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Multidimensional modes of action and cooperation of local communities in informal settlements in Tanzania

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Abstract

The cities of the Global South are still affected by rapid processes of urbanization resulting in dynamically growing informal settlements, urban sprawl and the persistence of urban poverty. These challenges have outstripped the capacities of governments in the countries of the Global South. Gaps of governance between the sectors of the state, civil society and the economy represent major obstacles to the implementation of effective, focused top-down strategies for urban management and poverty reduction. Furthermore, the lack of connection between self-help initiatives at the grassroots level and governmental authorities limits the scope of action of local communities in informal areas. In view of these challenges, a debate has flared up questioning established public policies and conventional modes of cooperation applied by both the governments of the South and organizations in the international community. Regarding this, the author will focus on local communities and their multidimensional networks (across levels and sectors of governance) which are being increasingly recognized as appropriate modes of cooperation for the development of resourceful and flexible actor systems.

The proposed paper is based on the results of my PhD-thesis (Ginzl 2013). The research is based on the assumption that extension of the scope of action of local communities is closely related to their capability to create multi-level and cross-sectoral cooperation in the course of networking activities. In course of a network-analysis the thesis identifies four modes of action and cooperation of local communities (group activities, settlement-wide and city-wide projects) emerging multi-dimensional network relations in course of this. The case-study research is focused on the Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF), a sub-network of Shack Slum Dweller International (SDI).

This paper will address from a bottom-up perspective housing and infrastructural projects by local communities of the TUPF representing typical modes of action and cooperation with governmental institutions at different levels of governance.¹

Introduction

The starting point of the research project is the identification of gaps in the system of multi-level and cross-sectoral governance between top-down strategies by the state and bottom-up initiatives by local communities. The limited scope of action of the urban poor caused by informality and marginalization on the one hand as well as weak and inefficient governmental institutions and strategies on the other are reasons for the persistence of poverty as well as the lack of housing and infrastructure in swiftly growing urban areas of the Global South. In response to this and the fact that the Millennium Development Goals cannot be achieved under these circumstances, debate has flared up questioning the established development strategies and structures. New approaches to poverty reduction and urban development have been addressed by development experts and donor organizations. The recognition that bottom-up and top-down processes need to be connected in order to increase the targetedness of top-down strategies and to extend the scope of action of self-help activities by local communities is one result of this debate. Accordingly, networks have been considered by academics and politicians because of their capacity for multi-level and cross-sectoral cooperation. Referring to this current debate, the author chose a transnational network of local communities as a case study. This is based on the assumption that the extension of the scope of action of local communities in marginalized settlements is closely related to their capability to create multi-level and cross-sectoral cooperation and the extension of the scope of action for local communities. This refers to following questions:

¹ With its specific focus on modes of cooperation with governmental actors this papers complements the insights of a second paper for the RC21-session 1.

1. Which modes of action and cooperation within the transnational network are able to interlink local self-help activities to governmental policies?
2. What role do NGOs play as network partners?

The paper seeks to answer this range of selected questions focusing on housing projects of the Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF). Before, the paper addresses the current framework conditions and challenges of urban governance in Tanzania taking the city of Dar es Salaam as an example.

Challenges of urban governance in the cities of Tanzania

The problem situation and framework of governance described in the first part of this thesis also largely apply to Tanzania. With a GNI per capita of €1,430 (World Bank 2010), Tanzania is classified as a low-income country and is in the bottom 10 percent of the world's economies (Lexas 2012). As a result, Tanzania ranks 152nd in the list of the Human Development Index (HDI) (total 187, Lexas 2011). The economy mainly depends on agriculture, which accounts for 85 percent of exports. Eighty percent of the Tanzanian workforce is employed in agriculture. However, the Tanzanian economy has displayed lasting growth for a few years as a result of banking reforms, financial support for the economic infrastructure by the World Bank, IMF and donors of international development aid, the growth of the private sector and investment. Despite this moderate positive development, corruption in the political system significantly hampers the country. According to Transparency International, Tanzania reached a CPI of 3.0 and ranked 100th in 2011 (CPI 2.7/place 116 in 2010; see Transparency Int. 2010, 2011).

The degree of urbanization in the country in 2010 amounted to 26 percent (compared to 74 percent in Germany). It is estimated that the rate of urbanization between 2010 and 2015 will be around 4.7 percent (Germany 0.0 percent). (see Lexas 2012) The process of urbanization became a relevant issue after the country's independence in 1961 (Hill, Lindner 2010: p. 103). Rural-urban migration in Tanzanian cities was triggered by the *"downfall in international prices for commodities like sisal and coffee"* (ibid.) between the 1970s and 1980s. As in many other countries of the Global South, the attraction of Tanzanian cities remains unbroken. Given that Tanzania's population is projected to grow to about 67 million in 2050 (UN 2005: p. 38, quoted by Hill, Lindner 2010), urban growth is set to continue. Taking this into account, the UN projects that the share of the urban population will rise to 58.2 percent by 2030 (UN 2004, quoted by Hill, Lindner 2010).

The ranking of the ten biggest Tanzanian cities shows that Dar es Salaam has the highest population by far (see Table 1).

Rank	City	Total number of inhabitants			Region
		Census 1978	Census 1988	Census 2002	
1.	Dar es Salaam	769,445	1,205,443	2,398,509	Dar es Salaam
2.	Mwanza	110,553	172,287	378,327	Mwanza
3.	Zanzibar City	110,531	157,634	351,902	Zanzibar
4.	Arusha	55,223	102,544	282,712	Arusha
5.	Mbeya	76,601	130,798	256,652	Mbeya
6.	Morogoro	60,782	117,760	221,286	Morogoro
7.	Tanga	103,399	137,364	208,791	Tanga
8.	Dodoma	45,807	83,205	159,193	Dodoma
9.	Kigoma	50,075	74,224	144,852	Kigoma
10.	Moshi	52,046	96,838	144,336	Kilimanjaro

Table 1: Ranking of population figures of the largest cities in Tanzania (Source: Hill, Lindner 2010: p. 104)

This harbour city is the economic and administrative hub of Tanzania. It also plays an important role as the entry point of trade for bordering countries inside the East African region. The historical development of Dar es Salaam from a little fishing village, its foundation as a harbour town with 900 inhabitants in the 1870s, and its ascent to a contemporary city of international importance are described in detail by Kohlert (2006). Estimates assume that the number of inhabitants increased to appr. 4,000,000 in 2012. Considering this, the United Nations rank Dar es Salaam among the fastest growing cities worldwide. (Boyle 2012). The spatial spread of the urban areas of the city within the last sixty years is illustrated in the maps below.

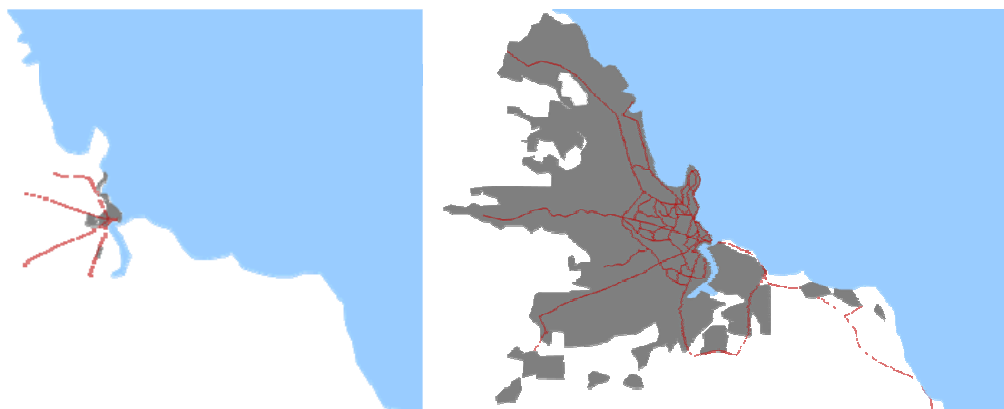


Figure 1: Urban development Dar es Salaam (Source: UN Habitat 2010, Own design)

1945: inhabitants appr. 70,000

2012: inhabitants appr. 4,000,000

Similar to other rapidly growing cities in the Global South, the emerging urban space is characterized by marginalized, unplanned and informal settlements. According to the Citywide Action Plan (UN Habitat 2010: p. 12), these disadvantageous living conditions make up about 80 percent of the urbanized area of Dar es Salaam.

Regarding this situation, “[...] *the supply of planned land does not match demand in terms of quantity, price and location*” (UN Habitat 2010: p. 17). As a result, landowners subdivide their land and unplanned areas are affected by increasing densities (ibid.). The land use map of Dar es Salaam shows that “[...] *the settlement pattern of Dar es Salaam is made up of pockets of planned areas within the mosaic of an unplanned urban landscape*” (ibid.).

Political and social framework in Dar es Salaam

Tanzanian governments and various donors have pursued different strategies to improve living conditions in both rural and urban areas in response to rapid urbanization and the persistence of urban poverty (Hill, Lindner 2010: p. 108). HILL and LINDNER (ibid.) mention that the government’s decision to shift the capital city to Dodoma entailed various long-term disadvantages for the development of Dar es Salaam. Dwindling investments in the social and physical infrastructure combined with growing numbers of inhabitants have exacerbated the problems in the city dramatically (Kombe, Kreibich 2000: p. 39).

Regarding the political framework in Tanzania a two-tier system combining central and local government structures is implemented. The following description is mainly based on insights by the case study of HILL and LINDNER (2010: pp. 109-113):

Regarding their localization there are different categories of local government: urban (city, municipal or town councils) and rural (district councils). The local government in Dar es Salaam is divided into an administrative and a political hierarchy. Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) – the highest institution of the four-level hierarchy – is responsible for all spatial planning issues in the city. At the second level of the administrative hierarchy, each municipality has a council which is responsible for an area of jurisdiction. The jurisdictional area of DCC is congruent with those of the three municipalities. These municipalities are subdivided at a lower administrative level into wards (called “mtaa” in Swahili) which are

each headed by a ward chairman. By comparison, the political hierarchy consists of three levels: region, district and division. The regional level of Dar es Salaam is headed by the Regional Commissioner while the districts are headed by the three district commissioners of Temeke, Ilala and Kinondoni. Further down the hierarchy, division secretaries are responsible for their divisions.

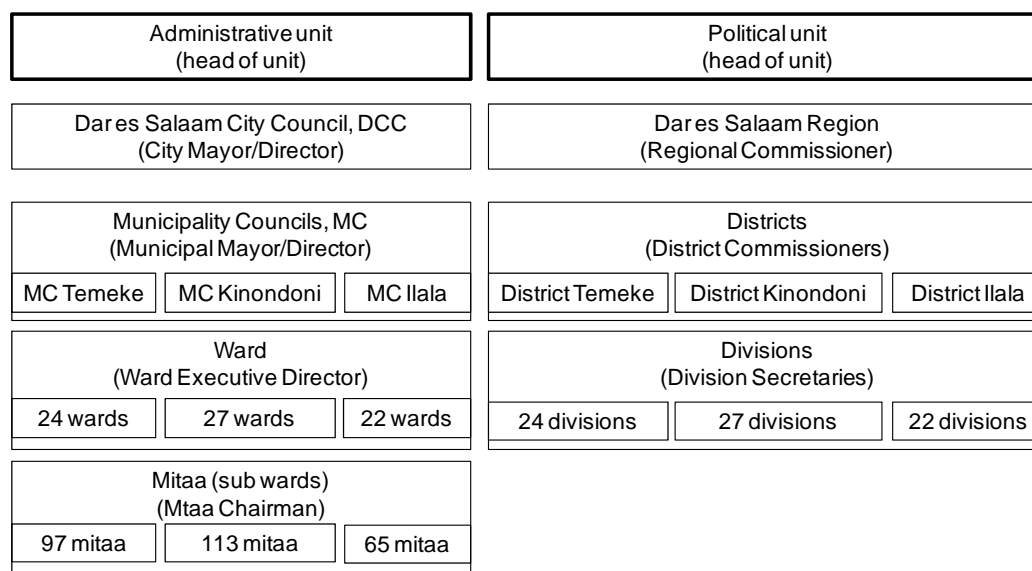


Figure 2: Institutional framework of the local government in Dar es Salaam (Source DCC; Hill, Lindner 2010: p. 110)

Furthermore, according to HILL and LINDNER (ibid.: p. 110), the political representatives play an important role in the process of land delivery and infrastructure planning. Regarding this, the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHSD) at the national political level has “[...] *basic influence on urban growth management and can put significant pressure on the local authorities or veto their development plans and programmes.*” As a result of overlapping responsibilities between the MLHSD and DCC, local authorities have lost their autonomy and entered a situation of confusion associated with conflicts and problems concerning coordination, control and accountability in the management of urban development. (ibid.: pp. 110-111)

Efforts of these governmental institutions in Dar es Salaam and challenges accrue in course of this can be illustrated taking housing and infrastructural projects of the last years as examples.

The MLHSD, as a first example, introduced the “*20,000 Plots Project*” in 2002. This project was aimed at reducing the shortage of planned, surveyed and serviced land by creating self-sufficient, self-sustaining satellite towns in the peri-urban areas of the city. All three municipalities were involved in the development of this project. In the course of this, areas for the development of formally planned settlements were identified. Yet despite the fact that the project was often evaluated a success, HILL and LINDNER (ibid.: p. 112) highlight that:

“[...] the project does not focus on the urban poor but rather continues to exclude them from the formal land market. The selection of areas to be designated as 20,000 plots project areas can be questioned as some of them are located in very remote zones of Dar es Salaam and do not form a strategic development vision for the city.”

Furthermore, land speculation occurred during this project because many dwellers acquired land without immediately starting to build houses.

The Community Infrastructure Upgrading Project (CIUP) Phases I and II as further projects focus on the strengthening of municipal systems for upgrading infrastructure and services

and the creation of community capacities to participate in the planning and maintenance of infrastructure in cooperation with municipalities. Regarding the experiences of phase I, this project has been hailed as a success. It contributed to the improvement of living conditions in benefiting areas (16 local communities in phase I and 15 local communities in phase II) including improved infrastructure and services, the increased monetary value of houses, the reduced incidence of diseases, reduced flooding and associated damage, and hence better domestic living conditions. (UN Habitat 2010: 30ff.; Universität Dortmund Fakultät Raumplanung 2007)

The Dar es Salaam Water Supply and Sanitation Project includes three different projects which are aimed at improving the water and sanitation supply in Dar es Salaam with the involvement of various partner organizations such as WaterAid Tanzania, DAWASA as the drinking water supplier, and the Belgian Government. Despite the completion of part of these projects, the demand for water supply and sanitation is “[...] *still acute and enormous resources are needed to ensure that the water supply system serving Dar es Salaam meets the growing demand*” (ibid.: pp. 43).

Regarding these projects and focusing on applied governance, HILL and LINDNER (2010: pp. 113-114) highlight Tanzania's inadequate regulatory framework as a basic obstacle to efficient urban management. Applied rules and town and country planning acts are still relics of the colonial era and are “[...] *hardly adapted to the local situation [...]*” in the urban areas of Tanzanian cities (ibid.: p. 113). The ineffectiveness of local governments is partly the result of the “[...] *unfunded mandate of municipal authorities [...]*” (Rakodi 2005: p. 48). In connection with this, the supply of infrastructure and the land administration show considerable deficiencies (ibid. 48 f.). Problems of land administration not only result from the weak provision of planned and serviced land but are also caused by the failure to provide it at the right locations and at affordable prices (Kironde 2006: p. 461). In addition to these issues, HILL and LINDNER (2010: pp. 113-116) identify in their study other factors hampering “*orderly urban development*” such as:

- inappropriate administrative procedures, planning standards and regulations,
- the high level of centralization related to the implementation of regulatory framework,
- a lack of inter-institutional coordination, especially with infrastructural providers and local governments and
- deficiencies in resource flows within the municipal authorities resulting in shortages of finance and basic equipment, poor office management and record-keeping, and a lack of transport facilities.

Focusing on the lack of inter-institutional coordination, HILL and LINDNER (ibid: p. 114) quote BASTECK (2005: p. 38), who argues that “[...] *the planning system and procedure in Dar es Salaam is rather individualized and sectoral, than concentrating on a holistic, intersectoral co-operation*”. In view of the situation outlined above, HILL and LINDNER (ibid.: p. 116) conclude that

“[...] (c)ross-sectoral and institutional cooperation as well as coordination between administrative bodies should be facilitated by a sound and common knowledge base as one input for discussion on targeted and useful planning measures and their likely impacts. Therefore, a solid knowledge base and appropriate tools are needed on dynamics and trends of urban development.”

In conclusion, the need for more integrative approaches and multidimensional cooperation for poverty reduction and the management of dynamic urbanization processes is evident also for the circumstances in Dar es Salaam to a large extent. Regarding the main assumption and the research interest, modes of action and cooperation of local communities of the Tanzanian Urban Poor Federation will be described below. Based on this, the capability of the TUPF to create multi-level and cross-sectoral cooperations and to extend the scope of

action for local communities will be identified in the end of this paper. Furthermore, effects for the scope of action, the empowerment of the actors involved and the potential to bridge the gap between the sectors and governance will be subjects of the paper. Furthermore, effects for the development of the informal settlements and preconditions which turned out to be relevant and important for the activities and processes of local communities within the investigated multi-level model of the network will be described.

Methodology

Given the complexity of urban challenges, network-like relations have gained increasingly relevance. Additional to the following brief introduction in the methodological approach of the research project, the author describes network-theory based findings, mechanisms for network governance and methodologies for network analysis in more detail in her paper for RC21-session 1.

In course of her case study research the author has applied qualitative and quantitative methodologies (member survey, expert interviews, on-site research and document analysis) based on the understanding of an *“interpretive network analysis”* (Schindler 2006: pp.). According to ROTHFUß (2006: p. 116), the analysis of transnational networks requires the abandonment of boundaries of different disciplines and research objects. Complex social structures such as multidimensional modes of action and cooperation can only be captured from an interdisciplinary perspective and by applying a holistic approach. Regarding these preconditions, the instruments applied during the network analysis represent a wide range of methodologies. Furthermore, the *“methodological pluralism”*² (see Borsdorf 1999: p. 28) needs to be targeted and aligned with the theoretical assumption in order to increase the validity of insights and the depth of the knowledge gained in the course of the investigation. (Rothfuß 2006: p. 116) Assessment of the object of research took place across the levels and sectors in order to capture the multi-level character of the network concerning the scope of action of actors, their cooperation and networking processes.

The literature review of the SDI network and the Tanzanian federation as well as the preliminary expert interviews allowed the derivation of a multi-dimensional model of the transnational network (see paper RC21-session 1) as a basis for the selection of the different modes of action and cooperation analysed during the case-study research. The chosen cases:

- represent different scales of cooperation and networking activities in the Tanzanian federation and the SDI network,
- cover different instruments and development issues applied and existing in the transnational network and
- represent a certain range of cross-level and cross-sectoral actor constellations emerging in the course of networking and cooperation activities.

Case study: Modes of action and cooperation of local communities

The Tanzanian federation was founded in 2009. The point of origin of the foundation of structures and strategies aligned with SDI methodology was in Dar es Salaam³. The initiation of network structures took place by building on existing structures of local communities with the involvement of SDI representatives from abroad and local professionals. The Centre for Community Initiatives was the supporting NGO of the federation from the very beginning. At the moment there are active federations in the cities of Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Arusha, Morogoro, Mwanza and Mara. According to current data, there are around 9,800 members federated in 216 savings group located in these cities.

² Own translation of „Methodenpluralismus“ (see Borsdorf 1999: p. 28)

³ The paper for the RC21-session 1 provides more detailed information on the transnational network of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI).

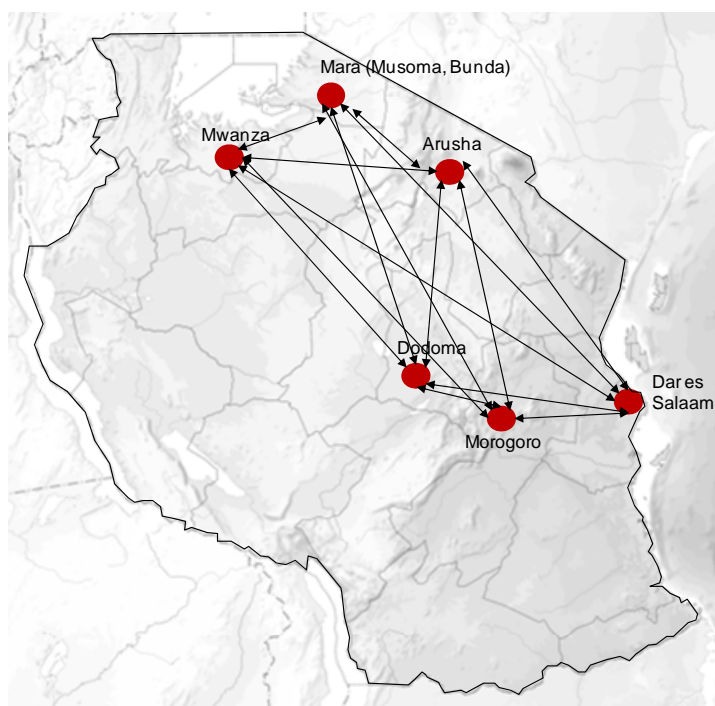


Figure 3: Expansion of the TUPF network (Source map: Wikimedia, CCI 2012, Own design)

Influenced by the transformation processes within the network of SDI and specific aspects caused by the growth and incremental establishment of the Tanzanian federation, the structure of the TUPF has become more complex in recent years. The network now includes institutions at the local, settlement, regional and national level. Furthermore, the TUPF is a member of the East African Hub representing the continental level of SDI. Recognized as a matured federation, representatives of the TUPF and professionals of the CCI act for the interests of the federation within the council of SDI. The level of regional hubs of the TUPF has been integrated in the network since 2009.

The living conditions and the challenges of poverty, informality and marginalization to which the members are exposed were found to be comparable with those of the majority of dwellers in marginalized urban areas in the Global South. The lack of infrastructure, insecurity of ownership and the vulnerability of tenancy in particular are just a few of the challenges confronting dwellers. The savings groups are widely distributed within the unplanned urban areas of Dar es Salaam. Corresponding to this, the interviewed members show wide spatial distribution as well (see Figure 4).

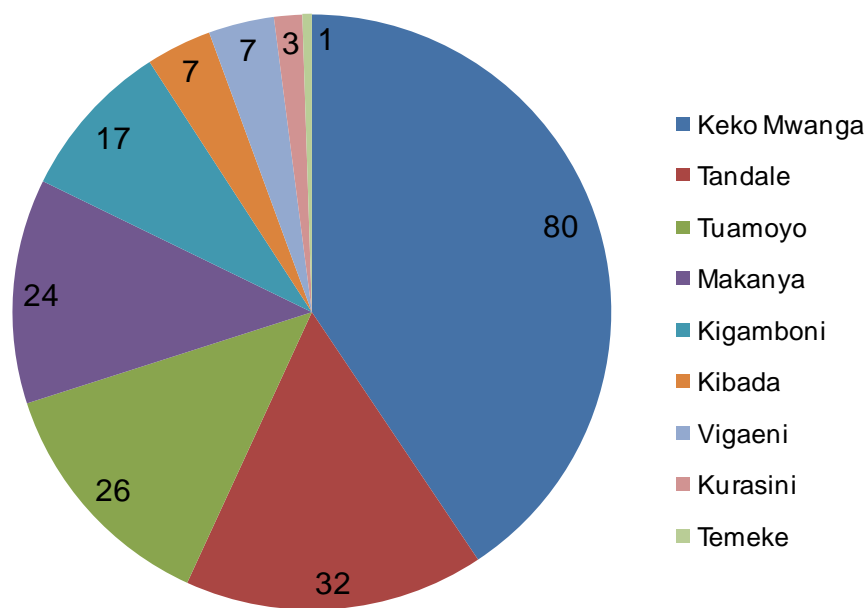


Figure 4: Number of interviewed members and settlements in Dar es Salaam (Source: Own design)

The author selected in her PhD-thesis different case studies taking into account the complexity of the SDI network and the TUPF. Thus, the modes of action and cooperation will be examined by focusing on partial networks while bearing in mind that these parts have overlapping areas:

Mode of network activities and cooperation A: Analysis of savings groups and their activities, relationships and mechanisms of governance both internally and embedded within the national (TUPF) and transnational network (SDI). The analysis focuses on the space of activities solely influencing the members of the savings groups (the group as node and the spatial scope of influence and the network internally). Mode of action and cooperation A comprises savings schemes, mobilization, community-based businesses and exchange visits.⁴

Mode of network activities and cooperation B: A second mode of activity, cooperation and governance will be analysed by examining savings group projects whose impact extends beyond the boundaries of the savings groups focusing on the settlement level. Such projects gain influence on the population of entire settlements or parts of them. Another difference between case B and case A refers to the extension of the scope of influence from just the members of the savings groups to settlement dwellers who are not members. This category includes mapping initiatives, infrastructure projects, community police and hygiene promotion and solid waste management.

Mode of network activities and cooperation C: The analysis of the third mode of activities and governance is intended to examine cooperation processes in connection with projects affecting the city-wide federation. This case extends the organizational scope of influence within the network and also concerning the mode of cooperation with outside actors. The author focused in this category on housing projects and HIV-initiatives.

Mode of network activities and cooperation D: This mode is not focused on specific projects but complements studies A, B and C by considering network activities and responsibilities of

⁴ The paper for the RC21-session 1 refers to mobilization activities and the relevance of exchange visits programs for the transfer of knowledge and the creation of cooperation activities with governmental actors in more detail.

the national level of the TUPF as well as the relationships between this level and the international institutions of SDI and international external actors.

In order to illustrate network activities with focus on the cooperation between the local communities of the TUPF and governmental actors the paper describes enumeration activities and a housing project in Dar es Salaam in more detail below.

Enumerations and mapping initiatives

The procedures of enumeration and mapping are implemented within local communities right from the start. The procedures of enumeration include data collection at the group level to obtain relevant information about all its members. Other aims take account of the social structure (professions, people in each household, living space) to assess the financial capacity and competencies of the group, in order to then estimate the needs and prioritize group activities based on this knowledge. Enumeration is conducted by the enumeration committee depending on each group's development.

More comprehensive enumerations include the mapping of streets or even settlements in part or in whole. Examples of such mapping and data collection procedures are the enumeration projects within the Kurasini ward and Temeke settlement in Dar es Salaam. Additionally, the regional federation of Dar es Salaam has been developing a city-wide enumeration and evaluation system with the support of the CCI since 2009.

In this connection, the TUPF is establishing an important form of capital for the internal and external use of local knowledge which is generated in the course of enumeration processes. As mentioned above, internal use refers to the possibility of savings groups to define their demands, set priorities and align their activities. Additionally, enumerations are an effective way of mobilizing new members. Regarding external use, the data have proven their worth during negotiation processes and in the improvement of the cooperativeness of governmental actors, especially in the context of settlement-wide enumerations. (CCI member 1, 2012; CCI member 2, 2012; SDI 2012; CCI 2010; Mitlin, Satterthwaite 2007: pp. 490-491)

To conduct data collection, the savings groups appoint an enumeration team made up of members of their own groups and members who are experienced in such procedures. The whole process of settlement-wide enumeration and mapping is accompanied by the city-wide federation and the CCI. Such data collection projects have so far been carried out in Dar es Salaam in Kurasini (2007), Keko Mwanga (2009), Temeke Kota (2009), Tandale (2010), Msasani (2010), Chamazi (2010) and Magomeni. Similar activities have also been carried out by communities of the other regional federations. The scale of the enumeration activities in individual settlements in Dar es Salaam is shown in the table below:

	Temeke Kota	Tandale	Msansani
Date of implementation	2009	2010	2010
Number of households within the enumerated settlements	2,848	9,565	18,045

Table 2: Examples for enumerated settlements (Source: CCI reports 2009-2011, Own design)

The reasons for starting these comprehensive measures vary from settlement to settlement. Whereas the announced resettlement of households in the Kurasini area was the reason for starting the enumeration and mapping processes, the high level of crime in Keko Mwanga prompted the savings group in Usalama to analyse the problem situation there with the support of the CCI. The on-site analysis at Temeke Kota resulted from the local authority's plan to refurbish the housing stock, the dwellers receiving a written order to leave the houses within six months a few years ago. The enumeration activities in Tandale and Msasani Bonde La Mpunga led to the development of settlement action plans in order to address the demands identified concerning the poor level of infrastructure (sanitation and drinking water), the high number of households with insecure tenure, and the high level of crime in these settlements. The data collection activities at Chamazi were carried out in the course of the housing project conducted by the Dar es Salaam federation in this area. During the enumeration, the existing population of the whole settlement was involved in the development of a community-driven master plan for this area.

The mobilization of new members and the establishment of new groups is another general intention of such enumeration activities. Furthermore, the TUPF aspires to increase the cooperativeness of municipalities by presenting them with the prepared analyses and data. Finally, the savings groups are empowered by the data collected to advocate and negotiate with governmental authorities.

“The data collected raise various development issues, many of which can be used for advocacy purposes.” (Ndezi 2009: pp. 83-84)

The communities of the TUPF apply different approaches in order to collect qualitative and quantitative data. Although the nature and extent of the approaches are geared to the specific problem situation and the prospective plans general approaches include:

- household surveys,
- group discussions,
- in-depth interviews with settlement leaders, street governments and key figures among the settlement population,
- inhabitant assemblies,
- on-site visits and
- settlement mapping (location of houses, infrastructure facilities and streets).

Resettlement activities and Housing Projects in Dar es Salaam

Extension of harbor and eviction of informal households

Issues of secure tenure and shelter are at the focus of the network activities from the very beginning of the TUPF and SDI. Eviction activities by the municipality in informal settlements at the Kurasini ward in Dar es Salaam triggered a long-term negotiation process with governmental authorities and the extension of networking activities at different levels and with different groups of actors.



Figure 5: Location of Kurasini ward in Dar es Salaam (Source: Own design)

A brief history from the first eviction notices to dwellers living in the Kurasini ward in 2006 to the resettlement of the first federation members in their own housing project is preceeded the analysis of the mode of action and cooperation of the network activities with focus on tenure and housing issues.

The government send first eviction notices to dwellers in Kurasini area in November 2006. The decision by the government and the Tanzania Harbours Authority (THA) to extend the harbour was triggered by the increase of trading activities in the harbour of Dar es Salaam. The harbour is operating not only the international trade of Tanzania but also of the neighbouring states such as the Republic of Uganda, Malawi and so on.

The resettlement plan covers shelter in the informal settlements Shimo al Udongo, Kurasini and Mivijeni located in the harbour area. In this context the demolition of about 7,351 existing houses with a population of approximately 36,000 people was planned in two stages. (Ndezi 2009: p. 82)

The Ministry of Land provided a compensation of owners in context of the need for resettlement the harbour area. The compensation included the house structures, land values, out-buildings, vegetation at the plot, a disturbance allowance, a rental allowance for three years to allow the construction of new houses and transportation costs. Additionally, owners with an own business were entitled to receive a compensation for loss of profits. Furthermore, people living in the resettlement areas had the option to acquire plots the government is allocating in other settlements or to settle in any other informal settlement. The general problem of this resettlement plan was that it was involved owners only but no tenants who represent the majority of the population. (Ndezi 2009: p. 83)

An institutional framework of two committees and one task force has been set up which is responsible for the management and realization of the resettlement activities in Kurasini. Representatives of the Ministry of Lands, the city council and the Temeke municipality form the steering committee in order to coordinate all activities and to obtain regular reports. Furthermore, the technical committee headed by the Director of Human settlements of the Ministry of Lands has eight additional members of the Ministry of Lands and Temeke municipality. This committee fulfils the role of a supervisor in particular. Thirdly, the task force coordinates all activities of the development plan for Kurasini, the reporting for the monitoring at different stages of the resettlement process and the development of the financial framework. Beyond these actors, the involvement of representatives and stakeholders of civil

society or local communities within the decision-making processes was not intended. (ibid. 2009: pp. 82-83)

Despite this, the issue became relevant for the TUPF and the CCI when members of federated savings groups in Kurasini received the eviction notice by the government in 2006. The Dar es Salaam federation established enumeration processes as a first response. (ibid. 2009: p. 83) In course of this 2,500 households in the Kurasini area have been interviewed in 2007. The insight that two thirds of the residents within the Kurasini area are tenants was a major result of the enumeration activities. At the same time the federation started an internal discussion process to define further measures and activities. The Dar es Salaam federation established an advocacy committee in order to initiate negotiations with the governmental actors. Initially, there was no awareness of the government about the need to recognize the interests of tenants within the resettlement activities as well. The readiness for cooperation with the federation members was accordingly small in the beginning. The first hope by them to negotiate with the government free land in order to establish a housing project has not been fulfilled. Despite this, the efforts to bring the government into the discussion process were continued. The enumeration data represented a value basis for argumentation toward the governmental actors. Furthermore, the TUPF and the CCI stressed the importance to consider the need to improve the live of urban dwellers determined in the Millennium Development Goals. (Ndezi 2009: p. 83)

Finally, the efforts by the TUPF result in the gradually approximation of governmental actors and the federation members. This process allowed the extension of the institutional framework described above by a task force with involvement of the CCI, TUPF members, members of Temeke municipality and other NGOs. The priority task of this institution is to strengthen local capacities at the community level in order to close the gap between the local communities and the municipality by cooperation and communication processes. This initiative was intended to establish an integrated approach to develop tenure security and housing by community driven approaches. This trisectoral working group is chaired by the municipality. (Ndezi 2009: pp. 86-87)

Housing project in Dar es Salaam

Considering the absence of choices the members of the Dar es Salaam federation decided to buy their own land and to establish a housing project for the evicted members of themselves. In this time, the communities of the federation started to establish an own resettlement strategy purchasing common land and implementing an own housing project. Additional savings activities were started in order to raise capital and to purchase land.

Searching for land the Dar es Salaam federation could finally buy 30 acres of land at a price of approximately Tshs 24 million (appr. € 11,235) in Chamazi (Temeke municipality) in 2007 (see Figure 6). Chamazi is located 25 km from the city center of Dar es Salaam.

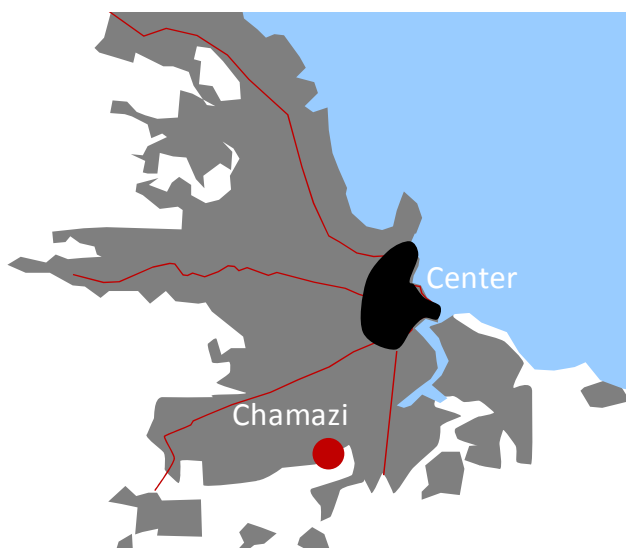


Figure 6: Location Chamazi settlement (Source: Own design)

Each member who was interested to move onto the land was asked to pay a special contribution of Tshs 80,000 (appr. €37.50). Preference was given to members from Kurasini settlements but others could also join the process. At this stage 300 Federation members were involved in the process. According this demand the TUPF and the CCI needed to negotiate with the government concerning the reduction of plot sizes which were legally defined at a minimum of 400 m². The government agreed with the reduction of plot sizes to 100-200 m² and TUPF was able to divide the land within 500 instead of former 300 plots. At the moment the whole land is possessed by the Muungano housing cooperative founded by the TUPF in 2009. This formal institution is responsible for the planning and managing of the whole construction and funding process. Members of the 10 savings groups located in the settlements Kurasini, Kigamboni and Keko are involved in the cooperative and are collective owner of the land in Chamazi. (Ndezi 2009: pp. 86; Bolnick 2008; Ndezi, Mkanga 2007: pp. 6-7; TUPF 2009)

The cooperative is registered and certificated by the Municipality Cooperative Authority. After the construction and the move of the families to Chamazi this cooperative will also be responsible for the settlement administration. (CCI 2009a)

Every member has paid 10,000 Tshs (appr. €4.70) to open the account of the cooperative. (Federation meeting 2009) The cooperative received a funding of US\$ 100,000 (appr. €76,638) from the Urban Poor Fund International (UPFI) of the SDI network. These finances are used by the cooperative to act as a guarantee to leverage further funds. The association received additional funding from Homeless International (HI). With these funds the hydrological survey and drilling of a borehole for water supply has been financed. (CCI 2009a)

In the run-up to the design processes of the housing project the TUPF and CCI clarified the financial plan, the affordability and the process of loan recovery based on the enumeration data concerning the income and expenditures level. These issues have been discussed with the federation members. The enumeration showed that

- 50 percent of families have a monthly income ranging from Tshs 75,000-150,000 (appr. €35-70),
- 30 percent of families have a monthly income ranging from Tshs 150,00-300,000 (appr. €70-140) and finally
- 20 percent a total household income of Tshs 0-75,000 (appr. €0-35).

Accordingly, the TUPF and the CCI realized that based on a loan of Tshs of 1,000,000 (appr. €470)

- 30 percent of households are able to pay back this loan at Tshs 40,000 (appr. €19) per month,
- 55 percent of households are able to repay back the loan at Tshs 50,000 (appr. €23) per month,
- 5 percent of the households are able to repay back the loan at Tshs 100,000 (appr. €47) per month and
- 5 percent are able to repay back the loan at Tshs 20,000 (appr. €10) per month.

Further five percent of households are not able to repay back the loan because of their weak and vulnerable economic situation. Based on this knowledge the TUPF and CCI developed the financing strategy which allows the allocation of loans from Tshs 1,000,000-5,000,000 (appr. €470-2,340). (CCI 2009d)

The first loans for the construction of detached houses are allocated in two stages: Firstly, the households need to have saved 10 percent of the loan as own contribution. As a first part the households receive material to the value of 1,000,000 Tshs (appr. €474) for the construction of the basement, the walls and the roof. After finishing the construction and starting the first repayments, the loan will be allocated by CCI. The repayments will be transferred to a separate repayment account of the housing association in order to use this capital for the provision of new loans to the next members. The interest rate for the loan is 10 percent. The capital generated by the interest rate will be distributed to CCI (5 percent), the housing association (3 percent) and the savings groups involved in the Chamazi project (2 percent) in order to cover the administration costs of these institutions involved in the whole process.

The exchange visits to India and Thailand in 2009 had a major impact on the management and the orientation on the Chamazi housing project.⁵ The motivation by the representatives of the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlement to support this process increased through the participation of the Minister in the exchange visit. Furthermore, the federation members have benefited from this visit considering the quality of housing projects of the Indian and Thailand federation. The advocacy committee received pro-bono support by the Tanzanian Board of Architecture and Quantity Surveying in the planning process. These experts, professionals of CCI and representatives of the municipality and the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlement were involved in the regular planning sessions.

The final plan includes four different types of houses: detached, semi-detached, row house-double storey houses and multi storey buildings. (CCI 2009c) The two-storey houses offer space of 96 m² total. The possibility for incremental construction processes has been considered in the four housing typologies. The row houses share walls in order to reduce the costs for each house. (Bolnick 2008: p. 3-4) After recognition that the detached houses realized completely would exceed the economic capacities of the households, the construction has changed. Currently, the completely detached houses will cost approximately 6,000,000 Tshs (appr. €2,846), the houses at the incremental stage 3,150,000 Tshs (appr. €1,494).

Additional functions such as a market place, dispensary, shops, spaces for religious activities, a cemetery and spaces for light industries are also planned at the Chamazi plot. The construction process and the management are oriented on the community-driven approach of the SDI network. Thus, the federation aspires to provide as much own contribution as possible based on the competencies and skills of the members themselves. For that reason, the federation has elected a technical team for construction. This team represents an equal number of men and women. Labour contracts have been concluded with

⁵ See paper RC21-session 1.

technicians within the federation who offered free labour in the process. Moreover, specialists such as professional engineers and architects were involved during the construction practices. (CCI 2009c)

Topographical drawings were conducted by the Temeke Municipal Land and survey officials. With regard to the infrastructure services in this settlement the Temeke Municipality have promised to provide support for the topographical levelling of the ground to pave a way for road installation.



Figure 7: View of the building site of the Housing project (Own source, January 2012)

In winter 2012 the housing association had 41 houses at different levels of completion and in the summer the first relocated households from Kurasini moved in their new houses (CCI 2012). One decisive advantage of the housing projects is represented by the fact that already existing savings groups are involved in the projects. The stability of running processes and the retention of the micro-structure can be supportive for the continuity of the savings groups, business relations between the members and of the support network.

The Chamazi resettlement project is one of the first large-scale housing projects of the TUPF. Another housing project with 32 houses is under construction within Dodoma (Miyuji Community Based Housing Scheme). The objective of the project in Dar es Salaam was to “[...] deliver a strategic, integrated approach to tenure security and people-driven housing [...]” (Ndezi 2009: pp. 86-87). The pilot project was intended to demonstrate the effectiveness of cross-sectoral partnerships (ibid.).

Role of NGO and of outside actors

The comprehensive networking activities in context of the city-wide approaches resulted in new cooperation which are short-term but also long-term, cross-sectoral and cross-level. The range of actors involved, corresponds to the thematic orientation of the projects.

Due to their various contacts the professionals of the CCI played a key-role for the establishment and the expansion of the relationships to governmental authorities, international organizations, professional experts and religious organizations. Given the increased demands of such city-wide projects the CCI provides technical and administrative support based on the expert knowledge and the management competencies of the staff members. When necessary, the CCI integrates specific experts such as professional surveyors or planners in the projects.

Additional to the support of the initiation and implementation processes the CCI accompanies the running processes with researches and evaluation to assess the approaches, to systematize the experiences and lessons learnt in order to use this knowledge for similar projects.

Focusing on the outside actors, the cooperation with governmental actors was highly rated in course of the Kurasini resettlement activities and the Chamazi housing project from the very beginning. According to the complexity and multi-level character of the processes, governmental authorities at the local level (street and settlement governments), municipal level (municipal administration) and the national level (ministries) are involved in the processes. The objective of the Chamazi project was not only the establishment of secure tenure and housing for tenants in the relocation area in Kurasini but also to

“[...] demonstrate to the government and other actors how resettlement for the urban poor can be conducted in an effective way. It also intends to influence policy changes particularly on the aspect of plot size and design.”
(CCI 2009a)

The activities of the TUPF and the CCI changed the awareness of governmental actors for the demands of tenants and to recognize the need for involvement of the local communities in the planning phase of relocation processes. The interviewed persons of the CCI, the TUPF, the different departments in the municipality and the ministry emphasized the mutual benefit of the cooperation within the Chamazi housing project.

The cooperation with the governmental actors induced the involvement of the CCI in the preparation of the Citywide Action Plan for upgrading unplanned and unserved settlements in Dar es Salaam. The experts of the CCI contributed their experiences and knowledge concerning community-driven approaches (settlement profiling, resettlement, housing) and about the community-driven initiatives to the Citywide Action plan (see UN-Habitat 2010). In course of the involvement in the preparation process of the Citywide Action Plan, the CCI could extend the network relation with other organizations involved. Representatives of the Cities Alliance and UN-HABITAT offices in Dar es Salaam visited savings groups and attended to federation meetings in course of this. Amongst other, international support to CCI and TUPF will be provided by HOMELESS International a charity organization in United Kingdom. (CCI 2011)

Follow-up projects and networking activities

The cooperation with various organizations and governmental authorities in city-wide projects influenced the thematic orientation of the TUPF and CCI and entailed the expansion of their field of action.

In course of the preparation of the Citywide Action Plan the involved actors recognized the need for conducting settlement profiles for the whole city of Dar es Salaam. According to their comprehensive experiences CCI and TUPF were tasked with enumeration and mapping of settlement areas which are characterized by high and medium density. In course of this, data-collection approaches of the TUPF were introduced to various officials from Dar es

Salaam City Council, all municipalities of Temeke, Ilala and Kinondoni, their ward officials and street officials in the run-up of the profiling processes. This considerable extension of activities in this field required the establishment of a settlement profiling team of ten federation members. These persons were trained by CCI. The data collection has taken place in consultation with municipalities and ward officials in order to ensure that they are adequate and accurate. The city-wide profiling methodology corresponds to the proven approaches of enumeration and mapping transferred to the larger scale.

Group discussions and interviews with respective leaders and communities within a settlement were used for the gathering of information. Subsequently, the settlement profiling team used interviews and observations within about 197 settlements in Temeke Municipality (70 settlements), Ilala Municipality (60 settlements) and Kinondoni Municipality (67 settlements). The data collected were verified by the larger communities within the settlements with the objective to give them the possibility for input.

In this context, the CCI highlights the impact of these profiling activities for the rapid appraisal of conditions in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam and the awareness by the local communities within the settlements profiled to be part of the development process and the need for self-reliance. This learning process was accompanied by extended mobilization activities and the foundation of new savings groups. Regarding this, the TUPF was able to increase its presence in these settlements considerable. Moreover, this profiling process has helped to deepen the relationships between the municipalities involved, the CCI and the TUPF. (CCI 2009a; 2009c)

The Housing Microfinance Working Group represents another sub-network which has been initiated by CCI in consequence to the experiences in course of the housing project within Chamazi. Actors from organizations like Women Advancement Trust (WAT), Pride and Finca and Habitat for Humanity are involved in this working group. The intention is to transfer knowledge concerning housing and micro-finance issues within monthly meetings. Furthermore, CCI and TUPF could raise awareness concerning their integrative and community-driven processes, which combine micro-finance aspects with various related initiatives.

The challenges of Climate Change represent a further focal point which was introduced to the working agenda of the TUPF by CCI and the cooperation partners of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). The assessment of the vulnerability of local communities in urban areas to climate change and the development of community based adaptation programmes is the first measure to implement this issue within the Tanzanian network. Accordingly, the CCI initiate the assessment of all settlements where savings groups of the Dar federation are working in order to identify areas which are more prone to effects of climate change like floodings. This assessment process induced the incorporation of climate change indicators on the enumeration approaches. (CCI 2009c)

Conclusion

The investigated modes of action and cooperation show that the scale and the range of cross-sectoral relationships of local communities significantly influence their scope of action.

The network analysis identified close interlinks between learning and empowerment processes and the creation of social capital as well as cross-sectoral and multi-level interaction. The expansion of the scope of action is a result of these mutually dependent and reinforcing effects (see Figure 8).

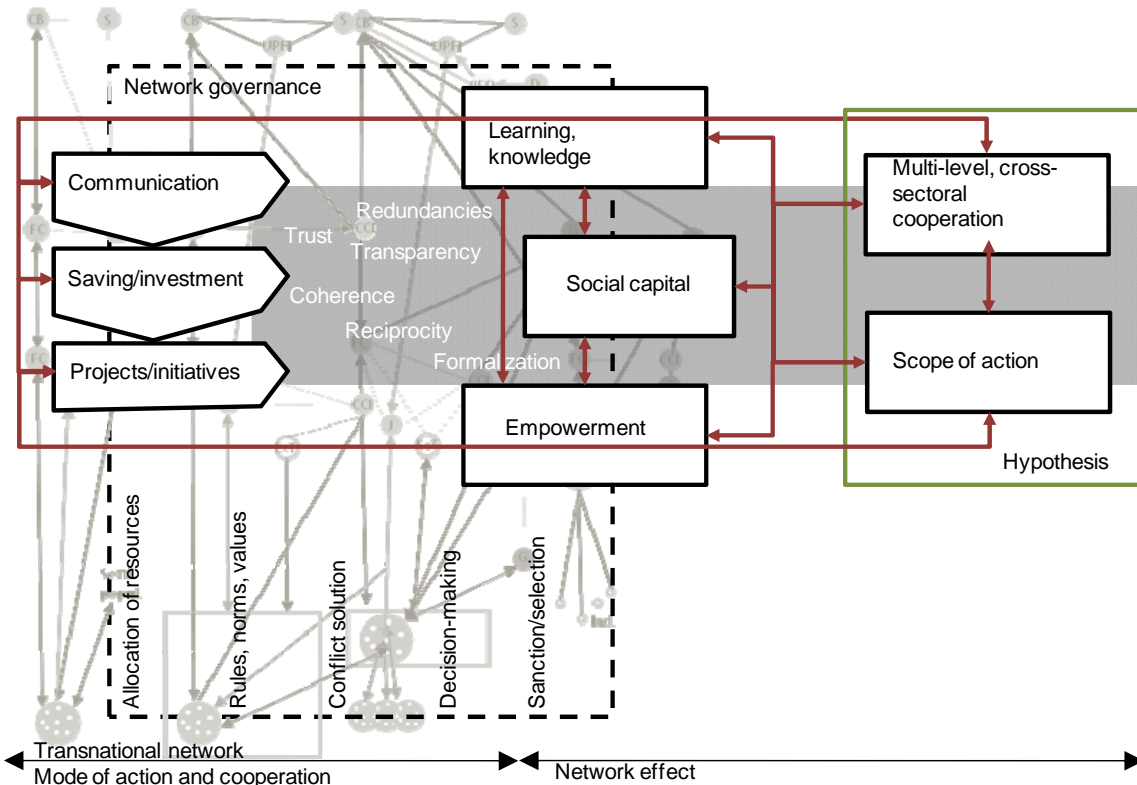


Figure 8: Interdependencies between the mode of action and cooperation, network governance and network effects (Source: Own design)

Furthermore, the effect on the scope of action can be assessed considering economic, institutional and political aspects. Regarding the scope of action in the course of processes of saving and lending among the group members are already accompanied by an increase in financial capacities. If a group starts its own business, this extends and expands loan-granting activities and the implementation of other projects. At the same time, the groups in this mode remain relatively autonomous concerning their need for assistance from experts and coordination with external actors such as governments and the population in their settlements. This scale of activity is achieved by other micro-loan approaches applied by development organizations and commercial banks independently of SDI in many countries of the South.

The specific character and potential of the community-driven approaches of SDI is demonstrated by the activities and cooperation of modes B, C and D. These approaches are geared to the strategy to re-negotiate:

"[...] roles and responsibilities between the state and civil society, so that the state continues to recognise its responsibilities but changes the manner of realising these obligations." (Mitlin, Patel 2005: p. 3)

The network with its structures, procedures, targets and rules provides the framework to gain knowledge and competencies to exceed activities by the groups and to involve governmental actors as partners. During larger activities, the communities are able to gain a presence in

governmental institutions at different levels. The case of the Dar es Salaam federation shows that the many large-scale projects and resulting relationships with governmental actors made it a recognized partner who is increasingly involved in top-down projects. In this connection, the size of a specific network and its embeddedness within a spatial context are important aspects for achieving a *critical mass* in terms of the number of relationships and references.

The relevance of the CCI as a supporting NGO needs to be considered particularly because of its role as gatekeeper and provider of expertise. The analysis identified many close relationships between the NGO and the network at all levels and within different modes. Concerning the extension of the scope of action in the course of larger projects, the flexibility and range of options change with regard to economic, institutional and political aspects. First of all, the projects in mode B and C are geared to basic demands such as the improvement of the drinking water supply, the hygienic situation in the settlement and the lack of housing. Considering this, the projects improve the living conditions for members and the population in the settlement to a certain extent.

The network analysis identified different development stages that savings groups are able to achieve and concludes that some savings group are more capable of profiting from the network system than others. First of all, the age of the group and the degree of establishment of group procedures and structures are the main reasons for these differences. Secondly, the spatial and social proximity between groups is another important aspect. Savings groups involving members from different settlements have inadequate communication and cohesion, and are ultimately unable to increase their financial capacities for further development. Thirdly, the success of the group is also related to the motivation and accountability of the individual members. Understanding this has enabled the failure of such groups to be prevented by other communities, federation leaders and CCI members. However, the current size of the network impedes monitoring, for the personnel resources of the TUPF and CCI are already limited. Fourthly, the embeddedness of members in the bodies of the network is another reason for the extent of impact. The fourth reason may also closely related to the third.

The analysis concludes that the great majority of members is able to benefit from involvement in a savings group of the TUPF and to benefit from the extension of their scope of action. This insight was confirmed by the interviewees in 2009. The correlation between the duration of membership and the benefit achieved is shown by the following graphs.

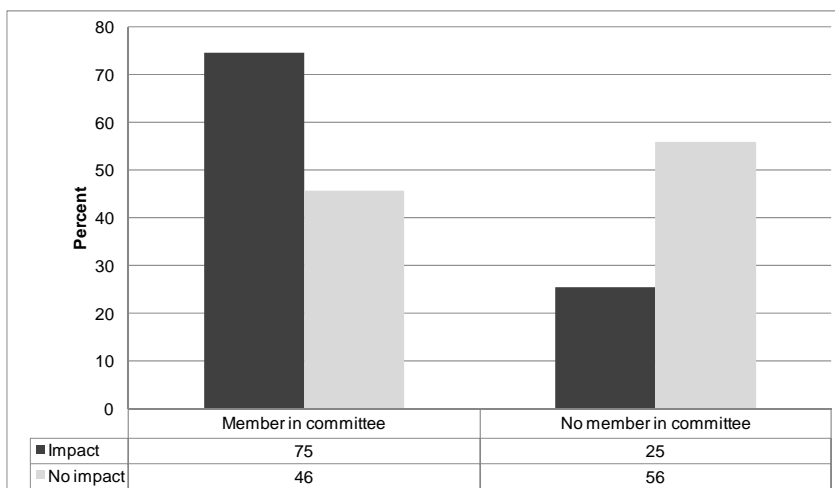


Figure 9: Proportion of members with/without membership in committee and with/without impact (Source: Own design)

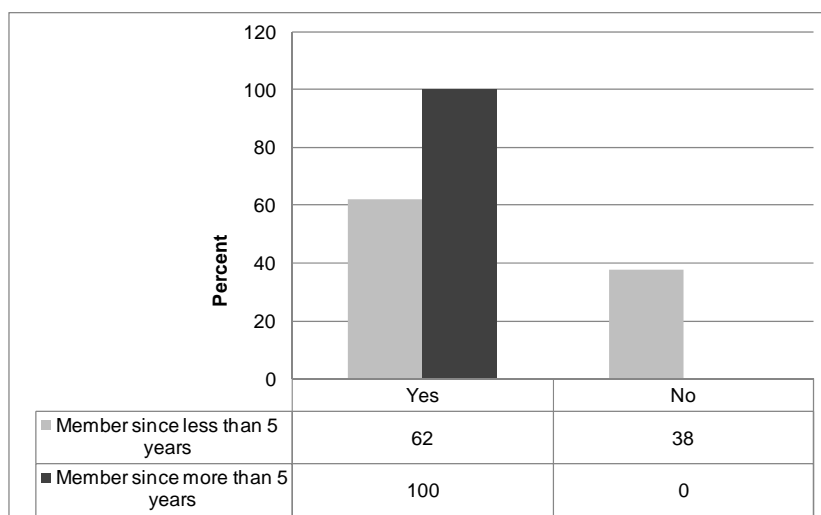


Figure 10: Proportion of members since less/more than five years in TUPF and with/without impact (Source: Own design)

Finally, the analysis points to the conclusion that combining bottom-up initiatives with comprehensive multi-level and cross-sectoral relationships can also be described as an integrative approach to urban development. Considering this, the network strategies correspond to actual demands by politicians, urban planners and development experts to extend integrative aspects of urban management.

Focusing on the political dimension of the network activities, community-driven approaches by the SDI federations are based on the understanding of self-reliance and cooperation with governmental actors. Because of this stance towards the state, SDI has occasionally been criticized by other Southern grassroots organizations, who accuse the federations of co-optation and collaboration with the state instead of criticizing governmental institutions for their failure to meet their obligations to provide housing and services of general interest. However, the analysis shows that even if local communities and the supporting NGOs invest huge volumes of all kinds of resources in order to accomplish large-scale projects in cooperation with governmental organizations, the benefits and positive sides-effects go far beyond the simple realization of infrastructure projects or the construction of housing. Extending the scope of action of the communities encompasses various social, economic and political aspects. Finally, the relationship between the government and local communities can be described in the words of one federation member:

“We are not just beggars. We meet the government halfway.” (Lutwama 2011)

Cooperation-related skills and knowledge

Furthermore, the members’ comments indicate processes of empowerment. Learning, considering their problem situation, and gaining an awareness of options of self-help are closely related to the understanding of empowerment. Similar to the involvement in learning processes, the extent of empowerment is closely related to the embeddedness of members in structures and learning processes of the network. The scale of activities and cooperation by the respective group influences the degree of empowerment for the community. Taking this into account, the different modes of action and cooperation can also be described as stages of empowerment which need to be climbed. Sub-networks of mode A are mainly focused on empowerment regarding cognitive and social aspects, including community-building and the development of competencies. These aspects facilitate reflection of their own problem situation and generate awareness of the options for change and articulating their interests. The increased requirements of activities and cooperation in modes B and C are accompanied by greater empowerment concerning political aspects through confrontation with governmental actors.

The analysis has shown that the transnational network provides the institutional framework, knowledge and supporting system necessary to trigger empowerment processes. Embeddedness in networking activities and the scale of action and cooperation of the savings groups are factors influencing the level of empowerment they are able to achieve.

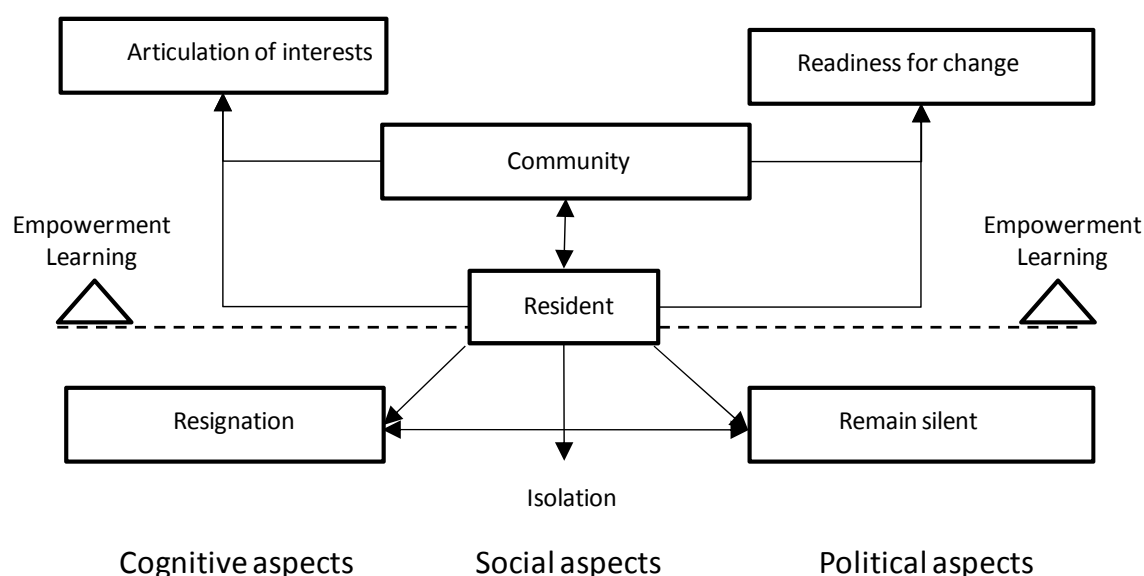


Figure 11: Connection of the embeddedness within networking activities, learning and empowerment processes (Source: Schaurhofer, Peschl (2010): p. 2; Figure supplemented)

Vital insight of the case study is that actors in street and settlement governments are important points of contact who need to be involved in all kinds of activities of local communities. Regarding this, the success of an infrastructural project for example largely depends on the cooperativeness of governmental actors at the street and settlement levels in the unplanned urban areas. From this point of view, they function not only as the “[...] arms for connection to the bottom” (Ndezi 2012) but also conversely to decision-makers at the different levels of urban governance.

Finally, the relevance of locally embedded action by local communities complemented by transnational networking processes for the development of cross-sectoral modes of cooperation becomes apparent in this PhD thesis. The development of the Tanzanian federation shows that the inhabitants of marginalized areas normally have valuable neighbourly relations, already providing a certain degree of trust. Using these *existing social structures* facilitates the establishment of savings groups during mobilization processes. Furthermore, the case of the TUPF shows the potential of *locally embedded activities* such as mobilization and the transfer of knowledge by TUPF communities. *Horizontal action* (e.g. resident–resident, community–community) plays an important role in this context.

However, at a certain level of complexity, the support by NGO professionals is required in order to negotiate with governmental actors, to plan and realize more technically sophisticated projects, or to manage funding processes. Furthermore, *bridging the gap* between local communities and the actors of the state sector turned out to be a requirement for the implementation of larger projects (modes B and C) and the extension of the scope of action of federation members. Taking this into account, strategies of SDI federations are focused on encouraging cross-sectoral cooperation. In this context, transnational network activities such as international exchange visits have helped to increase the cooperativeness of representatives at ministries and municipalities in Tanzania and to communicate the ideas and targets of the SDI network to them. Visits to examples of best practice accomplished by other federations in the course of international exchange have proved to be the key to new cross-sectoral partnerships.

The case of the TUPF and SDI shows that transnational networks of local communities are able to develop cooperation structures and development strategies involving features of *integrated approaches* which are spatially and socially embedded in local communities and also influenced by transnational and cross-sectoral cooperation at the same time. The aspects highlighted above represent a range of potentials and preconditions which have turned out to be relevant and important for the activities and processes of local communities of the TUPF. These final results are intended to provide guidance for the development of beneficial structures by governmental actors and development organizations. Furthermore, they should be integrated into the rethinking of cooperation strategies in the course of urban management processes and the development approaches aimed at reducing urban poverty. Particularly the findings concerning network structures, processes and network governance can also be applied to cooperation in urban management in for instance European cities.

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