The Urban Jobless in Eastern Africa

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A Study of the Unemployed Population in the Growing Urban Centres, with Special Reference to Tanzania

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PREFACE

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Urban unemployment and joblessness is one of several features of the urban phenomenon in many countries today. Because of its peculiar manifestations and its adverse effects on the victims as well as on the public face of the urban regions themselves, this aspect assumes special significance not only for sociological study and sociological theory but also for remedial social policy.

Urban employment in Eastern African countries has emerged as a smouldering problem with potentially more serious effects on the countries' national development processes. The nature, manifestations and current effects of the problem require articulate and penetrating studies in order to inform policy and seek lasting solutions.

The present report is a result of an attempt at such a study. It is intended to make a contribution towards building a repertoire of urban studies for Eastern Africa and to give insights into a problem to which society and governments have to address themselves before it is too late, in the interest of balanced social and national development. Tanzania was the focus of intensive field research, although documentary and base-line data from elsewhere show relevancy of the problem in other countries of the region as well.

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Analysis and reporting of the research results was done during the year of my sabbatical leave (1982/83) from the University of Dar es Salaam, at the University of Oslo, where I was associated as a research scholar and guest professor jointly with the Council for International Development Studies (RIU) and the Institute for Educational Research (PFI). I must acknowledge with sincere appreciation the fellowship grant from the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) which enabled me to live and work in Norway during this period. I must also express gratitude to the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies for further travel assistance.

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It is the author’s humble submission that this study will have achieved its main objective if it can stimulate public and professional debate in the direction of remedial as well as innovative alternatives in public and social policy.

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AGMI
Chapter I

Introduction:
The Urban Phenomenon

Why Urban Research for Eastern Africa?

East African countries, just like much of the African continent and the Third World region, are predominantly rural areas. In East Africa, the urban sector comprises a few big cities and towns, such as Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru in Kenya, Kampala, Entebbe and Mbarara in Uganda, and Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Arusha in Tanzania. In addition, there are a number of peripheral towns and semi-urban centres of varying sizes, most of which are located in the interior and along the coast. Such towns of local national and regional importance include Nakuru, Thika, Machakos, Nanyuki (in Kenya); Jinja, Mbale, Tororo (in Uganda); Mwanza, Moshi, Bukoba and Tabora (in Tanzania). Together the cities and towns of East Africa make up about 7 to 10 percent of the total area. Accordingly, the bulk of the population lives in the rural countryside, where the predominant subsistence occupation is agriculture.

On account of this, one really sees the logic of the current arguments for policy priorities which are biased towards (and emphasize) rural and agricultural development and also the rationality of criticisms that are levelled against temptations by many governments, especially in the developing countries, to concentrate modern investments and amenities 'for national development' almost exclusively in the urban sector. The reality of the urban-rural disproportion justifies the case for intensifying research and development efforts in rural regions with a view to improving rural conditions. Most of the presently advanced societies in the world—the U.S.A., Britain, Denmark and USSR,—to mention the well documented cases—boast of the favourable position they have attained so far partly because of an appreciable stock of rural research studies they have sponsored, which have had a profound impact on developmental social-action and improvement in the rural economy.

Although not to the same emulative level, the developing societies of the Third World have recently recognized the importance of the rural sector and have now embarked on development-oriented rural research. In Eastern Africa a number of such studies have begun emerging and yet more rural studies, of an interdisciplinary nature, are expected to come forth and to possibly influence future development policies.

It is thus a point of fact that when one is talking about urban centres and
urban communities, one is still talking about a small dot against a background of one large rural blot—from the comparative perspective of both the size of area and population and of related research input and output for the two sectors.

To say this, however, is not to mean that this 'small dot' is an insignificant consideration and that it could easily escape notice in general or even in specific discussions of national development affairs. It becomes an important concern especially in discussions relating to social trends and problems that are created, perpetuated and/or complicated by the presence of an urban enclave in a predominantly rural environment. It is important also in view of the world population explosion and its attendant social complexities exacerbated by population movements.

The presence of an 'urban enclave' in the developing countries, however small in proportion, is a fact and discussion of it could not be avoided or dismissed off-hand, more especially when the rate of urbanization in these countries is increasing.

For the developed countries of the First World (and to some extent the Second World), the presence and predominance of an urban sector is too true to be disputed, and its reality is further illuminated by the ever-continuing process of 'urbanization and modernization of the rural countryside' rather than vice versa. Accordingly, research efforts in developed countries are today equally focussed on the urban phenomenon (urban problems and urban development issues) rather than biased towards the rural sector alone as though it were the only issue at stake in integrated national development. Such research efforts in developed societies, which have been directed at the urban phenomenon—most notably in the United States—include classic studies by Park and Burgess (1925), Louis Wirth (1938), William F. Whyte (1955), Lewis Mumford (1961), Burgess and Bogue (1964) and, more lately, Moynihan (1965), Rainwater and Yancey (1967), Elliot Liebow (1967), Sheila Patterson (1968) and Glazer and Moynihan (1970). It is well worth noting that these studies have brought to light some of the interesting aspects of urban life that have significant implications for national and/or local policy formulation, social planning and social service delivery. Such aspects as the urban human environment, urban social structures, distribution of social and economic opportunities, unemployment versus gainful employment, motivations underlying rural-urban and urban-urban migrations, and urban delinquency have been illuminated by some of these and other studies; and they have indeed led to policy discussions and remedial action by various concerned groups and government departments.

In the United States, for instance, the many instances of urban unrest, youth protests and deviant cultures that reached their peak in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, and the subsequent studies in urban unemployment, labour displacement and racial friction (see for instance Moynihan, 1965; U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969) have led to some tangible results in the form of Presidential commissions of enquiry, equal-opportunity employment
policies and subsidies, educational head-start programmes for the disadvan-
taged, and the like. Similarly, in Britain, government and private interest
groups have sponsored certain social-economic improvements on the basis of a
number of macro- as well as micro-social studies (see, for example, Pattersson,
1963; 1968).

It is no wonder, then, that the presently developed countries of the West have
appreciably invested in research and knowledge production—as much as 2
percent of their national incomes (Singer, 1964:66–68)—in the strong belief
that any social and material improvement in society would depend first and
foremost on the availability of objective, systematic and empirically verifiable
information.

The Urban Phenomenon

The discussion above serves to show the importance and relevancy of under-
taking research studies in developing countries as well. At least for countries in
Eastern Africa, the discussion demonstrates the importance of placing a corres-
pondingly significant weight on urban research at least inasmuch as it throws
light on issues and problems that either have a rural connection or have
consequences for implications for future rural development efforts. For, inspite
of the smallness of the modern urban sector in Eastern Africa, there are certain
undisputable universal factors that underline its significance for study. Suffice
it here to mention only four.

(1) Its historical-political pre-eminence.
Although it is difficult to determine with precision the origins of the city in
history—‘a large part of its past buried or effaced beyond recovery’ (Mumford,
1961:3)—oral-archaeological reconstruction of the historical events of some of
the oldest cities in the world suggests comparable trends in shifts of functions
to, and eventual acquisition of power by, the urban centre.

The city came as a definite emergent in the paleo-neolithic community .... On the new
plane, the old components of the village were carried along and incorporated in the
new urban unit; but through the action of new factors, they were recomposed in a
more complex and unstable pattern than that of the village—yet in a fashion that
promoted further transformations and development ....: in addition to the hunter, the
peasant, and the shepherd, other primitive types entered the city and made their
contributions to its existence: the miner, the woodman, the fisherman, each bringing
with him the tools and skills and habits of life formed under other pressures ....
[F]rom all these original types still other occupation groups develop[ed]:, the soldier,
the banker, the merchant, the priest. Out of this complexity the city created a higher
unity ....

What happened ... was that many functions that had heretofore been scattered and
unorganized were brought together within a limited area .... The city proved not
merely a means of expressing in concrete terms the magnification of sacred and
secular power [but also] the foundations of aristocratic dominance (Mumford,
For, as Mumford further relates in the historical reconstruction of the city,

The local chieftain turned into the towering king, and became likewise the chief priestly guardian of the shrine, now endowed with divine or almost divine attributes. The village neighbours would now be kept at a distance: no longer familiars and equals, they were reduced to subjects, whose lives were supervised and directed by military and civil officers, governors, viziers, tax-gatherers, soldiers, directly accountable to the king (ibid.: 30).

Although not all African cities trace back to the same slow and cumulative processes of the medieval European cities described above, yet the key principles of the population dynamics as well as the country-town differentiation elucidated in Ferdinand Toennis' gemeinschaft-gesellschaft typology (Toennis, 1963) do obtain. They are at least discernible in the description of one 'great town' by the medieval scholar, Leo Africanus, who visited Gago (Gao) in the West African Songhai empire around 1510:

The houses ... are but mean, except those wherein the king and his courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich merchants: and hither continually resort great store of Negroes which buy cloth here bought out of Barbarie and Europe. This town aboundeth with corne and flesh, but is much destitute of wine, trees, and fruits. Howbeit here is plenty of melons, citrons, and rice: here are many welles also containing most sweete and holesome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaues are to be sold, especially vpon such daies as the merchants use to assemble ... The King of this region hath a certaine private place wherein he maintaineth a great number of concubines and slaues, which are kept by eunuches .... It is a wonder to see what plentie of Merchandize is dayly brought hither, and how costly and sumptuous all things be. (Africanus, n.d.: 826–827; quoted in Rotberg, 1965:97).

In East Africa, towns such as Malindi, Kilwa and Lindi have comparable histories dating as far back as the 1400s as in the case of Malindi when it was known as the city of the Zanj, teeming with iron works and trade of all descriptions. The present modern cities of Kampala, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, too, look back to a long history that earned them political dominance in their time before the formal colonial interlude of the late nineteenth century.

Mombasa was founded in the fifteenth century by Persians, who are said to have named it after a town, Mombaza, then existing in what is today Oman. Founded on the coast and open to the outside world, it grew in importance by attracting more or less continuous settlement, by overshadowing its long-time competitors for the maritime trade, namely Pata, Lamu, Kilwa, Sofala and even Zanzibar and others. In 1505 the established Arab dominance over Mombasa was challenged by Portuguese invasion and the subsequent building of a Portuguese fortress, Fort Jesus, adjacent to the town. The ensuing decline of Portugal in naval power overseas and the active British assistance to the Oman rulers saw Mombasa pass again into the hands of the Zanzibar sultanate, under British overlordship. It was ultimately to go out of the Zanzibar suzerainty in the late nineteenth century when the Kenya Protectorate—a
mainland strip ten miles wide and 52 miles long, including the port itself—was formally attached to the former British colony (now the sovereign republic) of Kenya.

Dar es Salaam began as a small contact point between the interior and the outside world, overshadowed, in fact, by such bigger and more important towns and trade centres as Kilwa, Lindi and Bagamoyo on the coast and perhaps Tabora and Ujiji in the interior. Its inertia dates to the 1860s when Sayyid Majid, having succeeded his father Sayyid Said as Sultan (Arab ruler) of Zanzibar, decided to move away from the conspiracies and ill-designs of his contending brother Bargash and his associates on the island, to establish his capital at a haven of peace, hence the name Dar es Salaam.

He brought with him a garrison of Arab loyalists for his protection and scores of others as dockers and porters (almost all of whom sooner or later seized opportunities for small-shop and pedlar trade). He also brought in slaves from Kilwa and Zanzibar to clear bushes and to plant coconut trees and tend coconut plantations. Meanwhile, representative members of some local African groups of the kingless matrilineal Zaramo tribe had negotiated with Majid for sultanic protection. Accordingly, their members began to move out of their fenced villages to participate in the affairs of the newly founded capital city.

Although after the death of Majid in 1870 most of the future development plans of Dar es Salaam were abandoned or frustrated, it is still true that by the time of the German colonial take-over in 1885 the town, numbering 5,000 souls 'including 107 Indians, 100 Arabs, and 600–700 Zanzibar royal slaves' (Leslie, 1963:21) formed a nucleus for future expansion and organization by the German and later British colonial administrations.

Kampala owes its early beginning to the elegant, modernizing kings of Buganda, one of the several interlacustrine states of east and central Africa which had established an elaborate social organization with the paramount ruler on top of a hierarchy of offices manned by his prime minister (the Katikiro), his ministers (abatongole bemiruka), and an array of bureaucratic administrative staff at the royal court and away in the counties and even in outposts of annexed districts. Wherever the king put up his court (Lubiri) on a more or less permanent basis, there was established the kingdom's capital (Kibuga) and hence the centre of internal administration, politics, defence, protocol and diplomacy.

It was an established tradition that upon the death of a king, the succeeding Kabaka set up his court and capital at a different site within the kingdom. Thus, several court-capitals were set up by various kings, preferably within vicinity of one another's site and at hill-tops, where the environment formed natural beauty and provided suitable political and strategic mastery, and where foreign visitors ranging from the Arabs, Indians and Swahilis from the east coast in the 1940s and 1950s to European explorers and missionaries in the 1870s and 1980s could be easily seen and controlled.

The last capital was founded on several hills—including Mengo for the King's court, Rubaga for the Catholic mission, and Namirembe for the Protes-
tant mission. The development into a conurbation was to follow in the late nineteenth century, when a fourth neighbouring hill—the nucleus of present-day Kampala—was occupied, although the actual selection and subsequent occupation were forceful rather than through normal diplomatic consultations. In December 1890, after a formal agreement for ‘British Protection’ between the Kabaka and the Imperial British East Africa Company, Captain Frederick Lugard of the Company crossed the Nile (river) without waiting for the permission of Kabaka Mwanga as previous visitors had done, made a forced march to the Kibuga [more correctly the Lubiril], then at Mengo, insisted upon camping on a hill of his own choice irrespective of Mwanga’s wishes and fortified it in defiance of Mwanga’s sovereignty (Southall and Gutkind, 1956:2). In the wake of colonial military showdown, the tradition-conscious capital of the cumulative generations of ‘citoyen’ character had been ushered into the modern stream of a new age of urban life and capital city dynamics.

Nairobi, in Kenya, joins all the others in the history of urbanization in Africa at the colonial point of contact between Europe and Africa late in the nineteenth century. It began as a railway construction camp in 1899 after the British government had in 1895 finally committed itself to effective colonization of East Africa. It had planned a railway link between the mineral wealth in western Uganda and the east coast, and in 1896 work started at Mombasa. In 1899 the rail-head reached a point 327 miles away from the coast, a point which proved geographically and climatically suitable for a camp. With the subsequent transfer of the railway headquarters from Mombasa and of the government administration of Ukamba Province to this new site, the small construction camp developed into a large settler town taking on the name of a nearby Nairobi river.

(2) Its socio-cultural predominance.
Along with the locus of administrative influence and political power, has been one dominant role of urban regions not only as metropolitan, often cosmopolitan, centres but also as sources or foundations of information, ideas and innovations that have permeated (or ‘diffused’) into the larger rural society almost invariably in a uni-directional fashion.

Everett Rogers’ model of the diffusion-adoption of innovations in a social environment (Rogers, 1962:306) best illustrates this fact. Throughout the five key stages of the process (awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption/non-adoption), the critical sources of information and inspiration, say about a particular agricultural practice, include the mass media, the expert official and perhaps also the commissioned agent. All these are based in and operate from town, which is then understood to own the fund of knowledge or skill that is being extended to the rural periphery. Even in the case of a successful neighbour who becomes the immediate source of information, that member of the
innovator' category owes the success somehow to an urban or urban-based source.

Many more social practices and styles that have at one time or another been seen or even cherished by a large population in the country—to furnish ready examples in East Africa: the wig and miniskirt fads in the nineteen-sixties, the maxi-gowns of the early seventies, the bell-bottom trousers of the late seventies and the 'platform' and 'rise-on' shoes of the eighties among the youth—can in a similar vein be said to have been acclaimed symbols of 'modernity' originating or transmitted from outside through the urban centres, supposed pace-makers of society.

Of course, some innovations and practices are judged and acclaimed 'good' and contributory to social progress, while others, when they do appear, are cursed as alien, detrimental and socially unacceptable; yet others are at the same time viewed differently by different contending groups, as the miniskirt debate reflected in Tanzania in the sixties. In all cases, however, as new things and occurrences in society, they have, and indeed they have had, a spillover effect on the rural population: on their outlook, their attitudes and their sensitivity.

(3) Rural-urban migration

For the attractions of town, from different vantage points as a modernizer and accelerator to wealth and importance, but also as a safety-valve of escape from trouble into comfort and anonymity, and for the reality of observable amenities, services and facilities obtainable in cities and towns which are rare or unknown in the countryside, the urban centre has grown into a spongy terminus for a growing number of people of varied characteristics, needs and disposition.

For some people the mobility could have been simply a normal rural-urban-rural movement cycle. But given the nature of basic motivations, problems, needs and results or experiences of the initial practice, for yet a good number of people the movement has become a one-way rural-urban migratory venture.

Both the cyclic and the unidirectional migrations seem to have involved, at first, young men and middle-aged adults for several reasons, as can be deduced from a number of studies (Mitchell, n.d.; Southall and Gutkind, 1956; Leslie, 1963, Little, 1973):

a) target search for employment in town in a period of seasonal underemployment and little productivity in the rural hinterland;

b) timed search for paid job in town or industrial centre or estate to enable the individual to pay the mandatory poll tax, and any other dues (as were instituted by the colonial administration) back in the home district;

c) demonstration of bravery and manhood by travelling long distances unaided, undefended, before one could be trusted with such socially respected responsibilities as a wife, a seat on the council of village elders, and the like;

c) escape from domestic entanglements and quarrels with parents, neighbours and even from the sometimes undue tyranny of the traditional kings and chiefs; and
Urban areas: actual modifications and interventions.
Source: Burgess' example of an American city (1925:55).

trate in ethnic groups within the zone of transition but have also to be found scattered across the workingmen's zone and elsewhere.

These and many other micro-movements and processes and the accompanying social and community attitudes and events are aspects that deserve close investigation by social anthropologists, sociologists, economists, geographers and indeed historians, all whose individual and collective insights are necessary for informing policy.

The four factors—political pre-eminence, sociocultural predominance, rural-urban migration and the physical growth of urban regions—do underline the importance for study of cities and towns. The importance is not only from the point of view of the problems that arise from a situation of unequal relationships between a small but dominant urban enclave and its large but powerless rural hinterland, but also from the standpoint of the distinctive social-cultural metamorphosis that urban immigrants have to undergo in order to adapt to a life that in many respects parts ways with the pattern of life and behaviour used to in their rural background. Insights from such a study would surely contribute significantly towards a conscientious search for balanced national development based on informed policies and well-guided administrative action.
Urban areas: actual modifications and interventions. Dar es Salaam City, an example of many and diverse African urban centres. (Locational sketch).

The Dearth of Urban Sociological Studies

It would be wrong and perhaps myopic to assert that no study at all has been conducted on the urban sector of Eastern Africa. But it is correct to submit that any recent studies specific on the urban sector of the region are very few and largely biased towards structural and geographical themes, as in the case of a team survey of the city of Nairobi (Morgan, 1967) and H. de Blij's study of Mombasa (de Blij, 1968). Or else they have concerned themselves with the macro- and micro-economic aspects as in the case of a research survey by a team of research scholars from the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi (Kenya) conducted in 1970/71 on the economics and economic problems of the city's African households (Whitelaw, 1971). One of the studies worth mentioning in connection with sociological concerns in urban Kenya was the survey of crime in Kisumu town in 1972-73 (Muga, 1977).

Urban research in the other East African countries has been even scantier and much less recent even though surely more sociological. Uganda can boast of only one urban study conducted by Southall and Gutkind in the mid-fifties (Southall and Gutkind, 1956). Its importance, though, lies in its sociological and dynamic nature in its focus on the character and attitude of a category of men and women who found themselves engulfed in a detached, detribalized,
depersonalized urban situation of the post-war period. Apart from this study about three decades ago, virtually no comprehensive research has been done in the urban locations of the country despite their obviously continuing proliferation and complexity.

A similar statement can be made with respect to Tanzania, which saw her first and almost only scholarly study of Dar es Salaam by J.A. Leslie in the latter part of the nineteen-fifties (Leslie, 1963). Again, useful and insightful as this sociological survey is, it may have long been overtaken by events. As confessed by the author of the survey report himself, ‘It describes a Dar es Salaam which has since changed in many respects and a situation which has become radically altered since the achievement of independence’ (Leslie, 1963: Author’s Note).

In the close of the 1960s, the Tanzania Society devoted a special issue of its publication *Tanzania Notes and Records* (No. 71, 1970) to a description and illumination of the city, port and suburban region of Dar es Salaam. The issue consists of a number of articles which give useful insights into this area. However, the studies are largely historical, structural and geographical, and leave a much-needed sociological examination and analysis of the social situation, social dynamics, trends and problems that may have arisen out of the heightening process of urbanization. The only other study that would have yielded a sizeable amount of sociological data on urban life and behaviour patterns is the one sponsored by the Sociology Department of the University of Dar es Salaam in 1968/69, the report of which is regrettably now beyond hope of production or submission.4

A comparatively more recent sociological study among those few available on the urban sector of African societies is one by Kenneth Little (1973). This is on various aspects, conditions, backgrounds and roles of different groups of African women in town. While it makes cross-references to the East African scene, the book, which is largely documentary and anecdotal, derives most of its material from West African towns and cities on the basis of which it makes some generalizations for East Africa. Some of the generalizations are far-fetched and are not always consistent with the reality in Eastern Africa.

This brief review of issues and concerns and of the few research studies in the field of urban sociology does make a case for a re-awakened interest and research effort on the part of developing countries in general and Eastern Africa in particular. This is an important call not only from the point of view of a much-needed contribution to the growth and strengthening of urban sociology as a discipline in universities and colleges of higher education, but also from the perspective of the current problems and crises emerging from the urban centres for which urgent and well-informed social policy must be formulated. It is all the more important, given the expanding horizons of conception, the developing dimensions of the urban phenomenon, and the observed crises and difficulties associated with urbanization as a process and urbanism as an emergent way of life.

In the nineteen-thirties, Louis Wirth, a founder member of the well-known
old Chicago school of urban sociologists, defined an urban community as ‘a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement’ (Wirth, 1938). Today, more than forty years later, our conceptions and experience in the developing societies of Africa, and certainly Eastern Africa, would modify Wirth’s view to accommodate the undisputably meteoric scene of a highly dynamic population growth and a growing number of rural-urban immigrants, of considerable transience and preponderant unemployed youth activity, of a subsequent mixed and frequently unconventional search for means of survival and a consequent rise in the temperature of delinquency and crime among the ‘can’t make it’: the unemployed, the unemployable and the chronically jobless.

The Rapid Population Growth in Eastern Africa

Eastern Africa has experienced rapid growth over the last three decades: a growth that can be positively associated with a post-war peace period, improved medical care and medical facilities, improved nutrition and food supply, increased birth rate and reduced death rate, and, although less frequently mentioned, a continual trickle of immigrant populations from outside the region and, within the region, from outside the countries either for sale of labour or for refuge. A few statistics will illustrate the point.

In mainland Tanzania, the population has risen from 7.4 million in 1948 to 8.7 million in 1957, sharply to 11.9 million in 1967 and even more sharply to 17.0 million in 1978. Currently the population is estimated at 19,120,000. The annual growth rate was calculated at 1.8 percent in 1957 (based on the 1948 census), rising to 3.1 percent in 1967, to the current 3.5 percent. While Uganda’s population steadily rose from 9,548,847 in 1969 to an estimated 10,461,500 in 1972, it is currently estimated at 14 million. Rapid growth has also been seen in Zambia’s rise from a 1969 figure of 4,056,995 to the current estimated figure of 7,670,000, an increment of close to 90% in a little more than a decade.

Kenya provides an even more dramatic case of population growth. While the population was 10,942,705 in 1969, it had increased to 14,337,000 by the 1977 estimate. It is presently put at 17,090,000. At the birth rate of 54 per 1000, Kenya’s growth rate is the world’s highest, shooting up from 3.3 percent in the 1960s and 1970s to 4.0 percent in 1980. It is predicted by Gamini Seneviratne (1981:18–20) that should the population growth continue at its present rate, Kenya will have twice as many people in seventeen years to come, that is by the close of this century.

The increasing rate of urbanization and urban population growth can be equally appreciated from the rising graph for each of the old-established cities and towns as well as from the formation of new urban centres over the years. For example, Dar es Salaam grew gradually from a humble 5,000 people as estimated in 1886, to 18,000 in 1900, to 24,000 in 1931. The post-World War II
census in 1948 put the Dar es Salaam population figure at 51,000 (lately adjusted to 69,227), rising to 92,330 (adjusted to 128,742) more or less trebling in a matter of a decade to 272,821 in 1967 and again trebling the 1967 figure in the following decade to 851,522 by 1978. The trend has been similar for the other towns in Tanzania (see Table 1.1).

The rate of natural increase for the whole country (i.e. birth rate minus death rate) has been 2%, 2.7% and 3.0% respectively for the inter-census periods of 1948–57, 1957–67 and 1967–78. Thus, if the natural increase accounts for only about 3 percent and the annual growth for Dar es Salaam as calculated from the latest figures is 9.8 percent, then the 6.8% annual population increase must be accounted for by net migration, which is almost exclusively in-town (predominantly rural-urban) migration.

For Kampala in Uganda, the population has grown from an estimated 7,000 in 1926 to 24,126 after the Second World War in 1948, to 330,700 in 1969. The current figure for Kampala is put at 450,000.

Table 1.1. Population growth of urban centres in Tanzania, 1948–1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Census year</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>5,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukoba</td>
<td>3,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>69,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodoma</td>
<td>9,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>5,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigoma-Ujiji</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>8,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>3,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morogoro</td>
<td>8,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moshi</td>
<td>8,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musoma</td>
<td>2,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtwar-Mikindani</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>11,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinyanga*</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singida*</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songea*</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumbawanga*</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>12,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>22,317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total urban pop. 170,230 | 317,521 | 610,801 | 2,226,855
% of country's pop/year** 2.3 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 13.0

Source: Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam
NB *The four starred towns were demarcated and reckoned as urban districts, with own town councils, in the period after the 1967 census.
**The national population in 1948 was 7.4 million; in 1957 it was 8.7 million; in 1967 it was 11,951,437 and in 1978 it was 17,048,329 (all for mainland Tanzania).
As for Kenya, urban population growth has been much more spectacular. In Nairobi it has risen more than nine times in less than forty years from a low of 11,512 in 1906 to a high of 108,900 in 1944 and even more rapidly after the war to 266,794 in 1962 and 342,764 in 1963, to a phenomenal 509,000 in 1969, 630,000 in 1973 and 970,000 at the present time. In a similar fashion, even though less dramatically, the country’s port-city of Mombasa has grown in population from 180,000 in 1962 to 234,400 in the late sixties, rising even more sharply to an estimated 310,000 in 1973.

In all these cases, there is clear evidence of an ever-increasing rate of growth from rural-urban migration, a rate which far exceeds the rate of natural increase. The labour survey of Kenya by an International Labour Office mission in 1972 did not hesitate to warn that, given the present high rate of population growth and urbanization, only 2.8 million households in Kenya will be living in the rural areas in 1985, as contrasted to an increasing majority of households who will be living in the urban regions (ILO, 1972:151).

Within the Eastern African region, Zambia presents a similarly graphic picture of rural-urban movement and urbanization which are given much impetus by the growth and proliferation of industrial activity, including mining, and a corresponding general disregard by most of the active population for the slow-moving agricultural work in the rural areas. Rwanda and Burundi seem to be the only exceptions to the conspicuous urban swells and the associated village-town migration. The explanation lies largely in the fundamentally slower growth of industry in their capital cities and satellite-towns and also in the still preponderant attachment to rural life and values for most of the adult population. However, even in these countries, a trickling contingent of younger men and youths are to be found at the threshold of the city gates heading towards destinations in the city centre.

Notes

1. In 1970, the population census report for mainland Tanzania indicated that the total population in towns had reached 610,801 (that is 5.1 percent) out of the national population of 11,951,437. See Statistical Abstract, 1973 (Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam, pp 46–47). The preliminary report of the 1978 census indicates a national population rise to 17,048,329 out of which a total of 14,821,474 (87 percent) live in rural districts and 2,226,855 (13 percent) in urban districts. See 1978 Population Census Preliminary Report (Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam, 1978, pp. 38–40). Although an allowance has to be made for the recent re-adjustment of city and town boundaries and the consequent boost for urban population figures, the truth still remains that population in urban regions in Tanzania has risen considerably between the two census years. The same observation holds for the other countries in Eastern Africa, particularly Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Zambia. Current population studies show that of all the continents in the world, Africa registers the highest rate of urbanization.
An on-the-spot investigation on Thursday [March 9] showed that about 60 to 70 beggars, some of them preparing the day's 'meal', had already assembled at that area to spend the night. More were expected to join the 'congregation'. ... (Daily News, March 11, 1978).

The political party paper Uhuru of March 15, 1978 was even more vocal on the matter. Deploiring the resurgence of the beggars in the city, the editorial went further in its criticism of the government for not having found a permanent solution to the problem:

... The problem of beggars is not a recent one; it is an old problem. Whenever it seemed to go beyond proportions, the 'medicine' that has been applied is to round up the victims and to repatriate them to their homes [in the rural areas]. ...

This method of street-capturing and repatriation relieves the town only for a short while; it is a piece-meal, shortlived solution, for the beggars soon re-appear. We need a more permanent step. ...

Although the Central Committee of the Party [then TANU'] had in 1975 called on the Government to look into this problem, and although those concerned promised to give a solution soon—including legislating against alms-giving—nothing has as yet been done and we really wonder why. ...

In a country that has declared a socialist policy, it is shameful and indeed inexplicable to find its citizens roaming about streets begging and turning garbage bins around in search of food. (Uhuru, March 15, 1978. Translated from original Swahili).

In Kenya, the virtual absence of beggars and the destitute in the central and more conspicuous locations of some of the busy urban centres is to be explained by the unpredictable harsher police action, in terms of round-ups, ambush and baton sweeps, which have served to push them to the municipal fringes. Thus, for instance, they are to be found in bigger numbers and/or with greater frequencies in such locations as River Road, Pumwani, Mathare Valley and to some extent Eastleigh in the outskirts of Nairobi, and Majengo and its adjoining areas in Mombasa.

In Kampala, Uganda, Kissenyi used to be about the largest and almost only base of the low-income population and a centrifugal spot for the urban beggars. However, in the last decade more destitute and refuge-spots are reported to have sprung up and multiplied in various parts of the city, which have made current rehabilitative policy compelling.

Bujumbura in Burundi and Kigali in Rwanda are perhaps the only cities in the Eastern African region which seem to be devoid of the roaming begging population, except for very occasional pockets such as along Bujumbura’s famous Avenue du Prince Louis Rwagasore, by the Catholic Bookshop, where beggars may have any hope of receiving a franc or two from the Librairie’s religious patrons and clients.

On the other hand, the public appearance of the more energetic and more stoutly mobile youth on the urban scene of the unemployed is perceptually more recent. For most countries in Eastern Africa, this dimension dates back to
its slow beginnings in the mid-1960s, intensifying in the late seventies and
eighties. Ironically, numbers seem to have increased with increased oppor­
tunities and enrolment for education, especially at the primary level. As the
countries are presently experimenting with an open system of universal prim­
ary education, the numbers out on the street are also increasing.

The fact is that educational expansion at secondary school level has not been
as fast as at the primary school level, such that a growing number of primary
school outputs have just not been absorbed into the secondary level. Table II.1
illustrates this fact, and Table II.2 throws light on an even extended problem
that affects secondary school leavers as well. The statistics available in Tanza­
nia do reveal that well over three-quarters of the primary school leaving
population become ‘wastage’ every year as they are unplaced, even if allowance
could be made for a very small percentage who get gainfully absorbed in the
informal rural sector. The situation is no better for Kenya where, in 1971, of the
170,000 pupils who completed primary Std. 7, only 28 percent proceeded to
secondary school, and the remainder had to suffer the problem of either looking
for places to repeat Std. 7 or vanishing into the harsh informal sector to fend for
themselves. (Somerset, 1974:151).

Table II.1. Primary education expansion and secondary school intake trend in Tanzania,
1961–1981

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 1</td>
<td>121,386</td>
<td>140,340</td>
<td>171,500</td>
<td>208,300</td>
<td>542,977</td>
<td>576,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 7</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>156,114</td>
<td>212,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td>4,196</td>
<td>5,302</td>
<td>7,149</td>
<td>8,165</td>
<td>8,620</td>
<td>8,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not selected to Form I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>147,494</td>
<td>203,539</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% not selected</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of National Education, Dar es Salaam
n.a. = figures not available, hence difficult to show numbers not selected to Form I for
1961–74 although they can safely by assumed to have been on a rising trend.

Table II.2. Allocations of form IV secondary school output by high-level manpower
allocation committee, Tanzania, 1970–1976

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form IV Output</td>
<td>6,713</td>
<td>8,045</td>
<td>8,530</td>
<td>9,217</td>
<td>9,840</td>
<td>10,593</td>
<td>12,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Form V (further ed.)</td>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>1,705</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>1,870</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>1,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Pre-service Courses</td>
<td>4,120</td>
<td>3,864</td>
<td>2,871</td>
<td>3,702</td>
<td>2,099</td>
<td>4,140</td>
<td>6,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Direct Employment</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td>2,476</td>
<td>3,858</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>2,550</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unplaced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,833</td>
<td>3,343</td>
<td>3,067</td>
<td>3,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Unplaced (‘wastage’)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31%) (34%) (29%) (25%)

Source: Ministry of Manpower Development, Dar es Salaam.
In all cases, it is the primary school leaving examination which has been the determinant of who ‘passes’ and who ‘fails’ in school education and, indirectly, a critical determinant of the life chances in terms of those passed to prospects of social success and those condemned to threats of social failure. And accordingly, bitter feelings about failure have been running high as much among the school leavers themselves as among parents. The following report is a telling case:

Last week I spent quite some time trying to console my friend Joe over a misfortune that has befallen him. Joe’s misfortune is that he has a son who did his CPE (examination) last year, passed but was not accepted into any high school. ...

‘The trouble with you, Joe, is that you think too much’, I said to Joe. ...

‘Who am I? I am Joe’.

‘I know you are Joe. But who are you? I mean what do you know about these things? It takes a lot of training and education to weigh one child’s results against those of another and come to the right decision about who shall go into Form I and who shouldn’t. It’s not just a matter of looking up the performance list and finding out who came first and who came last. There are certain imponderables. ...’

‘Certain what?’ Joe screamed at me.

‘Imponderables’, I said.

‘What have imponderables to do with whether my child goes into Form I or not?’

‘Everything, Joe. Everything’.

(Hilary Ng’weno in *Daily Nation*, February 27, 1972; quoted in Somerset, 1974:149).

Comparatively, the crisis of immediate redundancy of the primary school leavers has been less biting for Kenya than for Tanzania as the percentage for children not selected for secondary education has been slowly decreasing since the early years of the 1970s (see Table II.3) largely as a result of the encouraged growth of community and private self-help initiative in providing secondary school opportunities, as demonstrated by Harambee, Church and other private efforts. The figure of redundancy has further been reduced by rural vocational training centres, Village Polytechnics, under the government’s youth development programme launched in 1971 specifically to provide a gainful ‘alternative’ to formal secondary school (Court, 1980:149–163).

Inspite of the short-run relief for Kenya, and given the outburst of the primary school system and the looming numbers in most countries who are rejected by the almost invariably targeted secondary school system, anxiety about the ‘victims of the system’ remains. The pertinent question is: where do all these young school leavers who become ‘unplaced’ go? Where have they gone or ended since the more serious years of the late sixties or seventies? To their homes in the rural areas? Some, yes. But for the majority, with a sense of failure, with little or no material base to become self-reliant producers, and little economic incentive and reward to tie them to the households, the tendency has been to trail roads and paths leading to town, with hopes of getting some

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 1</td>
<td>379,370</td>
<td>956,844</td>
<td>668,166</td>
<td>571,872</td>
<td>603,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 7</td>
<td>194,875</td>
<td>214,272</td>
<td>227,439</td>
<td>243,214</td>
<td>237,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>64,706</td>
<td>73,690</td>
<td>94,834</td>
<td>106,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not secured F.I.</td>
<td>149,566</td>
<td>153,749</td>
<td>148,380</td>
<td>130,727</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% not secured</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (Kenya), n.d.: pp. 29 and 72. n.a. = figure not available.*

paid job and leading an easier life. If the problem had not reached proportions serious enough to attract research initiatives by sociologists, indeed it has long been glaring and perplexing enough to spark off the inquisitive efforts of public media throughout Eastern Africa:

Every year, at this time of the year [January], a great number of Zambians undergo a traumatic experience that affects their individual lives. It is at this time of the year that we witness a great mass of the leaders of tomorrow, the youths, suddenly becoming the paupers of tomorrow—they are so-called drop-outs.

... The tragedy of the whole situation is that this year [1976] alone, 97,907 children who are still at the tender age of around 13, are suddenly thrown out in the cold vicious world to fend for themselves.

... The school system as it is at the present turns out every year youths who can only read and write English, but are unproductive. As thousands of children find themselves in the street every year with no hope of ever getting a good livelihood, the social problems also increase. What the present system is producing are gangs of half-educated savages and thieves, not because they want it that way, but because they have no other means of survival in this cruel world. *(Sunday Times of Zambia, January 25, 1976; quoted in Hoppers, 1981:9).*

While most, if not all, these youths form a new force of the unemployed urban fortune-seekers, yet another small, little-announced though not insignificant sub-category of the urban phenomenon comprise equally young boys and girls who, because of the urban location of the schools they attend, combine official school hours with intermissions of abscondance into ‘leisure’ and non-school activities in streets and even in adult-reserved pubs. Capturing public imagination with a vivid photograph of youths ‘out of school uniform into “civvies” and off to a date in a bar’ away from the custodial confines of the school and home, *Standard of Kenya* of Tuesday May 17, 1977 did unmask this latest frenzied fad (or practice?) among school youths:
The rapid increase in the number of adolescents taking to drugs, smoking, pre-marital sex and part-time prostitution is one of the heavy prices Kenya is having to pay for its rapid modernization.

As in many western nations, the youth of Kenya could in the very near future throw the whole country into a state of near-social delinquency unless the relevant authorities take immediate corrective measures.

Already the vast majority of Third World countries, Kenya among them, are experiencing the acute problem of uncontrollable inebriety, which is not only retarding industrial efficiency, but [also] disrupting social stability. ...

The laxity of parents and teachers in disciplining children since [the country's] attainment of independence had directly contributed to the present trends that may soon lead to social and even industrial chaos.

Several employers, for example, have been complaining of what they describe as the difficult and insubordinate new breed of workers, while parents talk of rude and disrespectful children. School teachers, too, have increasingly pointed out the social dangers posed by anti-authority, bhang-smoking [and truant] pupils who will do anything short of beating up teachers they dislike. (The Standard, May 17, 1977).

This press release could not have been an insinuation nor an innuendo. It is a frank description of a situation as it starkly obtains today in the growing and 'modernizing' cities and towns not only in Kenya but in other Eastern African countries as well. And if, from the survey above, what is said by the mass media and frequently alluded to by research scholars should be taken as authentic pointers to a problem that, with time, has grown well beyond formative infancy, then urban unemployment in general and unemployed urban youth in particular constitute a problem worthy of sociological investigation. For there stand a number of search questions that must be answered: What are the characteristics of this unemployed population? How do they live and how do they subsist? Are they long-term residents or short-term visitors? What are their subsistence activities and social networks? What problem do they encounter and in what ways are they themselves a problem? What are the implications for social policy?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to try and address itself precisely to the questions raised above and to any related issues that would help our better understanding of the unemployed population in urban centres in East Africa. While it was no longer a point of dispute whether or not there was this kind of population, given the indicators and insights of the literature reviewed, the details of this population had yet to be unearthed. For instance, how big is this unemployed population, and what is its nature? What are the geographic and community backgrounds of the individuals involved? What are their social and economic characteristics? How do they live in this environment and what activities do
they engage in? What difficulties do they face and how do they surmount them?

These are not easy questions to answer, especially when the study is dealing with a hyper-sensitive category of the population, or ‘under-class’, subject to all sorts of vicissitudes and public outcry and legislation. To be able to answer some of them adequately and to approximate the magnitude of others, a study of this kind demands an in-depth survey of a delimited field, as well as a length of time in which to build up a kind of intimacy or rapport with the subjects of study. It also demands familiarity with, and intimate knowledge of, the various places and areas in the urban region under study. There is also a self-dictated need for the investigator, concerned with rapport that allays possible suspicions and forestalls misinterpretation, to approach the subjects on their own grounds and on their own terms.

With these considerations borne in mind, the field study of the urban unemployed in Eastern Africa was to be narrowed down from that large locus to a smaller, more manageable Tanzania situation; and within Tanzania it was to be focussed on a delineated sample of principal urban centres.

The significance of this study lies, on the one hand, in the kind of public report we want to produce, and on the other hand, in the contribution it hopes to make to the growth of a discipline. Both these concerns are built into the guiding three-fold principle of the study, namely:

(a) to make an account, in simple and clear terms, of the everyday life, events and perceptions surrounding this category of the urban population; in other words, to write a balanced quantitative-qualitative social report of a situation;

(b) in trying to record and interpret the everyday life of the ordinary unemployed population in their own urban niches, to avoid, as much as possible, imposing or projecting prejudices and biases of the ‘middle-class’ culture from which most researchers and interpreters of ‘lower-class’ life come; and

(c) in simplicity, clarity and objectivity of description, (i) to lay bare facts about the situation for policy-makers to think of future action; (ii) to add to a repertoire of sociological theory practical and interpretive insights at the disposal of social science scholars; and (iii) to enable all those with an interest in improving the conditions of the urban poor to see things as they really are, so that, with facts at their disposal, they can think of best courses of remedial as well as of innovative action.

Method of Study

The method adopted in this research shared the properties of both holistic and cross-sectional approaches. For, while it was necessary at the beginning to establish, or even approximate, the magnitude of the subjects of study, it would nevertheless have been impossible at a later stage to obtain personal testimony
from each and everyone falling in the category. Given these considerations and limitations, and given the need for both breadth and depth of study, three research techniques were employed, namely:

(a) enumeration, that is actual physical counting, of all individuals defined to fall within a category of the urban unemployed;

(b) observation of all known or reported areas, niches and spots where urban gangs, and such unemployed individuals were known to frequent, visit or live; and

(c) personal interviews with only a sample of the enumerated individuals.

The first two techniques were considerably interdependent, while the third came last after a frontal approach in confronting the total population and scanning the total locale. Together, they were intended to give a balanced quantitative-qualitative picture of the issue at hand.

Within the context of the baseline data discussed and search questions asked, the field investigation was conducted in four selected urban centres in Tanzania. These were Dar es Salaam, the national capital city on the eastern side of the country, Arusha in the north, Mwanza in the northwest and Tabora in the west-central. Apart from a fair distribution across the country, these urban centres are physically and demographically large in which a study such as this one on unemployment and social dynamics could yield any significant insights.

With regard to the first technique—enumeration—the towns were divided into their natural, habitational zones that conveniently incorporated given locations and residential areas together, as contrasted from ‘grid’ zones which, though geographically neat and accurate, would arbitrarily cut across residential spreads and areas. The resulting number and sizes of the zones then determined the number of enumerators to be employed in the task, subsequently Dar es Salaam demanding more of them than any of the other towns of study.

The enumerators were instructed to carry out the count during the normal working hours of the normal working days. This was to minimize the possibility of including in the count working individuals in non-working hours and/or on non-working days. Any accidental faulty counting was to be eliminated sooner or later by further personal solicitation and follow-up, especially in doubtful cases, regarding a subject’s employment status as judged from statements or evidence of one’s occupational or subsistence activity. Another measure towards accuracy of enumeration figures was the instruction to enumerators to start and end counting in their respective areas at approximately the same times. This was aimed at avoiding possible double-counting in a situation where an individual, having been counted in one zone, might be re-counted in another zone being visited or traversed at a subsequent time.

Of course, these measures cannot claim to be fool-proof in a complex human and demographic situation that points to a number of theoretical absurdities and practical problems. For instance, it is absurd to expect everybody ‘loitering’ in the street at ‘odd’ (that is at working) hours to be unemployed or jobless, for some people work in official shifts or in unique jobs that set them free during the normal working hours or, for that matter, during the normal working day.
Yet, while some of these people would feel free and confident to explain the situation to the enumerator, others would simply refuse to respond and thereby be taken for an unemployed or jobless person.

Another absurdity relates to human movement. Although enumeration in all zones or in all areas within a zone at the same time does minimize the possibility of doublecounting, it is not totally correct to assume that during the actual enumeration processes people are (or, in the case of this study, were) stationary. There are therefore possibilities that in the course of their free movement within and across localities, some individuals may have been counted twice. Yet, on the other hand, there are a number of unemployed and jobless people who, on hearing of or actually spotting the enumerators, may have just vanished in fear of some possible official action. The technical controls mentioned, however, and also the deliberate use of enumerators intimately familiar with the respective zones, supplemented by intensive pre-operational training, could be reasonably relied upon to have reduced the usually many problems associated with this research technique.

The other two research techniques employed in this study, namely observation and interview, were relatively more straightforward. Observation was more often than not on-spot observation of places, corners and niches reported or known to be harbouring or frequented by urban unemployed groups. In many instances, it was virtually participant-observation in the sense that the researcher and research-assistants, wherever they were, sought to engage others (residents, interested passers-by or others) in intimate discussion about these places and spots. The interview, based on a standardized schedule of the key questions to ask and the main areas to explore and probe, was operationally unstructured and, when circumstances permitted, it was turned into in-depth discussion with individuals or groups.

While enumeration and some field observations were conducted in 1978, on-spot observations continued in 1979 and later. Personal interviews with the jobless began in 1979 and continued until 1980. Revisits to areas of investigation and tracer exercises in following up some of the earlier interviewees were done and completed in 1981.

Notes

1. TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), formed in 1954, was the national political party which led mainland Tanzania—then Tanganyika—to independence in 1961. In February 1977 it amalgamated with Zanzibar’s Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to form a new party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) for both the mainland and the isles.

2. CPE is Kenya’s Certificate of Primary Education which is given after an examination in Standard 7, the last grade of primary school education.

3. Indeed, the spectre can rightly be said to have swept through many cities and towns in other countries of the continent as well. In a special advertising section focussing on Nigeria, the weekly issue of Newsweek, November 22, 1982 has analyzed the
various aspects of the country, including the two sides of her ‘frustrating and fascinating’
cities. On Lagos:

... Now Lagos has become a sprawling, squalid unsightly city of nearly five million
people. If government statistics are correct, Lagos is growing at the rate of 35 people
an hour or 840 a day or a staggering 25,000 a month. From all parts of Nigeria they
come, from neighbouring countries too, lured by tales of wealth, but finding instead a
life of desperate poverty, prostitution, crime, begging. Everyday hundreds more are
swallowed up in the cities of the poor, the dingy shanty towns surrounding the capital,
where families of ten sleep cramped in a single room. ... 

... a city of stark contrast. A city of wealth and want, of millionaires carelessly
throwing away small fortunes in the casinos and street urchins begging from passing
cars. Filthy, frustrating, fascinating, according to taste. Nothing seems likely to
change it.

4. A social report for any country is something that is supposed to take stock of all
social and economic indicators in a realistic effort of assessing the state of a nation’s
‘health’. Such socio-economic indicators would include health and nutrition; education
(encompassing facilities to learning and scientific enquiry); income (embracing income
levels, standard of living, degrees from poverty level); public order and safety; housing
and water resources; employment vis-a-vis unemployment and joblessness; social and
occupational mobility; and political participation vis-a-vis political alienation and
apathy. Cf. for instance, Toward a Social Report (U.S. Department of Health, Education
Organizations on Social Indicators’ (U.N. Statistical Office working paper, Geneva,
June 1974); ‘Toward a Social Perspective: A Statistical Appraisal’ (Kenya Statistical

5. In this study, our conception of ‘unemployment’ closely follows the commonly
accepted views of ‘the condition in which individuals, wherever and whenever they are
found, cannot find employment at the going wage rate or at a level of decent subsistence
even though they are willing and able to work’. This conception covers all the possible
types or aspects of unemployment: cyclical, disguised, frictional or technological. Oper­
ationally, we defined as unemployed

(i) persons without work, who were actively seeking work, i.e. paid employment;
(ii) persons without subsistence income, who were actively looking for work, or a job;
(iii) persons without work who said they wished to work;
(iv) persons with no or some visible work activity who said or indicated that, in the
absence of gainful occupation, they were simply ‘hanging’ on to that.

Thus, identification of the unemployed was a result of the self-definition (personal
testimony) of the subjects and/or the judicious assessment of the investigator.

6. Throughout this report, the terms unemployment and joblessness are used interchange­
ably on account of their same conceptual referent at least in the final analysis. An
‘employed person’ is in this study thought of beyond the usual confines of a person
employed by another person or by an institution, to include a gainfully self-employed
person, or, a person with an economically gainful and socially acceptable job to do.
Chapter III

Characteristics and Tendencies

The enumeration drive in the four urban regions of the study in Tanzania, in 1978, caught a total of 4,791 unemployed (jobless) persons in the city of Dar es Salaam, 570 in Arusha, 1,111 in Mwanza, and 1,145 in Tabora. These seem to be very small figures indeed in relation to the total figures of residents of the towns. For Dar es Salaam, the figure is 0.56 percent of the total urban population, while for Arusha, Mwanza and Tabora they are 0.66 percent, 0.65 percent and 1.7 percent respectively (see Table III.1).

This perspective changes, however, when it has to be noted that the enumeration machinery must have either overlooked (glossed over) or been outpaced by many others who would have been categorized as jobless. Moreover, these figures do not include the not insignificant numbers who were at the time in prison cells, remand jails or statutory detention quarters. Although no official statistics were released by authorities concerned with these custodial institutions, the figure is not a negligible one. In 1973, for which year there are publicly released police records for the whole country, there were a total of 32,095 cases of arrest and court summons, out of which 17,340 definitely convicted (Bureau of Statistics, 1973:229). It can be assumed that the number has been increasing, out of which the number of those jobless convicts must have risen proportionately.

Table III.1. Enumerated jobless population in four urban regions, 1978, in relation to respective town populations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Enumerated n</th>
<th>Jobless %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>851,522</td>
<td>4,791</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>86,845</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>169,660</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>67,392</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,175,419</td>
<td>7,617</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. The figures do not include those in custodial institution at the time. It has also to be noted that the percentages given above are proportions of the total town populations. They would obviously be significantly higher if based on the towns' working populations—that is, when excluding the workers' dependants, namely children and housewives, as well as school pupils and college students. Unfortunately, no accurate census figures are available for each of the country's urban centres.
The figures for the urban unemployed are bound to be even higher today, given the accelerating rate of urban population growth largely due to rural-urban migration (principally among rural youths and school leavers), which is calculated at about 6 percent annually. Also, the proven facts of the limited absorptive capacity of the urban formal sector and the slow growth of non-agricultural formal sector employment (Rweyemamu, 1973; ILO, 1978) would confirm the contention about the rising tide of urban unemployment, of a hanging jobless population and a 'culture' connected with these conditions.

If by 1971 unemployment in all urban regions of the country was on average 10 percent and in Dar es Salaam alone it was 11.6 percent (Bienefeld and Sabot, 1972), then it can be safely assumed to have been higher in 1978 at the time of this study, when we consider, further, that there was a decline in wage employment in 1975 and 1976.

Thus, taking all these factors into consideration, we can estimate the present rate of unemployment at 16 percent or more. Calculations on the basis of Bienefeld and Sabot's 1971 unemployment statistics put the current urban unemployment figure for Dar es Salaam alone at 20 percent.

More important for our study, and certainly more interesting than the sheer numbers, are the demographic features and sociological background of these urban unemployed.

a. Age and Sex
The population covered was overwhelmingly young, with about eighty percent between 10 and 35 years of age. Sixteen percent were 36 years and above, with those over 40 years in a minority. As is reflected in Table III.2, the preponderant age group of the jobless in the four towns taken together was 21–24 years, who drew close to half of the total surveyed population (i.e. 42.6%). These were followed, in a decreasing order of magnitude, by the 16–20 year age group (21.6%), 10–15 years (13.4%) and 36–40 year group (11.2%). With very minor variations, the pattern is the same for all the four individual towns of enumeration.

Children under 10 years were not as many as those over 10, with an average size of 3.8 percent of the total population, although Mwanza had a heavier incidence of them (5.4%) while Tabora had the least incidence of this age group (2.6%).

Taken together as a group, the population is young, with those falling in the explicitly young ages of up to 35 years forming 81.4 percent of the total population of the enumerated jobless and less than twenty percent above thirty-five years.

With regard to sex, the majority of the jobless population enumerated in all the four towns were males who formed close to three-quarters, mostly in their young ages. The female population was in a minority (about 25 percent) divided almost equally between young (10–20 years) and older (36 and over).

In Dar es Salaam, where the study was more intensive distribution by sex was a little less skewed to the male, the latter lowering to about 70 percent and
the females (1,436 in total) rising to about 30 percent of the total 4,791 jobless enumerated in the city. These 30 percent, however, were, unlike for the four towns taken together, preponderantly younger (10–35 years) with those in the late thirties and beyond forming a small proportion of about a third of the total female jobless.

Table III.2. The enumerated unemployed-jobless in Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza and Tabora by age group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>D'Salaam</th>
<th>Arusha</th>
<th>Mwanza</th>
<th>Tabora</th>
<th>All towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–15</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16–20</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21–35</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36–40</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 40</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified/n.r.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. The ‘Unidentified/n.r.’ category includes individuals who either proved difficult to identify by age or gave no response when asked, or both.

b. Geographical and Ethnic Backgrounds

For all the four towns of enumeration, the largest proportions of the unemployed came from within the immediate areas surrounding the urban location, decreasing with areas farther away. Thus, for instance, Dar es Salaam draws a heavy proportion of its jobless population from the coastal districts (Bagamoyo, Kisarawe and Rufiji)—32.1%, followed by the Dar es Salaam districts of Ilala, Kindondi and Temeke—13.3%. The rest come from Morogoro (6.8%), Kilimanjaro (6.0%), Dodoma (5.1%) and several other areas geographically farther away and represented by correspondingly small proportions of the jobless in the city (see Table III.3).

The ethnic groupings represented, in their decreasing order of magnitude, include the Zaramo, Swahili, Ndengereko and Kwere from the Coast and Dar es Salaam regions; the Luguru and Kaguru from Morogoro; the Chagga and Pare from Kilimanjaro; the Gogo from Dodoma; and others from a number of ethnic communities. The diversity of the population does, further, demonstrate the fact that this largest town, and for years the capital city, has been a centre of attraction even to the remotest and farthest areas in the country and beyond.

Tables III.4, III.5 and III.6 for Arusha, Mwanza and Tabora reflect the same principle of relative geographical proximity and ethnic distribution. The biggest group within the Arusha urban jobless are the Arusha-Meru and Mbulu from Arusha region itself (26.3%), followed by the Chagga from Kilimanjaro (24.6%) and the Gogo from Dodoma (7.9%).
Table III.3. *Dar es Salaam: Enumerated unemployed-jobless by geographical and ethnic origins.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical origins</th>
<th>Ethnic origins</th>
<th>Statistical representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coast (excl. D’Salaam)</td>
<td>Zaramo, Ndengereko, Kwere</td>
<td>n 1,539 % 32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>As above + Swahili</td>
<td>n 636 % 13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morogoro</td>
<td>Luguru, Kaguru</td>
<td>n 324 % 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Chagga, Pare</td>
<td>n 289 % 6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodoma</td>
<td>Gogo</td>
<td>n 246 % 5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>Haya, Hangaza</td>
<td>n 233 % 4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>Nyakyusa</td>
<td>n 149 % 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>Zigua, Digo</td>
<td>n 149 % 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>n 142 % 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singida</td>
<td>Nyiramba, Rangi</td>
<td>n 116 % 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>Nyamwezi</td>
<td>n 114 % 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>Hehe</td>
<td>n 113 % 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruvuama</td>
<td>Ngoni, Yao, Makonde</td>
<td>n 113 % 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>Kurya, Ruri</td>
<td>n 84 % 1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>Sukuma</td>
<td>n 71 % 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigoma</td>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>n 56 % 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songea</td>
<td>Mwera</td>
<td>n 56 % 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>n 361 % 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n 4,791 % 100.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.4. *Arusha: Enumerated unemployed-jobless by geographical and ethnic origins.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical origins</th>
<th>Ethnic origins</th>
<th>Statistical representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>Meru, Arusha, Mbulu</td>
<td>n 150 % 26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>Chagga</td>
<td>n 140 % 24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singida</td>
<td>Rangi, Nyiramba</td>
<td>n 70 % 12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodoma</td>
<td>Gogo</td>
<td>n 45 % 7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Others (n.r.)</td>
<td>n 165 % 28.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.r. = no response

Table III.5. *Mwanza: Enumerated unemployed-jobless by geographical and ethnic origins.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical origins</th>
<th>Ethnic origins</th>
<th>Statistical representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>Sukuma, Kara, Kerewe</td>
<td>n 515 % 46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>Kurya, Zanaki, Luo, Ikoma, Ngulimi</td>
<td>n 447 % 40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinyanga</td>
<td>Sukuma</td>
<td>n 61 % 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigoma</td>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>n 50 % 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda/Burundi</td>
<td>Nyaruanda/Rundi</td>
<td>n 38 % 3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table III.6. Tabora: Enumerated unemployed-jobless by geographical and ethnic origins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical origins</th>
<th>Ethnic origins</th>
<th>Statistical representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>Nyamwezi</td>
<td>n 785, % 68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigoma</td>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>n 254, % 22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinyanga</td>
<td>Sukuma</td>
<td>n 73, % 6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singida</td>
<td>Nyiramba</td>
<td>n 18, % 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukwa</td>
<td>Fipa</td>
<td>n 15, % 1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mwanza town has the largest proportion of its jobless population from its surrounding districts of Mwanza (urban and rural) and Ukerewe (46.4%), followed by those from Mara region (40.3%) and these two big groupings followed by smaller representations from Shinyanga region (5.5%), Kigoma (4.5%) and Rwanda and Burundi (3.4%) to the northwest of the country. In terms of ethnic representation, the largest grouping of the jobless in Mwanza were the Sukuma, Kara and Kerewe, followed by Kurya, Zanaki, Luo, Ikoma and Ngulimi. The Ha from Kigoma and the Nyarwanda and Rundi from Rwanda-Burundi were correspondingly the smallest of the groupings by ethnic origins.

Well over a half of the unemployed population of Tabora town were Nyamwezi from Tabora’s surrounding districts. They formed 68.6 percent of the whole body. The Ha from Kigoma were the next biggest group (22.2%). Others were Sukuma from Shinyanga (6.4%) Nyiramba from Singida (1.6%) and Fipa (1.3%) from Rukwa region in the south-west.

From observations made above in connection with the four urban areas, at least four generalizations can be made, namely that:

(i) The unemployed, jobless population in all and each of the towns is of diverse geographical and ethnic origins. This could be explained partly by the differential opportunities and pull different towns seem to represent to potential immigrants; and partly by factors of accessibility and distance between a given town and its potential catchment areas.

(ii) The bulk of the unemployed-jobless in each town come from the geographically close areas, from the ethnic context of the town’s location.

(iii) In terms of ethnic distribution in the towns of enumeration and in Dar es Salaam as the largest, distant and capital city (Table III.7), the Chagga, Nyiramba/Rangi and Gogo seem to take the leading position of having travelled or traversed long distances from their districts of origin. These are followed by the Sukuma, Kurya and Nyamwezi, and lastly the Ha. That is to say that Kilimanjaro, Singida and Dodoma are among the chief long-distance jobless sending areas, followed by Mwanza, Mara, Shinyanga and Kigoma. In no way, however, are these singly dominant in their various towns of destination, in comparison with the unemployed-jobless from ethnic groups immediately surrounding those towns.
(iv) It is logical to expect that even in towns outside those covered by this study the unemployed-jobless population is geographically and ethnically diverse, although the biggest groupings would tend to come from the immediate and closely outlying areas and districts.

Table III.7. Relative long-distance travellers beyond own town of origin to other urban regions of enumeration (Tables III.3–6) and to Dar es Salaam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups common to the four towns</th>
<th>Frequency besides once in original town</th>
<th>Occurrence in DSM by magnitude</th>
<th>Total score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chagga</td>
<td>x x =2 (score 2)</td>
<td>6.0% (score 1)</td>
<td>2+1=3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyiramba/Rangi</td>
<td>x x x =3 (&quot; ) 1</td>
<td>2.4% (&quot; 3)</td>
<td>1+3=4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gogo</td>
<td>x x =2 (&quot; 2)</td>
<td>5.1% (&quot; 2)</td>
<td>2+2=4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukuma</td>
<td>x x x =3 (&quot; 1)</td>
<td>1.5% (&quot; 5)</td>
<td>1+5=6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurya</td>
<td>x x =2 (&quot; 2)</td>
<td>1.8% (&quot; 4)</td>
<td>2+4=6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyamwezi</td>
<td>x =1 (&quot; 3)</td>
<td>2.4% (&quot; 3)</td>
<td>3+3=6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>x x x =3 (&quot; 1)</td>
<td>1.2% (&quot; 6)</td>
<td>1+6=7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Jobless ethnic group frequencies in towns besides original town awarded 1 for the highest (i.e. three times) and 3 for the lowest (i.e. one time). Presence in Dar es Salaam is awarded 1 for the highest magnitude, 2 for the next highest, ... to the highest point for the lowest magnitude. The smaller the total score the higher the ethnic group’s relative position (preponderance) for long-distance travelling or venture.

c. Location and Niches

Generally, it is easier for an observer of urban dynamics to see or encounter persons identifiable as unemployed or jobless by the manner of posture, talk or behaviour than to accurately fix their immediate points of departure and destination in a wide and frequently undefinable urban locus. Most of them are apparently ‘on the move’ from place to place, or are temporarily stationed at a point in transit to some other point in the city.

This was for the most part the case in the four urban regions surveyed. Most of the unemployed population—in the largest part of the day, that is from early morning to the late afternoon—seemed to be in a kind of floating motion on streets and avenues of the various parts of the town, although, at certain times of the day, particularly in the very early hours of the morning, and mid-day, and again late in the evening, keen observation locates them at some particular corners, spots and ‘ports of call’. Some spots are popularly known as ‘Jobless Corner’, ‘Vijana Club’ (a street-corner youth centre), ‘Pale Mahali’ (‘That very spot’), etc., often so baptized by the unemployed youngsters and men themselves.

Although clearly scattered throughout the urban region, these jobless spots range in concentration and popularity from large numbers of individuals in the city centre and towards its immediate commercial periphery, to lessening numbers in outlying wealthier residential neighbourhoods. They concentrate again, in individual numbers of groups and gangs, in poorer, shantier, poorly-
lit and poorly-policed but populous extensions of the main town. On average, in the town core and around the majority of the jobless encountered were youngsters and youths who posed or operated singly. However, there were as well incidences of physically more visible slower-moving older individuals sitting or standing or moving singly, in twos, threes, fours, rarely beyond fives, when they would usually be in postures or sessions of begging along bazaar corridors and pavements.

Away from the town centre, the jobless population tends to be of younger age and to operate more in clubs and concert, to follow some programme of action though not explicitly announced, and to favour particular, more or less permanent areas and spots often near or within quick reach of market centres, bus stations and stops, night clubs and bars, branching roads and streets and, more frequently than not, illicit brewing hideouts.

The enumeration team in Dar es Salaam reported a total of 329 groups and gangs of 3,800 individuals, while the rest of the 4,791 enumerated urban total, that is 991 (or about 21 percent) were scattered and operating individually. In Arusha, a total of 75 groups, of a total membership of 452, were counted, leaving 118, mostly old, posing or moving as lone individuals. Similarly, in Mwanza and Tabora, the majority of the enumerated jobless population existed, at least during the day time, as members to some smaller or larger group, often moving or resting in accompaniment of others close together or, as came to be the case at times, keeping some physical distance part.

Table III.8 gives an idea of the varying jobless population concentration in the various places of the urban regions surveyed. The impressions drawn from the table as well as from the sketch map (Figure III.1) of the Dar es Salaam urban locus suggest the following observations:

(i) The core of the urban centre and the city’s satellite cores experience heavier jobless concentrations, with 27% in Dar es Salaam’s Mnazi-Mmoja-Kariakoo-Buguruni locus and other concentrations in Manzese, Mtoni, etc.; 43% in Arusha’s central area from the town centre to Kaloleni; 46% in Mwanza’s town core-Market Square loop; and 61% in Tabora’s central areas from the town core to Kachoma.

(ii) Numbers trend to ‘decentralize’ from the core towards outlying areas, to pick up again in distant satellite townships. In Table III.8, Temeke, Manzese, Mbagala and to some extent Mtoni in Dar es Salaam; Ngarenaro, Makao Mapya and Industrial area in Arusha; Mabatini, Kirumba and Igogo in Mwanza; and Railway Station and Isevya in Tabora seem to fall into this category of the population growth consequent not only from direct immigration but also from the internal process of zonal succession and outward extension of the city (see Burgess, 1925:47–53).

(iii) Certain other areas of the city or town are relatively free of this kind of (jobless) population, such as Upanga-North, Oyster Bay, Regent Estate and Msasani in Dar es Salaam; the Corridor area (Njiro Hill down to New Kijenge Housing estate) and old Police Line in Arusha; Isamilo government quarters, Yacht Club and State Lodge area in Mwanza; and Cheyo government quarters
Table III.8 *Jobless population concentration by observed urban niches listed outwardly from centre of town.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAR ES SALAAM</th>
<th>ARUSHA</th>
<th>MWANZA</th>
<th>TABORA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mzazi-Mnjoba</td>
<td>Commercial town centre</td>
<td>Town core areas</td>
<td>Town Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dispensary; Clinic; Lamumba street; Public gardens; Bus stops, etc.)</td>
<td>('Metrople'; 'Vijana Club'; Taxi stand)</td>
<td>(Petrol stations; Nyamagana stadium; Harbour area)</td>
<td>(Main market; bus station; Mwanza road strip; etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karukoo</td>
<td>Uhuru Road (Cha Cha Snacks area; Post Office area; 'Jobless Corner')</td>
<td>Railway station</td>
<td>32 Chemchem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Auction mart; main market; DDC club, 'Pale Mahali'; Uhuru-Msimbazi corners)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buguruni</td>
<td>Bus Station (Bus and mini-bus areas; passenger waiting bays; etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>120 Kachoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Makona'; mini-markets; 'Alabama; Texas')</td>
<td></td>
<td>Market square (Large market with a string of out-hanging mini-markets and pawn shops)</td>
<td>(Mapuya brewery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nogomoni</td>
<td>Kaloleni (Butchery area; meat roasting and coffee brewing spots)</td>
<td></td>
<td>165 National Housing estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Market; Karume primary school area; Mwembe-Chai)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temebke</td>
<td>Ngarenaro (Local brewery; butchery; barn)</td>
<td>Mabatini ('Sekomjinga' mini-market; etc.)</td>
<td>90 Ng’ambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Bungeni Mwembe Mkamba'; mini-markets)</td>
<td></td>
<td>('Sekomjinga' mini-market; allied grounds)</td>
<td>(Sekomjinga' mini-market; allied grounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandika</td>
<td>Makao Mapya (Recently built area)</td>
<td>Kirumba ('Menyuke Club'; Local fishery)</td>
<td>250 Railway station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Yombo play grounds; numerous mini-markets)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwananyamala</td>
<td>Sanawari</td>
<td></td>
<td>135 Isevya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Market; mini-markets; dispensary; etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(mini-markets and allied shanties)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzese</td>
<td>Industrial area (R.I.C. godown; Unga Limited; etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>42 Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tandale pombe shops and breweries; mini-markets; 'Vijana-Centre'; butchery areas; etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mwanza-South port</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbega</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Wembe Club'; mission/church area; mini-markets, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtoni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Jobless Corner'; Mtonani mini-markets, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>1,580</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. In parentheses are principal spots, niches or hideouts within the general area. In quotation marks are some of the places and spots by their popular names or terms.
in Tabora. The explanation lies in the several characteristics common to all these areas, including relatively upper-class and frequently guarded or policed residences; planned and clearly spaced, often fenced or hedged housing that permits no easy trespassing, congregating or population density; and the fact of their relative seclusion from the city centre and peri-centres with their associ-
ated free movement and unhampered interpersonal exchanges and interaction. These areas have characteristically been affluent and exclusive, or at least selective, residential areas, most of them dating back to appropriation by the old European colonial officials and known, on account of that old exclusiveness, as ‘Uzunguni’.

(iv) Personal relations as well as basic and perhaps even more lasting social points of reference for the subjects would seem to be more rooted in the areas of their concentration (i.e. in the relatively populous, more compact commercial and residential areas) than in the relatively secluded, less densely populated areas. The relations and interactions may span the period from when they first struck the town gate as novices in the business of migration to the latest moment when they may claim to be ‘born city’, a popular reference to the adapted and settled urbanite.

With regard to the period of acquaintance with the urban environment, almost everyone of the subjects surveyed in the four towns had lived and tasted urban life for a period ranging from one year to as many as eight years. One biggest single category comprising more than one-third of the population (35.4%) had lived in the town for 3 to 5 years, dating back their first arrival to between 1973 and 1975. The next biggest group (about 23 percent) were more recent arrivals of 1 to 3 years residence since 1975. These two categories comprise more than a half of the total jobless population, although it is worthy of note that another third of the population (34.7%) were of longer urban residence ranging from five years to over ten (Table III.9).

At the individual level, while Arusha and Tabora had each their bulk of the jobless between 3 and 5 years of town acquaintance, and Mwanza of 1–3 years, Dar es Salaam had its biggest single category (close to one-third of its jobless) in the acquaintance period level of more than ten years. This seems to suggest at least three possible interpretations, that;

(i) Dar es Salaam’s jobless population is relatively older (in acquaintance with urban life, but possibly also in absolute chronological age) than those of the other towns.

(ii) For years previous to 1975 Dar es Salaam was more favourite (more accessible or easier) to rural-urban migrants than the other towns; or, conversely, the other towns had not shown ‘quicker’ possibilities—as much as did Dar es Salaam. In fact, these, except Arusha, had begun attracting a lot of others and perhaps at an even greater pace than Dar es Salaam (as can be judged from their bigger figures for the jobless of 1–3 years’ residence or less) only more lately.

(iii) With particular reference to the upsurge in the three regional towns of the jobless of 3–5 years and 1–3 years dwelling status, either there must have been something particularly attracting about these towns or something particularly repelling or depressing about the respective catchment rural areas of origin and perhaps about social life in general. This brings the years 1973–75 and 1975–79 into focus, and these recall a number of things that may be considered.
Table III.9. Period of residence in town since first arrival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period in town</th>
<th>D'Salaam n</th>
<th>D'Salaam %</th>
<th>Arusha n</th>
<th>Arusha %</th>
<th>Mwanza n</th>
<th>Mwanza %</th>
<th>Tabora n</th>
<th>Tabora %</th>
<th>Average %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8 years</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 years</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 yrs</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,081</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Figures for non-response and categorical ‘don’t know’ have been eliminated in the calculation.

The period 1973–75 was immediately following the Government’s decentralization programme introduced in 1972 in order to give more power, more initiative and more resources to regions and districts in local and eventually in national development projects and administrative efforts. Regional, and after them district government headquarters and towns became centres of attention and attraction. Indeed a number of regional towns in the country picked up industrial and general social engineering momentum during this period. It was a period when regional towns and some district towns as well looked like (realistically and illusively as well) they had acquired new prospects and new opportunities. Many of the youths and charged young men were obviously mentally calculating chances for seizing the opportunity of ‘decentralization’.

But 1973–75 and 1975–79 were periods of hardships as well, especially for the rural areas. Crops and harvests had failed either because of extensive drought or, as in some cases, because of excessive floods. Payment for farmers’ cash crops from the various government agencies (parastatal bodies) was generally low and depressively staggered. This meant that real incomes from the agricultural sector and the purchasing power of the rural population were clearly low. This must have forced a lot of people, particularly the youths, traditionally dependent on their fathers’ holds, to flee the ‘drudgery’ of unpaying rural life.

The other important factor connected with these periods relates to the schooling ‘success’ especially in the primary education sector and the frustration of inherent hopes. Table II.1 in Chapter II shows the trend of pupil admission into primary school and selection for secondary education, from the first year of national independence in 1961 to 1981. A clearly steep rise in admission into Std 1 is reflected since 1969, with a nearly trebling of the 1974 figure (208,300) in 1981 (576,347). Notwithstanding a not insignificant rate of dropout, the numbers of those reaching the final year (Std 7) of primary school have also increased.

Yet entry into Form I of secondary education level—the hope and dream of
all parents and the children alike—has not been as promising a reality. Inspite of the yearly increments over the period, primary schools have been turning out thousands of school leavers who, with the disillusionment of real rural village life combined with the frustrated aspirations of continued secondary education, have been forming and swelling armies of the unemployed jobless in the equally illusive panacea of urban refuge. In 1976 and 1981, only two years for which there are complete statistical data, 94 and 96 percent, respectively, of the primary school output did not get a place in secondary school. Table II.2 gives an aggregate picture for the secondary school Form IV output for the period 1970—1976.

The two factors in point (iii) about rural poverty and the effects of the educational process are verified in the examination of other characteristics of the jobless population, namely the socio-economic and educational backgrounds.

d. Socio-economic and Educational Backgrounds

On the basis of a more searching interview in Dar es Salaam with a total of 630 randomly selected jobless individuals, who included 474 males and 156 females of varying ages from below 10 to over 40 but mostly falling within the 16 to 30 years age group, the socio-economic and educational backgrounds could be approximated.

As Tables III.10 and III.11 indicate, the majority of the respondents came from economically poor backgrounds. About 63 percent admitted coming from poor homes, an additional 13 percent coming from 'very' poor homes. This makes a total of about 75 percent, leaving less than 20 percent of the jobless who confessed coming from moderately well off and above-average families. This is further manifested in the parental income levels, 67 percent of the parents earning or holding onto 200 T. shillings and below per month, more than half of whom could not go beyond an income of 100 shillings a month (or 1,200 shs. a year).

An overwhelming majority of the parents (77.1%) derived their meagre incomes from peasant farming, usually on small holds but also, since 1967, on relatively larger communal holds. As is further elaborated in Table III.12, very few parents indeed derived their incomes from non- or extra-agricultural activity. It is reasonable to associate these other activities with an improved economic position of the equally few individuals in Table III.10. It makes sense, therefore, to associate the majority of the jobless respondents found in the town with the living condition—the financial and material position—of their parents and indeed with the nature, level and viability of their parents’ occupation. For if an occupation is the sole source of a family’s income, and the income hardly, or with difficulty, supports the farmer, his wife and their very young or very old dependants, then those of a possible self-supporting age or energy find a natural exit from home. In this case, therefore, unpaying peasant agriculture, in its present state or in 1973—75 and 1975—79, is to some important extent to be
Table III.10. Economic position of parent/guardian as stated by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent's/Guardian's position</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very rich/well off</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich/well off</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively rich/well off</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively poor</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely poor</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.r.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.r. = no response

Table III.11. Parent's/guardian's income level as reported by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income level per month</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 100 T. Sh</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-500</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-1,000</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-2,000</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 2,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.k./n.r.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. By 1978 prices, 8 Tanzanian Shillings were equivalent to 1 U.S. dollar.

Table III.12. Parent's/guardian's principal occupation as reported by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent's/Guardian’s occupation</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant farming</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/business</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic/motor driving</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (domestic service, petty retail etc)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

associated with the flocking into town of a growing army of unemployed, jobless youths in Tanzania's urban regions.

As to the formal educational background of the subjects, Tables III.13 and III.14 give significant clues about their parentage and their own previous performance. Well over a half of the interviewed individuals were children of
Ran away from school, because

- bored with school life ........................................ 7.1%
- wanted to get married .......................................... 7.1%
- teachers too harsh ............................................... 2.9%
- to attend Madrasa, i.e. Islamic Koranic classes .......... 1.4%

Apart from the two smaller groups of expellees and runaways—who by the act of termination itself are manifestly educational under-achievers—the largest single group of legal school-leavers was dominated by the many individuals who would have continued with further education if they had had a chance. (This expressed wish joins the chorus of wishes of the majority of parents—see footnote 2.)

A short talk with a number of these legal school-leavers, ventured down into town, was more than convincing to the interviewer that they too had under-achieved, only perhaps at a slightly higher level of basic literacy. One of the respondents put it clearly:

That teacher [in his last school, primary] was too fast for me. Whenever I tried to work out a sum or to read a sentence he had moved on to others, thinking I could not do it. And my fellow classmates did it so well and the teacher used to mention some of them as models for us to follow. It annoyed me but I wouldn’t show this. I pretty knew that the final exams would not be any better for me.

An expression of failure and diminished self-esteem.

(vii) A comparison of Table III.14 with Table III.13 seems to suggest a positive relationship between the jobless, in their situation as jobless urban immigrants, and their educational backgrounds, both in terms of their educational under-achievement and the parent’s educational status. While no causality is here proposed, it is apparent that most of the youngsters and youths who migrated into town and are jobless are children of parents who either had no formal schooling at all or reached lower levels of primary education. Higher-educated parents of jobless children in town seem to be clearly in the minority.

Consideration of any causal relationships is not permitted here by two facts. Firstly, there were jobless individuals of higher-educated parentage all the same: for most of the period before 1961 and well into the mid-1960s, middle school std 8 and secondary school stds 9 and 10 were marked class levels for most of the professional, para-professional and civil servants in relatively distinguished or otherwise publicly recognized positions in the country. Conversely, the majority of parents of educationally and occupationally successful children, at least by the late 1960s or early 1970s, had had no or little, rarely beyond primary education.

Nonetheless, the positive correlation between jobless migrancy and a combined low economic and educational level (socio-economic status) of the parent is not a totally accidental one, for, as has often been reflected in many socio-psychological studies, an educated economically well off parent would have the
ability to provide for the child’s basic social and educational needs, to seek viable alternatives to possible hazards or failures, and to influence the motivation and the career choices of his growing child. These possibilities would be difficult (though not necessarily non-existent) with an economically depressed, educationally indisposed and professionally indifferent parent or family.

On the whole, this chapter has attempted to delineate the main demographic and sociological characteristics and tendencies of the jobless population in the four urban regions in terms of their age and sex distribution, geographical and ethnic backgrounds, location and ecological niches, and socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Further statistical analysis and inferences have indicated a close relationship and interaction of a number of objective conditions, factors and situations in the wider rural background as well as in the urban regions themselves.

Notes

1. Stories and cases of these factors, of the economics, mechanics and the exaggerated public trust in the new agricultural parastatal bodies, such as the National Milling Corporation and the various coffee, cotton, sisal, etc. authorities and the corresponding rural peasant frustrations and apathy, have been told and retold in many media (especially in university research reports, public seminars and, not the least, in the country’s daily newspapers Daily News and Uhuru).

2. In many interviews, almost all parents have indicated secondary school education as their first preference for their primary school-going children.

They say the children must come back home to help parents in the field and to become happy village people. ... How can they be without an education to be able to earn a comfortable living, to spend and eat in the fashion of the officers we see working in big jobs in town and elsewhere? I did not beget him [the child] to come back to help me: I can do everything myself on my farm; I can hire others if need be. What I want is good education for my child, who will then be able to get a good job and help his brothers and sisters. That’s all.

A peasant farmer in Arumeru (Arusha) expressing his views about the ‘new, rural-oriented, self-reliance’ education policy. Children’s attitudes were no less indicative, with regard to their preferences after primary school (Std 7):

- To go on to secondary school ................................................. 44%
- To seek paid employment ..................................................... 25%
- To repeat the class/year ........................................................... 11%
- To join adult literacy teachers .............................................. 7%
- To go to National Service camp .......................................... 7%
- To stay with my parents and work on the farm/fields/in the house ............................................................. 4%
- No idea .................................................................................. 2%

(Combined responses in a feeder opinion survey of parents and Std 7 pupils by student researchers P.S. Shirima (Kinondoni and Rombo districts), M.Z. Kironde (Manzese ward, Dar es Salaam), A.S. Mkenda and Y.R. Mweteni (Moshi district), E.M. Kaguo (Arumeru district) and F. Saidi (Nzega district).)
3. This strikes an interesting parallel of self-confession from a different set of social circumstances of men of an urban streetcorner society:

I graduated from high school [Baltimore] but I don’t know anything. I’m dumb. Most of the time I don’t even say I graduated ‘cause then somebody asks me a question and I can’t answer it, and they think I was lying about graduating. ... They graduated me but I didn’t know anything. I had lousy grades but I guess they wanted to get rid of me.

I was at Margaret’s house the other night and her little sister asked me to help her with her homework. She showed me some fractions and I knew right away I couldn’t do them. I was ashamed so I told her I had to go to the bathroom.

(Quoted from a research report by Elliot Liebow, 1967:55).

4. This is borne out by a survey of university students in Tanzania as late as 1972/73. According to the survey, as many as 16.7 percent of the total student sample at the University of Dar es Salaam—virtually all of these students admitted to the university on proven work experience and academic and professional aptitude—reported their fathers’ ages ranging from 71 to 120 years (Ishumi, 1980a: 138–139). Fathers in this age range in Tanzania could not have attended any formal western-type school, which was introduced in the country in the late nineteenth century.
Chapter IV

Forces, Motivation and Subsistence Patterns

Before arriving in the city, with a characteristic mixture of enthusiasm for the new land to be discovered and cautioning fears of venture into the unknown or unfamiliar situation yet to be confronted, the would-be unemployed, jobless migrants have been somewhere. Where did they come from, and why did they choose to leave? Where exactly did they arrive, their port of call, in the city? How did they adjust to the new situation, and how do they subsist? What are their aspirations and to what extent are these satisfied? What do they actually do, and with what social results?

Region of Emigration and Motivation

With the exception of a minor 11 percent, all the subjects interviewed in Dar es Salaam indicated that they came to Dar es Salaam directly from their villages of origin in the rural country, reinforcing this by the affirmative statement that it was the first and only town of destination after the decision to leave home.1 Only a minority stated that they had come from another urban area, Dar es Salaam thus being a second or third town of destination and intended stay. It can therefore be said, on the basis of the majority responses (89%), that the unemployed jobless in town are predominantly direct rural emigrants, joining and intensifying the now conspicuous rural-urban migration. Only a minor proportion of the wider phenomenon of the demographic mobility of this category of the population is to be ascribed to urban-urban movement.

Reasons for leaving their various points of origin were varied, and with varying extents of elaboration; but they could be categorized into seven clusters, which, in the end, might coalesce into even fewer major groupings. These, according to the key motives allowed per respondent, are:

1. To seek paid employment (i.e. to look for a job in town) ..................(47%)
2. Boredom with village life—strict parent family conflicts, working on fields with no immediate cash reward, etc. ............................... (21%)
3. To seek leisure, freedom and fun in town ................................. (9%)
4. To look for business opportunities and easier/faster income ............................... (7%)
5. To seek opportunities and vacancy for further education/training ............................... (7%)
6. To follow relatives—to follow parents, husband, distant relatives, etc. (6%)
7. Basic point of origin ('I was born here in town') (3%)

Seeking paid employment figures highest among responses, followed by boredom at home and in the village. Others down the scale are seeking leisure and fun, looking for business opportunities, easy cash and wealth, and seeking opportunities for further education. These seem to be key and, indeed, they are not mutually exclusive. For instance, motives 1 and 4 belong to the same category of a search for livelihood and hence a flight from either unemployment or underemployment and financial embarrassment—a flight which, unfortunately, did not solve their problem, at least wholly.

Motives 2 and 3 belong together, and together hint at what kind of social and psychological situation may have predominated: a tense situation resulting from or leading to conflicts and disharmony with parents and/or among the larger corporate group of relatives. It is conceivable that, having no property of his own, living and working under parental rules and surveillance, expecting no negotiated material reward for labour expended on father’s field, and unable to charge a fee on taxing jobs held and understood to be communal family welfare jobs, the grown-up child would have found it mentally liberating to run away from what would still be regarded as the ‘pushing’ pressures.

The two main categories are mutually reinforcing, for unpaid employment breeds dissatisfaction, just as underemployment breeds languor and dissatisfaction as well. Creativity, innovativeness and gratification are stifled in both. Boredom is a result of monotony, unchangingness and a repeat of same unappetizing activity. In this case, family and especially unfounded family strictness, parental quarrels, routine work on the farm or field and the feeling of being pegged down on “somebody’s” farm all the time, all yield boredom and stimulate and desire to seek freedom, leisure and fun elsewhere. The story of an interviewee indicates this:

I came to town in 1970 ... or 71, I don’t remember. I had been with my father all along, and I had worked on our rice and cotton fields continuously ever since I left school [Std 7] at Nyakabungo [in 1966]. But he was a tough man, he would work for long hours, my mother too, and it pained me to feel they would discover the several times I broke off in disguise pretending short and long calls.

I hated the job, especially when I was not assured of anything specifically for buying what I wanted—such as shoes, trousers ... Of course it pained me most that I had not continued with higher [secondary] education. Some of my classmates at that school now have good jobs, in police, prisons and bomani [regional administrative headquarters] as clerks, drivers and so on. I too had to look for a job and get away from quarrels and disagreements with the old folks. ... As for the job here, well, I am still in search for one—a real good one.

Yet other stories are cases of pulls of real and imaginary prospects, comforts and attractions of urban life. Another young man in his late twenties:
... In the same village, not far away from our home, a boy who had gone to the city the previous two years, came back home with a lot of treasures—gifts, a camera, a fine box of clothes [a suitcase] and a bag—just the type of changed person I least expected him to be. He had gone out a poor, almost begging boy, and here he was, coming home as a master, in clean staiplo [Stockport] clothing, in shoeshine, talking as if he had never been anyone of us in the village. Cinema, olfea [social welfare clubs], football matches, riding in a double-decker bus along Uhuru street, were all new fascinating ideas when he narrated events about them. Having grown up together in the village, I did not hesitate to approach him at a private time one evening to tell him my troubles. And he was good to give me his work address kirof [care of] Mr. Kristian, foreman at Comworks. He did not himself tell me exactly what job he did, but told me that on returning to Dar es Salaam after this his paid leave he would expect me a month later.

‘Paid-leave’! I didn’t believe this, that even during his visit back home he was being paid. Going out of the village must have cleansed him of all poverty, and the people around in the village were evidently envying his happy parents. Exactly a month after he had gone back I did not even wait to negotiate with my aging father who, apart from we four, had another seven children by two other wives, and, I believe, was only too happy I made the decision.

I went back home twice, in 1972 during employment with a Giriki [a Greek bakery, as a baking wood cutter] and then in 1976 after news of my father’s death. I had to raise the fare from my friends since the daily piece rates did not leave me much to save. Presently, I live on meagre occasional jobs at construction sites. Occasionally, I visit that friend of mine from our village for a lunch or supper, but many times I avoid it, because then he asks me why I don’t go home or send some money.

The fifth, educational, motive on the list of motivations above is too clear from earlier analysis to be elaborated further. The attempt here seems to be a last hope in search of a nonconventional, hopefully easier route back into the formal educational pipeline.

Those following relatives (the sixth motive) might be of two kinds: those accompanying the breadwinner (father, husband) as part of the family, the household; but also those not necessarily following but actually spot-hunting known distant relatives, village men, kinsmen and friends for shelter and support in their initial search for opportunities in town. By far these were the larger group for whom ‘relative’ ranged widely from a close blood relation to a very distant acquaintance or a merely suggested reference.

With regard to those who left their point of origin because they were ‘born in town’—a seeming paradox—the explanation lies in those few either born of parents living in the coastal communities in the outskirts of the city, challenged to move farther in the limelight of city living, or those born and raised by urban prostitute mothers and, as turned out to be the case, were forced out of the house to fend for themselves or to return home after certain hours or with a definite cash contribution towards the next day’s meal.
Table IV.1. Years of arrival of interview sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1970</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born there (or in vicinity)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>630</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV.2. Urban migrant hosts on first arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A relative, in relative’s house/room</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A friend, in friend’s house/room</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public place—in night club, city garden, bar, guarded commercial corridors, etc.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own rented room or guest house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t remember</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>630</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hosts and Adjustment

While Table IV.1 gives the span of years of arrival in town of the sample interviewees—something that seems to underline a heightening trend since the early 1970s (cf. Table III.9)—Table IV.2 hints at the key points of initial contact on arrival in town.

The most predominant urban host is a relative—a brother, sister, aunt’s son, father’s friend’s son, mother’s brother’s brother-in-law, just village man or distant ancestral kinsman. In most of these and a host of other stretched relations, the male age-mate is simply referred to as brother and the female sister, or, in more formalized cases ‘father’, as in the case of one’s father’s equivalents in the clan context back home, ‘mother’ or other, as the case may be.3

Friends form the second largest group of hosts. The term is much more
precise, and probably that is why in a new urban environment its statistical stature is dwarfed by the more stretching or more stretched ‘relative’. It is also possible that in reflecting on the first and obviously anxious days, the respondent referred to the kind relative as a ‘true’ friend and to the first friend (‘in need’) as no less a relative. The two groups might therefore belong together.

Reference to Table III.8 and Figure III.1 in chapter three gives a clue on the type of housing these newcomers must have come to and been absorbed in. The residential areas are invariably low-income, frequently or predominantly unplanned, densely populated parts of the city. Buguruni, Magomeni, Temekte, Tandika, Manzese and Mtoni in Dar es Salaam quickly fit the description. Ngarenaro, Sombetini, Ngarealmotoni and Makao Mapya in Arusha, Mabatini, Kirumba and Igogo in Mwanza, Kachoma, Ngambo and Isevya in Tabora are some of the others.

Limited planned public housing schemes in Dar es Salaam as well as many other urban regions in the country, a conspicuously almost halted individual initiative in constructing good housing for private use as well as for public tenancy since the late 1960s, and a lack of well-defined housing policy in urban areas for a long period since 1972 (the year of the administrative decentralization programme and the corresponding relegation of urban councils) have all combined to reflect the current continuation, or worsening, of housing and residential conditions in urban areas rather than an improvement of them. It is in this respect that the present picture of urban housing conditions still fits in some respects the sociological description by Peter Lloyd (1967:122–123) with regard to urban West Africa in the mid-1960s:

Well over half, and perhaps three-quarters, of West Africa’s urban workers are living in conditions of extreme poverty. Yet it is these men who have entered the modern economy and who, living in close proximity to the luxury and affluence manifest in city life, have the highest aspirations.

... In Lagos [as at 1967] the rent of a single room in a well constructed house (with electricity and water laid on, and washing and cooking facilities communally provided) is £2 10s a month. But many tenants pay less if they have lived in the same building for many years, and many tenants, too, find far inferior accommodation. Some of Dakar’s outer suburbs consist of rows of round mud and thatch huts. Few married workers can afford more than a single room. Bachelors club together to pay the rent. In an Accra survey of the mid-1950s, two-thirds of the households occupied a single room; and of these households, one-half consisted of from three to six persons, one-sixth of more than seven. Urban diets tend to be poor, as the workers purchase only basic starch foods, without the addition of fruits and vegetables that enrich the farmer’s meals. Transport costs in the town are high ...

In East Africa, although conditions eased slightly after the first world war well into the early years of independence through government-sponsored provision of housing estates in bungalows, storeys and semi-detached units (e.g. in Ilala, Magomeni and Mwananyamala in Dar es Salaam), the projects have not kept
pace with the population inflow. Thus, although, admittedly, Leslie's survey and revisit of Dar es Salaam of the early and mid-1960s have already been surpassed by the events, developments and modifications of the later years, the description of the low-income, more densely populated areas—lacking or deficient in public utilities and services, acceptant and tolerant of urban decay attendant to non-regulated improvisation and make-shift constructions—is still pertinent. This is true especially in connection with the typically non-quantity and non-quality-surveyed Swahili housing tendency that displays a striking compromise between the out-going urban nexus and the in-coming rural gravitation portrayed in the uniquely compounded structure averaging eleven rooms, with 'the usual six main rooms, three on each side of the central corridor, each with its one door opening into the corridor, and a shuttered window opening into the narrow passage between houses. In addition it has no less than five sleeping rooms in the courtyard. ...' (Leslie, 1963:72).

In these eleven rooms live a total of thirty-three souls, ... divided thus: the owner has one in which he lives with his wife and three small children, five in all in one room .... There are two more families like that, man wife and three children, each in one room. Another family has two children, making four in all, and three more families have one child each. Then there are two young brothers sharing a room and its rent (a thing landlords do not like unless, as in this case, they are people from his part of the country whom he knows well, otherwise single men are unwelcome as there is always the risk of their getting involved with the wives of the house, particularly if their working hours do not coincide with those of the husbands). Finally there are three men each living alone in a room to himself. One is the son of the wife in one of the other rooms, and another is a grass widower whose wife is away at home for a time; the third is the nephew of the husband in that same family.

While this description animates the spongy nature of accommodation in the densely populated areas of an African urban region, it also gives an indication of the size of accommodation most urban migrants have gone to: packed single, rarely two-tier, rooms in what has elsewhere been termed rooming houses, as contrasted from roomy houses and apartments of the wealthier, spacious and sparsely populated suburbs. It further offers an insight into the special accommodation problem bound to confront the young unmarried men (70% in our interview sample) unless they were known intimately by the landlord or were readily accepted by the already laden tenants.

This insight, probably more than anything else, explains the starting-point for the other 12 percent of the interview sample whose point of arrival in town was neither a relative’s nor a friend’s living quarter—they probably had none or possibly were turned down. The open alternatives were a rented room in a ‘rooming house’ or in a commercial guest house, which, in the case of our study, was a negligible costly and economically unfeasible alternative, or sleeping in open space in public places such as the city garden, night clubs and pavements close to protected bazaars and emporia. An account of one of the interviewees who had first-day open-space reception relives the event:
I had not imagined such a thing could happen .... After I had written letters to two people who came from our part of home and had received no reply, I supposed they had not received them or the fellow I had sent did not deliver them to the right addresses. I decided to go. I collected together my little moneys, adding the cash my father and two or three kinsmen had given me for travel pocket money .... It was a long and tedious journey by the lake steamer and railway—in third class, man! At times I doubled myself up to suppress the hunger and the gnawing stomach, fearing to spend up all the money before reaching Morogoro or Dar es Salaam the final destination.

In Dar es Salaam, I had thought it would be an easy job finding someone by simply scouting through a few streets and houses. My God! at the [railway] station, awed by the vastness of it and the rows of buildings beyond it, and learning on asking that it was not enough to mention Dar es Salaam but Chang’ombe, Magomeni Quarters or Mapipa, Manzese or other, I was simply overwhelmed by the fear that I could easily land in police jail in trying to blindly locate Petero. Likewise I feared marching away to the government houses [offices] to face up the unfamiliar guards. I despaired and spent the first and second nights on a hard travellers bench at the railway station.

The following days I tried to familiarize myself with places and eventually learned to pose as an intending customer by the entrance to night clubs—Splendid, Gateways and the rest—in the hope of public safety. And my first employment was with Amana [club] where I had pleaded with the bar owner, who gave me the job of assisting the bar maids in serving beer, but mainly collecting empties and putting the place in order after [mid-night] closing hours.

The period in which the respondents of the sample adjusted to life in the city and began to ‘think’ or ‘behave’ as towns-men varied a great deal. It ranged from an indefinitely long time of job-hunting under the helping hand of a host-relative, to a relatively short transition for some of those who had no relative or friend to call at, who had to scout and struggle to get a job—any job—to keep bone and flesh together. There does not seem to be any definite pattern, however. For, some who were helped by already employed relatives, who were themselves known or favoured by their foremen or other ‘kinsmen’ working in a different field, stood a better chance of getting a job than those who depended on relatives or friends of a ‘nonentity’ status. Consequently, some lived with their hosts for a longer time while they were still searching, while others took a shorter time. In no case, however, did this take less than a period of three or four months.

While getting a job and money to begin an independent working life was and has always been an important factor affecting the duration of dependence on the relative or friend, an equally critical factor has been the availability of housing accommodation (‘rooming’ houses and rooms) on the open market. Thus, as long as these new immigrants do not get a job and as long as they do not get a room away, the burden for the host is considerable and in fact it grows greater with each passing day in relation to the ever-rising cost of living. The more than 80 percent host relatives and friends in this particular case (Table IV.2) must have suffered the more, taking into account that the subjects we are talking about now are unemployed, jobless in the real sense of more or less
permanent gainful occupation in the public or private, modern or traditional sector. The situation does not seem to have changed much for most immigrant hosts. For, as to the question about their present accommodation in town, the interviewees responded in the manner reflected in Table IV.3 indicating still heavy reliance on relatives and friends. Those fending for themselves are in a minority, not to mention those apparently with no relatives or friends and with no slightest income who sleep just anywhere anytime. A number of the non-respondents might have easily indicated to belong to this group but for fear of shame to mention a socially stigmatized mode of accommodation.

But the not insignificant more than eighteen percent jobless population who spend the sleeping hours not in a house or room, not under the care or possible surveillance of a relative or a friend or a neighbour, could be another—or an extended—point of concern for social policy as well as social security.

Current Activity and Means of Subsistence

To the straight question whether or not they were employed or had a gainful job at that particular time of the interview, 594 respondents (i.e. 94.3 percent) answered no while a minute 5.7 percent (that is, the remaining thirty-six of the 630 interviewees) answered yes. And these were all without exception intermittently, temporarily or occasionally ‘employed’ on such undertakings as construction and housing schemes, earth digging and moving, truck loading and off-loading and other small casual labour jobs—most of which such jobs are unsteady, non-reliable, non-regular and with no tenure.

At that particular time of interview, a half of them had been out of job (the casual labour) for at least a week and were consuming the cash from their past gainful employment; four had been ejected from a municipal construction project for the previous three or so days—because of an over-supply of casual labourers on the cement mixing and stone and brick moving site. They were anticipating, however, that a truck might come along any time that wanted them for any day’s job anywhere. The other two had turned to collecting fruits
Table IV.4. Means of subsistence as stated by the self-confessed unemployed, jobless

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated means</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depend on relatives</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally sell some things</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. cashewnuts, groundnuts, juices, mangoes, vegetables, etc.</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depend on friends</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just depend on luck</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Oranges, lime, pineapple, anything) from far-off fields in the outskirts of the city and selling them by waysides.

On further field investigation, it was discovered that this kind of job (fruit selling) had been taken on by an increasing number of youths who belonged to the large group confessing themselves as unemployed, jobless. [The self-categorization as unemployed, jobless may have rightly been influenced by the absolute as well as relative gains from the task, which had its own costs. Either, one had the necessary capital to be able to buy these from farmers or middlemen and sell them in town at a profit, or, he did not have the operative cash and hence relied on skills and luck in stealing, snatching or poaching and risking the consequences.]

Table IV.4 gives an insight into the nature of the means of subsistence for those who admitted full unemployment or joblessness. The responses show that a half of them did depend on relatives (34.8%) and friends (15.2%), who can then be assumed to be, at least in part, the bearers of the burden and of the brunt of urban unemployment even though they on their part, may be happily employed and occupationally stable.

About a quarter (24.2%) of the unemployed seem to live on small, occasional survival activities almost all related to petty sale of fruit and herbs. While 12 percent of the subjects stated that they depended on nothing but sheer luck, a slightly bigger group (13.6%) indicated other possibilities and means of subsistence which they would never specify. The luck-dependent people were all beggars, mostly older than the average (youthful) age of the sample interviewees and rarer in outskirts but more common in the inner commercial and busy areas of the city.

Why the not insignificant 13.6% with ‘other’ means of survival would not state clearly what those means or possibilities were, induces us into speculation. They were not explicitly stated either because they are socially and publicly undesirable, legally implicating and thus damaging of one’s self-esteem; or, alternatively, because they are too ashamed to be told. However, if the
presently rising rate (and reporting) of urban crime is to be associated with urban unemployment, then our interpretation of this silent group would have to categorize its activities more readily into the box which meets with social, public and legal disapproval.

Level of Satisfaction and Adaptability

One way of assessing a person's level of satisfaction is to ask if he has achieved the goals that engendered his interest in an activity or programme. Reference back to the motivation for the flight into town suggests that most of the unemployed, jobless population left their districts and villages of origin in order to seek and secure a job in town and others to do so after periods of boredom, conflicts and hard life at home. Others immigrated into town to seek leisure and freedom in town and others to get such leisure and freedom through seeking and obtaining business opportunities and the accompanying easier or faster income. Still others fled to town to look of educational and/or training opportunities.

Now were or have these goals been met? To a sizeable majority in the interview (62.9%) the answer was no, while to a corresponding minority (14.3%) the answer was in the affirmative. A little under a quarter of the respondents (22.9%) were undecided. It is clear that their feelings were mixed, reflecting the diverse driving forces in the individuals in the first instance.

Another way of assessment is to ask about satisfaction with their present financial and material situation. To this question 17.1 percent of the respondents were clearly 'satisfied'. 62.9 percent clearly dissatisfied, and 20 percent undecided. Without regard to the undecided respondents, the dissatisfied group unequivocally outweighs the satisfied group.

The responses on both goal achievement and the economic (financial and material) situation together point to a conspicuously depressed level of satisfaction among the subjects of the study. The dilemma they seem to live with, however, is the fact that they are still torn between going back to the 'unsolved problems' or realities in their rural village life and staying on in the illusive affluence or urban life. This is deduced from the innegligible statistics for the undecided group (about 23% in one case and 20% in the other).

This supposition is strengthened further by the responses to the question about going back home. For even when 27.1% indicated their intention to go back home (against the 61.4% who did not intend to, and 11.3% undecided), they could not state when they intended to do so. The responses remained at 'some time later' and 'not sure when' levels of intention.

Reluctance, or indecision, to go back home can be explained by the current interests and aspirations of this population. First of all, despite many economic and personal hardships reported, many seem to be gratified, probably enticed, by the social networks they have already interwoven through friendships, not to
Table IV.5. *Urban friendships versus loneliness*

‘Do you presently have friends here in town?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendship network</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, many</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, a few</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV.6. *Urban friendship pattern by sex*

| Male Friends | Response | | Female friends | Response |
|--------------|----------|  |               |----------|
|              | n   | %  |               | n   | %  |
| None at all  | 9   | 1.5| None at all   | 81  | 13.2|
| 1            | 180 | 29.4| 1             | 135 | 22.1|
| 2            | 63  | 10.3| 2             | 117 | 19.1|
| 3            | 54  | 8.8 | 3             | 72  | 11.8|
| 4            | 72  | 11.8| 4             | 18  | 2.9 |
| 5            | 45  | 7.4 | 5             | 45  | 7.4 |
| Over 5       | 189 | 30.9| Over 5        | 144 | 23.5|
|              | 612 | 100.1|               | 612 | 100.0|

N.B. The 18 with no friend at all (whether male or female) have been discounted in this table.

mention the overlapping real and putative kinship groupings. Tables IV.5 and IV.6 do reflect that, with the exception of an insignificant and almost negligible minority, the jobless individuals live within networks of friendship and other social interaction. Friends may be of either sex.

With regard to male friends, while close to one-third of the sample confined themselves to one male friend, an increasing majority tended to spread themselves to more than one, another third actually having as many as over five male friends at the same time. An interesting contrasting observation, vis-à-vis female friends, is that very few respondents indeed (a negligible 1.5%) would not like to have male friends.

This may find explanation in the prospects and potential advantages (economic support, financial sponsorship or redemption) connected with friendship with males. This is particularly relevant for a person with no gainful or steady job and far away from reach of the social and material support of his own (rural) home.

Friendship with females is likewise spread across from one to more than five, although a distinguishing feature is that a few (as many as 13% of the sample)
could ignore or do without friendship relations with females. And since the female respondents in this study were fewer than the male respondents, it is reasonable to associate this response more with males, and particularly males of a distinctively low economic and social profile. Two interview responses give an idea of the conditions, attitudes and the morals influencing male-female relations. One is by the respondent who ‘avoided’ relations with women altogether:

Women friends? ... Me no. I can’t take [make] women friends. The moment you begin this business and walk in company with women, well you’ll see: you will never go back home and the little money I am saving is for my [dependent] relatives. It is not itself enough at all, and then people tell me [talk me into] girl friends. No, not at all.

The other response seems to point to lower-level, less-demanding and perhaps costly male-female relationship built around prostitutes:

I have both male and female friends. Women friends are scattered around the town. Some are very loyal to me and know when it is hard for me to have ready cash [to pay], so they just admit me. They understand that some time later I [will] go back to visit and give them five, ten or even more shillings without demanding anything .... I like them for this understanding; and I respect them when I find men visiting: I avoid entering [the room] because then she is working for money which I would not have given myself .... [As for the young educated, working girls,] these are expensive and difficult to satisfy. I never think about them. If she demanded a gown [a dress] or taking her to dance or cinema, by taxi, and so on, what would I do? .... Never me for such kind of women!

One other way of estimating the nature and extent of adaptability and attachment to urban life and urban values would be to ask the respondents how they spend the times that are generally defined as ‘free’ or ‘leisure’ time, namely the evenings and nights, as well as public holidays. Tables IV.7 and IV.8 summarize the responses on these questions. Talking to friends and relatives, as well as visiting them, carry the highest response frequency in both tables. This is further evidence of a deliberate attempt and effort to establish amiable social relations in town, which can be counted on for support—material, moral and emotional—in the present as well as in the future. ‘Resting’ and listening to music, visiting cinema, dance halls, playing games or watching them, even drinking in bars are ideas and fads that are associated more with urban areas than with rural areas where, if not looked upon with suspicion as moral detractors, they will not find much space in the time and economic budgeting of the typical or average home. Moreover, whereas these are already matters within the personal jurisdiction of the individual away in town, they would be matters of high-level parental decisional choice at home with the children expected to think and act within the dictated framework. The city, apart from the anonymity it accords, offers the chance to the individual to become ‘mature’ and ‘free’ and to exercise this freedom in pursuing one’s intererests.
### Table IV.7. Evening and night engagements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Engagements</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talking to friends/relatives</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting and listening to music</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting cinema and/or dance halls</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting bars and other drinking places</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching/playing football</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing cards/bao (small-scale gambling games)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading newspapers/books</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarding (as militia-man)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning a trade (tailoring, carpentry, etc.)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling eggs, groundnuts, etc. near beer bars</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>837</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Respondents allowed more than one activity in response.

### Table IV.8. Engagements on Sundays and public holidays

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Engagements</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talking to friends/relatives</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends/relatives</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting/listening to music/playing games</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to church</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing ‘my business’</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>714</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Respondents allowed more than one activity

Of course, with this category of an unemployed, largely youthful population, the recurring question is: how does the individual exercise this freedom in pursuing his or her interests when he/she is, for the most part, penniless (with no regular income or no income at all), dependent (on the relative or friend) and jobless?

Data in Tables IV.3 and IV.4 already give us some clue as to possible though never-stated subterranean activities that must be connected with such a needy category of urban immigrants (some, indeed, hard-core ‘born-city’ urbanites), which are held suppressed and never allowed to surface in interview responses and discussions. Those people who accommodate themselves ‘just anywhere anytime’ (8.6%) and those who gave no response as to where they are
accommodated (10%); those people who have no income at all and 'just depend on luck' (12%) and others who could not state or specify their means of subsistence (13.6%)—must presumably be people who, except for the small proportion of the genuinely destitute street beggars, belong to the underground criminal movements of one sort or another.

An estimation of the size of the youthful, able-bodied men and women belonging to the underworld of criminal movements can be made from the nature and the ever-increasing and heightening dimensions of urban crime reported or witnessed in different areas of the city: simple pick-pockets, larceny, house breaking, pouch and wallet grabbing, garden fruit stealing, armed robbery, truck and car seizing, passenger bus holdups, shop and bar breaking. Associated crimes, also on the increase, have included pot smoking (bhang, or cannabis sativa), spirituous liquor brewing, stealing of and dealing in chloroform and other insensitizing substances as stealing devices, and dark corner trapping and ambushing. This variety of multiplying crime pervades the ever-echoing stories and outcries not only from the various localities of the ever-expanding city of Dar es Salaam but also in other fast-growing towns in the country such as Arusha, Tanga, Mwanza and others.³

Aspirations and Plans

Aspirations are intimately connected with hopes for the future. They are an indication of one’s felt-needs on the one hand, and, on the other, a mental search and fixation of one’s self-worth within the levels of the social-material scale attainable in society. Aspirations are therefore logically connected with one’s plans for the future. One’s future plans are intrinsically a reflection of one’s aspirations and the latter are not only a proxy of the plans projected for the future but also they convey a more complete, more coordinated mental picture more readily ‘verbalized’ in more extrinsic statements about one’s ambitions. Clues about aspirations and future plans would thus have to be gauged from stated ambitions.

Table IV.9 gives a summary of the interview responses to the plain question ‘what is your biggest ambition?’. It is clear from the results that the most frequent response, and significantly distinct from others, was getting a job (employment), which goes hand in hand with (a good) income.

This matter took more than half (53.8%) of the share of responses suggesting individuals’ ambitions in life. The next most important ambitions, with a clearly wide margin from the first one, are marrying and living happily (11.3%), expanding the presently humble business (8.8%), learning a trade or a profession (6.2%) and being independent (5.0%). Building a house, acquiring higher education, establishing a farm and helping parents were correspondingly even lower in rating.
Table IV.9. Stated ambitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambitions</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To get a job/more money</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To marry and live happily</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To expand [presently humble] business</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To learn a trade/profession</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be independent</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To build a house</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To acquire higher education</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish a big shamba (farm)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help parents</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None (‘no ambition’)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>720</td>
<td>100.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Non-response ignored. Several respondents expressed more than one ambition.

From the response weights above, it appears that the several other ambitions stated are predicated to one prime condition, namely that of having a (secure) job, with (a good, steady) income. Given this foundation, people can have resources to marry and live happily, expand business and occupational horizons, build a house, establish a farm and some agro-business, and help parents. These are some of the ultimate goals that cannot be realized without a job, without money. Learning a trade/profession and being independent are further dimensions of the respondents’ ambition which, at least in the final analysis, are incumbent on a secure resource base.

As to the small group (6.3%) who had ‘no ambition’, the response can be easily ignored on account of its minority, but it could also raise an interesting question as to why a person in a ‘depressive’ socio-economic situation should not express any ambition, any want! Is it possibly that they thought it was a cajoling question which sought to inspect people’s ambitions and thought systems without promising means to fulfilment? Or, alternatively, that a person with no means, no solution and no promise at hand would have no ambition to articulate? Or, possibly too, that ambition, hence aspiration, is a function of positive existential conditions of a person and his environment, such that a vacuum in the structure of functional-creative conditions would mean a vacuum in the repertoire of stimulation and aspiration?

In any case, stated (or expressed) ambitions do serve to give an idea, or an indication, of the conditions and problem—actual or potential—one is trying to run away from. The current biggest problem, according to Table IV.10, is lack of employment and money (60.6 percent response), followed, with a large margin, by the faltering of any occupation or business people had attached themselves to (close to 20% response).
Table IV.10. *Biggest current problem confronted*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of employment/money</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faltering occupation/business</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of skills (for a trade e.g. carpentry)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None ('no problem')</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

639 100.0

N.B. Non-response ignored.
Some respondents mentioned more than one problem.

The two other problems mentioned were illness, which frequently alluded to physical disabilities (2.8%) and lack of skills for a trade (1.4%). The first overwhelming problem corresponds very closely to the first overwhelming ambition, both hinging on employment and financial position.

Why some people said that they had 'no problem' (15.5% response) is a question similarly subject to speculation and modal interpretation as that one on 'no ambition'. Is it true that they had no problem at all or that it was such a string of problems that it made no difference to admit or deny the obvious? Or, is it that once a person has lived in problems he/she at least subconsciously accepts them as a fact, adjusts to them and hence ceases calling them a problem any more? Or, indeed, is it that the fellow knows that we know he is unemployed, jobless—and a jobless person inevitably has a problem—and hence that our question, to him, is superfluous because it is answered before it is asked?

A person's plans for the future are, ordinarily, well understood in the context of one's aspirations (usually signalled in stated ambitions) and the prevailing conditions and problems. Given the logical connection expected between context and plan, one might anticipate the kind of plans most of the jobless population in an urban setting would indicate. As for the Dar es Salaam jobless individuals interviewed, the plans for the future were limited to specifics very much related to their basic motivation, problems and ambitions.

As Table IV.11 indicates, the majority of the respondents (75 percent) 'planned' to remain in town and to hunt for a job, for employment. The rest variously planned improving their own small staggering occupations (7.6%), enrolling in vocational/trade training (5.7%), starting some business (2.9%), and going back home (2.9%). A minor percentage had no plan at all. It is indicative from the freely given statements in this table that, whatever their plans for the future, those who planned to remain in town far outnumbered those who planned to go back home. This is further confirmed by the solicited reactions to the issue of 'planning to leave town' (Table IV.12). Table IV.12 shows that about 63 percent of the interviewed sample of the unemployed had
Table IV.11. Plans for the future (solicited statements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated plan</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To remain in town and hunt for job/employment</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To improve present occupation/business</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enrol in vocational study/training for a trade</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To start business</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To go [back] home</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None (no plan)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

630 100.0

Table IV.12. Plan to leave the town (solicited reaction)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, definitely</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent/n.r.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

630 100.0

n.r. = no response

No plan to leave the city while a mere 13 percent planned to leave the city. A not insignificant 23.8 percent of the respondents did not have any strong reaction either way, a few of them giving no response at all.

Those few who 'planned' to leave the city made reference to the hopelessness and helplessness of their situation; the high cost of urban life which had impoverished them even more; the need to go back home to help parents; and relatives' pressure (in town and at home) that they leave the city.

Those who had no plan to leave the city gave such remarks as 'life in town is full of fun and entertainment'; 'there is a possibility of getting a job in town'; 'one can earn a living without too much toil'. It may be noted, however, that, with the insignificant exception of the few who were hanging on to some odd-jobbing (e.g. selling of roast groundnuts, ice-water etc.) these, like most others, were jobless people, with no gainful employment and heavily dependent on urban relatives and friends or living off some underground activity.

The dilemma which constantly faces those who were ambivalent to the question of leaving the town, as well as those who 'plan' to leave but actually do not leave, has to be seen in the context of the unmet goals and aspirations. One would surely heroically leave for home if and when he has something to deliver home, or to show and prove that his stay in town (or his disappearance from the village) was a success rather than a failure. One interview response hints at this fact:
Although after four years now without employment I would like to go back home to my parents, I ask myself several questions which discourage me. When I left [home] in 1975 I told my mother that I was going to get a job and would send her some money and some cloth and other presents as proof of the fact. She had, on her part, refused me to go and wanted me to stay around and live like others [contemporaries] in the village with occasional occupations as they presented themselves. But I refused; I knew I would get a better job elsewhere. Now, how do I go home to my mother, whom I have never sent even one piece of khanga, let alone the money I promised? She would curse me. I would have to struggle for some money to buy her a few presents before I go [even empty-handed in terms of hard cash].

Unfulfilled aspirations, especially in the delusive situations of unemployment, lead to some kind of delirium in which the originally set goals appear near enough to be achieved when in actual fact they keep on flying off in the fashion of the desert mirage. They create a road that leads to the dead end of psychological warfare and personality breakdown, to an unending vicious search for opportunities and, failure with this, for compensation for the lost opportunities. Hence the continued urban stay and the increasing waves of crime.6

Notes

1. This is, of course, ignoring possible intermediate urban or semi-urban points of transit, compulsory overnight stays for bus or railway connections or for physical recoupment. For instance, a person from Kondoa or Makutupora in rural Dodoma would first call in Dodoma town on the way to Dar es Salaam; or a person from Longido in Masailand or from Kibosho in rural Moshi would first call at Arusha and Moshi town, respectively, on the way down to Dar es Salaam. Those from farthest in Ujiji (rural Kigoma) or Ukerewe (island in Lake Victoria), for instance, would in fact call at several urban stations before finally arriving in Dar es Salaam, their target.

2. African terminology for relative is much more elastic and inclusive than the more precise and often exclusive Western terminology. As such, even though culturally endorsed and entertained, it could be confusing and incomprehensible to the outsider (see, for instance, Ishumi, 1980b:40–41). But this fact serves also to show how spongy this ‘relative’ category could be in absorbing the otherwise helpless rural-urban migrants and in taking a sizeable share of responsibility for their everyday needs ranging from food and shelter to seeking jobs.

3. This subject has been discussed, with cogent illustrations, in Gans, 1962:10–13 and Liebow, 1967:41 fn 5.

4. Prostitution and its conditions, functions and problems have been discussed in detail by Southall and Gutkind, 1957:7–9, Leslie, 1964:232–238; Little, 1972:76–101; among others. One sociological aspect, and an important social function of this institution in urban areas, has been the stop-gap measure it provides in the socio-sexual satisfaction and stability among labour migrants most of whom have, historically, been unmarried young men (70% in our present study) but include also divorced singles (11.4% in our study), the grass-widowers, with wives away at home (2.9%) and the widowed (1.4%).
5. A survey by Erasto Muga of crime in the different localities of the municipality of Kisumu, Kenya, in 1973, strikes a parallel in the variety reported in Tanzanian towns:

- Possessing (locally brewed) African spirituous liquor
- Trading without license
- Possessing poisonous drugs
- Burglary and theft
- Assault
- Handling stolen property
- Forgery
- Trading after closing hour
- Preparing to commit felony
- Disorderly conduct in public
- Robbery with violence
- Murder
- Personation.

His lists include other offences such as arson, vagabondage, possession of offensive weapons, possessing or smoking cannabis sativa (bhang) and rape (Muga, 1977:81–102).

6. Nearly eighteen months after Zimbabwe’s independence, a ringleader of pickpockets in Salisbury (now Harare) was interviewed by a local newspaper. His response:

At the time of Independence, my gang stopped working. We thought that now that Zimbabwe was free the country was ours and there was not need to steel. We thought we could have all we wanted. But we soon learned that things were not as we had dreamed. So we started again!

Chapter V

Categories and Activity Patterns: Cases

Chapter III reported certain salient characteristics of the unemployed population found in the four urban regions of the study. It reported on their age and sex distribution, their geographical and ethnic backgrounds, their location and niches, their socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Chapter IV attempted to explore the dynamics—the objective forces, the motives and the subsistence patterns—involved in their process of migration, right from their starting point at home to their final destination. 

Some of the features, trends and dynamics reported and analyzed in these chapters would find further evidence, illustration or corroboration in the descriptive analyses of the behaviourally distinct categories marked and the accompanying field case studies. Two specific categories and a third quasi-category have been delineated. They are characterized as the pavement beggars, the jobless-corner youths and the ‘part-time’ urban school truants.

Of the three categories, the able-bodied jobless youths are the largest group. Beggars are much fewer in comparison, but they are the oldest, as a category, in chronological age and probably also in the total length of their urban appearance and stay. ‘Part-time’ urban school truants are so-called because they are a rather diffuse category, not easily visible or distinguishable from the already big group of the jobless youth. But whenever and wherever they are delineable, as they were in this study, they seem to be the smallest and youngest of the three categories.

If Tables III.2, III.9 and III.14 in Chapter Three can be of any practical use, they give us a rough guide into their aggregate scenarios. The typical pavement beggar tends to belong to the age group above (but sometimes below) 40 years, while the part-time school truant tends to belong to the age group up to 15 or a little more. The full-time, full-energy jobless-corner youth sweeps through age levels from 16 years to 35 or above. While the old-time urban beggar may have been in town for a dilatory or intermittent stay spanning as many as twenty years, the most recent newcomer may have entered the city gates as late as two or three years ago. Most of them have a memory record of seven to ten years, although a suggestion of some of the key public events celebrated in the city in the past has invigorated the recounts of a number of pavement beggars to thirteen or more years of first entry. Jobless-corner youths, on the other hand, count years of stay variously from one year to
eight or more, while the part-timers, sharing their engagement between school-
work and the streets, do vary in urban stay periods, depending on their home 
base and class levels in school.

Another point of variability is formal educational background. Almost in-
varily, all the beggars encountered have had no school education, and hence 
they are total illiterates—save, of course, for an undoubtable art of immediate 
reckoning of alms collected in strategically hovering pots and bowls, a skill that 
could not have been acquired in school. On the contrary, all jobless-corner 
 youths, with minor exceptions, are boys and girls with a testimony of past 
primary school completion or primary school attendance and dropout. A few of 
them would even have gone past that level to the lower rungs of secondary 
school. And the ‘part-timers’—at the time of field investigation in most of 1979 
and intermittently in 1980 and 1981—were current school pupils. They simply 
stole some time away from full-time engagement in classroom learning and 
school work to join others in streets and other urban spots.

Six of the seven cases reported in this chapter bear on observations and 
interviews conducted in Dar es Salaam, and one in Arusha. All seven, however, 
represent the character and trends in all principal and fast growing urban 
regions in Tanzania and generally in Eastern Africa.

The ‘Pavement’ Beggars

The qualifying term ‘pavement’ has been used not out of natural design but out 
of an experience of the common tendency among urban beggars to favour and 
hence to congregate at certain points of anchorage. Pavements in most urban 
regions of Third World countries, at least in Tanzania, are to be found in the 
central commercial area of town, with the characteristic attraction of a bonanza 
visualized in the ambient strings and agglomerations of emporia and bazaars, 
of cozy cafes and cinemas, of splendid hotels and restaurants interlinked or else 
streamlined by paved sidewalks or sheltered corridors. These are the com-
monest and most convenient layouts offering points of vantage as well as of safe 
posture in the varying periods of alms begging and alms stock-taking.

This experience is also a suggestion that beggars are to be found concen-
trated in central areas of town, or in the commercialized nuclei of extended 
urban satellites. Numbers thin away from the central active areas towards 
peripheral outskirts.

Longer periods of acquaintance with them and their movements has brought 
home the finding that urban beggars are of two types. Some are genuinely 
destitute people, with no assistance or base in their home backgrounds, who 
have been driven to town in search of public mercy in order to survive. Apart 
from their manner of talk and their almost invariable behaviour pattern, they 
are frequently marked out by evident physical disabilities, deformity or hand-
icap. These, in varying degrees, prove their destitution in the first place, and 
visibly also sink them further into it.
Others are liars, playing destitute during the day and retiring from it late in the evening or at night. When once spotted and discovered, they change anchorage in fear of public notice, apprehension and possible police action.

On the outside, both genuine destitutes and ‘commercial’ pretenders look the same to the casual observer and passer-by. And it is possibly because of the co-existence of these two easily confused types that the public has reacted differently at different times to the sight of the urban beggar. To some people the sight has evoked downright sympathy and unqualified pleas for public relief; to others, it has provoked contempt and indignation, followed by calls for urgent police sweep action.

The following two field case reports vivify two of the several interview encounters with town beggars.

**Case 1. Conversation with a beggar**

It was on a Tuesday morning in June (1979) when a middle-aged, physically-fit looking woman was encountered. She was seated at a popular beggars centre on a pavement of Dar es Salaam’s Market Street at the junction with Zanaki Street, by the general entrance into a famous Asian temple. She was alone, segregated from two or three others at a yonder point. As the interviewer approached, she appeared shy and rather suspicious.

After greeting her, the interviewer asked what she was sitting there for. ‘Nothing’, she replied. The interviewer asked if she was in need of anything. ‘Yes’, she said. ‘What in particular?’ ‘Money’. ‘Why money in particular?’ She answered that everybody needs money and that they need it for different reasons; she too needed it for many reasons. Then the conversation went on.

Question: How much money do you want, or expect a person like me to offer you?
[She kept quiet for a moment as if to sort out something in her mind ...]
Reply: Any amount will be sufficient ...
Those who are sympathetic give more than others.

Q: All right, I will give you some money. Now what is your name?
[She was reluctant to mention her name, and the interviewer switched onto another question].

Q: From your intonation you seem to know Kigogo; from what part of Ugogo do you come from?
R: Dodoma—near Makutopora.

Q: When did you come to Dar es Salaam?
R: Yesterday.

Q: But I saw you in this street last week; this shows you have been here longer.
R: [Smiling] The truth is that I have been in this town for one month only.

Q: Okay, that is slightly better; although even this is not the truth.
R: It is true; but you promised to give me some money. Are you not going to give it?
Q: Definitely I will give you because I know your problem. Where do you live presently; do you have any relatives or friends here in town?
R: I have no place to live because I have neither relatives nor friends.
Q: Then, if this is the situation, why did you decide to come all this long way from Dodoma?
R: I heard that one can earn something from Dar es Salaam.
Q: But where is your husband and children?
R: I have no husband: I was divorced and I don’t have children.
Q: What about your parents?
R: My father died long ago and my mother is very old.
Q: After collecting sufficient money, do you intend to go back home?
R: Yes.
Q: If I gave you 2 shillings, would that be sufficient?
R: Thank you, you are very kind. Most people give a mere twenty cents.

The interviewer promised further that if she could find another one (of her kind) with whom he could talk he would offer her some more money in reward. But he did not see her again.

Case 2. A child-led caravan of two
A lorry pulling a trailer along the major roads in the large city of Dar es Salaam does not attract attention any more because it is a familiar sight. But in the central city area, you are increasingly finding human caravans with one leading the way and the other one or two or three trailing the steps. In between them you notice a longish walking stick which serves as the main artery connecting the leader’s hand and those of the trailers.

Trailing caravans became such an increasing trend in 1979 that they merited the interviewer’s intervention. On this particular occasion, a young boy of ten to twelve years of age was stick-leading two women, both aged between forty and fifty. Both of them were blind, one of the two with a perpetually blinking left eye while the other would not manoeuvre both eyes without raising the chin well above the shoulders. The conversation began with the boy as they stopped momentarily at Mnazi-Mmoja Dispensary on their walk towards Kisutu Market. After a short engaging greeting, the interviewer wondered where the boy was leading the ladies to? ‘Nowhere in particular’, the boy answered.

Question: Then, where are you coming from?
Reply: Just around.
[The women smartened their empty small old baskets and held them higher as if to receive something in them]
Q: Do you need some assistance?
[Before the boy answered the women trailers had chorused ‘Yes’]
Q: Who gives you food everyday?
R: We depend on luck; some people give us.
Q: Does it satisfy your requirements?
R: Yes [The boy a second later: Not enough for the next day].
Q: Where do you sleep?
R: Anywhere, [No elaboration]
Q: According to your age, you should be at school. Why are you not at school?
R: My parents did not send me to school [as he looked back at the women].
Q: When did you come here to town?
R: This year.
Q: Where did you come from?
[The two women instantly murmured something to the boy after which he hesitated to reply. The interviewer then assured them that there was no cause to worry as he was harmless but was on the contrary intending to help them].

One woman: How?
Interviewer: If I knew your problem I would surely try to help you, that is why I am asking these questions.

[The two elders acquiesced with a nod after this reassurance].

Q: Which of these two mothers is yours?
R: This one [pointing at one, who had to raise her chin high up to draw the interviewer’s attention].
Q: And who is this other one to you?
R: We come together from our village.
Q: It seems from your intonation you come from Dodoma. Is it from Kondoa?
R: No ... [and then one of the women murmured something which cut the boy short. Although they would not say from where exactly, the fore-face marks unmistakably stamped their origin back to Ugogo in Dodoma region].
Q: Anyway ... when do you intend to return home? [as the interviewer was handing over a coin of five shillings to the boy]; Will this be enough for you three?
R: Thank you, but when we buy food it will all be finished.
Q: Do you mean to say that if I gave you more you would eat and be able to meet the bus fare home?
R: Yes. ['Ee, Ee ...', the two women joining in chorus].
Q: How much more would you need, in addition to that you have already collected?
R: Twenty shillings ... and I would go by train because it is less expensive.
Q: And what would happen to your parents here, wouldn’t they need someone to guide them?
The Women: We too will go.

Unexpected of such a concerted response, the interviewer felt obliged to fulfil the promise of additional assistance. The caravan were evidently thankful of 30 additional shillings, but they headed towards a direction opposite one leading to the railway station.

The ‘Jobless Corner’ Youths

Jobless Corner is a catch name for a number of places and spots in Dar es Salaam, one specific place in Arusha town and reportedly in several other towns in the country. The name seems to have been suggested by the passing inquisitive members of the public and actually baptized and confirmed by the victims of circumstances themselves—namely, youths who, with each passing day, find no job, and no outlet in a maze of illusive hallways to city affluence and magnanimity.

The spots began as points of convergence for youths of approximately same age levels, same urban backgrounds and, more important, similar job-hunting experiences, with similar tales of their reconnaissance efforts and failures. They
have grown to be popular places of resort, of physical and emotional recoup­
ment, of 'fresh' thinking and 'new' strategies, of plans translated into action. 
These places and spots have been designated by the observant public as 
'corners for the jobless'. In their physical plurality and emotional togetherness, 
the jobless themselves have found such spots 'properly their places' and hence 
popularized them as 'jobless corners' not only in everyday street talk but also in 
jocular greetings and addresses aired on radio music programmes for youths, 
Salamu za Vijana, etc.

Now the name is no longer confined to certain places but collectively stands 
for the many places, spots and corners where varying concentrations of jobless 
youths have to be found. Table III.8 in Chapter Three may give an idea of the 
magnitude and variety of the maxi- and mini-jobless corners to be found. The 
following five cases are selected field observation reports of 'jobless corners' and 
actors, taken from wide-ranging areas of town to portray the variety of cir­
cumstances and activity.

Case 1. Kariakoo Bus Stand

The most immediate assumption we make when we see someone at a bus 
stop is that he is waiting for an UDA2 bus that would take him to his work 
place, or to a market, to hospital or to some shop area in town. It is assumed 
that everyone waiting at the bus stop has destination to go to.

But our observation at particular bus stands has shown that this assumption 
is not correct, that there are people who spend hours at the bus stop without 
ever leaving with the bus when buses come and leave. There are a number who 
hang around the stop without ever walking away to some other business except 
for moments when their sudden disappearance is connected with simultaneous 
voices of alarm and their reappearance follows a period of calm. A notable 
exception (though perhaps simplistic and ostentatious) are the visibly busy 
vendors of oranges, pineapple slices and nuts, whose business in visible and 
grows lucrative right there, alongside many other acts that are invisible.

These—the 'bus-stop boys'—are unemployed youths actively though surrep­
titiously involved in picking pockets of genuine passengers.

Along Mzimbazi street, at the stand for buses bound for Magomeni, Man­
zese, Ubungo and Kimara, there was a small but well-coordinated group of 
youths aged between 18 and 25, sometimes extending membership to include 
accomplices as old as 30 years of age. Judging from the close verbal interaction 
pattern, the principal leaders were a triad of stout, commanding Chagga-
speaking youths. The surrounding mates maintained a lower profile, although 
they were quick-acting and fast-walking associates, who frequently communi­ 
cated in language codes. An occasional return to ordinary language com­
unication, however, revealed their mixed composition including Zaramo, 
Dengerekö and Swahili as well.

Considering the fact that this bus stand collects one of the largest gatherings 
in the city, and taking into account that buses take a very long time to appear at
the stand, one quickly gets a mental picture of the kind of commotion and literal fights and struggles among long-waiting passengers in trying to board the scarce bus when it finally arrives. The scramble for the bus sets the ideal condition in which picking of pockets, snatching of money, wallets and watches and wrenching of arms and dresses occur.

This reminds us of the pathetic scene in which a bus rider had his watch snatched from his arm and the snatcher’s long nail made a deep cut into his arm which, because of the long while of exposure in the heat and dense air of a packed bus, cost him two weeks of antiseptic treatment. In the feat of scramble for seats, the victim realized the loss and the dripping scratch only after the bus had taken off. The alerted conductor valiantly directed the bus to Magomeni police station while blocking both bus doors in hopes of getting the thief and booking him with the police. And what happened at the police post? Forty-five minutes were spent in checking every passenger; and no-one had the kind of watch stolen and no-one had the devious kind of nail to dip into human flesh and blood. Everybody left the police station cursing the driver, the conductor, the police and the swollen-handed victim for the time ‘wasted’.

Now the intriguing question is: how does this pocket-picking, this watch-snatching occur? How do the snatchers operate? The following are a few insights from observational experiences at this and several other bus stops.

First, when people are waiting for an UDA bus, pick-pockets, usually in an invisible chain, pretend to be doing just that too. Meanwhile, they try to spot and pin-point would-be bus riders who possibly have large amounts of money, at least a bulging wallet, in their back-pockets, or a fat pouch or briefcase in the hand. When the targets have been established and confirmed, the thieves track them when they are about the board the bus. In pairs of threes, the thieves specialize in tasks. The stronger rushes to the door in order to block the door-way and create artificial pressure from people scrambling, kicking, hitting, elbowing without entering. While this is taking place, the weaker of the accomplices draws closer and begins methodically to push from behind in order to fuel the commotion and to avail himself of a leverage to search into pockets and bags or even to snatch whatever valuables.

On a Saturday in June (1980), a young woman of about 27 was left literally crying when the whole of her June salary disappeared at the bus stand along with her dandy batik bag. Mark you, she had hidden the money deeper in her brassiere! On a previous day another one did not believe her eyes when, after finding her seat in the bus, she discovered an empty hand-bag, with the dresses she had just collected from the laundry gone.

And, at the same time, since people are bundled up in pressure from behind against the bulwark at the doorway, the victim, the loser, does not get even the leanest possibility of spotting the thief. Taking the bus to the police—a one-time effective method of catching the trapped-in culprit—has now many times proved futile. For, among the latest logistic inventions patented by Bus-Stand-Thieving-Society is to ‘strike and diffuse’, not to board the bus.
Case 2. Arusha Town Bus Station

Most of the unemployed hanging around Arusha Town bus station go there early in the morning, ordinarily about 6.00 a.m. They tend to keep in bands of three to five, and walk about or sit talking until the station begins to awaken from quiet inactivity with the arrival of buses and passengers. The station is divided into two lots: one specifically for mini-buses and smaller vehicles including cabs at an adjacent section, while the other lot is for the big passenger buses. Most of the bands of jobless youngsters favour the mini-bus yard because there are more buses and cabs arriving and leaving at short intervals.

Three main trends of activity seem to engage the jobless of this part of town in their wake hours of the day. There are those who specialize in carrying travellers’ luggage as they climb down from the fully-packed mini-buses and are bound for various local destinations within the town. They usually earn some two shillings for the service.

There are some who would have long established understanding, maybe friendship, with the drivers and conductors of particular mini-buses, who get on to the stationary bus and begin loudly (and in competition with other mini-buses) calling for passengers for particular destinations. ‘Tengeru, Tengeru: Arusha Express leaving for Tengeru now. Come quick, we’re leaving.' In a large square with ever-flocking people, many confused, these loud calls serve a purpose, with many rushing into the bus. Then the boys climb down to call the waiting or conversing driver to the steering wheel of an already stocked bus. The reward for the service varies with different drivers/conductors and it depends on the existing understandings. Sometimes a free cup of tea with a bun is enough; sometimes two shillings instantly or a total of five or so at the end of the day’s business. There is no governing rule, mainly because the driver or conductor did not require their service in the first place, and hence has no obligation: he is simply playing gentleman.

There are others who turn themselves into guides at the service of travellers arriving by bus or taxi and, presumably, not knowing the whereabouts of the town. They gently approach a traveller, ask him or her where they want to go and whether they could help. Some travellers, knowing where they are going and what they want, simply shrug ‘no’ and it ends the exchange. Others, indeed, are truly new arrivals and accept guidance readily. They might have been looking for a taxi to some place, or for a particular shop near or far away. The boy helps with luggage and leads the traveller to the proper destination. Superficially, these guides do not charge anything in advance; but they do expect something from the service. The return has ranged from one to five shillings.

These engaging bus-station activities are done up to about 2.00 p.m. when there is, usually, a subsidence in the buzzing movements at least for one hour. If by good luck the boys have gained some money, they will go to a nearby restaurant for a hot lunch, after which they rush back to the bus stand. If it was a bad day and they didn’t collect a cent, then you will find them sleeping on the bus stand pavements, failing even to play cards, a popular pastime.
In the evening, about 6.30, most of them leave the bus stand, headed to the now more lively, more active evening places: cinema halls especially, but also discotheques and popular bars.

While definitely popular and quite attractive, these places are also expensive and obviously discriminative on the basis of who has the money to enter. Thus, even though the jobless move their temporary anchor towards the night-life centres, it is only those who are lucky to have made some cash at the bus station that are sieved into Metropole or Elite (cinemas) or into the Cave (disco). It means therefore that the majority simply remain outside and ‘enjoy’ inside-action from a warded distance outside of the protective opaque walls. And of course the ‘kings’ who enter would usually have thereby spent all or most of their savings of the day, and hence come out half-hearted little ‘jacks’ pondering ways of recovering the lost money and how and where to obtain the resources for tomorrow.

Some of the jobless do return to the bus station to hang around late-night country buses, repeating the guiding gestures to the passengers. With rich experience from the past, no big bus, especially in the evening and at night, allows non-passengers in. For many of these night guides and helpers, however ‘kind-hearted’ or ‘meek’ they look, translate their daylight role into different versions in the actual nocturnal search of hand-to-mouth livelihood. A number of follow-up observations have revealed some ulterior motives on helping-guiding travellers to their particular destinations in the town: either to pick their pockets immediately after they have disappeared from public view, or to note the particular point of arrival so as to strike it at a later, more convenient time possibly with the assistance of accomplices.

Case 3. Manzese.

Manzese is one of the largest satellites of Dar es Salaam, an area full of life as it manifests itself in the busy markets, bars and restaurants, milling houses and a myriad of vending huts and commercial makeshifts. It is one of the most densely-populated urban spots in the most highly populated of the city’s three districts.

Extending on both sides of main road, the different busy activities form also an extensive context of the many and frequent incidents, mishaps and accidents characterizing this area. The head-on collision between cars trying to avoid a staggering pedestrian, or between a turning truck and a loaded human-pushed trolley; an inadvertent fall of the bus-boy from a rushing unlicensed passenger mini-bus escaping from a police swoop; or a fight between two drunken friends, will instantaneously attract large crowds of observers and will soon block any further movements on the highway. This will sooner or later cause more accidents. As is typical of many parts of the city elsewhere, here very few people in the crowd volunteer to help the casualty or to give information on how it started—for fear to be called to the police to give evidence. But most will have assembled either to simply passively watch the scene or to actively, though
secretly, gain something by stripping someone's hand of a watch or picking money, wallets or shoes from the fallen victim.

Thus, this main-road area, with its spill-over influence further inside on both sides, forms a conducive physico-social atmosphere for the jobless to pass their time while at the same time inventing strategies of subsistence and survival. The following is an account based on the diary of an investigator for one Wednesday during September (1979).

During the day they have been sitting down in groups of five to ten near Msumbiji and Angola restaurants and Duka la Viatu, a cobbler’s shoe shop. In the course of the whole day they have been good citizens, harmless, and with no quarrel amongst themselves as is sometimes the case when playing cards or talking seriously about which club is likely to win in tomorrow’s match. Some of them have had spells of absence trying to look for customers needing shoe-shine, or joining another gang in some watching or playing activity.

Only one incident had removed all the groups together for a period of one hour or so. It was a fight inside the main market place between a tomato vendor and a residential neighbour of his who, it was explained, had kept a deep-seated grudge against him for an insult a month or two ago. (Both were vendors but one had become a little better off because of his thrift and amiable dealings with clients. The other almost always drank all the money he got at the end of the day’s business. He had lost all the capital and his creditors were daily coming to claim their money from him. A word of warning and advice by his next-door neighbour and good-willed ‘fellow businessman’ had become an insult and ‘ill-willed innuendo’.)

After the episode the youths returned to their earlier positions and have since then been busy talking on a wide range of common subjects, sometimes taking precedence over cards or the counting board, bao. However, as dark crept in, they began to change their position and their activity. They pulled to a spot very near and opposite to the entrance of a well known and popular community bar, Tip-Top. It is situated about quarter-a-mile from the restaurants and cobbler shop, a little indented from the stretched roadside, and decoratively lit by a mixture of strategically positioned white and coloured fluorescent tubes.

Now at about 7.00 p.m., and continuously afterwards, one begins to note a number of smartly dressed leisurely walking young men come towards Tip-Top and finally disappear through the entrance of the bar. The well-lighted side road to the bar is so straight and clear that one would not have to fear for safety at such an early hour of the evening. But the air in the surrounding atmosphere immediately becomes suspicious because of the unusual density. Thus, the otherwise undoubted cleanliness and straightness of the side-road begins to be undermined by the heavy smoke of the illicit marijuana (cannabis), popularly coded jani, ‘the leaf’.

Throwing eyes a short distance over the roadside embankment, the smoke-suspecting bar-goers see groups of youths in threes or fours, all scattered within the fading limits of the fluorescents. There they puff their stuff ‘openly’ and fearlessly as, ordinarily, no police emissary is expected around that area in the
advanced hours of the evening or night. The only familiar sight at that time and place is the bar-employed guard whose job contract does not take him beyond the bar premises, vaguely defined by the illuminated area of the fluorescent posts.

Calling in to simply quench thirst, or to ‘cool the throat’ and go away home, is one thing. And, ordinarily, a person with such well-defined intent gets off the bar all right. For he would be sober, conscious and sure of his road steps. And, ordinarily for such a person, it would still be early in the evening or night. The ‘waiting’ unemployed-jobless bands over the embankment are not interested in such a person; in fact they fear him unless he disappears through a very lonely dark footpath.

It is the drenched late bar-leavers, staggering as though dancing to the extended echoes of the disco inside, who are the clear, vulnerable targets of the leaf-activated sharp-shooters of eagle snatching style. From their hidden trenches and bush dens, the boys simply charge and pounce on the staggering man; and in a matter of seconds, everything on him—maybe the month’s or half-month’s salary in his back pocket, a watch he saved for three or four months to buy and attract the barmaids, the sun goggles curiously worn during the night to prove individual culture and distinction—are all forcibly transferred for re-distribution somewhere else in the wider world of the night.

An incident corresponding to this description happened a few yards away from this popular Tip-Top Bar. The sequence of events in the whole criminal operation indeed tallied with some of the confessedly tip-top performances shown in modern criminal films, one of the favourite style trainers many unemployed youths seek money to go to.

**Case 4. Wembe Club, on Kilwa Road.**
About six miles away from Dar es Salaam’s city centre, just off the recently renovated main road leading to the southern coastal town of Kilwa, what used to be an open bushland, has lately emerged into an active roadside centre teeming with an assortment of social activities and processes. There is an UDA bus stop where passengers file in and out of the city bus as it calls there every thirty minutes or so. A butchery and a public water tap are also to be found serving a number of surrounding household units. A big cashew nut and two large mango trees provide an extensive cool shade against the otherwise hot and humid condition of this coastal outskirt.

Under one mango tree a bicycle repairer is busily mending an old tube and beating spokes before trying out the squeaking bicycle of an uneasily waiting fish hawker. Under the other mango tree a young boy and an elderly woman are selling their pot-roasted groundnuts and fire-smoked cashew nuts, respectively, on a two-legged table strategically rested against the supporting trunk. The broad canopy of the massively branched cashew tree facilitates a larger coverage of a temporary, rough-and-ready minimarket, *genge*, displaying a limited variety of green vegetables, especially spinach and cassava leaves; fruits; two small piles of sweet potatoes and a lone coco-yam; a pile of shopping
bags made out of cement paper; a quarter-full basket of dried fish; and freshly
dried slices of tapioca. One could also spot a bowl a boiled eggs and a can of
plastic packs of coloured ice water, altogether amounting to nine items, carried
a long way down by a youngster (who by his age should have been in school at
this hour and on this day) hailing from Magorneni some seven or eight miles
away from this spot.

Different groups of older youths and younger adults gather around here
every day. In the edges of the shade provided by the mango and cashew trees
they sit and carry on jokes and talks on many subjects ranging, as on this
particular day, from serious discussions on hints to lifting and loading heavy
weights on lorries without really feeling the effect on the body, to simple lazy
talk on women lovers and hundreds of laughter-provoking sweet-nothings.
Many times they combine the leisurely talk with group games, ordinarily
games of speculation, cards (karata) and the counting board (bao). On this
particular day of observation, only one of the several groups that frequent this
area had come, but they were kept busy by their cards and the board from some
time close to mid-day to five o'clock. They disengaged when one of them who
seemed to be their group leader, Bwana Mwenyewe as they popularly referred
to him, decided to leave.

Meanwhile, at about 2.00 p.m., a stoutly built, broadfaced middle-aged man
arrives with his three full baskets of groundnuts prepared in three different
styles. Hapilora, as the man calls himself, has set everyone in the premises to
unceasing laughter with his completely shaven head and a cowrie necklace, a
bell tied to his left leg that emits sounds as he stumps across the area, and a
long imitation beard hanging from the chin which makes him look and act like
the Arab slave trader of the nineteenth century. In private conversations,
Hapilora explains that his funny but amusing appearance is part of the trick to
sell his groundnuts. Indeed, his arrival at the spot has attracted many more
people from the road and nearby houses and everybody seems to be buying his
product.

It was in the course of the comings and goings aroused by Hapilora's
sale-trick comedy that a breath-taking event happened a few hundred yards
away on the main road. A city-bound country bus from Rufiji had run over the
roadside embankment and fell onto the side of a river vale. The screaming
voices led everyone leave Wembe Club Area to the aid of the accident victims.
This incident was truly a test case to prove the variation of human motiva­
tion in a common situation, and indeed to prove the variance between what is
stated (‘to help the poor bus victims’) and what is actually done to them. For
apart from the few who left their subsistence activities at the genge undeneled
(the various traders and vendors including Hapilora) and genuinely helped the
victims out through the bus windows, almost everyone else, including the youth
idlers, were busily looking for money, watches and up-country market goods to
simply help themselves. One of the youths was caught the next day trying to
sell the watch and shoes he had snatched from the bus victims. He was beaten
almost to death before the police arrived to pick him up.
Case 5. Abdu Bingwa the trickster.

One early afternoon on a Saturday (in 1979), a field assistant met a young but tough looking man along Dar es Salaam’s Lindi Street, some point between Uhuru Girls’ and Uhuru Boys’ primary schools. This is a place some way between the city centre and Buguruni, a populous lower-class residential town area frequently referred to by city people as Alabama-Texas apparently on account of its long record of urban crime including night murders and robbery.¹

The man, Abdu Bingwa Profesa Mtambo wa Chuma as he called himself in reference to the magic and healing powers he professed to possess, was in the company of two older friends in their forties and fifties, respectively. He was himself about thirty-five. They all dressed uniquely: leaving the bottom of their slim-fitted cross-checked shirts hanging over their multi-creased trousers, combing their hair frontwards in the ‘Beatles’ style, growing sharp-pointed whiskers and bushy beards, and wearing black amulets around their left arms. All these, adding to their very dark skin complexion which clearly distinguished them from the rest of the people around, seemed to confirm their claim of having arrived in the city ‘from far away’, from Zaire.

Although Abdu Bingwa was conspicuously the youngest in the triad, he was evidently the chief spokesman and the chief actor. The dazzling silver leather boots, the American-cowboy type of hat which he alone wore, and the white stick which kept on flipping a neat handkerchief tied onto its outer end, were further symbols signifying his status in the group.

No sooner had the assistant reached the planks they were sitting on than they politely greeted her in advance and asked if she wanted her future and fortune predicted. ‘I am a doctor, a professor’, Abdu Bingwa told her, ‘who can predict people’s luck, read people’s stars, tell fortunes, and even manufacture money for people in great need. I am at your service, madam, don’t fear to know the great good things waiting for you in future’. To impress the seemingly interested lady client-to-be, he held his white stick perpendicularly on his left palm, saying to it: Begi Marias, fanya kazi yako. (He called his magic stick, ‘Begi Marias’ by name, and he was instructing it to ‘do your job!’).

Pointing his stick towards the lady’s palms, Abdu Bingwa began performing the job—all sheer tricks aimed at extracting money from her. His battery of broken-Swahili language statements:


[You are a Tanzanian, from upcountry, not from the coast. My compass tells that you have sisters and brothers and that you are yourself a married woman. Your husband is still a young man; but if you want him not to attract other women then you must get from me love-medicine prepared from the head office in Zaire, mustn’t you? The other thing is that you are yourself a lovely woman (a ‘show-piece’). If you want}
to maintain your beauty you must come to me the professor, doctor, the owner of Begi Marias.]

Although the assistant saw nothing of revelation in these rather common-sense statements,
she remained keen and attentive in the interest of discovering the motives and tricks of the trio.

She confessed to him that she had but twenty shillings on her at the moment, but ‘I would like to know how you manufacture money. Then I’ll know you are a true fortune teller and a real doctor. I will then call many more to pay for your assistance to them.’ She handed the bag over to them to prove her sincerity about the ‘only’ twenty shillings she had.

Then Abdu Bingwa took out the twenty shilling note, folded it many times, placed it in a white envelope and sealed the envelope. ‘In ten minutes’, he said, ‘my charms will have responded by beginning to produce ten times the note I have placed in this envelope! While I wait on them to begin their work, please feel free to talk anything, a-n-y-t-h-i-n-g, with these medical assistants of mine.’ She switched on to some topic with the older companions while Abdu Bingwa began shaking little bottles and other small objects in the quarter-opened zipper bag they carried with them, into which he had dropped the sealed envelope. Some five minutes after this, she could detect how painfully he was trying to swap two same-coloured (white) envelopes by use of the hand he had dipped into the bag under the pretext of invigorating the charms.

A few minutes later, at a time he thought the companions had distracted her attention from the magic money bag, Abdu Bingwa astutely called the lady’s attention, presenting the supposedly same envelope to her, with instructions:

The notes are now in the process of forming. Do not open the envelope until they have completely cooled and solidified. And this means opening the envelope no earlier than tomorrow eight o’clock in the morning. Remember: if you open it before that time, they will all dissipate in air and you will have lost your fortune once and forever. If after eight tomorrow you feel a desire to come back and thank me for the fortune and to have more money made for you, you can find us at Mnazi Mmoja in the city garden around the Uhuru [Independence] Tower. Remember the instructions. Don’t make mistakes.

The next day, on Sunday, the usual nine-o’clock breakfast in the field assistant’s home was an unusually extended two-hour long deal, with laughter mixed with surprises at the different ways and tricks with which the urban jobless are determined to survive in their unemployed, moneyless situation. Of course there was no money in the returned envelope. Instead—and inspite of fulfilling the self-made professor-doctor’s instructions—it was stuffed with folded pieces of toilet paper.
‘Part-time’ Urban School Absconders and Truants

These form a ‘quasi’-category of the urban unemployed population in the sense that, for one thing, they are officially registered in government files and Ministry of Education records as full-time school attendants. As such they cannot appear anywhere in the official statistical records of unemployment. For another thing, as de jure school pupils, they do not frequently appear in congregations, nor do they identify themselves explicitly as school pupils for fear of betraying themselves in one way or another.

An investigator, once given a tip or once satisfied with the assumption that some urban pupils form part of the roaming urban jobless youth, would then have to employ different search tactics to verify or to disprove this submission. As for the present researcher, this is no longer an assumption but a proven fact. Pupils especially in the lower classes of some urban primary schools and secondary schools have been found in currents of teen-age children and youths walking about virtually aimlessly in different parts of town, watching endless urban events here and there, posing at market corners in petty vending activities, and, not the least, practising day-time prostitution.

The investigation has indicated that most of these school absconders and truants—in this particular case 8 out of 11—were children of low-income families, from lower-class, lower-income residential areas of the city. The cases included both boys and girls.

Two main causes seemed to underlie this state of affairs (i.e. absconding from school and floating about in town). They revolved around the economic-financial situation of the children as well as around the pedagogical climate of the school. These two factors, more than anything else, surfaced in the interviews and discussions with teachers, parents and the case-pupils, confirmed by concurrent random observations of some urban homes from which urban schools draw the majority of their pupils.

With regard to the economic situation, it was observed that most absconders and truants suffer financial inadequacy with regard to such basic needs as the bus-fare to/from school where this means a long distance of travel, and also pocket money for emergency or stop-gap measures including snacks during the school break and/or after classes on the long way to lunch or supper at home. These, for some pupils, were as basic and necessary to their school attendance and to their classroom learning efficiency as anything else, such that lack of them meant either an intermittent or cumulative gap in school attendance and in classroom performance. Yet such basic economic subsidies were expected to be given them by their parents or guardians. Failing to obtain them from their own parents/guardians—described by the victims in various negative terms as miserly, mean, strict—the children had to ‘fend for themselves’. For the varying lengths of time they stole away from school they could engage in a few odd-jobs, sell fruit and ice-water, prostitute themselves or attempt pocket picking.

The emergence of the ‘strict family’ is not without its objective economic antecedents. The financial as well as the cultural strain in a surrounding world
Table V.1. *Comparison of school dropouts, persistent absentees and regular school attenders by selected family economic/material status indicators.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Dropouts N=21</th>
<th>Persitant Absentees N=58</th>
<th>Regular Attenders N=67</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents' Occupation:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Salaried employment</td>
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<td>Peasant farming</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td><strong>House Ownership:</strong></td>
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<td>66.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House quality: Roof:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mud</td>
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<td>Iron sheets</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Concrete</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unburnt clay blocks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House quality: Floor:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden tiles</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House quality: Lighting:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure lamp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin lamp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurricane lamp</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other means</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Kimaro (1981), page 58, table 2.*
of urban affluence and temptation have had a noticeable impact on the behaviour of the urban low-income family. Observations of the urban lower-income groups have pointed to strong tendencies towards self-restraint in terms of family spending on leisure and even on necessities (especially in view of the rising cost of living against relatively static incomes) and towards enforcing strict discipline among children. The view of a positive correlation between the economic (material) status of the family and the children’s school attendance behaviour is reinforced further by data from Kimaro’s recent searching study (1981), specifically on the problem of urban school dropouts and absconders (see Table V.1).

With regard to the pedagogical climate at school, statements and comments emitted by subjects in this urban youth quasi-category pointed to an unfavourable school environment.

They all variously pointed to authoritarianism and punitive atmosphere in the classroom, as referred to by three boys; teacher laxity and negligence as mentioned by another boy and four girls; disorder and lack of orientation in the whole school, as referred to by several other children. Even though one may have to be careful and selective in listening to stories by runaway school children, these statements are not altogether void. There is some truth in them, at least as can be inferred from the practical observations of everyday life in urban (as well as rural) schools in Tanzania today.

In almost all cases of urban schools, the teacher-pupil ratio is grossly inoptimal, with too many children—in some cases as many as 55 in a compact classroom—to a single teacher. In such a situation, the teacher is more overwhelmed by the class size than is able to control and efficiently involve children in learning. Disciplinary problems tend to arise and grow in this kind of situation, where the teacher even fails to walk about in the classroom (sometimes across improvised tumbling brick seats) to pay individualized attention to pupils.

Inavailability and/or maldistribution of school equipment and materials is another fact that is by no means inconspicuous to any visitor to urban schools (and many rural schools as well). In some cases, schools have had no chalk for blackboard work, in some pupils have had no writing blocks for classroom exercises, in many cases schools have not had the essential text books or such books have been scarcely distributed to pupils. Cases of textbooks being distributed one for every ten or more pupils have been prevalent. The picture as presented by such instances, has been one of discouragement and low morale on the part of hard-working teachers, and of disillusionment on the part of children. In absconding or keeping away from school, the pupils—at least some—must have had the feeling that the school no longer serves the purpose for which they enrolled there in the first place.

Another point that could be inferred from the experiences reported by the jobless school ‘part-timers’ relates to the quality and behaviours of some school teachers. Some primary school teachers, especially those of more recent profes-
sional training dating back to the late 1960s, are either lax and negligent or authoritarian and punitive not necessarily out of external circumstances but more out of personal problems and inadequacies related to the kind of professional training they received.

The late sixties and early seventies saw a drastic change in the teacher training policy that involved a severe reduction of the training period from the traditional two years to one year and, later, to only eight months. The excuse had been that there was a dire scarcity of teachers and that something was to be done (which was a reasonable case to argue only if conceived as an interim measure) but also that the training period, based on the old colonial model, had been unnecessarily wasteful and inappropriate to the new political situation. It is the latter argument, a model answer in justifying some of the rash and uninformed decisions in this as in several other cases in social policy, that has led to other deeper-going mistakes and problems today.

One can only imagine what may have happened in a classroom where a half-trained teacher was faced with challenging questions from brighter pupils for which she (or he) had no immediate answers. The embarrassed and genuinely inadequate teacher must have found refuge either in forcing the children to cram an only and perhaps half-mastered way of doing things or in leaving the children to do their own things to fill up the lesson period.

Notes

1. Field exploration was limited to this one-way movement. The return movement of the stayed urbanites going back to their rural homes, although possible in some cases, was actually untraceable in this study. This was largely because the few respondents who expressed the wish to go back home stopped at statements of intention. For the whole period of field investigation spanning four years (1978–81) no-one actually left for home and no-one reported to have been home for at least a short time. The cautious assumption we have made is that the formerly complete rural-urban-rural cycle of labour migration which used to be manifest in most of the old days of the colonial period well into the mid-1960s, has virtually ceased, giving way to the predominantly non-reciprocal rural-urban movement.

2. UDA is an acronym for Usafiri Dar es Salaam, a passenger bus company with a monopoly of service in the various districts and places within the city boundaries. The individual buses of the company are similarly and popularly referred to as UDA, the acronym being further printed on the sides of the buses.

3. See 1978 Population Census: Preliminary Report (Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam) pp. 38 and 78. The spot bordering the Dar es Salaam-Morogoro highway is only the visible urban nucleus of the larger Manzese ward, which is adjoined by an equally densely populated Tandale. Along with a few other wards, these two belong to Kinondoni district.

4. This popular naming traces its emotional links with the American events of the 1960s, with the widespread civil and racial conflicts in several southern states including Alabama, and the assassination of the liberal and internationally popular President John F. Kennedy in 1963 in Dallas, Texas.

5. As anyone can judge from the statements, there is nothing revealing, apart from the mere manipulation of the stick, lip movements and the intonation. For instance, a
A person from 'up-country' is easily distinguishable from a native or long resident of Dar es Salaam and the coastal districts on the basis of mastery in speech, expression and idioms of the Swahili language. An up-country person will in any case have an ethnically-conditioned intonation, which will in turn betray the exact or approximate ethnic (tribal) identity. It is only a just-arrived foreigner who may have difficulties telling the differences; yet Abdu Bingwa and company had been in Tanzania for some time. Possibly, too, they were Tanzanians in Zairean pretence!

Further, by mere look at a married woman, one can determine with fair accuracy the age-level of her husband, and vice versa. And we all know that at such a younger (even middle) age every man or woman—with only unfortunate exceptions—is attractive to others of the different sex.

Nor is calling a woman beautiful in her presence a discovery; it has always been an expected compliment even if she were not so beautiful, and especially if and when the man's motives are directed at striking some friendship or understanding with her.

Abdu Bingwa was objectively correct on only one specific point: that this lady was a married woman. But one can still argue that he just guessed and got it right. After all, it is not all too difficult to guess who is young and untried as opposed to one who poses, talks and acts the 'family way'.

With regard to whether one has other siblings (brothers and sisters) or not, the matter is equivocal in the African cultural set-up. In African societies, one's father's brother's children are also one's brothers or sisters, just as one's father's brother is also one's father. There has not been an explicitly exclusive definition of kinship relations (see, for instance, Ishumi, 1980b:41).

6. While only few urban families (especially those in the upper income levels) do have three meals a day—that is breakfast, lunch and supper, the majority of the city residents in Dar es Salaam have (or can afford) only two meals, namely breakfast and an evening meal.

7. While 'economic strictness' or restraint is evidently the objective function of the narrow economic base of the family, it is probably further occasioned generally by the (rural) cultural norms as well as by the impelled desire for most rural-urban immigrant worker families to maintain their rural ties which imply periodical remittances to support the aging parents, to invest in land, in house construction, in children's education or to maintain the landed property left at home for the interim period of working in town.

8. This is discounting the external components of the curricular package such as periods of para-military work in national service camps and adult education campaigns which, by their nature, were properly irrelevant to the professional preparation of teachers for children in regular schools.

9. A number of observers of the Tanzanian education system have already sounded warning signals about the falling standards of education. As far back as 1976 a perceptive educationist and at the time Principal Secretary of the Ministry of National Education, S. Tunginie, warned about the teacher training policy:

Unless we accept this fact [i.e. the mistake of indiscriminately recruiting successful and failed school leavers into the teacher training course] and cease to believe that teacher-training is for poorly qualified ex-primary and ex-secondary school pupils, we cannot expect to achieve qualitative success in teacher education. The vicious circle of poor student selection, a short teacher training period, poorly qualified teacher trainers, ill-prepared primary school teachers and finally poor quality pupil material will continue (Tunginie, 1978:73).

Dubbeldam (1982:23–27) has similarly pointed out this problem as it obtains in Tanzania and in a number of other Third World countries as well.
Chapter VI

Conclusions and Policy Implications

Conclusions

The data presented and discussed in Chapters III to V lead to a number of conclusions which, in themselves, reflect a measure of logical interconnection. They also cast light on certain concrete and conclusive issues that will deserve serious attention in terms of corrective social policy. First, the general conclusions.

1) The old urban-rural disparity that was ushered in the wake of the emergence of the 'city' and which in Eastern Africa was accelerated by processes of 'modernization' and administration during the long period of colonial rule, has increased with years rather than regressed. This fact is notwithstanding declared policies and public statements by the independence governments of redressing the imbalance and making the rural sector equally attractive and viable. In the specific case of Tanzania, data shows that the urban centre is still better provided for and hence more attractive than the villages away in the remote rural country, which are growing relatively more repellent, less and less capable of holding or containing their populations in terms of the day-to-day needs for subsistence.

2) Opportunities for gainful occupation and self-improvement—real or imaginary—have been associated, and are continuing to be associated with urban centres, and much less so with rural areas. It is the perception of such opportunities that explains much of the 'push from the village' and the 'pull into town' rather than mere (and unfounded) hatred of the village and fascination with urban life.

3) The individuals with a heavier preponderance to migrating to town have been those with a low socio-economic status in both absolute and relative terms of land holding and any other gainful occupation at home. That is, those with a firm stake at home, as in the case of holding productive land, owning a habitable house, benefiting from daily subsistence activities and social relations, would be less likely to migrate without sound proof of greater advantage in so doing. Consistent with this economic rationality, and with the rules of tradition that govern land tenure and stabilize civic status in villages, it is the younger people—principally those below marriage age—who have always 'suffered' a definitely low socio-economic status, have had little stake in settled village life and hence have had little to tie them down or to pull them back. In the field survey, the largest proportion of the urban unemployed was made up
of youth—and youth from this kind of economic and socio-cultural background.

(4) The study has also revealed that the rate of (rural-) urban migration over the last one decade and a half is distinctively higher than that over the previous decades. Since the enumerated urban jobless immigrants were predominantly young people of the age range between 10 and 35 years, and since this numerical dominance of youth tallies strongly with the proportion among the jobless who were school leavers/school dropouts, then it can be concluded that the current urban jobless are preponderantly school leaver youth, particularly primary school leavers. This suggests that if current unemployment in Tanzania (and generally in Eastern Africa) is a problem, then it is a problem of unemployment not of youths who are totally illiterate but of youths who have had some rudiments of school education and have at least been schooled into the ideology and expectations of formal education.

(5) The predicament of this jobless category of the urban population is to be interpreted in the objective terms of personal time wasted and the social labour power potential untapped in youth. If, in the first instance, it is a private (personal) problem of a frustration and disuse of one’s potentially creative energies, it is also a public (social) problem not only of the explosive nature of an undermined base of the formal education industry but also of a potentially diminished measure of economic production and national productivity to which a nation’s youth are a potentially crucial index. Furthermore, urban youth joblessness is a concern to the public and to society in general from the point of view of the deviant behaviours that could result from an idle, unemployed and possibly unemployable youth within the context of a chronically tempting and illusive affluence of urban environments.

(6) Judging from the presently increasing rate of reported urban crime and from the manifest as well as the unstated but inferred range of youth activity in the field investigation, there is evidence of a positive correlation between the high rate of rural-urban youth migration and an increasing rate of urban crime and associated delinquent behaviour (e.g. pocket picking, house breaking, manipulative games, vandalism, open prostitution, armed robbery, narcotics smoking and contraband dealings). It is inconceivable how the current rate of such acts of urban frustration and crime will decrease without a corresponding-ly material satisfaction of the youth’s stated and/or intended objectives which engendered their migration into town in the first instance. For, one clear indication of an otherwise perpetual problem observed in the field study was the refusal or inability to return home (in the rural area) even after a period of dire unemployment and bitter experiences of severed relations with supporting urban relatives or friends.

(7) As reflected in the numerical proportions of the different categories of the surveyed urban jobless and in the different activities they were associated with, it seems that the magnitude of unemployment among youth is far greater than that among a far smaller proportion of older adults most of whom were visibly old and weaker street beggars. Correspondingly, the urban youth problem is
potentially more serious, with clearly more grievous consequences, than the older-time problem of the urban beggar, although, with time, even the latter is assuming socially precipitous dimensions.

Specific conclusions and discussions will now revolve around a few central issues as they have reflected themselves in the study.

Rural Poverty

There is no doubt about rural poverty in Tanzania, perhaps more real today than two decades or more ago. With only minor exceptions, all the urban jobless surveyed and interviewed were definitely from rural backgrounds and the majority were definitely from poor rural backgrounds, with a sizeable proportion of parents/guardians (50% or more) earning well below the average per capita income (of T.Sh. 2,080/= per annum) and only few ever reaching or surpassing the average income level (which is itself low in comparison with the income level in some of the neighbouring countries.\(^1\)

Considering that more than three-quarters of the parents in the study derived their incomes (livelihood) from peasant agriculture and that a whole half or more of them live on incomes well below the national average, there is enough evidence to conclude that rural life for many people in Tanzania has been characterized by poverty. This is to say that agriculture, the basic and probably only occupation for the majority of the population, has not been a paying vocation and therefore has not improved rural life, whatever good and soothing things said about life in villages.

The increasing trend and rate of migration of youth (and adults) from rural to urban areas over the last two decades and much more noticeably within the last decade has to be viewed against this background reality. For many it has not simply been migration for adventure’s sake: it has actually been flight from threatening poverty in the village to anticipated refuge in town. And this, quite unlike the earlier complete cycle of rural-urban-rural movement during most of the colonial period, has tended to be a one-way rural-urban traffic largely because the land which used to hold people (by virtue of its commercial profitability and status symbol) no longer pays the traditional dividends.

It may be argued, further, that even the secondary stated motives for leaving the village, such as conflicts with strict parents, seeking urban leisure and freedom, and seeking business opportunities, are for the most part reducible to the primary economic factor of an unpaying, ungainful rural existence. It is to be expected, for instance, for a generally poor peasant-parent to be strict with the children in a keen struggle and hope to mete some income from his limited land-hold. It is this ‘strictness’ or discipline (both in farm work and in domestic spending) which is easily interpretable by the youth as an intolerable conflict to which freedom and anonymity in town have often been conceived as the solution.
As is further indicated in the generalized contrasts in the trend of labour migration (Paradigm VI.1), the fact of having or not having a stake (land, finance, status) in the rural life setting must have played an even more decisive role for the many youngsters who, from the mid-1960s and particularly the early 1970s, have been leaving primary school in masses without any prospects of further post-primary education or training except for the relatively few lucky ones.

Paradigm VI.1. Generalized contrasting features of the labour migration trend from colonial to post-colonial times

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old—Colonial</th>
<th>New—Post-colonial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Fewer people involved</td>
<td>• Increasing number involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Younger adults and adolescents</td>
<td>• Youngsters and youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Some been to school, many not</td>
<td>• Most been to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• predominantly primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• a few secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Seasonal, cyclic R-U-R migration</td>
<td>• Perennial, one-way R-U migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Some stake in rural life</td>
<td>• Limited or nonexistent stake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• married or about to marry at home</td>
<td>• too young to marry or to contemplate marrying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• had hold on or were close to holding land to</td>
<td>• have no land or civil rights to land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>develop</td>
<td>• have no capital and rural prospects of it dim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• had capital or were close to having capital</td>
<td>• have no or are not close to having certain adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• had or were close to having certain adult</td>
<td>status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status</td>
<td>• thus little or nothing to care for at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• thus much to care for for settled village life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To most rural parents, the coming back of their primary school leaving children has not been of particular significance or assistance. On the contrary, against the background of low incomes from agricultural activity (on usually fixed land holdings), the return and full-time stay of children is often looked upon as a liability rather than an economic asset on account of the little effect an additional but dependent labour force would have on the family income prospects. Nor has it been looked upon as an important and convincing option for their children as compared to other avenues that lead to more tangible benefits (i.e. a more sure and more paying job, ‘easier’ income, and possible savings) to the individual and, through the individual, to the family as a whole.

The contention advanced here is that it is the objective conditions of rural poverty that lie at the root of the escalating flight of youth to towns. Migration from villages—of youth or any others—is not a predestined pattern nor a ‘mental disease’ in individuals but a function on objective conditions in rural areas and a natural choice between two unequal options. They do not hate rural areas as such but the poverty that is associated with rural life.
And why rural poverty? How? The answer as to the causes and perpetuation of rural poverty lies, at one level, in the evident dissonance between stated development policies or intentions on the one hand and actual practice on the other. At another or more visible level, the answer lies in the endemically differential treatment of urban centres and rural areas. The two levels are inextricably related.

Ever since independence, and particularly from the mid-1960s, improving rural areas has been one key subject of policy statements (TANU, 1967; TANU, 1972) but, regrettably rural areas—villages—have frequently been the least beneficiary of official administrative action towards improving the quality of life and work. Urban centres have often not only been the first and major beneficiary of any national distributive and other social service delivery systems and facilities (Ishumi, 1981:chpt. 2, 3, 7) but also they have frequently fallen victims of field laboratory experimentation with so many changes and grand innovations which, more often than not, have led to adjustment problems, pain, loss of orientation or stifling of initiative. The promised cumulative benefits and a boosted purchasing power connected with such official experiments have been a flying reality to many rural residents.

Agriculture has been one sad case connected with rural poverty. The sector, involving more than 90 percent of the national population has in practice suffered from official neglect, not only in terms of adequate and efficient delivery of farm inputs as well as professional advice to farmers but also in terms of timely collection of farmers’ market crops and commensurate and timely payment for the crops so laboriously produced. Over time a combination of these negative factors had led to a dangerous vicious circle of effects: frustration and apathy, little production and low productivity, reduced income, diminished purchasing power, economic and social deprivation, degeneration of incentive, even less production, even less income and growing poverty.

Even where there has been a modicum of official engineering as in the case of collective (ujamaa) villages, production and productivity have not been as high as expected. Despite official claims of success (frequently more in terms of the rate of collectivization than of material and financial output) (Nyerere, 1977; ILO, 1978:11–12), even the well-intended ujamaa villagization programme has not matched the expectations of rural prosperity raised in the initial stages (Boesen et al, 1977:147–148; Nyerere, 1982).

There is no stronger support for this contention than the latest candid admission of official mistakes by the government itself in the wake of a grievous national crisis:

Whatever we call success in Tanzania is largely a success created by the peasants of Tanzania. They have been doing the production which underlies our advances in education, health, the building of factories, and the establishment of a viable transport system. We have received invaluable external help for all these advances; but it is still true that without the production of the peasants we could not have built the factories we have built, or introduced and sustained Universal Primary Education, and a rural health service .... The peasants grow their own food and, except in the
years of severe drought, the food for the towns. They have provided the raw material for our textile mills etc. They earn more than 80% of our export revenue.

But although it is agriculture which is basically responsible for all the successes on which we pride ourselves, we have not been developing agriculture itself. And now it cannot bear the load we have put on it ....

Quite clearly, either our training [of agricultural experts] is wrongly directed, or our Agricultural Extension Officers are not doing what they are expected to do. It is better to discover what is wrong and to rectify it, than to go on increasing our extension staff and therefore continue with the same faults.

(Nyerere, 1982)

While it is correctly important and urgent to find out what is wrong and to correct the faults, it is just as important and urgent to be realistic. Neither the agricultural training of agricultural experts nor the Agricultural Extension Officers may be basically wrong, assuming a model of agricultural training institutions and curriculum that has not deviated much from that which operated in pre- and post-independence years (Maliyamkono et al., 1982:269–284) before the beginning of the general agricultural decline particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. Nor, indeed, could the extension officers—as conscientious individuals and accountable professionals—work deliberately and en masse in defiance of the regulations and expectations attached to their official schedule of duties. There is a third and critically important and basic area of concern that needs close inspection as well, namely the government agricultural policy and practice. The argument here is that the extension staff will not take over the hoe from the farmer’s hands and begin to cultivate land for him if the farmer does not want to because of the discouragingly low price for his cotton, maize, coffee, pyrethrum, etc. or because his little rural house is overstocked by bags of the product which has never been bought for the past one or two seasons. Agricultural training and extension staff have no influence on or control over these things.

This immediately leads to one factor that is strongly connected with the plight of the farmers: the parastatal crop authorities. These have in very deed done more harm than good in their often exploitative, repressive and highly bureaucratic attitude to the farmers. While they have themselves been growing in size and in paper functions, they have created an ever-growing distance between them and the farmer to the extent that they cannot be sensitive to their needs, their complaints, their ideas and their agricultural requirements. Moreover, the growing crop-authority bureaucracy, with its pervasive urban officialdom, has certainly been feeding on the otherwise ‘bigger and better’ crop income differentials rightful to the farmer, the toiler.

It seems that unless something drastic is done about this growing impersonal relationship with the farmer; unless crop authorities are pruned and trimmed to size or probably replaced by genuine farmer organizations that are deeply rooted in the rural origins rather than in government officialdom; unless farmers are stimulated to work and expand scales of operation through better crop incomes, better delivery services and, where necessary, individualized loan
systems; and unless government itself is sufficiently simplified and de­bureaucratized, Tanzanian agriculture, the villages, and hence the rural areas will remain poor. Submerged in poverty, they will remain unattractive places to live in, and as such they cannot be expected to attract, retain and satisfy the presently youthful population and the up-coming generation of tomorrow.

Primary Schooling

The last twenty years have seen an accelerated expansion of the education system in Tanzania (as in many other Third World countries), with the primary school enrolment almost quadrupling and the primary school leaving population growing in a similarly dramatic fashion (see Table II.1). This is a quantitative achievement and indeed an evidence of the nation’s will and attempt to extend educational opportunities to the larger population both as a human right and as an investment in human resources.

However, quantitative expansion without corresponding qualitative back­ups and adjustments may, in the end, prove less of an achievement. In this study of the unemployed urban population, it is shown that 78 percent of this population were young people between 10 and 35 years of age. Of this same population 71 percent had been to primary school. Thus, the fact that the urban jobless are preponderantly school leavers (including school dropouts) gives us a basis for concluding that education in Tanzania—particularly primary school education—has not been qualitatively adequate. This therefore means that the specifically intended goals of equipping children with the basic literacy skills, of providing them with the necessary knowledge scope and critical attitudinal abilities, of equipping them with practical productive skills for a self-reliant rural life, and hence of making primary school education complete in itself (Nyerere, 1967; MNE, 1980:2-4) have not yet been fully attained.

Although the whole issue has to be considered against the background discussed in relation to rural poverty, the inadequacy of the primary school output deducible from the study (Chapter III, p. 46 and Chapter V, p. 86) points to an undisputable problem of internal inefficiency within the primary school system. Factors to this internal inefficiency include an inoptimal teacher-pupil ratio reflected, in many cases, in too many children to a teacher; hasty and inadequate preparation of teachers; an unbalanced yet congested curriculum; low teacher morale; resultant extremes of school and classroom management reflected either in laxity and indiscipline or in teacher authoritar­ianism and pupil passivity. To these is to be added a conspicuous lack of adequate institutional and material supports. Many schools, especially in the rural locations, go without such basic necessities as chalk, textbooks, note and exercise books. While this has sometimes been a problem connected with inefficiency in the logistics and delivery of school equipment, it has at other
times been a question of actual availability of such school material at source centres.

In constraints such as these, many teachers—a number of whom were produced within the crash-programme of one year or less—have tended to look upon the teaching job not as a professional calling but rather as something they are forced (by livelihood) to do as a duty. The difference between these two perspectives is an important one, especially in view of such critical issues as professional acumen and morale, teacher retention and teacher attrition.

The other, practical component of the present primary school curriculum, Education for Self-reliance (ESR), raises further questions not, indeed, at the level of the philosophy and intentions of it but at the level of its pedagogics and its practicality within the present framework.

On the basis of the present evidence (81% of the jobless urban migrants being school leavers), one concludes that ESR has not succeeded to retain youth in villages and to check the rural-urban movement trend. One is also forced to look at the nature and workings of the school curriculum. Presently, ESR occupies a considerable part of school time, either in the morning, or in the last part of the afternoon, or intermingled with class periods. While there are diverse sociological and psychological arguments for the choice of pattern taken, the overall results have indicated combinations worthy of note: schools very successful in production/cash-revenue but very poor in classroom-theoretical attainment; schools very successful in classroom-theoretical attainment but very poor in practical-productive work; and schools poor or just average in classroom work and poor or just average in practical-productive ESR (cf. Lema, 1973; Besha, 1973; Maliyamkono, 1979:205–217). This last group comprises schools which have tried to balance the two sides but have failed to fulfil either in the real terms of ‘success by end-result’ as assessed through examination records, transfer or learning by the school leavers, and ground-level reports by observers in real-life work situations, including the children’s parents.

Neither of these three combination categories really answers the expectations and objectives of primary education in Tanzania as laid down (Nyerere, 1967; MNE 1980:2–4 op.cit.) and as understood and interpreted (Ishumi, 1976:52–57; Nkonoki, 1977; Nash, 1980:131–134; Komba, 1981:33–49). For, either the school provides adequate knowledge scope and analytical-critical outlook to pupils but not practical life skills, or vice versa. Or, in trying to balance these within the present framework of a tight and crowded school programme, the school fails to lift the load. In neither case does the school offer ‘total’ or ‘complete’ education envisaged in ESR.

With respect to the specific practical-productive aspects of ESR, there is yet another critical question: who teach it and how do they teach it? In the present framework, the ordinary teachers—of mathematics, geography, history, reading, Kiswahili, English, science—are expected to have the knowledge and ‘professional’ interest to teach the various content areas of ESR. This is a false assumption and certainly one main reason why ESR in schools has remained at
an elementary, superficial and less creative level. For one thing, given that teachers of lower-level schools have been prepared more as ‘generalists’ as opposed to ‘specialists’, one cannot realistically expect them to be good and competent in their various classroom subjects as well as in the practical ‘field specializations’. For another thing, such teachers, like all human beings, get tired; and in such fatiguing circumstances, their energy and enthusiasm would naturally tend to discriminate, concentrating on the ‘examinable’ part for which they are known, rewarded or penalised (at least by public opinion) and ignoring the ‘non-examinable’, ‘non-specialists’ part of the curriculum for which they were neither trained nor hired.

One undeniable success of the Middle School programme (1952–1959), notwithstanding the objectionable ulterior motives of the colonial education policy (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:101–124; Ishumi, 1977:89–96), was the evident well-grounded vocational training and skill formation based on well trained vocation-specific teachers of agriculture, handicraft, carpentry, metal work or building. Without this kind of background vocational preparation of teacher-leaders of ESR, the latter will continue to enjoy much less of its deserved status and will indeed continue to produce much less of its supposed good results. The regrettable truth today is that ESR is almost always taken lightly to mean agriculture, and agriculture taken to mean any kind of soil tilling and crop growing without any meaningful thought about it or any particular method of doing so. Part of the reason why parents and the community in general decry the ‘return’ of their primary school leaving youths into the village is that they come back with nothing more innovative to offer. Instead they depend on the villagers (who did not go to school!) to teach them the basic skills and methodology in agriculture, carpentry, masonry, etc.

Realization of the problems of primary education today, as discussed above, and of the cautioning wisdom that ‘half-education is probably more poisonous and more dangerous than no-education’ calls for a more critical, more renovative look at the present setup and offerings of the system and making fundamental adjustments. Four implications seem to be clear for policy and administrative action.

Firstly, within the present national economic constraints which rule out the possibility of universal secondary school education, it seems that immediate attention has to be directed at streamlining the curriculum, giving adequate time to the learning and grasping of a well-defined number of school subjects, and avoiding irrelevant distractions to an otherwise continuous, spiral advance into theoretical and practical complexities of the subjects.

Secondly, attention has to be directed at creating time in which to fit the indispensable practical complement of ESR. This necessitates a lengthening of the total primary school programme, or cycle, that would in the end give equal justice to both the theoretical (classroom) knowledge base and the practical-productive skill base. Possible addition of two years to the present seven year length of primary education—to make it nine years altogether—might be a positive solution to the present curriculum overcrowding and indeed a positive
step to making the education offered at this level not only genuinely basic but also practically useful to the future self-reliant rural adult.  

The third direction of policy reform implied in the discussion involves a specific commitment to professional as well as methodological preparation of vocation-specific teachers for agriculture, handicrafts and other practical-skill areas within the ESR framework for schools. This would ensure real and methodical, as opposed to mechanical, learning and production which has lasting social and economic advantage to all the parties involved, namely the pupil, the school, and the community to which the majority of school leavers will inevitably go back to. In this respect, the old middle school programme has something of relevancy to the structuring, coordination and balancing of the school curriculum and the teaching force.

The fourth logical policy implication is the need for post-primary vocational/occupational skill ‘reinforcement’ and ‘specialization’ necessary for a growing number of youth as they complete and leave the formal primary school programme. Post-primary vocational training schools or centres have a number of theoretical and practical merits. As immediately lateral learning institutions, they offer opportunities for young school leavers to further develop and ‘specialize’ in certain skill areas and trades of demand and marketable value to their immediate environment (village or district). They thus meet the school leaver need for continuing education that is directly relevant and linked to the rural economy into which they are supposed to be well integrated.

Such post-primary vocational centres would require careful planning and organization with respect to studies of community need and demand, a matching practical-production curriculum, appropriate instructors and project managers, and possible linkage or affiliation with larger cooperative and/or other marketing organizations. In taking the initiative to establish and ground such post-primary institutions in Tanzania, it would be useful first to make an intensive study of such pioneering post-primary institutions as the Swaneng Hill School and the Brigades system in Botswana (in existence since the early 1960s) and the Village Polytechnics in Kenya (in existence since 1971). The fact that they have been in operation for some time now makes it imperative for Tanzania to have a comprehensive knowledge of their mode of operation, their success and their problems as an input in thinking about or in preparing to launch similar vocational programmes.

It is worth pointing out here that post-primary vocational centres (or ‘trade schools’) are an area in which different rural communities, districts and their local organizations could be well interested and stimulated to take initiative. They are an area of common concern in which both the government (the Ministry of National Education) and local communities and organizations (e.g. churches, cooperatives, etc.) could cooperate and come to a common understanding with regard to the over-all policy, ownership, control, accountability, basic resources, running costs and any other pertinent questions.
Urban Accommodation

Within the perspective of this study, conclusion about wanting urban accommodation is arrived at rather indirectly through the tracing and observation of the places of stay jobless rural-urban migrants assume or adopt (see Chapter IV, p. 62).

With regard to the immediate terminal point of arrival, it would be hardly surprising that in some cases some immigrants had no specific home or house to go to (in the city) except to depend on the grace of some public court-room, city garden, night club or a guarded shop corridor. For the unexpected, jobless and cash-less, as these rural-urban adventurers were, it was a circumstantially ‘natural’ experience of at least the first few days in a new, unknown urban situation. In no way, however, could this be taken at face value to indicate a housing problem. Nor, on the other hand, could the majority (82.8% in the Dar es Salaam sample, Table IV.2) who found accommodation with a relative or friend be taken, on their own account, to indicate absence of accommodation problems either.

Considering that the majority of the jobless immigrants continue to live with urban relatives or friends (71.5% of the total jobless response in the sample, Table IV.3), we assess the extent of the problem of urban housing from the point of view of the urban hosts. In this study, almost invariably, the urban host/hostess was found or reported to be residing in the low-income or near-low-income residential area, in a crowded ‘rooming’ house environment, frequently renting and occupying only one or two rooms. Considering that such a host may have, and indeed often had, a family with him/her, an addition of one or two unemployed relatives (or just village boys) to the family of three to five or more occupying one or two (even if three) rooms is unequivocally a practical problem with obvious social, economic and even psychological consequences.

A survey of the problem of urban housing (ranging from questions of entitlement, eligibility and affording to the size and location of housing unit or room obtained) has indicated that the problem is more acute for the lower-income, non- or para-professional groups, who form the bulk of the urban working population. These are the same groups who, given the public housing loan system, would find it relatively hard either to apply for a loan or to obtain one on account of the economic principles and implications of mortgage, of specific job and income qualifications, and other factors. It seems logical, therefore, that these form a category that should be the principal focus of the public housing policy in urban regions. This implies not only a deliberate government policy of construction of low-income housing estates in areas accessible by public utilities (public transport, markets, tap water) but a coherent administrative action of renovating the currently congested and dilapidated residential areas which, because of this state, harbour disease and crime. For instance, Manzese, Tandale, Buguruni and Vingunguti in Dar es Salaam, Sombetini and Engareomotoni in Arusha, Kirumba in Mwanza and Kachoma and Isevya in Tabora are some of the cases in point in the four urban regions of this study.
It must be admitted that the government has in the past made appreciable efforts in providing low-cost and medium-cost housing facilities (e.g. in Ilala, Kigogo, Ubungo and Tandika in Dar es Salaam, Kijenge and Ngarenaro in Arusha). However, it must be admitted also that the last decade has seen an increased urban population in Tanzania as in other countries in Eastern Africa, and the trend has been such that the prevailing accommodation facilities are now far out-stripped by the fast population growth.

One policy innovation worth considering towards easing the urban housing pressure might be in the area of the housing bank loan system. Loans given to individual applicants in urban centres might be tied with a condition or an allowance to accommodate within the premises of the principal house a smaller house unit—attached or detached—sufficient to accommodate a unitary family or a single working person for a specified (contract) period of time before which the owner could not legally evict them. While this social welfare arrangement would be mutually beneficial to the 'accommodated guest tenant' and the loan-repaying premise owner, it would at the same time technically and economically lighten the burden on the shoulders of government in its efforts to meet the housing needs of an ever-increasing population.

Rehabilitation Efforts

Rehabilitation of the urban beggars and destitutes has been one of the policy concerns of the government since the early years of Tanzania’s independence (MIT, 1968:94), when remand and probationary homes were extended to the principal urban centres of the country—in Morogoro, Arusha, Mwanza, Tanga, Tabora, Bukoba and Lindi. Other regional centres with rehabilitative services include Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya and Moshi. For Dar es Salaam, Malindi Institution was established as a probationary home for youths and a large rehabilitation centre for physically handicapped adults exists at Yombo. This listing of institutions and the allied social concerns, thus go to the credit side of the government and its Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Notwithstanding the achievements made so far, urban rehabilitation is an up-stream undertaking, especially in conditions of national poverty in general and of real rural-urban imbalances in particular. The situation is compounded by the human aspirations and the demographic trends that are set in motion in response to the socio-ecological variability between the tasted or the looming poverty in the rural setting and the perceived possibilities of life chances or wealth in the towns. In such conditions—as they do obtain in Tanzania, as in the other large countries of Eastern Africa—rehabilitation, its related social case work and even facilitative measures such as police round-ups become arduous up-hill crusades insofar as they continue, in actual fact, to solve a continuing problem that reaches no end on account of increasing rather than decreasing numbers to be dealt with.
Yet setting up more rehabilitation centres for the apparently increasing numbers of the urban unemployed does not seem to present itself as a permanent solution in at least two senses. Firstly, our research findings show that the proportion of the urban beggars and the genuinely destitute—as may be approximated by levels of age, physique, educational attainment, subsistence activity and physical handicap—is much smaller than that of the physically robust, young and able-bodied among the urban jobless (see Chapters IV, p. 60 and p. 66, Chapter V, p. 73).

Secondly, rehabilitation centres—even with best institutional facilities, food and shelter—cannot replace one’s home. They will not make up for one’s lost and longed-for traditional social ties, interaction patterns and ethnic context back home in the village. The most conspicuous proof of this argument is the ‘counter-efforts’ by many in-mates, once ‘saved from the street’ and taken to rehabilitation homes, to escape back into the city to start begging again. On occasions one will also witness genuine destitutes still running away or vanishing on sight of social welfare workers in attempts to get in personal touch with them.

Such cases seem to suggest that shelter, food, personal care and institutional training programmes are not necessarily seen or internalized by the inmates (the destitutes) themselves as a solution to their problem which, at that level, is not only economic or material but social as well. With the possible exception of the few cases of individuals with extinct social and ethnic connexions, the evidence here seems to suggest that, given satisfaction of the basic needs and goals that drove them into town in the first instance, most urban beggars and ‘destitutes’ would be happier living the rest of their lives within the socio-cultural context of their original homes. This contention goes back to the point made earlier about rural poverty: without arresting and eradicating the basic causes of rural poverty, drifts into town, urban unemployment and destitution will continue and will lead to more serious effects.

Meanwhile, training for social work (both case work and group work) in the current urban setting ought to diversify its philosophy, its goals and objectives and its methods in order to keep abreast of the changing social and demographic trends. For, the potentially most serious problem seems to be not so much the old-time adult beggar-destitute as the rural-urban migrant youth most of whom are frustrated school leavers and are, on account of dire unemployment and unemployability, prone to vice and crime. Accordingly, professional training for urban social workers should take cognizance of this development.

It is, at this point, important to make note of a process that has recently been initiated elsewhere in the field of urban youth rehabilitation. The process is connected with a Dutch priest-cum-social worker, Father Arnold Grol who, after twenty years of parish work in Tanzania, transferred to Kenya in 1972 and, since 1974, combined his parish work with urban youth rehabilitation in Mathare Valley in the outskirts of the capital city of Nairobi.

His efforts, as outlined and annotated by a dispassionate journalist-observer
(Brauer, 1980:18–20), are recorded in the following Appendix. The significance of this account lies principally in the information it gives on the local scene and, indirectly, in the suggestion that, inspite of the general philosophy and principles of social work, different situations would necessarily demand use of different and unorthodox strategies to confront problems of varying dimensions, in this case, to confront the problem of growing numbers of jobless urban youth.

Notes

1. Tanzania’s income per capita is the equivalent of US$ 260 (by 1979 prices). It contrasts sharply with Zambia’s $ 510 and, to some extent, with Uganda’s $ 290 and Kenya’s.

2. For a long time before 1976 there were in some districts locally based farmer cooperative organizations, such as the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperation Union (KNCU), Bukoba Cooperative Union (BCU) and Nyanza Federation. As farmer instruments, they had grown highly sensitive to farmer needs, voices and pressures and some of them had advanced beyond the initial marketing function to secondary functions of primary crop production and product processing. Unfortunately these cooperatives were dissolved by government order in May 1976 on account of, among other charges, alleged corruption among their officials. The society-wide effects of the dissolution can now be assessed, but they include open demoralization and apathy among farmers in the face of the highly bureaucratic, insensitive and sometimes more corrupt central government instruments that replaced their own. While the government has admitted this policy fault and has undertaken to revive the old cooperatives, it is not clear if they will be accorded the necessary autonomy they deserve in servicing farmers’ needs and running necessary locally-based enterprises, especially, when the grown bureaucratic crop authorities are nevertheless defended by the government (Nyerere, 1982).

3. In a recent heated debate (November 1982) among an international collective of policy makers, scholars, diplomats and representatives of aid agencies on the question of ‘Africa; which way out of the recession?’, one of the participants, Dr. Stanley Please, made a dispassionate observation which is of relevancy to our present discussion:

... In my view, the situation that Africa has reached is comparable with that of the Soviet Union in the 1920’s when its programmes were clearly going wrong after the revolution of 1917. It is comparable to what has happened in China in the last three years; it is comparable with what has happened in Hungary as opposed to Poland, where governments have realised that the old programmes were ignoring market forces and ignoring the fact that the country could utilise the motivations of individual peasants, individual workers, individual small firms, more effectively without in any way betraying their socialist objectives. And these countries have been successful.

Africa has reached that watershed where it has got to realise that socialism does not mean government doing everything. African governments have tried to do too much, and in trying to do too much even the most important things that governments should do have been done badly. And it’s far better that they do those things well, and leave other things to cooperatives or the private sector ....

(Quoted in Africa Now, December, 1982, p. 74).

A generally similar concern—leading to a generally similar argument and conclusion—
-has been expressed by Mushi and Kjekshus (1982:126–131) specifically in relation to management problems in Tanzania and prospects for any technological advance in the country.

4. The Middle School teacher of agriculture was a trained agriculturist and a professionally qualified teacher, who competently taught in classroom the theory of agriculture (soil structure and fertility, types of manure and uses, types of roots and soil food absorption processes, the water cycle, etc) as well as teaching, demonstrating and leading the field practice of it (i.e. actual cultivation, nursing of seedlings, planting and transplanting, spacing, etc). Likewise, the carpentry teacher taught the ‘theory’ of wood joints, surface planing, etc, and then involved the pupils in meaningful application of the knowledge and skills learnt. So also did the metal work teacher and the masonry teacher.

5. Allocation of time and refinement of the curriculum within the nine-year framework are internal details that would have to be dealt with in concert between the educational policy makers, planners, curriculum developers and teachers. While some might favour an intermixing of the two components, others will probably favour a whole seven years of general classroom work with the last two years given to practical vocational training and trades. The two alternatives would surely have to be assessed against their merits and demerits and against experience elsewhere.

6. This kind of housing loan system has been operating in some social-welfare states, notably in Scandinavian countries, although the countries vary in the degree to which they operationalize it. In all cases, however, guest-tenant accommodation is positively encouraged both in its short-run sense of alleviating urban and suburban housing shortage and in its long-term view of minimizing social distance among a country’s different social classes and promoting social interaction and integration.
Appendix

Urban Youth Rehabilitation: An Approach by Father Arnold Grol

As described and annotated by Dieter Brauer

Locus and rationale

Most visitors only know the glittering side of Kenya’s capital Nairobi: the magnificent Jomo Kenyatta conference centre amidst beautiful government buildings and five star international hotels. But outside the luxury and splendour of the modern city centre, there is another, different, Nairobi which hides from the eyes of the casual observer. It is the Nairobi of the squatter settlement of Mathare Valley and other slums. Life in these miserable quarters has been described by Kenya’s famous writer Meja Mwangi (‘Kill me quick’).

Especially hard hit are the children. Many of them are left to roam the streets in search of an occasional chance to earn a few pennies or to steal from the wealthy. In Nairobi ... these children are called the ‘parking boys’ because one of their means of earning a living is helping motorists to find a parking place and guarding their cars. But the ‘parking boys’ are only the tip of the iceberg of an enormous social problem, as Dutch Father Arnold Grol found out when he started looking after these boys and tried to rehabilitate them into society. Gradually, a comprehensive ‘integrated’ development scheme grew out of his efforts to help the ‘parking boys’.

Approach

His first acquaintance with Mathare Valley, a slum area ... housing about 100,000 people came with the transfer to St. Theresa’s Church in 1974. As in the two parishes where he had worked before, Father Grol founded a Youth Centre under the motto of ‘undugu’ which means ‘brotherhood’ or ‘solidarity’ in the Kiswahili language.

At first, this youth club offered mainly sports and music to its members. He bought them guitars and formed a band of some of the boys who then made

1Source: D. Brauer, ‘Undugu Stands for Brotherhood: A Human Development Scheme in the Slums of Nairobi.’ In Development and Cooperation (Bonn), No. 5, Sept/Oct 1980, pp. 18–20. The title, sub-titles and structure of presentation in this Appendix have been adapted to the theme of the present study.
some money playing in hotels around town. But Father Grol soon realized that
recreation alone was not what the young people wanted. "The boys came to me
and said: "We can't fill our stomachs by only playing the guitar." So I said to
me: let me try to educate the boys.'

Meanwhile, a reception centre was set up in Westlands where the destitute
boys and girls are provided with food, shelter, medical care and education
while their cases are investigated by a social worker.

The aim is to arrange, where possible, for the children to return to their
parents or other relatives. Where resettlement is not possible, accommodation
is offered in Undugu communities which house up to 20 boys [each] in
low-income residential areas, supervised by a house father, and in which boys
themselves do most of the work, including the buying and preparation of
food ....

Educational Methods

The first training which the Undugu Centre offered was instruction in carpen­
try. Father Grol bought a shed in Mathare Valley and opened a small work­
shop. Soon it turned out that the boys could not stay on because they needed
money to feed themselves. Money had to be found to pay for their food.
Gradually, orders were found for the things made in the workshop, and the
boys could earn their own living. Other crafts were added to those offered by
the Undugu Centre. In March 1976, the vocational project was recognized by
the government as the Mathare Valley (Undugu) Village Polytechnic. Courses
now include carpentry, mechanics, tailoring, batiks, and handicrafts. The
government now pays for the salaries of the manager and instructors and has
donated tools and materials. Some of the parking boys attend the Village
Polytechnic, others the informal school set up by Undugu.

Ramifications

Out of the informal school grew a completely new educational concept, the
Undugu Basic Education Curriculum Development project. The new syllabus
which condenses seven years' work into three years was worked out together
with the Kenya Institute of Education. Subjects taught, in order of priority,
include Kiswahili, arts and crafts, music, social studies, religious education,
physical education, maths, business education, science and English ....

Another novel aspect is that there is complete sex equality ....

The Undugu society also tries to help some of the slum dwellers to start a
small business by giving them the necessary take-off capital. One of the parking
boys, for instance, received a 1,700 Ksh loan to start a tea kiosk. Another one
has opened a shoe repair shop. The loans are often paid back quicker than stipulated. A successful venture is also a savings scheme which 31 women have started to enable them to take out small loans in case of need.

The latest project is an agricultural scheme which is intended to accommodate those parking boys who can neither be resettled in their families nor put up in one of the Undugu communities. A plot was found in Katangi where the boys can easily mix with the local people and farming is not too difficult. In a first phase, 20 boys are settled and taught agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. In a second phase the project will be developed into an agricultural school which will also be open for the youths in the area.

A novel feature of the Katangi project is that men and women do the same type of work and receive equal pay. In putting up the simple buildings local materials, as recommended by intermediate technologists, were used. This way, the building site is intended also to serve as an example for low-cost building to the local community.

Father Grol has recently started to work among the many prostitutes who are hanging around the streets outside the bars and tourist hotels. His immediate aim is not to convince them that they should give up their trade, but to rebuild their self-respect. He offers courses in reading, writing and sewing, and there are now two regular groups with 40 to 60 members who try to get a minimum of education and, through that, a chance to find a different and more respectable job.
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