

16. This is how the term has been used by scholars like L. Cliffe, J. Saul and T. van Velson. These are supporters of Nyerere's African Socialism but with left overtones, or probably a more radical interpretation of it. For a critique of this group see S. Maghimbi: "Economic and Political Relations in Ugweno" M.A. Thesis University of Dar es Salaam, 1980.
17. Tanganyika Territory; *Annual Report on Co-operatives* 1949, etc.
18. The World Bank; *Report No 4052-TA: Tanzania Agricultural Sector Report* (Washington, D.C: August 1983) 71.
19. Ibid p.73.
20. Ibid p.75.
21. Ibid p. 73., SUDECO is the Sugar Development Corporation which has four sugar plantations under it. NAFCO is the National Food Corporation and it operates large cereal farms producing wheat, maize and rice. GAPEX is The General Agricultural Produce Export Company which trades in exporting crops which have no crop authorities and even export crops bought from crop authorities.
22. Ibid p.75.
23. Ibid p.76.
24. Ibid
25. Ibid p.76-77.
26. F. Ellis & E. Hanak; "An Economic Analysis of the Coffee Industry in Tanzania 1969/70-1978/79: Towards a Higher and More Stable Producer Price" (Paper presented to Economic Research Bureau Seminar, University of Dar es Salaam, September, 1980) 13.
27. F. Ellis, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Decline in Tanzania Cashewnut Production 1974-1979: Causes, Possible Remedies and Lessons for Rural Development Policy" (Paper presented to Economic Research Bureau Seminar, University of Dar es Salaam, December 1979) 14.
28. The World Bank, *Report No 4052-TA op. cit.* 72-73.
29. ILO: *op. cit.*, p.257.
30. These farms are commonly called "dirty farms" by peasants especially when they contain tree crops.
31. The World Bank; *Report No 4052-TA: op.cit.*, p.15.
32. *Report of the Prime Ministers Commission; op. cit.*, p.5-8.
33. Ibid p.81.
34. Ibid p.81-82.
35. This is the daily government owned newspaper.

The Effects of Insensitivity in Planning Land for Urban Development in Tanzania: The Case of Dar es Salaam

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Introduction

The proclamation of socialism and self-reliance in Tanzania in 1967 has not been able to liberate the country's urban planning framework from the shackles of foreign dependence and elitism. Master planning concepts, methodology, projects, control ordinances, regulations and projected overall structure of urban centres in the country have tended to further more elitist interests than egalitarian ones. This perverse town planning practice has persisted due to three mutually enhancing forces, namely, elitist town planning educational milieu; dependence on foreign town planning consulting firms; and attempts by an indigenous elite to preserve privilege.

The effects of the three have ranged from an application of perverse town planning terms of reference; perpetuation of anachronistic town and country planning ordinances, imported land development codes and regulations, emergence and intensification of inner city squatter settlements to invasion of open spaces and public land by unauthorised land uses; land use mixups and an unprecedented urban sprawl.

This paper attempts to unveil the origins and interdependence of the three forces and, in particular, elucidates on their effects in shaping the internal structure of urban centres in Tanzania using the Dar es Salaam city as a case study.

The Origins and Interdependence of Forces of Insensitivity in Modern Town-Planning.

There are three forces of insensitivity in modern town planning practice in Tanzania: (1) significant inadequacies imbibed in town planning educational milieu; (2) negative impacts of dependence of foreign capitalist town planning consulting firms; and (3) (and most important) the machinations of an indigenous politico-technocratic and bureaucratic elite to preserve privilege in the planned urban environment. While furthering elitist goals these forces remain completely insensitive to problems afflicting the majority of urbanites in urban centres as the case of Dar es Salaam will demonstrate.

Town Planner's Educational Milieu

Developments in natural and social sciences have had great influences on town planning models and their justification. This has been demonstrated by the way town planners educational milieu has influenced their planning methodology and interpretation of important space forming elements. Within a capitalist educational system, town planning is regarded as a technical exercise which translates already stated terms of reference into physical plans. There is, deliberately, nothing in the planner's training which demands a questioning of the suitability of policies, goals, and terms of reference of the master plan as an integral part of the physical master plan formulation exercise. This myopia is acquired through a superficial interpretation of existing urban growth and planning models. Four models—zonal, sectoral, multiple nuclei and additive have — provided the basic reference material for this endeavour.

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The zonal model contends that a tendency exists for urban residential districts, resting on a dominant central business district (CBD), to expand radially outward defining certain concentric zones through land use succession and invasion (Burgess 1925; 47-62). The genesis of the zonal model, has accurately been traced back to Hurd's early theories of urban land expansion. Hurd outlined a theory of urban land expansion stressing the principle of central area and axial growth (Hurd 1903, 280). The zonal model borrowed heavily from the principle of central area growth. The dynamic efficiencies of this model dictated that the control mechanism of the gradient of land values outward from the CBD towards the city outskirts, determined the urban residential land use zonation into differentiated densities.

An analysis of 142 cities in the United States of America, by Hoyt suggested that though city spaces expanded from dominant central business districts, urban residential land uses were organised not in concentric zones, but in sectors. The different residential districts, it was argued, tended to grow outward along rather distinct, radii defining what could be called a sector model of urban residential land use (Hoyt 1939, 114). This is the genesis of the sectoral model which, like the zonal model, was based on Hurd's principle of axial growth.

Discussions of the theoretical roots underlying the rest of the two models have generally focused on the zonal and sectoral models. While the zonal and sectoral models concerned themselves with an urban population differentiation process over space, predicted particular patterns of residential districts, and lent themselves to empirical test, the other two, lacking in an own substantive identity, were in fact derived from both the zonal and sector models, and did not subsequently predict patterns different from those of earlier two ones (Timma 1971, 211).

The sectoral and zonal models of urban residential land use differentiation are derived from two main disciplines; land economics and natural science. The land economics principles—central and axial growth—provided the framework for determining the gradient of all urban land uses. The animal and plant communities ecological principles—impersonal competition, natural selection, succession and invasion—provided the panacea for determining the specific location of one land use as against another.

Derivations from the two disciplines, as subsumed in the two models, would like us to believe that the process leading to urban residential differentiation divides the urban population into a series of more or less district urban sub-communities whose characteristics (physical, economic, and cultural) are the result of an unplanned operation of ecological and economic processes. As a result of selection segregation and contagious character of cultural patterns, the argument goes on, people enjoying same socio-economic and political conditions tend to display, on the whole, the same characteristics (Park 1952, 177-198). Guided by patterns found in animal and plant communities, the two classical human ecologists saw a similarity with urban human community structure and developmental history (Park 1952, 197-198; Makenzie, 1926, 141-154; Burgess 1925, 47-62). The physical separation of urban population and unequal access to residential land and infrastructure seemed, to the human ecologists, an inevitable concomitant of urbanism as a way of life.

Modern urban planning, like Tanzania's urban planning framework, take meaning from ideas derived from these classical ecological models. These models perpetuate central area dominance and residential districts characterised by different population densities, different housing standards for selected sections of an urban population, and different access to infrastructural facilities for different categories of people in the same city. The *raison d'être* for the formulation and international promotion of

these models can be discerned from observations made by Hoyt, one of their protagonists. Reacting to critics of the sector model, Hoyt once observed that "the other explanations of urban residential land use structure based on a hybrid mixture of economics, social welfare and politics have as their real objective not the advancement of science and knowledge, but the overthrow of the free market economy (Hoyt 1950, 450). The ideological underpinnings supporting the two models become glaringly evident. Human ecological models of modern town planning were therefore developed to defend and preserve the ideals and practices of a capitalist economy and society.

In this regard the educational milieu imparts veiled value free urban planning concepts and methodologies designed to achieve already stated goals and objectives. The above conception is a direct reflection of the nature of developments in natural and social sciences as revealed by contributions from classical human ecologists in the 1920's, and as has been furthered by ecologists and modern town planning consultants in more recent times (Berry and Horton 1971; Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd, 1979). With reference to ecological studies, residential differentiation was correlated with socio-economic status, ethnicity, and stage in life cycle, in such a way that social structure and spatial structure were mechanistically juxtaposed.

This deliberate empiricist, mechanistic, and abstracted mode of analysis and interpretation of the Urban socio-economic and land-use pattern has been transferred, *grosso-mode*, from the context of natural science to social sciences first, and then straight to the physical town planning framework itself. This development has enabled town planners to absolve themselves of responsibility of urban development problems, and accept social differentiation and inequalities in urban areas as the normal state of affairs. To planners the appearance of the city, rather than its efficient function, is the main objective. The planning recommendations perpetuating social segregation in urban residential structure thereby managed to remain in vogue and escaped unquestioned. Yet in reality, to plan for anything but the most superficial changes in a capitalist society is to risk bankruptcy and to go out of business. The educational milieu ensures that it imbibes a *status quo* ideology and planning methodology for the survival of the capitalist system and society. As a consequence graduates of this educational system are rendered insensitive to the violation of citizen's equality to urban based opportunities.

Despite this knowledge, countries aspiring towards an egalitarian rural and urban socio-economic and spatial organisation of society have, and continue to use models which defend and further capitalist spatial structures. This practice has survived due to two other forces: first, the dependence on consultations from foreign capitalist town planning firms, and second, machinations of an indigenous technocratic and political stratum furthering class interests, and which remain insensitive to the needs of the larger majority of the urban community.

Dependence on Foreign Consulting Firms

The connection between foreign capitalist consulting firms and the preservation of insensitive town planning practice in Tanzania can be found in the existence of a symbiotic relationship between international funding agencies and foreign town planning consulting firms in preserving a class-based urban environment in Tanzania. The magistrates of international capital have managed to maintain a strong grip on the internal morphology of urban centres and society in Tanzania through technical and management agreements, and the funding of various development programmes, the Dar es Salaam master plan being just one of them. International forces shape urban morphology in Tanzania through foreign capitalist town planning consulting firms.

In this regard master plans are formulated in such that they achieve a minimum of their intended goals to necessitate quick revisions so as to keep the consultants in business. Rather than assist an urban authority solve its basic urban problems, foreign planning firms regard their role as merely carrying out projects as some popular trademarks — e.g. Project Planning Associates — show. The implementability of the master plans' content and its spatial efficiency to the users is none of their concern. After all a foreign consultant cannot be held responsible for constraints in the implementation of a master plan!

Since consulting firms for people other than themselves the contract ends with the presentation and final approval of the master plan documents. The responsibility of the donor agency also ceases when the master plan has been formulated and completed. In this way both donor agencies and foreign urban planning consulting firms remain utterly insensitive to the needs of the underprivileged in the urban environment. These international forces cannot be made accountable because no where in the contract is plan implementation made part of the deal. The end result is that a few years later the master plan is condemned and declared unsuitable sending the government back to square zero — negotiating again for a revision of the earlier plan and the vicious circle continues. This vicious circle is to some extent assisted by indigenous instruments.

Machinations of an Indigenous Politico-Technocratic Elite

The tender system for awarding contracts to town planners and implementation of recommended proposals is in the hands of an indigenous politico-technocratic stratum. In occupying important government offices, this stratum has managed to acquire both authority and privileges, one of them being to live in inherited spacious and pleasant residential areas separated from the general mass of urbanites. This stratum would have everything to lose if a thorough revolutionary change was carried out in the urban environment. As such any type of planning which perpetuates the *status quo* is not only approved but also embraced even by those who preach egalitarianism (Daily News, April 19, 1975). This explains the disinterested attitude prevalent in the centres of master plan implementation in many urban areas in the country.

An examination of the three forces leads to the conclusion that the ideological stances of international donors, foreign capitalist town planning consulting firms, and the indigenous politico-technocratic stratum, are not only interdependent, but also mutually supporting (Banyikwa 1987). Though a great deal of resources, in terms of money and man-hours, has been spent in planning land for urban development in Tanzania, the outcome has always been more cosmetic than substantive. Meanwhile problems associated with urban apartheid, inner city squatter settlements, invasion of open spaces and public land, land use mixups, and an unprecedented urban sprawl thrive as the case of Dar es Salaam testifies.

The Effects of Insensitivity in Planning Land for Urban Development

As mentioned earlier, the insensitivity in planning land for urban development in Dar es Salaam has had five major consequences: the emergence and perpetuation of urban apartheid, burgeoning squatter settlements, invasion of open spaces and public land, land use mixups, to and unprecedented urban sprawl, especially in Dar es Salaam.

The Emergence and Perpetuation of Urban Apartheid in Dar es Salaam

The first outstanding effect of insensitive urban planning in Dar es Salaam has been the emergence and perpetuation of urban apartheid. Initiated by the colonial government in the 1940s, urban apartheid was given formal recognition through the 1949 Dar es Salaam Master plan undertaken by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners. Contracted to plan the growth of Dar es Salaam in 1948, this consulting company recommended that the growth of the city should take the needs of different dominant races into consideration. The 1949 plan introduced the Neighbourhood Unit of modern planning as the ideal concept for developing residential zones. In Dar es Salaam this concept carried some racial overtones. The plan, therefore, initiated the congruence between racial and spatial structure of land used for residential purposes.

Subsequent formulation of the Dar es Salaam master plan in 1968, by Project Planning Associates, dropped the "racial" factor and substituted it with the "Standard" factor. The differing infrastructural development and investment pattern in the different residential zones, initiated in the 1940s, was furthered by the 1968 plan. The more recent 1979 Dar es Salaam master plan substituted the "Standard" factor by a more neutral "density" factor, coming up with recommendations of low, medium, and high density residential districts (Table 1).

Planning different residential densities for different social groups should be understood in terms of creation and perpetuation of class differences in Dar es Salaam. The resulting physical design of residential neighbourhoods should also be seen as a spatial expression of class divisions in the urban economy and society. Those allocated the use of the low density residential neighbourhoods, characterised by 4000 m² plots per household, have access to more spacious land than the rest of the urban community. The low density residential neighbourhoods (Oyster Bay, Msasani, Masaki and beyond) boast the use of paved roads, lighting on all streets, water supply to each housing unit, electricity supply, and linkage to the central sewerage system. The medium density residential neighbourhoods, (Upanga East and West, Kurasini, Regent Estate and recently Mbezi Beach) enjoy 2500 m² per household, paved roads, lighting on collector roads, water and power supply to each housing unit, and septic tanks.

The high density residential neighbourhoods covering Kariakoo, Magomeni, Ilala, Buguruni, Kinondoni, Mwananyamala and recently Sinza and Kijitonyama enjoy 360 m² plots per housing unit, lighting on collector roads only, communal water stands, and pit latrines. Beyond these planned residential neighbourhoods exist burgeoning squatter settlements, both within and at the outskirts of the city. These settlements, represented by Manzese, Mikochoeni, Mtoni, Kigamboni, Tabata, and Ubungo Kisiwani, enjoy no formally provided social services. In a country where a doctrine of egalitarianism has been preached since 1967, the continued preservation and further development of neighbourhoods differentiated in terms of area and infrastructure demonstrates a gross departure from equality among citizens, and this is nothing short of urban apartheid (West 1987).

Expansion and Intensification of Squatter Settlements.

The second outstanding effect of insensitive town planning has been the expansion and intensification of squatter settlement. Orthodox ordinances cast in terms of stringent building codes and regulations together with elaborate bureaucratic delaying tactics and procedures of land allocation have contributed much to the emergence and crystallisation of squatter settlements in Dar es Salaam. While managers of the Dar es Salaam urban system were busy with bureaucratic procedures in their offices, individuals have gone ahead and built housing units on any land which appeared vacant. This has rendered the projected design and symmetry of land use

development untenable. The second phase of the Sites and Services Programme had, for instance, projected to provide 19,000 plots to developers between 1977 and 1981 but, due to delaying tactics and red tape, only 30% of these had been allocated by 1981. In the meantime many squatter houses had been built, with 10,000 being built in 1980 alone. About 65% of all new housing units constructed in Dar es Salaam between 1974 and 1980 were sited in unplanned areas (Mghweno 1984). Urban squatting, as demonstrated by Temeke and Kinondoni areas – (which engulf and are in turn surrounded by unplanned settlements) and Manzese which lies between planned areas has not been confined to peripheral areas. It has also spread to those pieces of land which are ripe for development within the city itself (Fig. 1). The existence of large areas covered by unauthorised housing units symptomises not only a failure of the Dar es salaam town planning machinery, but also the potent time bomb which will explode when dislocated.

Table 1

Plan Period	Planning Area	Population	Housing	
			Irregular % of total	Density Person/hectare
1949–1969	84km ²	67,227 200,000		Low 13 Medium 52 High 120
1968–1989	404 km ²	272,515 1,000,000	9728 27.4%	Low 21 Medium 42 High 187
1979–1999	448 km ²	849,000 2,368,000	43,501 60.2%	Planned: – Large 39 Small 149 Site & Services:- New 145 Upgraded 183 Unplanned 319

Source: The 1949, 1968, and 1979 Dar es Salaam Master Plans

Land Use Mixups

The third effect of insensitive urban planning in Dar es Salaam has been the emergence and crystallisation of land use mixups. Residential housing units in various parts of Dar es Salaam have been converted into offices, shops, factories and open air garages. Sinza neighbourhood, for instance, is littered with shops, bars, guest houses and consultancy service centres, contrary to the original approval given to developers. While some of these businesses are non-offensive, others like garages, metal and iron welding and panel beating are, and they constitute a health hazard to the population. Despite this hazard the Dar es Salaam urban planning machinery has remained silent.

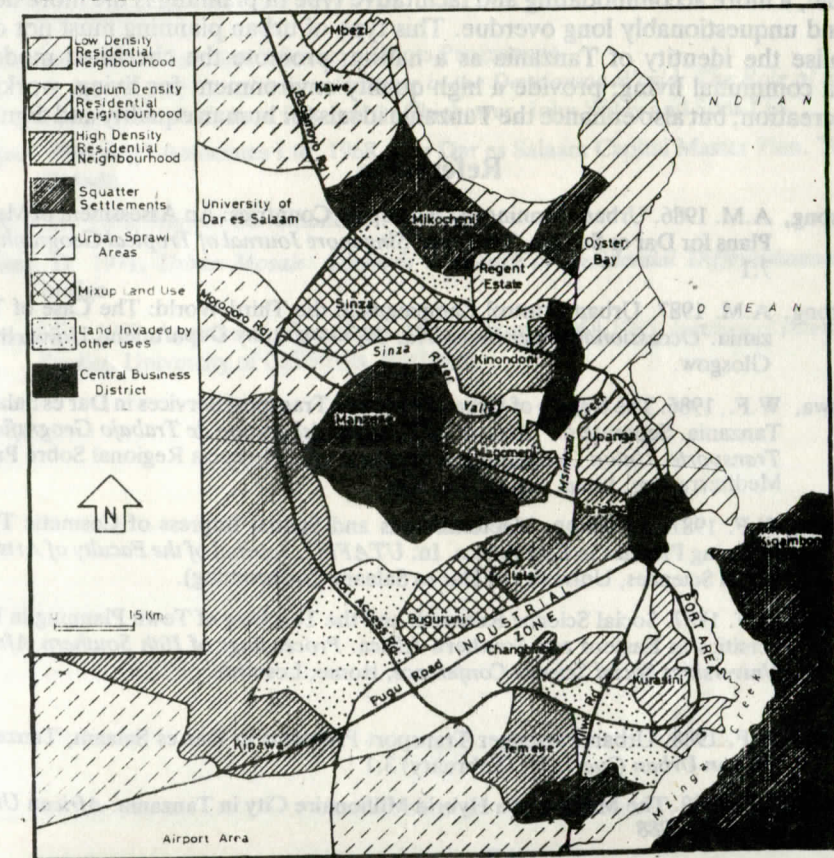
Invasion of Open Spaces and Public Land by Unauthorised Uses

The fourth effect has been the invasion of open spaces, children play grounds and public land by unauthorised land uses. The emergence of this problem is associated with professional misconduct by town planners and land officers. Faced with pressure for plots, land officers and planners have sub-divided land originally reserved for open spaces, schools, markets, and public use into residential plots, and allocated these to developers. The result has been chaos in land development accompanied by court cases.

Unprecedented Urban Sprawl

The last but not least outstanding effect of insensitive urban planning in Dar es Salaam has been the unprecedented urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is marked along the major arterial roads: Bagamoyo, Morogoro, Kilwa and Pungu roads. The effect has been an unprecedented lateral expansion of Dar es Salaam into areas characterised by poor sanitation, poor lighting, general blight, subject poverty, disguised and open unemployment. This lateral expansion has put such a strain on garbage collection, electricity, water, transport and other services supply that Dar es Salaam has been reduced to a very inefficient and unhealthy city to live in.

FIG 1. SELECTED PROBLEM AREA LAND USES IN DAR ES SALAAM 1988.



Conclusion

A likely conclusion from all these revelations can best be cast in class terms: that Tanzania's politico-technocratic and bureaucratic stratum—previously defined by race and, increasingly after independence, by income and access to power—has advanced a modernisation process from which they benefit and with which they identify. Through its grip on the state machine this elite has been able to institute both continuous and short-term measures designed to control the allocation of resources in Dar es Salaam on the one hand, and undermine the advancement of the underprivileged on the other. The values of this elite and thus the state machine—characterised as strongly western influenced—have been the most important in spearheading insensitive town planning in the country in general, and Dar es Salaam in particular.

This elite has been highly influential in shaping the content of master plans with, for instance, the importation and sanctioning of European housing standards, aesthetics, planning concepts, elaborate bureaucratic land allocation procedures, and dependence on capitalist town planning consulting firms. The overall result has been to divide the urban population in Dar es Salaam into two classes—those who are entitled to live in planned residential neighbourhoods, and those who are not. This revelation demolishes the sincerity of the Dar es Salaam urban planning machinery in creating an urban environment for a socialist oriented society. Given that Dar es Salaam is a primate city whose urbanisation is still in spate and the urban form dynamic, a more accommodating and facilitative type of planning is the more desirable and unquestionably long overdue. This type of urban planning must not only symbolise the identity of Tanzania as a nation; promote the cherished mode of ujamaa communal living; provide a high quality environment for living, working, and recreation; but also enhance the Tanzania ideals for human equality and dignity.

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