

**HOUSING INTERVENTIONS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON URBAN
DEVELOPMENT:
Opportunities and Challenges in Mixed Informal Settlements, in Dar es Salaam -
Tanzania**

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DECLARATION OF HONOUR

I hereby declare that I have completed the work presented without improper help from a third party and without using any sources not documented. Data and concepts directly derived from other sources are unmistakably documented. The following people helped with/without payment as described with the selection and evaluation of the following materials:

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I declare that I have told the truth to the best of my knowledge and have not concealed anything.

Weimar, 2013



Signature.....

DEDICATION

In memory of my late mother

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ABSTRACT

Rapid urbanisation that is not accompanied by socio-economic development strains the capacity of local and national governments to provide even basic services such as shelter. Informal settlements i.e. settlements not built or developed according to the formal regulations have become a solution to many urban dwellers in developing countries. In Tanzania informal settlements accommodate people from low, middle and high income groups. The study explores the nature of potentials and challenges posed by the existence of mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements, including an assessment of what can be done to optimise utilisation of potentials and mitigation of conflicts. Using a case study strategy, the study was conducted in Dar es Salaam city focusing on Makongo mixed informal settlement.

The results show that mixed informal settlements are as a result of several factors including uncoordinated energies of people. The urban development forces that bring change in the development of the city are stronger than the public states capacity to coordinate and manage them. Informal settlements also offer user-friendly land tenure, flexibility in house construction and proximity to livelihoods. Other factors include the nature of socio-economic living patterns and extension of urban boundaries. Community members operate using social norms. Advantages of mixed informal settlements include availability of plots according to needs and affordability while a disadvantage is, people of different socio-economic groups perceive problems differently.

For policies to be effective, their formulation should be derived from what is happening on the ground i.e. addressing informal settlements according to their heterogeneity. Moreover, empowered local authorities can assist in implementing national development plans; also actors in land development including government institutions, non-governmental institutions, financial institutions, private sector, professionals, political leaders, research institutions, policy-makers and training institutions need to recognise, understand and respect each other's roles, and pull resources together to minimise problems related to informality in land development; utilise potentials and minimise challenges in mixed informal settlements in Dar es Salaam.

Key words: Informal settlements, land development, urbanisation

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Eine nicht von sozioökonomischen Entwicklungen begleitete rapide Urbanisierung strapaziert die Kapazitäten der lokalen und nationalen Behörden derart stark, dass selbst grundlegende Leistungen, wie Schutzunterkünfte, nicht zur Verfügung gestellt werden können. Informelle Siedlungen, die nicht nach formellen Regeln errichtet oder entwickelt wurden, stellen in Entwicklungsländern für viele Stadtbewohner eine Alternative dar. In Tansania beherbergen informelle Siedlungen Menschen aus unteren, mittleren und höheren Einkommensgruppen. Die Studie untersucht die Potenziale und Herausforderungen die sich im Zusammenhang mit der Existenz der gemischten sozioökonomischen Gruppen in den informellen Siedlungen ergeben, einschließlich einer Einschätzung der Möglichkeiten für die optimale Nutzung der Potenziale und den Möglichkeiten zur Verringerung von Konflikten. Die Fallstudie wurde in Dar es Salaam City mit dem Fokus auf Makongo, einer durchmischten informellen Siedlung, durchgeführt.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass durchmischte informelle Siedlungen ein Zusammenspiel verschiedener Faktoren einschließlich nicht koordinierter menschlicher Energien sind. Die Kräfte der urbanen Entwicklung der Stadt sind stärker als die staatliche Kapazität diese Kräfte zu koordinieren und zu regeln. Informelle Siedlungen offerieren zudem einen leichter handzuhabenden Grundbesitz, Flexibilität im Hausbau und Nähe zur Lebensgrundlage. Andere Faktoren sind unter anderem die Art der sozioökonomischen Lebensmodelle und die Erweiterung der städtischen Grenzen. Gemeindemitglieder bedienen sich sozialer Regeln. Vorteile von durchmischten informellen Siedlungen sind die Verfügbarkeit von Grundstücken entsprechend der jeweiligen Bedürfnisse und entsprechend des finanziell Möglichen, während ein Nachteil ist, dass das Problembewusstsein von Menschen verschiedener sozioökonomischer Gruppen unterschiedlich ist.

Zur Gestaltung effektiver Regelungen, sollten deren Formulierungen sich von dem ableiten was an der Basis geschieht und sich damit an der Heterogenität der informellen Siedlungen orientieren. Des Weiteren könnten die lokalen Behörden bei der Umsetzung der nationalen Entwicklungspläne unterstützend mitwirken. Aber auch die Akteure der Landentwicklung, einschließlich Regierungs- und Nichtregierungsinstitutionen, Finanzinstitutionen, Privatwirtschaft, Fachleute, politischen Verantwortlichen, Forschungseinrichtungen, Legislative und Bildungseinrichtungen, müssen die Rolle des jeweils anderen verstehen und anerkennen sowie Mittel zusammenziehen, um Probleme und Herausforderungen im Zusammenhang mit Informalität und Landentwicklung in durchmischten informellen Siedlungen in Dar es Salaam zu minimieren sowie Potenziale zu nutzen.

Schlüsselworte: Informellen Siedlungen, Landentwicklung, Urbanisierung

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ACRONYMS

ARU	Ardhi University
BRU	Building Research Unit
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
DAWASCO	Dar es Salaam Water and Sewerage Corporation
DCC	Dar es Salaam City Commission
IHSS	Institute of Human Settlement Studies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Funds
ITV	Independent Television Ltd
JWTZ	Jeshi la Ulinzi la Wananchi wa Tanzania
MAJUDEA	Makongo Juu Development Association
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MLHHS	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human settlements Development
NCC	National Construction Council
NEMC	National Environment Management Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHC	National Housing Corporation
NHSDP	National Human Settlements Development Policy
SCP	Sustainable City Programme
SDP	Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project
SUMATRA	Surface and Marine Transport Regulatory Authority
TANESCO	Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited
TANROADS	Tanzania National Roads Agency
TBC1	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TBR	Tanzania Building Regulation
THB	Tanzania Housing Bank
TMA	Tanzania Metrological Agency
Tshs	Tanzanian Shillings
TV	Television
UCLAS	University College of Lands and Architectural Studies
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WAT	Women Advancement Trust

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The world is steadily becoming urban, as people move to cities and towns in search of employment, educational opportunities and higher standards of living (UNCHS, 1996). Some are displaced from rural lands that, for a plethora of reasons cannot support them. It has been observed that urbanisation usually accompanies social and economic development, but when it happens rapidly it overstrains capacity of local and national governments to provide even the most basic services such as shelter, potable water and sanitation. According to the UN report on State of Worlds Cities 2006/7, it is predicted that urban areas will absorb a larger population (95 per cent of urban growth) in two decades after 2007. Urban growth in the world's largest cities including New York, Tokyo, London, Paris, Mumbai, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Delhi, Dhaka, and Lagos shows that Tokyo has that largest population projection followed by Mumbai (Figure 1.1). African countries are represented by Lagos with a projection of about 20,000,000 people.

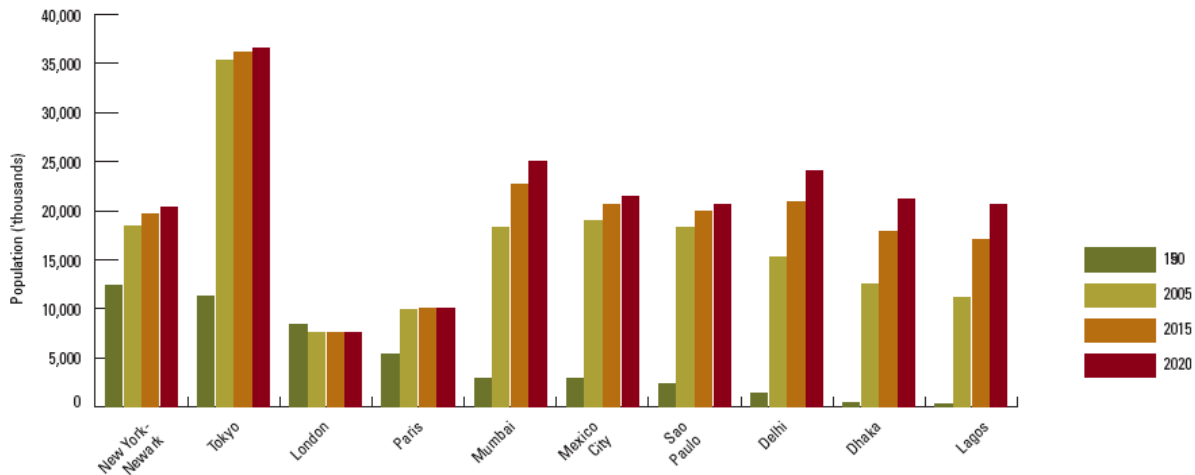


Figure 1: Urban growth in the world's largest cities, 1950-2020

Source: *State of the World's Cities, UN-Habitat, 2007*

Due to inter alia, unprecedented urbanisation informal settlements continue to house a large population in the cities of developing world. The number of informal settlements and slum¹ dwellers is increasing persistently. In the year 1990, the number of slum dwellers in the world

¹ In this work, the word 'slums' and 'informal settlements' are used interchangeably

was nearly 715 million, by the time the target of improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 as set by the world leaders in Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11, the slum population will have increased to 912 million. In 2006/07, 'State of the World's Cities' observed that the number of slum dwellers globally had increased to 998 million. Africa has not only the highest slum growth rate in the world (4.5 per cent), but also the highest urban growth rate (4.5 per cent). The report further shows that the number of people living in rural areas will decline after 2015, while growth will be more intense in cities of Asia and Africa. These two regions are predicted to host 2.66 billion and 748 million people respectively in the year 2030 (UN-Habitat, 2007).

Countries in Africa which used to depend on agricultural products to feed their growing city population are now facing high rates of urbanisation. People are abandoning their rural life styles and migrating into cities in search of better life. Observing the world's urbanisation rates in the cities today, it is evident that in the years to come cities will host more people than imagined before. In developed countries, rapid urbanisation took place with industrialisation; this is not the case in developing countries. Instead, cities are facing rapid growth with little or no significant industrialisation. Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Asia, and Western Asia are leading in terms of rapid growth of slums (Table 1).

Table 1: Urban and slum growth rate by region

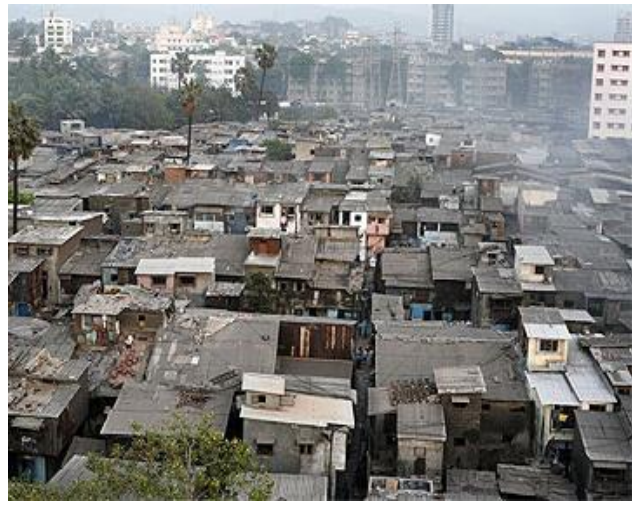
	Regions	Urban growth rate	Slum growth rate
Urban growth significantly higher than slum growth	Latin America and the Caribbean	2.21	1.28
	Northern Africa	2.48	-0.15
	Eastern Asia	3.39	2.28
	South-Eastern Asia	3.82	1.34
Urban and slum growth similar	Western Asia	2.96	2.71
	Southern Asia	2.89	2.20
	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.58	4.53
Developed world		0.75	0.72
World		2.24	2.22

Source: UN-HABITAT 2005, Global Urban Observatory.

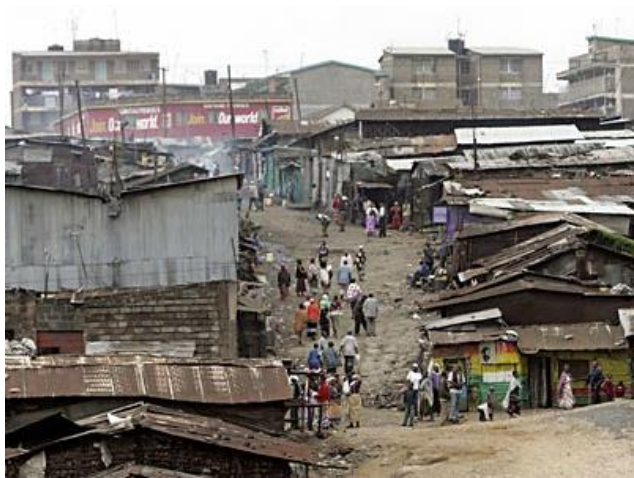
As cities develop, some slums become less visible or more integrated into the urban fabric. Many however, have become permanent features of the urbanscape. In different parts of the world from Mumbai to Rio de Janeiro, poor people are struggling to attain basic needs especially ‘shelter’. They settle on land or sites they can afford and access including hilly landscapes, flood plains/wetlands and open land. Figure 2 provides a glimpse of the character of slums in selected cities; some of the cases depict the main spatial image and quality of the city, overcrowding and poor basic services are increasingly compromising health and safety of inhabitants.



Source: <http://raumgegenzement.blogspot.de/images/slums799434.jpg>



Source: <http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/slums.jpg>



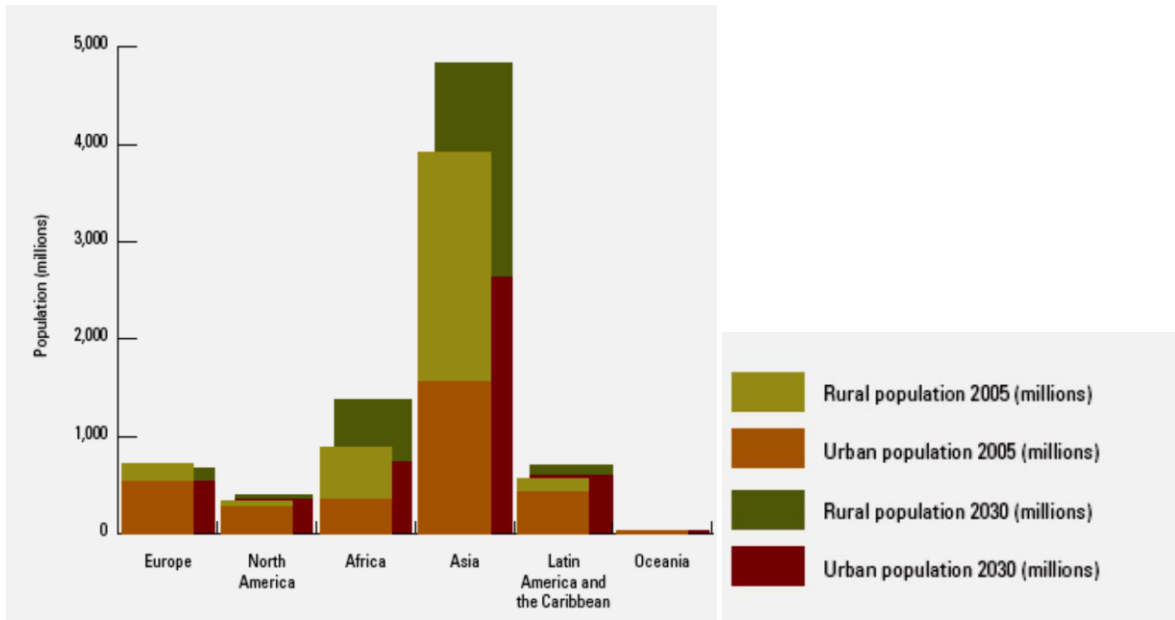
Source: http://img.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2007/12_02/KenyaSlumR_468x301.jpg



Source: http://growabrain.typepad.com/photos/uncategorized/manila_slums.jpg

Figure 2: Slums in different parts of the world e.g. Nairobi and Manila

Slums have carved their way into modern day cities, creating their distinct category of human settlements that have to be looked at over and above the traditional rural-urban dichotomy (UN-Habitat, 2007). Figure 3 highlights the projection of rural-urban population up to year 2030.



Source: *State of the World's Cities, UN- Habitat, 2007*

Figure 3: Rural and urban population by region 2005 and 2030

Asia is estimated to have the highest urban and rural population followed by Africa. The latter underline an alarming situation with regard particularly to delivery or meeting the need for basic services including decent housing for the booming population. It is a challenge to households especially the urban poor as well as to urbanisation.

Several studies have underscored the important role played in the informal sector; in Tanzania actors in land and housing delivery in urban areas (Kombe (1995; 2005; Kombe and Kreibich (2000) and Lupala (2002). Others have underscored importance of informal housing in accommodating livelihoods through their transformation Nguluma (2003) and Sheuya (2004). Other scholarly works include Kyessi's (2002) study on land servicing; and Kombe and Kreibich (2006) research on the informal land governance and Magigi (2004) who documented the importance of community involvement in decision making processes focusing on the 1995 National Land Policy. Also, Burra (2006) has investigated the community initiatives in land-use planning and management of informal settlements; his study focused on the role of CBO's

(Community Based Organisations), NGO's (Non-Governmental Organisations) and the like in management of such settlements. How the urban environment is affected by homebuilders' responses to crime is analysed in Bulamile (2009). On the other hand an investigation on open spaces and their meanings was done by Lekule (2004), while Mrema (2008) studied open spaces as everyday architecture in informal settlements. Besides, the formal and informal dichotomies and integration in housing delivery systems in Tanzania have been discussed by Salehe (2007) and Mushumbusi (2011); both scholars underscored the role of the government in providing decent and affordable housing for citizens.

From the literature reviewed, and to the best of my knowledge, there has not been a study that specifically examines the socio-economic structure of inhabitants in informal settlements including the opportunities and challenges they give rise to. In this study, the existence of mixed income groups in informal settlements is seen as an opportunity to a better understanding of the potential of informal settlements especially in third world countries; Kombe (1995) correctly argues that:

Most of the literature on informal settlements disregards the heterogeneity nature of informal settlements, leading to incomplete descriptions. In other words, characterising informal settlements as areas which have insecure land tenure and are un-serviced, unstructured, or uncontrolled (*without acknowledgement of their unique socio-economic and spatial features*) seems to be an extreme generalisation (addition and emphasis by the author).

In order to derive knowledge to inform urban land management, the character of informal settlements which is associated with socio-economic heterogeneity and dynamics; an in-depth study of the issue of socio-economic heterogeneity is needed. Mark Napier's study on informal settlements integration, the environment and sustainable livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa calls for the need to conduct location specific studies on informal settlements due to the uniqueness of each; he makes an important observation, noting:

The drivers and pressures that lead to the formation and growth of informal settlements are likely to be almost unique to each settlement, let alone to each city or town. Similarly, their impacts and official responses are country specific. What is also unique to specific localities are the socio-cultural advantages and disadvantages of living in informal settlements, or what social and

economic functions informal settlements play for residents. The link between informal settlements formation, consolidation and sustainable livelihoods, or how people use informal settlements as a way to survive, are areas in need of focus, settlement-specific study².

The need to study the mixed socio-economic groups observed in most informal settlements in Tanzania, focusing on their opportunities and challenges take the cue from the foregoing observations.

1.2 Research issue

Unprecedented urbanisation in Dar es Salaam poses a serious problem to the city authorities as its capacity to keep pace with providing infrastructure and public services in residential areas is severely strained (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000). Although most of the literature on informal settlements perceives such settlements as habitats for the poor; in Tanzania many informal settlements accommodate a mixture of social income groups. In many settlements, the affluent and the poor live side by side, and interact in many ways.

In recent years, there have however, been increasing efforts by the affluent settlers in informal settlements to erect fences around their compounds or houses, thus reducing social interaction particularly between neighbours (Bulamile, 2009). Often, the erection of fences (block wall) and other measures which are often taken to enhance privacy, security and value of the property, may encroach on and undermine public interests especially in cases where they encroach upon access roads, footpaths, communal areas or recreational open spaces.

Resolution of such conflicts is a complex process because parties involved often claim rights to exclude others or want to exercise their rights to enhance their security and privacy, especially as housing densities increase. On the other hand, the existence of affluent persons many of whom may be enlightened may offer opportunities to mobilise local potentials including resources and initiatives needed to improve governance in such settlements including improvement of delivery of basic infrastructure services such as potable water supply, accessibility and even security. This study aims to explore the nature of potentials and challenges posed by the existence of mixed

² <http://www.grif.umontreal.ca/pages/i-rec%20papers/napier.PDF> (accessed 06/11/2010)

socio-economic groups in informal settlements; it includes an assessment of what can be done to optimise utilisation of inherent potentials and mitigation of emerging conflicts.

1.3 Specific objectives

In order to explore the aforementioned issue, four objectives are outlined, as follows:

- To analyse factors that give rise to the formation of mixed socio-economic groups (low, middle and high income) in informal housing settlements;
- To analyse how mixed socio-economic groups influence settlement growth and quality of the physical environment as well as their consequences on the everyday life of residents;
- To analyse potentials, challenges and conflict resolution processes in mixed socio-economic income groups in informal settlements;
- To make recommendations on how to minimise conflicts arising from socio-economic heterogeneity in informal settlements.

1.4 Research questions

Consistent with the research objectives, the key research questions for this study are:

- What gives rise to the emergence of mixed socio-economic groups (low, middle and high income) in informal housing settlements?
- How do mixed socio-economic groups influence settlement growth and quality of the physical environment and their consequences on the everyday life of residents?
- What are the potentials, challenges and conflict resolution processes in mixed socio-economic income groups in informal settlements?
- How can these challenges emerging from the socio-economic heterogeneity in informal settlements be checked or minimised?

1.5 Significance of the research

Contribution to knowledge by unveiling the forces and factors shaping mixed socio-economic composition of settlers in informal settlements and relating them with opportunities to improve land management and overall governance in informal settlements - especially regarding housing and land development. The study will draw lessons to professionals involved in managing urban land and most importantly inform public policy making and review. Beneficiaries include policy-

makers, local communities in informal settlements, land managers and administrators, urban planners and architects in Tanzania.

1.6 Scope of the study

Formality or informality is practiced in different forms in Tanzania including land development, business and trading, employment practices and the like. This study focuses on informality in land development which creates informal settlements. Informal settlements exist in different types. There are settlements that are predominantly occupied by the low-income group; others are dominated by the middle income group such as Kimara, Mbezi Luisi, Sitakishari and another category is those that consist of mixed socio-economic groups such settlements include Mlalakuwa, Makongo and Changanyikeni all located in Dar es Salaam. Although some of the discussions cover informal settlements in general, the focus and main concern of this study is on informal settlements that are of a mixed character i.e. are composed of low, middle and high-income settlements. Although informal settlements exist in other urban areas this study has narrowed down the discussion to Dar es Salaam and Makongo settlement in particular. Socio-economic aspects in the settlement have been discussed; however, emphasis is on the opportunities and challenges that relate particularly to housing area improvement. Also, there are land policies, regulations and laws that concern rural development but this study focuses on the urban built environment.

1.7 Structure of the research report

This research report has Three Parts that have been broken down into ten chapters. Part one consists of chapter one, two, three, four and five. The First Chapter gives an introduction to the research, highlighting the background of the study, the research issue, the aim of the research and objectives. It also presents the main questions that guided the research throughout; the previous studies that relate to the study and the gap this study aims to fill together with the significant and limitations are also presented in the chapter. The Second Chapter deals with a broader overview of informal settlements and its context. It highlights examples at a global level (worldwide), regional level (Africa) as well as the history, challenges, responses, and reasons for the existence of informal settlements. The Third Chapter zooms into the context of the study area; Tanzania

and Dar es Salaam in particular. It discusses the growth of Dar es Salaam, urban planning, history, the existence and nature of informal settlements of Dar es Salaam. Legal, political, socio-economic influences in urban development are discussed in the Fourth Chapter highlighting the role and challenges of the law, government, private sector, individual developers in housing provision Dar es Salaam. Chapter Five gives methodologic overview on how the research was done including the strategy and design.

Part two of the report is devoted to the empirical part of the research. The case study settlement of Makongo is discussed in detail in Chapter Six; its history, location as well as results from the data collected. Chapter Seven analyses the empirical data and information in the study area focusing on why mixed informal settlements exist, the dos and don'ts that are prescribed informally by community members, policies and realities on ground. Information was also collected from various media organisations including Television dialogues, broadcasts and newspapers. This is discussed in Chapter Eight. The third Part consists of chapter nine and ten which gives the reflections as well as recommendations and conclusions of the study.

2. CONTEXT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

2.1 A global overview

2.1.1 Urban informality

The concept of informality has been applied in various contexts including urban studies in many developing countries. Description of informality has been based on socio-economic attributes, housing types and land and house development patterns. Different names are used to refer to specific local contexts of informal settlements including, ‘*ranchos*’ in Venezuela, ‘*callampas*’ and ‘*campamentos*’ in Chile, ‘*favelas*’ in Brazil, ‘*barriadas*’ in Peru, ‘*villas misarias*’ in Argentina, ‘*colonias letarias*’ in Mexico, ‘*barong-barong*’ in Philippines, ‘*kevettits*’ in Burma, ‘*gecekondu*’ in Turkey, ‘*bastee*’, ‘*juggi – johmpri*’ in India³. The first published definition was synonymous with ‘racket’ or ‘criminal trade’ in the convict writer James Hardy Vaux’s 1812 ‘*Vocabulary of the Flash Language*’. The term ‘slum⁴’ (‘room in which low goings-on occurred’), has been also in use since the nineteenth century. Genteel writers comfortably used this word which was a street slang word transformed by Cardinal Wiseman. Slums became an international phenomenon in the mid-century and were identified in France, America, and India (Yelling, 1986 cited in Davis, 2007:21).

Others have described informal settlements giving them different names highlighting positive and negative attitudes as well as approaches towards them. For example, terminologies such as squatters, low-income settlements, semi-permanent settlements, spontaneous settlements, unauthorised settlements, unplanned settlements, uncontrolled settlements have been also used⁵. Those who have sympathised with informality have used the terms self-help society, voluntary sector, informal sector (Burra, 2006).

Mike Davis in his book ‘Planet of Slums’ examined various slums around the world and characterised them as being overcrowded, having inadequate access to safe water and sanitation, and having insecurity of tenure. He asserts that the operational definition adopted by UN in

³ <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squater.html> accessed 12.05.2011

⁴ In this study, the terms slum and informal settlements are used inter-changeably

⁵ <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squater.html> accessed 12.05.2011

October, 2002 was restricted to the physical and the legal characteristics of informal settlements, thus escaping the social dimension which it regards as a difficult attribute to measure.

According to Hari Srinivas, the term ‘squatter settlements’ has been in use for a long time; as observed in the writings by Abraham, Turner and Payne;

Abraham (1964) illustrates squatting as a process of ‘conquest’ of city areas for the purpose of shelter, defined both by the law of force and the force of law. Turner (1969) takes a positive outlook and portrays squatter settlements as highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban areas of developing countries. Payne (1977) similarly puts the development of squatter settlements in the overall perspective of urban growth in the third world and its inevitability. After the Habitat Conference of 1976 in Vancouver, calls for a concerted and dedicated approach towards solving the problems of *informal settlements intensified*⁶.

It can be thus argued that positivity towards informal settlements prevails in many countries including Tanzania where more than 70 per cent of urban dwellers are accommodated. Settlements have been termed ‘informal’, a description which implies that they are not built or developed according to the formal urban land development regulations and standards. A dichotomy exists within the urban system in most developing countries, with a small proportion of the system being planned, and by and large meeting the formal norms such as having an approved plan, layout, adhering to statutory land access and many of land development control protocols. In Indonesia, (Jakarta) for example informal settlements occupy disputed land, state land, and private unoccupied land. In Nairobi, informal settlements among other characteristics, owners of housing structures have either quasi legal or no rights at all and that majority of the inhabitants are low or very low income groups (Young, 2010).

Napier Mark, writing on ‘informal settlement integration, the environment and sustainable livelihood in Sub-Sahara Africa argues that there are challenges in giving a universal definition of informal settlements, but scholars can agree on their core characteristics that they are settlements created in the process of self-help, most of them are occupied by the poor and are

⁶ <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squater.html> accessed 12.05.2011

poorly serviced. The description given by Mark is not exhaustive; it leaves out questions of context such as physical location and conditions, institutional, legislative, regulatory and most importantly socio-economic structure of the settlers or households. He further observes that information about current state of informal housing in Sub-Saharan Africa is fairly patchy⁷.

Different from slums, the general context that describes a wide range of low income settlements and poor human living conditions which includes physical, spatial, social and behavioural criterion, informal settlements can also be defined as those areas whereby persons, or settlers, assert their land rights or occupy land which is not registered in their names, or government land, or legally occupied (Kibwana, 2000a:110). On the other hand, squatters are people who occupy land or buildings without the explicit permission of the owner (UN-Habitat, 2003:82). It is noteworthy that the description of informal settlements also raises questions of the context of settlements such as physical location and conditions, institutional context of settlements (government and non-government supporters or opposers of informal settlements), legislative and regulatory conditions. Rapid expanding informal settlements comprise of a wide range of structures from simple shacks to permanent structures, with population having a wide range of diversity in social, tribal and economical backgrounds, thus escaping most of the definitions given by scholars (Binya and Ikpoki, 2006).

2.1.2 Informal settlements in history

The history of slums goes back to the 1880s where the first ‘favela’ in Rio de Janeiro was found. Other mega-slums have developed in 1960s. In 1957 the Ciudad Nezahualcoyotl, a poor suburb in Mexico had barely 10,000 residents, a population that has grown recently to reach three million. Another slum that started back in 1960 is sprawling Manshiel Nasir which is located outside Cairo. This slum was originally a camp for construction workers. In 1965, the Karachi vast hill slum of Oragi/Baldia, was founded having a mixed population of refugees from India and Pathans from the Afghan border (Davis, 2007:27).

⁷ <http://www.grif.umontreal.ca/pages/i-rec%20papers/napier.PDF> accessed 03/12/2010

The number of slums around the world is around 200,000 with a population from a few hundreds to more than a million. In southern Asia, five great metropolises (Karachi, Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, and Dhaka) alone contain about 15,000 different slum communities with a total population surpassing 20 million. Mega slums arise when shanty towns and squatter communities amalgamate in continuous belts of informal housing and poverty, usually on the urban periphery (Davis, 2007:26). Urban projections (Figure 4) indicate that by year 2050, developing countries will be leading in terms of urban population compared to the developed ones. It further shows that Asia and Africa will have higher total population than Europe, Latin America and Oceania.

The global trends unquestionably show that regardless of what names we give informal or unplanned settlements, their genesis and character, growth and densification in most developing countries continues. This implies that there is a need to better understand them and find measures to respond to and or address challenges which they exhibit, taking into account their contextual factors and potentials.

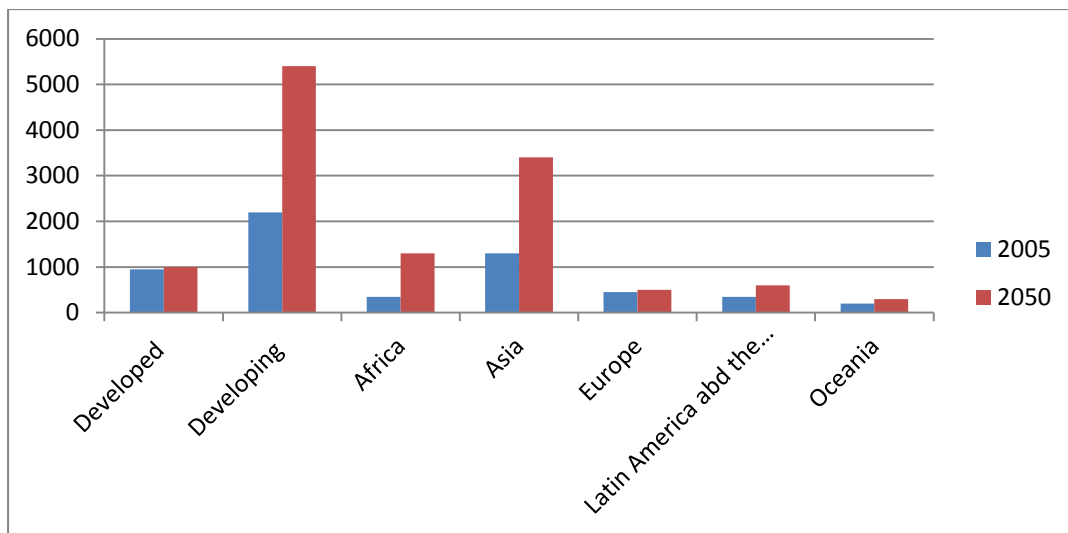


Figure 4: Urban population projection by regions 2005-2050

Note: Asia does not include Japan

Source: UN-Habitat, 2008

2.1.3 Informal settlements and poverty

Efforts and literature on informal settlements in developing countries especially in the Sub-Saharan African countries have focused on their main features including: appalling living conditions, marginalisation and exclusion, material and social deprivation (Binya and Ikpoki, 2006). Most informal settlements are described as being overcrowded areas of a city, in which the housing is typically in bad conditions, primarily occupied by the poor. Many are built through self-help initiatives by families using initially temporary building materials, but modified at a later stage depending on financial capabilities (Nguluma, 2003).

Mike Davis (2007:22) asserts that classical slums were characterised by dilapidated housing, overcrowding, disease, and poverty. He associates slums with 'dirt' quoting the new Department of Labor, in the first 'scientific' survey of American tenement life (The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, 1894), which defined a slum as an area of dirty back streets, especially when inhabited by a squalid and criminal population. On the other hand, he underscores the fact that slum dwelling cannot necessarily be associated with poverty. 'Not all urban poor, to be sure, live in slums, nor are all slum dwellers poor' (Davis, 2007:25).

Studies in urban poverty by Friedrich Engels, Henry Mayhew, Charles Booth, and Jacob Riis, created footsteps to the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) which culminated in a two century scientific reconnaissance of slum life that began with James Whitelaw's 1805 '*Survey of Poverty in Dublin*'.

Spatial concentration of urban poverty is common in Africa and Middle East, while in South Asia they are widely spread throughout the urban fabric. In Lima, most of the poor live in three great periphery *conos*. The situation of Kolkata is not far from other slums around the world; here the extent goes to a big number of people sharing small rooms.

Table 2: Urban population living in slums by region, 1990-2010

Major region or area	Urban slums population (thousands)					
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2007	2010
Developing Regions	656,739	718,114	766,762	795,739	806,910	827,690
North Africa	19,731	18,417	14,729	10,708	11,142	11,836
Sub – Saharan Africa	102,588	123,210	144,683	169,515	181,030	199,540
Latin America and the Carribean	105,740	111,246	115,192	110,105	110,554	110,763
Eastern Asia	159,754	177,063	192,265	195,463	194,020	189,621
Southern Asia	180,449	190,276	194,009	192,041	191,735	190,748
South – Eastern Asia	69,029	76,079	81,942	84,013	83,726	88,912
Western Asia	19,068	21,402	23,481	33,388	34,179	35,713
Oceania	379	421	462	505	524	556
Proportion of urban population living in slums %						
Major region or area	1990	1995	2000	2005	2007	2010
Developing Regions	46.1	42.8	39.3	35.7	34.3	32.7
North Africa	34.4	28.3	20.3	13.4	13.4	13.3
Sub – Saharan Africa	70	67.6	65	63	62.4	61.7
Latin America and the Carribean	33.7	31.5	29.2	25.5	24.7	23.5
Eastern Asia	43.7	40.6	37.4	33	31.1	28.2
Southern Asia	57.2	51.6	45.8	40	38	35
South – Eastern Asia	49.5	44.8	39.6	34.2	31.9	31
Western Asia	22.5	21.6	20.6	25.8	25.2	24.6
Oceania	24.1	24.1	24.1	24.1	24.1	24.1

Source: UN-Habitat, *Global Urban Observatory* cited in *UN-Habitat State of the World's Cities, 2010/2011*

The poorest urban population, however, can be observed in some cities of the African continent; Luanda, Maputo, Kinshasa, and Latin America, i.e. Bolivia-Cochabamba, (Davis, 2007:24-25). For African cities, many will double or even triple their urban population in 10 to 20 years (World Bank, 1993:12 cited in Fekade, 2000).

For instance, only ‘the conurbation around Lagos could boast 24 million inhabitants by the year 2015 (New Scientist, 1995:42 in Fekade, 2000). In south and East Asia alone it is forecasted that by 2025 there will be 20 megacities, i.e. with populations over million inhabitants (Montagnon, 1997 cited in Fekade, 2000).

These estimations are alarming and will largely influence the people living in these cities. Housing is still going to be a huge challenge to governments and all those in charge of housing delivery including inhabitants of informal settlements, planners and architects. If preparations are not made early the problems associated with rapid population will increase with time, particularly because land conflicts, including depletion of areas for public use increase as housing density rise. This underlines the need to understand and acknowledge or tap the latent potentials which informal housing developers have. This includes the diversified nature of its

occupants which in cases like Tanzania include both the urban poor as well as the affluent i.e. middle and high income.

2.1.4 Challenges in accessing land for housing

Enabling all urban residents to have formal access to housing land has been a major challenge in many developing countries. There are environmental, physical and socioeconomic factors that describe (informal) urban development (Table 3). The existence of informal settlements in most countries is closely linked to the failure of the formal housing provision systems, poor national and local economic performance, failure of the urban planning and governance of urban development as well as deterioration of urban infrastructure (Stern and White 1989; UNCHS 1996 cited in Sliuzas, 2004).

Land tenure is an important factor of land development, primarily because ‘informal’ land development sector depends on land tenure system. For instance, in Tanzania, because of existence of multiple land tenure system (statutory, informal and customary), most home builders in informal settlements have accessed housing land from informal or customary land occupiers; primarily because the statutory system is unable to meet their needs. This has given rise to the dichotomisation of urban land development system into formal and informal or legal and illegal, this however tends to ignore the diversity of housing situations that are characteristics features of urbanisation in developing countries today. Once there is informal housing land development in an area, it consolidates over time and eventually becomes saturated. In order to understand the complexities involved, it is necessary to examine their characteristics as discussed by Sliuzas, (2004).

Table 3: Important factors describing (informal) urban development

Main factors	Examples of useful variables	Explanations
Environmental (i.e. site conditions)	<p>Slope of terrain (often on fragile/Ground water levels and soil drainage capacity)</p> <p>Soil bearing capacity</p> <p>Environmental hazards (risk of flooding, landslides or earthquake damage etc.)</p>	<p>Some factors such as slope may usually be quite stable over time. However, conditions in a settlement can change as a result of exogenous factors. For example, increased construction in the surroundings of a built-up area may increase surface water run-off and increase the risk of flooding or landslides.</p>
Physical – Spatial (i.e. development of site and environs)	<p>Building materials and quality of construction</p> <p>Housing types use of land and buildings</p> <p>Density</p> <p>Structure and condition of road layout</p> <p>Quality and quantity of infrastructure provision (water supply, sanitation, electricity, solid waste, telecommunications)</p> <p>Proximity to social services (employment, education, schools, transport etc.)</p>	<p>Typical factors that are either the direct result of the construction and/or the use of buildings or infrastructure on available land.</p> <p>Many of these factors are potentially very dynamic as they depend on the amount of public and private investment taking place in a given locality. For example, in a period of rapid urbanization much unauthorised house construction may occur prior to infrastructure being provided.</p> <p>Also, if initial capital investment is not followed by maintenance expenditure the quality and value of investments will decline, contributing to a general neighbourhood decline in living conditions.</p>
Socioeconomic	<p>Land tenure</p> <p>Housing tenure</p> <p>Value of land and property</p> <p>Community organisations</p> <p>Demographic characteristics (household size, income, expenditure, age, education, employment, morbidity and mortality or livelihoods)</p> <p>Economic activities</p>	<p>Issues that describe the legal status of land holdings and building occupancy and use. While not static, the large scale change of tenure relationships is generally quite complex and not modified or regularised without considerable public expenditure. The nature of the population is however more dynamic. In addition to natural changes due to demographic processes, the characteristics of some areas may vary rapidly due to the rapid absorption of new urban migrant households.</p>

Source: Sliuzas, 2004

2.1.5 Responses to the existence of informal settlements

Despite the varying perceptions about informal settlements, they are playing a critical role in solving the shelter problems of the most urban poor through provision of low income rental and homeowners housing. They are also providing sources of livelihoods including working and income generating opportunities especially home based production or employment activities.

Hari Srinivas⁸ in '*Defining Squatter Settlements*', underscores the need to change attitude towards squatting due to it being an inevitable phenomena.

As long as large urban areas offer economies of scale and agglomeration economies, large cities will always continue to grow attracting migrants from rural and smaller urban areas, leading to more squatting. There is no universal 'quick-fix' solution that can solve all the problems of squatting in all parts of the developing world. Considering the inevitability of squatting, the need is primarily for a change in attitude towards squatting, squatters and squatter settlements.

The attitude Srinivas is advocating for includes the need for governments to create enabling environments where by people using their own generated resources are facilitated to find unique local solutions to solve their shelter problems instead of using confrontationist attitude. The State of the World's Cities 2006/7 report alludes to two outcomes of urbanisation:

The good news is that urbanisation can also be a positive force for human development...The wealth generated by cities does not automatically lead to poverty reduction; on the contrary, in many cities, inequalities between the rich and the poor have grown, as have the sizes and proportions of slum populations.

The above statement implies that urbanisation without industrialisation is accelerating social-spatial imbalances and economic struggles. Unfortunately, many governments both local and central have so far not done much to pro-actively guide spatial structure of settlements which in most cities comprise over 60 percent of the housing stock. The failure of the slum clearance approaches, site and service and squatter upgrading strategies of the 1960s, 70s and 80s demonstrated the exorbitant costs of retrofitting unsustainable settlement structures, leaving the state at crossroads (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006). This is a challenge to the upgrading of informal settlements and their integration into the urban fabric which is a necessary step towards creating a more equitable and liveable cities. It is also an outcome of urbanisation in poverty in the cities of developing countries. On the other hand, regularisation and formalisation of informal settlements including issues of licenses does not seem to provide a sustainable solution to the

⁸ <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squater.html> accessed 12.05.2011

problem of proliferation of informality in urban areas because it is a reactive and not a proactive intervention in the informal settlement (ibid).

When an informal settlement is dominantly occupied by low income people, it is easy to impose new policies, decisions or regulations (of which most are socio-politically oriented) on them because they have no economic power to fight back or adequate knowledge about their rights. But when an informal settlement is composed of a mixed socio-economic group of people i.e. having a heterogeneous socio-economic character, the chances of imposing new policies on them are lower. There are cases where evictions have occurred (Table 4) among low-income groups living in informal settlements especially in the inner city, in order to give way to redevelopment to better the developments. Most people were pushed to create new settlements on edges of the city. Again when there is high demand of land for urban development in expanding cities, same people are in danger of facing a second eviction (Davis, 2007:101-102). Famous evictions in the world have happened from year 1950 to 2005; the highest population was evicted during the 1995-96 period in Rangoon where 1,000,000 people were evicted; followed by Seoul in 1988 involving 800,000 people and Harare in year 2005 where people evicted reached more than 750,000.

Table 4: Some of the main slum eviction globally

Years	City	Number evicted
1950	Hong Kong	107,000
1965 - 74	Rio de Janeiro	139,000
1972 - 76	Dakar	90,000
1976	Mumbai	70,000
1986 - 92	Santo Domingo	180,000
1988	Seoul	800,000
1990	Lagos	300,000
1990	Nairobi	40,000
1995 - 96	Rangoon	1,000,000
1995	Beijing	100,000
2001- 03	Jakarta	500,000
2005	Harare	750,000+

Source: Diverse news-papers as cited in Davis, 2007:102

These evictions do not seem to have stalled or arrested growth of informal settlements, particularly in third world cities.

2.2 Informal settlements - a challenging reality in different cities of the world

2.2.1 Informal settlements in Istanbul

Turkey is centred neither in the impoverished Third World nor in the industrialised West, but has experienced speedy urban growth and correlated modernised social tensions attendant with its headlong pitch into the European Union⁹.

From the 1950s to the late 1970s urban land and housing markets in Istanbul were characterised by a speculative boom. This was as a result of a high demand for and the relatively limited supply of urban land and housing. Formal sector construction, including public housing and credits, comprises only a third of the houses constructed in Istanbul between 1973 and 1978. Informal markets provided the other two thirds. Within the framework of the 1961 constitution and the first five year development plan for Turkey, government policies sought to come to terms with informal settlements. Most of the existing settlements in Istanbul were designated as upgrading areas, but deadlines for setting the boundaries of upgrading areas were continually extended to exempt newly constructed *gecekondus*¹⁰.

The ‘*gecekondus*’, version of a squatter or informal settlement in Turkey, indicates a situation of a country with European ambitions yet still shaped by third world realities i.e. informal land developments. The formal system however, does not have a monopoly in shaping housing delivery system. On the contrary, the observed outcome in the housing sector is profoundly guided through informal institutions that emerge and thrive to cope with changing economic conditions and new interventions¹¹. At the beginning, the informal settlements were built overnight by the immigrants who were marginalised in economic, social as well physical space. Then in the 1950s, the settlements were so temporary and did not seem as a big threat to the authorities. The flourishing of the construction industry created opportunities for immigrants to be accepted by providing cheap labour. Between 1960 and 1970 the informal settlements seem to

9

http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=EJ747441&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=EJ747441 accessed 22.10.2010

¹⁰ http://www.neduet.edu.pk/Arch_2Jne/Arch11/JRAP-2001/JRAP%201/Istanbul-ZY.pdf accessed 22.10.2010

¹¹ <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/47/7/1479.full.pdf+html> accessed 22.10.2010

have gained a permanent character, leading to the authorities being concerned and considering their integration into the urban housing stock through upgrading (Tansi, 2004). The marginal workers status had undergone evolution from ‘marginal’ to ‘informal’ then to ‘peripheral’ labour force. Some formalising institutions began to appear in ‘gecekondu’ settlements where they included the extension of land title to gecekondu dwellers, upgrading of gecekondu neighbourhoods, granting amnesty to gecekondu dwellings, the extension of development rights and commercialisation and densification in gecekondu settlements¹². The history of Gecekondus shows that they were originally homogeneously occupied by immigrants of the lower class who with time went through evolution in economy, culture and space. Now an emerging diversity is occurring creating a heterogeneous situation. At the same time, a new category is in use tending to homogenise in negative terms this diversity grouping together the gecekondu population under one umbrella characterised by violence, social disorder, political radicalism, social conflict and cultural inferiority¹³.

2.2.2 The vertical segregation in Naples – an example

Italian cities started facing a deceleration in demographic expansions in the early 1970s. 15 years later, the top 12 Italian cities which accommodated 18.1 per cent of the Italian population in 1981, dropped to 15.6 per cent. This was a counter-urbanisation process which also affected immigration. Between 1981 and 1996 only 23 per cent of the 860,000 immigrants settled in major cities. Since 1993 the growth rate had been negative but was balanced by migration. The prediction of the population by 2020 is about 58 million¹⁴.

Naples has the third highest population in Italy with 9,102 inhabitants per km² and has one of the densest populations in Europe. Taking into account both the urbanistic dimensions and socio-economic conditions of the residents, the decaying residential areas can be classified into; historic residential periphery, recent public city, unauthorised city, new periphery and decaying central pockets. As in many countries in Europe, the term ‘slums’ is used in Naples, officially describing habitat where housing maintenance is poor, where secondary city services (health, education, social and cultural facilities) are lacking, where income is low, and social indicators are clearly below the city average. The existence of mixed social classes and incomes

¹² <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/47/7/1479.full.pdf+html> accessed 22.10.2010

¹³ <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/38/7/983.full.pdf+html> accessed 18.03.2012

¹⁴ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Naple.pdf accessed 03.06.2011

can be found except for the case of the gipsy camps (ibid); suggesting that slums are not areas for the poor only or areas for specific social group.

The formation into groups is done vertically with the wealthy at the first floor, less wealthy tenants at the second floor and the lower group on the upper, attics and ground floor opening to the courtyard or the street (ibid). It is not a very common practice in other contexts. For example in most African cities, multi-storey buildings are largely occupied by upper income people not low income; some of the exception is low income block of flats such as Michenzani in Zanzibar. Upper floors are mostly believed to have a nice external view, air circulation, light, balconies for relaxation as well as far from the dust and noises of the streets than the lower floors.

2.2.3 Influence of social inequality on the spread of informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro has been facing housing intervention challenges including the spread of informal settlements. At the end of the 19th century urbanisation process in Brazil took on an increased dynamism. Cities acquired importance in the territorial organisation of the country. Urbanisation was strongly tied with industrialisation in the first half of the 20th century. Social inequality was and is still high in Brazil especially in the metropolitan regions. Slums or informal settlements in Brazil can be categorised into four types; ‘favelas’ (squatter settlements), loteamentos irregulares or clandestinos’ (illegal subdivisions), invasões (invasions) and cortiços¹⁵. Squatter settlements especially in the western zone occupy unbuilt areas. Different types of illegalities are found in the city making it difficult to recognise boundaries. Favelas are mostly found frequently occupying hilly sites. Hilly areas often have a good view to the lower levels of land and also have better ventilation and wind flows. Most people in tropic countries may wish to build on such plots in order to trap these advantages. Of late some have been found also on flat sites like the ‘Rio de Pedras’ settlement. This is a settlement on a swamp flooded area in the well-to-do expansion zone of ‘Barra da Tijuca’. Another settlement in the swampy area is ‘favela da Maré’.

¹⁵ Social housing formed by one or more buildings located in a single plot or shared rooms in a single building. The rooms are rented or sub-leased without any contract or legal basis. The dwellers share the use of bathrooms, kitchen and laundry, and sometimes, electrical appliances. Houses lack proper ventilation and lighting, are frequently overcrowded and one room may house many people and accommodate different uses. Services are deficient and do not have adequate maintenance required for good working and security (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Rio.pdf accessed 03.06.2011)

The high level of informality is accompanied with a lack of infrastructure and services. Fast urbanisation processes were never followed by policies on housing, sanitation, education and health; leading to existence of slums. Although the access to housing has improved, yet the amount of slums and risks that comes with them is still high in the metropolitan region. The lower income group is facing most challenges. 1.3 million permanent informal dwellings were observed in 1998 with 79.8 percent located in the metropolitan region (Governo Federal, SEDU, 2000)¹⁶.

In the 1920s the city housed around 2 million people. This is the time when the first plan (Plan Ageche) was developed. The plan followed a segregated functionalist principle. The Boroughs of Ipanema, Leblon, and Gavea were reserved for the upper class. The suburbs were for the working class and the ‘favelas’ needed to be eradicated. In the 1950s the suburbs were so crowded leaving the swamps, steep hills, mangroves, and riverbanks. The spread of favelas was accelerated by the lack of housing and mass transport to attend the population that migrated to the city. Social housing in the north and suburbs by the government could not meet the high demand (ibid). The idea of slum clearance and attempt to force people to settle in the periphery could not be popular as trying to integrate the settlements in the urban system (by giving people titles, an activity which is normally accompanied by making people pay property taxes)¹⁷ but at the same time fusing a challenge and an administrative dilemma of giving people hope to continue with the informal development knowing that they will be integrated (Flint, 2011)¹⁸.

Apart from the use of the term ‘favela’, there are also other terms that are used to describe slums in the local languages in Brazil, they include; “*Cortiço*” and “*Morro*”. “*Comunidade*” – general terms frequently used to refer to slums; “*Loteamento*” – used to distinguish someone that lives in a settlement more regular than a favela; a broad term generally used to name illegal subdivisions. Others are “*Vilas periféricas*” – a recent term that refers to a typology frequent on the periphery of the city that is constituted by a row of bedrooms sharing kitchen and laundry facilities; and “*Vila, Parque and Jardim*” – terms used recently to characterise old illegal subdivisions that have received public infrastructure and services (ibid). These differences in a

¹⁶ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Rio.pdf accessed 03.06.2011

¹⁷ Source: <http://www.citiwire.net/post/2727> accessed 26.01.2012

¹⁸ Source: <http://www.citiwire.net/post/2727> accessed 26.01.2012

way also show that informality or slums in Rio are not homogeneous in conception, structure and content. They also suggest varying perceptions and in a way attitudes or policy inclinations towards informality in the Brazilian context.

2.2.4 Real estate developers and informal settlements in Mumbai

Mumbai accommodates one of the largest slums in Asia with 54 per cent of the population living in slums (2006) but occupy only six per cent of land. This in turn creates highly densely built neighbourhoods. Slums in Mumbai can be traced back to the 1960s; because of real estate developers whose housing products are too expensive, slums were encouraged. Other forces accelerating the growth of slums include: price and rental of the housing built by the profit oriented real estate developers without any subsidies or government pressure to consider the low-income group as part of the schemes. Also high land value in the city caused by the high cost of real estate development is another important factor; besides, poor housing policy (i.e. social housing, low-cost housing, subsidised housing, housing mortgage and finance, etc.) and lack of appropriate strategy to benefit the poor and low income groups; as well as lack of employment due to the decline of the large former employer, - the textile industry and the end of the port activity in 1980s. The shifting of the port to the new location in Navi Mumbai (Correa; 2007 cited in Salehe, 2007) also accentuated unemployment. Housing densification in Mumbai is very high. For instance some of the houses are located in pavements intended for pedestrians; they hardly have a width of two metres and the length can go up to four metres. There are also some real estate developers who build slums thus benefitting from renting to the poor people.

Navi-Mumbai was established as a satellite town for the purpose of decongesting Mumbai. Due to urban sprawl, instead of becoming a new town it ended up being an extension of Mumbai. In the city centre, land value is very high making renting expensive (Bindloss, 2006 cited in Salehe, 2007). The encroachment of the peri-urban area, makes the transportation system to the city centre more difficult (Joshi, 2007 cited in Salehe, 2007). Due to the expensive real estate systems that are in place, slums in Mumbai accommodate not only the very poor but the rich as well. For example, more than half of the employees of the port authority live in slums; About 22,000 port workers are accommodated in Wadalla slums, while about 16,000 of other port workers live in the port staff quarters (Mumbai Port Trust, 2007 cited in Salehe, 2007). The pavements in

Mumbai accommodate the different occupants at night from the ones during the day (Correa, 1968 cited in Salehe, 2007).

The normal procedure of getting informal land in Mumbai is by grabbing government land. Areas such as leftovers, post-industrial area sites from the textile mills, as well as the non - activated part of port authority and road reserves are encroached upon. No man's land like flood prone areas, marshy lands, steep sloped hills and under the bridges are also invaded. Types of houses that exist are of different styles including; stilt houses, single storey houses, one-and-a-half storey houses, two storey houses, motorised mobile houses, non-motorised mobile houses, outdoor (open-air) houses, floating (boat) houses, permanent pavement dwellings, temporary (one-night) pavement dwellings; Figure 5 illustrates some of these housing types. The primary and the most convenient and affordable method of housing delivery for the poor and low-income group is through incremental transformations (Salehe, 2007). The World Bank tried to intervene in the informal settlements in Mumbai by providing at least one toilet per 20 residents. That was the target but this could not be realised, instead only 1 toilet per 100 was achieved. The scheme seems not to have met the expectations of many (Davis, 2007:73). The example of Mumbai indicates that there are various groups of people living in informal settlements depending on what they can afford¹⁹.

¹⁹ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Mumbai.pdf , <http://www.ids-uva.nl/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/7-DeWit-and-Berner.pdf> , <http://artsytime.com/life-in-slums-of-mumbai/> accessed 18.03.2012



a. Stilt house



b. Single storey house



c. One-and-a-half storey house



d. Double storey house



e. Floating (boat) house



f. Open air house

Figure 5: Existing slum houses typology in Mumbai
Source: Salehe, 2007

2.3 Rapid urbanisation and informality in Africa

The proportion of slums differs in different parts of Africa. Records were provided by UN-Habitat for the years 1990, 2000, 2005 and 2010 as seen in Figure 6.

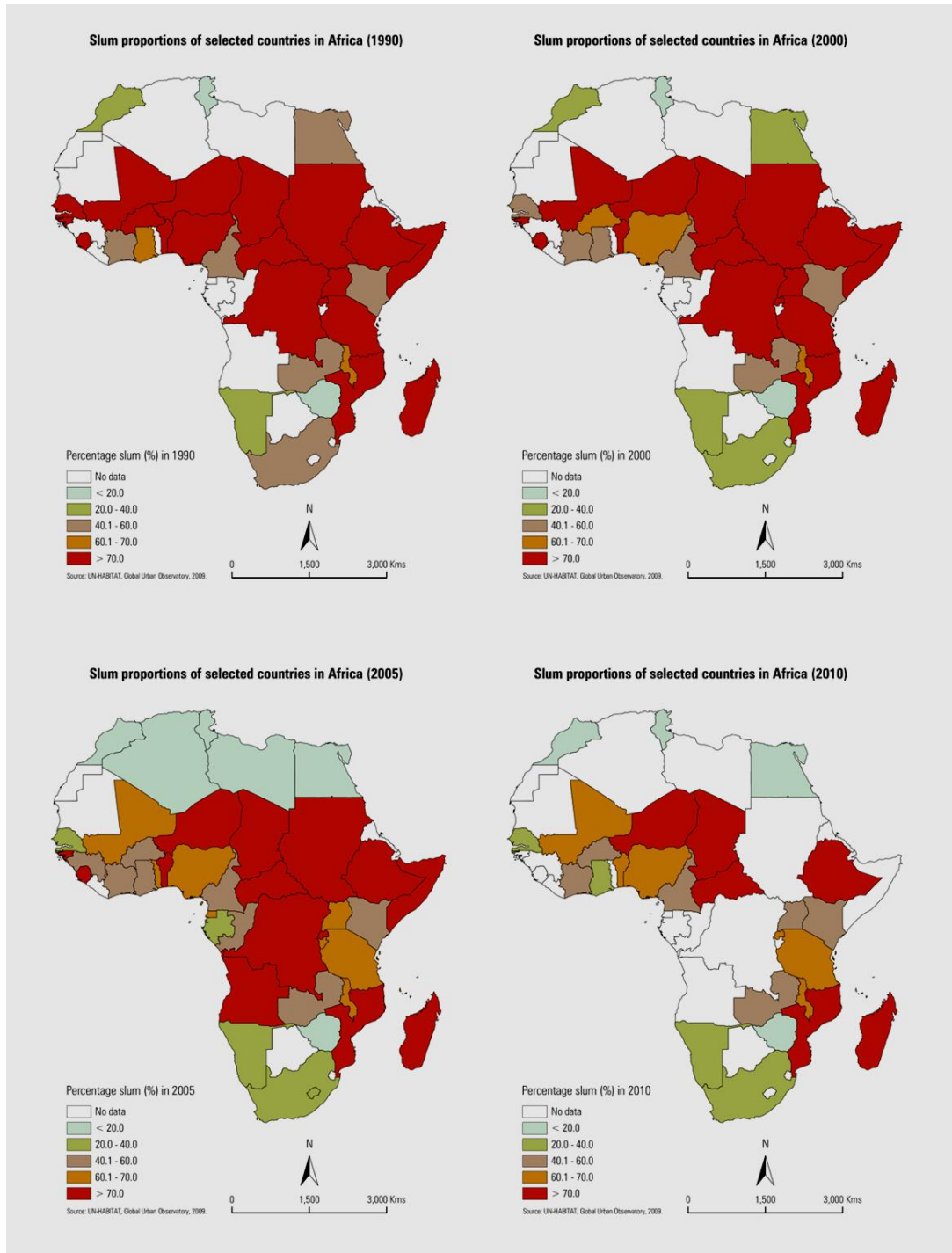


Figure 6: Percentage change in slum proportion in Africa between 1990 and 2010
Source: UN-Habitat, Global Urban Observatory cited in UN-Habitat State of the World's Cities, 2010/2011

2.3.1 Urban poverty - a factor fueling informal settlements

Increasing poverty and informal urbanisation are connected in several ways. In sub-Saharan Africa, urbanisation is not commensurate with economic development unlike Western Europe during the early industrialisation at the end of the nineteenth century. Although Africa is still considered a largely rural continent, over the last thirty years, it has had some of the highest rates of urbanisation in the world. Between 1990 and 2001, some countries had an urbanisation rate of 7 percent per annum (World Bank, 2003:314 cited in Kombe and Kreibich 1999). Due to poor economic performances during the same period, sustained urban population growth has been associated with urbanisation in poverty. Half of the population in Africa lives on less than one US dollar per day, meaning that in sub-Saharan Africa, poverty is also urbanising (Kreibich and Kombe, 1999). Africa is witnessing what Smith (1996:48 cited in Fekade 2000) calls ‘exploding cities in un-exploding economies’. A large part of this explosion is seen in widespread and unregulated informal settlements and slums; the latter house the bulk of the urban poor.

Informal settlements will continue to house many in sub-Saharan Africa. The informal sector not only provides housing for residence but also to sustain a living (Sheuya, 2004). The socio-economic dynamics in informal housing development have been extensively discussed by scholars such as ‘Turner, 1968; Kombe and Kreibich 2000; De Soto, 2000; Nguluma, 2003; Kombe and Kreibich, 2006; Tunnerfeldt and Ljung, 2006; Rakodi, 2006; Wells, 2007 and others’ (Sheuya, 2004). Between 70 percent to 95 percent of housing in developing countries in the last 30 to 40 years was built in informal settlements (Kombe 2000 cited in Sheuya, 2004). In Cairo, informal housing accounts for 80 percent of all new housing (Payne, 1989 cited in Sheuya, 2004). In short, increasing urban poverty is part of the problem which seems to be a major factor underpinning proliferation of informal housing or settlements. This is particularly because the state has no funds to provide basic infrastructure services imply that it cannot direct or control urban growth and form. In fact, even cases where housing plots have been planned, surveyed and allocated, many remain undeveloped for years if not decades, because of lack of basic services.

2.3.2 Land tenure

Secure tenure is one of the pre-conditions for an efficient working urban land or property markets. Land tenure arrangements that operate in many African countries can be grouped into

three types; formal or statutory, customary or indigenous, informal or non-statutory. An established statutory system of land law grounded in traditional principles can also be found in Botswana although it is not yet universally recognised. The Ghanaian system, although it incorporates customary land tenure system or stool land into the formal system, is judged to be one of the major factors that fuels informality in cities such as Accra and Kumasi (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006).

Urban land use planning has faltered in many African cities due to existence of two or more land tenure system especially in situations where planned expansion of a city or town into the peri-urban areas is to be effected on land under quasi-customary or customary tenure. Sometimes it is expensive to change the customary land to leasehold for urban use because, laws require that land owners are paid fair and prompt compensation. Government attempts to appropriate customary land required for urban development have caused many disputes between landowners and urban authorities, inter alia due to inadequate compensation paid to and disregard of land for resettlement. As a result, this has accelerated informal land transactions and, informal settlement expansion and densification. As noted, informal land transactions however cater for majority of the urban dwellers, however, it exhibits several problems that are associated with conflicting and unrecorded ownership claims such as double or multiple sale of the same plot of land (Fekade, 2000).

In many urban areas in sub-Saharan African cities including Tanzania, informal land subdivision and transactions are rampant, because of the subsisting land tenure regimes namely customary and informal or quasi-customary tenure (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006). The fact that Governments are unable to promptly and adequately pay compensation to sitting land occupiers worsen the matter. In this regard, in most African cities existence of duo land tenure systems in urban areas (statutory and customary) seems to present unresolved challenges because governments - both central and local - are unable to pay compensation according to the laws of the land. At the same time, land occupiers in many peri-urban areas continue subdividing and selling their land to land seekers who in turn erect (informal) houses.

2.3.3 Housing - a dominant urban land use

For many years, governments in Sub-Saharan Africa have been involved in housing delivery issues (Rakodi, 1997 cited in Sliuzas, 2004). Efforts to provide adequate and affordable housing have not been successful especially for the low income groups. Some of the public housing projects intended for rentals have often remained vacant or were taken by the wealthier people who could afford to pay for them, leaving the urban poor with no alternative but to fend for themselves in the informal housing and land delivery systems. The informal land and housing development in African cities follow a different path from the formal (Figure 7).

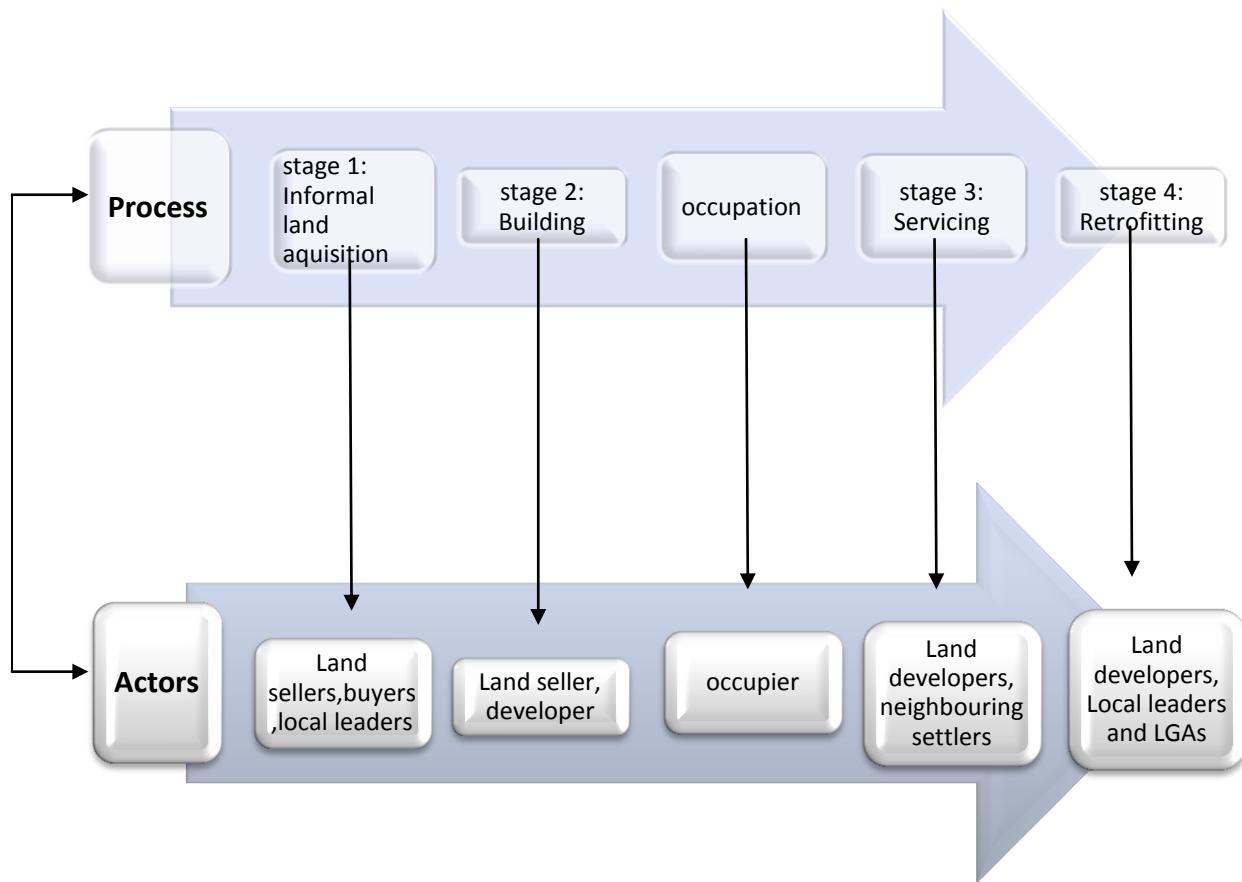


Figure 7: Informal land development

Source: Modified from Lupala, 2002

There are different paths through which informal land is acquired and developed. Whilst most developers in informal areas acquire or access housing land through buying from informal sellers (with support of local leaders as witnesses), there are also persons who acquire land

through inheritance. Few invade vacant land, especially marginal land such as steep slopes, wetlands etc. Once land is acquired, individuals take initiatives to develop their plots and move in or occupy. Naturally, land servicing e.g. provision of potable water supply or electricity is done after occupation; a few are able to connect to basic services before moving into their houses. This is the case among the affluent or rich persons living in informal settlements.

2.3.4 Prevalence of informality

According to De Soto (2000), ‘informality’ is seen as the state or system of working outside the scope of government regulations. In the built environment, it often violates existing laws and regulations for land development and housing construction (Fekade, 2000; Well, 2007; Arnott, 2008 cited in Mushumbusi, 2011).

Informality is also conceived as a systematic malfunction hence arguing for its disappearance (Blomkvist, 1988; Conquery-Vidrovitch, 1991; Desoto, 2000 cited in Sheuya, 2004); but informality is no longer the domain confined to the poor only. Recent studies indicate that informal settlements are also areas of strong and coherent social groups and networks, individual innovations and entrepreneurship; well adopted families, and people with considerable power and influence (World Bank, 1999; UNCHS – Habitat, 1996). This is a fact that makes it even more critical as an urban development reality and component.

Blomkvist (1988) cited in Mushumbusi (2011) notes, that developing countries are particularists rather than universalists meaning that states are ordered by something rather other than established and laid down rules, implying that they do not go informal simply because of the formal deficiencies but because of their nature. This creates a dilemma whether some formality should be injected into predominantly informal or the other way round. Most developing countries treat informality as a step towards formality. This can be seen in the ongoing regularisation and formalisation and upgrading schemes:

The desire on the part of the governments almost everywhere to formalise informal, irregular or illegal settlements has a long story with its origins lying in the early emergence of modern statecraft...The subsequent development of states into ‘high modernist ideology’ aimed at the ‘rational design of social order’ shaped the government policy with the desire to administer, to

control and to incorporate populations into formal municipal development systems...Implicit of this ideology are the assumptions that occupants of informal settlements will be integrated into formal regulations thus adhering to various regulations regarding the use of land, standards for dwellings, payment of regular rates and service charges and in formal or regular land tenure (Burra, 2006).

Integrating the informal into formality is a process which involves more input than working on assumptions. Efforts to stop informality and urban population growth have failed and conflict with democratic rights protected in the national constitutions of many countries (Payne and Madale, 2004:8 cited in Kombe and Kreibich, 1999). This implies that rapid urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa will continue for a long time into the future.

The lack of appropriate and effective or responsive public policies regarding rapid urbanisation is evident in the existing informalities in urban land development. Other proponents of informality like Payne, 1989; Hamadi, 1995; Payne and Majale, 2004; consider it to be an inevitable phenomenon which is bound to prevail. For urban space is a dynamic field of interaction for economic, social, cultural and political processes and not so much a product of an overall regulatory system (UN – Habitat, 2003).

Governments are forced to acknowledge that informality exists in response to public policy deficits. They are shifting their attitudes from initial hostility towards viewing low income groups as real contributors to affordable housing stock in cities (Hardoy and Sattertwate, 1993: 112-115 cited in Fekade, 2000). Therefore, the potential and limitations of the informal or illegal settlements are now subjects of much and urgent research and policy deliberation. Tables 5 to 7 give a glimpse of urbanisation trends in Africa projected to 2020.

Informal urbanisation trends in sub-Saharan Africa shows Tanzania to be one of the countries with highest population living in informal settlements; this is followed by Mozambique and Ethiopia. Table 7 shows population (1950-2025) estimates of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda.

Table 5: Urbanisation trends in Africa

Region	1960		1980		2000		2020	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Eastern	5.9	7.3	21.5	15.1	77.5	32.0	206.0	42.6
Middle	5.9	18.0	16.4	31.6	43.9	51.4	95.3	61.7
Northern	20.9	32.1	43.0	39.9	88.8	50.6	154.1	63.0
Southern	8.8	42.3	16.3	49.6	33.2	60.9	59.5	71.0
Western	11.2	13.8	32.0	22.2	96.7	34.9	250.8	50.0
Total Africa	52.7	18.8	129.2	27.0	340.1	42.3	765.7	52.2

Source: Obutho (1993): *Urbanisation and Urban Development Strategies in East Africa*. In: G. Shabbir Cheema (eds.) (1993): *Urban Management: Policies and Innovations in Developing Countries*. London: Preager, p. 81 in Kreibich and Olima, 2002:35

Table 6: Informal urbanisation trends in South-Saharan Africa

Country	%age of urban pop (Informal settlements/slums 2001)	Informal settlements/slum annual growth rate (%)
Tanzania	92.1	6.1 (3.4 -%/annum)
Kenya	70.1	5.9
Mozambique	94.1	6.9
Zambia	74.0	2.9
Ethiopia	99.4	4.8
South Africa	33.2	0.19
Namibia	37.9	2.9
Ghana	69.6	3.4
Nigeria	79.2	4.9

Source: UN-Habitat, 2005/06 in Kombe, 2010²⁰

Table 7: Estimates of urban population shares in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, 1950-2025

Year	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania
1950	5.6	3.4	3.6
1955	6.4	4.2	4.2
1960	7.4	5.3	4.8
1965	8.5	6.5	5.6
1970	10.2	8.0	6.9
1975	12.2	9.8	9.2
1980	14.2	11.9	11.8
1985	16.7	14.4	14.8
1990	19.2	17.2	18.2
1995	22.7	20.3	21.6
2000	26.2	23.5	24.9
2005	29.9	27.1	28.6
2010	33.8	30.8	32.4
2015	37.8	34.7	36.6
2020	41.8	38.7	40.4
2025	45.7	42.7	44.4

Source: Obudho, R.A. (1989): *Urbanisation and Urban Policy in East Africa*. In: Swindell, K./Baba, J.M./Modimore, M.J. (eds.) (1989): *Inequality and Development: Case Studies from the Third World*. London: Macmillan, p.294 in Kreibich and Olima 2002:42

²⁰ A lecture delivered by Prof. Kombe, W.J. Norad's Programme for Master Studies (NOMA) Masters students at Ardhi University on Informal Land Management and Urbanisation in Tanzania: The Unresolved Quagmire, 16th February 2010

The trends depicted in Table 5 and Table 6 show that, the growth of informality is a force to be reckoned with in many sub-Saharan African countries. Indeed, this seems to be the single most significant force transforming urban areas i.e. cities, municipalities, towns, and townships.

2.3.5 The influence of socio-economic segregation on informal urbanisation

Urbanisation in Kenya shows that the proportion of people living in urban centres increased from 5.1 per cent in 1948 to 15.1 percent in 1979; and from 18.0 per cent in 1989 to 34.8 per cent in 2000. Also the number of urban centres reached 194, with 45 percent of people living in Nairobi. By 1963, the larger part of the population in Nairobi was African; they lived in the eastern part while the Asians and Europeans lived in the suburbs with access to better services. This situation persists to date, although not according to race but along economic lines and population densities²¹. Nairobi has become one of the world's most unequal cities, triggered by differences in the economic status of inhabitants. In 1999, the settlement of Karen had about 360 people per square kilometer while Kibera informal settlement had 80,000 people per square kilometer. At the same time in Santo Domingo in Dominican Republic, one fifth of urban space was accommodating two thirds of the urban population in informal settlements (Davis, 2007:96).

In Bombay the segregation went as far as the rich occupying 90 per cent of the urban area and the poor living in the remaining 10 per cent (O'Hare, Abbott and Barke, Arjun Appadurai, 2001 cited in Davis, 2007:96). The cities in the developing countries which were colonised, despite their national liberations giving different nations opportunities to choose and plan according to what is best for them, politicians and African professionals adopted the racial zoning of the colonial period to defend class segregation (Anyamba, 2006). The high standards of infrastructure coupled with lavish plot sizes further accelerated proliferation of informal settlements as well as accentuated socio-spatial disparity (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006).

In many cities including Kampala, adoption of spatial segregation policies was imported as a measure to protect the white colonial administrators from infectious diseases such as malaria

²¹ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/cities/nairobi.htm accessed 04.06.2011

which in the early twentieth century was one of the killer diseases especially among infants in tropical Africa. This malaria theory was upheld despite medical explanation to the contrary (Makwaya, 2011). This racial discrimination in urban planning and zoning originated from interest of the ruling colonialists and greed for spatial exclusivity. A good example is the segregation in Lilongwe that appeared in an apartheid pattern after the President supervised the construction and put white South Africans and other Europeans in charge of planning. Elements of racism transformed into economic segregation can also be observed in Addis Ababa, a city with autochthonous origin, but which encountered Italian occupation in 1936 to 1941 (Davis, 2007:97).

In Nairobi the term ‘slum’ (Figure 8) is mostly used but there are other local terms used to describe these settlements, for example they include *muddy areas*, *ghetto*, *poverty stricken settlements*, *kijiji or vijiji*, *mud city*, *dumping site* and *beggars’ zone*, *temporary structures*, *houses with insecure tenure*, *overcrowded*, and *poorly constructed* (ibid). They generally comprise settlements resulting from illegal subdivisions of either government or private land.



Figure 8: Example of an informal settlement (slums) in Nairobi

Source: <http://www.schaffercombs.com/scmain/wp-content/uploads/Picture-111.png>

The origin of slums in Nairobi can be traced back to the segregation arrangement of settlements in the past when Africans were displaced on the arrival of the first European settlers (Anyamba, 2006). Olima underscores:

The forces that have contributed to urban spatial segregation in Nairobi are many and varied. Some are legal and economic whereas others are cultural. During the colonial period, the people of Kenya witnessed a large-scale government sanctioned spatial segregation based on race and reinforced by planning laws as well as exclusionary zoning regulations²².

The segregation which takes place in different African cities today after the end of colonial rule is more based on economic factors than race. Syagga et al²³; add that other factors like rural-urban migration, increasing income differentials between the people as well as unemployment and underemployment are all critical. After independence, the new government allowed immigrants to put up some shacks within the city as long as they were not located near the Central Business District.

The nature of segregation approach of living and over-crowding especially in the case of Nairobi slums, suggests that many informal settlements are mostly occupied by people of the same socio-economic class largely the urban poor. Informal settlements are often located across the city near industrial areas. Thus, people living in such settlements walk to the work place or sources of livelihoods (Figure 9).

²² http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Nairobi.pdf accessed 14.16.2011

²³ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Nairobi.pdf accessed 14.16.2011

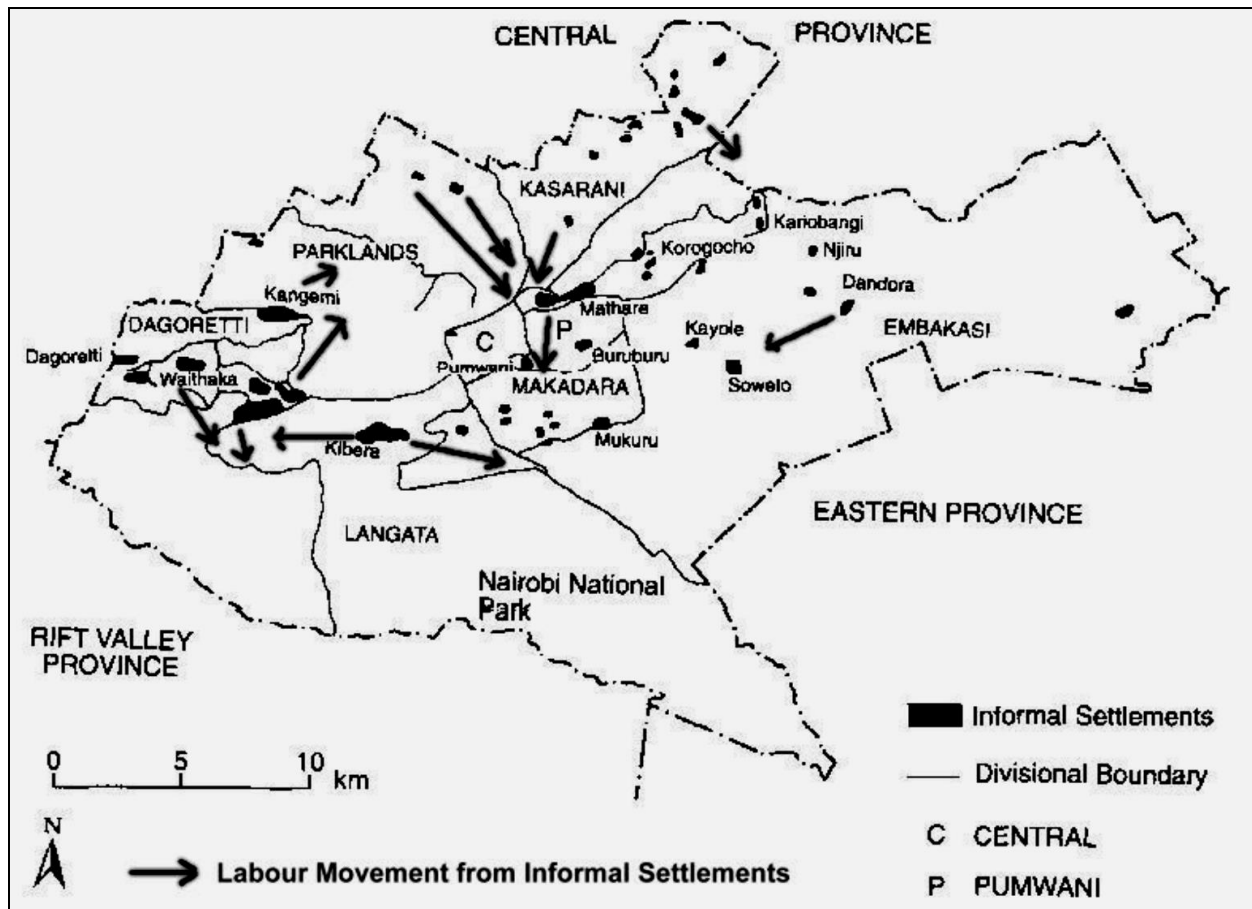


Figure 9: Informal settlements in Nairobi and labour movement

Source http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/cities/nairobi.htm accessed 04.06.2011

Majority of structures are let on a room-to-room basis and the most of households occupy a single room. Densities are high, typically 250 units per hectare compared to 25 per hectare in middle income areas and 15 per hectare in high income areas. Physical layout of informal settlement is relatively haphazard making it difficult and costly to provide basic infrastructure; basic city services such as water supply and sanitation are often non-existent or minimal. Morbidity and mortality rates caused by diseases stemming from environmental conditions are also significantly higher than in other areas of the city²⁴.

²⁴ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/cities/nairobi.htm accessed 04.06.2011

2.3.6 The influence of history on informal urbanisation in Egypt

Egypt has been rapidly urbanising since the early 20th century. Informal settlements in Cairo have a heterogeneous character where the poor can be found among the middle and the high income settlers:

Poor families are found mixed in with lower and middle income families in a wide number of older core neighbourhoods and in the vast informal areas of Greater Cairo... This mix of income groups or 'income heterogeneity' in geographical space is due to a number of historical factors, including the lack of residential mobility due to rent control and imperfect real estate markets²⁵.

The heterogeneous character of an informal settlement is a product of varying factors. In the case of Cairo, history of the area is relevant. The types of informal settlements here can be categorised into four types; type 'A' refer to settlements on formal agricultural land; this has its roots in the 1960s when farmers started subdividing farming land to individual home developers, on trust basis without legal paperwork. The typology contains about half the population of Greater Cairo and almost half the total residential area.

Type B consists of private residential buildings constructed on vacant state land, similar to squatting and invasions existing in other countries of the third world. Their originality differs, some started as sites for relocated slum dwellers and garbage collectors (example Manshiet Nasser) while others like Elzbet El Haggana began as a hamlet for the families of coast guard soldiers stationed nearby. The process of sub-parcelling the places by the pioneers to new settlers was done informally based on trust without formal paperwork. In case of mediation, the community was involved. Type B houses are generally in worse physical condition than type A, and in case of government intervention they stand a better chance because the land belongs to the state and they do not have inheritance ties (ibid).

Type C consists of old, crowded and deteriorated structures within the medieval city (example Darb el Ahmar, El Gamalia, Masr el Qadima, Boulaq Abou Aala, and el Khalifa. Confused ownership due to inheritance quarrels, and rent issues lead to neglect of the buildings into deterioration. A mixture of some quiet sound buildings also exist which makes it difficult to

²⁵ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Cairo.pdf accessed 04.06.2011

generalise them as totally slums and houses for the poor. Hekr Sakakini in el Wali and Teraa el Towfiqia in Mataria are places where type D can be found. They are small pockets of very dilapidated one to three storey structures. Their origins are due to uncertain land tenure situation making it doubtful to make them a serious investment; hence they are largely low quality and cheap house type (ibid). Fekades' (2000) observation that residential densities, population growth rates, urban characteristics, building and housing typologies vary significantly among the informal settlements holds fairly well in the case of Cairo settlements.

Table 8: The categories of settlements in Cairo

The affluent	The moderate	The disadvantaged
Highest housing quality and fairly good housing conditions. Substandard housing constitutes less than 15 percent of the dwelling stock and the crowding rate is less than three persons per dwelling unit. About 40 percent of the fabric of these settlements is made of multi-storey apartment buildings.	Lower housing quality, density and use of the housing spaces is similar to the affluent. Apartment buildings make up less than 20 percent of the settlements residential buildings.	Settlements with inferior quality of housing and worst housing conditions. More than a third of the stock is small and substandard, residents are crowded more than four in a dwelling.

Source: Fekade, 2000

Processes of upgrading informal settlements seemed more possible in typology A and B (which mushroomed in the post World War II) than the others because of the level of deterioration²⁶.

2.3.7 Socio-political factors and informal urbanisation in Durban

Before the 1990s, urban areas in Durban were restricted for the majority of the African population. Policies by then were supporting racism and there was minimum contact between different race groups. The white people enjoyed high standards of living, while Africans lived in severe poverty and deprivation. Many Africans lived in 'townships' away from the city centre (Godehart, 2006). Durban as a settlement was established in 1800s with activities focusing around the port; the sugar and food processing industries and the transportation links. Successive racial segregation attempts also shaped the current urban form. Natural features like rivers created buffer strips keeping away Asians and Africans from well located areas.

The apartheid definition of slum by the Provisional Housing Department in Durban is more of the negative perception stressing on their inadequacy; where unsociable activities occur,

²⁶ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Cairo.pdf accessed 05.06.2011

incubators for vice and disease, harbouring those too lazy to find work and other groups of people regarded as the undeserving poor²⁷. Nearly half of the African population live in informal settlements. The settlements consist of structures that are constructed to varying degrees of permanence, using materials such as corrugated iron, plastic, timber and metal sheeting. Others are made of traditional wattle and daub; earth floors covered by linoleum or carpeting. In 1996 some informal houses were granted some status and security from arbitrary eviction by local authority (ibid).

In general, the existence of slums in Durban is influenced by socio-political forces. Historically the authorities removed the informal settlements or 'shantytowns' that emerged within the city boundaries to distant sites which were later incorporated in the urban expansion. Of recent, informal settlements have developed within the city boundaries. Such developments take place with or without the land owners' approval. An opportunity for settlements developing within a shorter distance from the city was granted by Africans who had freehold title to land. Other cases resulted from the so-called 'independent state' within South Africa and political influence. Informal settlements grew as a result of lack of housing alternatives especially in the mid 1970s when the state had stopped building houses for Africans (except for a very small new class of elite African civil servants)²⁸.

Informal settlements have continued to grow closer to the city centre on marginal land, at risk from natural disaster such as floods and landslide. 35 percent of informal settlements are located within the pockets of the formal settlements, 55 percent on the periphery of the formal and 10 percent at the peri-urban (Smit, 1997). Overall, informal settlement dwellers feel that they are discriminated against, looked down upon and not treated with respect by those living in formal areas as well as by the authorities, for example, the police.

The perception of informal settlements in Durban shows that the apartheid system that was guided by racial segregation had a direct impact on socio-economic segregation of the urban dwellers as well as not encouraging socio-economic and spatial heterogeneity. Although (African

²⁷ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Durban.pdf accessed 05.06.2011

²⁸ Case studies for human global report on human settlements 2003

National Congress) ANC led post-apartheid government has embarked on various housing improvement projects aimed at addressing low income housing and doing away with informality include decisions made in 1994 to build one million houses, the process of informal housing and growth has continued from 18 percent in mid 2000 to over 25 percent now (Robinson, 2013)²⁹.

2.4 Summary

Chapter two has highlighted the context of informal settlements starting with a global perspective; examples being drawn from countries such as Brazil, Italy, Turkey and India, zooming down to the African context in cities of Durban, Cairo, and Nairobi. It has mostly dealt with urban informality observed in developing countries. Informality in housing is observed to be of different characteristics depending on the part of the world in which it is happening. The chapter has highlighted the way informal housing is named and characterised in different contexts, the way this kind of housing emerges, the reasons behind their existence, their physical characteristics and how their existence is related to the respective public policies. Also actions taken to address them are highlighted. Land tenure system is seen as one of the factors that influence informal housing land development; this was noted in African countries of Botswana and Ghana. This chapter has also discussed the link between informal housing and socio-economic context of the dwellers in which case a variety of types exist concerning low, middle and high income groups.

²⁹ A paper presented on a workshop on regulating the informality in Africa. Comparison of Dar es Salaam and Durban organised by Ardhi University and Technical University Dortmund, July, 2013.

3. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.1 Informal urbanisation

The urban population of Tanzania is distributed within 26 regions including the autonomous regions of Zanzibar (Figure 10). This is the major force underpinning high demand for housing and building land. In Tanzania, informal urbanisation is as old as cities, by and large growing with persistent housing densification and overcrowding, public health threats, poor accessibility and lack of land for public utilities, suffocation of livelihoods especially for the urban poor; also prohibitive costs for retrofitting, servicing and formalising rights and widening social-spatial polarisation within cities.



Figure 10: Tanzania Administrative Regions

Source: www.mapsofworlds.com

Table 9: Tanzania national and urban population growth 1960-2002

Indicator	Tanzania							Sub-Saharan Africa
	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001-2002	2001- 2002
Population (millions)	10.2	13.6	18.5	25.4	29.6	33.7	35.7	688
Population growth (annual)	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.8	2.2	2.1	2.3
Urban population % of total	5	7	15	22	27	32	34	32

Source: Modified from Sliuzas, 2004

Table 10 shows the extent of urban informality in Tanzania major cities.

Table 10: Extent of informal settlements in major urban areas in Tanzania

Urban centre	Year of study	Estimated urban population	Population in unplanned area	Percentage of urban population in unplanned area
Dar es salaam	2002	2,497,800	1,696,500	68
Arusha	1992	113,019	76,332	86
Mbeya	1998	300,00	239,22	80
Tabora	1996	112,602	92,175	82
Dodoma	1994	94,050	42,001	45
Iringa	1998	121,600	60,000	49
Tanga	1992	149,934	57,703	38
Morogoro	1996	144,603	63,000	44
Mwanza	1998	369,200	213,646	74
Total		3,902,808	2,499,802	64

Source:URT (2003), Kyessi (2008) cited in Kyessi and Samson (2013)³⁰

It can be observed that Dar es Salaam is leading in having the highest number of population living in informal areas compared to other urban areas. Due to the nature of the emergence of these settlements, and the freedom and flexibility in land development, it is not easy to find a settlement that has hundred percent of inhabitants comprising persons with one level of income. In the middle of a predominantly low income informal settlements one might find some few houses of people from the middle income socio-economic group; and from a predominantly medium income informal settlement, one might find some few houses of people from the high income socio-economic group; thus the word *predominant* is preferably used. The variety of houses of people of different socio-economic groups in a mixed informal settlement might differ from one informal settlement to another. This study categorises them as mixed not only because

³⁰ Formalising property rights in informal settlements and its implications on poverty reduction: The case of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Paper prepared for presentation at the “Annual World Bank Conference on land and Poverty” The World Bank-Washington DC, April 8-11, 2013; by Kyessi and Samson (Institute of Human Settlements Studies, Ardhi University Dar es Salaam.

of the existence of all three groups i.e. low income, middle income as well as high income people but also because of their variety and disparity or contrast. For example, a house of a low income person can be of poles and mud walls while a house of a high income person can be a multi-storey building constructed of concrete block walls and roofed with tiles.

3.2 Responses to informal settlements

Slum clearance

In the 1960s, the post-independence period, the response to informal settlements and slums was clearance strategy. This process which involved total demolition and replacement or reconstruction anew was too costly and unproductive, as it led to reduction of housing stock and disruption of social networks; as well as accentuation of urban poverty, destruction of livelihoods, public financial resources, and neglect of socio-economic realities in third world cities further compounded the problem (Limbumba, 2010). Thus it was abandoned and in the 1970s squatter upgrading strategy was adopted.

Upgrading informal settlements and site and service scheme

In the 1970s and early 1980s, unplanned or informal settlements and slums upgrading became dominant public action. The process included improvement of basic community infrastructure services and facilities but without property and land tenure formalisation or improvement. Also provision of serviced plots (for low income households) addressing poverty by providing sites for small scale business activities in upgraded areas and site and service areas were critical concerns. Up to the late 1970s unplanned settlements accommodated only 50 percent of the urban population; now over 80 percent (UN Habitat, 2006/07).

In the late 1980s and 1990s despite the upgrading and sites and services initiatives, intensification of unplanned settlements was witnessed. Lack of funds to continue with the projects after the World Bank grant for upgrading and sites and service schemes ended frustrated this initiative. In the late 1990s few settlements were upgraded, using limited central government funds and through local communities' efforts (Limbumba, 2010). Kombe and Kreibich (2006) underscore the importance of upgrading processes that were made through community based organisations in the 1990's (Hanna Nassif, Tabata etc.) to improve basic infrastructure services

and promote socio-economic well-being (employment and income generation) particularly, in terms of building local community capacity. However, the huge capital investment against meagre community contribution soon proved that the initiative was unsustainable.

Regularisation and formalisation of informal settlements

This is the most recent strategy which is intended to complement upgrading and community-led infrastructure improvements (CIUP) initiatives; also it is an integral part of the long term strategy to achieve cities without slums i.e. Millennium Development goal Target 11, which requires and sets target that by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers (UN-Habitat) should be achieved. The strategy involves formalising informal property rights, improving security of tenure by providing residential licenses³¹. It is a project being implemented under the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development in several cities including Dar es Salaam and Mwanza. The ultimate aim is to enable property owners in informal settlements to use their licenses (properties) as collateral as well as improve community infrastructure services. The former is an idea being promoted by the Peruvian economist Hernando, De Soto³², who has been advising the government of Tanzania in the matter. All the three key strategies adopted, however, do not seem to address the root causes of the informal urban land development problem i.e. forces underpinning informal urbanisation including escalation of urban poverty; conflicting land tenure systems (customary vs statutory); unrealistic urban planning or development regulations and standards etc. The interventions seem not to offer solutions that can give rise to sustainable and functional urban growth, instead informal urbanisation is growing day after day especially in the peri-urban areas; whereas the resources to undertake or implement the strategies are largely missing.

3.3 Informal urbanisation in Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam is one of the major cities in Sub-Saharan Africa with a pace of urbanisation that has outstripped the governments capacity to manage, including to provide basic services. Although the decision to shift the capital to Dodoma was made almost four decades ago in 1973,

³¹ In the context of Tanzania, currently, licenses which last for five years are issued in the regularised areas.

³² De Soto idea is based on the thinking that when poor people have titles or licenses they can convert their dead capital or houses in informal settlements into life capital and thus use it as collateral. However, trends in the area where licenses have been granted do not show that people are readily using them as collateral to access loans. This primarily because many people are reluctant and afraid to use their titles/licenses as collateral lest they lose their property if they fail to pay.

Dar es Salaam is still Tanzania’s economic power house and also administrative centre. Located in the natural harbour along the Indian Ocean, it is the hub of the transportation system, including all major networks such as railways, highways and airport to the regions and other countries. The city comprises of three municipalities of Ilala, Temeke and Kinondoni. The urban population has been increasing persistently from less than 500,000 in 1967, 3,000,000 in 2001 and to about 4,500,000 in 2012 (Figure 11 and Table 11).

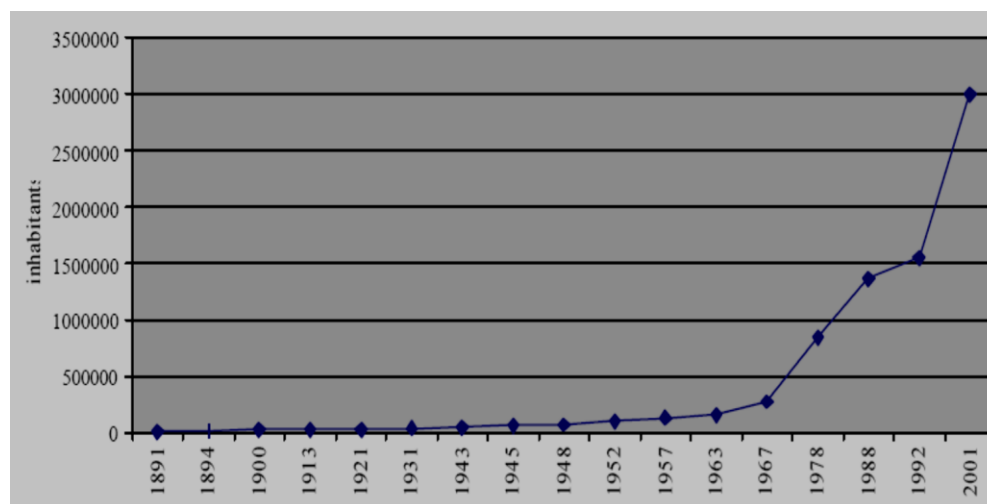


Figure 11: Dar es Salaam, population growth 1891-2001

Source: National Population Census Reports 1957, 1967, 1978, 1988; Kironde, 1994; Strategic Plan, 1998 and Sutton, 1970 in Lupala, 2002

Table 11: Population of the three municipalities of Dar es Salaam

Municipality	Year				
	2002	2003	2005	2007	2012 ³³
Kinondoni	1,083,913	1,130,520	1,229,835	1,337,875	1,775,049
Ilala	634,924	662,225	720,401	783,687	1,220,611
Temeke	768,451	801,493	871,904	948,498	1,368,881
Dar es salaam	2,487,288	2,594,238	2,822,140	3,070,060	4,364,541

Source: Dar es Salaam City Profile – DCC (2004) in Limbumba, 2010

Tanzania operates with a two tier government system namely local and central governments. Local Government administration is regulated by the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act. Number 4 of 1982. Urban councils are presided by Chairmen for towns and Mayors for Municipal or City Councils. Councils have the flexibility to establish the eight departments or

³³ http://www.nbs.go.tz/sensa/PDF/Census%20General%20Report%20-%2029%20March%202013_Combined_Final%20for%20Printing.pdf accessed 03.10.2013

only a few depending on the context and local dynamics. Chairmen and Mayors are elected from among the elected Ward Councillors (Kombe, 1995). Also see Figure 12:

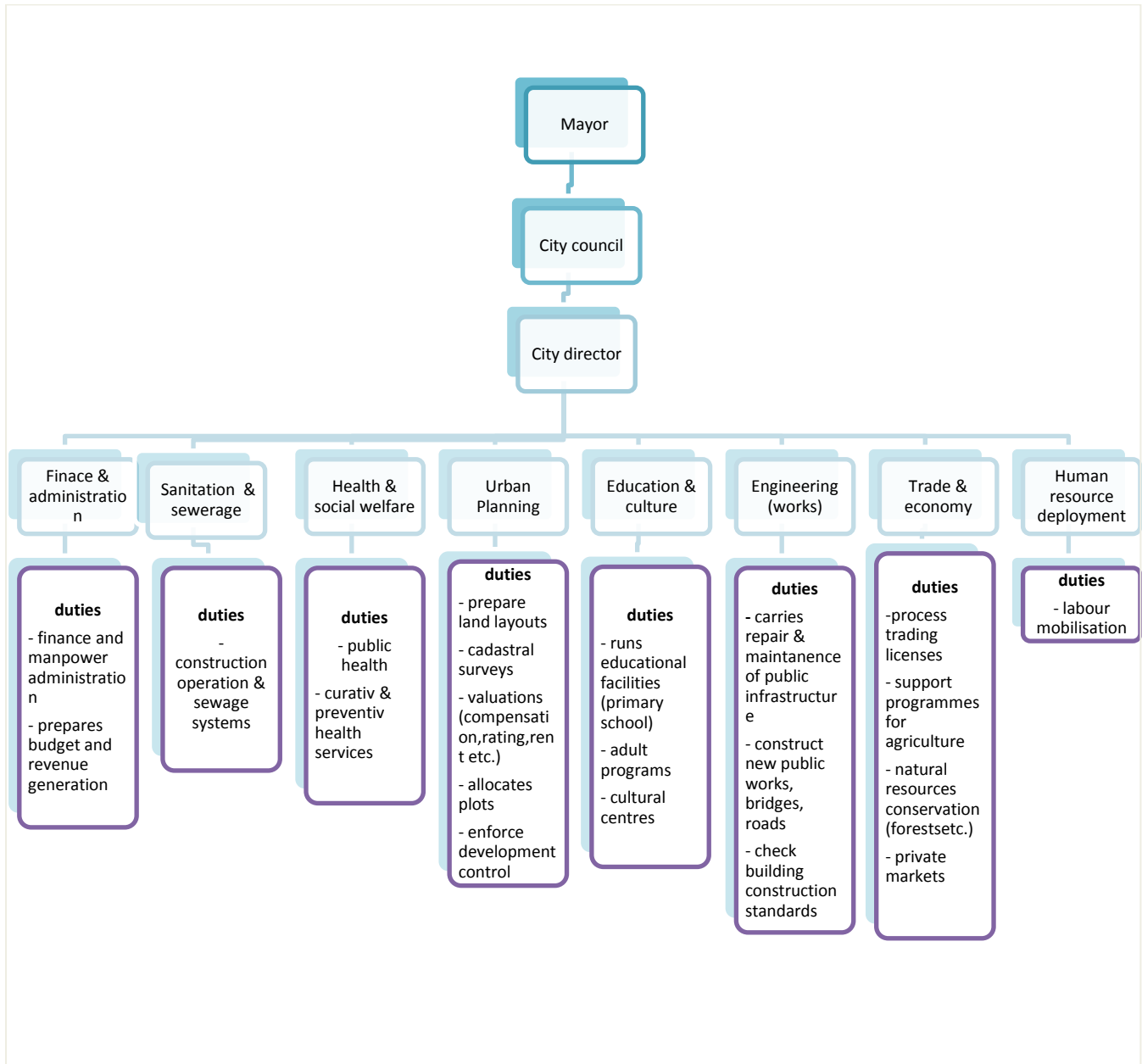


Figure 12: The organisational structure of urban local governments
 Source: Dar es Salaam City Profile – DCC, 2004 adopted from Limbumba, 2010

3.4 Dar es salaam, spatial growth

Dar es Salaam like many other cities planned during the colonial era was zoned according to racial segregation urban development concept. Subsequently, residential places were designated for Europeans, Asians and Africans, corresponding to low, medium and high density housing

areas respectively (Appendix I). This colonial zoning has impacted much on the emerging housing types; and, consolidated or subsisted racially segregated zones (Nguluma, 2007). For instance, today urban planning system still cherish low, medium and high densities which also depict socio-economic segregation based on income levels of urban settlers with low, middle and high income households living in high, medium and low housing densities respectively. However, as noted earlier city inhabitants have overall limited options when it comes to shelter acquisition. Most of the people who move into the city start with renting a house then slowly finding their way into the land owning system through relatives, friends and acquaintances; thus, it takes a rather long time. Others are lucky to get land allocated by the local or central government but these are generally very few. The processes of accessing housing land involves different stakeholders including landowners and governmental institutions. The housing options are summarised in Table 12:

Table 12: Housing options in Dar es Salaam

N/O	Options	Remarks
1	Renting a room or house in an informal/unplanned area.	Also one of the most popular options especially for the urban poor (Cadstedt, 2006; Hoek-Smit, 1991).
2	Acquiring a plot/land or building land in informal areas	One of the <i>most</i> 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.
3	Renting a room or a housing unit in planned areas (belonging to private individuals).	One of the popular options in the 1990s about 60 per cent of residents in Dar es Salaam were accommodated in such units (Hoek-Smit, 1991).
4	Acquiring a residential plot using formal channels in planned areas from.	Chronic shortage of plots. Process used to be lengthy and bureaucratic. In 2003 the Ministry of Lands and Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHSD) embarked on the 20,000 plot project. As of 2008 the project had surveyed over 40,000 Plots in Dar es Salaam. Access to land under this project was at a fee fixed by the government, depending on the location and size of the plot. The project 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.
5	Applying for a unit in the public housing sector	Due to restrained availability of units for rental, this option is usually considered almost impossible by many, unless one get an access to a sublet unit.

Source: Improved from Limbumba, 2010

The problem of accessing formal housing or buildable plot has persisted for decades; there is a huge difference between available and required housing plots (Figure 13). There has been a gap between applicants of surveyed plots and supply. The number of applicants has been decreasing

with time despite the housing shortage, this suggests that people get tired of applying for formal plots instead they decide to look for alternative routes (Mushumbusi, 2011:50).

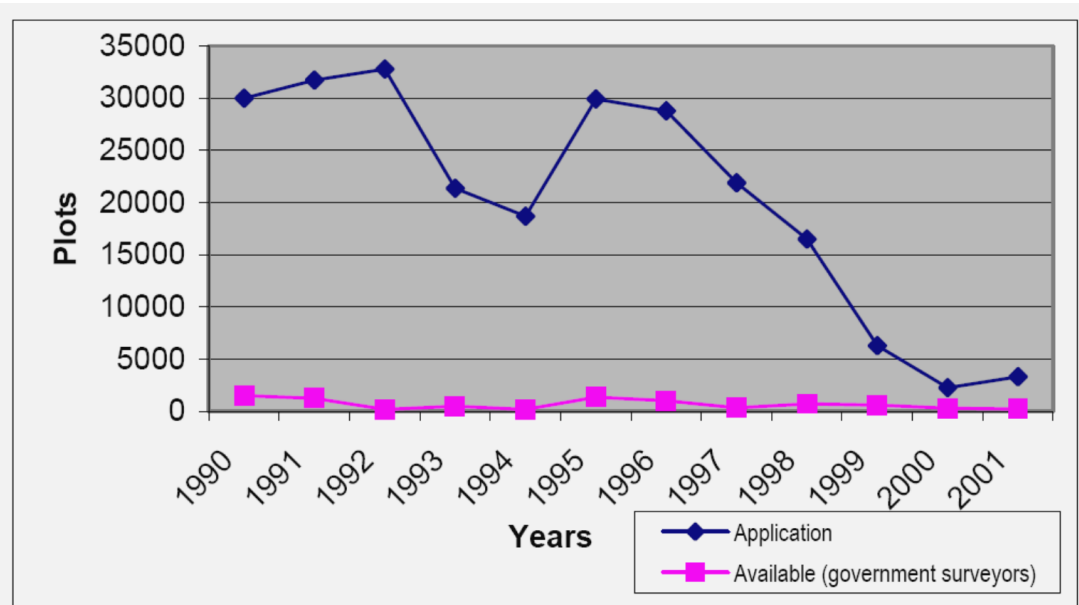
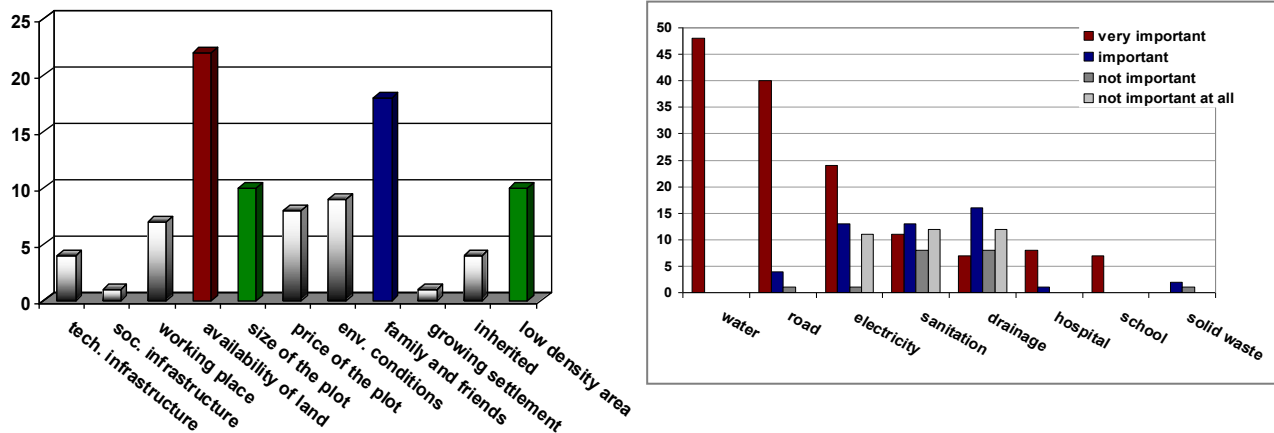


Figure 13: Number of applicants for plots and plots allocated in Dar es Salaam 1990-2001
 Source: Mushumbusi, 2011

A choice of a place to live depends on different factors. In Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam in particular, informality exists not only to urban land development but extends also to urban economy. 60 percent of the urban economy is informal. Supply of basic infrastructure such as potable water supply and sanitation are increasingly informalised. There are therefore many tradeoffs that home builders make against basic services (Kombe, 2010)³⁴.

For instance in a study conducted in Stakishari, one of the settlements in Dar es salaam, a question was posed as to what choices or tradeoffs are homes builders making in regard to basic services (Figure 14). The results revealed that availability of potable water supply was the most important factor whereas other services such as storm water drainage and sanitation are not as important.

³⁴ A lecture delivered by Prof. Kombe, W.J. on Informal Land Management and Urbanisation in Tanzania: The Unresolved Quagmire, 16th February 2010



Source: Kombe, 2010³⁵

Figure 14: Tradeoffs homes builders make against basic services

3.5 Extent of informality in Dar es Salaam

Like other cities in sub-Saharan Africa, Dar es Salaam is growing rapidly. Before 1948 it was a small town with a growth rate of about 2.6 percent per annum (Kironde, 1995); by 2010 it had grown tremendously, largely in uncontrolled and disorderly manner portraying an urban sprawl largely following the four finger development pattern represented by the four major arterial roads, radiating from the city centre (Figure 15).

The expanded growth of the city including the rapidly growing newly developed housing area is due to expensive urban growth and the construction of single storey buildings. This trend might continue, if effective planning and servicing measures necessary to direct urban growth are not put in place. In many peri-urban informal settlements there is still much un-built pockets of land especially in between the major arterial roads which starts from the city centre onwards (Appendix 2). However, poor infrastructure connection to this area including portable water supply, and access roads are constraining.

³⁵ A lecture delivered by Prof. Kombe, W.J. on Informal Land Management and Urbanisation in Tanzania: The Unresolved Quagmire, 16th February 2010



Figure 15: Aerial views of the sprawling informal housing in Dar es Salaam city
Source: Author, 2011

What is important to emphasise here is the fact that the National (government) Housing Policy 1982 and the draft housing policy (2012) recognised and protected informal settlements as integrals parts of urban housing.

Furthermore, the Land Policy of 1995 as well as the Land Act No. 4 of 1999 recognise customary land tenure as well as informal land tenure system as legal land rights. These policy and legal instruments seems to have increased growth of informal settlements especially the development of housing on such areas by middle and high income households; primarily because rights of people occupying land in such areas are protected by the law and recognised by social, grassroots institutions even if one does not have a title or license.

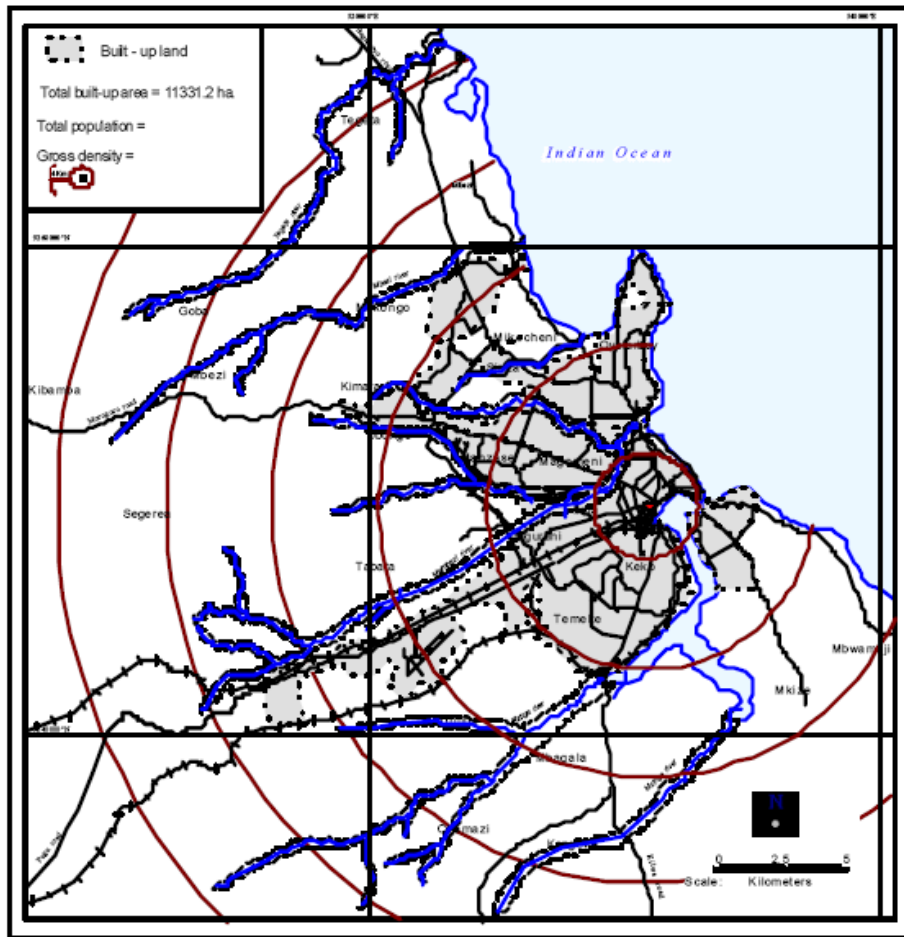


Figure 16: Dar es Salaam extent of built up area 1978,

Source Lupala (2002)

The horizontal growth of Dar es Salaam has been increasing along the years creating and contributing to widespread informality growth along the arterial roads (Table 13)

Table 13: Formal and informal settlements that have largely emerged due to road expansion

Year	Road distance in Km	Name of the road	Settlement emerged	Remarks
1945	Small area	Area of Oysterbay	Oysterbay	Old, Precolonial Settlement
1963	6	Within the planned urban	Keko, Buguruni, Ubungo, Tembeke	Old Planned Settlement
1978	14	Pugu road	Ukongu	Largely informal
	12	Morogoro and Bagamoyo road	Kimara, Kawe	Informal
	6	Kilwa road	Tembeke, Changombe	Formal and informal
1992	16	Bagamoyo	Mbezi, Tegeta	Formal and informal
	10	Kilwa	Mbagala, Mtoni	Informal

Source: Summarised from Lupala, J, 2002

Though not differing much in terms of conceptual approaches and land use proposals, the 1979 Master Plan recommended more or less the same city structure as that of 1968. However, the 1979 Master Plan was overall, ‘less radical’ in terms of resettlement and redevelopment of slums and informal settlements.

The changes and differences noted in the two different master plans i.e. 1968 and 1979 indicate that the authorities responsible for city planning had started to be flexible and more tolerant to the growth of the informal settlement in Dar es Salaam. From Figure 18 it can be seen to what extent the land use plan of Dar es Salaam is dominated by informal development. The informal developments can also be observed following the main roads that are originating from the CBD supplying housing for low, middle and high income people especially in the peripheries.

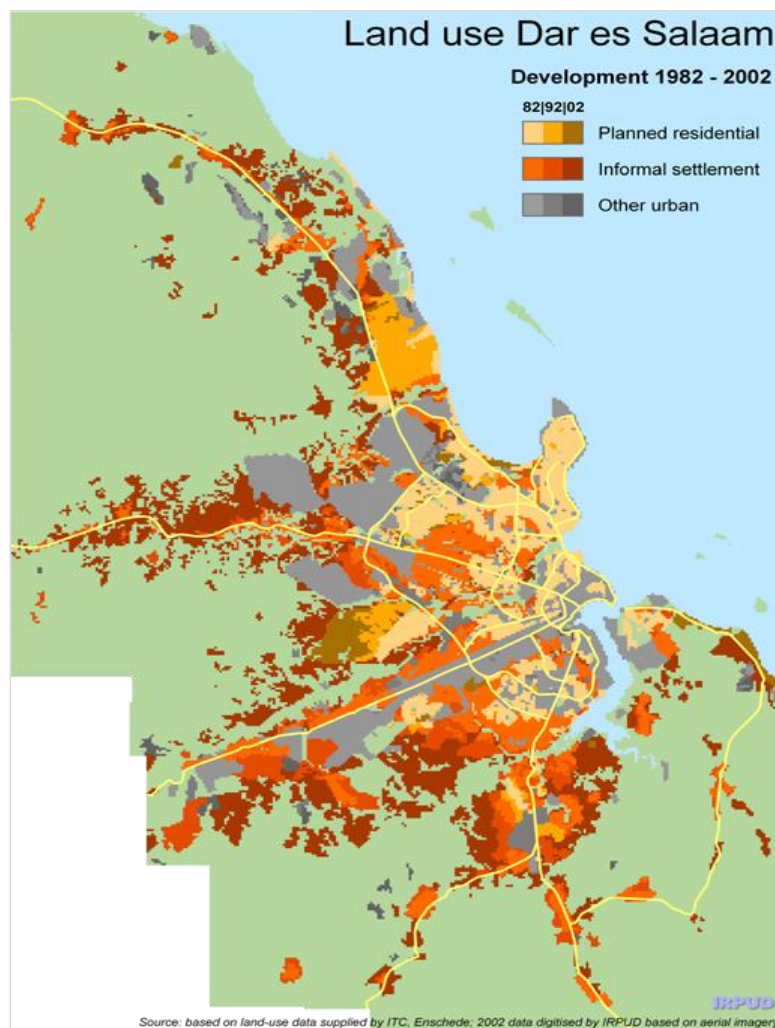


Figure 18: Land use in Dar es Salaam

Source: ARU and TUD, based on land-use data supplied by ITC, Enschede; 2002 data digitized by IRPUD based on aerial imagery

3.7 Summary

The aim of chapter three was to situate the study in its context of Dar es Salam, in order to give a broader understanding of the case study area. The discussion has focused on the geographical location, historical background, population growth, informality and spatialisation of urbanisation. Informal settlements have been examined looking at types that exist in Tanzania and particularly in Dar es Salaam and the responses and governments attempts to deal with them. Also, Dar es Salaam's spatial growth and its influence on informal development have been discussed as well as land uses, urban planning initiatives and the authorities that are involved in governing the city. It can be noted that there are similarities in some issues with other rapidly developing cities in developing countries at the same time; the uniqueness in terms of heterogeneity of informal settlements is underscored.

4. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Policies, laws, regulations and structure

Human settlements provision is more than simply providing physical shelter. Human settlements are places where organised human activities take place integrating a combination of various activities and functional processes such as residence, work, education, health, culture, leisure with the physical structures and around the spaces that support them. They are often conceived and invariably developed and function as systems scaling down from global, regional, sub-regional, national, and sub-national to the lowest level of human habitation namely a room within a house (author's addition) (UN-Habitat, 1986).

There are different factors that emerge when discussing the formation, existence and interventions in informal settlements; factors other than the built environment per se like social, political, and cultural contexts. i.e. the relationships between land delivery systems, land tenure, housing delivery system, informal housing market, informal institutions, norms (written and unwritten), controls (do and don'ts), conflict resolutions and regulatory frameworks.

Realities of the socio-economic status of urban residences in Dar es salaam, depict increasing challenges. It can be observed that it is a challenge to fulfil the aim of the National Human Settlement and Development Policy which inter alia intends to facilitate adequate delivery of shelter and the development of sustainable human settlements in the country (NHSDP, 2000). Although the existence of the informal developments taking place by harnessing existing initiatives in shelter delivery and infrastructure investments by various actors in the public, private, informal and community sectors are acknowledged. The urban development problems still persist especially shortcomings in the way guidance of the rapid urban growth and unregulated transformation of the settlements is taking place (Appendix 8 and 9). This is happening despite existence of elaborate legal and institutional structures for urban development.

4.1.1 The role of the government on urban land development and housing provision

As noted, shelter strategies in Tanzania, have taken varying paradigm shifts including, state dominated shelter provision approach of the 1970s, enabling approaches of the 1980s to urban

governance, and focus of the urban management and community led infrastructure improvement in the 1990s. These shifts can be summarised in three phases (Table 14).

Table 14: Key phases of urban housing programmes in Tanzania

Period	Housing paradigm	Strategy
1950s 1960s	State provision (the provider)	Slum clearance, public housing estates, tight central planning controls (stringent respect of standards, regulations etc.) and state led urban development including planning
1970s 1980s	Aided self-help (the enablement strategy)	Relaxing of urban planning standards, extending state aid to low income groups to build or improve own houses (upgrading schemes)
1990s onwards	Urban management infrastructure facilities improvement (the governance model)	Emphasis on mobilisation and recognition of role played by of various actors; efficient local management and effective use of scarce resources. Increased acknowledgement of the potential of the private sector and use of Public-Private Partnerships in urban development; Reduced direct state involvement

Source: Adopted from (Mushumbusi, 2011)

Different institutions were established by the Tanzanian government in the struggle to address housing problems in the country. These include the establishment of the National Housing Corporation (NHC) in 1962. The aim was to build housing especially for the purpose of contributing to the housing supply. Other institutions were the establishment of the Revolving Housing Fund for Workers (1962); the acquisition of Buildings and the Building Acquisition Act (1971) and establishment of registration of buildings. Later in 1972, the Tanzania Housing Bank (THB) which was established to provide housing loans; for the purpose of facilitating research in building materials, the Building Research Unit (BRU) was established in 1971 followed by the Ardhi Institute, as an Institute for training land-based professionals. Other policy decisions are the formulation of the National Urban Development Policy (1980); the National Housing Development Policy (1981); the National Land Policy (1995); the Land Act (1999) and the Human Development Policy (2000) (Mushumbusi, 2011). Each institution has tried to address issues relating to urban housing and land development in the country but the problem related to the proliferation of informal housing persist.

The government started to implement slum clearance in the 1960s and later, in the 1970s site and service scheme and a squatter upgrading programme was introduced to check problems of

informal housing development. The ambitious intentions of trying to intervene and formalise informal settlement is underscored in the national human settlements development policy:

The government policy entailed the recognition of squatter settlement...legalising landholding by titling; providing a minimum level of social and economic infrastructure and services in squatter settlement; providing planned, surveyed and serviced plots for new residential areas; and providing house improvement and house construction loans in squatter settlement and in the new sites and services areas respectively (NHSDP, 2000).

The intentions no doubt sounds good and promising, however, implementation has been a problem due to challenges including being donor dependent, serviced plots ending up being accessed by the middle and high income groups and problems associated with poor cost recovery. With these weaknesses, it has not been easy to accommodate the actual needs of all urban dwellers that are linked to the broad aspect of 'human settlements'.

The established National Housing Corporation (NHC) planned to build 10,000 housing units between 1969 and 1974. This plan was not achieved because only 50 percent of the units were built. Between 1976 and 1981, the target set by NHC to erect 7,500 units; however only 200 housing units were built (Gabrielsen, 1981 in Mushumbusi, 2011). This shows that even public institutions failed to perform or deliver, thus compounding the problem of housing, especially for the urban poor.

For a country where the key provider of housing was and still is the private sector, the position of the government is largely to create regulatory frameworks that can guide and enable different stakeholders to participate sustainably in urban housing provision. No wonder informal housing has become an integral and important urban housing delivery system. Salehe (2007), in his study of integrating formal and informal settlements and housing delivery systems in Tanzania, argues that the formal and informal systems have entered into a strong marriage that cannot easily be separated by laws and regulations. For the existing formal land development regulatory frameworks to conceive urban shelter delivery strategy outside the informal margin is wrong and a misplaced strategy that disregards the reality.

According to Salehe (2007), the government was over-ambitious after independence in attempting to provide highly subsidised housing accommodation to each citizen (Makoba, 2001 in Salehe, 2007). The few houses that were built ended up in the hands of few well-off people excluding the majority of the population. Besides, failure of the government to foresee the outcome of decision to replace informal settlements with the 'decent' settlements (under slum clearance programme) basically led to the emergence and growth of informal settlements instead of reducing it.

In an effort to fulfill the United Nations' Habitat Agenda II and the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements Development; and in order to incorporate the social component in shelter provision, the Governments in Tanzania changed the name of the Ministry of Lands, Urban Development to the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development. The emphasis on human:

Human settlement should offer equal socio-economic opportunities to all members of the society for their material, social, spiritual, and cultural advancement. Promotion of the development of equitable, safe, and sustainable human settlements is a means to engender greater freedom, democracy, peace and stability in the country (NHSDP, 2000).

To date, the target of attaining adequate and affordable shelter for all citizens as long-lasting, strong, safe and lawfully secure, easily reached and which goes with the way of life and living lifestyle of the dwellers is far from being reached. With the current national economic conditions where the informal sector is the main sector, it is not easy to tell who earns what and who is doing what to earn an income. Persons engaged in the formal sector are known, but because of low salaries they receive, they are forced to supplement their income by engaging in informal income generating enterprises. The latter include keeping livestock, operating retail stalls or construction of rental housing often in informal settlements, because buildable formal land or plots are not easily available.

4.1.2 The impact of political and economic reforms on housing delivery

Between 1985 and early 1990s; major economic and political reforms were experienced in Tanzania. Increasingly, many people emigrated from rural areas in search of jobs and better life especially to major urban centres including the city of Dar es salaam. The political system was transformed from a single party to a multi-party system in 1992. As a result, the country experienced huge consolidation and increase of informal housing as the private sector grew. Individual developers have since become the major promoters of housing. Some parastatal organisations dealing with commercial real estate developments, trying to fill the gap in housing delivery, this includes involvement by the Tanzania Housing Bank (THB) and the National Housing Cooperation (NHC) in 1986/1987 (Salehe, 2007).

Increased accumulation of surplus by the private sector few individuals motivated them to invest in urban land development especially in the Central Business District (CBD). Some of these have been displacing the indigenous dwellers (occupying Swahili houses) buying them off in order to construct high-rise buildings (example Kariakoo); displaced households have been forced to search for new resettlement areas. Most of the people who are displaced are low income earners. When the displacement intensified after the 1990s, there existed very few surveyed plots as well as serviced plots³⁶. Some of the cash many got from selling to potential developers was used to purchase land or property in the informal settlements including lands outside the city and in the peri-urban areas (Salehe, 2007). For example an eviction victim who had relocated in an agricultural land with little infrastructure in the Goba area of Dar es Salam was forced to relocate from Mwenge area in 1992 because the area was declared a planning area by the government. The government relocated the settlers to Goba, the latter was an agricultural land which is now in an infant socially and economically mixed (heterogeneous area) informal settlement growing towards consolidation stage. During a discussion³⁷ he said:

I have been living here in Goba since 1997. We were forced to vacate from Mwenge area where I was living before because it was declared a planning area. This was my farm so I was living in

³⁶ Number of surveyed plots increased somehow following the commencement of the 20,000 Plots Project between the financial year 2002/2003 to 2005/2006.

³⁷ The discussion was conducted with him in March, 2011 during a preliminary study in Dar es salaam

Mabibo and working in the market. Water and electricity is a problem here but at least we have a road.

In Goba area activities (for example construction) take place without any restriction or regulations. People are free to plant or construct houses without restrictions or standards. Most of the houses are built incrementally.

4.1.3 Individuals as urban land developers

Authorities and actors involved in housing have not been able to meet the demands of housing, making the deficit of housing stock to be 2,200,000 by the time the National Human Development Policy was in place (NHSDP, 2000). This was the shortage of housing units twelve years ago, one can imagine what the current deficit is, given the resource constraints the formal housing (including land) delivery systems has been facing.

The Tanzanian government through the National Human Settlement Development Policy is encouraging individual efforts in housing delivery (NHSDP, 2000). This is an important strategy that could work better if majority of citizens could have access to loans from financial institutions. The incomes of most Tanzanians are largely informal and are too low and unpredictable to meet the conditionalities of conventional financial institutions.

Supplementing the housing delivery in the formal sector, individual developers are faced with many financial challenges. This can be observed where most urban residences in Tanzania including Dar es Salaam have to rely on their long painfully accumulated savings to build a house. After many years of struggle and stress, some inhabitants can afford to have a shelter mostly in the informal areas. Haygen and Lemmens (2006) in Salehe (2007) argue that informality manifests itself in painful self-help construction years, before services and infrastructure are provided.

The decision to buy property or build a house is normally made at an individual or familial level. However, the situation becomes complicated when provision of services and infrastructure has to be done, then the process to involve other stakeholders including those in the formal and or

informal service delivery systems. It may also entail involvement of neighbours because of the need to solicit their support or cooperation especially land where they can lay pipes or electric lines on is required. Also in some areas, negotiations may be made and agreements reached between people sharing same problems, so as to pull together resources to expedite access services. Where an agreement is not reached, conflicts may arise. Where a Community Based Organization exists; it may assist in brokering agreement and consensus; it may also assist in soliciting with external resources in accessing funds.

4.1.4 Involvement of Community Based Organization (CBOc) in urban land development

In the process of trying to solve problems related to urban land development, infrastructure provision, and the like, dwellers in informal settlements may establish Community Based Organizations (CBOs) as a facilitating vehicle. When a community is organised, it may give way for other actors including higher government actors to support the initiative. It can be recalled that in 1992, International Labour Organisation (ILO) decided to extend financial support to a CBO established in Hanna Nassif informal settlement in Dar es Salaam, the Kinondoni Municipality. The pilot project focused mainly on urban infrastructure improvement works (Salehe, 2007). Later the government integrated the project into the UN-Habitat funded project Sustainable City Programme (SCP) which at the city level, was named Sustainable Dar es salaam Project. In other developing countries, informal settlements seem to have played a positive role where common interests existed. Issues of common concern resistance attempts to evict settlers in informal areas, need to improve basic infrastructure services in general, housing improvements especially in relation to land tenure and improvement of legal status (Lupala, 1995 in Salehe, 2007).

Processes of slum clearance or elimination, upgrading and formalisation are rooted in integrating informal settlement into urban fabric. Government interventions like the ‘surveying of the 20,000 plots’ project required a large piece of land which means some people or land occupiers had to be compensated and evicted. One may question the timing of intervention by local government authorities in informal areas. Why does it often happen that this is done after people have acquired and invested heavily (i.e. are more densified)? Why not before? Where do the city authorities hide until housing density and overcrowding become apparent? What happens to

evicted people? The subject of informality is not only touching the ‘urban poor’ but also the people who are not poor i.e. middle and high income socio-economic groups. In such mixed income settlements intervention becomes complicated because the value of properties on land is different ranging from temporary to permanent structures; and also their needs of services differ.

4.1.5 Informal settlements heterogeneity and predicament on urban land development

As noted before, Dar es Salaam is characterised by informal settlements of various kinds including heterogeneous ones. Some of the settlements comprise high density, with predominantly the urban poor; this is the case, especially in the inner city settlements. In literature, most informal settlements are predominantly occupied by the low income group of people, however in Dar es Salaam, informal settlements areas can be categorised into three different groups: predominantly low income areas, predominantly medium income areas and predominantly mixed income areas (Kombe, 1995; Kyessi, 2002; Sheuya, 2004; Msami, 2008; Mrema, 2008; Mushumbusi, 2011).

The predominantly low income areas

The housing in such settlements is largely built of low quality building materials. Basic infrastructure services including water supply, storm water drainage and sanitation are scanty. These settlements are scattered in various areas of the city they include Mbagala Kibondemaji, Yombo Kilakala and Tandika. About 52 percent of all major informal settlements in Dar es Salaam fall under this category (Kyessi, 1999)³⁸.

The predominantly medium income areas

The settlements in this category consist of structures built of permanent or semi-permanent building materials. Some basic infrastructure services may exist for example, electricity, water supply, sanitation i.e. septic tanks or cesspit system. Their location is mostly on the urban fringes including near large public institutions such as universities or other large public/private institutions. Such settlements include Tabata Kimanga, Majumba Sita Sitakishari, and Mbezi Luis/Kibamba. Different steps have been taken by house owners to improve their houses. The

³⁸ *Rapid Settlement Appraisal Survey, January, 1999*

sizes of the plots are often bigger than in the low income areas, and fairly good access roads also exist (ibid).

The predominantly mixed income areas

Mixed income settlements accommodate both the poor and affluent households. Such settlements experience rapidly changing land value which depicts the development dynamics especially vibrancy of land or property market. The main focus of this study is on this category i.e. the mixed income informal settlements. Such settlements include Mlalakuwa, Kunduchi Mtongani, Makongo and Mabibo External. Kyessi's rapid informal settlements appraisal to identify categories of settlements in Dar es Salaam namely low income, middle income or high income is presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Status of informal settlements

No	Settlement	Low income	Medium income	Mixed income
1	Manzese Tandale			X
2	Mwananyamala Mbuyuni	X		
3	Mwananyamala Kopa, Kinondoni "A"	X		
4	Mwananyamala Kisiwani	X		
5	Kinondoni Shamba	X		
6	Hannna Nassif	X		
7	Mikoroshini			X
8	Mlalakuwa/Survey			X
9	Kawe			
10	Mikocheni			
11	Namanga			X
12	Makongo Juu			X
13	Kimara			X
14	Ubungo Kibangu			
15	Ubungo Kisiwani			X
16	Mabibo	X		
17	Mabibo External			X
18	Magomeni Makuti			X
19	Mburahati	X		
20	Ubungo Msewe			X
21	Kunduchi Mtongani			X
22	Tegeta/Wazo Hill	X		
23	Changanyikeni			X
24	Kijitonyama/Ali Maua			X
25	Mbezi Luis/Kibamba		X	
26	Temeke	X		
27	Tandika	X		
28	Tombo Vituka/Dovya	X		
29	Yombo Kilakala	X		
30	Mbagala Kuu	X		
31	Mbagala KirubugwaNzasa	X		
32	Mbagala Kibondemaji	X		
33	Mbagala Rangi Tatu	X		
34	Shimo la Udongo/Kurasini	X		

35	Mtoni Kijichi			
36	Chang'ombe	X		
37	Keko	X		
38	Kigamboni Midizini			X
39	Tuamoyo			X
40	Tungi			X
41	Mtoni	X		
42	Buguruni	X		
43	Vingunguti	X		
44	Kiwalani	X		
45	Kigogo	X		
46	Ilala Mchikichini	X		
47	Tabata Mtambani, Relini			X
48	Tabata Kimanga		X	
49	Kipunguni			X
50	Ukonga			X
51	Gongo la Mboto			X
52	Majumba Sita, Sitakishari		X	
53	Kipawa	X		
54	Karakata			X

Source: Rapid Settlement Appraisal Survey, January, 1999 in Kyessi, 1999

The survey shows that in Dar es Salaam, there are several informal settlements which are in the 'mixed' category. These are mostly located in the peri-urban areas. One of the questions that arises is what challenges do developers encounter for example in accessing basic services or in accessing the plots? How do the varying social and income status influence access to services or collective qualities? Another interesting question is what happens when there is lack of cooperation between the poor and the rich.

During a discussion³⁹ with one of the mixed informal settlements inhabitants in Mlalakuwa Dar es Salaam, it was observed that some people who were previously living in formal settlements searched for plots and settled in informal settlements. Some have serviced their plots through collaborative initiatives:

I have been the owner of this low density plot since 1984; before moving here I was living in Magomeni area (*high density planned area*) with my family after migrating from Moshi - Kilimanjaro (*another region*). I am a businessman and the utilities you see here have been provided through joint efforts with my neighbours.

³⁹ The discussion was conducted during the preliminary study in Dar es salaam in March, 2011

Building materials which were used to construct the houses are permanent. The finishings include tiles for the roof; aluminium window frames and glass and concrete blocks. The demand for land is high because the area is located near Universities which are experiencing huge shortage of accommodation for student and staff. There is no security or police post nearby, portable water, access roads as well as electricity. The question is what happens to a neighbour who cannot contribute or whose plots are too small to be in a position to donate land for improvement of access roads which are desperately required by those who own cars? Figure 19 gives a highlight of different context in Mlalakuwa mixed informal settlement.



Access (main entrance)road to Mlalakuwa settlement from University road



Temporary low income house (middle income structure fenced)



High walls creating lonely streets, erected by high income landlords



Pockets of undeveloped land

Figure 19: Images from Mlalakuwa settlement in Dar es Salaam
Source: Preliminary study in Dar es Salaam March, 2011

Trying to address community problems in a collaborative approach presents both advantages and disadvantages. One of the advantages includes easiness to implement a project for example, in regard to contributing resources (in cash and in kind) intended to be used in improving access roads, or other basic services in the neighbourhood. But the disadvantage relates to cases where a stakeholder may decide not to cooperate in the process refusing to donate land required to improve infrastructure services. Some cases can be potential areas of conflicts in mixed income areas for example where those with small plot sizes dump waste in public areas such as streets. The extent of development including building or house types (low or high-rise) might differ depending on the economic status of the land owner as (Lupala, 2002) highlights:

Most informal settlements in Tanzania have relatively good quality of shelter and related services and infrastructure, not significantly different from those built in formal housing areas (Lupala, 2002).

The above statement indicates that there is a possibility for individuals to acquire unplanned land through informal systems, but then formalise it after building, and occupation (Figure 20).

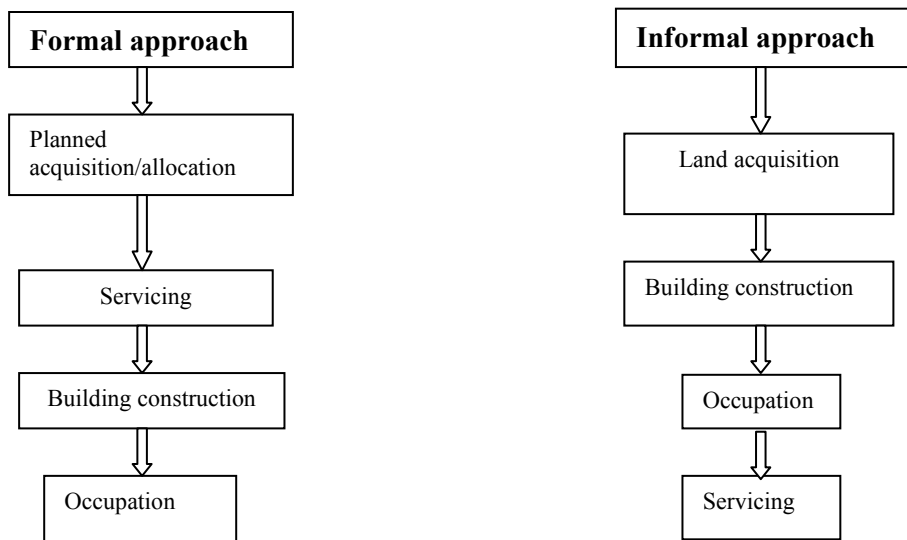


Figure 20: Formal and informal land development process differences
 Source: Author

This study seeks to understand the coexistence of mixed socio-economic groups including opportunities and intervention challenges they present in such contexts. One wonders, whether after people have shown what they have managed to do on individual plots (including low density ones) and even provided basic infrastructure services; is eviction, or upgrading still an option when it comes to government intervention in such settlements? How can the potentials exhibited by settlers be mobilised and optimised or taped to promote sustainable settlement development in informal housing?

4.2 Housing adjustment and gentrification

In many cases, urban households undergo changes over time (Table 16); population growth due to immigration and natural growth increase housing demand. People move in and out from a settlement or house, while others are born. This means that even the needs changes. To accommodate the changes, the physical structure of houses also undergoes incremental processes or transformation:

Housing should be seen as a process of constant transformation and endless variations. There is certainly a lot to be learnt by looking at user transformation as it unfolds in a continuing open ended process of unexpected developments (Salama, 1998 cited in Nguluma, 2003).

Regulatory frameworks often treat houses as a stagnant structures whereby each small change in building construction requires approval by local authorities. In conceptualising housing transformation, Seek (1983) cited in Sheuya (2004), argues that few owner-occupier households are likely to remain contented with their housing for an indefinite period because of altering housing demands that are caused by changes in households due to socio-economic circumstances, differences in housing attributes and changes in housing prices and other external influences. The transformation does not occur accidentally, but depends on an event that necessitates it. For example, arrival of new relatives, children, or parents from rural homes may require additional space. The need might arise but for the housing transformation to take place there are determining factors like income, wealth and status (Sheuya, 2004). The adjustments can be through the making of improvements to the existing dwelling (often this is not the case among tenants but homeowners), moving to a more suitable dwelling (this is mostly applicable to tenant than homeowners), or move and then improve the dwelling. Also dissatisfaction with the

dwelling may also cause people to move and purchase land somewhere else, in turn, this may give rise to gentrification in the area, whereby a run-down or aging housing or neighbourhoods are transformed as more prosperous or well-off people buy off the poor and invest in remodelling buildings or houses.

Freedom to build without much restriction in unplanned areas gives urban dwellers opportunities to develop land spontaneously through house transformation. These transformations do take place horizontally or vertically (Nguluma, 2003; Sheuya, 2004). As a result, plots which may have started as medium or low density end up being high density.

Often housing density depends on the stage of growth or settlement consolidation. Informal settlements differ in the stages they are in terms of land use and intensity of house development that has taken place. The stages can be grouped in three different patterns; the infancy stage, the booming or consolidation stage and the saturation stage (Kyessi, 2002, Limbumba, 2010).

Table 16: Stages of informal settlement formation and their associated characteristics

Infancy stage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Small, homogeneous native population. 2. Small informal economic sector 3. Slow population growth due mainly to natural increase 4. Migrants attracted from nearby city 	<p>Land development in the periphery. This is the starting stage.</p> <p>Predominantly agriculture or bush land, scattered houses mostly owned by indigenous land occupiers but where land is increasingly being cleared by nonsettlers and landlords for non subsistence farming.</p>	<p>Formation Stage</p> <p>Located in the peri-urban zone</p>
Consolidation stage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ethnic heterogeneity increases. 2. Expanding economic base, mainly informal/service activities. 3. Population growth shaped by migration, mainly from parts of the country other than the city. 4. Increasing population, first at an increasing rate than at a decreasing rate. 	<p>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.</p>	<p>Transition Stage</p> <p>Located in the intermediate zone</p>

Saturation stage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High ethnic heterogeneity 2. Economic base of settlement continues to expand. 3. Settlement largely dependent on city for jobs 4. Natural increase dominates in population growth. 5. Settlement still attracts migrants from all parts of the country, but most would come from the city because of its proximity. 6. Settlement functions as low-class suburb of the city. 	<p>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:</p> <p>Terminal Stage.</p>	<p>Will be located in the inner zone of the city about 3-4 km from CBD</p>
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Source: Limbumba, 2010

The infancy stage

These are the informal settlements at the formation stage, i.e. where house development is just beginning. Here, houses are often scattered and most of the land is used for agricultural purposes (Kyessi 2002). Agricultural land use including crops such as coconuts, cashew maize, these are gradually cleared to allow house construction. The availability of technical infrastructure is often inadequate thus some households may rely on wells or water vendors for water supply. This type of settlements can be observed in Tungi, Goba, Rangi Tatu, Yombo Dovya, and many other peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam.

The booming or consolidation stage

In this stage, land use is largely changing from agriculture to residential use (Kyessi, 2002). Immigrants from various parts are therefore gradually displacing the farmers. Land is subdivided into smaller portions and sold mainly for house development. Most of such settlements are located in-between city centre and the peri-urban area. Infrastructure is gradually improved by individual and community or local government authority efforts. Examples of such settlements at booming stage are Kimara, Changanyikeni, Makongo, Tegeta, Tabata and Mbagala.

The saturation stage

These are densely built informal settlements in the inner city (Kombe, 1997), where land development pressure is high (Hakuyu, 1995 in Kyessi, 2002), due to high land value and demand. Horizontal expansion is often limited or restrained so intensification is largely through vertical extension, infill and gentrification. Some have good access to basic services and some not.

Kyessi's rapid settlement appraisal survey of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam; lead to the categorisation of informal settlements as shown in Table 17. What is critical to emphasise here is that many of the settlements in the three categories are occupied by mixed income groups.

Table 17: Stages of informal settlement growth in Dar es Salaam

No	Settlement	Infancy Stage	Booming Stage	Saturation Stage
1	Manzese Tandale			X
2	Mwananyamala Mbuyuni			X
3	Mwananyamala Kopa, Kinondoni "A"			X
4	Mwananyamala Kisiwani			X
5	Kinondoni Shamba			X
6	Hannna Nassif			X
7	Mikoroshini			X
8	Mlalakuwa/Survey			X
9	Kawe			X
10	Mikocheni			X
11	Namanga			X
12	Makongo Juu		X	
13	Kimara		X	
14	Ubungo Kibangu		X	
15	Ubungo Kisiwani			X
16	Mabibo			X
17	Mabibo External		X	
18	Magomeni Makuti			X
19	Mburahati			X
20	Ubungo Msewe			X
21	Kunduchi Mtongani		X	
22	Tegeta/Wazo Hill		X	
23	Changanyikeni		X	
24	Kijitonyama/Ali Maua			X
25	Mbezi Luis/Kibamba	X		
26	Temeke			X
27	Tandika			X
28	Yombo Vituka/Dovya	X		
29	Yombo Kilakala			X
30	Mbagala Kuu			X
31	Mbagala KirubugwaNzasa		X	
32	Mbagala Kibondemaji		X	
33	Mbagala Rangi Tatu		X	
34	Shimo la Udongo/Kurasini			X
35	Mtoni Kijichi	X		
36	Chang'ombe			X

37	Keko			X
38	Kigamboni Midizini			X
39	Tuamoyo			X
40	Tungi	X		
41	Mtoni			X
42	Buguruni			X
43	Vingunguti			X
44	Kiwalani			X
45	Kigogo			X
46	Ilala Mchikichini			X
47	Tabata Mtambani, Relini			X
48	Tabata Kimanga		X	
49	Kipunguni		X	
50	Ukonga		X	
51	Gongo la Mboto		X	
52	Majumba Sita, Sitakishari		X	
53	Kipawa			X
54	Karakata		X	

*Source: Author improvised from Rapid Settlement Appraisal Survey, January, 1999 in Kyessi, 1999
(The bolded are settlements with mixed socio-economic groups)*

Because of the lack of regulatory framework in urban land development in informal settlements, most of them graduate from one stage to another. The difference is only on the determining factors that drive the changes. As may be expected settlements that were found at saturation stage by Kyessi (1999) were mostly in those in the inner city areas such as Hanna Nassif and Namanga, while those which were still in the infancy stage were mostly located in the peri-urban areas for example; Mtoni Kijichi, yombo Vituka/Dovya, Tungi and Mbezi Kibamba.

4.3 Challenges in housing regulatory framework and urban land development

4.3.1 Background and context

Regulatory frameworks in the urban land housing development can be considered as a set of rules which define conditions to be fulfilled or observed in the development of housing in formal settlements and according to housing delivery system. The term is derived from the regulatory theory, which strives to stipulate enforceable rules, codes and regulations that are needed to ensure societal harmony well-being. In the Tanzanian context, they are many and ambitious (Appendix 5). Regulation theory, inter alia, addresses institutional setting that promotes collective responsibility and coexistence. Such endeavours are necessary for protection of shared communal or social values and interests especially when discharging community obligations (Villeva, 2001 in Mushumbusi, 2011). The expectation of a society is that regulatory frameworks i.e. laws, regulations, rules, norms written and unwritten and codes to be observed in

the construction, and administrative procedures for compliance (Payne and Majale, 2004 in Mushumbusi 2011); would ensure orderly urban development by promoting a sustainable use of the scarce land including environmental conservation, its accessibility, health concerns and safety.

According to Habitat, (1985) Meijer and Visscher, (2004); Walliman and Ogden (2006) in Mushumbusi (2011), a formal regulatory framework comprises legal instruments (those based on legislation) and semi-legal instruments (those based on administration or customary practices). The informal land development system that is rapidly growing in urban Tanzanian is raising a question of the existence of regulatory frameworks. In the sense that, in most cases, there are handy 'dos and donts' or norms in regard to house construction activities and protection of collective or communal interests. Such norms exist but may not be systematically enforced leading to dysfunctional settlement structure. However, in some informal settlements of Dare s Salaam, there are cases depicting existence of a kind of informal regulatory system. These include unwritten social rules that are derived from the traditional norms and practices (Kombe and Kreibich 2000, 2006; Toulmin and Quan, 2000 in Mushumbusi, 2011). These include voluntary agreements being enforced based on social trust among community members (Kombe, 2000). Collective processes of coexistence and shared social values have been repeatedly advocated (Kombe 1995; Kombe and Kreibich 2000, 2006); Villeval Marie-Claire (2001); Mushumbusi (2011). For this kind of regulatory regime (i.e. relying on self regulation, social contracts) in a mixed-income informal settlement, arises several challenges. For instance, there could be potential conflicts among people living in a particular neighbourhood because some do not want to cooperate or do not want to respect unwritten norms proclaimed by local leaders or population.

As discussed before, most of the legal documents (including building regulations and building standards) in Tanzania were inherited from the British colonial regime. The current socio-political, geographical, and economic context of Tanzania differs remarkably from Britain. For instance Tanzania has weak resources and institutional capacities to govern urban housing land development. With such difference, it is obvious that it is unlikely that the alien regulations can be systematically enforced. The Britain has been revising the original regulations to fit the

changing situations that affect the socio-economic and institutional setting; but Tanzania has been rather slow in changing and trying to cope with the trends. Awotona (1988) cited in Salehe (2007) echoes the foregoing noting that official housing standards adopted in African cities are largely elitist, indifferent to social and economic realities, experiences and irrelevant to local culture.

4.3.2 Implementation challenges

The legal framework adopted in most countries, Tanzania included, lack reference to the local context and economy. Payne (2005) expresses disapproval of bureaucratic constraints and high planning standards, which are often based on inherited or imported norms rather than local needs and realities (Kironde, 2005). Experiences in other countries like Kenya (Yahaya, et al, 2001), Zambia (Campbell, 1990), Zimbabwe (Mafico, 1991) and Botswana (Vicking, 1995; Yahaya, 2001; Bourenanne, 2007); Knocke (1982), Mabogunje, et al (1978), Feckade, (2000) and Tipple (2000) support the Kironde and Payne observation that the top-down bureaucratic nature of the regulatory process results in overly high standards and lengthy processes that do not satisfy demand of various income groups in urban areas (Mushumbusi, 2011).

Mallpezzi (1990) presents the experience of a number of countries where regulations, including, those addressing zoning, do not consider economic costs and benefits to the society. What was appropriate in a country like Britain in 1961 might not necessarily be (directly) applicable to Tanzania. It is further noted:

About twenty five percent of land development for residential purposes is wasted in form of excessive road areas, arbitrary setbacks, and sometimes in redundant community facilities (Mallpezzi, 1990).

Bertraud and Malpezzi (2001) in Mushumbusi (2011) have used the Bertraud model⁴⁰ based on the international best practice to illustrate that some land-use standards and practices are more than generous and extravagant. On the other hand, other studies highlight that small parcelling of land in some settlements has resulted in overcrowding with increasing activities that can threaten

⁴⁰ Bertraud model is used to compare the cost-benefit of alternative project design in describing efficient land-use (Mshumbusi 2011).

human safety, health and comfort (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000; Payne and Majale, 2004 in Mushumbusi 2011). Salehe (2007) argues that instead of paving the way to a smooth and successive urban land use and development especially in the building sector, the existing regulatory frameworks in Tanzania involve many institutions and long procedures of trying to fulfil rigid, unrealistic, bureaucratic requirements (Appendix 6). They become ‘blockers’ because they are designed to limit and control rather than facilitate the urban settlements and housing development; forcing people to opt for informal access to land development sector. In planned areas, plot sizes are fixed and depend on the recommended density of a settlement or neighbourhood. For example, a high density plot size is recommended to be 400 to 800 meters square, a medium density plot measures between 801 to 1600 meters square while a low density plot is proposed to be between 1601 to 4000 meters square (Salehe, 2007).

Land planning system and practice in Tanzania is also segregating people based on affordability and economic status. This segregation system was used by the colonials to emphasise racial discrimination by separating whites from Africans and Indians. Yahaya et al (2001) in Salehe (2007), observes that the use of regulatory standards without proper adaptation has enhanced social stratification instead of reconciling shelter needs. The intertwine between formal and informal can be regarded as a strong marriage that cannot easily be ignored or separated hence, it is better to integrate them than treat them as distinct entities. Regulations and standards do not seem to help people to build in a proper way and promote socio-economic welfare (ibid) instead they are worsening the housing conditions; wherever possible people tend to divert from the given controls (Turner, 1972 in Mushumbusi, 2011). This stand reflects the reality because the manner settlements are developing in Dar es Salaam makes it difficult to clearly mark the boundary between the formal and the informal.

An interesting fact is that even the so-called ‘formal’ settlements are gradually being affected by the informality phenomenon, due to unauthorised or unreinforced house transformation, redevelopment and other construction activities (Rweymamu, 2011). This can be observed in a settlement like Sinza⁴¹ where many house owners have added fences or extensions of rooms to

⁴¹ Sinza is formally planned area in Dar es Salaam. It is occupied by middle and high income people. The settlement has undergone gentrification with a lot of transformations including house extensions and fencing. Majority have

their initial houses, without seeking local government authorisation or building permits; one respondent house owner commented:

I didn't apply for a permit to erect a fence. I thought that because I had a permit for building the house, one can use it to build anything without applying for another permit (Kalugila, 2005).

The statement suggests that current regulations are inefficient even in the formal system (Mpapasingo, 1996 in Salehe 2007; Rweymamu, 2011); an average of seven hundred units per year of housing was built without building permits between 1973 and 1979. The actual average annual increase was 2,200 units, indicating that more than sixty percent of houses per year were built against the law (Kange, 1995 in Salehe, 2007). One may wonder what stringent building regulations are for if the few existing formal settlements that are accommodating about thirty percent of Dar es Salaam urban dwellers are being informalised. Schon (1971); Lauer and Lauer (2002); and Hart (2005); in Mushumbusi, (2011) have observed the coexistence of the formal/informal in cities with unregulated urban growth; especially where there is increasing diversity in urban population. They suggest that formality is always fabricated into bureaucratic forms as an unstipulated content. Giving a connotation that to accomplish a formal order, one is bound to undergo many procedures that do not necessarily meet the terms of the formal requirements. Figure 21 shows the formal and informal sectors inter-linked or related system.

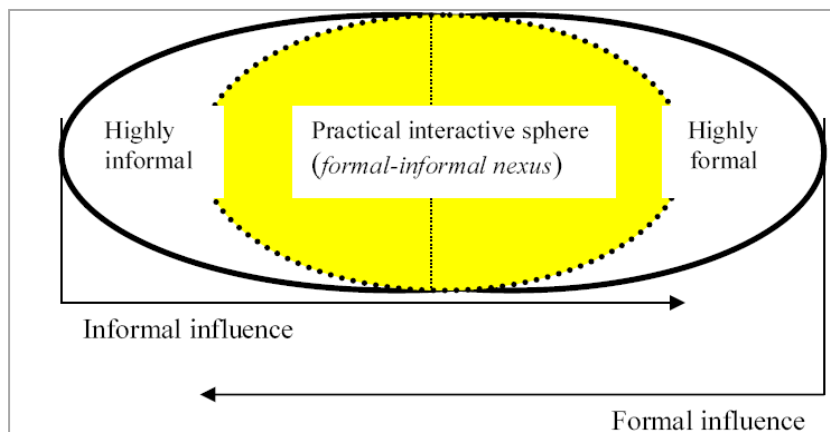


Figure 21: Conceptualisation of formal-informal elements in process

Source: Mushumbusi, 2011:22

done this without seeking permission from the urban authority leading to chaos, road blocking and disaster in service issues (Kalugila, 2005).

The imagination of a situation where all is i.e. practiced by 100 percent, the system tend to be too rigid and counterproductive, on the other hand, total informality tends to give rise to chaotic and thus many counterproductive to sustainable development. In blending the two practices considering historical, geographical, economic, societal, cultural and technological factors the challenge is how to bring them together (Mushumbusi, 2011) especially in mix formal or informal housing and land tenure.

The whole process of land development for housing is dependent on the kind of house or land tenure. The use of land depends on who is in charge and who has the power over it. As note earlier, in Tanzania, land is officially owned by the State where the president is the custodian on behalf of the citizens (Appendix 7).

4.4 Conceptualisation

In science basic ideas can be illustrated in a concise communicative manner using concepts. Also concepts are used by scientists in the process of categorising, structuring, ordering and generalising their experiences and observations. A collection of concepts which together provide an understanding of how a phenomenon is built up and can be used to create a theory (Lundequist, 1999 in Bulamile, 2009). Through scientific concepts, the empirical world is given an order and logic that could not be adequately comprehended before conceptualisation. By serving as components of theory; concepts gives explanation; prediction and better understanding of the study phenomena (Bulamile, 2009).

Figure 22 shows the challenges in meeting housing demands in cities under rapid urban growth and unsatisfactory formal land delivery system; hence leading to dependency on informal land delivery system. The urban growth rate consists of a population that is composed of low, middle and high income persons putting pressure and increasingly fuelling urban housing demands. As noted earlier informal settlement can be categorised into predominantly low income settlements, predominantly middle income settlements and predominantly high income settlements.

There is a link between the formed informal settlements and the urban land development regulatory framework. The coexistence of dwellers in the informal settlements (mixed informal

settlements in this case) is shaped by unwritten agreements, informal norms and rules and legal, political and socio-economic dynamics of urban land development.

The housing demand in an informal context that is composed of different socio-economic structure and a challenged regulatory framework results into heterogeneity in informal land development whereby resources (in kind and in cash) can be tapped; links and connections to political power and support. Informality can also lead to refusal or disrespect of the norms (potentials for conflicts). All these factors are linked to and have an influence on processes taking place in informal urban land development; actors participating in the development processes; different decisions made and instruments used.

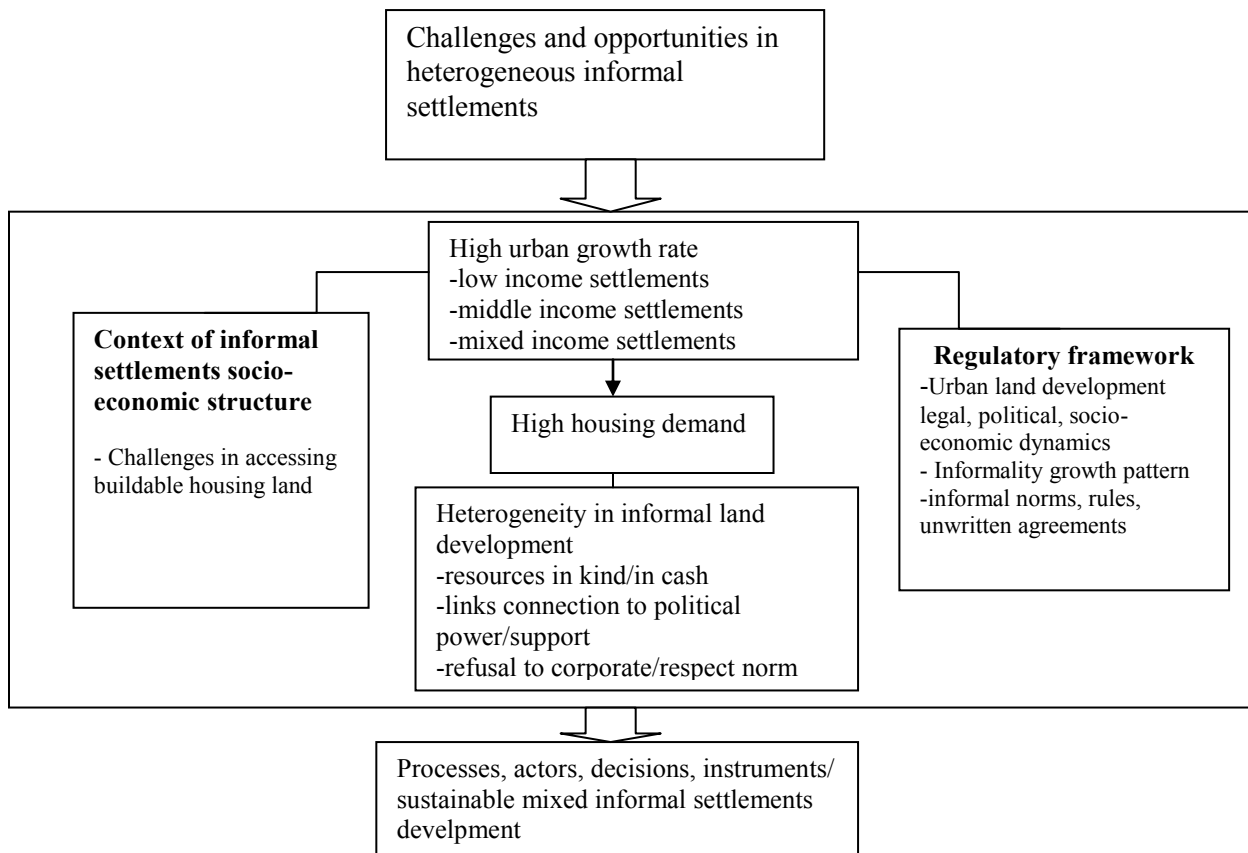


Figure 22: Conceptual framework

Source: Author

4.5 Summary

The influence of legal, politics, social-economic factors, and culture have been discussed in chapter four. It has been observed that housing is larger than shelter alone. It involves a bigger system which is influenced by all aspects that revolve around human's everyday life. The government of Tanzania has been trying to tackle housing demand in urban areas including Dar es Salaam but the challenges are bigger than its capacity to cope. Attempts to bridge the housing gap has been done by government institutions including NHC as well as the private sector. Individual developers are also playing their role in housing themselves and others i.e. rental home. Problems such as financial constrains in access to buildable land have been shadowing these efforts. Laws and regulations in housing development have influenced informality that now prevails in all cities in the country. It is increasingly becoming difficult to draw a sharp boundary between the formal and informal areas in Dar es Salaam because some of the formal areas are slowly being informalised i.e. Sinza, Magomeni etc. The existing legal framework in the building industry is facing many challenges that require collective efforts from all relevant stakeholders to resolve. In an attempt to frame and identify the key variables relevant to this study a conceptual framework has been prepared. It evolved from the literature reviewed, my experience as an architect who has lived in an informal settlement, as well as from selected theories.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research strategy

According to Yin (1994, 2009), the selection of research strategy has to be guided by the type of research questions, the control the investigator has over actual behavioural events and the nature of the research issue i.e. contemporariness or historical attributes. It may also be appropriate and feasible to use more than one research strategy despite their diverse logical assumptions. The key research strategies include survey; experiments, history or archival studies and case study. Each of this has different context depending on the nature of the issue and question being raised. Different questions can be raised including those focusing on who, what, where, how many, how much, or why. For instance in historical studies control over behavioural events is not required and they do not focus on contemporary event (Table 18). On the other hand, experiments require and mean the researcher has control over behavioural events and variables being analysed. He or she can therefore manipulate them in different ways.

Table 18: Relevant situations for different research strategies

Strategy	Form of research question	Required control over behavioural events / variables	Focuses on contemporary events
Survey	Who, what, where, how many, how much	No	Yes
Experiment	How, why	Yes	Yes
History	How, why	No	No
Case study	How, why	No	Yes

Source: Yin, 1994 cited in Sheuya, 2004

Emergence of mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements in urban areas in Tanzania is a contemporary issue largely influenced by, among other factors unprecedented urbanisation. The research issue first, concerns real life, and second, intends to address contemporary issues in real life context of settlers living in many informal settlements. That is, the existence of socio-economic heterogeneity in informal settlements is a phenomenon that is a reality in many informal settlements. For instance, there are many University dons (and other middle and high income persons) who have built houses and live in the informal settlements surrounding the Ardhi University and the University of Dar es Salaam. Also various persons (low, high, middle income) live in these settlements because of varying reasons and have built not only houses, but also established networks and other socio-economic and cultural contacts and values which have become part of their lives. What is clear is that socio-economic heterogeneity phenomenon

cannot be separated from the very context it is embedded (Yin 1984: 23, 2009; Kombe, 1995: 52-53). That is, the context is part and parcel of the phenomenon. The inability to separate or disconnect the subjects of study and processes from the context implies that the researcher cannot control or manipulate the behaviour of the events. This makes the case study strategy the most appropriate approach.

Furthermore, Yin correctly argues that the case study research approach is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; it fits well when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984: 23, 2009). In a case study, the exploration on the 'why' question can lead to a situation where it is not constrained by predetermined categories of analysis. It can be explained through detailed description and analysis of cases and direct quotations (as the responses from interviews have been presented in the empirical part of this study). Open-ended narratives can be used without trying to fit program actions or people's experiences into predestined, consistent grouping such as the response choices that comprise of typical questionnaires (Sheuya, 2004). Moreover, the decision which gives rise to socio-economic heterogeneity emanate from individual concerns and considerations. Human behaviour is context-dependent and the case study method, especially the use of narratology is a suitable strategy in studies or researches of human conduct or social sciences. It is capable of capturing course of action and context-dependent knowledge (Foster, 1990; Burra, 2006). In relation to deep understanding of phenomena when using case study, Patton (1987) in Sheuya (2004) argues:

Case studies become particularly useful where one needs to understand some particular problem or situation in great depth, and where one can identify cases rich in information...in the sense that a great deal can be learned from a few examples of the phenomenon in question (Sheuya, 2004).

The mixed socio-economic groups (low, middle and high) or households living in informal settlements are part of the context and are fully embedded in the socio-economic, cultural and physical environment. As such one can hardly mark a boundary between the households and the context within which they are embedded. No wonder a detailed contextual analysis as suggested by Yin is an instrumental strategy. Furthermore, case study research strategy is selected and was

adopted in this work through studying Makongo mixed informal settlement with the aim of attaining in-depth information which was necessary to explore and explain how socio-economic heterogeneity among settlers in an informal settlements can influence their everyday life. A case study can have more variables of interest than data points, also rely on multiple sources of evidence that can be deployed to converge in a triangulating manner, and can benefit from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 1994, 2009; Sheuya, 2004). Example of multiple sources of data used in this study included documented sources, photographs and maps, guided interviews, media reports (TV news and programmes, news paper clips). As a methodology, case study has been misunderstood by some researchers, there are five points of case study misunderstandings and clarifications by Flyvbjerg (2001) in Sheuya 2004:

Table 19: Misconception and clarifications on case studies

	Misconceptions	Clarifications/corrections (as quoted)
1	Theoretical knowledge, which is by definition context-independent, is more valuable than concrete and practical knowledge (context-dependent).	Predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete context – dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vein search for predictive theories and universals.
2	It is not possible to generalize from a case study. As result, case studies cannot contribute to the development of scientific knowledge.	One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas “the power of the good example” is underestimated.
3	Case studies are not suitable for theory building or testing hypotheses. They are useful for generating hypotheses.	The case study is useful for both generating and testing hypotheses but is not limited to these research activities alone.
4	Case studies have the bias of confirming the preconceived ideas of the researcher.	The case study contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry. On the contrary, experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias towards falsification of preconceived notions than towards verification.
5	It is not always easy to use case studies to develop general propositions and theories.	It is correct that summarizing case studies is often difficult, especially as concerns process. The problems in summarizing case studies, however, are due to more often to the properties of the reality studied than to the case study as a research method. Often it is not desirable to summarize and generalize case studies. Good studies should be read in their entirety.

Source: Compiled from Flyvbjerg, 2001 in Sheuya, 2004

5.2 Research design

A research design is a road map, or sequence of carrying out and accomplishing a research activity. It outlines the logical sequence of key events on data collection versus research issues or questions, coding and analysis and drawing conclusion related to the research questions. It is therefore a research framework which displays the action plan or programme of action towards execution of a research (Figure 23).

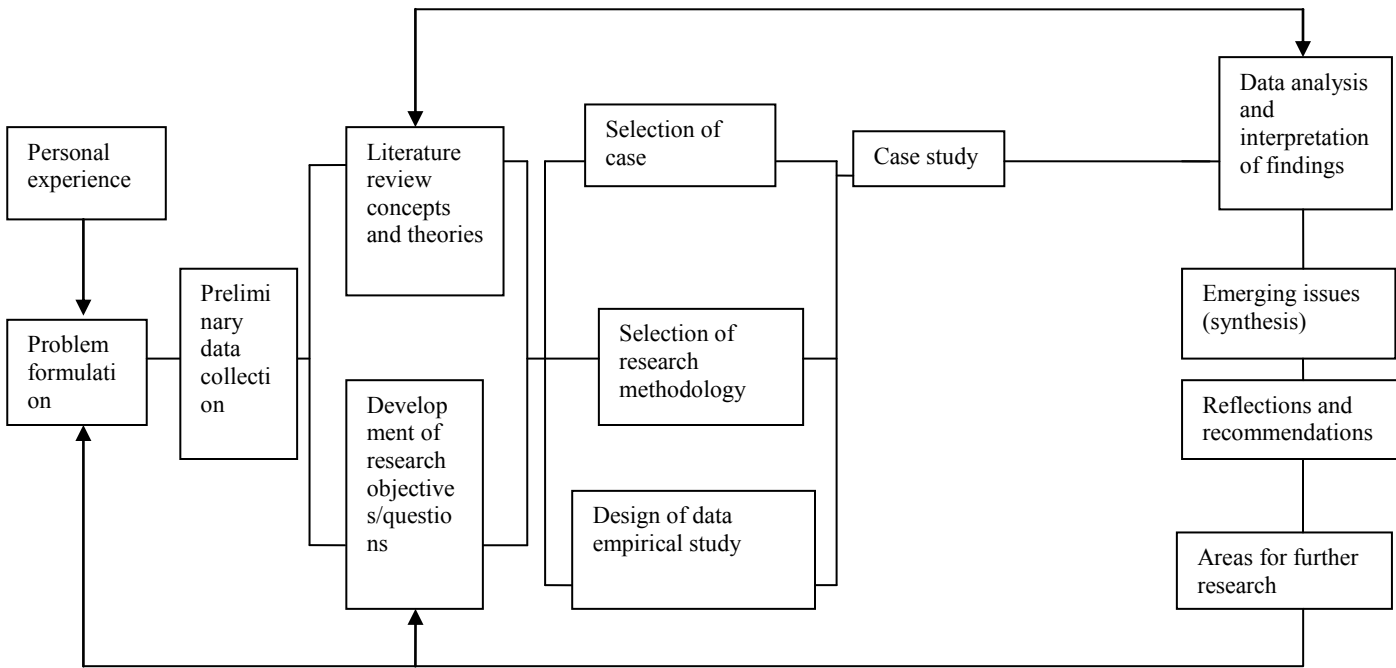


Figure 23: Research design and process
 Source: Adopted and modified from Lupala 2002; Bulamile, 2009; Ntyankuze, 2011

5.3 Selection of case study area

Selection of study area that can give the greatest amount of information on the phenomenon is a challenge. In case study approach, a researcher has to search for information rich cases, which Sheuya (2004) identify those from which one can learn noticeably about essential matters or the phenomenon being studied.

Although most urban centres in Tanzania have been experiencing high urbanisation trends and uncontrolled growth of informal settlements over the past four decades, this study was conducted in Dar es Salaam City. The choice of Dar es Salaam city was made for various reasons. First, Dar es Salaam is the largest industrial, commercial and administrative centre in Tanzania thus it has a huge potential to represent a wide mixture of socio-economic groups; Secondly, because of its rich socio-economic base, a wide range of information rich cases (i.e. existence of informal settlements with (many) settlers with varying socio-economic background) from which the case study areas can be selected exist.

The cosmos for this study is mixed informal settlements of Dar es Salaam. Identification, qualification and selection of one study area in order to meet the aim of answering the research

questions from existing informal settlements in Dar es Salaam were informed by background information. This included informal interviews, reconnaissance, observations and background knowledge on Dar es Salaam. Also in addition, background knowledge on some informal settlements and existing secondary data, previous studies and maps helped. Only one area was chosen, primarily because one case is considered sufficient to explore and respond to the questions posed thus also fits fairly well with time and resource constraints. Settlements that do not meet the selection criteria were systematically eliminated leaving only a few for weighting points.

Table 20: Condition for settlement to be considered in the study

No	Criteria	Points
1	An area that is depicting a rich mixture of income groups displayed by varying quality houses (poor, middle ,high)	10
2	An area that has potential for urban development conflict issues and have fences, and encroachments of public areas	8
3	An area that is not yet saturated but is at a booming stage; thus giving an opportunity for more plot subdivisions, house alterations, and encroachment of public areas	6
4	An area that has a functioning community based organisation, and collective efforts for self-help to solving commonly felt problems	4
5	An area that is accessible and has potential for information	2

Source: Modified from Kyessi, 2002 to suit the study

Table 21: Weighting the settlements identified

No	Settlement	Criteria					Total score
		1	2	3	4	5	
1	Makongo	10	8	6	4	2	30
2	Changanyikeni	10	8	6			24
3	Mlalakuwa Survey	10	8		4		22
4	Kimara		8	6			14
5	Kunduchi Mtongani		8	6			14
6	Ukongu		8	6			14
7	Gongo la Mboto		8	6			14
8	Goba		8	6			14
9	Karakata		8	6			14
10	Ubungu Kibangu		8		4		12
11	Mabibo External		8		4		12
12	Ububgo Msewe		8		4		12
13	Kijitonyama/ Alimaua		8		4		12

Source: Modified from Kyessi, 2002 to suit the study

The settlements of Makongo, Changanyikeni and Mlalakuwa survey emerged with points more than twenty (Table 21). The area of study with highest points and meeting the criteria is Makongo which emerged with thirty points.

5.4 Data collections and analysis (methods and instruments)

In this study, data was sought by combining fieldwork data methods, sources and tools as seen in the instrumentation of research questions and information from secondary sources including published works and government reports. Table 22 and 23 instrumentalises the research questions presenting the data collection matrix. Table 23 shows different methods that were used in data collection; those which are supplementing, while Table 22 shows the summary of the link between the research objectives, research questions, variables, different sources of information, tools, and the expected end results.

Table 22: Research questions instrumentalisation

No	Objective	Research question	Variables	Source of data	Method/technique	Expected input	Expected output
1	To analyse factors that give rise to the formation of mixed (low, middle and high income) informal housing settlement	<i>What gives rise to the emergence of mixed socio – economic groups (low, middle and high income) in informal housing settlements?</i>	-availability of buildable (formal) housing land	-House owners, local leaders, written documents/information (secondary data), land authorities,	Interviews/narrations, literature search	Interview guide, documentation tools	How prospective homeowners access information about availability of land, land division and distributions, plot buying/selling procedures, and re-selling procedures; where do these people who sell their land settle after selling all their land. Who are the main buyers/sellers? And why?
			-Reasons for selection of the area and why did they prefer this area and not any other?				Peoples motives behind location selection, forces that drive people to live in a certain informal settlement, where people lived before settling in the informal settlement
2	To analyse how mixed socio-economic groups influence the settlement growth and quality of the physical environment as well as their consequences on the everyday life of residents	<i>How do mixed socio-economic groups influence settlement growth and quality of the physical environment and their consequences on the everyday life of residents?</i>	Plot development	Occupants in the house, local leaders	Interviews/narrations	Interview guide	Tenure status of the house occupiers
			Household size	Home owners Physical observation Transcend in the settlement			Number of people living in one house
			Building materials used in construction	Dwellers in the house , local leaders	Photographing, observations, note taking	documentation tools	Permanency/temporariness of houses in the settlements, material used e.g. roofing, walling, windows and doors
			Number of storey's (e.g. 1, 2, 3)				Predominant skyline of the settlement
			Plot boundary characteristics				Fencing practices, visual communication between one building to another and the buildings to the nearby streets
			Economic activities				Spaces/areas allocated for income generating activities and employment
			Recreational activities				Spaces allocated for recreational activities
			Availability of infrastructure (water, electricity, roads, waste collection, drainage systems, toilets)				How people access and maintain services e.g. water, electricity. The quality of services including streets and roads and waste management
Public facilities, (educational facilities, health facilities)	Location and distances to cover to get health and school facilities, the quality of these public services, sources of these services, who maintain them						
	Observation, interviews						

Table 22 Continue							
No	Objective	Research question	Variables	Source of data	Method/technique	Expected input	Expected output
3	To analyse potentials, challenges and their resolution processes in mixed socio - economic income groups in informal settlements	<i>What are the potentials, challenges and challenges resolution processes in mixed socio - economic income groups in informal settlements?</i>	Land tenure,	Land owners and developers, legal systems, local leaders, media	Interviews	Interview guides, questionnaires, documentation tools	Information on problems related to land and land tenure
			House tenure,				Information on problems related to house tenure, tenant - owner conflicts
			Building practices,		Observations, interviews,		How building/development practices can raise problems, conflicts among people in a settlement
			Social interactions,	Settlement Local leaders, legal systems			Relationships between settlement dwellers
			Environment,				Function ability of waste management systems, noise and air pollution Environmental status of the settlement/environmental degradation
			Infrastructure	house owners, local leaders, tenants	Difficulties encountered due to infrastructure issues		
			Legal systems		Interviews		Where and how people air their problems and conflicts they encounter, and if there is a link between formal and informal conflict resolution systems
Security,		Interviews, documents searching, observations,	Vulnerability of people to crime in the settlement				
4	To make recommendations on how to minimise conflicts arising from socio – economic heterogeneity in informal settlements	<i>How can these challenges emerging from the socio – economic heterogeneity in informal settlements be checked or minimised?</i>	- to authorities - to professionals - to land developers	Analysis and synthesis of information gathered, literature, land authority, legal framework	Data collected, literature search	Information gathered	Lessons, recommendations, way forward, suggestions for areas for further research

Source: adopted from Bulamile, 2009 and modified to suit the study

Table 23: Data collection matrix

Issue/variable	Documented sources	Analysis of photos and maps	Observation	Interviews	Photographic registration
Historical development of the city and case study settlement	V	V		S	
City level classification	V	V			
Theories and concepts	V				
Plot acquisition processes	S			V	
Reasons for settlement selection	S			V	
Land tenure	S			V	
Household size				V	
Building materials		S	V	S	V
Skyline		S	V		V
Boundary characteristics			V		V
Economic activities			V	V	V
Recreational activities			V	V	V
Infrastructure availability	S		V	V	V
Public facility availability			V	V	V
Policy analysis	V			V	
Potential, Challenges and resolutions	V			V	

Key:

V= very important

S = methods used to supplement other methods

Source: modified from Nguluma, 2003

According to Kombe (1995), when using case study approach, the researcher is not restricted to a specific kind of data collection method. During fieldwork a mixture of different methods can be used including interviews, narrations or discussions⁴² (in groups or individual) as well as observations. During data analysis and reporting, direct quotes from informants can be used to flavour the discussion and underscore the circumstance or context within which the process took place as it can be observed on the discussion part of this study. The samples of questions that were used in conducting this study and responses that were given by different groups can be seen in Appendix 10.

5.5 Reliability and validity

According to Yin (2009); reliability refers to demonstrating that the operation of the study such as data collection procedures can be repeated without changing the results. Their reliability aims at minimising the errors and biasness in a study. In this regard, it is important to make the steps involved as operational as possible and to systematically document the procedures followed. This study adopted the instrumentalisation table (Table 22) that was used to guide the link between objective of the study, research questions, sources of data, data collection techniques, expected input, and expected output.

Regarding inputs from mass media, although reports and events relating to the subject of informality have been part of the everyday news, the information from television newspapers and other sources included in this study is limited to what was happening during the duration of field work data collection and collection from past issues that could be gleaned from past newspapers. People who were interviewed were limited to professionals in urban development including lecturer and researchers at Ardhi University, officers involved in the land sector at Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development and in the local government authorities. In the case study settlement interviewees include local leaders, residents owning property or renting and children. The residents interviewed included household heads who were mostly male because they were more in charge with handling property matters in the family especially land. Woman were also interviewed in cases where the husband was dead, not available due to

⁴² In order to get informants feelings, discussions can be left to assume a conversation manner (Kombe, 1995)

appointment schedule, single mothers or women who were running petty businesses in the settlement.

A systematic database of empirical information gathered was prepared for sources which included guided questions, observations, photographic registration and media reports. Audio interviews which resulted from the guiding questions (Appendix 10) were transcribed, translated and compiled into a document. The questions were structured according to the target groups which included experts in land development (eight respondents), local community leaders nine respondents), residents of Makongo mixed informal settlement i.e. from high income group (seven respondents), from middle income group (eight respondents) from low income group (thirteen respondents) and ten children. The transcribed text was coded creating a summary of groups of questions and answers. The observed (ten houses from high income group, ten houses from middle income group and ten houses from low income group) information that was documented into tables and sketches were summarised. People who did not have time to be interviewed (thirty eight Makongo residents) were given structured questions including open ended questions to fill in and the answers (in short form) were collected after being filled. Twelve people who were not Makongo residents participated in some general questions as Dar es Salaam dwellers. Information from media that were noted together with videos and newspaper clips were transcribed, translated, summarised and grouped depending on the topic in discussion. This evidence was used to add to the empirical data highlighting the role of media in addressing informality challenges (as seen in chapter eight). Graduate fieldwork assistants were recruited and trained to assist in doing field studies. Time was dedicated to train them and ensure common understanding of the research issue by introducing them to the study including elaborate discussions on how to handle and relate with respondents i.e. in case of refusal to answer questions or demand further explanations. Pilot study was done in Dar es Salam in February and March 2011 and in November 2011; this helped in modifying the guiding questions used in the main field work in December 2011 to February 2012 (for example a question that was initially, 'How did you end up living here (in Makongo)?' became 'If you are the owner, how did you acquire this property and what where the transactional procedures involved?') following the pilot.

Validity aims at establishing causal relationships whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to another (Yin, 1994:36; Nguluma, 2003; Yin, 2009). In order to ensure validity in this study, multiple sources of evidence were used (Table 23) including documented sources, analysis of photos and maps, observations, interviews, photographic registration. These multiple sources of information apart from acknowledging the strength and weaknesses of each source of evidence also provided a complementary function for each source. For example data about infrastructure availability and conditions which was collected from using interviews was very much complemented by photographic registration.

5.6 Generalisation

Research generalisation aims at assessing whether or not the results go beyond the specific case at hand. Yin (2009) highlights that generalisation can either be statistical or analytical. Statistical generalisation is less relevant to case study approach. It is whereby the inference is made about a population (or universe) on the basis of empirical data collected about a sample from that universe (Yin, 2009). Analytical generalisation involves a previously developed theory being used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of a case study. Nguluma (2003) argues that in terms of general applicability, outputs from one case may only be transferred into other cases if the context that influences actions in those other cases is replicable. Mushumbusi (2011) building on Nnkya (1996), Flyvbjerg (2001), Nguluma (2003) and Flyvbjerg (2006) on the argument of the possibility of generalising from a single case study and that what is important is reliability, i.e. the extent to which an observed social phenomena in a given context might inform similar situations in which the observed phenomenon is likely to occur; observes that there are some particular limitations that may affect the extent to which cases in a particular context can be generalised. These includes housing traditions and beliefs, general levels of economy, political culture and the extent to which tolerance is exercised etc. His observations support the views of Denscombe (2005), and Yin (1994), who argue that the determination of extent of generalisation is finally the reader's responsibility after inferring from the present information.

The word transferability has been preferred to be used than the word generalisation in order to avoid misunderstandings in qualitative research (Mushumbusi, 2011). Informal settlements like

the example of the case of Makongo in Dar es Salaam that has been used in this study in terms of their characteristics of haphazard development with infrastructure challenges, difficulties in plot accessibility, self and incremental construction; make them similar and comparable in a broader sense. Transferability as advocated by Flyvbjerg (1999:15) cited in Lupala (2002) emphasises on details and context in case study writing for the reader to be able to judge whether the results hold time for other cases that the reader knows about.

5.7 Methodological challenges encountered

Socio-economic-cultural factors

This section explains the methodological problems that were encountered during the process of carrying out this research. Among other things, this study was dealing with culturally (in Tanzanian context) sensitive matters that are touching directly the everyday lives of people like, housing, land ownership, environmental care, conflicts, social relations and economic status. To question and to get respondents to open up and give information, care and sensitivity was needed from the researcher's part. Getting documents like land transaction contracts (when needed) was not easy due to them being personal and some were not easily traceable due to informality. This means that only few samples of contracts could be accessed and included in (appendices) this report.

Informality

The word informality itself made some respondents to feel as if they were being accused for doing something wrong therefore, some were hesitant to respond. They did not want to find themselves being evicted from their land. They had to be ensured that the study was done for academic purposes and also a local member of the community appointed by the *Mtaa* Executive officer had to be present for introductions to residents.

The link between informality and current debates in media

The research took place when the issue of informality especially in housing was a topic of issue in media, so some of the respondents (especially old people who are retired and had time and have been living in the settlement for a long time) felt that the researcher and her assistants were sent to listen to their problems; many were excited and aired their problems (often out of the

research questions) during the face to face interviews so from time to time they had to be drawn back to the guided questions. Some respondents were not enthusiastic enough to give long answers (narrations) instead they were answering very briefly (holding back information) until they were probed. Makongo settlement has not been researched by many scholars so people are not yet used to receiving people visiting them and asking personal questions just for ‘academic’ purposes. This also caused quite a challenge in getting secondary data or written background information on Makongo settlement.

Getting permission

Visiting and questioning people in their homes needed permission to be sought from the local authorities, waiting for permission to be granted consumed time and slowed down the work, so when permission was granted, the work had to be conducted intensively.

Recording instruments

During interviews, voice recorders were used, some respondents were hesitant, and had to be assured that the information is going to be used for academic purposes for them to agree to be recorded. The same applied to photographs. Interviewees had to be followed to their destinations; this process needed efficient transportation from one point to another.

Making and keeping appointments

Making appointment for interviews with professionals and some of the residents needed long follow-ups due to their busy schedules; some of interviews had to be conducted at late hours when people were back from work.

Difference between language of communication and language of writing

The common language of communication for many (educated and those who are not highly educated) in Tanzania is Swahili, so more time had to be allocated to translate (with a lot of care so as not to allow responses to be lost in translation) responses from respondents from Swahili to English. Only few professionals responded to the interviews in English but most of them as well as most of the residents preferred to respond in Swahili or a mix of English and Swahili during the interviews.

Mode of questioning

The main mode of questioning was by using recorded face to face interviews (following guided questions in Appendix 10). The aim was to give people a chance to express themselves freely. Respondents gave narrations depending on their experiences. From time to time more questions were added in between to follow up and to build on their narrations (probing). Due to variety of groups of respondents (i.e. low, middle, high income people; educated, non-educated; highly exposed, not-highly exposed etc.) the timing of interviews were not uniform i.e. ranged between twenty minutes and one hour and twenty four minutes. For children (who were most of the time restless, wanting to go to play), the interviews ranged between three minutes to six minutes. There are people who were not available for interviews sessions. Some questions were structured with a mixture of multiple choices and open ended questions and were left for them to fill out in order to also give them a chance to express their views (Appendix 10). The shortcoming of this was that they could only give answers in short and also they left some questions unanswered. Reading the handwritings of this group of respondents was a challenge and the researcher had to take time to understand what had been written (considering the respondents came from different academic levels-high, middle and low).

5.8 Summary

This chapter has given a highlight of how the research was conducted. It has explained why and how the case study city and settlement was selected as well as different instruments that were employed to achieve the goal of getting relevant information that had the aim of answering the main research questions. However in the process, some difficulties were encountered which have been explained in section 5.7 of this chapter.

PART II

6. CASE OF MAKONGO, A MIXED INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

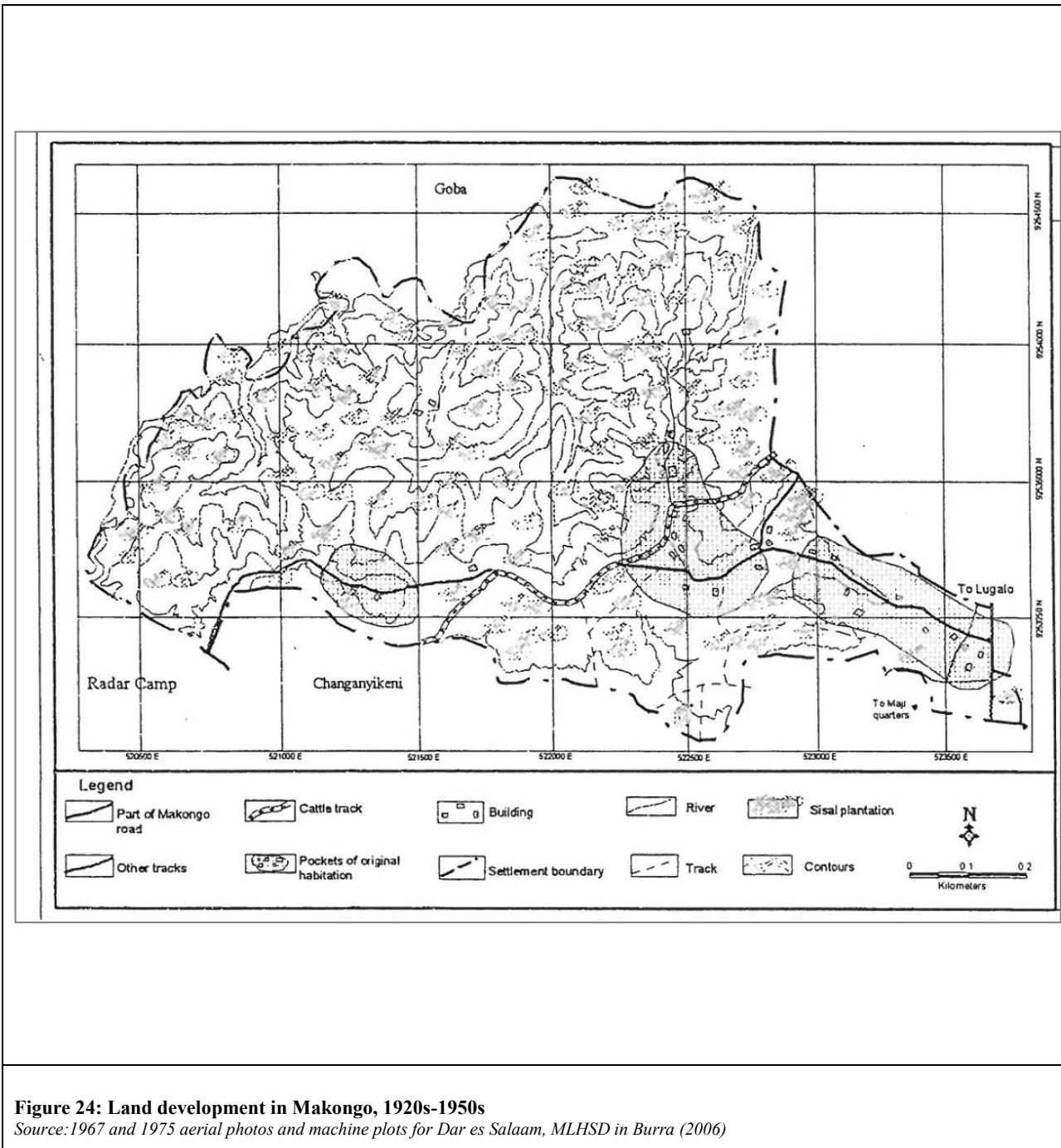
6.1 Settlement location, formation and historical development

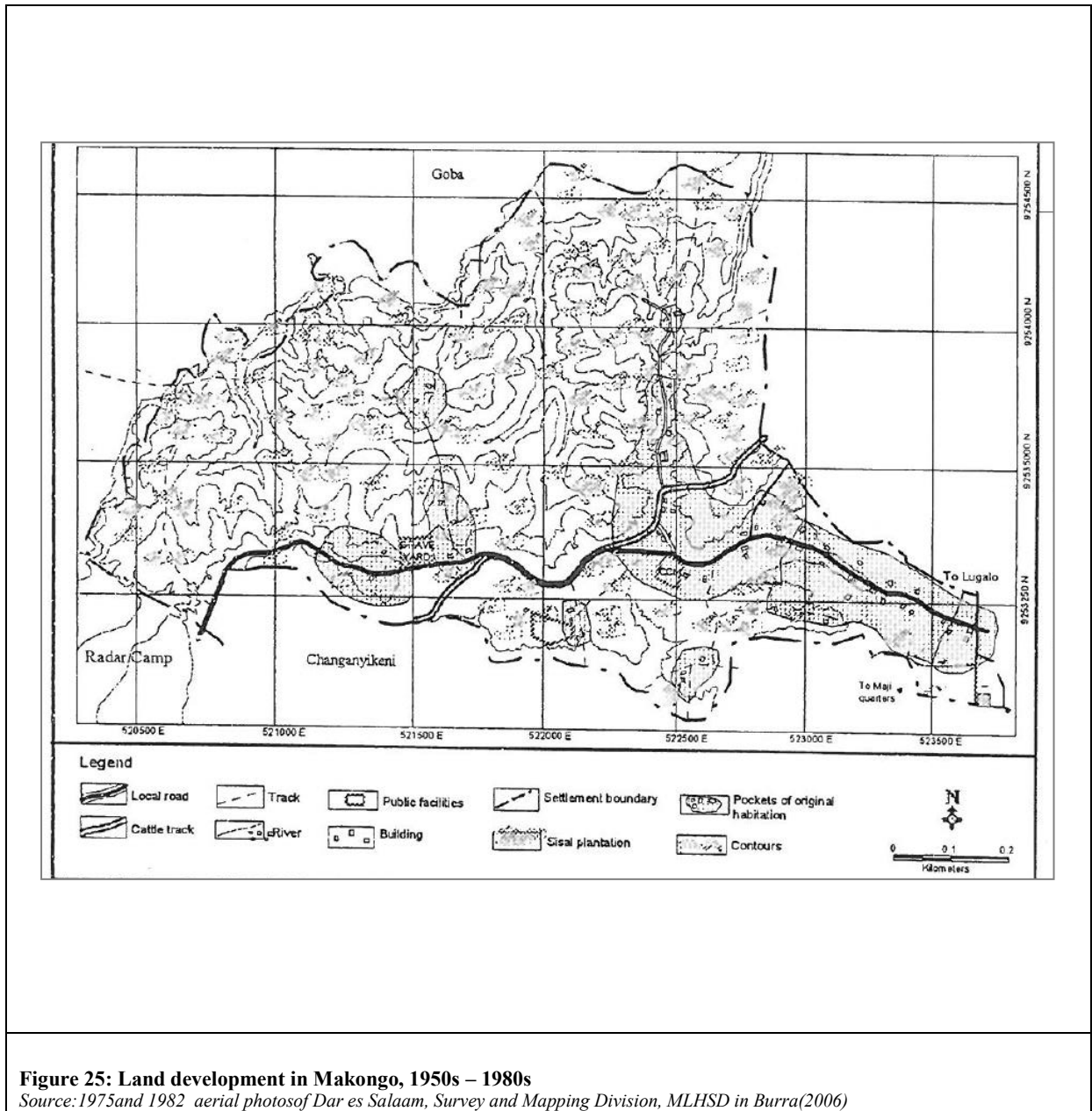
Makongo is one of the mixed informal settlements in Kinondoni District. It started originally as a natural forest and as habitat for wild animals⁴³. Between 1930s and 1940s there was a sisal market boom which emerged to the expansion of sisal estates in Tanzania. Makongo was among the sisal plantation that was owned by a Greek settler. The plantation employed labourers who had created settlements near their workplace. Gradually but spontaneously the houses accommodating labourers expanded and grew into (a settlement) clusters. Because the 1950s and 60s, the sisal market began to decline and eventually collapsed. After the collapse of the sisal market, the Greek settler abandoned the sisal plantation; land use changed, leading to more people moving in the area clearing sisal, subdividing land and cultivating subsistence crops such as maize and beans. One of the land owners who moved to Makongo in the 1950s narrated during an interview:

When I came to Makongo in 1950s, the place was a forest (*meaning only plantations no buildings*). I came with my father; he died and left me here. He is the one who cleared the forest here. There was no one to allocate land, one just had to clear the forest and acquire whatever she or he was able to clear. If one was not satisfied with the land, he or she would leave it and go and clear another area and establish him or herself. It was a forest⁴⁴.

⁴³ During an interview with a (high income) Makongo resident, he said: “Surroundings had no people, there were monkeys and some other wild animals we were hunting wild pigs, and when my parents came here they thought I am crazy even some of my friends thought I am out of my mind, they were wondering why I did not buy land in Mikocheni, Mbezi, Sinza, but now they are regretting not to have acquired land then.

⁴⁴ Fieldwork interview conducted to a middle income Makongo resident in February 2012; one of the very early Makongo residents who settled in the area in 1950. He explained that wild animals such as lions and hyenas were many in the area. He also has participated in inviting new comers to settle in Makongo. Then land was freely accessed.





Makongo was not originally occupied by a single ethnic group⁴⁵; rather it was occupied by a mixture of ethnic groups including Wazaramo, Wandengereko, Wamakonde and Wanyamwezi. The 1968 Dar es Salaam City Master Plan designated Makongo area a greenbelt⁴⁶; largely for agriculture and non-urban based activities.

⁴⁵ Tanzania has around 120 ethnic groups originated from around thirty regions. There is no restriction on where one can settle in the country.

⁴⁶ A green belt meant a belt of parks or rural land surrounding a town or city.

In 1974 to 76 a villagisation⁴⁷ programme was implemented all over the country. This policy consolidated the mode of access to land, land in villages including peri-urban areas were largely allocated by local leaders. In Makongo area access to land therefore changed from bush clearance and free occupation to allocation by local leaders.

The 1979 Dar es Salaam City Master Plan also designated Makongo a greenbelt, despite the fact that people were still subdividing and building residential buildings including middle and high income person. In 1985 the area was declared part of the urban area, but primarily for institutional use (Burra, 2006).

Makongo settlement is located on strategic area, near Government institutions such as the Dar es Salaam University, Ardhi University, the Rwegarulila Water Resources Institute, and the Lugalo Military Barracks. A former lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam narrated how forest-like and un-habitable Makongo area was when he acquired land in 1988. One respondent reported;

...I came for the first time to buy land in this area in 1988, that time this area had very few residents. That time from CCM area to this place here one could find like 3 to 4 houses only. The rest of the area had no settlers. I started building my house in 1992 and moved in my house in 1996. It was a bush, we had no transport, those days you had to give a lift to everyone you find on the way. Public transport started in 2000. Literally, government considered this area inhabitable. Even when one wanted to survey his piece of land he or she was told that Makongo is not a habitable area⁴⁸.

Also a retired military officer at Lugalo Military barracks explained that Makongo was largely a greenbelt by the time he was building his house in the year 1979 he added that he was lucky to have accessed land big enough for conducting agricultural activities near his place of work.

⁴⁷ Resettlement of people from other parts of the City and the Coast Region, took place in Makongo. Further land sub-divisions continued. Land allocation by the Village Government (to individuals and for public facilities) became dominant mode of land access in this period.

⁴⁸ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

In the 1980s Makongo was a green belt...I was just lucky to get this nice place. Some people envy me because I got it, even though I came after them. By then it was wet here and green. It was not as dry as now. The place was full of vegetations; there were a lot of cows and different crops too⁴⁹.

The transformation of Makongo from a sisal farm, (1950s and 1960s) and later a subsistence farm cum residential homesteads (1970s) (Figure 26) to booming settlement now has taken place step by step over the years.

⁴⁹ Interview conducted in February 2012, with a middle income resident of Makongo. He has been living in Makongo since 1982 but acquired a plot in 1977. He is a retired soldier and was previously living in army barracks.

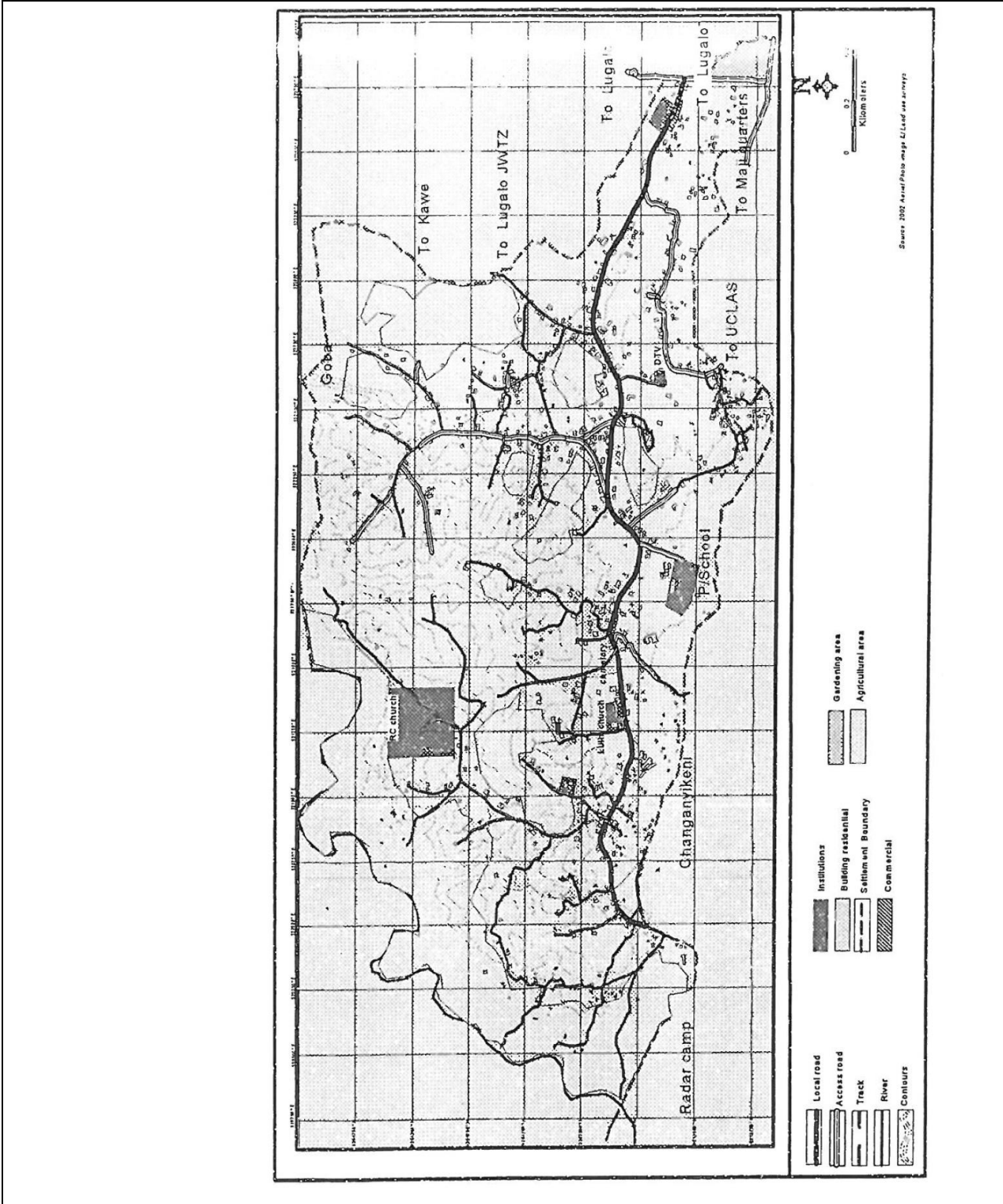


Figure 26: Land use and development in Makongo, 2003
 Source: 1982, 1992 and 2002 aerial photos of Dar es Salaam, Survey and Mapping Division, MLHSD in Burra(2006)

In 2003 a study that was conducted in Makongo, established that it had around 8,000 inhabitants with over 1,000 households, covering approximately 400 hectares of land. Three percent of Makongo population said they arrived before 1940, six per cent said they moved in Makongo between the 1950s and 1960s while 22.1 percent between the years 1970s and 1980s; 39.6 percent in the 1990s and over 50 percent between 1990s and 2000. The rapid immigration took place in the years 1991 to 2000; this coincides with the period when the government adopted liberalisation⁵⁰ policies which include strong involvement of the private sector in the economy (Burra, 2006).

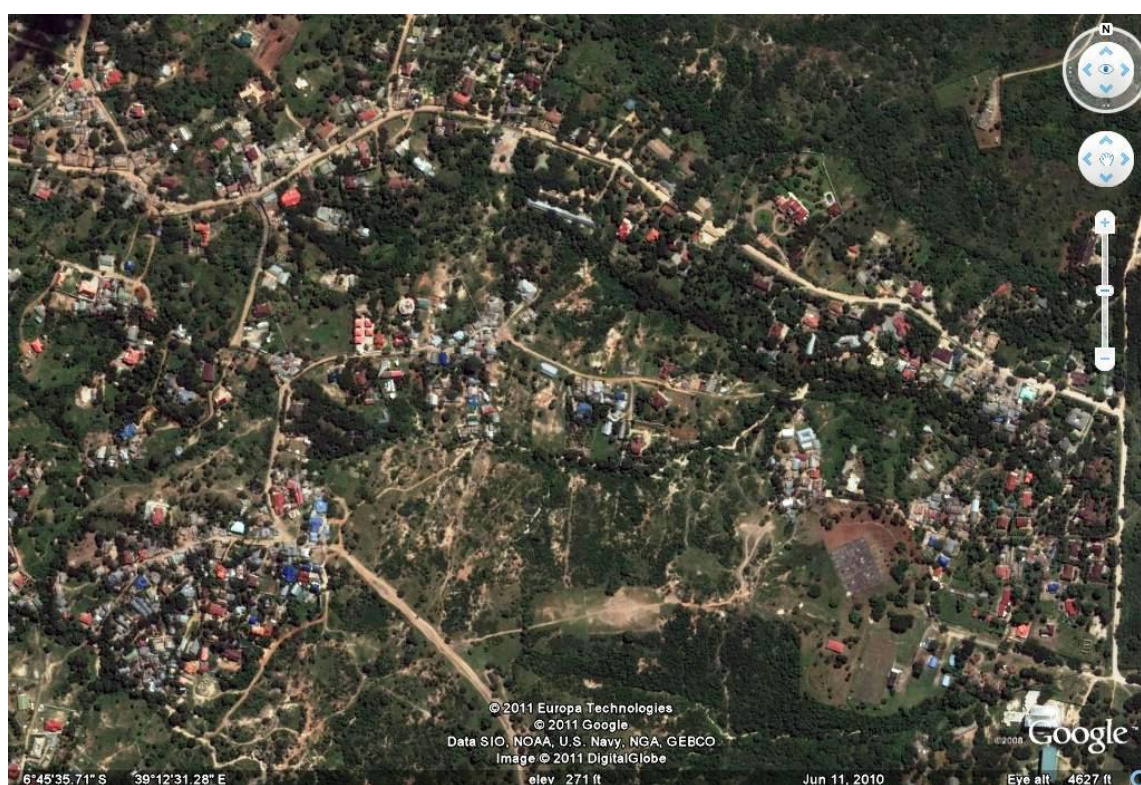


Figure 27: Makongo mixed informal settlement aerial view

Source: Google map

⁵⁰ By the mid-1980s, it was generally recognized that Tanzania's overly restrictive external trade policies and the consequent reduction in its exports were seriously undermining its economic performance. To address these issues, the government's 1996 Economic Recovery Program sought to reinvigorate the export sector by eliminating cost-price distortions and introducing import liberalization measures. By 1993/94, the system of export licensing, including for traditional crops, was abolished, the requirement of registration of exporting companies eliminated, and foreign exchange surrender requirements dropped. By the end of 1999, virtually all export restrictions had been eliminated. (Oussama Kanaan (June, 2000): *Finance and Development*. A quarterly magazine of the IMF, Volume 37, Number 2 - <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/06/kanaan.htm>)

According to DCC (1992); Lupala (2002) and Burra (2006), Makongo is a peri-urban zone which like many other such areas, is affected by city expansion and rapid urbanisation; the area has a mixture of persons with varying socio-economic status.

Makongo settlement has continued to grow and in fact has become a magnet to people of low, middle and high socio-economic status from many other parts of the city of Dar es Salaam. The Government through the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development having acknowledged the habitation of more people on what was supposed to be a greenbelt, and inhabitable land, has decided to change the land use of Makongo to residential area.

6.2 Land transactions

In 1950s, people who wanted to access land in Makongo had to clear bushes and freely acquire as much land as they can clear. The most they had to do was to cut trees, clear bushes and chase away wild animals. With time, land gained value, more actors were involved in land transactions later land started to be sold at prices that kept on rising rapidly with time.

6.2.1 Information about land availability for sale

It was revealed during interviews with Makongo residents that, apart from people who moved into Makongo settlement as labourers in the sisal plantation, many of the settlers got information through contacts with people who had cleared big pieces of land and felt that they could subdivide and give parts of the land they had cleared to others and yet remain with enough land for themselves. Some felt lonely to live in the area where they were surrounded by the forest and thus decided to invite their friends and relatives to come and build houses so as to give them company. Some people were allocated land during the implementation of Nguvu-Kazi⁵¹ policy

⁵¹ In 1976, the government launched operation kila mtu afenye kazi (*Everybody able-bodied person has to work*). Those identified as being unemployed were required to either go back to their rural areas like Dar es Salaam...Despite the level of force used this repatriation policy did not succeed. In 1983 the Human resources Development Act was enacted. It empowered the Government to explore solutions to the question of unemployment in urban centres. The policy became known subsequently as the Nguvu Kazi Policy. http://books.google.de/books?id=kw1ipRC_mCEC&pg=PA108&lpg=PA108&dq=tanzania+nguvu+kazi+policy&source=bl&ots=4vLcRJsNUT&sig=3sBX6C4aWdUorgzay3KFcP5KGvo&hl=en&sa=X&ei=1Cw1UcLiNYXOswaQzoGgBQ&sqi=2&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=tanzania%20nguvu%20kazi%20policy&f=false

which took place in the early 1980s expecting them to use the land for agricultural purposes. One resident who is a beneficiary of Nguvu-Kazi during an interview reported:

Beginning 1977, I lived in a mud house before moving here. I got this place during “Nguvu Kazi” it was for free as a gift for my hard work, I was working for Mzee Swai by then. Those days there were no procedures one was just allocated a plot to stay and had to accept it as it is. The boundaries are as you can see, that is how they were by then. I was working and staying at Mr. Swai’s place. When I got the land I built a mud house then moved in, so I have never been a tenant or rented a place⁵².

Some of the younger settlers, are second and or third generation who have inherited land from their parents. Also there are cases where individual directly contacted local leaders and asked for available land for sale. In turn, the respective local leader would announce to people he knows have big pieces of land if ready to sell land. If one shows interest to sale he or she will organise for the two to meet and negotiate. Other ways of getting information about availability of land in Makongo was through informal real estate agents (land brokers) and word of mouth, informal conversations with peers in bars and restaurants:

I used informal means, I asked friends, neighbours, workmates, business mates etc. that I was seeking land in Makongo, then I got connected to brokers, sometimes we were finding only the brokers, sometimes the owner, we were asking for the prices, sometimes I was getting prices from brokers with overheads, sometimes the genuine until I succeeded. Then I looked for witnesses and we signed an agreement. Witnesses are very important to safeguard the whole process and the seller also must have his or her own witness. And other important people to be there during transactions are your prospective neighbours on all sides and also people from Mtaa office⁵³.

Also social networks and contacts (telephones calls) from friends, relatives or colleagues who have already settled in Makongo provided importance source of information:

I have only few years here, I lived in Msasani from 1973-1993, so I arrived here in 1993. I used to visit my brother who died 3 years ago, so I liked this settlement and he convinced me to buy a plot

⁵² An interview (January 2012); with a Makongo resident from the low income group (a cattle keeper) who has been living in Makongo since 1977. He started by living in a mud house then upgraded slowly with time.

⁵³ Interview (January, 2012); with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He a previous student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo since 2006. Before moving to Makongo he lived in Temeke, Chang’ombe, Sinza and Mwenge.

so I did, otherwise I would not have gotten this idea. I was attracted being near my brother and I was tired to be a tenant⁵⁴.

Another respondent reported:

We came to Makongo, we had a brother in low who was living here (further up the hill). When we arrived we stayed at his place, then we thought why should we live at a relative's place? So we decided to look for our own place⁵⁵.

Some people got information through advertisements through media i.e. television and newspapers; there are people who have employed themselves as brokers. These people search for available land or houses for rent or sale and market them to people in need. They advertise their telephone numbers on notices placed on electricity posts, walls, fences, even in newspapers. Brokers provide important service; however they demand a commission for services provided.

6.2.2 Land division and distribution

Owning land and a house is an important step among city inhabitants. When most migrate⁵⁶ from the villages to the city or when they arrive in the city for the first time they do not have much option on where to live in terms of housing. One of the options for the new comers is to temporary cohabit with a relative or friend who is already living in the city and own or rent a house. The other option is to rent a room or two depending on affordability. However, ultimately, the goal of most people is to own land and to build one's own house.

Looking at the land demand, the pace of land transactions going on in the recent years and the speed of house construction that is taking place, the settlement is poised to reach the saturated state in the near future. How fast the land will consolidate depend on how people especially original land owners will be willing to subdivide and sell portions of the big land they acquired

⁵⁴ Interview conducted in January 2012 with a resident of Makongo who is also a ten cell leader (*Mjumbe*). He has been living in Makongo since 1993. Before moving to Makongo he was living in Msasani.

⁵⁵ Interview with a female resident of Makongo from the low income group. She has been living in Makongo since 2002. She is 'watching' the house she is staying in (not paying rent). The owner (dada Chenge) lives in Mwenge. Before moving to Makongo she was living in Songea Region.

⁵⁶ Village migrants here imply people who find that life in village is hard and agriculture can no longer sustain their daily lives and needs. They decide to come go to the city to look for better life.

in the past when land was easily accessible. It is a tradition among most Tanzanian tribes to allow their male children to inherit land on which to build their houses. One respondent during interviews noted:

My father moved here many years ago, about 60 years ago, so he could acquire a big piece of land during that time. So I have not bought this land, I inherited from my father and he subdivided and allocated it to us and we have invested on that land⁵⁷.

That worked well when the main livelihood activity was agriculture. Among the younger generation, most of the people are engaged in activities that make them more mobile. They might search for education and jobs in places where their parents have never done so before. It is somehow harder for them to develop and establish their homes side by side with their parents so the parents might opt to do something else with the plot. Despite this fact there are still some parents who feel it is safer for them to secure land for their children and they will decide what to do with it if they do not want to build on it and settle close to their families as one of the settlers of Makongo pointed out during an interview conducted with him:

As a parent, the property you look for is for the whole family, so it is obvious that if the child would like, whatever I acquire, the children come in automatically (*as people with right to inherit*) not by application unless they would not like to settle here⁵⁸.

As land gained value, people started selling it to solve their socio-economic problems. Sizes of land sold depend on ones need and affordability of the buyer. High income people often could afford bigger plots while low income land seekers would only afford land big enough to accommodate few rooms; creating different densities of plots i.e. middle high and low densities. During the subdivision of land, some land owners subdivided and sold all land and went and establish themselves in a more peripheral area. There are also those who subdivided the land and only sold a part of it, and still live in the same area or compound. Also there are settlers who subdivided land and build houses for rental. One respondent noted:

⁵⁷ Interview conducted in January 2012, with one of *Mtaa* leaders who was born, raised and married in Makongo and inherited land from her father. She has been a leader for 7 years and is expecting to lead till 2015.

⁵⁸ Interview conducted in January, 2012, with a Makongo resident who used to be an army officer but has now retired. He started building his house in Makongo in 1979. His household ranged from 15-20 (depending on the season of the year) people including extended family.

Literally I do not intend to sell this land. One plan that I have implemented as you will see is establishment of a factory which is occupying around one acre, the second area is where I am living now, and another piece we have built two houses for rent. So I intend to build houses for renting. So whether the children will inherit depends on my economic situation later in life for I might decide to sell it later⁵⁹.

There are people who conduct economic activities in room attached to their main houses or on structures built on their subdivided plots for example selling water, petty trading, and small scale industries including making concrete blocks. During the interviews with Makongo dwellers it was discovered that there are some cases where the original land owner died and the land became a family property. The children who were ready to live and settle in Makongo were given portions to build while the rest of the land was left un-built for future use. It is difficult to sell such land because often all family members have to be involved and agree upon the decision to sell. During an interview a resident who inherited a plot from his father commented:

This land belongs to the family, and we subdivided it in 5 plots when settlement licence programme came (MKURABITA⁶⁰)...It is a family issue we don't expect to sell it⁶¹.

House construction is mostly through own savings. The pace of construction depends on how much money one can put in construction at a particular time; this translates into an incremental mode of home construction. Cost of building materials become more expensive with time and at the same time, land gains more value, so people hold (land speculation) and keep as much land as they can and as long as possible in order to avoid the need for buying and paying heavily in the future. This has given rise to low density development in some areas of the settlement because of patches of un-built land.

⁵⁹ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

⁶⁰ The Property and Business Formalization Program popularly known by its Kiswahili acronym as MKURABITA is a Government of Tanzania initiative seeking to establish a Legal and Institutional Framework which can facilitate fast track decentralized and cost effective formalization (identification and registration) of extra legal (informal) real estate and business assets and subsequently empower owners of the formalized asset to use them in accessing financial capital (credit) and other socio-economic benefits found in the modernizing formal economy of the country. <http://www.mkurabita.go.tz/index.php?&chooselang=1> accessed 05.10.2013

⁶¹ Interview conducted in January, 2012, with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He is a formal Architectural student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo his whole life (37 years).

Most of people who were interviewed noted that they had no intention of selling their land. They are ready to live in Makongo with their future generations, thus they were expecting their children to inherit the land. For the widows, they feel that it is difficult for them to leave the land and property that they have worked so hard to access and keep. Among the respondents residing in Makongo there are settlers who built their own house after experiencing bitter living as tenants;

Over the 10 years period, I have passed through critical house career stages; first I rented a single room for 3 years. Then, I requested the owner if I could add a room at my own cost in the house I was occupying, he agreed, I stayed there for about 3 years, then so they become like 6 years. Then at the same time I was successful in acquiring a plot for 800,000 Tshs in Makongo which was a farm (subdivided). I built a house for two years and moved in. Then I bought for 2,000,000 Tshs a plot and extended the original one and built some units which now I am renting out to other people⁶².

Some of the Makongo residents who are still tenants hope to own land in Makongo in the future. Currently some are allowed to suggest changes in the buildings they live in, but, for some, it depends strictly on the owner of the property, in case of maintenance and renovations they have to inform the owner as noted during an interview with one tenant:

I don't own the place I am living in, the property belongs to a lady (*called Chenge*) who is living in Mwenge. I am watching the house for her (*not paying rent*). If there is a problem I tell the owner, she provides what is needed for example cement for renovations. Even at this moment there is a mason who is making some renovations. When I inform her she comes⁶³.

After land use in Makongo was declared a planning area in 1985, informal housing construction intensified. In the year 1991 the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development settlement prepared a plot subdivision plan for Makongo. The idea was to formalise the informal settlement

⁶² Interview with one of Makongo residents (an Architect) of the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

⁶³ Interview with a female resident of Makongo from the low income group. She has been living in Makongo since 2002. She is 'watching' the house she is staying in (not paying rent). The owner (dada Chenge) lives in Mwenge. Before moving to Makongo she was living in Songea Region.

(Appendix 14). However, news that there is a plan to formalise the area was not well received by Makongo people because it was designed as if the area was unoccupied land. Following this people of Makongo held a meeting and started protesting the implementation of the plan. Implication of the plan from the ministry was discussed and the people were not happy about it. In 1992 the people of Makongo submitted an appeal to the Ministry of Lands as a result they were given an opportunity to prepare their own alternative subdivision plan. Using the enlightened people in the community, social networks and connections, they managed to hire consultants from Ardhi University (Appendix 15). From that time, it was a journey of to and fro (Appendix 13) in search of approval of the alternative plan from the Ministry which did not take place over the years (Burra, 2006).

6.2.3 Land buying and selling procedures and actors involved

Owing to the fact that land has been gaining value over time buyers increasingly want to make sure they are buying land from genuine sellers (i.e. right and full holders or occupiers). It is hard to reverse the mistake if one realises later that the land they bought has unresolved legal issues or conflicts. Although land transactions in informal settlements are often informally transacted, buyers wish not to encounter land related conflicts in the future. When land was plenty and free, there was little or no necessity of having procedures to follow in the process of acquiring land. What land seekers had to do was simply to clear bush land and start using it. If they wanted more, he or she would add by clearing adjacent land or move and clear somewhere else where vacant land exists.

As land gained more value and demand increased many more actors were involved in land transactions. Then, a need for witnesses arose. During the single political party (CCM) democracy, the local community leaders (ten cell leaders) were supposed⁶⁴ to be fully involved in the decision and actions in the localities. When the country adopted multiparty democracy system, the *Mtaa* Executive officers (appointee of the local government) are expected to oversee local government issues. For land seekers who acquired land before Makongo was declared part

⁶⁴ They were supposed to but it was not always the case in reality. Some people escaped involving them during transaction in fear of them demanding supervision fee.

of the urban area, village land transaction procedures were based on village protocols. An interview with a respondent who bought land during the period narrates:

Procedures I followed are those which even now are used in un-surveyed areas or in villages. The first thing during buying a piece of land one however has to know and ask the neighbours in order to know that the boundaries are correct. The second thing, one needed to know is whether or not the area really belongs to the seller because even then, like now there are also bogus sellers of land. Then you had to contact the sub-Mtaa (*Kitongoji*) leader. This had to register ones selling agreement. The agreement had to be presented to the village office. The village office would authenticate it and one had to pay once an agreement is reached with the seller. Normally the seller was supposed to pay the branch office a commission amounting to ten per cent of the total selling price, but they normally ask the buyer to pay or share with them. As a buyer I paid the ten per cent and the documents were signed by the leaders. Because when one wants to survey a piece of land according to the land authorities one must have the document or contract confirming ones legal rights to the land. That transaction document showed that you have been invited as a village inhabitant. When one wants to be recognised according to the Ministries of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development procedures one had to attach the transaction or selling agreement. And the village had to call for a meeting to deliberate that they are not planning to develop the land to any other use so they agree that you can own it and develop it permanently so after that you can acquire a title or right of occupancy (*hati miliki*) and these are procedures to-date in most informal areas or settlements even till now for village land⁶⁵.

The responses of Makongo leaders and residents, regarding who are the actors and what are the procedures of acquiring land in the settlements revealed that people have been using different ways to achieve land transactions. Actors that kept emerging during discussions with Makongo inhabitants were variably ruling party leaders, *Mtaa* Executive officer, sub-*Mtaa* leaders (*Wajumbe*), witnesses, middlemen or brokers and neighbours were involved in land transaction. As mentioned before, the strength of CCM leaders however, declined with multiparty⁶⁶ democracy. According to the interview with sub-Ward (*Mtaa* Executive officer), *Mtaa* Executive officers took over the land transaction administration responsibilities following the adoption of multiparty system. For a smooth and a safe land transaction to take place, buyers or sellers have

⁶⁵ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

⁶⁶ When Tanzania adopted multiparty system, some of the roles of political party leaders were taken by local government leaders.

to notify local leaders who have to administer and authenticate all transactions taking place within their areas of jurisdiction.

Wajumbe are government representatives at the lowest level i.e. the level below the *Mtaa*. They head a group of households between ten and sixteen. They monitor and oversee the activities of people in their areas. Owing to proximity to the people and knowledge of their area, it is normally easier for them to know the boundaries of land and the neighbours surrounding a certain plot to be bought than *Mtaa* Executive officer. Even if land is being subdivided and granted under inheritance to members of a certain family (i.e. money not exchanged) leaders are often informed in order to avoid conflicts. A respondent who inherited land reported;

My family had a big piece of land, when I was old enough I asked my father for a piece for me to build my house. From 1975 we were living on land that later the University came to take so we moved to another place here in Makongo, which is where we own now and where I have built my house. I have approximately two acres⁶⁷.

Apart from speculators, there are also people who buy land and keep it undeveloped for a long time, waiting for the right moment when they will have time and the money to develop it. They could be renting a house somewhere else, or travelled far away i.e. out of the country. This happens because unlike in the ‘formal areas’⁶⁸, buyers of land in the informal areas are not forced to build on it within a defined period of time. If absentee landlords are not known to neighbours or the local leaders, could be risky because, some scrupulous land brokers can take advantage of their absence and sell property that is owned by somebody else leading to conflicts.

A witness is often any known settler or resident in one area who is familiar with the land in question as well as knows one or both of the transacting parties (seller and buyer). He or she could also be a person from outside the area, i.e. a person known to either the seller or the buyer and he or she has been invited by the seller or buyer to witness the transaction. The responsibility of the witnesses is to take note of details including the boundaries of the plot, follow the whole

⁶⁷ Interview conducted in January, 2012, with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He is a formal Architectural student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo his whole life (37 years).

⁶⁸ In the formal planned areas where plots are surveyed, if one delays to build on a given plot for a certain amount of time, it is taken away from them by the government and given to someone else who can develop it on time.

transaction process, at the end they have to sign the selling contract also. In case of any doubt in the future regarding the transactions they are called upon and expected to testify. On the other hand brokers or middlemen are the people who bring the buyer and the seller together. They search around for plots on sale, as well as potential buyers. Sometimes buyers get information directly from the sellers, in such cases brokers do not feature in the transaction process. Normally brokers demand a commission i.e. a fixed amount of money from the buyer so involving them could make the process efficient (get more buyers or complete the process faster) but could also make one to incur extra costs. Involving neighbours owning land adjacent to the plot is important during transactions because these are the people who the buyer has to know so as to avoid conflict with in the future. Their duty is to make sure that the boundaries shown to parties are correct. In some cases they may also have to discuss and agree with the new comers on way leave (land) for locating access roads and paths. Neighbours also play the role of orienting the buyer on the informal dos and don'ts of the neighbourhood. The selling contract has to be signed and authenticated by a local office (*Mtaa*) or for other cases sub-*Mtaa* stamp as an evidence of official land transaction (Appendix 16). The important issues to be included in the contract are the willingness to sell the plot, the willingness to buy the plot, the location vs adjacent developments or rights; amount of money paid and size of land to be sold and the signature of parties involved. Both parties are given a copy of the contract.

6.3 City accommodation and its challenges

When people arrive in the city, the first thing they need is affordable accommodation. Housing is a responsibility of individual migrants. Governments are unable to provide or make sure every person in the city including low income households is accommodated. In other countries they are social housing options. An expert in Land Economics and lecturer at Ardhi University (Prof. J. M. Kironde), during an interview in 'Life is House' (*Maisha ni Nyumba*) programme (interview with media - TV station - TBC1) when asked his opinion on the idea of social housing he noted:

Developed countries have understandable procedures and minimum standards and depending on peoples income they can afford to have social housing for people who cannot afford. So the authority subsidises or covers the costs for those who cannot afford the minimum standard. I would not advice that we crack our heads for this kind of solution because we do not have the

infrastructure to administer social housing. What we can do is to better the condition of the houses we have and reduce the cost of construction so that many people can reach there. That is better than having the idea of social housing, a stage which needs us to be more ahead than we currently are⁶⁹.

There are some people who are lucky to get accommodation in their work place; for example people in military and police, some senior university staff members, or people working for some government institutions or banks.

6.3.1 Influence of family structures on accommodation

The nature of most Tanzanian families is to leave as an extended family. It could be related to African socio-cultural communal life style. This means it is normal for people who are not core members of the nuclear family i.e. father, mother and children to be accommodated too in a household in the city. Cases of taking care of grandparents in a home is normal as well as cases of living with dependants like brothers, sisters, cousins, nieces, uncles, uncles, even village mates. Often relatives migrate into cities and are accommodated by their hosts until they are able to stand on their own feet; either by earning an income or renting their own place. One high income respondent said that he has been living with his younger sister (who is an adult) for more than five years and yet she has not thought of moving out of his house. This means she is tolerated and given free accommodation until she decides to leave on her own free will. The flexibility of accommodating as much people as one can in a house means a family may have as many as twenty people. The minimum size of habitable living space is not a serious concern, during the night many share beds or use living rooms as bedrooms. During the day people are busy working somewhere or relaxing outdoors. From the interviews that were conducted in Makongo, a respondent who is a retired officer in the army when asked how many people are accommodated in his house he noted:

Very many people, I think the size of the house can give you a picture of how many people live here, even fifteen people. There was a time we had eight workers and I have lived with

⁶⁹ Prof. Kironde – Expert in Land Economic - Lecturer at Ardhi University, interview in ‘Life is House’ (Maisha ni Nyumba) (programme (interview with media-TV station – Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation TBC1) (The interview was timed on TV in progress...it had already started)

relatives...average twenty people...they still live here (*the dependants*) they have not left completely (*meaning they come and go*)⁷⁰.

From the responses it was noted that, the bigger the house, the more people invite themselves to stay; and the more the accommodation space, the longer the dependants feel encouraged to stay. Those respondents who are in the middle income group seem to accommodate more members (between three and twenty) than those of high (between three and ten) and low income group (between three and six). This could be because some people appreciate and uphold more the ideas of nuclear family and thus prefer to provide help to extended family members far i.e. without inviting them in their houses. High income people have an option of sending money to extended family for upkeep (where they are) or sending children to boarding schools. It is also easier for the high income people to support their dependants by giving them capital to start their own lives somewhere else within or out of the city. In some cases children of the low income residents may also leave their parents homes earlier (due to various reasons including economic hardships). Subsequently total members in such households could be small.

The specific number of people in a house varies with time, due to the socio-economic dynamics and the flexibility to come in and out. Needless to note because there is no physical registration of settlers in areas as it is many developing countries, where people register their physical addresses whenever they move to a new place. Often dependants who build their houses in Makongo have to start somewhere, and over time they gain and accumulate wealth. One respondent gave his story on how he went through an evolution process from being a student to being a landlord within ten years:

In all those ten years I have passed through all those stages, I rented a single room for three years, then the same place I was renting I requested the owner if I could add a room at my own cost and he agreed, I stayed there for three years. Then at the same time I was successful in acquiring a plot in Makongo which was a farm (subdivided). I built a house for two years and moved in. Then I

⁷⁰ Interview conducted in February 2012, with a middle income resident of Makongo. He has been living in Makongo since 1982 but acquired a plot in 1977. He is a retired soldier and was previously living in army barracks.

bought a plot extended the original one and built some units which now I am renting out to other people⁷¹.

It can be seen that Makongo allow many socio-economic groups to start life, it only depends on one's struggle, hard work, inspirations, determination and the ability to take advantage of the opportunities evolving around them.

6.3.2 Building construction process

Building construction in the informal settlements is done without much restriction. Builders are not necessarily following any building regulations. The involvement of people with expertise in the building industry is also rare. People are free to build without following any architectural or engineering drawings. It is only when one needs to build a multi-storey building when he or she looks for expertise of an architect and a structural engineer. Houses, found in the area vary, from those made of mud and pole to multi-storey structures. The pace of building depends on the amount of money one has. There are rich people who build and complete a house and there are also those who build one or few rooms, occupy them first, then gradually adding more rooms over time. The extensions take place as and when resources become available (this is what is referred to as incremental housing process which explained in the later stages of this chapter).

6.4 Peoples motives behind selection of building location

Most residents moved to Makongo from other locations in the country, this in turn has led to the heterogeneity in social, economic, cultural and political structure of Makongo today. During interviews, residents narrated different stories regarding how they ended up settling in Makongo. One respondent pointed out that:

I was living in Kagera - Bihalamulo when I was about 20 years old. I could not continue with studies so I came to Dar es Salaam to look for better life. This place belongs to a man who is like my guardian (*The respondent was a security guard of his house because the owner was out of the*

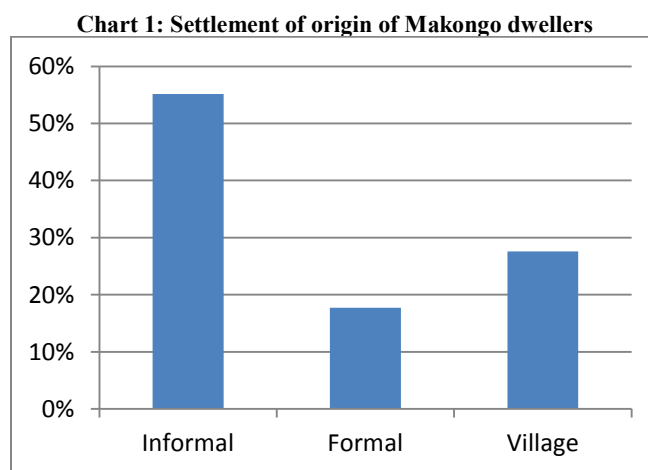
⁷¹ Interview with one of Makongo residents (an Architect) of the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

country during the time of the interview); who allowed me to live here with my 2 children because of us being in good terms⁷².

The settlement has accommodated people with different backgrounds and socio-economic status from different parts of the city of Dar es salaam and the country as a whole.

6.4.1 Location residents originated from before settling at Makongo

Apart from current residents who were born or raised in Makongo, other (mixed) informal settlements, in formal settlements or in rural villages. Among respondents who were asked to answer a question about where they were living before settling in Makongo, 55.16 percent said they were living in another informal settlement, 17.24 percent said they were living in a formal settlement and 27.58 percent were living in rural villages in other regions (Chart 1).



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

Examples of formal settlements that were origins of some of the interviewees were Oysterbay which is a formal low density, high income neighbourhood near Dar es Salaam CBD; Mwenge and Sinza. Some of examples of informal areas that were origins of some of Makongo dwellers are Temeke, Changombe, Kunduchi-Mtongani, and Kawe. Areas of origin out of Dar es Salaam Region include, Kagera, Mwanza, Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, and Morogoro. Many studies have

⁷² Interview with Makongo resident conducted in January 2012. He is from the low income group. He has been living in Makongo for 20 years. Before, he was living in Bihalamulo-Kagera Region. He leaved the village when he was 20 years old and travelled to Dar es Salaam for better life.

shown settlers in many settlements in the city have often migrated from within and outside the city (Kombe and Kreibich 2006; Kombe 2005; Lupala 2002).

Makongo is mixed informal area i.e. an area with low, middle and high income households, with some settlers working within the community. The composition of students and employees from the main public and private institutions surrounding the settlement such as Ardhi University, University of Dar es Salaam, Rwegarulila Water Resources Institute, Lugalo Military Barracks and Mlimani City Complex has over the years increased significantly; as a result Makongo accommodate people not only from the academic institutions including students, workers, lecturers, professors, but also army officers from Lugalo Military Barracks.

6.4.2 Reasons for choosing to live in Makongo informal settlement

Apart from people who were born and raised in Makongo, and who have built in the area, immigrants from other areas were attracted by different factors. These include the nice landscape cover and the sea view; proximity and easy access to the places of work and the Central Business District (CBD). Dar es Salaam is a city with high temperatures as well as high levels of humidity almost throughout the year. To improve comfort, many households use mechanical cooling system such as air conditioners or fans. The landscape of Makongo being an elevated land composed of hills and valleys many which are also exposed to cool winds from the sea offers natural cross ventilation, especially if windows are large enough. The landscape qualities have attracted many immigrants to Makongo area as one respondent noted:

I like this area because it is not in the valley; it is an elevated area, so I cannot face flood problems⁷³.

Some of the people opted for Makongo because of low housing densities, which offer spacious area for housing and gardening. Many people with big plots have managed to create a good outdoor environment where they can enjoy cool breeze. One of the high income interviewee reported:

⁷³ Interview conducted January, 2012 with a Makongo resident from the low income group. He is a carpenter living in Makongo since 1998.

...First I was attracted to this area owing to the good breeze, because one can sleep here without an air conditioner, secondly, the breeze is originated from the elevated landscape exposed to the winds from the sea, so even if the area is continuing to be built, it is not easy for the breeze to be blocked. That is why today all areas that are potential for building, both hills and valleys have multi-storey buildings, Buying a plot here now is more expensive than in Mbezi or near the ocean. And another fact was the proximity to my place of work⁷⁴.

The proximity to places of work was particularly the case among those homeowners working at the University of Dar es Salaam, Ardhi University, the Mlimani City Complex; the Social welfare institution, the Lugalo Military Barracks and light industry area in Mikocheni. One advantage of living in a mixed informal settlement where people have different social and economic status is job creation within the community. One respondent who was not highly educated, trained or skilled said that he had to live near people who know him, and could offer him manual labour and could easily get information about job availability around the neighbourhood:

One live where people know one another, I could not from nowhere go and live in place like Tegeta (*where people do not know me*) etc. especially for a person like me who can only do manual labour (*have no special skills*), I need to be near people who know me and can give me a job or tell me about a job availability⁷⁵.

Retired elderly persons see Makongo as a peaceful village which is good for old people away from the noise pollution of the city. Other people who wanted to retire in a peaceful, rural or village like setting were reported (by a respondent) to have moved to other towns like Morogoro:

One can be convinced by friends to move to a place and follow them. People decide to stay in Dar es Salaam even after retiring due to expenses of relocating to upcountry. The furthest people opt to go to settle after retiring is Morogoro. I also like the weather here (*breeze*). There is a time people

⁷⁴ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

⁷⁵ Interview with Makongo resident conducted in January 2012. He is from the low income group. He has been living in Makongo for 20 years. Before, he was living in Bihalamulo-Kagera Region. He leaved the village when he was 20 years old and travelled to Dar es Salaam for better life.

thought our friend who moved here before us was crazy...how could one live in Makongo? There were wild animals, lions, it is a forest etc... but for sure our fellow had predicted the future⁷⁶.

One respondent during an interview expressed his wish of going back to his village of origin due to challenges of coping with city life, he noted:

I would like to relocate away from Dar es Salaam due to the economic situation now. I would like to go upcountry and start a farm, yesterday I just came back from Kagera region to check the farm that was left by our parents, so my plan is to go back to the village. Without education life is difficult here in Dar es Salaam. Long time ago it was easier as people were coming to the city from the village to look for jobs and they got them easily, but now the situation is different. Even some of my friends are also contemplating the same; at my age I think the best thing to do is to go back to the village, I think that will not be a bad decision. I cannot continue living here in Dar es Salaam, maybe if I get land for free. Even if they give me land for free, the house I would build there is not going to be different from this one because I do not have enough money to pay for a better house. In the city they want us to build modern houses that are descent, I cannot afford that⁷⁷.

As mentioned before, the proximity to the institutions like the University of Dar es salaam and Ardhi University made Makongo a good residential place for university students and dons. The settlement is regarded as student friendly area, but as it gets more congested, several challenges will emerge in the future. Some students, who were once tenants, after being familiar with the settlement, have been attracted and thus decided to look for plots to establish themselves. A respondent who was previously a university student commented:

I studied at Ardhi University, and I started being a tenant in Makongo while I was still a student. It was important for me to look for a room to rent that was near my place of study. Makongo is in the border of Ardhi University and I wanted a place that I could afford as a student and walk to the University easily. Survey (*also near Ardhi and Dar es Salaam Universities*) settlement is very full and I felt that the place was not student friendly. Makongo was more students friendly, it is a nice

⁷⁶ Interview conducted in January 2012, with a resident of Makongo since 2000 from the high income group. Before moving to Makongo he was living in Oysterbay formal settlement.

⁷⁷ Interview with Makongo resident conducted in January 2012. He is from the low income group. He has been living in Makongo for 20 years. Before, he was living in Bihalamulo-Kagera Region. He leaved the village when he was 20 years old and travelled to Dar es Salaam for better life.

place to live and by that time it was not full as it is becoming now, nowadays it is not easy to get a plot in Makongo those days it was easier⁷⁸.

And another respondent reported:

I studied in Ardhi University, and I know Makongo well enough and I like the topography of the areas too. Even if the place will be full later still there is good breeze for ventilation. I also have friends who were living in Makongo...So those are the combination of factors⁷⁹.

Peoples alternative choices if given a chance to relocate

Makongo as informal area was not a concern for many; the concerns that arose were more related to infrastructure challenges and not informality. Among the high income group one of the respondents noted:

I have settled in Makongo, I do not intend to go anywhere else. The atmosphere is good, the cool breeze (*better than Oysterbay near Indian Ocean where sometimes the breeze smell is not very fresh, i.e. fish smell*). People are not interfering into other peoples' lives; there is privacy (*people minding their own business, no poking to know what is daily going on in other people's lives*). Here, there is community life, when it comes to humanity issues people help each other. Unlike Manzese, Magomeni or Tandika (*these are flat areas, difficult to drain during rainy seasons, and congested areas*) it is an area where disease outbreaks cases are not much reported. In Makongo there is less crime. The challenges here is infrastructure, most people are forced to walk and more people are attracted to the area something that might lead to congestion in the future. In the past people knew each other and the 'few' tenants too⁸⁰.

A retired lecturer from the University of Dar es Salaam explained that he has other plots in Dar es Salaam where he has invested and built property. He added that having arrived in Makongo in 1988, he was attracted by the friendly village like environment and decided to make his retiring home. If he had to move away for any reason then he would move to one of his other plots but so

⁷⁸ Interview with one of Makongo residents (an Architect) of the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

⁷⁹ Interview (January, 2012); with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He a previous student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo since 2006. Before moving to Makongo he lived in Temeke, Chang'ombe, Sinza and Mwenge.

⁸⁰ Interview conducted in January 2012, with a resident of Makongo since 2000 from the high income group. Before moving to Makongo he was living in Oysterbay formal settlement.

far he did not see the reason for moving away from Makongo. For those who are in Makongo because they are near their work place, still do not prefer to move. Another respondent noted:

(He could relocate to) Oysterbay (he worked there before and admired the place, an old garden city like posh area of Dar es Salaam where rich and senior government officers used to live), or Mikocheni. These areas are closer to CBD, they are planned, and infrastructure is better; houses are nice (for prestige purposes, but too expensive for his affordability). More affordable, Changanyikeni, or Goba. But I don't intend to leave Makongo I am satisfied here; the area is meeting my test; it is an area that is comfortable to live in the familiarity with people is important. It is not comfortable to be a stranger in a neighbourhood⁸¹.

As noted, many interviewees expressed their desire to live in a place that they could feel part of the community. Many did not want to be isolated, something experienced in high income neighbourhoods areas where people have high fences and strong gates; and thus difficult to get to know each other or get together in a social way. Most of the residents in the middle income group preferred Makongo. Statements like, “my heart prefer here in Makongo and nowhere else”; “There is no way I am leaving Makongo, I will die here; I will refuse to move, maybe if offered 200 or 300 million Tshs”. Yet another respondent noted,

I have told you that my heart prefers Makongo, nowhere else, not even Manzese, I have selected this place and I like it and I have no desire to own another property elsewhere.

Another reaction reported was:

This is my home, I am not going anywhere else, Moshi-Kilimanjaro (*village of origin-upcountry*) is my parent's home, not mine.

The reaction of one of the middle income persons who settled in Makongo in 1958 was different. His area started out as a low density one and slowly with time he found himself in the middle of a congested housing, he noted:

⁸¹ Interview (January, 2012); with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He a previous student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo since 2006. Before moving to Makongo he lived in Temeke, Chang'ombe, Sinza and Mwenge.

At the beginning (1958) I had big enough space, but now I have been sandwiched around me there is no enough space for a lorry to drive in the compound and drain the septic tank. Also the neighbours are sometimes making a lot of noise (*celebrations, loud music etc*). I wish I had a bigger plot but for now I cannot afford to buy a new one⁸².

This particular respondent preferred to move away from the settlement or plot he is in but not necessarily away from Makongo. His concern was the congestion and the way he has found himself losing the peace and quietness he used to enjoy when the population was not much and when he had fewer neighbours. Not being economically strong he has to accept this situation but he wished he could own a bigger area. A middle income respondent narrates:

I own this place in Makongo, I do not want to move, and even we have a grave of a member of our family (*graves are culturally personal to some tribe. People burry their loved ones in the compound and sometimes perform some rituals on them, graves can solidify the ownership of land*) here so we cannot move, this is my land⁸³.

Having a grave in one's compound is a strong symbol of ownership and location permanency to people of Tanzania. It is difficult for a person to walk away from land that they buried their loved ones.

For some residents (especially low income group) living in places facing challenging infrastructure was disturbing. They find themselves not in a position to afford basic infrastructure like electricity; easy public transport, water etc. A respondent answering the questions noted:

Q: Given an opportunity to live anywhere else in Dar es Salaam, where would you choose? A: Maybe Mbezi. Q: Why Mbezi? A: There is plenty of water. Q: Where else? A: Maybe Mbagala. Q: Why Mbagala? A: It is a nice place. Q: What is 'nice' to you? A: Availability of water. Q: So what will make you move away from Makongo is shortage of water? A: Yes⁸⁴.

⁸² Interview conducted in February 2012, with a resident of Makongo from the middle income group. He has been living in Makongo since 1958. He previously worked as a cook for Mr. Stanley (a foreigner), then later worked at University of Dar es Salaam and Ardhi University (1971-2002).

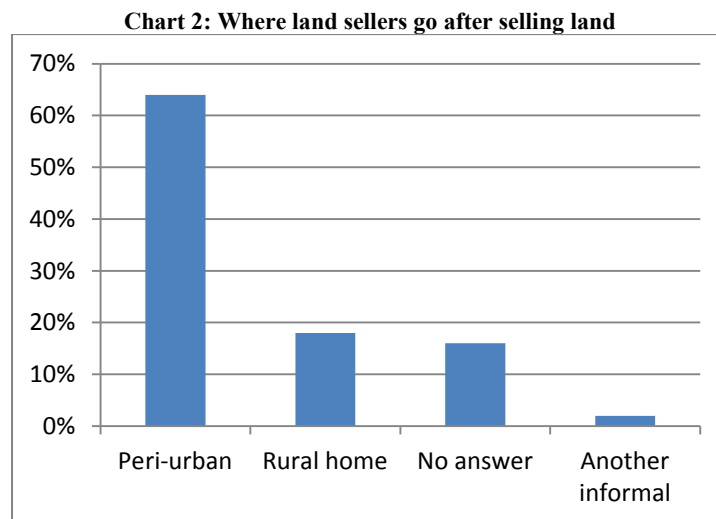
⁸³ Interview conducted in February 2012, with a middle income resident of Makongo. He has been living in Makongo since 1982 but acquired a plot in 1977. He is a retired soldier and was previously living in army barracks.

⁸⁴ Interview conducted in January 2012, with a resident of Makongo from the low income group. She is a businesswoman (petty trading) and has been living in Makongo since 2007.

Infrastructure improvement is expensive, so it is easier for the high income people to solve these kinds of challenges. The low income people feel it is more affordable to live in a place where basic needs especially water is available regardless of being formal or informal for example Tandale, Sinza, Buguruni, Chanika, Mbezi, Mbagala, Mwenge, Sinza, or Ubungo.

6.4.3 Where are land owners who sold all their land?

Relocating from one settlement to the other could be a difficult process or activity owing to the economic reasons but sometime it is necessary; For example, when one retires, or when one has been relocated to work in another city or town. Some tribes in Tanzania have strong cultural identity of considering their rural villages upcountry as their homes and places of final destination⁸⁵. With time and given the increasing situation where dwellers in the city have inherited land from parents in rural village, some people are increasingly establishing a second home in the rural areas. A question was asked on the whereabouts of the land owners who sold all their land in Makongo; 64 per cent reported such persons have left to start new life further away in the peri-urban areas such as Changanyikeni and Goba; 18 percent reported such persons have gone back to their rural homes, 2 percent reported that persons who sold all their land moved to another informal settlement and 16 percent did not have an answer (Chart 2).



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

⁸⁵ Final destination here means a place where they can go to live when they retire city life or where they could be buried when they die.

From the interviews it was discovered that the tendency among most land sellers is to move further in the outskirts where land is cheaper and easily available e.g. sellers of land in Msasani were reported to have settled in Makongo, Mbezi settlers moved to Bunju; and some have moved from Makongo to Changanyikeni although the two settlements are close. Some respondents noted that elderly persons who sold land to them have passed away:

The person who sold me this land is now living in Changanyikeni, an area which is not far from here. He owned several pieces of land in different areas this being among them. So he is not far from here but there are many cases where land sellers decide to move and look for land further in peri-urban areas, especially in areas not surveyed or densely developed. For example, people who sold areas in Msasani, came to settle in Makongo and Mbezi. When Mbezi was being extensively bought, they shifted further to Bunju. So literally most of the land owners moved further away to places where vacant bush land is available and cheap to buy⁸⁶.

Another respondent reported:

To me it is not important where land sellers have moved to, after selling all their land, but I heard that after the woman (*who sold land to me*) sold all the pieces she owned, she went to buy land in Bagamoyo and resettled there⁸⁷.

Other locations that emerged as places where people relocated after selling their land were other informal settlements such as Mbagala, and Mbezi-Kimara. Some upcountry relocation includes Kilimanjaro and Morogoro (depending on one's region of origin or region of preference).

6.5 Physical environment and infrastructure

Mixed informal settlements comprises of different categories of houses and plot sizes. Physical observation was done on thirty selected houses of high middle and low income people in Makongo (Figures 28 to 31). The focus on the type of building material used, number of

⁸⁶ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

⁸⁷ Interview with one of Makongo residents (an Architect) of the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

structures on the plot, stage of construction, boundary characteristics, existence of economic activities and existence of infrastructure.



Figure 28: Low income house in Makongo



Figure 29: Middle income house in Makongo



Figure 30: High income house in Makongo



Figure 31: Double storey high income house in Makongo

6.5.1 Building materials

When building in the formal areas, submission of architectural drawings and seeking building permit is required. In processing a building permit, specifications of building materials are also checked and have to be approved. After approval the process of building is supposed to be inspected by building construction professionals. Building in informal settlements gives one the option of not following such restricted, long and formal steps. People in informal settlements build their houses using building materials they can afford. The process of building can be incremental and materials can be different and mixed. Sometimes one can start with cheaper

materials for example mud, poles or timber then improve as his or her economic conditions improve.

Walls

Walling materials vary from mud, poles, timber, concrete blocks and stones. Low income houses that were observed consisted of walls made of mud, poles and few were of concrete blocks (Table, 24 a). Houses for the middle and the high income group were made of permanent building materials like concrete blocks. Some houses had plaster finish and others had only plain concrete blocks.

Roofs

Corrugated iron sheets appeared to be the most common roofing material even for those who have built their houses with mud (Figure 32). Tiles seemed to be a roofing material symbolising wealth and prestige (Figure 34). Tiled roofs are more expensive and were found in most of the houses for the high income people (Table, 24 c).



Figure 32: Corrugated iron sheets roof



Figure 33: Plastered concrete blocks and corrugated iron sheets roof



Figure 34: Plastered concrete blocks, stone cladding walls and tiled roof

Windows

Dar es Salaam is an area with hot humid climate. Temperatures are high most of the time of the year and there is a need of getting rid of heat from the houses and at the same time not allowing insects like mosquitoes and flies from outside into the house. Ventilation is an important factor to be considered when deciding what kind of windows to be provided in houses. Windows location, sizes and materials should be ones that allows natural ventilation as much as possible. Other means of ventilation for example use of fans and air conditioning (Figure 38) are expensive and need electricity or generators to run. Houses without electricity have to rely on openings for

natural ventilation (Figure 35). For air conditioning to work efficiently openings are sealed (Figure 37); this was observed in some of the high income houses where windows were made of timber or aluminium frames and glass shutters. From the observations made, the dominating building materials for windows were a combination of timber frames and wire mesh.



Figure 35: Wire-mesh protect insects, but allows natural ventilation



Figure 36: Wire mesh and burglar proof materials



Figure 37: Burglar proof and glass shutters



Figure 38: Air conditioning systems in high income houses in Makongo

Doors

Timber was the most common material used for doors. This is for all income groups. Doors and windows in houses are in most cases built in combination with iron steel bars for buglers proofing (Figure 39); architects ought to be aware of this need so that they can creatively design for it and make it part of opening decoration, instead of treating it as an after-thought during building construction. In most cases, the more valuable property one own, the stronger the buglers proofing one has to build. It was observed that openings of houses in the high income group had more bugler iron bars than the others.



Figure 39: Bugler proof materials on windows and doors

The low income group has less to worry about as far as theft is concerned so the openings on their houses do not necessarily have buglers proof elements on their doors (Figures 40 and 41).



Figure 40: House without bugler proof



Figure 41: Middle income house without bugler proof

As Bulamile (2009) in his study on ‘Homeowner’s architectural responses to crime in Dar es Salaam, its impacts and implications to urban architecture, urban design and urban management’ discovered:

Doors and windows barricades also differ accordingly...one observes an elaborate network of metal grillages on windows and heavy metal gates on the perimeter walls in most of the houses. But in others, only simple burglar-proof bars composed of horizontal or vertical members with wire mesh on windows with simple metal gates on entrances. This may suggest the value of the property, which further emphasises attractive targets tempts more than unattractive ones (Bulamile, 2009).

The foregoing observation made show that the varying economic status of residents of Makongo is in the type of building materials used in the house components.

Table 24: Building materials on observed houses

a) Ten low income houses observed

Building element	Wall			Roof	Windows		Doors
Building materials	cb	mp	cb & mp	cis	tm	tms	tm
No. of houses With the mentioned material	4	1	5	10	1	9	10

b) Ten middle income houses observed

Building element	Wall	Roof		Windows		Doors	
Building materials	cb	cis	tl	tms	tg	tm	tms
No. of houses with the mentioned material	10	9	1	9	1	9	1

c) Ten high income houses observed

Building element	Wall	Roof			Windows			Doors
Building materials	cb	cis	tl	con	tms	tg	ag	tm
No. of houses with the mentioned material	10	2	6	1	5	2	3	10

Key: **cb** = concrete blocks, **mp** = mud and poles, **tm** = timber, **cis** = corrugated iron sheets, **tl** = tiles, **con** = concrete, **tms** = timber and mesh, **tg** = timber and glass, **ag** = aluminium and glass
Source: Fieldwork, Makongo-Dar es Salaam

6.5.2 Structures

Also characteristics of buildings were observed in high, middle and low income group's houses in terms of the differences in structures. This was done by looking at number of storeys of the buildings, boundary characteristics, spaces for economic activities, spaces for recreational activities, stage of building whether there is still construction going on or finished, and number of structures on the plot.

Number of storeys

Multi-storey building design and construction needs the involvement of professionals especially a structural engineer to make sure it is structurally sound. It requires a person (middle or high income) to afford costs of paying the professionals. From the observation made, the low and most middle income groups fell under the category of one storey building, while most high income group opted for either single storey or multi-storey buildings (Table 25 a).

Property boundary characteristics

Fencing plots has been a common practice in Dar es Salaam. This is done for different reasons one of them being defining property boundaries; Kalugila (2005) in 'Fences and Their Implication in the Built Environment' mentioned that;

...It was noted that fences were erected as elements for property boundary markers. Fences were used as the divider structures showing boundary for two adjoining plots...Fencing was also a priority in cases where plots are adjacent to open spaces. In such cases, one may feel the necessity to demarcate where his or her property ends, otherwise the users of the open space may trespass on private property because there is no physical boundary (Kalugila, 2005).

Another reason is privacy; a house is either close to another house, a road, a path or a public space. In such cases some people may want to conduct their outdoor activities without being exposed to outsiders. This leads to screening or blocking direct vision from outsiders by constructing fences. Lupala (2002) in 'Urban Types in Rapidly Urbanising Cities; Analysis of Formal and Informal Settlements in Tanzania' argued that fencing can reduce social contact with neighbours;

Fenced plot boundaries have increased individuality and privacy as well as perception of low density. Contacts with other people have been inhibited and due to lack of communal and neighbourhood spaces, casual contacts among residents have been further curtailed...fences have in turn blocked social and visual contact with neighbours (Lupala, 2002).

During field studies, the boundary fencing characteristics that emerged where of three categories: Those made of permanent building materials, those made of temporary building materials and plots that were not fenced. Houses that belonged to the high income households seemed to be the most fenced with permanent building materials. These can afford to use concrete blocks or stones. Fences made of hedges can also serve the purpose; the disadvantage of hedges is that like other plants they take time to grow and they need to be cared for. It can be noted that pride and social-economic status are among things that the type of fencing symbolise;

In some cases, having a house surrounded by a fence symbolises a status of being better-off...The quality of the fences may reflect what is enclosed...there was hardly any fascinating fence

enclosing a low or poor quality house; fences thus seen as fashion for the ‘better off’ to display their wealth (Kalugila, 2005).

Security is another reason for physically defining property boundaries. The way people achieve security can group people in socio-economic status. As it is for bugler proofing, the more valuable the properties one owns, the stronger the security measures one employ to protect the compound. Supporting the foregoing, Kalugila (2005) notes:

In some places there was no fencing wall at all, this especially observed in areas inhabited by low income households. Implying that the poorer the owner was, the less he or she worried about theft because fences seemed to reinforce ones security against burglary. Poor people have often few properties attractive to thieves as well as other things to worry about like meeting basic needs such as food and shelter so a fence is not a priority for most of them (Kalugila, 2005).

Hollander (2003) writing on ‘The Real Environmental Crisis’ observes;

People everywhere will automatically become protective of their environment as they become affluent...isolate themselves from the environments of the poorly using fences, rivers, and other trapping of physical separation (Hollander, 2003).

Even if a person from a low income group wants to enhance the security for the little and less valuable property they have meeting the cost is a problem. Solid built fences are expensive because one needs to buy the materials at the same time soft fences (e.g. hedges) need water which is a scarce and expensive element in Makongo and many other areas in Dar es Salaam.

I think people build fences because of security; I would like to have a solid wall with perforated blocks on the upper part. This will provide security at the same time air movement. I cannot have this because I cannot afford.⁸⁸

From observations made in Makongo mixed informal settlement (Table 25), fencing was mostly found in houses of the high socio-economic group than the middle and low income groups. So

⁸⁸ Response from an interview in Kalugila (2005) conducted to one residence in Sinza Dar es Salaam.

the socio-economic mix and peoples categories could be noticed through fences around their compounds.



Figure 42: Privacy creation - low income house in Makongo

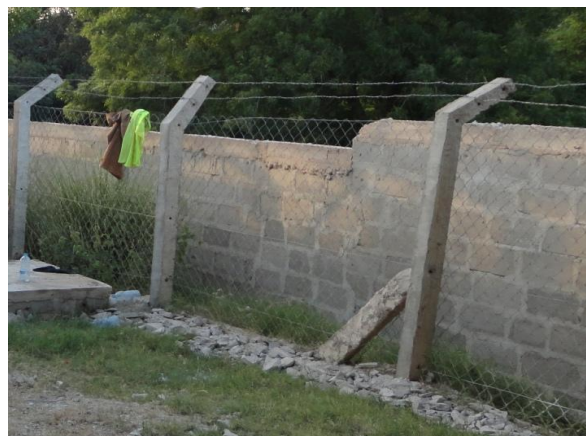


Figure 43: Defining property by a middle income owner

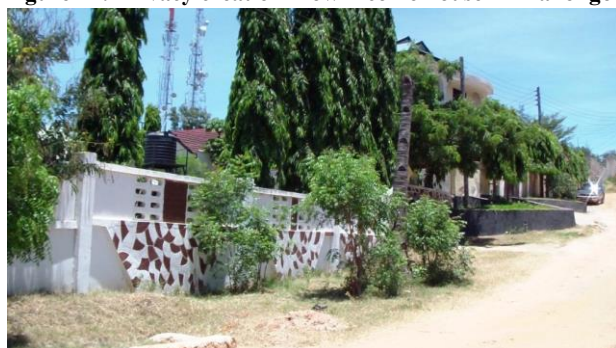


Figure 44: Decorated property boundary by the high income owner



Figure 45: Property boundary by a high income owner

Observation on economic activities⁸⁹ spaces

Makongo settlement is not only mixed in the socio-economic groups but also in the land use and activities taking place on the plots. People are creating activities to supplement their economic situations. It is not surprising to see a shop as part of a house, sewing or shoe repair business, petty trading or even cooked food business. The high income houses that were observed did not have visible economic activities going on in their compounds (Table 25 c) except for some animal keeping like cattle and chicken as well as houses for rentals. The middle and low income are carrying out some economic activities as seen in Table 25 a and b.

⁸⁹ More on economic activities is discussed under the section 6.5.4 on income generating activities and employment

Recreational activities

Recreational activities (e.g. mini-playgrounds, swings, slides, sand boxes for children, swimming pool) at plot level were rarely observed in the thirty low, middle and high income houses. A child responded during an interview:

Q: (Don't you play?) A: I play a game called rede (*a game played by three children mostly girls using a ball, with one in the middle and the two trying to hit the middle one*). Q: (Where?) A: Behind the house. Q: (Is it your home space or the neighbours?) A: It is the neighbours. Q: (Why do you not play at home?) A: There is no space. Q: (Are you allowed to play with your neighbours children?) A: Yes we play together they come from neighbouring houses. Q: (Would you like to be done for you to play well?) A: I would like playing space Q: (What else?) A: I just like a playing space⁹⁰.

Playing space is an important element especially for families with children and old people who cannot easily go far away to search public places for recreation (Table 25 a, b, and c).

Stage of building

Informality allows people to build incrementally, and thus one can occupy a part of a building while construction continues (Figure 46 to 51). After moving in (most of them move from rented houses) they continue to build the remaining parts of their house according to availability of money (Figure 48 to 50). From observations made in Makongo plots, a higher number of plots in the high income group seemed to have construction activities still going on (Table 25 c); they could be adding another room or another unit for rentals (Figure 51). Houses of middle and low income groups had most of the finished structures and most of them had no construction going on (Table 25 a and b).

⁹⁰ Interview with a child studying at Makongo primary government school. She comes back from school at 1700 hour, help with housework then she can go to play.



Figure 46: Gravel piled for further construction



Figure 47: Concrete blocks piled for further construction



Figure 48: Extended foundation and reinforcement bars to allow future extension



Figure 49: Incremental building



Figure 50: Incremental building by a high income



Figure 51: House extension by a high income owner

Unfinished abandoned buildings could be observed in some sites in Makongo. These are often held by people who are inspired and want to own a too ambitious house, without understanding the cost implications. Most such persons aspire to carry out the whole construction at once.

When the resources are no longer available or if the owner dies; the house may remain incomplete for years (Figure 52).



Figure 52: An abandoned unfinished building in Makongo

Number of structures on the plot

It can be noted that in the low income group, number of structures on one plot were more than one (Table 25 a). This often happens because there are activities which if conducted inside the main house can produce smoke or uncomfortable smells; example of such activities are pit latrines, or outdoor cooking (Figure 53): The latter is done mostly in cases where people use firewood, charcoal or kerosene. High income people, who can afford WC (water closet) gas or electricity for cooking, have an option of having these facilities in the main house (Figure 55).



Figure 53: An outdoor firewood cooking area



Figure 54: An outdoor charcoal and gas cooking area



Figure 55: An indoor cooking area of a high income owner

Having more than one structure on the plot for the high income group is contributed by units that are built for rentals (Figures 56 to 58) or huts for storing equipment.



Figure 56: Rental apartments extended to the main house



Figure 57: Front view of the apartment building extension



Figure 58: Another apartment building under construction at the far end

Table 25: Structures and their characteristics of the observed houses

a) Ten low income houses observed:

	Number of storeys		Boundary characteristics			Economic activities Area		Recreational activities area		Stage of building		Any construction still going on		Number of structures on plot				
	1	2	pf	tf	nf	yes	no	yes	no	fin	nfin	yes	no	1	2	3	4	5
No. of houses	10		2	2	6	2	8		9	9	1	2	8	-	3	2	2	3

b) Ten middle income houses observed:

	Number of storeys		Boundary characteristics			Economic activities Area		Recreational activities area		Stage of building		Any construction still going on		Number of structures on plot				
	1	2	pf	tf	nf	yes	no	yes	no	fin	nfin	yes	no	1	2	3	4	5
No. of houses	10		1	1	8	2	8		10	9	1	2	8	5	2	2	-	1

c) Ten high income houses observed:

	Number of storeys		Boundary characteristics			Economic activities Area		Recreational activities area		Stage of building		Any construction still going on		Number of structures on plot				
	1	2	pf	tf	nf	yes	no	yes	no	fin	nfin	yes	no	1	2	3	4	5
No of houses	5	5	7	2	1	-	10		10	5	5	4	6	2	4	4	-	-

Key: pf = permanent fence, tf = temporary fence, nf = no fence, fin = finished stage, nfin = not finished

Source: Fieldwork, Makongo-Dar es Salaam

6.5.3 Services available

Observation took place to selected houses to find out plot accessibility, water source, electricity availability, toilet type, and slope characteristics revealed the following:

Plot accessibility

It is important for a house to be accessible not only by foot but also by car. Sometimes people who do not own cars overlook this fact in positioning their houses on the plot (Figures 59 to 62). One has to think of scenarios like receiving visitors with cars, getting an emergency service that calls for an ambulance or fire brigade, having celebrations or even funerals which involve gathering people of different socio-economic groups (unforeseen events).



Figure 59: Accessing this house by car is a challenge

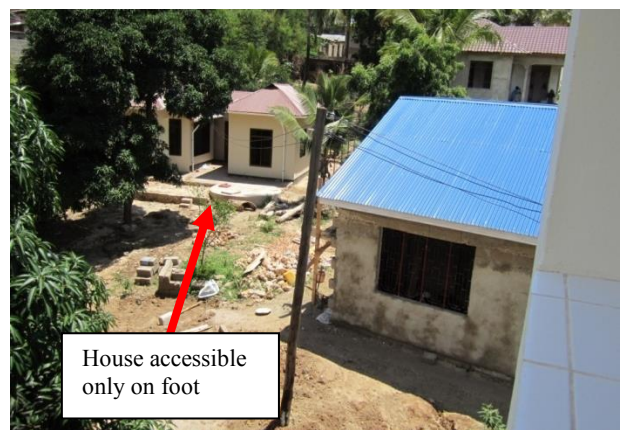


Figure 60: House accessible only on foot



Figure 61: House not accessible by car



Figure 62: A rough foot path for accessing a house

There are cases where it is not by choice that a house is not accessible. Plot divisions and subdivisions could have been made in advance and the surrounding plots could have already

been occupied and developed without providing enough land for accessibility purposes or without considering the one who will buy the middle plot later. Observations (Table 26) showed that eight out of thirty houses that were observed did not have motor-able access. One of the dwellers in Makongo has established a business of parking cars for car owners (both land owners and tenants) who are facing parking challenges as seen in Figure 63.

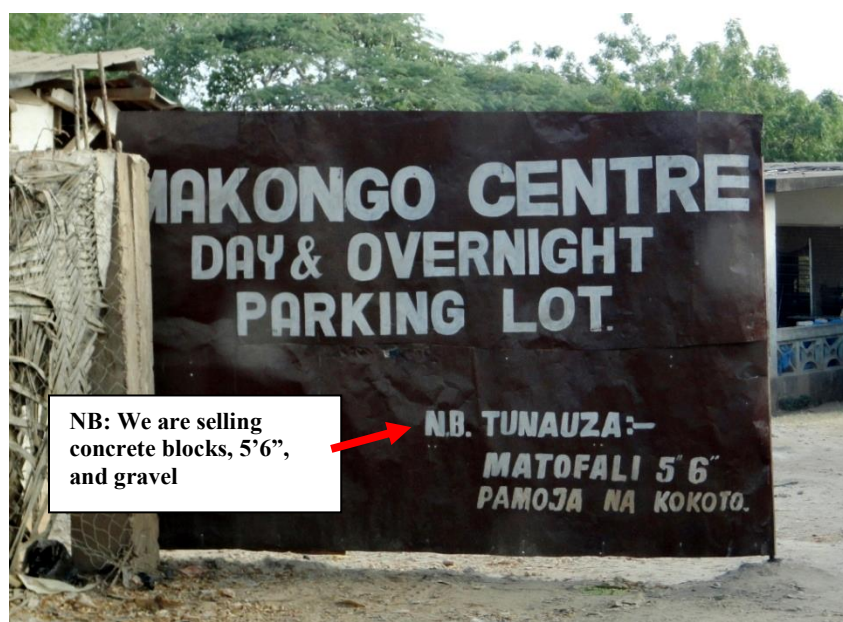


Figure 63: A gate showing a sign of a commercial parking lot

Water availability⁹¹

As mentioned earlier access to water is a problem in Makongo (Figure 64 to 72). Even for houses with taps, still one cannot rely on them because electricity is not reliable⁹², pumping system from time to time can breakdown and even when the system is working water is supplied in shifts from one neighbourhood to the other. Observations showed that only two out of the ten low income houses had access to tap water. For the middle income group, eight houses had access to tap water (Table 26 b).

⁹¹ More on the history and situation on water availability in Makongo is discussed on the section 6.5.5 of infrastructure and public service availability.

⁹² There are times of the year when electricity supply from the main source is so low in such a way it necessitates TANESCO (Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited) to supply power by rationing. This could be 12 hours of electricity per day; sometimes less or sometimes more.



Figure 64: A low income house compound



Figure 65: Gallons for storing water on the veranda



Figure 66: Water is pumped up from a bigger tank



Figure 67: Water is pumped up and flow by gravity



Figure 68: An outdoor water tap



Figure 69: A 3000 litre simtanks on a concrete structure



Figure 70: Water flowing from the Chinese project



Figure 71: 5000 and 10,000 litre simtanks for storing water



Figure 72: A private well

Three houses in the high income group were using wells (Table 26 c). Water from wells is reliable, but the initial costs are high for the low and middle income households.

Electricity⁹³ observation

Electricity in all settlements is supposed to be provided by Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited (TANESCO). After application, during installation, there are several options which the applicant can opt for; one is pre-paid (the user buys a recharging voucher with units and punch in the numbers to the meter in the house - LUKU) another is post-paid where a meter is connected in the house, a worker from TANESCO reads the meter and sends a bill to the user on monthly basis (Figure 72).

TANZANIA ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANY LIMITED		Date of Invoice	07/08/2006
HEAD OFFICE P.O. Box 9024 Telephone : 111041/8 Telegrams : "Tanesco" DAR ES SALAAM TANZANIA		MR SAL [REDACTED] P.O. BOX [REDACTED] DAR ES SALAAM	
Tarehe Iliyosomwa Mita. Meter Reading Date.		MAKONGO JUU NEAR DJU Prov/Ref: 20.16.00011 Cust Ref: 51045712	
METER NUMBER KWH : WA SASA / PRESENT : A130117475 ULIOPITA PREVIOUS : 12207 MATUMIZI / UNITS CONS : 11972 : 235		GHARAMA YA KWH : 24 285.00 KWH CHARGE : CHARAMA YA KVA : KVA CHARGE : 0.00	
METER NUMBER KVA : 40,000.00- USOMAJI WA KVA READING :		Adj: 0.00 QRN 10-005396-Z Serv. Charge : 0.00 TIN 100-183-471 : VAT: 4,857.00	
Idadi iliyobaki / Balance B/FWD : 61,539.92		TOTAL CHARGE THIS MONTH : 29,142.00 Jumla ya Fedha / Total Amount Due : 25,000.00	
Interest (VAT Inc) : 0.00		SEE OVERLEAF FOR NOTES	

TAX INVOICE

07/08/2006
 Jipate
 utumwa kwa
 malisha ya
 kisasa
 Pligwa kwa
 elektroni
 living
 07 AUG 2006
 Tumepokea fedha
 Iliyochangwa hapo chini
 Received the sum here stated
 in printed figures.

Code: 00
 Tariff: TIN: 100-183-471
 YRN: 10-005396-Z
 MIAGOMENI

Receipt No.: 00314796
 07/08/2006 Time: 12:08
 Cash

Figure 73: An example of an electricity bill and receipt from (TANESCO)

⁹³ More on electricity is discussed under section 6.5.5 on infrastructure and public services availability.

Nine out of ten observed (Table 26) houses in the low income group did not have access to electricity. Among the middle and high income groups electricity is a common service to have unless the house is still under construction. It is not normal to informally connect electricity from neighbouring houses; users have to apply, get a connection and pay to TANESCO directly.



Figure 74: A low income house without electricity



Figure 75: A middle income house with electricity



Figure 76: A high income house with electricity

Toilet types

The type of toilet one has in the house or compound also depends on the economic situation of a household. The most important factors of a good toilet is cleanliness, this however depends on availability of water. It can be seen that those people with only dry pit holes are largely low income group and also the low middle income group.

When a pit latrine is full it can be covered and another hole is dug somewhere else within the compound. If there is no space for digging another pit a cesspit emptier will be hired to suck and empty the pit so as to enable reuse. It is common to have more than one toilet in a compound that is why the number of houses in the toilet section question in (Table 26) shows a number more than ten in the middle class group.

Houses with water closets (Figures 79 and 80), use septic tanks that were privately constructed within the plots. When septic tanks are filled-up, the users have to hire a cesspit emptier. The use of water closet and septic tank system is an expensive option which is not easy for low income people to afford.



Figure 77: An outdoor dry pit latrine



Figure 78: An outdoor dry pit latrine



Figure 79: A toilet in a high income house compound



Figure 80: A side view of the outdoor toilet

Many high income people in the study area have outdoor toilets which are largely used by guests when they have outdoor gatherings and emergencies when water is not flowing in the house.

Variety in land characteristics (hills and valleys)

Building on a site with variety of levels is difficult. The type of foundation that is needed for the building is complicated and expensive. The option of levelling the site, constructing retaining walls (Figure 81), or ‘cut and fill’ cannot easily be afforded by many. Sites that are flat are expensive and not easy to get because they have a higher market value. With money and consultation from an architect an engineer and a good contractor, it is possible to build a house on a difficult site with irregular land levels (Figure 82).



Figure 81: Expensive construction on a hilly site



Figure 82: A sloppy site and costly site works



Figure 83: Houses on different land levels

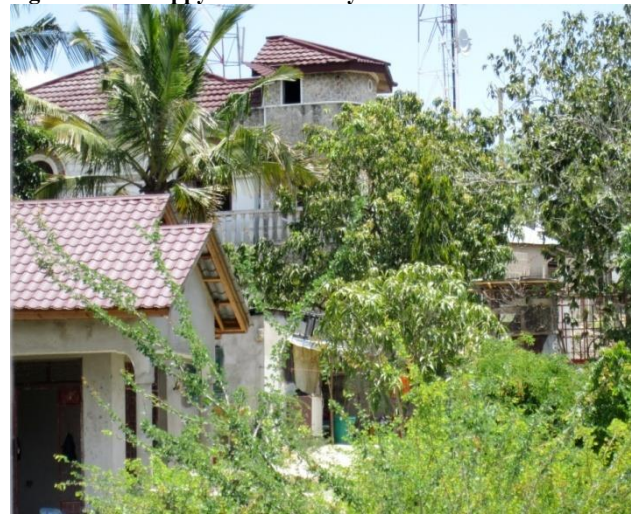


Figure 84: Houses are on different levels of land

The economic conditions of the low income group give them few options of land choices so they have to try to build wherever they get land with the little resources they have. The advantage of a hilly site however is that it drains easily in rain seasons and there is no threat of floods and outbreak diseases as it is in some of the other informal settlements in Dar es Salaam. Also difference in land levels allows cool breeze to flow and ventilate the houses without being much blocked. This is important for a hot humid climate like Dar es Salaam. Also households on higher levels can also enjoy the Indian Ocean view (Figure 85).



Figure 85: A view of Indian Ocean from Makongo

The valleys between hills are used in some cases to dump garbage for people who do not have other alternatives to handle the garbage they produce.

Table 26: Services available in selected observed houses

a) Low income houses

Plot accessibility		Water source		Electricity		Toilet type			Slope characteristics		
car		foot		yes	no	yes	no				
1	2	tap	well					dph	wph	hilly	flat
9	1	1		8	1	9		6	3	6	4

b) Middle income houses

Plot accessibility		Water source		Electricity		Toilet type			Slope characteristics				
car		foot		yes	no	yes	no						
5	10	tap	well					dph	wph	wc	natural	hilly	flat
		8		2	10			3	3	7	9	3	7

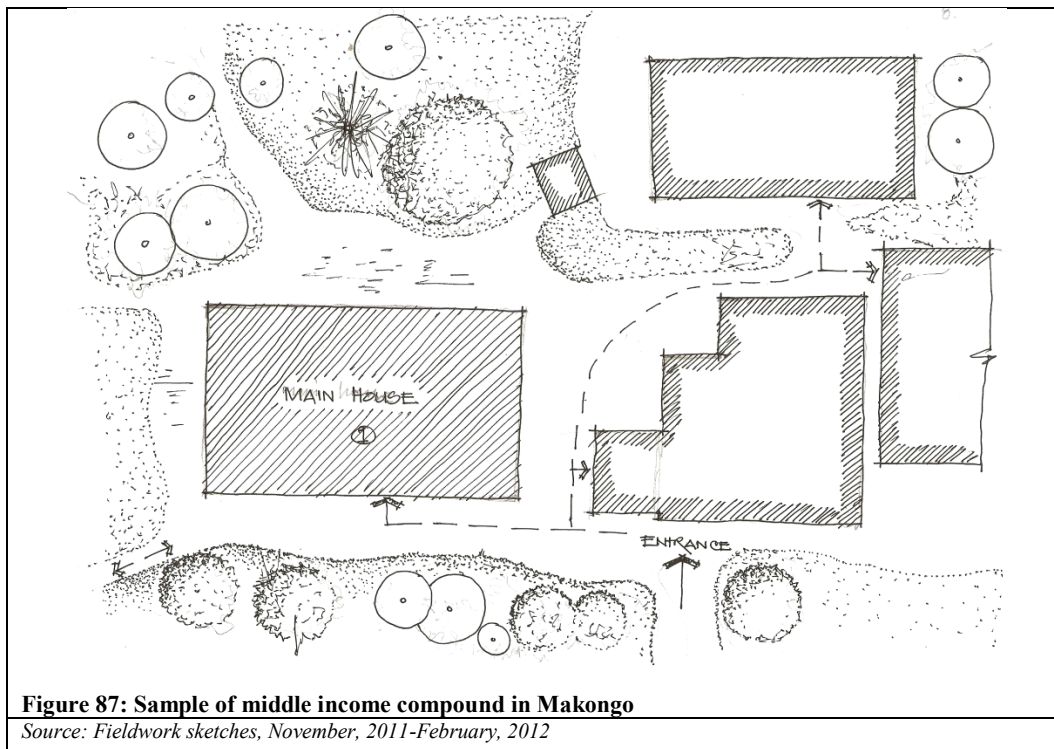
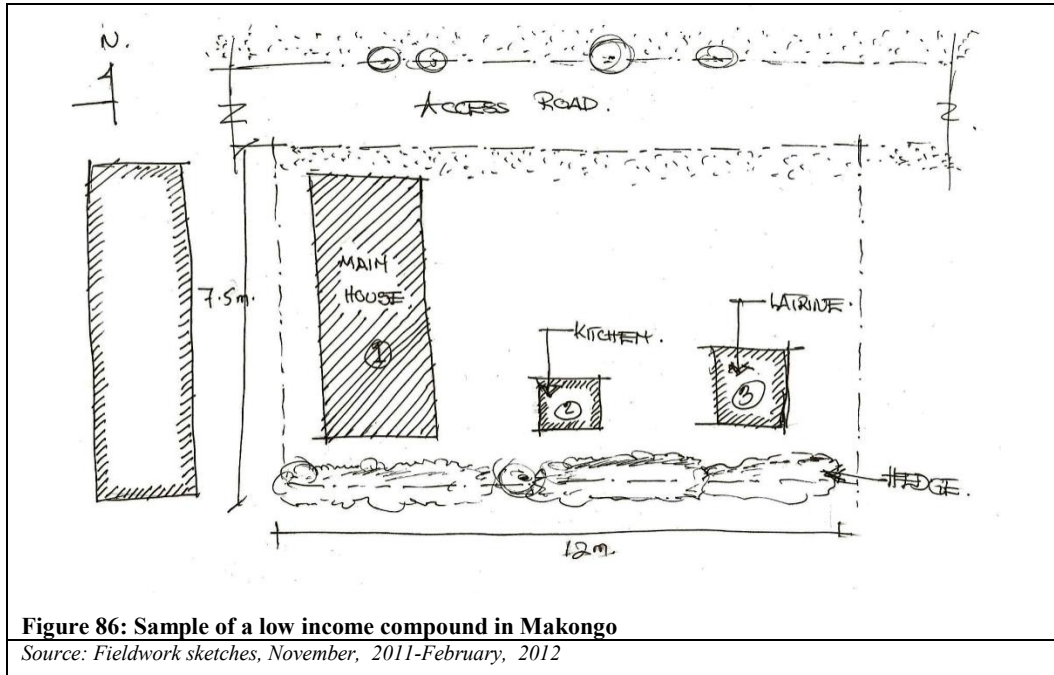
c) High income houses

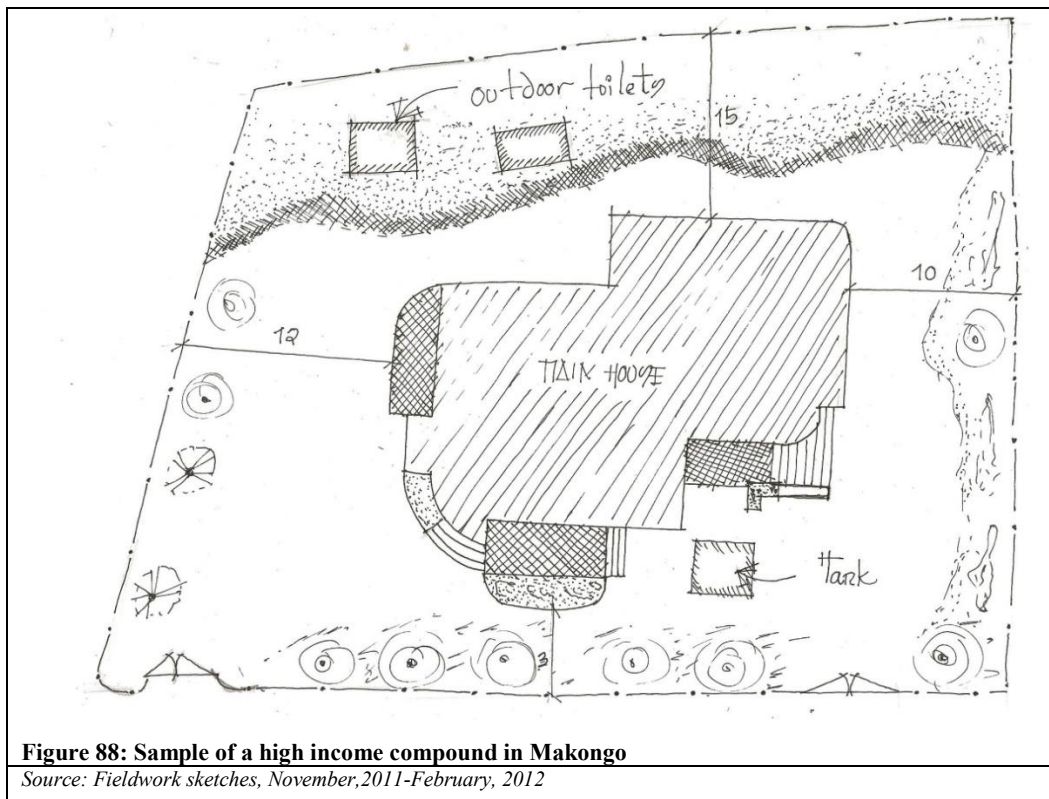
Plot accessibility		Water source		Electricity		Toilet type			Slope characteristics			
car		foot		yes	no	yes	no					
8	2	tap	well					dph	wph	wc	hilly	flat
		6	3	1	7				1	8	8	2

Key: ind = individual, dph = dry pit hole, wph = pit hole using water, wc = inside toilet using water

6.5.3 Plot and structures shapes

In Makongo mixed informal settlement, plots have different shapes; and the same applies to the houses. Plots and the buildings are shaped by land levels, freedom of plot division and building construction without following any particular restricted pattern (Figures 86 to 88).





6.5.4 Income generating activities and employment

High, middle and low income residents responded differently to the question on income generating activities during interviews. The high income people living in Makongo constitute of original land owners, retired government workers, politicians, young businessmen and women, young people who are working in various private or government institutions or companies. The salary most people draw from official jobs are not enough to meet their needs so people are forced to engage themselves on other activities that can generate extra income; in most cases informal income generating activities. Most of plots are big, so the economic or income generation activities they undertake include construction of houses for renting purposes; renting rooms, petty trading etc. Water vending is common in Makongo; some of those with wells and large tanks sell water to other members of the community (Figure 90).



Figure 89: Water transported by using a lorry

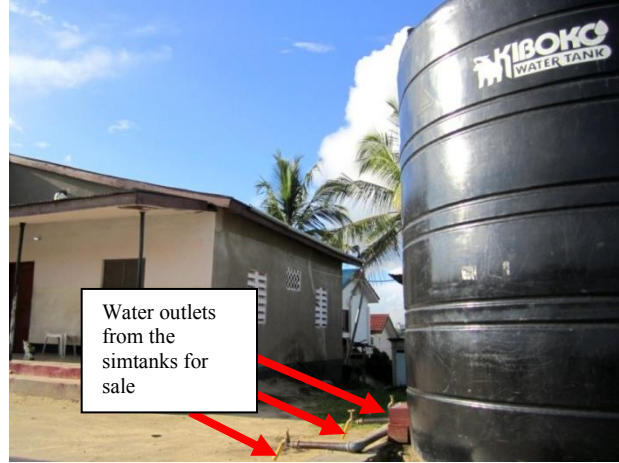


Figure 90: Water business joint at Makongo DTV

Also there are small scale industries like those making concrete blocks; building materials like cement (Figure 91), timber (Figure 93), steel bars, aluminium frames and the like. Farming and cattle keeping is mostly undertaken by those with big farms which are allocated away from the city. Middle income people are also involved in building houses for rental, their prices might be cheaper than those rented out by the high income group due to the quality of housing units or number of rooms they offer to a single tenant. Petty trading is normal for this group too, for example these operate small shops. The low income households are mostly involved in petty businesses like vegetable selling, catering services, and fish selling etc. They arrange their tables on the sides of the road or they display their items in front of their houses or verandas. Some homeowners have built small rooms attached to their houses purposefully for trading uses; often they rent them out to people who use them as retail shops.



Figure 91: A cement selling shop (Twiga cement)



Figure 92: Some retail shops along Makongo road



Figure 93: Makongo road showing a joint for selling timber



Figure 94: Shops along Makongo road selling daily necessities



Figure 95: A shopping centre in DTV-Makongo; motorbike for hire

Makongo road is used by many Makongo settlers daily, both car owners and people who use public transport. People have positioned their businesses along it to capture customers (Figures 91 to 94).

6.5.5 Infrastructure and public services availability

Since the beginning of the establishment of Makongo settlement, infrastructure has been a challenge to the dwellers and has also contributed to conflicts arising between neighbours. Its availability in a household is among the factors that distinguishes the economic status among households. For example, a household which does not have electricity in the house or which kerosene lamp or firewood is considered as a low income; or a household which can afford to dig a deep water well in his or her compound and water is running from the taps in a house is considered a high income person. One resident commented:

Electricity is ok, just depending on your ability to pay, if you don't pay they cut it off, and now we have a prepaid system. So if the units are all used one just keep quiet if he or she cannot afford to buy more units. This road here is very old, when I came in 1966 it was largely used by cows, there were no cars those days, only that white man there (Stanley) had his private road. After more

people settled here, it became a public road, not only for Stanley. So some people contribute some money to renovate it, now and then. But it is an accessible road⁹⁴.

Plots which people are occupying today were once farms; it is the duty of the individuals to privately find a way to access basic infrastructure as well as maintain them in case of damage. Where possible, people can combine efforts and resolve their infrastructure problems collectively. For successful collective efforts, members of the community have to meet and agree on how to handle their problems. The challenge arises in mixed informal settlement because what a high income person sees as a need for example a public sewage system (because they use water based toilets) might not necessarily be of high priority to a low income person, because they might be using a pit latrine. While what might be a need for a low income person, for example clean water, might not necessarily be the same for a high income person because they can afford to dig wells, connect pipes and have abundant water coming naturally from the ground to every tap in the house.



Figure 96: Digging 100 metres underground (borehole) to get water

Makongo main road and accessibility

The first concern for many when buying plots is its accessibility from the nearest main road either on foot or by car. When subdividing farms, some land sellers designate areas for roads, but whether the developer follow them or not is another case. The main local road (Makongo Road) acts like a spine cutting across the settlement (Figure 97), with many access roads giving access to various parts of the settlement and to individual plots and houses.

⁹⁴ Interview with a resident of Makongo conducted in January 2012. He has been living in Makongo since 1966 and is from the middle income group.

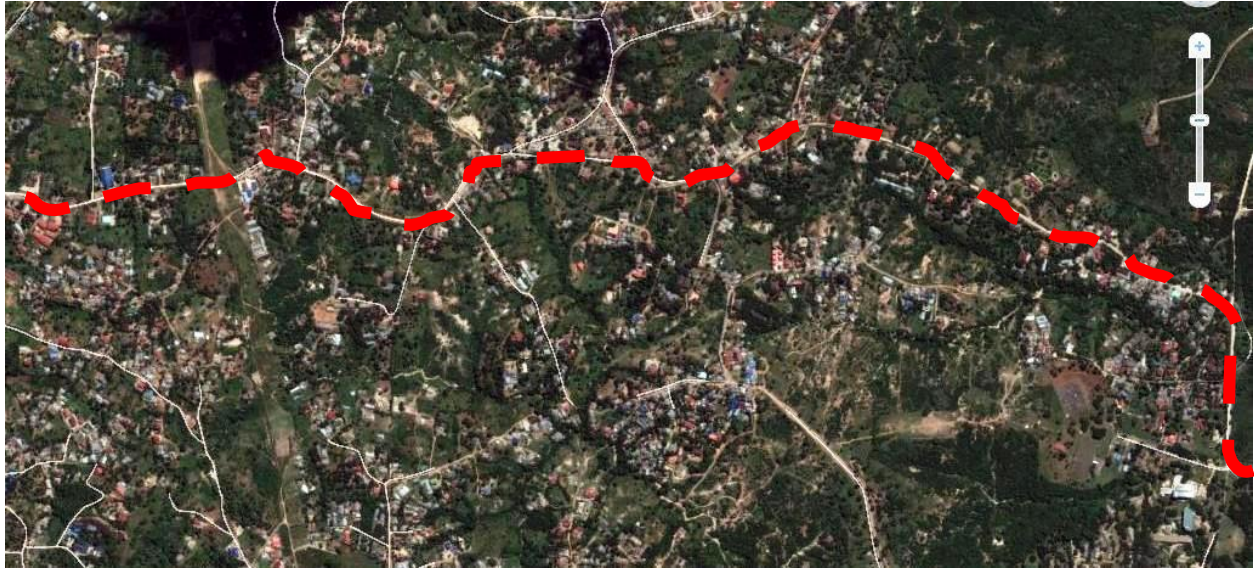



Figure 97: Makongo road serving the settlement like a central spine

Key 
= Spine road

Source: Google images

Makongo road started as a cattle track for cows from Kimara holding area which was being sent to the former meat canning factory at Kawe Tanganyika Packers. Part of the present Makongo Road was constructed by an English settler (Mr. Stanley) who owned land on the side of the road. To avoid Lugalo military base area and get access through the southern part of the settlement. The military constructed the road to connect its west side camp through the settlement. The rest of the road was taking shape as people were creating car access to their houses from the main spine or foot paths (Burra, 2006).

The government has done very little as far as the main settlement road is concerned. During political campaigns, aspiring leaders sometimes make promises which become difficult to fulfil. The need of having a good road being a dream of many settlement dwellers becomes a good item to convince voters. Presently the main road is not good especially during rain seasons some houses are not accessible by car and it has no surface water drainage system on the sides. There are times especially rainy seasons when the condition of the road gets worse and need immediate attention. There are cases where members of a high income group who own cars decide to contribute money and upgrade the road by filling up the holes using a grader (Figures 98 to 100).



Figure 98: A private road constructed by high income dwellers



Figure 99: Privately constructed drainage channels along the private road



Figure 100: A self-built road leading to a high income house in Makongo

Sometimes some young men try to earn an income by doing informal or casual road maintenance (filling holes on damaged roads) but sometimes they end up destroying underground water pipes. In 2011 the government started improvement programme of the Makongo road.

The starting point was to expand it so as to increase the size and provide room for side systems like trenches. If the road expansion plan is to be implemented, several property built on the road side are supposed to be demolished. Already the government has put marks indicating the width including buildings that will be affected, mainly along the sides of the road (Figures 101 to 104).



Figure 101: A fence demolition mark to allow road expansion



Figure 102: A house demolition mark to allow road expansion

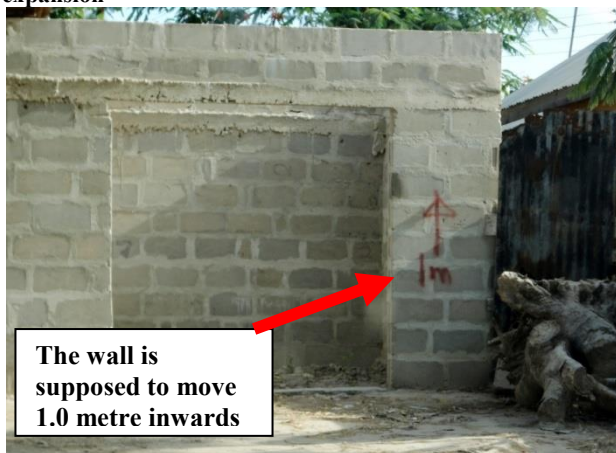


Figure 103: An unfinished structure along Makongo road marked for demolition



Figure 104: A half wall along Makongo road marked to be demolished

A good road raises the value of land. The challenge is road expansion cause conflicts to people whose property is going to be affected. Even if they get compensated, still being forced to move from the place they have already established themselves for years is painful; often there are resistances to move. The public transportation systems that operate in Makongo includes mini-buses (*dala-dala*) (Figure 105), tri-cycles (*bajaji*) (Figure 106), motorbikes (*boda-boda*) (Figure 107), and bicycles (Figure 108). The most expensive are taxis which are available for private hire.



Figure 105: Dala-dala public transport system



Figure 106: Bajaji public transport system



Figure 107: Boda-boda for hire transport system



Figure 108: Private bicycles used as means of transportation

Fare fluctuates depending on the time of the day and demand of the service. During late at night the fare is agreed upon before one boards the bus, so that they are no disputes upon arrival.

Water history and struggles

Water is the biggest challenge in Makongo settlement. How and where to get clean water is an individual duty and it depends on affordability. Most low income people fetch water from nearby institutions. Some buy from water vendors who sale 20 litres for 500 Tshs each gallon. Through community efforts, in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a water supply system that was serving only a part of the settlement. Pipes were connected from a big tank, downhill, pumped to the reservoir tank and then distributed to the nearby areas. The pump however depended on electricity, which was not reliable. At present some households get water from the pipes, once per week but for only few hours. Surprisingly some houses get high water bills from the Dar es

Salaam Water and Sewerage Corporation (DAWASCO), although they don't get water supply which match the bills.

During interviews, some of the high income group proposed digging of deep boreholes (approximately one hundred metres) underground so as to get adequate water supply. This is however quite expensive; one of the interviewee who has a small scale industry for making concrete blocks narrated the experience he had regarding searching for water:

...Literally we connected pipes from lower areas near the army area. Pipes were laid up to my house, but water never reached our area. Water was supplied only up to the area called CCM (*the main shopping centre of Makongo, which is located along the main road to Goba*). Later, the Chinese water project provides pipes everywhere, together with metres. This gave me hope to open up this factory which uses a lot of water per day. The most needed thing for this factory is water and electricity. Then I decided to dig a deep borehole and I got very clean water which the Tanzania Bureau of Standard said it can be used without filtering. And I can tap up to 100,000 litres per day; because my factory uses not less than 5,000 litres of water per day. My neighbour also did the same and from there many people have dug boreholes to get water. Boreholes is dug about 100 metres deep. Long time ago it was not possible to go that deep because of the equipment, they could only dig 20 metres deep, but now with the modern equipment it is possible. The 100 metres are dug in only 3 days. So I have a lot of water now that I could even share with other people...So many people are living by ordering water from 'Boza' (*water-bawser, lorries that specialize in transporting up to 10,000 litres of water to customers*) lorries. If you look outside there I have a water-bowser I used to sell water⁹⁵.

Another solution which people use is to tap rain water and store it. The storage system depends on affordability. Some residents can afford to construct underground concrete block wells, or install (i.e. large 10,000 or more litres plastic tank) but most of low income households can only afford a twenty litre bucket.

⁹⁵ Interview with a high income Makongo resident in January, 2012. He is a former lecturer of the University of Dar es Salaam; who acquired the land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992. He has lived in Makongo since 1996. He owns a cement-sand block making factory in Makongo.

Garbage management

Domestic waste is mostly handled individually. There is no formally organised waste collection system. Some people have formed groups of two or three families and handle their waste collectively. At times there are some ‘conflicts’ that emerge because some households endlessly dump domestic waste. Others bury waste in their compound (i.e. those who own big plots), or burn it. Some people collect garbage and dump it in deep valleys; this leads to environmental degradation (Figures 109 and 110).

The culture of separating garbage (e.g. paper, organic, glass) is not practiced by many. In few cases, separation is done for economic purposes. For example, plastic bottles identified and sold or organic materials can be used for agricultural use. But in most cases, people mix garbage which is dangerous and can cause contamination of the soil and the surrounding environment.



Figure 109: Garbage collected waiting to be dumped in the valley

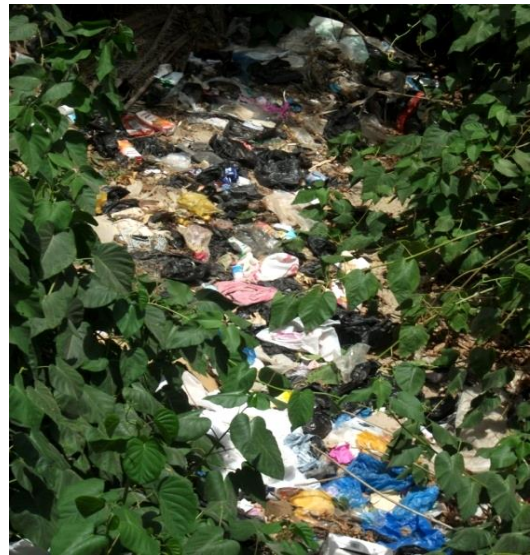


Figure 110: Crude waste dumping

Schools availability

During the interviews, it was apparent that education was an important facility to all households. All said they were committed to ensure their children had opportunities to go to school and to reach a higher education level, as they can manage to pay for them. The schools in the settlement include Makongo Primary School (Figures 111 and 112).

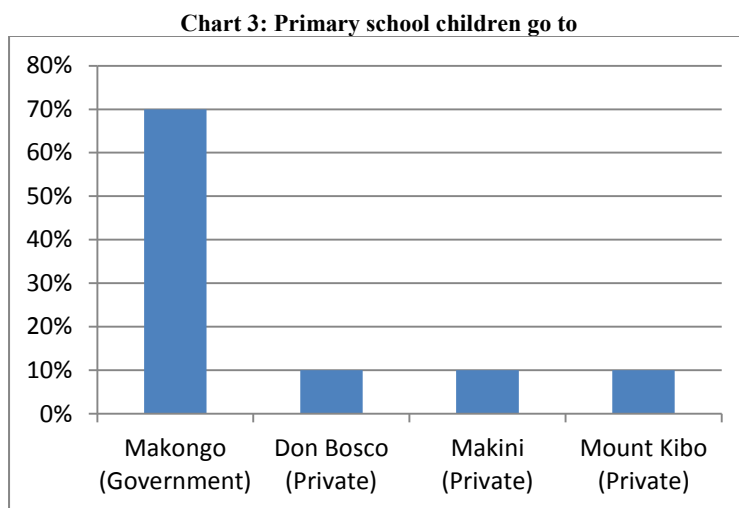


Figure 111: Makongo primary school compound



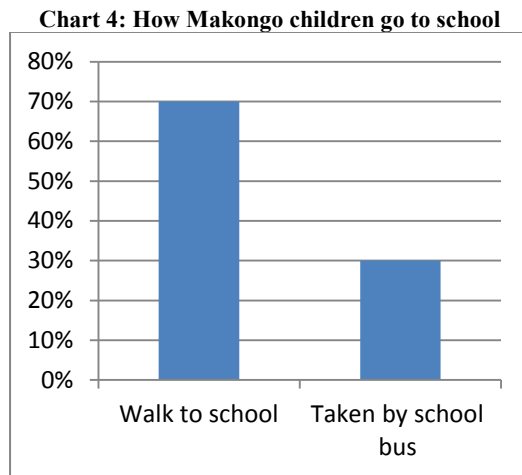
Figure 112: Makongo primary school some of the classes

The type of school parents send their children depends on affordability. Rich people send their children to private schools whereas the poor use public schools. Most of these run privately and are English medium while most of the public schools use Kiswahili as media of learning and communication. Private schools are more expensive and cannot easily be afforded by low income people. In Tanzania, most people regard English as a language for the elite, so they try as much as possible to expose their children as much as possible. Most English medium schools are however found away from Makongo, many affluent households send their children to private schools outside Makongo area. Ten children were interviewed on which school they study, results are as seen in Chart 3:



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

Apart from the fact that most people take their children to schools outside Makongo, the population is too high given the sizes of the existing schools. The settlement has both private and government schools, but these do not meet needs of the residents. Therefore there are many school buses that pick and drop children who study in schools outside the area. The ten children were also asked on what means of transport do they use to go to school; Chart 4 reveal the results:



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

Secondary school education facility include St. Joseph and Ronda (Figures 113 and 114); and George Washington secondary school which is now not operating.



Figure 113: Ronda primary and secondary school

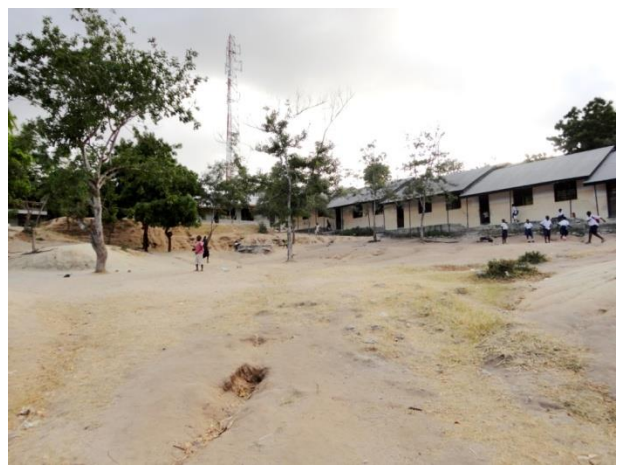


Figure 114: Ronda primary and secondary school

Most primary school pupils who pass are posted to government secondary schools. Often these are far away, therefore they have to commute long distance by public transport; this is often expensive especially for the low income parents.

Health services

Not everybody has health insurance in Tanzania. Deducting money from a person's bank account can make the health insurance payment process more efficient but informality is not only observed in housing but also in income generating activities of the people. Not everybody has a bank account and not every job payment has to be done through the bank. Most people with health insurance are those who are salaried, and have a stable income. In most cases these group constitute government workers.



Figure 115: Makongo dispensary compound



Figure 116: Side view of Makongo dispensary

There is an officer who offers consultation; laboratory and other diagnosis of diseases are restrained due to unavailability of most equipment. Apart from the dispensary, there is also a private health facility in the settlement which is relatively well equipped but the fees are too high for low income people. Other options are far away from Makongo e.g. the Ardhi University dispensary, the University of Dar es salaam Health Centre, Lugalo Military Hospital, Mwananyamala District hospital, Muhimbili National Referral Hospital, etc. During the study it

was reported that a member of the community has plans to start a school in the future, and one member plans to convert a student hostel into a health centre (Figure 117).



Figure 117: A private hostel building to be changed into a health centre

Security

The safety of people of Makongo depends on individual efforts. There is no police post or office in the settlement. The nearest police station is at the Dar es Salaam University Campus and Kawe about 4 kilometres and 7 kilometres respectively.

Community members have been discussing opportunities of having a police post and requested for a support from the government. But the request has not been granted yet. There is a possibility of criminals who are apprehended escaping because of the long distance to the police posts. At the same time, it is difficult to get police support because the latter do not have adequate working equipment including vehicles.

Collective solutions are sometimes not sustainable due to wide socio-economic differences and different levels of security needs. Some households have expensive belongings that need to be protected, and some do not own much, as such they do not see the need of investing so much in security issues. Some settlers have fences around their compounds inter-alia to enhance security (Figure 119).

The disadvantage of fences is that they create dead streets which can enhance insecurity especially during the night.



Figure 118: Home protected by a private security company



Figure 119: A house in Makongo with security fence

Religious places

Every citizen in the country is free to decide for themselves on matters that concern religion and belief. Acquiring land, developing and maintaining worship places (e.g. a mosque or churches) is a responsibility of the believers themselves.

Administration and leadership

Makongo settlement is governed by *Mtaa* leadership which has an office which is located at (the centre) the CCM area. The role of *Mtaa* leaders include maintenance, peace and order, mobilisation of residents to carry out various local development projects or activities, resolving conflicts and disputes in the area etc. The *Mtaa* leadership operates with several communities which incorporate elected residents.

6.5.6 Social interactions and relations

One of the high income respondents explained that the residents of Makongo live like one big family. He noted that he is in good relations with his neighbours and that they frequently meet in religious gatherings when they meet as prayer groups. He compared his situation with those living in planned settlement for high income only e.g. Oysterbay (where one might not be

meeting or frequently socialising) noting that he finds himself better-off in terms of neighbourhood-relationships. He also noted:

For example here if a neighbour is sick they just knock at my door they don't even request for transport they just report that there is a sick person to be rushed to hospital. So we are living like one family - that is the typical lifestyle of Makongo. Even if there is a celebration (*e.g. a wedding*) the Makongo women take part as if it is their own. So that is very different from people living in Sinza. If one came to live here and is segregating himself from the community, people also segregate him or her. He or she can invite people but they won't attend. They say if you can live alone then do that. But otherwise people are very cooperative. To me this kind of life is an asset because I don't get bored. I don't feel that I am in my own prison⁹⁶.

Some meetings are just for socialisation; people in the community almost know each other by names different from strictly gated community or a busy formal settlement like Sinza where people mind their own affairs and most of them are renters who many change land lord thus create no room for close social relations. Another sign of familiarity and socialisation is that it is common for people to greet each other when they meet. It was not apparent that people meet informally to discuss community developmental issues e.g. reliable water, road maintenance, politics a little, and sometimes sports, etc. A community based association called Makongo Juu Development Association (see Appendix 13) (MAJUDEA) was established in 1995 but it is not anymore operating effectively.

A respondent from the middle income group responded, "We must meet, one cannot live alone like an animal, we visit each other to talk about matters of common interest, and that is how it is supposed to be. For developmental issues we go to local government office or the ruling party (CCM) offices, to discuss". Another one said, "...yes we meet, e.g. tomorrow at 1500 hour I am having a meeting with my neighbour to discuss about drainage; when it rains, water flows in our houses so we need to discuss on what to do". Other reactions were, "...yes we meet, tomorrow morning at 0600 hours we (people in this neighbourhood) are planning to work on the road". And another said although they have a good relationship they are still humans, so sometimes

⁹⁶ Interview with a Makongo high income resident, in January, 2012. He is a retired i.e. former lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and has been living in the area since 1996. He also owns a block making factory in Makongo.

they quarrel and are summoned by *'Mjumbes'* or by *'elders'* to resolve the issue at hand. If the conflict is big meetings take place at *Mtaa* office. Middle income tenants said they often meet landlords and neighbours when need arises. One of the respondent noted "...my landlord lives far away (*recently shifted*), but we meet sometimes when there is a 'reason' e.g. rent payment, tenancy or contract issues or share important information". And another added, "The landlord calls sometimes to find out on matters that concern safety of the house after heavy rains. We meet with neighbours to discuss common problems like water, road etc."

For the low income group responses, apart from the socialisation and meetings already mentioned, most of them said that due to their economic situation, sometimes they solve some problems by contributing money. A *Mjumbe* who explained his joy of leading elite people commented:

I am a leader and I am respected well by my people although most of them are more educated than me. We do not need to meet a lot for discussion because the people understand matters quickly and act accordingly when needed. Even when some of them travel, they ask me to take charge i.e. guard their houses⁹⁷.

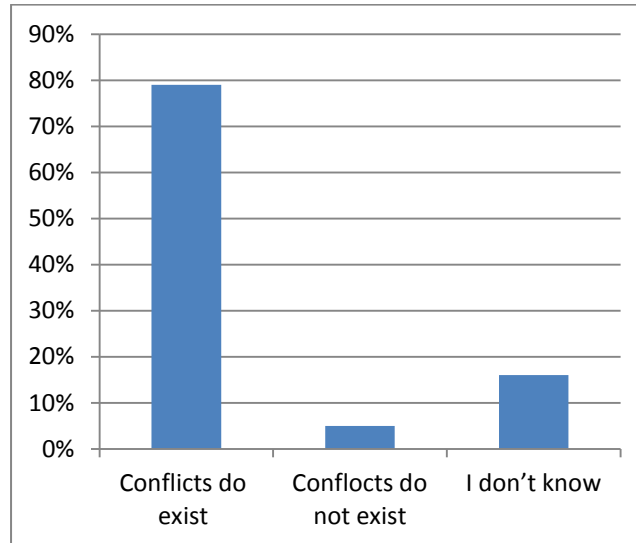
Men are sometimes too busy to meet, therefore women meet frequently. They meet and discuss matters that affects their lives e.g. how to access loans from financial institutions, how to solve common problems e.g. lack of a labour ward at the dispensary or police post in the settlement.

6.6 Conflicts and dispute resolution

Although people are doing their best to coexist in a settlement that is composed of low, middle and high income socio-economic groups, conflicts and challenges do exist. The result of the thirty eight respondents who answered the question on the existence of conflicts in the settlements is as shown in Chart 5:

⁹⁷ Interview with a low income resident of Makongo in January 2012; he has been living in the area since 1977, and he is a cattle keeper.

Chart 5: Existence of conflicts in mixed informal settlements



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

6.6.1 Origin of conflicts

A ten cell leader during an interview explained about a conflict that related to land ownership. He noted:

There are many conflicts, e.g. my neighbour had a plot conflict which lasted for almost ten years, this involved almost four people; the case is in the court, it originated from conmen sellers, who re-sold the land that had been already sold. This is typical in informal settlements; one has to be smart to ensure land they are buying is genuine. Brokers can sell a plot that does not exist or sell someone else's plot. Some people buy plots and go away for a long time leaving it undeveloped (*one might think it is abandoned*). When one is away for a long time, there is a need to hire a guard; innocent people may fall into the trap of buying plots from conmen⁹⁸.

It was discovered during the study that other conflicts originate from land development practices for example blocking of a road or a path when one constructs a block fence; In such a situation, people who use the path may get angry and decide to demolish the fence or complain to local leader (*Mjumbe*). There is a case where a man decided to build a fence on an access path; the case was forwarded to *Mtaa* office, and later to the police. One of Makongo residents reported:

⁹⁸ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996. He owns a block making factory in Makongo.

As I said, Makongo is now a famous area and people are building rapidly, there is a case where a person decided to build a fence where there was an access path for other plots. It was a big conflict which was taken up by the *Mtaa* government, but after discussion the matter was resolved. Another case has been of the same nature could not be resolved by the *Mtaa* office, it was sent to the police at Kawe but at the end of the day, the case has been resolved. People have to consider their neighbours when dealing with land issues i.e. access roads and paths. Otherwise to do what he or she wants simply because the area is not planned chaos will prevail⁹⁹.

Fences can also create sharp corners or dark spots on a road, blocking visual continuity on corner plots, which in turn may lead to accidents (Figures 120 and 121).



Figure 120: Fencing shaping the road



Figure 121: A sharp corner created by a fence in the foreground

⁹⁹ Interview conducted in January, 2012, with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He is a formal Architectural student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo his whole life (37 years).

The road expansion plan that started in 2011 involved putting signs on building aside of the main road meaning that the owners are supposed to demolish the houses. One of the respondents, a Makongo resident noted that authorities are making people restless, they are not sure when the road construction is going to start and they are not sure what is going to happen to them in the future especially for those who the whole or a big part of the house is supposed to be demolished. The affected households are worried if they will be fairly compensated by the government. Conflicts between neighbours happen also as a result of cattle grazing on neighbouring farm¹⁰⁰. Regarding conflicts caused by those keeping animals one of the respondents reported:

Makongo accommodate farmers and animal keepers, there were some conflicts that are caused by animals grazing on farms¹⁰¹.

Land encroachments, i.e. where a neighbour shifts the boundary; or where there is a loss boundary mark (a tree or a bush) are also experienced in the area. A respondent during an interview noted:

...yes there are cases where the neighbour just decides to change (few metres) or where a boundary mark i.e. a tree is no longer available. In such situation a conflict may occur¹⁰².

Another example is a case where a land owner built a structure on his plot but left it for a long time without roofing it, later he roofed it. The neighbour complained that he has directed rain water into his plot. The accused person said: “The complainant found the incomplete structure when he bought the plot; why would he be ordered to change the flow?” The respondent was not invited or involved in the transaction process. He could have raised his concern or alert the buyer

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Makongo resident conducted in January 2012. He is from the low income group. He has been living in Makongo for 20 years. Before, he was living in Bihalamulo-Kagera Region. He leaved the village when he was 20 years old and travelled to Dar es Salaam for better life.

¹⁰¹ Interview conducted in January, 2012, with a Makongo high income resident. He has been living in Makongo throughout his 37 years.

¹⁰² Interview with a high income Makongo resident (an Architect) conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

on what he was up to. The worse about this case is that the complainant is rich and powerful than the respondent so he might corrupt the system¹⁰³.

In another case, a neighbour's sewage system busted after heavy rains leading to overflowing of waste water into his neighbours plot. The whole area became filthy and unhealthy to households nearby. After apologising to the affected households, the owner later called construction workers to rectify the situation¹⁰⁴. There is also a case where a person allowed waste water from the toilet to flow into a stream with water used for domestic use (but not for drinking). People became angry, and isolated him; as uncovered during an interview:

...yes, it happened during land transactions, the seller did not demarcate clearly how the boarders of buyers as a result there was overlapping of about 3 plots and we trusted her at the beginning. This is a new area, people are still moving in, so conflicts are there. I saw that when a person who sold land provided only a foot path. Later when the neighbouring settlers bough cars and demanded him to increase the road for them to be able to access with their cars, the seller refused. He argued he provided this foot path because people requested for it and he thought that the people who would use the path will not own cars. Another case involve a person who directed waste water from the toilet from his compound to flow into a stream that had water flowing which people were using, although they were not drinking that water, they were using it for other purposes like washing etc. That conflict become big and people involved were angry with that neighbour and stopped talking to him. Other conflicts arose as a result of noise pollution, from people especially during weekends. There is another conflict we were requesting a neighbour to provide part of his land which was aside the road so that we can create a drainage system for the road, he did not agree, as a result the road is still being damaged because of not being drained¹⁰⁵.

Conflict resolution is another challenge in a context that is governed by a mixture of informal and formal setting. The following section discusses the way people in the informal settlements address their conflicts.

¹⁰³ Interview with a resident of Makongo conducted in February 2012. He has been living in Makongo since 1958.

¹⁰⁴ An incident that the author witnessed during the fieldwork time in December 2012 after a heavy rain day.

¹⁰⁵ Interview (January, 2012); with a Makongo resident from the high income group. He a previous student of Ardhi University. He has been living in Makongo since 2006. Before moving to Makongo he lived in Temeke, Chang'ombe, Sinza and Mwenge.

6.6.2 How disputes are resolved

It is a common practice in Tanzania for people or local communities to solve their disputes informally through mediation before involving formal or legal systems. This applies to domestic disputes, land development disputes, and most other conflicts. Relatives, religious leaders or elders (*Wazee*) often gather to resolve matters and keep such disputes as discreet as possible. One of the interviewees mentioned;

They use a method of reconciliation talks that is why I mentioned before that if one buys land without involving the concerned people conflicts may emerge. So it is important to involve the leaders because they are the ones who know the boundaries; they know how to avoid encroachment on others land, wealthy people erect fences to solidify their property boundaries¹⁰⁶.

When mediation fails, disputants present their conflicts starting at the lowest level of leadership in Tanzania (*Mjumbe*), then to the *Mtaa* office, if a matter is not resolved at this level, a higher office or court of law are involved. One interviewee noted:

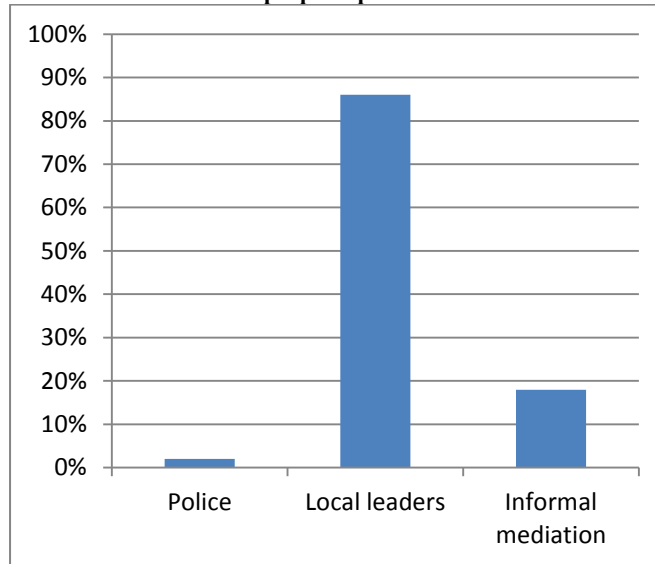
When conflict arises, people deal with the leaders of that area. They start at *Mjumbe* level; if a case is not resolved they refer it to the higher level which is *Mtaa* office. If the conflict is not settled at *Mtaa* office it is taken to the police and the Court. For Makongo, our police station is at the University of Dar es salaam. So we go there to seek assistance of either security or something else¹⁰⁷.

Local government (*Mtaa* government) play a key role in resolving disputes. They are used to conflict mitigations and resolution. In the past, it was not easy; there were no proper ways to resolve conflicts. When asked to give opinion on where or how settlers in mixed informal settlement dwellers resolve their conflicts the responses given are as presented in Cart 6. This question involved fifty people (thirty eight residents of Makongo and twelve not residents of Makongo) and the outcome was:

¹⁰⁶ Interview with one of sub-Ward leaders *Mjumbe* conducted in February 2012. He has been a leader for 4 years and has been living in Makongo since 1996.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with one of sub-Ward leaders *Mjumbe* conducted in February 2012. He had been a leader for 2 weeks by the time of the study. He has been living in Makongo since 2007.

Chart 6: Where do people report and resolve conflicts



Source: Fieldwork study, November, 2011 to February, 2012

As far as finding solution to other problems that people are facing, Community Based Organisations (CBO's) can also take part. For infrastructure challenges, the people meet come to an agreement to pull together efforts and resources for constructing or repairing roads (not tarmac ones those are too expensive and need government's intervention). In such cases, the high income people do not involve the low income people in financial contributions, but require them to contribute in kind, i.e. provide labour. One of the leaders mentioned that there are also small-small social groups e.g. women groups, church groups etc. which might be tied together by a common problem or a common interest regardless of their socio-economic differences, e.g. bringing water to the community.

A planning officer at the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development highlighted that the ministry is acting as an overseer in all the settlements within the city. As far as the built up area within the city boundaries is concerned. The leadership apply formal areas procedures. At that local government level they start at *Mjumbe* level, then *Mtaa* government Chair; at times *Diwani* (for *Halmashauri*) are involved; District Office, Regional Office, and then the Ministry. Regardless of the socio-economic status of the people, all are governed by the same steps. She also noted that Ward Land Tribunals (*mabaraza ya Kata ya ardhi* with a

representative from the Ministry on Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development) to handle land disputes in their respective areas.

7. FORMATION OF MIXED INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

7.1 Why mixed informal settlements exist

Uncoordinated forces

Mixed informal settlements exist in almost all urban centres in Tanzania. They are a making of several factors; interviews with experts in urban development revealed that informal settlements are products of uncoordinated efforts of people, related to the high rate of population increase in urban areas. The respondent noted that whether one wants it or not, people are building spontaneously because there is no one to restrain or coordinate them. He noted that if people were given better alternatives i.e., where to build, they would have done that because there are people who can afford planned land but develop land in informal areas because they have no option:

Show them a good place with infrastructure and see if they will refuse if they can afford¹⁰⁸.

Urban growth forces or factors that bring change in the development of a city are stronger than the public or state capacity to coordinate and manage them. Interview with experts in land matters also revealed that there is no specific institutional and legal framework i.e. central or local government managing and coordinating the growth of informal settlements. “Besides, there is no institutionalised process which can predict what is to be done where. Dar es Salaam is like a community that has no leadership¹⁰⁹,” a respondent commented. The whole process of construction is shaped by individuals or households socio-economic power and other contextual forces. Socio-economic factors include the financial ability of people to build houses, while contextual forces shape it. An experienced architect noted:

When socio-economic forces act, they encounter constrains, historical structures, a challenge of land ownerships as well as physical constrains e.g. accessibility, water supply, electricity supply, and nature of the neighbourhood itself¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ Interview (conducted in January, 2012) with an Architect who did a research on the City of Dar es Salaam and its Development. At the time of the study he was also a lecturer in the Department of Architecture at Ardhi University.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid 111

¹¹⁰ Ibid 111

As people get richer or economically better off; interest to invest in real estate increase. Due to flexibility inherent in the development of informal settlements, mixed land uses emerge i.e. flexibility in use, size of land one can buy, and development conditions. For instance often residential uses are mixed with economic activities like shops, small scale industries, farming, institutional use or recreational facilities. Therefore such settlements can flexibly accommodate what many want to invest in, without much restraint. Also owing to the flexibility in size of plot and development conditions people with varying social, economic, and cultural background (i.e. those who want to build a residential house but also provide for an area (shed) for cattle) typical among some tribes, are easily accommodated.

A respondent from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development asserted that the formal system has failed to supply adequate and buildable land; that is land which is planned and serviced. Land use planning falls far behind actual development i.e. it is behind people's demand and capacity to develop land. Whilst demand of planned plots is higher than supply; the financial capability of the government to provide serviced land is being challenged. Planners have made good plans on paper but due to shortage of finances and low priority in allocating funds to urban development; it is difficult to implement them. Most urbanities would want to buy a plot at an affordable price and build without much restrictions i.e. stringent approval processes or development conditions, i.e. use of permanent or temporary building materials.

User friendly land tenure

It is noteworthy that the subsisting land tenure system in informal settlements is fairly secure, despite being closely associated with social norms of the community makes many persons wanting to build or own a property in the city opt for the informal areas or settlements. This is primarily, because his or her rights to the land he or she has (without a title or a letter of offer from the government) are secured by the local community including local leaders as who may recognise the transfer or acquisition of land and are often witnesses during the transaction. This has particularly made informal settlements attractive even to rich persons.

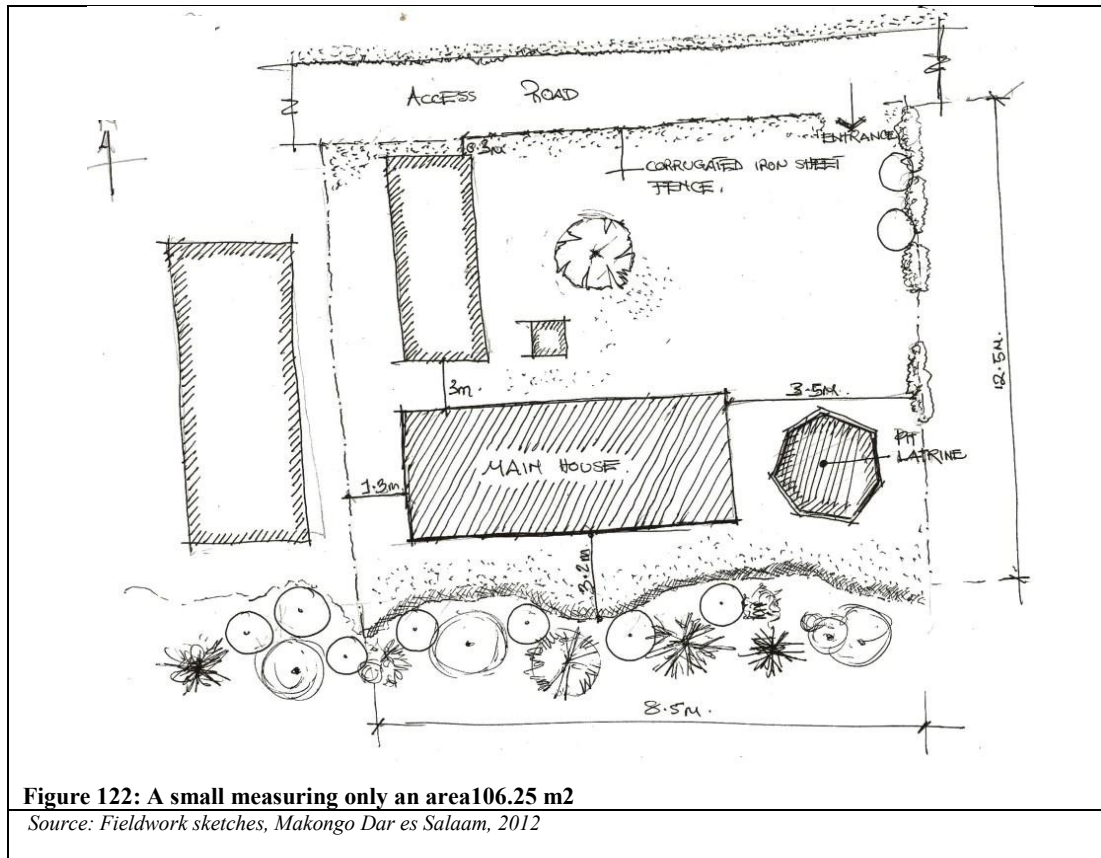
Flexibility in house construction

There is also flexibility in the use of a building whereby one can mix or use materials he wishes or can afford. On the other hand, access to land is convenience as it does not involve red-tape, involve bribe and corruption which increases costs. Also construction materials are often easily available within the settlement; most planned areas hardly offer such opportunities. Planned and surveyed plots carry with them stringent development conditions such as one must complete development or construction of a house within three years. In informal settlements such conditions do not exist. Yet one can access land he or she can afford i.e. the size is flexible as there are no land use planning standards. This has given rise to variety of sizes of plots i.e. one can get a small, medium or a big plot. Plots are sold and divided depending on how much one is willing to sell and one is willing to pay. The informal unlike the formal does not therefore segregate between the rich and the poor. When need arises people react to fulfil their needs, and in this case the need is housing as it was uncovered during an interview:

Changes are taking place. In the 60's and 70's, to mid-80's, unplanned settlements were places not to be occupied by a decent or rich persons. But of late, the (new) unplanned settlements have become homes for even ministers; sorry to say this, even the Minister responsible for Lands has a house in unplanned area...No wonder there are several ministers in unplanned areas¹¹¹.

Some plots are smaller than the normal minimum size (300 m²) standards of plots in formal areas (Figure 122). In informal settlements one finds a wide range of plots sizes i.e. from 150 m² to 4000 m² or even more.

¹¹¹ An interview with a Lecturer in Land Management and Evaluation at Ardhi University conducted in February, 2012. He lives in Makongo settlements.



Proximity to livelihoods

Another reason for formation of mixed informal settlements is that people no matter what their economic status are, would like to live near to their place of work e.g. people who are studying or working at the surrounding institutions (the Ardhi University, the University of Dar es salaam, the Lugalo military barracks) would like to live within easy reach; i.e. around these institutions. The same applies to those working in the Central Business District (CBD) where majority of public offices and other working places are, these also prefer areas closer to the CBD. This is particularly so owing to the traffic jam problems and poor public transport.

Socio-cultural living patterns

The interviews with Makongo residents revealed also that attraction to the area is also due to familiarity. That is, people are attracted to live close to or with people they are familiar with. As a result, the low income households do attract fellow people of low income; similarly, a middle income household may wish to live closer to middle or high income households. But considering the varying backgrounds of people, familiar people may not have the same economic status,

there persons of different economic status often find themselves living near each other. The settlement is therefore formed also by a mixture of households owning houses and renting different types of housing options, i.e. renters of whole houses or of a single room. A tenant may be of low, middle or high income group.

Tanzanians in most areas has the culture of not discriminating one another; that is often people do not discriminate one another because of their ethnicity or social background. In an interview with a respondent, he noted:

Often Tanzanians mix with each other freely; they do not live in segregation of race or income. For example, in Mlalakuwa, one finds a professor, a businessman, students, and poor households co-existing. Economically we do not also segregate; there exist high income, low income, and medium income living side by side. A neighbour may be rich, a professor, a businessman but as low income i.e. petty trader one is also there as it is the case in Kimara. The other one is more important for planning is the land tenure. Land is also related to economic and social aspects; land tenure in Tanzania does not discriminate one. So when one visits areas with informal tenure like Makongo you will also find professors, businessmen and petty traders buying land from informal land occupiers and living side by side. So because we do not discriminate, that is the reason why we have the mixed (high, middle and low income) not only in Dar es salaam, but in most urban centres in Tanzania¹¹².

There is inter-dependency among social groups. For instance, the poor need the rich to survive (i.e. income and jobs), and the rich need the poor to undertake certain activities.

Extension of urban boundaries

When the city boundaries are expanded those in the peripheries are incorporated within the city boundaries. As a result, a variety of plot sizes and of house types owned by low, middle and high income earners are incorporated in the city. People who have built houses on such areas which initially were recognised by municipal authorities as ‘farms’ are annexed into the city and land use soon change from predominantly farming to other non-farming uses.

¹¹² An interview in February, 2012 with a lecturer at Ardhi University and the head of Urban and Regional Planning Department.

Land Act 1999 gave value to land. Before the law was enacted, bare land could not be sold as, it had no value. Only properties on it were included in valuation e.g. development on the land such as crops, plants, and structures on it. By giving value to land, it becomes a commodity hence, higher price including compensation if one is to be relocated.

7.2 Dos and don'ts in mixed informal settlements

Land sellers and buyers in informal settlements are key actors are engaged in informal land market. Most of information on land for sale or potential buyers is not systematically or centrally available or accessible. Buyers have to search for land on their own or use broker, relative or friends living in the area; and might know people selling their land. Members of the community use social norms e.g. they can agree on improving their area and regulate how much land should be left for a road or footpath, or sizes of land that can be parcelled or sold in order to maintain a low density status especially in areas occupied by high income persons. However, it is difficult to impose many restrictions i.e. on amount of land to be left un-built or cash one has to contribute for improving a road that can be accessed by cars, among low income people. During an interview, a respondent who happened to be an architect and expert on urban development, when asked how the informal and formal systems merge; noted:

They have their own laws and rules, which are not put down on paper, people know what they can do or what they cannot. The rules are there...only that they are not formalised. They are not in the formal institutional framework but the rules are there. A society cannot be without rules...if one is looking for a plot one finds a broker. These brokers know the way to operate, they have their own rules...they don't disclose the information they have about where the plots are... So they have their own rules within the system. And from the brokers, there are local officials at the lower levels; sale agreements are being authenticated at the *Mtaa* government. So the government also has its role. *One is not expected to buy land without the knowledge of Mtaa government.* Even though the government has failed to deliver plots according to the formal procedures, there are still formal elements in the informal land access and development system. Formality and informality are there inter-linked. The city is actually evolving in a way which when you read the books you don't find it there. It is not yet written properly, we don't copy a system in Europe and think you can plant it here it won't work; because people don't behave that way¹¹³.

¹¹³ Interview (conducted in January, 2012) with an Architect who did a research on the City of Dar es Salaam and its Development. At the time of the study he was also a lecturer in the Department of Architecture at Ardhi University.

Even in governance, informal settlements are supervised by local governments from lower level to higher levels following the hierarchical order from (*Wajumbe, Mtaa* Government, Wards, and Municipality up to National level). One can say it reaches a point the system becomes a quasi- or semi-formalised informal. Due to what is happening in Dar es Salaam city development, even the formality and laws of the government which are there are not strictly enforced. A person can build a house in a planned or formal area, complete one construction and move in without being stopped or questioned by Municipal officials. Development control provisions are therefore not followed even though they exist as expected in the formal areas.

Therefore the do and don'ts that informal settlement dwellers find themselves in are not too strict, thus they allow room for flexibility. Home builders are free to develop the way they want; but they are concerned to prevent an area from being un-inhabitable and dysfunctional. The land development is in a way a 'free style'; people have big land and develop it depending on their needs. If one tries to impose stringent order or land use planning standards he or she will face much resistance. This does not mean, the laws of the country do not apply to these areas, in fact, like these in formal areas, informal land developers are required to seek permission to develop their land or even submit building plans to the local authority to which the land is located, but generally does not happen.

A respondent noted that, in terms of local governance, the informal settlements are governed by formal *Mtaa* level institutions, which, as said earlier, are the smallest local government administrative units. Yet, it is difficult for the government to institute land development regulations in such areas primarily because the inadequate capacity, coupled with institutional deficits i.e. by-laws for regulating such areas. As a result, people end up building haphazardly; with *Mtaa* government leaders intervening only in cases of land conflicts or threat of peace. Although house developers especially those building multi-storey buildings ought to seek expertise from architects, engineers and get their buildings be inspected by officials from the municipal authority, this is not often done. Even though *Mtaa* leadership could be engaged to undertake in the inspection task, unfortunately *Mtaa* office is not equipped and empowered to carry out the building inspections; compounding the problem of haphazard and uncoordinated land development in informal settlements.

A planning officer working with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development reported during an interview that people in the informal settlements can and do donate land for developing public facilities like schools, health services, and open spaces for children to play; however, they have to be mobilised, educated and made aware about all stages for example in upgrading an informal area is very critical to get land for various public needs, open areas, schools etc. Experiences where inhabitants in informal areas have contributed land for public or communal services or facilities have been reported in Dar es Salaam and other cities in Tanzania (Kombe and Kreibich, 2006).

Surprisingly, it was noted during the interviews that some residents could not easily tell which settlements in Dar es Salaam are formal and which are not. They build hoping that they are within the allowable conditions, simply because they see people in power and those with authority building houses in the same area. A respondent (Makongo resident) noted:

First, we did not even know that this place is informal, I just heard like 3 years ago that this place is informal, if we knew before we would have taken precautions earlier, when the Minister (Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development) came to the meeting (*conducted at the area*) trying to explain that is, when she said this area is informal¹¹⁴.

It is difficult to take this statement seriously because the respondent has been living in the city for over thirty years, yet he claims he did not know that Makongo is an informal settlement. Probably he did this deliberately so as to justify his occupation and use of land.

Makongo is a settlement that is prime, with easy access or connection to the CBD; the official responsible for land management has seen it growing and becoming dense but did not take any action apart from declaring it a planning area without any further action. Dwellers think that it is too late for the government to intervene and regulate or regularise the settlement now.

¹¹⁴ Interview in February, 2012 with one of *Mjumbe* and resident of Makongo. He has been living in Makongo since 1993.

7.3 Mixed informal settlement, a positive or negative phenomenon

In large cities like Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza and Mbeya, “informal settlements are here to stay” noted one of the interviewees¹¹⁵. There are a number of advantages of mixed informal settlements. For instance, land seekers are in a position to acquire a plot according to their affordability or according to their needs. The sellers are ready to subdivide their plots according to the needs of the customer. There is no fixed size (restrictions) in informal settlements. Some plots that are subdivided are quite big, and can accommodate several houses, and even infrastructure services one can afford. People living in mixed settlements such as Makongo, often pull resources together, (poor and the rich) to provide basic services i.e. water supply in the area. Those who are economically better off, may even pay more than the poor; the same applies to other services such as road maintenance.

There is also additional advantage of people of different socio-economic groups living together in an area. They can help each other using networks created. For instance, the rich might offer casual employment to the lower income inhabitants. Also they might give them access to facilities they have e.g. private transport, or water from their deep wells. Mixed residential areas also offer opportunities due to their social dynamics, as well as social-relationships. Economic and social activities make settlers depend on each other; for example, owners of retail shops, whole sale shops, food stalls or glossaries shops, textile or garment shops, small scale industries depend on salaried and non-salaried members of the community to support their businesses by buying items.

It is easier for people with common or shared problems to meet, discuss matters that bother them, come to an understanding and decide to take collective action i.e. demonstrate and demand action from the respective authority; this was the case for flood victims who were resettled in Mabwepande¹¹⁶. They could air their voices because they shared a common problem of being relocated to a new settlement without basic infrastructure. However, at times when a settlement comprises mixed socio-economic groups, people’s perceptions of problems differ; this may

¹¹⁵ An interview with a Lecturer in Land Management and Evaluation at Ardhi University conducted in February, 2012. He is also living in Makongo settlements.

¹¹⁶ The victims of floods which occurred in Suna (an informal settlement in Msimbazi) after heavy rainfall in Dar es Salaam in December 2011. These were granted plots without basic services, despite promises by the President.

result into slowing down the process of mobilizing or rallying the community for common interests. An official at the Ministry of Land Housing and Human Settlements Development noted that experience has shown that in mixed settlements (i.e. where people of varying socio-economic status live) there is a possibility of the low income persons to work hard, get inspirations to raise their income and climb the economic ladder. Whilst this is possible, one has to caution that, poor could remain poor or even get poorer if they are exploited by the rich in their community. This may happen if for instance they are underpaid or charged dearly for basic services i.e. water they buy from those with deep wells.

One of the planning disadvantages of a mixed socio-economic settlement is that, it becomes a challenge to planners. Inadequate funds means that no compensations can be made in case the upgrading needed involve demolition and evacuation. Another disadvantage of mixed settlements is that some plots especially those held by the urban poor are over subdivided becoming too small to accommodate basic services and infrastructure such as pit latrines; such small plots result into over-crowding. In such situation it is difficult to acquire or access land for important community services like education, health services, roads etc.

There might also be problems related to insecurity among some people. This might also undermine the efforts to work together for collective interests. Persons of varying socio-economic background might perceive community problems differently. For example, some may prefer good and wide roads (for their cars) while others prefer electricity or recreational facilities.

If infrastructure is not coordinated it limits the ability to build a functional layout because, normally settlements are structured by alignment of basic infrastructure such as roads, power or water mains. During an interview with a planning officer working for the Ministry of Housing Human and Settlements Development he gave an impression that physical image or appearance of the city does not become functional and appealing if there are many informal settlements;

Mixed informal settlements have their advantages and disadvantages; the disadvantage is that the image of the city does not look appealing and infrastructures like roads, drainage systems, water

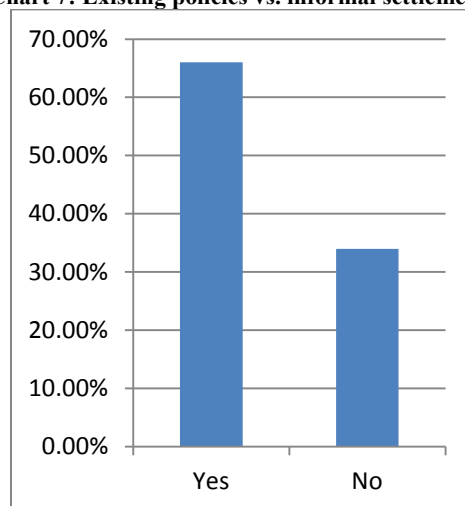
supply and electricity are limited. But on the other hand, people benefit by building on areas that have proximity to some important facilities in the city (*different from those in the village*)¹¹⁷.

7.4 Mixed informal settlements and policies

Currently the thinking about informal settlements is rather general without specific concern or separation of categories for example, those that are mixed and that are not that much mixed. Most upgrading plans assume settlements are homogeneous in character; as such, the approach is standard or common.

For policies to work and be implementable, formulations have to be derived from reality or what is happening on the ground and not what is assumed or perceived by technocrats or policy makers. A policy created without the context of a place is unlikely to be effective. To solve problems in our cities like Dar es Salaam, urban development plans and policies should be based on knowledge and awareness of the local context i.e. the social, economic and environmental imperatives. Some respondents gave their views on whether or not the existing policies related to land development are encouraging the development of informal settlements (Chart 7). Thirty eight of them responded to this question, out of which 25 i.e. 65.8 percent commented ‘yes’ and while 13 i.e. 34.2 percent said ‘no’.

Chart 7: Existing policies vs. informal settlements



Source: Fieldwork study, November 2011-February 2012

¹¹⁷ Interview with Principal Town Planning Officer (Reguarisation Department) working for the ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development conducted in January, 2012.

Policies that are expected to deal with land development should not ignore dynamics in land development and use, including mixed informal settlements structures. Housing policies and urban development policies ought to appreciate the nature, quality and uniqueness of settlements including their structural differences. Thus one cannot generalise; grassroots organisations are critical players, therefore in the process of trying to understand the heterogeneity and or homogeneity of informal settlements one has to appreciate and ensure the substantive involvement of grass-root actors. A senior researcher noted during the field interview:

We have policies in place, so we cannot say that we need to formulate more policies, but probably we may need a specific policy and some programmes. There is no policy for informal settlements but there is a National Policy for Human Settlements and Development (2000) which recognises informal settlements; but of course there are some problems that some of the grassroots institutions in informal settlements are not yet recognised and incorporated in the policies. So probably we need a policy as you know 80% of the population up to 70% of the population in Tanzania in urban areas live in informal settlements so one finds that the bulk of the population is in these settlements. There is therefore a need for a distinct policy on informal settlements. I propose thus in order to identify the available opportunities, and to make sure that these are incorporated in the formal system or are formalised, regularised as per regularisation and Land Act 1999 which stipulate that all informal settlements should be regularised. At first formalised and of course improved or upgraded with infrastructural services and so forth¹¹⁸.

Existing Policies that address informal settlements include the National Land Policy 1995, the National Human Settlement Development Policy of 2000, and the Environmental Policy (1997). There are also legislation such as the Land Act No. 4 and 5 of 1999 as well as the Urban Physical Planning Act of 2007. If policies and legislations were systematically implemented, they could make informal settlements a better place to live. For instance, the Land Act No.4, sections 56-62 provide for regularisation of informal settlements, this is important so as to integrate them in the formal areas; but this has to be done before settlements densify and become over-crowded. The previous in the afore mentioned sections do not seem to acknowledge the need for pro-active intervention before a settlement consolidate.

¹¹⁸ An interview with a senior research fellow, working at the Institute of Human Settlement Studies at Ardhi University conducted in February, 2012.

Although, the government has faced problems of adequately supporting informal settlers' struggles to provide shelter for themselves i.e. by providing the necessary basic infrastructure services as part of regularisation of informal settlements; in a way, current policies support peoples' initiatives to provide themselves with better housing, especially because the government is unable to meet housing needs especially for low income households. No wonder policies are calling for improvement i.e. provision of potable water supply and roads, electricity etc. The policies have also helped to make people living in informal areas to donate their land for the provision of basic services including primary schools, health centres or recreation open areas. Also people have been donating their land for roads especially where some properties have to be demolished to pave way for basic infrastructure upgrading or improvement.

According to a respondent from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, the government formalised or regularised a total of 250,000 houses (in informal settlements) from the target of 400,000 houses in 2004. The settlements that were regularised include Manzese, Buguruni, Gongolamboto, Mbagala, Kawe, Kinondoni, Mwananyamala. The exercise included adjudication of property location, boundaries and also identifying and recognising existing community services for example schools or health services. Following the formalisation, property owners were given residential licenses (initially for two years then but now five years). These licenses have added value, land holders feel that their tenure status have been improved; some have used the licenses for various purposes including using it as a collateral to borrow money from informal money lenders or even to bail out relatives who might be facing charges in courts. The five years grant is renewable. An urban planner in Dar es Salam commenting on the importance of the licenses noted that people have used the licenses to improve their socio-economic situation by getting loans from microfinance institutions.

The main contribution (*of licenses*) is tenure recognition. One is sure, this is very important; one is living in town not threatened so one is secure. And another contribution is that one is recognised by financial institutions so that one can get a loan to improve property¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ An interview in February, 2012 with a lecturer at Ardhi University, who is also an expert and the Head of Urban and Regional Planning Department.

Mixed informal settlements such as Makongo, are unique they have roads, electricity and water even security systems. Residents may also contribute cash to buy land for schools, dispensaries etc. The challenge is how to convince and mobilise people to contribute their land for public facilities. That is, some people are reluctant to sell their land even when paid hefty compensation. On the other hand, when a low income informal settlement is upgraded, the poor might be pushed out by the rich. This is the lesson learnt from the upgrading schemes of 1960s and 1970s in areas such as Manzese, Mwanjelwa; and site and service scheme undertaken in areas such as Sinza. There were some success stories but on the other hand, some settlers could not continue living in those areas due to high cost of living including increased rents.

Some of the housing policies have been successful. For example, Manzese was upgraded by the government; Sinza was used as an area for settling overspill population from Manzese however, most plot allottees in Sinza could not live in Sinza, because they were bought off by the rich. So Sinza is now being inhabited by middle income group¹²⁰.

It is apparent that the initially low income housing has changed into an area for upper socio-economic group, the original property owners have sold their land to other people primarily because of the changed land value which attracts high income buyers. Therefore upgrading schemes, do not always benefit the original property owners, this is especially the case, if the latter are low income households.

7.5 Handling mixed informal settlements

7.5.1 Attempts to improve and manage informal settlements

Government's endeavours to improve informal settlements such as squatter upgrading, regularisation, and the 20,000 Plots projects in Dar es Salaam are direct and indirect attempts to deal with the problem of informal settlements. However, their eradication remains difficult as informal settlements continue to grow and densify. The 20,000 Plots Project aimed at surveying peri-urban land to prevent it from being developed informally, to adequately provide planned and surveyed plots to cope with demand so as to reduce development of informal settlements, especially by middle and high income persons. One of the challenges of this endeavour is low

¹²⁰ An interview in February, 2012 with a lecturer at Ardhi University and also an expert and head in Urban and Regional Planning Department (*During the time of the study*).

affordability by most low income households; the long distance between the Central Business District (CBD) and the area the plots were provided and lack of basic services in these areas, most of which are in the periphery areas.

Provision of residential licences that emanated from the Property and Business Formalisation Programme is being promoted by the Office of the President *Mpango wa Kurasimisha Mali na Biashara za Watanzania - MKURABITA*. The programme targeted property and business owners in the informal sector in the rural and urban areas. Property mapping included providing specific numbers on each plot and issuance of licenses. But the project had its shortcomings; for instance, the project did not involve mounting beacons and physical marks on the ground to show precise physical demarcations of properties. As a result, one can still subdivide his plot, build or sell it therefore the objective of controlling densification has not been achieved.

According to an interview with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development officials, the Ministry has established a section which is responsible for formalisation. This is collaborating with various local authorities to formalise informal settlements. There are therefore various local projects in different urban areas. Efforts are also being taken to insure participation of land owners so that they inter alia donate land or delineate at least three to five metres for the road and also mobilise the *Mtaa* leaders to work with people so as to improve public services in their areas. This will also improve or enhance the property value of the settlers; it should therefore be an incentive for land occupiers to donate and for public services.

According to the interview with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development officials; the Ministry's goal is to carry out regularisation programmes in all urban centres in Tanzania. Extensive sensitization, education and guidance will be provided to settlers in informal settlements. The official also noted that the Government is introducing and encouraging participation of other actors through cost sharing in urban development projects. Some projects might need technical assistance and not thus necessarily financial assistance. In such cases the government's role is to provide experts. The official emphasised that it is important for the Government and policy makers to provide political will and also to appreciate

experts' views and contributions on how to handle land and housing improvement projects. The respondent noted that Government has to allocate enough budgets to fund formalisation and land development related projects. At times, the Government is too ambitious and unable to provide finances due to low budgets, she asserted. There are also some NGO's that are trying to assist in housing programmes for example the Women Advancement Trust (WAT)¹²¹.

7.5.2 Resident's views on how to handle mixed informal settlements

Processes of upgrading and formalisation can present challenges especially if there are no solid plans to provide public facilities; if surveying and re-dividing plots has to be done as a way of regularisation, and strategy to access land for public facilities, and other activities such as light industries.

Sometimes worries on what might happen to individual land holdings or property may result into doubts, confusion and resistance among settlers. People may feel that their land is being grabbed or expropriated because they cannot develop it. One of the residents, a tenant renting a house in Makongo clearly stated during an interview that, he would wish to own a piece of land in Makongo, and he wished the government could facilitate for him. He noted:

There is a problem when people own a big chunk of land and they do not develop it or release it for others to use it. They wait for a long time for prices to rise. We new comers who are renting houses in Makongo cannot easily access land in Makongo. They should let the authority come, plan, and make plots for us (*renters or new comers*) to get land and build houses too¹²².

The respondent opinionated that it will be appropriate if the government interferes and expropriates land from those who cannot develop it and sale or distribute it to those who are able to develop it. Land is an asset; in Makongo, its value and prise are rising rapidly with time. One

¹²¹ WAT is a non-governmental organisation founded in 1989. The main objective of the organisation is to promote the advancement of women through education and training. The focus of the work is in the area of human settlements to enable poor women and men improve their living environment by the year 2015 (vision). <http://www.kabissa.org/directory/wat>

¹²² Interview with one of Makongo residents from the middle income group in February, 2012 who was renting a house (for 2 years) in Makongo during the time the study was conducted. Before moving to Makongo he was living in Sinza formal settlement.

interviewee from the high income group who is a retired lecturer at the Dar es Salaam University and a long-time resident in Makongo noted:

First of all the government should move fast in implementing its idea of upgrading this settlement, and stop further sporadic developments from taking place. Secondly, all processes involved should be clear to all stakeholders and it should be clear on how the cost involved will be covered if plots are to be surveyed individually... They are trying to be pro-active but the speed of development and population growth is too high. If they are to survey, then some areas should be designated and demarcated for public facilities for example schools, light industries etc. that could be done early. I have put a factory here because there is no guidance or no one has stopped me from doing it. But if they order that I shift I will adhere to governments order. I will not resist as long as proper procedures are followed. But the way they are doing make people resist. For example what do you expect from those whose persons houses are near the road, do you really think they will consent that their houses are demolished?... The government should do something, here everyone is doing and saying what he or she knows; we do not know what the truth is¹²³.

Informal settlement dwellers seem to be aware that it is not easy to fight orders from government such as demolition of their houses. Whilst this seem to be the situation, the government should be fair as per existing laws; they should be sensitive to the peoples' interests and rights in their land or property. They should be humble in communicating, and soliciting their support. Unnecessary use of force and arrogance tends to anger people. If the Government decides to ban further developing of land in the area, people expect compensation immediately and not wait for a long period i.e. for years. In such situations, contribution from grass-root institutions at *Mtaa* and Ward levels ought to be supported and taken into consideration e.g. Ward, *Mtaa* leaders, NGOs, CBOs. Brokers and land agents should be registered so that they operate in a transparent manner.

Most of the time Government intervene rather late it is as if it was not aware of what will happen including sporadic city development, as most of regularisation and formalisation are taking place rather late, when most settlements have consolidated. It is also unfortunate Governments (Local and Central) do not predict what might happen when settlement is at infancy stage. Planning

¹²³ Interview with one of Makongo residents from the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He is a retired lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam who acquired land in Makongo in 1988, started building his house in 1992 and started living in Makongo in 1996.

after many people have developed and settled in an area is problematic. Many people have often lived in shelters they have informally built over years through self-help; some spend up to twenty years building their houses without any intervention from public authorities. When they intervene too late, they are forced to as much as possible adapt to the settlement structure and other physical and socio-economic limitations. A (resident) respondent noted:

Planning settlements is an important thing and it is the duty of the government authorities that cannot be avoided, but where we are now, it is too late. It is not planned but we are here and have already settled. . I have heard they want to upgrade Makongo, that is a good idea but when you want to upgrade you have to know you there are people living here already, it is not an empty land; we like development but the authorities have to fit in our situation. People should appreciate planning; there are some areas with problems which would need resettlement but they should minimize pains on the residences. People have found themselves living like this situation because people do not have formal alternatives or options. There is a habit of authorities demolishing places as if there are no people living there and they pay low compensations not related to the actual costs of resettling elsewhere; compensation is supposed to reflect the current costs, construction activities are very expensive¹²⁴.

One resident argued that after all, people who have decided to reside in the periphery of the city are doing the government a favour of decongesting the Central Business District CBD and reducing crime in the city so they should not be disturbed rather be helped. That could be viewed as one of the bright sides of informality. However, this is not quite correct because those who have settled in the peri-urban areas mean higher costs of providing public infrastructure services such as water supply, electricity, roads, drainage systems etc. most which are paid by the government. They are also high costs of transport, as well as misuse of land resource.

7.5.3 Segregation (according to sizes of plots) or non-segregation in settlements

The formal planning system in the country has been applying segregation concepts approach in designing urban residential neighbourhoods. Plots are planned; surveyed and divided then people purchase them according to their preferred densities. Different views were given by respondents who were asked what they thought about the varying housing densities or non-density based

¹²⁴ Interview with one of Makongo residents (an Architect) of the high income group conducted in January, 2012. He has been living in Makongo since the last year of his university student life in 2001 and since then he upgraded his tenancy from being a renter, owning a house to owning apartments for renting other people in Makongo.

segregation approach, as a way of designing urban settlements. It was noted that having a settlement divided according to densities gives opportunity to people of different levels of income and economic status to access land according to density they like and can afford. Apart from that, it gives structure to the settlement and it enhances economics of provision of services and infrastructure, according to the needs and affordability of the people. Also it is easier to maintain infrastructure services as it is easy to charge everybody the same rate. An example of a response regarding segregation was, “Segregation is good because it facilitates easy installation and maintenance of infrastructure¹²⁵”.

Some respondents however, noted that segregation is a discrimination which in turn creates the haves and the have not's. It creates classes in the society. Some respondents were of the view that in spatially segregated neighbourhoods or settlements, the quality of the environment will be compromised and dictated by social class; low density might have good environment while high density might have a poor environmental quality; including the quality of building materials, quality of garbage collection services etc. He noted:

Segregation is not good because the quality of the environment will be dictated by social class, i.e. low density will be good and high density will have poor quality¹²⁶. And another one noted:

Segregation is not good because it creates social division among the poor and the rich therefore it may create social discontent in the society; also a lot of land is wasted due to setbacks and sizes of plots¹²⁷.

It is difficult to get a plot size of choice (exact size one wants) in a short time and land is wasted on setbacks and sizes of plots which are sometimes bigger or smaller comparing to the size of the house one can afford to develop.

¹²⁵ A response (January, 2012) from an Architect working at Ardhi University who has property in Makongo.

¹²⁶ A response (January, 2012) from an Architect working at Ardhi University who has lived in Makongo as a tenant.

¹²⁷ A response (January, 2012) from an Architect working at Ardhi University.

7.6 The harsh reality

Informal settlements can be seen as a solution for housing needs which the government has not been able to meet. The government has not been able to produce enough buildable land for housing and also it has not been able to produce housing for urbanities including the poor to buy or to rent. This has led it to tolerate informal settlements more and more. Government has failed to say 'no' to informal settlements, but it is trying to say 'no' to people who are building on hazardous informal areas e.g. Jangwani¹²⁸ flood prone area. Despite the warnings, people still build on these areas during dry sunny seasons but suffer from floods during rainy season.

Large lavish plot sizes opted for in the formal surveyed plots are sometime too large, resulting into only few number of people who obtained or access such plots. These consume a lot of resources (land and money) necessitating high prices of plots and unnecessary expansions of urban lands and increase of infrastructure and transport costs. Hence people decide to search for plots in unplanned (sometimes hazardous) lands close to the Central Business District (CBD).

Informality in Tanzanian urban areas is here to stay for a long time in the future; it indeed fuelled political and socio-economic factors. Demolition of informal settlements is not an option; they are too many growing too fast and accommodating many people. Therefore such an action would lead to more harm than good to the urban dwellers, it will create many homeless people. What can be done is to reduce extreme densities so that services can be provided for the wellbeing of the people. A respondent who is an expert in urban and regional planning noted;

...That is quiet true, what we find is the low capacity of the Government and Municipal Councils to deliver surveyed land for people. As I said earlier a developer does not wait for next year. If you have cash, you buy land. You secure it then you start developing. Government schemes take a lot of time, they depend on the Government budgets and involve long bureaucratic structures of procedures. So when the Government is promoting planned land development other people also continue with informality because we have so many...So where do the other people go? They go to the other areas and they are not waiting for the government. As I said also these settlements are there to stay and the issue here is not that they are bad, the issue is to make them liveable by

¹²⁸ This is a flood prone area which is near the CBD (near working places in the city centre). People build houses informally during dry seasons. They have been warned by the government for a long time. Sometimes they evacuate during rain seasons after their properties are damaged then they go back again when the rain is season is over. More on this is explained on chapter 8.

reducing densities and providing the minimum services, access roads and other services such as water supply and sanitation because of the overcrowding¹²⁹.

In informal settlements, there is much freedom for people to choose and mix as one wish, because there are not fixed plot sizes. One may therefore find a 200 m² plot adjacent to 500 m² or 300 m² plot, or a low income living side by side with high income persons. This has given or made urban development in Dar es Salaam and other urban areas a unique identity. The whole outcomes are associated with land ownership, socio-economic issues, and policies of the country; these together provide ample opportunity for home seekers to shape and build the bigger part of the city (informal) with much flexibility. Informality goes beyond economic segregation; it takes place according to the informal laid down structures and procedures in specific settlements. It takes place outside the formal system i.e. it does not follow urban land development requirements including master plan provisions, formal procedures on land access, and development standards. The economy of Tanzania is largely informal, often unregistered with no records on who is doing what, where and is earning what. This makes it difficult to precisely assess who afford what especially among the low income households.

With more people being attracted to cities and city life and in search for better employment, services and leisure on-going rapid urbanisation growth is bound to grow and intensify in the future. Indeed the future lies in cities. This is underscored by the respondent as quoted:

...Admittedly urban areas, are there to stay, and they are growing...maybe thirty years to come you will find maybe most of our population living in urban areas...The young generation will not want to stay in the countryside they like staying in the urban areas. So policy makers should bear in mind that urban areas are the future and quite often are said to be sources of development...They are sources of many employment and leisure facilities or services as well as increased freedom. This being the case we should prepare ourselves (including the policy makers) to handle increasingly urbanites. We should be able to manage urban centres. Regularisation is critical and we should embark upon it. Much it has been argued that regularising is costly, but the government

¹²⁹ An interview in February, 2012 with a lecturer at Ardhi University who is also an expert and head in Urban and Regional Planning Department (*During the time of the study*).

should fully support...People should be given support and enabled to participate in their development projects especially, those living in unplanned areas¹³⁰.

The Government should face the fact that informality is the urban reality of urban Dar es Salaam City. Through political will, and resource commitment therefore should have comprehensive plans for handling the situation at hand. Government and local authorities should prepare themselves to handle booming urban population by embarking on participatory formalisation. According to interviews the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, has a plan of educating people and creating awareness on how to prevent or avoid development of land informally. It also wants to formalise existing settlements. They are also searching for a mechanism to stop further growth of informal settlements. Naturally it is difficult for people to (especially low income ones) to give up their land or settlement, especially if the compensation is not adequate and promptly paid. Some people are reluctant to donate their land for public services including access roads. This has happened especially among persons who do not own cars. They consider it a favour to those with cars but the reality is that when they are faced with emergencies (cases like access of fire or ambulances) or they want to reach their homes by vehicle, they will need it. Improved roads also will improve the access and value of their property, a house or land. If one decides to sell, he or she will therefore get better offer of price if the area has good and reliable access. For this reasons it is important to educate people about benefits of improving their area and providing public services.

Mixed development should be encouraged but in a planned or structured system. The important thing is informal development of land need to be guided. In mixed informal settlement, where some people are enlightened or educated (like Makongo) it is not so difficult to educate and get the local community to appreciate the importance of improving public services and rights in their settlement by contributing land required for basic services. Architects, planners and policy makers have to work together to tap the potentials that exist in mixed settlements so that improvement including regularisation can successfully be executed by creating win-win situation to individual land owners or residents and the public in general.

¹³⁰ An interview with a Lecturer in Land Management and Evaluation at Ardhi University conducted in February, 2012. He is also living in Makongo settlements.

Infrastructure and service provision together with their management and maintenance systems should also receive a priority. Areas that have not densified i.e. peri-urban areas should be dealt with before they grow or are overcrowded. Site and service plots delivery system will also help to check growth of informal settlements. Surveying of land should go hand in hand with providing basic services and facilities like potable water, waste management and liquid management, health services and access roads. Again the biggest challenge is financial and other resources required to improve informal settlements and to boost supply of buildable building plots, in the sense that, land which has basic services. It is also important to reduce plot size so that the poor can afford.

The government should closely cooperate with grassroots levels in the communities (*Mtaa* and Ward leaders) so as to mobilise them to collect contribution from local communities. Leaders should be trained (given basic training on land use and development matters) so that they can work with people in order to assist them in organising their land especially securing basic public rights before land development consolidates. There is also a need to create simple regulations and tools to guide informal land developers so as to improve the quality of their outputs.

8. MEDIA INTERVENTIONS IN INFORMALITY, HOUSING AND LAND DEVELOPMENT

Media is a powerful tool for transmitting information to a large public. There have been reports and initiatives by the media related to informality and its implication in urban areas including Dar es Salaam. The media using its platform has been making efforts to sensitize people on land development matters including land rights, laws related to land development and conflicts resolutions. The mode of media that were documented in this study included television debates, clips from newspapers and some television news reports that related to the subject of study during fieldwork time. Although some of the discussions in the media were covering both rural and urban areas; the focus in this study is on the urban areas and informality in particular.

8.1 Plot boundary conflicts and the law

Conflicts related to plot boundaries, and land ownerships have been observed, land transactions etc. Laws involved in land uses in Tanzania are known by only a small proportion of the population. Due to the importance and the need for sensitizing people on the subject of laws related to land, ITV (Independent Television; one of the privately owned television companies in Tanzania on the 4th of December, 2011 broadcasted an episode under the title, 'Plot boundary conflicts' under a TV programme known as 'know the law' (*ijue sheria*). Among other matters; an Advocate involved in a conflict informed issues that related to the Land Law in urban areas, he referred to Law Act No. 5 (1999), Land Act No.4 (1999), Land Registration Law Chapter 334, the Urban Planning Law No.8 (2007), the Land Surveying Law Chapter 324 (2002) and the Law that allows the president to acquire land for public interest i.e. Act Land Acquisition Act No. 47 (1967). These laws are in place, but land conflicts persist. These laws are formulated by the formal legal system; but they also affect the informal land development that is happening in Tanzania cities.

Types of land ownerships were mentioned by the advocate including, customary right of occupancy (*miliki ardhi kiasilia*) and granted right of occupancy (*miliki ardhi iliyosajiliwa*). The informal development is more connected to the customary right of occupancy than the rest.

8.2 Sources of conflicts related to land development

According to the advocate's educative programme on the television, most conflicts seem to occur in unplanned areas. Unlike planned areas these areas do not have marks or beckons showing the boundaries of the plots. Marks on plot boundaries are known to land occupiers, neighbours and witnesses who participated in land transaction i.e. local leaders. An example of such a scenario given by the advocate was a land case of Ms. Tatu Rashid living in Kawe Mzimuni). She was supposed to continue to own land customarily after her husband died but was interfered by people who wanted to take it away from her and deny her heritage rights; the case took 10 years and went through different steps and appeals up to the High Court in the country where she won and was granted the right to the land she was fighting for.

8.3 Steps of conflict resolution

From the case that was aired (referring to Ms. Tatu Rashid), the law which was applied was the one for resolving land conflicts section 3(2) (2002). Conflict resolution is supposed to embark from the lower stage of *Mtaa* or Village and if not resolved it is supposed to climb the ladder to the higher stages starting with the Ward Tribunal (*Baraza la Kata la Ardhi*); the tribunal also handle appeal cases from lower level. Then to District Land Housing Tribunal (*Baraza la Nyumba na Ardhi la Wilaya*) which handles cases of land worth 40 million Tshs. It also handles appeals (within 30 days) cases from the lower level by emphasising and making follow up on the judgements given by lower level; if not satisfied one can appeal to the High Court within 45 days after judgement. High Court Land Section (*Mahakama Kuu kitengo cha Ardhi*) handles cases of land worth 50 million Tshs onwards. If not satisfied one can go to High Court of Appeal (*Mahakama ya Rufaa*) (the highest court in the country). The intention of appeal has to be given within 14 days after the judgement. And the appeal has to be submitted within 60 days after submitting the intention¹³¹.

¹³¹ TV legal programme 'know the law' Plot Boundary Conflicts 'Ijue sheria'; By Advocate Henry Massaba – 04.12.2011

8.4 Land conflicts in cities and in villages, what can be done?¹³²

A round table discussion in one of the television broadcasts highlighted the viewers on the topic and what they thought could be done to rescue or to lower the degree of land conflicts in Tanzania. Land conflicts happen between neighbours due to unclear boundaries or if ones boundaries are displaced.

Tanzania has tried to have land policies but still land conflicts are increasing year by year. The general public have much expectations and are expecting the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development to deliver (e.g. plot surveying, plot delivery, titles processing etc.). Unfortunately the Ministry is not able to deliver the required services in time. It is facing shortage of manpower and other resources reported the spokesman from the Ministry during the TV round table discussions. The spokesman observed that people end up opting for alternative ways to get land or opt at times shortcut instead of following procedures. Some land officers are corrupt. The government is not allocating enough money to the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development. The media is doing a good job of creating awareness but still more is need to be done and to be facilitated by the government.

The discussion among the members on the round table also highlighted the issue of unfair compensation to people who are evicted to allow implementation of projects. Compensation not being sensitive and realistic to victims and the issues of big investors consuming a lot of land and taking away land from people but not necessarily letting them benefit from the investments they do. The government should make its citizens a priority and make sure they have a place to live and they do not suffer. They also noted that the government should survey many plots so as to check informal settlements and land conflicts. They also noted that land laws should be amended because they seem not to fulfil the purpose. According to the official from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, the government plans to educate the public on

¹³² ITV Programme – Round Table Discussion on Land Conflicts in Cities and in Villages, what can be done? *Migogoro ya Ardhi Mjini na Vijijini, nini kifanyike?* With Participants: *Mr. Gasper Luanda – Land Commissioner from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development; Ms. Jane Kapongo – Acting assistant Commissioner for of Lands in Villages form the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development; Yefred Myenzi – Director, Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI, HAKIARDHI); Msafiri Juma - Normal Citizens; Alfred Masako – ITV staff, Moderator*

land issues. He added that if people occupy land before surveying, they will be compensated if the government expropriate their land, but if they occupy land after it has already been surveyed by the government they will be regarded as invaders and thus not entitled to compensation.

8.5 A debate on what to do or how to handle land conflicts¹³³

According to the debate on land conflicts that was aired on ITV during the time of fieldwork, it was noted that since the Land Act 1999 declared that bare land has value, land conflicts have increased. During the discussions participants were given an opportunity to air their views on why the country has so many land conflicts and what can be done to minimise them. People came up with different reasons, complaint, opinions and suggestions. It was for instance pointed out that conflicts arise between person and person, person and government and other times person and investor. Some people invade land belonging to other persons. One participant said that Land-use Planning Act (2007) has shortcomings. There is a need of delegation of power to carry out land related duties. There is a lot of work to be done but little manpower. It was noted that plans exist, but the problem is on implementation and management.

Another concern of the participants was that the compensations that are normally paid during eviction are inadequate. They argued that if people with power purchase big pieces of land in cities, what will the common people get? Should there be a maximum size of plot ownership in cities? Investors are causing land conflicts; they acquire big pieces of land which leads to displacement natives. An example is Twiga Cement investment, a company which was supposed to affect 700 people living in Kawe and also Tanga Cement investment which was supposed to affect 370 acres occupied by natives. The question is where do the evicted persons go? With limited alternatives, the easiest route for the evictee to take is to move to another informal settlement. Another threat is the on-going integration of East African Community. Tanzanians are worried that if people from other countries of East Africa will be allowed to own land in

¹³³ ITV Debate on land conflicts in the country, what can be done? *Malumbano ya Hoja–Migogoro ya Ardhi nchini, nini kifanyika?* Participants: *Richard Chingula-Kigogo Ward Councillor (High table); Martin Wambura-Urban and Rural Planning student at Ardhi University (High table); College students; Normal citizens; ITV staff – Moderators*

Tanzania, foreigners with money will speculate i.e. buy big pieces of land. As a result land conflicts will intensify.

During the TV debate, the discussants complained that some of land overseers are corrupt that is why cases of double or triple allocation of land still exist. They suggested that government should make amendments to the existing policies otherwise members of the public will continue to do what they have to do to survive and to get shelter. Another suggestion was that the government should use University students especially during fieldworks to survey big land within a short time. This would not cost much and could take shorter time than depending on the few employed professionals in the industry. The government should allocate funds to employ more land officers because there are many graduates doing non-professional jobs or jobs different to what they have specialised on. The already employed land officers should not only stay in their offices, instead they should move out, go around in their areas of duty and see what is happening on the ground. They need to be paid good salaries to motivate them and also to make them un-corruptible. Fresh graduates of planning if employed should be given practical orientation (even if they scored high grades during their theoretical studies in university) and close supervision prior to giving them full responsibilities. *Mtaa* government should be empowered and given more authority to handle day to day land issues because they live in the settlements it is easier for them to see what is happening and monitor. Government should educate people more and create awareness on land matters especially the right of the people and investors should not own land for a very long time (e.g. 99 years are too long).

8.6 Learning through land conflicts - the side effects and reactions to informality

Newspapers in the county have also contributed in creating awareness to the members of the public on what is going on in other parts of the country and particularly Dar es Salaam as far as informal dwelling is concerned. Although the focus of this study is on mixed informal settlements in urban Dar es Salaam, lessons can be learnt from events that have happened and were reported by media during the time of fieldwork of this study and gave an insight on opportunities, challenges, and effects of informal dwelling and the role of authorities and media. When a natural disaster happens, many people are affected regardless of the socio-economic status or tenancy status. As mentioned earlier; informal settlements in Dar es Salaam can be

found in different kinds of landscape including hilly land (e.g. Makongo), on valleys (Jangwani) or flat land (Temeke).

On the 21st of December, 2011, several¹³⁴ newspapers provided strong coverage on the flash flood event that led to death of more than 40 people and destroyed many properties especially in informal areas. Police Commander had asked people to vacate the valley before the heavy rains but they did not comply. The question one might ask is; where were these people expected to resettle? An order of evacuation needs also to suggest alternative destinations. Around 2000 people were homeless. According to the news, the process of evacuating the Jangwani flood victims was hard due to more or less collapse of the transportation systems.

According to Majira newspaper¹³⁵ the tendency of government officials not paying attention to land development is one of the sources of informal development in the valleys. Attempt by Tanzania People Defence Force (TPDF) to airlift affected persons using helicopter saved lives, but could not accommodate many people. Poor infrastructure caused blockage of access because roads were flooded. The government has been ordering people to move from flood prone areas (disastrous areas) but because of lack of seriousness supervision it uses a lot of money to rescue people during disasters. The government has to take action against those who are responsible for implementation of orders e.g. preventing people from building on unsafe lands.

According to Flora Amon, also one of the reporters of Majira Newspaper, drainage systems are blocked because there is no proper water drainage systems in roads, the roads turned into rivers. She also restated the statement of Mr. Meck Sadick saying that the government need to use 'force' to stop the habit of living in disastrous informal settlements. The wish of the police commander is hard to be fulfilled looking at the extent of informal dwelling in urban areas in the

¹³⁴ 21/12/2011, Mwananchi pg.1, 4&10 (By Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development (A. Burra-Director) - Taarifa Kwa Umma ya Taratibu za Mabadiliko ya Matumizi Ardhi Mjini)-**Disaster in dar es Salaam (pg 1&4)**; 21/12/2011, Tanzania Daima, pg.2&3 (By Magazine writer-Mvua yaleta maafa Dar)-**Rain brings disaster in Dar es Salaam**; 21/12/2011, Daily News, pg 1 (By Daily News Reporters)-**Rain claim four lives in Dar**; 21/12/2011, Majira pg 6 (Maoni kutoka kwa Mhariri-Uzembe wa viongozi chanzo cha maafa waishio mabondeni) - **The negligence of officials is the source of disasters to people living in the valley (Views from the editor)**; 21/12/2011, Jambaleo pg 1&4 (By Eben-Ezery Mende and Robert Hokororo Mafuriko yatikisa Dar)-**Flood Shakes Dar es Salaam**; 21/12/2011, Uhuru pg 1, 2&16 (By Magazine writer-Ni maafa)-**It is a disaster**, 21/12/2011, Habarileo pg 4 (By Oscar Job-Mvua ya radi yaua watano)-**Heavy rain kills 5 people**.

¹³⁵ Ibid footnote 93

country. As noted earlier, people live where they live because of many social and economic reasons.

According to Tanzania Metrological Agency (TMA) warnings were given to the victims to evacuate before the rain started but the advice was ignored by the victims. One wonders why were they not given the option to settle in Mabwepande (where they were allocated surveyed plots after the disaster) before the rain season started. Maybe they would have moved peacefully and served the nation all the loss it had to incur. The writer went on to highlight the issue of garbage collection. She noted that the government blamed people for garbage thrown in road trenches meant for surface water drainage and blocked them, as a result, the disaster worsen. The question is what other option do people in informal settlement have when it comes to handling garbage?

Administratively, the Prime Ministers' office (PMOs) is responsible for dealing with disasters and rescuing operations. The PMOs team was planning on how to help the victims including supplying tents for temporary shelter (Figures 123 and 124). They promised to plan and supervise delivery of assistance as they did to help Gongolamboto¹³⁶ bomb victims. The suggestion here is where possible, the authority should emphasise on preventive measures in the informal dwelling in hazardous areas. In Jambileo newspaper, the writers Eben-Ezery Mende and Robert mentioned that people complained about government not being pro-active. They went on to comment that a helicopter was busy flying around taking photos of the event instead of rescuing people and property.

The editor of Uhuru newspaper noted that people are hard headed and difficult. They don't follow orders. An example was given of people not being allowed to build less than 40 metres from rivers but they still do. The question is why are these people not stopped by the concerned authority just when they start laying the foundations of the buildings they build?

¹³⁶ Another disaster that affected people living in an informal settlement around Mwalimu Nyerere International Airport- the biggest airport in the country. The accidentally exploding of stored military equipments near the settlement caused a big loss to people of all socio-economic levels.

Oscar Job, a writer on Habarileo newspaper also was concerned about the force the police apply in evacuation matters; he wrote that the Regional Police Officer directed who have settled in the valley to vacate before they are moved. He also mentioned other informal settlements that were affected by the rain writing that houses were destroyed and people had to climb on their roofs to save themselves especially in Jangwani, Kigogo and Mburahati. Areas affected heavily by the rain and floods were Jangwani, Mburahati, Kigogo, Tabata, Buguruni kwa mnyamani, Tandale, Mtogole, Manzese, Ubungo external, Loyola, Msasani Bonde la Mpunga, Riverside and Magomeni Chini (mostly informal settlements including mixed ones).

The editor of Mtanzania newspaper¹³⁷ wrote that evacuation from unsafe areas should not be taken as a joke. The editor argued that this is not the first time the government has ordered people to move from the flood-prone areas. The warnings and blame always come during the disaster; when it is dry everyone is quiet. The government is not careful in its implementations; it appears as if people are only supposed to evacuate because of rain but the reality is that those areas are not good human habitation. So government should take issues seriously. The government should supervise the evacuation process seriously and properly. One of the reasons for informal dwellers risking their lives is that these areas are near the Central Business District (CBD). The editor suggested that if the government is determined and has the will; it can make a change to the situation. The editor continue querying and suggesting that some people in the area have some sort of ‘legal ownership papers’, to the buildings; the government should find out how they got the papers, which officials were involved and what building regulations they followed in building those structures which are now identified as illegal structures. He suggested that those officials should be taught a lesson and be an example and eye-openers to others.

It seems that the government has an ability to deliver when under pressure¹³⁸. Also Habarileo newspaper reported that the government prepared 2,800 plots in Mabwepande in Kinondoni District. By that time (29/12/2011, that is only nine days after the heavy rain in Jangwani) 700

¹³⁷ 29/12/2013, Mtanzania, pg 11 (*Maoni ya Mhariri- Kuhama mabondeni isiwa mzaha*)-***Evacuation from unsafe areas should (the valleys) should not be taken as a joke (views from the editor).***

¹³⁸ 29/12/2011, Habarileo pg 1&4 (*by Magazine writer-Siri ya kugoma kuhama mabondeni yafichuka*)-***The secret of people not wanting to ‘move’ away from informal settlements in valleys***

plots were ready to be distributed to the victims (that was a very quick land surveying process). According to the order issued by the President, the distribution plots were supposed to be completed within a month. People were not supposed to go back to Jangwani after being allocated new plots, but according to the newspaper, at the end of rainy season some people started moving back to the flood area from the camps they were evacuated to.



Figure 123: Mabwepande, accommodation for Jangwani flood victims
Source: Heilman, V.M (Chair of a low cost housing project in Mabwepande)



Figure 124: Tents used to accommodate Jangwani flood victims
Source: Heilman, V.M (Chair of a low cost housing project in Mabwepande)

A reporter to Habarileo newspaper, Haji Abeid on his article¹³⁹ ‘Government of Valleys’ argued that Jangwani event, was supposed to be a wake-up call to the government. He advised government authorities to look critically at informal dwelling challenges. He suggested that the government should take part of the blame; if those people were building on informal areas (not allowed areas) why were basic services provided by government institutions i.e. TANESCO (Tanzania Electric Supply Company) and DAWASA (Dar es Salaam Water and Sewerage Authority)? Why should people not build on such areas and why should they vacate? People are encouraged to vacate and build on ‘allowed’ areas which are far from the CBD (Central Business District), and with no infrastructure or basic services; an example of those moved from Kipawa to Kisarawe to allow expansion of the airport. If one wants to connect or get electricity in ‘allowed’ areas (a long distance from the source which might need several poles) getting one pole can cost around 1 million Tshs. In Jangwani informal settlement one needs just a small wire to connect to electricity. Why should people live far from their work place considering the poor

¹³⁹ 29/12/2011, Habarileo By Haji Abeid, - (Mbumbumbu Serikali ya Mabondeni pg 18)-*Government of Valleys*

transportation systems existing in Dar es Salaam? People can walk from Jangwani to CBD (their places of work or school).

Benjamin Masese in his article¹⁴⁰ ‘If we did these things, the effect of floods would have been much less; also the government should be prepared for disasters. The Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Human Settlements Development should be blamed for not being able to deal with the issue of housing and building informally. The government should enact new building regulations and institute relevant standards to make sure that informal building is not happening in Tanzanian cities. Writer Raphael Mwamejo’s argument on his article¹⁴¹ ‘After floods, let us be careful with cholera’ based his argument on the fact that victims of informality are also to be blamed. Either they do not heed to public and government concerns or warnings from experts do not reach them on time. He insisted also that one needs to take responsibility for what is happening to informal builders (but who? informal builders, renters, authority, or professionals?). He also added a health threat issue that heavy rains are a joy to others; moments like those they throw garbage in the water and open the waste water from their toilet systems to flow with the rain water. Garbage can be a cause of diseases including cholera. He also mentioned that the living conditions of people in those temporary shelters (emergency shelter) or tents who were massively put together could turn into an epidemic too so it might not be a very healthy option.

8.7 Land owners resistance to urban plans

As noted earlier, referring to Makongo mixed informal settlement resisted or objected to the plan that was proposed by the Ministry as mentioned in (Section 6.1). Demanding participation in planning they stopped it and requested to prepare their own. They hired expert from Ardhi University. The proposal was forwarded to the Ministry but not approved. This event can be related to an event that was reported on Habarileo newspaper¹⁴². John Mhala on his article ‘Demolition of buildings stopped in Arusha’ (*Bomoabomoa yasitishwa Arusha*) argued that the

¹⁴⁰ 05/01/2012, Mtanzania, pg 14

¹⁴¹ 05/01/2012, Mtanzania Pg 16

¹⁴² 29/12/2011, Habarileo, (By John Mhala, *Arusha-Bomoabomoa yasitishwa Arusha pg 1&4*)-**Demolition of buildings stopped in Arusha**

District government stopped the exercise of putting an 'X' mark on 300 houses along Sekei road to Olgirai. The red 'X' mark meant that the particular property would be demolished to allow road expansion. If owners do not obey, the authority would use a caterpillar to demolish the houses.

The marked houses in Arusha were said to be built within the road reserve. According to the Executive Director of that council (Halifa Hida), together with the Chair of that council (Simon Ole Saning'o) and other heads of departments including land officer and the lawyer conducted a meeting with the house owners. These owners were complaining that they were not engaged in the idea creation and in the whole process of implementation; the exercise was postponed till after a meeting of councillors. The same councillors meeting was the one that on 19th October, 2011 decided that the road should be upgraded to tarmac at a length of 3.5 kilometres and agreed that they will inform and involve the people who were to be affected. The Executive Director agreed that implementation of the order or plan had shortcomings so they need to postpone and employ more participation by involving the stakeholders.

An example of merciless demolition was reported on 4th February, 2012 ITV news whereby in Musoma Municipality in the location of Majita road houses were to be demolished by TANROADS because they were built on road reserve. The Minister concern for roads works required people to demolish their property if they knew they were affected by the project (before the caterpillar comes).

8.8 Dilemma and side-effects of setting precedence in solving informal housing problems

When people are building informally they are not alerted about the consequences they might encounter in the future. They invest their money using expensive permanent structures which end up being demolished. On 20th January, 2012, ITV (Independent Television) news reported that houses near the rivers should be demolished. Among areas that were to be affected by the demolition order were Mbezi-Jogoo, Mlalakuwa Temboni and Kunguru. Demolition operation was to be conducted by NEMC (National Environment Management Council). An interesting question is where was NEMC when people were building these houses?

On 22nd January, 2012 and on 23rd January 2012, the same TV broadcasting cooperation reported that DAWASCO (Dar es Salaam Water and Sewerage Company) was to prepare 3 wells of clean water and a police post for people who were initially living in the disaster prone area of Jangwani then evacuated to Mabwepande. The Regional leader announced that because they are given new plots and because infrastructure was going to be in place within a short time they should demolish the houses in Jangwani and move to the new areas. They were also advised to establish community security (*ulinzi shirikishi*) to strengthen security in the area. On the 24th January, 2012, ITV news reported that Jangwani flood victims were not satisfied and not ready to move. They preferred to stay in the flood prone area which was near the CBD, their source of economic activities and schools where their children were attending. Probably what they wanted from the government was not plots in the suburbs rather compensation for the lost property (money).

Issuing free plots and infrastructure to flood victims who were warned not to build on a disaster prone areas seem precedence to other informal dwellers; for example in Makongo, water availability has been a major cry for years; they have struggled to solve this problem and reached a point of having little hope of getting assistance from the government. To get efficient water supply, people in Makongo have to privately incur high costs of sourcing water from vendors, or underground.

Other relevant news clips were aired by ITV on the 25th January, 2013, reporting that randomly built houses caused a fire car to fail to do its job. The car arrived early but accessibility to the accident area failed. It was an unfortunate event because fire rescue is a facility that is supposed to offer services to all population. The same applies to ambulances and cars used to empty septic tanks and toilet pits. Their cars are big and need space to operate but during access provision people forget this. With unguided mixed development in the urban areas, high, middle and low income people privately build their houses focusing on plot level first then the context comes later.

On the 30th January, 2013 Victims of Gongolamboto (an informal settlements developed near one of the military bases) military base bomb explosion accident demonstrated as a group to the Regional leader demanding their rights.



Figure 125: A house destroyed by accident bombes in Gongolamboto
Source: Jafar Salehe (Gongo-la-mboto reconstruction team project coordinator see Appendix 17 and 18)



Figure 126: One of the houses that was victimised by Gongolamboto bomb accident
Source: Jafar Salehe(Gongo-la-mboto reconstruction team project coordinator see Appendix 17 and 18)

This demonstration was triggered by the fact that the flood victims (Jangwani) were taken care of more quickly than them (Gongolamboto) bearing in mind that their tragedy happened far long ago. It was as if the people of Jangwani had more right to settle informally than them. These events show that some decisions in handling informal settlements can lead into setting precedence; and precedence or double standards can create angry and emotional people who will be difficult to please in future.

8.9 Cooperation and segregation in handling of housing and informality¹⁴³

Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC1) also took part in airing challenges that are facing the housing industry in Tanzania especially due to the on-going informal land development. The interview with Professor J.M. Lusugga Kironde on the episode called ‘Life is House’ (*Maisha ni Nyumba*) underscored some facts on housing that could be connected to the subject of this study. In the interview, he argued that the government should stop working alone in trying to solve housing problems in the country. Instead of watching people do what they want helplessly in the best way they know how, it should involve them and also give them a helping hand. He noted that if a citizen with big land or farm would like to subdivide it, instead of leaving them to do it alone, the government through local *Mtaa* leadership and professionals could advice the proper way to do it. He suggested that if assistance could be given to informal settlements that are not congested yet, the situation could be better.

Regarding the influence of laws in the growth of informal settlements, he noted that the problem is the relationship between authorities and the people and not the law. Every side is doing their own thing and they do not cooperate with each other.

The law is there and it does not allow building anyhow in the cities and the authority is supposed to forbid those constructions, but they don't have the capacity and the people are many, so what I see is the authorities should go down to the people, and there they can educate them and give them the support. For example the planning experts, should sit with the people and plan their land. For

¹⁴³ Prof. Kironde – Expert in Land Economic - Lecturer at Ardhi University, interview in ‘Life is House’ (*Maisha ni Nyumba*) (programme (interview with media-TV station – Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation TBC1) (The interview was timed on TV in progress...it had already started)

example if a certain person has a farm the planner can help in the planning part and leave the part of selling to the land owner (J.M.L. Kironde, 2012).

According to Kironde (2012), where the growth of informal settlements that has not reached booming stage, land pooling can be carried out i.e. land owners have to collapse their land and re-plan it formally, provide land for infrastructure and services then redistribute the plots among land occupiers. The disadvantage of this method is that one's plots could be smaller than the size held before. But, the value of the land increase significantly. The other advantage is that this process does not require compensation. To achieve land pooling in mixed informal settlements, is a challenge because people own land that is different in size. A proper record of sizes of land every person owns is needed for the process to be fair. Another way is where by an investor could buy off settlers and builds afresh, i.e. accommodate the dwellers and also get some land to execute the new investment intended.

Sometimes people opt to build informally due to the restrictions on the building regulations in formal areas starting with the need to employ professionals in the process e.g. employing an Architect to do the building design (which is expensive). Building materials prices are raising daily. The government should look for ways to reduce the cost of building construction. There should be cooperation between institutions that are dealing with housing in the country including the Ardhi University, the National Housing Cooperation, the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development, and the local Councils. One of the goals should be to get a minimum standard of housing affordable to citizens without compromising quality. Failure to do that, good houses will be for those who can afford and those who cannot afford will end up going to the valleys. The option of interventions like introducing social housing schemes for those who cannot afford to pay themselves (as successfully done in some developed countries) is not practical at the moment because the country does not have the infrastructure needed to administer it. He pointed out the existence of a housing policy which has been proposed and worked on by professionals for years but not out yet.

The idea (of having a housing policy) vanished in the end of 1980's and the beginning of 1990's, even the Ministry changed its name from Ministry of Land Housing and Urban Development, where 'housing' disappeared and came back recently. All that time nobody was talking about that

in 2004 we started during President Mkapa's leadership. The last policy we sent to the Ministry was in 2008 now it is 2012 the policy is not out yet and we don't know why. Not having a policy is a problem for example these councils (*Halmashauri*) are supposed to supervise housing issues but there is no policy, for example doing researches on low cost housing need a policy to be in place. So I am appealing to the ministry of lands that the policy prepared since 2008 to be released (J.M.L. Kironde, 2012).

A housing policy is also expected to address the question of tenant's rights. Investing in informal housing for renting is a common economic activity in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam. The private sector is making an effort to fill the gap of housing provision left by the government. Tenants need to be protected but it has to be known that landlords are not necessarily reaching people as many people think. They are normal citizens who are trying to make an income through building houses for rentals. The landlord can be anybody from the low income group to the high income one. If supported through low interest loans by financial institutions, these people could invest more in the housing industry. The financial institutions are putting high interest rate due to high risks involved in money lending. The government should aim at stabilizing the economy. When there will be supply of houses in bulk, the housing market is likely to stabilize. Putting many hard laws in the renting business will cause people to withdraw from investing on housing then the goal of protecting tenants will not be reached. Local authority especially *Mtaa* government should be involved in housing matters, not only in health and education matters as it is currently. Land owners should be educated and advised not to sell their land for as long as they can because it is an asset that rises in price with time (Kironde, J.M.L, 2012).

PART III

9. REFLECTIONS

9.1 The push factors, rural-urban migration

The study has shown that housing shortage remains a critical challenge in many cities of developing countries that are also facing rapid urbanisation that is not supported by rapid economic growth and industrialisation. The nature of land development in informal areas in Dar es Salaam has resulted into heterogeneous informal settlements. Most of the squatters discussed by Neuwirth (2006), Turner (1976), and Davis (2007) were either poor people, or poor persons who improved their socio-economic base through own efforts and hard work. The case of Dar es Salaam has revealed that fairly well off or affluent persons such as professors, ministers, army officials and the like are also found in informal settlements. This is a unique situation in Tanzania, because in most other countries e.g. Kenya or South Africa informal settlements are occupied by the poor.

The case of Makongo mixed settlement, suggests that most of the urban dwellers are responsible for their own destiny when embarking on the journey to acquire a house in an urban area. For most of people in the developing countries, rural urban migration is not a matter of choice rather it is more of the pursuit for better life. Irresistible forces are pushing them away from areas where opportunities for income and employment generation are scarce. Agriculture which is the backbone for economic development is not attractive *inter-alia* because it is rain fed and thus unreliable. Informal urbanisation in some cities of some of the developing world were influenced by flow of refugee e.g. Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Dhaka; while internal conflicts including war played role in influencing informal urbanisation in Algeria and Vietnam. In Turkey, migration was stirred by Marshall Plan aid, the modernisation of agriculture, and the growth of import-substitution manufacture while in Cairo, urban residential informality increased as immigrant workers' earnings flowed back from Saudi Arabia to fill some of the gaps left by the demise of Nasserites welfarism. Other cases of informal urbanisation resulted from, need for housing for people who provided cheap labour e.g. Mexico City; and also unemployment in Caracas Venezuela (Davis, 2007:55-60).

9.2 ‘Self help’ informal housing a result of ‘no help’ in housing provision

From the example of Dar es Salaam, when rural urban immigrants arrive in the city, they do not receive support from the government especially in accessing urban housing. Planning was based on racial segregation that is designated areas for Europeans, Asians and Africans. Africans were expected to live in rural areas their zones in urban areas were high density areas where as the whites and Indians were given medium and low densities respectively. Through the National Human Settlements Development Policy, the government has tried to address housing problems for its people. Also many other policies and initiatives such as the Revolving Housing Loan Fund, the establishment of the National Housing Corporation, Building Research Unit (BRU), Housing Co-operatives, establishment of Ardhi Institute, The sustainable Dar es salaam City Project and the proposed Tanzania Housing Policy (which was still a draft by 2012). All these have not succeeded in solving the problems related to housing and its informalities, but are experiences from which lessons can be drawn to inform future practices. Turner (1976) notes that, “housing needs are more complex and more variable than allowed by housing law and policy. The greater the dependence of housing on hierarchic supply system, the greater the mismatches, the greater the inhibition of users’ resources, and the smaller and the poorer the eventual supply.” From the mismatches comes underperformance and dissatisfaction from the receiving end. Turner further adds that there is a gap in the way authorities define housing problems especially in a context where people are of different socio-economic status:

People’s priorities vary as widely as their incomes and future outlooks vary. It should now be obvious that no conceivable authority could possibly anticipate the immense variety of household situations, priorities and specific housing needs. The huge efforts and sums spent on surveying housing conditions without any clear understanding of the housing process, has done, and can only continue to do, a great deal of harm. It is not too much to say that these generally well-intentioned surveys and analyses have merely aided and abetted the destruction of urban communities, painfully built up by generations of people (Turner, 1976:71-72).

With the challenged and situation from the part of the government; it is a matter of ‘housing oneself’ i.e. people have to survive and shelter themselves depending on their individual efforts. Rural urban migration decisions have to be accompanied with taking responsibilities of the consequences that comes with it without relying on external help from the government.

9.3 Economic evolution

Shelter is a basic human right which needs to be fulfilled. It is a need which cannot wait for one to accumulate 'enough' wealth. One can have a dream, a goal or a target of living in a certain type of house that will make them feel fully content; while working hard towards achieving that goal, daily needs of shelter ought to be met. The starting point differs from one individual or from one household to another, *inter alia* depending on the economic status. The value of housing is about what housing does for the people rather than to what it looks like. Turner tells a story (the supportive shack) related to the meaning of value of a house to different people by referring to a car painter in Mexico who had to work as a garbage collector near the shack he was living in so that he could support himself and his family and at the same time save money for future development. The social value of the shack here is reflected to be higher than a concrete block house in a modern neighbourhood. The example shows the way he was in a position of having a possibility to undergo economic evolution and realise his expectations. The supportive shack story was more inspiring than 'the oppressive house' story of a mason. He lived in a modern standard house allocated by the government (improved housing programme) which demanded a lot more than the shack in terms of running cost and transportation costs. This made him to be in an economically stagnant position and have no hope for developing more or climbing up the economic ladder (Turner, 1976). This situation can be reflected on the case study where some of Makongo dwellers explained the way they started by living in a small, one room house up to a stage they are now i.e. own several housing units for renting other people. These examples, questions the way the authorities sometimes decide to relocate people from locations that are 'not suitable and habitable' to locations that are 'more modern and suitable' in the eyes of the law. Relocated people end up paying a high price for the new living arrangement they find themselves in; as a result instead of bridging the gap between the haves and the have not, the implementation of some government policies end up widening it.

9.4 Self-help and variety in informal housing

In the struggles of searching for affordable shelter in a context where the systems in place are not meeting the demands, makes the government not to be in a position to practically stop or interfere the alternative routes people take to help themselves shelter-wise and in this case informality and freedom from regulations e.g. housing alterations, adjustments and incremental

construction. Turner (1972) cited in Mushumbusi (2011) noted that housing process is not a static process; he argues that housing is a process within a specific context. Nguluma (2003) referring to Seek (1983) and the idea of 'improve or move'; highlighted two points relating to incremental housing and transformation;

Addition and alterations to dwellings are undertaken largely to meet demands for more and better housing...many house owners tend to stay in the same house for a long time and modify it as their housing demands change over their life cycle (Nguluma, 2003:206).

Mike Davis talks about John Turner and World Bank President (1970s) Robert McNamara as people who were seeing sense in self-help housing and incremental construction. They were also people who were enthusiastic about communal self-organisation and found cleverness in slum construction. He also notes that they romanticized the costs and results of squatters:

Self-help, incremental construction, and legalization of spontaneous urbanisation was exactly the kind of pragmatic, cost-effective approach to the urban crisis that McNamara favoured...Moreover, Turner and his World Bank admirers considerably romanticized the costs and results of squatter-type incremental housing...The loss of economy of scale in housing construction dictates either very high unit prices for construction materials or the substitution of second hand, poor quality materials (Davis, 2007:72).

The study revealed that despite the good intentions of informal settlement interveners (e.g. World Bank), most of their programmes were not successful; instead in some cases the beneficiaries were the non-needy.

9.5 Challenges in systematising the un-systematized

The built environment is shaped by different forces. Systems or governments in different parts of the world are trying to create order through prediction of the future by planning and putting regulations and controls in place. It is expected that the absence of predictions and planning can lead to a chaotic development. The study has shown that through the freedom and underneath the chaos there is a self created order as well as a communication system in the informality. Following through the experience of meeting shelter needs from having the idea of acquiring a

plot to occupying the house; there are a number of actors that take part in the process. A house is a system in its own within a bigger system i.e. the context or the bigger picture. Taking the example of achieving access to a house unit in Makongo informal settlement it is evident that the actors involved are more than the land owner or the land developer. Infrastructure (e.g. road, water, sanitation, electricity) deficiency and challenges in mixed informal settlements are a matter that has been revealed in the study. It requires collaboration amongst the land developers themselves as well as between them and the authorities concerned for providing infrastructure. There is so much individuals can do but when it comes to infrastructure it is difficult and more expensive if there is no help from the government. As Turner (1976) highlights, "...and demand that those in power help us do what we can do locally for ourselves by guaranteeing our access to fair shares of available resources and where essential, by providing complementary infrastructure that cannot be installed locally and that can be provided for all".

The study has indicated that recognising and being able to differentiate the formal from informal can be complicated in a context where the expected order, planning, and control has failed to be exercised fully. When there are informal situations which can be confused with formal and formal situations which can be confused with informal even, telling the boarder becomes a challenge; hence challenging intervening strategies too. Halfani (1996) and Healey (2007) as cited by Mushumbusi (2011) have contributed in contemporary theoretical writing on the subject. He further argues that it is perhaps evidence of shift in practical locus where informal settlements are no longer a place for mere urban survival by the poor but distinct regime of urban governance.

The notion of informality as a step towards formality is being challenged by the coexistence that is happening in mixed informal settlements. Also various examples of Dar es Salaam show how authorities have tried to achieve formality in the city with minimum results. Over the years, this has accelerated the existence of informality; as it was argued that the existence of informal settlements in most countries is linked to failure of formal housing provision systems, poor national and local economic performance, failure of urban planning and governance of urban development as well as deterioration of urban infrastructure (Stern and White 1989; UNCHS 1996, cited in Sliuzas, 2004). The Makongo mixed informal settlement has also revealed that

people who build in informal settlements are exercising their freedom and they are doing what they can to meet their basic needs. The kind of residents found in Makongo mixed informal settlement and other mixed informal settlements in Dar es Salaam indicate that deciding to live in informal areas is not necessarily because of lack of money to afford surveyed plots in formal areas. There are factors that contribute and among them is the freedom of making decision on matters that concerns the places they live in. Some of these people have money and they want to use it for housing with minimum restrictions or interference from external decision makers or users. In this regard, Turner argues,

It is a shock to think that this might apply to all of us all of the time, even when we are acting as officially certified experts on the other people's problems. But now that architects and planners as well as the other professions are confronted with a rapidly rising consciousness of their incompetence to decide for others what is best for them...examples of what non-professionals can achieve for themselves, are doing much to awaken their wealthy exploiters...For some of those in power, this has been a very rude awakening (Turner, 1976:11, 22).

The struggles between the Ministry of Lands Housing and Human Settlements Development (then Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development) and the informal settlement of Makongo in the study (Appendix 13) regarding approving a plan that was proposed by the dwellers as opposed to the one proposed by the Ministry is an indicator that it is not all the time the professionals provide solutions that the targeted people find fulfilling. Solutions provided by some of the best designers not necessarily being the preference of their users (home-seekers). Given a choice; they might rather choose to live in places that were built by master craftsmen, artisans, or ordinary folk according to local rules and customs. On the other hand, the absence or relaxation of building regulations and monitoring can result into disastrous incidences especially to the vulnerable group; in this case, of mixed informal settlements 'the low income people' who are not in a position to afford sophisticated building expertise and techniques. Payne (2002) cited in Davis 2007:126) discusses about earthquakes or fire affecting buildings where regulations were relaxed (Davis, 2007:126)."

9.6 Contextualisation and red-tape in informal land development

In an effort to define informal settlements and looking into the factors behind their existence and interventions, contextualisation is important. The importance of contextualisation is that it can inform the reasons behind the failures of the past and the way forward, for example, the need for regular review of regulations and the importance of participation and collaborative efforts in addressing housing problems. The National Human Development Policy indicates that there are shortcomings in the regulations and need revisions,

Existing building regulations are inflexible and unaffordable; and hence do not encourage people to build, but act as hindrance to potential developers. Moreover, they do not give enough room for the use of new innovations and technology. There are unnecessary delays in the issuance of building permits, thus forcing most developers to build illegally without such permits. At times building contravenes building rules. However, local authorities normally demolish such structures at the expense of the unauthorised developers (NHSDP, 2000:24).

The study indicates that the regulations are still having problems and the flexible revisions that are supposed to have been implemented in the NHDSP have not been realised. People therefore find the existing building regulations to be too rigid and processing of building permit documents cumbersome, discouraging and bureaucratic. Corruption is a factor that can also slow down development and deny people what is supposed to be their right. Other developing countries also face challenges related to corruption: This is as narrated below:

There's another forms of crime that's rampant in the developing world. It's much more insidious and much harder to control...corruption...There's competition over corruption. Every country I visited took a perverse pride in the deep corruption of its public officials. 'No other country steals like they do here,' a Brazilian told me. 'We have maximum corruption,' an Indian argued. 'Everything depends on bribes,' a Turk said. There is no doubt that all these countries are corrupt. But none of them can compete with Kenya (Neuwirth, 2006:273-274).

These statements show that people have been corrupt for a long time, it has therefore become like a way of life. Whenever one is in need of a certain service, he or she is forced to first think on how to overcome the bribe obstacle first instead of directly thinking on how to solve the problem at hand.

9.7 Challenges of having or not having title deeds

The study has revealed that the government has a vision of formalising the existing informal areas and containing them and one of the strategies being issuing of licenses and title deeds. Title deeds could be of help, but on the other hand, may be the solution to informality is not necessarily issuing licenses or title deeds. The study has shown that some informal dwellers invest a lot of money in building permanent buildings in informal areas despite the absence of title deeds. It has also revealed that there is flexibility in the informal development system. People acquire land according to what they need and can afford. When their needs increase, they acquire more land and when the house is not big enough they build more rooms to accommodate the need. Neuwirth (2006) acknowledged this notion when he argues, “But the squatters are building their own homes at a price they can afford, which is a form of efficiency.” According to the study in Makongo, the process of getting a title deed or building permit takes a long time. This indicates that the absence of title deeds and formality favour plot adjustment more as well as incremental building. The theory of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a French socialist who in 1840 published a manifesto called ‘What is Property?’ and the answer ‘Property is robbery’ is discussed by Neuwirth (2006); Proudhon’s was differentiating property and possession and the way value of land can be a source of evil:

He suggests that there’s a difference between property and possession. Property turns land into a commodity: people own land not to use it or because they need it for survival, but simply as an investment. Possession guarantees personal use and control rather than profit. For Proudhon, property, not money, is the root of all evil (Neuwirth, 2006:289).

Questioning private ownership of land, an American egalitarian theorist Henry George as cited by Robert Neuwirth, is challenging the idea of giving land value and converting an element of nature into a commodity that can be bought or sold as if it is a creation of man. He compares land with air and that everyone has an equal right to its use like the way everyone has the right to breathe air. In the same line regarding private ownership of land and land being a commodity, Journalist Ambrose Bierce suggested that the theory that land is property subjected to private ownership and control is the foundation of modern society, where he wrote “Carried to its logical conclusion, it means that some have the right to prevent others from living (Neuwirth, 2006:290).”

Together with the fact that the interest rates demanded by financial institutions are high, they also hesitate to give loans to those without proper reliable collateral. So on the other hand, the existence of title deeds can be of advantage to land developers by helping in accessing loans from financial institutions. De Soto relates title deeds with economic power and compares a house without a title deed with a dead capital due to it not being in a position to be used for collateral (Neuwirth, 2006). The challenge arises in the existence of mixed informal settlement where plots are acquired according to affordability and need. If title deeds are to be provided, will the existing plots which are irregular and in different sizes fit in the requirements of the standards of formal plots? The existing complexity in the plot sizes suggests that the introduction of formal title deeds would require adjustments in plot sizes which again might have negative impact to land owners;

I am not arguing against the squatters who were legalized through pre-emption and homesteading. I am arguing that land in cities is different: to protect and empower squatters there often requires different tools than title deeds...Squatters build and rebuild and build again without a title deed. They don't need one to secure their future. They simply need a sense of control over their homes and a guarantee that they will not be arbitrary evicted...the legal instrument is not important. The political instrument is...it doesn't matter whether you give people title deeds or secure tenure; people simply need to know they won't be evicted. When they know they are secure, they build. They develop. Actual control, not legal control, is the key. Give squatter security and they will develop the cities of tomorrow...when property becomes a commodity it simply means making money we have begun the process that leads to homelessness and abandonment of the social contract to care for each other (Neuwirth, 2006:301-302).

Discussing the option of formalisation and land titles, Mike Davis points out that Payne look at titling as a double edge sword which represents formal incorporation for the owners into the official city but for the lower income people and the tenants, the additional taxes that comes with formalisation may be of disadvantage on their development (Davis,2007:80-81).

The study of Dar es Salaam showed that people who bothered to seek titles for their plots were those who are sure about the development they have done on their plots or what they are intending to develop. They are aware of the expectation and consequences that comes with 'the

formal' including tax issues. For those of lower socio-economic groups, for them having a shelter, and not being under threat of eviction is of more priority than having a title deed.

The current land division practices in mixed informal settlement in the peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam, like Makongo can be related to 'pirate urbanisation' with substandard commercial residential subdivisions (SCRSs) where the subdivider is usually a speculator, or large farmer, a rural commune (for example a Mexican *ejido*) or a customary entity (such as Bedouin tribe of village council). The difference between the land subdivisions in Makongo mixed informal settlement and the pirate urbanisation which characterise edge development in cities like Mexico, Bogota, Sao Paulo, Cairo, Tunis, Harare, Karachi, Manila discussed in Davis (2007:41) is the point that they are subdivided into uniform lots; but other characteristics of SCRSs like low service levels, suburban locations, non-conformity with urban development plans and self-help housing are similar to Makongo situation in this study.

9.8 Borrowing of formalisation ideas from another context

Learning from the potentials that can be extracted in mixed informal settlements, it is important to recognise and use these potentials and find a way to maximise and benefit from what is available and within reach first before trying to get away with them and ignoring their importance or before budgeting for solution that are not affordable or not within immediate reach of those who intend to intervene or to be intervened. An example of an intervention that could be questionable is trying to adopt low income housing options or ideas (i.e. social housing) developed in West, in a context (e.g. Dar es Salaam) that does not have the infrastructure needed to achieve and or support it:

The Third World, often have a freedom of manoeuvre which has been totally lost by the poor of the decaying cities of the rich world, who are deprived of the last shred of personal autonomy...the cities the poor build in Africa or Latin America, enable them to draw on resources that the rich nations have forgotten about...when these centralised systems are used to house the poor, their scale and the limitations of management rule out the essential variety and flexibility of housing options...(Turner, 1976:7).

Turner revealed his reservation on public housing, also Kironde in his interview with Tanzanian Media (TBC1) suggested the same. In the similar situation it is argued that the countries of Uruguay, Chile and Argentina which are the wealthiest in South American countries; faced challenges after copying European socialized service systems. It becomes a problem when a population became dependent on an institutionalized supply system that can no longer be maintained (Turner, 1976:36).

9.9 Influence of family ties on informal housing

The study has shown that living with extended families is a normal practice in Dar es Salaam. Turner (1976) discusses about multinuclear family in his story 'Mama Elena's low income communal household. (Davis, 2007) adds the way customary landownership and clan-ties still exist and about kinship-based housing compound making Ghanaian neighbourhoods economically diverse. Harmony in the multifamily arrangement is achieved through people knowing their roles in the families and in the settlement at large, also understanding the dos and don'ts within the community. The family ties and the practice of accommodating each other just by familiarity grounds that featured in the study shows why it is rare to find homelessness in Dar es Salaam even in times of disasters and crisis. Sometimes the extended families can be a burden or a source of conflict among members of the household if they do not play their roles as expected e.g. doing different chores or contributing in buying food. But, overall, they are like important safety nets for particularly the urban poor.

9.10 Crime in informal settlements

When discussing informality, it is difficult to avoid the subject of crime. Order and formality are sometimes associated with less crime. There are cities like Harere, Lusaka, Dhaka, and Jakarta, which made a plan to demolish slums as a means of fighting crime. Authorities considered them as threat to safety because of their invisibility to the states surveillance areas that lacked proper monitoring systems (Davis, 2007:111,113). The study has suggested that the people in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam have their ways of dealing with crime. A place being informal does not necessarily mean it is unsafe. An example of such situation is discussed by a *favela* resident in Rocinha Brazil:

I feel safe here, Washington (*a person's name*) said. "I only feel scared when I go to the rest of the city. One can fight in Rocinha. If you have a fight, you can get, well, not necessarily killed, but hurt (*because fighting can alert police which smugglers do not want*). If you leave your knapsack somewhere, people will return it, if you leave a bucket of money, if you leave your wallet in a restaurant, people will return it to you. If you lose your wallet in Copacabana (*contrast to favelas*), forget about seeing it again: it's gone (Neuwirth, 2006: 258-259).

Makongo residents in Dar es Salaam talked about community night patrol (*sungusungu*) and familiarity and the way they keep their eyes open on strangers and suspected criminals. This has helped promote safety in the area; that is why apart from petty theft, there are few serious criminal cases in the areas.

9.11 Compromises in solving informal housing problem

The study has shown that people dwelling in informal settlements, in some way 'want it all', something which is difficult to achieve in or be fulfilled in one context. For instance, people want to have; freedom; spontaneity; flexibility; peace; harmony; privacy; traceability (e.g. being able to have physical addresses whereby for example letters can be delivered direct on the doorstep), security; proper infrastructure, order, minimum interference or freedom of constructing a house at own pace etc. The study has shown that while these suggest varying individual expectation and interest, prioritisation is critical. Therefore an individual has to make compromises or choices of what are the key or priority concerns.

Similarly solving problems associated with land, housing and informality requires prioritisation on the part of government which has to provide most of the resources required.

10. CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

10.1 Conclusions

This study was conducted with the aim of exploring the nature of potentials and challenges posed by the existence of mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam; it involved an assessment of what could be done to optimise utilisation of the potentials and mitigation of conflicts. The study was done through looking into what gives rise to the emergence of mixed socio-economic groups i.e. low, middle and high income informal settlements; how mixed socio-economic groups influence settlement growth and quality of the physical environment; potential, challenges and conflict resolution processes in mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements and how to minimise them. Using a case study strategy, the study was conducted in Dar es Salaam city focussing on Makongo mixed informal settlement. Information was collected through documentary analysis, analysis of photos and maps, observations, media reports, interviews using guided questions, and photographic registration. Consistent with the research objectives, the essential results of the key research questions for this study were:

Firstly, regarding **what gives rise to the emergence of mixed socio-economic groups (low, middle and high income) in informal settlements**; it was revealed that mixed informal settlements are a product of uncoordinated efforts of many people. These efforts lead to the developments of informal (mixed) to occur at a speed, faster than the capacity of the authorities to regulate and coordinate them. The government's speed of planning and providing serviced and surveyed plots is lower than the demand for land. People with money are driven by the demand of housing to invest without waiting for proper guidance. Due to flexibility inherent in the development of informal settlements, mixed land uses emerge i.e. flexibility in use, the size one can buy and development conditions. Also these settlements tend to be near sources of livelihoods for example higher learning institutions. Persons are also being attracted to a subsisting land tenure system which is secure as it is closely associated with social norms of the community. Primarily because, his or her rights of land one has over 'without a title or a letter of offer' are secured by the local community including local leaders and neighbouring settlers.

Access to land in informal settlements does not involve red-tape, bribe or corruption which increases costs hence efficient. Actors involved in land transactions involve buyers, sellers, *Mtaa* executive officers, *Wajumbe*, neighbours, brokers and witnesses.

Mixed informal settlements are also a result of the nature of social, cultural and political system in Tanzania which does not encourage discrimination among people based on their ethnicity, economic status. Extension of urban boundaries was another reason; inclusion of people in the periphery when city boundaries are extended hence a variety of plot sizes and house types owned by low, middle and high income persons end up being incorporated in the city.

Secondly, on the subject of **how do mixed socio-economic groups influence settlement growth and quality of the physical environment and their consequences on the everyday life of residents**; it was revealed that the physical environment in mixed informal settlements is shaped by houses that are occupied by owners, tenants or a mixture of owners and tenants in a unit, compound or plot. The number of people in one household may range from three to twenty composed of nuclear and extended families.

Building materials that were used to construct houses in mixed informal settlements include, mud, poles, timber or concrete blocks, for walls; wire mesh, timber, aluminium frames and glass for doors and windows; corrugated iron sheets and tiles for roofing. Number of floors ranged from one to three. Fences around some plots could be observed. People fence their property for different reasons including security, privacy, portraying status (prestige) and boundary identification.

Incremental building is a common practice. The pace of building construction depends on affordability. One can observe people living in unfinished buildings; also one plot can have separate structures for different activities for example a toilet or kitchen separate from the main house. In some cases additional rooms may be created to provide space for income generating activities, for example shops. Spaces for recreational activities for example playing space for children was rare to find in these settlements. Adults mostly meet in bars, social clubs or football grounds which are not up to standard.

People in mixed informal settlements however face problems in accessing important services and public facilities. In Makongo mixed informal settlement, the main problems relate to access to potable water, solid waste management, sanitation and waste water management. Plot accessibility was a challenge and the quality of the main roads was not good. Scarcity of educational and health facilities was also noted.

Thirdly, the study also revealed that **potentials, challenges and conflict resolution processes in mixed socio-economic income groups in informal settlements**; relies on social norms which are not too strict and allow room for flexibility. The dos and don'ts that people use to operate are not necessarily documented hence making it difficult to pass or hand them over to new comers or another generation. The study has revealed that informal operations are ingrained not only in housing but also in other aspects of urban life including income generating activities to an extent that it looks like a normal thing or practice in everyday life. It is difficult for government to institute stringent land development regulations in such areas, primarily because they are unplanned. As a result, people build haphazardly. *Mtaa* office is not equipped and empowered to carry out building or land inspections compounding the problem of haphazard and uncoordinated land development in informal settlements. Provision of some of the infrastructure services and public facilities has been realised through collaboration among community members.

Potentials of mixed informal settlements include; availability of land according to affordability or need. People help each other by using various networks created. Mixed informal settlements can slow down processes of gathering community members or mobilising people for events like striking. Disadvantages of mixed informal settlements include; the challenge of improving or upgrading of infrastructure, if it supposed include demolition, compensation costs is high due to high value of property. Some plots are too small or overcrowded, for infrastructure provision also improvement becomes difficult. People of different socio-economic groups have different needs and perceive local problems differently.

Although people coexist in mixed informal settlements, conflicts do exists. Some conflicts originate from land development practices including, blocking of a roads or paths by fence construction; subdividing and changing of farms into plots without indicating and insisting to

plot buyers where roads or paths are supposed to be. Other practices are road expansion necessitating demolition; cattle eating a neighbour's crops, land encroachment, purposely shifting of plot boundaries, and boundary evidence loss (for example if the boundary evidence was trees or bushes). Other conflicts originate from lack of proper sanitation and waste water management systems. Conflict resolution processes is through informal system i.e. mediation between the two parties or negotiations involving elders (*Wazee*); another way is through reporting to *Mjumbe* then *Mtaa* office; if the case is not resolved it can reach the court. There are other cases that are handled in Land Councils (*Mabaraza ya Ardhi*).

Regarding the question **how these challenges emerging from the socio-economic heterogeneity in informal settlements can be checked or minimised** the study suggests that attempts by the authorities concerned to handle informal settlements for example planning surveying new plots, formalisation or compensation and relocation are challenged by lack of adequate resources and in some cases lack of political will. People continue to build, extend the city boundaries forcing the government to use the little resources available to survey land that is further away from the CBD leaving patches of un-surveyed land in-between. Sprawling city development creates a challenge to infrastructure provision and increases the driving distance to urban dwellers who depend on the CBD for their activities; hence making the newly surveyed areas less attractive.

Cooperation is needed among financial institutions, government institutions, private sector, professionals, non-governmental institutions, political leaders, research institutions, policy makers and training institutions in solving problems relating to housing and land development especially mixed informal settlements. What can be done is highlighted in the recommendation (section 10.2).

10.2 Recommendations

In a country that the majority of urban dwellers are housed by the informal sector and where majority of housing construction is executed on individual basis using individual savings, there is an importance for admitting that the problem of housing is out of hand and it is a reality that

should be addressed and handled in the best way possible. The first part gives recommendations derived from responses from different stakeholders who participated in the study.

Alternative options on handling mixed informal settlements

The growth of Dar es Salaam is complex and is not limited to only mixed informal settlements. It is a complex process involving many forces, and actors and contexts. One of the major challenges is how to handle built informal areas in a manner that ensures minimum destruction of people's properties. Looking at the size of the city and its rapid growth, one is tempted to question the way it is being governed. Is the governing structure really able to handle it? Reservations of this were aired by an architect and expert in urban development in Dar es Salaam¹⁴⁴.

Different people have different needs and capacities (low, middle, high income people). The stakeholders ought to be involved in the decisions that concern their housing regardless of their socio-economic status. The Government ought to ensure that none of them is segregated or marginalised. All should be given an opportunity to participate in development. An appropriate institutional structure should be considered to enhance this. Local leadership and community participation are important to handle implementation. Again there is a challenge when people have to participate. Elites may raise arguments and challenge the proposals of the government. For example Makongo settlers in 1992 opposed the plan by the Government (then Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development) to change use of land for Makongo by imposing a layout plan. Makongo settlers sent an appeal against the Government's decision to declare their settlement planning area. Government went ahead and in 1993 prepared a layout but it was not implemented (see Appendix 13 and 15).

During an interview with a planning officer working for the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development she insisted that the role of *Mtaa* leadership should be enhanced, in land development matters. Already they are working and that they should be recognised and supported. They should be empowered, if they were given the plans which are collecting dust in shelves at the ministry's offices, waiting for action, they could be in a better position to monitor their implementation, than Municipality or higher levels institutions e.g. the

¹⁴⁴ Interview (conducted in January, 2012) with an Architect who did a research on the City of Dar es Salaam and its Development. At the time of the study he was also a lecturer in the Department of Architecture at Ardhi University.

Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development. The *Mtaa* leaders should also be involved in formulating by-laws; for example they should help improve roads in the settlement. They should also be involved in educating, sensitizing and awareness creating among members of local communities and leaders on the importance of designating enough space between two buildings to allow access. For example, there should be access road or feeder road in all settlements. The real capacity of managing land development in informal settlements should be at the Wards and *Mtaa* (Sub-Wards) levels, where people are living and where they are witnessing day-to-day activities of the people to include transfer of land, development and collection of waste. Actors in the built environment need to change; professional, government leaders, political leaders, the public, need to change their mindset; and appreciate, recognise, value, and see the importance of planning from below. Most importantly, enabling and working with grassroots actors at the Ward and *Mtaa* levels is critical. Also NGO's CBO's that are working in those areas should be involved.

Further the planning officer observed that any meaningful land development must plan for infrastructure provision especially roads, water and electricity. Basic infrastructure becomes so difficult to install or provide once a settlement is developed and has reached booming stage; and or poses more serious problem if some people have to sacrifice their land to allow infrastructure to be installed.

Professionals require the support from people in power, to implement their plans in the communities. Educating the public is important, for them to appreciate what they should or should not do (right and wrong) in informal land development process e.g. not to develop a plot without provision for adequate accessibility and areas for basic facilities such as toilets, pit latrine or solid waste collection area.

In order to promote formal land development, the government need to be prepared, especially logistically and financially before housing improvement or development projects are undertaken. People are disappointed when a project is initiated but not or properly executed. They desist projects which adversely affect their housing or lead to unfair un-compensation or evacuations. One example is the speech by the Minister of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement

Development which gave an impression to Makongo dwellers that the Government is planning to better the living situation of Makongo people especially in matters that bother them like improving (tarmac) roads and potable water supply. The idea was to implement the project within 2-3 years i.e. before current government's term in office ends in 2015. Considering the fact that the Minister also owns property in Makongo area, people expected faster fulfilment of the promise. Land and housing matter are delicate matters that concern sensitive private property rights; care is needed by all including politicians, in handling them.

New ideas out to be communicated to stake holders from the very beginning and not imposed to stakeholders during implementation stage. If development of a land involves relocation, location where people are to be resettled should be identified and prepared, provided with basic services. To reduce complaints people who are affected (e.g. whose houses are to be demolished) ought to be informed well in advance, so as to refrain from further improvements.

Looking at the Makongo settlement, no matter what is happening development wise, the value of property is increasing due to particularly increased demand for accommodation for nearby University students (Dar es Salaam and Ardhi University). It should be noted that people who have settled and lived in Makongo for such a long time i.e. university and army related employees cannot easily move out of the area. Many including their second generation still prefer to stay in Makongo and are indeed building there wherever there is an opportunity.

From the foregoing discussions, the following recommendations are made to specific actors:

To the government

The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development is expected to address the housing problem in Tanzania; it should be given financial priority by the government, and the activities involved should be funded so that they can be executed for example surveying new plots, compensating people who are to be relocated or implementing formalisation programmes with least adverse impacts to the people affected.

Private developers should not be ignored; rather government should find ways to create better environments for them to operate efficiently. Also it should encourage, and guide them whenever possible by showing the proper way to invest their money on land. Individual land developers should be supported and conditions should be relaxed to assist them; for example if they want to formalise their plot privately, the process should not be long and tedious. There should be transparency and issues of corruption and red-tape should be stopped from happening. Private developers are not necessarily rich. Some of them are low income people who make sacrifices in their attempt to address the housing problem in urban areas by housing themselves and building units/rooms for renting to others.

Informal settlements should be addressed according to their varying socio-economic and physical (not to be handled as homogeneous group). The study has shown that they exist in different forms, including those with predominantly low income; those with predominantly middle income people and those with a mixture of people of low, middle and high income socio-economic groups.

There is an importance of contextualising informality instead of imposing solutions from other contexts. Physical location, and conditions, political and institutional contexts, legislative and regulative conditions, social, cultural and economic conditions are critical.

Local authorities

Local authorities for example *Mtaa* leadership, Ward Land Tribunals (*Mabaraza ya Adrdhi*) and *Mjumbe*; should be empowered and enabled through human and financial resources so that they can help in implementing plans set by higher authorities as well as handling conflicts arising among residents i.e. creating a bottom-up and participatory approach of land governance. The unwritten dos and don'ts that help and make the informal settlements habitable and that create harmony and coexistence in the variety and different creativities should be recognised, supported and assisted in implementation rather than ignoring them.

Financial institutions

Financial institutions should create an environment which will help and encourage investors or private developers to access and borrow money from them, for example by giving lower interest rates.

Media and information technology

Media, social- networks and technology advancement is the way of life in the modern world. The role of media e.g. television, radio, internet, news papers and the like should be recognised and nourished so that it can be utilised to the maximum for educational programmes and other matters related to land development.

NGOs and CBOs

NGOs and CBOs operating at grassroots level should be recognised and supported so that they can assist and contribute toward creating solutions to problems in the settlements. Sometimes it is important to work with communities and know what they want, what their priorities are, and what they need; otherwise a project may fail.

Urban dwellers

Urban dwellers should also learn about basic legal matters; they should not wait until they have problems or conflicts to learn the law and especially what their rights are as far as land issues are concerned. Also people should learn about the tenure status and know the history of a particular piece of land before purchasing.

Researchers

Due to the reality at hand which indicates the predominance of informal settlements as a housing solution for the majority of urban dwellers, there is a need for efforts to invest more studies on understanding informal settlements and their complexities. Also looking for ways to work with them and integrate them than to invest efforts on looking for ways to oppose and eliminate them. Further research on this area is as presented in section 10.3

10.3 Areas for further research

This study on housing interventions and its influence on urban development: opportunities and challenges in mixed informal settlements in Dar es Salaam Tanzania, was limited to issues that dealt with factors that give rise to emergence of mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements; The Settlement growth and quality of the physical environment; potential and challenges in mixed informal settlements including conflict and their resolution processes. The findings from the study imply that there are other issues that are out of the scope of this study but also linked to it. The following are areas for further research which could be explored in order to gain deeper understanding of the issues that could not be addressed in this study.

Influence of land inheritance practices on land development

Among issues that were discussed in the study included land tenure and land acquisition. Inheritance was one of modes of accessing land. Culturally inheritance of land has been a practice exercised by different rural tribes in Tanzania. People subdivide land (mostly in the villages) and grant their children for housing. For patrimonial tribes, often only males can inherit land but for other tribes, daughters inherit land too. Given the high rural-urban migration, with many settling in cities up to old age, and their children and grandchildren end up not having direct connection to the villages; what happens to the land in the village?

The difference between governing the predictable and the unpredictable

Due to flexibility and freedom in informal settlement, it is not easy to predict what will happen next in terms of land development. The study focused on mixed informal settlements but also highlighted the existence of formal settlements. For the case of Dar es Salaam, the study showed that although even informal settlements have a formal leadership (e.g. *Mjumbe*). A comparative study has to be done to look into the difference the governing bodies face in these different scenarios of urban land development.

Housing finance in mixed informal settlements

The study discussed the way mixed informal settlement develop but did not look into details of source of housing finance. A study has to be done to seek knowledge on how to get reliable,

challenges people in the mixed informal settlement face, when struggling to finance housing development especially in the absence of title deeds which could be used as collateral.

The influence of the mixture in tenancy to the social-structure and ties with a neighbourhood

The study has shown that there is an existence of not only socio-economically mixed settlements but also a mixture of house owners and people who rent accommodation which could be from a single room to a whole house. Some of people who rent stay in the same compound with their landlords and others live far from their landlords. If it is considered that owning land creates a sense of permanency and attachment to a particular space or location. But what influence does the temporariness of the tenants have to the community lives and attachments of a society?

Cost effect of incremental land development

The study has suggested that evolution has been taking place in land development. Some people change in terms of economic status, interests or family sizes and so do the sizes of land and houses; some people sell out land and others buy more land. All these happen in different spaces and time. A question here is what are the cost effects of incremental building?

The influence of extended families on housing construction

The study has revealed that it is difficult not to consider the factor of extended families when finding ways to solve urban housing problems in Tanzania. The country does not yet have capacity including infrastructure to accommodate housing needs for all home-seekers. Movement of relatives and friends in and out of houses in the city can be either predictable or unpredictable. A research is required to look into details the dynamics in space use and changes with in-migration and out-migration.

Job dynamics and housing

It was discovered during the study that some people decided to live in a particular location because of issues related to their social and economic context; i.e. proximity to their employment places. Some people get accommodation attached to their jobs e.g. those in military, public institution, banks, etc. It is therefore important to find out where elderly persons who have retired

wish to live (a situation where retired persons are accommodated in old people's homes is not a practice in Tanzania), and whether or not they contribute to the informality in housing.

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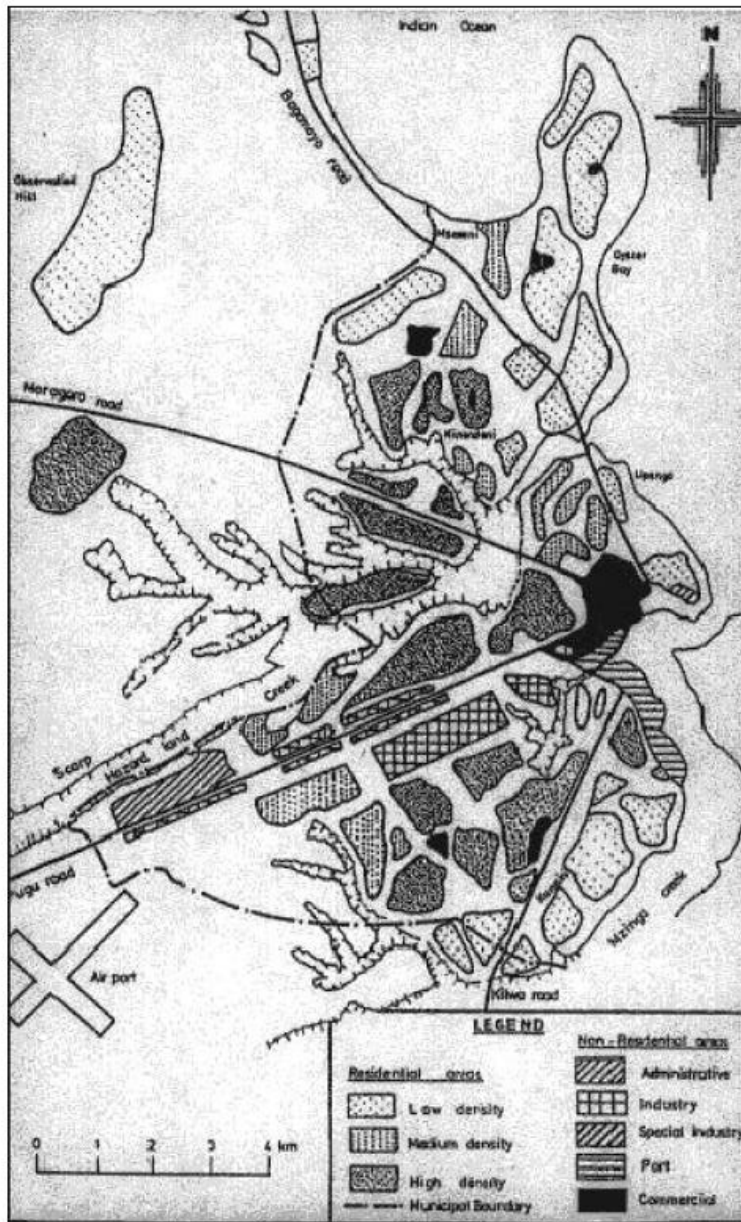
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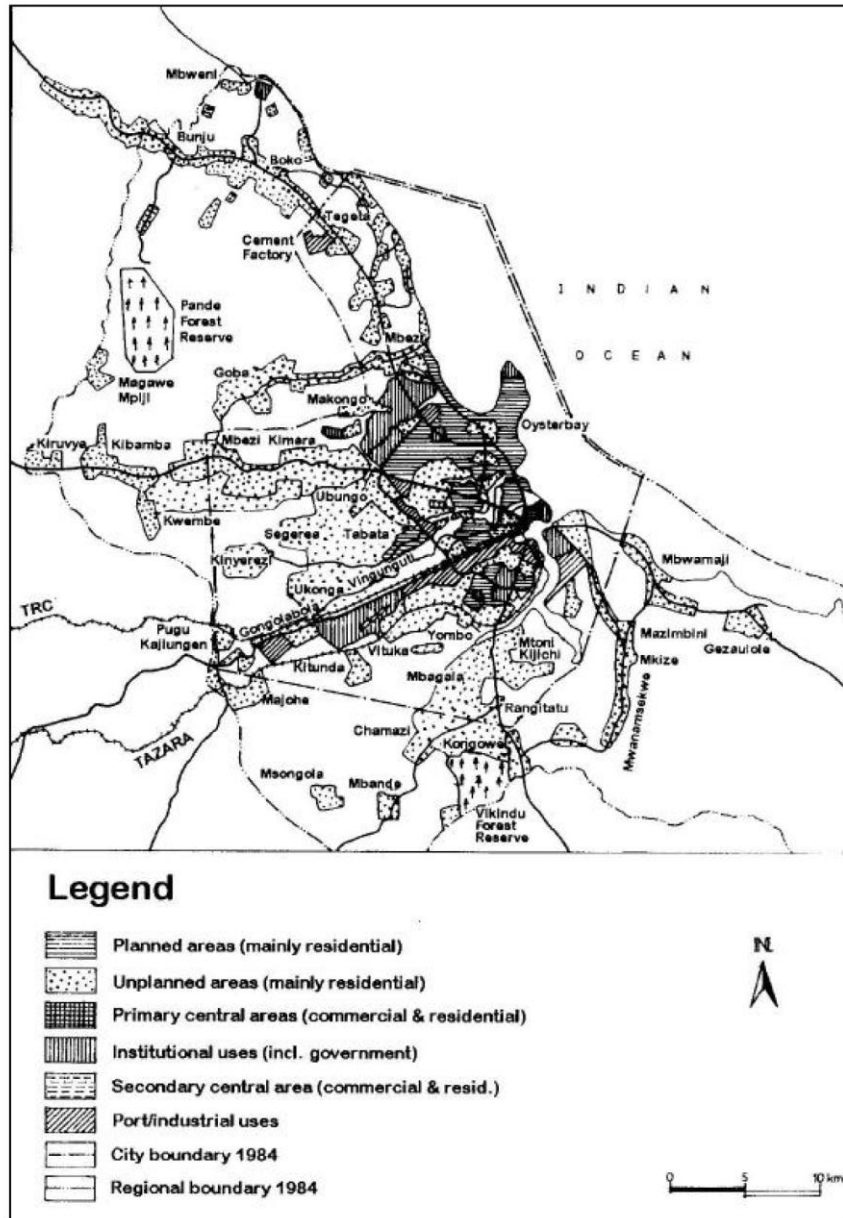
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Appendix 2: Dar es Salaam land use plan in 1949



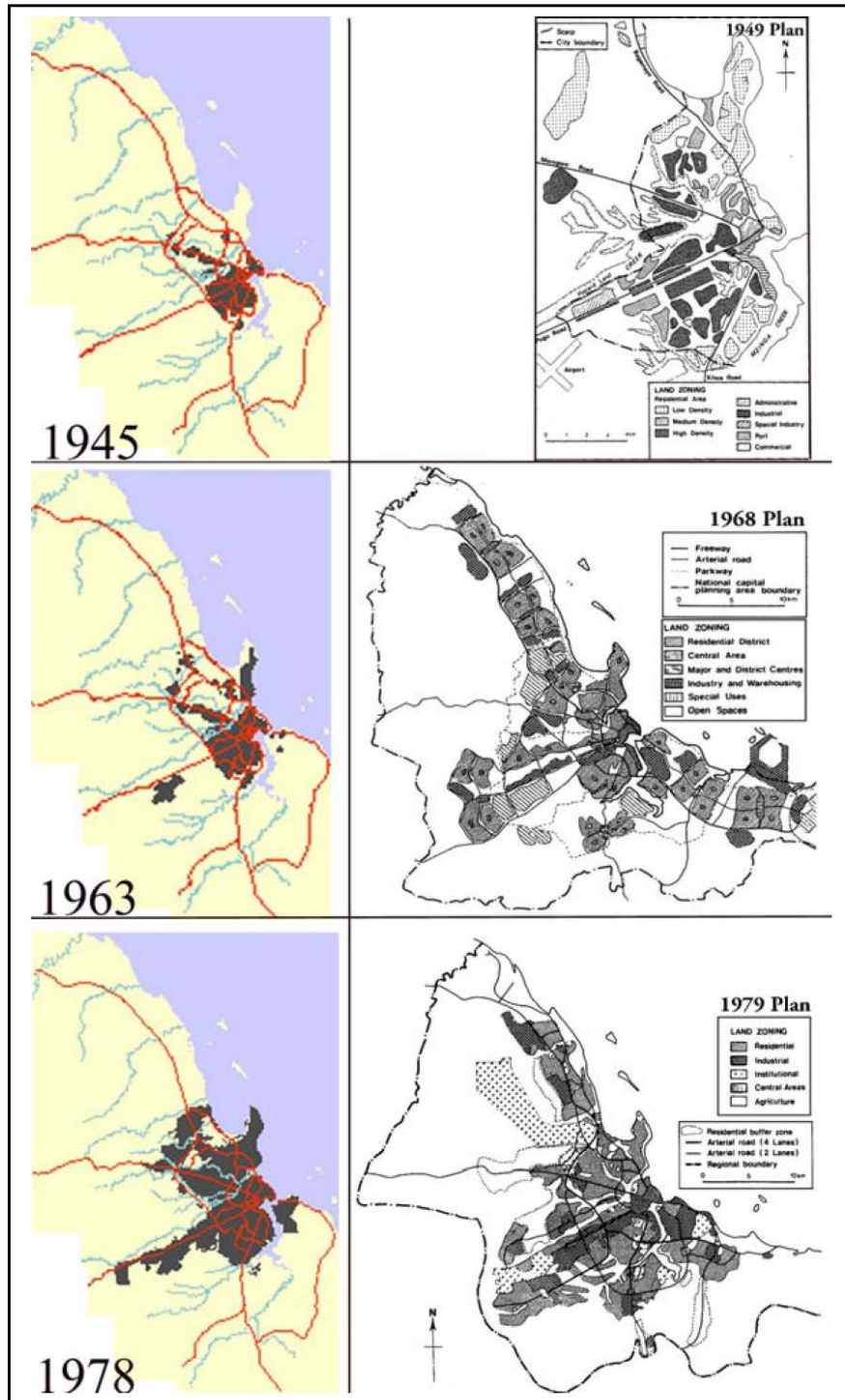
(source: Adopted from Nguluma 2004)

Appendix 3: Extent of informal and formal in the city of Dar es Salaam in the 1990s



Source: Nguluma, (2004)

Appendix 4: Dar es Salaam growth and Master Plans



Source: Uisso (1975); Armstrong (1987b); Briggs and Mwanfupe (2000); Masanja (2002) in Sliuzas, (2011:86)

Appendix 4 b: Summary of the main features of Dar es salaam Master plans

PLAN PERIOD	PLANNING AREA	POPULATION (Actual/ Projected)	TITLE & CONSULTANT
1949-1969	84 Sq Km	69,227 / 200,000	A PLAN FOR DAR ES SALAAM: REPORT Sir Alexander Gibbs & Ptnrs, London (Funded by BRITAIN)
MAJOR PLANNING CONCEPTS Zoning functions; Zoning of residential area according to density & races; Neighbourhood units; Breeze lanes; Open spaces; Street layouts, density and building standards.			
1968-1989	404 Sq Km	272,515 / 1,000,000	NATIONAL CAPITAL MASTER PLAN: DAR ES SALAAM MAIN PLAN REPORT Project Planning Associates Ltd., Toronto (Funded by CANADA)
MAJOR PLANNING CONCEPTS Plan 2000 (long range concept) systems approach; Hierarchical modular urban structure including neighbourhood units; Satellite sub-cities city region planning; Green belt; Parkways; Landscape corridors; Open space provision; Sector strategies; Five-year capital works programme.			
1979-1999	448 Sq Km	849,000 / 2,368,000	THE DAR ES SALAAM MASTER PLAN: SUMMARY, MAIN REPORT Marshall, Macklin, Monaghan Ltd., Toronto (Funded by Sweden (?))
MAJOR PLANNING CONCEPTS			
FLEXIBILTY i.e.;; Population attained rather than target years; Hierarchical urban structure based on planning module; Sub-classification of residential areas/ recognition of squatter areas; Participation of implementing agencies; Detailed implementation programme including priority projects.			

Source: Mushumbusi, 2011

Appendix 5: List of laws providing regulatory frameworks in Tanzania

LIST OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING PROPERTY RIGHTS IN TANZANIA

1. The Land Acquisition Act, 1967
2. The Land Act, 1999
3. The Land Act 1999 Executive Regulations, 2001
4. The Village Land Act, 1999
5. The Village Land Regulations 2001.
6. Land Survey Ordinance (Cap 390)
7. The Land Survey (General) Regulations 1959.
8. Land Registration Ordinance Cap 334, 1954
9. The Land Registration Rules 1954
10. Registration of Documents Ordinance Cap 70, 1923
11. The Registration of Documents rules. 1956 (amended in 1966)
12. National Housing Corporation Act, 1990
13. Rent Restriction Act, 1984
14. The Regional Housing Tribunal Regulations 1990
15. The Local Authority Elections Act, 1979
16. The Local Government (District Authorities) Act, 1982
17. The Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act, 1982
18. The Local Government Authorities (Decoration of Buildings), 1968
19. The Local Government Negotiating Machinery Act, 1982
20. The Regional Administration Act, 1997
21. The Urban Authority (Rating) Act, 1983
22. Town and Country Planning Ordinance Cap 378, 1956
23. The Town and Country Planning (modification of Planning schemes) regulations. 1964.
24. The Township (Building) rules. (Cap 101) 1953.
25. Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Regulations, 1960 as amended in 1993
26. Town and Country Planning (Space Standards) Regulations, 1997
27. Forest Act, 2002 (N° 14)
28. The Mining Act (N° 15, 1998
29. The Public Lands (Preserved Areas) Ordinance Cap 338
30. Game Ordinance (Cap 159)
31. Game Park Laws (Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, No. 14, 1975
32. Notaries Public and Commissioner for Oaths Ordinance. (Cap 12) 1928.
33. Advocates Ordinance Cap 341
34. Magistrates Courts Act No. 2, 1984
35. The Courts (Land Disputes Settlements) Act, 2002
36. The Judicature and Application of Laws Act. 1961 (Cap 358)
37. The local Customary Law (Declaration) Orders
38. The Probate and Administration of States Act (Cap 352)
39. Administration (Small Estates) Ordinance Cap 30, 1922
40. The Probate Rules. 1963
41. The Transfer and Delegation of Powers Act 1962 (Chap 362)
42. The National Land Use Planning Commission Act, 1984
43. The interpretation of Laws Act 1996

Source: (URT, 2005)

Appendix 6: Procedures to allocate land for urban use and to obtain a building permit

Laws and regulations applicable

- Land Act No. 4 of 1999
- Land Registration Ordinance (cap 344) of 1954
- Land Acquisition Act of 1967
- Town and Country planning Ordinance (cap 378) of 1956, revised in 1961
- Land Surveying Ordinance (cap 390) of 1957
- Local Government (Urban Authority) Act 1982
- Public Health (Sewerage and Drainage) Ordinance (cap 336) of 1950
- The Land (Conditions of Rights of Occupancy) Regulations 2001 Section 6
- The township (building) Rules (cap 101)

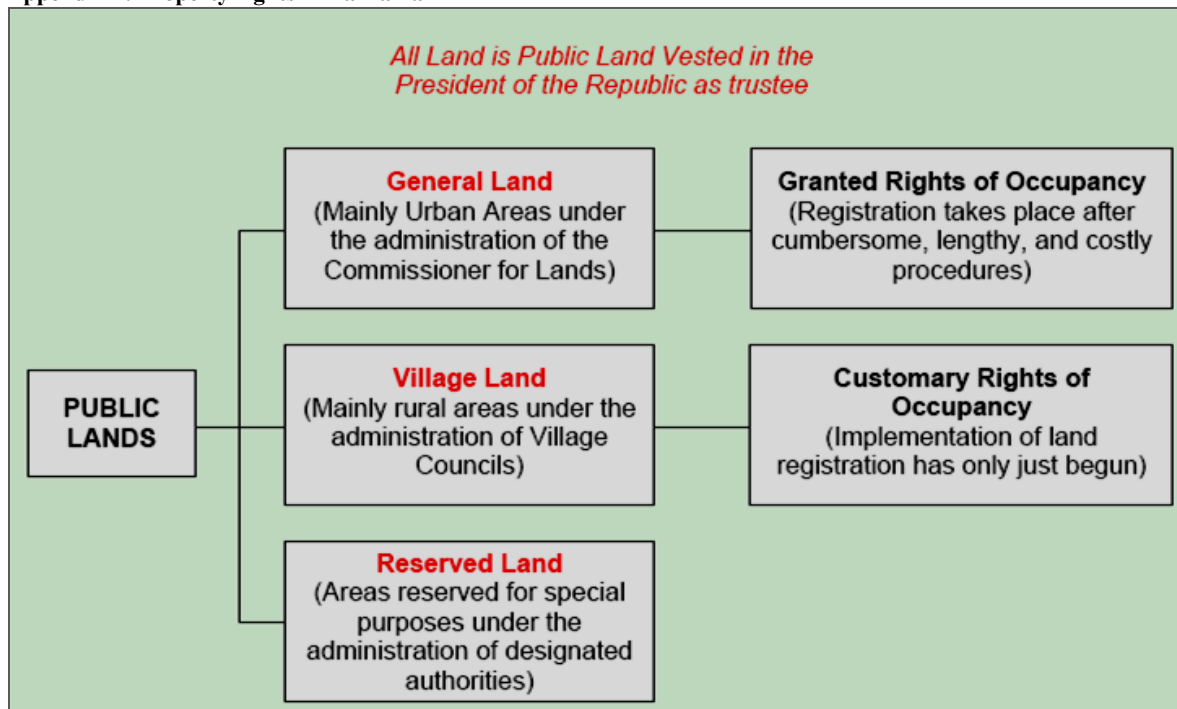
Entities / institutions involved

- Town Planning Section at the Municipality, under the Planning and Coordination Office headed by the Municipal Town Planning Officer
- The Land Delivery Office at the Land Development Services Division at the Ministry of Lands
- Human Settlement Department at the Ministry of Lands
- Minister of Land
- Government gazette
- Property Valuation Agency at the Ministry of Lands
- Ward Executive Officer of the locality

- District and Regional Commissioner
- Land Development Department at Municipality (Authorized Land Officer)
- Treasury
- Municipal cashier
- Area Planning Committee for Infrastructure and Human Settlement at the Municipality
- Planning and Coordination Office
- Human Settlements Development Division
- Surveys and Mapping Unit of the Urban Planning Section under the Planning and Coordination Department
- Surveys and Mapping Division at the Ministry of Lands
- Land Commissioner
- Registrar of titles in the Land Ministry
- Municipal Town Planning Committee (deals with the application for the building permit and the approval or denial of the application)
- Authorized Land Officer in the Land Development Section
- The municipal architect in the Planning and Coordination Department (approve the building plan)
- Consultant/licensed architect (who prepares the building plan)
- The applicant
- The Municipal Planning and Coordination Department (deals with the evaluation of the entire plan)
- The Municipal Health Department (deals with waste management and drainage system)

Source: URT; 2005).

Appendix 7: Property rights in Tanzania

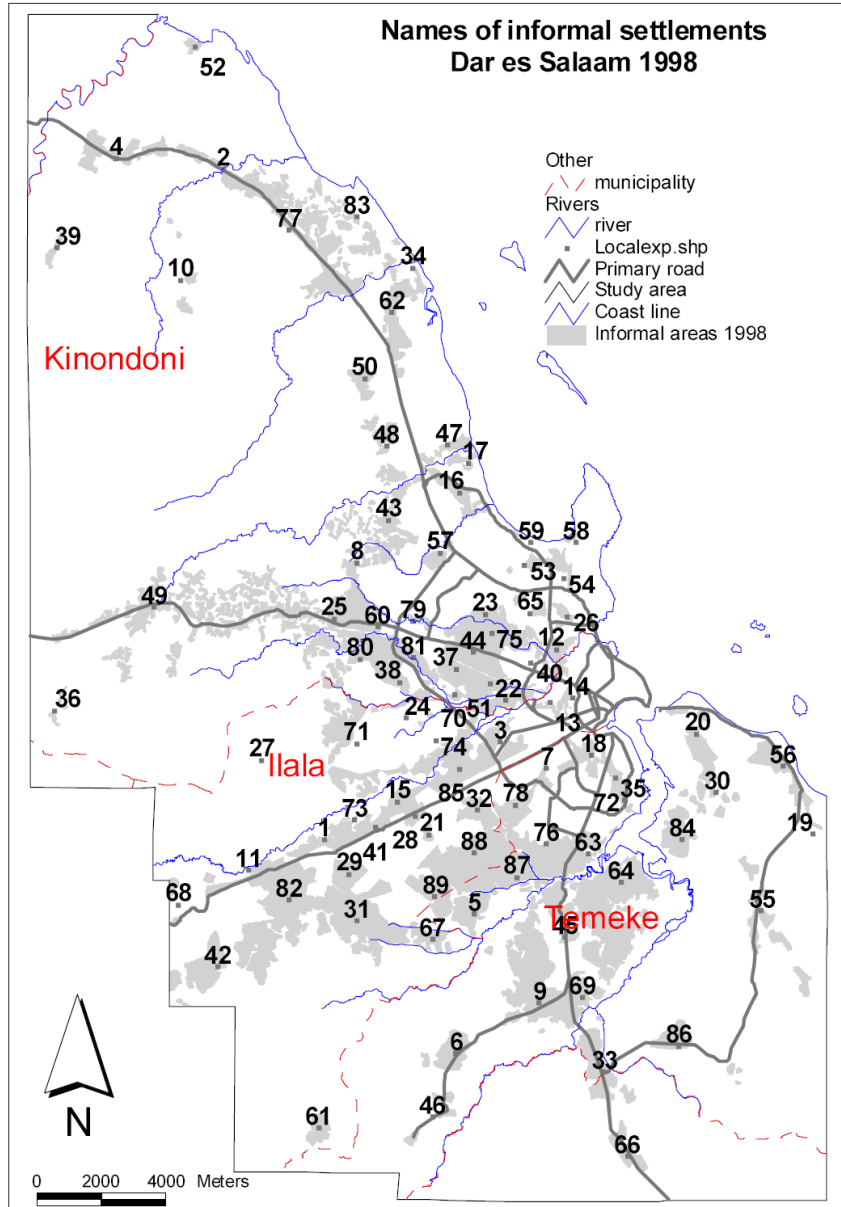


Source: URT; (2005) in Salehe (2007)

Appendix 8: List of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam

No	Name	No	Name
31	Kitunda	61	Msongola
32	Kiwalani	62	Mtongani
33	Kongowe	63	Mtoni
34	Kunduchi	64	Mtoni_Kijichi
35	Kurasini	65	Mwananyamala
36	Kwembe	66	Mwandege
37	Mabibo	67	Nyantira
38	Mabibo_External	68	Pugu_Kajiugeni
39	Mabwe_Pande	69	Rangi_Tatu
40	Magomeni	70	Ruhanga
41	Majaumbasita	71	Segerea
42	Majohe	72	Shimo_la_Udongo
43	Makongo	73	Sitakishari
44	Manzese	74	Tabata
45	Mbagala	75	Tandale
46	Mbande	76	Tandika
47	Mbezi	77	Tegeta
48	Mbezi_Juu	78	Temeke
49	Mbezi_Luisi	79	Ubungo
50	Mbezi_Salasala	80	Ubungo_Kibangu
51	Mburahati	81	Ubungo_Kisiwani
52	Mbweni	82	Ukonga
53	Mikocheni	83	Uninio
54	Mikoroshoni	84	Vijebweni
55	Mizimbini/Mkize	85	Vingunguti
56	Mjimwema	86	Yasemwayo
57	Mlalakuwa	87	Yombo_Dovya
58	Msasani	88	Yombo_Kipawa
59	Msasani_Village	89	Yombo_Vituka
60	Msewe/Kibo		

Appendix 9: Location of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam



(Source: Sliuzas; 2004)

Appendix 10: Questions used to get information

Interview guides

A). Questions to experts on urban land development

1. Why do you think mixed (high, middle and low income) informal settlements exist in Dar es Salaam?
2. Do you think the existence of mixed informal settlements is a potential (positive) or challenge (negative) phenomenon? Why?
3. How do you think the Informal systems operate? Do they have their do's and don'ts?
4. How do you think the dwellers in mixed informal settlements air their problems or resolve their conflicts?
5. What policies are expected to address the existence of mixed informal settlements?
6. What is your opinion on the current policies regarding contributing to/ accommodating/tolerating/addressing the existence of mixed informal settlements
7. What do you think the government is doing about this situation (existence of mixed informal settlements)?
8. On your opinion what do you think is the best way to handle mixed informal settlements in terms of governance?
9. Do you have any further important issue on the matter you would like to contribute that have not been asked?

Q = Question, A=Answer

Example of interview response (interview with Mr. Simba – Male, Lecturer Ardhi University Land Management and Valuation, (38:52 min)

Q: First of all why do you think mixed informal settlement exist in Dar es Salaam?

A: Informal settlements are a making of several factors. One is the absence of planned surveyed land. Two is lack of required size of the required size of planned surveyed land. Three is the sizes of the plots in general. Some people want bigger plots than what is necessary. The old unplanned settlements, this statement is not true. Old settlements like Keko, Buguruni, Manzese, people do not have big plots. But the new unplanned settlements have bigger plots. And in actual fact they are not occupied by people of low income. Places like Makongo, places like Kimara, Mbezi Makabe, these are places you find a person having an acre, 2 acres, they don't call them farms but they call them plots. They are supper low density so to say.

Q: Do you think the existence of mixed informal settlements is a potential or negative phenomenon as far as your opinion is concerned?

A: What do you mean by potential phenomena?

Q: I mean is it a positive thing?

A: Certainly informal settlements are there to stay for quite some time, in our large cities Tanzania for example, places like Dar es salaam, almost 70% of the built up areas is unplanned; which is accommodating again 70% of the population. Places like Arusha they have informal settlements but not as big as Dar es Salaam. And the situation in Dar es Salaam is not of much difference from that of Mwanza. The hills forming Mwanza all dotted with unplanned settlements, all of them. You can talk slightly of Mbeya too, the eastern part where the town is developing. The eastern part and the eastern and the north-east part of Mbeya.

Q: But do that kind of settlements suite the use of the people in those kinds of settlements?

A: Basically it is not so much conducive particularly in the old neighbourhoods, the old townships like Buguruni as I am saying in Dar es Salaam. The old township of Tandale, Kwa tumbo, or a place like Manzese, but there is a slight a very small difference between Makongo unplanned settlement and the places of Masaki. People have taken pain to put up their own services, major services infrastructure like roads are the hindrance, but electricity people are doing it. And of late I have noted for example in Manzese, or Mbezi Makabe, people are drilling deep wells 200 metres deep using their own money. We are not saying it is a good way of handling life...no...the government owes to provide these. Owe to provide water, owe to provide energies, owe to provide health facilities, but that is the position.

Q: And how do you think the informal systems operate. Does it mean that its operation has a negative impact or positive impact in their social lives?

A: Changes are taking place. In the 60's and 70's, to mid 80's, unplanned settlements were places not to be visited by a decent man. But of late, the new unplanned settlements are homes for even ministers; sorry to say but even our own minister responsible for Lands is living in unplanned area and our formal minister even for lands. She was living also in unplanned area. So no wonder there are several ministers in these new unplanned areas.

Q: So what characteristics have made it to be a place that can be a place for a decent person?

A: It depends, location...some of these newly developed areas they have a terrain which is attractive, and the terrain is good. For example Mbezi Makabe is a good area with a good terrain. Makonogo with the development technology and architectural development, construction on hills and valleys is no problem, people have decent housing. They construct roads and they access themselves to their homes; so location and the neighbourhood in general. You find a good number of these people are socially or

more equal, educational wise, income wise they are slightly equal and an element of political association and affiliation is very good is common to these people.

Q: What are the characteristics which can be depicted from mixed informal settlements?

A: Quite often I should say low income earners in unplanned settlements are very much found in wetlands so to say in Valleys. And they have small plots. Accessibility is a problem in these neighbourhoods with low income earners. A lot of services are lacking, refuse disposal is a problem in these localities. And so on and so forth. But this is so much the same with high income unplanned settlements, as I am putting up in Kimara, Mbezi Makabe, Makongo, you have these places the last one I am putting up you have decent properties. So decent maybe in value in terms of 5,000,000 even sometimes to billions, owned by an individual; by far surpassing properties in the planned areas. We need to differentiate here the two levels. The two types of informal settlements, the old ones and the new ones. The old ones are not so much descent. And you could list them. For example in Dar es Salaam you could list them. If you start with Keko, in Keko Valley, you can go to Buguruni, you can go to Tandale, you can go to Manzese, and Tandika and so on. No doubt, one would not be pleased in living in those areas. But it is not the same thing the other areas I am putting up like Mbezi Makabe, Kimara, and Makongo.

Q: What I am trying to know is why do these places differ?

A: They are different because of the type of people settling in these areas. For example think of 3 former minister of housing are now staying in unplanned area of Makongo. We have former minister for planning in Makongo, We have former deputy minister for treasury staying in Makongo. We have several Major Generals staying in Makongo and Canals of the Army staying in Makongo. We have so many professors from the university, staying in Makongo, we have so many x- high commissioners staying in Makongo. I don't know whether you have that vocabulary of people in Keko, I doubt whether you have such type of vocabulary of people in Buguruni or Tandale.

Q: So why don't we have such kind of people in Buguruni and Tandale?

A: Am saying as of land terrain I wouldn't like to go and live in Tandale even if you give it free to me I won't. The plots are very small; I want a bigger plot, an acre, half an acre, which would not be able to be secured in Tandale. You can do that if you have a lot of money to buy off some people. We call it in land economics 'gentrification'. As what is happening in Manzese. People with money hovering around buying off people and putting up descent structure; some goes up to 5 stories, petrol stations, and hotels and so on.

Q: For example you Dr. would you be comfortable or would you like to, or maybe if you are given a chance to go and live in Manzese.

A: No, no, no, I will never do that. Even investing for example a hotel I doubt to do that.

Q: Why?

A: I know I will not recover my money. You invest you recoup and you get profit. But recouping in Manzese I believe it takes time. Studies are being conducted in Manzese; you could read the type of people investing. These are lucky people having money but they don't know the A-B-C's of real estate management investment. Other I can recoup my money within 5 or so years, but no wonder in Manzese it may take 10 to 15 years, with the type of people coming to Manzese even if it is a hotel, they won't give you adequate money for rent.

Q: Therefore what can be done so that we can convince a person like you to go and invest in Manzese, a person who knows the A-B-C's of real estate management?

A: Convince me to go to any other area not necessarily Manzese. I can't go to Buguruni either. I know I have been offered a place in Buguruni that I could buy but I did not want.

Q: How do this people in mixed informal settlements address their problems?

A: Some have CBO's in some informal settlements, so they pull together resources, they construct roads although they are not permanent roads, sometimes they would discuss the way of developing the area, but in number of incidences they do not have a formal way of controlling development. They do it as they want. It is more critical to the old settlements, but things are changing because of the level of education in the new settlements where you find the new settlers are elites; besides being high income earners they are also elites. They would say let me give space for my neighbours car to pass. But in the old unplanned settlements of Keko, Buguruni, Manzese, we don't have that vocabulary or leaving a space for a car to pass.

Q: As we have seen from the beginning that they are somehow unavoidable, these mixed informal settlements simply because...

A: The demand the demand for land surpasses the supply. Certainly they will be there to stay and our legal provisions trying to revisit the situation but we don't know how easy it is to implement these provisions. What I know it is very-very costly in terms of money, in terms of manpower and so on.

Q: So what policies are expected to address the existence of this kind of settlements?

A: Well, in 1995 the government declared that in the national land policy. People owning land in these areas for a long time should have their rights acknowledged and accepted, and a law should pass, should be enacted, to have them recognised legally as protected holders. So having the Land Act coming out of that policy, having provision to that effect, from a start we have what we call residential licenses, these are not titles but exhibiting at least that somebody is holding a title on the particular parcel of land. Much as that parcel of land is not critically or specifically demarcated, but you have aerial photos demarcating that this is plot so and so...so we have it, that is the first thing. And that adds confidence in title holding among the unplanned settles. Local authorities are given permit to do that; giving the residential licenses which of late are lasting for 5 years, but renewable. Not only that but to have series of sections, section 56-60 talking of a language called regularisation. That is making what is irregular to be regular. It is a combination of; it is an advance stage of squatter or unplanned settlement upgrading. Not only providing services and infrastructure, as it has been in the case of community infrastructure upgrading program, but go further in planning these

unplanned settlements not the technocrats, the government plan but the planning has to be done by the people themselves. They will seek advice from the planner in the course of regularisation; the planner from within themselves or from outside. And once the plan has been accepted by the unplanned settlement settlers, down to the local government the municipal council and the town council, up to the department of urban planning and then to the minister, that is a good planning scheme. It will be accepted. They call it regularisation scheme. As I am saying this is not a single day's job. Nor is it a week's job. Nor is it a month's exercise 2, 3, to 4 years. Because when you are planning you have to put down some of the properties. To pave way for roads, you have to keep piece of land for public use. For example public offices, police stations, places for worshipping. And don't forget cemeteries. They have to be provided in this regularisation scheme. Giving away such parcels of land for public use is convincing people holding land in those localities. You need time to have a dialogue with them. What I am saying it cannot be done within a week. And as you can see, you need money for making compensation to people whose properties will be demolished to pave way for roads, or giving land for either a primary school or a secondary school, a nursery cemetery and so on. The service that is to be done is money. The planning that is in initial stage has to be done, its money. To take care of the social economic surveys....its money. At one time I was putting up a paper in a workshop talking on housing to the urban poor. I made some calculations and found out that for Dar es Salaam, that is 3 years back, 1.2 trillion Tshs. Are needed to make a regularisation exercise, those were rough estimates, slowly could go up to 1.7 trillion, that is around 30% of the budget for single project which is not so much critical compared to other areas for example education. Other areas like roads, other areas like hospitals, infrastructure, we need to have bigger hospitals reference hospitals etc. regularisation in 2010 for the 52 unplanned settlements in Dar es salaam it is estimated to take about 30% of the budget of that particular year, that is a big sum. What I am saying it makes us shy to embark in such a plan. You move stage after stage, educate the people. These human unplanned settlements are so much unique, are not so much as you have the old ones. These guys have provided themselves roads, these guys have medium to buy off plots to up themselves schools, to put up dispensaries of their own. But it is a costly exercise. We have it in the law, but people are shy to embark on it because of the costs.

Q: We have seen some of the challenges, one of which is cost...

A: Yah...one of it is cost, could also be also including people, are they willing to pave the way for... To give away land for public use, for example for putting up a primary school, will they be able to accept the compensation paid to them with easy? And some of these areas don't have adequate land even. For example the old neighbourhoods the unplanned ones for example, Keko, Buguruni, land securing is a problem. You have to pull down a good number of structures in order to get a primary school piece of land, in order to get a dispensary piece of land, in order to get a police station and so on and so forth; but it is not so much of a headache for the new unplanned settlements.

Q: So we have some challenges, so what is your opinion on the current policies?

A: We have the policies...then put them into effect, we should face the challenge putting the lows into effect. Slowly we can achieve something. It is not the question of money all alone. But also education to the people, people will understand if they are adequately educated.

Q: Any shortcomings as far as the policies and the laws are concerned to what is happening currently?

A: The shortcoming is that some people think that regularisation is an exercise which will be completed within a year or so, it should not be 'nguvu za soda' (efforts at the beginning and then the efforts fade away). It needs to be an exercise being backed upon, slowly but carefully implemented. It may take 3 years to complete unplanned settlements, 5 years and so on. We need to start.

Q: And what do you think is the best way to handle these mixed informal settlements in terms of governance?

A: Involve the people; including on development control. The *Mtaa* leaders should formulate by laws, say we would appreciate roads in our localities to be 5m - 8m wide. So any person developing should be leaving 8 or so metres wide between two houses. So maybe I would say after 3 houses there should be another smaller road, a feeder road and so on. It is simple, physical planning could do while more detailed plans are being conducted. But local leadership and peoples participation is important to handle unplanned settlements.

Q: And if we are to put comparison between these informal settlements which are not mixed...

A: What I am saying for the older settlements the a few number of settlers in this area are semi literate, residents need not be the owners of the properties, they might be tenants, but quite often they are low income earners. One might have started 2 rooms, he adds on and on at the end of the day he has 20 rooms or ten rooms, so congested in one locality. That is another problem. But these people are not very remote, and they have children. Who might have gone out and seen the outward world. So with education to this young ones who are coming up lifestyle have changed. Certainly what we have in Buguruni in 2012 is not what we had in 1990 or 1960. In the 1960 admittedly no one wanted to be associated with Buguruni. This was a home of crimes... Buguruni and Manzese. Essentially if someone is saying is coming from Buguruni, is sulking indirectly. I have been in dare s salaam for some quite some time. Seventies if someone tells you are coming from Buguruni oohhh it was insulting. Coming from Tandika...aaahh is a problem, is insulting you; places of destitute, places of unwanted people.

Q: What was the reason behind of having such kind of settlements?

A: It is, people put up houses anywhere they wanted, not regarding the aspect of planning. All they wanted is shelter, cover their heads, care the less the materials that have been used. Of course of late there is a change, we have unplanned settlements with quite good houses, as I am putting up, Mbezi Makabe, Mbezi Kimara and Makongo, there are good qualities of houses. But what is prompting this as I said earlier, in the question of demand to put up shelter, the supply of plots in formal areas does not cope with the demand. Demand by far outstrips the supply. So people go to the outskirts and squat.

Q: So far for example Makongo or Mbezi, of Kimara, currently I think we don't have so much these unwanted spirit...

A: Admittedly these are new unplanned settlements, inhabited with elites and high income earners, as I am saying some of these neighbourhoods are being occupied by for example ministers for urban development even, so it's no wonder to have them being developed in a particular manner; at least taking the features of a planned area. They do have access roads, the buildings are not so much overcrowded, as I said earlier some of this people have one acre, two acres, we don't have that vocabulary of one acre for an individual in Tandale, neither in Buguruni or in Manzese. If we have one acre to one person in Manzese, you have different units put up already which are not so much of long lasting. At most 40 years they are gone. People sell and pull them down, that is it.

Q: Is there any proof if I will be saying that having the old settlements is like having a pilot for having a good one or relative good informal settlement like Makongo comparing to the first one?

A: Society is not static, there is a time when Manzese, Buguruni even the whole of high income people, we can see what we call in urban economics what we call gentrification taking place in Manzese. 15 years back, no one would have thought we would have 5, 6, 7, 8, stories in Manzese, but we have learnt to have them. The same story goes to Buguruni, we have malty storey structures in Buguruni. As you move out of Tabata towards Buguruni junction, Buguruni Uhuru junction, you could see flats of 6,7, and so on stories high coming up. So things have changed. Society is not much static. The once poor people who were living in these neighbourhoods are not static, they get ways out, and they socially go up in the ladder they economically go up in the ladder. If not themselves, they have good new comers coming in as you are saying at Manzese. Now over 30 new structures, each worth about maybe 600,000,000 Tshs. We have good petrol stations put up in Manzese, we have good pharmacy houses being put up in Manzese, and nobody would have thought that in the 70's or in the 60's. So we shouldn't think that once unplanned settlement, always unplanned settlement. And once unplanned settlement with the view that they have poor properties, they will always remain poor, no. with regularisation; the unplanned settlements will be good, with gentrification the unplanned settlement will be replaced with good properties with gentrification the neighbourhood will be re developed with high quality properties worth billions of shillings.

Q: At last maybe if you have any further important issue regarding the matter that we have discussed that you would like to contribute, or that has not been asked?

A: Well, admittedly urban areas, are there to stay, and they are growing, no sooner no later, maybe 30 years to come you will find maybe our nations population amounting maybe to 90% living in urban areas. For as of now, 50 years of independence we have 35% now staying in urban areas. The young generation won't give a damn going to stay in the countryside they like staying in the urban areas. So policy makers should bear in mind that urban areas are there to stay and quite often are said to be sources of development; development comes out of urban centres. These are sources of where we get employment; these are places where you get leisure and a bit of freedom. Being the case we should prepare ourselves including the policy makers, they should prepare themselves to handle the urbanites, the citizens staying in urban areas. They should be able to raise funds to manage these urban centres. This is very important for example raising funds for people's properties themselves. So money should be released to manage these urban centres. Housing is a human right, so recently housing and human settlements in general to be descent the government should embark in these areas. We are saying regularisation is the key and should be embarked upon. Much it has been argued that it is costly but the government should start making it to the people despite the situation and the exercise seem to be so difficult as we are arguing, people should be given a hand to participate in their development especially those people living in unplanned areas. Political will and capital commitment s very important for urban development; political will/ financial and capital commitment is very important those will be my general view in order to handle urban development particularly checking the unplanned settlements.

Q: Thank you very much for your time.

B). Questions to settlement leaders

1. For how long have you been leading this area?
2. Can you please give a bit of history of the development of this area?
3. Before you became a leader of this area, were you living here or did you relocate from another area?
4. Are you involved in property transactions or renting processes or in your area? If yes how?
5. Are there any do's or don'ts (regulations) that govern the land developments in your area?
6. Where do the people you lead report and resolve their problems/conflicts relating to:
 - Land ownership/tenure/boundaries? (if owning the property)
 - Rent payments, property management?(if tenant)
 - Infrastructure example access (road) to your residence, electricity, water etc?
 - Any other kind of problems/conflict?
7. Do you think a settlement being mixed is a bringing any benefits/disadvantages/challenges to the people you lead? How?
8. Is there a link between the formal and informal system of operating on land and on this settlement generally?
9. On your opinion what do you think is the best way to handle mixed informal settlements in terms of governance?

10. Do you have any further important issue on the matter you would like to contribute that have not been asked?

Example of interview response (interview with Mtaa committee member Makongo (26:57 min)

Q: First of all I would like to know for how you have been leading this area.

A: Seven years now I have been a committee member of Mtaa, and remaining with 3 years to finish 2 parts of 5 years each so up to 2015.

Q: Can you tell me a brief history of this area?

A: I was born here in Makongo, so I know this place well.

Q: Can you please tell us how this settlement developed into what we see now?

A: At the beginning the population in this area was low. But now the population is increasing as more people move in and with that more development has happened for example the road construction, water sources, so the more the people, the more the development. Although the road is not of good quality good it is ok. I think with this new plan of mama Tibajuka of bettering this settlement we expect the road to be upgraded to tarmac. Those are the developments that we expect.

Q: Which is the period that Makongo grew fast comparing to when it started (a boom)?

A: Since 2005 there has been a boom, and it is continuing. And with the plan of upgrading the area people want to be part of the new upgraded Makongo. People are buying pieces of land not minding the prices.

Q: Are you involved in land transactions in this area?

A: My father moved here many years ago, about 60 years ago, so he could own a big land in that time. So I have not bought land, I inherited from my father and he subdivided to all of us and we have invested on that land.

Q: As leaders do people involve you in their land transactions?

A: We as the government are supposed to supervise these transactions, but there are some of the land sellers or buyers who do not want to involve us due to their own procedures they have set. We are supposed to know who has sold and who has bought a certain piece of land. Even if a parent is subdividing a piece of land to a child we are supposed to know all these transactions and the contracts involved as well as the costs involved. We also stamp the contract and approve it. And they all get a copy of the contract.

Q: Are there any regulations/procedures needed to be followed in order to develop a piece of land in this area for example amount of land to leave for public use etc?

A: The regulations are there but not all follow them. For example you need to leave 3 feet from your neighbours plot so that you neighbours' plot can also be accessed. So those procedures are there but some people who are greedy and don't want to follow this procedures. Those who are civilised acknowledge that for them to be able to reach their plots, so other people left open some pieces of land so they also leave land for others to pass. And other rules are more of concern to Land authority people. There is a time 2005 when people from land authority came to give us land licenses which were of periods of 5 years. Also construction is more of municipal authority concerns, for example in order to build you need a permit from the municipal. But some people follow this and others don't.

Q: But Makongo is not a formal area, so it is not easy to implement formal regulations on its people, so are you using laws directly from the municipality or do you have other laws specifically at Mtaa level?

A: We as Mtaa, don't have laws here, but those who have awareness of the existence of laws, go themselves to the municipality and get the permits, those who don't know even if you make them aware, they feel it is a long cumbersome process. Some think the permits are only given to big structures, but even it is one room or two one need to apply for a permit. But as you said, Makongo is not a planned area so the implementation of the laws is not that tight.

Q: Where and how do people in your area air their problems and resolve their conflicts like those related to land and borders?

A: They start by presenting their cases to the 10 cell leaders (Wajumbe wa mashina), if the problem is not resolved they bring it to us here, if we fail we take them to 'Baraza la Kata' at ward level if they fail they take them to court; Land court if it is land issues.

Q: Are those same steps taken in case of conflicts related to rent, tenancy, water, infrastructure, accessibility to your plot etc?

A: Yes the same steps are followed.

Q: What other problems/conflicts/challenges exist here apart from those discussed above?

A: Water is a problem here; many dwellers do not have water. Also the road is not in a good quality so people are suffering from it.

Q: As a leader of this area with those challenges, how do people resolve such problems?

A: For the case of the road, we are contacting the municipal to do something about it. Sometimes we use our own efforts and resources, we get some young youth for labour, they try to fill in the holes on the road, the dweller contribute any amount of money to support their efforts and labour.

Q: This area being a mixture of high, middle and low income earners, do you think there are benefits or challenges in living in such a situation? Is it a positive situation or negative?

A: It is a good idea because we have high, middle and low income earners, for example in case of a 'Herambee' money contribution, those of low income can be compensated with those of high income. So you can meet your goals in your Mtaa.

Q: What are the challenges?

A: A mixed settlement must have some challenges, some problems are human, and even if the settlement is homogeneous still there can be some human conflicts, and human conflicts can be resolved after sitting together and discussing the problem. But I have not heard a problem that come as negative segregation of the higher ones to the lower ones.

Q: Do you think here there are some dos and don'ts that are related to the formal settlements because these are not formal settlements?

A: That is difficult for me to answer because I do not have an experience with formal settlements. I don't know what is happening in the formal areas as well as the regulations involved there. We in informal settlement are just building anyhow we know without minding the laws, people want to experience their freedom in developing their plots their way, those with knowledge go and get a building permit some say the plot is mine, why should you dictate on how I should develop it?

Q: Given an opportunity as a leader what will you advice land and human settlement authorities on handling the mixed informal settlements?

A: If they want to upgrade this area, they should consider the rights of the people who are already settling in this area. Anyone whose plot will be affected in one way or another should get their rights/compensations they deserve.

Q: Given an opportunity to better the situation here in Makongo settlement what would you do to make it more habitable?

A: Development could start with the road, water, etc.

Q: What are the problems that arise due to not following procedures in building?

A: Problems result from those who build without following procedures, they sometimes block the road, boundary conflicts, but those who follow, a surveyor comes and see the boundaries, and the neighbouring plots, so conflicts are less in this cases.

Q: What would you like to add on what we have discussed?

A: I think we have exhausted all.

Q: Thank you.

C). Questions to residents living in mixed informal settlements

1. For how long have you been living in this residence?
2. Are you renting this property or are you the owner?
3. a) If you are the owner, how did you acquire this property? And what were the transactional procedures involved?
b) If you are renting, who did you get to know about the availability of this property? And what were the procedures involved in getting this residence?
4. a) If you are the owner, do you know the whereabouts (now) of the person who sold this property to you?
b) If you are renting where do the owner of this property live?
5. a) If you are the owner, do you have any intentions of reselling or subdividing this property in future to whom (to your children or any other customer)?
b) If you are renting do you have any authority to make any physical alterations to this property? If yes can you please give an example?
6. Why did you choose to settle in this area and not anywhere else?
7. Where did you live before residing here?
8. How many people live in this household permanently?
9. Do you have any children/dependants who moved out of this household and became independent and went to live somewhere else? Where?
10. a) If you are renting and you reach a point of owning your own property, where would you prefer to move to?
b) If you are the owner, and something happen and give you an opportunity to shift, which area would you prefer to move to in Dar es Salaam?
11. Do you conduct any economic activities in this household? If yes, what kind and in what space?
12. What activities do you do for recreation? And where?
13. Do you have access to infrastructure like water, electricity, good road, garbage collection, sewage systems, and toilets? If yes how did you get access, and who is responsible for maintenances?
14. Do you have any public facility around example school, health centre? How far are they from your house?
15. Around here do cases exist related to security for example theft issues? If yes, how do you deal/prevent it?
16. a) If you are the owner, how is your social relationship with your neighbours around you? How often do you meet and on what agenda?
b) If you are renting, how can you describe your social relation with your landlord? How often do you meet and on what agenda?
17. What kind of conflicts/friction do you face/experience relating to:
 - Land ownership/tenure/boundaries? (if owning the property)
 - Rent payments, property management?(if tenant)
 - Infrastructure example access (road) to your residence, electricity, water etc?
 - Any other kind of problems/conflict?
18. How and where do you air and resolve your problems/issues/conflicts?

19. Do you think a settlement being mixed is a bringing any benefits or disadvantages to you? How?
20. On your opinion what do you think is the best way to handle mixed informal settlements in terms of governance?
21. Do you have any further important issue on the matter you would like to contribute that have not been asked?

D. Example of interview response (interview with Dr. Mboya Reteree Lecturer at Dar es salaam University– male (1:24:52 min)

Q: To start with could you please give me a brief history of Makongo?

A: I came for the first time to by land in this area in 1988, that time this area had very few residents. That time from CCM area to this place here one could find like 3-4 houses only. The rest of the area had no people. I started building my house in 1992 and moved in my house in 1996. It was a bush, we had no transport, those days if you had to give a lift to everyone you find on the way. The public transport started in the year 2000. Literally as I remember according to the government this was not a habitable area. Even if one wanted to survey a particular piece of land we they were told that Makongo is not a habitable area.

Q: Were there reasons behind the area being declared inhabitable by the government?

A: I think it is because the nature of this area contains hills and valleys. It is not capturing water but it has valleys and people are mostly used to flat land so people were sure that this is not an area for human habitation. But for me I thought it was a misconception, I found this place to be the best, because it is elevated, with good weather, and nobody can block you from the breeze even if it is densely built. I had seen such experiences in Florida of South Africa where areas like this were the most expensive. That is why later some people started calling it 'Bevel hills'. So my thinking was totally opposite and that is what attracted and brought me here. So for me coming here I was manly attracted to the hills, the breeze, also proximity to my place of work-the University of Dar es salaam. To me it was the best place to settle, I left areas like Sinza.

Q: So you have been living here for almost 16 years now?

A: And more because since 1992 I started bringing some building materials slowly, but shifting here I did in 1996. I have lived here for a long time....all these surroundings had no humans, there were monkeys and some other wild animals we were eating wild pigs, and when my parents came here they thought I am crazy even some of my friends thought I am out of my mind, they were wondering why I did not buy land in Mikocheni, Mbezi, Sinza, but now they wish they knew then.

Q: How did you convince your parents and friends by then that this was a habitable area?

A: First I made a follow-up if the area was declared inhabitable by the authorities. I did not find a document, it was just not planned. Two sides there was army area. It was just because of the nature of the landscape the area was jumped by the government during surveying. Even the neighbouring areas like Changanyikeni were not surveyed. So what I was using to convince them was first the good breeze, because one can sleep here without an air conditioner, secondly, the breeze is originated from the hilly landscape, so even if the area is continuing to be built, it is not easy for the breeze to be blocked. That is why today all areas are potential for building, be it a hill or a valley; u can observe multi-storey buildings all over, so literally it can be proved that my thinking was right. Buying a plot here now is more expensive than in Mbezi or near the ocean. And another fact was the proximity to my place of work.

Q: What procedures did you use to get a piece of land here?

A: Procedures I followed are those which even now are used in un-surveyed areas or in villages. By then this area was a village that is why it is called village. Because a survey has not been done to identify plots together with the plans that exist. The first thing during buying a piece of land one need to know the neighbours in order to know that the boundaries are correct. The second thing, one need to know the area really belongs to the seller because even then there were some cheating people by then not only now. Then you had to contact the '*Kitongoji*' leader. This one has to come and register you. The contract of agreement had to be presented to the village office. The village office approves it and you had to pay after agreeing with the seller. Normally the seller was supposed to pay 10% but they normally pass that responsibility over to the buyer or you share. But me as a buyer paid the 10% and the documents were approved. Because when you want to survey a piece of land according to the land authorities you must have the document/contract showing legal land transaction. That transaction document showed that you have been invited as a village inhabitant. When you want to be recognised according to the ministries procedures you had to attach the transaction agreement. And the village had to call for a meeting to deliberate that they are not planning to develop the land to any other use so they agree that you can own it and develop it permanently so after that you can acquire a '*Hati miliki*' and those are procedures even till now for village land.

Q: You bought this area from someone...do you know where that person lives now?

A: The person is now living in Changanyikeni, an area which is not far from here. He owned several pieces of land in different areas this being among them. So he is not far from here but there are cases where land sellers decide to move and look for land further in the outskirts in areas which are not surveyed or developed, for example, people who sold areas in Msasani, came to settle in Makongo and Mbezi. When Mbezi was being bought they shifted further to Bunju. So literally most of the land owners by then moved but my seller is nearby.

Q: What do you think motivated him to sell his plot?

A: In short I was looking for land, and some '*Wazee*' helped me out in searching, so they brought us together and we had a discussion, in the search I got around 4 different areas to choose from. Out of those for including where the Lutheran Church is built now. I did not want the area where the church is now because it was a burial place so I was not sure if it would develop into a cemetery or not so it was a potential area for future conflicts.

Q: Are you intending to subdivide, give inheritance to your children or to sell this land in the future?

A: Literally I do not intend to sell this land by any means. One plan that I have implemented as you will see is a factory which is occupying around one acre, the second area is where I am living now, and another piece we have built two houses for rent. So I intend to build houses for renting. So whether the children will inherit or if I will sell, it depends on my economic situation later in life.

Q: You have told me your reasons of selecting this area for dwelling, where were you living before you moved in here?

A: I was a lecturer in the University of Dar es salaam so I was living there in University house. Literally I have not lived in any other place in Dar es Salaam; maybe when I was studying I lived with my relatives here and there for a day or two. As I finished my first degree I became a tutorial assistant and continued teaching and studying so I got accommodation in the university. So from there I moved here. I moved here while still entitled to stay but I decided to become independent.

Q: So was it a matter of a better environment of living that motivated you to start living here while still entitled to live in campus?

A: Certainly it is a better place than university staff houses but during that period the goodness of these area was not yet acknowledged, that is why to rent a house here now is expensive, and now as the business centres are moving nearby for example Mlimani City shopping mall; the demand is becoming higher. It is good in life to be independent; you might relax and face difficulties in future.

Q: But you had already built a house so you did not have to worry about problems in the future because you already owned property in case anything happened to terminate your rights to live in campus. You could live there until your time was finished; why dint you?

A: That is true but those days prices of rent in these areas were very low. Issues of a bad road and shortage of water were hindering people to get used to live in this area. This area was so lonely so you could not get much from rent. So my satisfaction was worth more than what anyone could pay me by then and I don't regret my decision at all; after all those who were laughing at me by then are now envying me.

Q: How many people live in your household?

A: The family members are fluctuating as you know our society is socialist. I and my wife have 2 children but I have many dependants. I have not less than 5 dependants, who go to school and come here during holidays, and sometimes my mother is also here. At anytime it is difficult to find less than 8 people in this household - a typical African family. During holidays the number becomes bigger.

Q: Do you have dependants who have moved out of your household and become independent?

A: Some have left, including my own children. One of my children has left and another is studying in Britain. One has graduated university and has got a job and has recently left. Another one too graduated, got a job and left, I have one niece of my late sister who is working but is still living with us, somehow its only recently I feel we are few i.e. we are only about 5 people in the household, so I will not be surprised if later only me and my wife remains, and I will not receive any grand children to feed.

Q: For those who have left, where are they living now?

A: They are in Dar es Salaam. Two are living in Kimara, one of my children is in Mwenge near the army barracks

Q: Why do you think they decided to go and live there, did you ever ask them?

A: The main thing they were looking at proximity to transportation; because at the beginning all depend on public transport. Due to the traffic jams nowadays it is easier for my child to walk from Mwenge bus station. Those in Kimara are not far from Ubungo bus station. They also got rent at a good price. Literally the rent they pay is lower than renting in Makongo with current high prices. So it is not that they were running to stay far away from me instead they had their criteria and weighed their options. Others are sharing so they want a place that is acceptable to all of them in the group.

Q: Given an opportunity to move from this place to another settlement in Dar es salaam, where would you move to?

A: Let me start with area I would note move to; Mbagala, the settlement near the airport, I would not go there, those areas are just not for me, I can go to Bahari beach, because I have a house there, or I can go to Bunju all that direction to Bagamoyo. The area I like most is Bagamoyo. And those are areas which later people will say I wish I went there. And I have a piece of land there/ a big farm. If I am to rent this house now I would go to Bagamoyo at Zinga on the way to Mlingotini.

Q: Would you go to Bagamoyo because you have a farm there or do you have any other reasons that would attract you to go there?

A: For now I don't see a reason for moving to another place, what might make me do so is maybe renting this house. So in that case I would not be looking for a substandard place to stay, rather I would go to a place where I have already established myself, and I have cattle there. And what attracted me to Makongo is that fact that I don't want to be squeezed where I live. I am used to life that resembles country side/farm life. I was keeping cattle even here before then I shifted them to the farm in Bagamoyo. I also have planted watermelons etc. there. So I would be moving to a place where I own around 10 acres of land until the authority decide to declare it a planned area and move me further to Kiwangwa or any other area. That is my lifestyle.

Q: Why do you say areas like Mbagala are not for you? Is it an issue of proximity to your place of work or is the infrastructure there poor?

A: They are awkward because I want a place that is near my outlet to travel to my original home village in Moshi Kilimanjaro. It is more of a psychological issue more than anything else; some people prefer those areas so people differ in choices. Although I had people who looked for me a farm there but I decided no. So I feel that Dar es Salaam city should be my end point so when I go to Moshi I go this direction. So if you find me in Wami its ok.

Q: At the beginning you told me you have a paving block factory as an economic activity, what other economic activity are you running here in your residence?

A: For now no, apart from the houses for rentals I have one acre on this side and the other side its around 2 acres which I want to create an estate for rentals slowly if not me then my children or whatever the future holds. The other is cattle keeping which I moved to Bagamoyo.

Q: What social activities are you involved in or what do you do for relaxation and socialization and where?

A: I have a lodge near Bahari Beach Hotel, which started one year ago; I have built them in a way that if they will not give me profit enough I will change them to residential houses for renting. They have sitting rooms and kitchens, and I have furnished them all. Bahari Beach Hotel is under renovation I think it will soon be finished. I targeted that place so that people who cannot afford the Hotel can stay in my lodge. Again I have an area in Bagamoyo we call Mlingotini sea resort which I have not yet further developed but it is sometimes used as a camping site. That is mostly my children and the youth, so we use it for recreational purposes, picnics for groups of people for example from the church etc. the place is near the Indian Ocean. It is also near an island. So that area is waiting either I get a business partner otherwise I am ready to sell it.

Q: What about your personal recreation, how and where do you recreate?

A: Here there are several places I can go to for example Siberia (a bar, they call it that because of the strong breeze one even need a jacket sometimes). There are also other places for 'nyama choma' if you want more social places you go to the city. There is a descent place here they call 'Kwa Kimaro' which is kind of a modern place where he has a lodge too as well as good food. But others are those normal ones. For the youth they have other places where they show TV but I don't go there for sure because I have DSTV in my house (which allows viewing many different channels around the world). One can also move from here to Mlimani City Shopping Mall. Other places in the city you can go for lunch etc. but I don't miss them that much.

Q: What about physical exercises?

A: I have an indoor routine in the morning, before taking a shower and breakfast, and then I leave. Normally by 06:00 hours I am leaving because of traffic jam. Although since I retired and now I am working privately I do not have to go that early. Then I have enough exercises here at the factory because I have a lot of quality control to do and machine supervision. For the last 20 years I have reserved Saturdays for site and farm visits; unless I have another matter which is absolutely necessary to attend. The landscape here is hilly so I can take 2 hours walks in the evenings in nature, there are no cars, and the air is fresh so it is nice. So I do not see are reason of going to the gym. The exercises I do here are enough.

Q: There are issues of public utilities like water, good road, garbage collection, waste water collection etc. for this area how do you get water?

A: Mmhh...there is no water. Literally they connected some pipes from down the hill near the army area. Pipes were laid up to my house but water never reached here. Water reached only up to the area called CCM. Then came the Chinese water project. Who put pipes everywhere together with measuring metres. That gave me hope to open up this factory which uses a lot of water per day. The most needed thing for this factory is water and electricity. Then we ventured into digging a borehole and we got very clean water which the Tanzania Bureau of Standard said it can be used without filtering. And I can tap up to 100,000 litres per day. Because my factory use not less than 5,000 litres of water per day. My neighbour also did the same and from there many people have used the same method to get water. The borehole is dug about 100 metres deep. Long time ago it was not possible to go that deep because of the instruments, they could go to 20 metres deep but now with the modern equipments it is possible. The 100 metres are dug in only 3 days. So I have al lot of water now that I could even share with other people. The road is a disaster. We used to contribute money some of us few people (Like 10 people) to get a grader to dig and level the main Makongo road. Otherwise the government have done very little as far as the road is concerned apart from recently where they have put some marks to say that the road is to be expanded so people will have to demolish part of their properties to allow expansion. Despite the water and road problem in Makongo, this area is still expensive than Mbezi. So many people are living by ordering water from 'Boza' lorries. If you look outside there I have a Boza I used to live with it and supply water for sale though I have stopped that business for now. So that is how people live here.

Q: How do you deal with garbage?

A: To be honest, that is a disaster. There is no proper arrangement to collect garbage here. If you look around even aside the roads you might find garbage thrown. So sometimes you have to go and shout at people to remove. Some of us have dug some holes which we burn when they get full. Otherwise we do not have a proper system to deal with garbage. For waste water and sewage one has to look for a car privately to come and empty the system you call septic tank or cesspool etc. So apart from people who have boreholes, their houses do not have water flowing in their taps although their houses are nice and of good quality. Apart from those buying Boza some are buying per bucket. But for me since I moved in here I always have had water because I own a Boza. Honestly speaking not everyone is having the luxury of water flowing in the house as I am.

Q: Is the road bad due to its quality or is it contributed by the development of houses/structures nearby?

A: I think for now the main roads are accessible, the problems are in the plots where people have blocked themselves/their neighbours due to inconsideration during development. Something that we don't really have is drainage systems. A road without drainage systems cannot work well especially during rain seasons. So for now during rain seasons it is a disaster; then when the rains are over we call a grader to level it again. I don't know who is supposed to be responsible for it whether if it is TANROADS or the Municipal council. But if the road is to be expanded, it must involve house demolitions. I know there will be some people who will resist but and also there is the question of compensation. I just wish they could start with upgrading the current road while waiting for the big step of expanding it to create a Bevel hill that we are promised.

Q: Don't you think there will be double costs if they upgrade this current one end then the expanded construction later, because I think it will involve reconstruction?

A: There are two things; one I have not seen the seriousness of the government that they are really ready to expand the road and the want people to demolish the side structures now. What are there are only marks, which have been there not for long just a

year ago. For sure I don't know what is going on regarding the marking including my own area here where I stay. They have put marks that they will use somewhere between 2.5 – 4 metres. Lucky the marks for demolition are not touching any of my houses. But the fence will be affected. For me even if they come tomorrow and say that they want to improve the road I am ready to move my property/demolish the fence. If there is a law that want demolition then it should be followed. If that is what is supposed to be done it should be done, even if people go to court the procedures will be followed. I have not resisted following an order but for sure I have no idea what is really going on. Even if they say they are coming to demolish tomorrow I am ready for them because it is more beneficial for the road passing here to be of tarmac than the way it is and the value of my house will rise too. The compensation will be greater than even what they will pay me for demolishing my fence. So the main issue is for the government to come seriously and say that they are ready to start implementation of their promise. They say they want 20 metres I don't mind they can get it. The other one we have been told it require 30 metres for it to be a double road. They have currently built a bridge joining Makongo and Goba, so cars from Mbezi are now flowing through Makongo to avoid traffic jam. So traffic jam is now starting here too. Due to this situation I think the government would have thought seriously upgrading this road which is not even more than 15 kilometres if you count from Mbezi. And From Mwenge to here may be about 13 kilometres. So roughly I don't see why they cannot construct the 25 metres tarmac road.

Q: The question of house demolition along the road sides here is rising as a result of developing houses in an informal area...

A: There is a time they come and did an aerial survey to see what existed on the ground. Nobody even knows that they did an aerial survey before. When they come again recently to update their aerial survey, most people realised then that an aerial survey was done before. The second thing, the houses that existed that time are not even 25% of what exist now due to current development. And people are continuing to develop the land as usual without asking what is going to happen next. So I can say that there is a problem with the government, if they said there is a stop order banning further development it could have been making some sense. So to me the whole exercise makes no sense. I don't see what is really practically happening apart from words of promises. People are also continuing to sell land. If you are saying there is some upgrading on the way action has to follow fast. It has only been announced in the magazine that this is an area to be planned but no serious action has been taken. I read the magazine myself too. Just to mention in the magazine without banning further development until it is surveyed cannot work. If they are assuming that is done the citizens are not aware, how will you come at the end of the day and demolish someone's multi-storey building? During the voting period (2015) everyone is going to be quiet.

Q: So it seems also there are some political influences hindering implementation of some government plans? I heard from the leaders about a town plan (TP) that was supposed to be implementer here in Makongo but citizens resisted it...

A: That is the mistake of the government, how can they make negotiations with citizens? These people can demand even something that is not appropriate. If it is a legal government I think it has to reach a point of implementing without much negotiation. What is important is compensation to those affected by any new plan. But negotiating with a settlement where people are continuing to build is creating chaos, the number of stakeholder is increasing with time. The upgrading plans might even seize without us seeing water or a good road. So personally I am not satisfied by the effort of the government

Q: Talking about public utilities like schools, health centres, what is the situation in this area?

A: I don't have young school going children but I see there are some primary schools I think 2 of them. Also there is one around here called St. Joseph (secondary school) There are also some private kindergartens, there is one near my house called George Washington, which seems to be dead now. Otherwise I see school buses coming to collect school children to take them away from here to other schools.

Q: School buses are an indication that schools are far away from people's residences...?

A: Certainly some people want to take their children to academies (English speaking schools) away from here. I cannot talk about the quality of education offered around here because I don't know or if the placements are enough or satisfy children of Makongo. What I know this days people are looking for good schools because nowadays the quality of some schools are dropping as well as the quality of teaching staff.

Q: So if schools are there, it seems they are not meeting the expectations of the dwellers, and if schools are not there it looks like they are far from here.

A: I think what you are saying is right and more on the secondary level schools are not there. Talking about health issues, I think there is only one small place there at CCM which belongs to the government. There is another one opened recently where there is a pharmacy, laboratory and a doctor full time; but we have to know that those ones are for people with money because they are private hospitals. Otherwise people have to go to Ardhi University Dispensary or Mwananyamala (District hospital) etc. so these facilities are not enough and the rest are far from here.

Q: How are normal people dealing with these challenges?

A: I don't know for sure, my wife is a teacher, and I had a thought of starting a school here near my house because quality of education is of high demand nowadays. So I see little effort done here to meet the demand. I have heard there is a building belonging to Dr. Lerise that they are intending to change to a hospital. I have not talked to him so I am not sure. If that is true we might have a place where people can be admitted overnight. So both public and private sectors are not satisfying the demand of the population in this area.

Q: We might say that most people need to be transported to bigger hospitals, so proper road infrastructure is needed...If we talk about security issues, what can you say about it, how do you deal with theft?

A: When I moved here, this was the most peaceful place, I was alone and people were few, even if one left the door open this was during the 90's. Population growth has brought thieves too. So people are taking necessary defensive measures for example hiring watchmen (like I do in my factory and at home), having trained dogs etc. When the situation becomes worse the local leaders organise group night watch, but this arrangement is not permanent. People are also asking for auxiliary police around to

patrol the area, they even requested a police post to be located in the area one year ago in a meeting which I attended but the request never materialised.

Q: So it means citizens are more responsible for their safety than the responsible organs of the government.

A: There is a time they made patrol around but they do that when a robbery or killing has occurred...it is not a permanent arrangement.

Q: Do you meet with your neighbours to discuss about problems/ conflict around you or even to discuss other issues concerning everyday life?

A: One good thing is that I am in very good terms with my neighbours, and that is also one of the security system I have here. People report incidents. For those of Roman Catholic faith, we have neighbourhood prayer groups. Otherwise neighbourhood is not discriminating anyone based on religion, economic status etc. so we are living a good life different from those in Oysterbey (A low density formal settlement in Dar es Salaam). Here it is more of a village type life which you cannot get in Oysterbay. There people are caged in their fences. Here we share problems and joy without segregating each other according to economic status. Also people know each other. For example here if a neighbour is sick they just knock at my door they don't even request for transport they just report that there is a sick person to be rushed to hospital. So we are living like one family - that is the typical lifestyle of Makongo. Even if there is a celebration (e.g. a wedding) the Makongo women take part as if it's their own. So that is very different from people living in Sinza. If one came to live here and is segregating himself from the community, people also segregate him/her. He/she can invite people but they won't attend. They say if you can live alone then do that. But otherwise people are very cooperative. To me this kind of life is an asset because I don't get board. I don't feel that I am in my own prison.

Q: Do you think this kind of positive life can be adopted in the formal areas where there is density and economic segregation of plots?

A: Those areas people are of similar economic status and might be living in different lifestyles. You might find people going to work during the day and come back home during the evening. And some houses will be for rentals meaning people in that area might not be permanent dwellers. Unity is built by the binds people create over a period of time. If this place is to change it will take time for the community to disintegrate because there are many people who have permanent dwellings here which can fit in to any new plan. I think change will be noticed if the generation of my children will come to live here later and if this place will all change to occupy people of a similar social class.

Q: Are there conflict for any reasons in this area and especially land development issues?

A: Many, for example that plot you see over there that belongs to my neighbour, there is a conflict that has lasted for almost 10 years which involve almost 4 people. Their case is in court.

Some of these cases are because of *matapeli* people who sell the same plot to more than one person. It also occurs when one buys a plot and don't develop it for a long time. Then brokers just come and resell it – this is typical to informal settlements. One need to be very smart when buying a plot here otherwise you might end up buying a plot that does not exist or someone else's plot. Another plot up there was abandoned by the owner for a long time that was in Britain, but it was rescued by his children. Some get into problems by not keeping well their land transaction documents or if the seller is dead there is no evidence. It's a mixture of many things.

Q: What about cases where there is a road blocked buy a house or fence?

A: That also exist and not far from my house there is a good example. That case is still going on. It develops from the fact that one seller maybe own 5 acres of farm and decide to subdivide it into small plots without demarcating roads. Or buyer 1 doesn't tell buyer 2 where the road is supposed to pass so one end up building a house on the road. They end up in conflict, then they call the seller, then they have no alternative but to sit down and agree what to do in order to be able to access their plots. Another problem is the narrowness of the roads. Everyone wants to build the land to the maximum leaving very small area for the reads or a car to pass. So for cars to cross each other is a problem. And us who developed our land very early we did not know that the population will increase as well as the cars. So what we cared was our cars to reach home. Some people build at the corner and create very sharp corners so it become difficult for a car to cut a corner when it reach there

Q: Are there any other conflicts of a different nature?

A: Another problem is resulting from shortage of electricity. The original transformers cannot cater efficiently for the whole growing population. So sometimes the electric currents become low so the speed of Tanzania Electric Company to supply electricity is not going hand in hand with the demand.

Q: Where do you report these conflicts?

A: One way is to report to the local leaders, *Kitongoji* leaders (*Mjumbe*); sometimes it is too late to involve the land seller. Some cases become big until people go to court. If those in the conflict are all stubborn they end up in court but these are few cases because in court they are taken back to land courts, they normally try to resolve themselves.

Q: What about conflicts resulting from the area being mixed with people of different economic status?

A: Some conflicts rise because of people who are not ready to integrate with the community. Sometimes you don't choose your neighbour. For example if you look at *Makonde village* which is near my plot. I integrate with those people most of them being original owners of land who sold most of it. There are 10 houses there. And all if asked where they stay they identify with my home. So whether you like it or not, small children do not choose who to integrate with. They just like to play together. On one hand it is good for children to be exposed to normal life, but there are some parents who don't want that for their children, children end up playing in the mud etc. and if they find the neighbours eating they eat there too (at the neighbours homes) without caring. So when they come to your house you also have to give them food if you don't your child will hide and take the food to them. So some rich people find that cumbersome. So they don't allow their children to play and integrate with those from low income families. So it depends on a person's character. Although generally you do not have to be very into each other's

lives, it is just to have respect as they don't bother me except for emergency cases of transporting a sick person to hospital. But also they become like security guards to me because they might know a thief before I know so they are more alert and protective. Some people really don't want integration and find it as a bother but not me so people differ. And the fact is that you can't remove them and cannot always choose your neighbour.

Q: Given an opportunity to advise the authority concern with such a settlement on how to deal with it?

A: First of all the government should move fast in implementing its idea of upgrading this settlement, and stop further developments from taking place. Secondly all processes involved should be clear to all stakeholders and it should be clear on how the cost involved will be covered if plots are to be surveyed individually. All these should be open and clear. If things are not clear they lead to resistance by the citizens. For this road, it should be clear and they all should be informed the steps and laws involved as well as the need for compensations because now we are just waiting not knowing exactly what is happening. Makongo not having water is a terrible thing too. The third thing is electricity although Tanzania electric company is trying somehow to add infrastructure to meet the demand. They are trying to be pro-active but the speed of development and population growth is too high. If they are to survey, then we places will be demarcated for public facilities for example schools, light industries etc. that could be done early. I have put a factory here because I had no guidance or no one has come to stop me. But if they come and demand me to shift I will follow government's order. I will not resist as far as procedures are followed. But the way they are doing now lead to people to resist; for example what do you expect from those whose houses are near the road, do you really think they will agree their houses to be demolished? It is not clear what will happen if they will be given other places, or compensated, or moved, or even if the compensation will be enough to build another house, so arrogant statements bring anger. And for now people are building at a high speed before any law come to be implemented and formality induced and forced on them. And some people in authority suggest surveying land in order to get plots for them to greedily own. If it is to ban people from continuing development then be it; but don't ban people from developing land and you stay without doing anything for 10 years. Dealing with angry people in a settlement is not an easy thing. The government should do something, here everyone is doing and saying what they know, we do not know what the truth is.

Q: Do you have anything to add regarding the matter that we have not touched in our discussion?

A: I think we have exhausted all aspects; the only addition is if the government is to come in and survey this area, proper costs should be clear. Because some people are selling the land fast now for e.g. Tshs. 20,000,000 before any law come in; they might say a square meter will go for Tshs. 5,500 which is low.

E). Questions to children living in mixed informal settlements

1. Which school are you studying?
2. Is your house where you live near your school?
3. Where you live do you have places to play? Where? Are you happy with it?
4. The children you normally play with (your friends), are they your neighbours or are the coming from far?
5. Are you free to play/interact with children in every house around you? Or are there any restrictions in some places?
6. What would you like to be done at the place you live and the surroundings to make your growing process better and comfortable?

Example of interview response (interview with Chris-child (male) at Makongo (03:40 min)

Q: Chris, where do you go to school? A: Don Bosko **Q: Where is the school?** A: Near Mlimani City Shopping Mall **Q: Is it far from home?** A: Yes **Q: How do you go to school?** A: By school bus **Q: Do you play here at home?** A: Yes **Q: What do you normally play?** A: Computer games **Q: Do you like to stay at home?** A: Yes **Q: Where else?** A: Shoprite (Mlimani City Shopping Mall) **Q: What do you do in Shoprite?** A: Cars **Q: Who do you play with at home?** A: My friends **Q: Where do they live?** A: The third house from here **Q: Do you also go to play at your friends' house?** A: No, I am not allowed **Q: What else do you like to do?** A: Cycling **Q: Where do you ride your cycle?** A: From our gate to down the valley **Q: What else?** A: Computer games **Q: Ok Chris**

H). QUESTIONNAIRE OF A FIELD STUDY ON HOUSING INTERVENTIONS AND ITS IMPACT ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT:

The study aims to explore the nature of the potential and challenges posed by the existence of mixed socioeconomic groups in informal settlements including what can be done to optimize utilization of potential and mitigate conflicts. By filling this questionnaire, you are contributing to a body of knowledge that this research work seeks to build in our context. The results of this work is strictly for academic purposes.

Date	
Gender	
Occupation	
Area/settlement you are living in Dar es salaam	

Please circle the answer you choose (where there are options) and fill in the blanks (where expressing your opinion):

General information

- 11. For how long have you been living in Dar es Salaam?
 - a) One year
 - b) Between 1-5 years
 - c) Between 5-10 years
 - d) More than 10 years
- 12. Where you live, what is your tenancy status?
 - a) Owner of the house
 - b) Tenant/renting
 - c) Owner living with tenants in the same plot
 - d) Tenant living with owner in the same plot
- 13. What is the status of the settlement where you live?
 - a) Informal settlement
 - b) Formal settlement
 - c) Mixed informal settlement
 - d) I do not know
- 14. Where were you living before?
 - a) In an informal settlement
 - b) In a formal settlement
 - c) In a mixed informal settlement
 - d) In the village
- 15. Given a choice on where to live in Dar es Salaam, where would you choose?
 - a) In an informal settlement
 - b) In a formal settlement
 - c) In a mixed informal settlement
 - d) Any where Why?.....

Formation of informal settlements with mixed socio-economic groups

- 16. What do you think are the reasons for the existence of mixed socio-economic groups in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam?
.....
- 17. How do people acquire knowledge about the availability of land in informal settlements in Dar es salaam?
.....
- 18. Who do you think supervise land transactions in mixed informal settlements?
.....
- 19. Where do you think most indigenous land owners go after selling all their land to new developers in mixed informal settlements?
 - a) To start new life further in the peri- urban areas
 - b) To their rural homes
 - c) I don't know
 - d) OtherPlease explain

Influence of existing policies

- 20. Do you think the existing policies regarding land development encourage the existence of mixed informal settlements?
 - a) Yes
 - b) NoWhy?

Quality of physical environment in mixed informal settlements

- 21. Do you think people in mixed informal settlements have access to important infrastructure for example roads, water, electricity and sewage?
 - a) Yes
 - b) NoIf 'yes', how do they acquire and maintain them? Who are the main actors?

.....
Conflicts and their resolutions

22. Do you think conflicts that are related to building practices; (fencing, land ownership, selling and reselling of land, land subdivisions, infrastructure, and access to plots, etc.) exist in the mixed informal settlements of Dar es Salaam?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
23. On your opinion, where do the people in mixed informal settlements report and resolve their problems/conflicts (if they exist) relating to:
- Land ownership/tenure/boundaries? (if owning the property)
 - Rent payments, property management?(if tenant)
 - Infrastructure example access (road) to their residence, electricity, water etc?
 - Any other kind of problems/conflicts?
- a) Police
 - b) Local leaders
 - c) Resolve themselves under a selected mediator
 - d) Other (please explain)
-

Potentials and challenges of mixed informal settlements

24. Do you think a settlement being mixed is bringing any benefits to the people in the settlement and to the land authorities?
- a) Yes
Why?.....
 - b) No
Why?.....
 - c) I don't know
25. Do you think people in mixed informal settlements are more vulnerable to crime than those who are not living in mixed informal settlements?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
Why?
26. On your opinion what do you think is the best way to handle mixed informal settlements in terms of governance?
.....
27. What is your opinion on the density segregation approach of planning (where low density plots are separate from middle density and high density ones) which is normally used in division of plots in formal/planned settlements?
- a) Segregation is good
 - b) Segregation is not good
Why?
28. Do you have any further important issue on the matter you would like to contribute that have not been asked?
.....

Thank you for your contribution

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I) REGISTRATION OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT CHARACTERISTICS

Guidelines

- Take a photograph of each house/item that has been observed
- Make a sketch of compound

i) Particulars

Location	
Name of area	
House number (if any)	
Date	

ii) Building materials

Wall				Roof			Windows					Doors					
cb	mp	tm	other	cis	tl	con	tm	tms	tg	ag	other	tm	tms	tg	ag	other	

Key: **cb** = concrete blocks, **mp** = mud and poles, **tm** = timber, **cis** = corrugated iron sheets, **tl** = tiles, **con** = concrete, **tms** = timber and mesh, **tg** = timber and glass, **ag** = aluminium and glass

Number of storeys	Boundary characteristics			Economic activities Area		Recreational activities area		Stage of building		Any construction still going on		Number of structures on plot
	pf	tf	nf	yes	no	yes	no	fin	nfin	yes	no	

Key: **pf** = permanent fence, **tf** = temporary fence, **nf** = no fence, **fin** = finished stage, **nfin** = not finished

Plot accessibility			Water source		Electricity			Toilet type			Slope characteristics		
car	foot	other	yes		no	yes		no	dp	wph	wc	hilly	flat
			tap	well		ind	publ						

Key: **ind** = individual, **publ** = public, **dph** = dry pit hole, **wph** = pit hole using water, **we** = inside toilet using water,

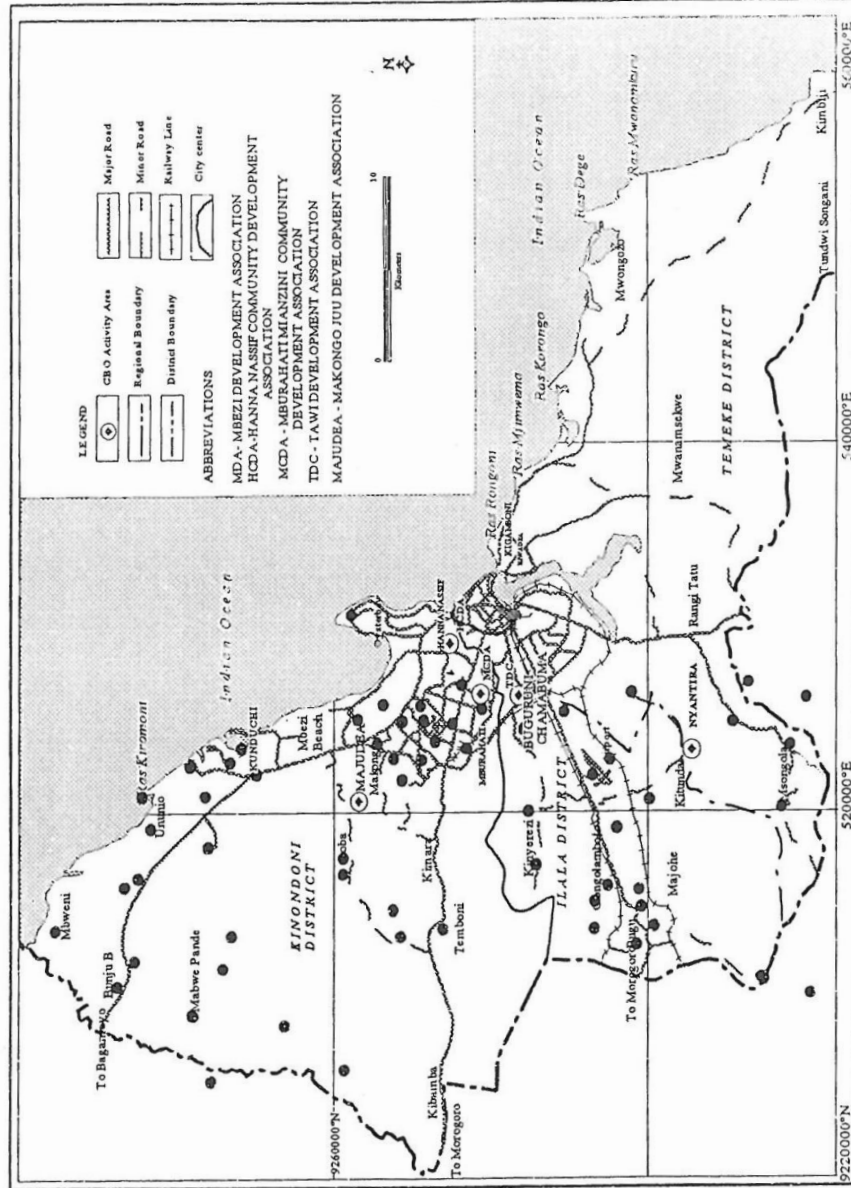
Appendix 11: A selected relevant list of CBOs

SN	Name of organization	Location	Activities undertaken	Date registered	Statutory planning status
1	Msewe-Baruti Development Association (MBDA)	Baruti, Ubungo Ward, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services, Land use planning and environment management	1995	Unplanned
2	Baruti Kilungule Development Association (BAKIDA)	Baruti, Ubungo Ward, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure and Services	1997	Unplanned
3	Segerea Kwa-Msangi community Association (SKMCA)	Segerea Ward Ilala District	Infrastructure, Services, Land use planning	Not registered	Unplanned
4	Segerea Commuity Development Association (SECODA)	Segerea Ward, Ilala District	Infrastructure and Services	1997	Planned
5	Makongo Juu Development Association (MAJUDEA)	Kawe Ward, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services, land use planning and environmental management	1995	Unplanned
6	Changanyikeni Development Association (CDA)	Kawe Ward, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services, land use planning	1994	Unplanned
7	Tabata Development Fund (TDF)	Tabata Ilala District	Infrastructure, Services, Land use planning	1993	Planned

8	Mbezi development Association (MDA)	Kawe Ward, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services	Not registered	Planned
9	Mbezi Block 'L' (Kilongawima) Development Association	Kunduchi W., Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services, Environmental management	1997	Planned
10	Suna Community Development	Magomeni Mapipa, Kinondoni	Infrastructure, Services	1998	Planned
11	Mianzini Community Development Association (MCDA)	Mburahati, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services	Not registered	Unplanned
12	Kigogo Women Advancement Trust (KWAT)	Kigogo, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services	Not registered	Unplanned
13	Ubungu Kibangu Development Association (UKIDA)	Ubungu Kibangu, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services	1995	Unplanned
14	Chama cha Maendeleo Buguruni Mnyamani (CHAMABUMA)	Buguruni, Ilala District	Infrastructure, services	1998	Unplanned
15	Buguruni Kisiwani Tawi Development Committee (TID)	Buguruni, Ilala District	Provision of social services	1997	Unplanned
16	Mzambauni Development Association	Gongolamboto Ukonga Ward Ilala District	Infrastructure, Services	Not registered	Unplanned
17	Kigamboni Ward Development Association	Kigamboni, Temeke District	Environment, development issues	1992	Planned and Unplanned Settlements
18	Sinza Environmental Association (SEA)	Sinza, Kinondoni District	Environment, Services	1995	Planned
19	Salasala Community Development Association (SACODEA)	Kunduchi Ward, Kinondoni district	Environment, Services	1994	Unplanned
20	Vingunguti development Association (VIDEA)	Vingunguti Ilala District	Social and Community Services, Environment	1996	Unplanned
21	Kijichi Beach Development association (KIBEDEA)	Mtoni-Kijichi, Temeke D.	Social and Community Services, Environment	1997	Planned and Unplanned
22	Tegeta corridor Development Trust (TECODET)	Tegeta, Kunduchi Ward, Kinondoni District	Services, Environment	1997	Planned
23	Kunduchi Environmental Development Association (KUEDA)	Kunduchi Ward, Kinondoni District	Environment	1997	Planned
24	Kinondoni Moscow Women Development Association (KIMWODA)	Hanna Nassif, Kinondoni District	Environment	1995	Unplanned
25	Sitaki Shari Trust Fund (STF)	Ward, Ilala district	Environment	1997	Unplanned
26	Hanna Nasif Development Association (HNCDA)	Hanna Nassif, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, Services, Employment creation, land use	1997	Unplanned
27	Mburahati Barafu Development	Mburahati, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, credit scheme	Not registered	Unplanned
28	Kijitonyama Development Organisation (KIJICO)	Kijitonyama, Kinondoni District	Infrastructure, services, land-use	1994	Planned

Source: Mapping of CBOs and NGOs for the Dar es salaam City, UCLAS, 1999; Community Development Department, Dar es salaam City Commission, 1999; Reconnaissance study of settlements 1999 and 2000 in Burra, 2006

Appendix 12: Location of CBOs



Community – Based Organisation in Selected Settlements in Dar es Salaam
 Source: Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, Dar es Salaam City Council, 2002 in Burra (2006)

Appendix 13: Sequence of events in development of Makongo settlement

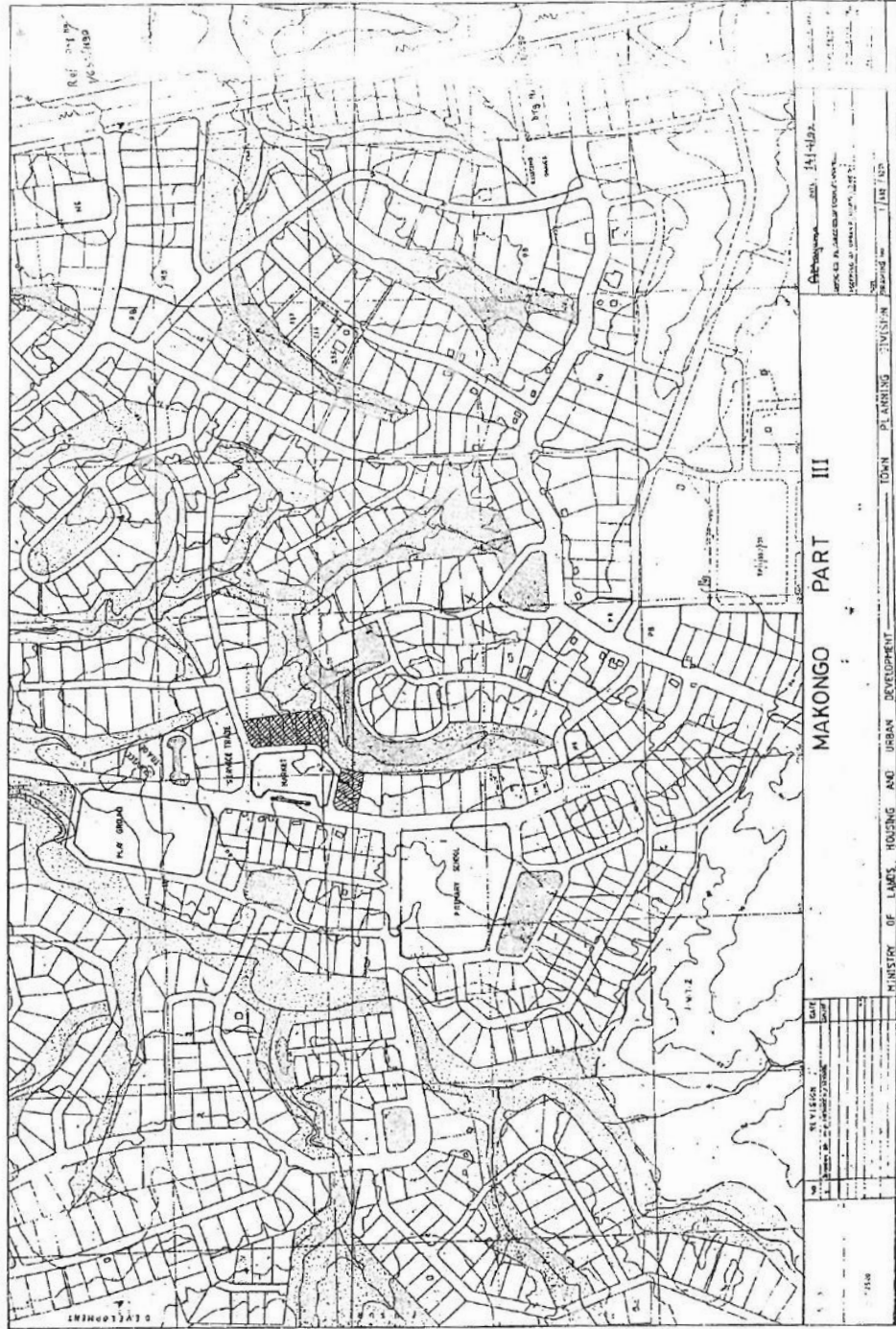
Date/YEAR	EVENTS
1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth and development of sisal plantations in Makongo continued from the 1930-40 period during the sisal boom. • Collapse of sisal market worldwide resulted into abandonment of the estates. • Makongo subsequently developed as an area of predominantly mixed rural and agricultural land-uses.
1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This phase formed the beginning of the informal change of land-use, settlement and early patterns of road development emerged. • The first part of the ridge road (now Makongo Road) came into existence, also part of inner roads or tracks were developed.
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1968 Dar es Salaam Master Plan designated Makongo area as a green belt; its predominant use being agriculture and other non-urban based activities. This was the beginning of planning considerations at the city planning level. • Disused sisal estates gradually gave way to informal growth and development of the settlement, subsistence farming, and original land-subdivisions began. • Start of development of infrastructure: roads/access and initial water supply lines. Gradual but steady informal changes of land-use and land subdivisions emerged. No statutory development control is enforced however.
1974-76	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Villagisation Programme: resettlement of people from other parts of the city and Coast Region, took place in Makongo. Further Land sub-divisions continued. Land allocations by the Village Government to individuals and for public facilities became dominant in this period. • Land – use development was influenced by public policy. However, formal planning initiatives played a crucial role in securing and designating land for community facilities.
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiative to establish a kindergarten school was discussed and implemented. Individual initiatives played a leading role in establishing other community facilities, particularly the primary school. • Upgrading of the original cattle track into part of what is now the “Makongo Road” was carried out.
1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1979 Dar es Salaam City Master Plan upheld the 1968 green belt proposal designated for the use of land for the Makongo settlement. Planning at the city level, but unenforced development dominates. • Land-use change and development took place through individual initiatives. Informal land sub-dividers consolidate their holdings, further sub-divisions by land buyers continued.
1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initial extension of the primary school buildings was completed. • Part of the original water supply scheme was implemented.
1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allocation of large tracts of land was made to city residents, particularly at the fringes of the city

	<p>including the Makongo area. The policy of ‘Nguvu Kazi’ the Human Resources development Act; was implemented by the Government.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiatives to install infrastructure and services, which did not exist, gained prominence.
11.11.1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change of use of land for Makongo area was announced in Government Gazette No.44 Vol. 66. The settlement officially became part of an urban area, maintaining its original green belt status but is also to accommodate institutional uses. According to the notice, its development shall hence be subject to <u>planning regulations</u>.
31.01.1991- 15.03.1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) prepared plot sub-division plans of the Makongo and Changanyikeni settlements. • This is one of the important events that led to the Makongo community’s opposition to the public planning intervention in regulating land-use change and development in the settlement.
31.07.1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A joint meeting was organised by the local CCM (Party) branch in Makongo, it was held involving the Makongo and Changanyikeni residents, to discuss the implications of the Ministry’s plans and change of use of land for the two settlements.
10.08.1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Government through the then Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development officially announced the intention to change use of land for Makongo through land subdivision into urban plots. The intention of the new scheme was relayed to the residents via a notice posted in the Kiswahili daily, ‘UHURU’.
24.08.1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Another meeting was held in Makongo settlement to discuss sending an appeal to the Ministry, against government decision to declare and plan their settlement.
27.10.1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makongo residents sent a delegation to see the Minister of Lands in person. The Minister discussed the issue with the Makongo residents’ committee; the appeal of the letter was honoured. • A case of public hearing of the Makongo residents’ grievances provided an opportunity for ‘institutional learning’ and dialogue with the public planning system.
15.12.1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ministry for Lands officially sent reply letters to Makongo residents/community, granting them the permission to prepare their own/alternative plan for the settlement. The Ministry retained, however, its role as the planning authority for the approval and subsequent procedures for putting any plan into operation. • The Minister of Lands and officials sympathetically heard residents’ objections. In fact the residents were told that the proposed scheme would not be implemented.
July 1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Makongo Community looked for alternative “community-initiated” plan for the settlement. Makongo Mtaa leaders contacted UCLAS, two planners agreed to help in their private capacity as consultants, to the preparation of the “land-use plan” for the settlement.

March 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant planners initiated the process of preparing an alternative plan for Makongo. Meetings were conducted to inform residents, land owners on the matter, boundary verifications, etc. • Mtaa leaders co-ordinated community contributions for the preparation of the plan. Contributions were extended to cover existing landholders, new land acquirers, interest group-those buying or intending to buy land. About 400,000 T Sh. (ca800 \$) was paid to consultants to cover plan preparation-related expenses.
October 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of the Makongo Juu Development Association (MAJUDEA), the interim committee to oversee membership recruitment, fund raising and registration procedures.
March 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official registration of the MAJUDEA came into effect.
June 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official registration of MAJUDEA came into effect.
02.10.1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The draft land-use/layout sub-division plan is presented by consultant and displayed at the CCM office in Makongo for residents to comment or give opinions.
02.10.1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first plan prepared by the community was forwarded to the City Commission for approval procedures.
February 1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The draft plan was returned to Makongo leaders and consultants for corrections or amendments suggested by the City Commission and the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development.
June 1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The consultant planners submitted the second amended draft land-use/sub-division plan for Makongo settlement to the Dar es Salaam City Commission for approval procedures; the plan was later forwarded to the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development for the same.
March 1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The City Commission suggested further amendments, this time, on the technical issues, plot sizes, location of public facilities, etc.
29.05.1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makongo Mtaa Chairman notified local leader and representatives on the delay for plan approval and the needed amendments to be made after the City Commission recommendations.
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning consultants continued to make the recommended amendments by the City Commission. • Water supply improvement scheme is initiated and implemented under the Japanese Embassy grant of Tsh. 54 million.
08.06.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The amended community land-use plan was again forwarded through the Ward executive Officer (WEO), for the third round of approval procedures by the city and Ministry's authorities. • Construction of the water storage tank is completed in Makongo Juu as part of the water supply scheme
27.11.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Final submission of the plan was made to the City Commission for approval. However, plan approval process was delayed due to demands on technical planning procedures, format and presentation of drawings. • These developments have served to demoralize the Makongo residents who, for the first time perhaps,

	<p>took it upon themselves to try and follow the legal provisions for planning, making their viewpoint heard by the planning authorities.</p>
November 1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government elections took place. Previous 'Mtaa' leaders are voted out of office. New leaders of the same (CCM) party are voted in.
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Efforts to secure land for location of community facilities were made by the Mtaa Leaders. Area close to the army that was formerly used for gardening was proposed for the purpose within the community initiated land-use plan.
January 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Makongo Mtaa leaders sought consent from the Kawe Ward Executive Committee that individuals who contributed to the preparation of the land-use plan be allocated plots by the Mtaa leaders in the same land earmarked for locating community facilities.
19 September 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Kawe Ward executive officer endorsed the use of former gardening area for locating community facilities in Makongo but also endorsed additional plots to be allocated to individuals who contributed to the preparation of the land-use plan.
02.03.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kawe Ward Executive Committee (WEC) and Makongo Mtaa leaders conducted a meeting to endorse Makongo settlement plan before sending the same to Kinondoni Municipal Council for final approval. The plan is yet to be approved by the Kinondoni Municipal Council for final approval. The plan is yet to be approved by the Kinondoni Municipal council i.e. turning it into a legally recognized settlement plan.
2002/2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Registration of building or properties in Makongo. This involved giving numbers to all buildings, registration of owners and their identification for Municipal taxes and rates. One issue seems to be of particular interest in the development of Makongo settlements. This is the issue of the "institutionalized" informal land management system and which is partly supported by the formal planning system. However, integrating informal land development practices into the official land use planning has proved to be a big challenge to planners and administration as this case has shown.

Appendix 14: Layout subdivision plan prepared by the MLHUD for part of Makongo, 1992



Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement Development, Drawing No. 1/682/1291 dated 14/4/92 in Burra (2006)

Appendix 16: Sample of informal land transaction contract

HATI YA KUUZA SHAMBA

08.8.2004

MIMI REHEMA A. MAKAWILA.

LEO HII TAREHE 08.8.2004 BILA KUSHA
WISHIWA, NIMEAMUA KUUZA SEHEMU YA
SHAMBA LANGU LA HAPA MAKONGO JUU.

NIMEUZA SHAMBA HILI KWA JUMLA YA
TSH.=800,000 (LAKI NANE TU) FEDHA HII
NIMEZIPWA YOTE, MBELE YA MASHAHIDI WA
FUATAO:-

- (1) NASORO ABDUL SAHIMI. *Nasoro Abdul*
TAREHE . 8.8.2004
- (2) JAFARI SALUMU SAHIMI. *Jafari*
TAREHE . 8.8.2004
- (3) ← MUUZAJI JINA. REHEMA A. MAKAWILA
SAHIMI. *Rehem* TAREHE 08/8/2004.

MUNUZI CHESCO SAPULA SAHIMI. *Chesco*
TAREHE 08/08/2004.

- (1) SHAHIDI SALUMU M. KASUBI SAHIMI. *Kasubi*
TAREHE 8/8/04.
- (2) ADAMU F. RIPANGULA SAHIMI. *Adamu* 08.8.04.

MAKUBALIANO HAYA YAMEFANYIKA MBELE
YA MSUMBE OSWARD NSHIKU SHINANO 25
SAHIMI. *Osward*
TAREHE . 08.08.2004.

NB. BARABARA INADITA MPAKANI
MASHARIKI MITA TANO.

Source: Makongo resident

HATI YA KUZA SHAMBA.

27.10.2007

MIMI REHEMA A. MAKAWILA, Leo hii tarehe
27.10.2007 NIMEAMUA KUZA SEHEMU YA
SHAMBA LANGU LA HAPA MAKONGO JUU
SHAMBA HILI LIMELIWA KWA JUMLA YA
TZS. - 2000,000/= (MILLIONI MBILI TU) FEDHA
HI NIMELIPWA YOTE, MBELE YA MASHAHIDI
WAFUATAO:-

(1.) ADAMU MATOPA - SHAHIDI WA MUZAJI
SAHIHI YAKE - ~~27-10-2007~~

ADAMU F. KIPANGULA - SHAHIDI WA MUZAJI
SAHIHI YAKE - ~~27-10-07~~

WANUNUZI; MR & MRS. CHESU SAPALA.

SAHIHI - MR - ~~27/10/07~~

SAHIHI - MRS - ~~27/10/07~~

MUZAJI - REHEMA A. MAKAWILA -

SAHIHI YAKE - ~~27/10/07~~

MAKUBALANO HAYA YAMEFANYIKA MBELE YA
MUMBE OSWALD NSHUKU SHINA 25

SAHIHI YAKE - ~~27/10/07~~

Nathibitisho mauzo haya.

NB

Shamba hii lina ukweli 15m x 28m

ika sekuzi linapitika na BI SIFRA.

pi's helms moja upande wa chini kwa ajili
Njia ya kupita.

Source: Makongo resident

**RECONSTRUCTION OF DAMAGED HOUSES
CAUSED BY AMMUNITIONS BLASTS AT
GONGO-LA-MBOTO
DAR ES SALAAM**

**ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS
(73 HOUSES)**



CLIENT
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY (RAS)
P.O.BOX 5429
DAR ES SALAAM



Consultant-Volunteer
ARDHI UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 35176
DAR ES SALAAM

DESIGNED, DRAWN and CHECKED BY:
Ardhi University-Department of Architecture
P.O. Box 35176

Wataalam Aru waokoa milioni 340/- za serikali

Na Renatha Msungu

SERIKALI imeokoa Sh. milioni 340 kwa kuwatumia wataalamu kutoka Chuo Kikuu cha Arudi (Aru) kufanya tathmini ya nyumba za waathirika wa mabomu ya Gongo la Mboto yaliyotokea Februari 16, mwaka huu.

Zoezi la tathmini hiyo lilianza Machi 30, mwaka huu baada ya serikali kuwaomba Aru watumie utaalumu wao kuisaidia kupunguza gharama na muda.

Akirunguma na waandishi wa habari jana, Mkurugenzi wa Mipango na Maendeleo, John Saburi, ambaye aliyesongoza timu ya wataalamu saba kwa katika zoezi la tathmini hiyo, alisema serikali imeokoa kiasi hicho cha fedha kwa kuwatumia wao badala ya mtathmini binafsi.

Mbali na kuokoa kiasi hicho cha fedha, alisema pia wamefanikiwa kupunguza muda wa tathmini kwa mwezi sita tofauti na kama kazi hiyo ingefanywa na mkandarasi binafsi. Saburi alisema Aru wak-

ishirikiana na wanafunzi wa chuo hicho, wametumia muda wa mwezi mmoja na nusu badala ya miezi sita ambayo ingetumiwa na mkandarasi kukamilisha zoezi zima la ufanyaji tathmini hiyo.

"Tumetumia muda mchache sana na gharama ndogo na tumekamilisha zoezi zima la tathmini," alisema Saburi.

Alisema katika ufanyaji wao wa tathmini hiyo, wametembelea nyumba 63, kati ya 73, zikisaidia 10 ambazo wnnatarajia kukamilisha zoezi hilo

wakati wowote kuanzia sasa, ili ujenzi uanze.

Kwa mujibu wa tathmini waliyofanya, zinahitajika Sh. bilioni 3.76 kwa ajili ya kukamilisha zoezi la ujenzi wa nyumba hizo kazi inayotarajiwa kuanza wakati wowote kuanzia sasa kupitia JKT Suma.

Naye Mkuu wa Mkoa wa Dar es Salaam, Sadik Meek Sadiq, alishukuru timu ya chuo hicho huku alisema wameonyesha uzalendo mkubwa kwa kufanya kazi hiyo kwa gharama ndogo ya Sh. milioni 10, to-

fauti kama angepewa mkandarasi.

"Aru wanastahili pongezi wameonvesha jinsi gani wana uchungu na nchi yao," alisema Sadiq.

Alisema fedha walizookoa zitaisaidia serikali katika matumizi mengine ya wakazi hao, ambayo bado yanahitajika ili waweze kukamilisha eneo ambalo watawapeleka kuishi.

Alisema mbali na kuokoa fedha, pia wamesaidia kuokoa muda wa kufanya tathmini, jambo ambalo lingecheleweshwa kuanza kwa ujenzi wa nyumba za waathirika hao.

Appendix 19: Introduction letters for collecting information

Bauhaus-Universität Weimar

15. November 2011

To whom it may concern

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt

Sozialwissenschaftliche Stadtforschung

Urban studies and social research

Letter of support



Dear Madame, Dear Sir,

Ms Shubira Kalugila is a doctorate student at the Bauhaus-University in Germany. She is researching on the topic of housing interventions and its impact on urban development.

She is conducting the information necessary for her study only for academic purposes. She might need data like photographs, maps, documents or others for this study.

We would like to kindly ask for your most appreciated support.

It would be very generous, if you could support Ms Kalugila with her study.

In advance, I would like to express my sincere thankfulness,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Frank Eckardt'.

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt

Bauhaus-Universität Weimar
Fakultät Architektur
Professur Sozialwissenschaftliche
Stadtforschung
Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt

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e-mail: aru@aru.ac.tz
website: http://www.aru.ac.tz

Kwa: Yeyote anayehusika



20/01/2012
APELGE WIKIRIKIANO

Rejea kichwa cha habari hapo juu. Ndugu Fadhili Mhawila na Caleb Kimaro ni wasaidizi wa Shubira Kalugila katika kukusanya taarifa za utafiti ambaye ni mmoja wa wafanyakazi katika Idara ya Usanifu Majengo - Chuo kikuu Ardhi. Utafiti anaofanya ni wa kitaaluma juu ya "CHANGAMOTO KATIKA KUKABILIANA NA MAKAZI MCHANGANYIKO, JIJINI DAR ES SALAAM - TANZANIA"; Mtaa wa Makongo ukiwa mmojawapo wa makazi ya jinsi hiyo. Katika kukusanya taarifa watahitaji kupata vitu kama ramani, machapisho, kutembelea makazi, kuchukua vipimo, kuchukua picha, pia madodoso na mahojiano. Taarifa zinazokusanywa hapa ni kwa madhumuni ya kitaaluma.

Natanguliza shukrani kwa kuwawezesha kupata taarifa watakazozihitaji.

Ndimi,



Dr. C.S.R. Lwamayanga
Mkuu, Idara ya Usanifu Majengo
Chuo Kikuu Ardhi

Appendix 20: Definitions

Urban land management

Urban land management comprise a system of interrelated actors and activities the result of which the most efficient allocation and utilisation of urban land is promoted and ensured. The overall objective is inter alia to guide, control and promote orderly spatial growth of towns and cities and promote their efficient functioning i.e. the efficient provision of housing, urban infrastructure services and facilities, etc. (Fekade, 2000). According to (Kombe, 1995) land management relates to land tenure policy and development control; includes processes and procedures of regulating urban land development in accordance with predetermined objectives and policies (Appendix II). Operations for managing urban land among other things deploy a variety of instruments such as land use zoning, land markets, planning standards, and laws for taxation, registration, land surveying and institutional structures. In the context of Tanzania where most of the urban land development takes place through unplanned systems it can also be seen to

include processes and procedures through which land seekers acquire and develop it both in the formal and informal sectors.

Informal land development

Informal land development refers to the areas which have developed outside the official land development system. That is, land which has been developed before the land is planned and surveyed. Therefore, unlike the term “squatter settlement” the emphasis here is therefore not on the illegality of land ownership or occupation but rather on the nature of the land development process (ibid).

Semi regularised informal settlements

Semi regularised informal settlements refers to the settlements where individuals, groups communal or government efforts have been mobilised and deployed to improve public-well being in an informal settlement particularly in relation to accessibility to basic services and facilities, spatial orderliness and protection of individual property rights (Kombe, 1995).

Quasi-customary land rights

Quasi-customary land rights refer to the land holding rights other than customary i.e. land that is owned by local communities and administered in accordance with values which are not fully customary. For instance where a customary land occupier sells his land to another person, definitely the buyer does not have customary rights because normally customary land is not acquired through buying but largely through inheritance. In this case land is a transferable item meaning it is capable of being transferred by a legal process to another owner. It is applied particularly to represent the popular land ownership system in most informal areas where parcels of land are held by individuals or families and not by communities as it is normally in the typical customary one (Kombe, 1995).

Community institutions

Community institutions include the various structures which have been established at the community level (say Mtaa or Ward level in Tanzania) to promote communal interests. Such structures include Community Development Committees. They include also written or procedures and norms set by communities which have overtime gained legitimacy in the city (Kombe, 1995).

Land acquisition

These are administrative procedures which set out the path and the institutions through which the public authorities and the citizens have to go to achieve their aim of providing or acquiring land, so that the end occupier recognized as legal owners and developers of that land (Kironde, 2005)

Planning regulations

These are rules that allow or disallow activities on the plot or in an area; or prescribe the way the plot can be developed or used. They include land use, zoning controls, plot use restrictions and binging and setbacks (ibid)

Planning regulations

Planning regulations can be referred to as a set of detailed regulations provided to control the construction of buildings. They expand on the purely legislative documents of Acts and Ordinances, but on their own they are statutory and must be complied with. The term building by-laws is technically synonymous with building regulations but it refers to rules adopted at the local level as opposed to the national level (UNCHS, 1985).

Planning and building standards

Planning standards are a set of regulations which stipulate how the settlement should look like in terms of ‘quality’. They include minimum plot sizes, minimum setbacks (frontages and minimum depths), and road widths and provisions for public and social and economic uses (Kironde, 2005). They also include floor area ratios, housing densities etc. According to International Standards Organization (ISO); standardisation is defined as a binding document which contains legislative, regulatory or administrative rules which are adopted and published by an authority legally vested with the necessary power (UNCHS, 1985). In the context of shelter provision, they are measures of acceptability at a given time and location within a given socio-cultural context and under given technological and economic conditions. Building standards can either be official (those established through legislation, by-laws or other rules and regulations) or cultural (those derived from traditional practices and are tolerable and acceptable by large number of people (Mabogunje, 1978 in Salehe, 2007).

According to this study:

Low income group

People who might be owning land but live in houses that are rented at a cheap price (up to 20,000 Tshs per month) of temporary building materials or unfinished ones. Most of them rely on day jobs or petty trading for income. They could also be living in servant’s quarters of the high income people. They also rely on public transport and public services for example government schools, government hospitals etc. Their source of water is mostly through fetching or buying in buckets of 20 litres each. They might or might not have electricity in their homes. Toilets are of pit latrines.

Middle income group

These are those who might own land or might be renting. They may rent houses up to 200,000 Tshs per month. Access to water could be from taps or wells. These people can afford private services that are not too high. Consist of fresh graduates who are just starting their early years of employment or work. They could own one car. Their houses are mostly of corrugated iron sheet roofs. Their toilets are of either pit latrine or water based outdoor latrine.

High income group

This group consist of retired elite e.g. professors, lecturers and successful university graduates with one degree or more. Retired high ranks army workers e.g. Canals; Government workers e.g. Ministers; successful businessmen or women and successful farmers. These people own one car or more, they do not necessarily depend on public transport or public services e. g government hospitals. They mostly take their children to private English medium schools. They own houses which in most cases are roofed using tiles. They access water through wells, boreholes or they buy a large amount of water and store in big simtanks from 10,000 litres. They can afford to have indoor water based toilets.

