Exploring social-cultural explanations for residential location choices

The Case of an African City - Dar es Salaam

TATU MTWANGI LIMBUMBA

Doctoral Thesis in Built Environment Analysis
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EXPLORING SOCIAL-CULTURAL EXPLANATIONS FOR RESIDENTIAL LOCATION CHOICES
The Case of an African City - Dar es Salaam

Tatu Mtwangi Limbumba
Royal Institute of Technology
School of Architecture and the Built Environment
Department of Urban Planning and Environment
Built Environment Analysis
Stockholm, Sweden 2010
Tatu Mtwangi Limbumba
E.mail: tatuuclas.ac.tz  zzzubeda@yahoo.com

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Royal Institute of Technology
School of Architecture and the Built Environment
Department of Urban Planning and Environment
Built Environment Analysis
Drottning Kristinas väg 30
SE 100 44 Stockholm
Sweden

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Published in Sweden by the Royal Institute of Technology
To my late Grandmothers,
Tatu binti Iddi, a Mbangubangu
Esther Dola Mbelle, a Mtaveta
ABSTRACT

This study explores the factors urban residents consider when making residential location decisions. The context of the study is informal residential areas in a rapidly urbanising African city – the city of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. A central concern in the study is how urban residents make their residential location decisions; the assumption is that faced with urban life challenges such as income limitations they rely on a variety of resources (economic and non-economic) to enable their residential location decisions. The study attempts to question residential location choice concepts that rely on economic approaches as well as explanations based on the developing world experiences. The study suggests that in the absence of reliable incomes, limited housing availability and informality; social factors such as networks and informal channels prevail in the decision-making process. The concept of social capital where individuals or groups to achieve goals use networks and social relationships as a resource is then explored in a residential choices framework.

Demonstrated through in-depth interviews with heads of households settling close to the CBD (termed the inner city), the intermediate informal residential areas and the peri-urban residential areas; the study attempts to show how socio-cultural factors play a role in the decision-making process of households. This is illustrated *inter alia*, in the form of informal channels for information on accommodation and residential plots, being accommodated rent-free by a relative, the actions of subsequently making short-distance moves to a location within proximity of a relative, or seeking people of the same socio-economic status. The context within which the actions have taken place has also been shown to be important in corroborating the network and relationship elements in the concept of social capital. The uncertainty that residents in rapidly urbanizing cities have to deal with on an everyday basis calls for networks and relations as an important resource for survival. The study goes further to suggest how urban planning practice can learn from the social processes. The study is based on qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing with heads of household and key informants.

*Key words:* Residential location choices, informal settlements, social networks, social capital, African cities
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Lastly, I am truly grateful to the Almighty Allah for being blessed with this journey.....

Tatu Mtwangi Limbumba
Dar es Salaam
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THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The process of moving to a new residential area in the city is an important event in our lives. It is about where you are going to live which consequently involves thinking about the costs, how the place will affect your livelihood, your access to public services, shops and schools. Your family’s safety and wellbeing and who your neighbours are among other things one considers. Moving can also depend on the prevailing urban policies and institutional environment within which the decision is made. For instance, is housing or building land readily available? Is it available at a location that meets my needs? Can I afford it, what resources do I have to enable the move? As such, each individual household’s reasons for their location decision can conceivably differ based on his or her priorities, values and preferences. In the same vein, urban planning practices can better respond if the needs or priorities of its citizens are acknowledged.

When the decision is made in the context of rapid urbanisation, informality and urban poverty, then the decision to move is assumed to become all the more complex because it is likely to be constricted and may involve some trade-offs. This is because rapid urbanisation in developing countries or Africa for that matter is not met with commensurate economic development as in countries of the developed world (UN-Habitat, 2004:116). This falls short of meeting demands for urban services. Studies indicate that in Sub-Saharan Africa, 71.9% (which is the largest proportion of the urban population) resides in
Informal settlements, referred to as slums in the UN-Habitat report (UN-Habitat, 2004).\(^1\) Africa has the second largest slum population in the world after south-central Asia (UN-Habitat, 2004:116). The rise in population is predicted to have adverse effects on the quality of urban life because of the inability of governments to keep pace by providing adequate and affordable housing, land for housing, and requisite infrastructure and social facilities. As a result the informal sector and processes continue to provide a haven for housing and livelihoods for urban residents especially the poor because many residents make their residential choices burdened by low-incomes and the need to succeed\(^2\) in the city.

1.1 **Residential location choice research**

This study is about understanding residential location choices in a developing country in Africa. As explained earlier it is assumed that the decisions and ‘choices’ will be constrained such that a variety of resources will be used so that prospective home-seekers are able to meet their residential and livelihood aspirations.

Research on residential location choices is not new and many studies have been carried out in developed countries such as the United States of America (USA), Europe and Australia, which have suggested wide ranging explanations on the determinants for urban residents’ location choice depending on the research subject. For example, sociologists and urban economists have carried out research in residential location choices and a classic work in the economics tradition is that of Alonso (1964) on residential location and land use which emphasises the access/housing trade-off micro-economic theory where a household makes a decision to move to a place that satisfies its residential

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\(^1\) The word slum, unplanned and informal settlements maybe used interchangeably depending on the citations. However slum usually refers more to the condition of the area while unplanned and informal settlements refer to the legality of the settlement.

\(^2\) ‘Succeed’ as used here refers to urban residents’ quest to be able to have affordable accommodation and a means of livelihood that enables everyday living.
aspirations while at the same time settling for reasonable transport costs to his/her work place. Many such explanations are based on observing Western cities and are carried out in a context where housing programmes and policies are to a great extent implemented, there is a functioning housing market and the effects of urbanisation are not as adverse as in say developing countries.

A number of successive studies on residential location choices have followed with modified explanations or theories generally based on the economic rationality of the human being during decision-making. Research progress, however, indicates that new urban realities (urbanisation in poverty for example) call for explanations that are not as restrictive and deterministic and that take less used factors in account such as those related to social, historical and cultural aspects (Phe and Wakely, 2000). In light of the above, what explanations can there be for residential location decisions in the developing world whose urban reality is complex such as that of Africa?

On a practical level, as planners and experts we do have an idea about the residential location choices of residents in urban areas and our planning decisions are informed by research that explains the phenomenon by way of statistics, models, simulation and predictions. However it is possible that people themselves have other meanings, interpretations or explanations behind their residential location choices that challenge the economic rationality assumed by us particularly if their choices are limited by poverty. These reservations call for a study that allows one to delve deeper into the residential decision and choice process of households.

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3 Discussed in detail in Chapter 3.
1.2 A study in Dar es Salaam

My interest in studying residential location choices began in 1998 during my Master’s course. The subject of my Master’s thesis was residential location choices and movement of household’s in informal areas of Dar es Salaam city (Limbumba, 1999). During the course of the research work, I met people including friends who found the subject interesting and even though they were not the subjects of the field work, they always wanted to inform me why they were living where they were, and how fascinating and enlightening it was to re-think about an everyday action like residential location decisions in an academic research framework. This heightened my interest in the subject particularly where some of my colleagues and relatives preferred informal areas over planned ones. In fact 70% of the population in Dar es Salaam is accommodated in informal settlements hence my decision to study the phenomena in informal housing areas. Some people said the planned plots were too far away or the size did not meet their future needs for retiring as urban farmers! The experience of observing some of them move to informal areas because of relations and friends additionally sparkled interest in questioning whether socio-cultural reasons influenced their residential location choices.

I learnt a number of lessons during the Master’s research fieldwork. Some lessons were theoretical and some methodological. The lessons included the reality that the reasons behind residential choices are multiple, and complex. Everyone, including those living in marginal areas such as those at risk of floods had a story to tell which could not be captured in the study then because of methodological and logistical limitations, hence my resolve to carry on the work when I got this research opportunity.
1.3 The research objectives

The main purpose of the study therefore is to understand how urban residents in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam make their residential choices. The point of departure is that in a rapidly urbanising city the rationale behind residential location choice decisions may not match traditional concepts such as the access/trade-off model. As mentioned earlier because of limited financial capabilities and growing informality, residents bring together a variety of resources to facilitate their residential locations.

The research assumes that other factors such as social networks status and affiliations play a role in location choices. The study further assumes that informal settlements are flexible and supportive enough in terms of location, size, social composition and so on, that they provide economic, social and cultural opportunities in a number of ways that enable survival or living in the city for many households especially those with low-incomes.

1.4 Research questions

The major research questions are: -

i. What are the factors considered by households when choosing a residential location in Dar es Salaam?

ii. How does the prevailing socio-economic context influence the residential choices?

iii. Social processes such as social networks are suggested to facilitate and influence residential location choices in developing countries. Do they influence and facilitate residential choices of the residents in Dar es Salaam?

iv. If social networks and affiliation influence choice can the concept of social capital be used to frame the explanations?

iv. What are the emerging knowledge and practical implications of the research for urban planning and practice?
1.5 Significance of the study

The rationale behind this research was firstly, to add onto the existing theories on residential location choices by generating additional knowledge on non-economic (social) determinants for residential location choices. Moreover in the context of a city where the development of residential areas is significantly informal and ‘organic’ as opposed to residential location studies that have been done in cities in the West where the planning and development of residential areas is formal.

In the intra-urban migration and residential choice literature in developing countries for example, it is implied that the opportunities sought (e.g. employment, ‘greener pastures’, cheaper housing) determine the location of the area that a migrant from the rural area will eventually settle (Van Lindert, 1991; Ozo, 1986; Ahmad, 1992) and social networks greatly facilitate location choices. But what do residents say are the motives and experiences behind acquiring a location that is considered good? What resources are used? It was envisaged during the research process that answers to these questions would shed light onto explanations that are context sensitive and which reflect real-life situations.

While the research subject has been covered by urban economists and sociologists alike, this study is aligned to the field of urban planning and management, it is my hope that the knowledge on the not-so-obvious attributes that people view as important when selecting a residential location in our urban areas can assist in formulating innovative approaches to land and housing location particularly for the urban poor. Questions that can hopefully be answered in practice are; should housing programmes centre on in-situ upgrading or resettlement? What socio-economic factors should be considered in cases of resettlement for instance in order to have the least possible
disruption? What urban planning lessons can we learn from the decision-making process?

1.6 Limitations of the study

Residential location decisions are made within the context of a household. The study recognizes that the household contains other members such as a spouse or children therefore decisions such as where to live can be made collectively with each member possibly having a say. However this study did not pursue the views or reasons of other important members of the household because the main objective was to explore social-cultural explanations for residential location choices with the head as the decision-maker. Taking into account other member’s views would have been beyond the research question and would have required more time and resources.

In addition since the study employs a qualitative approach, the sample consists of a few purposefully selected heads of households in the study areas. Therefore the aim is not to generalize the findings to a larger population but to gain in-depth understanding on the phenomena in question.

1.7 Methodology and structure of the thesis

The study aims at explaining the residential location choices of residents in Dar es Salaam in the context of informal settlements. While many reasons have been posed in research on the possible factors motivating residents in informal settlements e.g. urban poverty, the ultimate decision to settle in informal settlements is more complex than just being poor because it also involves attitudes, values as well as behaviour (individual and spatial) that are intrinsic to the individual and the context within which he/she makes the decision. This called for an approach that would allow me to collect, document and analyse the ‘meanings’ of the households’ residential location choices in the respondent’s own words.
Qualitative methods were therefore used to guide the research design because the methods permitted me to investigate the identified issues, 'in depth and detail while “allowing the richness of people’s experiences to be captured in their own terms” (Patton 1987:9). In order to collect information, secondary data and literature on informal settlements was reviewed and documented to provide the context and setting of the whole research work. The data was also used to provide the historical and spatial setting of three study areas selected and to supplement demographic data sourced in the study areas. The primary sources of information were selected residents in the study areas and the Sub-ward leaders. The fieldwork activities included face-to-face interviews with the respondents, qualitative observations of the areas and photographing.

1.7.1 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is composed of two major parts. Part I is introductory and contains chapters 1 – 4. Part II presents 5 chapters on the findings, analysis and discussions as well as the study’s implications and recommendations for further research. The contents in the chapters are outlined in the following sections.

**Chapter One** provides an overview of the research issue, the inception of the study, its objective and significance; as well as how the study was conducted.

**Chapter Two** presents a detailed description of the context of the research, which includes a global and national overview of urbanization and the political, economic and social context of Tanzania so as to explain the environment within which the residential location decisions are made.

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4 A Sub-ward area is the smallest administrative unit in urban areas.
Chapter Three outlines concepts and theories that have guided the study. These include theories on residential location choices and concepts derived from research done in the developing world.

Chapter Four presents the methodological approach used. It provides a short overview of the reasons for the approach, the selection of study areas, the data collection process and the procedures used during the analysis stage.

Chapter’s Five, Six and Seven describe the findings according to the 3 case study areas. It gives the setting of the case areas followed by a description of the respondents and their answers according to the research questions.

Chapter Eight presents the cross-case analysis and discussions, which is framed around themes interpreted and formulated from the findings. Findings here are analysed, compared and discussed.

Chapter Nine presents the study’s theoretical and urban planning implications. It also contains areas for further research.
THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.0 Urbanisation: An overview

Why do people continue to migrate to the city even when there is pervasive poverty, unemployment, and reduced availability of quality housing? Studies suggest that the motivation to move to the city has not only been the need for greater opportunities found in the urban centres but also a need to survive, in light of declining returns in agriculture activities in the rural areas. Despite the ‘bright lights’ of the city getting dimmer, researchers have argued that the migrant makes choices based on their perceptions of what they will earn if they stay in the rural area compared to the income earning opportunities they hope to get when they move to the city (Owusu, 2004; Devas and Rakodi, 1993:23). In Africa, given the decline in agricultural productivity due to drought; controlled price of crops; and civil war in a number of countries, people continue to escape to the cities in search of a better life. The growing population numbers has consequently challenged the capacity of public and private institutions to provide employment and housing opportunities and as a result the people seek alternative means of work and shelter needs that do not always comply with existing planning regulations (Devas and Rakodi, 1993:8-21).

The purpose of Chapter Two is to draw attention to significant characteristics of the urban context and their implications for residential location choices (research subject); although the emphasis is on Africa and Tanzania in particular, many elements are common for urban areas throughout the developing world. Important social and spatial aspects of informal settlements as a residential option are highlighted from literature in order to show that these places are the backdrops for
urban subsistence and therefore a decision to settle in any one of them while appearing irrational to some could conceivably be strategic and sensible to the men, women and households realising them.

2.1 The African perspective

Colonial history, cultural/traditional diversity and poverty both in rural and urban areas set urbanisation in Africa apart from its developing world counterparts e.g. Latin America and Asia. The colonial economic and administrative policies had the greatest influence on urbanization in Africa. The cities and towns were built to serve the economic needs of the colony e.g. harbour towns were ports of exit for the important cash crop products such as sugar, cotton, groundnuts and coffee (Kironde, 1995:40-42). Railways were built to the cash crop zones and as a result these towns and those along the lines of transportation developed into bustling towns. In some countries new cities were also developed in areas with mineral deposits e.g. Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ndola and Kitwe in Zambia. The economic activities were major employment centres for many Africans who moved to towns (Kironde, 1995:40-42, UN-Habitat, 1996:87).

In the 1940s urbanization was slow and highly controlled by the colonial government and urban areas were considered to be only for non-natives and those formally employed (Kironde, 1995). But in the 1950s to 1960s the annual growth rates of some African cities were as high as 5 – 7% implying a doubling of population every ten to fifteen years (UN-Habitat, 1996:87). As the cities grew, people flocked to the towns for work, administration, education and social services. They realized that they could ‘sell’ their labour in urban employment (market) in exchange for wages (UN-Habitat, 1996:87). The Africans in towns often lived in poor unsanitary conditions in designated areas, separate from the Asians and the Europeans. The continent continued to experience rapid population growth in the first half of the 1970s (UN-Habitat, 1996:87-88). While cities in the developed world

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5 See Simone (2004:137-140) for more historical perspective and urbanization in Africa.
experienced urbanization coupled with economic growth, many cities and towns in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia have had urbanization without economic growth. In the first half of the 1970s Africa’s urban population growth surpassed that of Latin America and the Caribbean. The periods between the 1980s and the early 1990s were a period of ‘urban crisis’ as the increase in population was not matched by the supply of basic infrastructure and social services (UN-Habitat, 1996:89). As a result there was:

- A decline in formal employment and an increase in ‘informal sector’ activities;
- Deterioration in services e.g. roads, waste management and water supply;
- Deterioration in the built environment manifested in the proliferation of unplanned settlements, overcrowding and deterioration of the existing housing stock (UN-Habitat, 1996).

Figure 2.1 illustrates a time-line of urbanisation in Africa.

**FIGURE: 2.1 A Time-Line of Urbanisation in Africa**

*Source: Author*
Population growth has not abated and today it is said that in the next 25 years, the urban population of Africa will increase by about 400 million people putting more pressure on the cities and services (UN-Habitat, 2004). Furthermore statistics indicate that the higher the rate of urbanisation without economic growth, the higher the slum incidence (UN-Habitat, 2004).

2.2 Urbanisation in Tanzania

The urbanisation process in Tanzania is similar to that of other developing or Sub-Saharan African countries, which have experienced colonial rule. The population has been rapidly increasing since the country attained independence in 1961. The urban population increased from 5.7 percent in 1967 to 22.6 percent in 2002 (NBS, 2006; Muzzini and Lindebrom, 2008). For the period 1980 to 1997, the urban population has been increasing at a rate of 10 per cent per annum in the larger towns of Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Mbeya and Arusha (URT, 2000). The concentration of people and urban activities in these towns is high. For instance, Dar es Salaam accommodates about 10 per cent of the total national population and over 40 per cent of the national urban population. UN-Habitat (2004) projects that by 2030 Tanzania will have a population of 63.12 million of which 34.95 million or 55.4% will be urban. That means that in about 20 years more than half of the country’s population will be urban. Where will this urban population be accommodated? If no new innovative solutions are sought and the housing delivery systems continue to perform ineffectively as they are doing now informal settlements is, and will continue to be the most viable source of residential accommodation.
2.3 Urbanisation and the re-invention of African cities

While urbanisation in the west was linked with economic growth, in sub-Saharan Africa, the rapid urban growth of population is not matched by economic growth; as a result the phenomenon of urbanisation under poverty prevails. Urbanisation in poverty because governments both local and central cannot cope with urban demands through the provision or creation of a conducive environment for gainful employment and basic services that caters for its citizens. In addition, many African countries had to submit to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Funds (IMF) in the 1980s, which has meant downsizing the civil services through the retrenchment of many workers leading to a huge unemployed population (UN-Habitat, 2004). Besides, privatisation and removal of subsidies in social services have pushed many marginal urban workers into poverty particularly in terms of the inability to pay for food, shelter, education and health (UN-Habitat, 2004). Describing how SAP’s have affected wages in Tanzania, Stein (1988) reports that during this period wage earners suffered a 65% decline in real wages between 1974 and 1988, while consumer prices increased tenfold between 1970-1988. In Kenya, Amis (1996) estimated that wage levels in Nairobi fell substantively between 1980 and 1992 with the average wage in 1992 being equal, in real terms, to only 50 per cent of the average wage in 1980.

Despite the immense challenges, urban people have found ways to live in the city and African cities are in the process of re-making themselves spatially and socio-economically. In Tanzania for instance, urban people have adopted a variety of innovative ways to access basic services such as water and other services (Burra, 2004), land (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006) and income and employment generation opportunities (Sheuya, 2004). The actions happen alongside efforts by local governments to keep up and regulate some of the processes viewed as happening outside regulatory frameworks and urban plans.
2.4 The concept of urban livelihoods

In trying to cope with the difficulties of everyday life, urbanites increasingly seek to diversify ways in which they can continue to live in the city. They employ various strategies such as engagement in many informal income generation activities such as petty trading, urban farming, food vending around the homes, streets and market areas, water vending and hawking. Strategies related to housing acquisition and accommodation includes locating to affordable and at times precarious unplanned residential areas and living close to livelihood opportunities so as to reduce rising transport costs. In other words, ranges of livelihood activities are pursued using whatever assets available. The concept of livelihoods has therefore been conceived to understand the complex way poor men and women survive in the urban area (Rakodi, 2002). According to Rakodi (2000:8-12), the concept centres on ways of understanding the practical realities and priorities of poor men and women – what they actually do to make a living, the assets that they are able to draw on and the problems that they face in doing this. Assets are the resources on which people draw in order to carry out their livelihood strategies. These resources include a broad range of financial, human, social, physical, natural and political capital.

That is why the broader socio-economic and physical urban context is important to households because it determines the opportunities and constraints available to them. Meikle (2002:37-51) argues that the context and the constraints and opportunities presented by the location (place) determine the “assets accessible to people, how they can use the assets and thus their ability to secure livelihoods”. Discussing the urban poor, she explains that the economic, environmental, social and political characteristics of the country have implications on how they live in the urban area. For instance, in the economic context, despite a better urban economy compared to the rural area, households survive by engaging in a variety of activities in the informal sector. They do so
because in the urban economy goods such as houses, food, water and fuel depend on cash. She noted that in Tanzania even those that are not poor engage in informal activities to supplement their formal incomes to pay for services. Yet even that hardly meets their basic needs because of the costs of urban living.

In the context of residential location choices, the above explanations suggest that households will take into account sources of job opportunities or areas that are affordable so as to balance urban costs of living. For example, access to housing in informal areas may enable income-generating activities; increase well-being and productivity, particularly for the urban poor. A survey of informal settlements in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Peru and India, showed that residents are involved in a host of micro and small enterprises e.g. urban agriculture, shoe repairs, hairdressing, tailoring some of which were home-based (Schilderman and Lowe, 2002).

2.5 Informal settlements

As urban people improvise urban activities in the city, seeking appropriate shelter particularly its location becomes important. Besides institutional weaknesses and urban poverty related reasons; the proliferation of informal housing has also been attributed to the question of ‘location’ (Kironde, 1995b:373). According to Kironde, residents preferred to live in informal settlements rather than planned allocated plots, which were far from jobs. Studies in other developing countries on livelihoods indicate that households generally require locations that facilitate access to employment opportunities, services and public amenities (Payne, 2002:152-152). Payne further emphasis that, access to secure land and shelter in good locations is a precondition for survival and success of households in the urban areas.

Despite many government attempts to facilitate affordable land and housing for the rapidly growing urban population, it cannot keep pace. As a result the informal housing development processes continue to provide a haven for housing and livelihoods for urban residents. In
Tanzania, the tolerant attitude by governments to informal housing as self-help solutions to housing problems coupled with its inadequacies in providing formal housing has contributed to their continued growth. Over 70% of the urban residents in Tanzania live in informal settlements (Kombe, 2005). The term informal settlement implies the occupation and development of land at fairly high densities, which has been developed outside the planning machinery (Kironde, 1995b). The development can be through the ‘illegal’ sub-division of land or through organised invasion by people, of the land. Due to the ‘illegal’ status, social and infrastructure services are usually inadequate or completely lacking (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000; Kironde 1995b). Unlike Latin America or Asia, the bulk of informal land developers and occupiers in Tanzania are not illegal land occupiers who have occupied land without the permission of the owner. Majority of them have bought land from landholders who hold it under customary tenure (Kombe, 1995). As a result the physical appearance of many of the informal settlements may not entirely meet the classic definition of ‘slum’ because many houses are built of permanent material and are in fairly good condition.

However, the physical environment of informal settlements in Tanzania leaves a lot to be desired. Excessive densities and haphazard location and housing construction leave no room for roads and basic public facilities such as adequate sanitation. Solid and liquid wastes at household and neighbourhood levels pose a threat to the health and well being of residents. Widespread encroachment onto hazard land such as river valleys degrades the environment, for example, the informal houses on the steep stony slopes of Mwanza and on river valleys in Msimbazi River in Dar es Salaam, which is prone to floods during heavy rains. Kyessi (1990) points out that between 1975 and 1982; about a quarter of informal settlement expansion in Dar es Salaam took place on environmentally fragile land. The following photographs illustrate some typical characteristics of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam. Some areas face constant floods during heavy rains because of their location in hazard land.
Picture 2.1: Poor environmental and housing conditions due to flooding (top left). Encroachment of buildings on hazard land (top right). Fairly good housing conditions (Bottom right).

*Source: Author, 2004*

Picture 2.2: Hawking (left) and Home-based informal sector activities in informal settlements (right).

*Source: Author, 2004*
The growth of informal residential areas implies that people are moving to them occupying geographic space and consequently changing the use of land. The movement of would-be house-builders to informal settlements underlines the formation of new houses and increased demand for land (Lupala, 2002a). In the context of migration and relocation, some researchers in Africa have suggested a three-stage development process for informal housing areas. The stages are important to the study because they appear location determinant and influence the socio-economic characteristics of that area which may consequently influence its relative attractiveness to would-be home-seekers. Two relevant research propositions on informal growth in urban areas by Owusu (2004) and Kombe and Kreibich (2000) in Ghana and Tanzania respectively are illustrated below. However, experience shows that the location of the settlement and the stage of development do not always match (See Table 2.1) as location may determine the rate of development. There are peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam that are developing more rapidly then areas that are intermediate because these areas are located on major highways or along the main infrastructure trunk lines all of which are significant for residential and commercial development in Dar es Salaam.
### Table 2.1: Stages of Squatter Settlement Formation and their Associated Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation Stage</th>
<th>Infancy stage</th>
<th>Transition Stage</th>
<th>Consolidation stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Small, homogeneous native population.</td>
<td>Land development in the periphery. This is the starting stage. Predominantly agriculture or bush land, scattered houses mostly owned by indigenous land occupiers but where land is increasingly being cleared by non-settlers and landlords for non-subsistence farming.</td>
<td>Located in the peri-urban zone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Small informal economic sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Slow population growth due mainly to natural increase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Migrants attracted from nearby city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infancy stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Transition stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consolidation stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Located in the intermediate zone</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ethnic heterogeneity increases.</td>
<td>This is a ‘booming stage’. An area where land intensification (densities) as well as changes of use from agriculture to residential areas is rampant. Gradual displacement of the indigenous (often poor) by immigrants from the inner city.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expanding economic base, mainly informal/service activities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Population growth shaped by migration, mainly from parts of the country other than the city.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Increasing population, first at an increasing rate than at a decreasing rate.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saturation stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Terminal stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Saturation stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Will be located in the inner zone of the city about 3-4 km from CBD</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. High ethnic heterogeneity</td>
<td>This is often the development in the inner part of the informal areas where land markets have heated up. Intensification through extensions, infill and gentrification.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Economic base of settlement continues to expand.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Settlement largely dependent on city for jobs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Natural increase dominates in population growth.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Settlement still attracts migrants from all parts of the country, but most would come from the city because of its proximity.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Settlement functions as low-class suburb of the city.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source:</strong> Owusu, 2004</td>
<td><strong>Source:</strong> Kombe and Kreibich, 2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While Owusu (2004) describes a terminal stage, Kombe argues in his analysis that at this stage, there can still be an ongoing process of housing transformation and extensions that result in overcrowding particularly if the area is upgraded e.g. Hanna Nassif in Dar es Salaam. What is notable in the above hypothesis is that in Dar es Salaam for instance, the stages and locations of the settlements present to a certain degree residential location options for home-seekers.

2.6 Dar es Salaam City: The rapid growth of informal settlements

This study was carried out in Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania with an estimated population of about 3 million people (DCC, 2004)\(^6\). Dar es Salaam, which means ‘Haven of Peace’, is located on the eastern coast of Tanzania. The land covers about 1,400 square kilometres and is administratively divided into three municipalities namely Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke. The spatial growth of the city resembles a finger-like pattern. Four major roads lead out of the Central Business District (CBD) opening the city out to its neighbouring regions and consequently

\(^6\) In 2002 according to the national census the population was about 2.7 million.
influencing the current urban structure of Dar es Salaam. In between the arterial roads there are the built-up areas broken by pockets of green fields, river valleys, undulating terrain and swamps. The city of Dar es Salaam accommodates administrative and commercial functions such as, industries, ministerial offices, foreign country representatives and various international organizations heightening its attractiveness to upcountry migrants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2: The population of the three municipalities of Dar es Salaam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinondoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Dar es Salaam City Profile – DCC (2004)*

2.6.1 The spatial growth of the city

While in the 1960s the spatial development of Dar es Salaam was fairly orderly and according to laid out plans, it rapidly spread horizontally about 10 years later following the influx of people from smaller towns and the rural areas. The migrants mostly settled in the periphery and along major infrastructural lines contributing to its rapid physical expansion along its radial roads. The built-up area of the city grew from a mere 6 km radius from the CBD in 1960 to double that size in the 1980s (Lupala, 2002b; Briggs and Mwamfupe, 2000). In 2001, consolidation had taken place in the formerly sparsely developed areas between the major roads and along these roads. The northern arm along Bagamoyo road had reached 32 kilometres while the western arm reached 28 kilometres. Both the south-western part and the southern arm expanded to 20 and 14 kilometres respectively. Certainly one of the implications from such urban sprawl has been an increase in needs and costs for infrastructure.
2.6.2 The spatial expression of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam

Commensurate with the horizontal expansion of Dar es Salaam was the mushrooming of informal settlements. During the 1970-80’s, and 1980’s-90’s there was a marked increase in the number and size of informal
housing in the country. For instance, in the city of Dar es Salaam the number of informal settlements increased from about 25 in 1979 to 40 settlements in 1990. By 2000, this number had reached 50. In 1992, it was estimated that out of the total 170,000 housing units of Dar es Salaam, approximately 127,500 units representing 75% were located in informal settlements (Lupala, 2002b). The downside of informal settlements in the city is that the growth is frequently characterized by unguided housing densification and spatial disorderliness that hampers the efficient provision of basic services.

Generally, one can distinguish the spatial expression of the informal settlements in Dar es Salaam from their proximity to physical resources such as water, roads, institutional establishments and employment centres such as industries. On the other hand, on a time-space continuum, the informal areas can be classified as inner, intermediate and peri-urban settlements as explained in the development stages (Table 2.1).

2.7 National responses to informal settlements

While informal settlements’ growth has been left to fend for itself in Tanzania, the government has responded over the years through a number of policy interventions and programmes. However as in many African countries, public housing in Tanzania has not made an impact to the growing demand for housing (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000).

The following section outlines some of the hitherto intervention policies, strategies and responses and what can be learnt from them which the author feels is relevant to the study.

2.7.1 Slum clearance

Just after colonialism, during the independence euphoria in the early 1960s, the ‘traditional villages’, which were earlier meant for natives during the colonial era, were seen as slums and an eyesore. The government wanted to show its people that they cared for them in terms
of housing provision and with a newly independent state, construction of modern houses became a fashion also. The slum clearance policy led to the development of mass public housing\(^7\) with little regard to the local and cultural realities (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000). The housing developed by the National Housing Corporation (NHC) did not however reach the target group, which were the low-income, and most in need. It fell short of the demand and many cases the beneficiaries were middle and high-income people (Kironde, 1992a).

Having performed poorly in the public housing projects, the government switched to the Sites and Services and Slum Upgrading projects. Financed by the World Bank this programme deliberately targeted the low-income households and was centred on upgrading slums and the construction of basic infrastructure in planned residential areas whereby the low-income earners would be allocated plots on which they would build their houses in an incremental manner. Once again, the programme did not meet expectations, the beneficiaries usually turned out to be people with higher incomes rather than the targeted low-income (Kironde, 1992b). The programmes were heavily funded from external sources and the costs were never fully recovered from the beneficiaries. Worse most of the sites and services programmes were located in the periphery of the city. For instance, during the 80s, the residential areas of Sinza, and Tegeta in Dar es Salaam were in the periphery and therefore quite some distance from established centres of employment and social networks of the poor\(^8\). As a result, most of the resettled residents from upgraded informal areas moved back to their former areas after selling the sites and service plots because of the distance. Consequently, while a few benefited, the programme was largely unsuccessful and informal settlements continued to grow (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000:10-13; Malpezzi and Sa-Aadu, 1996; Kironde, 1995b: 346-348).

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\(^7\) The National Housing Corporation (NHC) was established in 1962 as a public institution responsible for the delivery of low-income housing.

\(^8\) Of note here is the question of location and access to urban livelihood opportunities.
2.7.2 Policy of tolerance and settlement upgrading

There is no doubt squatter upgrading was a strategy aimed at addressing shelter issues particularly among the poor urban households. Squatters or informal areas were therefore regarded favourably as a ‘solution’ to the housing problem for the urban poor. This strategy was appealing because it avoided unnecessary demolition and preserved the social and economic networks since residents remained in their localities. Upgrading involved the provision of basic infrastructure like access roads, drainage and water supply kiosks constructed by the government at low standards. Manzese Squatter area in Dar es Salaam, one of the largest in Tanzania, was one of the first settlements to benefit from the programme. Others included Hanna Nassif and Mbagala and Mwanjelwa in Mbeya. Despite the relative success, the programme could not be sustained because of lack of financial commitment on the part of the local government, lack of involvement of the beneficiaries in the areas in key stages of programme implementation as well as over-dependence of funding from external sources. Similar findings have been documented in a number of similar initiatives undertaken in other developing countries (Malpezzi & Sa-Aadu, 1996; Fekade, 2000; Kombe & Kreibich 2000).

2.7.3 Important lessons

From the foregoing explanations on national responses, some lessons can be learnt which are pertinent to the study. It has been shown that resettled people within a programme may still move back to informal areas because of the supportive environment. In some projects such as the Sites and Services programme, resettled residents from squatter areas reoccupied their old areas (Kironde, 1995b; Kapoor et al, 2004). This may be due to the economic and social benefits derived from living in informal residential areas especially employment opportunities which were not considered during the planning and implementation of the programmes.

There was therefore a policy shift from the government striving to ‘provide’ ready-made housing to the government becoming an ‘enabler’ of
housing provision. The assumptions were that residents in informal settlements although they did not have titles, they could make improvements to their houses without the threat of demolition or eviction. The shift was not confined to Tanzania only but was happening in many developing countries where similar programmes had fallen short of expectations⁹.

The policy has been not only to upgrade informal settlements by improving the physical infrastructure and tenure security, but to also improve the livelihood opportunities of the poor people living in the upgraded settlement through credit schemes or contracting out minor upgrading works in the project. An example is the International Labour Organisation (ILO) supported country infrastructure upgrading project in Hanna Nassif informal area in Dar es Salaam, which was executed during the 1997-2001 period. Currently the recognition of informal settlements has gone beyond the project type upgrading of yesteryears. Mobilisation of collective local government, NGOs

![Residents (women and men) involved in community labor-based infrastructure improvement in Hanna Nassif Upgrading project. Source URT, 2001](image)

⁹ See Nabeel Hamdi (1995) for a conceptual argument of the two approaches of provider and enabler.
and community efforts to improve access to basic services such as water (wells), primary schools, police posts have become a modus operandi for improving access to basic services especially in low-income areas. Informal areas provide not only affordable shelter solutions to the poor but appear to provide a supportive socio-economic environment also. The approach also emphasises security of tenure, because the availability of and access to urban land provides a sense of ‘belonging’ and subsequently brings stability to an urban area (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000).

However, while commendable efforts have been made to improve existing informal areas there are still upgrading and renewal exercises that can be disruptive especially urban exercises that involve demolition and eviction due to the expansion or development of urban services such as roads or those that involve relocating poor residents living near railway lines or under electric power lines. While the demolition and resettlement plans for such risky areas are indisputable, many such exercises take place with little regard for the effects on the residents. Loss of livelihoods, community networks, structures and insecurity follows such exercises because of the little preparation and consultations that take place a priori. Yet, prior consultations and dialogue could yield information that is important in preserving the welfare of the residents during relocation for example, an understanding of their residential location decisions, why are they willing to settle in precarious areas, what are their livelihood activities and so on.

For instance in Tanzania, there was the resettlement of 36,000 people from an informal residential area Kidongo Chekundu in Kurasani Ward (located 5km from the CBD) so as to give way to the expansion of the Dar es Salaam Port activities. While homeowners were paid compensation, the tenants whose livelihoods and networks were equally disrupted were not considered even though they constituted the majority of the population in the Ward (Ndezi, 2007). The resettled population has been allocated residential land in Kibada and Vijibweni. These are new planned peri-urban areas which are not only far away but where few people can afford to buy which means that they may seek proximate informal areas to occupy.
Hence in addition to the theoretical knowledge aimed by the study, I hope to explore some of the intricacies involved in residential location decisions to informal settlements that may compel a household to move away from a planned area allocated to the household as a result of urban upgrading or renewal or why a household would live in the informal residential area regardless of income status.

2.8 The current situation

Conceivably, many past housing interventions were insensitive to the needs of the people. Coupled with population growth, rising poverty and the desperation to make ends meet; residents needed not only shelter but also places where they could make a living. They needed to make a living by setting up gardening activities, small shops and other income generating activities without the government constantly imposing controls. In addition informal settlements are not so much as the poor finding shelter in appropriate locations but the overall response to inadequate land, housing, jobs and service supply which has consequently led to residents finding their own solutions. Unguided ‘self-solutions’ may lead to resource abuse, which may give rise to among other, things environmental

Picture 2.6: Demolition exercise in Kurasini, Dar es Salaam in 2008
Source: mrokim.blogspot.com August 2008
deterioration. Such is the physical manifestation that can be found in both formal and informal areas in Dar es Salaam. Even in planned areas, there is accommodation that is cheap and sub-standard e.g. houses for renting that are unfinished, that lack security, protection from vermin and pests, that lack basic services such as latrines but are nevertheless occupied because people are desperate for accommodation. While the government now tolerates and recognises the informal housing sector as an integral part of urban housing, almost the entire, provision of housing or shelter has been left to the people themselves regardless of their being low, middle or high-income people.

In light of the above explanation, one of the critical questions is, what options do people have when seeking shelter in Dar es Salaam? Basically a household seeking shelter has 5 common options as illustrated in Table 2.3.
Table 2.3: Options for housing in Dar es Salaam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/O</th>
<th>Options</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Acquiring a residential plot using formal channels in a planned area.</td>
<td>Chronic shortage. Process used to be lengthy and bureaucratic. In 2003 the Ministry of Lands and Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHSD) embarked on the 20,000 plot project. As of 2008 the project has surveyed over 40,000 Plots in Dar es Salaam. The access to land is at a fee fixed by the government, but depending on the location and size of the plot. The programme has considerably shortened the processing time for title deeds and 98% of the plots have been allocated. In most cases the houses are built incrementally over several years. This is a common strategy for many African countries (Malpezzi and Sa-Adu: 1996). Some self-financed initiatives may have access to modest loans from a few banks, which are ready to provide housing loans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Applying for a unit in the public housing sector</td>
<td>Due to their limited availability, such an option is usually considered impossible by many unless one were to gain access to a sub-let unit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Renting a room or a housing unit in planned areas (belonging to private individuals).</td>
<td>One of the popular options according to Hoek-Smit (1991) about 60% of residents in Dar es Salaam are accommodated in such units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Acquiring a plot or building land in informal areas</td>
<td>One of the most popular, according to Kironde (1995a) the informal sector provides much more land than the formal sector. This is still the situation to-date.. The houses are built incrementally over several years, mainly through self-financing initiatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Renting a room or house in an informal/unplanned area.</td>
<td>Also one of the most popular options especially for the urban poor (Cadstedt, 2006; Hoek-Smit, 1991).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

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10 Discussions with the “20, 000 plots” Dar es Salaam Project Leader, September 2007. But this does not mean that they will be immediately turned into houses. House building can spread over a long period of time, depending on ones financial resources. It also does not mean that the land is appropriately located to meet the needs of low-income people.
2.9 Housing and land

Housing and land are closely related; access to land is a precondition for access to housing. The degree to which a resident may feel secure and the level of investment he or she may place in a building also depends on where the land is located and how it is held.

In the urban areas of developing countries, there may be different ways in which residents have access to land that may have different forms of tenure or rights (statutory or customary). Kironde, (1995a) notes that the informal sector provides land for housing to land seekers more than the formal sector in many developing countries. In Tanzania, the most common way to access land is through purchase from owners (they own the land through earlier occupation as an agricultural land under customary tenure). The owners normally sub-divide the land and sell it as building land or a farming plot to potential buyers. The land is commonly bought as a *shamba* (agricultural land). Normally the amount of money determines the size of the plot (hence the irregular form of the settlements). A study carried out in Mabibo and Manzese in Dar es Salaam showed that 75 to 79 % of landowners interviewed said they obtained land through purchase from a landowner (Kironde, 1995a). With such land dotting the Dar es Salaam landscape, one has a variety of locations to choose from that may meet the priority needs at that particular time, be it access or proximity to employment, access to services, or access to bigger plot. Most important, through this system (unlike many other countries), even the poor can expect and are able to access land in urban areas in Tanzania.

Experiences from other African countries show similar trends. For example in Greater Cairo in Egypt (El-Batran and Arandel, 1998) the supply of informal residential land is through an owner or sub-divider who is typically a small farmer, owning a small parcel of land. He then sub-

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11 Land occupied by native communities under customary land tenure especially in the fringes of an urban area.
divides it and sells it while keeping a portion for himself. With the added income he/she buys new parcels for further sub-division. Sub-dividers keep their overall costs low by selling the parcels, without site preparation, and relying on word of mouth to find their customers. El Batran and Arandel further point out that the range of plots sizes for instance offered by the informal system, as well as location and service characteristics of the settlements, represent a much greater variety of options and prices than the formal sector.

Informal settlements in Kenya are accommodated mainly on public land with very few houses on private owned land. Many of these settlements are either located near sources of employment opportunities e.g. the industrial areas, or along rivers, dumping grounds, quarry sites and other abandoned or reserved sites, which have not been developed. Most of the residents are poor (Lamba, 2005) and although many residents of informal settlements work in the formal sector, the majority of them work in the informal sector.

In Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, informal housing accommodation houses over half of the city’s population, but they only occupy 5.8 per cent of all land area used for residential purposes (Wegelin-Schuringa and Kodo, 1997). There are generally two types of informal settlements in Nairobi, squatter settlements and illegal subdivisions of public and/or private land. The supply of informal land is through chiefs (provincial administration officials at location level, appointed by the city authorities) who issue temporary occupation licenses on public land to prospective buyers (Lamba, 2005; Wegelin-Schuringa and Kodo, 1997). According to Wegelin-Schuringa and Kodo the chiefs (who maybe compared to ward officials in Tanzania) are the ones who decide who may have a temporary occupation license and at what price, thereby “establishing a system of patronage” (Pg 192). Unlike Tanzania, since the settlements are illegal, the residents are not allowed to build permanent houses. People also squat on public land like areas set aside for road reserves, railway lines, forests and public utilities, where they put up semi-permanent structures.
Where the land is reserved for a public purpose other than residential, the government usually evicts and/or demolishes the settlements to pave way for development of the land. This has happened in some areas of Dar es Salaam. Where the land is zoned for residential development, regularisation of the settlements has been pursued in some cases (Lamba, 2005).

The above examples present the different ways in which urban residents access land and how secure or insecure they might feel in the areas. Despite the variety of housing options location is important at the aggregate level in both formal and informal residential areas because among other things, it is related to how everyday life is conducted and access to livelihood opportunities for all households. But one may not always get the optimal residential location forcing households to balance and make trade-offs.

12 In 2006 the expansion of the Morogoro Road in Dar es Salaam led to the demolition of several squatter houses which were erected on the right of way of the road.
INFORMING RESIDENTIAL LOCATION CHOICE BEHAVIOUR: CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

3.0 Introduction

Having discussed the context of the research this chapter outlines the key concepts and theories for residential location choices, which will be useful towards understanding the residential location choices of people in urban residential neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam city. Concepts and theories help to explain why things happen the way they do. Theories are the ‘lens’ through which I studied and interpreted the choices of the individuals and households. Cresswell (2003:131) defines a theory in qualitative research as a “broad explanation for behaviour and attitudes, which may be complete with variables, hypothesis and constructs”. They guide the researcher as to what issues to address in a study.

As stated earlier, urban economists, sociologists, geographers and urban planners have studied the domain of residential location choices each investigating different phenomena such as urban land use, intra-urban migration, residential segregation, and gentrification and travel behaviour. Residential location choice has been of interest to the different disciplines because first: it involves the use and subsequent structure of urban land, the provision and consumption of housing and urban services, and the composition and social ‘make-up’ of populations and secondly: residential areas normally cover a significant portion of urban land. On a personal level the decision to change residences is important because as stated in Chapter One, the decision affects one’s livelihood, family, safety and well
being. It is no wonder that the decision may be complex because it involves external factors and factors that is based on individual characteristics.

3.1 Residential mobility and choice

Residential location choice has been studied within the context of residential mobility and urban land use. Within the context of residential mobility, location choices are seen as a manifestation of the decision-making process made by a household when it decides to change residences (Golledge and Stimson, 1997:459-487). While a long distance move may involve total disruption e.g. rural-urban migration, residential mobility is a short distance move within an urban area that, however, results in changes in the activity spaces of the household such as work, school and shopping for members of the household. Many studies on residential mobility are concerned with the moving process, the reasons that trigger movement, who is likely to move and the resultant choice of a particular dwelling. One of the classic and most cited works on residential mobility is Rossi’s (1980) ‘Why Families Move’ which suggested lifecycle changes of families as the primary reason why they moved.

On the other hand, urban economists study residential location choice as an explanation for urban land use particularly residential use, the development patterns are viewed as the function of income and micro-level individual location choices, which result in changing land prices. Sociologists are interested in the outcomes of the social structure whereby residential location choices result in the distribution of social groups within the urban area in a concentric zone around the CBD, patterned according to the income status or social classes. Individuals competed for favourable locations within the city depending on the rent they were willing to pay for different sites and locations (Knox and Pinch, 2000:350-351).

This study focuses on residential location choice as a manifestation or outcome of the decision-making process of individuals or a household to
move and stay in a new place. When a household decides to settle at a location in space:

i. It acquires the amenities that go with the location e.g. services and the social environment so these aspects will be important in understanding location choices;

ii. It has proximity to the physical environment e.g. nature, climate;

iii. It acquires the house or room and the amenities that go with it;

iv. The process is an individual or household based and therefore there are impacts, sentiments or experiences that are inherent.

These are aspects that I intend to take into account when reviewing the concepts.

Many reasons have been put forward in literature on what influences residential location choices and much of the research has primarily focussed on three variables, namely travel, housing characteristics and land use. Generally the theories focussing on travel, housing characteristics and land use were economic based theories offering explanations in the United States that suggested that low-income households tend to locate in inner city low standard or derelict housing, on high-priced urban land close to the CBD, while higher-income households choose suburban locations where land was cheaper but commuting costs were higher. The implication was high-income households preferred large residential lots in the suburbs and were willing to pay more for transportation costs over long distances to and from work. But the model has been criticised and modified over time. Furthermore a common thread in many studies was the use of empirical models of what motivates a household to choose a particular residential location. Since this research is on an explanation and understanding of factors that influence choice in a developing world, important issues from the theories that are pertinent to my work are underscored in subsequent sections.
Theories that recurrently appear in the literature on residential location choice can be clustered into three main themes namely:

i. Accessibility (to the CBD) and Workplace
ii. Life-Cycle or Life-stage
iii. Neighbourhood, Environment and the Community

i. **Accessibility (to the CBD) and workplace**

The seminal work of Alonso (1964) was a residential location model developed around a ‘mono-centric’ city in the 1960’s. It is now one of the most developed theories of residential location (Phe and Wakely, 2000). In this model, the city is organised in concentric circles around the Central Business District (CBD) where economic activities are located. The model assumes that all households commute to work in the CBD and therefore the choice of residential location becomes a trade-off between commuting costs and space, the price of housing. The price of housing (or the unit price of land) will decrease with increasing distance from the CBD. If a household desires more space in the suburbs for instance, it means longer distances and higher transportation costs. Living closer to the CBD means lower transportation but less housing space because of high rents. The trade-off in this case is the “costs and bother of commuting against the advantages of cheaper land with increasing distance from the centre of the city and the satisfaction of more space for living” (Alonso, 1964:154).

The work however made some limiting assumptions, which include the fact that the urban area is a flat featureless plain and that all people worked in the CBD; all households try to minimise the costs of location by trading off rents against travelling costs and when all households try to minimise costs this way, the result is a definite pattern of location for different households (Evans, 1973:15). But Evans points out the possibility that in a small sized city, travel costs and distance may not be so significant and thus reasons for residential choice may become more complex. There have been successive improvements of the theory based on the relaxation of the assumptions or the exploration of alternative assumptions such as multi-centred cities, or the incorporation of attitudinal variables such as
lifestyles, values and culture. The following sections present a selection of different studies that have been done over the years to modify and improve upon the theory.

Richardson (1977) tries to provide a more general theory of residential location as an alternative to the ‘trade-off’ model. He contends that the ‘trade-off’ model (Alonso’s) was too simplifying and did not take into account houses and their availability, constraints in access to vacant land or that the peripheral location in a multi-centred city may have both access to work and more space for some households. He therefore attempted to construct a general theory that covered several variables namely: different tastes and preferences in housing, location of work and household activities, time as a scarce resource, price of land and price of the house, neighbourhood and environmental characteristics, buyers versus renters, income and housing vacancies. He used mathematical equations to come up with a model, which he admits is more complicated than the standard model but what is interesting here is the necessity to explain the complexity of residential location choices by including more variables that are likely to affect the choices of individual households. The ongoing search is to find a richer model or explanation for location behaviour.

Quigley (1985) and Phe and Wakely, (2000) have noted that housing choice may be more sensitive to variations in workplace accessibility than is indicated by the more restricted model of household choice as put forward by Alonso. The new sizes of the urban areas, work and shopping can no longer be concentrated in one place, there are many centres and with increasing congestions of traffic and air pollution in the developed countries, a household may not need to depend on the CBD. This is increasingly the trend in many African cities where informal service centres have mushroomed supplementing services that can be found in the CBD. For instance in Dar es Salaam there is the Namanga shopping centre along old Bagamoyo road, Mwenge Bus and commercial centre,
which are growing, and attracting the establishment of some services found in the CBD including specialised and wholesale shops.

Phe and Wakely (2000) accounts for more recent work on proposing a new theory on the ‘trade-off’ model or the relationship between home and that of the work place and deserves to be mentioned. They argue that the trade-off theory does not reflect urban reality and dynamics because of its “excessive reliance on physical and measurable variables which could undergo fundamental changes during different historical times” (pg.9). So an approach that captures historical transformations and the permanent character of the physical environment is more appropriate. They therefore focussed on the social aspects of residential location choice rather than the economic - namely the trade-off between *housing status* (social desirability attached to the housing reflected in wealth, culture, religion or environmental quality and the *dwelling quality* (the floor area, number of rooms and condition) which also has to be socially acceptable to the individual.

Their model is based on the premise that residential location patterns of most cities conform to a polar structure in which one or several poles represent the highest points of certain kinds of social status recognised by a given proportion of the population. Phe and Wakely put forward the elements of the social groups as quoted below: (2000:11-13).

1. Residential areas in cities make up largely continuous and overlapping rings around the status pole or poles. The ring pattern is the outcome of a trade-off between that desirable status and the acceptable level of a dwelling unit (explained below).

2. House value for any social group consists of two components - housing status (HS) and dwelling quality (DQ). Housing status is a
combination of attributes, often non-physical, that distinguish different levels of housing desirability, or status, which are accepted by certain social groups, sometimes irrespective of the actual physical state of the dwelling. Dwelling quality embodies the physical measurable elements that constitute the basis for the normal use of the dwelling.

3. At any level of housing status, there exists an acceptable level of dwelling quality, or point, below which houses are considered sub-standard. The locus of these points form a line called the dwelling quality threshold (Figure 3.1). This threshold divides the whole housing stock in question into two zones: the zone above the threshold is termed ‘desirable’; the zone below is ‘undesirable’. Each housing situation (of a country or city) has a uniquely characteristic threshold that can be compared with others.

Figure 3.1: Housing status and dwelling quality,
Source: Phe and Wakely, 2000
4. At the lower price levels, dwelling quality is the dominating component while at the higher price levels, housing status predominates. With a certain degree of simplification, it can be said that housing units at the lower price levels are mainly characterised by their utility as shelter i.e. by their use value, while houses at the higher price level are characterised more by the attributes that make them commodities and favourable investments i.e. by their exchange value.

The implications of the model are that a household will aspire to choose that location which most reflects his or her status, in a dwelling with an acceptable level of quality. If the household is poor it will try to stay close to its status pole even though the dwelling may be not socially acceptable. The trade-off is between the desired housing status and a socially acceptable level of dwelling quality. It is the perceived status attached to housing as opposed to its physical quality that makes an area desirable (or not) for its residents.

As can be seen from the above explanations, the previous models were economistic and relied on the individual as a rational actor out to maximise utility. Phe and Wakely, attempted to relax this aspect by focussing on the social elements, which they see as pervading along historical and therefore social or cultural contexts. This is reflected in their definition of status as ‘wealth, culture, religion, environmental quality etc’ depending on the current value system of a given society or community. Importantly the social context or socio-economic setting is important in their model because it affects how the population values its housing status and dwelling quality. Such an approach is relevant because it may shed light on reasons why some households settle in informal precarious areas (which in this case would be the undesirable zone below the threshold line) could status (culture, business, ethnicity, education) be a reason? Of note is not the discounting of traditional economic theories, rather it is the conceptual challenges brought about by the transformation in urban development, urban lifestyles that influence the households decision-
making as well as emerging knowledge on other contexts such as those in developing countries.

Nevertheless the application of the model in Hanoi still relies on affordability (money) to buy or rent the desired dwelling and the context that they refer to relates to cities where there is public housing provision either publicly or through estate developers which is not the case in many Sub-Saharan African countries.

(ii) Life-cycle or life-stage
As mentioned earlier the work of Peter Rossi (1980) on ‘Why Families Move’ focussed on life-cycle stages as an important influence on a household’s decision to move and subsequently choose a residence. The study was done in Philadelphia, USA and in the work Rossi suggested that residential mobility is “a process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by shifts in family size and composition that accompany life cycle changes” (Rossi, 1980:9). As the household evolves along the life course for instance from being independent from family home, marriage, having children, child rearing; the growing family is likely to express a desire for a larger house and a good neighbourhood environment with schools or older shrinking families may find it more convenient to live near the city.

Clarke and Onaka (1983) in an attempt to improve Rossi’s model on life cycle systematised several survey analyses of reasons for moving. They systematised 18 different survey analyses on reasons for moving in order to come up with a typology of reasons for moving, in every case, adjustment moves appeared to be prominent as expressed reasons for moving. The researchers stated that there is an interrelationship on reasons for moving and emphasised the role of housing adjustment in reasons for moves. Adjustment moves they argued, included housing characteristics, neighbourhood characteristics and accessibility to work, services, family and friends. Clarke and Onaka further argue that the surveys of reasons for moving that stratify households according to
lifecycle indicate housing adjustment as the most frequent reason for mobility over all age groups. However the characteristics of housing adjustment changes over time for example, a young household finds cost, tenure and space important while a household with children is affected by size and neighbourhood quality and an older household may not be affected by housing adjustment at all.

The life-cycle model has also been extended to show how it relates to access to workplace as opposed to access to environmental/neighbourhood amenities during the residential location choice decision. Kim, Horner and Marans (2005) emphasize the effects through modelling techniques. Referring to past studies related to residential choice and work accessibility such as those of Alonso (1964) and subsequent others, Kim et al. argue that such studies did not take into account the significant role of personal age and having children or not. So they explored the trade-off between workplace accessibility and environmental factors in selecting residential locations at different stages of the life cycle.

Using two explanations of stage in the life-cycle i.e. Childrearing (CH) and Non-Childrearing (NCH) stages, they found that people in the NCH group especially if they are young and unmarried, select their residential location based on their job location because they place importance on their career and they are sensitive to commuting costs due to limited disposal income. People in the CH stage who have young children value residential amenities such as large gardens, school quality over accessibility to jobs. But as they grow older and children become independent, job accessibility is valued more. They concluded that the factors such as commuting (to work), individual characteristics, neighbourhood preferences and environment effectuate decisions differently based on people’s life cycles especially couples with children. The mobility trends appear obvious but in a situation where households are constrained by incomes; an expanding household may not afford to move to a bigger room or house; or households aspiring for homeownership as many do in Tanzania, may opt to live in crowded conditions rather than pay rent in bigger house for the
sake of saving for a piece of land to build. Others may opt to physically transform the house for example illegal transformations in public houses such as those belonging to the National Housing Corporation (NHC) or transformation of the versatile Swahili house in Dar es Salaam to accommodate the family cycle of occupants (Nguluma, 2003).

(iii) Neighbourhood, environment and the community

Although there is substantial work, both theoretical and empirical, on residential mobility and housing choice the role of the neighbourhood is still only partly understood in that process (Clarke, Duerloo and Dieleman, 2006). Clarke et al, studied the role of neighbourhood in the residential choice process and found that neighbourhood does come out independently as important in the choice process. The study was done in the Netherlands using data drawn from various sources such as the Netherlands Housing Survey 1998. The information was used to study household movements, (transition across neighbourhoods) and to typify different neighbourhoods that households had moved to in terms of socio-economic status and environmental status of the neighbourhoods. Environmental status was described in terms of the amount and quality of green space.

The study focused on gains in neighbourhood quality once the households had moved. They analysed the nature and extent of the move between neighbourhoods of different quality, and the variables, which explained successful gains in neighbourhood quality, in house quality or both together. Clarke, Duerloo and Dieleman demonstrated that apart from mobility being about improving the dwelling quality and housing consumption, neighbourhoods did matter in the choice process. They found that households who had moved had deliberately made improvements in the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood and the environmental quality of the area they live in without a significant gain in size of the dwelling or change in tenure from renter to occupier. While this shows the influence of a good environment, it also suggests that trade-offs can be made in terms of tenure where households need not become
homeowners to improve their residential choice. This leads one to wonder whether or not settlers and renters of houses in informal residential areas make these trade-offs too?

A review of the literature also shows that people may be attracted to a particular place because some neighbourhoods provide satisfaction or dissatisfaction due to the presence or absence of good quality schools, friendliness of people, noise, crime, social interaction and community spirit (Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson, 2002; Galster and Santiago, 2006). For instance, in China homebuyers are willing to pay more for reputable districts and for areas where the quality of neighbourhood in terms of security, image, accessibility and convenience is high (Wang and Li, 2006). In Dar es Salaam there are also tendencies among particularly the middle and high income to opt for certain areas because of the perceived status.

Neighbourhood, environment and the community present physical and non-physical attributes that make a residential area attractive. Social factors such as the presence or absence of social interaction and community spirit emerge as important. It suggests that a household can possibly live in poor housing for the sake of supportive social interaction and community spirit which links to Phe and Wakely’s model on housing status as a reason for residential choice.

Generally most of the studies on residential location choices and the variables that influence the process have been done in the developed world namely Europe, Canada and the USA. In the context of the developing world, economic models such as Alonso’s can be conceivably restrictive because of local urban realities in developing countries such as:

- The nature of urbanisation with urban poverty where governments are unable to provide housing or buildable land commensurate with demand and even when they do, it may be unaffordable to the bulk of low-income households.
• Increasing informal and home-based activities, where distance to work or access to the city centre for employment/market outlets may not be an important location consideration.
• Residential opportunities available in informal settlements compared to planned ones. The informal areas facilitate households to locate to these areas, which purposefully develop close to work places, where building of own houses from various materials is possible.
• Increasing settlement densification and infilling at the cost of environmental quality to meet accommodation needs.
• Cultural attitudes towards land where for example in Tanzania, some tribes treat land as a sacred item (Chagga tribe) while others do not (Zaramo tribe from Dar es Salaam) (Kironde, 1995b).

Since theories provide a guide to understanding phenomena, it is critical that they are relevant otherwise one may misinterpret behaviour. Kironde (1992a) has argued that many concepts used in today’s African urban studies are transferred from the West and sometimes do not work given the socio-cultural and value systems prevailing in African cities. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1995) also argue about inappropriate western models that are not suited to local circumstances when they talk about the implementation of housing programmes. As a result, ineffective policy solutions may be advanced that compound rather than solve urban problems. The following section reviews some studies that have been carried out in developing countries, which may provide further context sensitive understanding of residential location choices.

3.2 Residential location choices in developing countries

One of the classical attempts to describe mobility and the subsequent choice of a residential premise in developing countries was the John Turner’s intra-urban migration model in the early 1960’s, which was based on migrants’ mobility in Lima, a Latin American city (Turner, 1968). It explained the relationship between urban growth, residential mobility,
The Turner model of migration posited that most Latin American migrants moved into rental or shared accommodation on their first arrival into the city (van Lindert, 1992:157). The newly arrived migrants, whom he called ‘bridgeheaders’, first moved into cheap centrally located rental property in proximity of unskilled employment opportunities. After some years they become established in the city with regular, stable jobs and a young family and so moved out of the overcrowded central locations and settled on the urban periphery where they built a house of their own (self-help ownership). They were referred to as ‘consolidators’. Another migrant category of the model was that of the ‘status seekers’ (middle-income) who gave priority to amenities rather than to location or tenure as in the other categories. Status seekers would either improve their dwelling to reflect their changing employment, income and family status or move into government housing after having acquired a salaried job.

The model reflected the choices of migrants then i.e. in the 50’s and 60’s, however over the years government policy and urban dynamics have changed the housing opportunities that would have otherwise been available at the city centre e.g. saturation, high rent prices, growing commercial district and development of informal settlements in the urban periphery.

Comparing Latin American and South African migrant location choices Gilbert and Crankshaw, (1999) found that, in both countries, the inner cities have ceased to be areas of reception and the inner suburbs are growing in importance as owners of formal and self-help houses provide rented rooms to migrants.

Admittedly, South Africa is a unique case because of its legacy of apartheid where Africans were prohibited from living in the city, but even in other countries, the same pattern is observed, for instance in Benin.
City, Nigeria, Ozo (1991) found that the majority of migrants interviewed first settled in what he termed the ‘outer zone’ where they could get cheap accommodation from landlords who had built low-quality houses without government planning permission and control. New migrants according to Ozo, settled in the outer zone because the central city was saturated and some also preferred the outskirts because of the possibility of engaging in informal activities that required space e.g. car repair workshops and the opportunities for unskilled work for instance casual labourers.

Conway and Brown (1980) have also observed peri-urban importance in Port of Spain, Trinidad where the city experienced different periods of urbanisation and subsequent urban structures. In Tanzania Kombe and Kreibich (2005) and Lupala, (2002a) have demonstrated in their studies of peri-urban residential development that migration to these areas by new migrants is attractive because of the availability of land and rooms at lower prices as well as land for economic activities such as urban farming. In addition customary and quasi-customary land tenure is fuelling access to land in peri-urban areas of Tanzania indicating changing relocation behaviour of migrants. Much research on residential choice in developing countries has focussed on migrants, but non-migrants also navigate their residential choices in the city. Van Lindert (1991) focussed on both migrants and non-migrants. He demonstrated where residents coming into the city for the first time are likely to settle as well as city-born residents and found that the residential choices and subsequent moves of newly independent city-born or indigenous householders were found to be within the same residential zone especially if they are too poor to afford a self-help house in the peripheral zones in La Paz.

The studies of Conway and Brown (1980), Kombe and Kreibich (2005), van Lindert (1991) and Lupala, (2002a) have also demonstrated that friends or kin first accommodated the migrants to the city. Conway and Brown further indicate that these ties continued to influence subsequent location decisions.
Ahmad (1992), in his study of migrant households in Karachi, one of the largest metropolitans found that ethnic considerations dominated the initial and subsequent mobility of the migrants. More than half of these settled in the informal settlements that he calls ‘Katchi Abadi’s’. He adds that migrants to the city prefer to settle close to friends or relatives, or in areas where the majority of households are of the same ethnic background. Lupala (2002a) has reported similar findings in Dar es Salaam in Nyantira, a peri-urban informal settlement that continues to attract migrants from the same ethnic group who support each other economically and socially.

Dokmeci et al (1996) studied the residential preferences and choice of households in planned districts of Istanbul city. They surveyed a sample of 1,105 households proportionally taken from districts divided according to their distance from the CBD. They found that many more low-income earners desired to move than middle or high-income earners. The main reasons for the locational choices were related to being closer to relatives, showing that non-economic reasons were the major driving forces. They needed to maintain ties with their kin in order to get support during the difficult times in the city. Upper middle-income people found clean and quiet neighbourhood more important than having relatives close by.

As mentioned earlier, a number of other studies have suggested that kinship and social ties dominate location decisions particularly in developing countries (Kapoor et al, 2004; Alshuwaikhat and Alkhars, 1993; Owusu, 2004; Ozo, 1991; van Lindert, 1991 and Conway and Brown, 1980). Gilbert and Gugler (1982) reported that persons having the same origins typically form residential clusters in cities of developing countries. Certainly, such affiliation is not only restricted to developing countries because even immigrants in developed countries normally cluster in some neighbourhoods for more or less the same reasons.
Perceived closeness to the village of origin is sometimes stated as a reason for choosing a location. In Ozo (1991:465), it was observed that migrants chose to settle along a major arterial route going to the resident’s village. This “ensured that one could always take a direct transport there and also regularly have access to, and information from, people coming from the village”. They felt tied to their village, which suggests they did not want to sever linkages with their villages despite being in the city. This is common among migrants in Africa who want to maintain some links with their villages or ‘homes’ for support and sentimental reasons.

The possibility of using the house for income-generating activities has also been found to influence the choice of residential location in developing countries in that, households which, use their homes for income-generation are less likely to move because of the customer base they have created (Sinai, 2001) or they may choose a location that has a good business environment e.g. for rental housing (Payne, 2002; Sheuya, 2004) or for urban farming (Lupala, 2002a).

From the description we can see that most of the concepts previously used to explain residential location choice were based in developed countries and we see how reasons or variables have been modified over the years to try and get a realistic picture of what motivates the moving and location choice decision of people. The few studies that have been based in developing countries have suggested that while the initial motive to move is economic, namely to find a job in the urban area and be close to employment opportunities, the success of subsequent residential careers of the urban residents and continued stay in the city is seen to be significantly influenced by social-cultural considerations and family networks.

Against such a backdrop, one may ask how important are social networks, support, attachment, status etc in residential location choices? Can social capital (as described below) be used to further understand
residential location choices particularly in the context of cities in developing countries such as Tanzania? The following sections define what social capital is.

(iii) Social capital in the context of residential location choices
Social networks and social relations have been suggested as indicators of social capital that play an important role for urban residents coping with life in urban areas. In the urban livelihoods’ framework, social capital refers to networks of mutual support that exist within and between households, extended family, and communities, which people can mobilise to access accommodation and information about employment and opportunities (Miekle, 2002).14 Farrington, Ramasut and Walker (2002), drawing lessons from the sustainable livelihoods approach indicate that, studies in urban India have also shown the importance of social networks in terms of information for those looking for work and for accommodation. A study, in Shimla demonstrated that many rooms and flats were never advertised (also the case in Tanzania especially for room rentals) and the main ways of hearing about accommodation was through word of mouth and personal recommendations. This meant those individuals and households that were integrated into a social network were more likely to be able to access accommodation. In a study on peri-urban dynamics, Kombe (2005:121) concludes that the decision of migrants moving to Dar es Salaam to settle in the peri-urban area “has been a deliberate move by the immigrants where social capital provided a conducive environment for their gradual integration into the urban socio-economic milieu.”

14 The Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach centers on ways of understanding the practical realities and priorities of poor men and women – what they actually do to make a living, the assets that they are able to draw on and the problems that they face in doing this. Assets are the resources on which people draw in order to carry out their livelihood strategies. These resources include a broad range of financial, human, social, physical, natural and political capital.
3.3 Defining social capital

The concept of social capital explains how networks and social relationships are a resource that can be used by individuals or groups to achieve goals that would have otherwise been difficult to achieve. There are three authors who consistently appear in literature related to social capital, Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (McGonigal et al, 2005; Putnam and Goss, 2002) who commonly propose that social capital is defined by social networks, reciprocities, mutual trust, and their value for achieving common or personal goals.

In Pierre Bourdieu’s *The Forms of Capital*, he suggests that capital presents itself in three forms: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. He writes about economic capital:

“... which is immediately and directly convertible into money maybe institutionalised in the form of property rights; as cultural capital which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and maybe institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital which is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. It is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and maybe institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility, tribe, a class or a school certificate” (1986:47).

Bourdieu further contends that since social capital is linked to “membership into a group”, the relationship must be maintained and reinforced through mutual exchanges, the exchanges are like a form of investment where one expect some form of returns. Winter (2000:2) elaborates on this indicating that, “social capital is not something that is natural or social given but something that must be continuously worked for in relationships, on an on-going basis in order to sustain it (the network of connections)”. 
Social capital can be maintained in physical spaces such as in a neighbourhood, office or school or in social spaces such as in a family, tribe or community organisation. Since Bourdieu’s context was in capitalist societies, his application of the concept related to understanding how individuals draw upon their economic, cultural and social capital to improve their economic standing or social status. Bourdieu argued that different social classes and groups were formed as people deployed the capital they possessed (whether social, cultural or economic) (McGonigal et al, 2005:5). For example, the upper classes converted economic capital into cultural and social capital by sending their children to private schools as well as residing in posh areas, thus reinforcing their position. The ‘positions’ are reflected physically such as middle or high-class residential areas and socially e.g. certain lifestyles or behaviour (Bourdieu, 1986:52). Social and cultural capital gains value because people with status recognise the value of each other’s capital, so even though these capitals are utilised by individuals (and individual families) they have collective effects.

In comparison to Bourdieu, Coleman (1988) uses social capital for a different line of research and theory building but comes up with a more or less similar definition. Coleman defines social capital by its function, which is “the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests” (Coleman, 1988:101; McGonigal et al, 2005:4). The aspects of social structure that Coleman refers to are, obligations and expectations, information channels, norms and effective sanctions that constraint and/or encourage certain kinds of behaviour, and he claims that these ‘exist in the relations among persons’. Coleman’s application of the concept is concerned with understanding the role of norms and sanctions, within family and community networks, that facilitate the attainment of human capital (Winter, 2000:3). He refers to the academic development of children in school and how social capital facilitates the effective acquisition of skills and knowledge in schools. Both Bourdieu and Coleman see social capital as a way to improve individual resources namely economic and human capital respectively.
The third prominent researcher on social capital is Putnam who defines social capital as “trust, norms and networks that facilitate participants to work together more effectively to pursue shared objectives”, (McGonigal et al, 2005:4). Putnam was interested in how social capital works at the regional and national level to support democratic institutions and economic development. Social capital does not function on its own, rather it is “the norms and sanctions of trust and reciprocity residing within social networks that enable dilemmas of collective action to be solved” (Winter 2000:3). In Putnam and Goss (2002:9-12) further explanations of different dimensions of social capital are presented which are pertinent to the study. Namely:

*Formal versus informal social capital:* - Formal social capital organisations are organised with recognised officers, membership’s requirements and regular meetings for example, parents’ unions or trade unions or community based organisations. Informal social capital constitutes people who regularly come together at a pub or a football game. Both constitute networks in which reciprocity can develop.

*Thick versus thin social capital:* - Thick social capital is the strong interwoven ties developed among a group of workers in the same occupation e.g. the dockworkers movement in Tanzania during the colonial era. Thin social capital is described as the casual forms of social connections formed for example with another person you regularly meet on your way to work.

*Inward looking versus outward looking social capital* – inward looking social capital tends to promote the material, political or social interests of its members. Such groups are normally organised along class, gender or ethnic lines. Outward looking social capital are groups that provide public as well as personal benefits such as charitable organisations for example the Red Cross.
*Bridging versus bonding social capital* – Putnam and Goss (2002) describe bonding social capital as that which brings together people who are similar in important respects such as ethnicity, gender and social class. On the other hand bridging social capital refers to social networks that bring together dissimilar people for a common good. The external effects of bridging networks are likely to be positive while bonding capital (limited within particular social niches) are at a greater risk of producing negative externalities such as close-knit groups along ethnic lines who consider those not like themselves as different.

The above definitions of social capital by the three researchers overlap and refer to the same social process, namely networks and norms to facilitate social or collective action. It appears to be a useful resource that can be used in various endeavours to attain individual, collective or public gains. It can further be applied to different disciplines and scales. Putnam argues that the concept has been used in many disciplines such as economics, public health, urban planning, criminology, architecture and social psychology among others (Putnam and Goss, 2002:4). It is therefore useful in the context of residential location choices because it allows an alternative perspective to understanding residential behaviour other than those that are related to economics and the human being as a rational actor, or to life cycle and changes in family size. The concept of social capital also attributes action to the poor in that it allows for them to use different strategies to survive in the urban area using networks and relationships, as in the concept of livelihood strategies in Rakodi (2002). In the concept of livelihoods, social capital is defined as “the social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.” Here it is noted that the definition covers all elements mentioned by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam.

Bourdieu’s definition is additionally useful because it also adds cultural capital as an important resource in maintaining social capital. Cultural capital in terms of education, skills, taste etc. may give you an added
advantage or influence the way you achieve your goals or in the way you can be received into a particular group or social world. In the context of residential choice a study by Aero (2006) on ‘Residential Choice From a Lifestyle Perspective’ shows how different individuals in Copenhagen make residential choices based on their lifestyles implying that persons may prefer an area because of the culture or lifestyle it projects. Cultural capital according to Bourdieu appears to be associated with superiority and class because it embodies lifestyles and behaviour that one acquires because of education, wealth or power. As mentioned above, such acquired behaviour may influence residential location choices.

The concept of social capital has been used to explain a broad range of phenomena and because of that it has been criticised for not having a universal method for measuring it or a commonly accepted definition (Sabatini, 2006). The above three discussed proponents of social capital show that there is no single definition of ‘social capital’. For example the concept ‘trust’ is an element of social capital but maybe difficult to measure because how does one measure the level of trust in a community or society, what indicator does one use? There are also negative effects of social capital as in strong bonding social capital that is used for sinister ends for example criminal gang members whose activities may affect the good of the public or some groups based along ethnic lines may tend to consolidate archaic traditional norms and practices at the expense of excluding others e.g. Nyantira informal settlement in Dar es Salaam. Furthermore bonding capital may limit the action and mobility of a group of people in the social and spatial sense. This aspect could have a bearing on residential location decisions.

In this research the aspects of social capital that are used are those of social networks and relationships and the gains emanating from them; keeping in mind that ‘social networks’ is multidimensional for it can mean networks along different lines (ethnic, family, occupational and so on) and along different levels (between non-similar status groups or occupational groups). Also the aspects of reciprocity, collective action and trust will be
used. Since the study is exploratory, the related concepts of the works by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam appear to be relevant to guide my study. This will allow me to understand the social processes behind people’s residential location choice decisions in informal settlements and what urban planners can learn from the process. Hopefully the use of the case study and qualitative methods for data collection enabled the study to overcome methodological weaknesses of measurement. Multiple methods of data collection were used, which allowed me to capture the many aspects of social capital and its influence on the residential choice decision.

3.4 The conceptual consensus

In this section, I recapitulate the evolving concepts and theories described above and try to indicate those aspects that influence my understanding of residential location choices in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam city.

The different approaches described strive to explain residential location choice initially by simplifying assumptions and using a few variables, and over time, modifying the assumptions by employing a multiplicity of factors or variables that are likely to influence the residential choice. All in an effort to ensure that residential choices could be more understood or reflected in urban reality. However the variables/factors are endless, especially when one considers the continuous social, technological, political, institutional changes that constantly affect people and their behaviour in growing urban areas. Models and theories highlight what generally might occur but they may be over-simplified in order to meet the requirements of the prevailing methods of statistical analysis. Or they may be used to prove how relevant some variables are, in ‘predicting’ the behaviour of residential location choices.

Residential choice is generally based on a combination of several inter-dependent factors. While mathematical models and statistical analysis can be made to accommodate this, choices also involve feelings and values in the social world - aspects (attributes) that are non-economic. An alternative way to studying the choice behaviour could be to focus
attention on how or what people actually do (their actions) rather than on what they should (prediction) or could do (simulation). When we focus on what people actually do we ask them about their experiences, their actions, how they do it and as a consequence non-tangible influences such as the social and cultural context or the real world in which the choices are made come into play.

A conceptual framework that also accounts for socio-cultural factors is more impelling in the context of poverty or strong ethnic affiliations as in Tanzania or other African and developing countries because such variables (apart from the normal ones like income and age) will involve value laden ones such as emotion and attachment, preferences, these can be better deduced from the actor and what his/her experiences are.

Winstanley et al (2002;829) argue that “while relevant factors can be isolated and probably even ranked in importance to households, it is the interconnections between the different factors that shape individual and household decisions and precludes the feasibility of accurate quantitative models of residential mobility.” This has a bearing on the methodological approach one may use to understand locations choices whereby a non-quantitative may be appropriate.

In conclusion I reiterate the main objective of my research, which is; to understand the factors urban residents find important in choosing where to live in informal settlements. Since the process is complex, the traditional concepts are used to glean patterns and propose themes for analysis, those related to social capital are used to interpret and understand the complexity. As the information emerged from the actors or people themselves and from the context (study area or field), new concepts were discovered. Yin (2003:29) explains that theories should by no means be considered a ‘grand theory’ in the social sciences; rather it acts as a ‘sufficient blueprint’ for the study.
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This study aims at understanding and explaining the reasons behind residential location choices of residents in Dar es Salaam with the assumption that socio-cultural reasons prevail in the choice considerations.

As mentioned in the introduction, the study raises among others the following questions:

i. What are the factors considered by households when choosing a residential location in Dar es Salaam?

ii. How does the prevailing socio-economic context influence the residential choices?

iii. Social processes such as social networks are suggested to facilitate and influence residential location choices in developing countries. Do they influence and facilitate residential choices of the residents in Dar es Salaam?

v. If social networks and affiliation influence choice can the concept of social capital be used to frame the explanations?

vi. What are the emerging knowledge and practical implications of the research for urban planning and practice?
While several reasons have been put forward in studies on the possible factors motivating residents to select a residential location, this study contends that the decision to settle is complex and is guided by active responses to constraints and opportunities present in the urban milieu within which the decisions are made. This is particularly the case when most of the people are poor and draw together a variety of resources to facilitate their choices and survival.

In the concepts and theory section, I explained how empirical surveys and the use of variables and modelling among others have played an important part in explaining residential location choices. I have also explained how over time, more and more variables have been added to try and explain the phenomena so that it matches the social reality of urban areas. This suggests that other methods besides quantitative need to be explored in order to understand residential location choices over different contexts.

4.1 Selecting a methodological approach: Why the qualitative approach

When I began my PhD work, the subject of my research was well thought out because as I have earlier indicated, I had researched on a similar topic during my master’s thesis (Limbumba, 1999). However, the method I would use was still unclear because I felt several issues had been left unresolved in my earlier work because of methodological and logistical limitations. While those findings indicated reasons why residents in Dar es Salaam selected one area over another, more was still needed to rationalise some of the actions that appeared illogical. My sentiments were also influenced by local media reports, which frequently reported evictions of Dar es Salaam residents from flood-risk areas and their constant tug-of-war with local authorities as they defied the orders.

When the time came to carry out my pilot fieldwork study during the course of the PhD work, I presumed that adding more options (reasons) in
a long structured questionnaire would capture the complexities of the reasons, which would then eventually explain the meaning behind the actions. However, it did not work because I found myself having to abandon the questionnaire and write out the stories instead. I was introduced to qualitative approaches and the case study method in a PhD course on Research Methods. The philosophy behind qualitative methods appeared to match with my beliefs that the urban residents who located to flood-risk areas among others had a story to explain their experiences.

4.1.1 Describing the approach

The method used to describe the research process is borrowed from ethnography and is termed confessional by Van Maanen (1988), whereby an attempt is made to explicitly demystify the fieldwork by showing how it was done. Cresswell (2007) refers to the act as reflexivity, meaning that the writer is conscious of the biases, values and experiences that he or she brings to a qualitative research study. He adds that:

“How we write is a reflection of our own interpretation based on the culture, social, gender, class and personal politics that we bring to research. All writing is ‘positioned’ and within a stance. All researchers shape the writing that emerges and qualitative researchers need to accept this interpretation and be open about it in their writings” (Cresswell, 2007:179)

So by recounting how the research was conducted, I hope I am able to reveal the biases and values that might have positively or even negatively shaped the entire study.

4.2 Quantitative and qualitative information

There are two known approaches of collecting and analysing research information, namely quantitative and qualitative methodology. Although a research study can employ both methods, there are significant differences in the assumptions underlying the approaches as well as the methods
used in the collection and analysis of the data. Cresswell (2007:37) describes qualitative research as a process where the research problem is studied in its natural setting rather than having subjects studied in a laboratory. The researchers collect the information themselves using multiple sources of data and they aim to understand the meanings of the problem from the participants’ or subjects’ view. The data collection in qualitative procedures is not restricted by categories and this allows for information that has depth and detail (Patton, 1987:9). On the other hand quantitative research is an inquiry into an identified problem that tests a theory, where the problem is reduced to specific variables and hypothesis. Analysis is done using statistical methods and the results are used to generalise or make claims about a population (Cresswell, 2003, 153:154).

I considered the most suitable way of capturing my understanding of the reasons for location choice was to get in-depth information from the people themselves in the informal settlements. This suggests a qualitative approach because the collection of data could be done by obtaining their stories or narratives, other than by assuming a limited number of possible variables for residential choice factors or conducting a survey in the field through a questionnaire to prove the assumptions so that I can later predict/explain the phenomena as has been done in many researches.

The qualitative approach was employed because it facilitated me to obtain that information which would further my understanding of the actions of residents in my selected study areas. The qualitative approach allows the richness of people’s experiences to be captured in their own terms (Patton 1987:10). A possible way to capture the complex reasons for moving is to get the information from the people themselves, whereby at a later stage during the analysis patterns possibly relating to longstanding variables can be interpreted. A number of researchers have admitted the challenges and complexity involved in studying residential location choices (Winstanley, et al, 2002) and the trend has been to modify theories by adding more and more variables in order to capture the complexity. Can in-depth qualitative information be used to inform urban planning, for
instance? Some may argue against it, but in an increasingly complex world, we do need to be interested in not only how many and how much but also the whys and how so that we can understand why certain things happen and possibly reduce the risks involved in urban planning.

Arguing for a qualitative approach to the research already puts forward my research stance. A research stance or paradigm is a “basic set of beliefs (or assumptions) that guide action in inquiry or research” (Cresswell, 2007:19); Creswell further informs us when researchers begin their studies, they make basic philosophical assumptions that shape their views about knowledge claims namely how they will learn and what they will learn about the study. He states that the philosophical assumptions “consist of a stance toward the nature of reality (ontology), how the researcher knows what she or he knows (epistemology), the role of values in the research (axiology), the language of research (rhetoric), and the methods used in the process (methodology)” (pg. 16)

According to Cresswell (2007:17) at the ontological level in a qualitative approach, the researcher pays attention to the different notions of reality the participants might have. This is reflected in the use of quotes representing different perspectives. As a consequence generalisation may be problematic because people are different and contexts are different and dynamic. This is opposed to an assumption that is towards a quantitative approach whereby reality is objective and exists independent of human thought and is therefore free of bias, it is observable and measurable meaning that findings can be generalised to a bigger population. At the epistemological level, Cresswell (2007:16) informs that “the relationship between the knower and what is known is questioned” In this case, the researcher attempt to lessen the distance between her and the phenomena by immersing herself in the field and collaborating with the people; the approach is a qualitative assumption where the distance between the researcher and the researched is small and the researcher interacts with his/her ‘objects’ of research.
As mentioned earlier, how many households move, where they move to or where are they likely to move to, can be expressed using methods in quantitative approaches, but how they make the decisions, why and what compels them to make those decisions (feelings and attitudes), what is the context (personal, social, physical and cultural) within which they make the decisions, can better be expressed by using qualitative methods. Such a stance influences the logic of the methodology used to collect and analyze the data, as the following paragraphs will illustrate.

4.3 The case study approach: learning vis-à-vis proving

Cresswell highlights five different approaches (methods) in qualitative research for data collection, analysis and reporting frequently found in human and social science research (Creswell, 2007). These include ethnography, phenomenology, narrative, grounded theory and case studies. This study employed the case study strategy.

The need to understand the complex processes involved in residential location choices in informal residential areas in Dar es Salaam city called for a case study as the preferred research strategy. Firstly there are over 60 informal settlements in Dar es Salaam. I could have sampled some representative areas or neighbourhoods that would have provided information about location choices in the context of informal residential neighbourhoods however, my purpose was to gain deeper understanding of the complex phenomenon by collecting as much information as possible on the location choices of individuals from a few settlements which I supposed would lead me towards answers to my research questions. Stake (1995:3) refers to such a selection of cases as instrumental where the case study here is instrumental to accomplishing something other than understanding the case. In my study, the selected informal residential areas were used to understand the residential location choice phenomena of urban individuals. Since more than one case study was used (three case
study areas); it was a collective case study (Stake, 1995) or multiple-case study (Yin, 2003).

Furthermore, according to Yin a case study is a preferred strategy when one wants to focus on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context or to “deliberately cover contextual conditions” (2003:13). As described in earlier chapters, the prevailing context such as rapid urbanisation, poverty and informality highly influences residential location choices and taking that context into consideration provided richer findings. A survey would have sufficed to collect information on reasons for choice, however I would have been forced to limit the number of variables and allow for more respondents in order to be able to generalise. The case study allows the use of many variables if need be (Yin, 2003; 13-14) as well as facilitating multiple sources of evidence during the data collection stage. Both Stake and Yin suggest that case studies involve searching for details and meaning of a phenomena or object, in fact, the case study methodology advocates the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

4.3.1 Criticisms against the case study methodology

In the course of the work, I acknowledge that the case study approach has been criticised for lacking scientific rigour. Flyvbjerg (2004) explains in his paper ‘Five Misunderstandings of Case Study Research’ that critics of the case study method believe that the study of a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing scientific reliability or generality of findings. Flyvbjerg adds that the critics of case study research consider the intense exposure of the researcher to the study of the case, biases the findings towards verification. Furthermore, according to the critics, context-independent knowledge is more valuable than context-dependant knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2004). But he argues in the social sciences or the study of “human affairs”, concrete, context-dependent knowledge is more valuable.
My view is that since the research was geared towards adding onto existing theories of residential location choice by providing alternative explanations through the collection of thick descriptions of residential location choices, the case study is the most suitable methodology. In addition, while we may not be able to generalise from the findings to all other cases, more importantly lessons can be learned by having a more in-depth understanding of the phenomena and being able to transfer findings to other settings by comparative analyses.

4.4 The Selection of settlements as cases

During the course of the study, the case study areas and the respondents were purposefully selected. Patton (1987:52) points out that the strength of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information rich cases, which are “cases where one can learn a great deal about issues pertinent to the research”. Stake (1995) similarly argues that it is useful to select a case from which one can maximise what can be learnt from it. All the three case study areas had been studied before and some background information collected by researchers namely Kombe (1995) and Kombe and Kreibich (2000). The case studies are located in informal settlements because they accommodate about 70% of Dar es Salaam’s population.

The case study area selection was based on the concept of the city divided in zones, namely the Inner city, intermediate and Peri-urban or Peripheral settlements, according to location in relation to distance and accessibility from the city centre or CBD. Besides, studies in Dar es Salaam have used this residential zone categorization of the city in order to select study areas (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000; Kyessi 2002; Kombe, 1995; Hakuyu, 1995).

The location characteristics of the residential zones are:

i. Inner City: Walking distance from CBD, about 3km radius.
ii. Intermediate zone: About 3 km to 10 km from the CBD.
iii. Peri-urban: More than 10 km from the CBD.
The ideal model with concentric zones is distorted by infrastructure and topography; the intermediate zone stretches out along the main roads and shrink where the topography creates an obstacle to accessibility.

The selection of the three cases to cover the zones presented possible avenues of understanding location choices based on, among other things, different tenure choices (renter or owner-occupier) facing households deciding to relocate, possible livelihood opportunities for example peri-urban areas offer possibilities or farming and costs and availability of land for building. Kombe and Kreibich (2000) showed that inner settlements depict excessive densification (over 200 people per hectare) and high demand for rental accommodation while areas in the intermediate and peri-urban zone depict densities much lower than in the inner city. According to the authors, in peri-urban areas, households prefer homeownership to renting because plots are bigger and one can engage in economic activities e.g. farming. Different income status can also be discerned in some informal settlements regardless of location or developmental stages since the poor and rich alike may live in proximity in informal residential areas suggesting that individuals may choose a location based on income status. However, as mentioned earlier in section 2.5, the location of the settlement and the stage of development may not always match (refer to Table 2.1) as location attributes may determine demand for land and thus the rate of development. There are peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam that are developing more rapidly than areas that are intermediate because these areas are located on major highways or along the main infrastructure trunk lines all of which are significant for residential and commercial development in Dar es Salaam. Therefore both physical distance and density mattered during the selection of areas.

In addition, apart from being information rich, the cases presented a variety of data because of the differences in location, which I hoped would strengthen the cases when it came to a general understanding of residential location choices. The three case study areas selected were
Keko Machungwa, Makongo and Mbagala Rangi Tatu. Keko Machungwa is situated in the inner city zone, less than 3 km from CBD, Makongo in the intermediate zone is about 7 km from CBD and Mbagala Rangi Tatu is more than 10 km from CBD.

Map 4.1: Location of the study areas in relation to CBD
Source: Based on Kyessi 2002 and 2002 Aerial Photos
4.5 A Multiple case design

Three case study areas were selected thus indicating a multiple case study approach. The case study areas are similar and comparable in that they are all informal areas and therefore share many characteristics found in informal settlements such as limited basic services, haphazardly built houses, environmental deterioration and informal home-based activities. Yin (2003:47) argues that, when using multiple cases, the cases should either predict similar results (literal replication) or they should predict contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication). In the study, it was assumed that the selection of the three cases could produce different results because of the contrasting contexts but the reasons for the different results would still correspond to theories and concepts put forward for residential location choice behaviour thus enriching the findings.

4.6 Unit of analysis: the respondents

The main unit of analysis in the research was the head of household. Patton (1987:51) says that; “The key factor in selecting and making decisions about the appropriate unit of analysis is to decide what unit it is that you want to be able to say something about at the end of the evaluation”. I needed to understand, at the end of the study, what makes individuals consider particular locations in informal settlements. Since the unit of analysis could also be treated as a case (Yin, 2003:22) it was purposefully selected with the help of a Sub-ward official who assisted me in the selection and interview of a more or less equal number of tenants and homeowners.

The purposeful selection of homeowners as well as tenants was done to capture recurring themes of the phenomenon across different individuals. It was envisaged that tenure status among other characteristics is known to influence residential location choices (see van Lindert, 1990). Patton refers to this kind of sampling strategy as ‘maximum variation sampling’. Maximum variation sampling “aims at
capturing and describing central themes or principal outcomes that cut across a great deal of participant or program variation.” (pg.52).

24–25 heads of household were purposefully selected in each study area. The sample sizes were small because the aim was to obtain in-depth information to understand the location choices and not to generalise to a larger population. The variation (geographic and people related) and the small sample sizes (24–25) could have presented problems later on in the findings but as Patton indicates “any common patterns that emerge from great variations are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central shared aspects or impacts of a program (pg.52). In this case it was expected that the findings would be further enriched by patterns related to reasons for residential location choices across the three case study areas and among different individuals. Differences pertinent to the understanding of the research problem are good for qualitative research (Creswell, 2007).

Twenty-four or twenty-five respondents were deemed to be adequate sample sizes. Since my aim was to obtain ‘rich-information’. The information was collected from the respondents until no new recurring themes or reasons were mentioned that were pertinent to the understanding of the research questions i.e. information redundancy (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Only the heads of household were interviewed because I assumed that the decision to move rested upon them and what I needed was to get an initial understanding of residential location choices. However I do realise that the residential location decision can sometimes be a negotiation process among adult household members for example the husband and wife. Therefore, views from spouses have also been included in cases where they were present during the interviews. I used the information during the analysis and interpretation stages because I viewed it as enriching the experience.
A Sub-ward is an administrative/geographical unit and is divided into clusters each comprising 10-15 houses with several ten-cell leaders. During the selection of respondents, I tried as much as possible not to concentrate my interviews in one cluster. The Sub-ward official who accompanied me throughout the fieldwork assisted me in selecting the ten-cell areas and the houses. He/she was a member of the community and therefore familiar with many of the respondents (it is part of their official duties to know their constituency). While this was an asset during the fieldwork, there were times when I had to guide the Sub-ward official because he/she tended to take me to those households that he/she was most familiar or friendly with for various reasons. Some members of the community sometimes saw being interviewed as an honour.

At the planning stage of my research, I assumed that interviews with recent movers (lived in the areas not more than 15 years) would provide better information since such residents could more accurately recall their motivations for moving and subsequent choice. However during the course of the research I realised that respondents who had moved into and lived in the study areas for more than 15 years (whom I had come across during the fieldwork) also provided rich accounts on not only the process of their residential choices but on the historical development and attraction of the area on the whole so my earlier criteria was not followed. This did affect the results of the fieldwork through enrichment of the information.

4.7 Data collection methods

I tried as much as possible to use multiple sources of information; these were mainly interviews, direct observation, and documentary information. The case study strategy recommends the use of multiple sources of information because it allows an investigator to address a broad range of issues (Yin 2003).
Before getting into the field, I was required to obtain a research permit from the local authorities. I was given a letter at each relevant Municipal authority, which introduced the research aims and me to the prospective Sub-ward officials. At the Sub-ward offices I was introduced to one of the members of the Sub-Ward committee, who became my guide throughout the fieldwork. Since the committee officials were generally respected community members, their introductions helped allay any suspicions that the people might have had about my study intentions. After a several visits, I was at times able to visit houses that I had visited before even without an official accompanying me because I had already developed rapport with the respondent.

![Picture 4.1: The ward official presents our research intentions to a respondent](Source: Author, 2005)

**4.7.1 Interviews**

I first carried out a pilot study in August of 2005. During the pilot study a survey was done of 75 houses using a structured interview questionnaire with themes that were guided by theory and the research questions. The 25 respondents were purposefully selected in each area because the aim was not to find typical occurrences among a population, but to discern general themes from the respondents’ answers which could further my understanding of the research topic, what to review in the literature, to familiarise myself with the areas and
to test my research questions. Both tenants and homeowners were interviewed to gain understanding on what compels households to choose residential locations regardless of tenure. It was envisaged that richer understanding of the proposition that social or non-economic reasons feature in their decisions would be achieved across different tenures.

Face-to-face interviews were carried out using the questionnaire and all respondents were asked the same questions; the interview lasted for about 45 to 60 minutes. The outcome of the pilot study was not only a general overview of the factors likely to influence residential location choices in the three settlements but a lesson in using structured questions to gather information on an individuals’ experience of residential location choices. The structured questions and sets of alternatives within which to choose from proved to be restrictive as in many instances respondents had rich stories to support the meaning behind their choices, which could not be relegated into the categories that I had prepared.

The survey strengthened my resolve to use qualitative data collection methods. I therefore changed my strategy and applied in-depth open-ended interviews. The information I learnt from the pilot study was used to prepare the interview guide; for example, I learnt that people give accounts of several reasons and meanings that attract them to a location, however one can pick out which reason is more influential. Therefore it is important to document a whole story in order to later analyse the complexity or interrelationships. Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant’s experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic (Kvale, 1996). Therefore, I interviewed 73 respondents in the 3 study areas, about 24 heads of household in two areas and 25 in one area. The interviews covered the following themes, (i) general factual data about the respondent (ii) reasons for selecting the neighbourhood and how/why were the reasons important (iii) general mobility history (iv) feelings about the neighbourhood (see appendix 1 and 2 for the
interview guide and profile of the respondents). At least 4 interviews a day were conducted which also included moving around the neighbourhood. Many employed respondents were interviewed during weekends while on weekdays those who worked at home or around their homes were interviewed. Since my fieldwork was divided into 3 phases, I was able to go back to the respondents more than once to verify issues. This was an intensive fieldwork, which lasted a total of 5 months (December 2005-March 2008).

4.7.2 The interview setting

I interviewed people in or around their homes. The interviews were conducted entirely in Swahili because I felt that if I were to translate an English question guide to Kiswahili every time during a session, I risked the possibility of changing the meanings of the questions. Each in-depth interview lasted for about 60 to 90 minutes depending on the respondent’s ability to understand my questions. Some female heads of household were engaged in household activities during the interviews, e.g. cooking or washing clothes increasing the time spent. I also made detailed notes of the answers in Kiswahili, which were later translated to English for the research report.

Many times the respondents invited me inside their houses or we would sit on a reed mat or chair outside on a veranda or in the shade of the house. I therefore did not only get information from the participant but I was sometimes also able to observe his or her interaction with the neighbours and passers by which informed me about the social environment of the area. Not all respondents were ready to just give an interview simply because I had an official accompanying me. Many wanted to know why they were being interviewed, why they were selected and not so-and-so and how was the research going to help their situation. Some were satisfied with my answers but on 2 occasions the respondents (male) said they were tired of researchers who wasted there time without producing any concrete results in the
community. Either they were uncooperative or it could be one of the ethical dilemmas faced by researchers when conducting fieldwork in poor communities. This is understandable, since they are often unable to bring back tangible inputs that directly improve their situations.

4.7.3 Interviews with key informants – The sub-ward officials

Key informants are individuals, who provide information during data collection in the field because they are well informed, articulate and can provide further understandings of events observed in the field (Patton, 1987:95). In this study the Sub-ward chairperson (Mata leader) provided narratives on the physical and social development of the areas; in all the cases they were ‘natives’ of the area having been raised in the neighbourhood.

The role of sub-ward officials

The Sub-ward unit is part of the local government administrative structure whereby the residents elect the Sub-ward Chairperson or Mtaa leader every 5 years during the local government elections. They are usually renowned members of the community and sometimes the nomination of a candidate from an opposition party creates friction.
among community members that sometimes affects the implementation of development activities.

In the context of public service delivery, their duties include ensuring the implementation of city by-laws, development plans and programme, and ensuring the collection of revenues at Ward level (See Section B. 66 of the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act, 1982). However in the building of houses, Wards and Sub-ward leaders are usually ignored by developers. Administrative work such as documenting information on the population and development of the Mtaa in general is also done; further more arbitrating in small quarrels and misunderstandings, which do not need to be sent to courts and supervising security issues relating to the area. The work is done through the Mtaa leaders and his/her development committees. The Mtaa leaders are also involved in issues related to (informal) land development and transactions at Sub-ward level. Many act as witnesses during the sale of land and also mitigate land conflicts and disputes. The urban Mtaa committees are designed to mobilise citizen participation in local development activities. The Mtaa is the smallest urban administrative unit of a Ward. Discussions during the fieldwork suggest that members of the ruling party usually want to be seen as being behind all development initiatives.

Figure 4.1: The Local authority Administrative System
Their Role in the study

The role of the Sub-ward officials in the study has been explained earlier in the chapter. The member of the Sub-ward committee who was my guide throughout the fieldwork, acted as my ‘door-opener’ during the household interviews. In addition, the Sub-ward chairperson, as leader and spokesperson of the Sub-ward, provided me with documented evidence on population statistics. Information on the historical development of the areas, the type of people living in the settlement and his/her opinion on movement patterns to and from the area and reasons why people move to the area was also sought.

The information provided was not without bias, having lived in the areas and being leaders the sub-wards had a tendency to downplay some of the problems experienced in the settlements or in one case to solely blame residents’ apathy for some of the environmental problems but whenever I felt that the information provided was either exaggerated or downplayed, corroborating evidence from the field and the respondents helped clarify issues.

4.7.4 Direct observation

Yin (2003) points out that by going into the field the researcher creates an opportunity for direct observation serving as another source of information in the case study. To complement the interview information, visual observations were made on the condition of buildings and the neighbourhood environment as I walked along from house to house and during interviews. This was captured in photographs. At times I had to ask permission, for example in Makongo Juu there were a few occasions where my request for a photo of the house was met with suspicion and mistrust. But the suspicions were

15 It is possible that educated persons are able to perceive that they have built on land that is yet to be formally planned and therefore may have wondered whether the government had new plans for it.
alway when I told them that the information was for my PhD studies. In one occasion I was completely forbidden to take pictures by the respondent. The photographs are meant to depict a sense of the place the respondents live in and a further appreciation of their residential choice experiences.

![Activities like cooking; washing clothes carried out outside promote interaction for some but perhaps lack of privacy for others? Source: Author, 2004](image)

They also provide evidence, a form of triangulation, for some of the descriptions and reasons put forward by respondents for example when a respondent in Makongo Juu said he/she was attracted by the natural/rural ambience of the area, I was able to show what they perceived as the ‘rural/natural’ ambience.

![Typical natural surroundings of Makongo Juu Source: Author, 2004](image)
4.7.5 Documentary evidence

Documentary evidence included census reports, official government reports, maps, aerial photographs and previous research literature. The maps and aerial photographs were used to assess the extent and location of new residential development, which suggests in-migration. The aerial photo information and discussion with the Mtaa Chairperson of the selected study areas concretised the selection of houses for in-depth interviews. Past research provided valuable base-line data on the areas as well as corroborating information gathered from the interviews for instance research by Kombe (1995), Kombe and Kreibich (2000) both in Keko Mwanga and Rangi Tatu; Sliuzas (2004) in Keko Machungwa and Mwanga and Burra (2006) in Makongo Juu. Most times only population statistics were available at ward level. I thought I could obtain for example, statistics on the number of homeowners, homeowners living with tenants and houses with tenants alone because all wards have registers of houses and names of their owners. However, the only information available was the number of houses in the areas and owners’ names without specifying whether they were actually living in the house or not or whether there were tenants. This data would have been useful to characterise the settlements. For example the information could confirm whether the area consisted of mainly renters or homeowners and additionally determine the stability or general mobility tendencies of the area.

4.8 Data analysis and interpretation

Patton describes analysis in qualitative research as “bringing order to the data and organising what is there into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units”, (Patton, 1987:144). While Creswell (2006) provides some general procedures for analysing qualitative data, both he and Patton (1987:146) contend that there is not one right way of conducting it. Patton further adds that it is a highly creative process requiring intellectual rigour and people manage their creativity and intellectual endeavour in different ways. Stake (1995:72) refers to the process as ‘intuitive’ and ‘arty’. In this research the organisation,
analysis and interpretation of the data was guided by the questions asked in the field, the concepts that I had from literature and the words from the respondents.

Patterns in the information collected can be found while interviewing, reviewing documents or observing (Stake, 1995:78). In addition, since qualitative analysts do not have statistical tests to tell them when an observation or pattern is significant, they must rely on their own intelligence, experience and judgment (Patton, 1987:146).

A major part of the analysis was done on the information obtained from interviews with respondents and key informants. Pictures taken were used to complement the information. The concepts I had reviewed in literature also shaped my analysis. Since the experience of analysing qualitative data was new to me, the process was generally quantitative in that I had a tendency to find meaning in the data from repetitive responses or observations. This did not undermine the objectives of the study, which was, understanding residential location choices because the interpretation was done in a qualitative way. Trochim (2006) suggests the difference between qualitative and quantitative is not the method but rather the philosophical or epistemological assumptions that influence the way we study or understand phenomena. Stake (1995:76) admits to the complexity of interpreting data and sees it as "wandering from left to right" between quantitative repetitions of phenomena and emergence of meanings from a single instance. What I see as important is making sense from the data be it in repetitive responses or observations or a single response that provides explanations.
4.8.1 Compiling the data

The information from the field was compiled in a simple matrix using the guiding questions as a framework as Table 4.1 illustrates.

Table 4.1: Illustration of how the data was compiled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Guiding question 1</th>
<th>Guiding question 2</th>
<th>Guiding question 3</th>
<th>Guiding question 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Description of individual responses</td>
<td>Description of individual responses</td>
<td>Description of individual responses</td>
<td>Description of individual responses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author*

This was an iterative process, and where I sensed gaps or puzzles I went back to the field and interviewed the respondents another time to make responses clear.

Having done this, the information was used to organise the findings according to themes (issues), which were based on recurring and unique responses to the main question on residential location choices. For example some respondents said they chose to live in Keko Machungwa because of its proximity to the CBD, others said they wanted to be close to family and friends, and still others narrated both reasons (Table 4.2). The nuances in the experiences and meanings behind the responses required that I provide detailed descriptions and quotes in the findings section. Detailed descriptions and in-depth quotations allow readers to understand fully the phenomena and thoughts of the people and they are the essential qualities of qualitative work (Patton, 1987:11).
Table 4.2: Illustration on finding recurrences and meanings from the data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Account as per interview</th>
<th>Formulated Consideration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;My brother found me work at the Port (about 2km from Keko) in 1978 when I moved to Dar es Salaam. In 1980 I decided to be independent by renting a room in Keko Machungwa because it was close to my work place, I could walk and also because my brother was living nearby...&quot;</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proximity to family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I favoured this residence because it was close to my work place. Even now I never use a daladala to go to the CBD for various services so I feel it lowers the costs of living...&quot;</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I used to stay in Kigogo. But then I moved to Keko Mwanga in 1992 because in Kigogo I faced hardships where transport to work was concerned. Keko Mwanga was closer to my Kariakoo work place. I did not need to board a bus. In Kigogo, almost all my salary was spent on bus fare. ... During those times I moved to Keko Mwanga, the farmers cultivating vegetables in vacant land near the Keko Machungwa valley were selling pieces of land so that they could go back to their villages. I decided to buy a piece of land because I was already familiar with Keko, I had been here for 6 years and my neighbours were like relatives to me and also it was close to my work in Kariakoo...&quot;.</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proximity to friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Access to vacant land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Data analysis and interpretation help to balance the detailed descriptions emerging from the data, which may otherwise become muddled or mundane (Patton, 1987:146). It entails taking something apart and giving it meaning. Using words that I thought best summarised the meanings of all the residential choice considerations stated by the respondents, I further clustered the themes that I had formulated during the descriptions into fewer themes as done in the findings chapter.
4.9 **Trustworthiness of research results**

Research needs to be assessed for the soundness of the method used, the accuracy of the findings, and the integrity of assumptions made or the conclusions reached. Several methods have been put forward to judge quality and credibility and while in quantitative research there are established ways to judge the rigour, in qualitative research there are varying perspectives (see Cresswell 2007:203 for the perspectives). Cresswell suggests that what is pertinent in the discourse is to establish the standards or criteria one will use in validating the study and that it is important to reference the validation terms and strategies.

4.9.1 **Validity**

Patton (1987) states that validity and reliability are two factors, which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. The establishment of trustworthiness can be done in different ways and Cresswell (2007) offers validation strategies which include prolonged engagement in the field, triangulation (using multiple sources of data collection), peer review or debriefing, rich thick description, and external audits among others (he outlines eight strategies), of which he suggests one must apply at least two in any given study.

**Triangulation**

Triangulation is a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning behind the research findings. The use of multiple sources of data in case study research helps to validate findings whereby the sourced information corroborates the same fact or phenomenon (Johansson, 2005; Yin, 2003). The methods used for triangulation are not fixed and depend on the study - many methods can actually be combined. In this study four data collection methods were used to avert bias (the case study allows multiple sources of information), these are (1) interviews with respondents, (2) interviews with key-informants, (3) observation and (4) documentary evidence (relevant past studies).
The multiple data gathered was later compared during analysis and interpretation for the purpose of corroborating the evidence gathered from the interviews with household heads. For example the finding that Keko Machungwa is attractive because it is close to the city centre was corroborated by background information on the settlement’s development from key informants (Sub-ward leader) and from other research documents on the area such as Kombe’s (2000) study.

**Rich thick description**

Cresswell (2007:209) argues that “with rich detailed description, the researcher enables readers to transfer information to other settings to determine whether the findings can be transferred”. In this study, I have provided detailed descriptions of the study areas in order to give the reader a sense of ‘being there’ and to help a reader establish the similarity of the case to other cases which is argued by Stake (1995) as a way of generalisation. In the description and analysis of the data I have attempted to weave in the voice of the respondent using indirect and direct quotes in order to illustrate the different viewpoints and to correspond the viewpoints to the general findings.

**Peer reviewing**

Peer reviewing was carried out through research seminars that were conducted at the preparatory/planning stage of the research, the literature review and theory identification stage, at pre-fieldwork and post fieldwork stage and when the data was collected and analyzed. Four international research conferences aimed at PhD work also formed part of the peer-review process, where methods and preliminary results of the study were reported. Preliminary research findings were presented at a local workshop in Dar es Salaam consisting of urban planners and practitioners from various sectors.
4.9.2 Reliability

In the traditional view of quantitative research, reliability refers to the procedures used in conducting the research. Namely, will the same procedures or instrument yield the same results if used by another researcher? However in qualitative research where contexts differs, one cannot for instance standardize the data collection methods and therefore researchers refer to ‘dependability’ where one is concerned about the process of the research, its consistency and the stability of the data over time (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) or that the process is logical and clearly documented (Yin, 2003). The difference in terms is not the aim of this section. What is important is that the scientific rigor of the study is reflected enough for one to judge its credibility.

This can be achieved if a detailed protocol of the data collection is reported i.e. document the procedures and if a formal presentable database is maintained i.e. all the information collected is documented and the chain leading from the initial research questions to the case study conclusions (Yin: 2003:105). This is to enable any other researcher to trace the procedures in either direction.

In a quantitative study repeated analysis can confirm the results of the research, however in a qualitative study generalisation is not the key to case study strategy (Stake, 1995:7-8), rather it is in the uniqueness of the case or the particularization that is important because a case is selected so that one can learn and understand much about it and it therefore becomes a source of knowledge. But ensuring reliability and validity is likely to make the results more generalisable, especially if the results can be confirmed across cases, contexts and population.

In this study three cases of informal settlements were selected and a few households (21-24 in each case study area) further selected. It is expected that the process followed and described will allow for generalisation towards socio-cultural explanations related to location choice particularly in similar contexts as the study areas. Lincoln and
Guba (1985) refer to this as transferability. The difference between transferability and generalising is that the judgment about whether the cases can be generalised comes from the users or the readers rather than the researcher.
KEKO MACHUNGWA – MOVING TO THE INNER CITY

5.1 The case study area

Keko Machungwa is located about 3 km from the Central Business District (CBD) of Dar es Salaam city (see pic. 5.1) and has a population of about 12,500 (URT, 2002). According to Kombe and Kreibich, (2000), it is located in the inner city zone. The location characteristics have been discussed earlier in Chapter Four. The historical development of Keko Machungwa has been associated with its proximity to the Dar es Salaam Harbour, the former Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) and services at the CBD such as the General Post Office, which are significant employment centres. It is one of the oldest informal settlements, which was spared from demolition during the colonial era because it accommodated many Africans working at the port and railways (Lupala, 2002b; Kironde, 1995b). But due to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980’s and subsequent downsizing of workers in the public sector, opportunities for employment in the informal sector have replaced formal employment.

While many informal settlements are bustling with small-scale informal activities such as shops, food-stalls, clothes vendors and street-side trading; observations in Keko Machungwa indicated the presence of fewer retail activities. The main commercial activities are located in an area the residents call 'Entebbe’ where the main street is lined with a few scattered shops, two bars and a restaurant, vegetable and food stalls and the local Sub-ward offices as well as the market area. On enquiring about the observation, the Sub-ward chairman said, “Not many people own shops here because they work in the city. In addition business within the settlement is slow because we do not have direct
access to a major road like Keko Mwanga Sub-ward which is directly bordered by Pugu Road and there are many informal activities such as furniture-making and retail shops.” It is common knowledge that retail shops usually compete for locations with great accessibility in order to thrive.

Picture 5.1: Aerial view of Keko Machungwa
Source: Aerial photos, 2002 from Surveys and Mapping Division Dar es Salaam
5.1.1 Housing and tenure

All the houses in the study area are single storey and mainly of the Swahili type\(^\text{16}\). Qualitative observations indicate that many of the houses buffering the Police barracks and subsequently close to Kilwa road are old and in deteriorating condition suggesting that this is possibly where the settlement was first inhabited. During the research interviews, it appeared that all homeowners in this selected part of the street had lived there for more than 30 years and had inherited the houses from their parents. The Sub-ward chairman referred to this area as Keko Akida. Moreover, Kironde, (1995b) in his study of the evolving land structure in Dar es Salaam reports that the first settlers in Keko built on land belonging to one Akida bin Mzee and this might explain why this part is still known as Keko Akida today.

\(^{16}\) The urban Swahili house can be defined as a house with a central corridor or passage leading from a veranda facing a street to a backyard with outbuildings and to private rooms on each side (Vestbro, 1975:34). A Swahili house is versatile and can be adapted to almost any combination of household type e.g. single persons, groups of bachelors, nuclear and extended families. This makes it very attractive to people who build the house for renting purposes.
Towards the river valley, the houses are new with some still under construction, suggesting recent development activities and encroachment into the river valley. What varies significantly is the finished state of the house, ranging from those that are well-finished with paint, ceiling, cement-plastered walls and screened windows; to those that are semi-finished i.e. not plastered, without ceiling and/or mosquito screens. Like many informal residential areas in the city, the sanitation and water facilities are mainly pit-latrines and the use of public or private water standpoints as well as purchase of water from vendors. On some days, Keko Machungwa receives piped water supply because it is near the city centre, which allows the residents to store water in plastic containers. In the study area, 18 out of 23 respondents said they fetched their domestic water for a charge from neighbours who had standpipes and sometimes from communal taps, the rest of the respondents (5) had standpipes within their compounds. Many also used pit-latrines however the high water table aggravated by seasonal floods has forced the residents to construct pit-latrines elevated at 1-1.5m off the ground to prevent them from filling up too soon (Picture 5.3)

Picture 5.3: Raised pit-latrine in Keko Machungwa  
*Source: Author, 2004*
Many of the interviewed residents in Keko Machungwa were tenants renting one or two rooms in a multi-family house with shared facilities such as a kitchen, toilet and bathroom. A few were owners living with tenants and the rest were strictly owner-occupiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners living with renters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents said the demand for rental accommodation was high which accounted for the high densities and encroachment of housing development in the river valley (see Figure 5.1). Sometimes the rooms are booked in advance even as the house is under construction. Landlords also add rooms for rent wherever there is space further contributing to densification. The rents per room vary between $4 and $8 per month depending on the condition of the house, the location and the availability of services such as electricity and water\(^\text{17}\). A good room in Hana Nasif, an upgraded informal inner city area, costs about $8 (Sheuya, 2007) however Hana Nasif does not experience environmental problems indicating the higher trade-off in Keko Machungwa.

The renters reported that the rents are normally paid in advance covering 3, 6 or 12 months subject to the agreement between the landlord and the tenant. The agreement can be formal with a Sub-ward official as witness, or informal where there is an understanding between the tenant and the owner. The rental options in Dar es Salaam can be renting: a whole house, rooms in a multi-family house with the landlord living inside, or rooms with an absentee landlord.

\(^{17}\) In 2005 when the fieldwork was conducted, $1 was equivalent to about TShs. 1000. In 2008 1$ was equivalent to about TShs. 1,200.
5.1.2 Accessibility

As explained in the previous sections, Keko Machungwa is linked to a main highway, Kilwa Road by a street that is passable by motorcars. There is also a community-built road that links the settlement to the city centre. There are a number of footpaths that lead to the nearby Sub-ward Keko Mwanga, where many services can be obtained. Since the houses are haphazardly located and oriented, and since they sometimes encroach upon paths and roads, there is limited access within the settlement.

Keko Machungwa’s proximity to the city centre makes it possible for the residents to walk to the city. The area can also be reached from different parts of the city by public transport, consisting largely of mini busses called ‘daladalas’. A one-way daladala trip costs about $0.2. This can be expensive for those who have unpredictable sources of income and who need to commute to work every day.

5.1.3 Social Services

There is no primary school in Keko Machungwa Sub-ward and children attend the primary school located at the Kilwa Road Police barracks.
Public health centres are lacking, there is one private health centre and others at nearby institutions such as the Kilwa Police barracks, Mbulani Army barracks and Keko Mwanga Prison facility. There are 3 privately run nursery schools or day-care centres, which accommodate 20 to 30 children each. A small market exists in the area with several stalls selling vegetables, cereal, household items and second-hand clothes. All the services are within walking distance, it is only when the residents seek services of higher level, particularly medical in nature that they have to use public transport for instance to Ilala district hospital. Proximity and access to basic services is not a major problem.

5.1.4 Environmental issues

As in many informal settlements, Keko Machungwa has its share of environmental problems. In interviews with the Sub-ward leader he reported that although a private company was contracted to collect domestic solid waste, the services were not regular and in addition the narrow roads and paths to many of the houses deterred the garbage trucks. He however added that the problem of accessibility had been solved by the use of pushcarts locally known as ‘mikokoteni’. Normally the households are charged Tsh.500 (about $0.4) a month for the services. Due to the irregularity of payments by the households, the services are erratic.

Picture 5.3. The Keko River valley used as a ground for dumping garbage
Source: Author, 2004
A walk around the area showed that the older parts of Keko Machungwa near the Police Barracks were fairly flat and sandy and did not experience flooding during the rainy seasons despite the absence of storm and surface water drainage. The major problem was in the areas that were developed over the last 15-20 years towards the river valley. These areas frequently experience flooding during the rainy season. A survey of flooding levels and duration carried out in the settlement in June 2001 indicated that flood water could reach depths of more than one metre and last for as long as three hours (Sliuzas, 2004) which presents environmental difficulties for the residents.

The use of the valley as a dumping ground for garbage and at times dead domestic animals aggravates the squalid situation. Discussions with the Sub-ward official guiding me revealed that there are a few light industries close to the river valley whose owners have constructed flood retaining walls along the valleys. This has obstructed the natural flow of water further aggravating the flooding problem. Furthermore the encroachment of housing development into the valley has added to the problems as well. Discussions with the ward official and field observations showed that a number of houses in the valleys had low walls built round the door (entrances) to prevent water from getting in.

5.1.5 Profile of the respondents

In order to draw a profile of the respondents, five socio-economic attributes were considered namely (i) education, (ii) occupation, (iii) income, (iv) ethnicity, and (v) migrant status. The first three are commonly known to influence location choice as Chapter 3 has shown. Ethnicity and migrants’ status have been added to bring in the element of culture and explore possible constraints or opportunities for housing, which is increasingly acknowledged in studies in developing countries to have an influence on choice.
**Education and Occupation**

The profile of the respondents in Keko Machungwa indicated residents with low education status. 18 out of 23 interviewed respondents had reached primary school level and two had reached secondary school level. The rest (2) did not have any formal education. According to the Household Budget Survey (NBS, 2002), the highest education level achieved by 60% of adults in Dar es Salaam was Primary 5-8. This suggests that many Dar es Salaam residents only possess basic primary education. Many of the respondents in Keko Machungwa were engaged in work that did not require a high educational background such as shopkeepers, storekeepers and small home-based businesses such as stall owners, tailors and hawking. Two worked in occupations that required formal training and these were a mechanic and an electrician who had attended vocational training schools.

**Income**

Inquiries about income rarely yield the true level of a household’s income particularly since many appear to spend more than their stated income. Kironde (1995a) found similar trends in Dar es Salaam in his study of access to land by the urban poor. Many of the residents interviewed in this study could not state their incomes with certainty and therefore an attempt was made to find out what they spent in a day on basic items such as food. The stated expenditure of the residents revealed that 13 out of 23 residents spent between $2 to $4 a day on food, which is equivalent to half the rent of a room with electricity per month. The rest (10) spent between $5-$8 some of whom had more than one source of income. In 2000/01, the food poverty line was about $4 suggesting that some respondents in Keko Machungwa were poverty stricken. Many respondents said they usually spent all their daily earnings on basic items living a ‘hand-to-mouth’ existence.
**Ethnicity**

The respondents came from different regions indicating varying ethnic backgrounds. 10 out of 23 came from the coastal areas surrounding Dar es Salaam and Morogoro and they belonged to the Ndengereko, Zaramo and Luguru tribes. The rest of the respondents came from various regions of the country. The general opinion among the respondents was that Keko Machungwa had a concentration of people from the coastal regions e.g. from Kilwa, Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. Kombe and Kreibich (2000) in a study of Keko Mwanga, which is a similar informal settlement across the river, found that the Zaramo, Ndengereko (both from the coast) and Ngoni from the South accounted for 60% of the ethnic groups. The slight difference may be attributed to the fact that a significant part of my study was concentrated on the newly developing areas in the valley, which is more heterogeneous, suggesting that over the years the vacant land along the valley has been encroached by new developers from varying ethnic backgrounds and financial capabilities; Possibly people who rely less on ethnic ties.

**Migrant status**

15 out of the 25 respondents interviewed were migrants (moved to Dar es Salaam from 1975 onwards) and most said that they moved from their village to come to Dar es Salaam in order to ‘look for life’ translated from Kiswahili as ‘kutafuta maisha’. They came to Dar es Salaam without any skills and notably 4 of them said their brothers who found jobs for them at the Dar es Salaam harbours invited them.

Their relatives or friends hosted all of the interviewed respondents when they first came into the city. They said that their hosts were also renters then. The respondents did not pay any rent but once they had found a job they moved into their own place and in all the cases it was a rented room. All the interviewed respondents said their first independent residence was located within the settlement or within proximity of their relatives and their first jobs except one respondent whose first renting experiences was far from his workplace.
4 out of the 23 respondents were born or spent greater part of their childhood in Dar es Salaam. Two of them (women) were born in Keko Machungwa and the other two (men) were born and raised in Kariakoo and Illala respectively (about 1km). Their successive moves within the city were not entirely different from that of the migrants. Two of those raised in Dar es Salaam rented a place within the proximity of their parent’s home and then acquired a plot in Keko Machungwa to build a house and settle there. The two female respondents were living in their late parents’ house. Those born in the city have the possibility of inheriting a house, which sometimes influences their moving and tenure experiences. Inheriting a house possibly provides the opportunity for one to become a landlord and may delay the decision to move to another location.

Four respondents interviewed were members of the public service who had been transferred from another urban centre suggesting their higher skills and urban experience. Three of them had moved only once in the city and had changed tenure from renting in a government house to owning a house in Keko Machungwa. When one is employed and has an assured income moving across different residential areas as a coping strategy in the city may not be so necessary. The other one respondent had moved three times because of conflicts with the landlords.

5.2 Residential Location Choices

From the 23 interviews with heads of household in Keko Machungwa, there were several recurring statements related to why they chose to live in Keko Machungwa. The statements were extracted in order to inform what aspects respondents considered when they moved to Keko Machungwa. The following table shows how some of the statements led to themes for analysis.
Table 5.2: Analysis of residential location choices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Account as per interview</th>
<th>Formulated Consideration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;My brother found me work at the Port (about 2km from Keko) in 1978 when I moved to Dar</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es Salaam. In 1980 I decided to be independent by renting a room in Keko Machungwa</td>
<td>• Proximity to family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because it was close to my work place, I could walk and also because my brother was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living nearby...&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I favoured this residence because it was close to my work place. Even now I never use</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a daladala to go to the CBD for various services so I feel it lowers the living costs...&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I stayed in Kigogo as a bachelor. But then I moved to Keko Mwanga in 1992 because in</td>
<td>• Proximity to livelihood opportunities or work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigogo I faced hardships where transport to work was concerned. Keko Mwanga was closer</td>
<td>• Proximity to friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to my Kariakoo work place. I did not need to board a bus. In Kigogo almost all my</td>
<td>• Familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salary was spent on bus fare. ... During those times I moved to Keko Mwanga, the</td>
<td>• Access to vacant land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmers cultivating vegetables in vacant land near the Keko Machungwa valley were</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selling pieces of land so that they could go back to their villages. I decided to buy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a piece of land because I was already familiar with Keko, I had been here for 6 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and my neighbours were like relatives to me and also it was close to my work in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kariakoo..&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

The above exercise, which covered all the interviews, resulted into the formulation of three themes on respondents’ residential choice reasons. The themes are not mutually exclusive because respondents mentioned one or more reasons at the same time with different emphasis. The themes in order of emphasis are:

i. Proximity and access to livelihood opportunities (formal or informal).

ii. Proximity to relatives and/or friends and familiarity with the area.

iii. Convenience in terms of low living costs, cheaper rental rooms and access to vacant land.
5.2.1 Proximity and access to livelihood opportunities (formal or informal)

Proximity to work or livelihood opportunities pervaded in 20 out of the 23 interviews as reasons for locating in Keko Machungwa. Many described Keko as ‘being close to my work place...”. About 13 out of the 20 respondents worked within walking distance and many expressed the opinion that this was an advantage because they did not have to pay transports costs. They interpreted paying transport costs as ‘working for the daladala’ because it entailed using a substantial share of their incomes on the daladala. A round trip to the city centre costs about $0.4, which means spending about $11 a month. Interviews with respondents and the Sub-ward chairperson indicated that the renters considered the price of a good room in Keko Machungwa as being generally high but according to their views the lowered commuting costs offset this. Rents varied from $4-$8 per month but this was paid once every month as opposed to transport costs that had to be paid every single day.

According to the interviews, most homeowners appeared to have previously lived in Keko Machungwa as renters because of proximity to work and they implied that readily available vacant land for purchase in parts of the settlement further influenced their decision to settle in Keko Machungwa. How readily available vacant land has influenced choices will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Other respondents (Table 5.2) who worked within Keko Machungwa were engaged in tailoring activities on their verandas, selling food and other consumer items in makeshift stalls and vegetable farming. For some of them, proximity to livelihood opportunities did not directly influence their decisions, however the local demand for their retail services seemed to dissuade them from considering moving to another area.
Table 5.3: Respondents’ location of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>In formal employment</th>
<th>In informal employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 CBD including Kariakoo (2km)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Within Keko Machungwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Neighbouring institutions, work place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>such as Port, Police (2-3km)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Another district (6-7km)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One respondent, a vegetable farmer who had been living in Keko Machungwa for 10 years, said he decided to build a house in Keko because; “my vegetable business was doing well, so I decided to make Keko Machungwa my permanent residence.” Another male respondent working as a Disc Jockey (DJ) and photographer at family occasions felt that locating to another place would disrupt the networks and the reputation he had established because his work depended on information spread by word of mouth and referrals.

One of the advantages of living in the informal settlements is the possibility to engage in a variety of petty informal economic activities around the home that are not under the scrutiny of the local authorities. Studies in Dar es Salaam (Nguluma, 2003, Sheuya, 2004, Kachenje, 2005) show how this is possible and it may further attract people to settle in informal areas. In addition informal information networks on access to jobs, accommodation and customer base are important survival strategies for the urban poor.

To exemplify the above section and to indicate how complex the residential location choice can be, the following account is presented of Mpoma\textsuperscript{18}. He is a 30-year-old male with a wife and child who live as renters in Keko Machungwa in a house with an absentee landlord. The house is semi-finished. There are three other households also renting rooms in the house.

\textsuperscript{18} All respondents’ names have been changed to preserve anonymity.
Mpoma,

Mpoma moved from Iringa region in 1990 after completing primary school to find work in Dar es Salaam. He lived with his brother at Keko Mwanga (which is located across the river) for 5 years. During the time he lived with his brother, he (brother) helped him start his own kiosk selling cigarettes, bottled water and soft drinks in Tegeta (10km) close to where his brother had then been working on a construction site. After some time Mpoma desired to be independent, so in 1995 he moved to a rented room in Keko Mwanga close to his brother where he stayed for 3 years. During that time he also got married. Life for Mpoma was becoming hard with the small kiosk in Tegeta because he was not making any profit having to pay rent at Keko, which was $6 a month, pay bus fare and other living costs, so he had to close it down. He started another similar stall in the city centre. In 1999 he got a child and decided to move with his family for the second time.

Asked about why he moved, he said, "I wanted a bigger room because I had a child. When I planned to move, I wanted to move to an area that was close to my work (in the city), that’s why I chose Keko Machungwa in the valley. When I went to work all I did was walk instead of using all my money on the daladala". But then he closed his kiosk again in 2002 because it was not profitable. He got a job as a construction labourer in Sinza about 7 km away but he left after 3 months. He said, "... people who work as construction labourers usually live close to where they work because they get physically tired and when you are that tired, you cannot start boarding buses or walking long distances after work."

During his construction job, Mpoma had ruled out the possibility of staying in Sinza or Kinondoni (which were near his job) because the cost of living in these areas was too high for him. At Keko he felt that he could purchase food at relatively low prices and he could even opt to walk to Kariakoo market to buy food and other household items at even lower prices. After leaving his construction job he got work as a watchman through a friend, in a private company in Sinza, which was the same area he had worked before. At present, he does not aspire to move close to that work place because he says, "working for a private individual is a problem, and one cannot predict the future with certainty"
because he/she can fire you from his company anytime.” Mpoma also recalls how life had become so tough that he had considered moving back to the village, but his brother and friends advised him not to and even lent him some money to get him by.

The account illustrates the difficulties inherent in balancing residential choices and work in the light of financial constraints and work insecurities. Mpoma describes his many changes in jobs, starting a married life and having to balance between proximity to work place and affordable living costs in the end it appears that it is a question of trade-offs.

5.2.2 Proximity to relatives and/or friends and familiarity with the area

Proximity to family, friends and familiarity with the area featured as reasons in 14 out of the 23 interviews with the respondents. In 3 of the cases, while proximity to work had been mentioned, nearness to relatives was expressed as also having influenced previous and current movements within the settlement. In addition the respondents reported in their stories that the relatives in Keko Machungwa had hosted them when they first arrived into the city, influencing their desire to be near them.

When asked why it was important to be close to family, they expressed contentment at the support they could get from them. One young man said being close to the friend who hosted him enabled him to borrow money easily on occasions when he was broke and had no food because he did not feel embarrassed in front of his friend. Assistance in everyday life such as giving each other foodstuff, borrowing domestic utensils, cooking for each other when one was sick was expressed as reasons why one had to locate close to friends or relatives or to an area that one was familiar with. Sharing the same experience, living among people who were more or less socially similar (i.e. poor status) was also described as a reason for choice. One respondent termed it ‘living in
uswahilini\textsuperscript{19} or uswazi’ where neighbours helped each other or termed it living an almost rural life.

Others expressed how their families helped them by assisting in babysitting when they needed to do other activities like going into town; or how during heavy rains when the houses were flooded, it was possible to shift their children to relatives or friends. A retired respondent said he encouraged his children to live near him so that they could assist him during old age.

One homeowner who appeared to be relatively well off compared to his neighbours had a well-finished, modern house with a car parked outside. He cited proximity to his parents in Kariakoo as a reason for settling in Keko Machungwa, his reasons were also related to the support he could get for babysitting and how visiting parents did not entail travelling long distances. However, his surrounding environment was less than conducive because the house is located in the flood-prone valley area. In such a case, money did not seem to have determined where he lived suggesting that some residents may give higher consideration to other factors for settling in an informal area despite their socio-economic status. Kironde (1995b:373) in his study on the land use structure in Dar es Salaam refers to ‘sociological’ factors that encourage the growth of informal areas. He notes:

‘In a squatter area, new developers are usually accommodated within the area itself. (....) The new builder in a squatter area is not usually a stranger, but would have colleagues therein who can be handy both during the quest for land and during construction. In a government allocated area everybody is a stranger...’

These reasons suggest that in the face of uncertainty in urban life, social family networks are considered important safety nets for

\textsuperscript{19} Uswahilini a local term could be described as the informal settlements where informality, in some places, rural atmosphere dominates. It could be compared to the ghetto in USA.
enhancing or protecting welfare. Living in informal settlements provided the respondents with an opportunity to form networks not only along kinship lines but also along mutual feelings of living the same lifestyle. A young male renter expressed this in a statement about not living elsewhere and feeling at home at Keko Machungwa, where he said, “One person’s problem is the community’s problem.” (Tatizo la mmoja ni la wote, in kiswahili). Another said, “We do not mind tribe or religion of a person”, when describing how people cooperate during social functions such as bereavement or weddings.

Familiarity with the area and the people around was also expressed as a reason for settling in Keko Machungwa. 11 out of 13 homeowners for instance had previously lived in the area as renters and as one homeowner who was previously a renter in Keko said, “the people I had lived around were like family to me...” indicating some level of attachment to the area. A married woman, Rhoda persuaded her husband to move back to Keko Machungwa because she missed her friends in church gatherings and choir practice. Where she was previously (Kinondoni Mosko), such fellowships were absent because most people in that area were Muslims, so she said that she did not ‘feel at home’. While Rhoda’s action may not be typical it serves to illustrate ‘feeling out of place’ in a particular socio-cultural setting.

Picture 5.4: Some ‘good’ houses in the Keko valley
Source: Author, 2004
Even in the absence of relatives, the possibility of people knowing each other is high in informal settlements as people interact frequently in social and livelihood activities, land transactions and in providing and seeking information. One respondent explained that if someone needed a room to rent, he/she had to be recommended to the landlord by someone who knew them as well as the landlord. It could be argued that this is not surprising, because most room and land-seekers move within the same neighbourhood.

5.2.3 Convenience in terms of affordable accommodation and access to vacant land

Three out of 10 renters mentioned convenience in terms of low living costs and cheaper rental rooms as a reason for selecting Keko Machungwa. This finding contradicts some of reports by other respondents, the sub-chairman as well as studies (Kombe, 1995; Kombe and Kreibich, 2000) who argue that the rent charges of rooms in Keko Machungwa are comparatively high because of its attractive location near the CBD. On observation and probing, the renters admitted that the condition of the rooms that were perceived as cheap were far from satisfactory and located in the flood-prone valley, hence their low rent.

![House located in the valley that is experiencing floods](image)

*Fig 5.4: House located in the valley that is experiencing floods*

*Source: Author, 2004*
A male renter said, "I pay $5 a month for rent but my life is similar to someone in the rural area, there is no electricity, no water and the roof leaks. The windows are also small and so low that I have no privacy because it overlooks a busy street". Another renter’s wife present during the interviews said she planned to leave Keko Machungwa because despite the cheap rent, the house was filled with dirty flood water during the rainy season and she was afraid her children would contract a contagious disease.

There are a number of trade-offs that people living in informal settlements have to make when choosing a place to live. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1995:157) report;

"If an individual or household finds minimum standard accommodation too costly, they have to make certain sacrifices in the accommodation they choose to bring down the price to what they can afford. (E)ach low-income individual or household will choose their own sacrifices in terms of size of accommodation, terms under which it is occupied, suitability of the site, housing quality, location and access to infrastructure and basic services."

Nine out of 13 respondents who were homeowners mentioned the availability of land for home building as a driving force to settle in Keko Machungwa. They said there was a fair amount of vacant land in the 70s to 80s that was initially being used for rice and vegetable farming but was later sub-divided by the owners and sold to prospective house-builders/developers. "Keko Machungwa was not congested so I was able to buy a piece of land," one said; "I chose to build in Keko because the price was low compared to a planned plot..." another said; "I bought a plot of land in Keko that was being used for vegetable cultivation..." It was close to Kariakoo." (Kariakoo is a nearby ward where the respondent lived). All the homeowners said they heard about the availability of land from a friend, a relative or a relative’s friend. When probed about seeking a planned plot, only one respondent said he had
been shown a planned plot in Tuangoma but he found it not only expensive but also small compared to his aspirations.

Dar es Salaam residents commonly cite “availability of land” as a reason for locating and building in informal settlements (Kombe, 1995; Kironde, 1995a; Hakuyu, 1995; Hoek-Smit, 1991). All who cited the availability of land had lived within Keko Machungwa or in nearby wards for more than 5 years as tenants before they moved into their homes so they were able to spot the opportunities present in vacant land.

5.3 Living in Keko Machungwa: Respondents’ attitudes

In order to further understand the location’s attraction, the respondents were asked how they felt about Keko Machungwa as a chosen residential area. The respondents narrated aspects that were related to the social and physical environment of the area as well as the support they received from the Sub-ward offices such as settling domestic disputes, conflicts between tenants and landlords assisting the most vulnerable members get services such as health care for free by writing waiver letters.

5.3.1 “People like me”

In all the 23 interviews including that with the chairperson, the opinion was that Keko Machungwa was a poor area. One respondent described it by saying, “Many people are poor like me; they eat ‘meagre’ food. There are very few good houses. People live here using their experiences to survive, someone straight from the village would find it very difficult to live here.” The respondents further described their close cooperation during social events like bereavement and weddings as opposed to a high-income area where they perceived the people as living individualistic lives. This suggests that the connections they had with their kin were important to their daily lives possibly because it helped them get by. In the absence of financial or human related resources such as education, health etc, poor people are known to rely on social interactions to achieve their aspirations or goals.
Fieldwork observations additionally revealed several opportunities for social contact and interaction. For instance a physical demonstration of possible interaction was not only in the many houses built without enclosing fences in the front and sometimes backyard but also the veranda where various people sat and socialised. It was interesting to note during the fieldwork, that during the interviews people would occasionally shout greetings to those they knew in the street. In some places women cooked and washed dishes in view of the passers by\textsuperscript{20}. I observed people eating together (in some multi-family rental houses) and men sitting under a shade of a tree playing cards or dominoes.

![Picture 5.5: Activities taking place outside, eating together and children playing under the shade of a tree in sight of their homes](image)

\textit{Source: Author, 2004}

### 5.3.2 Public services

All the respondents were satisfied with the available public services, which they could access from other nearby neighbourhoods. The rate of crime was reported as low because they said, the settlement bordered

\textsuperscript{20} Fences are said to promote separation and limited interaction with other people (Lupala, 2002b)
the police barracks. However some female respondents complained about the market saying that it was a small market and it could not meet the demand for everyday items such as tomatoes, onions and spinach pushing the prices up. Unlike other similar areas like Keko Mwanga, with bigger markets, more stalls and hence lower prices.

Other respondents compared their life to that of the rural area, (One homeowner and 2 tenants). This was due to the absence of electricity in their houses. One of the tenants, a young man said, “We young adults nowadays want progress in our lives. We want a room with electricity. Without electricity you cannot advance or develop because for example you will not think of buying a TV, a radio, an iron etc that are signs of progress. If you use an oil-lamp (kibatari) for lighting, the mind becomes 'stunted’”. This suggests that some aspired for modern appliances which they perceived as reflecting progress and city life.

5.3.3 Quality of the environment

During the interviews, flooding was mentioned as an environmental problem. Homeowners who had built in the low-lying areas and some tenants expressed dissatisfaction. The floods during the rainy season occasionally interrupted their day-to-day life and the respondents explained that during such periods some would sit outside the house until the water subsided or use sandbags around the compound to keep away the water. Other respondents who had children said they would send them to their neighbours or family. Permanent measures included building a short wall round an entrance to keep away water.

When it came to collective work on the physical environment most respondents said they had not witnessed any organised community initiatives or voluntary participation in such activities. But the homeowners living near the valley worked together to clear the blocked channels because not only did they have a common problem but as house owners they also had a stake in improving the neighbourhood environment. It could be that tenants have more to gain from individual
and reciprocal elements of cooperation rather than collective, because they were likely to move in the future to another place.

Illustrating the collective actions, a homeowner who had lived in Keko Machungwa (low-lying) for a long time (more than 20 years) had this to say, "When we built our houses here we did not experience any floods. The area now suffers from floods because a main drainage channel crossing the settlement has been blocked by the construction of an industry belonging to an Asian thus blocking it and resulting in overflows during the heavy rains."

He informed me that he and other affected residents had started a community-based association (not yet registered) to deal with floods and to contest such constructions by the industrialists in the valley. He said that whereas they were prohibited to build in the valley by local authorities, the industry owners had been permitted and they perceived this as double standards. Studies in Keko Mwanga have reported a similar situation where the residents protested against double standard by local authorities mainly through the courts in 1990 (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000) and through the media in 2001 (Sliuzas, 2004). This suggests that some residents do find ways of coping collectively to deal with a common problem.

5.3.4 Support from sub-ward offices

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Sub-ward office (Mtaa) forms part of the local government structure and some of the duties involve overseeing the social and physical development of the area and arbitrating in small quarrels and misunderstandings, which do not need to be sent to higher courts. There was a general feeling from the interviews that the Mtaa leaders were open to the community’s problems such as those related to domestic disputes, providing information or translation of various government campaigns or getting referral letters for various businesses. But they were of the opinion that not enough was being done to mobilize residents to improve the
physical environment in the flood prone valley, which some residents also used for garbage disposal.

5.4 Results from the interview with the sub-ward chairperson

The Mtaa (Sub-ward) chairman, Mr. J. Mkenga 43 years old, has lived in Keko Machungwa most of his life. He has been chairperson for 7 years. Mr. Mkenga described Keko Machungwa as:

"...A landlocked settlement. Keko Mwanga neighbourhood borders us on the East, and the police and army barracks in the West and South, in the North is the CBD area. We have no direct access to Kilwa Road (a major arterial road) so our settlement is poor (backward) it doesn’t develop fast enough, like Keko Mwanga that is directly bordered by Pugu Road (also a major arterial road)."

When asked about Keko Machungwa’s attraction, among the reasons he pointed out were its proximity to the city centre: 'people walk to work’ he said. Having lived in Keko all his life, the chairperson said that many people were indigenous owners of land and houses who had inherited from parents or grandparents. New people coming in were mostly settling in the riverbanks and valleys. In his opinion many residents in Keko Machungwa were renters ‘beginning life’ and those coming from the rural areas. In 18 out of the 23 interviews, respondents said that they had moved from other regions, 15 of them had come with no urban experience as opposed to those formally employed who had been transferred from small urban centres for job related reasons.

The chairperson described the physical environment as poor particularly in the areas near the river valley, which were often times flooded during the rainy periods. Asked about whether steps that had been taken to improve the situation he attributed the problem to city council and ward level officials who allowed owners of industries to encroach the valley thus blocking the natural course of water. But he also

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21 Interviews held on 30th August 2005 and 8th January 2007 at the Sub-ward offices of Keko Machungwa.
22 Mtaa can be compared to a neighbourhood block. It has about 5-8 Ten-cell units. Each ten-cell unit consists of 12-15 houses.
indicated that residents did not heed calls to stop building in the valley despite various government statements and policy documents such as the Sustainable Urban Development Plan (SUDP), 1998 which provides strategies for managing hazard lands, suggesting that they were unable to exercise efficient control of the problem.

On the social environment he said many people were poor and in some streets e.g. Keko Akida, residents were resistant to any developmental change e.g. improving physical environment like cleaning activities which made his work difficult. Other residents worked together collectively on a small scale he said, especially homeowners who maintained access paths and cleaned the clogged drains along the riverbanks.

5.5 Key findings

- Findings show that Keko Machungwa is an old settlement located in the inner city zone that was historically farmland. It is highly densified because of its proximity to the city centre and historically established employment centres such as the port and railways.

- As an inner city zone, Keko Machungwa appears to be in high demand for accommodation leading to precarious development and encroachment of houses along and in the river valley. Studies indicate that the population densities in inner city zones wards such as Keko Mwanga, Buguruni, and Mtoni are estimated to reach 200 people per hectare where you have encroachment on railway reserves, river valleys and steep slopes (such as the Msimbazi Creek).

- Many of the respondents had low education status and were engaged in informal or low-skilled employment within and in the vicinity of the city centre. They perceived Keko Machungwa as a poor neighbourhood that supported their poor status.
• Proximity to the work area was main reason because walking to work was perceived as lowering their costs of living. In addition some of the interviewees were prepared to live in substandard living conditions to lower accommodation costs.

• The availability of vacant land for building houses and the supportive informal transaction processes at grass-roots level have played a pivotal role in influencing location decisions for would-be homebuilders. The social institutions at grass-root level seemed to enforce and protect private property rights and were instrumental in guaranteeing security of investment in housing. However, housing development is now encroaching on fragile urban land.

• Interviewees appeared to use resources such as social networks and other resources such as connections to find accommodation, land for building and support for everyday life.

• Strategies such as forging social networks along familial, income status and tenure similarities as well as neighbourhood community groups and pressure groups to deal with the environmental challenges, led to some degree of satisfaction with the residential area.
MAKONGO JUU – LIVING IN THE MIDDLE CITY

6.1 The case study area

Makongo Juu is located about 15 km northeast of the Central Business District (CBD). The settlement has a population of about 12,000 people (URT 2002). Makongo Juu was historically agricultural land where sisal farming was carried out on a large scale by a Greek settler. In the 1950s to the late 60s after colonialisation, the plantation was abandoned and the labourers took control of portions of the land using it for cultivation (Burra, 2006). The original settlers were the indigenous Zaramo, Ndengereko, Makonde and Nyamwezi. Only about 10% of the indigenous residents remain in the area, the rest of the population is made up of ethnic groups from different parts of the country.

Pictures 6.1: Aerial view of Makongo Juu
Source: Aerial photos, 2002 from Surveys and Mapping Division Dar es Salaam
Makongo Juu is located in one of the highest elevated points in Dar es Salaam, which is called Observation Hill. It is reported that in the 1949 Dar es Salaam Master Plan, the areas around the university and the Observation Hill were proposed to be planned for high class residential areas for Europeans since “it was the most elevated residential area close to town” but this was later discarded because of its proximity to the military barracks (Kironde, 1995b:259).

6.1.1 Housing and tenure

The physical development of Makongo Juu appears different from other informal settlements in that the quality of many houses is high in terms of design, standards and material. The area is said to accommodate a number of high profile residents such as retired university professors and senior officers in the government suggesting a population of middle to upper class (Burra, 2006).

14 out of 24 interviewed respondents in Makongo Juu were homeowners. There were 10 renters one of whom was renting a whole house and the rest were room renters in multi-family houses with shared facilities. The rents reported during the interviews ranged from $5-$10 depending on the state of the house and facilities available. The complete unit (three bedrooms, kitchen, dining, living room and sanitary facilities) was about $300 a month.
Table 6.1: Tenure of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners living with renters</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Makongo Juu experiences severe water supply problems forcing many residents to invest in the construction of domestic water storage tanks for harvesting or filling with purchased water. All the homeowners had either underground water reservoirs, 1000-2000 litres plastic tanks or constructed reservoirs for rainwater harvesting. Renters said they fetched water from vendors for $0.1-$0.3 for a bucket of 20 litres or from neighbours. On some days, piped water is available and this allows the residents to collect and store water in containers. The water supply system in the neighbourhood was initiated by some of the first settlers and later incrementally extended through community initiatives to serve the settlement.

The commonly used sanitation facility in Makongo Juu is flush toilets and pit-latrines but many of the respondents interviewed said they had pit-latrines alongside flush-toilets because of the chronic problem of water.
The area is served by electricity. Its proximity to major institutional areas like the University of Dar es Salaam, Ardhi University and the Lugalo Military Barracks has favoured the existence of some of the facilities such as electricity.

6.1.2 Accessibility

Roads that pass through the institutions provide access to the settlement. There are *daladala’s* which ply between the Mwenge Bus Station and Makongo Juu and a one-way trip is about $0.25. However, respondents complained that, during the rainy seasons the buses become fewer because the roads are barely passable, which leads to long delays when commuting to work. Access within the settlement is good because the houses have been built with some order, but in several parts of Makongo Juu, the hilly terrain has made access to individual houses difficult.

6.1.3 Social services

Makongo Juu has one public and one private primary school, and a private secondary school. The public primary school was constructed through community efforts and contributions. There is no health centre.
and many respondents use the health centres in the surrounding institutions or private clinics located within the settlement. The closest government health centre is in Mwenge about 2 km away. Other services available are makeshift shops and stalls along Makongo road but there is no neighbourhood market; the respondents said they had to rely on the market in Mwenge.

Unlike Keko Machungwa where there is solid waste collection by private contractors contracted by the Municipality, Makongo Juu has no service and residents bury their domestic waste in pits dug within the compound or burn the waste.

6.1.4 Environmental issues

Makongo Juu has a pleasant microclimate. The area enjoys cool breezes throughout the year because of its high elevation relative to the Indian Ocean. Makongo Juu does not experience floods during the rainy season also due to its elevation although a number of access roads become muddy and fairly impassable.
The spatial development of Makongo Juu is organic in that the original agricultural land has been transformed through individual sub-divisions of land to cater for residential development on large plots, thus creating low densities. There are still many pockets of undeveloped land. Valleys and ridges characterise the pattern of land use and housing construction has generally followed the terrain. Roads have been developed following the ridges, giving access to the various parts of the settlement and to individual plots and houses. There are cases where individual access has been blocked because an owner of a purchased plot has built a house without regard to his neighbour’s access. This is typical of many informal areas in Dar es Salaam.

6.1.5 Profile of the respondents

**Education and occupation**

The educational attainment of many of the heads of households interviewed in Makongo Juu was secondary school and above. Out of the 24 interviewed respondents, 10 had attained university education, 7 had secondary school education and the rest (7) had completed primary education. Nine worked for the public sector including the universities, 5 in unskilled work such as casual labourer, Mama Ntilie (food vendor) and stall owners; and the rest (10) were self-employed working e.g. as a taxi-driver, car mechanic, small-scale contractors and...
shop owners. Burra (2006) obtained similar results in Makongo Juu on employment in 2003. He found that about 48% of his respondents were employed as civil servants in the government or public sector and the private sector. About 50% were self-employed in other activities such as urban farming, petty trading, artisan sector, repair and carpentry garages, micro-enterprises and related activities.

**Incomes**

Inquiries about the incomes of the respondents were related to what they spent in a day or month on food as was asked in the other case study areas. The interviews revealed diverse amounts spent per day, ranging from $2.5 - $15. Many who spent more than $10 were homeowners. It was also evident from observation that the quality of housing of most of the homeowners indicated middle to higher income status. For instance, many had roofing material made of CI sheets or red roofing tiles, well-finished walls, ornate grilled windows and facades.

A majority of the interviewed tenants appeared to have lower middle to low incomes. This was evident from the type of houses they rented which were semi-finished. They complained about the cost of living, which they said increased because they also had to buy water from the vendors either daily or monthly. It was observed that those who appeared well off had water storage tanks constructed or owned 1000 litre plastic tanks for water storage. Some tenants said they spent about $4 a day on food including water. One said, "Food is expensive here in the shops for example meat and fish. I use about TShs. 5,000 ($4) a day and I am only eating ugali\(^{23}\) and beans. Many food items are about $0.3 more than other areas like Mwenge or Sinza.” This respondent rented two rooms and worked as a sales assistant in a Pharmacy. He supplemented his income by providing extra classes to small children in Maths in the corridor of the multi-family house.

\(^{23}\) Maize meal a staple food for many Tanzanians
The price of food items and other services differs among different parts of Dar es Salaam shaping the costs of living in the area. Many respondents indicated that buying everyday food such as vegetables and meat was expensive in Makongo Juu because there was no neighbourhood market and very few stalls. One respondent complained about transport costs saying, “People here are well-off because we pay $0.3-$0.5 in the daladala, if many people couldn’t afford to pay they would have protested and the fare would have gone down to the permitted rate.”

**Ethnicity**

The ethnic background of the respondents was diverse, reflecting a heterogeneous community. There was no dominant ethnic group or residents from a particular region. There were residents from as far as Sumbawanga and Lindi in the South and Mara in the North. Many respondents, when asked about their opinion on Makongo Juu in terms of income and ethnicity said it was fairly mixed although they did not hesitate to add that there was a large share of wealthy and educated people.

**Migrant status**

7 out of 24 interviewed respondents were migrants from the rural areas who had moved to Dar es Salaam "in search of work", “make their fortune because farming didn’t pay” or “kutafuta maisha” as with interviews in the other study areas. They did not have any skills and were all primary school leavers. All of the interviewed respondents who cited the above reasons were hosted for free by a relative except two who had come to work as a domestic help and gardener and were therefore hosted by their employers. For all the interviewed respondents, their first residence when they moved from their host was within the same Sub-ward or ward.

Only two respondents from the interviews were raised in Makongo Juu, their parents had owned farmland in the area. An analysis by Burra (2006) on how residents settled in Makongo indicated that about 9%
were born in the settlement while over 60% migrated to the settlement in the 1991-2000 period, suggesting that many of the indigenous settlers of Makongo Juu might have been bought off.

As opposed to the migrant group where some come from the rural areas to the city with no urban experience in search of work, 14 out of 24 had experienced the city of Dar es Salaam either as students at various institutions of higher learning or had been reassigned from other urban towns to work in the city. Many of these respondents interviewed in Makongo Juu were well educated and were homeowners. Unlike the migrants, they had assured employment, guaranteed wages and were therefore able to make desired residential choices that complemented their employment status. They could be compared to ‘status seekers’ in the Turner model who either improve their dwelling to reflect their changing employment, income and family status or move into government housing after having acquired a salaried job (van Lindert, 1991).

6.2  Residential location choices

As explained in section 5.2, on Keko Machungwa study area, recurring statements have been extracted from the interviews in Makongo Juu to form categories inspired by concepts of residential location choice as well as information from the interviews. In this case too, the categories are not mutually exclusive because respondents did mention one or more reasons at the same time. The categories for Makongo Juu in order of emphasis are:

1. Access to a pleasant environment
2. Availability spacious land for building
3. Living close to family or friends
4. Low rents
6.2.1 Access to a pleasant environment

In 19 out of 24 interviews, the respondents mentioned the physical and social environment of Makongo Juu as the prominent attraction to settle there. Phrases such as 'a cool breezy environment’, ‘peaceful and calm’; ‘not congested’; ‘not uswahilini’; and 'the area is green’ frequently came up during the interviews (Table 6.1). When respondents were asked why they felt Makongo was pleasant, many of them recalled the type of areas they had lived in before to emphasise the reasons for Makongo Juu. Those who had lived in other informal settlements talked, for instance, about the overcrowding which led to little privacy, the congestion of houses which led to discomfort during the hot season and the overflow of storm water during rains, all of which they perceived Makongo Juu as not having. Similarly those who had moved from formal settlements talked about the congestion of houses and feelings of discomfort during the hot months. The formal areas mentioned were actually planned high-density areas like Sinza (about 2 km from Makongo), Kijitonyama and Mikocheni. In these areas most of the open spaces and land earmarked for other uses such as schools, car parks and buffer land have been carved into residential plots, contrary to the original planning layout, further densifying the areas (Kironde, 1992b). Table 6.1 indicates the frequency of the responses in all the 24 interviews.

Table 6.2: Number of responses related to access to a pleasant environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No of times mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful, quiet and calm</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cool, breezy environment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not congested</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural atmosphere, green</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive, civilised people, no 'uswahilini'</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following narration further illustrates the findings above.

Mwakasege is 43 years old doctor who works for a private clinic in the district. His wife is a nurse working with the national hospital. Describing his process Mwakasege said that he was transferred from Morogoro Region in 1996 to Ilala District Hospital in Dar es Salaam but he later left government employment in 2001 to work with the private clinic. He says,

"When I came to Dar es Salaam in 1996, we lived in 'Tabata External' (an informal area) as tenants renting a whole house (3 bed roomed self-contained). We stayed in Tabata for 4 years and the landlord didn’t harass us at all such that we felt comfortable as if it were own house. But my wife and I decided it was time to plan for our own home. I started looking for a plot in 2002 but did not look for a planned plot because they were not readily available and we had heard that the application process was long and cumbersome. We wished for a place that was quiet and peaceful and friends, who were living here, told us how pleasant Makongo Juu was. We visited them and saw that Makongo had the same environment as where we lived at Tabata External; hilly, green and cool although external is now already congested because many people have moved there. Our friends cautioned us about the chronic water and road problem but we still liked the environment. In 2002, we paid about $2000 for the land (about 1000 sq.m) and started building the house a few months later. After 2 years we moved into our home. But now the owner of the land has sold the vacant land in front of us without leaving any access to our plot. In fact the whole street is in the middle of a court case with the help of the Mtaa offices because a number of us have been affected. We only have a temporary access path that we agreed on with some neighbour who may decide to develop his plot."

The wife added that, "When I am inside I enjoy the calm, the peace and cool air; it is comfortable during the hot season. It is only when I go outside that I become bothered by how our frontage has been blocked by a plot. This can’t happen in government owned land"
For tenants, the environment was an additional benefit that seemed to contribute to their continued stay in Makongo. One male tenant says, "I needed a place where the rents were low but I like Makongo because the climate is good. There is a lot of fresh air you don't even need a cooling fan sometimes. It is because the area is hilly and green. It is not as congested as Mwenge."

Not only was the physical environment attractive to some but also the social environment. As indicated in Table 6.2, there were respondents who mentioned reasons related to the type of people living Makongo Juu and they spoke of the 'professors and affluent people', associating this with enlightenment, culture and civility. Some of the words most frequently used to describe the social environment in Makongo Juu were 'non-interference/meddling in affairs'; privacy, no uswahili, which is good for bringing up children, and that, the area was prestigious.

For example, a 48 year-old university lecturer and homeowner said; "I preferred Makongo Juu because from the type of people living there who do not meddle with other people’s private life."

The status related attraction of Makongo Juu is not unique because Burra (2006) in his findings on what propelled the development of Makongo found that the presence of people of high income and
educational levels, and the availability of facilities, were given as reasons by about 10.4% of his interviewed respondents.

6.2.2 Availability of spacious land

5 out of 14 respondents who were homeowners said they selected Makongo because of the possibility of acquiring spacious land as compared to a planned plot where the size was fixed and one could not negotiate based on what one could afford. Respondents said they needed spacious land to build a modern house and possibly other physical extensions such as a garage or a chicken/cow shed. One of the homeowners who worked in the nearby university said the availability of vacant land was a good opportunity for him to become a homeowner, implying that ‘choice’ was not a process he had gone through but rather an opportunity had presented itself, he said, "I didn’t actually choose the location over another; it was more a question of opportunity and availability of vacant land.” However when probed further as to why other vacant land was not considered, the question of proximity to work surfaced, indicating how multivariate the location decision can be.

The spacious land was attractive because they could carry out gardening and the keeping of domestic animals such as cows and chicken. One university lecturer said, "During my stay in Mikocheni I kept a few animals as a hobby e.g. chicken, cows and I told myself that space would be one of my important considerations when I searched for a plot. So when the time came I did not necessarily look at a planned area, the places I looked for included Changanyikeni, Goba and Kimara (all informal areas with green environment) where one could acquire a spacious plot.” Another homeowner, a small-scale contractor said his spacious plot allowed his wife to garden which lowered costs of everyday living since they did not have to spend money on buying vegetables.
6.2.3 Living close to family/friends and familiarity

Living close to family or friends was mentioned in 4 out of the 24 interviews. 2 were renters and 2 homeowners. From most of the stories, it appeared that it was a decision borne of familiarity brought about by visits to the relatives or friends who lived in Makongo Juu. For example 2 respondents said that their wives had been living in Makongo Juu most of their lives so during courtship they grew attached to the area. Another homeowner working with the university said, "A friend had asked me to find him a piece of land in Makongo Juu because I was working close by and he had heard about the availability of land. During the search process I became familiar and attracted to Makongo Juu." When asked how living close to family or friends was advantageous most said they had been a source of information and persuasion, they visited each other but because of busy work lives they did not do it regularly. Only one respondent, a young male renter said that the benefits of living close to family or a friend was that it was easy to get assistance in times of hardship from them.

As in other case studies, the main source of information relied upon for most of the respondents about the availability of a room to rent or a land to purchase was a work colleague, a relative or a friend. One respondent explained that as an urban resident living in another part of Dar es Salaam city, there was no way he could have heard about Makongo Juu because it was not a popularly recognized area (he described the location as kushoto literally meaning ‘on the left’). In his opinion, it was only through friends, relatives or proximity that anyone could know about Mkonko Juu unlike other popular informal areas like Tabata, Kimara or Mbagala.

6.2.4 Low rents

2 out of 10 renters mentioned low room rents as having spurred their choice of Makongo Juu in the interviews. However one of them, a male, had previously lived in Mwenge (about 1km) and was forced to move to a cheaper room after the company he worked for closed down. He used
to pay $10 a room a month in Mwenge and now he is paying $12 for two rooms. The second respondent, a female pays $5 for a single room. Nevertheless it was observed that many houses with room rentals were poorly-finished and as mentioned before with acute water problems possibly contributing to the low rents because the average rent for a room with electricity, well-finished with a ceiling is about $10 in Makongo Juu.  

6.3 Living in Makongo Juu: Respondents’ attitudes

The respondents were asked about what they felt about the neighbourhood once they had moved to Makongo Juu. They narrated aspects that were related to the social and physical environment of the area as well as the relations with the Sub-ward offices.

6.3.1 A good place to live with a good reputation

The interviews indicate that all the homeowners and tenants had a positive attitude towards the environment in terms of aesthetics and climate. They said or implied that compared to many areas in Dar es Salaam, Makongo Juu was not only cool and breezy, the undulating terrain and open land gave it a rural atmosphere. During the interviews, lack of congestion was also agreed upon as a positive aspect; a tenant pointed out that the plot division by land sellers had been done generously, contributing to its less dense spatial characteristic. The average plot size in Makongo Juu is about 1 to 3 acres (Burra, 2006). This may have been possible because many of the buyers earned good, regular incomes, which enabled them to pay for fairly large plots whose price was high compared to other informal areas of Dar es Salaam.

Five out of the 14 homeowners particularly said they appreciated the social environment, further investigation of the data showed them to be those respondents with higher diploma and university achievement. A male lecturer described where he lived as being spacious and

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24 Discussions with the Sub-ward committee member in September 2006.
appreciated having neighbours of the same social status and therefore he was comfortable bringing up his children in such an area. A lawyer said, "I visited the area and was impressed at the environment and the houses. It looked respectable and it was close to the universities and I had been told that it was an area of "wasomi" and there was no "uswahili". I think that is what has also attracted many senior people who are working for the government.” 20 out of the 24 respondents had already some urban (urbanised) experience having lived in other parts of the city, with stable incomes as opposed to those moving from the rural area (migrants) in search of work, urban living and survival. They could afford to think about social status and similar considerations.

6.3.2 Social interactions

All the tenants (10) were of the opinion that there was not much interaction and socialising among the community in Makongo. However, they seemed to agree that social interaction in the multi-family houses was present. Many of them compared the socialising to where they had lived before which they described more positively. They said that it was because many people (including women) in Makongo Juu were workers who spent the day away from home unlike in other informal areas where people worked at home or women stayed at home looking after families. But one renter said it was important to make friends because "everyone" in the city was a stranger and when one had a problem the neighbours were usually the first ones to help.

The following statements express some of the sentiments:

"People do cooperate and interact but not so much as in Kawe because many people go to work, men and women and come back in the evenings so it is hard to start visiting each other. On weekends people have their own affairs such as going to their shambas (peri-urban farms) or church groupings.” (Male, homeowner, has lived Makongo Juu for three years)
"We live well with our fellow tenants, for example if someone is sick we help each other fetch water for them. We also support each other in times of bereavement because everyone is a stranger here, you never know when you might need help from your neighbours. But there is no cooperation in development activities.” (Male tenant who had rented his room since 2003 i.e. for four years).

"There is some interaction with neighbours but tenants interact more. Owners only interact with those they are used to. We also have groups, I belong to a group called MAHAJIGO, there are 25 of us women and we cooperate in times of difficulties and ease. We also have a revolving fund like upatu, we contribute about 10,000 and we can borrow from it.” (Single, female, tenant, has lived in Makongo Juu for two years)

Some of the renters viewed the limited interactions as a problem particularly on everyday life because it was difficult to ask for favours or borrow things. One homeowner expressed the feeling by saying:

"You cannot expect to just pop in and say hello to a neighbour like in uswahilini or even borrow anything like salt. The fences and gates prevent this. You only visit relatives and very close friends. Or if you belong to a church group or some such group then you can meet and interact with each other.” (Male, homeowner, has lived in Makongo Juu, four years).

The homeowners were of the opinion that there was some interaction but admitted that spending the day at work and coming back in the evenings gave one less time to socialise with neighbours or even relatives. However they did not see this as a problem because they could meet on weekends or in houses of worship or in community pubs. One homeowner said:

"Social relations are a bit difficult because we are different levels in terms of status. There is no common point of interaction unless there is a death where we grieve together. I also think the nature of work encourages this where, I work all day until the evening, I travel a lot and therefore have little time to know my neighbours well. Another thing is I built a fence, and probably people interpret that as a gesture of needing privacy, because before that I used to
have a neighbour who always came over which we found a bit uncomfortable. Once I built the fence for security and privacy the visits stopped. I also keep a dog for security; many people live that way here in Makongo... having dogs and fences. My family interacts very well with members of our church; networking is strong where we help each other in times of need. We do not have a group or association with neighbours and the interaction is small but even then we are aware of each other.” (Male, homeowner, works at university, has lived in Makongo Juu for two years)

Both homeowners and tenants agreed that they did come together when a household faced bereavement to assist in cooking, providing financial and emotional support.

6.3.3 Quality of the neighbourhood

The perceived absence of crime and delinquency was reflected in the experiences narrated by both homeowners and tenants of all income groups. Makongo Juu was not only relatively safe in terms of burglary but it was also a safe environment within which to bring up children.

“In Manzese25 for example there can be chaos for example, bars, drunkenness, noise pollution from blaring radios etc. Here in Makongo I find myself bringing up children up in a good environment its better than even Sinza, we are the same status with ‘better’ morals – it’s not uswashilini.” (Male, University lecturer and homeowner).

“I am comfortable bringing my children up in Makongo not like in other areas where you constantly have to lock your children inside everyday under the perception that they may get into bad behaviour.” (Male, University lecturer and homeowner).

“The area is safe; there have been no incidents of theft since we moved here in 2002 though we have heard about hooligans at CCM26 such as youths taking drugs.” (Male, homeowner, small-scale contractor).

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25 One of the oldest and biggest informal settlements in Dar es Salaam.
26 A busy area where the local ward offices and the office of the reigning political party as well as a few shops, restaurants and stalls.
"I like Makongo because it is peaceful and not as fast as Mwananyamala. When I was in Mwananyamala, I used to belong to a gang, I felt pressured and I did not attend school, regularly. Over here, youths take their education seriously only a few do not but parents are very strict and they try to get rid of such groups with the help of ward officers. I have now started school again and my progress is good.” (Teenager, male).

During the fieldwork I did observe that the residential environment of Makongo Juu was relatively varied. There are streets that portray high income, quiet with high fences and modern built houses and streets such as the CCM area and the ward offices, which are busy and relatively crowded and congested. This may explain the different perceptions and experiences of safety and security.

While many of the respondents had information about the water problem in Makongo Juu, they had expected to be able to cope with it, "We were told about the water and roads problem but we liked the environment,” one homeowner said. However, the interviews showed that all respondents, both homeowners and tenants, experienced dissatisfaction with access to clean and safe water such that in order to cope with the shortage they had to draw on personal or external resources. Many homeowners had to additionally invest in constructing water reservoir tanks for filling with purchased tap water from water trucks at about $30 for 10,000 litres or rely on rainwater harvesting.
One homeowner, who is a businessman said, "Now that we are here we like it and are satisfied, the only problem is water, we have to spend almost $30 a month getting water on dry days (no piped water), sometimes we wonder if it is worth it but having one’s own home is a consolation and anyway the place is cool.” As a result a few homeowners felt that their lives had not improved despite owning a home because money that had been spent on rent, was now spent on getting water. The tenants had to rely on such neighbours who were also willing to sell some of the water at about $0.05 for 20 litres. On dry days when even some of the neighbours could not afford to sell water, the vendors sell the water at $0.4-0.5 for the same volume.

The poorer respondents of Makongo Juu and some who were wealthy said they experienced difficulty when it came to buying daily foodstuff. They complained about the lack of a proper market or enough stalls. Even some who were wealthy hinted that without the convenient stalls you could not quickly get ‘mboga’ to cook if one was late from work, “Life is also expensive here in Makongo, if you are late at work you cannot find mboga there are no vegetable stalls. In Tabata you could use $2 a day for mboga but here you cannot. That’s why we buy in bulk at Kariakoo market.” Some of these difficulties were seen as putting greater tension on daily life.

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27 Vegetables to eat with the main dish such as rice, potatoes or ‘ugali’
6.3.4 Relations/support from the Sub-ward offices

All the homeowners said that there was some level of cooperation between the residents and the Sub-ward offices. They added however, that it was not as strong as it was in 2000 because in that year residents had regular meetings and consultations because a CBO had been formed to deal with infrastructure problems in the neighbourhood. One homeowner who has lived in Makongo Juu for 7 years said, "We occasionally meet with the Sub-ward officials to discuss how to improve the water supply and roads in Makongo Juu but we haven’t made much progress because it’s also a problem getting people together to meet." 2 homeowners recalled contributing cash to the Sub-ward offices for the improvement of roads, they also knew about the community organisation, MAJUDEA and its activities. Many of the tenants felt there was no “cooperation in development activities” and they had not heard of the Sub-ward officials mobilizing people to improve the physical environment, or even heard of the CBO. One tenant said, "The local leaders cannot interfere in private lives in Makongo, the roads are repaired by those with cars and we are not involved but what happens when you are very sick, you may also need a car." No tenants interviewed, had lived in Makongo Juu for more than four years suggesting that they may not have heard about the CBO, which was active in the early 2000s. It appears that psychosocial support for incidences such as domestic disputes were not so common in Makongo Juu as in other informal areas unless it involved land disputes such as Mwakasege’s case (story in section 6.2.1) on encroachment and blocking of access paths.

6.4 Results from the Interview with the sub-ward chairperson

The member of the Sub-ward committee Dada Siwema, 39 years, was interviewed on behalf of the chairperson who was sick. Siwema was born and brought up in Makongo Juu. She informed me that she was elected to become a member of the committee because of her

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28 Interview with Dada Siwema, member of Sub-ward Committee on 5th September 2006.
knowledge of the community and her acceptance by community members.

Describing Makongo Juu, she said that the area was mixed in terms of socio-economic status but most people were salaried employees from the universities and other nearby institutions who have built their houses, suggesting that most were homeowners. The Sub-ward committee member said the main reason attracting residents to Makongo was the microclimate or ‘clean air’; possibility of acquiring large plots as well as general safety and security. In her opinion, “many people with big cars come and live in Makongo Juu despite the terrain”. She described the level of cooperation was good particularly when it came to working collectively to alleviate the chronic water problem in the 1990s and early 2000 where a local CBO was formed called the Makongo Juu Development Association (MAJUEA). The CBO was able to mobilise local and external funds from the Japanese Embassy in Dar es Salaam for water supply upgrading, suggesting a well-organized association with connections. It was also involved in the upgrading of access roads. But currently the CBO was not so active because according to her, the population and diversity of people (different ethnic and income groups) had increased and "people do not know each other well as before”.

The Sub-ward official said many residents in Makongo Juu were well off and the indigenous owners of land were selling it off. They could not depend on farming as they used to due to the rapid residential development and it was more lucrative to sell the land because the land prices were high. She pointed out that there are large pockets of undeveloped land most of which belong to middle to high-income people (maprofesa) some of whom are living abroad and not willing to sell the undeveloped land to other would-be buyers. Many wants to pass the land on to their children.
6.5 Key findings

- Makongo Juu is a consolidating settlement where elite urban residents who bought land are defining its development and improving services on a private basis. It is located in the intermediate zone and portrays the dynamism of an intermediate settlement where people are moving in and housing construction activities are widespread suggesting that there is growing attraction to settle there.

- Proximity to public institutions such as the Lugalo Military Barracks and universities has also influenced the development of Makongo Juu where would-be homebuilders have bought land for residential development from the indigenous settlers who were cultivators thus gradually changing the social composition of the area.

- Many of the respondents possess middle to high-level education status and are employed in skilled to semi-skilled jobs. Those employed in skilled work appear to have higher and stable incomes to purchase large plot sizes in Makongo Juu.

- Environment related reasons appear to pervade as reasons for locating to Makongo Juu, particularly for those respondents with higher incomes. Other considerations include affordable rent prices and access to work or source of livelihoods.

- Availability of vacant land abutting institutions that are employment and service centres has played a role in influencing location decisions for would-be homebuilders. Supportive informal land transaction processes at grass-roots level have played a role in influencing location decisions.

- Status related reasons are important and appear to have shaped the physical and social environment of Makongo Juu. The
standard and architecture of the houses, the housing density reflect this and the relative attempts at upgrading for example water supply and roads further make the area attractive.

- Sentimental attachment to the ‘rural atmosphere’ i.e. the green environment and keeping of domestic animals such as chicken and cows, the need to recreate the rural atmosphere and socio-cultural traditions such as farming not necessarily for economic reasons emerged.

- Most interviewees appeared to use and appreciate the importance of social networks and connections to find land for building, accommodation and for a few, support for everyday life.

- Social interaction was reported but appeared to be relatively limited because of the diverse income groups, the little time for interaction because of the nature of jobs, lifestyle and the built-up environment. However there were social groups established along common interests such as economic and social support (women groups), religion and neighbourhood development.
7.1 The case study area

Mbagala Rangi Tatu (Rangi Tatu henceforth) is a peri-urban settlement located about 20 km south of the Central Business District (CBD) of Dar es Salaam. It is one of the 6 Sub-wards (neighbourhoods) in Charambe Ward in Temeke District\(^2\). The settlement of Rangi Tatu has a population of about 12,400 people (URT, 2002).

Like many other informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, Rangi Tatu was initially agricultural land with sparsely located homesteads. Sisal farming was carried out on a large scale in the 1950s to the late 60s when all plantation farms in Tanzania were nationalised under the 1967 Land Acquisition Act. During the sisal plantation era, immigrants from the south of Tanzania (mainly the Yao, Makonde and Ngoni) came to work in the plantations and later settled in the area. Living in the area were also the indigenous Zaramo from the neighbouring Coast region.

\(^2\) Temeke is one of the 3 municipalities in Dar es Salaam. It is one of the least developed districts (socio-economically) in the city.
Furthermore the historical development of Rangi Tatu is associated with the National Villagisation Programme\textsuperscript{30} in the 1974-1980’s (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000) where people from the city and surrounding villages were moved to new sites (\textit{Ujamaa} Villages). Rangi Tatu was one of the designated village settlements because of its locational advantage. It is accessible from the two main roads Kilwa road, which links Dar es Salaam to the southern parts of Tanzania and Mbande road, which links the city to the nearby villages of the coastal district. In an interview with the Sub-ward chairman who has lived in Rangi Tatu most of his life, he said that during the Villagisation programme many resettled people were given pieces of land in Rangi Tatu, but some time after they became dissatisfied and were selling off their land and moving back to the city. Kombe and Kreibich (2000) report similar findings that

\textsuperscript{30} The Villagisation Programme in the 1970’s to the 1980’s sought to group people into centralised planned settlements.
in the mid-1980’s as economic hardships, lack of infrastructure forced people in Rangi Tatu to sell land and move back to the city while others from the city streamed into the peri-urban areas to buy land for urban farming. Incidentally, soil types in most of the peri-urban zones of Dar es Salaam are suitable for agriculture (Lupala, 2002a) and coupled with its accessibility, Rangi Tatu is an attractive area not only for building but also for food growing and the keeping of livestock such as poultry or piggery.

The major ethnic groups in Rangi Tatu are the Zaramo, and the Ndengereko from the coast region (bordering Dar es Salaam) who make up about 50% of the population, those from the Mtwara, Lindi and Songea who make up 30% and 20% from other parts of the country (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000).

The main income generating activities are petty trading within and outside the settlement, and farming in the areas adjoining the entire ward. A prominent market is located at the junction of Mbande and Kilwa Roads where there is also a busy central bus station for city and up-country buses. The Rangi Tatu market accommodates many of the residents of the area who engage in trading activities such as selling farm produce at the stalls. A few shops for household items such as utensils, mattresses as well as garments and food dot the main road. On one occasion when I finished the fieldwork late in the evening, I observed a number of small tables lining the main busy roads operated by women and children selling roasted and fried cassava, groundnuts, fried fish, cashew nuts etc and as dusk drew near, the tables were lit by rows of small paraffin tin lamps vying for people coming back from work who might need to do some last minute shopping.
7.1.1 Housing and tenure

The dominant type of housing in Rangi Tatu is that of the Swahili type. The houses vary ranging from traditional older Swahili houses made of mud-and-pole with iron roofing sheets, to those houses built of permanent material such as cement blocks and iron roofing sheets. The spatial development is distinct in that as a previous settlement under the Villagisation programme, Rangi Tatu still has traces of a relatively planned settlement particularly along the major roads and paths. During the Villagisation programme, elderly settlers were directed by the government to layout Ujamaa villages in an orderly manner (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000).

About 12 out 24 interviewed residents in Rangi Tatu were tenants renting one or two rooms. Six were owners living with tenants and the rest (6) were homeowners. The rents per room vary between $3-$7 per month depending on the state of the house, the location and the availability of electricity. Most of the tenants interviewed paid rent three months in advance.
**Table 7.1: Tenure of respondents in Rangi Tatu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners living with renters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many (22 out of 24) of the interviewed residents in Rangi Tatu used pit-latrines and two had septic tanks whereby the toilets were flushed manually with buckets of water. Water services were reported to be poor and many households buy potable water from vendors or collect from their neighbours who own a well or tap connected to the city’s water supply system. The price of a 20 litre bucket of water varies from $0.05-$0.1 depending on the season, water from wells is sold at about $0.02- $0.05 for the same quantity. They also use a variety of other sources of water for washing and other water needs like shallow wells. Temeke District, in which Rangi Tatu is located mainly, relies on boreholes and wells for its water needs (DCC-URT, 2004).

While Rangi Tatu has access to electricity connection, most of the houses visited did not have any electricity installed, and charcoal and firewood were the main energy sources for cooking while kerosene was used for lighting. In 2000 only 30% of the households had access to electricity (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000).

### 7.1.2 Accessibility

The settlement is accessed by Kilwa and Mbande roads and is directly linked to the city centre through Kilwa road. Congestion is a chronic problem due to heavy traffic jams along and across the road such that residents working in the city spend long hours travelling to and from work during the peak hours of morning and evening. *Daladalas* plying between the city and Rangi Tatu operate regularly and a round trip is about $0.25. All the interviewed respondents who work in the city
centre said that they had to get up at day break to be on time to work because sometimes a trip may take up to 2 hours. If one was late, they had to use more than one bus in a bid to get to the city through different routes, which was deemed expensive. Access within the settlement is fairly good because the houses are not haphazardly built.

"It was an enforced route march for these residents of Mbagala in suburban DSM yesterday as they sought to catch commuter buses to their various destinations. It has become routine practice in the area during rush hours, at times involving walking up to 10km.” (The Guardian, 8-06-07)

7.1.3 Social services

Rangi Tatu Sub-ward does not have a primary school; there is however a school at ward level, the Rangi Tatu Primary School located at walking distance. But during the interviews, the residents felt that there were more children in need of primary education than what the school could provide, such that some children had to attend the school in Maji Matitu about 3 km away where they have to board a bus. During an interview with the Sub-ward chairman, he said that efforts were in place to negotiate with the Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) so that they may be allocated vacated land that accommodates abandoned industrial godowns (warehouses) to build a school but they feel the
DCC is ignoring their appeal and is more interested in looking for a lucrative buyer for the land.

There is one dispensary that caters for all residents in Charambe Ward situated at Zakhem along Kilwa Road. The Zakhem dispensary was built by the DCC in 1978 after an appeal by the residents of Charambe Ward who did not have a health centre (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000). Other services available are a Police Post and the bustling Rangi Tatu open stall market that also accommodates a row of many retail shops.

![Picture 7.4: Domestic garbage collected in plastic paper bags to be disposed of later in a pit or burnt](Source: Author, 2004)

### 7.1.4 Environmental issues

While Rangi Tatu is informally developed, it does not experience environmental problems that are commonly found in other parts of Dar es Salaam. Rangi Tatu is fairly flat and sandy such that water quickly seeps through during rainy seasons and flooding or overflow does not occur on the roads and paths, or in the pit-latrines. No solid waste collection service exists and most residents bury their domestic waste in pits dug within the compound or burn it.
7.1.5 Profile of the respondents

**Education and Occupation**

Findings show that the educational attainment of most of the 16 out of the 24 interviewed heads of households in Rangi Tatu was primary school level, two had no prior education, three had university/diploma education and three attended secondary school. Education can be an important predictor of the type of job one is likely to pursue. The main occupation cited by the respondents seemed not to require high educational attainment; 17 out of 24 respondents worked in the informal sector doing activities such as selling household items, selling clothing, traditional medicine practitioners, farming and tailoring within and outside Rangi Tatu. 6 respondents were salaried workers with a stable income while 1 respondent depended on remittances from her children.

**Incomes**

As in the case of Keko Machungwa, many of the people interviewed could not state their incomes with certainty and were therefore asked to reveal what they spent in a day on food. The stated expenditure of the residents revealed that about $2-$3 was frequently mentioned as being spent on food. A few had more than one source of income or had a spouse working. The average household expenditure on food in Dar es Salaam was about $2 a day in 2001 and about 54% of all household expenditure is on food (NBS, 2002). Some explained their spending by saying:

“*I spend about $2, I do not have work or business, I am poor. My husband lives in the village and has another wife. My only source is the 4 rooms I rent out at $4 a month. I use firewood and coconut shells for cooking because charcoal is expensive*” (60 year old woman living with a nephew).

Another respondent who works as a farmer growing rice in the Morogoro region spends about $3 a day on food only. He has 2 children and says his wife somewhat has a source of income because she
belongs to a women’s group where they contribute $2 a week to a revolving fund (*upatu*) and there are 6 members so she gets about $12 every sixth week.

**Ethnicity**

The response on ethnicity revealed that many respondents (20 out of 24) came from the coastal regions adjoining Dar es Salaam (Kilwa, Rufiji and Mkuranga) and Mtwarra region, which includes Lindi. The rest came from other parts of Tanzania such as Arusha, Tabora and Kagera. The findings are in line with Kombe and Kreibich (2000) who note that during the sisal plantation era in Dar es Salaam, immigrants particularly from Southern Tanzania settled in Rangi Tatu and later during the Villagisation period in the 70’s, immigrants from surrounding settlements (Coast region) also moved to Rangi Tatu.

**Migrant status**

19 out of 24 of the interviewed respondents in Rangi Tatu were migrants who came without any skills from the rural hinterland and the southern regions of Lindi and Mtwarra. Nine reported that their first stop was Rangi Tatu while 10 first settled in other parts of the city before moving to Rangi Tatu. Many of the respondents said a relative first hosted them (a sister or brother). Five of the remaining respondents who moved to Rangi Tatu were skilled, employed and appeared to have long-term urban experience. Four of them were homeowners. While this may not be representative of the number of employed people settling in Rangi Tatu, studies in Dar es Salaam (Lupala, 2002a;) indicate that wealthier migrants settle in the peri-urban zone after retirement from urban-based employment. The small number could be because Rangi Tatu is regarded as being on the ‘leeward side’ of Dar es Salaam and possibly less attractive or it is not an employment/service based settlement such as Keko Machungwa (Police, harbours, railways) or Makongo Juu (university, army) such that it would attract workers from these institutions needing land for residential purposes.
7.2 Residential location choices

From the 24 interviews with heads of household in Rangi Tatu, recurring statements appeared to relate to proximity to relatives, affordability, namely the relative lower room rents as compared to other parts of the city and the low prices for a piece of land for would-be builders. Notably intertwined with the reasons put forward by some of the respondents was affinity to ‘ones ethnic group’ and ‘direction’ of home village and explanations of why that was important to them. The categories in order of emphasis are:

1. Living close to family or friends
2. Low rents and low costs of living
3. Availability spacious land
4. Livelihood opportunities

Short quotes within the text have been used to indicate different sides of the same consideration, lengthy narratives are also included to illustrate the complexity of the residential location choice decisions where it was noticed that several reasons were considered.

7.2.1 Living close to family and friends

The need to live close to family or relatives during the moves within or to Rangi Tatu emerged in the stories of 10 out of the 24 interviews. This includes ‘living in the direction of my village’ which I have interpreted as living close to family (i.e. the sentimental attachment to village). The respondents also recounted the significance behind being close to parents, siblings, and even fellow villagers. Eight out of those respondents who cited this consideration had previously lived in Rangi Tatu with relatives before moving. The accounts below illustrate the moving decision of Hassan and Haji, a homeowner and tenant respectively.

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31 Village members, close friends of same ethnic group are commonly treated as relatives.
Hassan, 37 years old

“I was living with my parents here in Mbagala then I decided to be independent in 1989 and rented one room in the same area. I was working as a construction labourer then. I rented a room for about five months then I moved into my own house. My father had encouraged me to have my own banda32 so I bought a plot in 1991 for $50. It is one street behind my parents...I wanted to be in Rangi Tatu near my family, I couldn’t go anywhere else, I am used to Mbagala. My parents helped me a lot when I was a bachelor renting one room. When I married and was in between jobs, my wife lived with my parents and I used to have my meals there. It is good to have relatives nearby especially when you have to meet in times of problems but they can get tired of you if you depend on them too much.”

Haji, 36 years old

“I live near my older brother (who called him from the village to find work in Dar es Salaam and hosted him). If I have a big problem then I can go to my brother and he also comes to me, for example, sometimes if I have to travel and I do not have enough money to leave to my wife, she goes and stays with my brother.”

Affinity to people from the same village emerged in respondents renting in multi-family houses. Two respondents recounted how they chose to rent rooms in a particular multi-family house because the landlord/co-tenants came from the same ethnic group. They believed that they could count on them for support. Both the respondents had young wives and travelled regularly as a result of trading activities. One of the tenants explained that a friend from his village who happened to be vacating the room, informed him of its availability. His preference for the room was further strengthened by the fact that the landlady’s late husband came from the same village as he did. He explained that such a place feels like home. And he has peace of mind because when he travels on business trips, he knows that the landlady can assist his wife in times of crisis.

32 A small single-banked shelter.
Findings indicate that some homeowners expressed preference for tenants who came from the same village or tribe as they did. The following is an account of Amina, a 37-year-old landlady.

"I come from Kilwa and my late husband came from Mtwara, when we were looking for a plot we discussed where we could acquire one and I persuaded him to buy one in Mbagala because the area is along the way to our home village. We found plots in Kimara and Gongo la Mboto but we found the land (terrain) unsuitable, too hilly for building a house and further away from the district of Temeke that we were used to.

Since my husband died, I was forced to rent out some rooms in order to earn some money (…) I have rented out 2 rooms and I get $7 a month for each room with electricity. I have rented them out to people from my husband’s home village because we ‘know’ each other and we have similar cultures (Swahili culture)…”

However another landlady said that previously she preferred people from her own village, but life was hard and she could not afford to be selective because there were people from other tribes and religions needing rooms and ready to pay. She added that sometimes kin are a problem because she said "You may feel embarrassed to constantly ask them for rent when they delay payment”.

Others said they deliberately moved to Rangi Tatu because it was located in the direction of their village. "Ni njia ya kwetu” was frequently said which literally means, "It is the road to our place”. Most of those who responded this way appeared to be from Kilwa, Rufiji, Lindi and Mtwara. Kilwa and Rufiji are in the Coast region abutting Dar es Salaam while Lindi and Mtwara are in the south. One said, “If one wants to get home (village) it is not much trouble or if one arrives from the village at night, there is also not much trouble.” Another male homeowner said, "We have to go easily to the village, our old people are there, we have to visit them regularly”. Thus indicating the sentimental and familial ties to their rural origins.
A single woman renting a room was attracted to Rangi Tatu not only because of the low rents but also because if her mother came to visit from Kilwa, there was no need for her to go to the Central bus station because the house was located near Kilwa Road. Transport costs to the village are lower than if one travels from the city centre.

While some respondents did not state outright that they moved to be close to family, many indicated that the presence of a relative influenced their initial decision to settle in Rangi Tatu as well as stay in Rangi Tatu. Some said;

"My husband’s relative used to live here too but he moved to Maji Matitu..”.

"My wife was sick and she lived with her mother here in Rangi Tatu for a long time being treated, so we later decided to also buy a plot here from my mother-in-law’s friend...”.

"My brother-in-law told me about this plot and I liked the area. Actually a number of relatives also live here...”

Clearly for a significant number of respondents, kinship and ethnic ties appear to influence their residential choice behaviour be it spatial or social proximity.

7.2.2 Low rents and cost of living

4 out of 24 respondents had 'Low room rents' as a reason for locating to Rangi Tatu. For all of the respondents, their past experiences in other parts of the city shaped their selection of Rangi Tatu. They had previously lived in older informal areas such as Temeka, Mtoni, parts of Mbagala Kimbangulile which are highly populated, less rural or close to a highway. The areas have urban built-up characteristics, which might have influenced the high rents. As one respondent said of Temeka; "Temeke was active and lively but I moved to Rangi Tatu after finding life expensive in terms of rent and everyday food items.”
As reported in earlier sections, room prices are influenced by many variables such as the state of the house, the condition and size of the rooms whether it has a ceiling, if it is painted, the availability of electricity, whether there is water or not in the compound.

The notion that the cost of living was low in Rangi Tatu was commented upon by many respondents who were asked about their opinion on why people were moving to Rangi Tatu. The feeling that people located to Rangi Tatu because of low room rents and costs of living was mentioned in 14 out of the 24 interviews with the respondents.

Pictures 7.5: A room in the 1st house may cost $7- $8, 2nd house $5 - $6 and 3rd house $3- $4.
Source: Author, 2004
The following statements illustrate how Rangi Tatu is perceived to have lower costs of living.

“In Mbagala we get food cheaply for example with $1 you can buy some cassava and cassava leaves and you don’t sleep hungry, so I decided to stay here permanently... (In addition)... during the construction of the house, sand was available at the plot site and we did not have to build a robust foundation because the ground is good and sandy.” 35-year-old homeowner, Male

“I dug sand from a pit in the plot, which lowered the costs of building. Had I built in Msasani, the costs would have been high because of the high water-table and the need for a good foundation.” (80-year-old homeowner who moved from Msasani, Male).

“There is a lot of farm produce in Mbagala so some food is cheap. Even with the transport problems (to the city) life is still cheap. In Magomeni you pay 10,000-15,000 shilling for a room.” (35-year-old tenant, Male).

Since most of the tenants who moved to Rangi Tatu were constrained by income and low skills the low rents and cost of living appeared an ideal option. Studies in other developing countries do indicate, that tenure or amenity considerations are generally less important in driving migrants into peripheral settlements than the mere urge to escape continuously rising rents within the city (Wu, 2006).

7.2.3 Availability of low-priced land for home building and farming

6 out of the 12 homeowners interviewed talked about the availability of land at favourable prices as driving force for settling in Rangi Tatu. From the interviews it emerged that many had bought their plots in the 1990’s and one had given up acquiring a plot in a planned area after waiting for a long time. Information about the sale of land (plots) had been heard or passed through friends, neighbours or work colleagues. They also indicated that the land they bought was being used as a
shamba (small farm) with a few crops like mangoes, cashew nuts and cassava.

They described the prices as being low because it was farmland and located far from the city centre. There was a common perception among some of the homeowners that they had got more for their money’s worth because the land did not remain idle when they were saving money to develop it. One male respondent explained that, "I wanted an area where plots were being sold cheaply and where I could get space do some activities for example build shops or keep poultry. We bought this plot of about one acre for $1,100 in 1999 and you see it’s on the main road.”

Another elderly female homeowner said, "I bought this plot in the 1980’s and did not think of building a house until 10 years later. We used to cultivate cassava, mangoes and a few coconuts which we used to eat ourselves.”

Another male owner, a teacher said,

"I had searched in various areas like Kizinga (suburban) but either the land was too expensive or in some areas the environment and terrain was not to our liking. When we were shown the present plot we were attracted to it because it was large. At that time, the land was mainly used for cultivation; people were farming mangoes, coconuts and cashew nuts. We bought it for $100 in 1986\(^{33}\) and it was about one acre. The plot was accessed by a dirt road then, which has now been upgraded to the tarmac Mbande road. Most areas were vacant and uninhabited. We did not look for a planned plot because they were not readily available and plots in Mbezi or Mikocheni planned areas were expensive and small. My wife’s colleague at work who also lived in Rangi Tatu told her about Mbagala and the availability of vacant plots. We felt it was a good buy because before we started construction work, we used the land as a small farm for coconuts and mangoes.”

\(^{33}\) Fairly low prices dominated the market up to the mid-80s and there was a sharp increase starting the 90s partly associated with the abolition of the state socialist policies which categorised land as a non-marketable property consequently suppressed land prices (Kombe et al, 2000)
7.2.4 Livelihood opportunities

Two respondents explained their reason for moving to Rangi Tatu as being guided by the availability of farming land, which was an opportunity for making a living. One of them, Jongo is described below.

Jongo is 65 years old and married with 8 children, he moved to Dar es Salaam in 1970 and lived in Mbagala as tenant renting a single room that a relative had found for him. He was farming in Bupu and Mukuranga adjoining farmland and he tried to sell coconuts and ‘madafu’ (coconut fruit) in Rangi Tatu market but was not successful so he decided to continue farming and selling cassava instead not only in Rangi Tatu but in Mkuranga as well. In 1980 he bought a piece of land in Rangi Tatu and built a 3-roomed house. He preferred Rangi Tatu because he could easily move between his farm and the city, which made his work easier.

Despite the limited role of land as a livelihood opportunity, some respondents (as explained in the preceding sections) preferred Rangi Tatu because they could acquire spacious land on which to grow vegetables, keep poultry and livestock, possibly as a means to supplement their incomes or household consumption needs. Even when asked about whether they were likely to move and where they would move to, some tenants mentioned Maji Matitu because there was
no more vacant land in Mbagala. Maji Matitu has available land where one could carry out urban farming activities indicating that the demand for land for residential use now infringes upon other peri-urban land. Due to the economic hardships of living in the city, urban agriculture is suggested as a mechanism by which one can earn a livelihood or supplement their household’s nutritional needs (Kyessi, 1996).

There were cases in which moving to Rangi Tatu had disrupted sources of livelihoods. A respondent’s wife used to plait hair in her previous residence in Mwananyamala and she earned $1.5- $2 a day. But in Rangi Tatu she finds it hard to even get $0.5. Bibi Mariamu, an old female renter, previously lived in Tegeta where she had a thriving charcoal business, but in Rangi Tatu many people sell charcoal and they sometimes get it cheaper from the hinterland so it was not worth it and she stopped. Salima, a young single female renter sells clothes on credit, she previously lived in Temeke and people could afford to buy her clothes. But in Rangi Tatu, business is hard because many people are poor and either unemployed or with unreliable incomes. When she sells her clothes on credit she has a hard time following up on payments at the end of the month. So she prefers to seek customers working in formal employment. In conjunction with the desire for low costs of living, rent etc, these experiences suggest that Rangi Tatu is an area with poor people.

7.3 Living in Rangi Tatu: Respondents’ attitudes

Having moved to Rangi Tatu, the respondents were also asked about what they felt about the neighbourhood. During the interviews, they narrated aspects that were related to the physical and social environment of the area as well as the affordable living costs.

7.3.1 A rural ambience

When respondents were asked about their opinion on Rangi Tatu, the feeling that theirs was a rural lifestyle recurred in 10 of the 24 interviews. They explained that the attitude was reflected in the way
they socialised everyday, in their lack of services such as electricity in the houses (17 respondents said they live without electricity), in the perception that many community members were from one ethnic group and therefore of the same culture and the distance of Rangi Tatu from the city centre interpreted as being far from the ‘lights’ (Mataa). Those who had moved from other busy city areas such as Temeke, Kinondoni and Mwananyamala said the area was peaceful and the rate of crime not so high.

The respondents emphasised the presence of a rural atmosphere by pointing out the proximity of Rangi Tatu to the adjoining rural hinterland which enabled them get food at affordable prices just as in the village.

They provided comments such as;

“There is a lot of produce from the adjoining rural farms so some food is cheap.”

“There are not many entertainment spots, life here is rural”

“Life is rural like because I live well with my neighbours, helping each other when necessary during times of illness, death or weddings. I also contribute to religious institutions in order to help other people.”

However there were some respondents who were not happy about experiencing a rural environment or too much social interaction as reflected in the following statements;

“Our lives are the same as in the village because we have low education, so we try to be modern slowly trying to improve our lives by buying modern things.”

“I consider my life like a village person, I do not have modern things and the way we live is similar to village life for example we eat on a ‘mkeka’ together, we cook outside sometimes.

34 A woven reed floor mat.
“I prefer a modern life, I have no problem with a fence round my house because my veranda is now like an open space for everyone to sit, idle and talk some neighbours even eat there in the evening. It is annoying! (kero).”

Others were of the opinion that the rural atmosphere of Rangi Tatu was fast disappearing because urban features were on the increase. This was reflected in the statements such as:

“When I moved here there were many old people but now the population is getting younger and they are building modern houses.” (A Landlady, 60 years old)

There is no vacant land anymore it has all been sold; people are now buying land in Maji Matitu and Nzasa. The area is becoming a town, it is not like 15 years ago.” (Tenant, male, 35 years old)

“Land prices are high because Mbagala now has town characteristics, the place is lively and not so rural and isolated as it was in the 90’s”. (Homeowner, male, 54 years old)

“Mbagala is growing fast because it is a good area for small retail businesses. A highway passes here that goes up-country”. (Homeowner, male, 44 years old)

The respondents associated living in poverty with living a ‘village’ life in terms of being deprived of access to modern amenities such as good modern houses with electricity, variety in everyday meals, having a radio or a television. They also complained about commuting to the city centre, which was a nuisance due to the long distance and congestion along the way. They were however satisfied with rural values such as helping each other, eating together (some multi-family rental houses) and so on because they relied on this social support to cope with city life.
7.3.2 Not progressive minded

There were some respondents who felt that while Rangi Tatu was growing fast and attaining urban characteristics, the attitude of the residents was still ‘backward’. The attitude came out of five of the interviews.

A male house owner said,

“There are many ‘baraza’s’ where men just sit and do idle talk under a mango tree instead of working. If you don’t join these groups they say you are acting superior. Here in my street there are many people from Kisiju. They keep sub-dividing and selling their plots and do not use the money to move to a better place or improve their houses for example they don’t build good toilets because it is expensive. It is usually better to move further out to a cheaper place and build a good house.”

He added that the poor houses were a constant reminder of lack of progress. Two young men said living in a planned area was better than living in Rangi Tatu;

“Given a choice I would prefer to live in Tuangoma, it is a planned area, modern/progressive, areas that are planned usually have people who are ‘progressive’, over here people want to know what you are doing and eating everyday.”

“I would also have liked to have a plot in Mji Mwema (planned) because it is a new residential area and people who will live there will be ‘civilised’ (waastarabu) and therefore respect each other compared to where I am now. Also there is no crime there.”

To these young men, planning and order represented progress and civilisation compared to what they perceived as disorder reflected in haphazard housing and ‘uswahili’ social environment.

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35 A Baraza is a public meeting place or a meeting. The word is mostly used in East Africa.
7.3.3 Aspirations for homeownership in adjoining vacant land

Three male tenants and a male homeowner expressed a sense of hope and opportunity by living in Rangi Tatu because they felt that they could eventually acquire some vacant land in the nearby rural hinterland to build a home and add a farm. Two respondents had already bought pieces of land in areas such as Maji Matitu, which is about 4 km from Rangi Tatu while others said they were saving money to buy land.

"My wife and I aspire to get a plot. We have started looking in Kingugi, a new area and what attracts us there is the vacant lands available, you can get a reasonably large plot 1-2 acres for $350. The area is not congested yet and it is still mainly used for farming." (Tenant, male, 36 years old, Technician from Vocational school)

"We expect to build a house of our own. We actually bought a plot last month at Maji Matitu for $350. The ten-cell leader was asked to look around for a buyer by the owner and we happened to hear about it from my brother who is also building a house there, he convinced me to buy it. I did not look for a planned plot because I think it’s expensive although my mother-in-law has bought one in Tuangoma. For $350 I have got a bigger plot for the same amount.” (Tenant, 28 years old, upcountry trader).

"My aspiration is to get a plot after I have married and settled down so that I can build a house. I would like to live in Maji Matitu because the houses are modern, the area is modern not congested, haphazard like here and the air is much cooler than here.” (Tenant, 37 years old, Security guard)

Given their proximity and vacant land, areas such as Maji Matitu are well known to prospective land seekers; such areas become their search space. The statements suggest how new informal residential development may begin. Peri-urban zones are areas where the urban poor in rapidly growing cities can still meet their land demands for housing and economic activities (Lupala, 2002a).
7.3.4 Quality of the neighbourhood

The interviews from the respondents revealed that aspects related to safety and well-being were not mentioned as having been a priority in the residential choice process of the respondents in Rangi Tatu. However some respondents did compare the area to their previous one suggesting an awareness of safety as an important consideration in residential choices as shown in the examples below;

"Mbagala is more peaceful than Tandika, the incidences of crime are isolated and are mainly centred around the market and main roads where there are many people. Over there they can steal your gold necklaces, earrings or cell phones.” (Separated, female, owner-occupier, 60 years old).

"When I compare here to Temeke, Mbagala is relatively peaceful because Temeke was noisy and chaotic (fufofujo) and there were a lot of hooligans and drug addicts.” (Single, female, tenant, 24 years old).

During the interviews, areas near the market were expressed as having youths engaging in petty criminal activities such as mugging and drug-use but community efforts had been mobilised such as the neighbourhood watch group to combat the activities.

Many respondents expressed lack of sufficient services such as a primary school, tap water and a hospital as a problem, none of them seemed to be concerned enough to move out. For those individuals who do not have access to tap water, water from shallow wells and some deep wells that had been constructed by the City council and private homeowners are available. When the respondents need medical services they go to the public Zakhem health centre or the Temeke District Hospital. A primary school is located at Charambe (walking distance) and Maji Matitu. Some did reminisce about the access to services they had experienced in their previous residential areas but this was offset by comments related to the present experience namely;
“lower costs of living, reasonable rents, less congestion, peaceful, no flooding,” and so on.

7.4 Relations/support from the sub-ward offices

Some respondents expressed satisfaction with the support they were receiving from the Sub-ward offices as far as safety and security was concerned. They were respondents who live close to the busier part of Rangi Tatu (the market and road) where there had been reports of mugging especially at dawn and the evenings when travelling to and from work.

They said the Sub-ward offices had assisted in mobilizing a neighbourhood watch group (Sungusungu). Though they also added that nowadays they did not do the watching themselves but contributed money to the offices for the services.

One respondent who happened to be a leader of a community watch group said that while they did cooperate in development activities such as cleaning the environment, it was also difficult to get people to cooperate because of differing political ideology and membership to political parties. He explained that if the Sub-ward chairperson belonged to an opposition group, resistance and frictions usually rose during community mobilization activities from residents who belonged
to the ruling party because they sometimes did not respect a Sub-ward official from an opposition party.

All the respondents were of the opinion that the Sub-ward offices were open to community social matters such as family quarrels or landlord-tenant misunderstandings. During the fieldwork, I did observe the Sub-ward chairperson try to mediate quarrels between spouses and assisting women residents on procedures of how to get credit facilities from NGOs.

7.5 Results from the interview with the sub-ward chairperson

The interviews with Sub-ward leaders were meant to provide an overview of what attracts residents to the area. The Mtaa\textsuperscript{36} Sub-ward chairman, Mr. Iddi Mkambaku, 52 years old, describes himself as an indigenous member of Mbagala Rangi Tatu, whose parents moved from the coastal region to farm in Rangi Tatu. Recounting the history of Rangi Tatu he says it was first a Sisal Estate Plantation belonging to ‘Seneda’ (Mr. Schneider, a German plantation owner) which was later abandoned and the land settled on by the plantation workers who later sub-divided and sold the land over the years.

He explained that many residents in his Sub-ward were petty traders, farmers with small gardens and those with large farms on the fringes of Dar es Salaam such as Mzinga. He said that there were very few salaried workers. Most traders were located at the market in Rangi Tatu. He described the residents as poor and that there were no wealthy people in the area.

On what attracted people to Rangi Tatu he said it was possibly the low costs of living brought about by the location of Rangi Tatu in relation to the city centre. He said Rangi Tatu was ‘rural’ and many people wanted to live in the ‘urban’ part of the city raising the room prices but only a few could afford to. In Rangi Tatu the room rents were relatively cheap.

\textsuperscript{36} Interviews held on 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 2006 and 15\textsuperscript{th} January 2007 at the Rangi Tatu Sub-ward offices.
compared to other parts of Dar es Salaam and many houses did not have electricity connection or running water.

The chairperson described the level of cooperation as low; he said, "when you ask people to maintain roads they refuse and say that they do not own cars or when asked to contribute in cash they are resistant because they say they pay tax". But he also added that the residents were generally resistant to collective development activities particularly if it involved contributing in cash because many of his residents were poor.

On interactions at household level, he said people seemed to assist each other especially those renting rooms in multi-family housing being a landlord himself, he said he had experienced it. However he added that sometimes it did get to the point of interference because in a number of domestic cases, quarrels between tenants (especially female) had been brought to his office for mediation.

7.6 Key findings

- The findings indicate that Rangi Tatu, located in the peri-urban zone was initially sisal plantation farmland that was later nationalized by the state and developed as a village under the Villagisation programme.

- Rangi Tatu is located along a major highway, the Kilwa road and land adjoining the settlement is suitable for agriculture activities.

- As a peri-urban settlement, Rangi Tatu is undergoing rapid urban transformation because of the development of urban activities largely due to its location. This has been reflected in the statements of the respondents, who compared the development of the settlement between now and 10-15 years ago.
Many of the respondents are migrants who had moved to Rangi Tatu from the adjoining villages and from the more developed parts of the city.

Many of the respondents have only completed primary school and were engaged in informal activities in and around Rangi Tatu. They perceived Rangi Tatu as a settlement of poor people.

There appeared to be a significant number of female-headed households in the interviews.

The main reasons for moving to Rangi Tatu were related to cultural and social affiliations as well as the perceived low costs of urban living.

Availability of vacant land for residential and farming activities at a cheaper price compared to other parts of the city has played an important role in influencing the decisions of many homeowners.

Many argued that they had relied on ethnic and kin affiliation for accommodation choices and social interaction because they expected some support for everyday life during initial settlement period and subsequent location decisions. They relied on such links for information as well.

Ethnic affiliation included sentimental attachment to their home villages, which was manifested in “living in the direction” of their villages.

Social interactions along lines of collective community activities were not so apparent in the settlement but they appeared strong in matters related to social gatherings such as funeral wakes, weddings and initiation ceremonies.
UNDERSTANDING THE RESIDENTIAL CHOICES

The objective of this research was to understand the important residential location choice considerations of residents in Dar es Salaam. It was anticipated that an understanding would be gained through the study of three case areas in informal settlements by obtaining in-depth accounts of the process from selected respondents who were heads of households. The study assumed that with growing informality and limited/not so limited financial capabilities, individuals bring together a variety of resources to facilitate their residential locations. Some of these resources were thought to be social in nature such as networks, status and affiliations. Furthermore, within the context of a rapidly urbanising city, the study also assumed that informal settlements are flexible and supportive enough in terms of location, size, social composition and so on, that they provide economic, social and cultural opportunities in a number of ways that enable survival or living in the city for many households especially those with low-incomes.

The description of interviews outlined in the preceding sections suggest complex motivations and aspirations related to the choice process in the informal areas of Keko Machungwa, Makongo Juu and Rangi Tatu. There appear to be considerations and experiences related to economic factors such as constrained income or income ability; factors that are socio-cultural; factors that relate to the physical environment of the areas and those that merely relate to the availability of vacant land.

This chapter analyses and discusses the findings in the three case study areas. The discussions are done across the case areas, giving comparisons and contrasts among them at an aggregate and individual level. The chapter further discusses how various elements suggesting
social capital have been used as an important resource in facilitating/influencing residential location choices.

8.1 Residential choices and the city’s residential zones: The aggregate level

As indicated in chapter’s 2 and 4, there are studies in Dar es Salaam on informal settlements that have structured the city into 3 general residential zones in relation to the CBD and their development status (Owusu, 2004; Kyessi, 1990, Kombe and Kreibich, 2000). These studies aimed at explaining the different trends and stages of the consolidation of informal settlements, as well as related housing density development characteristics. From a migration and residential choice perspective, the aspects of housing and population density suggest that the spatial structure of a city or town is influenced by the movement of households into or out of the areas among other processes. The sum total of these movements in turn affects the socio-economic characteristics of the settlements, making them attractive or unattractive to possible residents seeking accommodation.

Documentary reviews and fieldwork observations confirm that the location of the case study areas, not only in relation to the CBD but also to infrastructure, portray different stages of development that have influenced the relative attractiveness of the areas. For example, from documentary reviews and some respondents’ explanations, Keko Machungwa and the rest of Keko Ward was historically farmland owned privately by individual farmers under customary law. Due to the demand for accommodation, the owners later informally subdivided their farmland into smaller plots and sold it to would-be house builders who were working in the city centre, the port and the railway authorities. Makongo Juu and Rangi Tatu settlements were one of the many sisal estate farms established by Europeans, which were inhabited by people from upcountry. The latter provided labour to the

Kironde (1995b) discusses how plantation farms in Dar es Salaam were occupied by labourers and later sub-divided as the demand for residential land grew. Interviews with the Sub-ward leaders in the study areas pointed towards similar trends of informal settlements. Other studies in Dar es Salaam point towards informal areas developing from sisal or cashew nut plantations for example Lupala’s (2002b) study on Msasani Makangira and Ubungo Kibangu; Kombe and Kreibich (2000) on Keko Mwanga; Nguluma (2003) on Hana Nasif, and Burra (2006) on Makongo Juu.

The spatial and temporal difference in the study areas is noted to be the predominant reasons for their growth, which relate to proximity to various urban activities. Keko Machungwa experienced rapid settlement growth because of its proximity to historical employment centres such as the Port and Railways, and later on the development of commercial activities in the CBD, which made it (CBD) an employment centre and lucrative spot for informal activities. In Keko Machungwa, many (13 out of 23) respondents were found to be working in the city centre, in Kariakoo and in the industries and institutions surrounding Keko ward.

Studies on informal areas in Dar es Salaam indicate that settlements that are 2-5km from the CBD have experienced a process of rapid densification brought about by infill and extension of existing houses to meet with the demand for rental accommodation for both residential and commercial use. The number of people living in the older inner zone of Dar es Salaam has more than doubled over the past 15 years (Nguluma, 2003); these include Hana Nassif, Keko Mwanga, Msasani Makungira and Buguruni. Msasani Makungira and Keko Mwanga are attractive inter alia because of proximity to work areas and commercial activities.

Makongo Juu has experienced land transformation not only because of its attractive landscape but also its proximity to public institutions. Documentary evidence indicates that the development of Makongo Juu, in the intermediate zone, is attributed to its proximity to established
institutions such as the universities and the Military Barracks (Burra, 2006). There are a number of informal settlements in the intermediate zone of Dar es Salaam, which have developed in the same way. In Lupala’s (2002b) study of the development of Ubungo Kibangu, an intermediate informal settlement, he noted that the area has experienced rapid housing and population increase because of the establishment of nearby industries such as the Urafiki Textile Mill, the Ubungo Farm Implements and the Milk Processing Industry to mention but a few. The completion of Port Access Road triggered further housing and population increase. Other areas in Dar es Salaam that are consolidating in terms of housing development such as Changanyikeni have experienced similar development trends to that of Makongo Juu. Changanyikeni has rapidly developed because of its proximity to institutions such as the Institute of Statistics, University of Dar es Salaam, Ardhi University and the Air Wing of the defence forces (Lupala, 2002a).

As a peri-urban location, Rangi Tatu is experiencing urban development stemming from people moving into the area from other parts of the city, the hinterland and the regions. 19 out of 24 of the interviewed respondents in Rangi Tatu were migrants from the rural hinterland and the southern regions. Nine reported that their first stop was Rangi Tatu while 10 first settled in other parts of the city before moving to Rangi Tatu because of among other things, low costs of living, availability of land and rental accommodation. The Sub-ward leader also attributed its development to its strategic location along the trunk road (Kilwa Road) that links Dar es Salaam to the southern regions of the country. These findings are similar to those of Lupala (2002a) and Kombe’s (2005) study on peri-urban zones. Lupala posited that the driving force for peri-urban development was the movement of people from up-country regions, the city and the adjoining rural settlements in search of affordable areas. The city form, which is characterised by major arterial roads radiating from the city centre, also acts as pull-points for a wide range of activities, such as informal housing development.
The different locations of settlements in relation to the CBD are known to influence the residential careers of households (van Lindert, 1992:157; Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999). It is suggested that central areas are areas of migrant reception because of proximity to jobs and cheap rental housing and that peri-urban areas are areas where long-term migrants afford to build houses (van Lindert, 1992). In none of the case study areas, the question of inner settlements acting as reception areas and peri-urban as areas for settling and building homes did feature significantly; rather it was a question of where friends and family already lived to provide the initial free accommodation. Subsequent moves were also seen to be influenced by family and proximity to work even for those who transitioned to homeowners. Furthermore changes in tenure from renter to home-ownership were influenced by the availability of vacant land. Hence an individual could move from free accommodation to renting to homeownership without changing locations as long as vacant land to build was available. However in Makongo Juu many were homeowners and this was their initial status. Unlike in Keko Machungwa many had not rented in the area and had come from other locations within and outside the city and moved there for status related reasons, for the opportunity to acquire land and for the services expected from being in proximity to institutions. Many such locations close to public institutions in Dar es Salaam are occupied by middle to high-income homeowners who fulfil their aspirations for homeownership.

The residential location decision process ultimately leads to the occupation of the urban geographic space. Over time these collective decisions are responsible for the residential pattern of the city. Due to the varying livelihoods and accommodation demands, the informal settlements undergo different stages in terms of physical and spatial development e.g. a saturation stage for inner city settlements due to among other things densification or infancy stage for peri-urban settlements. The knowledge that accommodation can easily be obtained in vacant or former agricultural land in the city, which is relatively free
of eviction and the social processes that facilitate this, further contributes to the informal (unplanned) growth of the city. In addition, roads and institutions induce settlement development. Hakuyu (1995) in his typology of unplanned settlements in Dar es Salaam refers to such settlements as opportunity or mobility induced settlements where proximity induces inward mobility. Lupala (2002a), on the other hand, questions how peri-urban informal settlements develop when some residents still work in the city? “What social networks guarantee their job continuity” (ibid. 2002a:151). He suggests that the axial pattern of the city first of all “facilitates employment mobility” and the information exchange brought about by social ties facilitates the awareness of job opportunities. So, despite their remoteness, even some peri-urban areas continue to mushroom.

One can also argue that the public policy position, which is tolerable to informal settlements, seems to ‘ease’ mobility decisions and facilitate residential careers because it encourages informal housing and development and thus the availability of housing options. This is particularly because unlike in many other countries in the region, informal housing in Tanzania offers housing varieties that accommodate not only the urban poor, but also the middle and even some high income households (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006).

The ease with which people are able to locate to informal settlements is however not without its drawback; Kombe (2005) illustrates in his paper on ‘Land use dynamics’, how migration into peri-urban areas by poor migrants is transforming land use. Because of the informal nature of the process structuring urban growth, there is the ‘emergence of an organic urban form’, which presents many challenges related to the economics of infrastructure provision as well as the functionality of the city.

What is pertinent here is that, where residential decisions are made in the context of poverty and unmet urban services’ demands, the builders and home seekers are bound to improvise and create ways in
which to live and secure livelihoods in the city. Some of the ways include forging alliances along occupational, income or even ethnic lines, which not only facilitate the search for accommodation but also is perceived as meeting the home-seekers aspirations. For example Rangi Tatu is attractive because of its location along Kilwa Road linking people from Mtwara and Coast regions to the city. Makongo Juu, attracts high and middle-income civil servants. Consequently we may perhaps witness increased emergence of a differentiated ‘organic’ residential urban form propelled by not only economic but also social factors prevailing in the local context as described by Kombe (2005).

8.2 Residential choice considerations: At the individual /household level

The key findings from the interviews in the three cases indicate that the underlying decisions for residential locations while different across the three case areas were basically influenced by access to jobs, how to reduce urban living costs and negotiate for livelihoods, where to find supportive residential areas both physically (environmentally) and socially and where access to land for homeownership aspirations could be found. As noted earlier by Phe and Wakely (2000:33) the rigid economic determinism that characterizes residential location explanations such as the classic work of Alonso (1964) “assumes away many elements (of the process), some of which are indispensable in explaining the spatial behaviour of urban households”. In the study Phe and Wakely therefore suggested elements that were social in nature and which took into account prevailing urban realities.

Consistent with the above conceptual lines of reasoning on the social context of this study vis-à-vis economicist explanations, I have attempted to cluster the residential choice considerations emerging from the study into issues or themes for analysis and discussion. The themes suggested are those that best match the economic, social and policy context in Dar es Salaam as a city faced with rapid urbanisation;
given that it was the context within which the decisions were made. These are considerations related to:

1. Urban Survival – The desire for a location that appears to support survival in the city, especially for the urban poor.
2. Status or affiliation: The desire for a location that allows proximity to people of the same ethnic group or social status.
3. Opportunity: A location (vacant land) that was perceived as imminent for shelter development and comparatively easy to acquire.

8.2.1 Urban survival

The interviews from the three study areas indicate that for the inner city area, Keko Machungwa and the peri-urban area, Rangi Tatu; the need to pursue and negotiate for livelihoods across the city influenced location decisions. The uncertainty prevailing in Dar es Salaam city calls for ‘strategies’ that ensure survival because individuals are faced with erratic and low incomes, poor housing conditions and limited access to basic services to mention but a few. Therefore the locations appeared to support survival and existence in the city particularly for low-income households. Survival in the city, even when expressed spatially is not necessarily negative, because according to Simone’s study of five African cities (2004:68-170), it connotes self-responsibility, endurance and improvisation where alternative forms of resources and collaboration become important facilitators for the urban resident.

The residential moves of the respondents in both Keko Machungwa and Rangi Tatu show that many (35 out of 46) said they moved from the rural areas in search of jobs or a better life in the city. However, 30 respondents were unskilled and had completed only basic primary education. Therefore access to productive employment opportunities and good housing was certain to be restricted.
In Makongo Juu, 10 out of 24 respondents were unskilled, low educated migrants who said they came to Dar es Salaam in search of work and 12 were skilled professionals from other regions who, having completed college education in Dar es Salaam or been job transferred from other urban centres decided to settle in the city. The formally employed respondents were educated and possessed urban experience as opposed to those who were rural-urban migrants. Therefore their location decisions were not based on ‘the need to find support’ in the city because they were more or less constrained: rather it was the physical and social environment of Makongo Juu that attracted them.

How was the need to survive spatially manifested in all the case areas? It is argued that it was reflected in location considerations associated with:

1. **Proximity to work place or livelihood opportunities** so that costs related to commuting could be lowered. This was evident in Keko Machungwa where the reason, ‘proximity to work’ was mentioned in 20 out of the 23 interviews. Thirteen of the respondents worked in the city centre and neighbouring institutions and said they walked to work to cut down costs. According to Payne (2002) the time and money that is spent on commuting in cities is a major constraint for poor people in their efforts to maximise livelihood opportunities. Hence it is apparent that such proximate locations will be actively pursued. Such pursuits push up the price of land or housing, forcing some residents to live in deteriorating conditions due to affordability. It was revealed in the interviews that, although the respondents desired to lower commuting costs, the rents for a good room in Keko Machungwa were high compared to other informal neighbourhoods such that some residents were compelled to live in the flood-prone areas or in poorly finished houses, which were relatively cheaper. This characteristic of trade-off is illustrated in the classic residential location models such as that of Alonso’s of 1964 which showed that the choice of residential location
becomes a trade-off between transport costs and the price of housing, where people desiring inner city housing may settle for less than optimal housing conditions because the houses are deteriorated and cheap.

With the current dispersal of job opportunities in urban centres, the link between residence and workplace is not as influencing as determining as it used to be. Phe and Wakely’s study (2000) indicates that where sometimes there is trade-off, then the trade-off is essentially social rather than economic, for example moving to a low status house for proximity to high status area or for proximity to family. In Tanzania, Lupala (2002a:151) mentions the location behaviour of local fundi’s (artisans or craftsmen) in Mbezi, Dar es Salaam and indicates how social processes influence it. He says that these fundi’s are attracted to buy cheap plots in the peri-urban areas but still cycle to work in the city. He argues that in addition to the “strong social ties” that enable them get information on cheap plots, the ties also enable them to “share construction contracts and working tools” suggesting that when jobs are scant, the need to commute is set aside. The trade-off here too is social rather than economic.

In Rangi Tatu 2 out of 23 respondents mentioned proximity to livelihood opportunities as a prevailing reason. This was related to the available farming land that abutted Rangi Tatu and the opportunities for trade activities at the market and along the major trunk roads. The finding that proximity to livelihoods was considered in a peri-urban area is commensurate with the reasons put forward by Lupala (2002a) for informal residential development in peri-urban settlements in Dar es Salaam. He showed that rural and intra-urban migration to informal peri-urban locations was based on various livelihood opportunities such as farming for poorly accessible locations (Nyantira), selling labour for locations near institutions (Changanyikeni) and trade based economic activities on areas located along major trunk
roads (Kimara). What is evident in this study is that the residents’ low skills and wealth was a constraint, which influenced where they relocated to, and the types of livelihood activities that they were likely to engage in.

In Makongo Juu, proximity to work place was not mentioned as a cost-cutting strategy. Rather it surfaced in the interviews as an added advantage during the location decision process for those who worked in the nearby institutions.

2. **The need to ease the costs of urban living** was directly mentioned as a main reason in 4 interviews in Rangi Tatu. It was implied in Keko Machungwa from the proximity reasons aimed at reducing commuting costs; and mentioned as a disadvantage in Makongo Juu because the less wealthy respondents found everyday life relatively costly. Aspects that were perceived as leading to relieving costs of everyday living were mentioned and observed as; access to single rooms in multi-family houses with low rents compared to other areas in Dar es Salaam (for example 10 out of 12 renters in Keko were renting single rooms without electricity and water)\(^{38}\). Access and proximity to makeshift stalls, markets with low prices for everyday items such as food was also perceived as lowering costs of living and as well as proximity to kin which is further described below. Urban residents who are poor are known to find cheap, high-density environmentally poor locations or those that are remotely located within the city at prices they can afford (Kombe, 2005; Lupala, 2002a; Rakodi, 2002).

The locations facilitate their everyday lives for example buying food from stalls in small quantities such as in Keko Machungwa (where one could buy for example 250 grams of meat, rice or

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\(^{38}\) Renting a single room does not however mean one is necessary poor because even young professional starting out life usually rent 1 –2 rooms in multi-family houses.
three tablespoons of sugar rolled in paper to meet the days needs). This is by no means unique; for example, buying food in small quantities has been suggested as a survival strategy for the urban poor in Bangladesh (Hossain, 2005). Similarly in Rangi Tatu where residents could cheaply obtain farm products such as cassava, potatoes and vegetables from the farms surrounding the peri-urban areas. The nature of ‘traditional/rural’ lifestyle and daily interactions mentioned by some respondents as the same as that in their villages, facilitated one to borrow food from colleagues such as co-tenants during hard days.

Unlike the situation in Keko Machungwa and Rangi Tatu, poorer respondents in Makongo Juu complained about the lack of such convenient stalls and kiosks where they could buy food in small quantities because they said, the wealthier residents could afford to buy food in bulk and as such many shopkeepers were not ready to indulge in selling food products in small portions. Makongo Juu does not have a market as in the other study areas. Markets, bus stops and roadsides are known to offer trading opportunities for people in urban areas and the absence of markets was perceived as increasing living costs.

3. **Proximity to friends and family** was a deliberate strategy employed during the residential location decision process of many of the respondents in all the study areas. This was more apparent in Keko Machungwa and Rangi Tatu where 24 out of 46 respondents’ location decisions were influenced by the presence of their family, friends or as in Rangi Tatu people from their villages or tribe. Those respondents in both areas who were migrants recounted not only how relatives first hosted them but also how their subsequent location decisions were influenced by the need to still be close to them where they interacted during times of stress. Many studies and literature on migration and residential location indicate how the maintenance of networks is important to a new migrant because of the support he/she
expects to receive from relatives as they get a foothold in the city (Wu, 2006; Kombe, 2005; Simone, 2004; Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999; van Lindert, 1991). Closeness to their family and friends enabled them access to assistance during times of sickness or when one could not perform everyday activities, to borrow money and foodstuff, to eat together in the case of multi-family houses or to get neighbourly help when there was a burglary. Family ties are an important pull factor in the initial settlement phase and continue to be important in the subsequent intra-city mobility in other developing countries such as Latin America and the Caribbean (Conway and Brown, 1980).

Findings also show that in 68 out of all 71 respondents in the case areas relied on friends, relatives or fellow villagers for information on accommodation or land to build. For instance information on building opportunities in vacant land was available mainly through social networks. Farrington, Ramasut and Walker (2002) report that a study in Shimla in 1986 by Ursula Sharma showed that many rooms and flats were not advertised because informal channels were the main means of hearing about accommodation and those households that were integrated into a social network were more likely to be able to access accommodation.39

Certainly one would expect that in informal settlements, informal channels of information flow would prevail, what is important is that the would-be accommodation seekers use the information to make decisions about where to live, where they would feel relatively secure in an uncertain urban environment.

Few respondents in Makongo Juu cited proximity to family as a reason for moving to the area. Most probably the possession of relative wealth lessened the need to rely on kin related social ties

39 This was a study by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in 2002 titled, Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches in Urban Areas: General Lessons, with illustrations from Indian Cases.
for everyday support. However, as discussed earlier, the channels of information on accommodation and land even in Makongo Juu were social and informal in nature.

In light of the above three location considerations discussed, it is suggested that survival means appropriating space in precarious, even unhealthy locations, as long as one is able to make a decent living in the urban area. In most developing countries the spatial behaviour of the poor manifests itself through locating close to employment opportunities and cheap areas to lower urban costs of living. The strategies employed provide strong support to observations by Payne (2002) that unlike rural areas where the quality of land is important, location is a precondition for survival in urban area. Furthermore, in the absence of financial resources and urban skills, it is quite likely that other resources will be drawn upon such as relationships with kin, ethnicity and friendship links in order to survive on an everyday basis. Reliance on social networks to a certain extent minimises the hardships that poor people would otherwise face. According to Piel and Sada (1984:186), in urban Africa, “...the network of social relations which individuals develop is often the most satisfying aspect of urban life and makes it possible for the disadvantaged to remain in town even when conditions are bad”.

While residents appeared to be fairly satisfied with their location decisions in the short-term, explanations on the negative aspects residents felt about the locations they lived showed that they were aware of the poor physical and service environments they ultimately live in. They were also aware of the spatial inequities existing within the urban areas and as a consequence some respondents wished to live in planned areas because these are serviced and perceived to better off and civilised.

The desire to live in serviced residential areas reflects some of the challenges faced by planners when it comes to the provision social and physical infrastructure in crowded informal areas. Already resource
constrained, local authorities cannot adequately meet the growing demands for services in the informal settlements. Unless there is a legalisation process such as regularisation or an externally funded upgrading programme, city authorities may be both unwilling and financially unable to provide water, sanitation, drainage, schools and access roads. Furthermore, even though the formally planned areas are not better off, the spatial orderliness makes self-help community initiatives by households such as piped water, roads and electricity relatively easier. As a result there is increasing socio-economic inequalities between urban residents as those that are poor face in even more difficulties in their everyday lives.

8.2.2 Affiliation or social status based considerations

The study shows that there were residential choice considerations influenced by affiliation along occupation, income or ethnic lines. The need to locate to areas with people of the same socio-economic situation or shared values was noticeable in responses from Makongo Juu and Rangi Tatu. In Makongo Juu, it may be recalled that 19 out of 24 respondents mentioned the physical and social environment as having attracted them to the area. On the basis of status, one can argue that the respondents implied the social environment of Makongo Juu reflected their aspirations or position in society. Many respondents referred to the good reputation of the area as being that of the educated elite (‘*kwa ma-professor’*) and associated this with enlightenment, culture and civility. This is by no means unique, since a higher income affords one to live in higher status areas. It can be argued that these respondents who moved to Makongo Juu possessed higher educational and financial resources, which enabled their choices to be spatially articulated in a particular way. In the developed world, Mazanti (2007) and Aero (2006) reporting on studies conducted in Denmark, have shown how high-income individuals or groups of people with common behaviour or aspirations often occupy a similar or neighbouring position in social space or a similar lifestyle. Mazanti
(2007) further noted how some of the respondents described referred to the area (communes) as an ‘academic ghetto, in which a majority of the members have an academic education and many of them (primarily men) are working in the branches of IT and finance’.

Furthermore, going by studies that cite the role of neighbourhood in residential mobility and choice such as that of Clark, Duerloo and Dielman (2006) in the Netherlands, socio-economic status and environmental status are factors that people with higher incomes can afford to consider, Lindstrom (1997) discussing a study conducted in the United States also suggests that households with high incomes choose a new residence knowing that families living near them share the same social and cultural worlds, not necessarily in the sense of close relationships but in the sense of a shared core of cultural values. Indeed the nature of acquisition of land (informally) and the presence of vacant land effectively allows a process of self-selection where people of the same socio-economic status can congregate together without restraint and can even set norms and rules as opposed to being guided by residential plans that are less congenial. For example middle and high-income people who want large tracts of land to

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40 Lupala (2002a) reporting on a settlement with similar socio-economic characteristics, Changanyikeni, Dar es Salaam, demonstrates how the presence of a ‘local elite’ helped structure the physical and social environment by guiding land owners to subdivide their plots ’in a spatially orderly manner’ and; to sell land to ‘people whose backgrounds were known’ because as one land seller responded “we do not want notorious neighbours here”.

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practice urban farming may opt for informal settlements. For some urban residents in Tanzania (despite having formal employment) owning land and practising urban farming may be more for cultural and social identity rather than for economic reasons (Lupala, 2002a:72; Tacoli, 1999:9).

The affluence of Makongo Juu was reflected in the architecture of the houses observed and captured during the field visits. The widespread use of concrete fences, the façade and roof design, the ornate window grills etc. present modernity not only in the functional sense but also in a decorative sense (see Nguluma, 2003, for perceptions of modernity in transformed houses in informal settlements).

On the other hand, in Keko Machungwa affiliation appeared more along the lines of a ‘shared identity’ i.e. living in poverty. In all the 23 interviews including that with the chairperson the opinion was that Keko Machungwa was a poor area. When respondents were asked about their attitudes some said, “…people living here are like me”. Others expressed views that they would feel out of place in an area for wealthy people implying the lifestyle or environment in such areas were different from their socio-economic reality. Unlike Makongo Juu, many outdoors activities and opportunities for social interaction were observed during the fieldwork in Keko Machungwa.

The multi-family rental houses provided some sense of security. For instance, among young female renters in Rangi Tatu the landlady, an older woman was relied upon for psychosocial support. It is not uncommon for people in multi-family houses to interact and assist each other as has been evidenced in other parts of Tanzania (Cadstedt, 2006) or in South Africa (Watson and McCarthy, 1998). The latter authors have shown that rented accommodation in informally extended houses provided security because tenants could call on the landlord or other tenants for assistance.
However this may not always be the case because there are instances where harassment from landlords has been cited as a reason for tenants’ dissatisfaction and intra-urban mobility in African urban centres (see Cadstedt, 2006; Ozo, 1986; Yapi-Diahou, 1995).

In Rangi Tatu, ethnic affiliation appeared to influence residential choices in 10 out of the 24 interviews. The area is relatively homogenous because many inhabitants came from the Lindi and Mtwarra regions along the coast, which more or less share the same Swahili culture and same religion. Kombe and Kreibich (2000) similarly found that 50% of residents in Rangi Tatu were from the Zaramo, Ndengereko and Matumbi tribes (Coast) and 20% from the Yao and Makonde (Mtwarra and Lindi)41. Ethnic affiliation was particularly evident in tenant multi-family houses where landlords and tenants alike preferred people from their villages because they said, “we share the same culture”. Ethnic, cultural affiliation, status and proximity to family or kin both suggest reasons that are social i.e. there are social relations that are inherent that ultimately provide some satisfaction to the relocating individuals.

41 Compared to other cities in Africa such as Nairobi, Kinshasa or Lagos, peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam are viewed as highly ethnically diverse (Mwamfupe, 1994).
8.2.3 Opportunity

Many of the homeowner respondents in the 3 study areas (20 out of 39), cited the availability of vacant land as having motivated them to settle in the neighbourhood. In Keko Machungwa, renters or employees who had lived in government housing such as the police barracks, perceived their living next to 'shambas', as an opportunity to acquire land for residential development. Similarly in Makongo Juu respondents working for the nearby institutions seized the opportunity to buy vacant land in Makongo Juu, which was previously used for farming by landowners who inherited farms from plantation workers. Just as urban areas are seen as offering opportunities for employment, urban, unplanned vacant land previously used for farming is viewed as offering an opportunity for residential development.

It is not uncommon to get information on the availability of land on sale from officemates, acquaintances and relatives in the offices or other social circles. Many of the homeowners interviewed relied on friends and family for information on available land indicating the strength of social networks (68 out of all 71 respondents in the case areas relied on friends, relatives or fellow villagers for information on accommodation or land to build). Lupala (2002a:156-157) describes how a seller of land informed his friends, workmates and neighbours about part of the land (shamba) he intended to sell. "85% of the land buyers turned out to be his former neighbours in the city, workmates and friends" (ibid: 157).

In Rangi Tatu, the opportunity to acquire land was further exacerbated by the low prices since it is peri-urban area that is considered far away from the CBD (about 20 km). A number of studies cite the availability of land as an impetus for informal housing in Tanzania (Kombe, 2005; Lupala, 2002a; Hoek-Smit, 1991; Kironde, 1995a) and the developing world in general (Payne, 2002) especially land with low eviction risk. In

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42 When informal land is acquired in the informal areas the most common way is through purchase from owners (they own the land through earlier occupation as an agricultural land under customary tenure. The owners normally sub-divide the land and sell it as building land or a farming plot to potential buyers. The land is commonly known as a shamba (agricultural land) (Kironde, 1995b).
addition for some developers the availability of relatively spacious, low priced land provides an opportunity for residential developers in Dar es Salaam to get large tracts of land, which are larger than those obtained from the official system (Kironde, 1995b), a good location makes it all the more attractive.

While the perceived *availability of vacant land to build*, influences residential location decisions for residents moving to informal settlements, it also reflects how informal land development has performed comparatively well in providing land for low-income housing. Otherwise many urban residents would face housing problems. Some of the findings indicate how access to the vacant land has been enabled by social processes such as information sharing among networks, mediation and trust between individuals and the landowners such as negotiating and bargaining informally until an agreement is reached, or paying the money for the land in instalments. Recall how the Sub-ward officials narrated how they sometimes authenticated land transactions and arbitrated disputes in the study areas. Studies on land transactions indicate, that informal land transactions activities are normally conducted in front of witnesses such as the Sub-ward officers or neighbours (Kombe, 2005; Lupala, 2002a) despite the fact that neither the community leaders nor the residents have the mandate to sanction such transactions.

The opportunity has largely been ‘enabled’ by the government’s tolerance for informal settlements as well as its limited capability to deal with the demand for planned plots (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000) and especially planned plots in appropriate locations (Kironde, 1995b). A number of the respondents said the length of time and procedures involved in acquiring a planned plot deterred them. The process has, however, improved significantly and currently one can get a planned plot in Dar es Salaam in a matter of weeks. Maybe this will change the concept of opportunity (used in this research) because it suggests that enough planned plots will be available such that people will not have to seek to occupy farm land or vacant land designated for other urban
uses. Furthermore with over 70% of urban residents in Dar es Salaam living in informal settlements, the risk of eviction is minimal. According to Payne (2002) if a household is alone in living without legal protection, it may feel highly vulnerable, but if a large proportion of the urban population is in the same category, then the perceived and practical risk of eviction becomes negligible. During the planning process in Dar es Salaam, it is therefore quite possible to predict areas or probable pull-points for informal development because of the degree of proximity to activities such as industries, institutions or major roads. This has been indicated in section 8.1. Prediction or identification of such pull-points may allow us to responsibly guide in-migration that may otherwise cause indiscriminate development of houses and livelihood activities at the expense of the environment and quality of life.

The residential choice decisions in the urban area are a complex mesh of opportunities of where to find work, where to live, where to work, where to meet tenure aspirations and so on. A choice motivated by the availability of vacant land would be distinctive in developing countries, where informal settlements have become the main means for attaining homeownership. Access to or locating to unplanned land has been part of the negotiating/mediating process for shelter needs when living in the urban areas because city authorities are unable to meet the challenges, brought forth by the complex rapid physical and demographic transformations taking place. Due to uncertainties in incomes, the purchase of a plot may be more opportunistic rather than planned where a ‘windfall’ in cash, coupled with informal based information on the location of vacant farm plots, motivates one to purchase land for future homeownership. This somewhat lessens the rational decision-making that might be involved when one thinks about a residential location. It is therefore quite likely that such unpredictability and uncertainties prevailing in the lives of urban residents defy mainstream rational location choice concepts.
8.3 Towards a socio-cultural explanation for residential location choices

The analysis above has shown how location choices can be motivated differently across social and economic divides. In prevailing African urban realities shaped by rapid urbanisation, poverty, economic retardation, it is suggested that the socio-economic context within which the decisions are made is not as enabling as in developed countries and therefore residents have to bring together a variety of resources if they are to move and be reasonably satisfied with their location decisions. One might even add that they need to bring together a variety of ‘capital’ (economic, cultural, human and social) to facilitate their location decisions. By and large, some of the theoretical discussions in Chapter 3 are less relevant in explaining the actions of the respondents in the three case study areas because the actions are constrained by the context. The respondents are faced with increased trade-offs such as proximity to livelihood activities versus cheap accommodation versus nearness to kin. This is unlike in developed countries where substantial incomes and available housing options affords one to make choices according to say, life-cycle or life-stages (Kim, Horner and Marans, 2005); or the neighbourhood, the environment and the community (Clark, Duerloo and Dielman, 2006; Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson, 2002; Galster, 2006) or lifestyle (Aero, 2007).

It makes sense to argue that the question of survival in the urban area among other aspects tends to weaken the economistic rational-choice-maximisation-of-utility based concepts because as earlier said, ‘survival’ connotes a sense of improvisation, complexity, actions not planned (although rationalised). Simone’s (2004:8,168-169) social research study on African cities fittingly describes this nature of environment. He points out those African cities are “arenas for protracted struggle over the legitimacy of self-employment and the rights to survive in the city” (Ibid;169). People aspire to live in the city but in the face of little support from their states, “residents from all walks of life (have) found an implicit commonality in not complying with
various ordinances and repression that sought to limit how (they) could earn their money as well as where they could live…” (Simone 2004:169). He explains that people persist to survive in the city and according to him to survive means to “revise and improvise informal activities and put together the provision of a vast domain of foodstuffs, services, shelter....outside the frameworks sanctioned by the state” (Ibid: 169).

In light of the above circumstances however, the study recognises that; some individual actions or behaviour of the respondents in the study such as moving to the flooded river valley may be counterproductive to their quality of life and even non-rational to the researcher as an observer. However the behaviour can be rationalised on non-economic grounds. The argument here is that economic rationality assumes that location behaviour is motivated by utility maximisation by the consumers of housing. However, the findings suggest that the residents have good reasons to justify their actions, which are ‘rational’ if non-monetary values are also taken into consideration.

Economics plays a role as far as there is lack of it, such that instead of many urban poor becoming passive victims trapped in the urban milieu, they use whatever resources spatially articulated to make residential choices that are likely to support their livelihoods. I have explained previously in Chapter Two, that studies in Dar es Salaam indicate that residents are compelled to move back to their former informal areas even after being allocated planned land (plots) because they want to maintain their livelihood and social ties which otherwise may have been disrupted. I suggest that the above analysis in section 8.2 supports the question of the quest for livelihoods or continued survival in the city as a likely reason for returning to former residential areas further densifying them.

But there is no arguing that residential choices are complex because it is not only livelihoods and survival that can motivate choices but also the perception that a locality provides a preferable social environment
that a household desires to be identified with. Shared beliefs, culture or values may motivate people to move to a particular location such as respondents of Makongo Juu or Rangi Tatu.

Therefore urban survival is supported through networks and connections intra-urban as well as rural-urban. Information exchange, affiliations across groups (occupational, income, ethnic sharing same values are other aspects that facilitate location decisions. Community or social obligations, shared assistance (reciprocity) and expectations reinforce location decisions. And the nature of information exchange on land opportunities for would-be-builders; land transactions and acquisition appear to be based on social processes such as trust and connections.

The study therefore proposes that social capital can be applied in a spatial context, as a facilitator for residential location choices. Here social capital is defined by its function in terms of its ability to facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure (Coleman, 1988).

8.4 Social capital versus residential location choices in Dar es Salaam

As earlier stated in Chapter Three, studies indicate that the use of social networks and affiliations prevail in many decisions of the urban residents in developing countries, including those related to residential location choices (Kapoor, 2004; Phe and Wakely, 2000; Ahmad, 1992; van Lindert, 1991, Ozo, 1986). Social networks and affiliations are elements of social capital (Rakodi, 2002; Phillips, 2002; Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam and Goss, 2002). Social capital is regarded as a resource to achieve certain ends; Bourdieu further contends that social capital is not something that is natural or social given but something that must be continuously worked for in relationships, on an on-going basis in order to sustain the network of connections.

Phillips discussing social capital in the urban areas agrees noting that: “...social capital is particularly important to the poor as a survival mechanism. In the absence of other assets, poor people rely on their
relationships, associations and networks to survive on a day-to-day basis.” (2002:134)

If social networks and affiliations play a role in residential location choices then it follows that ‘social capital’ can very well be used to understand the process and decision-making considerations of households seeking to relocate in an urban area. Social capital has been applied in an empirical study to investigate how social ties and networks influence the mobility behaviour of a household in Taiwan (Kan, 2006:437). He suggests that the availability of assistance to a household from someone living nearby does deter a household from moving, particularly if it’s a long-distance move. This study however does not focus on the role of social capital on the household’s tendency to move in or out but rather on its role on influencing households in the three study areas to move and settle in particular locations. The following sections discuss the findings in the light of social capital.

8.4.1 Social capital and residential choices at the aggregate level

The nature of development of the three study areas is a process that among other things can be said to have developed along networks and relationships. Informal channels of information were the main conduits through which prospective house-builders and home-seekers inquired and gained knowledge of the land opportunities and housing accommodation available, exemplifying an aspect of social capital. The informal channels were rooted in family, neighbourhood, work and group connections that existed in geographic or social space. At the aggregate level, the sum total of all the decisions would possibly be the initial development of informal areas differentiated by income, ethnicity and occupation depending on the main types of networks and relationship. For example in Makongo Juu, intra-local differences were observed along income lines. Some streets reflected affluence and others appeared congested and poor. Livelihood needs, different housing aspirations and decisions translate into distinct spatial entities. Kombe and Kreibich (2006:120) found in Mlalakuwa, an informal settlement in Dar es Salaam, that spatial differences within the
settlement were reflected in the density and housing appearances of the areas in South and North Mlalakuwa.

The importance and role of informal channels as sources of information has been demonstrated by Lupala (2002a) in his study on the development of land in peri-urban informal areas. He reports that information on available land was relayed through social ‘chains’ where only a few are aware through the land seller but through social contacts the message is relayed to many people.

The proposition on the relationship between social capital and residential differentiation or segregation due to intra-urban migration and residential choice decisions is however suggestive in the study’s analysis because it needs a larger empirical survey to determine how residential choices along social networks and affiliations may result in clustered residential spaces according to say ethnicity, migrant status, occupation or economic status. I have discussed residential location decisions at the aggregate level to indicate broadly how residential choice decisions to informal areas, unguided by formal plans, are likely to lead to differentiated residential areas.

**8.4.2 Social capital and residential choices at the individual level**

The findings illustrate how social capital was important to the low-income households as a survival strategy in the locales they first moved into as migrants. The actions of being accommodated rent-free by a relative or the actions of subsequently making short-distance moves to a location within proximity of a relative who first accommodated them, reflect the elements of networks and relationships in social capital theory. Firstly the potential migrants drew upon the stock of the relationships they had with their urban relatives and settled where the networks existed and could be used. Those who did not depend on ties such as skilled migrants on a job transfer depended on connections and networks formed in their work environments to look for building land,
for instance. Social networks have been known historically to facilitate migration to the urban area in Tanzania (Kironde, 1995b; Sutton, 1970) and even currently (Kombe, 2005), they have been known to facilitate access to employment opportunities (Lupala, 2000a) and land acquisition (ibid.) in Dar es Salaam’s informal settlements. In relation to the foregoing, Putnam and Goss (2002:6-7) succinctly conclude that,

“In the language of microeconomics, networks have private or ‘internal’ returns. The most familiar examples of this generalisation are drawn from the sociology of labour markets, for a very common finding is that many-perhaps most- of us find our jobs because of whom we know as much as what we know.”

On the other hand, inherited social ties such as birthplace or ties to parents’ residence were also seen to influence location decisions in the sense that they deterred the respondents from moving out of the locality either because they inherited houses or land or simply because of emotional ties. This appeared to influence the decisions of native, long-term or town-born residents. This is where social capital is viewed as a family asset, which may be used for the betterment of individual members as explained by Bourdieu (1986) whereby inheritors of social capital have it symbolised by a great name or in this case a house or piece of land which affords them individual gains. Some residents such as those in Makongo Juu hold large tracts of land, parts of which remain vacant on the hope that their children will inherit it subsequently influencing their location decisions. Social or family ties that facilitate inheritance of land are not unique in the city. Kombe and Kreibich (2006) observed similar findings in Mlalakuwa where affluent residents reported that they were holding land for their children.

While some of the residential decisions facilitated by social capital were done as a survival strategy for positive gains, it has been suggested in intra-urban migration studies that networks along ethnic, kinship or income lines expressed spatially may have negative effects. For
example they may form residential segregation along ethnic lines (Ahmad, 1991). This phenomenon is also observed in segregated suburban areas in western cities where immigrants from developing regions with a tie to culture feel more comfortable living among their own groups. An example is the famous “Chinatowns” in USA.

Sometimes however, groups living in an area that consists of people socio/economically different from them may feel alienated. As in Makongo Juu where, despite the tenants’ in multi-family housing possessing good interactions among themselves, it did not seem to extend across to their wealthier neighbours on a daily basis because of differences in status and personal interests. Sometimes interaction or social relations between residents is determined by ‘membership’ to the same social circles or fields, such that while one may have ‘bonding’ social capital, they may lack ‘bridging’ social capital that may benefit their residential experiences. Putnam and Goss (2002) distinguish between ‘bridging social capital’ and ‘bonding social capital’, noting that in bridging social capital, the bonds of connectedness is formed across diverse social groups, while ‘bonding social capital’ is among homogenous groups. However, bonding social capital may have negative effects for the society as a whole because group members may be set in their ways and become resistances to participation in say, neighbourhood change or collective actions. For example, owners of multi-family houses who preferred tenants from their own ethnic groups over those of different ethnicity because they have different norms and cultures, may prevent such tenants from gaining access to the rooms. Coleman (1988) explaining different forms of social capital suggests that while strong ties reinforce cohesion, they may also include a more rigid set of norms and are more impervious to new information (or change).

The findings show that trust is an element of social capital that influenced the respondents’ stay in the study areas, knowing that they could depend on their neighbours or relatives. This also supports Putnam (in Putnam and Goss, 2002) and Coleman (1988) findings on
trust in social capital. Putnam indicates that interactions based on networks (friends or family) “encourage people to act in a trustworthy way” (pg.7). Furthermore, it has been shown that would-be tenants in the study areas of Keko Machungwa and Rangi Tatu were referred to prospective landlords through their friends. In that way the landlord could somehow trust that they would not bring any trouble during their stay. While low-income respondents relocated to low-income areas because of financial constraints, it was also because they envisaged assistance among their co-tenants in multi-family housing during times of stress. They felt they could rely on neighbours for assistance, which was bound to happen in similar-status surroundings as opposed to an upper status social neighbourhood where they would feel less inclined to ask for assistance. “Trust creates a social obligation – trusting someone engenders reciprocal trust” (Pretty and Ward, 2001:211). Residents had trust in the neighbours they felt comfortable with. The perception corresponds to the elements of trustworthiness, obligations and expectations in the social capital concept. Coleman (1988) further explains this aspect suggesting how in an environment where people always help each other, based on trust; they know or expect to be helped in return. There is ‘trustworthiness of the social environment’ because obligations will be repaid. He adds that in other social structures where individuals are more self-sufficient and depend on each other less, there are fewer obligations to be repaid in my study. The most manifested and important exchange of favour was during social events such as weddings or burial ceremonies where it was important for friends and neighbours to collectively help out financially and materially during the activities because these are socially and financially costly events that require mutual support. This is ‘generalised reciprocity’, indicated illustrate by the quote "I'll do this for you now without expecting anything immediately in return, because down the road you (or someone else) will reciprocate my goodwill". (Putnam and Goss, 2002:7).
The study also shows that in Makongo Juu, respondents of lower income groups viewed their higher income neighbours as being affluent and self-sufficient and were therefore not likely to ‘come and borrow salt from them’. No wonder they (low income group) were hesitant in seeking assistance from them. This suggests that for low-income households, trust in the neighbourhood or in multi-family settings - though not always present - is important because it defines the extent to which people feel they can depend on each other and uphold the norms of reciprocity.

Trust is also an important element in buying land because the arrangements are informal in nature and outside the formal institutions. My informants had confidence in the community structures established to enable informal land acquisition. It is the kind of trust that people may have in a known social structure (Pretty and Ward, 2001: Coleman, 1988). Residents in the areas relied on neighbours as witnesses in land transactions and even disputes as reported by the Ward officials. This not only builds trust but it also builds tenure security. Lupala (2002a:255) reports that, “Social recognition of landownership is equally an important tool in enhancing tenure security (in informal areas)”. Perceived tenure security reinforces the attractiveness of informal residential areas.

Another additional element of social capital was the use of relatives and friends as a source of information on where vacant land and rooms for renting were available. The links between urban residents and their rural kinsmen, contacts borne from social interactions and mutual aid groups such as women’s upatu, faith-based groups, funeral and wedding meetings etc, all formed opportunities along which information was passed. Coleman (1988) contends that information embedded in social relations is important in providing a basis for action. For people with low incomes, such information is vital to their survival because it presents not only opportunities for accommodation but also where they can engage in livelihood activities.
While the above discussions indicate how the strategies and channels for residential location decisions can be in the social capital framework in Dar es Salaam, the author recognises that it is not only a unique resource that is used in developing countries. Social capital does exist in developed nations as well albeit in specialised areas. Improved transport systems and the internet are some of the developments that have transformed the way people in developed countries socialise, interact and network. The social networks are not geographically bounded but move beyond neighbourhood borders and communities. The relations and networks formed provide similar social support, information, and sense of belonging as those described in the discussions. An example is internet or online communities that facilitate networking and information sharing.

8.4.3 Cultural capital - an additional explanatory concept

While social capital has offered a useful explanation as a facilitator for the residential location choices in this study, I find the concept of cultural capital by Bourdieu particularly informative. Cultural capital is a resource that people posses and use and can be applied to interpret the choices and decisions of respondents. Further, according to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is a form of knowledge, skill, education and advantage that a person has which gives a higher status in society and which enables people to act or prefer certain tastes and preferences. In the context of residential location choices, the concept of cultural capital has been used to study aesthetic tastes and preferences of commodities in the developed world. For example Mazanti (2007) show how the combination of cultural and economic capital play a decisive role when it comes to the way people conceive of and interpret the possibilities for fulfilling their strategies. She provides an example of a housing market in Copenhagen where agents participated not only because of their economic capital but also particularly because of their preferences for a shared community (communal lifestyle) and aesthetics of the area.
Findings from this study show that the middle-income respondents used their financial resources to buy large tracts of vacant land and status (educational and occupational) to define the type of location that attracted them. Respondents sought a location that reflected their aspirations and the values they thought were important (e.g. land space, aesthetics, privacy, good area for children). It is quite possible that on the acquisition of a good education (cultural capital) and good incomes, other assets such as ethnicity and family connections become comparatively weaker (though not necessarily lose their importance) as a form of exchange to mediate actions such as residential location choices. The degree of affluence may reduce the aid one needs from others (Coleman, 1988).

Having made their choice to settle in Makongo Juu, the migrants built their houses in a way that appeared to reflect their occupation and status, signals that other prospective residents of similar status could read and respond to. For example the red tiled roofing material which is common in many middle income housing areas in Dar es Salaam, concrete fences representing private living and the elaborate facades (Picture 8.1). Aero (2006:110) contends in his study on residential location choices from a lifestyle perspective, that – “a simple way to interpret a residential district and its inhabitants is to take note of the consumption of designs and symbols. These typically leave an impression of shared aesthetic preferences and taste that dominate the specific district”.

Similarly respondents who moved to or within Keko Machungwa and Rangi Tatu possibly interpreted the rural social environment (outdoor living, open stalls and markets) rather than the aesthetical environment as something they could identify with. The personal resources related to ethnicity or values can be termed cultural capital because it encompasses the respondent’s cultural background (their tribe, the village they came from and the cooperative norms they consider important), which makes it possible for them to connect to the social and physical environment.
One can state that the very nature of living in African cities makes networks and relations an important resource to rely upon. This refers to the uncertainty that residents have to deal with on an everyday basis such as in filling the gaps between which important social and physical infrastructure is available and which are not, urban poverty and unpredictable livelihood sources, constrained access to adequate housing as well as environmental problems. The various ways in which the social networks can be deployed in the urban area, cuts across ways to survive, whom to associate and affiliate with, every part of which is an effort to tap potentialities available in the urban milieu. Networks and relations can also be used to reinforce status such as gaining information when one seeks locations that reflect one’s social status.

The possession of cultural capital on the other hand, provides better control over the uncertainties in the African cities because with good educational qualifications and particularly formal skills one can be assured of formal employment or stable self-employment. Unlike immigrants who arrive to the city with no formal skills or knowledge, some may have acquired traditional or non-formal skills such as in farming activities, or traditional/alternative treatments but this is not so helpful in the urban area.

Furthermore with knowledge and skills and education people can better organize themselves to improve their residential situation because they are in a better position to use their education and contacts to mobilize resources such as those respondents in the areas of Makongo Juu who were able to mobilize resources for infrastructure improvement from the Japanese International aid organization, JICA. Their education and knowledge enabled links with institutions beyond their geographical and social space. This is not only a form of bridging social capital (Putnam and Goss, 2002) where external links are formed to facilitate action, but also shows the intertwining of cultural and social capital as identified by Bourdieu (1986).
THE RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The main objective of the study was to understand residential location choices in informal settlements and find out whether the choices were influenced by socio-cultural factors comparable to the mainstream approach of economic related factors commonly prescribed in the literature. The questions that the research set out to answer included; What are the factors considered by households when choosing a residential location in Dar es Salaam? How do the urban residents describe and rationalise the reasons for residential choices? Do social and affiliations such as family ties, ethnic similarities, and friends influence choices of the residents? How do they influence choice? What are the emerging knowledge and practical implications of the research?

The major factors appeared to be related to proximity to work, proximity to friends and relatives, the need to lower living costs, access to vacant land, proximity to physical (nature) and a social environment (status). In order to facilitate the residential choices, the interviewed respondents deployed economic and non-economic resources depending on their levels of income and education.

The factors for residential location choice were deemed to be subjective and context sensitive; therefore the case study approach using qualitative methods for obtaining information was found suitable. In-depth interviews with ca 70 purposefully selected respondents were done in order to gain their reasons and experiences. Each respondent’s story was unique but a pattern could be discerned that led to the conclusion that socio-cultural factors played a role in their decision-making process. The main area of research to which this study aims at contributing to is urban residential location choice theory with informal
residential urban areas of a developing country as a backdrop or context whereby it was hoped that the existing concepts and alternative concepts (social capital) could be engaged in a dialogue with the African city contexts to create a deeper understanding of residential location choices. The study also aimed at highlighting the implications of residential location decisions to urban planning interventions.

9.1 Theoretical implications

One of the important contributions of the research is the use of elements of social capital as a supplement to the traditional ways of studying residential location choices. The study has not, however, disregarded the influence of other factors such as income and access to work, which are important. It is showing other trade-offs in the choice process that is social in nature.

Although a number of studies in developing countries indicate that social networks are important for the rural-urban migration process of households (van Lindert, 1992; Kombe, 2005; Lupala, 2002a), this study has further provided evidence on its use in intra-urban migration and residential choice decisions. Even when the question is about lowering the costs of living by settling close to work areas, social capital seems to have a role to play in the location decisions in the form of networks as sources of information on accommodation possibilities. As explained in Chapter 3, classic residential location choice concepts cannot fully explain complex residential location choices in both developed and developing countries because it has been confirmed in studies that the pursuit of a residential choice can be for other reasons such as prestige, social support, ethnicity and even aesthetic pleasure.

In light of the above explanation, the study has indicated the following:

i. The use of social capital as an explanation for residential location choices has been largely supported by the context within which the actions took place. I mentioned in Chapter One that the
study expects to contribute to knowledge by informing how residential location choices are experienced in a city that is rapidly urbanising and where the development of residential areas is significantly informal and ‘organic’ as opposed to residential location studies that have been done in cities in the developed countries where the planning and development of residential areas is formal and relatively efficient.

ii. Informality or informal areas correspond to social processes because citizens are improvising to make their life viable in the city through networks and associations that do not depend entirely on the support of the public authorities. After all unlike in the formally planned areas, public support services are scant.

iii. Relationships and networks along kinship and ethnic lines matter for residential location decisions of urban residents who have relatively low-income. As a consequence, they navigate towards locations where they can use the networks to get by. Although this finding matches the results of studies based on survival strategies of the urban poor, the study has gone further to discuss it within a residential location choice framework.

iv. Social capital has served as resource alongside incomes to facilitate residential location choices. As noted, searching for accommodation or land locations was through informal networks (sourcing information), which made it possible to find a favourable location. Living close to family meant that they did not have to, for example, spend money for baby-sitting or spend money on rent because they could rely on a relative to accommodate them for free and so on. ‘Social capital’ provides an opportunity to study residential location choices among resource constrained urban residents. However further empirical studies need to be done in order to establish the forms of social capital and how far they facilitate residential mobility and choice. This is because social capital is a complex and ambiguous
concept, which needs to be further, unpacked for it to be useful to explain residential location choices. For example larger empirical studies (which this study could not undertake) may indicate the type of social networks, which can further be mapped, their strength indicated and how they affect the residential development, community mobilisation and the pattern of the city.

v. By adding the cultural capital aspect to residential location choices, a further understanding of which non-economic factors influence a household’s residential location choice in developing countries has been elaborated. The study indicates how education and income empowers choice based on the desire to be associated with a neighbourhood that matches their values and socio-economic position. This can be a motive to study how changing landscapes of informal settlements reflect modern (urban?) housing aspirations of middle-income households.

vi. The study has shown how the deployment of cultural capital (education, elitism) is spatially manifested in residential location choices and visually through the modern architecture of the houses, which may lead to further attraction to the area by other similar households.

The use of ‘social capital’ as a non-economic resource contributes to urban knowledge on how to cope with the dynamic African cities that are viewed many a time as failed cities. Whereas in reality, some resourcefulness does exist among the urban residents, which can be capitalized on. Simone (2004) draws on various cases in African cities to show how, amidst all the ‘chaos’ and informality, African cities do work even if the ‘working’ does not correspond to the way we would normally want our cities to function. Since urban residents rely on networks and other forms of association to get by, this resourcefulness can be tapped if we study how and why they work and modify aspects
that can be used to improve their planning and overall urban management process.

Additionally, in order to underscore the context or reality within which the residents’ decisions and actions take place, the themes of urban survival, affiliation and opportunity have been discerned and used for analysis in the study. These themes can be used to gain further insights into not only residential location choice behaviour, but to also understand other individual actions in urban areas of poor developing countries that would otherwise appear non-rational and unrelated, for instance, informal sector activities and its spatial and non-spatial processes. The notions of urban survival, affiliation and opportunity are meant to reflect the narratives of everyday lives as the residents respond to the local environment when making decisions about where to live, where to work, where to find customers for a petty trade, where to take children to school and so on. The degree to which the notions (themes) can influence decisions depends on the resources possessed or mobilised, how much choice can be exercised, and what the prevailing context is. This is because the local environment such as existing urban land use planning and zoning regulations can inhibit or facilitate decisions about where to live, for example regulations related to public space which affect informal activities or residential zoning policies such as high, medium density areas which follow the segregation policies of high, middle and low income groups. In a developed world city like Stockholm that is contextually different from Dar es Salaam the range of residential location choices may be comparatively restricted by availability of housing or vacant housing opportunities or cost. In Dar es Salaam, the weak regulatory framework that oversees land development allows for flexibility and locational differences for informal residential development opportunities on vacant land. The CBD is no longer important in either city because technological advances (IT based work), improved infrastructure allows for geographical dispersion of workplaces and residential areas unlike in Dar es Salaam where dispersion is fostered by the livelihood opportunities available in the informal sector.
The study duly recognises that the concept of social capital as a resource in residential choices carries with it some negative aspects for example choices based along ethnic or even economic-status lines, can restrict entry of some prospective home-seekers who do not meet the ‘criteria’ of that particular group. Such an outcome can be viewed as the spatial manifestation of ‘bonding capital’ as defined by Putnam and Goss (2002), which provide a greater risk of producing negative externalities. This knowledge is important for learning about the aggregate effects of residential location choices where residential differentiation based on economic status or ethnicity may bring about urban inequalities.

The study further recognises that some of the strategies explained in residential location choices perhaps include or even affect other members of household if present. Residential location choices are known to affect children (Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson, 2002) and women (Bootsma, 1995) in developed countries and findings in this study show such possibilities for developing countries such as Tanzania. Women, who stay at home, rely on good neighbourly relations for example for baby-sitting, for borrowing, sharing and for support activities such as upatu which assist them in everyday lives. Many women who move from the rural to urban areas are looking for livelihood opportunities and most of these are found in the informal sector e.g. street trading, food selling and market trading. Proximity to such opportunities as well as safety and security are important issues that may affect their residential location decisions differently compared to men. How social capital is used or affects other groups (women and children) in the decision making process was not covered and is an issue that needs to be further explored in future research.

43 *Upatu* is the local name for women’s rotating money lending groups common in many circles.
9.2 Urban planning implications

The results of the study indicate that socio-cultural reasons play a role in the decision making process of residential location choices in informal residential areas, since they accommodate over 70% of the city’s population, the informal settlements arguably reflect aggregate actions of the urban residents, either because the government cannot meet their residential needs due to human and material resource limitations, or because what was planned was not affordable by the bulk of the poor or did not meet their socio/cultural aspirations. The study finds this to be an important aspect in urban planning preparation and implementation. There are several ways by which we can learn about the inadequacies of our plans and an insight into residential location decisions provides such lessons.

Sometimes planning decisions are in accordance with concepts not tuned to the African urban reality such as the designation of low-income housing land uses in a strategic or master planning activity on the basis of urban growth models and concepts, but without critical reflection on livelihood sources or pressure areas resulting from socio-cultural considerations.

On the other hand, one of the critical questions for planning here is, is this phenomenon of residential choices according to socio/cultural reasons desirable? It has been indicated how the residential choice outcomes are likely to develop differentiated residential areas based on ethnicity and incomes. How can this phenomenon which may engender ethnically or economically segregated urban housing be mediated to reduce adverse practices and outcomes such as the reluctance to adopt modern social values such as equality, ethnic and religious tolerance, and gender inclusive cities?
Planning for appropriate locations

The reasons for residential location choice have been illustrated and livelihood opportunities, support networks and opportunities for access to land have emerged as important. Earlier in the thesis, I explained how ‘appropriate location’ has been suggested as a main reason for the growth of informal settlements. In fact the different priorities of urban residents make vacant land in the city vulnerable such that ‘appropriate’ location appears to be the occupation of land that is vacant or unoccupied, anywhere in the city (see Hakuyu, 1995). The respondents have shown how they take advantage of houses/ rooms located close to work, social networks and vacant land close to institutions, roads and other important services (in the case of home-builders) sometimes at the expense of living and building in precarious locations.

When planners continue to make layout plans without understanding the socio-economic dynamics that drive households to settle in one location over another, it is no wonder that some programmes fail or raise disputes between the planners and the target groups. For example, while informal settlements upgrading programmes are important, they are more effective if they take into consideration some of the complex reasons that compel households to crowd in one location and not the other. Such considerations will help identify long-term strategies to decongest such areas and restraint excessive densities. It may also help identify basic service levels (quality) appropriate to match the population.

Social networks and access to livelihood opportunities are important to the survival of the poor in urban areas and any disruption to them is likely to threaten survival and increase vulnerability. The objective of an upgrading programme should not only be to improve the physical and economic environment but to also preserve and promote the positive aspects of the social environment (social support and community interactions) that sustain livelihoods. Planners need to respect the existing social capital as well as the spatial values of local
communities through careful and conscious upgrading. But if and when eviction or resettlement becomes a necessary intervention for planning then the consequences to livelihoods, social networks and the community should be established collaboratively and other improvements that compensate for the loss be planned for and implemented.

The study has also shown that different households have varying reasons for residential location choices and possibly a household living in the inner zone will find it difficult to cope in a peri-urban zone if he/she is relocated involuntary. So it is imperative that ways are devised during the preparation for resettlement that will identify livelihood support mechanisms existing in the neighbourhood designated for demolition. The identified livelihood support mechanisms can be strengthened to later cushion the possible effects of disruption e.g. the formation of a credit and savings group to support the transition that builds on an existing upatu group. This can be done through building on the existing social networks that are bound to exist in informal areas such as women’s groups, youth groups, or faith-based organisations.

**Planning interventions**
Planning responses to the process of informal settlements development and residential location choices can be done early where planners intervene in neighbourhood areas with tools such as settlement upgrading and regularisation before such settlements consolidate and become enclaves of poverty and risk. Regularisation is one such intervention that involves defining private, semi-public and public land in informal settlements in order to facilitate land registration and processing of title deeds. However the process needs to fully involve the community residents through intensive dialogue and negotiations with the land and property owners so that collective agreements and consensus can be reached on private land formally used for common
functions. The land needs to be negotiated so that the ownership can be transferred to the community, or even negotiated for access roads and footpaths that on land that was formally private. The negotiation process provides a platform where planners can gain information on existing values and to respect the existing social capital as well as the spatial values.

**Recognising existing social processes in planning**

Normally a newly arrived migrant in the city has access to shelter and livelihood opportunities as top priorities when making residential choice decisions, so an inner city settlement is bound to face persistent growth, overcrowding and encroachment into hazard land as landowners haphazardly delineate plots regardless of road networks or other infrastructure to meet individual needs. Similarly, peri-urban or intermediate land that is in demand because of its good location or other non-spatial attributes will face the same indiscriminate delineation especially for housing. If the would-be home seekers are well educated and have a relatively good income then the nature of demand for land may be different, a household in this category is enlightened and may require large plots and good access to his/her plot as in the case of Makongo Juu forcing the landowners to delineate the plots in a more orderly way. Several actors play a role and social processes take place to ensure households get what they need to improve their wellbeing in the city without any help from planners, the latter only participate when their actions and decisions threaten the status quo or what planners and urban managers want to see.

Insensitivity by planners to the social processes because they do not match their planning doctrine, standards and regulations perpetuates the conflict between what should be and reality on the ground. The informal areas and the processes that take place to ensure and help home-seekers to make residential location choices based on their livelihood needs, is something that we ought to take cognisance of. It can be recalled how respondents cited ‘availability of vacant land’ as reason for choice of a location, whilst Sub-ward leaders added during
the interviews that there was a readiness for owners possessing farmland (vacant land) to sub-divide and sell it in front of witnesses such as Sub-ward officials and neighbours and the officials sometimes arbitrated when problems related to the transactions surfaced.

Kombe and Kreibich (2006) have illustrated how local actors at Ward and sub-ward levels in three informal settlements of low to middle income in Tanzania have enabled new settlers to obtain land and property rights and to socially arbitrate land disputes. Lupala (2002a) has also illustrated how such actions have further been successful in Nyantira, Dar es Salaam where social relations of migrants along ethnic and socioeconomic ties enabled the community access land and livelihood opportunities and provide spatial order to the settlement. These studies suggest that these processes can be supported and regulated at the ward and Sub-ward levels by decentralizing some of the basic land use planning functions such as layout planning and the demarcation and survey of plots, which landowners and buyers actually do themselves, the findings from the study subscribe to this idea.

However this transformation inevitably depends upon a change in attitude towards what planners and urban managers consider to be urban ‘disorder and messiness’. Whatever the change is, it must be followed by political will and support. Therefore the change needs to be translated contextually to the politicians and bureaucrats who are perpetually caught between meeting their constituents’ popular demands and being seen to be faithfully enforcing urban rules and regulations.

**Going beyond social capital as individual resource**

Going beyond social capital as individual resource that facilitates residential choices leads to the desire to explore how it can be used as a collective resource in the neighbourhoods that households have settled. The elements of social capital in the decision making process that are relevant to urban planning practice are the interactions borne out of networks at neighbourhood level because these interactions can
be translated into community action. Community action in neighbourhood improvements is an important development aspect in informal settlement upgrading for instance, and studies indicate that relationships and networks along economic, ethnic or religious lines breeds social capital which can be resourced to facilitate community action (Phillips, 2002; Lupala, 2002a).

Since the residential areas are an outcome of aggregate actions by different people, it has been shown that heterogeneous communities can be formed who are linked to one other in diverse ways e.g. members of multi-family houses who belong to the same ethnic group, or members of the same income groups (middle to high) in a middle income informal area. The relationships and networks here can be weak or stronger depending on the positions of the groups and their vertical and horizontal relationships. This is what Putnam and Goss (2002) called bridging and bonding social capital; when people have a common goal that brings them together (bridging social capital), then their actions transcend income or ethnic status. This has planning implications when it comes to community organisation because a group of tenants who share resources and support each other, for instance, may not be willing to translate their relationship into community work such as neighbourhood improvement (repair of roads or cleaning of surroundings) because they feel that they may move out of the neighbourhood anytime. Therefore they do not have a stake in the neighbourhood as homeowners would. The mobility of renters is actually known to be a barrier to the development of social capital needed for development activities (Phillips, 2002). Sometimes other community members argue that they do not own cars, so why should they repair the roads. Such attitudes and actions impact negatively on planning and participation at neighbourhood level. Therefore it becomes important for urban planners to take time to understand the dynamics of social capital at local level; to understand the types of social capital likely to yield cohesion which may help to avoid repeating the mistakes made before, when executing settlement upgrading plans and community-based infrastructure upgrading programmes.
It is noteworthy that social capital as a resource is not static, it can change forms especially if it was previously used for individual gains. The study showed that some respondents in Rangi Tatu who made choices along ethnic and kinship lines later found the homogeneity of the area overpowering and restrictive to their upward social mobility and therefore desired to move to a planned area that they viewed as heterogeneous and consequently progressive. Therefore, while homogeneous communities can maintain cohesion that can be turned into collective action, it can also limit social mobility and innovation because other community members may view members who aspire upward mobility with resentment or as going against established norms. Tensions like these can be reasons for conflicts in community organizing because of differing goals and interests.

The processes and structures used to access land in various locations are by and large based along networks, relationships and trust. In order for one to make a residential location choice, he/she would have information on possible alternatives through informal channels. The link between a would-be buyer and the willing land seller is through informal social channels. The transactions that take place are done between the land seller and buyer, a contract is normally drawn with the ward or Sub-ward leaders as witnesses. In the same way, a tenant seeking a room would more or less follow the same process. However payment of rent is usually by oral agreement and trust. When a land-seller has large tracts of land, he/she is responsible for parcelling it out and ends up giving some degree of spatial order to the settlement. In Keko Machungwa and Makongo Juu there did exist a Community Based Organisation (CBO) aimed at improving and giving spatial order to the physical environment. The networks or groups were formed to address common problems affecting the members for example in Keko Machungwa, homeowners formed a CBO to contest with rich factory owners building retaining walls across the natural flow of stream water. This caused constant floods to their homes during the rainy seasons. All these informal processes are a platform on which planners can build
collaborative working relationships and projects that reflect the local realities. The urban planning process should therefore:

i. Not only support the grass-roots processes’ but also pro-actively guide them because while planners have to respect existing cultures and values of local communities they have to inculcate land use planning attributes that consolidate the socio-economic and spatial wellbeing of communities. Above all planners have to enhance and protect public interests in informal housing and land development. The planning process should aim towards empowering and capitalising on social capital and close-knit networks of the marginalised urban citizen that is often inward rather than outward looking. The main idea here is that the identified social capital in its various forms can be an important resource to improve land use planning in informal settlements, especially its spatial organisation rewired to enhance spatial orderliness and protect public interest.

ii. Residential development should aim at providing spaces that allow citizens to develop social capital that is bridging rather than bonding such as networks that cross different economic groups in the community. This can be done through mixed residential land uses such as middle and low-income or mixed uses such as residential and retail which may allow informal traders to forge links with business or shop owners.

9.3 Future research

Several elements with a bearing on the process of residential location choices and on socio-cultural reasons (social capital) as an explanation came up during the course of the study. These aspects were not covered but are important for further understanding of residential location choices and their implications for developing countries. They include:
1. The inclusion of women and children in the residential location decision-making process because the household is a collective unit and (i) both groups have a role to play in the decisions, has their role been articulated? (ii) How were the decisions negotiated particularly where you have both partners working and do they eventually influence the residential choice? There were instances during the research where wives complained about stopping their income generating activities because of the commuting distance or because they now had to find a baby-sitter for their children as the work place was too far away from their homes. Other issues that came up included trade-offs between a cheap rental house and an environment that was risky to them and their children’s safety and health.

2. The study came across a number of female-headed households, in addition there is an increase in female-headed households in Tanzania. In 1992 females headed 14% of households in Dar es Salaam, in 2001 the number had gone up to 21% (NBS, 2002). With the increasing number of female-headed households in Tanzania it becomes necessary to investigate how they experience residential location choices. There is need to look into women migrants and how they make their residential choices and how they deploy socio-cultural resources. Many poor women in Dar es Salaam are involved in food and street-vending activities, it would be interesting to know about their residential location choices and to integrate these experiences into our planning and policies.

3. This study has only indicated that social capital can be used to understand residential location choices. Networks are multi-dimensional and more detailed investigation and analysis to identify the forms and extent of social capital used would be useful to identify the strength of the networks and relationships
and how they can be translated into urban community action e.g. be deployed to improve the spatial structure of informal settlements.
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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview schedule for Households

RESEARCH ON RESIDENTIAL LOCATION CHOICES

Interview schedule for Households

Name of Respondent __________

Ward Name ____________________ Mtaa ____________________

Date of Interview________

Introduction

The main objective of this interview is to get some information on reasons that made you select to live in this area and why you moved from your previous residence. We would also like to have some information about yourself and your family, where you work and get other basic services. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated because the information you give us will help us understand the most important factors people consider when choosing a residence. Such information will assist planners when planning for future housing areas. The information you give will be confidential.
1. BASIC INFORMATION

Questions for the Head of household should cover

1. Sex, Age, Marital Status, Region of origin and the Level of education
2. Incomes and costs of living e.g. amount spent on food per day, transport?
3. Where is your place of work? How do you get there? What is the travelling time

HOUSING MOBILITY AND CHOICE

Questions for the Head of household should cover

1. Whether tenant or owner?
2. If owner are you also living with tenants?
3. How long have you lived here?
4. Where was your previous residence before coming here? Why did you move?
5. Tell me why you choose to live here? How was the whole process, what helped you? How important are family or friends and why?
6. How did you learn about house/land for housing in the area you are living in now?
7. Given another choice where would you prefer to live? Why?
8. What do you think of the social services like health, schools, water and shopping?
9. In your opinion what are important reasons that attract other people to this area?
10. How can you describe your lifestyle, the people living in your neighbourhood, do you like it here, why?
11. Do you cooperate on various issues with your neighbour?
12. Do you cooperate on various issues with in the Mtaa?
OBSERVATIONS

1. General physical and social environment
2. Type of sanitation used by the household?
3. Main source of energy, water supply, cooking fuel?
4. Type and quality of access system within and without the area, security in this area.

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

1. How would you describe your Ward/ Mtaa?
2. How would you describe the people living here, their interactions?
3. Why do you think people are attracted to this area? What opportunities exist?
4. How can you describe the development of the area, fast, slow? What do you think the reasons are?
## Appendix II: Profile of Interviewed Respondents

**Keko Machungwa – Inner City Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location of work</th>
<th>Length of stay (years)</th>
<th>‘Residentship’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Taxi driver – worked with Port before</td>
<td>City centre-2km</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Tanga in 1978 called by brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Retired from Port Authority</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Moro in 70’s worked at harbours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Salesman in</td>
<td>Kariakoo-2km</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Iringa in 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>Verandah at house he rents</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Tanga in 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
<td>Kariakoo-2km</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Moved from Mwanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>Pugu Road</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Parents came to Dar in 70’s brought up in K’koo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>City council police officer</td>
<td>City centre</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>Moved from Dodoma in 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Military officer-technician</td>
<td>Mbagala-4km</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moved to Dar transfer, work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>Years in Dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Petty trader</td>
<td>Kariakoo-2km</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Moved from Kilwa in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Std 8</td>
<td>Tailor-retired from Police force</td>
<td>At home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moved to Dar 10 years, transfer from Mtwara, police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>Kurasini-2km</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Moved to Dar in 1980’s from Tanga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>Truck driver</td>
<td>Mikocheni industrial areas-7km</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Mbeya worked in 1980’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>Watchman</td>
<td>Sinza –7km</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Moved from Iringa lived with bro in 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Baker in Bread factory</td>
<td>Changombe-3km</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Moved from Tanga in 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Teacher of day-care centre</td>
<td>Keko Machungwa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Came to Dar in 2000 study secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Urban farming-growing spinach in valley</td>
<td>Keko Machungwa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Moved to Dar since 1978 from Morogoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Owns 2 daladala’s and farm upcountry</td>
<td>Keko Machungwa</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>Came to Dar in 1976 working for GPO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Truck driver</td>
<td>Mbezi-Kimara</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Came to Dar in 1970’s from Kilimanjaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Inherited homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Shop owner</td>
<td>At home</td>
<td>Brought up in Keko</td>
<td>Born in Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Co-homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Shop owner</td>
<td>At home</td>
<td>Bought up in Keko</td>
<td>Born in Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<td>Distance</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Car Mechanic</td>
<td>Mwenge (7km)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Came to Dar es Salaam in 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Secondary form.2</td>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>Around Keko</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Came to Dar es Salaam in 1991 from Ruvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>Kariakoo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Born in Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
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</table>
# Makongo Juu- Intermediate area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location of work</th>
<th>Length of stay (years)</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Resident ship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>University of Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>Came to Dar es Salaam for studies in 2006 from Mwanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>Kariakoo</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>Came in 1993 from Mwanza to find work-unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Kinondoni- 6km</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>Transfer from Moro in 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Sales asst at pharmacy</td>
<td>Kariakoo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>From Iringa in 1995 to work-skilled</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Petty trader</td>
<td>Changanyikeni – 1km</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>Moved from Tanga in 1995 to find work-unskilled</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Food trader (Mama Ntilie)</td>
<td>Makongo juu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>Moved from Mtwara in 2004 to find work-unskilled</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Diploma in military</td>
<td>Retired military officer-farmer</td>
<td>Upcountry</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>Transferred in 1990 from Mbeya town</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Security officer</td>
<td>Kariakoo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kahama</td>
<td>Moved from Mwanza to Dar 1980 to study and settled</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Diploma in agriculture</td>
<td>Poultry farming assistant</td>
<td>At home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Came from Kilimanjaro in 1997 to work in</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Move Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Fundi -construction</td>
<td>Around Makongo juu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Moved from Kilimanjaro in 1992–work</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>Mbagala- 10km</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Moved to Dar from Moshi town in 2000 – for better business environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Taxi driver</td>
<td>Sea-cliff – 6km</td>
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<td>Morogoro</td>
<td>Moved from Morogoro in 1990 to work and settle in Dar es Salaam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Small scale contractor</td>
<td>Sinza</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ruvuma</td>
<td>Moved to Dar es Salaam from Ruvuma in 1989 – to work after completing secondary education</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Caretaker</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Fundi (labourer)</td>
<td>Makongo Juu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>Moved from Mtwara in 2006 came to attend meeting decided to settle</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Car Mechanic</td>
<td>Makongo Juu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>Has lived with parents in Makongo Juu since 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Shop owner</td>
<td>Makongo juu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>Came from Iringa in 1996 to work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Tenant</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Ladies Hair salon owner</td>
<td>Makongo Juu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kigoma</td>
<td>Has lived in Dar es Salaam with parents since 1996 from moved from Kigoma town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>Occupation at Work</td>
<td>Distance from University</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Casual labourer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>Moved from Iringa in 1993 to work</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Shop owner</td>
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<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Widowed, husband settled in Dar from Kilimanjaro as public servant since 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>University (PhD)</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
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<td>Songea</td>
<td>From Lindi and settled in Dar es Salaam since 1987 after completing university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>From Ruvuma settled in Dar since 1987 after completing university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>Settled in Dar 1986 after completing university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Lawyer -Senior level government officer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>Settled in Dar 1982 after completing National service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>University (PhD)</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>From Ruvuma settled in Dar since 1987 after completing university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Location of work</td>
<td>Length of stay (years)</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Resident ship</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Landlady</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Coast-Kilwa</td>
<td>Moved from Kisijo village in Kilwa in 1969 - to follow husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Herbalist, traditional medicine</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Born and raised in Mwananyamala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Sells firewood and landlord</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>Came in 1963 to Dar es Salaam from Mtwara to work as domestic worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Cashew nut Trader at Chang'ombe</td>
<td>Changombe (within district)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Moved to Dar es salaam in 1990 for better work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>University</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Ruvuma</td>
<td>Work transfer from Songea in 1972</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Morogoro (another region)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rufiji</td>
<td>Moved from Rufiji in 1998 – to find work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None gets remittances from children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kilwa</td>
<td>Moved from Kilwa in 1984- because of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Sells clothes on credit</td>
<td>Moves around</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kilwa</td>
<td>Moved to Dar in 2002 for work as domestic worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Trader/farmer</td>
<td>Rangi Tatu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>Moved from Mtwara in 1991 to find work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Truck driver</td>
<td>Kurasini</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>From Kilwa in 1991 to find work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>Muhimbili – 15km</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>Moved from Lindi in 1985 to find work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Mama Ntliie</td>
<td>Rangi Tatu</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Rufiji</td>
<td>Moved from Mkuranga in 1990 to find work as domestic servant</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Living Arrangement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Casual labourer</td>
<td>Around Mbagala</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>Mkuranga</td>
<td>Raised in Rangi Tatu since 1970's - from Mkuranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Mama Ntilie</td>
<td>Rang Tatu</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>From Lindi in 2002 for work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Security officer</td>
<td>Port authority - 6km</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>Moved to Dar es Salaam in 1986 for studying F4 - settled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Clearing agent</td>
<td>City centre - 10km</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>Raised in Rangi Tatu - parents moved in 1970's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Tailor, owns daladala</td>
<td>Rang Tatu</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>Moved from Lindi to Dar es Salaam in 1970 to find work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Adult education</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Rang Tatu</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>Moved to Dar es Salaam in 1970 from Lindi to find work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Rang Tatu</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>Moved to Dar in 1990 from Lindi to find work - unskilled</td>
</tr>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Homeowner</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>Tanesco - kurasini - 5km</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>Moved from Tanga in 1991 after completing Technical training (secondary school) and settled in Dar es Salaam for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>Freelance Rang Tatu</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Kilwa</td>
<td>Moved from Kilwa in 1992 after primary school to attend vocational training and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Area of Employment</td>
<td>Years of Residence</td>
<td>City of Residence</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Homeowner living with tenants</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Petty business, landlady</td>
<td>Outside house</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>Husband was transferred from Singida in 2000 now widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>Upcountry</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Kilwa</td>
<td>Moved from Kilwa to Dar in 1999 after std 7 - unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Watchman</td>
<td>Msasani – 20km</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>Moved from Bukoba in 1990 to find work - unskilled</td>
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### APPENDIX III: SAMPLE OF COMPILED DATA DESCRIPTIONS

| Informant | Background Information | Type of work, place | Income/expenditure | Services | ‘Story’ on Residential Choice | Opinion on Keko settlement | Neighbourhood interaction vs. private autonomy???
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<td>Batista Balama</td>
<td>Balama is a 35-year-old married man who comes from Iringa region. He has 4 children, 3 of whom walk to a neighbouring school. Balama has completed primary school education. His house is permanent, house complete with plaster but no paint and ceiling board.</td>
<td>Balama works in Kariakoo in a shop (salesman), which is about 4 km away. He walks everyday to work and takes about 30 minutes. His children also walk to school.</td>
<td>He spends about 5,000 a day for food. The price of some food items depends on the market where food is sold. They normally look for where the price is reasonable. They do not pay any school fees and if he has to use a bus he makes sure he uses only one bus.</td>
<td>Tap water is available from a neighbour at 30.00 a bucket. They household use a pit latrine, charcoal and kerosene for cooking. Electricity is available. He says if electricity had been cheap, they could have used an electric cooker. Health services are available at the Police barracks about 200m away. Or they go to the council</td>
<td>Balama used to live in Kigogo (same district-Illala) since 1987 when he moved from Iringa to live with his brother in Kigogo. He stayed in Kigogo as a bachelor. Then he moved to Keko in 1992 because in Kigogo he faced hardships where transport to work was concerned. Keko Mwanga was closer to his Kariakoo his work place. He does not need to board a bus. In Kigogo almost all his salary was spent on bus fare. He rented a room at Keko Mwanga (about 200m from Keko Machungwa) in 1992 for 5,000 a month. He heard about the vacant room from a relative who lives in Keko Mwanga. So he stayed there for 1 and a half years then moved to Keko Machungwa in 1995. In Keko Mwanga he moved because he married and the space of 1 room became too small. So he scouted around Keko M and found a 2 rooms for 5000 each. After 4 years the owner increased the rent to 7,000 because the rooms had electricity but there was no water. Building costs had gone up. Balama says the settlement is saturated; there are no empty pieces of land. Normally the price of an empty piece of land ranged from 500,000 (400 sq.m to 1,000,000 800 sq.m). No rooms are available easily and if one wants a room, he or she has to use a ‘dalali’ where every step costs money. E.g. taking him out of his ‘office’, and later on giving him his commission, which is equivalent to one month’s rent. The only problem is the flooding of the channel in the river valley. He feels the city council is not doing enough, because it is the residents who have blocked the drains, including rich businessmen with industries. They have</td>
<td>“There is very little cooperation here maybe because there are now many kinds of people and they are poor. We cooperate on other small things for instance giving/lending each other foodstuff or during social gatherings like death but cooperating for development activities is less. We have come together a few of us to make an access path to our houses but the original inhabitants sell every piece of land without thinking that we might need an access path during an emergency.” Balama feels that he a lives life similar to that of the rural area because he is still poor. He cannot eat ‘good’ food because he is afraid of the costs although he does admit to owning a TV, a radio, and a bicycle. He says his house and life is a typical ‘uswahili’ life. (Uswazi).</td>
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| Hospital at the CBD (Mnazi Mmoja). | He says, “There are some rooms without electricity which cost less than 3000. When there is electricity we usually split the costs (bill) among ourselves (tenants). Contributions usually depend on what household items the tenants have e.g. if we use an iron, cooker and a fan, the costs go up. But if we use an iron and lights then the bill is usually 25,000 which was then divided by 5 tenants bringing the costs to 5,000 per household.”

Balama says when he moved to Keko M, there was less congestion, and people were using the area for the cultivation of vegetables.

During the times he moved to Keko M, the farmers cultivating vegetables were selling plots of land so that they could go back to their villages. My brother-in-law bought a piece of land then for 500,000. He bought two pieces of land and later sold one to me.

“I decided to buy a piece of land here because I was already familiar with Keko, I had been here for 6 years and the people were like relatives to me as well as the closeness to work. Following up on construction activities was also easy because it was not far. I did not have to board buses. If for instance I was building in Mbagala, it would have been difficult, coming from work in the evening, you are tired and you still have to board a bus to Mbagala. Or

| tried to contribute in cash to have the drain cleaned but people are very reluctant to pay.

The pace of development both economic and socially is slow because people are poor, but some people are afraid to improve their lives because they are afraid of being bewitched. |
maybe I would have stayed in Mabibo, many people from up country like to stay in Ubungo because it is in the direction of the village. If I had missed this place, I wouldn’t have gone ‘back’ (further) because I feel as if I am far from my village. In addition previously the up country bus station was in Mnazi Mmoja (CBD) but now it is in Ubungo. Now if you bring your old parent for instance from the village, he or she embarks at Ubungo then you have to catch daladala’s to Mbagala; it is too far. I would rather disembark in area prior to Ubungo.”

I am used to the life here now.