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Urban Citizenship

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The process of urbanization is increasing globally. Tanzania is no exception. Between 2010 and 2020, Tanzania's urban population increased from 28.11% to 35.23% (see **Figure 22**). Overall, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa experience high rates of **urbanization due to in-migration** and the naturally growing urban population (OECD 2017). In-migration can be defined as migration from rural areas into the urban centers within one country (Wenban-Smith 2014). One distinctive feature of 'southern urbanization' is that countries of the Global South mostly experience urban primacy. This describes the phenomenon of the urban population living mainly in the biggest city of a country, often the capital or a city with a major port (Betrinell & Black

2002: 2). Henderson (2000) argues that the degree of urban concentration influences economic growth within this prime city. This means that too much or too little concentration affects economic growth negatively (Henderson 2000), because "once cities become too big, congestion costs can cause a decline in economic growth" (Christiaensen et al. 2016: 2). In the case of Dar es Salaam, the city grew dramatically over the last fifty years in both size and population. This increase was caused by in-migration (Wenban-Smith 2014). In general, urban primacy leads to investments focussing on the largest cities, because they show the most potential for economic growth. Some scholars discuss this direct economic response to

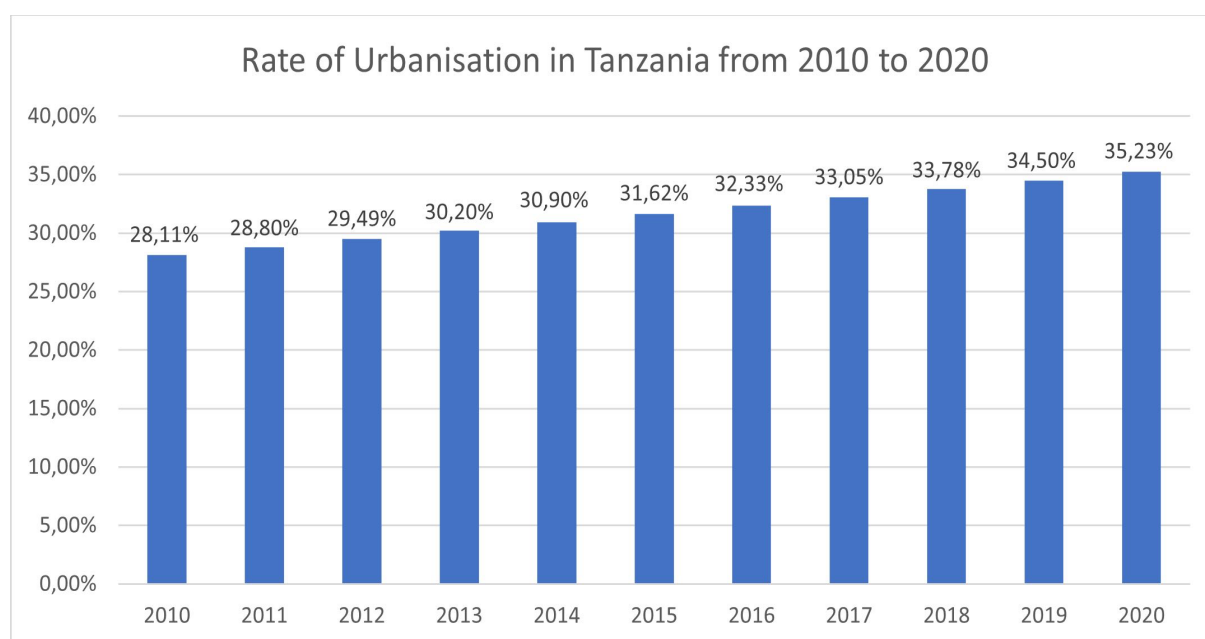


Figure 22: Tanzania - Urbanization from 2010 to 2020. Source: own design, data retrieved from Statista 2022

the trend of in-migration as a potential solution to poverty. Investors would, directly and indirectly, support the newly migrated inhabitants by investing in the sprawling city (Christiaensen et al. 2016: 2). However, this process often ends up only **being profitable for the wealthier population** and excludes most inhabitants. Another problem is that the idea of urban primacy can be misleading. In the case of Tanzania, small towns grew as much as Dar es Salaam through in-migration (ibid.).

To keep up with the conditions of the ongoing urbanization process, concepts concerning urban rights and well-being like 'citizenship' need to be redefined (DelSesto 2015: 2). The historical idea of citizenship – called conventional citizenship – conveys a passive understanding of citizenship because people receive their citizenship status by having a certain legal status which is documented (ibid.: 2). It is a clearly defined concept that decides who is legally regarded as inclusive or exclusive in a certain political setting and associated rights (Schillinger 2018: 18).

A legal citizen status secures certain citizens' basic living conditions. However, this long-standing conception cannot keep up with ongoing global processes like urbanization or increasing social inequalities (Brenner and Keil 2006). Instead, citizenship as a legal construct can increase inequalities by excluding certain groups from being legal citizens,

for example, migrants or ethnic minorities (Schillinger 2018). Holston and Appadurai (1996) point out that **the nation-state model of citizenship continues to disintegrate**. Conventional citizenship focuses on the question 'Who gets full citizenship?'. Access to rights and resources depends on one's status of citizenship. This creates a certain hierarchy of citizens connected to certain urban rights for each group (Landolt and Goldring 2015). Via this hierarchy welcomed and unwanted groups are created based on their citizenship status (Nyers and Rygel 2014: 201). Throughout modern history, there have always been struggles against the strict idea of citizenship. Examples are the French Revolution, the fight for women's rights, and the abolishment of slavery (Schillinger 2018: 18-19). Certainly, the context of **urbanization gives the concept of citizenship new dimensions**.

Urban citizenship can be understood as a process of inclusion that recreates the urban by producing new social and spatial structures and constituting a new inclusive public. The newly created space reflects the needs and lived realities of the urban inhabitants (DelSesto 2015: 3). Moreover, besides affiliation, which is connected to the status of citizenship, urban citizenship is about certain participation.

In my understanding, this participation can happen in the form of demonstrations (e.g. for women or gay rights), the further use of land that has been set aside for certain purposes (e.g. For the case of street vendors), or the creation of own spaces, where people are not marginalized and are seen as equal (Painter 2005, Malanga 2021). Through these actions, the affected citizens can draw the attention of the government to such unequal rights. In the best case, the government can change laws or regulations concerning these inequalities.

At this juncture, citizenship means full membership in society including cultural recognition, rights referring to economic involvement, workplace, or political participation, which can be summarized as rights to access (Painter 2005: 5).

“In a context of globalization, crisis of politics, ethno-racial diversification of urban areas, urban citizenship - as an alternative to nation-state citizenship- is founded on a revised relationship to urban spaces. Urban citizenship is foremost in public actions in less well-off neighborhoods. It lies in a dialectic relation between politics, individual or collective engagement and urban spaces, shifting the debate towards the active citizen’s territorial engagement” (Giband and Siino 2013, 644).

Scholars see a clear potential to recreate the livelihood possibilities of groups currently excluded from urban space. One example would be the scope of action of cities when it comes to migrants’ legal status: they can create legal status and access to rights for migrants within the city even if the national legal framework can differ (Schillinger 2018: 16). Pine describes urban citizenship as “an identity created by the interactions between heterogeneous elements of the modern city” (Pine 2010: 1104). Others see cities as places where state borders can be questioned or negotiated because city authorities have different possibilities of power within the city area. Shortly, the city creates a whole new field of action (Schillinger 2018: 15). Additionally, cities are seen as places of social diversity, therefore they are a place for the articulation of political agendas and identification processes (Blokland et al. 2015: 659). The use of the word urban does not primarily refer to the geographical area but to certain socio-political and institutional settings (Blokland et al. 2015: 655). Furthermore, the idea of urban citizenship focuses on situations where people enable themselves to organize and **stand up for their rights**. By doing so, they usually overcome the formal borders of conventional citizenship (Schillinger 2018: 21-22).

Materialisation of “Urban Citizenship” in Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam is Tanzania’s biggest city and counts as one of the fastest-growing cities on the African continent. The **increasing urbanization leads to inequalities** within the cities like Dar es Salaam. Because urban citizenship is about access and affiliation the concept can be projected onto different dimensions of urban life: (1) mobility, (2) informality, and (3) public space.

The first dimensions is **mobility**. Inhabitants of cities often have unequal access to public transport

depending on the location of their residential area and related financial resources. A present project is the Dar Rapid Transit (DART) project which introduces the globally used concept of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) to the infrastructure of Dar es Salaam. The city received the Sustainable Transport Award 2018 for this large-scale project (DART 2022). The main motivation behind the introduction of BRT was shorter transport times and a more efficient public system. Instead, the BRT prices are around 55% more expensive compared to daladala services (the local minibuses) (The Citizen 2019). Furthermore, one BRT Bus replaces 10 daladalas whereby no new jobs were created for the

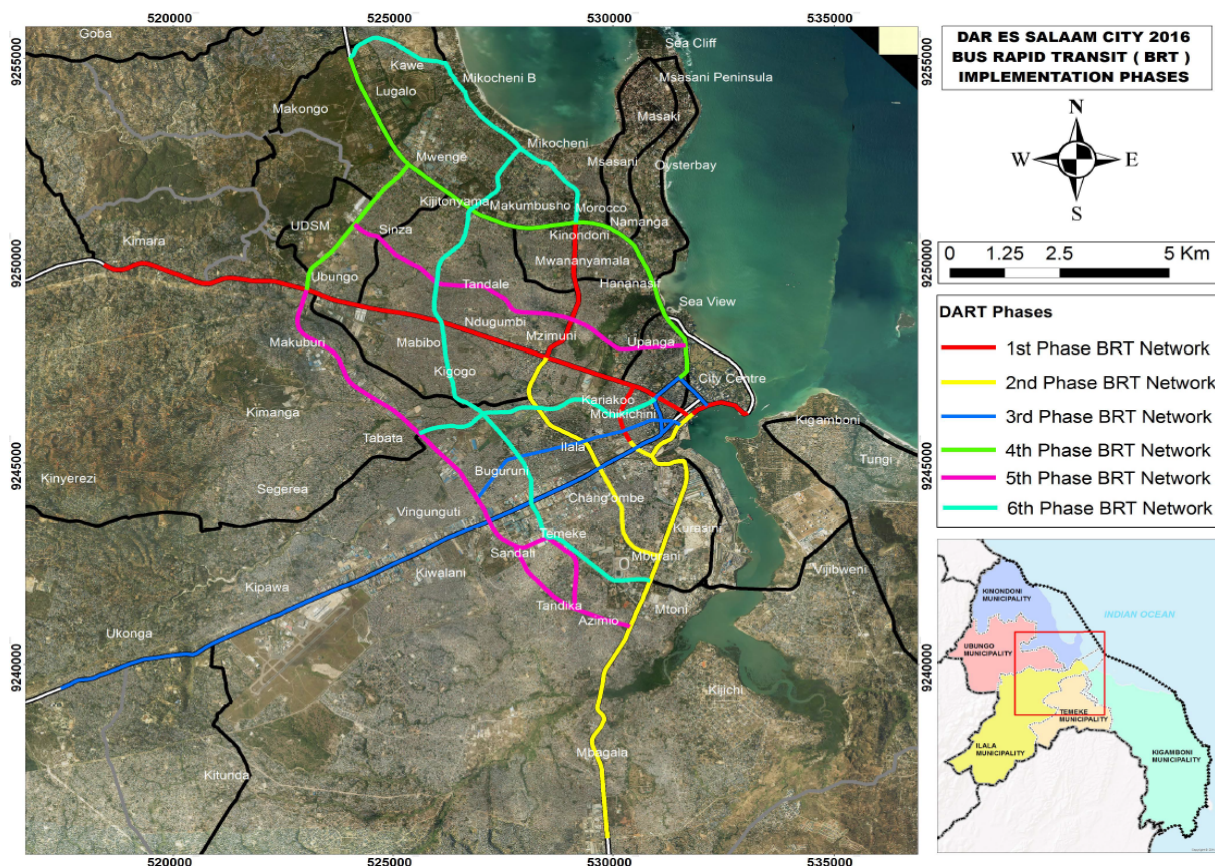


Figure 23: DART route network. Source: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development Tanzania 2016

daladala drivers (The Citizen 2019). Until now, only one bus line out of six has been finished. Phase 1 was constructed by an Austrian company and the buses were provided by a Chinese company (DART 2022).

The second dimension is **informality**. The activities of many urban citizens can be characterized as informal, meaning unplanned housing structures or economic activity without necessary license or formal recognition. In the context of the city of Dar es Salaam, the example of the street vendors is instructive. Officially, as soon as vendors can pay taxes, they receive their tax ID from the Tanzania Revenue Authority and get their business license. Current regulations force street vendors without official papers to leave bustling market areas in the city centre and sell their products in designated areas outside the city (George and Olan'g 2020). These designated areas do not provide adequate customer traffic.



Photo 21: Kariakoo market area.
Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/martjebakker/9725422636> (accessed on: 04.03.2022)

Therefore, the street vendors decide to stay inside the profitable city centre even though they are no longer officially allowed to sell their products there. Their business activity is described as informal but this is the entry point for business for poorer citizens. This has irritated the tax-paying vendors with fixed shops. They criticize this as unfair business competition because they must pay taxes while street vendors sell the same products for a smaller price (Malanga 2021). Pressure upon the government has been rising. In September 2021 the president requested local authorities to look for solutions and adequate areas for the street vendors (ibid.). The actual replacement was meant to occur in October 2021 but many street vendors decided to stay in Kariakoo (**cf. Photo 21**). One said “We are not ready to go anywhere. That’s why we removed our makeshift huts and lay our merchandise on the ground. By doing so, shop owners behind us can also get customers. But shifting from this location is unthinkable” (Ismail 2021).

The last dimension mentioned is **public space**. Because urban spaces are dominated by public spaces and access to certain spaces and associated rights are essential. Coco Beach is surrounded by low-density structures within a wealthy neighborhood (**cf. Photo 22**). The beach is described as a ‘beach for everyone’ but mainly for locals. Families spend their day at the beach, teenagers play soccer,

young adults meet for concerts, street vendors sell drinks and food can be bought at the market area. The beach is used economically and for spare time purposes (Karlsson and Maniette 2015: 42-44). Significant for the future development of this public space was the statement from Prime Minister Kassim Majaliwa in 2018 where he stated that Coco Beach should level up its safety measurements and should be used more economically. This economic usage aimed to attract more tourists and increase tourism activities on the Peninsula (The Citizen 2018b). Additionally, in February 2022 the Tanzanite Bridge was opened. This project was constructed in cooperation with the Tanzanian and the South Korean government. Connecting the city centre with the Msasani-Peninsula the bridge can be regarded as an upgrading process (Wambura 2022).



Photo 22: Coco Beach. Source: <http://kenankalagho.blogspot.com/2012/05/east-africa-may-day-on-indian-ocean.html>, (accessed on: 04.03.2022)

Script for the Excursion Day

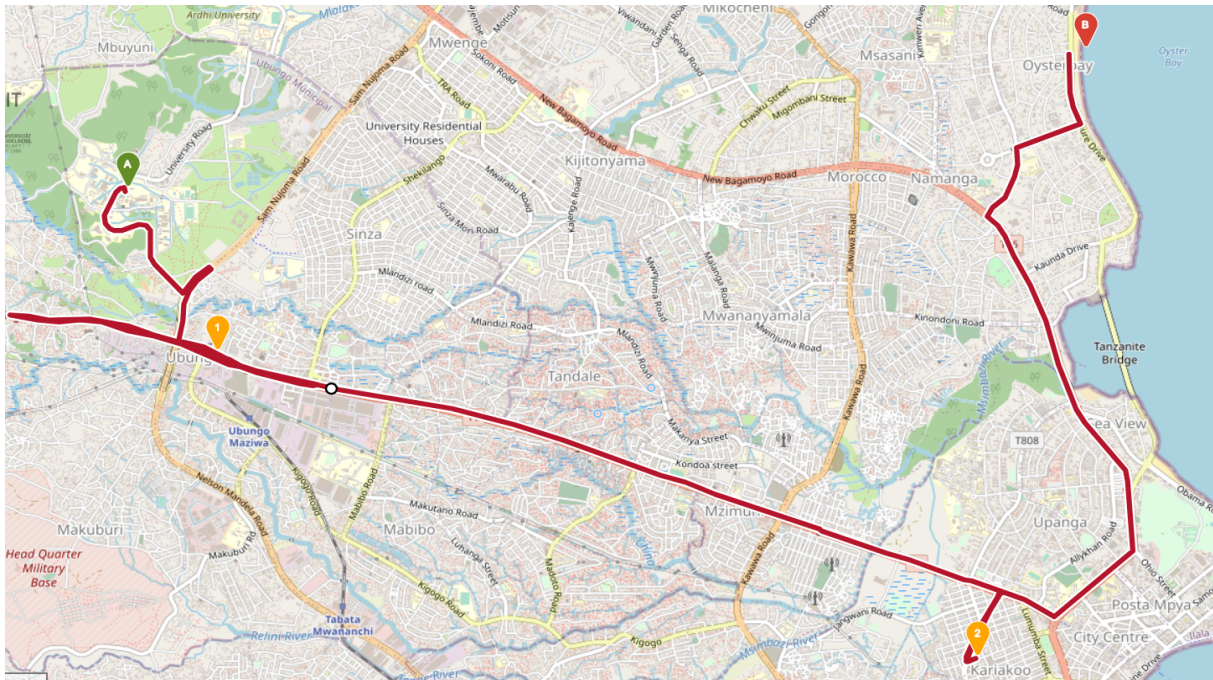


Figure 24: Study Trip Route. Source: Open Street Map (accessed on: 04.03.2022)

1st Part: University of Dar es Salaam/Department of Geography (8:00 am)

The day will start with presentations at the University of Dar es Salaam. Academics from the Department of Geography will introduce us to their work. Dr Msoka Colman will give us general input on the ongoing research on urban geography and urban transformations at the University. Additionally, some of his urban geography colleagues will give us short 5-minute presentations on their current research topics, including the Rights to the City activist and political science scholar Sabatho Nyamsenda. The Bayreuth students will have the chance to ask questions about the work of the Department of Geography.

2nd Part: Ubungo (10:00 am)

After a bus transfer from the University of Dar es Salaam to Ubungo we will take the only finished BRT line towards the city centre. Before jumping on the BRT bus, we will discuss the whole project DART and the positive and negative impacts that came along with it.

This will include discussing the delicate balance between urban mobility citizenship and urban housing citizenship.

3rd Part: Kariakoo (1:00 pm)

After our BRT experience, we will have a 1-hour lunch break and will then continue with the market activities in Kariakoo. The market area is situated near the city centre and is dominated by street vendors/Machinga even though they are formally not allowed to sell their products there. By law, the informal Machinga have designated areas outside the city centre. We will be guided by activist and academic Sabatho Nyamsenda and discuss the conflict of the informalisation of the Machinga.

4th Part: Coco Beach (3:00 pm)

The last stop will be reached by taking the minibus to transfer us from Kariakoo to Coco Beach on the Msasani-Peninsula. We will end the day by taking a beach walk along the public beach situated in a wealthy low-density neighborhood. While walking we will discuss the topic of public spaces and ongoing upgrading processes on the beach meant to attract an up-market clientele (including tourists).

Postscript for the Day of the Excursion on: Urban Citizenship

The day started with an introduction from Dr. Colman Titus Msoka, a Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Development Studies, on the development of Dar es Salaam since the first historical settlement. Explaining to us the colonial idea of city planning and management he highlighted the shift during the period of Ujamaa. Dr. Msoka offered a good base for the following topics and showed us how cities were managed or not managed during different periods in Tanzanian history. After his 1-hour talk, we talked to two Ph.D. students from Political Sciences and Geography at the University of Dar es Salaam. One of them was political scientist Sabatho Nyamsenda, the Tanzanian scholar-activist who wrote an Open Letter to the President in 2021. He and his colleague answered different questions regarding their work as researchers and the barriers they face. After another hour they joined us on our way to Ubungo BRT Terminal and showed us various changes and consequences that came with the implementation of the BRT system DART. After our short discussion on BRT, we headed into the city centre to the Kariakoo market area. During the drive, we experienced intense traffic within the city and long travel distances which were the main reasons for implementing DART. At Kariakoo we got an idea of the busy market area which represents the CBD.

We walked from the Kariakoo area to the Machinga (street vendor) complex and had the opportunity to talk to one Machinga from Kariakoo.

Afterward, we drove to Msasani Peninsula. We decided to have a lunch break and meet 3 hours later at Coco Beach. We started our break in a space dominated by Chinese products and services (supermarket, restaurant, ...). Although the space was marked off with a huge wall and entry gate, it was a public space accessible to everyone. During the break, we were to observe ongoing processes in the beach area and different ideas of spaces on the Peninsula.

We met again at Coco Beach and all students of our group shared their observations. After building a bridge to the other topics of the day we shortly discussed the themes of Urban Citizenship and inequalities and then let the day come to an end on the beach.



Photo 23: Coco Beach, Dar es Salaam.
Source: Own Picture, 2022

Reflecting on Urban Citizenship "after the Field"

During our "field experience", I learned a lot about the history of Dar es Salaam, which made me better understand the socio-spatial inequalities and problems that exist today. The city of Dar es Salaam experienced different periods of management and planning. First, the city was strictly planned by the German and British colonists. After independence, the focus during the socialist period was shifted to rural areas, which is why cities experienced urban neglect. No local governments worked on regional development and city planning between the 1970s and 1980s for around 10 years. The end of Ujamaa and Socialism in 1985 caused a huge wave of **in-migration** because cities created new job opportunities and were the focus of investors looking for a profitable business. Therefore, to attract these investors the need for planning arose. The new idea was in the late 1990s to **decentralize the city into five municipalities**. In 1998 the Local Government Reform Policy was initiated which implemented decentralisation and tried to involve the local citizens more in governmental decisions (Massoi and Norman 2009). This was introduced in theory but not in practice because local governments were not powerful in their decision-making. The idea consisted of creating market areas outside the CBD and new bus terminals for each municipality. Therefore, the mayors tried to

attract international investors to build new areas of revenue. Still, the city has become dominated by informal growth and informal structures in domains such as settlements, transport systems, and concepts of business. Due to these informal structures, the city of Dar es Salaam cannot provide access to basic needs that should be accessible to all urban citizens (e.g., security, access to social services, ...). But urban citizens started to stand up for their rights and get used to their rights actively.

What I understood as the participative part of the concept of Urban Citizenship was described by Dr. Msoka as **urbanization from below**. Another important insight is that Tanzanian citizens mostly need small-scale economies with "shopping" infrastructure near their settlements to provide for their daily needs because they usually buy small amounts of groceries dependent on their financial resources. One can say that the informal small-scale economy is adapted to their everyday lives and spaces in proximity to streets or bus terminals are most profitable. But still, street vendors have been evicted from unused areas near the main roads (e.g., spaces under the bridge) and BRT lines. The argument for evicting the street vendors was the dangerous environment near the power plant which was built by Obama in 2014. On the other hand, there is still a hotel and governmental buildings in the area surrounding the power plant.

Additionally, the old daladala bus terminal was shut down and replaced with the Ubungo Terminal for BRT buses on the other side of the street. The city authorities started pushing street vendors into exclusive places and tried to “clean” the city. **Pushing street vendors into one area is the first mistake** because buyers need to get there by using different kinds of transport, which is too expensive for most inhabitants. For example, the Machinga Complex, which was built in 2007 and finished in 2010, does not fit into the lifestyle of the citizens of Dar es Salaam. Many street vendors/Machingas live outside the Kariakoo area and daily drive to the city centre. The fastest way to get there are the BRT buses, but **most Machingas and other inhabitants are still dependent on the informal daladala services**, because they live too far away from the BRT bus terminals. Now they must pay for several vehicles/buses to get to the CBD, which means higher transport costs in general. So, driving to the CBD, which is more costly to get just a little amount of groceries does not make much sense.



Photo 24: Machinga Complex, Dar es Salaam. Source: Own Picture, 2022

Furthermore, the Machinga Complex was constructed as a six-storey building. If the building were used by the Wamachinga the upper stores would not be likely to attract many customers because they usually buy something when they pass by and do not go there on purpose to acquire a specific item in a certain shop. Therefore, the Machinga we met described the whole Machinga Complex as **unfriendly to the Wamachinga way of doing business**. The city authorities are trying to “clean” the city and present attractive spaces to new investors. Hence, street vendors must move, and the city is shaped by Western ideas of urban spaces.

Another good example of that is Coco Beach. The Urban Planning Regulations from 2018 say that “No development other than conservation and that consisting of water-related human activities shall be carried out/undertaken within a public beach” (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development 2018). Even though building processes are formally illegal there is a huge change going on. Along the beach are many construction sites, building small beach restaurants in a Western style. Coco Beach can be described as an area of **gentrification**. Legal restrictions are ignored because the government hopes to attract more tourists and make the beach more profitable. Nowadays the beach is still seen as an open space accessible to all citizens and used by a diverse group of citizens. But

as we discussed a waterfront development would change that and there would be a selection of people that are welcomed in this beach area. Waterfront development schemes nowadays focus on attracting global clientele. Hence, they create spaces for the consumption patterns of tourists and middle-class citizens in a mainly Western style (Davidson 2013: 5).

One thing that struck us was the unclear use of low-, middle- and upper-class categories. Dr. Msoka and Sabatho Nyamsenda often used these categories in the discussion of urban citizenship but how are they distinct? The Oxford Dictionary defines the **lower class** as the “belonging to or typical of groups of people who are considered to have the lowest social status and who have less money and/or power than other people in society” (Oxford Dictionary 2022a). The **middle class** is characterized as “the social class whose members are neither very rich nor very poor and that includes professional and business people” (Oxford Dictionary 2022b). The last category, the **upper class**, is described as “the groups of people that are considered to have the highest social status and that have more money and/or power than other people in society” (Oxford Dictionary 2022c). But who defines what is regarded as poor or rich?

Besides the features of income and financial resources, education and job possibilities have played important roles. But still, there will

be overlaps between these three categories. Furthermore, the use of these categories remains unclear.

Ethical and Methodological Challenges of Upscaling the Topic

One barrier that we faced during the whole study trip was the language. We often had difficulties engaging in conversations because we had not learned any Kiswahili in advance. Even though most people we spoke to could speak English properly, it was difficult to get along in our everyday life in Tanzania. The Tanzanians we met by setting up meetings often came from an academic background or higher education. But if we had gone into the field and done some real research, we would have had huge difficulties getting information because we could not talk to the affected groups in their local language. When we visited the Machinga Complex and had the chance to talk to one Machinga we needed translation from Sabatho Nyamsenda to get the view of the Wamachinga. This translation process also slowed down the ‘interview’. Due to this language barrier, it would be complicated to get access to other Wamachinga and therefore do research.

A huge component of the topic of urban citizenship in Dar es Salaam is the concept of informality. Informal structures can be described as structures that do

not fulfill the Western standard or idea and therefore are seen as chaotic, illegal, and not modern. If I would research the topic of informality, I would still be a part of the system that produces the standard. In my opinion, I am not in the position to research that topic because I am not an adequate spokesperson for the people facing these realities. Additionally, it is questionable if, for example, street vendors would trust a researcher like me because our realities are completely different and my privilege would cause a clear imbalance.

Another thing I realized and considered unpleasant was the fact that we probably only got access to our different meetings and a lot of important people with high positions because we are a white group of students from Germany and are highly privileged. This could be mentioned as one of the reasons why we were able to go on this study trip. By having this privilege, we were able to travel to Tanzania without any obstacles. We had an uncomplicated visa application and we never needed to worry if we would have problems entering different countries due to our status as German citizens. We have access to the necessary resources and can afford to go to Tanzania at such a young age. And these privileges can be traced back to colonial structures that remain.

Moreover, another thing that struck us was the passive part of academics and science in general worldwide on the topic of urban

citizenship. From my point of view, it seemed that even if researchers were working on the topic of urban citizenship they were writing about circumstances and mostly say that citizens need to get active by themselves. But I am not sure if the affected citizens are aware of the possibilities that are promised by the idea of urban citizenship. Additionally, concepts like this remain in scientific spaces because the affected citizens would never frame their actions as urban citizenship.

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