from criminality, especially compared to criminally exposed inner city areas.

The discussion above can also be related to the access to social groups, which is also quit mixed among the people of Mbezi Luisi. Social groups does in this study relate to informal associations where the members help each other out in case of illness or death. In most groups, members pay a members fee regularly. In this study, 8 of the 30 interviewed households claim that they today have access to social groups that will help them out in case of serious illness or death. The pattern that can be seen is quite clear as it is often the people with highest income that are members of these groups. Of those who are not members, several mention that they cannot afford the membership fee and that they are therefore not members. Some of the respondents who have stayed the shortest time in the area also mention that they do not know about any social groups. There were also two male respondents that said that there are only Christian social groups and since they are Muslims, they cannot be members. These men did however say that they expected to receive support from fellow Muslims in case of illness or deaths. Some of the households that are not part of any social groups keep small savings, but the amounts that are kept are hardly adequate if serious stresses will arise. Neither do the majority of the households have access to other financial institutions such as loans. The exceptions are those who have a formal employment, but these persons are very few. This is also reflected on the house building process which is common to take several years as they are being built as funds become available.
3.4.4 Physical capital in Mbezi Luisi

The possibility to build a house is commonly mentioned as a reason for moving to Mbezi Luisi, 7 of the 28 respondents that had moved to Mbezi Luisi claimed that this was a reason of moving to the area. It was commonly stated as a reason specifically among those who move from central parts of Dar es Salaam to Mbezi Luisi. The plots are cheap in Mbezi Luisi when compared to other areas in Dar es Salaam and therefore it is possible to own your own house here. The reasons why people want to own their own house are several. Some of the respondents mention that it gives them a feeling of freedom, both as it is their own house and as they can do what they want with the exterior. They also say that owning their own house is good from an economic perspective. It is seen as a livelihood source as they do not have to pay any rent but also since it can bring them an extra income from tenants. It is also seen as a form of capital as it brings financial stability. Housing will always be free once your house is built as people in general do not lend money for house construction due to lack of access to loans. Therefore the families do not have to worry about future decisions of their landlords regarding for example changes in rent. One thing that is clear when the reason for settling in Mbezi Luisi is reviewed, is that there is an age pattern between the different reasons. The people that had moved to Mbezi Luisi with the purpose of building their own house did generally do so quite a high age. They were not very old but they are generally found in the group of people that came to Mbezi Luisi when they had already lived an adult life for quite some time.

![Figure 15: House being built in Mbezi Luisi: Photo Alexander Fagerlund (2009-05-20)](image)

One thing that has become obvious from this study is that a majority of the livelihood activities are undertaken within Mbezi Luisi which means that a lot of residents work and live in the same area. There is however another interesting notation that can be done, which is that those who actually do work outside of Mbezi Luisi is to a large extent those of the respondents who are engaged in formal work, such as electrician, guarding and hotel employment. These people do mainly travel to town by Dala-Dala. An interesting point the location of work is that some of the people working in Mbezi Luisi are doing so right outside if their own houses. For example there are two cases where tailoring businesses are being run on the porch of the house and there are also several respondents engaged in food vending, doing their business just outside of the home.
The infrastructure of Mbezi Luisi is a subject on which several different views are held upon. A few respondents mentioned the connection to the city center and the Dala-dalas as two positive aspects of Mbezi Luisi. Even though it took all of the four respondents who worked in the central parts of Dar es Salaam about an hour or more to travel work, only one said that the distance to work was a problem. The infrastructure problems seem instead to be found within the area. Several respondents say that the roads in the area are insufficient, that the electricity is unstable and expensive and that the water supply is poor. Half of the surveyed households had electricity and all of the households had access to water, even though some of them had to walk quite far to fetch it. As these things are rated, they are mainly compared to the urban areas and are then rated as much worse. The roads do not reach about half of the surveyed households and several respondents expressed a concern that no car could get them in case of serious illness. The water is mostly served by private entrepreneurs and a lot of the respondents expressed a wish that there would be public water pipes, preferably in direct connection to every house. One thing that was seen as positive by some respondents was the presence of entrepreneurs who collect waste for a fee.

The access to schools in Mbezi Luisi and access to higher education in the city is mentioned as positive aspects of living in Mbezi Luisi. However the quality of the public schools was seen as a problem as well as the access to secondary schools because of financial reasons. The same was the case for the areas hospitals. Even though there are several hospitals in the area, the majority of the population could because of financial reasons only access the public hospital. The health care situation was seen as good by a few respondents but the majority said that there were too few doctors and not enough medicine. One of the other major problems with the area that is related to the hospitals and schools is the corruption. The hospital and schools are two places that are repeatedly mentioned as places where corruption takes place. The respondent argues that medicine should be free for children and that the children should have access to for example books in school, but the nurses and teachers keep these things and say that they have to be paid for. A final complaint was that there was no police station in the area.

### 3.4.5 Natural capital in Mbezi Luisi

The change of livelihood activities is one reason for moving to Mbezi Luisi, which was discussed as people wanted to change from cultivating to more urban jobs. It can however also be the other way around. One respondent said that the reason why his family moved to Mbezi Luisi during the 1970’s was so they could start to engage in farming instead of working at the port of Dar es Salaam. At that
time Mbezi Luisi was as mentioned earlier sparsely populated and farming was the dominating livelihood activity. Another person who moved to Mbezi Luisi for the same reason did so at a later stage when Mbezi Luisi looked more as it does today. When he retired from his job at a large state owned company, he wanted to engage in some farming but he also wanted to live at a place where his children could attend school. Therefore he moved to Mbezi Luisi as the area met these requirements.

From the interviews, it is clear that there are some people in Mbezi Luisi who are engaged in farming. The type of farming varies from household to household. One type of livelihood activity that was mentioned by a few of the respondents was to go away to rural areas during the rainy season to harvest large amount of crops. The rest of the farming was undertaken in Mbezi Luisi. This local farming can be divided into small-scale and medium-scaled farming. Since the size of the plots varies to a large degree in Mbezi Luisi, the prerequisites for farming differ from household to household. Some of the households with larger plots can harvest a lot of crops, which leads to a situation where they both have plenty of food and where they can even sell some food. Others have very small plots, where they may only keep some poultry and simple cultivation to marginally increase their food supply. This small farming however may still be considered as important and several respondents have mentioned the possibility to cultivate land and keep poultry as one of the best qualities of Mbezi Luisi.

The most common thing to be mentioned as positive about the area by the respondents was the environment in the area. More than half of the respondents mentioned that the access to vegetation and good air as well as the sparsely built environment and the absence of loud noise were top qualities that define Mbezi Luisi. All of these qualities were mentioned by the respondents as something that was better in Mbezi Luisi than in other central parts of Dar es Salaam. The persons that came from the countryside did in some cases mention these qualities, but never as something that was better in Mbezi Luisi than in the countryside. It was rather a reflection of how Mbezi Luisi compares to other urban areas.

Another advantage that was also mentioned about living in Mbezi Luisi is the possibility to cultivate and keep poultry. This was mainly stated as an advantage relative towards other urban areas where there is simply not enough space for these activities. However, one respondent mentioned the advantage of being able to cultivate as well as having access to good schools, which is a combination that he did not think was accessible neither in the city nor on the countryside. There are however also people that did complain about the fact that the access to arable land has decreased since the move from a rural area to Mbezi Luisi.
4. Analysis

The first research question in this study is; what does the demographic profile of Mbezi Luisi look like? To start off, it can be said that the people that reside in Mbezi Luisi is quit young in general. The median age of the surveyed population of 100 individuals is 33 years. However, when the two charts of age distribution for Mbezi Luisi and the entire country of Tanzania in general are compared, it is obvious that Mbezi Luisi is in no way unique, rather the age composition is quite similar to the one of the general population in Tanzania. Therefore it would be incorrect to state that the demographic profile of peri-urban areas, considering age structure, is especially biased towards younger people.

The nevertheless low average age of the surveyed population is also reflected in the average age at the time of migration to Mbezi Luisi, 26 years. The age of people that move to peri-urban areas has been discussed by other researchers and Kombe has, as mentioned earlier, stated that it is the young people that are most mobile and most likely to move in to these areas.115 This theory can be said to be partly verified by the results from this study since it was found that more than a third of the in migrants were between 16 and 25 and more than half of the migrants had not reached the age of 30. However, it was also found that a lot of the people that moved to Mbezi Luisi did so in order to be able to build their own house. These people were in general not very young and therefore Kombe's theory cannot be fully supported. This can be related to the housing strategies that Cadstedt discusses.116 People, who have the possibility, in general want to be house owners at one stage of their lives. This stage often comes at a time where family composition changes and house ownership may be more important as the family grows. It is also highly important to have the necessary funds to invest in a house. Therefore these people will mostly not be the ones who have just moved out of their parents' house.

An interesting point to discuss here is also whether the young age of migrants is especially related to peri-urban migration. There is no available data on median age for moving in general. But the fact that a lot of the migrants have moved from rural areas, via the inner city and then finally to peri-urban areas should imply something. As people move in this order, migrants that move in to the city centre ought to be younger than people that move to peri-urban areas. Hence, Kombe is probably right on the fact that migrants in general are young, however migrants that move to peri-urban areas are, according to the results from this study, in no way younger than the average migrant.

Regarding incomes, Kombe argues that the people who move to peri-urban areas in general are poor and poorly educated and that they move to peri-urban areas in the woodlands because they are seen as mostly accessible. This argument can be said to have some validity since a lot of the people in Mbezi Luisi are engaged in low income activities such as petty trading. However, this study also shows another situation. The socio-economic structure of the population is very heterogeneous in the area. While some people are struggling to survive in the area, there are people with well paid jobs who live in nice houses. The fact that they have come to Mbezi Luisi with the reason to build a house should also exclude the possibility that they were poor when they arrived to the area. This fact does, as well as the fact about the age of migrants, imply that it is difficult to make to specific generalizations about the people in peri-urban areas. While it possible to characterize the people, the population as a whole is heterogeneous and dynamic and it is therefore not possible to single out one clear socio-economic or age characteristic of the population. The fact that the population is heterogeneous is interesting. Even though previous researchers have stated that peri-urban areas are inhabited by both poor and rich people, it is mostly stated that they are living in different peri-urban areas. In this case however, different socio-economic groups are living in the same area.

115 Kombe W.J. (2005)
116 Cadstedt J. (2006) page 96f
As Bah et al have stated in their research, a large part of the population in peri-urban areas is not from the area originally. This is also true for Mbezi Luisi and it is likely that it might be likely in most peri-urban areas. The fact that the average age in the area is not much higher than the average age at the time of migration entails that a lot of the people living in Mbezi Luisi have lived in the area for only a few years. This can also be related to the fact that a large majority of the population is not from Mbezi Luisi originally. Since the area has grown very much in the recent decades it is logical that the area has experienced a lot of in migration and since the origins of the migrants are well spread around Tanzania, it is also logical that the population will be heterogeneous. This discussion can also be related to Mbibas time variable of peri-urban areas. Since peri-urban areas are defined as areas that are young, they should therefore have experienced a strong population growth in recent years. Hence a large part of the population in peri-urban areas should be migrants. With these large in-migrations to peri-urban areas, in some cases people from the same background and socio economic standard will move in. In general however, this development gives way for a heterogeneous population. Something that is also supported by Robson and Roque who also argue that complex migration patterns into the area creates a heterogeneous population.

One argument that disputes the idea of a heterogeneous population is that people move into areas because of relatives within it. This is the case in Lupalas study on Nyantira and it is also found in this study that people seek the areas where they have relatives. However, this is not the only reason for choosing a specific area and therefore only parts of the population are likely to be homogeneous. At the same time, the fact that people move where their relatives are residing does not mean that all migrants make up a homogenous group. They will still come from different areas and with different backgrounds. With this said, it is not impossible that areas can have a homogeneous population, however it is probably not the general situation. As stated above, the migration patterns into peri-urban areas are complex and can also differ from case to case. An area that attracts people in an even stream over a longer period of time may for example have a more heterogeneous population than an area that has experienced a very concentrated in migration. Another case where an area may have a homogeneous population is where the land owners have an interest to make sure that the new land owners have a certain background, for example religious or tribal.

Even though the background varies quite a lot as people come from both rural and urban areas there is one thing that most of the people that have moved to Mbezi Luisi have in common. 25 out of the 28 respondents who were born outside of Mbezi Luisi had an inner city area as last place of residence before coming to Mbezi Luisi, independent of where they were born. First, this means that none of the respondents had moved from the city, to a rural area and then to Mbezi Luisi. Second, and maybe more interesting, a clear majority of the ones who originally come from rural areas first moved to the city center, and then on to Mbezi Luisi. There can be a number of reasons for this. One of these has to do with the age of the area. As mentioned earlier, Mbezi Luisi has gone through a lot of changes and the explosion in spatial growth of Dar es Salaam that has taken place since the 1990’s has lead to a large increase in population. Because of the spatial growth and the development of the area, and because of the development of the connection to the city, it is likely to say that the population in Mbezi Luisi started to grow more rapidly only in the two latest decades. Therefore, it is possible that people that came to Dar es Salaam from the rural parts of Tanzania earlier did not see Mbezi Luisi as part of Dar es Salaam and for that reason did not want to come there. This however has changed, as Masudi points out, and people may for that reason be more willing to move there today.

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118 Mbiba (2007) page 1-6
119 Robson P. & Roque S. (2001)
Another possible reason is that when people first come to the city, they stay at whatever place they can find free or cheap accommodation. This in turn usually means that they want to stay at a relative’s house. This argument is also somehow related to the previous one. As Mbezi Luisi has been a quite small area, it is more likely that the relatives of these rural people are found within one of the highly populated inner city areas. As they later on get settled and want to find their own place, they may choose to move to Mbezi Luisi. This may especially be true since several respondents mentioned the possibility to build their own house as the main reason for moving to Mbezi Luisi.

The fact that people to a large extent choose to move from rural areas to the city, and then to peri-urban areas as a final destination is one of the most interesting results of this study. The reasons for this can be diverse and one of them is the one mentioned above. Another reason for this may be the knowledge about the Dar es Salaam region and the perception of what is “the city” among migrants. It is possible that people that wish to move to the city from rural areas may not know about the peri-urban areas, or that they do not perceive them as part of the city when they first choose to migrate. It can also be the case that they primarily see the inner-city areas as their first choice. But as circumstances in their life change, such as births of children, they may need to find larger accommodation and then seek larger housing that is still affordable.

4.1 Settlement in Mbezi Luisi as a livelihood strategy

The second research question in this study is; why do people live in Mbezi Luisi? In order to find the reasons for settling in a peri-urban area it is, as mentioned earlier in the study, important that the reasons are seen within a context. It is important to look at an individual’s surroundings and environment in order to say something about the choices he or she makes. This has been attempted and furthermore the decisions will be analyzed from a livelihood strategy perspective. In what way can the choice of moving to Mbezi Luisi enhance the livelihood, in what way will the access to different capitals increase? In order to answer the third research question; “How can the choice of settlement in Mbezi Luisi be analyzed through a livelihood approach?”, the best approach is to look at the reasons for settlement and the livelihoods and to continuously analyze them through the livelihood framework.

One of the main reasons for moving to Mbezi Luisi for the respondents has been the possibility to build their own house and in that way get access to physical capital. A self owned house ensures future access for the household to housing. The possibility to live in a self owned house can also increase other assets. It can lead to a more financially stable situation since as an owner, the family does not have to pay rent. Another financially positive thing about being a house owner is that the family can also gain an extra income from tenants. In this way, the physical capital can be a source of increased financial assets. There is also another aspect of house building that concerns access to financial capital. The possibility to loan money for house building is very limited and therefore, the people have to save money themselves. A fact that also to some extent explains why a lot the people who moved to Mbezi Luisi for this reason was quite old in comparison to other migrants. The fact that people cannot loan money for housing can be interpreted as, in this sense, low access to financial capital. This however is not in any way unique for peri-urban areas as the limited access to bank loans are the same throughout the society in Tanzania.

The reason why Mbezi Luisi is chosen as the area to build a house and what makes it positive to move to this area, is the fact that the land is cheaper here than in central areas. This is also the case for the rental market as rents are in general cheaper in Mbezi Luisi than in the central parts of the
As land prices are lower in the urban periphery, people will tend to move out to for example peri-urban areas in order to afford self-owned housing. This trend can furthermore be seen when the housing type in four different urban areas are compared. Older, inner city areas with a comparatively high infrastructure standard have a much higher share of tenants than younger peripheral areas with less infrastructure, which indicate that the possibilities for home ownership is better in peri-urban/peripheral areas. A result of home ownership is that people who move to Mbezi Luisi and lower their housing costs will get more access to financial capital through more money. It may here be said that this argumentation excludes the costs of building a house. The constraints that Cadstedt mention on housing strategies applies here as the costs of building a house (including all the surrounding costs) makes it impossible for a lot of people to do this. However, for those who can afford the housing costs will in the end become lower compared to rental and the fact that it increases the financial stability is also essential. The stability of being able to control housing expenses must be seen as part of a sustainable livelihood strategy, as well as the facts that future tenants may bring extra incomes. It should also be stated that the above case is only true for those who move to Mbezi Luisi from the city, people moving from a village in the countryside may feel that their housing costs actually rises if they leave their home and come to live as a tenant in Mbezi Luisi.

Living in Mbezi Luisi does however not only mean financial gains. Many of the respondents have mentioned the relatively high living costs, such as high food prices, in Mbezi Luisi as one of the more negative qualities of the area. This has been mentioned both in comparison to inner city areas as well as rural areas. In turn this leads to a situation where the access to financial capital may decrease since food expenses increases. The level of validity in this statement is however questionable to some extent. The respondents’ opinion about the price level compared to other areas may be biased due to lack of valid knowledge or due to selective choice of area for comparison. In the end however, it gives an indication about how the respondents feel about their living costs.

The level of social connections in Mbezi Luisi is difficult to discuss. While some people have a lot of relatives and a lot of support in the area, some may not have any support from relatives or friends as these are absent. One thing that is possible to discuss however the presence of social groups, given Narayan’s definition of the term mentioned earlier. It stands quit clear that there are social groups to be found in Mbezi Luisi, however these are far from accessible to everyone. The cost of being part of these social group are in many cases to high for the households which mean that they do not access to them. Instead the access to social groups seems to be limited to those who already are financially strong. This in turn leads to a situation where the social capital, given the Narayan’s definition, is quite low for the poorer part of the community.

For some of the respondents, Mbezi Luisi have been a safe haven when they have been in trouble. They have been able to live at a relative’s house. This entails that there is social connections in the area, but on the other hand it is probably not unique either for Mbezi Luisi or for peri-urban areas in general. The discussion of social capital can also be made from a point of social norms. While networks may be stronger in rural settings, there may be social norms that prevent people from self realization and development. This can be related to what is said about people moving to the city in order to attain more freedom. If more freedom is obtained, and it leads to a more productive society, it could be claimed that the more liberal norms of the urban and peri-urban environment leads to increased social capital.

It is here relevant to discuss whether all of the respondents are following a livelihood strategy or if Mbezi Luisi is just the only choice for survival. Do people really make active decisions or are they, as

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120 Cadstedt J. (2006) page 96f, 125f
in the cases where they move into a relatives place, just out of options? It would be possible to claim the latter, that they lack options and only do the one possible thing. One of the examples that can be told about people not having much choice is the one of the people who had to move because of the villagisation. On the other hand this is one quite extreme case and in addition to this, the villagisation program was not exclusively for less fortunate people. Furthermore when the information given by the people that are interviewed are looked upon, it is obvious that they do not only move around without visions. They have visions, plans for how to move on. The young man that moved into his grandmother’s house is a good example of this. He was mistreated in his father’s home and could not pursue his education. But when he moved to his grandmother, he still had a vision and moved because he knew that he had better opportunities to pursue a career in Mbezi Luisi than he would if he stayed and kept on being mistreated at his father’s house. Another thing that points to the fact that there are livelihood strategies is that all have mentioned at least one change after the move to Mbezi Luisi that in one way or another have improved their life.

Robson and Roque’s discussion of how the solidarity is fading away can strongly be related to what is said about social capital in the livelihood perspective. It is obvious that people that have moved from the countryside feels that their social ties are getting weaker, which in turns leads to diminishing social capital. As the area is quite heterogeneous they might not have as much social support as in their home town or village. It should however be emphasized that this is the case for people who migrate from rural living places. People that move from the city might not feel the same way, since they are more used to a heterogeneous environment with weaker social ties between people.

The results from this study supports Robson and Roque’s argument that people who have moved in to the peri-urban areas from rural areas see the increased need of money as something negative. This can be said to lead to diminishing social capital as people rely to cash instead of help from their peers and neighbors. It is however highly interesting to notice that the same people who complain over the need for cash to buy everyday goods are in some cases the same who praise the urban job market and the increased cash incomes. The increased amount of money accessible through this type of labour is seen as positive and also liberating since some people feel that they have more choices. From a livelihood perspective it is therefore possible to say that the increased use of cash and the decrease in favors can be seen as positive as it will probably increase people’s financial capital. The main conclusion therefore must be that it is difficult to say whether the increased use of money is to be seen as worse or simply different.

Social capital can, as mentioned by for example Robison and Krishna, be defined in several ways. According to Naryan however, the main idea is that for example rules, norms, and trust within in social relations and provides a base for the possibilities of individuals to pursue their goals. Criminality should therefore be one aspect that strongly decreases social capital. The fear of theft, robbery et cetera surely limits the possibility or at least the willingness to pursue different activities such as stabile businesses. Mbezi Luisi is described as a safe area by many respondents, especially in comparison to inner city areas such as Manzese. The absence of violence, theft and disturbance implies that this type of social capital therefore is higher in Mbezi Luisi than in the inner city areas.

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121 Robson P. & Roque S. (2001)
122 Ibid
125 Narayan (1997) page 50
One of the reasons mentioned for moving to the city from the countryside was the opportunity to pursue higher education. Seen from a livelihood perspective, this is an obvious effort to improve the human capital of the household. The possible future earnings will hopefully be much higher with a university diploma. Mbezi Luisi can be the actual site for the further studies when it comes to secondary schools or high schools. For university studies on the other hand, Mbezi Luisi is only a place of residence since the university itself is to be found about 30 minutes Dala-dala drive away. This can although still be interpreted as that the access to university studies is present for people in Mbezi Luisi. However, as for all other people in Tanzania and Dar es Salaam this access is of course mainly dependent on money since university education in Tanzania is quite costly.

Another interesting part of the household compositions that can be related to the human capital is the size of the households, and more importantly the composition of them. As they are sometimes large, it is then common that they contain more than two adults. This can be seen as a quantitative investment in human capital, of course dependent on the health and age of the household members. A sustainable and stable livelihood may more easily be obtained if there are several earners within the household. In this way the household can be less sensitive to short terms shocks such as temporary unemployment since the risks are spread out on more individuals. The size of the family can also be relevant when the human capital is compared between peri-urban and rural areas. As living costs are higher in Mbezi Luisi than in rural areas, people may be more reluctant to have many children in peri-urban areas. Since families are engaged in cultivation to a much larger extent in rural areas, people there may see having many children as a livelihood strategy to a larger extent.

On migration theory that is relevant for this study is the one of push and pull factors. These have been debated highly and it is stated that it is too simplistic to use these factors isolated. However, they are still applicable to some degree and one theory that is highly relevant for this study is the bright light city or the lure the city. The city itself is according to this theory a great pull factor and attracts a lot of people from rural areas. This theory seems to be valid to a large extent in this study as many respondents have stated that they thought that they would improve their life as they moved to the city. According to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson there is some ambiguity about the knowledge about what to expect from the life in the city for those who move into it. Some of the respondents have clearly stated that they have found the life they were looking for, at the same time as others have expressed that their beforehand held image differed from reality. Most of these did however say that they had experienced some improvements in their life. Hence it can be argued that the basic image of what to expect from life in the city, presented by media, friends, family et cetera, should concur with reality to a large extent. However hopes and expectations varies from person to person which can lead to glorifying images and hence disappointments.

One of the main attractions of moving to the city is, as mentioned earlier, the hope of a better life. This can be closely related to migration theories that discuss the lure of the city or the bright light city. People that are unhappy with the life in rural areas, or simply just want something else often look towards the city. As several respondents have stated, it seems to be common that people are told about the amazing life of the city by friends and relatives. As they later on come to the city, they find out that life is not as easy as they predicted. One of the main arguments for wanting to move is to find an easier life and an occupation that brings more money. This is often achieved but as mentioned earlier, the expenses are also higher here than in the countryside. The theories of the bright light city may be interpreted as that the migrants are sometimes attracted by a false image of the city that later on is shattered and that they are to be unhappy. From this study this theory can however only be partly confirmed. Even though there were respondents that claimed that they did

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126 Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson page 129ff
not find the life that they were told about, they still argue that they have a better life in Mbezi Luisi than they had in the countryside.

One of the bigger problems for the future lies in the labour market. The labour market that lures a lot of the migrants and that brings cash income is, as seen in this study, consisting of petty business to a very large extent. This is largely because, as mentioned in the beginning of the study, the fact that no real industrialization has taken place and there are therefore not many jobs in the industry sector. And since there is neither an information nor knowledge based industry like the one dominating many western countries, a large informal sector mainly consisting of petty businesses and similar occupations is created and expanded. A problem with this situation is that there should be a limited market for these services. There ought to be just so much demand for peanuts, bottled water or other products sold along the roads. This means that the problem with the lure of the city is that many migrants will end up in a sector of the labour market that will become, or may already be, overcrowded. In turn, this will lead to even harder living conditions for those who migrate to the city.

A migration theory that complements the push and pull factors is the one of circulatory migration. It can be seen both in this study and in other studies that people in Tanzania and other Sub Sahara African countries live in different parts of the country for different parts of the year. It is especially during the rainy season when the cultivation is at its peak, that some people move from Mbezi Luisi to the countryside. In this perspective, talking about push and pull factors from a traditional perspective can be limiting. It is important to acknowledge that there are pull factors in several areas, and that people are dynamic and may seek what they see as optimal at different periods.

As mentioned earlier, almost all of the respondents seem to think that Mbezi Luisi is a good area, and one of the most common things that are praised about Mbezi Luisi is the environment. The good environment may however be different among different peri-urban areas. One thing that can be pointed out here is that Mbezi Luisi is a young area and the density may get even higher and the area might lose in popularity. This can in turn lead to a situation where poorer people move in to the area, which then will lead to a situation like the one described by Kombe earlier in this study. Meanwhile this may be the case, peri-urban areas are often quite young and lies outside the city. The urban fringe is dynamic and is constantly developing, and therefore the peri-urban areas of today may not be seen as peri-urban in 30 or 40 years while new peri-urban areas might arise elsewhere.

The fact that the environment is seen as pleasant may at first not be seen as a quality that should be referred to as capital in the livelihood perspective. However, a good environment may first of all increase the quality of life as a whole which in the end is the goal. In addition to this, a good environment may lead to an increase in human capital. Happy people, that are healthy thanks to good air and clean water, will most likely be more productive than people that live in polluted areas.

The physical structure of the area with a sparsely build up environment also creates other opportunities. As it has been stated in other literature, the use of the peri-urban land and the main occupation of the peri-urban population have changed. Mbezi Luisi was previously dominated by agriculture, but today only a few of the inhabitants are engaged in full time cultivation. This means that the main purpose of coming to Mbezi Luisi seldom is to engage in cultivation. However, even though people are less engaged in cultivation, there are some who still cultivate their land to a small extent. Apart from the fact that the built environment in Mbezi Luisi therefore creates access to natural capital in form of arable land, this creates possibilities for income diversification as people can engage primarily in paid labour but also have some cultivation or poultry keeping in connection
to their house. This income diversification is mentioned by Rakodi\textsuperscript{127} and can, in similarity to large households, be seen as a livelihood strategy where the risks are minimized and spread.

The people that move to Mbezi Luisi to pursue in income diversification come from both rural and urban parts of Tanzania. They do also come from different socio economic backgrounds. Bah et al argues that it is mainly middle and high income earners that move out to peri-urban areas because of a wish for more space and good environment.\textsuperscript{128} They argue that poor people move mostly because of increasing costs in the city center, but the wish of being able to live close to the city and still being able to cultivate the land among the respondents in this study tells a different story. The respondents here make active decisions in order to diversify their incomes and to live in a better environment, which can be interpreted as that the reasons for moving to peri-urban areas should not be categorized by socio-economic status. Bah et al arguments can be interpreted as the poor people are passive victims and that there are only push factors related to their decisions.\textsuperscript{129} From a livelihood perspective, and with the results from this study, it is however obvious that there are also pull factors influencing the decisions and moreover the migrants have actually made active decisions.

The infrastructure in Mbezi Luisi is highly debated among the inhabitants. There are many differences from one households opinion to another which makes it difficult to make generalizations about the inhabitants’ access to physical capital. As in other cases such as schooling, money is a clear divider between those who have access and those who do not have access. There are however some things that can be discussed. The waste handling in the area is stated to be well functioning by ofﬁcial leaders, as it is argued that there are regulations on how waste is supposed to be handled and as there are waste pickup companies. The problem however is that not all of the households can access this service. First of all it is physically inaccessible to some households, but there are also households that do not consider themselves to being able to afford this service. When services like this are privatized and when individual households are responsible, some households will ignore regulations as they do not feel that they can afford it. This should be related to what Beall and Lloyd-James writes about access to different capital.\textsuperscript{130} The access is the core of the livelihood idea, if people do not have access to an asset, it cannot be said to be relevant for them. This is exactly the case here, as there are entrepreneurs that do collect waste but as people cannot afford the service they cannot access the physical capital that waste collection provides.

Another privatized service that stirs up a lot of emotions is the water supply. The water is only supplied by private entrepreneurs and some of the households have to walk quite far in order to fetch the water. As several respondents argued that the water supply is worse in Mbezi Luisi than in other areas of Dar es Salaam, it gives a hint of the situation. Since half of the respondents in this study claimed that they had electricity, Masudi’s information seems likely. According to him 40 percent of the population has no electricity either because of lacking coverage or because of affordability. Either way, this means that a large part of the population has no access to electricity. The access to physical capital is therefore quite weak in comparison to urban areas. It can be argued that electricity is unaffordable even in these areas, but as the price of electricity is higher here it may at least be less inaccessible in urban areas. However, in comparison to rural areas, all of the above are more accessible in Mbezi Luisi. The only exception was one respondent who claimed that the water access was better in her home village.

\textsuperscript{127} Rakodi C. (1999)
\textsuperscript{128} Bah et al (2003)
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid
\textsuperscript{130} Meikle S. (2002) page 44, Beall J. (2002) page 72
The health care of the area is another service which is concerned by privatization. It is mostly stated that there is good health care in the area, but only expensive private alternatives. The public hospital is, with one exception, considered to be relatively poor. Once again the issue is not whether the service is present or not, it is if it is accessible. The development of the health care in Mbezi Luisi in connection to this discussion can be summarized in the following way. Earlier there was only one hospital in Mbezi Luisi but now there are several, this however does not matter to a large part of the population since they can still only access the public option. The conclusion therefore is the same considering physical capital in Mbezi Luisi. The private options imply that there are certain services available in the area, however as long as they will be too costly for the population, it will still be inaccessible.

4.2 How can the livelihood approach be of use to planners?

The final research question in this study is “In what way can a livelihood approach be used as a tool for urban planners when trying to improve the lives of the peri-urban populations?” It is difficult to try to state how a theoretical framework can be used as a planning device. With the results in hand from this study, it can however be said that the livelihood approach in some cases can be used as a tool for municipal planning. The results from the interviews in this study have among other things shown that a lot of houses are inaccessible by car which leads to a risk situation in case of emergency. It has also shown that people in general feel that the price level of the area is high and that this probably is because of the lack of a primary market in or near Mbezi Luisi.

The answers to the research questions asked in this study are however not the main key for the planners. It is difficult to generalize about peri-urban areas and it is always important to consider the local context. However it is the methodology and approach that can be helpful. The way that certain issues are dealt with and emphasized through the livelihood approach creates a dialogue situation that can be helpful for planners. The methodology and focus of the livelihood approach can for example be used as a part of communicative planning. This since communicative planning that departure from a livelihood approach can help planners to understand the lives and the livelihoods of the residents. Such an approach could help planners to understand how access to different assets can be obtained by the population and what is seen as most important by the residents. Furthermore it could lead to knowledge that would support planners to understand what is needed for the residents to obtain a sustainable livelihood. This in the end would hopefully lead to a situation where urban and regional planning that supports sustainable livelihoods would be eased.

Finally, the understanding of the livelihoods of peri-urban residents can be of interest for making policy decisions on urban development and general urban and regional planning. When peri-urban areas are reviewed in a wider urban development perspective, it can be argued that they lead the urban development in a certain direction. If people constantly choose to settle in areas that are located some distance outside of the city, urban sprawl will arise. This means that a geographically widely spread urban development will arise. There are both negative and positive aspects of urban sprawl and a livelihood approach may give planners a better knowledge of which these are and how to take them into account. Among the negative aspects, there are infrastructure problems, transportation problems and other logistic issues. All these function better in a dense urban environment since less infrastructure is needed. A study like this may bring these negative aspects forward but it can also give planner another perspective on urban sprawl. Positive aspects can be brought forward and planners can attain knowledge on how these aspects can affect the residents’ livelihoods. It can highlight all the positive aspects that residents bring up, such as good environment and cheaper housing.

This kind of information can be helpful since it may change the view on urban sprawl. Because of the reasons mentioned above, urban sprawl is often looked upon with a negative attitude. As this study
has shown, there are aspects of urban sprawl that affect people to the highest degree. For instance the possibility to own the house one is living in, is for many people only possible in the urban periphery. Thus urban sprawl can lead to a situation where people's livelihood will increase and become more sustainable. This should not be interpreted as if urban sprawl is to prefer, but it can renew the view on urban development which in turn can be highly relevant in policy decision making.

4.3 Conclusions

There are, as stated earlier, many differences prevailing among different peri-urban areas. It is not valid to make generalizations for all peri-urban areas, only from the results of one case study. As previous studies have been reviewed this stands even clearer. Among other things, there are socio-economic differences, there are differences in livelihood activities and there are sometimes demographic differences among different peri-urban areas.

This however does not mean that every case in itself is totally different from all other cases and that there are no similarities what so ever. There are some issues, both broad and narrow, that are similar for different peri-urban areas. These are shown in this study as they have been derived with the help of theoretical frameworks and previous research. The conclusion based on the analysis above is therefore that some things can be said about the peri-urban areas and the access to different capitals in the areas. When the livelihood framework once again is reviewed some comments can be made on what the access to different capitals looks like in comparison to the urban and rural context.

In comparison to the urban environment, the following can be stated:

- Physical capital; in comparison to urban settings it is clear that the infrastructure is not as accessible as in the urban areas. The supply of affordable schooling and health care is also seen as better in those areas.
- Natural capital; the access to natural capital can be said to be much better here than in urban areas. The environment is better and there are also possibilities to engage in cultivation.
- Social capital; the issue of social capital is difficult to determine. The area is heterogeneous and the social ties between inhabitants do not seem to be stronger than in urban areas. However, the safety is higher and this implies that the level of social capital might be slightly higher. Several respondents have also said that the people of Mbezi Luisi are helpful and that they help each other out in times of difficulties.
• Human capital; the difference in access to human capital is not very big. The possibilities to invest in human capital is about the same for urban as peri-urban areas as Universities and secondary schools can be reached from both.
• Financial capital; the financial capital ought to be at a similar level as the urban areas. While housing is more expensive in urban areas, living costs are lower. The access to job opportunities is pretty similar thanks to the good connection to the city. There is however transportation costs for the people in Mbezi Luisi that wants to go to the city centre that are not present for those who live there.

Figure 19: Comparison between access to assets in the rural (dotted) and peri-urban settings (continuous); own figure

In comparison to the rural environment, the following can be stated:

• Physical capital; the physical infrastructure in peri-urban areas are clearly better than in rural areas. The access to waste management, electricity and schools are perceived as better by all respondents except for one.
• Natural capital; the level of natural capital is as one might guess higher in rural areas than in peri-urban areas. Even though the peri-urban areas are less built up than urban areas, they are much more densely built than rural areas. Therefore the amount of arable land is higher in the rural areas.
• Social capital; the social ties seem to be higher in rural areas than in Mbezi Luisi. There are although a lot of people in Mbezi Luisi that claim to have a very good relationship to neighbors. It is therefore difficult to make some clear conclusions whether the social capital is stronger in rural areas than in peri-urban areas or not.
• Human capital; the possibilities of investing in the quality of human capital are higher in peri-urban areas. Which indicate that the human capital is higher than in rural areas.
• Financial capital; even though the living costs are higher in Mbezi Luisi than in rural areas, respondents claim that they have access to more money living in Mbezi Luisi than they had before. Therefore the financial capital should be seen as higher in Mbezi Luisi.

At a first look at the pentagons above, it seems as if the peri-urban areas should be the optimal residential locations. Gains are made in more areas than losses for both urban and rural migrants. This result however must be looked at critically and it does not indicate that peri-urban areas are the best location for everyone. First of all it is important to acknowledge the fact that most respondents in this study have moved to Mbezi Luisi of free will and may therefore be of the opinion that peri-urban areas are superior to urban or rural areas, which in turn may be reflected in their answers. Some factors can be seen as reflections of more or less objective statements while others are more
subjective. It is also repeatedly stated in the study that the majority of the population thinks that Mbezi Luisi is a good area to live in. This statement should also be reflected upon critically. Furthermore, as mentioned in the method chapter, there may be a number of reasons why respondents would want to present an image of the area as a good area. People may want to give a good impression or give an impression of personal success which gives further reason to keep a critical approach.

Another reason why peri-urban areas may not be considered as superior to urban or rural areas is the fact that the flexibilities in the pentagon cannot be seen as reflecting relative differences. The gain in natural capital and social capital may be marginal for a family that moves from the city centre, while the loss of physical capital may be substantial. At the same time different people have different sets of priorities. The access to natural capital may be the most important asset, which means that they will always want to live in a rural setting. In any way it is looked upon, it can be stated that peri-urban areas provide unique livelihood opportunities for people in comparison to both rural and urban areas.

The future of peri-urban areas is another topic that is relevant to discuss as a conclusion. As mentioned earlier, the urban fringe is dynamic and is constantly developing. The peri-urban areas of today may be very different in 30 or 40 years while there might be new areas, even further out from the inner city that have been developed. What is seen as positive about the area may have changed for the worse and some of the negative aspects of the area may have been improved. The population will most likely have increased and the density of the built up environment will then increase. This may make the area less attractive for people who prioritize natural capital at the same time as it may be seen as more attractive by those who seek more urban living environments with better access to for example physical infrastructure.

As a conclusion of this study the question of accessibility to services in Peri-urban areas should be emphasized. As a peri-urban area develops and as more people moves in to the area, as in the case of Mbezi Luisi, companies, schools and health care situations will be established. Many of these are, as has been shown, private options. The fact that they are private may not be the main issue, but the main issue is that they are private and expensive. They are too expensive for large parts of the population and this creates one of the bigger issues in the peri-urban areas. As the areas develop and these services, or physical capital if you will, will be present, a big challenge lies in how to make sure that they will also be accessible for the people. In the end this is the main concept of the livelihood approach and also the main issue for the people themselves.
5. Further studies

One of the most important issues that has been derived from this study is the one that was mentioned as the main conclusion. The access to different types of capital changes as peri-urban areas develop and new people and new establishments move in. It ought to be very important and interesting to look closer at this development and at how different peoples access to the capital changes. It could also be interesting to take a more practical approach and look upon how different authorities can work in order for the people to gain or keep access to different assets in their neighborhood.

The latter can also be related to what was said in the analysis about how planner can implement a livelihood approach in urban and regional planner. To implement a livelihood approach in communicative planning would possibly bring another dimension to urban and regional planning in peri-urban areas. An interesting study would therefore be to see how communicative planning could be used as a tool by planners. How it in that way can be used to provide better opportunities for the residents of a peri-urban area to obtain a sustainable livelihood.

It was stated by the municipal planner that the much policy planning is done at a central level, and that this leads to less power for local planners. Therefore, another planning related research issue would be to investigate how different policy measurements regarding decentralization could change the livelihood opportunities for the citizens. In this study, no planners at a central governmental office have been interviewed. This has very likely biased the information and it would therefore be highly relevant to interview both local and central planners, as well as reviewing official guidelines and policies.
6. References

6.1 Printed Material


6.2 Oral sources

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Division for Urban Development
Department for Infrastructure and Economic Cooperation
Sida

Kilangi, Z. (2009-05-29)
Executive sub ward officer
Mbezi Luisi Sub ward

Kimoi, L. (2009-06-02)
Municipal planner
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Town Planner in charge
Kinondoni Municipality

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Mbezi Luisi sub ward

Living in a peri-urban area as part of a livelihood strategy

Long time resident of Mbezi Luisi

Long time resident of Mbezi Luisi

6.3 Electronic material

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire for residents

What is your gender?

What is your age?

What is your marital status?

How many years did you go to school?

How many persons are there in your household? How many children are in your household?

Where you born in Mbezi Luisi?

If not: - Where were you born?
  - can you describe that place? (info about rural/city)

Do you live here permanently?

When did you move to Mbezi Luisi?

Do you own or rent your home?