

**Adjournments of intra-urban mobilities
in Dar es Salaam.
Maintaining social and spatial ties
in African multi-local action settings.**

Christoph Koch

Christiane Rudić

Abstract

Intra-urban migrants in Dar es Salaam (evicted and voluntarily relocated) maintain relations at former urban places of residence and migrate only within narrow ward-scapes. Informal talks, biographical and narrative interviews about housing finance (multi-cluster street sampling) and social relations (esp. within microfinance groups) showed the importance of the social sphere and activity space in decisions of migration processes. Urban management and relocation plans argue rather financially emphasizing material push and pull factors. For the actors, however, immaterial assets seem to be more important. A qualitative action setting approach (Weichhart 2009) is used to show how people maintain their former center of life during intra-urban migration processes. Exemplary case studies from two informal settlements in Dar es Salaam show the importance of symbolic and social ties as a reason to adjourn mobility. Action settings allow describing prolonged, multi-station resettlement processes and the impact of spatial assets on intra-urban migration decisions that should be taken into consideration for urban planning, resettlement projects and migration management.

Introduction

Mobility encompasses much more than just material aspects. Not only the geographic position changes, but manifold areas of life are influenced by mobility. Some dimensions are left behind at the former place, some are taken along the way, and others are maintained from distance. Mobility can affect *inter alia* housing, working, recreation time, and space of living. Narrative interviews from two research projects in Dar es Salaam confirm this for evictions from Kurasini area as well as for voluntary relocations¹ within the municipality of Temeke. Moreover, the importance to maintain social relations when relocating was emphasized by the interviewees themselves.

Further investigations (from two research projects) show that in the African urban context these social networks are not only influenced by mobility but they are influential in the decision to stay or go - and where to go. The schedule for mobility can be affected by doubts and fears concerning the consequences of relocation on the social assets. Two features became obvious: Intra-urban mobility takes place in a quite narrow spatial corridor. And even years after the relocation, social relations are maintained at the former place of living. This stands in contrast to results from Lagos, where “a relatively small number of neighbours [...] remained as social contacts after a residential relocation” (Omiunu 1991: 191). In our data from Tanzania, however, it was observed that social contacts are maintained through the spheres of housing, working, using facilities and recreation. If the continuity of vital social contacts is threatened by mobility (and transfer

¹ Relocation labels any form of changing the residence. Sometimes the redundant term “residential relocation” emphasizes this. Eviction is used for compulsory relocation. Movements describe iterative positions in life only. Mobility is used as umbrella term including commuting, migration, multi-locality, and “mobility is considered in relation to forms of place, stopping, stillness and relative immobility [...] that are enabled by or enable mobilities” (Cresswell 2011: 552 citing Adey 2006; cf. Bissell/Fuller 2010; Hannam et al. 2006).

is difficult), households have to decide between adjourning and maintaining.

These observed strategies can neither be explained by financial arguments only nor with a material comparison of migrants' options. A theoretical framework is needed that contains spatial and temporal aspects. It should reflect spatio-temporal relations and transitions. However most migration approaches focus on material aspects only, or economic reasons dominate the explanatory frameworks (cf. Potts 2012; Siddiqui 2012). Applied urban management, similar to these theoretical frameworks, compares the pre-migration and the post-migration situation predominantly neglecting the complex decision and implementation process in-between. In case of the Kurasini redevelopment and resettlement program, where compensation payments were based on material property only, a more differentiated framework would probably have brought up a more adequate understanding of the impacts on households. This would be relevant for future urban development in Africa, where large-scale redevelopment interventions are on the increase, which particularly threaten the informal settlements, in which the majority of urban dwellers live. Within Dar es Salaam, there are a number of large-scale redevelopment projects implying forced evictions as well as voluntary relocations *inter alia* due to gentrification. Relocations (forced or voluntary) take place in a demographic, temporal, spatial and social context. This complex process should be approached.

The action setting approach (Weichhart 2004; id. 2009; id. 2014) allows describing the complex process of mobility in detail. Weichhart picks up an older distinction between partial and total displacement (Roseman 1971) to integrate relations, distances and stations along the route into his migration framework. At the same time, the framework covers various functions of living (cf. Patzsch 1964) as well as spaces and settings influencing behavior. Central functions are housing, working, and using facilities. Fundamental assumption is that, recurrent activities go together with matching places.

Mapping these settings and relations revealed centers of live as well as steps of migration processes. The framework is applied in the European context, while it is used here to study action settings in the African context.

The theoretical framing will be discussed in detail next, before the current demographical and spatial background of urban growth in Sub-Saharan Africa is compiled. After a methods section, two narrative, biographic case studies from Dar es Salaam are given. They provide the foundation for the discussion of mobility and persistency, showing the influence of social relations in migration processes. The “spatial bonding of activities” can be a reason for adjourns and inner-urban, multi-local strategies of life. The conclusion will show to what extent the framework can explain immaterial, spatio-temporal, and relational aspects of migration and sojourns.

Theoretical Background of Action Settings

Presuming a pre-eminence between material and social world induces a very narrow focus and leaves spatial and temporal relations neglected. And yet planning officers, development planners, politicians, architects, and activists assume a primacy of the material sphere (Weichhart 2004: 44, 48). This becomes apparent in the case of forced evictions in Dar es Salaam, for instance, when compensations are paid for physical housing structures, but not for other, immaterial losses. Already the often used distinction of lower, middle and upper income residential areas overemphasizes economic aspects, neglecting changes, like vertical mobility, and migration trajectories (Arguello et al. 2013: 24). Similarly, evaluations of resettlement projects consider mainly material modifications comparing vested property and rights. In this way, they neglect informal entanglements, social achievements and relations bounded to one place. In the case of Kurasini redevelopment program, the compensation payments are not enough to rebuild the housing unit. Expenditures to maintain or rebuild social or

informal structures are not even considered in the formal acquisition. Furthermore, the policies take no account of burden for tenants.

An integrated approach comprises physical, spatial and social elements to “model connections between material structure and social structure” (Weichhart 2004: 44; see figure 1). Moreover, relational and temporal elements are considered. The action setting approach refers to actors and their intentions, roles and routines, as well as to their appropriation of space (Weichhart 2004: 47). In addition, mental perception (e.g. subjective spatial awareness, mental maps and borders) can influence actions (Barker 1968 cited in Weichhart 2004: 45). Roles and routines suit to particular places (Donley-Reid 1990). Utilization and perception of space come to the fore, which are largely set up by everyday activities. Hence, regular activities and iterative movements, like commuting flows, are central elements of the framework. To observe and understand roles, routines and spatial bonded activities, both authors accompanied various Tanzanian dwellers of informal settlements during some of their everyday activities.

Everyday activities can be classified temporally, functionally and spatially. Time designations can refer to the duration of the activity or (like here) the length between activities. Some areas and ways are used every day like for daily commuting to work- places or schools. Typical weekly movements are journeys to go to the market or to buy commodity goods. Periodical movements, such as traveling up-country, are made in spaced intervals. Relocations are events once in a while. Between these motions, there are periods of sojourns. Thus these times-in-between can be daily, weekly, periodical or non-periodical sojourns in the movement cycle. Once-only or rare movements with a distinct impact (like residential relocations) shape biographic sojourns. A typical Tanzanian example therefore is to move in with your spouse after marriage after a time of sojourning and accumulating money for the function. Moreover, the migration process is subdivided in an information-gathering phase, decision-making phase, adjustment period as well as a stage of arriving and establishing activities

(Roseman 1971: 589f.). “The [action setting] approach is based on action space that depends on circadian rhythms and that, in the sense of time geography², is available to household members as space-time prism”. (Weichhart 2014) Roseman (1971) emphasizes the weekly movement cycles as central. In this study the authors assess the impact of long-term sojourns and migration trajectories.

A functional classification of activities serves to describe behavior as well as intentions of actors. Seven functions (“Daseinsgrundfunktionen”) are listed congruently as central: housing, working, formation/education, transportation, provisioning, recreation and community life (Partzsch 1964; Munich School of social geography). Provisioning comprises commodities and services. However, the presumption that (environment or) space is analyzed and explained by its function only and normative deductions are criticized. Relations between material and social sphere are diverse: space can allow variable usage, partial sharing of activity space can be possible or conflictual, and perceptions of space can vary. Weichhart (2009) differentiates between housing, work place, facilities (provision and infrastructure), recreation, social relations and ‘other’ functions of daily life.

Relocations can also be classified spatially. This can be done quantitatively (e.g. distance of migration) or qualitatively (e.g. allocation of functions of daily life). Spatial mobility can be sub-classified into circulation (commuting), multi-locality and migration (Weichhart 2009: 6; see figure 1). Multi-local households use potentials of two (or more) sites at the same time. In case of total displacement³ the frequent movement cycles are relocated to new spatial patterns. The former action space is completely abandoned (Roseman 1971: 592). “The second type [i.e. partial

² In a nutshell the school of time geography considers the movement in space, time path, and interactions under constraints as important (cf. Hägerstrand 1970).

³ Roseman (1971) and Weichhart (2009) use the term “displacement”. However, this term has some negative connotation. Otherwise, it reflects the dissemination of places. Here, [total and partial] displacement is used interchangeable with [total and partial] mobility.

displacement] includes migrations that displace only part of the weekly movement cycle; these are called partial displacement migrations. The center of gravity, the home, changes location, but the location of some of the other nodes remains unchanged." (Roseman 1971: 593).

Combining space, time, and function results in two main strategies for the intra-urban mobility in Dar es Salaam: After a time of relocation, people reside at a new action setting while still maintaining some functions and relations at the former action setting. The snapshot shows a partial displacement (see figure 1). The underlying strategy describing the time path is persistency. The alternative strategy is to build-up a second action setting while remaining to live in the first place. The basic strategy is to sojourn at two places. In contrast to total displacement, the actors do not focus on one central place only. Reasons for the wait-and-see strategy are heteronomous, self-constraint, or social constraint (e.g. lack of information about the official resettlement timetable; low financial capacity; local emotional bonding).

To track these strategies the action setting approach is suitable, but before that, basic assumptions of the action theory are summarized (Kazig/Weichhart 2009: 115). Persons use specific spaces for the satisfaction of specific human needs. Because subjects are familiar with the material setting and presumable interactions of attendees, it is "easier" for them to behave in a certain way to pursue a goal (Weichhart 2004: 46). The favored suitable and selected material setups are called milieu (Weichhart 2004: 47 referring to Barker 1986). A milieu is acquired and reconfigured to minister specific practices. The occupation and cultivation of the milieu can be aligned by the subjects themselves ("Kolonisations- und Kultivierungsaktivitäten" in Weichhart 2004: 47). Actors, as subjects, utilize places, involving attendant persons and material circumstances, to perform strategic actions to attain intentions (Weichhart 2003: 26). "Rules, procedures, role allocation, responsibilities and patterns of interactions in a setting are described in programs" (Weichhart 2003: 30). Structures, milieu

and perception, decision and intention of actors and co-actors as well as their activities, roles and routines must match, to merge action settings (Weichhart 2004: 47; Kazig/Weichhart 2009: 117). The triad of actors, acts and milieu chime together the action setting.

Before actors acquire and use particular spaces, they inspect the opportunities and benefit of the milieu. An “area provides a set of objectively verifiable incentives (Standortofferten) that are subjectively assessed as place utility and put into use by the household members to achieve” (Weichhart forthcoming) their intentions. The demographical and spatial background of a place frames these incentives or tenders. Similar to site selection of an enterprise households weigh the odds of different market places to find the best location for the own activities.

Demographical Background in Urban Africa

Migration studies always have a spatial dimension. Focal points of current migration studies in the African context have been amongst others international migration, rural-urban migration-routes, spatial entrance points to urban quarters and social gatekeepers in the process of arrival in the city. Moreover, multi-local social networks (Lohnert/Steinbrink 2005) and rural-urban-linkages were analyzed (Tacoli 2006), while intra-urban relocation was less examined in the last years (see also Cresswell 2011). Mobility studies therefore predominantly focused on rural-urban-migration.

Current studies emphasize – additionally to the spatial path – the time path on different spatial scales. On a large scale, transnationalism is defined by persisting, multi-local networks of international migrants. These studies focus on social practices that link and tie activities and networks in two or more (culturally different) nations or regions (e.g. Glick-Schiller et al. 1995; Pries 1996; Sassen 2011). Even describing a snapshot of migrants’ current networks, the fourth dimension is needed to explain relations at places of

living. On a regional scale, this is done by the action setting approach (Weichhart 2014). Milieu, actors and acts have a back-story. To assess the incentives of an action setting, the time dimension must be considered, e.g. prior experiences of actions at a specific place. The approach of transnationalism as well as of multi-local action settings comprises former places. Despite time-displacement and spatial displacement the importance, impact and interaction of quondam milieus persist. The dichotomy between place of origin and destination is overcome by changing the focus of migration studies on the aspects that endure or adjourn.

Political and demographical background influences actors' biography. Potts (2012) emphasizes demographic alterations in urban sub-Saharan Africa and concludes: "Natural increase, rather than net in-migration, is the predominant growth factor in most urban populations." (Potts 2012: 1) Yet the statistics are heterogeneous due to national specifics, but some tendencies show that natural demography is getting more important for urban mobility. If that is the case, the span of life in rural areas will therefore decline in the biography of average citizens. Hence, the focus of research should shift from rural-urban-migration to inter-urban migration (counter-urbanisation; Potts 2012) or intra-urban migration (see below). The longer inhabitants live in town, the longer the period and larger the experience of making decisions where and how to live urban life. In Dar es Salaam many citizens even experienced several stages of mobility.

Second-generation urban citizens often have three different migration backgrounds. First, the urban-born children of rural-urban migrants who know urban-rural linkages via their parents only. Second, the migrants who changed their urban residence several times within one town. Third, there are urban-urban migrants (see Potts 2012). Intra-urban migration is quite likely for settlers in informal areas, as the example of Dar es Salaam shows. Second-generation urban inhabitants have already an intra-urban migration biography. Rural-urban "migrants often lack a clear definition of what is their home. Many will refer to the village of their ancestors as their

home village even though they moved away long ago and have lived in town for decades" (Krüger 2006: 233; for the symbolic distinction "In Nairobi I have my house, upcountry I have my home" see e.g. Dellantonio 2005). For second-generation urban inhabitants the rural home is more remote. For Dar es Salaam biographic narrations revealed even many cases, where citizens experienced a series of removals, continuous mobility, or sojourn in expectation of further intra-urban resettlement. This is raising additional qualitative questions: Where do people sojourn in the city? How are places of sojourn changing with residential relocation? Which kinds of spatial ties influence decisions on migration or adjournment? Bonds, knots and relations are framed by action settings as well as the spatial background.

Spatial Background in South Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam is the economic primacy of the nation and due to its international harbor, it is important for the neighboring landlocked countries. The demands of the rapidly growing urban population, of the private and the public sector are competing with each other for limited space.

Temeke is the southernmost municipality of Dar es Salaam (see fig. 1). For the wards Keko and Kurasini the latest census estimated around 30,000 inhabitants in about 8,000 households (URT 2013). Both wards are mainly inhabited by low-income households living in informal settlements. Keko is about two kilometers from the central business district (CBD) and next to the busy market place Kariakoo with one of the main bus stations. Kurasini is twice as far from Kivukoni with the CBD, the main market and the city's fish market.

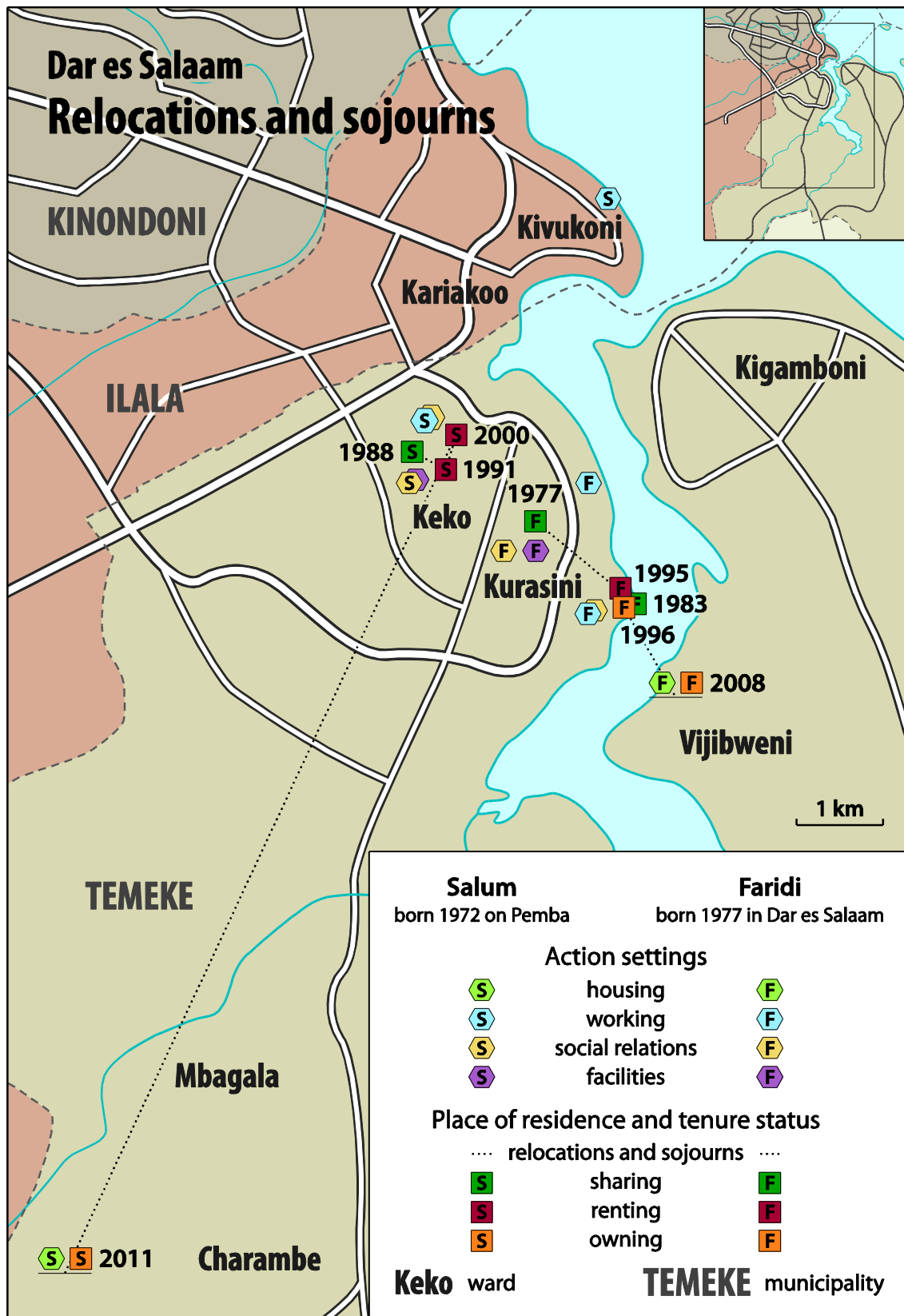


Figure 1

There are many harbor facilities, container storages and transport companies in the area. Informal shops and business offices, private and public tenancies as well as licensed houses can be found in both areas. A great heterogeneity of interior and exterior housing conditions prevails within the wards.

A severe shortage of housing emerges due to space requirements of the economic sector, city management and demographic growth. This can also be observed in many other growing sub-Saharan African cities. "But growth is largely attributable to natural increase as births exceed deaths in towns, especially among the poorest sections of the population" (Potts 2012: 14). Dar es Salaam had an annual average population growth rate of five percent in the last decades (ibidem: 9; URT 2013: 26). One decade ago, the shortage was calculated at more than half-a-million accommodation units on the basis of three million citizens (Kombe/Kreibich 2000: 40).⁴ Furthermore, accommodation units in Kurasini have been demolished to create additional space for the port extension. Therefore a national project has been started called *Kurasini area redevelopment project*. "It covers 670 hectares, and [...] [some] 2,800 households are to be relocated" (UN-Habitat/Cities Alliance 2010: 42). These forced evictions from Kurasini are just as interesting as the voluntary relocations from Keko (see cases after the method paragraph).

Method and sampling

The interviews were conducted between 2009 and 2013. Interviewees lived mostly in the wards of Keko and Kurasini in Temeke municipality. Moreover, former residents of the survey areas were identified, visited at their everyday action settings and interviewed. The findings from two different surveys were merged for this paper. One was about housing finance strategies in Dar es Salaam and was based on extensive

⁴ The calculation of sensible data like health or housing backlogs has to be handled with care.

ethnographic, quantitative and qualitative data⁵. The other focused on social capital in microfinance groups. Besides qualitative interviews, this study is based on participant observations in various savings and credit groups. Both authors accompanied several individuals during their activities at different settings over a longer period. Thus, the sampling of the two research projects followed diverse entrance-points. Inhabitants of the informal areas were selected after a multi-cluster street sampling for a quantitative survey and members of housing finance organizations were interviewed⁶. In the other study, informal and formal microcredit groups were observed during group participation and clients interviewed. This study focused on the social impact on relations in saving and credit groups and the usage of social networks⁷. In both surveys, interviews were underpinned by field mapping and satellite pictures to illustrate spatio-temporal journeys. In order to understand implicating factors of the households' decisions to participate in local settings, to invest in housing, to maintain established circumstances, or to adjourn migration, a micro-analytical approach was used (cf. Popp 1976: 300).

Discussions between the authors revealed congruent findings, in spite of the considerable heterogeneity of interviewees (over 200 in each study). On a micro-level, migration processes are dependent on very individual factors (e.g. gender roles and responsibilities, demographic factors and socio-economic status of the household members), but the findings revealed that hard spatial factors (like places of housing, working and social relations) result in similar functional patterns. In order to better describe and explain these typical performances, a case studies approach is applied in the subsequent section.

⁵ Here presented data comes from two different research projects. Detailed publications are forthcoming. In order to ensure transparency footnotes indicate the source of information.

⁶ See Rudić (2015): Housing finance strategies of informal settlement dwellers. Factors of influence and the impacts of planned interventions. (Dissertation submitted to the University of Bayreuth. Defended 22.4.2015).

⁷ See Koch (forthcoming).

Findings exemplified by Two Case Studies

Two cases were selected, which allow to deduce factors that influence adjournments of intra-urban mobilities⁶. Two shorter cases supplement the discussion⁷. These impacts on decision-making and migration processes are transferable to other informal areas with similar spatial and demographic background in urban Africa. Therefore, the life story of two inhabitants including their relocations and sojourns are told as chronological sequence. The discussion of the findings is subdivided according to four functions of action settings. The main functions are housing, work and enterprises, infrastructure and market facilities as well as recreation activities. The time dimension is completed by a short summary of actors' future outlook.

The actors Salum and Faridi⁸ have been visited and interviewed several times. As many others in southern Dar es Salaam, Salum and Faridi migrated several times within Temeke municipality. They both are at the midst of life. Both are heading their household's decision-making. Like the majority of the informal settlement dwellers in Dar es Salaam, both went to primary school and generate their incomes through diversified activities in the informal sector. Similar to most of their neighbors, both look back on a multi-station migration process. While Salum's case represents a voluntary migration process, Faridi was forced to relocate like the tens of thousands of Kurasini residents who have to move because of the harbor extension. Figures 1 and 2 allow keeping track of their spatio-temporal mobility, sojourns and action settings.

Salum's relocations and sojourns

Salum was born in 1972 on Pemba Island [the northern islands of Zanzibar archipelago]. When he was still young his father died and he moved with his mother to his grandfather's place on Pemba Island. In 1976, his mother

⁸ All names of interviewees are changed.

remarried a man who did not accept him in the newly founded family. Salum therefore moved to Unguja Island [commonly known as Zanzibar] with his grandfather and started primary school there. When his grandfather passed away in 1988, Salum was brought to Dar es Salaam to stay with his uncle in Keko Mwanga, since he was still too young to live on his own.

After finishing primary school, he struggled to make his own living. With the help of his uncle he found a job at a small restaurant but soon decided to quit due to the inadequate pay. A friend introduced him to an Indian businessman who was selling electric spare parts in the city centre. After a few years of working there, Salum had saved enough money to move out of his uncle's place and to pay the six-month-installment to rent a room. He found a room to rent close by. When his mother, a widow for the second time, suddenly joined him in Dar es Salaam, Salum decided to leave his job and to engage in his own business to cover the additional household expenses. His landlady came up with the idea of selling fried fish. Ever since, Salum has been going to the fish market at noon to buy fish, which he then fries and sells in Keko Mwanga. His income from this business has steadily increased over the past 15 years, largely thanks to his reputation. Other interviewees acknowledged that he sells the best fried fish in the neighborhood.

In 2000, he married and moved to another rental accommodation in Keko Mwanga, where he rented two rooms in order to have sufficient space for his mother and his growing family. There they stayed for ten years. Concurrently, he intended to build his own house and started to look for a suitable plot. Housing supply in Keko was narrow. Salum asked around for a plot to buy and was recommended to go to Mbagala [a peri-urban area around 15 km from the CBD]. He went to Mbagala and asked around for someone to sell a plot. He was shown two alternatives, of which he chose the cheaper one. He finally bought the plot in 2004. Afterwards Salum started to construct his house step by step, whenever he was able to do so. In addition to saving parts of his income in a savings box (*kibubu*), Salum

joined an informal *Upatu* saving group with 13 other male friends from Keko, each of whom contributed 20,000 TSh per week (around nine Euro).

Unlike most other homeowners, Salum waited for the six rooms to be completed before moving into his own house. His decision was based on twin factors: first because he wanted to wait until the house was complete, and second because his business was based in the inner-city and Keko. A few months before moving to Mbagala, Salum expressed considerable anxiety about the future of his business. He planned to continue selling fried fish in Keko, since his income of about 5,000-20,000 TSh per day (between 2 and 10 Euro) was relatively reliable and good. At the time, he wanted to set up a similar business at Mbagala. However, the low number of customers there prevented him from realizing these plans. He has currently postponed his business plans until better circumstances arise. In 2011, he finally moved to his own house with his wife, mother and four of his five children, mainly to save on rental expenditures. One of the five children, who had already started to attend primary school in the city, was to stay with a relative until graduation in order to avoid traveling costs and avoid disturbance in her education.

Presently, he hopes to save enough capital to buy a motorbike which would ease his daily movement from Mbagala to the fish market, to Keko and back home to Mbagala. In 2013, he also started to operate a mini-shop with one of his relatives in Keko. Although most of his friends of the *Upatu* savings group had moved to other places in the city in the meantime, the savings group still exists. One member was appointed as the organizer and treasurer and is now responsible for visiting every participant at home, at work or at his own place once a week to collect the money.

Just about one kilometer away from Salum's former home and persistent sales market in Keko, is Faridi's home area, called Kurasini. The spatial surrounding is quite similar. Kurasini is more affected by harbor-related impacts. Due to lack of information, many inhabitants have to wait-and-see.

Faridi's relocations and sojourns

Faridi was born in Dar es Salaam in 1977. After Faridi's parents got divorced when he was about six years old, he moved from Kurasini Shimo la Udongo to near Kurasini Zamcargu with his father, who had built a house there. After failing to pass form four at secondary school, Faridi searched for employment. Since Zamcargu is located next to the port area and the container terminals, he started to work as a day-worker there. When he had earned enough money, he decided to become independent and to move to a rental room in the direct neighborhood. Briefly afterwards Faridi had saved enough money to buy a small part of his father's plot, where he started to build his house step by step. He moved in soon after he finished a basic one-room unit in order to avoid rent expenditures. Within five years, he had extended and improved the house.

In addition to occasional jobs, Faridi has engaged in a rather common business since the late 1990s: Together with friends from Zamcargu, he buys excess diesel from the lorry drivers at the port area, which he stores in plastic bottles and which he re-sells. In 2001 Faridi got married. At that time, he heard that the government planned to demolish large areas of Kurasini in order to provide space for the expansion of the harbor. He realized that prices for land were increasing over time and apprehended negative impacts of the eviction program. He decided to act early and bought a plot on the opposite side of the Kurasini creek in Vijibweni, on the Kigamboni peninsula. Despite its prime location and the proximity to the city center, Kigamboni had largely retained its village character due to its limited physical accessibility.⁹ Therefore land was still relatively cheap compared to the urban fringe. When government officials finally approached the people

⁹ The lack of transportation is one reason for the isolated development of Kigamboni. The peninsula is only accessible via the official Kivukoni Ferry, an informal boat transfer and 40 kilometers loop way via Mbagala (see fig. 2). A bridge connecting Kigamboni directly with the city center of Dar es Salaam is currently under construction as part of an ambitious urban development project. Further governmental projects want to set up a New City in Kigamboni in near future.

of Zamcargo in 2006, it became evident that the demolition would indeed be realized. Although many residents were afraid and also upset with the government's move, in the end they hardly put up any resistance.

His house in Vijibweni, which he finished by using the compensation payment from the government, was of considerable size and quality. It was connected to the water supply and it was possible for Faridi to rent out rooms for residential and commercial purposes. He is "very grateful to the Almighty God, that he has accomplished this" (*Namshukuru Mwenyezi Mungu sana kwa kufika hapa.*). [when?] But it was not always that easy. In the first months after their relocation to Vijibweni, Faridi and his family felt as if they were in an alien environment (*tulikaa ugeni*), where they had no friends. According to Faridi it is difficult to establish social networks at a new location, though they are enormously important in terms of providing security (*usalama*), helping to adapt to the new environment (*kuzoea mazingira*) and providing mutual support (*kusaidiana*).

Faridi was fortunate that many of his former neighbors continued with their income-generating activities at Zamcargo, as he did, even though they were now widely dispersed, living inter alia at the southern urban fringe, on Kigamboni peninsula or in the remaining neighborhoods of Kurasini and Keko. Thus, he was able to maintain his close ties with many of them. After some time he also established friendships with his new neighbors in Vijibweni. He is planning to stay there or in case of repeated eviction he would move back close to his relatives again. He is waiting with further decisions and investments due to the New Kigamboni project.

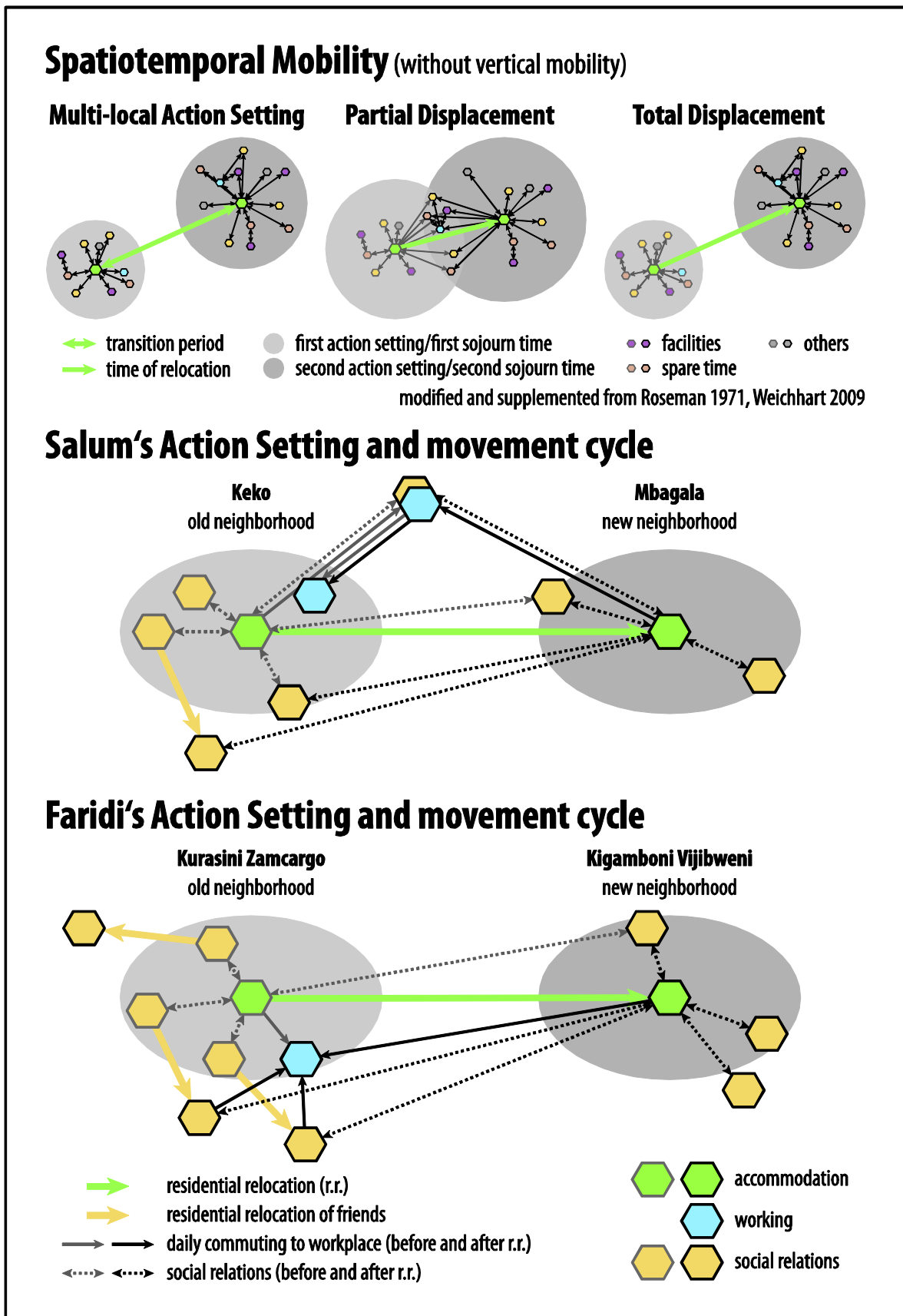


Figure 2

Discussion of Adjourning Action Settings

The case studies exemplify the triad of action settings. Specific regular activities match with specific individuals or groups at one milieu. The functional utilization will be discussed with a focus on space and social relations. The discussion is structured by the basic functions of housing, work and enterprises (including formation), as well as infrastructure and market facilities. Finally, spare time and recreation activities as well as a future outlook are discussed.

Housing

The decision about where and how to access housing is influenced by social relations. The acceptable range at choice is reduced by perceptions of adequate living conditions (see Fein 2009 for the discussion on affordable and adequate housing) but also by socially- tuned options. Both Salum and Faridi migrated during childhood and adolescence depending on their parents' decisions. Later they lived under relatives' supervision in the grandfather's or uncle's households respectively. After achieving financial independence, the young adults opted for more personal independence by moving from shared accommodation to rental housing. Significantly, both rented in the same neighborhood where they had lived with their relatives. Relocations are often triggered by a change in household composition (family's function or incident), like the case of Salum indicates. Multiple, subsequent moves into other rental units in the same neighborhoods are quite common. While in aforesaid cases the individuals moved about five times (see fig. 1), others had nine dwelling places in the last decade within the area of Keko. For a quantitative sample of 158 informal dwellers in Dar es Salaam, many of them relocated within the very same ward¹⁰. Next time Faridi wants to move closer to his relatives. The official redevelopment plans for Kigamboni peninsula might prompt such a move sooner or later.

¹⁰ See Rudić's data.

Even after forced evictions, most interviewees tried not to move to distant locations but to resettle in a walking distance. The most often named areas to look for new housing places from Kurasini inhabitants is Keko or Mbagala. Salum and Faridi both moved within the same ward several times (see fig. 1). In other cases evicted tenants moved within Kurasini area, foreseeing sojourn until demolishment and repetitive resettlement.¹¹

A very common objective among urban Tanzanians is to move into homeownership. This is contrary to the housing market in Nairobi, where renting is more common (Rakodi 1992; Huchzermeyer 2011). For a household's decision to invest in housing and business space the temporal outlook is pivotal (Lohnert 2007; Sheuya 2007; Gärber 2013). However, there is a lack of centrally located, buildable land in Dar es Salaam. Hence, plots in larger distances are accepted to acquire property ownership. On the lookout for plots for sale, social relations are important to gather information, or even for buying. Access to vacant land is sometimes provided by friends or relatives from the extended family (in Faridi's case by his father). Social networks are used to get in contact with landlords and vendors as institutions like newspaper advertisements are not common. Social relations are not only important for accessing information, but also as advisors for decisions, as many interviewees explained in their narration.

Moving to new neighborhoods invokes feelings of alienation; it takes time to adapt and to become familiar with the new environment. In an alien environment, it is quite difficult to establish social networks, as Faridi explained. Recommendations encourage attempting new places like in Salum's search for a new place to stay. Social relations matter not only in the information-gathering and decision-making process (confirming results from Roseman 1971: 593f) but also for arriving and adjusting at the new place of residence. Sometimes visiting dispersed living people helps to become familiar with unknown areas. Information networks and social

¹¹ See Koch's data.

contacts are important for security, adaptation to environment and mutual support, as Faridi emphasized. "Within cities the spatial bias of information is heavily influenced by mental images which are likely to take a wedge-shaped form with the apex at the Central Business District" (Roseman 1971: 593 citing Adams 1969). For the rental, plot and housing market that means, that relocations will not soothe the market as long as no additional space is offered nearby or distant possibilities are made public.

The tendency to move short distances only can be interpreted in various ways. Reasons for the self-limitation are either economic constraints or socio-cultural concerns. "Migrating shorter distances incurs lower costs, an observation which has led some to argue that poor people tend to engage more in short distance (internal) migration." (Siddiqui 2012: 11) But there are exceptions. Expenses for plot and housing are not notably cheaper in the cases when people move within Keko and Kurasini as if they move to peri-urban areas¹². Furthermore, economic interpretations neglect higher travel expenses for face-to-face interaction and social costs at longer migration distances as well as loss of time due to overcrowded means of transport or traffic jams. A summarized socio-cultural interpretation is such: the spatial extent of a social network largely determines which places are known or unknown, familiar or alien, considered or rejected. In addition to spatial effects of social relations (relocations favored in vicinity), there is a temporal bias of social communication. Mental maps presume earlier experiences (e.g. when visiting friends at dispersed places), but also affect later moments (doubts, prejudices and fears). Hence, Salum postponed his relocation because of fears until his house was completely finished, whereas it is common to move into the first room while still building the other rooms step-by-step. This adjournment led to longer sojourns in the previous place. Analyzing the activity space of further daily and weekly actions explains the hesitation and the narrow options for housing location (Roseman 1971:

¹² See Rudić's data.

593). Housing is combined with aspects of working as well as supply and delivery facilities. This is examined after a brief paragraph about education.

Furthermore, education is an activity closely connected to housing. Primary school is usually attended in the nearby neighborhood. For secondary school, if the parents are able to afford it, pupils often take a minibus to a particular school or stay in a boarding school. As has been shown, during school years, Salum stayed at his grandfather's and uncle's households. In Tanzania, it is a common strategy to send children to extended family members for schooling. Some have to work as housemaids during that time. Minors' daily and weekly activity space is therefore somewhere else than the parental home – a special case of multi-local living. Adult education is either training on the job, often by means of watching an experienced friend's behavior, or at the Regional Vocational Training Centre 'VETA' at Keko.¹³ In the interviews, adults emphasize activities of work more than education.

Work and enterprises

Income in African urban areas is often generated at or close to home. Around Kurasini international harbor, there are job opportunities at the port facilities as well as at small shops and restaurants where workers stay during lunch break. Others try their luck as hawkers or casual laborers. So did Faridi (hexagon at the harbor near the coastline in fig. 1). Before starting his own business, Salum worked in a small restaurant. Later he worked as salesperson for spare parts, as there are many in Kariakoo. Up to now he works as a self-employed fish trader, buying fish at the market in Kivukoni and selling it in Keko. Every time he got the job 'by pulling social strings'. Once a relative established the business link, another time it was Salum's friend. The business idea of reselling fish was suggested by his landlady.

¹³ See Koch' data.

Many interviewees refer to social contacts and advisors, when looking for a new accommodation, a new job or a saving and credit group to join.¹⁴

Women often start home-based micro enterprises. Frequently mentioned are working activities of liquid soap-making in congested areas and raising chicken in more peri-urban areas. Sometimes businesswomen rent a second room (that was previously used for living) to keep chicken. Tenants rely on the consent of their landlords. If tenants want to start an informal corner shop (or a small *frame* in a room behind a metal-grilled window), they often bear the costs of the investment themselves. Sometimes tenants pay for extensions of buildings and the landlord renounces rental payment in reverse (Sheuya 2007). For plot owners renting out a room is a possibility for additional income generation at the home-place. Manifold, mutual economic interdependences between landlords and tenants are very common in Tanzania (see Sheuya 2004; 2007).

Informal and illegal businesses depend more on social relations than formal enterprises operating within an institutionalized framework. Transaction costs due to legal risks are higher. Dealing with fuel, as Faridi and his friends do, is illegal. Without prior social relations and mutual trust their business would be impossible. Also the milieu must be known. Social relations were a prerequisite for their income activities (see overlapping hexagons in fig. 1).

The job opportunities are medium-termed or in the long-run spatially bonded either to the city center (with the central market), or to an employer (at the harbor), or to a plot (building investments of landlords and tenants). After residential relocation, therefore, income generating activities are often continued to be carried out at the former location (see fig. 2). Moreover, work is socially bonded. Cooperation partners (like Faridi's friends) gather at the established place in Kurasini. Salum's customers sojourn in Keko.

¹⁴ See Koch's data.

Hence, he continued business activities there after his relocation. Settings, actors' acts are therefore bonded at one place as his case illustrated. The milieu is relevant for enterprises (Weichhart 2004: 47). For Salum's enterprise, profitable action is only possible at the well-known marketplace. Both persist with their activities as they depend on involved actors. For more than 15 years, Salum built-up and established his business in the area. His reputation is acknowledged in the neighborhood. Reputation and market position constitute his action setting and are valuable, intangible assets of his enterprise. This is especially the case, if businesspeople need to know their customers very well, because they might ask to purchase on credit.¹⁵ Without "cultivated" (see Weichhart 2004: 47) social networks and places, preserving customers and merchants is difficult.

To start and establish a business at a new, unfamiliar place is a difficult obstacle – not only while implementation but already in planning. After eviction, Faridi adjusted slowly to the new location, concentrating on water vending primarily as an economic activity at the new residential location while continuing with his long-established business. Salum made provisions for a shop, but adjourned to open it. He did not use the time of sojourn at the former place to arrange for a new business at the new place. On the contrary, he expanded his activities at the old location. But the daily journey from his new accommodation to the central fish market and to his old neighborhood and back home again is cost-intensive and time-consuming.

High transition costs, which in Dar es Salaam particularly do not just include costs for transportation, but rather the time involved in traffic, are a huge problem. A 20-minute bus ride may take up to 2 or 3 hours, especially in the rainy season or during rush hours. Salum and many peri-urban residents desire to become independent from public transport by purchasing a motorbike. It often is the cheapest motorized option, but still

¹⁵ See Koch's and Rudić's data.

expensive: in 2010 it started from 1 million TSh. This individual strategy is inaccessible for many poorer inhabitants.

Salum decided to adjourn opening of a business at Mbagala, while others don't even have a choice to do so. This dilemma, when people are forced to move in the future while being dependent on a spatially bounded business activity, becomes obvious in the additional case of Fatuma. Fatuma lives in Kurasini. She rents a small room of a typical Swahili house. Her daily movement cycle had been from her home with the bus to Kivukoni fish market. She used to sell the fish on the same day as a hawker in her neighborhood nearby. The daily business risk had been that she had bought not enough or too much fish. Few years ago she took a loan at *Tanzania Women Bank*. With the money she had bought a used fridge, as she was advised by a friend. She opted to only sell fish from home and people started to come to her place to ask for fish. Often customers come last-minute to buy fresh fish, because they have perhaps received unexpected guests. Owning a fridge, she is able to extend her "business times" and offer fish any time. She never has to announce sellout.¹⁶ As she has to be present at home all times, she started an additional business with crochet work that she can manage from home. To live at another place is no option for Fatuma, even with a motorcycle, which she cannot afford. Anyhow she would leave behind her customers in Kurasini. At the new place nobody would know her tiny, informal, hidden enterprise. Fatuma's narration shows, that some informal business is not only spatial but also temporally bounded. Her unique selling proposition is her presence the whole day, especially when shops are closed. She has to sojourn at her home-based business action setting.

Another example is Evans.¹⁶ He made it from a day-worker at the harbor to an employee and self-employed person. He is politically involved, renowned and (re)elected as community leader. He started living in an

¹⁶ See Koch's data.

untilled area long ago, invested within Kurasini and stayed there, despite his vertical mobility during life. Over time, he had built up a brick-walled house with some rooms to rent out to tenants. He sojourned until his house was demolished. Then he moved to Vijibweni like Faridi. Evans invested in the informal area of Kurasini while Keko was already better developed. He wanted to stay really close to his working place at the harbor. Earlier than others (due to his political engagement), he was informed about the harbor extension plans, but still he invested in his house in the informal area. Later he got a high compensation for his well-maintained house and moved to Kigamboni peninsular. There he bought again a plot and house in an informal area, being aware of financeable formal alternatives. Hence, it is indefinite how long he will sojourn. His sojourn strategy might explain the variety of housing quality within informal areas in Dar es Salaam.

Infrastructure and Market Facilities

Facilities encompass a large field of activities including sourcing, distribution and outlet of private and business goods and services. It is difficult to distinguish household and business activities in informal settings like the described ones. These activities are often dependent on access to infrastructure like transportation and communication means or market places. Technical aspects of infrastructure (like water and energy supply) in informal areas are analyzed elsewhere (e.g. Kreibich et al. 2008). Land utilization changes with distance from the urban center (ibid. et al.).

As has been shown in the paragraph before, road links and public transportation are not only vital for work and enterprises but for private social networks too. The presence of transportation facilities influences action settings and activity space. This is obvious in the case of Faridi. He moved from Kurasini to Vijibweni. The road link via Mbagala takes a loop of 40 kilometers. To use the official ferry connection between Kivukoni and Kigamboni is also time-consuming. Nevertheless, Faridi manages to maintain activity spaces on both sides of the harbor creek only because of

the informal ferry system connecting Kurasini with Vijibweni. Many commuters eat in Kurasini before they cross over directly to Vijibweni in an informal ferry. Faridi came in contact with people from Vijibweni on the Kurasini side. But still supply with everyday goods is limited on the peninsula and commodity goods are purchased in Kurasini or on the way home. The lower population density affects narrow supply and for new business activities less demand compared to dense, informal areas. In Vijibweni facilities are poor. Thus Faridi maintains his activity space (including work, domestic purchasing, and social contacts) at the former place of residence, which was completely demolished. Investments might be postponed or completely abandoned mainly because of information-lags, legal insecurity and possible evictions from Kigamboni area.

Other Zamcargo evictees reported that they had tried to establish the same or another business at their new residential locations, where they had few friends or relatives, but there they were not familiar with the neighborhood. Most of these interviewees mentioned that their businesses failed at the new locations as the reason for coming back to Zamcargo every day.¹⁷ Market demand was too low.

The decision on commuting daily or not is influenced by transport means and costs. Travel costs and “transport constraints are the major limiting factor to social interaction” (Omiunu 1991: 191 for Lagos). Costs are one reason, that friends are mostly visited in the near circuit. Another reason why “trips made to friends rarely went beyond 8 km of the resident’s home” (Omiunu 1991: 191) is that relocations are done on short distance only, as in the cases above. In this manner, longer travels to maintain social relations are avoided.

Financial services are another form of supply important for households. Financial sourcing is often done through informal and formal credit groups.

¹⁷ See Rudić’s data.

Salum is participating in an informal *Upatu* group. The treasurer meets all members every week to collect the payments. Therefore, he comes to their homes, they meet at work or he receives them at his own place. Despite the fact that all members of Salum's saving and credit group moved to diverse places, they maintain the *Upatu*. Usually they still meet in Keko.

In addition, relocations cause problems of affinity, as another case revealed. Mariam is member of a Federation group in Keko. Every Federation member committed herself to save regularly.¹⁸ Therefore, all members are allowed to take a loan from the common fund. All Federation groups are linked-up in an umbrella organization that is additionally supported by a NGO (Koch/Rudić 2012). With the help of the Federation, Mariam received a microcredit to build a house at the Southern urban fringe. At the new residential location there is another active Federation group. In the group meeting, Mariam enquired regarding the group she could join as a member in the future, because visiting both group meetings would consume double the amount of time. In order to reach the group meetings of her old Federation group in Keko, she has to take two buses. During two group meetings, the members of the former saving and credit group discussed lengthily, if Mariam is allowed to change the group or if she is supposed to stay in the former group. Some members reminded her that she had committed herself to the group in Keko. The group came to no conclusion and adjourned the decision. Mariam still attends their meetings, despite the cost of transportation and the losses incurred due to waste of time. There are affiliations that are maintained voluntarily and others that force persons to stay. In both cases, social networks have to be considered before a household will decide on relocation. Social obligations, endorsement and assistance are relevant to spatial changes. Considering this causes further adjournments, because social relations often prove to be beneficial only with temporal delay. Some Federation members therefore pursue a strategy to

¹⁸ Most Federation members are women, as it is in most saving and credit groups. Often savers maintain relations or accounts at institutions still after they moved to other places (see Koch's data).

explore options. They engage or invest in a plot outside of town to establish the option of resettling there after retirement. They know and tell stories about their neighbors, while visiting the plots at the urban fringe. While sojourning at the present action settings, they already explore the milieu at the new place.

Mariam's case shows that sometimes not all site advantages and incentives ("Standortofferten"; Weichhart 2014) can be utilized. Place utility is "the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some position in space" (Wolpert 1965: 165, cited in Popp 1976: 300). Mariam has to decide which group relations she wants to maintain. Due to overlaps, the benefit of multi-local living cannot be figured as utility sum function, but as marginal benefit of an additional activity setting (or marginal benefit of multi-local living). Overlapping costs of multi-locality arise twice at both housing areas, while overlapping incentives can only be used once e.g. due to time restrictions. Sometimes multiple supply even constrains decisions and conflicts (e.g. in the case of Mariam). Costs are incurred for transition, additional housing, logistics or psychic burdens (stress temporal separation from friends and family; cf. Weichhart 2014). While a material perspective can only compare quantities of supply, a qualitative approach can consider better, which incentives are converted into benefits.

Recreation activities

Residents of informal areas hardly leave their neighborhoods for recreational activities, as informal talks revealed. This is certainly also a matter of money (as any leisure activity raises at least opportunity costs), but also depending on cultural aspects and habits. Firstly, the residence is the place for recreation and most intimate social relations (Weichhart 2009: 4). Secondly, activity space for recreation can materialize in the neighborhood. There are numerous bars, small restaurants, and public TVs in the informal settlements, especially in central locations like Keko. Most

activities associated with spare time or recreation can be carried out in any other informal settlement as well. However, there are clearly fewer possibilities at the new, peripheral residential locations of Mbagala and Vijibweni. Salum and Faridi still pursue recreational activities at their former neighborhoods to some extent. This depends less on facilities but more on people who 'linger' there. The decision on action settings is not only influenced by structure and activity (e.g. to buy and drink soda is possible anywhere in Dar es Salaam), but also by particular social relations at a particular place. The triad of acts and actors within a milieu is only given in familiar, established action settings.

Besides structures of the activity space (places where people actually have been), the perception of space is fundamental (Höllhuber 1982: 27ff). It has not been considered necessary to inspect the activity spaces (whereas some interviewees were accompanied in particular activities), because efficacious is the polarizing, mental distinction of internal and external. Internal is perceived familiar, trustworthy, and nearby; while external has a negative connotation of unfamiliar, alien, and remote (Höllhuber 1982: 33ff). Faridi described the new environment explicitly as 'alien'. Nevertheless, narrow movement cycles limit the space that is in mind and is at choice. In the cases of this study, the movement cycle is narrow, and so is the range of options. It is noteworthy, that many residents of Dar es Salaam don't know many wards away from their home. Some have never been to the nearby beach or even stated that they never saw the sea.

Future outlook

Current households' decisions are not only influenced by their members' experiences (and memories) of prior activities as shown here but also by plans for their future (and aspirations). For instance, the outlook of secured housing influences the willingness to stay and invest (Lohnert 2007: 41). The long-term outlook is pictured here briefly, as the focus of our studies was retrospective, based on narrative and biographic methods. Furthermore, today's intentions might change over time and will not be put into action. As long as rural-urban-migration is the main direction in the course of life, it is more likely that migrants would return to rural areas again – as Krüger (2006: 230) showed for Botswana. On the one hand, there are cases of subsequent planned urban-rural migration that could be interpreted as circulation *ex post*. On the other hand, urban citizens owning a plot in the peri-urban area are probably more likely to stay within the municipality of Temeke. Faridi, Evans and Mariam expressed their future outlook like that. This is even more likely when their social networks are interwoven more in urban networks. For the middle-class cases of Nairobi, aged urban inhabitants tend to move into rural areas after retirement (Dellantonio 2005). On the contrary Potts showed for Harare that by “2001 only 13 per cent felt sure they could or would stay in town, compared to about one third in the 1980s” (Potts 2013: 10).¹⁹ For Dar es Salaam, interviewees did not name agglomeration disadvantages as a motivation for migration to rural areas, but for expected intra-urban migration into the peri-urban fringe. Some, like Salum, already bought a vacant plot there. Others don't see an advantage (but a step-backwards) returning to their families' rural home area. Even if plans might change later on, intentions already influence the strategy to persist or sojourn. Awareness of migration trajectories and future outlook can change the point of view and bias the valuation of sojourns on the time bar. This could be enlightening and essential for urban planning.

¹⁹ Findings from Zimbabwe and Botswana are difficult to compare with other regions, as i.a. the socio-economic, historico-political and spatio-temporal background is vital.

Conclusion

Intra-urban migrants maintain spatio-temporal linkages at previous places. Although residential relocations are frequent in Dar es Salaam, people maintain action settings at former places. Therefore, migration is not a closed motion but a prolonged process (Dellantonio 2005: 4f. referring to Apitsch 2003: 66), which is inconclusive to classify. The main cases presented here are described as forms of partial mobility. This seems to be a common strategy in Dar es Salaam. However, especially in Faridi's case, there is a second gravity center of living apart from his actual residence. For Salum, it is obvious that he cannot transfer his business relations to his new housing area, while Fatuma even cannot operate her business from another residence. The milieu is vital. For home-based enterprises the business' milieu is the accommodation. If Salum starts new business activities at his new residential location, he becomes a multi-local businessman. He adjourns this as well as he postponed his residential relocation. Infrastructure and market facilities influence his decision.

The assumption that the gravity center of weekly movements changes following a residential relocation (Roseman 1971: 590) can be questioned in the urban African context. Former action settings are maintained on weekly and even on a per diem basis. At least in the transition stage, activities at the former place of residence are emphasized, while relations at the new residence are not incisive. The center of some activities can even persist without a built place or fixed house (e.g. Salum's saving group, Faridi's gathering with former neighbors). Social and spatial knots are maintained in the medium term.

Multi-locality and partial mobility can be classified either as a subtype of migration or as a transitional type between sojourn and relocation (*sensu stricto* sedentarism and mobility). The more meaningful the multi-local strategy is for the actors, the more it must be considered socially, economically and for planning reasons (Weichhart 2009: 7). One evidence

therefore is the long time-span transition takes and action settings that are not abandoned. Another one is the economic, temporal and spatial effort (e.g. for transport) actors endure to maintain action settings. Moreover, the existential, emotional and cognitive importance of a multi-local strategy is emphasized by interviewees themselves. Historical and international examples show that multi-local ways of living bear importance. Maintaining ties during partial mobility is a livelihood strategy of social and spatial diversification. Multi-locality and partial mobility can be one coping strategy to achieve resilience in a vulnerable setting (cf. Maeder/Duchêne-Lacroix 2013).

Immaterial aspects like social relations, information and symbolic capital play a vital role in intra-urban mobility in African cities. They influence households' decisions in all stages of migration. Nevertheless, economic approaches e.g. trying to calculate the "expected net benefits from social interaction" (Omiunu 1991: 188) as equation, including travel and time cost, neither explain subjective preferences nor consider an uncertain future outlook and/or a possible need of diversification of sources of supply and disposition of households and enterprises. Considering migration trajectories is vital. Social relations provide access to housing, income-generation, service provision and facilities as well as recreation. Advices e.g. where to stay are highly appreciated. For rural-urban-migrants, earlier migrants offer shelter, food and information about urban life (Dellantoni 2005: 12). For urban-urban-migrants, information and symbolic capital is more important than physical assets to arrive at the new destination. "One of the reasons why the migrants are drawn [or withdrawn] to certain destinations in particular is the available social capital and support networks there" (Siddiqui 2012: 11).

Settings and movement cycles are often based on social relations. Social relations (actors and acts) increase access to settings that are beneficial for livelihoods. Narrow movement cycles co-occur with narrow action settings. Households' networks in the African context cannot be separated from

business' ones. If relations and movement cycles are narrow, additional options (e.g. corridor of migration) are not considered. Daily and weekly movement cycles bias biographic sojourns.

Intra-urban mobility will become more important in future. There are increasingly more migrants and second-generation citizens due to demographic changes. Whether they feel like living displaced in two worlds, as rural-urban migrants do (Krüger 2006), can still only be answered with ambivalence. There are obvious similarities between rural-urban linkages and intra-urban migration. For "those who can successfully preserve ties to their [...] [former action setting] and make use of back-up resources, being displaced stands for having the means to survive. The fact that linkages are kept up over decades, that there are regular movement cycles between town and country [more general: between diverse settings], and that [...] [former] assets are valued both in monetary and social terms all stress the point that any disruption of these [...] interactions may easily become a severe threat to many urban households" (Krüger 2006: 242).

The action setting approach reveals the complexity of migration processes. Various functions of households and enterprises are affected by relocation. They are influenced spatio-temporally. They are spatially bonded. They are mirrored in temporal strategies of persistency and sojourn. Whilst maintaining action settings is a common strategy of urban inhabitants, they are insufficiently recognized in relocation and resettlement policies. The categories emphasized by the interviewees in Dar es Salaam fit with the functions used in the action setting approach. Thus, this approach can be useful to plan urban settlement programs and to understand relocation decisions. Further research on action settings and migration trajectories is needed. A quantitative study on the correlation between place of birth (rural versus urban birth), duration of stay within city, intensity of urban-rural-networks and the future plans of migration could be enlightening.

The theoretical implication of the findings is the integration of spatio-temporal aspects in approaches analyzing migration. Decisions about what aspects to maintain while and after migration are influenced by migration trajectories. Flow charts of the decision process on migration emphasize three central topics: target-performance comparison, budget-cost comparison, preparation for the actual relocation (cf. Popp 1976). This perspective overlooks additional temporal aspects: timescale of relocation, maintenance of particular action settings at the place of former residence, and adjourns of the decision.

The findings also question the cartographic category of 'informal area'. The informal area in the case studies are not mono-functional settlements (like suburbs for sleeping only) but a place of various action settings. These action settings are deeply entangled with social relations and are spatially bonded. The action setting approach reveals this and emphasizes that milieu (including the material facilities), actors and acts must chime together in an established harmony.

Consequently, there are several implications for urban planning and resettlement projects. Relocation of informal settlers must consider temporal and spatial entanglements instead of a sole accentuation of material assets. Especially satellite towns, as they are prevalent in current urban outlooks, should be audited, to see which functions they supply and if they are valid and accessible for residents' activities. The action settings approach can be helpful for this matter as well as for infrastructure planning. Adjournments of intra-urban mobility can be qualitatively examined. Maintaining social and spatial ties is a valid, urban livelihood strategy. Nevertheless, this can cause adjournments of intra-urban mobility.

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