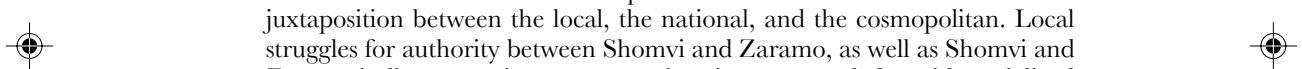







Chapter One

The Emerging Metropolis: A history of Dar es Salaam, circa 1862-2000

James R. Brennan and Andrew Burton



This chapter offers an overview history of Dar es Salaam. It proceeds chronologically from the town's inception in the 1860s to its present-day status as one of the largest cities in Africa. Within this sequential structure are themes that resurface in later chapters. Dar es Salaam is above all a site of juxtaposition between the local, the national, and the cosmopolitan. Local struggles for authority between Shomvi and Zaramo, as well as Shomvi and Zaramo indigenes against upcountry immigrants, stand alongside racialized struggles between Africans and Indians for urban space, global struggles between Germany and Britain for military control, and national struggles between European colonial officials and African nationalists for political control. Not only do local, national, and cosmopolitan contexts reveal the layers of the town's social cleavages, they also reveal the means and institutions of social and cultural belonging. Culturally Dar es Salaam represents a modern reformulation of the Swahili city. Indeed it might be argued that, partly due to the lack of dominant founding fathers and an established urban society pre-dating its rapid twentieth century growth, this late arrival on the East African coast is *the* contemporary exemplar of Swahili virtues of cosmopolitanism and cultural exchange. Older coastal cities of Mombasa and Zanzibar struggle to match Dar es Salaam in its diversity and, paradoxically, its high degree of social integration. Linguistically speaking, it is without doubt a Swahili city; one in which this language of nineteenth-century economic incorporation has flourished as a twentieth-century vehicle of social and cultural incorporation for migrants from the African interior as well as from the shores of the western Indian Ocean. Swahili in Dar es Salaam has served as the *lingua franca* in the mosque, the church, the recreational club, the football team, and the musical group. Wage labour and trade, prime motors of the city's growth, have also brought together producers, middlemen and consumers in the marketplace and employers and employees in the workplace; from areas as diverse as the surrounding Uzaramo countryside, the floodplains of the Rufiji



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River, the foothills of Kilimanjaro and Meru, the shores of Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Malawi, the farms and bazaars of Gujarat and Kutch, and the cities of Western Europe.

We chart how these cleavages and incorporations unfolded in the ever-growing urban space of Dar es Salaam. Among the principal actors, the most important in this story is the colonial and post-colonial state. Yet the state was never as important as its architects desired. The urban contours of Dar es Salaam, particularly in its colonial years, bear plain hallmarks of racialized urban planning. But as this and subsequent chapters will show, the state constantly lacked the means, and at times even the will, to create a truly segregated city. The colonial state's reliance upon African labour and Indian investment capital opened up considerable, if often contested, space for these groups to exercise economic, cultural, and political agency. As the significance of race dissolved with the African nationalist victories of the 1950s and 1960s, the state's incapacity to manage extraordinarily rapid urban growth became ever more apparent. The informal economy took over the shaping of urban space; providing a livelihood to the majority of the urban population by the 1980s. The privatization programmes that began in that decade acknowledged these developments while doing little to address the increasingly desperate condition of the city's infrastructure. Indeed, the only thing that seems certain of Dar es Salaam's future is the continuation of its blistering growth and its unrivalled role as a national, and regional, centre of cultural innovation.



Origins: Mzizima and the Mrima Coast



Dar es Salaam was first imagined by Sultan Majid of Zanzibar in 1862. The eponymous harbour site upon which it would soon be located then stood unoccupied, but lying adjacent along the sea-facing coast was a small fishing village called Mzizima, perhaps an altered pronunciation of *Mji Mzima* or 'complete town'. In the early 19th century, Mzizima and the surrounding area had become a meeting point between local ethnic Zaramo inhabitants who traced their origins to the Uluguru mountains some 200 kilometres inland, and self-styled Shomvi, a Swahili or 'Shirazi' people who traced their origins to the northern coastal town of Barawa in present-day Somalia. Shomvi, a term best understood as both a claim to status or title as much as membership in a descent group, had farmed like their neighbouring Zaramo, but also specialised in fishing, boat-building, and slave trading. Traditions differ on how communal identities among Zaramo and Shomvi crystallized in the 19th century, but a common theme centres on mutual aid given each other following external raids from Kamba interlopers sometime around 1800. Such mutual aid however seems not to have extended far. Zaramo developed a reputation for hostility—embodied in the Zaramo *Pazi* (chief) Mazungera, an elusive caravan raider—which discouraged traders from settling in the region from the mid-1840s to early 1860s. Situated some forty miles south of Bagamoyo, Mzizima and its environs stood on the margins of long-distance commerce in

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ivory and slaves that decisively shaped this region during the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century was a period of unprecedented commercialization along the Mrima coast, an area stretching from the modern Kenya/Tanzania border to just south of present-day Dar es Salaam. Coastal towns formed the meeting point between inland and overseas trade, and several—most notably Bagamoyo and Zanzibar Town—experienced substantial growth. Mzizima and other Shomvi-dominated ports nearby, such as Kunduchi, Msasani, Mjimwema and Mboamaji, occasionally benefited from passing caravan trade, but in general were peripheral to the principal commercial networks closer to Zanzibar.² Rather than relying upon long-distance trade, most Shomvi and Zaramo survived through farming millet, maize, sorghum, cassava and rice, harvesting coconuts, fishing, hunting, and crafts-making (termed *kazi ya kushiba*, or ‘work to fill one’s belly’) such as embroidery, wood-carving, metal and leather work. Political power rested with a chief or *jumbe* (pl. *majumbe*), the secular and religious head of the community. Mzizima was a society divided between master and slave—the latter working four or five days per week for

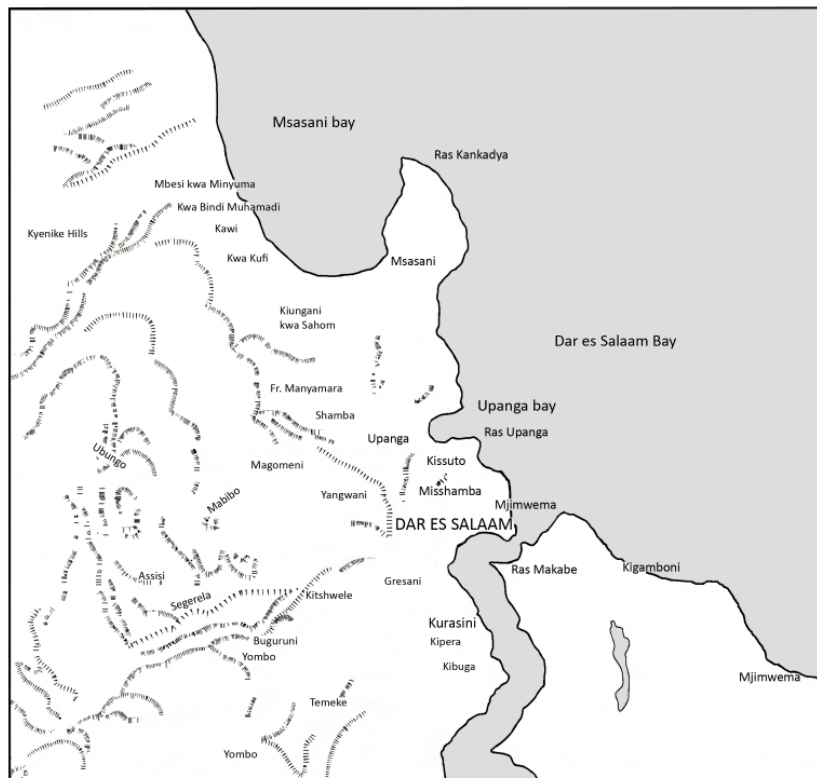


Fig. 1.1 *Dar es Salaam and environs* (Based on a copy of a map which was probably drawn in 1891 and prepared from an Admiralty Chart dated 1874)

Source: A. Gibb & Partners, *A Plan for Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam, 1949)

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the former, while cultivating their own food supply for the rest of the week.³ Slavery along the coast was neither simply an ‘absorptive’ clientelist system nor a ‘closed’ plantation system but rather the product of struggles between slave and master, in which the former fought to belong to coastal society, and the latter sought to defend exclusive ‘Shirazi’ social institutions from the former while extracting as much labour as possible.⁴ The trajectory of nineteenth century developments also led to increased indebtedness and commercial marginalization of Shomvi and other Shirazi ‘patricians’ to Indian creditors, as well as their loss of effective sovereignty to Arab political power centred in Zanzibar. The sudden projection of political power by the Sultan of Zanzibar, in part to circumvent the commercial power of Indian traders and creditors centred in Bagamoyo, marks the beginning of Dar es Salaam’s history.

The founding of Dar es Salaam, 1862-87

Conceived in 1862, the construction of Dar es Salaam finally began in 1865 or 1866.⁵ The town’s name, likely contracted from the Arabic for ‘Harbour of Peace’ (*bandar as-salâm*), reflects not only the town’s most striking feature, its large natural harbour, but also its aspiring status as a place of refuge for Sultan Majid from the growing pressures of courtly and diplomatic politics in Zanzibar. Modelled on his island experience, Majid envisioned a town economically driven by plantation agriculture and long distance caravan trade, and accordingly encouraged Arabs from the Hadramaut (contemporary southeast Yemen) and Indian traders to relocate there in order to develop coconut plantations and trading houses.⁶ The Sultan’s representative Selimani bin



Fig. 1.2 Panoramic view of Darra Salaam
Source: G.L. Sullivan, *Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters* (London, 1873)



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Hemed visited Mzizima in order to negotiate the establishment of Dar es Salaam, giving to the local *majumbe* 'clothes and rice and a lot of money and gifts', until they agreed to let the Sultan settle there.⁷

The new town's biggest problem, apparent almost immediately, was its lack of labour. A report by Dr. Seward, the acting British Consul in Zanzibar who accompanied Majid to the city in 1866, observed that the 'conception is good but the one want of labour appears to be fatal to its realization', as '[n]o



Fig. 1.3 *The harbour front of Dar es Salaam, 1879*

Source: MacKinnon Papers, Box 76, File 59, SOAS Special Collections



Fig. 1.4 *The unfinished centre of Dar es Salaam, 1879*

Source: MacKinnon Papers, Box 76, File 59, SOAS Special Collections

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considerable body of slaves could be kept together there'. Unless slave labour could be supplemented or replaced by free labour, Seward opined, there was 'no hope of any extension of this projected mainland settlement and of the seeming prosperity which on the considerable island of Zanzibar is sustained by violent and purely artificial means'. Sufficient coercion and economic opportunity, the combination of which generally underwrote systems of labour and clientage in the more successful trading towns of the Mrima coast, proved elusive in Dar es Salaam and were slow to arrive. Furthermore, the town had already gained a reputation for ill health, though the consul (and others later) found the place quite healthy by Mrima coast standards.⁸ Such serial rumours disparaging the town may have been cast by Indian traders seeking to protect their position in the commercially dominant Bagamoyo to the north.

Sultan Majid died in 1870, and the new Sultan Barghash, Majid's brother, left Dar es Salaam to decay as he pursued more direct conflicts with recalcitrant merchants, *majumbe*, and brigands in and around the far more important Bagamoyo. Père Leroy, a French Spiritan missionary based in Bagamoyo, offered this description of Dar es Salaam in 1886:

Situated on the shore of its harbour, like an Arab woman in rags in the ruined home of her former husband, Dari Salama appears to mourn its isolation and poverty. To the left, the palace of Said Majid is still to be seen, half concealed by mass growth... returning to the right, on a flagstaff... the red flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar affirms his authority modestly, and here, before us, two large square houses to which dilapidated staircases give access and pierced with two rows of windows worn down by the wind.... Between these three edifices, formerly whitewashed with lime and still habitable, behind, on the side, more or less all over, stand enormous walls covered with vines and where the goats come to climb up and graze: attempts at houses, built in haste and interrupted by death. This is the misfortune of being Sultan!⁹

The years between 1870 and 1887 would be recorded in a language of decline and decay, although this belies the town's steady economic growth. The Sultan's Palace was never completed; a hurricane in 1872 dislodged the town harbour's buoys, which were not replaced for ten years; in 1873, Indian traders relocated to nearby villages to barter for copal from local Zaramo who had boycotted Dar es Salaam following a dispute with the town's *akida*; large houses fell in value from US\$500 in 1871 to US\$200 by 1873. The construction of the Mackinnon Road,¹⁰ intended to connect Dar es Salaam to Lake Nyasa, revived trade somewhat by attracting rubber and copal from Zaramo producers. The road had reached only 81 miles inland when it was abandoned in 1881.¹¹ Poignant photographs of the town taken in 1879 depict half-built structures without roofs being overtaken by sprawling vegetation.¹² Worse was to follow—an outbreak of smallpox in 1882 killed perhaps three-quarters of the town's inhabitants; and in late 1884 a drought and famine took the lives of hundreds of local Zaramo, and brought increased slave trading, inter-village kidnapping, and the pawning of children for food.¹³ Carl Peters did not even feel it necessary to visit Dar es Salaam on his tragi-comic land buying tour of Usagara in 1884, going no further south than Saadani.¹⁴



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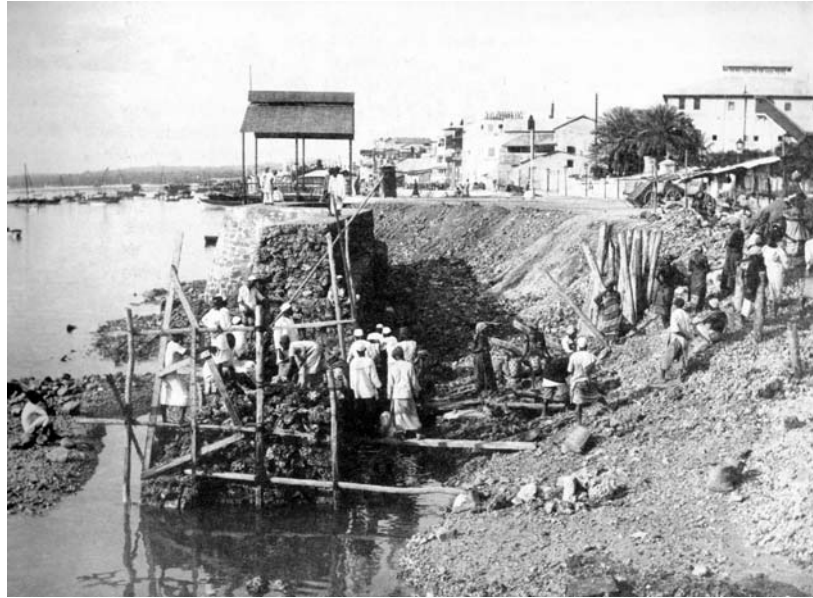


Fig. 1.5 *Construction of the harbour wall*

Such portrayals of decay by visitors in the 1870s and 1880s—wholly in agreement about Dar es Salaam’s unrealized potential and sad decline—reflect the high expectations that projecting imperial power might bring, and bemoan the successive failure of Zanzibaris, British, and even Germans to take hold and thrive on these sandy soils by seizing the region’s commercial trade. They also implicitly revealed the power and persistence of Bagamoyo to resist imperial plans for its replacement.¹⁵ Despite this ubiquitous language of failure and disappointment, Dar es Salaam nonetheless grew in its regional economic importance during these years, particularly as an exporter of rice to Zanzibar.¹⁶ Grand Arab houses may have fallen, but overall population increased, and the town had become a well-established secondary urban centre to Bagamoyo by the 1880s. Leroy had opined in 1886 that Dar es Salaam could only achieve its promised glory ‘at great cost and effort’ by making it an exit point to the Indian Ocean for the Zambezi and Shire areas of the interior.¹⁷ Such efforts would shortly begin afresh, but would only be realized some twenty years later.

Dar es Salaam under German rule

Having first acquired trading rights in Dar es Salaam from Sultan Barghash in 1885 through gunboat diplomacy, the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG, or German East African Company) obtained formal rights to collect custom duties in the town through agreement with Barghash in 1887.¹⁸ It was not a

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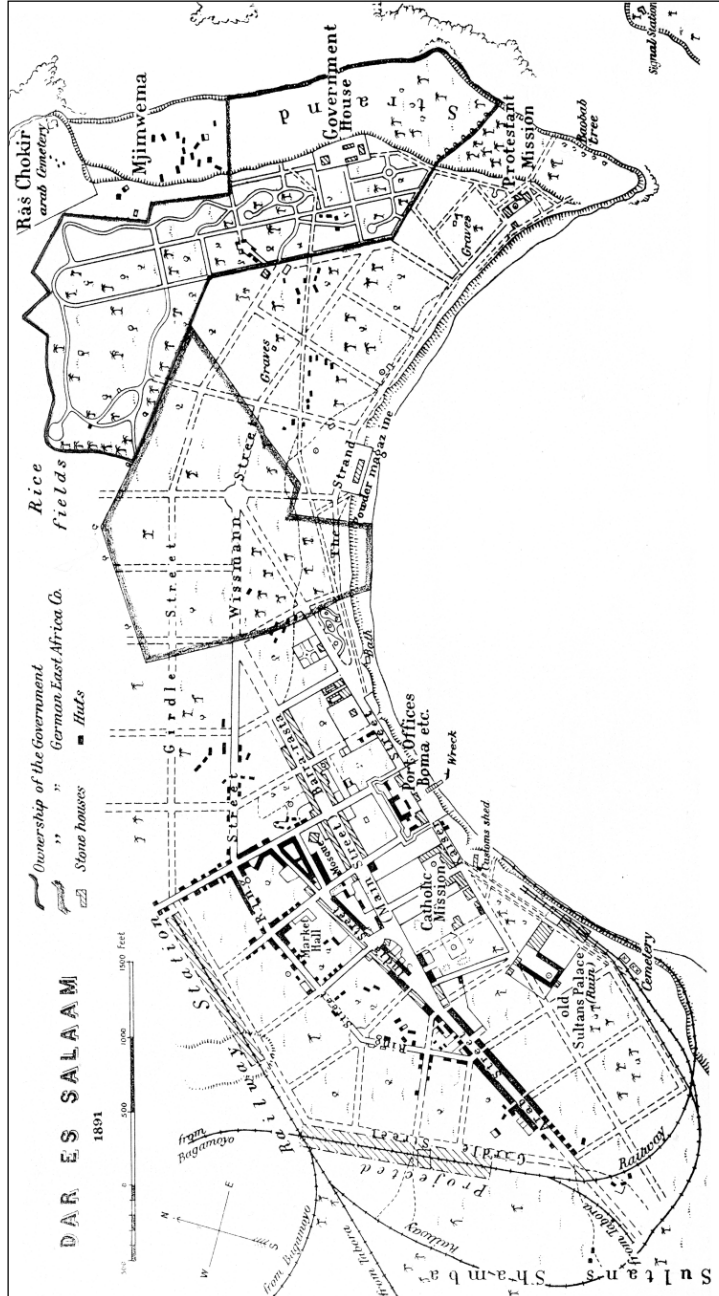


Fig. 1.6 Plan of Dar es Salaam

Source: Deutsche Kolonialblatt, 15th August 1891



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smooth transition. As DOAG representative, August Leue insisted on taking over the residence of the Sultan's appointed *liwali* in Dar es Salaam upon his arrival with Carl Peters in May 1887.¹⁹ The *liwali* refused to step down after Peters demanded that he relinquish control of the town. Subsequently, Peters and Leue 'purchased' the land between Dar es Salaam and Msasani after putting guns to the heads of *majumbe* in two outlying villages, including the Zaramo *jumbe* Tambaza. They arrived at a 'settlement' of fifteen rupees each.²⁰ Shomvi *majumbe* considered the exchange illegitimate because it bypassed their authority.²¹ The customs office was upgraded to a full military station under Hermann von Wissmann in 1889 following the outbreak of the Abushiri Rebellion,²² and was finally transformed into a district office on the 1st January 1891, when it became the new capital of German East Africa.²³

Under the Sultanate, Dar es Salaam had been structured in three concentric zones – at its centre, the stone buildings of administration and business nearest to the harbour along what is now Sokoine Drive; beyond this, *shamba* fields, mainly coconut plantations, owned by the Sultan or his Arab allies and worked primarily by unfree labour; and finally outlying Zaramo and Shomvi villages.²⁴ While the German government eventually abolished the slave trade around the new capital (particularly thriving at Kunduchi in the late 1880s²⁵), it famously never abolished slavery.²⁶ Nevertheless, the tenuous plantation economy of Dar es Salaam effectively collapsed with the turmoil of the Abushiri Rebellion, leaving a new method of organizing urban space through German administrative incorporation.

In contrast to nineteenth-century patterns of urban growth along the East African coast, Dar es Salaam's colonial expansion was driven by state investment in administration and military security, rather than by private commerce. Imperial confidence in the new capital ran well ahead of the town's economic viability, at least until railway commerce began to bear fruit in 1907. Much of Dar es Salaam's economic activity in the 1890s revolved around major public works projects. Compared to Mombasa and Nairobi, Indian capital investment played a smaller role in Dar es Salaam's state-led urban development projects; both because Bagamoyo remained a more vibrant commercial centre, and German administrators were slower to cultivate relationships with wealthy Indian investors.²⁷ State edifices were central to the German colonial vision for the territorial capital. Dar es Salaam's new architecture loudly announced this imperial confidence, characterized by 'the heavy hand of German officialdom, modified in some cases by Islamic feature and the use of simple materials'.²⁸ Two German churches near the harbour marked the upper reaches of the town skyline until the 1960s—the Lutheran Church, begun in 1898 in a Bavarian Alpine style, and the Catholic St. Joseph's Cathedral, completed in 1902 and built in a Gothic style. State House and the equally imposing European hospital were sited facing the Indian Ocean. Along Azania Front, adjacent to the harbour, lay the government's main office buildings, all built in a simple classical style.²⁹ European visitors waxed lyrical about this urban jewel in the German colonial crown.³⁰ Hermann Paasche, a conservative Reichstag member visiting Dar es Salaam in 1906, stated he was 'completely intoxicated' by the cleanliness and unusual beauty of the town's

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Fig. 1.7 *Unter den Akazien [now Samora Avenue] in 1905*

Source: Gibb, *Plan for Dar es Salaam*



Fig. 1.8 *Dar es Salaam harbour in the early 1900s*

Source: M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way Vol.II: The story of Tanganyika Railways* (Nairobi, 1957)

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Fig. 1.9 *German troops on Azania Front*

Source: Hill, *Permanent Way*

landscape of tropical trees and stately government buildings.³¹ This substantial architectural investment served as an advertisement for foreign investment. Dar es Salaam was, according to Clement Gillman, ‘an outward emblem of Germany’s growing colonial strength, designed also not only to catch the eye of the admiring patriot but of the more critical foreigner’.³² Yet stone buildings formed a small minority of urban structures at this time—in 1898 there were 196 stone buildings and some 1,000 *makuti* or thatch huts; and the ratio had only decreased to one stone building for every four *makuti* structures by 1905.³³ Outside of domestic servants, few if any Africans lived in stone buildings; *makuti* homes were also occupied by poorer Indians and Arabs. Such was the demand for *makuti* materials that the north of Dar es Salaam consisted of a series of swamps, most of which were ‘borrow pits’ caused by the harvesting of daub and wattle for building construction.³⁴ This created ideal conditions for mosquitoes, raising public health concerns among German officials. Indeed, public health itself was a major issue of urban policy as it affected the physical health of Germans directly—in a revealing example of colonial *Gesundheitspolitik* (public health politics), the German administration quartered ‘coloured’ prostitutes frequented by Europeans by financing a more hygienic brothel for their workspace.³⁵

The defining feature of the town under German rule was its role as the centre of colonial military power. During the Abushiri Rebellion, rebel fighters had attacked the Lutheran and Benedictine mission stations at Dar es Salaam in January 1889, but were defeated later that month at a battle at Ras Chokir to the north of the town.³⁶ Compared to other coastal towns, Dar es Salaam

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survived the rebellion relatively unscarred, although 'disloyal' villages nearby were treated no less harshly—Magogoni, a village lying across the harbour from which rebels had launched a raid, was razed by German forces.³⁷ Following the decisive defeat of the rebels, the Germans garrisoned a large portion of its thousand-odd *Askari Schutztruppe* in the capital, most of whom were either Sudanese mercenaries hired in Cairo or so-called 'Zulu' (i.e., Shangaan) mercenaries hired in Inhambane in Portuguese East Africa. These soldiers and their descendants would form a core population group of the colonial town. The substantial military presence underlay imperial confidence in the capital, though, unlike the *boma*-centred fortified towns of Arusha and Tabora, defensive considerations proved a secondary concern for German urban planners in Dar es Salaam.³⁸ As the town's administrator between 1887 and 1890, August Leue insisted upon wide roads radiating from the harbour front to allow for quick communication between the centre and policemen posted near the outskirts.³⁹ Military power was concentrated west of the harbour, where a permanent armed flotilla was stationed on the water, and on land lay the *Askarikaserne* barracks, which in the 1890s included government-built huts for 172 *askari* families.⁴⁰ In 1905 the *Askarikaserne* held some five hundred soldiers and their hangers-on. Adjacent to this stood the town's *boma* (fort), built in the 1860s but now a jail holding some 200 African prisoners.⁴¹

The focus of administration shifted away from the Sultan's palace to the eastern side of the harbour. In this European governmental and residential quarter, German officials enjoyed separation from the town's core population as well as welcome ocean breezes. The major administrative dilemma facing officials was to integrate the peri-urban land and economy with the town through guiding local investments, while simultaneously guarding against land speculation. They inherited right-angled streets from the Sultan's town, and over the first half of the 1890s created a road network radiating from the harbour that is still in use today. A number of key legislative acts formed the framework for German-era urbanization. The 1891 Building Ordinance arranged structures for future investment. It also outlined the town's tripartite racial division through separate building standards of European, Indian, and African homes, rather than through biological definitions of race.⁴² However, there appears to have been little will to effect strict racial segregation before 1906. German administrators were more concerned with designating sites for new stone buildings owned by Indians and Arabs than with African residential communities, which were comparatively easier to relocate if required. The Land Ordinance, passed in November 1895, was another key piece of urban legislation, creating guidelines for determining which peri-urban lands were communally owned and which were ownerless (*herrenlos*). It also determined a method for European purchase of peri-urban land from local Africans, subject to government approval. Between 1895 and 1912, the German colonial state was relatively permissive in allowing such transfers, motivated by the hopes of creating a plantation economy. Local African *majumbe* were key actors in authorizing these transactions. They had to maintain a balance between retaining loyalty from their subjects on the one hand, and obtaining investors' money by authorizing land expropriation on the other. A few, such as

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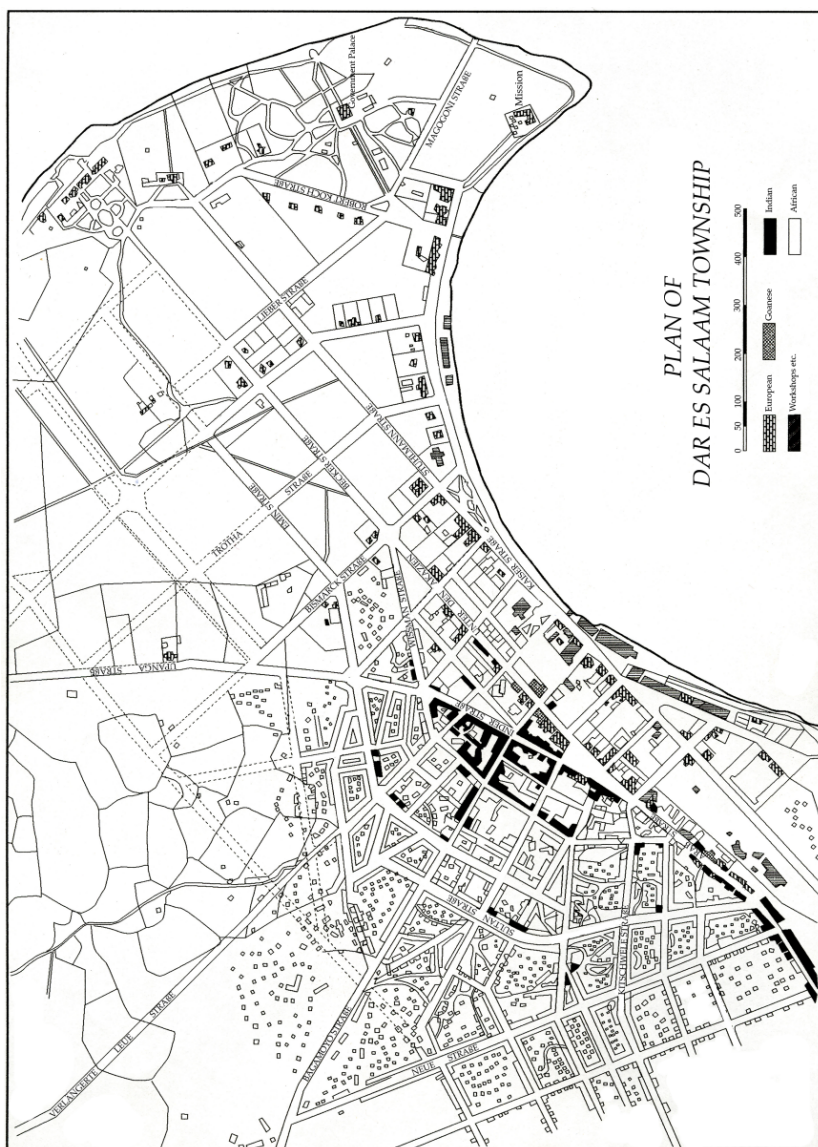


Fig. 1.10 Plan of Dar es Salaam in the early 1900s

Source: Gibb, *Plan for Dar es Salaam*

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Mwinyikuu Shindo, became wealthy planters themselves through land sale profits.⁴³

The earliest Indian and African neighbourhoods of Dar es Salaam were relatively close to the business and administrative quarters. Rising rents scattered poorer Africans away from the centre, thus rendering moot German discussions (from 1905) about creating an isolated African residential quarter.⁴⁴ Housing for the town's core population expanded westward. Adjacent to the 'militarized' western end of the harbour lay Dar es Salaam's Indian neighbourhood, centred around Inderstrasse (still India Street), and bordered to the south by Unter den Akazien (now Samora Avenue) and to the north by Marktstrasse (Indira Gandhi Street) and Wissmannstrasse (Makunganya Street). This was a densely built-up area containing stone buildings that let in little light or air. To the southwest, where the railway was commenced in 1905, lay Gerezani, at that time a mixed neighbourhood of Asians and Africans presently joined by Greek and Italian immigrants taking up residence for construction work. To the north of Marktstrasse and south of both Sultanstrasse (now roughly Bibi Titi Mohammad Road and Libya Street) and Ringstrasse (Jamhuri Street) lay an overwhelmingly African neighbourhood of *makuti* huts, with a handful of Indian residents inhabiting stone buildings next to the town market (roughly at Indira Ghandi between Mosque Street and Morogoro Road). Finally, in what is today Mnazi Mmoja, lay the periphery of Dar es Salaam in 1905, a completely unplanned area of *makuti* huts that housed many of the domestic servants or 'boys' of European households.⁴⁵

The population of Dar es Salaam grew in spurts. Although figures are not wholly reliable, they suggest it expanded from as little as 3,000 in 1887 to around 10,000 in 1894, and then to 13,000 by 1898. By 1900 it had leaped to 20,000, but after this increased slowly to reach 22,500 by 1913.⁴⁶ It remained a modest urban centre. Bagamoyo had almost as large a permanent population (18,000) as Dar es Salaam in 1900, and was considerably larger when caravans were in town, surging to as high as 50,000.⁴⁷ Waged employment drew African immigrants to Dar es Salaam, who spent more and more time in or near the town. The economic incorporation of peri-urban areas offered economic and residential opportunities for immigrants. Nearby villages such as Kisutu immediately to the north of town, Magogoni across the harbour, and Kurasini to the southwest grew in population, as did settlements along the Msimbazi creek. Africans could also build structures on Indian- and Arab-owned land near the town, but rarely could on European-owned land.⁴⁸ Zaramo, who form the overwhelming majority of the surrounding areas and constituted 47 percent of the urban unskilled workforce in 1894, were particularly identified with outlying villages such as Buguruni, Tabata, and Ubungo; likewise Shomvi with coastal villages such as Kunduchi and Msasani. Protestant Missions helped Sukuma to settle in Msasani and Magogoni; the expansively-defined 'Nyamwezi', who by 1905 purportedly comprised 27 percent of Dar es Salaam's African population, made homes in Kinondoni and along the Msimbazi Valley; Ngoni came to settle in Keko and Kijitonyama; the Nubi or Sudanese settled in Gerezani, and Manyema lived near the city centre until they were relocated to Bagamoyo Road in 1906.⁴⁹

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Community life in Dar es Salaam centred on dance and, in particular, worship. *Ngoma* festivities enlivened the African quarter at night, with a range of dances accompanying nocturnal rhythms, notably *lelemama*—a pan-ethnic dance performed by urban African women.⁵⁰ Worship was organised along communal lines. In the late 1880s, August Leue reported that the ‘Muscat Arabs’ and their ‘Viroboto’ (literally ‘fleas’, referring to the mainly Baluchi mercenary troops of the Sultan) attended their own mosque, separate from Indians and Africans, who each had their own mosques, and largely confined themselves to these spaces. Education was similarly a ‘community’ matter. Muslim African children could gain a basic Islamic education at a local *madrasa*.

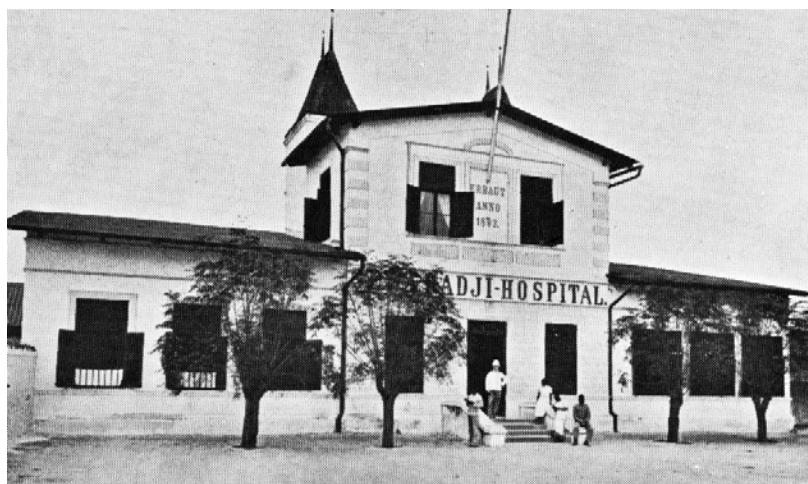


Fig. 1.11 *Sewa Haji Hospital* (1908)

Source: *Medizinal-Berichte über die Deutschen Schutzgebiete*, reproduced in J. E. G. Sutton (ed.), *Dar es Salaam: City, port & region* (Dar es Salaam, 1970)

– in 1898 there were three private *madrasa* with a high reputation – for learning quranic recitation and rudimentary Arabic. A government school was established in 1895, and by 1897 was attended regularly by some forty students ranging in age from 7 to 35; additionally some 39 Indian students took advanced courses in Gujarati at this school.⁵¹ Failing to attract many African followers in the city centre, Catholic and Protestant missions deliberately moved into peri-urban and rural areas to pursue their work. The Benedictine mission established at Kurasini both an African girls’ boarding school and African boys’ school in 1896, which attracted 73 girls and over 100 boys, respectively.⁵² The Lutheran Evangelical mission had already relocated its school (and students) to Kisarawe by 1893. In terms of converts to Christianity, German-controlled Dar es Salaam proved to be ‘a barren area’.⁵³

Alongside its strategic military and political functions, the town’s economic importance slowly grew. Despite the surprising tenacity of Bagamoyo to remain

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the centre of regional trade and finance until around 1907, a number of commercial houses, such as *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, Oswald & Company, and Hansing & Company relocated their businesses from Zanzibar to Dar es Salaam, and the *Deutsch Ost Afrikanische Bank* opened in the capital in 1909.⁵⁴ Trade stood at the centre of most people's livelihoods—be it a shopowner, a hawker, or visiting farmer. The Indian bazaar and two market halls, all in the Indian quarter, stood as the focal point of local business—the market halls were taken over by the *Kommune* or municipal administration established in 1899.⁵⁵ Others came for wages. Race, more than skill, determined wage differentials among the town's workforce. In the late 1890s, a Goan skilled builder could earn between 2.5-3 rupees per day, while a Hindu and Muslim Indian doing the same work would earn between 2-2.5 rupees per day. A 'Swahili' skilled worker could earn 40 Pesa per day (64 Pesa = 1 Rupee), twice that of a Swahili unskilled worker (at 15-20 Pesa per day), but only about one-fourth of that earned by Indian skilled workers.⁵⁶ Wealthy Indian and Arab investors, such as Sewa Haji and Suleiman bin Nassor, circulated money made in towns back into peri-urban areas, and vice-versa.⁵⁷ The German government in particular had a conflicting relationship with the Indian community, which grew in size from 100 in 1891, to 900 in 1900, and leaped to 2,600 by 1913. On the one hand it was reliant upon Indian capital for key urban investments—including Sewa Haji's gift of 12,400 rupees to build a school and hospital. Yet the state was also pressured by European settlers, businessmen, and some of its own officials—who criticised Indians on grounds of unfair trading and unhygienic practices—to restrict Indian immigration and commercial penetration.⁵⁸ This tension would remain a major theme



Fig. 1.12 *The Governor's Palace, Dar es Salaam, as it appeared after British naval forces had captured the town*

Source: Hill, *Permanent Way*



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throughout Dar es Salaam's history.

By 1912, with the railway now amply supplying Dar es Salaam's food requirements, the German state no longer felt the need to encourage European settler development in the peri-urban areas, and instead sought greater control over how land was acquired in the interests of future urban planning based on racial segregation. To realize this, the administration imposed limits on land transactions in Msimbazi, Msasani, Mtoni, and Kitschwele between 1912 and 1913, and began to purchase Indian and Arab lands in Upanga for European development. Most importantly, the state acquired Schöller's shamba (formerly owned by the Sultan) in 1913 to create a planned African neighbourhood (now Kariakoo) and an adjacent *cordon sanitaire* (now Mnazi Mmoja) that would separate it from the rest of the town.⁵⁹ Such plans entailed enormous investment—land prices had been rising rapidly since 1900, increasing ten-fold between 1900 and 1908 along Acacia Avenue, and sixteen-fold between 1903 and 1913 at the Berlin Mission site.⁶⁰ The 1914 Building Ordinance outlined a future of closer administration based on racial segregation, and augured greater state investment in urban infrastructure—as late as 1914 the town lacked an efficient sewerage system.⁶¹ However, these plans were cut short by the outbreak of war.

The First World War transformed Dar es Salaam into a full-scale military encampment. Upon the war's outbreak, Governor Schnee ordered the implementation of standing war plans to sink Dar es Salaam's floating dock in order to block the harbour. Fleeing the insecurities of warfare breaking out along the northern and western borders as well as on the coast, white settlers and Indian traders relocated to the capital, where they were joined by African carriers and soldiers. By early 1916, there were over 1,000 African *Schutztruppe* in the capital.⁶² The British Navy bombarded Government House and the railway workshops in December 1914, but otherwise the town itself did not figure in military action until British forces moved in unopposed to occupy Dar es Salaam on 4 September 1916 after a protracted siege.⁶³ The former German capital became the principal military cantonment of allied forces in East Africa, supporting the campaign against the famously elusive German military. It also became a veritable infirmary. The city's European hospital, Kaiserhof Hotel and government buildings served to care for over 2,000 Europeans; tent hospitals accommodated over 3,500 Africans.⁶⁴ The strain of feeding and housing military forces and interned enemy subjects, a massive drought in 1917-18, and the collapse of local German currency and hinterland trade networks, together brought economic breakdown and severe food shortages to the town and surrounding areas that did not abate until 1920.⁶⁵ Interned German families at least enjoyed guarantees of sustenance provided by humanitarian conventions; Dar es Salaam's African population did not, forcing many to migrate upcountry. Civilian administration returned in January 1919, and during the latter half of that year, another four thousand Africans in Dar es Salaam, mostly demobilized military soldiers and porters, 'were forced out of town'.⁶⁶ Combined with the decampment of thousands of Europeans, the net result was a massive decrease in the town's population, perhaps as dramatic as from 34,000 in 1914 to 16,886 by 1921.⁶⁷ Rapid



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depopulation afforded the incoming British greater freedom to take up German plans and remake Dar es Salaam along segregationist lines.

Dar es Salaam between the wars

The inter-war period was a time of transition for Dar es Salaam, though it was marked more by continuity than change—with the British at this time reluctant to bear the cost, or responsibility, for radical interventions. German plans for urban segregation were adopted and put into effect in 1924 amendments to the Township Rules, when the town was split into three zones. Broadly reflecting the pre-existing social geography of Dar es Salaam, this planning legislation had a profound effect on its future development; resulting in a town of racially and/or socially segregated neighbourhoods that in some cases have existed up to the present. Through their prescription of differing building standards in each of the three zones, the new rules were mostly successful in entrenching segregation. European inhabitants were overwhelmingly located in Zone I, which included the old German quarter, northeast of the city centre, and embryonic coastal suburbs to the north. Indians were concentrated in Zone II, the congested bazaar which provided both residential and commercial quarters for what was, between the wars, Dar es Salaam's fastest growing community. The core of the African population was in Kariakoo and, from the late 1920s, in Ilala; though a number of urban 'villages' were also incorporated within the township boundary, notably Gerezani (demolished in the 1920s/30s) and Keko. British intentions to effect racial zoning are amply demonstrated by the removal of houses occupying a so-called 'neutral zone' that was to act as a sanitary buffer between the African township and Zones I & II. This area of racially mixed housing was by the 1930s cleared to form the 'Open Space', colloquially re-named Mnazi Mmoja after an urban locale of the same name in Zanzibar Town.⁶⁸

The different residential and commercial quarters of Dar es Salaam were by this time evolving a familiar character. Comfortable suburbs of well-spaced houses with large, tropically lush gardens spread north from Kivukoni through Sea View to—from the 1930s—Oyster Bay. This upmarket area of tree-lined avenues and surfaced roads acquired the colloquial name of Uzunguni, or place of the Europeans. African entry was restricted to those in European employ, notably servants, though, to the consternation of officials and the convenience of local residents, itinerant salesmen would periodically hawk their goods there from house to house.⁶⁹ Acacia Avenue, stretching from Kivukoni towards the railway station, formed the main European shopping area, though most businesses here were owned by Indians. These blended in with the principal concentration of Indian businesses in the contiguous 'bazaar', an area also known as Uhindini. By the 1920s, this area consisted of two- and three-storey stone buildings, alongside more numerous makeshift single-storey structures doubling as both home and *duka*. Living conditions and sanitation were poor, a fact frequently bemoaned by European officials.⁷⁰ The high demand for limited accommodation exacerbated the situation,

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Fig. 1.14 *Post Office, Main Avenue (1929)*

Source: Gibb, *Masterplan*

resulting in exorbitant rents and overcrowding.⁷¹ However, the growing prosperity of the Indian community resulted in the transformation of this neighbourhood. From the mid-1930s especially, more humble dwellings were demolished to make way for stylised buildings incorporating a diverse array of architectural influences from classical to Indian. There was a degree of residential differentiation, with concentrations of religious groups in areas surrounding their communal religious buildings—notably Ismailis in the vicinity of their *Jamaat Khan* on Mosque Street, and Hindus around Kisutu Street—although communities tended more generally to be mixed.⁷² It was a bustling location, the commercial hub of the capital. An influx of African workers entered this ‘commercial zone’ daily; others came to hang around and see what work they could pick up; still others engaged in petty crime such as pickpocketing and bag snatching.⁷³ Indian anxiety over the African presence in Uhindini was often expressed,⁷⁴ and tension between the two communities periodically resulted in unrest.⁷⁵

Such tension also existed in neighbouring Kariakoo. Although this was the principal African residential area, and technically off limits for Indian housing, officials turned a blind eye to Indians who moved to Kariakoo to take advantage of lower prevailing rents.⁷⁶ In addition, Indian traders dominated in the area surrounding the central market.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it remained an overwhelmingly African area (‘non-natives’ occupied just over 8 percent of houses there in 1931⁷⁸), forming the heart of a growing indigenous urban community. Kariakoo was organised in the late days of German rule on a grid pattern, with rows of mostly ‘Swahili’ style, single-storey, six-room houses constructed from mangrove poles and mud, with palm-frond roofs—though over time, as finances allowed, these were converted into more permanent structures.⁷⁹ The town’s main produce market was located at its heart; a ‘large



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and lofty building constructed of iron girders and roofed with corrugated iron and glass' that was open for business from '7am to 8pm for the sale of fish, meat, country produce and refreshments'.⁸⁰ Cooked food items were also available for sale from people's verandahs, and from itinerant hawkers perambulating Kariakoo's dusty streets. Living conditions were poor. Streets were mostly unsurfaced and ill-lit, and access to clean water restricted.⁸¹

Uzunguni, Uhindini and Kariakoo (also known as Uswahilini) formed the principal residential locations for the town's European, Indian and African communities as defined in the township rules. However, equally consequential as colonial segregationist instincts for the future evolution of the town was the emergence of communities beyond official supervision, located on either side of the township boundary. These included the 'Swahili' fishing village at Msasani, growing residential suburbs at Kinondoni and Keko, alongside a string of other villages fringing the township that included Magomeni, Kigogo,



Fig. 1.15 *The Dhow Harbour, Dar es Salaam (1920s?)*

Source: Gerald F. Sayers, *Handbook of Tanganyika* (Dar es Salaam, 1930)

Buguruni, Chang'ombe and Temeke. Few records survive on these communities in the inter-war period, and their relationship to the town at this stage remains unclear. Many peri-urban villages were no doubt simply agricultural or maritime communities interacting only intermittently with the nearby metropolis.⁸² However, villages also provided homes and services for the growing urban population. Many contained significant 'upcountry' communities: in 1930 Magomeni and, remarkably, Msasani contained larger upcountry than coastal populations.⁸³ Meanwhile, villages such as Kinondoni, Segerea and Temeke represented havens for unmediated African leisure, frequented as they were by African imbibers evading the strict municipal regulations on consumption of alcohol.⁸⁴ In 1938, the unplanned growth of Kinondoni into a large residential area forced the government to zone the area as quarters for African servants employed by Europeans in nearby Oyster Bay.⁸⁵ The incorporation of such communities into the town after the Second World War was to have a shaping influence on Dar es Salaam's social geography.

In the inter-war period Dar es Salaam's position as economic, political and cultural capital of Tanganyika was entrenched. Its infrastructural links with its

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substantial hinterland were consolidated by the extension of the central railway to Mwanza in 1928. The vast majority of the territory's imports and exports passed through the port.⁸⁶ With the construction of a new lighterage wharf in 1929 the volume of traffic reached 273,000 tons in 1930/1—up from 56,000 tons in 1923.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the principal territorial political institution, the Native Administration, was inevitably based in Dar es Salaam; *through* which European officials passed and *to* which African chiefs and notables from throughout the territory were occasionally invited. More significantly, stirrings of African political consciousness were also first evident in inter-war Dar es Salaam, with the *ca.* 1927 formation of the African Association, headquartered from 1931 at New Street in Kariakoo. The organization spread from its Dar es Salaam base to towns throughout Tanganyika, laying a foundation for the later Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).⁸⁸ Meanwhile, *Kiwetu*, the first African-owned newspaper was established in Dar es Salaam by Erica Fiah in 1937, providing an important sounding board for African Association members and fellow intelligentsia.⁸⁹ The territory's main foreign-owned newspapers were also published in and distributed from the capital.⁹⁰

The inter-war years also saw the formation of significant African urban cultural institutions. As described by Tadasu Tsuruta in this collection, football evolved as an important leisure pursuit culminating, by the Second World War, in the emergence of two teams, Yanga (originally New Young) and Simba (originally Sunderland) who were to go on to dominate Tanzanian football. David Anthony, meanwhile, stresses the central role that *hoteli* and *mikahawani* (tea and coffee houses) played in the social life of the town, acting as venues for social organization, politics and gossip.⁹¹ Music and dance were also central to African urban life. *Beni* dance organizations, at their peak in the 1920s, were the prime expression of urban consciousness, noted for 'their proud modernity and multi-tribalism'.⁹² By the 1930s *beni*'s star had waned; though, reflecting Dar es Salaam's role as trendsetter, it had become 'the dance of men in deprived rural areas who aspired to be modern'.⁹³ In town, *dansi*—'international, individualistic ballroom dancing whose personalised sexuality shocked the elderly'—was now *de rigueur* among the New Street *beau monde*.⁹⁴ So-called 'tribal' *ngomas* (drumming and dancing) also remained popular, though in the urban environment were not necessarily ethnically exclusive. In 1931 E. C. Baker, a district official and author of an important survey of the town, observed that 'young men sometimes dance in the *ngomas* of tribes other than their own and the dance tends to regroup society into guilds rather than tribes'.⁹⁵

Dar es Salaam's highly cosmopolitan population reflected the town's territorial and even regional importance. By 1931 the European community had grown to over 1,300. It included representatives from a number of European nations. The Asian community included a handful of Chinese, Arabs and a substantial population of Indians from the sub-continent, many originating from Gujarat. Indians were the fastest growing community in the inter-war period, rising from 2,600 in the closing years of German rule to almost 9,000 in 1937. In the 1931 'native census', members from 167 different African ethnic groups were identified.⁹⁶ They came from throughout

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Tanganyika and beyond. There were substantial immigrant communities from Uganda (Ganda numbered 213 in the census), Nyasaland (Nyasa numbered almost 1,000, although many would have originated from the Tanganyikan side of the lake) and Portuguese East Africa (Yao [1,268], Makonde [492] and Makua [237] came from southern Tanganyika and adjacent Portuguese territory). Nyamwezi (846) and Ngoni (540) were the principle groups from the Tanganyikan interior. However, peoples from the coastal hinterland were numerically predominant: Ndengereko (642), Kami (941), Rufiji (2,022) and above all the Zaramo (6,642).⁹⁷ The best established urban community was that of the Manyema (1,221), a group consisting of former-slaves and their descendants, principally from either side of Lake Tanganyika, who had settled in the town after their emancipation—although the term ‘Manyema’ may have also been shorthand used to describe runaway slaves who chose to live on the coast.⁹⁸ Theirs was the first mosque to be built in the town; they were the only ethnic group to own a freehold cemetery; they were also substantial urban property-owners.⁹⁹ Although there was some ethnic concentration in communities along those arteries connecting Dar es Salaam with ethnic homelands, urban settlements were mostly ethnically mixed.¹⁰⁰

An urban Swahili culture noted for its cosmopolitanism formed an important integrative influence. Swahili itself was universally spoken, whilst Islam was the dominant religion. Although strict adherence was by no means universal, adoption of the ‘social aspects of Islam’ in particular formed an important adaptive response to the urban environment. ‘[T]he donning of a *kanzu*’, observed Leslie in his post-war survey, ‘is a simple but effective membership card enabling the country bumpkin to be accepted as a civilized man’.¹⁰¹ At the same time, however, Islam could also provide expression for emerging social cleavages in the town. The most obvious divide existed between Muslims of African and Indian origin, though there were divisions too within the African community. A 1930s tussle over leadership of a local Islamic institution, the *Jamaitul al-Islamiyya Umumiyya*, for example, arose from tensions between local coastal Muslims and African immigrants including the Manyema.¹⁰²

While Dar es Salaam was (and is) rather more socially cohesive than many African cities (most notably in its ethnically mixed residential communities), a number of notable cleavages were already apparent in the inter-war period. For example, behind the tussle over the *Jamaitul lay Zaramo* and Shomvi resentment over the manner in which they, as the town’s self-styled indigenes, were being superseded by immigrant communities with a firmer foothold in the urban economy.¹⁰³ This found expression in a *wenye mji* (‘owners of the town’)/ *watu wa kujia* (‘immigrants’) divide, that was especially apparent in competition over appointments to urban administrative positions.¹⁰⁴ However, this social dichotomy formed only one source of identification for the Dar es Salaam resident. Tension also existed between, on the one hand, *watu wa pwani* (‘people of the coast’), a broader coastal community that could include not only Zaramo and Shomvi but also peoples from Dar es Salaam’s hinterland such as Rufiji and Ndengereko, and Islamized urban communities such as the Manyema; and, on the other hand, *watu wa bara* (‘mainland people’), upcountry immigrants less well integrated into Dar es Salaam’s dominant Islamic Swahili

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urban culture.¹⁰⁵ The latter included highly visible individuals with close links to the British administration, whose position of influence, affluence and/or responsibility antagonised members of more established urban communities.¹⁰⁶ Most resented were upcountry Africans engaged in the local police force.¹⁰⁷

Such ethnic and religious tensions overlapped with other social cleavages emerging in the town. Most prominent was that dividing the young and old. The demographic profile of Dar es Salaam was overwhelmingly youthful. '[T]here are so few old men', complained Baker, 'that the young ones have no focus round which to gather'.¹⁰⁸ Elders present in the town, moreover, generally lacked a western education and resented the influx of younger educated Africans, whose economic and professional progress undermined their authority.¹⁰⁹ The 'younger generation', by contrast, considered themselves 'more competent to deal with present day affairs than they [elders] are and openly scoff them as inefficient and out of date'.¹¹⁰ The rise to prominence of the so-called *wahumi* ('hooligans' or 'loafers') in commentary on African urban society, meanwhile, reflected generational and economic differentiation, in this case uniting both elders and more established *watu wa kuja*. Youthful immigrants entered the town in great numbers (though did not necessarily remain there long), thereby evading rural parental and customary control. Concern over their ill-discipline, and the social and administrative consequences of the limited economic outlets for their youthful energy, found expression in their demonization as *wahumi*. With an increase in rates of urbanization from the late 1930s this social category was to become increasingly prominent in Dar es Salaam.¹¹¹

There were substantial disparities in the livelihoods provided by the town to different sections of the urban population. The 1931 census recorded a variety of occupations adopted by urban Africans, though the economy was dominated by three forms of labour in particular: dock labour (which accounted for 1,642 out of a workforce of 13,754); casual labour (2,425); and domestic service (the largest single category at 2,873).¹¹² Young, uneducated immigrants demonized as *wahumi* occupied the bottom rung in the urban economy, adopting a variety of poorly comprehended means to subsist; from the legitimate, such as casual labour, to the illegitimate, such as petty crime. Formally employed blue-collar workers were marginally better off, though the miserable wages that prevailed offered them little comfort. Malnutrition and indebtedness—pawn-brokers conducted a thriving business in the town—were rife, a situation exacerbated by the depression which impacted severely on urban livelihoods.¹¹³ Numerous reports, from the late 1920s on, uncovered desperate living conditions for the majority of the urban workforce, which struggled to get by on the starvation wages provided. The informal sector appears to have offered an essential supplement to waged work. Women were particularly active, both on their own account and to help supplement a partner's wages; engaging in a variety of petty commerce including the sale of charcoal and firewood and the preparation and sale of foodstuffs.¹¹⁴ Peri-urban agriculture also helped supplement negligible urban incomes. The onset of depression in the early 1930s saw both a sudden increase in itinerant trading and heightened agricultural activity in the surrounding countryside.¹¹⁵

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Fig. 1.16 *The Colonial Secretariat on Azania Front (1950s?)*

Source: Sutton, *Dar es Salaam*

However, the most striking impact of the depression was a substantial outflow of population, indicating low prevailing levels of urbanization and proletarianization.



Other sections of the urban population were considerably better off. Those Africans with sufficient education to obtain white-collar work—a fraction of the population¹¹⁶—noticeably so. In 1939 the highest-paid African clerks received incomes of Shs. 200/- a month at a time when sixty percent of the workforce received under Shs. 60/-, some receiving as little as Shs. 7/-.¹¹⁷ Another route to urban prosperity was through property. Apart from servants' quarters that might be provided by wealthier employees, provision of African housing in inter-war Dar es Salaam was left up to Africans themselves, many of whom took up the opportunity with alacrity, profiting handsomely from high prevailing rents. According to Baker: 'A house takes the place of the cattle of the backward tribesmen—it is the one form of investment of the urban native'. Interestingly, women were amongst the highest profile property-owners.¹¹⁸ Many were Manyema, who superseded the pre-colonial Zaramo *mawinyi* ('landlords') much to the resentment of their *wenye mji* descendants.¹¹⁹ However, resentment over the more considerable disparities of wealth between different racial communities in the town was rather more common. If better-off Africans derived incomes their more humble fellow townsmen could only dream of, the apparent riches obtained by many Indian and European residents was barely conceivable. Indians bore the brunt of this resentment,¹²⁰ though the community was by no means universally well-off, incorporating as it did



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humble street traders alongside middling skilled artisans and affluent merchant families such as the Karimjees. The European community was more economically homogeneous, consisting predominantly of salaried professionals, either working in the Tanganyikan government, mercantile commerce or local services such as the port, railway, schools and hospitals.

Administrative structures to govern Dar es Salaam's heterogeneous population were erected shortly after World War One. A Township Authority was established under the Township Ordinance of 1920, which between the wars was composed solely of European and Indian representatives. It was responsible for the provision and maintenance of urban infrastructure and amenities, sanitation and the regulation of trade. Meanwhile, a district administration was also established whose primary responsibility was African affairs, under the supervision of the District Officer (later, District Commissioner). The *livali*, a coastal Arab, was the most senior non-European, acting as an arbitrator in most civil matters but performing no direct supervisory role. In 1921, the German administrative system of unpaid headmen was overhauled and five paid officials were installed—still called *majumbe*—who were supervised by an *akida*. Establishing the authority of African intermediaries in the township was problematic and the Native Administration was to undergo a number of changes—notably the scrapping of the *akida* and the later introduction of three *wakili* to supervise the *majumbe* in 1942. Complications arose from the heterogeneity and sophistication of the urban population. Colonial administrators failed to identify individuals who had sufficient legitimacy amongst urban African communities, and at the same time were willing, and able, to carry out unpopular measures demanded of them by the District Office.¹²¹



World War Two and its aftermath

The Second World War had a dramatic impact on Dar es Salaam, as it had for the wider territory.¹²² While the inter-war period was characterised largely by administrative neglect, conjunctural circumstances prompted increasing colonial intervention from 1940. This was occasioned above all by a significant acceleration in urban growth that slightly pre-dated the outbreak of war. Between 1938 and 1944 Dar es Salaam's African community increased by over 50 percent, from 26,000 to 40,000.¹²³ This signalled a lasting shift in both the scale *and* nature of urbanization. Up till the Second World War downturns in the urban economy had occasioned significant African out-migration, such as occurred during World War One and in the early 1930s. By contrast, worsening urban living conditions in the 1940s were actually accompanied by accelerating urbanization. A serious problem of unemployment had re-emerged by 1939, while the miserable wages received by those in employment were increasingly inadequate at a time of spiralling inflation. Nevertheless, a combination of poor conditions in the town's rural hinterland, an increasing need for access to cash and the opportunities the town provided for formal *and* informal sector work, alongside the intrinsic

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glamour of life in the capital, influenced an upsurge in rural-urban movement.¹²⁴

Conditions in the capital in the late 1930s and early 1940s prompted unprecedented official attention.¹²⁵ Reports uncovered an increasingly impoverished urban African population, whose access to basic necessities such as food, clothing and housing had deteriorated thanks partly to wartime austerity measures that restricted imports into Tanganyika. Rapid urban growth intensified demand, thereby stoking serious inflationary pressure. Recognizing the potential political and social consequences of inaction, government intervened. In 1940, government wage rates were increased. The following year, the Economic Control Board was established in order to counter inflation by exerting some influence over the supply and demand of commodities. Finally, in 1943 a system of rationing was introduced in Dar es Salaam (and other towns) to restrict over-consumption and ensure that basic necessities were available at an affordable price. These innovations had unforeseen consequences. By institutionalising an ensured urban food supply, they actually encouraged rural-urban migration, thereby exacerbating the situation in the town. They stimulated awareness among the African population of entitlements to basic necessities that the government was at least in part responsible for. Moreover, the manner in which rationing was differentiated along communal European, Asian and African lines resulted in heightened racial consciousness among Africans. This was further stimulated by the growing economic power of an expanding urban Indian population, which was increasingly apparent in part through the continued existence of a thriving black market in scarce commodities which government intervention had done little to curb, and through an influx of Indians living in the nominally African quarter of Kariakoo.¹²⁶ Deteriorating conditions in the African township, upon which colonial initiatives had minimal impact, further heightened African grievances.¹²⁷ These were powerfully expressed in a dramatic strike shortly after the war, in 1947, that paralysed the capital for over a week, and spread throughout Tanganyika.¹²⁸

In the wake of the strike, concerted efforts were made to address what was considered the protesters' most serious grievance, the shortage and consequent high cost of housing. Up to circa 1940, sufficient accommodation had been constructed by African landlords to house an urban population undergoing only slow (and occasionally negative) growth. In 1931 Baker had observed that 'nowhere [wa]s overcrowding common'.¹²⁹ However, the upsurge in urban influx from the late 1930s occurred at a time when, thanks to wartime conditions, building materials were in increasingly short supply. This had serious repercussions, with the cost of housing spiralling in relation to wages, and overcrowding and even homelessness assuming growing seriousness.¹³⁰ The need for government intervention was acknowledged as early as 1942, though a plan was not initiated until 1946, and by the end of 1947 just 41 new houses—in Ilala—were available for occupation. Further houses were built in Ilala in the late 1940s, though the most consequential response to the strike was an ill-considered attempt to build 1,000 houses in temporary materials at Jangwani, north of Kariakoo—in the event only 79 were erected at

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Fig. 1.17 Dar es Salaam and environs in 1941

Source: Tanzania National Archive File 61/643/3






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Fig. 1.18/19 *Junction of Arab Street and Kichwele Street (now Nkrumah/Uhuru Streets) in 1905 and 1949*

Source: *Gibb, Plan for Dar es Salaam*






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considerable expense. Such minimal progress meant the housing crisis persisted into the 1950s. As a result, peri-urban settlements expanded apace, some of which were now merging with the town proper to become Dar es Salaam's first urban shanties—notably Buguruni. Meanwhile, government land closer to town at Makaburi, Gerezani and Keko 'filled with what promised to be a series of slums dangerous to health and order'.¹³¹


The mounting urban crisis evident from the early 1940s also elicited revisions in administrative policy. The most striking response to deteriorating conditions was actually stillborn. This involved a 1940 proposal to excise Zone III from the remainder of the town and declare it the autonomous African settlement of Kariakoo. It was envisaged this would address problems arising from European and Asian economic and political dominance in Dar es Salaam, and at the same time present opportunities to introduce structures of African urban governance. However, such a bold initiative turned out to be politically unfeasible. In the event, more modest reforms were made to the system of municipal governance. In 1941 and 1943, one then two African representatives were introduced onto the Township Authority.¹³² After the war, three 'Ward Councils', covering Ilala, Kariakoo, and Kisutu, Upanga, and Kinondoni, were established as an outlet for urban African opinion.¹³³

Late-colonial Dar es Salaam



In the fourteen years between the dockworkers' strike and independence, Dar es Salaam was transformed from the modest colonial town of the inter-war period into an emerging metropolis whose economic and political significance to the wider territory was greater than ever. This transformation was influenced by a number of factors. While it was recognized during the war that the neglect suffered by the urban African population was no longer sustainable, it was not until the late 1940s that the shift in policy had a tangible impact. The numerous infrastructural and administrative initiatives enacted thereafter were also influenced by a broader policy context, in which the notion of development had become paramount, resulting in a significant expansion in investment in the socio-economic potential of colonial territories. Simultaneously, conditions within Tanganyika were conducive to Dar es Salaam's growth. Local capital built up during and immediately after the war sought avenues for investment. Moreover, rising commodity prices and burgeoning exports/imports resulted in boom conditions that lasted up to the mid-1950s.¹³⁴

Accelerating urbanization was maintained throughout the closing years of colonial rule. All three racial communities grew apace. A European population of just over a thousand in 1940 was by 1957 approaching five thousand, consisting of an expanded official community alongside representatives of commercial interests attracted by more propitious post-war conditions. An Asian community, dominated by those originating from the Indian sub-continent, rose from under nine thousand in 1940 to almost thirty thousand in 1957. This was partly fuelled by renewed recruitment of Indian civil servants



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Fig. 1.20 *Street scene, Ring Street (now Jamhuri Street), 1949*

Source: Gibb, *Plan for Dar es Salaam*



Fig. 1.21 *African tailor in front of a khang/kitenge stall (no date)*

Source: Tanzania Information Services

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following the Second World War, but above all by increased birth rates among Indians already resident in Dar es Salaam.

Over the same period the urban African population grew from 34,750 to 93,363. For educated Africans the lure of Dar es Salaam grew ever stronger. It was at the cutting edge of political, social and cultural trends; and as the commercial and administrative capital provided opportunities for the bright and ambitious from throughout Tanganyika. In 1957 Molohan observed in the town 'the nucleus of a middle class which enjoys a relatively comfortable standard of living and regards itself as a different and superior stratum of African society', comprising of 'mostly higher paid clerical workers, small-scale entrepreneurs, traders etc.'¹³⁵ However, the workforce remained overwhelmingly blue-collar and the bulk of migrants were poorly educated. In his 1956 survey, Leslie found that only 25 percent of the male urban population had completed primary education (and a mere 7 percent of urban women). An increasing proportion were from Dar es Salaam's hinterland—in the 1931 census groups from Eastern Province had made up 48 percent of the total urban population, by 1955 they made up 55 percent of a significantly larger population.¹³⁶ While for the educated African urban prospects were good, for most migrants getting by through informal economic activities, or poorly paid, and often irregular, unskilled labour, life remained a struggle.

A submission received by Leslie from an African resident—in response to questions posed in the course of his survey—attempted to explain the conundrum of rapid urbanization occurring at a time when urban living conditions were poor. The scene is set in a village, as an educated African with urban employment returns to his rural home:

[E]veryone comes to welcome the conquering hero... they can smell Lux on him, see his stockings girt about him, a watch on his wrist to tell the time, rhumba records rend the air, a cycle carries him, small change jingles in his pockets, coppers are tossed out as worthless; what, you live in a village without electricity? No cinema? No dance hall? No bands? What a dump!

...[I]n the morning, then he rises, a fine *khanga* at his waist, a vest proudly flying at the mast, towel over his shoulder, a toothbrush in his mouth... he washes for a full hour and a half, while scented soap stings the nostrils of the young men waiting outside.... [He] combs his hair and the mirror testifies to his handsomeness—cor! His parting shows up like Kichwele Street.¹³⁷

[T]hose young men in the room... they know nothing of the dark days to come, but counsel each other, 'This is too much, I *must* go to town'; they are all saying this from the bottom of their hearts. 'Just look at his room, the headman is poor compared to this...' Another: 'These townfolk mix so with Europeans they live like them too, only their skin's a bit darker.' The first says 'Whatever happens, when he goes back I have just got to go with him: here in the country we live, but what a life! It is nothing but work.'¹³⁸

This account seriously underplays more mundane 'push and pull' factors which lay behind rural-urban migration. Nevertheless, its depiction of the allure of life in the capital is revealing of Dar es Salaam's relationship to wider African society.



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The economic boom and accompanying infrastructural development that occurred from the late 1940s resulted in a substantially larger, more diversified and dynamic urban centre, now assuming the dimensions of a true city. Substantial housing construction considerably expanded the physical extent of the town. The 1940s and 1950s saw the emergence of Oyster Bay/Msasani as the principal European residential area. Upanga, to the north of Uhindini, experienced rapid development of Indian housing from the early 1950s (in order to ease conditions in the overcrowded bazaar). African estates, containing government quarters and privately built housing on plots set aside for 'self-development', emerged as northern (Kinondoni), western (Magomeni) and southern (Temeke) suburbs of the town.¹³⁹ The 'Swahili' type house remained the favoured design for those building their own houses. They also provided a home for the vast majority of the population—72 percent according to Leslie's survey—whether on the new estates at Tandika, Magomeni and Kinondoni, or in the older planned areas of Kariakoo and Ilala. Faced with a post-war accommodation crisis, government encouraged self-construction and, with rents high, Dar es Salaam residents responded with alacrity. Leslie found over 12,000 houses were African-owned—with 18 percent of men and a remarkable 47 percent of women owning one house or more.¹⁴⁰ Alongside planned housing developments, the 1950s also witnessed the emergence of substantial un-demarcated 'shanty' settlements. Many had their origins in the peri-urban villages that fringed the town in the inter-war years; others arose from prevailing circumstances of rapid urban growth and accommodation shortage. The former included Msasani, Mikoroshoni and, the biggest of all, Buguruni, where 'a sudden [post-war] tide of settlement' had swamped an 'original nucleus of landowners who... permitted others to settle around them'. The latter included Toroli, and parts of Kipawa and Mtoni. According to Leslie, both types of settlement, in contrast to the planned suburbs which had 'hardly any cohesion at all', 'evolve[d] in such a way, based on priority of settlement, that the community has a certain "structure", an order in society, into which the newcomer can fit himself in the appropriate place'.¹⁴¹

African settlement was characterised by socio-economic differentiation. Government-built housing, known as quarters, was favoured by 'better off' Africans 'in the more responsible, the clerical, and the artisan classes of job', who were also more likely of upcountry origin. Christians constituted 57 percent of the occupants of quarters, as opposed to just 12 percent of the total population. Population density was much lower here, and quarters enjoyed better access to services. Leslie observed a cultural preference for quarters which 'in particular appealed to the man who wanted to live with his own family, and to have some of the modern amenities... they have not appealed to the traditional Coastal man who is not so interested in privacy as in company who prefers to live with others of his kind in the traditional areas and housing of Dar es Salaam'.¹⁴² Zaramo, Rufiji and Ndengereko were barely present in quarters, housing themselves instead in Swahili or village accommodation. Meanwhile, unsurprisingly, a disproportionate amount of unemployed were to be found in un-demarcated settlements.¹⁴³

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While such differentiation characterised settlement patterns, at the same time a marked feature of Dar es Salaam from this stage of its development was a relative lack of distinct segregation, in contrast to the inter-war years. Different forms of housing could be found occupying adjacent areas throughout the town. To the south, to either side of Kilwa Road, were the shanty settlement of Keko, police quarters, and detached housing for European port employees at Kurasini. Along the Morogoro Road, to the west, were shanties such as Kigogo and Magomeni kwa Hanna, alongside substantial government quarters and Swahili estates at Magomeni. Most striking of all, though, was the location of the major shanty of Mikoroshoni, sandwiched between Oyster Bay and Regent Estate, two of Dar es Salaam's most prosperous suburbs. While urban plans, both between the wars and afterwards, had envisaged residential areas developing along broadly—if not explicitly—racial lines,¹⁴⁴ the lack of resources to enforce strict segregation through either prohibition and/or the construction of segregated African housing resulted in the organic growth of a town whose spatial geography was much more socially diverse than neighbouring capitals such as Nairobi or Lusaka. Mikoroshoni forms a perfect example of this organic growth. It had emerged as a residential location for Africans working nearby, in Msasani's quarries



Fig. 1.22 *Lighterage quays (c. 1950s)*

Source: Hill, *Permanent Way*

and as European domestics in particular, for whom convenient and affordable accommodation was non-existent.¹⁴⁵

The post-war economic boom was in part driven by the building industry, which thrived thanks not only to suburban housing development, but also construction projects in central areas, and industrial and infrastructural development. Throughout Dar es Salaam between 1949-51 nearly £1 million

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worth of new residential buildings were completed, £750,000 worth of commercial buildings and over £600,000 worth of industrial buildings. The following year the value of buildings under construction, or planned, was as high as £7 million.¹⁴⁶ The construction of the new Morogoro/Tanga road west through Magomeni provided much needed employment in the mid-1950s, and influenced settlement patterns in its vicinity. The hiatus in Uhindini's growth that had occurred during the war years was ended in the late 1940s, with substantial re-development occurring into the 1960s resulting in the congested but architecturally rich quarter familiar today; the diverse array of buildings now incorporating modernist (notably art deco) influences. The port was also extended with deep water quays constructed in the early 1950s and opened in 1956. The tonnage of goods passing through it increased from 297,000 in 1946 to almost one million in 1956.¹⁴⁷ Unprecedented industrial development also occurred, at the newly established industrial area between Chang'ombe and Ilala, and elsewhere in the town, notably the Tanganyika Packers factory whose imposing, abandoned shell remains one of contemporary Kawe's more eerie sights.¹⁴⁸ Dar es Salaam's labour force—under 14,000 in 1931—had by 1952 reached 36,000, not including those engaged in peri-urban industries such as quarries and sisal estates.¹⁴⁹ Domestic servants, numbering almost five thousand in the late 1940s, predominated, though dockwork was most sought after, thanks to the low qualifications required, the flexibility of the work routine and the relatively high level of wages.¹⁵⁰ In general, however, wages remained low. While work was available, unskilled workers, who constituted a majority of the workforce, were numerous. Official investigations in the early 1950s uncovered miserable living conditions suffered by the bulk of the African population.¹⁵¹

Nevertheless, in the course of the 1950s conditions for urban Africans were improved through a number of colonial initiatives. Alongside planned suburbs, health clinics were introduced at Mnazi Mmoja, Ilala and Magomeni in the mid-1950s; and the old 'native' hospital at Sewa Haji was replaced by the modern Princess Margaret (after independence, Muhimbili) hospital in 1956. After significant expansion had already occurred in primary education in the early 1950s (there were sixteen primary schools in 1956),¹⁵² between 1955 and 1958 the number of African children attending primary schools was increased by 72 percent from 2,500 to 4,400.¹⁵³ Space for an additional 1,600 children was created—the total of 6,000 approximating to the number of children in the primary age group. New middle schools were opened at Magomeni in 1958 and at Temeke shortly afterwards, which boosted Dar es Salaam's existing record of providing places for 38 percent of those attending primary—already the highest in the territory. Compulsory secondary education for all urban children was a long-term goal.¹⁵⁴ Adult education was also proliferating in the town at purpose-built centres run by the Social Development department. The same department was also responsible for the establishment of a number of community centres which provided associational and leisure facilities as part of the late-colonial state's social engineering initiatives aimed at creating 'good citizens of the newly urbanised class of Africans'.¹⁵⁵ While these were not necessarily utilised in the manner hoped for by officials, the

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centres provided welcome institutional space for recreational, social and even political activities for urban Africans, with the main centre on Mnazi Mmoja, named the Arnautoglu Centre after its benefactor of Greek-Turkish origin, becoming—both before and after independence—one of Dar es Salaam's most important social institutions.

Increased provision of social services formed a component of the late-colonial policy of 'stabilization', which envisaged a class of more settled urban Africans enjoying better infrastructure and amenities, and better working conditions. The latter was partly initiated through the imposition of an urban minimum wage in April 1957, which resulted in a swift improvement in the terms of engagement of formally employed workers. However, both higher wages and improving amenities simply stoked the administrators' principal headache by providing further incentives for rural-urban migration at a time when employment was actually contracting. The situation had been exacerbated by economic downturn from 1952 which, alongside the termination of a number of major infrastructural projects in the mid-1950s, had significant repercussions for the urban workforce. By 1958, in spite of undiminished urban growth rates, the number of people in recorded employment had actually declined to 32,000. A problem of urban unemployment assumed increasing seriousness.¹⁵⁶ The colonial administration responded by organising campaigns against those persons without formal employment and/or accommodation who were deemed to have no place in the town. These were colloquially known as '*wahuni* raids', after their principal target: young male migrants predominantly from Eastern Province who entered the town in ever-increasing numbers. In 1956 Leslie found that over 93 percent of the population was 45 or under; and most strikingly that men between 16 and 45 constituted as much as 39 percent of the total population. With waged employment scarce, these migrants contributed to a burgeoning informal economy which colonial officials were at best antipathetic towards; they were also held responsible for rising crime. Officials considered they had no place in the town, repatriating up to 2,000 individuals annually to their rural homes. This did little to stem the flow, and the presence of unemployed, underemployed and informally employed youth remained an enduring headache for colonial administrators and their postcolonial successors.¹⁵⁷

To try to assert more effective control over the burgeoning population, the district administration was extended. The District Office was moved from the administrative centre of Uzunguni to the heart of the African town in 1958 and European officials were posted to offices in the African wards. Moreover, additional European and African staff were employed. By 1960 the number of *wakili* had increased to eleven, and *majumbe* to sixteen. However, the complicated and often contradictory tasks they were asked to perform undermined their position. Diligence in their policing and revenue-collecting roles undermined their support and thus hindered their effectiveness in the other tasks demanded of them.¹⁵⁸ Partly in an attempt to—unsuccessfully—forestall increasing African politicization, half-hearted attempts were also made to democratise local government. The ward councils were expanded in number to seven, made over to elective representation, and were eventually given

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some administrative and financial responsibility.¹⁵⁹ However, executive power remained vested in the European and Indian dominated Municipal Council, which had replaced the Township Authority when Dar es Salaam was declared a municipality in 1949.¹⁶⁰

Lacking meaningful local representation in government, various African organizations in Dar es Salaam began to take up organised anti-colonial politics during the 1940s. The most overlooked and initially influential of these movements was the Wazaramo Union, which was formed in 1938 'for all Wazaramo tribes, to be in one unit, in Dar es Salaam and other outside Dar es Salaam in the Uzaramo Districts'.¹⁶¹ Taking advantage of popular antipathy towards Indian traders and government rationing schemes, the Wazaramo Union gained enormous support in and near the capital after World War Two by promising agricultural cooperative and social welfare services to its members, gaining a membership as high as 30,000 by 1948. Foreshadowing the political strategies of the TANU, the Wazaramo Union pursued party-building by selling membership cards at a series of *baraza* or public meetings held in villages and peri-urban locations, where a parade of automobiles would bring popular speakers and *ngoma* bands to attract large crowds of supporters. The Union demanded, unsuccessfully, that government grant them a paramount *Zaramo Pazi* (chief) and cede significant control over urban local government. Following a major embezzlement scandal, the organization waned



Fig. 1.23 *Aerial view of Kariakoo/City Centre/Harbour circa Independence*

Source: Tanzania Information Services

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Fig. 1.24 *Dar es Salaam circa Independence*

Source: Based on *City of Dar es Salaam Guide Map* (Dar es Salaam, 1962)

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in significance by the early 1950s, yet had blazed many of the political trails for TANU to follow. The other major trailblazers for TANU in Dar es Salaam were labour activists, who had formed in particular around the docks in the late 1930s.¹⁶² Dock strikes in 1939 and 1943 over pay, benefits and living costs disrupted harbour commerce and taught casual and permanent workers the value of solidarity. In September 1947, dockworkers again struck for higher pay, and were joined by African railway workers throughout Tanganyika in what was, according to John Iliffe, 'the most widespread protest in Tanzanian history between the end of the Maji Maji uprising and the formation of TANU'.¹⁶³ A subsequent and disastrous dock strike in 1950, however, ended in riot and destroyed trade union activity in Dar es Salaam until government lifted its prohibition in late 1954.

It was during this lull in labour activism that TANU formed in Dar es Salaam on 7th July 1954. It was the lineal successor to the African Association, which had emerged in Dar es Salaam around 1927 and during the 1930s was divided between 'those who favoured a territorial alliance of educated men and those who sought unity between different social strata in the capital'.¹⁶⁴ While the Wazaramo Union was gathering supporters and confronting the colonial government in the 1940s, the African Association in Dar es Salaam remained an ineffective petitioning organization, ceding political initiative to provincial branches such as Dodoma and Mwanza. Shortly after it transformed itself into the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1948, the Dar es Salaam headquarters had 'apparently collapsed entirely'.¹⁶⁵ The organization revived in the wake of proposed constitutional reforms in 1950, when the TAA demanded a stop to further alienation of land to immigrants, as well as to abolish 'the imposition of Arab Liwalis' and replace them with African *kadhis* or Muslim judges.¹⁶⁶ With organized labour outlawed and the Wazaramo Union failing, the TAA filled the political vacuum in Dar es Salaam by honing a message that systematically criticized racial discrimination, and called for increased expenditure on education, loans, Africanization of the civil service, and constitutional development that emphasized 'the paramountcy of native interests'.¹⁶⁷ In April 1953, Julius Nyerere defeated Abdulwahid Sykes in an election held at Arnautoglu Hall to become TAA President, and thereafter strengthened party headquarters' control over provincial branches.¹⁶⁸ Nyerere was aided immeasurably not only by the support of Abdulwahid Sykes and other members of Dar es Salaam's largely Muslim urban elite, but also by formidable women in town such as Bibi Titu Mohamed, who used her celebrity and immense energy for grassroots party-building.¹⁶⁹ It was during the year 1955 that TANU managed to secure widespread support in Dar es Salaam and surrounding peri-urban areas, with membership leaping from 2,000 in March to 25,000 by September—that same month some 40,000 people attended TANU's first public meeting in the town. The capital served as TANU's territorial springboard for rapid growth in 1956.¹⁷⁰ By 1957, when Leslie wrote his survey of the town, he observed that '[i]t should be understood from the first that African Dar es Salaam is almost 100 percent a Tanganyika African National Union town'.¹⁷¹ As the site where TANU was born and blossomed, and where the peaceful transfer of power occurred on 9 December

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1961, Dar es Salaam represented territory-wide political ambitions with a success that few other African capital cities equalled.

Dar es Salaam after independence

Independence brought significant change to the town. Most importantly, the racial thinking that informed colonial governance was abandoned. From 1960 seats on the Municipal Council were made elective, and the first African mayor, Amri Abedi, was duly appointed. Residential segregation that had influenced urban planning was now untenable, as were colonial laws that restricted African mobility.¹⁷² However, postcolonial Dar es Salaam was fundamentally influenced by trends that were well-established long before 1961. Socio-economic and, in the case of Uhindini, even racial differentiation remained a marked feature of urban space. Mass rural-urban migration, a shaping factor on Dar es Salaam from the late 1930s, continued to exert a powerful influence on urban society and its administration. Similarly, the town's



Fig. 1.25 *The planned Mnazi Mmoja Parliament. In 1967 London architects Anthony R. Davies & Partners designed a new Parliament, planned for construction on Mnazi Mmoja. It had been anticipated that envisaged costs of £1,000,000 were to be met mostly from a British Government loan. However, the loan was frozen after Britain-Tanzania relations were suspended in 1965 and no alternative source of funds appears to have been identified as the Parliament was never built.*

Source: *Tanzania Standard*, 29th April 1967

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postcolonial physical evolution was influenced by late-colonial urban development, both planned and unplanned.

Between the last colonial census of 1957 and the first after independence ten years later, Dar es Salaam's African population almost tripled from 93,363 to 272,821. Early postcolonial growth was fuelled principally by rural-urban migration as opposed to natural increase through town births: in his analysis of the 1967 census, Adolfo Mascarenhas puts the ratio at 2:1. Migration into the town still occurred predominantly from Dar es Salaam's hinterland. Approximately two-thirds of the migrants over the 1957-67 period (63,150) originated from Coast Region (the districts of Bagamoyo, Kisarawe and Rufiji in former Eastern Province), though the capital also contained rapidly expanding populations originating from throughout Tanzania and further afield.¹⁷³ Both push and pull factors influenced the phenomenon. Village conditions in Coast Region were poor. A 1978 survey found protein malnutrition rates among children of 62 percent in Bunju (a village twenty miles from the capital) and an average of 31 percent among children in eight other rural areas, as opposed to 2.5 percent in Manzese, one of the capital's poorer suburbs.¹⁷⁴ Meanwhile, in 1967 as much as 81 percent of Coast Region's employment was concentrated in Dar es Salaam.¹⁷⁵ As the African population grew exponentially other communities shrank, with both the Indian and European populations declining: respectively from 29,986 and 4,479 in 1957 to 29,192 and 3,547 ten years later.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, in the following decade overall urbanization accelerated with Dar es Salaam's growth rate rising from an annual 7.5 to 9.8 percent per annum, the total urban population reaching 769,445 by 1978. It remained a strikingly youthful town. In 1967, 78 percent of the population were under 35 (82 percent in 1978), with a concentration in the young working age bracket: 44 percent were aged between 15-34 (43 percent in 1978). By contrast, those aged 35 or over represented just 22 and 18 percent of the 1967 and 1978 populations. Like other eastern African cities, the proportion of women in Dar es Salaam increased after independence, rising from 42 percent in 1957 to 45 percent in 1967, and 46 percent in 1978.¹⁷⁷

The town's early postcolonial physical growth occurred along and between the major arterial routes already constructed by the 1950s. To the north, along Bagamoyo Road, substantial residential development took place. Towards the coast, Dar es Salaam's upmarket suburbs continued to develop, initially to the south and west of Msasani, then up through Mikocheni reaching Mbezi by the 1980s. In the midst of such affluent areas, Mikoroshoni remained a major shanty settlement. To the west of Bagamoyo Road was perhaps the town's most diverse area of residential settlement, encompassing the expanding colonial planned settlement of Kinondoni, later planned areas at Kijitonyama and Sinza, laid out in the 1970s, and shanty communities at Hanna Nasif and Mwananyamala. Further west, along the Morogoro Road, were the major planned and unplanned settlements of Magomeni and Manzese. The former had been an important area of middle-income housing since its foundation in the mid-1950s. The growth of Manzese, originally a peri-urban village, was stimulated by the construction of the Morogoro Road in the 1950s and by the

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establishment of an industrial area at nearby Ubungo in 1968. Its population grew from under 5,000 in 1967 to 60,000 in 1988, becoming in the process Tanzania's largest unplanned settlement. It gained notoriety as a location of illicit services, notably the area known as Uwanja wa Fisi ('the Field of Hyenas') where prostitution and the illegal manufacture and sale of alcohol were important commercial activities.¹⁷⁸ Dar es Salaam's other major shanty settlement, Buguruni, expanded to the southwest of the city centre, along Uhuru Street past Ilala and towards the parallel Pugu Road. It grew from around 10,000 in the 1960s to almost 50,000 in 1988; and continued to house an unusually large concentration of Zaramo.¹⁷⁹ South of the Pugu Road lay the original industrial area, and out towards the airport the shanties of Yombo and Kipawa. Towards the Kilwa Road, the most southerly arterial route along which residential communities emerged, lay planned and unplanned settlements in Chang'ombe. The former had been constructed for Indian occupation in the 1950s, but in the postcolonial period the Chang'ombe estate was occupied by African residents. Closer to town lay the venerable shanty settlement of Keko, which had provided accommodation for the urban poor since the town's early days, and remained an important residential location in close proximity to the port, Kariakoo and the town centre. Further down from Keko, the Kilwa Road was dominated by employer-constructed quarters originating in the late-colonial period, with a substantial estate devoted to police housing, and former European quarters attached to the docks at Kurasini which were increasingly occupied by Africans. The southern reaches of the Kilwa Road housed a growing population in planned communities at Temeke and Tandika, and the substantial and rapidly expanding unplanned settlement of Mtoni. Mzinga Creek, to the south of Mtoni, provided a barrier to further southward expansion until the growth of Mbagala in the 1980s.¹⁸⁰

Dar es Salaam's social geography continued to display characteristics of both integration and differentiation. As can be seen from the preceding paragraph the town did not exhibit a strict zonal form of socio-economic differentiation, with settlements of all kinds nestling in close proximity to one another. Nevertheless, the various types of residential community that emerged after independence were characterised by widely differing living conditions. Those suburbs located close to the coast and north of the city centre, notably Oyster Bay and the Msasani peninsula, remained exclusive; comprising of detached houses in substantial gardens and enjoying good infrastructure, amenities and services. Population density was low, at just 8.1 persons per acre in 1978.¹⁸¹ Although now more racially mixed, the area was still colloquially known as Uzunguni—with some literal and metaphorical justification, as it boasted both the highest concentration of 'European' residents and the high quality of living associated with them. Other planned suburbs, such as Upanga, Kinondoni or Sinza, while considerably more densely populated, were also blessed with better infrastructure and more accessible services and amenities. Upanga (which along with Kurasini and central parts of town had a population density of 42.4 per acre in 1978) remained an important area of Indian settlement, though increasingly members of other races also came to live there. Outlying suburbs like Kinondoni (population density around 106 per



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Fig. 1.26 *Kariakoo street scene (Swahili houses) (1950s/1960s?)*

Source: Tanzania Information Services

acre in 1978) and Sinza housed an emerging African middle class. Conditions in Dar es Salaam's burgeoning shanties were rather worse. These often labyrinthine settlements were generally hidden from the view: external buildings lining the roadside tended to be of better quality construction than those in the interior of a settlement and were generally commercial rather than residential.¹⁸² Often located in low-lying areas shanties were prone to flooding; though lack of access to clean water was a greater problem, leading to poor sanitation and a high prevalence of disease. Other infrastructure and services, including roads, electricity and health facilities were similarly basic or lacking.¹⁸³

Kariakoo remained the largest concentration of population in Dar es Salaam. Already overcrowded in 1957, when its population numbered 29,000, at a density of 116 persons per acre (in an area designed to accommodate just 76 per acre), by the end of the following decade it had reached 50,000 at 183 per acre.¹⁸⁴ It was not only the residential but also the commercial heart of the African town. By the 1960s Uhuru and Msimbazi Streets were lined with three- to five-storey commercial enterprises. More modernist blocks made their appearance from the 1960s, not least the Ushirika (Cooperative) building on Lumumba Street that loomed over Mnazi Mmoja and eastern Kariakoo, and the brutalist structure erected to replace the colonial market building in 1972. The streets surrounding the market remained the busiest in town; alive



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Fig. 1.27 Aerial view of *St. Joseph's Cathedral and city centre* (ca. 1960)

Source: Tanzania Information Services

with commercial and other activity, where, according to one 1960s observer, '[t]he roar of many... languages is mixed with the drone of the Beatles or the latest Swahili hit'.¹⁸⁵ The residential areas retained a familiar character, composed mostly of unmade roads with sandy surfaces and poor drainage. The single-storey 'Swahili' houses that lined the streets were still predominantly constructed from semi-permanent materials in the late 1960s (just ten percent were made with cement blocks). Only half the houses had electricity and a mere third had piped water.¹⁸⁶

The bazaar formed the other major central concentration of population. As in the colonial period, the area remained the prime business, residential and communal neighbourhood for Dar es Salaam's Indian population. The building boom which had occurred on and off from the mid-1930s, and which had transformed it into a congested quarter of mostly three- or four-storey tenements, continued into the early independence years. In the 1960s substantial modernist apartment blocks were constructed, such as the Investment Promotion Services (IPS) building on Samora Avenue and Azikiwe Street opened by the Aga Khan in 1971—just days before the announcement of the Acquisition of Buildings Act (see below). Communal trusts such as the Aga Khan's Diamond Jubilee Trust Fund played an important part in this area's post-war development.¹⁸⁷ However, in the early 1970s the thirty-odd year construction boom was brought to an end by postcolonial legislation that threatened the city centre's character as the communal heart of Tanzania's Indian population. The 1971 Acquisition of Buildings Act, announced on 22

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Fig. 1.28 *Trade Union procession through Dar es Salaam to mark May Day (1960s)*

Source: Tanzania Information Services

April 1971 to bring greater equality in Tanzania's highly differentiated housing sector through the nationalization of second homes, resulted in the acquisition by the National Housing Corporation of nearly 3,000 buildings in Dar es Salaam between 1971-3, of which 96 percent belonged to South Asians.¹⁸⁸ Alongside its economic levelling effect, it was anticipated that this would result in the de-segregation of Uhindini. However, although in the wake of the act

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more Africans did come to reside there, few stayed long and the community remained overwhelmingly Indian. Its lasting impact was rather on this neighbourhood's communal character, with a substantial exodus (from Tanzania) of the formerly predominant Ismailis, who as the principal property-owners lost most from nationalization. They were replaced by an influx of mainly Ithna'Asheri and Hindu Indians, amongst other things fleeing increasing rural insecurity and the consequences of the 1971 act in smaller upcountry urban centres.¹⁸⁹

Dar es Salaam's position as hub of Tanganyika's (from 1964 Tanzania's) socio-economic, cultural and even—despite Dodoma becoming capital in 1974—political life was entrenched after independence. With the achievement of nationhood it attained an international profile. Ambassadorial and consular representatives flooded into the city during the 1960s, from nine consulates in 1960 to forty-four embassies, high commissions, and consulates by 1967. As the capital of a frontline state, over the next two decades Dar es Salaam played host to liberation movements from throughout Southern Africa, and also served as the headquarters of the Liberation Council for the Organization for African Unity. The rapid influx of political refugees, students, and freedom fighters introduced a new element into Dar es Salaam's population.¹⁹⁰ In 1969, it was the location of the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the Mozambican nationalist movement Frelimo. Dar es Salaam's popular culture was also influenced by and attracted musicians from neighbouring countries, notably the musical dynamo that was the Congo.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, the university, established in 1961 and a hotseat of radicalism in the late 1960s and 1970s, attracted scholars and students (including current Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni) from throughout East Africa and further afield. Regional economic links were also strengthened. A substantial increase occurred in the transit trade from Zambia in particular, after Southern Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. In 1966, 44,000 tons of Zambian copper were exported through Dar es Salaam port; by 1968 this had risen to around 200,000 tons.¹⁹² Increased Zambian trade accelerated the construction of new deep-water berths in 1970 and eventually led to the construction of the Tazara Railway in the mid-1970s, providing an important infrastructural link to Dar es Salaam's southwestern hinterland.

While its industrial development remained modest by international and even regional standards, Dar es Salaam became the nation's economic powerhouse. This was reflected by activity at the port. In 1967 it handled around 63 percent of Tanzania's main export crops, and the total annual exports and imports passing through the port had doubled since 1957 to around two million tons.¹⁹³ Elsewhere in the city substantial postcolonial investment occurred. Major industrial developments included the Wazo cement factory, an oil refinery and the new industrial estate at Ubungu, where the Friendship Textile Mill alone employed over 3,000 workers when it opened in 1967.¹⁹⁴ In the first decade after independence the construction industry also remained buoyant, with over 8,000 houses built by the National Housing Corporation, and substantial development occurring in the city centre in the private and state sectors. There was also a significant expansion in government

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employment—between 1966-76 the civil service expanded at an average annual rate of 13.3 percent—which Dar es Salaam in particular benefited from as the administrative and (until 1974, at least) political capital.¹⁹⁵ In 1967 Dar es Salaam's share of national formal employment was almost twenty percent, and over the following decade wages earned there constituted on average over one third of the national wage bill.¹⁹⁶ Recorded employment in Dar es Salaam grew from around 33,000 in 1959, to 65,720 in 1967, and to around 130,000 in 1978 (see Fig. 1.29).¹⁹⁷

Fig. 1.29 *Employment in Dar es Salaam, 1966 & 1979*

Sector	1966	%	1979	%
Manufacturing	13,219	22.4	37,410	29
Commerce	6,937	11.7	14,000	10.8
Public services & utilities	16,529	28	33,000	25.6
Transportation & communication	11,655	19.7	26,000	20.1
Construction	10,028	17	16,000	12.4
Agriculture	653	11.1	2,600	2
Mining & quarrying	49	0.1	90	0.1
Total	59,070		129,100	

Source: 1978 Masterplan cited in De Boer, 'Urban renewal', p. 39

While there was significant growth in formal employment in the first post-independence decades, however, more striking was the dramatic expansion of both the informal economy and unemployment—despite an official urban policy that resolutely opposed both. Even with the relatively benign economic conditions that prevailed up to the mid-1970s, the formal economy's capacity for job-creation was swamped by rapid urban growth. A serious problem of structural unemployment which had first manifested itself in the late-colonial period, influenced by a complex mix of demographic, socio-cultural and economic factors, continued to deteriorate after independence.¹⁹⁸ A social survey conducted in Kariakoo in the late 1960s recorded male unemployment at 11 percent and those men who identified themselves as engaged in petty trade or as self-employed artisans at 14 percent: a combined total of 25 percent non-waged.¹⁹⁹ Collier calculated national urban rates of 10.2 and 12.2 percent

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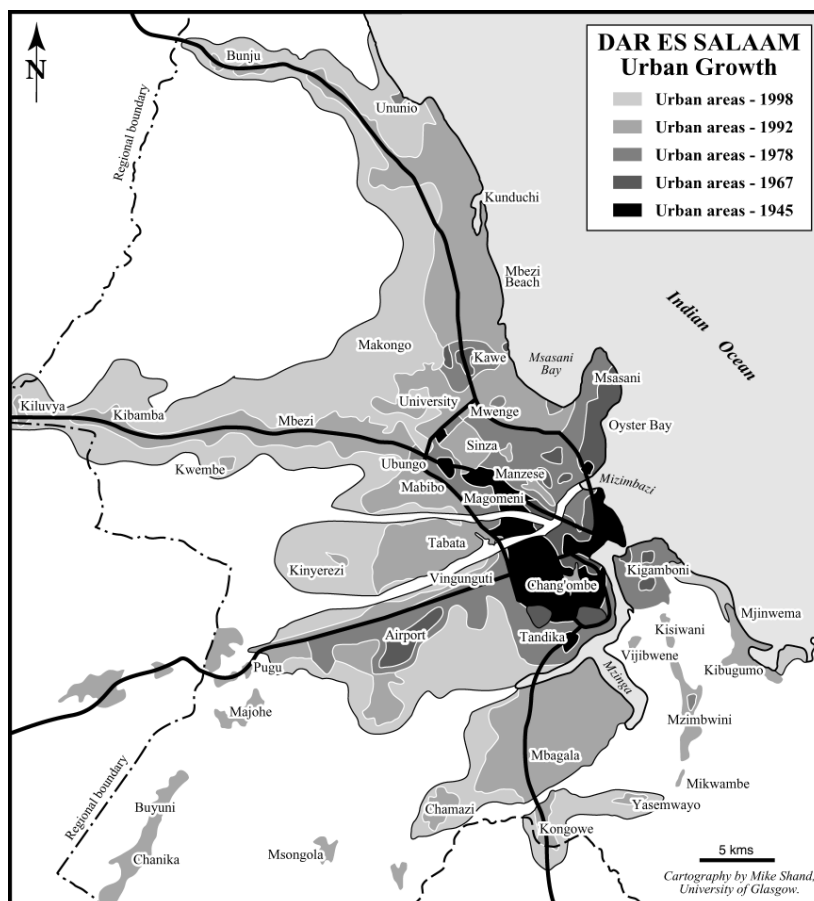


Fig. 1.30 Dar es Salaam's urban growth, 1945-1998


Source: Based on map in John Briggs & David Mwamfupé, 'Peri-urban development in an era of structural adjustment in Africa: the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Urban Studies* 37 (4): 797-809. The authors thank Mike Shand, John Briggs and David Mwamfupé for making this map available for this book.

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respectively in 1969, and of 16 and 21 percent in 1975.²⁰⁰ Deteriorating economic conditions from this time, and particularly post-1979, had a dramatic impact on the situation. In a 1978 survey Ishumi found a quarter of those aged 16-40 identified themselves as unemployed.²⁰¹ Half of them depended upon relatives or friends to get by; a quarter engaged in occasional petty trade, notably the sale of fruits—a perennial standby for those on the economic margins.²⁰² A third originated from Coast Region, and 13.3 percent from Dar es Salaam itself. Around the same time a dramatic decline in the real value of wages—which fell between 1974-88 by 83 percent—led to an efflorescence of informal economic activity, as even those in salaried employment were no longer guaranteed a subsistence. By the mid-1980s those entirely reliant on some form of self-employment (including urban agriculture) had increased dramatically to around 60 percent of the adult population; whilst two-thirds of those with waged work were also reliant on self-employment to get by.²⁰³

The process of informalization was even more pronounced in relation to urban housing. The expansion of unplanned settlements that had been a feature of the late-colonial town, accelerated after independence. Public housing construction, which entailed a programme designed to address both demand and, theoretically at least, socio-economic residential differentiation, was swamped by rapid urban growth.²⁰⁴ By 1979 a majority of the urban population was housed in unplanned settlements—478,489 out of a population of 769,445. These included not only impoverished communities such as Manzese or Mikoroshoni, but also middle class residential areas like Kimara and Mlalakua.²⁰⁵

This informalization of residential and economic urban space flew in the face of official policy which sought both to exert control over the urban arena and to restrict urbanization. Indeed, as in the colonial period, governmental policy remained resolutely anti-urban. This was especially so after the Arusha Declaration. *Ujamaa* philosophy fortified official suspicions of urban populations, Dar es Salaam's above all, as thriftless idlers engaging in unproductive activities that contributed little to nation-building. An ILO report from 1967 that identified a significant shift in the terms of trade between urban wage-earners and agriculturalists, served to confirm the view of urbanization as a process resulting in the essential exploitation of a primarily rural nation. The most dramatic administrative expression of such attitudes saw the city stripped of its status as both capital, which was moved to the significantly smaller if more central Dodoma in 1974, and municipality, the city being divided into three districts of Temeke, Ilala and Kinondoni in 1972.²⁰⁶ They found more pervasive expression in an official rhetoric of anti-urbanism that sought to de-legitimize occupation of urban space, and an accompanying policy of purges in the form of campaigns against the unemployed, underemployed and informally employed who, as we have seen, constituted a growing proportion of the urban population. Through such measures, TANU (renamed *Chama cha Mapinduzi* or CCM after 1977) officials sought to guide urban development. However, Dar es Salaam's evolution as a rapidly growing city in which the informal was in the ascendant had by the 1950s already developed a momentum that both colonial and postcolonial administrators proved powerless to resist.²⁰⁷



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Dar es Salaam since *mageuzi*, 1984 – present



When Julius Nyerere handed over office to Ali Hassan Mwinyi in November 1984, the Tanzanian economy was in a shambles. Real GDP per capita had declined for four consecutive years, compared with a 5 percent average growth during the 1960s; the country's debt-service ratio stood at 70 percent.²⁰⁸ Mwinyi agreed to the adoption of conventional liberalization reforms required by the International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programme, and *ujamaa* soon gave way to *mageuzi*, or the capitalist 'transformation' deeply felt among Dar es Salaam's population. State retrenchment meant the steady replacement of education and health care subsidies with cost-sharing. The subsequent quality of schooling depended increasingly on a family's ability to pay rising school fees, particularly at the sought-after private institutions, while patients were required to provide payments for treatment as the state introduced charges for health care during 1993-95.²⁰⁹ The full effects of more recent (since 2000) privatizations of garbage collection and domestic water provision in Dar es Salaam remain unclear, except that women continue to bear a disproportionate burden in the organization of environmental health management within the home.²¹⁰ Cost-sharing in health care came at a time when the AIDS epidemic (which first reached Dar es Salaam in 1984) was fast accelerating throughout Africa. A study conducted around this time determined that over 48 percent of women's deaths in Dar es Salaam were AIDS-related. In 2002, the HIV prevalence among those attending antenatal care clinics in Dar es Salaam was 11.5 percent, the second highest rate in Tanzania behind Mbeya; that same year over 50 percent of all inpatients in Tanzanian hospitals were infected with HIV. The state's privatizing health care system has come to rely heavily on bilateral and World Bank aid to manage the spread and treatment of this disease.²¹¹ Social security similarly moved towards privatisation, with 85 percent of Dar es Salaam's poor covered by informal social security systems such as *upatu* rotating credit associations, compared to 15 percent covered by formal ones.²¹² In many ways the state's retrenchment under *mageuzi* simply acknowledged, if not positively recognized or secured, the informalization of the urban economy that had dominated the *ujamaa* years.

Among the many things lifted with the liberalization of Tanzania's economy was the socialist stigma of urbanization. Middle-class anxiety towards the urban migration of unemployed and under-employed male youth has certainly persisted—directed in particular towards *machinga* street hawkers—but in the era of *mageuzi* there is no longer a guiding ideology to explain why these men should remain in rural areas, nor a state commitment to carry out their repatriation. The *ujamaa* veil that had tempered and concealed, if not quite wiped out, the conspicuous consumption of Dar es Salaam's elite was lifted to reveal a starved appetite for consumer goods and luxury items of all sorts provided by the 'container economy' centred in the Persian Gulf. This unleashing of *tamaa* (lust or desire) has resulted in a competitive consumerism²¹³



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which has not only allowed a growing business elite to flaunt their wealth, but paradoxically has enabled poorer people to dress and otherwise fashion themselves in a middle class style. Such developments sharply challenge the conventions of Dar es Salaam's established middle class, who 'nostalgically long for the lost days of egalitarianism' while failing to recognise that *mageuzi* has helped 'to create spaces of hope for young men from the rural areas that would never have been available under the socialist regime'.²¹⁴ The most visible change that privatization has brought to Dar es Salaam has been in urban transportation. The rapid expansion of relatively affordable *daladala* buses during the 1990s has considerably enlarged the scope for—as well as dependence upon—urban travel among commuters, sellers, consumers, and schoolchildren alike.²¹⁵

Mageuzi heralded changes in gender as well as class relations. The relentless informalization of economic activity in Dar es Salaam brought with it a significant shift in earning power away from male salary-earners and towards women traders engaged in private income-generating activities in many Dar es Salaam households. It was a remarkable change—R. H. Sabot had found that 66 percent of women had no source of income in 1970-71; by the late 1980s, Aili Marie Tripp found that 69 percent of the women she surveyed were self-employed and 9 percent wage-employed; in the early 2000s, Brigit Obrist found 69 percent of the women she surveyed in Ilala to be involved in generating income.²¹⁶ Tripp explains this transformation:

These [household-level] changes radically undermined the direction of existing dependency relationships and ties of obligation. At the societal level the former household dependence on wage earners was reversed, making the wage earners dependent on the informal incomes of other household members. Similarly, the dependence of urban women on men, of children on their parents, and of parents on their adult children was altered radically and resources began to flow in the opposite direction because of the way in which the crisis undermined wage incomes.²¹⁷

Luce Cloutier found that most of the women she interviewed were making more money than their husbands, while nearly two-thirds of them shouldered 'all responsibilities for the maintenance of the family'.²¹⁸ Female immigration to Dar es Salaam sharply rose during the 1970s, and by 1988 demographic equality between the sexes was finally achieved.²¹⁹ It is important, however, not to presume that these shifts associated with economic informalization has led to a full collapse in male-dominated bureaucratic earning power: Briggs and Mwamfupe found in 1997 that around two-thirds of houses under construction in peri-urban Dar es Salaam were for middle-class state employees, some 20,000 of whom enjoyed a Shs. 100,000/- monthly housing allowance in addition to their salary.²²⁰

Although Tanzania is still overwhelmingly a CCM country, the same can no longer be said about Dar es Salaam. Opposition parties, re-legalized in 1992 after a nearly thirty-year ban, remain based almost entirely in the capital, building their political support from the centre outward.²²¹ With higher levels of education, communications, and expectations compared with rural regions,

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the population of Dar es Salaam—like many other African cities—nurtures oppositionist politics, particularly among the young, although this trend was slow to register in votes cast. National opposition peaked early in the first presidential election in 1995, when ex-CCM Minister Augustine Mrema received nearly 28 percent of the vote against Benjamin Mkapa. Yet Mrema, the country's leading opposition figure, took only 21 percent of the vote in Dar es Salaam.²²² This figure hardly reflected his enormous (if fleeting) popularity in the capital. The following year Mrema dramatically captured the vacated Temeke parliamentary seat in a by-election, chasing Dar es Salaam's latent anti-establishment vote by stressing CCM corruption scandals, the need for *uzawa* or African 'indigenisation' of local businesses, and the promise to tackle urban poverty and growing lawlessness. Mrema proved enormously popular with urban unemployed youth, and even courted the hitherto estranged Muslim youth vote by donning a *kofia* (Muslim cap) and campaigning alongside the controversial Sheikh Ponda Issa Ponda.²²³ Although Mrema's moment quickly passed, the disparate streams of political opposition that he tried to unite—anger at corruption,²²⁴ the popularity of vigilante justice,²²⁵ *uzawa*,²²⁶ Muslim distrust of CCM and government, and the contradictory desires both to liberalize the economy and redistribute wealth to the poor—have endured in Dar es Salaam's populist rhetoric. Support for the opposition grew in Dar es Salaam in the 2000 and 2005 elections, awarding the leading non-CCM candidate in the 2005 presidential election, Ibrahim Lipumba, nearly 22.8 percent of the vote, compared to the 11.7 percent of the vote he received nationwide.²²⁷ Yet much of this opposition remains only potential—the capital simply cannot turn out the vote like its rural or provincial town counterparts. In the 2005 election, only 61.2 percent of registered voters in Dar es Salaam turned out to vote, the second lowest turnout in the country.²²⁸ Surpassing elections, religion has increasingly served as a vehicle for expressing political dissatisfaction, particularly among Dar es Salaam's Muslim population. Riots broke out in Kariakoo in 1993 following rumours that Christian butchers had secretly sold pork as beef to their Muslim customers. A more serious riot occurred at the Mwembechai mosque in Magomeni in 1998, following the arrest of the mosque's Imam for blasphemy against Jesus Christ in his sermons. Many Muslims in Dar es Salaam, as elsewhere in the country, feel under-represented in government and ill-served by national educational institutions.²²⁹ Christianity also continues to attract the disaffected and dispossessed who live in Dar es Salaam, particularly Pentecostalism.²³⁰

Mageuzi also brought a profusion of media outlets and entertainment forms, one of the undeniable boons of liberalisation for Dar es Salaam. Privately-owned newspapers and magazines proliferated from 242 in 1992 to 693 just two years later. A significant number of these new publications were 'tabloid' journals that criticized political leaders through sexual innuendo, many of which were shut down by government. Newspapers remain overwhelmingly urban in their creation and audience—in 2004, 90 percent of Tanzania's licensed papers were circulated in urban areas, 50 percent in Dar es Salaam alone.²³¹ Radio, particularly FM radio, has exploded since its liberalization in 1993, ending a 32-year long state monopoly over radio broadcasting, although



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the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission still retains (and exercises) the right to revoke licences for failing to comply with the Broadcasting Act—namely to avoid vulgarity. By 2001 there were ten independent radio stations operating in Dar es Salaam, and 33 nation-wide by 2004, most of which were owned by wealthy individuals and dedicated to music broadcasting.²³² Television arrived in Dar es Salaam only as late as 1994, serving as the final death knell for the city's ailing cinema business already weakened by the video tape revolution.²³³ Four privately-owned stations were launched in 1994—Independent Television (ITV), Dar es Salaam Television (DTV), Coastal Television Network (CTN) and Cable Entertainment Network (CEN)—all of which were based in the capital and focus primarily on events in the capital. It has truly been a *mageuzi* medium, as Tanzania was (until 2000) one of the very few African countries without a state-owned television station. Although radio remains the main medium for people to get news, television has been quickly making gains, and its full success has yet to be measured.

Like most African cities, the urban infrastructure of Dar es Salaam has long been eclipsed by population growth. The 2002 national census placed Dar es Salaam's population at just under 2.5 million people, though this figure seemed low to many observers; current estimates place the figure at over 3 million people. Such population growth has hastened the transfer of peri-urban land from traditional landowners (*mawinyi*), most of whom are Zaramo, to more recently arrived immigrants, mainly from the salaried or trading middle-class.²³⁴ This type of urban growth relies heavily on bilateral aid projects to create trunk roads into and around the city to facilitate commercial and commuter transport. Such projects have deeply affected the recent shape of Dar es Salaam, with ribbon-style development reaching 30 kilometres to the west and north by the early 1990s into 'rural territory pierced by finger-like projections of urban land use, especially residential'.²³⁵ Lack of planning is no longer synonymous with poverty—robust middle class neighbourhoods have emerged in unplanned areas such as Segerea and Makongo. While the capacity of major urban roads has undoubtedly improved since the 1980s, smaller streets have suffered severe deterioration, a development met with the private-sector response of increased reliance on durable four-wheel drive vehicles. Amidst a profusion of high-investment building construction in the city centre, Kariakoo, and the northern suburbs of Oyster Bay, Msasani and Mikocheni, the 1990s witnessed the relentless expansion of unplanned and unserviced squatter developments. Due to the dangers of flooding, neighbourhoods lying along the Msimbazi Creek such as Hanna Nasif and Vingunguti are home to mostly poor housing structures, which rely on pit latrine for waste disposal and the nearby creek for water. A survey done in these areas found that 71 percent of households had no electricity, 96 percent had no telephones, and 77 percent of houses were made of temporary building materials.²³⁶

Dar es Salaam today offers the paradox of unprecedented economic growth despite a plainly failing infrastructure. The decade of Mkapa was a strong one measured in conventional economic terms, with GDP growth rising from 3.7 percent in 1995 to 6.7 percent in 2005, and inflation falling over the same period from 27.1 percent to 4.3 percent.²³⁷ Dar es Salaam acquired a growing

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appearance of a major economic centre. On account of the country's political stability and the city's relative personal security, Dar es Salaam has become an attractive site for the offices of both profit and non-profit organizations. One striking example of this is the sudden profusion of banks in the capital following the banking sector's liberalization in 1995. The city today hosts offices of major international firms such as Standard Chartered Bank, Standbic Bank, Citibank, and Barclays Bank, as well as significant local operations such as Exim Bank and Akiba Commercial Bank. The Dar es Salaam stock exchange, founded in 1996 and opened for trading in 1998, held the distinction of being—in an echo of *ujamaa*—the only African stock market that banned non-citizens from participation. Dar es Salaam's harbour remains very much the second commercial port of East Africa, importing and exporting roughly 40 percent of what Mombasa traffics in any given year. Nevertheless, with eleven deep-berth ports modernized in mid-1990s and its container terminal privatized in 2000, the port of Dar es Salaam continues to serve as the consumer goods gateway of lower East Africa. Import volume held steady throughout the 1990s at around 3.2 million tons per annum, rising to 4.25 million tons in 2003. Export volumes continue to lag far behind imports, falling from 0.9 million tons in 1994 to 0.76 million tons in 2003.²³⁸

Dar es Salaam's recent economic, as well as demographic, growth highlights the gross inadequacy of the city's infrastructure. The biggest infrastructural crisis facing Dar es Salaam today, which hardly discriminates between its wealthier and poorer neighbourhoods, relates to water and energy.²³⁹ Poor urban water supplies and distribution are endemic and growing problems that lead to self-destructive strategies such as vandalising water mains to avoid payments. Urban electricity provision remains in the precarious hands of a national grid system that relies on hydroelectricity generated by dams along the Rufiji River, which suffered chronically low water levels by 2006 and can hardly be expected to meet future increases in projected energy demands. Off-grid households continue to rely on charcoal for fuel, which has led to serious deforestation around Dar es Salaam which, in turn, weakens the ability of regional soils to retain much-needed water. The city's virtuous circle of economic growth unleashed in the age of *mageuzi* appears inextricably linked to its vicious cycle of environmental and infrastructural deterioration.²⁴⁰

For all of its economic difficulties, the value of land and property in Dar es Salaam is reaching unprecedented heights. Kariakoo, the former 'native quarter' once dominated by thatch-roofed, mud-and-wattle houses, became a most unlikely 'skyscraper' development area in the 1990s, and now boasts some of the highest land values in East Africa. Meanwhile, high land values are also resulting in the destruction of the rich architectural heritage of the commercial quarter as old—often listed—buildings are demolished to make way for unsightly high rise apartment blocks.²⁴¹ Also at stake today in Dar es Salaam is the future of the city's public space. Urban public lands are constantly under threat of seizure, by wealthy developers and space-hungry squatters alike. In late 1993, part of Mnazi Mmoja was fenced off for the construction of shops after local authorities secretly granted an Arab businessman a building concession. A few days later a mob turned out to destroy the embryonic



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construction, ending the development and making the sale of this invaluable public space politically impossible thereafter, or at least thus far.²⁴² More typical have been the perennial struggles between planning authorities and squatters over the rights of the latter to occupy unused public land, such as Jangwani and other floodplains along the Msimbazi Creek (see above), as well as innumerable buildings along major thoroughfares such as Morogoro Road.

Dar es Salaam continues its seemingly inexorable growth. In one sense, this city's history is part of a wider urbanization that represents the greatest spatial-demographic development of 20th century Africa, a development that shows little sign of slowing down. In another sense, it represents the specific history of the region. As a planned city of Zanzibari imperialism, it has transformed into an important site of European colonial power, African engagement with and seizure of that power, and finally a post-colonial metropolis that seeks to become a major economic and cultural centre of Eastern Africa. Earlier local layers of the town's history, represented by conflict between local indigenes on the one hand and outsiders on the other, has since been enveloped in a wider territorial history where Dar es Salaam merely represents the centre stage of nationalist ambitions and disappointments. Since the demise of *ujamaa*, Dar es Salaam has become a truly global city, connected to the world as never before yet beset with seemingly intractable difficulties of environment, infrastructure, and widening disparities between rich and poor. Such a place requires a particular sharpness of mind to thrive, and therefore it is fitting that the most enduring nick-name given to post-colonial Dar es Salaam has been Bongoland (literally, 'brain'-land).

Notes

¹ See John Gray, 'Dar es Salaam under the Sultans of Zanzibar', *Tanganyika Notes & Records* (hereafter *TNR*) 33 (1952), pp. 1-3; E. C. Baker, 'Note on the Washomvi of Dar es Salaam', *TNR* 23 (1947), pp. 47-48. For a rich ethnographic history of the Shomvi, see Geoffrey Ross Owens, 'The Shomvi: a precursor to global ethnoscaping and indigenization in precolonial East Africa', *Ethnohistory* 53:4 (2006), pp. 715-751.

² For Mboamaji, see Stephen J. Rockel, 'Forgotten caravan towns in 19th century Tanzania: Mbwanamaji and Mpwapwa', *Azania* XLI (2006), pp. 1-25.

³ E.C. Baker, 'Memorandum on the social conditions of Dar es Salaam', 4 June 1931, pp. 2-4, copy in SOAS special collections.

⁴ Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth, 1995), pp. 79-114.

⁵ J.E.G. Sutton, 'Dar es Salaam: a sketch of a hundred years', *TNR* 71 (1970), p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ Carl Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli* (Berlin, 1907), p. 291.

⁸ Description of Dr. Seward, in report to Bombay Government, 10 November 1866, cited in Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁹ Père LeRoy, 17 April 1886, 2K1.1b7, Archives Générales Spiritains, Chevilly-la-Rue, France. The authors are indebted to Steven Fabian for his notes on this source, and to Gerard Vieira and Vincent O'Toole at the Archives Générales Spiritains for permitting us to use this material.

¹⁰ The Mackinnon Road (commenced in 1877) was an attempt, led by Britons William Mackinnon and Thomas Foxwell Buxton, to open up the East African interior to 'legitimate commerce'.

¹¹ Gray, 'Dar es Salaam', pp. 10-17.

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¹² MacKinnon Papers, Box 76/File 59, correspondence to MacKinnon, 14 May 1879, in SOAS special collections. The authors again thank Steven Fabian for bringing this source to our attention.

¹³ Leroy, *op. cit.*; Gray, 'Dar es Salaam', p. 17.

¹⁴ Clement Gillman, 'Dar es Salaam, 1860 to 1940: a story of growth and change', *TNR* 20 (1945), p. 3.

¹⁵ For a convincing presentation of this argument, see Steven Fabian 'Curing the cancer of the colony: Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam and socio-economic struggle in German East Africa', article currently under review for publication and in the authors' possession.

¹⁶ Deborah Bryceson, 'A century of food supply in Dar es Salaam', in Jane Guyer, ed., *Feeding African cities: Studies in regional social history* (Manchester, 1987), p. 158.

¹⁷ Leroy, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, p. 183.

¹⁹ The *livali* was the Sultan's official representative in Dar es Salaam.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²¹ Velten, *Prosa*, pp. 292-3.

²² For a full account of the Abushiri rebellion, named after Abushiri bin Salim, an 'Arab' plantation-owner, see Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

²³ The DOAG meanwhile remained curiously distant from Dar es Salaam, only moving its headquarters from Zanzibar to the German colonial capital in 1905. Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German colonial policies in mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki, 1994), pp. 116, 187.

²⁴ Franck Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain à Dar-es-Salaam durant la colonisation allemande (1890-1914)', in Bernard Calas (ed.), *De Dar es Salaam à Bongoland* (Nairobi/Paris, 2006), p. 38. The ongoing work of Franck Raimbault, currently dissertating at the Sorbonne, promises to make an exceptionally important contribution to our knowledge of Dar es Salaam during German colonial rule.

²⁵ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 25 (1889), p. 211.

²⁶ Slaves instead would obtain their freedom on an individual basis, usually either through official manumission by government or voluntary manumission by their owners. Thaddeus Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labor migration and rural change in early colonial Tanzania* (Portsmouth, 2002), p. 36. See also Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884-1914* (Oxford, 2006). By 1898, 197 slaves had been officially emancipated by the government in Dar es Salaam. A. Seidel, *Dar-es-Salaam: Die Hauptstadt Deutsch-Ostafrikas* (Berlin, 1898), p. 26. However, the actual number emancipated in the District of Dar es Salaam during the 1890s may have exceeded one thousand slaves. Franck Raimbault, personal communication, 17 June 2006.

²⁷ For the role of Indian investment in the development of colonial Mombasa and Nairobi, see Zarina Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism: The Struggles of Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee for Equal rights in Kenya* (Nairobi, 1997).

²⁸ W. T. Casson, 'Architectural notes on Dar es Salaam', *TNR* 71 (1970), p. 183. See also Janet Berry Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson NC, 2006), chapter 5.

²⁹ Casson, pp. 181-3.

³⁰ Koponen, *Development*, p. 623; David Henry Anthony, 'Culture and society in a town in transition: a people's history of Dar es Salaam, 1865-1939', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1983, p. 81.

³¹ Hermann Paasche, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1906), p. 75.

³² Gillman, 'Growth and change', p. 14.

³³ Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, p. 1; *Medizinal-Berichte über die Deutschen Schutzgebiete für das Jahr 1904/05* (Berlin, 1905), p. 26.

³⁴ Gillman, 'Growth and change', p. 15.

³⁵ Jürgen Becher, *Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora: Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft (1885-1914)* (Stuttgart, 1997), p. 42.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5; August Leuc, *Dar-es-Salaam: Bilder aus dem Kolonialleben* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 25-48.

³⁷ Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, p. 9.

³⁸ Karl Vorlauffer, *Koloniale und nachkoloniale Stadtplanung in Dar es Salaam* (Frankfurt am Main, 1970), p. 15.

³⁹ Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain', p. 45.

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- ⁴⁰ Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, p. 16.
- ⁴¹ *Medizinal-Berichte über die Deutschen Schutzgebiete für das Jahr 1904/05*, p. 26.
- ⁴² Vorlauffer, p. 13. Cf. chapters by Kironde and Brennan in this volume.
- ⁴³ Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain', pp. 72-3.
- ⁴⁴ Vorlauffer, *Stadtplanung*, pp. 18-19.
- ⁴⁵ *Medizinal-Berichte über die Deutschen Schutzgebiete für das Jahr 1904/05*, p. 26-27.
- ⁴⁶ Sutton, 'Dar es Salaam', p. 19; Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, p. 1.
- ⁴⁷ Fabian, 'Cancer'.
- ⁴⁸ Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain', p. 101.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 161; J.A.K. Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam* (London, 1963), pp. 44-47.
- ⁵⁰ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 25 (1889), p. 197. Leuc termed this dance 'lailailala'. On *lelemama* in German East Africa, see Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 238. See also Graebner's chapter herein.
- ⁵¹ Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, pp. 34-5, 37.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- ⁵³ S. von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania, 1887-1914* (Uppsala, 1970), p. 88.
- ⁵⁴ Fabian, 'Cancer', Gillman, 'Growth and change', pp. 7, 15.
- ⁵⁵ Gillman, 'Growth and change', p. 9.
- ⁵⁶ Seidel, *Hauptstadt*, pp. 29-30.
- ⁵⁷ Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain', p. 43ff.; *idem.*, 'La communauté indienne à Dar-es-Salaam durant la domination allemande (1891-1914): position et positionnement au sein d'une société coloniale d'un groupe en situation de diaspora économique', unpublished paper delivered at Lisbon Conference on Indian Ocean, September 2003, copy in authors' possession; and *idem.*, 'Les stratégies de reclassement des élites arabes et indiennes à Dar-es-Salaam durant la colonisation allemande (1891-1914)', *Hypothèses* 5 (2001), pp. 109-118.
- ⁵⁸ Raimbault, 'Communauté indienne'.
- ⁵⁹ Raimbault, 'L'évolution de l'espace péri-urbain', p. 90.
- ⁶⁰ Becher, *Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora*, p. 55.
- ⁶¹ Gillman, 'Growth and change', p. 15.
- ⁶² Ross Anderson, *The Forgotten Front: The East African Campaign, 1914-1918* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 31, 108.
- ⁶³ The German civil administration had moved to Tabora in 1915. Gillman, 'Growth and change', pp. 15-16.
- ⁶⁴ C.P. Fendall, *The East African Force 1915-1919* (Nashville, 1921), pp. 156-57.
- ⁶⁵ Bryceson, 'Century of food Supply', pp. 162-63.
- ⁶⁶ Dar es Salaam District Annual Report for 1919/20, Tanzania National Archives (hereafter TNA) 1733/1.
- ⁶⁷ R.R. Scott, 'Public health services in Dar es Salaam in the 'Twenties', *East African Medical Journal* 40 (1963), p. 351. But compare this to Gillman's figures Dar es Salaam's population: 22,500 in 1913, and 24,600 in 1921. Gillman, 'Growth and change', p. 22.
- ⁶⁸ According to a post-independence article in *The Nationalist* (9 July 1966), it was so named because the first Maulid prayers were uttered here, as they were at Mnazi Mmoja in Zanzibar. For a more detailed analysis of colonial urban planning, see the chapter by Kironde.
- ⁶⁹ Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, crime and colonial order in Dar es Salaam* (Oxford/Dar es Salaam, 2005), pp. 65-7, 158.
- ⁷⁰ Indeed, only the high cost of purchasing existing property had prevented the administration from establishing a second 'cordon sanitaire' along the lines of Mnazi Mmoja, between Zones I and II. See J.M.L. Kironde, 'The Evolution of the land use structure of Dar es Salaam 1890-1990: a study in the effects of land policy', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nairobi (1994), pp. 169-73; James R. Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1916-1976', Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University (2002), p. 27.
- ⁷¹ Baker, 'Memorandum', pp. 10, 15; cf. chapter by Brennan below.
- ⁷² Sutton, 'Dar es Salaam', p. 12; British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA), 'Uhindini

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Building Survey, 2004' (data stored in BIEA library).

⁷³ Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 136-7; 166; 180-1.

⁷⁴ Notably in the Indian newspapers, the *Tanganyika Herald* and the *Tanganyika Opinion*.

⁷⁵ Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 179-81.

⁷⁶ See chapter by Brennan below.

⁷⁷ The main market was moved from the Indian quarter to occupy a prefabricated structure imported from Germany in 1914. Gillman, 'Growth and change'.

⁷⁸ Baker, 'Memorandum', p. 16.

⁷⁹ The 'Swahili' house is a rectangular building usually containing six rooms opening off a central corridor.

⁸⁰ Baker, 'Memorandum', p. 31.

⁸¹ Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 386; Burton, *African Underclass*, p. 62.

⁸² See e.g., Leslie, *Survey*, p. 92.

⁸³ Magomeni had 105 Zaramo taxable males as opposed to 120 Nyamwezi (63) and others; in Msasani the ratio was 170:235. The surprisingly high proportion of 'outsiders' in Msasani may be accounted for by the proximity of the Msasani Sisal Estate and local quarries. It also probably reflects the embryonic settlement of Mikoroshoni, which was to become one of Dar es Salaam's most significant post-war 'shanty' communities (see below). Leslie dates houses here back to 'the early thirties and beyond'. District Officer (hereafter DO) Fryer to Provincial Commissioner (hereafter PC) Eastern 11 April 1930, TNA 12801/1; Leslie, *Survey*, p. 95.

⁸⁴ Burton, *African Underclass*, p. 155.

⁸⁵ Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', p. 62.

⁸⁶ In addition, extra-territorial trade was also important. Trade from the Belgian Congo constituted as much as a third of the port's exports in the 1920s. Adolfo C. Mascarenhas, 'The port of Dar es Salaam', p. 111, in Sutton, *Dar es Salaam*, pp. 85-118.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.

⁸⁸ See Iliffe, *Modern History*, pp. 406-12 *et passim*.

⁸⁹ For Erica Fiah and Kivetu, see *ibid.*, pp. 377-9, 393-5; Nicholas Westcott, 'Erica Fiah: an East African radical', *Journal of African History* (hereafter *JAH*) 22:2 (1981), pp. 85-101; Anthony, 'Culture', chapter 5.

⁹⁰ These included the *Tanganyika Times* and *Tanganyika Standard*, both European papers, and the Indian-owned *Tanganyika Herald* and *Tanganyika Opinion*. In addition, the official Swahili publication *Mambo Leo* was based in Dar es Salaam.

⁹¹ Anthony, 'Culture', chapter 4. In contemporary Swahili *hoteli* translates as restaurant, and *migahawa* is more commonly used than *mikahawani*.

⁹² Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 391.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 392. For *beni* see Terence Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa: The beni ngoma* (London, 1975). Cf. Graebner's chapter below.

⁹⁵ Baker, 'Memorandum', p. 74.

⁹⁶ DO Fryer to PC Eastern, 10 July 1931, Native Census Results, TNA 61/167.

⁹⁷ Shomvi (121) were probably under-reported in the 1931 census.

⁹⁸ Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition*, p. 217.

⁹⁹ Leslie, *Survey*, pp.49-50; Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 107-8.

¹⁰⁰ Leslie, *Survey*, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Leslie, *Survey*, p. 11.

¹⁰² Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 139-50.

¹⁰³ Though tensions over who should properly be accorded true indigene status also existed between Zaramo and Shomvi.

¹⁰⁴ Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 103-6.

¹⁰⁵ For a recent analysis of 'Swahili' integration in Dar es Salaam focusing on Manzese, Buguruni and Ilala, see Adrienne Polomack, 'Mixité et territorialité dans une ville en pleine expansion: les banlieues dans la formation de Dar es Salaam', in Bernard Calas, *De Dar es Salaam à Bongoland*, pp. 131-197.

¹⁰⁶ Baker, 'Memorandum', pp. 7, 69; Iliffe, *Modern History*, pp. 266, 407; Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 59-61.

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¹⁰⁷ See Burton's chapter below.

¹⁰⁸ Baker, talks of an 'alien intelligentsia and a diehard aristocracy living on the memories of its past'. 'Memorandum', p. 69. See also, Andrew Burton, 'Urchins, loafers and the cult of the cowboy: urbanization and delinquency in Dar es Salaam, 1919-61', *JAH* 42:2 (2001), pp. 200-6; Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 57, 59, 72-3.

¹⁰⁹ Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 104-5 *et passim*.

¹¹⁰ Baker, 'Memorandum', p. 69.

¹¹¹ See Burton, *African Underclass*.

¹¹² DO Fryer to PC Eastern, 19 August 1931, TNA 61/167.

¹¹³ See Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 65-9.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹¹⁵ For hawkers, see correspondence in TNA 22243; for peri-urban agriculture, see Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 57-76 and TNA 57/2/57.

¹¹⁶ Out of a workforce of 13,754 recorded in the 1931 census, just 2,639 were registered as literate.

¹¹⁷ A.H. Pike, 'Report on Native Affairs in Dar es Salaam Township', p. 8, TNA 18950/Vol.II.

¹¹⁸ Baker observed that 'old women... will embark on the building of a house with no ostensible means at their disposal but what they can make from the sale of rice cakes and fried fish'. See also, Leslie, *Survey*, pp. 117, 168; Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 107-8.

¹¹⁹ Anthony, 'Culture', p. 23.

¹²⁰ See Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 119-139.

¹²¹ See Burton, 'Adjutants, agents, intermediaries: the Native Administration in Dar es Salaam township, 1919-61', in Andrew Burton (ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi, 2002), pp. 98-118.

¹²² For Tanganyika as a whole, see Nicholas Westcott's important (though unpublished) Ph.D. thesis, 'The impact of the Second World War on Tanganyika', University of Cambridge (1982).

¹²³ A.H. Pike, 'Memorandum on the Development of African areas of Dar es Salaam Township', 12 July 1944, TNA 61/643/3.

¹²⁴ See Burton, *African Underclass*, chapters 4 & 5.

¹²⁵ See *e.g.*, Pike, 'Report on Native Affairs'; E.C. Baker, 'Proposals for the re-organization of Dar es Salaam Township and District', 3 July 1940, TNA 20795; M.J.B. Molohan, 'Report on unemployment and wage rates in Dar es Salaam', 27 Sept. 1941, TNA 61/443/1.

¹²⁶ See Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', chapter 3; and Brennan's chapter below.

¹²⁷ Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 88-91.

¹²⁸ For accounts of the 1947 strike, see John Iliffe, 'A history of the dockworkers of Dar es Salaam', *TNR* 71 (1970), pp. 131-4; Issa G. Shivji, *Law, State and the Working Class in Tanzania*, London (1986), pp. 171-4; Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 184-5.

¹²⁹ Baker, 'Memorandum', p. 18.

¹³⁰ Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 90, 207-8.

¹³¹ Leslie, *Survey*, p. 22. Although these were initially tolerated to ease the house crisis (see Burton, *African Underclass*, p. 90 (fn. 40)), it appears they were subsequently demolished – Leslie (p. 262) makes reference to evictions from Makaburi and Gerezani.

¹³² See Burton, 'Adjutants'.

¹³³ See Andrew Burton, 'Townsmen in the making: social engineering and citizenship in Dar es Salaam, 1945-60', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36:2 (2003), pp. 331-65.

¹³⁴ Cyril Ehrlich, 'The poor country: the Tanganyika economy from 1945 to independence', in D.A. Low & Alison Smith, *History of East Africa Vol. III*, (Oxford, 1976), pp. 290-330; Martha Honey, 'Asian industrial activities in Tanganyika', *TNR* 75 (1974), pp. 55-69.

¹³⁵ It was to be distinguished 'from what has elsewhere been described as the *bourgeoisie* such as lawyers, doctors, property owners which are to be found in small numbers in West Africa—a class which is virtually non-existent in Tanganyika but will grow as university education expands.' M.J.B. Molohan, *Detribalization* (Dar es Salaam, 1959), pp. 49-50.

¹³⁶ Leslie observed that most migrants' homes were within a day's bus ride. *Survey*, p. 23.

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See also Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 194-8.

¹³⁷ Kichwele Street (now Uhuru Street) was the main street passing through Kariakoo, across Mnazi Mmoja and into Uhindini.

¹³⁸ Leslie, *Survey*, pp. 24-5.

¹³⁹ For post-war housing see Kironde, below. See also, Kironde, 'Land use structure', pp. 270-300; Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 205-13; Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ Leslie, 'Survey Appendices'.

¹⁴¹ Leslie, *Survey*, pp. 3, 97-8.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 173-6.

¹⁴³ Leslie, 'Appendices'.

¹⁴⁴ Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 50-2, 205.

¹⁴⁵ Leslie, *Survey*, p. 95.

¹⁴⁶ J.F.R. Hill & J.P. Moffett, *Tanganyika: A review of its resources and their development* (Dar es Salaam, 1955), p. 805.

¹⁴⁷ Mascarenhas, 'Port'.

¹⁴⁸ This meat-packing factory had strong links with the remainder of the territory. Upcountry field staff included a Chief Cattle Buyer, stationed in Tabora, and other buyers at 'appropriate buying centres'. They also owned holding grounds (for cattle) in various parts of Lake and Western Provinces (and outside Dar es Salaam). See Hill & Moffett, *Tanganyika*, pp. 633-5.

¹⁴⁹ N.H. Bull, 'Enquiry into wage rates of African industrial workers in Dar es Salaam, Nov.-Dec. 1952', Colonial Office, The U. K. National Archives (Public Records Office), Kew (hereafter PRO) CO 822/660.

¹⁵⁰ Leslie, *Survey*, pp. 119, 121, 131.

¹⁵¹ See *e.g.*, Bull, 'Enquiry'.

¹⁵² Up to the 1940s there were just three government primary schools (of which one was for girls) and one secondary school for Africans in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁵³ A jump in African girls' attendance from 300 to 1,564 was particularly noteworthy.

¹⁵⁴ Molohan, *Detribalization*, p. 54; Speeches by Deputy PC and Governor Twining at the opening of Ilala Boma, 21 May 1958, TNA 540/27/11/A; G.J. Ebrahim, 'Development of Medical Services in Dar es Salaam', in Sutton, *Dar es Salaam*, pp. 173-4; J.E.F. Mhina, 'Education in and around Dar es Salaam', in *ibid.*, pp. 175-80.

¹⁵⁵ See Burton, 'Townsmen'. Quote from UN Report on Tanganyika Territory for 1958, para. 563.

¹⁵⁶ Andrew Burton, 'Raw youth, school-leavers and the emergence of structural unemployment in late-colonial urban Tanganyika', *JAH* 47:3 (2006), pp. 363-87.

¹⁵⁷ Burton, *African Underclass*, esp. chaps 12 and conclusion.

¹⁵⁸ See Burton, 'Adjutants'.

¹⁵⁹ See Burton, 'Townsmen'.

¹⁶⁰ In 1950 there were 10 Europeans, 7 Asians, 6 Africans and 1 Arab on the Municipal Council. Municipal African Affairs Officer to DO Coast, 7 July 1950, TNA 540/3/75A.

¹⁶¹ Ali Mwinyimadi to Chief Secretary, 28 July 1938, TNA 26027/1. For the Wazaramo Union, see Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', pp. 230-247; and Tadasu Tsuruta, 'Urban-rural relationships in colonial Dar es Salaam: some notes on ethnic associations and recreations, 1930s-1950s', *Memoirs of the Faculty of Agriculture of Kinki University* 36 (2003), pp. 63-69.

¹⁶² Iliffe, 'Dockworkers'.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁴ Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 408. On the African Association see *ibid.*, chapter 13; on dating its founding, see Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', p. 117.

¹⁶⁵ Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 434.

¹⁶⁶ Petition of Tanganyika African Association to Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Development, 21 May 1950, PRO CO 691/208/42496/3; Memorandum on the Constitutional Development for Tanganyika, by TAA, 21 May 1950, Rhodes House (Oxford) MSS Brit. Emp. 365, Box 123/3/3; Iliffe, *ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁶⁷ These arguments are best captured in the TAA memorandum to Cohen, excerpted in

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Tanganyika Political Intelligence Summary - May, 1951, PRO CO 537/7225/9.

¹⁶⁸ Iliffe, *ibid.*, pp. 507-513. For a contentious but important account of Nyerere's election to the TAA presidency, see Mohamed Said, *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968): The Untold Story of the Muslims Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (London, 1998), pp. 110-147.

¹⁶⁹ Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955-1965* (Portsmouth NH, 1997), chapters 3 & 5.

¹⁷⁰ See extract from Tanganyika Intelligence Summary for October 1955, PRO CO 822/859/39; Iliffe, *ibid.*, pp. 517-518; Brennan, 'Nation, race and urbanization', p. 303ff.

¹⁷¹ Leslie, *Survey*, p. 268.

¹⁷² Under British rule Africans were restricted to certain parts of the town at night, and were legally required to carry a light in all areas at night. For a discussion of this legislation, see Burton, *African Underclass*, pp. 164-5.

¹⁷³ Adolfo Mascarenhas, 'Urban growth', p. 90, in Bertil Egero & Roushdi A. Henin (eds.), *An Analysis of the 1967 Population Census* (Dar es Salaam, 1973).

¹⁷⁴ Andrew Coulsen, *Tanzania: A political economy* (Oxford, 1982), p. 199.

¹⁷⁵ Mascarenhas, 'Urban growth', p. 93.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Communal data is unavailable from later censuses.

¹⁷⁷ Tanganyika Territory, *African Census Report* (Dar es Salaam, 1957); United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *1967 Population Census Vol. 2: Statistics for urban areas* (Dar es Salaam, 1970), Table 2a; URT, *1978 Population Census Vol. V* (Dsm, 1982), table 6. For the gender balance in postcolonial eastern Africa, see Andrew Burton, 'Urbanization in eastern Africa: an historical overview, c.1750-2000', pp. 23-4, in Burton, *Urban Experience*. For a more detailed assessment of women in post-war Dar es Salaam, see Andrew Ivaska's chapter in this volume.

¹⁷⁸ See W. Mashisa, 'Urbanization in Dar es Salaam: the case of Manzese', BA History dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1978/9; Tripp, *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 37-9; Eileen Moyer, 'In the shadow of the Sheraton: imagining localities in global spaces in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam (2003), pp. 216-222.

¹⁷⁹ Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, pp. 35-7.

¹⁸⁰ John Briggs and Davies Mwamfupe, 'Peri-urban development in an era of structural adjustment in Africa: the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Urban Studies*, 37:4 (2000), p. 802.

¹⁸¹ All population densities in this paragraph are from H. Schmetzer, 'Housing in Dar es Salaam', *Habitat International*, 4 (1982), p. 500.

¹⁸² For example, in contemporary Dar es Salaam commuters taking in the well-stocked *dukas* along Rashidi Kawawa road, have no idea of the vibrant though impoverished settlement of Mikoroshoni that lies behind them. For Kipawa and Shimo la Udongo, see Joe Lugalla, *Crisis, Urbanization, and Urban Poverty in Tanzania* (Latham MD, 1995), p. 76; see also, Moyer, 'Sheraton', p. 212.

¹⁸³ See Lugalla, *Crisis*, pp. 75-7.

¹⁸⁴ Burton, *African Underclass*, p. 212; Eva Olenmark & Ulla Westerberg, 'Kariakoo: a residential area in central Dar es Salaam', University of Lund Department of Architecture (1970?), p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Merete Teisen, 'Dar es Salaam', p. 85, in Knud Erik Svenson & Merete Teisen., *Self-Reliant Tanzania* (Dsm, 1969).

¹⁸⁶ Olenmark & Westerberg, 'Kariakoo', *passim*.

¹⁸⁷ By the late 1960s the Jubilee Trust had invested up to \$40 million in property in Dar es Salaam. John Campbell, 'Culture, social organization and Asian identity: difference in urban East Africa', in J. Campbell and A.R. Rew (eds), *Identity and Effect* (London, 1999).

¹⁸⁸ Richa Nagar, 'The South Asian diaspora in Tanzania: a history retold', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 16 (1996), p. 70.

¹⁸⁹ Sayyeda Salaam, 'The politics of nationalization and denationalization of Asian properties and businesses in Dar es Salaam, 1971-2005', MA History dissertation, SOAS (2005); BIEA, 'Uhindini Building Survey'.

¹⁹⁰ A. Mascarenhas, 'The impact of nationhood on Dar es Salaam', *East African Geographical*

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Review 5 (1967), p. 42.

¹⁹¹ See Graebner's chapter herein.

¹⁹² Mascarenhas, 'Port', pp. 112-4.

¹⁹³ Mascarenhas, 'Port', tables 9 & 11.

¹⁹⁴ Coulsen, *Tanzania*, pp. 172-3; Adolfo Mascarenhas, 'The growth and function of Dar es Salaam', p. 130, in L. Berry (ed.), *Tanzania in Maps* (London, 1971).

¹⁹⁵ Rwekaza Mukandala, 'Trends in civil service size and income in Tanzania, 1967-82', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 2 (1983), p. 254.

¹⁹⁶ Mascarenhas, 'Urban growth', p. 93; *Survey of Employment and Earnings* (Dar es Salaam, various years).

¹⁹⁷ Burton, 'Raw youth'; Mascarenhas, 'Urban growth', p. 95; Wilt de Boer, 'Urban renewal and rehabilitation in Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam', *Ardhi Institute* (1984), p. 39. The 1978 masterplan puts the total at 129,100, as cited in de Boer; by adding the 1967 census total to data on job creation in *Survey of Employment and Earnings* (Dar es Salaam, 1968-77) one arrives at a total of 131,590.

¹⁹⁸ For the emergence of the problem and discussion of the early TANU government's response, see Burton, 'Raw youth'.

¹⁹⁹ Olenmark & Westerberg, 'Kariakoo', p. 4. Census data on the phenomenon are opaque at best: when the state technically proscribed the presence of urban unemployed, respondents were no doubt reluctant to identify themselves as such. In 1967 just 5,924 respondents of 15 and over were designated unemployed, and a further 10,974 were ambiguously categorised as 'others not working'. However, while male residents between 15 and 49 numbered 93,296, the census enumerated recorded employment at just 65,270. If we subtract those men who identified themselves as homemakers (404), students (6,091) and income recipients (2,133), we are left with a shortfall of 19,398 (the same calculation for women comes to 4,083): around 21 percent of men aged 15-49. This is probably a truer reflection of unemployment and informal employment (the boundary between the two was complex and constantly shifting) – including those engaged full or part-time in urban agriculture. URT, *1967 Population Census Vol. 2*, Table 6; Mascarenhas, 'Urban growth', Table 5.13.

²⁰⁰ P. Collier, 'Labour market allocation and income distribution', Annex III, in International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Basic Economic Report, 1977*, cited in Coulsen, *Tanzania*, p. 196.

²⁰¹ Abel G.M. Ishumi, *The Urban Jobless in Eastern Africa* (Uppsala, 1984), Tables III.2/III.3.

²⁰² For the 1950s see e.g. Leslie, *Survey*, p. 286; J.C. Cairns, *Bush and Boma* (London, 1959), p. 140.

²⁰³ This reliance on non-wage activities to supplement low urban incomes was actually historically the rule, the early postcolonial period being unusual for the provision of living family wages. Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, pp. 31-2, 40; Saitel Kulaba, 'Local government and the management of urban services in Tanzania', in R.E. Stren & R.R. White (eds.), *African Cities in Crisis* (Boulder, 1989), pp. 203-45; Anna K. Tibaijuka, 'The impact of structural adjustment programmes on women: the case of Tanzania's economic recovery programme', Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam, 1988.

²⁰⁴ R.E. Stren, *Urban Inequality and Housing Policy in Tanzania: The problem of squatting*, Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, Research Series No.24 (1975).

²⁰⁵ Lugalla, *Crisis*, p. 63.

²⁰⁶ In 1978 it regained its municipal status and was administered by a re-constituted city council, though the district divisions remained. Kironde, 'Land use structure', pp. 92-5.

²⁰⁷ See Andrew Burton, 'The Haven of Peace purged: tackling the undesirable and unproductive poor in Dar es Salaam, ca. 1950s-1980s', *IJAHS*, 40:1, pp. 119-51; James R. Brennan, 'Blood Enemies: exploitation and urban citizenship in the nationalist political thought of Tanzania, 1958-75', *JAH* 47:3 (2006), pp. 389-413.

²⁰⁸ T.L. Maliyamkono & M.S.D. Bagachwa, *The Second Economy in Tanzania* (London, 1990), p. 139; Tripp, *Changing the Rules* pp. 62-63.

²⁰⁹ Lene Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania 1919-1990* (London, 1994), p. 149; Vinay Ramnath Kamat, 'Negotiating illness and misfortune in post-socialism Tanzania: an ethnographic study in Temeke District, Dar es Salaam', Ph.D. Thesis, Emory University

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(2004), p. 52. For an interesting snapshot of the Tanzanian intelligentsia's views on *mageuzi* in its early days, see Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka (ed.), *The Social Service Crisis of the 1990's: Strategies for sustainable systems in Tanzania* (Aldershot, 1998).

²¹⁰ Brigit Obrist, *Struggling for Health in the City: An anthropological inquiry of health, vulnerability and resilience in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania* (Bern, 2006), pp. 256-260.

²¹¹ John Iliffe, *The African AIDS Epidemic: A History* (Oxford, 2006), p. 26; *The Guardian*, 18 April 2000; WHO Assessment of Epidemiological Situation, 2004, Tanzania Country Information, hosted at www.web.world.bank.org, 20 May 2006; *The Guardian*, 14 March 2002.

²¹² Luce Cloutier, *Income Differentials & Gender Inequality: Wives earning more than husbands in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 2006), p. 37, fn. 15. Also cf. Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, pp. 117-118.

²¹³ Three studies that consider *mageuzi* from this perspective are Anne Sydney Lewinson, 'Going with the times: transforming visions of urbanism and modernity among professionals in Dar es Salaam', Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1999); Moyer, 'Sheraton'; and Richard Sherrington, 'Developing disparities: consumption and social differentiation in post-adjustment Dar es Salaam', Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (2006).

²¹⁴ Moyer, 'Sheraton', p. 57.

²¹⁵ On this very important topic see Matteo Rizzo, 'Being taken for a ride: Privatisation of the Dar es Salaam transport system 1983-1998', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40:1 (2002), pp. 133-157, and Pascal Pochet and Lourdes Diaz Oliveira, 'Les transports urbains sur les voies du libéralisme', in Bernard Calas, *De Dar es Salaam à Bongoland* (Nairobi/Paris, 2006), pp. 229-246.

²¹⁶ Sabot, *op. cit.*; Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, p. 108; Obrist, *Struggling for Health*, p. 115.

²¹⁷ Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, p. 105.

²¹⁸ Cloutier, *Income Differentials*, p. 44.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²⁰ Briggs and Mwamfupe, 'Peri-urban development', p. 805.

²²¹ Max Mmuya, *Tanzania: Political reform in eclipse* (Dar es Salaam, 1998), pp. 149-151.

²²² TEMCO, *The 1995 General Election in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1997), p. 320.

²²³ T.L. Maliyamkono, *Tanzania on the move* (Dar es Salaam, 1997), pp. 12-19; Mmuya, *Tanzania*, pp. 24, 38, 156; C.K. Omari, *The Right to choose a leader* (Dar es Salaam, 1997), pp. 51, 59; *The Express* (Dar es Salaam) 2-8 March 2000.

²²⁴ On the role of party-state corruption in Dar es Salaam since independence, see John R. Campbell, 'Corruption and the One Party State in Tanzania: the view from Dar es Salaam, 1964-2000', paper delivered at conference entitled 'Equalities and Inequalities in Tanzania: Past and Present', hosted by the Centre of African Studies at the University of Cambridge, 9 June 2006.

²²⁵ For a neighbourhood study of this, see Sherrington, 'Developing disparities', chapter 7; for a recent survey of public apprehensiveness towards urban crime, see Aki Stavrou and Jennifer O'Riordan, *Victimisation in Tanzania: Surveys of crime in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mtwara* (Pretoria, 2004).

²²⁶ See Ronald Aminzade, 'From race to citizenship: the indigenization debate in post-socialist Tanzania', *Comparative Studies in International Development* 38:1 (2003), pp. 43-63.

²²⁷ National Electoral Commission Report of 2005 elections, at www.nec.go.tz on 19 May 2006.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* The national average was 69.72 percent. Only Mara region had a smaller turnout, with 46.49 percent of registered voters.

²²⁹ For post-colonial religious politics to 1994, see Nestor N. Luanda, 'Christianity and Islam contending for the throne on the Tanzanian mainland', in Adebayo Olukoshi & Liisa Laakso (eds.), *Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa* (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 168-182.

²³⁰ See Marc Sommers, *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania* (New York, 2001), pp. 155-180.

²³¹ 'Attacks on the Press 2002', Committee to Protect Journalists, hosted at <http://www.cpj.org/attacks02/africa02/tanzania.html>, 20 May 2006; Tanzania Government Economic Survey 2004, located at <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurvey1/2004/>

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²³² Alex Perullo, "'The Life That I Live': Popular Music, Agency and Urban Society in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania", Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 2003, pp. 178-193; Tanzania Government Economic Survey 2004, *op. cit.*

²³³ On cinema in Dar es Salaam, see James R. Brennan, 'Democratizing Cinema and Censorship in Tanzania, 1920-1980', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36:2 (2005), pp. 481-511.

²³⁴ For two excellent case studies that chart this development, see Sherrington, 'Developing disparities'; and Geoffrey Ross Owens, 'On the edge of a city: an historical ethnography [sic] of urban identity in the northwestern suburbs of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2004).

²³⁵ Briggs and Mwamfupe, 'Peri-urban development', p. 802.

²³⁶ Joe L. P. Lugalla, 'Economic reforms and health conditions of the urban poor in Tanzania', *African Studies Quarterly* 2:1 (1997).

²³⁷ 'Tanzania witnesses steady economic growth', Xinhua News Agency, 30 July 2005.

²³⁸ Statistics taken from the official port website, <http://www.tanzaniaports.com>, on 20 May 2006.

²³⁹ On water distribution in Dar es Salaam, see Valérie Messer, 'L'adduction de l'eau: Défaillances institutionnelles et réponses citadines: vers une nouvelle urbanité?', in Bernard Calas, *De Dar es Salaam à Bongoland* (Nairobi/Paris, 2006), pp. 265-95; and Marianne Kjellen, 'Complementary water systems in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: the case of water vending', *Water Resources Development*, 16:1 (2000), pp. 143-54.

²⁴⁰ 'TANZANIA: Energy and water strain economy' (by James R. Brennan), *Oxford Analytica*, 1 May 2006.

²⁴¹ See BIEA, 'Uhindini Building Survey'.

²⁴² Kironde, 'The evolution of land use structure', pp. 443-4.