

Grappling with Social Insecurities in the Context of Causalization in Tanzania: A Case Study of Casual Cleaners' Coping Strategies

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Abstract

The current wave of neoliberal ideology and practices in Tanzania has touched every aspect of everyday life of individuals in the society ranging from culture, social and economic context. The restructuring of labour market has resulted into causalization of labour which is increasingly leading to more work which are not standardized and lack of social protection. In line of this is increase of social insecurities which demand new tactics from labourers who are left alone to act individually to solve their own social problems. This paper uses empirical findings through qualitative case study from Tanzania to show how casual cleaners are strategically using a multiplicity of mechanisms to handle the social hardship they face in their labour conditions. The paper adds value by voicing out the lived experiences of casual themselves and opens more avenues to conduct taken for granted marginalized groups which are increasingly growing.

Keywords: Casual labour, neoliberalism, social insecurities, qualitative research

1. Introduction

The impacts of neoliberal reforms of labour arrangements and its associated implications in terms of sustaining the social security of workers are acknowledged globally (Holden 2003, Standing 2001, Mukono 2012). For instance, Chachage (2006:13), commenting on the situation in Tanzania, indicates that the labour market is increasingly being filled with unskilled people or those who terms them as “with half-backed education”. Neoliberal reforms are increasingly skewing the income to the top ladder of the few who control capital, while at the same time widening social inequality and insecurities to the large stratum at the bottom (Shivji 2009). Available evidence indicates that the institutionalization of neoliberal policies has dismantled the social fabric of collectivity and solidarity which acted as a check and balance of any social uncertainties (Mwami 1998, Standing 2008). Standing (2011) has clearly shown that by dismantling the core of the social fabric has weakened the representation and bargaining capacities of vulnerable groups and groups wanting to control market forces. It is not the purpose of the current paper to discuss neoliberalism in its more details, however suffice it to have some insights of the concept. The concept appears to represent the world-view, ideology, socio-economic and political stances that encourages and supports globalization (Mukono 2012:18). With regard to labour arrangement, it purports self-seeking individuals competing for survival, power, wealth, and prestige at the expenses of the poor (Harvey 2005, Shivji 2009). Harvey relates causalization by asserting that:

“In the neoliberal scheme of things short term contracts are offered in order to maximize flexibilityFlexible labour market are established The individualized and relatively powerless worker then confronts a labour market in which only short term contracts are offered on a customised basis. Security of tenure becomes a thing of the past. Under neoliberalization, the figure of “disposable worker” emerges as prototypical upon world stage ... Disposable workers-women in particular-survive both socially and affectively in a world of flexible labour markets and short term contracts, chronic job insecurities, lost social protections, and often debilitating labour, amongst the wreckage of collective institutions that once gave them a modicum of dignity and support” (p.169-170).

The word *casual* according to Standing is regarded as synonymous with informal (Standing 2008:16). In this context, it means the increase of jobs which lack standardization, imposed discipline, and close control by owner of the firm in authority. This is a result of mounting pressure inherent in globalization which insists on making market more flexible and informal, thus creating conditions for increasing both economic and social insecurities (Mkenda 2005, Mukono 2012). In more specific term, casual laborer refers to worker engaged on short term with no continuity in service or expectation of permanent employment (McNamara 2006:9). Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006), refers the same as someone who is not entitled to either paid holiday leave or sick leave while any other employee is permanent. It is in this context, the paper engages in explaining the social phenomenon of casual labour which is increasingly growing up almost 93.3 per cent of all employed in Tanzania are in informal employment (ILO 2010:ix).

As a result of this neoliberal practices on labour market, various forms of social insecurities have become dominant. Standing ideal-type of social insecurities has been evidenced in Tanzania by Mukono (2012) in his study

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among casual cleaners at the University of Dar es Salaam. Before we venture on how do they manage to cope with it, it also important for the reader to have at least picture of these forms at the level of appearance. These includes among other things as pointed by Standing in his various studies: Job insecurity, Wage insecurity, Work insecurity, skills reproduction insecurity, employment insecurity, representation or unionisation insecurity, and income insecurity which is currently the order of the day for people who are working under the policies of neoliberal labour market.

To sum up on the issue of social insecurities, my own view is that these different types of social insecurity which have been identified and discussed suggest quite strongly that casual cleaners are more facing impoverishment and destitution which its impact are more damaging on their social conditions. It alerts on the existence of more social risks which are the main feature of neoliberal processes which are celebrated as labour market flexibility. But, indeed, these are impoverishment process and forces of accumulation by dispossession with the aim of extracting super-profit on the expenses casual labourers who have nothing except their labour power which is exchanged like any other commodity.

However, the tendencies in the studies of this forms has been to give due weight to macro forms of social insecurities (i.e. socio-economic forces at national and international level) and how the same results to the above social insecurities. In this conceptualization, the micro form of how the casual labourers engage with the conditions of social insecurity has not been empirically discussed. Less attention is directed on how this group of people despite being trapped in social destitution, yet we still see them continuing to struggle and sustain their social livelihood. Why is so? This paper argues that it is important to have understanding from the lived experiences of casual labourers strategically handle their situations of deprivation found in their casual works. It is that worth, therefore this paper discusses the manner in which casual cleaners try to navigate through their social hardship so that to uncover what might not be known to architects of neoliberal policies with regard to labour market and social welfare.

2. Study Area and Methods

This paper draws on qualitative study which was conducted in various cleaning companies at the University of Dar es Salaam in the year 2011. The aim of the study was first to examine the social processes and associated forms of social insecurity and vulnerability facing casual cleaners; and lastly was to examine the coping strategies of casual workers in the context of their labour conditions. The choice of qualitative research emanated from the fact it able to bring to the reader a sense of understanding a research processes as situated activity that locate the researcher in the world participants' experiences-casual cleaners (Mason 2002). Thus, the synthesis of casual cleaners' experiences and abstraction from the grand theorization bridged the gap of muting their voices. The selection of University of Dar es Salaam is based on the fact that it is the oldest and big Public University in Tanzania, and it was the public university to implement Civil Service Reforms in 1996, which resulted into outsourcing of cleaning activities to private companies since 2001. Yet, the casual cleaners are experiencing increasing social insecurities, despite the vows which were made in restructuring labour market through neoliberal policies.

A purpose sampling method was used to select the key informants for the study. Qualitative researcher preferred this method of sampling as it allowed the researcher to purposively identify respondents or key informants who were capable of providing valid findings (Cresswell, 1998; Mason, 2002). The respondents included the casual cleaners, owners of the cleaning companies, and university administration. The number of in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted were determined by the level of saturation. That is, sample size was reached following the attainment of a theoretical closure.

The total number of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews were determined by a theoretical closure that is, the point where the researcher gets the same information from different respondents. Thus the theoretical closure was reached after conducting a total number of five Focus Group Discussions in which two were for men and the remaining two for women, and one consisting both men and women casual cleaners. The aim of categorizing men and women relied on the belief that, the power of context upon which these groups are situated in the society shapes their perceptions, experiences, thus mixing men and women together could have construed the findings. The number of In-depth interviews a total of ten interviews of casual cleaners, three interviews of owners of companies and four from supervisors. On the part of administration the researcher conducted one in-depth interview with the officer responsible.

Analysis of qualitative data was done with the help of the analytical hierarchy by Ritchie and Lewis (2003:212). In this there is three key element as follows: first did *data management or organizing* (labeling, ordering, coding); second I conducted *descriptive accounts or charting* which involves sorting, grouping, placing on continuum, developing grids, matrices, and identifying pattern; and third element was *explanatory accounts* that involves developing explanations for answering how and why questions, exploring concepts and policies. All preliminary categories constructed from the thematically transcribed information were looked to gain an overall impression of the impact of neoliberal policies on social security and how casual cleaners cope with the situation.

Every single KII and FGD was analyzed separately in order to determine general ideas and different lines of emphasis from the informants involved in KIIs and FGDs. In doing analysis, the researcher was able to make sure that he define the themes with the help of key research questions and use the same to find detailed meanings.

3. Survival Strategy toward Social Insecurity and Vulnerability: A review of the literature

It is undeniably true that the neoliberal policies in its various social facets have resulted into various social problems. For the case of Tanzania different studies have been conducted to show the social impacts of these external coerced policies which have touched every citizen. However, little is known on how the new raising of the causalization process is responding to the existing social circumstances. In this section, a review of literature is made to gain insights on how different groups of people have been dealing with the impact of neoliberal policies so that to establish a bases for understanding the same on the part of casual labourers/cleaners. It also highlights key gaps inherent for the available studies which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The study by Shivji (2009:50) points out that people who have been trapped in casual labour do survive by diversifying their activities in order to absorb social shocks resulting from exploitative relations of accumulation by dispossession. He further argues that, this is not improving their life conditions rather it overexploits them by circulating capitalist commodities cheaply. Shivji further explains that they engage in multiple activities like selling of food (*mama lishe*); second-hand clothes; petty trading, craft-making, construction, quarrying, gold scrapping and other activities for supplementing their meager income. In a more concrete form, he categorizes all of these not as entrepreneurs or middle class but rather semi-proletarians or appropriately to be described as *underclass* (my emphasis). The effects of this according to the argument adduced by Shivji (2009:51) is that commoditization of social wage goods, reclaim it for capital and make further profit, thus dispossesses necessary consumption becomes a daily practice.

This paper agrees with Shivji's observation and the theoretical framework used to capture the social processes and relations responsible for the semi-proletarianisation in Tanzania how do this people struggles to for their subsistence in this hostile socio-economic condition . Understandably enough, this study take up the theoretical framework by Shivji in order to understand how the stated social process and relations with focus to casual cleaners who are employed in the precarious work environment. It integrates casual cleaners lived-experience, thus to be able to link theory and practice by bringing in sociological insights by examining how neoliberalism works in its real social contexts.

Mkenda (2005) describes the impact of globalization on the socio-economic security of workers. She continues to discuss how the adaptation of neo-liberal policy of privatization and selling of parastatals have triggered to the point of increasing unemployment, poor remunerations, poor working conditions, and weakening trade unions. She argues that, 'this has prompted for owners to use casual labourers who are seen as less cost-full'. The study looks on the economic implications of neoliberal policies on the part of productivity of the firm who prefer to use casual labour with the focus on Tanzania Manufacturing Sector. Unconvincingly, the study falls short of not enunciating the social process responsible for the above mentioned problems, but also does not address how people who are the victims desists the resultant social insecurity and vulnerability. The study by Mkenda fails to recognize of what is happening to manufacturing sectors' casual labourers to a result of certain social relations concealed under the umbrella of globalization which are connected to capitalist relations of accumulation on the expenses of the poor.

Studies by Lugalla (1995); Mwami (1992); Tungaraza et al., (2002); and Victor (1997), observes that poor people including those whose income depends on casual labour have opted to secure their livelihood by engaging in illicit activities like prostitution, begging; joining into money exchange network (Upatu); joining associations concerning death and burial affairs, religious groups (Jumuia), as a mechanism of coping up with social shocks whenever it happens.

The study by Mwami (2002) examines some social vulnerability related to sickness which faces poor people in Hananasif, Kinondoni district. In his study he mainly states that vulnerability was due to 1) declining incomes; 2) declining social support from "extended" family members; 3) weakening of wider traditional family obligations; 4) rising costs of social contingencies such as weddings, bride price; 5) the introduction of user fees in government hospitals/facilities. The commodification of social welfare has resulting into debilitating conditions. He is of the view that, "it is an indisputable fact that the onslaught of the economic crises and the attendant liberalization policies has left millions of people in our country more vulnerable". However, his study did not focus on casual labour rather it focused on low income earners with specific reference to economic and social consequences of ill-health under the newly established privatization policy of user fees.

Mwami (2002), points out that the coping strategy among the deprived vary by region, community, social group , household, gender, age, season and time in history. He further observes the strategies are complex and diverse. He identifies some of those strategies ranging from mortgaging and selling assets, begging, theft and migration of families. In his opinion there are other strategies which are yet to be documented including eating less, deferring medical treatment and expenditure for those found in rural areas. For those in urban areas, he has

identified the mutual help groups common among women. Thus, this study explores the coping strategy specifically among casual cleaners as a specific social category so that to identify if there is similarity or differences with others. The study believes that these strategies do vary by region, community, social group, household, age as pointed by Mwami in his analysis of health vulnerability among poor household in the urban setting.

The reviewed literature points out the major findings for each specific author and the inherent gaps available as one critically review them. Firstly, and basically for some literature the theoretical tool used does not suffice to address how casual cleaners try to cope with social insecurity and insecurity and more important they base their description from the developed countries. What we need is a more people own narratives on how the try to struggle to sustain their social livelihood.

Secondly, and for those addressing the cause and social impact of SAPs and neoliberal policies in particular from Tanzania do not directly focus specifically on the problem of causal labour rather they provide a general framework which can be used to understand the problem of social insecurity and vulnerability for example Chachage (2004), Shivji (2009), Mwami (2002). It is therefore the aim of this study to fill that knowledge gaps found in the existing studies with a focus to casual cleaners own experiences on how the cope with their situations.

The above observation raises many questions which are still not answered in literature dealing with social security and vulnerability in Tanzania. To understand these social insecurity and vulnerability, this study is of the view that, we need to go beyond the level of appearance, and discover the underlying social forces and relations responsible for and the associated social insecurity and vulnerability under neoliberalism as driving forces for one to secure his/her social livelihood.

4. Coping with Social Insecurities and Vulnerability: Key findings from the lived experiences of casual labourers

The resulting social shocks which emanate from the process of dispossessing casual workers as we have seen in the previous discussion necessitated this study to look into different ways in which they sustain their livelihood. More recently some of the works which have focused on accumulation by dispossession in both the centre and periphery capitalist economy have tried to point out, in order for casual labourers to continue living, they must overexploit themselves, either by circulating capitalist commodities by engaging in different activities, but also more important to cut necessary consumptions. It is hereby, more specifically this part of the study to reveal different ways in which casual cleaners depicted as ways they use to cope with these arduous social conditions.

This section on how casual cleaners survive, it starts with the most basic premise of the theoretical perspectives which have guided this study that the first thing human beings must do is satisfying their material needs namely food, shelter and clothing (Marx and Engels, 1846:16). The center of inquiry was based on this fundamental question on man's social existence. It is hereby argued that these are institutional forms inevitably through which casual cleaners have for making solidarities to fill the social vacuum left by the withdraw of the state from the protective measures over its citizens.

4.1. Cutting into Necessary Consumption as a Means for Survival

First and foremost, the question which was posed after discovering that what casual cleaners were being paid was not enough to keep them for half a month, the researcher probed on how they managed to get basic food. It was observed that casual cleaners have normalized the habit of skipping meals during afternoon while they are at work. The researcher was informed that since the amount is not enough, the only option they have is not to eat during afternoon so that to minimize the cost of buying food. Having said this, the main complaint which was noted, is that casual cleaners face stomach pains which in their opinion they associated it with ulcers. It seems that, this situation put casual cleaners in a more likely to be having ill-health conditions. Casual cleaners informed the researcher that they have adopted the famous mechanism which in Swahili is known as "kupiga pasi ndefu" literary translated, it means that like a football who pass long crosses, to them they only eat in the morning and wait till evening during the sunset to eat again. This observation can be seen from one of the interview which had the following to demonstrate:

"Our situation is worse, you see here, we don't eat during afternoon, what always we do if we don't have work during afternoon we keep sometimes telling stories for the need of passing time. Imagine, you come in the morning from home without breakfast, here you manage to get two "andazi" or "kitumbua", the work I am doing involves slashing, lifting up things, this real put us in bad positions in terms of our health. No way have we had to accept it because no alternative" (Male and female FGD, August, 2011).

This noted situation of eating less is not new only among casual cleaners, evidence from Tanzania among poor household in Dar es Salaam as observed the same on how people have devised the mechanism to respond to the impacts of neoliberalism since its inception, Mwami (2002) has explained this but urging that was not focused by many studies. Thus this study justifies the presence of eating less as coping strategy among casual cleaners.

It was also revealed that casual cleaners have opted to minimize costs by living in single-roomed units.

As it was earlier on shown that, most of them they use twenty thousand on rent per month. As casual cleaners reported that this was not willingly preferred, other in that single room with children and relative is not comfortable to live in. The locations of these rooms are in the outskirts of streets which in their words said also are more dangerous to live as these are site for robbers. To such extent, not only casual cleaners face humiliation in their work environment, but such vulnerability extent to where they shelter themselves.

Few casual cleaners indicated to have rooms which have electricity, it was pointed out that, in order to recover the expenses, they always use borehole water “*maji ya visima*”. They vowed that this water are not conducive for use because it has full of contamination, as they explained, this put them in frequent problem of typhoid which cost them a lot of money during medication. Not only are those, the area in which they live, full of mosquitoes thus being likely exposed to malaria. This shows us that, as way of surviving, instead of reducing the burden, this has triggered casual cleaners to be more vulnerable to diseases, social risks which also increase their insecurities as the cost of this need money to be bought in the market. This is because the neoliberal process of accumulation by dispossession within the umbrella of commodification which has individualized these key social services no more is being secured freely but you need cash to have it.

4.2. Supplication/Begging

To live in this context of neoliberalism, was amazing to find out that it needs hearts, the interesting observation which this study discovered is that, to be a beggar not only that person as to position his/herself in open areas like our own experience as shown by observing beggars in various places where there is massive flow of people like religious institutions, bus stations. It was clearly pointed out by casual cleaners that they have automatically turned themselves into begging for money from different people who are permanently employed by the University of Dar es Salaam. This was mostly mentioned by women, it was made openly that in the case of those casual cleaners who are cleaning offices after establishing close friendships, ‘they have to avoid shyness’ so that to get extra income. They ask for help for transport, or sometimes money for food which if provided is used to supplement their wages to get essential basic needs for themselves and their dependants. Each social action has its cost, it was reported that in course of doing that, these women casual cleaners, sometimes are trapped into sexual relationships unwillingly for people who they claimed that they use that opportunity for fulfilling their sexual desires. It was noted that this increases women casual cleaners’ vulnerability, but also to be exposed to risk of being exposed to diseases like HIV/AIDS. Even though it was not openly discussed, this had something self explaining about the manner they are exposed to. Such complain which was raised, can be read from one of the respondent who recounted her experience:

“No way out, in order to add some income, sometimes you need to beg help (money). After developing close friendships with people in whom we clean their offices, you try your chance by seeking help if you see the situation is worse. Others may help money for tea or transport. Not all people have good intentions; sometimes their action when you enter in their offices shows their intentions. In such environment we become worried, other issues which happen I know it myself, but real this kind of life is not good for us, the reason is that we have nowhere to go” (*Female casual cleaner, August 2011*).

This confirms what David Harvey has described as the most observed problem currently facing women in this era of neoliberalism. In his words Harvey has this to demonstrate:

“Women, for the most part bear the brunt of this sort of degrading, debilitating, and dangerous toil. The social consequences of neoliberalisation are in fact extreme. Accumulation by dispossession typically undermines whatever powers women may have had within household production/marketing systems and within traditional social structures and locates everything in male dominated commodity market”. (Harvey 2005:170)

The concern which we should be able to rise is that, when a country accept to institutionalize commodity relations, the nearest part of human body also become a means through which women turn into. However, this study is of the opinion that, this should be more studied so that to understand how women casual cleaners/labourers survive both socially in the world of short-term contracts, and a well encompassed social insecurities and vulnerability upon which our country which has opted to celebrate what Harvey calls “*wreckage of collective institutions*” once provided the support to workers as we saw in our policies which were guided by Ujamaa policies

The findings of this study correspond to the earlier study by Lugalla (1995), which has similarly observed that poor people of which casual cleaners are found whose income depends on casual labour become the victims of securing their livelihood by engaging in illicit activities like prostitution and begging. This study is highly convinced with the argument raised by Mwami (2002) that “it is indisputable fact that the onslaught of economic crises and liberalization policies, in this case, “*accumulation by dispossession*’ has left millions of people in our country more vulnerable (*Italic added*).

4.3. Informal social networks, Credit Associations and Selling of Assets

The coping strategy among casual cleaners and other deprived are complex and diverse. Because of more precarious conditions they are facing, as human being who are conscious, they don't put all eggs in one basket. The researcher's findings from the field noted that complexity and diversity. Adding from previous identified coping strategies, it was also found that, money exchange network, death and burial associations, religious groups, and selling asserts as mechanisms among others are available for casual cleaners to sustain themselves.

Each society in one way or another has its own means of protecting its people, some studies have identified various traditional and informal social security arrangements in pre-colonial Tanzania which ranged from domestic groups, which live and produce together, kinships organizations, the neighborhood and chiefs, among these scholars includes; Tungaraza, et al. (2002), and Mwami (1992, 1997, 1998). However, with the penetration of capitalist relations from colonialism, then currently under neo-liberalism this earmarked the natural death of these arrangements.

According to respondents had a different opinion concerning the usefulness of coping mechanisms. For them as longer as they don't have any alternatives the mentioned mechanisms were the immediate area to secure protection. The money exchange network, famously known as "Upatu", was identified as among the means where casual cleaners seek help. It was noted that, they contribute weekly in which each week they contribute five thousands which is provided among them through rotating that money to each. For them, as revealed during this study, the amount obtained is being used in paying house rent, buying of household utensils and sometimes to cover education costs for their children and dependants. One of the casual cleaner had this to say on this:

"This situation of us need to be innovative (ubunifu), in my area there are many mutual group association (vikundi vya kusaidiana), I have twenty eight in which we contribute five thousands Tsh. (5,000/=), as a monthly fee. This is purposely to help any member who faces any problem related to sickness or death of closest relative, this is very important because you do no what might happen in the near future". (Casual cleaner- August 2011).

It was also revealed that casual cleaners have joined various ill-health, death and burial association popularly known as Chama cha *Kusaidia Ugonjwa, kufa na Kuzikana*. As noted earlier in this study that, casual cleaners have been working without any protective measures either form the employer or the state, this is due to the fact that under neoliberalism, sickness, education, and other social welfare is reclaimed for capital. These associations claimed to be a must for casual cleaners to join in order to at least to absorb social contingencies which may arises any time. The dispossessions have reinforced casual cleaners to turn to these informal arrangements for the purpose of surviving in the context full of shacks.

Credit associations and selling of assets was mentioned by casual cleaners as another mechanism of coping up with social insecurity and vulnerability. Few casual cleaners confirmed to have joined micro-financing institutions were the obtained loans. However, it was noted with concern that, this did not materialize has the loans demanded a weekly return, at the end as the time to circulate that money was minimal they had to withdraw. Another casual cleaner responded this during the interview:

"I decided to join credit association which in which it provided to me 60,000/=. I used that money to start small business, this is done during evening hours when back from work, even though I came while very tired, I do sell food and stiff porridge (uji wa ulezi), around bus stand so that to add little income. Sometimes life becomes so hard, the easiest way I always sell some of my assets, for instance in the past four month I sold my television so that to get money for medication. It was because of sickness I had and no assistance from anyone, thus I decided to sell what I have so that to rescue my health condition" (Female casual cleaner, August, 2011).

This is true the case, under neoliberalism, financialization as a feature operates as poor people have turned to be the source of securing profit, by circulating that capital, poor maintain and reproduce that barber exploitative capitalist system. Failure to repay loans makes these people vulnerable of their assets being sold. Not only casual cleaners sell their assets n need of paying loans but also during many social problems they encounter like sickness, payment of house rents. The study found out that it has become normal for casual cleaners to sell electronic equipments like radio, phones, and utensils for the sake of solving such problems which arise instantly.

4.4. Religion, Salvation, Evangelical Christianity and Apostolic faith.

As social insecurities and vulnerability increases the coping strategies do vary considerably. Thus, the loss of other forms of social networks, mechanisms, no doubt religion as always being the instrument of illusion becomes a last resort. The evidence indicates that with the massive implementation of neoliberal policies, since 1990s, Tanzania has increasingly experienced the emerging of born again ministries and churches. Some of casual cleaners believed that sometimes their situation can not solved without the spiritual power of almighty God. The following explanation from the interview suffices to justify it:

"This time around, my life is miserable, as I told you we get little wages, in this regard we have a lot of social problems. I decided to my life to God and my savior Jesus Christ. During working

hours when I have time always I resort to read bible and sing gospel song, and I became born again so that to release this hardship. During the weekends I attend to revelation church so that Jesus can save me from my evils and he will glorify me from this problem in the near future” (*Casual cleaner, August, 2011*).

Furthermore, that casual cleaner pointed out the verse from the Holy bible which console her/his heart, the verse is from Philippians 3:21 and it reads as follows:

“Our citizenship is in heaven. And we eagerly await a Savior from there, the Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the power that enables him to bring everything under his control, will transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body”

To sustain such social condition of servitude, deprivation and impoverishment, currently others have decided to find relief in these modern churches so that to ease their social insecurities and vulnerability. Even Harvey has identified such new forms of solidarity although with slight difference in which he had this explanation on religion and insecurities:

“The progress of fundamentalist evangelical Christianity in the US has some connection with proliferating job insecurities, the loss of other forms of social solidarity, and the hollowness of capitalist consumer culture. In Thomas Frank’s account, the religious right took off in Kansas only at the end of 1980s, after a decade or more of neoliberal restructuring and deindustrialization.....But if Polanyi is right and treatment of labour as a commodity leads to social dislocation, then moves to rebuild different social networks to defend against such threat become increasingly likely” (Harvey, 2005:171-172)

The findings gathered suffice to explain that neoliberal practices upon which casual cleaners are positioned are glaring. Convincingly, and understandably enough the study is now in better position to further argue that, the neoliberalized policies which are currently at process in Tanzania have had a more catastrophic social impacts on the labour conditions. It is more evidenced that, despite massive increase of the noted social insecurities and vulnerability amassing to casual cleaners, yet still, even the coping strategy they are try to make differences indeed are suppressing them to be more vulnerable. The argument advanced is that the process of commodification, privatization, which have been seen as a solution by the state and its institutions like recruiting private cleaning companies as it is today at the University of Dar es Salaam is more devastating and its casual cleaners and other majority poor who bear brunt exploitation.

5. Conclusion

It should be noted that the social insecurities highlighted in this paper which have resulted into the identified coping strategies among casual cleaners is a result of Tanzania adoption of neoliberal policies of dispossession. This has destroyed form of formal solidarity and trade unions which were important in spearheading the interest of all workers. My argument is that, this is neither natural, rather the social forces behind is the coercive policies and regulations of the state which has been put on place since the inception of neoliberal policies in the forms of Structural Adjustment policies in early 1980s. In this process marketization, privatization, and precariousness has emerged as the panacea to improve the allegedly failure of the state Ujamaa policies which protected workers from any social contingencies. Despite, these pernicious strategies used by casual labourers, I think as a nation which purporting of building economy which is sustainable for improving the social livelihood for each is far to be reached. Widening of gap between the few who have controlled the national cake and majority having nothing is the stumbling block of the long dream of our country which did embraced social solidarity and justice as key for fighting ignorance, diseases, and poverty. The result of the neoliberal policies indicates much of movements of which majority of them are jobless youths demanding social justice. This is time to rethink back on restructuring and strengthening national welfare regimes of redistribution which are more inclusive. In my opinion, this should be social and moral obligation for policy makers with aim of bringing back man’s dignity, our history of employment relations prior to neoliberal policies might help to show some the issues which will push our agenda of social justice.

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