

Patterns of Urban Life and Urban Segregation in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Abstract.

Dar es Salaam is the *de facto* capital of Tanzania. It is home to the country's embassies, government ministries, the offices of international organizations and private corporations, and a large population of expatriates, Asians (many of whom are more accurately called Tanzanians of Asian Descent), and Africans. Over the course of its history, Dar es Salaam was ruled by both German and British colonial governments and, since receiving its independence in 1961, by four elected presidents.

Under both German and British colonial rule, Dar es Salaam was racially segregated. Though segregation was widespread across colonial Africa, Dar es Salaam was unique in how it was segregated. Both administrations used Building Ordinances to segregate the city into zones based solely on the types of buildings allowed in each zone. Zone 1 was for buildings of a European type, Zone 2 was for residential or commercial buildings, and Zone 3 was for native style buildings. Though these ordinances applied only to the physical structures, they ultimately dictated the racial composition of these areas; European style homes were required to have flush toilets, an amenity the colonial governments assumed only Europeans desired or could afford.

This dissertation considers whether this segregation continues to impact Dar es Salaam. Using a combination of qualitative methodologies – archival research, written and oral surveys, in-depth follow-up interviews, urban observation, and mental mapping – it demonstrates that colonial racial segregation persists in

contemporary Dar es Salaam. Yet more than just impacting residential patterns, this segregation also affects other aspects of daily life including food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation. Expatriates, Asians, and Africans have distinct spatial patterns of urban life that closely mimic patterns of colonial segregation.

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Asanteni sana.

Preface.

The research and writing of this dissertation has been an extremely personal and reflective process. This topic grew out of my daily life experiences in Dar es Salaam, from the end of September 2005 until August 2006, and was not the research that I originally proposed to do. I arrived in Dar es Salaam planning to examine representations of the city in popular culture and media. From my first week, I began reading English and Kiswahili language newspapers and watching the nightly news to understand how the city was represented.

My research topic evolved after I rented an apartment in the City Center. I loved its location and size and was surprised that others did not share my enthusiasm. African friends laughed at me and said “But only Indians live in the city” and Americans expressed concern at my adventurous housing choice and my decision to “rough it” in an apartment without air-conditioning.

These strange reactions told me that something interesting was going on in Dar es Salaam. I began to look for answers in the archives and uncovered references to the Building Ordinances that are a central part of my argument. Though these archival records provided a starting-off point for my research, this dissertation is colored by my personal experiences and observations, which I share as ‘notes from the field’. My research and my conclusions are drawn as much from these experiences – time spent at the US Embassy, at Asian social clubs, and in some of the city’s unplanned African settlements – as they are from archival documents, surveys, interviews, and mental maps. I became a part of the segregated Dar es Salaam

described in this dissertation and I believe that this personal connection makes my arguments stronger.

Throughout this dissertation, I refer to Dar es Salaam as *Mji wa Rangi Tatu*: the city of three colors. I borrow this phrase from the name of a market described at length in the following chapters (*Soko la Rangi Tatu*). It was during a visit to this market that many of the ideas in this dissertation about race, class, and social segregation began to come together. As a result, I equate the city, my fieldwork, and my conclusions with this market. To me Dar es Salaam is this divided city but also a cosmopolitan city full of vibrant life and fond research memories. I hope my readers enjoy reading about Dar es Salaam as much as I enjoyed researching it.

Table of Contents.

Abstract.	iii
Acknowledgements.	v
Preface.	vii
Table of Contents.	ix
List of Tables.	x
List of Figures.	xi
List of Photographs.	xiii
List of Notes from the Field.	xiv
Foreign Words.	xv
Abbreviations.	xvi
Dar es Salaam Place Names. (Figure 1).	xvii
Chapter 1. Approaching the City of Three Colors.	1
Chapter 2. Urban History of Dar es Salaam.	25
Chapter 3. History of Segregation in Dar es Salaam.	69
Chapter 4. Research Methodology and Urbanism in Dar es Salaam.	137
Chapter 5. Expatriate Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.	173
Chapter 6. Asian Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.	211
Chapter 7. African Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.	246
Chapter 8. Mental Maps.	284
Chapter 9. Conclusions.	319
References.	346
Appendix 1. Expatriate Written Survey.	365
Appendix 2. Asian Written Survey.	371
Appendix 3. African Oral Survey.	376

List of Tables.

2.1. Dar es Salaam Population.	66
3.1. Population by Race in Colonial Dar es Salaam.	110
3.2. Distribution of Races in Colonial Dar es Salaam, 1957.	110
4.1. Dar es Salaam Wards and Population.	144
4.2. Crime in Dar es Salaam.	167
4.3. Residential Security in Dar es Salaam.	167
5.1. European Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.	177
5.2. Expatriate Residential Wards.	185
5.3. Expatriate Food Shopping Wards.	192
5.4. Expatriate Clothing Shopping Wards.	197
5.5. Expatriate Recreation Wards.	200
5.6. Expatriate Daily Activity Wards.	208
6.1. Asian Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.	218
6.2. Asian Residential Wards.	229
6.3. Asian Previous Residential Wards.	231
6.4. Asian Food Shopping Wards.	234
6.5. Asian Clothing Shopping Wards.	237
6.6. Asian Recreation Wards.	239
6.7. Asian Daily Activity Wards.	243
7.1. African Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.	251
7.2. African Residential Wards.	258
7.3. African Previous Residential Wards.	259
7.4. African Food Shopping Wards.	265
7.5. African Clothing Shopping Wards.	272
7.6. African Recreation Wards.	276
7.7. African Daily Activity Wards.	281

List of Figures.

1. Dar es Salaam Place Names.	xvii
2.1. Dar es Salaam Urban Growth.	67
3.1. 1891 German Building Ordinance for Dar es Salaam.	88
3.2. 1904 / 1905 Map of Dar es Salaam.	90
3.3. 1914 German Building Ordinance for Dar es Salaam.	91
3.4. Dar es Salaam Pre-World War 1.	94
3.5. 1923 British Building Ordinance for Dar es Salaam.	100
4.1. Dar es Salaam Municipalities.	142
5.1. Extent of Colonial Building Zones in Contemporary Dar es Salaam.	174
5.2. Expatriate Residence.	186
5.3. Expatriate Food Shopping.	193
5.4. Expatriate Clothing Shopping.	198
5.5. Expatriate Recreation.	201
5.6. Expatriate Daily Life.	209
6.1. Asian Communities in Dar es Salaam's City Center.	214
6.2. Asian Residence.	230
6.3. Asian Previous Residence.	232
6.4. Asian Food Shopping.	235
6.5. Asian Clothing Shopping.	238
6.6. Asian Recreation.	240
6.7. Asian Daily Life.	244
7.1. British Era Building Zones.	248
7.2. African Residence.	260
7.3. African Previous Residence.	261
7.4. African Food Shopping.	266
7.5. African Clothing Shopping.	273
7.6. African Recreation.	277
7.7. African Daily Life.	282

8.1. Bandit Cartoon.	286
8.2. Name Change Cartoon.	286
8.3. Expatriate Mental Map.	295
8.4. Expatriate Mental Map.	296
8.5. Expatriate Mental Map.	297
8.6. Expatriate Mental Map.	298
8.7. Expatriate Mental Map.	300
8.8. Asian Mental Map.	302
8.9. Asian Mental Map.	303
8.10. Asian Mental Map.	304
8.11. Asian Mental Map.	306
8.12. Asian Mental Map.	307
8.13. African Mental Map.	309
8.14. African Mental Map.	310
8.15. African Mental Map.	312
8.16. African Mental Map.	313
8.17. African Mental Map.	314
8.18. African Mental Map.	316
9.1. Segregation in Contemporary Dar es Salaam.	325

List of Photographs.

1.1. Soko la Rangi Tatu.	2
1.2. Soko la Rangi Tatu.	2
2.1. Msasani.	31
2.2. Msasani.	31
2.3. German Colonial era Buildings.	40
4.1. Dar es Salaam City Center Sign.	146
4.2. <i>Daladala</i> to Mbagala / <i>Rangi Tatu</i> .	148
4.3. Electric Fence.	168
4.4. Barbed Wire Fence.	168
4.5. Glass Topped Wall.	169
4.6. Gated Door.	169
5.1. Msasani Ward House in British Colonial Style.	187
5.2. Msasani Ward House in Contemporary Style.	187
6.1. City Center Street.	227
6.2. Chang'ombe Colonial Era Home.	227
7.1. Aerial Photograph of Msasani Ward.	256
7.2. Kariakoo Market.	267
7.3. Dar es Salaam Store.	270
7.4. <i>Mitumba</i> Clothing on Congo Street, Kariakoo.	274
7.5. Coco Beach, Msasani Ward.	279
9.1. Aerial Photograph of Mikocheni Ward.	333

List of Notes from the Field.

Corona Women.	151
The American Embassy.	153
The Dar Institute.	159
Buguruni.	162
Expatriate Life.	182
Shopping at the Tree.	197
Recreation at the US Embassy.	202
Zanaki Street.	234
Ithna'sheria Mosque.	241
Mbagala.	249
Upanga.	255
The Fish Market.	268
The Reality of Being 'The Other'.	341

Foreign Words.

All words are Kiswahili unless otherwise noted.

All foreign words are defined in-text. Those words used more than once are listed below.

Cordon Sanitaire – sanitary zone (French)

Daladala - bus

Duka (maduka) – store (s)

Magenge – produce stall

Mama Ntilie – women cooks / food sellers

Mitumba – literally bales, secondhand clothing

Mji – city

Mji wa Rangi Tatu – city of three colors

Mnazi Mmoja – literally one coconut tree, the present day name of the Neutral Zone

Mzungu (Wazungu) – white person (s)

Salaula – literally to rummage through piles, secondhand clothing (Bemba)

Shamba – farm

Soko la Rangi Tatu – market of three colors, associated with Mbagala Ward

Tote – dead, empty (German)

Ugali – staple of Tanzanian meals

Uhuru - independence

Ujamaa - familyhood

Abbreviations.

CCM – Chama cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)

CTPBC – Central Town Planning and Building Committee

DART – Dar Rapid Transit System

DSG – Diplomatic Spouses Group

IST – International School of Tanganyika

NGO – Non-governmental Organization

PWD – Public Works Department

SAP – Structural Adjustment Program

SCP – Sustainable Cities Program

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SUDP – Strategic Urban Development Plan

TANU – Tanganyika African National Union

TNA – Tanzania National Archives

Figure 1. Dar es Salaam Place Names.



Chapter 1. Approaching the City of Three Colors.

In Mbagala, a ward in southern Dar es Salaam, there is a market called *Soko la Rangi Tatu* – the market of three colors. Like most African markets, *Rangi Tatu* sells a variety of goods: produce, meat, dry goods, clothes, and anything else a person could possibly want or need. Alongside the market stalls are more permanent shops and kiosks selling freshly prepared food. These areas are visible in Photographs 1.1 and 1.2. It is a main market for residents in the southern area of Dar es Salaam, so as a resident of the City Center, I had no real reason to visit the area. Not only was it difficult to reach – only on the city’s most rickety buses devoid of all shocks, in spite of, or because of, the heavily potholed roads – Mbagala residents have a reputation as unfriendly and unwelcoming to outsiders, especially *wazungu* (white people).

One day during an interview with James Mbunju, a resident of Mbagala and the founder and director of a musical theater company in Dar es Salaam, I found a reason to venture to *Rangi Tatu*. He shared with me a story once told to him by his father about the origins of the market’s name. Legend has it that three wealthy landowners used to meet at the present-day location of this market to discuss business. These men, a white European, an Arab, and a black African, are themselves the three colors in the market’s name (Mbunju 2006). James did not know what the men supposedly talked about but speculated that they shared advice since they were friends. At the time of this interview, I was deep into my research on the history and legacy of colonial segregation in Dar es Salaam. This story presented another side to my archival and survey findings: Did collegial relationships exist alongside the



Photograph 1.1. *Soko la Rangi Tatu*. Photograph by author.



Photograph 1.2. *Soko la Rangi Tatu*. Photograph by author.

racially hierarchical relationships? Were the racial divisions that I saw so clearly in Dar es Salaam not reflective of the true story?

Later that week, I went to *Rangi Tatu* to learn more about these three men, these three colors. My research assistant, James Nindi, and I began asking market vendors, *mama ntilie* (the women who cook and sell food in public locations), and even idle men the origin of the market's name. I learned two things that day. The first was that the story, however heartwarming, was a fictional tale. The name came from the different colored roofs of three homes that were once visible from the market.¹ The second lesson provided insight into the city's race relations by partially confirming the unfavorable reputation of Mbagala residents. I was not initially welcomed at *Rangi Tatu*. More than any other place in Dar es Salaam, I had people refuse to talk to me. One man complained that many white researchers have passed through Mbagala asking residents about the quality of their lives, but many years later they are still without water and electricity. Why then should they talk to me? What would I do to benefit them? Of course not all people in Mbagala shared this reaction. We later found a fruit vendor who was our guide, introducing us around to his friends. Nor was Mbagala the only place I encountered resistance and reluctance to answer questions. The reaction from that skeptical man was simply the most poignant.

¹ A second story suggested that the main road passing the market – which is the main road leaving Dar es Salaam to reach all of southern Tanzania – used to be lined with multi-colored lights as some sort of signal to drivers. This name origin was only offered by one person. All others asked gave an explanation based on roof colors.

I went to Mbagala to learn about the racial undertones of its market's name. I left having learned a different lesson about race. More than any physical separations that I would uncover during my stay in Dar es Salaam, there are significant social separations in the city. Colonial segregation was accompanied by wide disparities in social service provision, housing quality, and civil rights. The unequal treatment toward Africans by the European governments has not been forgotten, as I experienced firsthand in Mbagala. This dissertation is therefore the story of these legacies of colonial urban planning – both the physical and social – that continue to shape the city.

My experiences that day clearly showed the social legacies of colonial segregation, and I experienced its physical legacies as I searched for an apartment upon my arrival in Tanzania. Before leaving for Tanzania, I had aspirations of living in Upanga, an area conveniently located within walking distance of the City Center but far enough from major roads to offer some peace and quiet. After arriving, however, this dream was quickly quashed. Upanga, a historically Asian area, is dominated by nationalized homes and apartment buildings that have been inhabited by the same family for decades. The few places available for rent to a foreigner were priced at rents more than double my budget.

I enlisted the help of several middlemen to assist in my house hunt. These middlemen show prospective tenants a series of homes and then collect a commission from the landlord if a lease is signed. I was repeatedly offered homes with high rents, no furnishings, and unsuitable, often unsafe, locations. I eventually widened my

search to include the City Center. The first apartment I was shown was perfect, and I rented it on the spot. Not only was it within my budget, it was ideally located within a short walk of transportation, shopping, and the National Archives. Yet to most foreigners in Dar es Salaam, especially those associated with embassies and international organizations, the City Center is a dangerous place. One American called me adventurous for living there, so far from the amenities of the historically European areas. Africans too were surprised at my new home, laughing that I was living in the 'Indian' area. With these reactions, I realized that my skin color was supposed to determine where I was to live. White people are not supposed to live in the City Center. I was out of place.

I proceeded to live happily, if not unobtrusively, in the City Center. Every day I was faced with the legacies of colonial urban planning. I was the only permanent white resident in the City Center for many months and became well-known by the vendors and taxi drivers on my street. By experiencing both the physical and social legacies of colonial segregation, my research took on a much more personal aspect. Not only was I understanding how the colonial governments created a racially divided city, I experienced the degree that these divisions persist in contemporary Dar es Salaam. This dissertation seeks to understand how far this segregation has penetrated into urban life. Has it extended beyond the colonial residential segregation?

This examination is carried out in three parts. First, I trace out the history of segregation in the city in Chapter 3, using records from the Tanzania National

Archives (TNA). These records show that an informal system of segregation was implemented and resulted in distinct residential areas for Europeans, Asians, and Africans. I contrast this informal system with other systems of colonial segregation implemented across colonial Africa to place Dar es Salaam in a wider context of colonial urban planning. Second, I move beyond this residential segregation to explore the spatial patterns of the daily lives of Expatriates (the contemporary equivalent of Europeans), Asians, and Africans in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. In particular I focus on patterns of shopping and recreation. Finally, Chapter 8 considers these patterns using mental maps. Beyond just collecting data on spatial patterns, I also asked Dar es Salaam residents to draw maps of their city from memory. These maps demonstrate that where people live their lives directly influences how they perceive Dar es Salaam. These perceptions contribute to the legacy of colonialism's racial segregation.

What came first – The observation or the hypothesis?

When I arrived in Dar es Salaam prepared to research its urban geography, I was aware of its colonial history and of ways that the country's independent governments have sought out their own political paths. I was not necessarily expecting to find some obvious and strong legacies of its colonial past. My observations, both in the physical and social legacies of segregation, certainly informed my research.

Karl Popper (1972) asked the question in this section's title in a critical analysis of scientific methods entitled "The Bucket and the Searchlight". In encountering this title, I was immediately reminded of the everyday trials of life in Dar es Salaam in terms of water and electricity. My water supply was fairly steady but nevertheless I kept a large tub (bucket) of water stored for emergencies. This bucket was filled with more than I might someday need. My electrical supply was unfortunately not so regular. My fieldwork coincided with a severe national power shortage, resulting from lower than average rains in a country that relies on hydro-electricity for its power. I spent many long nights with flashlights (searchlights) illuminating just enough space to either prepare a meal or read a book. The beam of light was focused on a small area only with everything else in the shadows. These experiences mirror the two research approaches proposed by Popper. In the searchlight, a researcher identifies a hypothesis, then narrows his or her lens to only the observations that test this hypothesis. In the bucket, a researcher first observes and then allows a hypothesis to develop.

This dissertation takes the bucket approach. My observations of race relations, ideas about space and place, and the physical and social legacies of segregation certainly influenced how I approach this dissertation. This bucket collects more than just personal observations about Dar es Salaam. It also collects theories that provide a framework and foundation for this dissertation. In the following sections I present four approaches to this research. First, I explore ideas about the colonial city to demonstrate how Dar es Salaam was influenced by its

history. Second, I present theories of segregation to show how this research both fits into the broader literature and also makes a substantial methodological break. Third, I discuss the concept of city image to understand how Dar es Salaam is both conceived and perceived by its residents. Finally, I introduce the concept of the neo-colonial city. This theory incorporates the other three approaches and offers the lens through which this dissertation should be viewed.

The Colonial City

Owing to the extent of colonialism across the African continent, literature on the colonial city covers a wide variety of topics. Of particular interest is Myers' (2003) comparison of the impacts of colonialism on urban planning in Nairobi, Kenya, Lilongwe, Malawi, Zanzibar, and Lusaka, Zambia. He demonstrates that colonial governments used space to control native populations. Hansen (1997) and Rakodi (1995) use colonial Lusaka and Harare, Zimbabwe respectively to set the stage for post-colonial urban experiences. In particular they examine how social, cultural, and economic factors affect residents in these post-colonial cities.

Thinking more generally about the colonial city, O'Connor (1983) describes it as one founded by Europeans to aid in the political control of entire colonies. It is just one of the six types of African cities he identifies, but is the most common form owing to the pervasiveness of colonial legacies on the continent. Simon (1992) identifies five unique characteristics of colonial cities: the dominance of the native majority by the colonial minority, limited rights for the majority, the linking of very

different civilizations, the imposition of industry on non-industrial societies, and an antagonistic relationship. Though these characteristics may be present in other types of cities, colonial cities are unique in the degree that they are present. The imposition of industry has been singled out by King (1990) as especially relevant to colonial cities. He suggests that the fundamental idea of a colonial city is economic, specifically how the colonial power exerted control over the colony and the location of businesses and export facilities.

O'Connor (1983) also identifies the clear differentiations both between and within functional zones as characteristic of colonial cities. In this way, the colonial city is what Fanon (2004) refers to as compartmentalized. He identifies two sectors in this colonized city: the native / colonized and the European / colonist. These are not complementary but rather exclusionary, resulting from a very unequal and inequitable relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. This relationship was not accidental but rather developed from explicit colonial policies (Simon 1992). In addition, this relationship was forcefully imposed and rigidly maintained. Generally, exclusion suggests some sort of dichotomy, an 'us versus them' mentality. In colonial cities, this dichotomy was based on race. King suggests that the "consciousness of race, and racial conflict with which it is often associated, is perhaps the major urban manifestation of colonialism" (1990: 27). Likewise Fanon (2004) identifies 'the other' in writing about this compartmentalized colonial world.

This compartmentalizing and ordering implemented by colonial governments relates to Foucault's (1970) ideas of the same and the other. In his examination on

mental illness, Foucault suggests that the ‘othering’ of people began with the segregation of lepers. Once this illness disappeared from society, the physical and social structures of segregation were transferred to the mentally ill (Foucault 1989). Using categories of “the mad, the sad and the bad”, Foucault demonstrates ‘the other’ becomes a category for those groups – including the mentally ill – that do not fit into society’s categories of good or normal (Philo 2004: 125). ‘The other’ are therefore the unacceptable class. Foucault (1970) continues this examination of the same and the other in *The Order of Things* where he explores the actual process of classification. Said (1993) applies these ideas of compartmentalization and exclusion to the colonized world, by considering its two discrepant sides. Each of these discrepant worlds has its own “particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships, all of them coexisting and interacting with others” (Said 1993: 32).

The above ideas suggest a dual society, but this way of thinking ignores an important aspect of Tanzanian cities. This dissertation is specifically focused on three groups within urban society: European, Asian, and African. It is therefore more accurate to think of the compartmentalization of Dar es Salaam into three categories. This third category, the Asians, are the ‘intervening group’ proposed by Horvath (1969) and King (1990). Myers (2003) likewise identifies three aspects of the colonial city: the colonial power, the colonized middle, and the urban majority. Thus by considering how these three worlds can be read and understood together – how they overlap – it is possible to more fully understand the colonial experience and

world. This dissertation attempts to do this; rather than seeing the colonial and colonized worlds as disjointed places, I show how these worlds arose together.

Recent urban research documents Dar es Salaam's history as a colonial city (Anthony 1983; Brennan 2002; Burton 2005; Ivaska 2003). This dissertation builds on this historical foundation to propose that although Dar es Salaam developed as a colonial city its contemporary form has evolved into a neo-colonial city. As later chapters will make clear, colonial urban policies still exist, albeit in an altered form, in this independent city. Understanding Dar es Salaam's past is essential to understanding its present, as proposed by Fanon (2004). In this way, Rakodi's (1995) idea of viewing cities as places of continuity rather than places of change is essential to this dissertation.

From the above discussion on the colonial city, it should become clear that race and spatial organization were important characteristics in their design. In this way, it is very difficult to separate out segregation from the colonial city. De Blij (1963: 7) proposes that "in a city long under colonial rule and inhabited by several racial sectors of population, racial residential segregation is a part of the urban pattern". Philcox (2004: 242), in an afterward to a recent edition of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, makes the following comment about his place in the colonized world:

This was the world I was destined to work in, live in, and play in, and the other sector, the ‘native’ sector, could only be glimpsed through the windows of the embassy’s chauffeur-driven car or perhaps when we strayed on our mopeds into areas where friends working for the American Peace Corps used to live. And when at embassy receptions or dinner parties the conversations would inevitably revolve around ‘them,’ the others, it was, as Fanon says, often couched in zoological terms, referring to the odors, the stink, the hordes, the swarming, seething, sprawling, population vegetating under the sun.

The following section begins to explore the literature on segregation to ground Philcox’s observations about life as the foreigner (Fanon’s colonizer) in a colonially divided city.

Segregation

As the preceding section made clear, colonial cities were ordered on the basis of race. The existence of racial segregation in African cities is therefore not under contention. Instead this dissertation examines how this segregation has persisted and evolved in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Segregation has been widely studied in the context of apartheid (Western 1981), health and sanitation (Echenberg 2002; Frenkel and Western 1988; Murunga 2005; Njoh 2003; Swanson 1977), fear (Kennedy 1987), control (Robinson 1990), and the recent phenomenon of gated communities (Falzon 2004; Kuppinger 2004; McLaughlin and Muncie 1999; Waldrop 2004). In addition, two dated but comprehensive edited volumes cover the geographic dimensions of segregation including reality and myth, methods, ethnicity, and marriage (Peach 1975; Peach, Robinson, and Smith 1981).

Segregation, according to Kaplan and Holloway (1998: 1), is based on ethnicity or race and implies some form of “isolation, discrimination, and aversion”. Pacione (2001) also considers socio-economic status and lifestyle as factors of segregation. Robinson (1999: 150) suggests that segregation, as well as the associated borders and boundaries, are “characteristic of city space”. Regardless of the causal factor, segregation is not necessarily a negative result, since it can result in increased feelings of ethnic identity and feelings of security. Yet these reasons should not give the impression that most segregation is a positive outcome in urban areas. Kaplan and Holloway (1998) draw a comparison between ethnic residential segregation and national secession, a potentially detrimental and destabilizing outcome.

In colonial cities, segregation was not achieved accidentally, nor were governments unaware of the discriminatory undertones of segregation. Njoh (2003) identifies the ways that colonial governments utilized varying terminology to alleviate the racial connotations of segregation. In Cameroon, cities were organized by housing density and income to “masquerade the terms ‘European-only’, ‘civilized Africans’ and ‘uncivilized African’ residential areas, whose use would have constituted an ostentatious display of racism” (Njoh 2003: 94).

O’Connor (1983) agrees with this idea, proposing that many African cities were segregated by residential density rather than race. Yet in Dar es Salaam, he recognizes that the wedge of low-density housing coincides “closely with the zone originally set aside for European occupation” (1983: 214). In addition, density is

strongly related to income and housing quality. He found that in Dar es Salaam, the wards with the highest housing quality were those with a majority European population while those with the lowest housing quality were predominantly African. Thus, although segregation might not have been enacted on explicitly racial lines, it still achieved a racial separation. The histories of colonial Dar es Salaam have included discussions on segregation yet there is a clear focus on residence. More recent research on segregation in Dar es Salaam has concerned the Asian community (Campbell 1999a; Campbell 1999b). This dissertation goes beyond this literature to consider how segregation has impacted other aspects of daily life, and all three of the recognized racial groups of the city.

City Image

In considering the history and legacy of segregation in Dar es Salaam, it is important to understand how the city is conceived and perceived by its residents. These ideas encompass two aspects of city image literature: boosterism and mental mapping. Boosterism refers generally to efforts to promote places, whether as a way to attract investment (Brunn and Cottle 1997; Short 1993), permanent residents (Ley 1980), or tourists (Chang 2000; Cooper 2004; Schwartz 1997). Mental mapping, a method used in this research and discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, provides a visual representation of a person's place perception (Pocock 1976).

Cities have always been conscious of their image, and Dar es Salaam is no exception. While at the Tanzania National Archives, I came across a file entitled

“Press Communiqués from Dar es Salaam Township Authority” (TNA 29471). This vague title gave little insight into the file’s contents, but I expected newspaper clippings or press releases on Township Authority meetings. To my surprise, I found that the original title of this file was “Offensive Smells in Dar es Salaam Township”. This file contains government discussion surrounding a 1941 proposal by the Information Officer to release a press communiqué explaining the source of the city’s offensive smells. The government discouraged this communiqué both for its “slightly ridiculous nature” and because it suggested that government indifference caused the offensive smells. This file demonstrates the importance of city image in two ways. First, the government suppressed this communiqué to avoid disparaging its image. Second, the file’s title was changed to minimize reference to this poor image. In this way, Dar es Salaam’s Township Authority made a conscious decision about how to best present its city.

In thinking about how cities present themselves, Robinson (2006) proposes a focus on the complexity and diversity of cities rather than simply making generalizations. In particular, she cautions against using labels such as ‘colonial’ as a way to categorize cities. My use of the term neo-colonial is not merely a classification but rather a way to recognize the city’s nuances and diversity. Related to this idea is the concept of city development strategies. These strategies are designed to improve cities by establishing some sort of vision for the future. This vision applies to the entire city and “engages with the complexity and diversity of the city” (Robinson 2006: 127). These development strategies are extremely popular,

with over one hundred in existence in 2002. Although supported by International Agencies – often the United Nations or national development agencies such as the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency – these strategies are designed to allow for local stakeholders to actively work in promoting growth and poverty reduction.

Dar es Salaam has a long history of implementing plans with a conscious focus on its image and development. These plans can be categorized in two ways: urban master plans and urban improvement projects. The city has implemented three master plans, all of which build to some degree on the colonial era Building Ordinances that first implemented segregation (Armstrong 1986; Armstrong 1987). These colonial plans are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The first Master Plan, which was commissioned by the British colonial government in 1948, attempted to achieve a healthy city by preventing the spread of disease and “to maintain the rigidly segregated but typically colonial social stratifications of the town’s residential areas on racial grounds” (Armstrong 1986: 13). The second plan, drafted in 1968, was more forward looking, suggesting those policy guidelines that were needed to achieve a formally planned city. It also had the aim of “breaking down the exclusive racial and income barriers of the past” (Armstrong 1987: 72). The final master plan, completed in 1979, was a more flexible and practical plan and relied on the participation and cooperation of international agencies.

Although the goals of each of these three master plans varied, there was a common emphasis on control. The 1948 plan maintained patterns of segregation, but

the 1968 plan attempted to even out residential densities and to relax discriminatory building standards. Even in the absence of segregation, this plan still aimed to control where people could live. The 1979 plan used differing terminology than previous plans and recognized five classes of housing: large planned, small planned, upgraded sites and services, new sites and services, and unplanned. These terms are reminiscent of the categories identified by Njoh (2003) used to mask segregation policies.

The 1979 Master Plan acknowledged the importance of cooperation, laying the foundation for later urban improvement plans. The next major plan came as a part of the United Nations' Sustainable Cities Program (SCP), an initiative designed to assist cities in developing environmentally sustainable development and growth policies through the inclusion of local key actors and stakeholders (Nnkya 2004). The major impetus for Dar es Salaam's participation in the SCP was the government's recognition of the need for a new Master Plan. The local actors identified nine priority environmental issues: solid waste, liquid waste, un-serviced settlements, open spaces, petty trading, air quality and urban transport, coastal areas, sand mining, and environmental hazards and urban agriculture (*ibid.*). A key objective of the SCP was the replacement of the 1979 Master Plan with a Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP). This plan was based on the outcomes of working groups focused on the nine priority issues previously identified.

Based on these City Development Plans, the Dar es Salaam City Council demonstrated its commitment toward city promotion and improvement in its 2004

City Profile. Like the City Development Strategies previously mentioned, this profile offered both the mayor's vision and the city manager's mission statements (Dar es Salaam City Council 2004: i):

Our vision is to build Dar es Salaam to be a city with sustainable development, managed on the principles of good governance, where residents do not live in poverty and have decent standards of living and a city with a competitive environment which attracts investors.

Our mission is to use all available resources augmented by the participation of stakeholders to provide quality and accessible service by all, reduce poverty, and achieve a high sustainable economic growth and excellent amenities which will attract and retain private and public investments.

Also in the profile, the council laid out six major programs and initiatives for the city to focus on to achieve these goals of urban development: Sustainable Dar es Salaam, Safer Dar es Salaam, Solid Waste Management, Community Infrastructure Upgrading Program, Bus Rapid Transit, and Healthy Cities.

The general goal of these programs is to create a more evenly developed city so that all residents can benefit from development. Since the legacy of segregation has created significant spatial disparities in social service provision, these programs have the potential to counteract the contemporary effects of segregation. These programs have resulted in some improvements including city-wide improved solid waste collection and infrastructure upgrading for health, sanitation, and water access in Hananasif, one of the poorest wards in Dar es Salaam (Nnkya 2004). The bus system is a particularly interesting example. During my first week in Dar es Salaam, the newspaper *Dar Leo* (Zidadu 2005) ran a front page article entitled "Dar es Salaam

Nzuri 2006” (Beautiful Dar es Salaam 2006). This article – like many others I would read – focused on the Dar Rapid Transit System (DART). Designed to replace the current system of *daladalas* (inexpensive buses that are generally crowded and considered unsafe), DART would require the construction of new lanes and stations on designated high traffic feeder roads in the city. Although these new buses would improve transportation and life more generally in this rapidly growing city, officials envision DART as a way to “make Dar es Salaam a more attractive city for tourists and investors as well” (Kivamwo 2006). These programs identified by the City Council are all designed to bring city-wide development to Dar es Salaam in an effort to greatly improve its image to residents, potential financial investors, and tourists.

Boosterism and City Development Strategies are one component of the city image literature. A second relevant part of this literature involves mental mapping, a practical tool for understanding how cities are perceived by their residents. Mental maps are widely associated with Kevin Lynch, an architect and planner. In *The Image of the City*, Lynch (1960) used a mapping exercise to understand how residents of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles imagine their cities. The resultant mental maps (he calls them sketch maps) demonstrate that differences exist between the actual city and the perceived city. Others have built on and confirmed Lynch’s findings. To Tuan (1975: 206), mental maps are “cartographic representations of how people differ in their evaluation of places”. Pocock (1976) demonstrates that different groups of people –including residents and tourists - perceive the city in widely variant ways.

Recent research on Dar es Salaam has used mental maps to understand how the city is perceived (Moyer 2004; Nagar 1995). In investigating the various South Asian communities, Nagar found that although each group perceives the city differently, there are some common points including the importance of neighborhoods and communal spaces. Moyer's maps – what she calls popular cartographies – were collected from *wamachinga* (petty traders). These maps demonstrate that while traders are familiar with the city, their maps reflect only those places that are directly relevant to their daily lives.

Ideas about how cities promote themselves are important to this dissertation. Certainly no city, Dar es Salaam included, seeks out a negative image. Segregation in itself is not necessarily negative, as discussed above, but the inequities in services accompanying segregation are undesirable. As Dar es Salaam conceives development strategies with city-wide benefits, its image will probably improve. One way to measure how cities are perceived is through mental mapping. As these maps from Dar es Salaam will indicate, there are still significant spatial divisions within the city. These divisions are strongly tied to race, a remnant colonial policy. As Chapter 9 will discuss in more detail, however, the issue of class cannot be completely ignored.

Neo-Colonial Cities

A main conclusion of this dissertation is that colonial patterns of segregation continue to impact Dar es Salaam's present-day urban form. In this way, I propose

that the city should be viewed as neo-colonial. Rather than using this term as a way to classify the city as cautioned against by Robinson (2006), it recognizes the complexity of contemporary Dar es Salaam. As the name implies, neo-colonialism refers to a new and different kind of colonialism. It is not referring to the colonial period in Africa from the late 1880s until the mid 1960s, but rather to a second generation of colonialism that has occurred since independence.

Neo-colonialism differs from post-colonialism, but it is first necessary to understand the post. This necessity arises because of the interconnectedness of these two terms. Both refer to the temporal era since independence, but they differ in how they conceptualize this time. Post-colonialism is a starting-over while neo-colonialism is a repetition of the past. Ryan (2004) suggests two ways to conceptualize post-colonialism. First is temporal; it refers to people, places, and culture in the time period after the end of colonialism. The second is ideological; it is a series of ideas, theories, and practices designed to move beyond colonialism. It is the ideological understanding of the term that has received substantial attention. Scholars and cultural critics, including Fanon and Said, have written extensively on this subject, attempting to reconcile the world's past with its present.

Post-colonialism can therefore be thought of as the effort of places and people to develop and thrive in spite of their colonial history. Neo-colonialism, on the other hand, is concerned not with the past but with a resurgence of colonialism. Yet this new system differs from earlier imperial control. Neo-colonialism refers to the system of political and economic control by the developed world over the developing

world (Lee 2000). Unlike colonialism, the developing world is not being directly controlled, but instead there exists a significant degree of indirect control.

Traditionally, this control has been exerted in the economic sphere in the areas of aid, trade, and investment. According to Lee (2000: 546), “the various practices of neo-colonialism serve to keep the dominated societies secure within the wider sphere of neocolonial influence, definition and assessment”. Nkrumah (1966: xi), the first president of independent Ghana, calls neo-colonialism the final stage of imperialism:

Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case.

Although much of Nkrumah’s focus is on the economic impacts of neo-colonialism, he does acknowledge that it also occurs in the political, religious, ideological, and cultural spheres.

In addition to applying to broader areas than implied by Lee, neo-colonialism is not limited to indirect control by the west. As has been the case in Tanzania and other African countries, neo-colonialism can affect all aspects of life – including urban planning – and can be initiated by the African governments themselves. Neo-colonial ideas are evident in the literature written by the Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong’o. Fanon called Ngugi’s early body of work a “literature of combat” (2004: 240). This war against neo-colonialism is particularly evident in *Petals of Blood*.

Although written after Fanon's death, this novel is similarly combative. The title symbolizes "the contemporary African situation where imperialism and foreign interests are preventing little flowers (the workers and peasants in Africa) from reaching out into the light" (Ngugi quoted in Cook and Okenimkpe 1997: 202). Nazareth (1986) suggests that this novel best explains what neo-colonialism is by showing how Africans are disadvantaged by the modernization of cities. Neo-colonialism is a relevant idea to this urban geography dissertation since its main focus is the legacy of colonial segregation. The coming of independence did not completely negate the city's spatial divisions although attempts were made to lessen their impact. Still the city remains a divided city, a fact that is reminiscent of colonial rule.

Dar es Salaam as a Neo-Colonial City

This dissertation is concerned with the legacies of colonialism in Dar es Salaam. These legacies have been called "mutated, impure and unsettling" by Nash (2002: 225). Rather than just acknowledging that these legacies exist, the following chapters will also explore how these legacies have evolved – or mutated – and persisted under the independent governments. Segregation was first implemented by the German colonial government and was strengthened by the British administration. Even though Tanganyika received its independence in 1961, these segregationist policies were not totally abolished. As Chapter 2 will discuss in more depth, the first president did enact policies designed to abolish these colonial patterns and benefit the

African population, but less than forty years later, his attempts are no longer visible. I propose approaching Dar es Salaam through the lens of neo-colonialism. Its urban form is controlled by its own government in much the same way that it was controlled by its colonial rulers. The persistence of segregation shows that rather than attempting to move beyond colonialism, it is undergoing a second generation of colonialism. Much like the tale of *Soko la Rangi Tatu*, this dissertation proposes that Dar es Salaam is *Mji wa Rangi Tatu* – the city of three colors. These three colors – the Expatriate, Asian, and African populations – live in distinctly bounded spaces with little or no intermixing between races.

Chapter 2. Urban History of Dar es Salaam.

The Tanzanian nation has not emerged out of nothing overnight. It is not merely the result of the nationalist struggle and the attaining of Independence; nether is it the creation of the colonists. It is the product of a long historical process stretching back hundreds, even thousands of years; a process which involved the cultural, economic, social and political development and intermixture of the diverse peoples who have settled in this part of Africa

-- Sutton 1970: 10.

In my living room hangs a *tingatinga* painting I brought home from Dar es Salaam. *Tingatinga* is a distinctly Tanzanian art form, painted in bright colors on just about anything: canvas, cardboard, glass, and recycled food tins. Every *tingatinga* artist has a specialty; some paint animals, others paint Maasai warriors, and a few paint rural and urban landscapes. My painting is an urban scene that reminds me of my daily life in Dar es Salaam. It shows a crowded bar filled with men drinking, laughing, greeting each other, and generally passing time. Women make up the minority in this social scene, with one passing through the bar balancing a basket on her head filled with bananas and another talking closely with a man. Overlooking the bar is a row of apartment buildings and in several windows people are peering down into the bar, observing the goings on. That scene was my life. I lived in an apartment overlooking a popular bar. I spent perhaps too many hours watching men, and occasionally women, drink, eat, socialize, watch soccer, and even shop from the roaming vendors ubiquitous in Dar es Salaam. To me Dar es Salaam is the city portrayed in this painting: colorful, vibrant, and social.

This memory of Dar es Salaam is balanced with its social reality. My painting is filled with only African faces; there are no Asian or white faces visible. Regardless of assertions that the color bar is absent in Dar es Salaam, the city is largely divided by race, as I alluded to in the previous chapter. Toward the end of my research period, an English language newspaper, *This Day*, entered the press scene. It was not one I normally purchased, but one day a newspaper vendor passed my lunch table and the headline caught my eye: “Are Dar hotels racist?” (Liganga and Ndomba 2006). The article presented recent claims that the Mövenpick Hotel, an upscale Swiss-owned hotel, discriminated against African women. These claims were made by women who were denied entrance because they were not accompanied by men; the women assumed they were mistakenly identified as prostitutes. At the same times when they were turned away, Asian and white women were allowed to enter the hotel without a male escort. This article interested me because it suggests that some form of the color bar may be alive and well in Dar es Salaam. I lived near several expensive hotels, including the Mövenpick, and spent many hours in their lobbies and coffee shops reading, writing, conducting interviews, and enjoying the air conditioning. I was never once denied entrance or asked to leave regardless of how much my appearance contrasted with the hotel guests. My skin color allowed me to enter a world that is forbidden to the majority of the city’s residents.

This chapter outlines the history of Dar es Salaam, from evidence of its early inhabitation to observations of this cosmopolitan city in the twenty-first century. Cosmopolitanism implies a vibrant city that has avenues to the outside world. Appiah

(2006) suggests two intertwined ideas of cosmopolitanism. The first is that all people have obligations to others, even in the absence of family ties or shared citizenship. The second is the recognition that since people are different, it is important to understand other people's beliefs and practices. These ideas can occasionally conflict when social differences make fulfilling obligations difficult. Thus, cosmopolitanism recognizes the complexity of places like Dar es Salaam and of its residents. At the same time it acknowledges the interplay between a globally connected world and a city where fear of 'the other' creates spaces of exclusion.

This chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive political, economic, or social history; instead, it focuses on events that had a direct bearing on the formation and growth of the city. I base this dissertation on a broad reading of Tanzanian urban history. Iliffe (1979) and Kimambo and Temu (1969) produced comprehensive but dated national histories of Tanzania. Maddox and Giblin (2005) recently released an updated edited volume. Although all of these works are focused on Tanzania, each pays sufficient attention to Dar es Salaam. For a more city specific history, de Blij (1963) and Leslie (1963) offer useful case studies. I use these sources in conjunction with more contemporary studies focused more specifically on urbanism and urban segregation in Dar es Salaam, as discussed below.

The recent publication of *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa, c.1750-2000* (Burton 2002) contributes to the growing literature on African cities, and the inclusion of a chapter on Dar es Salaam contributes to the increasing attention on both

its history and its present (Brennan 2002; Burton 2005; Ivaska 2003; Lewinson 1999; Moyer 2004). A recent conference held at the University of Dar es Salaam entitled “Dar es Salaam in the 20th Century: Urbanization and Social Change in an Emerging East African Metropolis” will produce a book in the near future. Still, in spite of this renewed interest, Dar es Salaam is understudied in comparison to other similarly-sized African cities. Most notably, although Dar es Salaam is roughly the same size as Nairobi and has a longer history, it has received nowhere near the depth or breadth of scholarly attention. In fact, *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa, c.1750-2000* has five chapters, including an entire section, on Nairobi alone.

In the following sections, I rely heavily on the work of Clement Gillman. I cite his 1945 work on the city’s history for two reasons. First, this historical account is part of an extremely small number of Dar es Salaam-specific histories. Second, Gillman was a geographer and therefore he approaches his history from a geographic perspective. The Royal Scottish Geography Society awarded him a medal for his contributions to human geography and his peers called his research outstanding (Hoyle 1987). Not only does he approach Dar es Salaam geographically, he also produced perhaps the most comprehensive urban history:

With his diversity of interests, his unflagging energy and his meticulous attention to detail, Gillman probably acquired a greater knowledge of Tanganyika as a whole than any other individual before or since. It was with some considerable justification that a contemporary said that in a sense he *was* Tanganyika, for his accumulated store of knowledge of the environmental problems and characteristics of the country was vastly impressive in its breadth and depth, more so than that of any other living person in East Africa at that time (Hoyle 1987: 391).

It is because of Gillman's deep knowledge and research qualifications that I cite him often. Yet I do recognize that he presents just one perspective on colonial Dar es Salaam.

Dar es Salaam did not become the city I experienced by accident. It is a product of its history and geography. Iliffe suggests that "as the rings of a tree reveal ecological change, so each phase of Tanganyika's modern history was embodied in the human geography of its capital" (1979: 384). Dar es Salaam's transformation from a small port on a heavily urbanized coast to the hub of Eastern Africa with an estimated population of three million people occurred during five periods of urbanization. I base these periods on Burton (2002). The first saw the urban development along the East African, or Swahili, Coast. The second was the formal establishment of the city of Dar es Salaam. The third was the arrival of the German East Africa Company and the establishment of the German East Africa Colony. The fourth witnessed the transfer of power from Germany to Great Britain under the League of Nations Mandate. The fifth period includes the entire period since independence in 1961. As the capital city (and later the *de facto* capital city), Dar es Salaam has been and continues to be the central focus of national and local urban planning initiatives. Various governments have enacted these plans but remarkable levels of similarity exist, particularly in the levels of segregation that will be described in Chapter 3. This similarity is a direct result of the neo-colonial policies that affect the city today. Although colonialism officially ended in 1961, its legacies persist and evolve under the country's independent government.

As a result of its complex history, Dar es Salaam is a mishmash of urban forms. Remnants of the colonial city – the Bavarian-style railway station, tree-lined boulevards, the Botanical Gardens, and the red-roofed bungalows built for British officers – sit in stark contrast to the recently developed informal settlements of Manzese and Kimara. I use the term informal throughout this dissertation to refer to both housing and economic systems. This term is the subject of current academic debate since it carries a negative connotation. Yet according Hansen and Vaa (2004), the informal city is constituted by “extra-legal housing and unregistered economic activities” but its residents view it as functioning, normal, and legitimate. More so, the informal city is not only inhabited by the poor and informal is not synonymous with slums or squatter settlements (Burra 2004). Thus, the presence of the informal sector in Dar es Salaam contributes to its urban complexity.

Dar es Salaam as a city of contrasts is widely evident in Photographs 2.1 and 2.2. In the first photograph, there are informal, tin-roofed homes built in the shadow of a large, modern home. In the second photograph, there is a clashing of several worlds on the street outside of the Canadian Ambassador’s home. This photograph was taken on the day of an annual handicrafts sale organized by the Ambassador’s wife. Entrance was free but regulated by several Maasai watchmen dressed in traditional clothing. The street was lined with taxis and chauffeur-driven SUVs, idly waiting for their shopping passengers to return. Intermixed between these traditional guards and the imported luxury vehicles were two cows slowly walking down this busy road, one of the few places in town with large areas of green grass



Photograph 2.1. Msasani. Photograph by author.



Photograph 2.2. Msasani. Photograph by Kristin Stapleton. Used with permission.

suitable for grazing. Both photographs were taken in Msasani Ward of Dar es Salaam, one of the city's wealthiest and whitest. Pockets exist in this ward that are neither rich nor white, but they have been overshadowed by the mansions, Land Rovers, and security guards patrolling gated drives.

Early Urbanization on the East African Coast

Early urbanization on the Tanzanian coast took the form of small settlements comprising one part of the larger Swahili coastal culture, which was “a distinctly urban society from its origins” (Burton 2002: 8). There is an extensive and ongoing debate over when exactly those origins were. Burton (2002: 8) places them “in the latter part of the first millennium AD”. However, Chami (1998) confirms that this area of East Africa was inhabited perhaps as early as the last centuries BC and at the latest during the first five centuries AD. Approximately twenty urban areas in the vicinity of Dar es Salaam, including Limbo and Mtyeke, have been identified from archaeological findings. Trading centers along the East African Coast were described in *The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, a Greek guide for commercial traders dating to the first century AD and Ptolemy's *Geography* from the end of the fourth century AD.

Regardless of the debates over ancient times, it is clear that by around 1200 AD the area of today's Dar es Salaam was a site of commercial importance owing to its location on the shipping route between the Middle East and Mozambique (Iliffe 1979). The coast around Dar es Salaam was by then dotted with small settlements

and trading centers. Shards of Sgraffiato pottery found in the region suggest the area was settled at least seven hundred years ago, and probably long before that (Mascarenhas 1967).

These small settlements in the Dar es Salaam area continued to evolve into towns. Today, these medieval and early modern areas are visible by graveyards and other ruins. The settlement of Mzizima, located on what eventually became the European Hospital on Ocean Road in the City Center, was significant enough to be included on a map published in 1860 by the missionary Dr. Krapf (Gillman 1945). Other settlements in the area were Kunduchi, Msasani, Mjimwema, Gerezani, Kichwele, Kurasini, Upanga, and Mbwamaji (Gray 1952).² All of these developed in response to the caravan trade in ivory and slaves that traveled between the coast and the interior. Ethnically, these settlements were identified with the Shomvi and Zaramo culture groups. As Dar es Salaam grew over time, it consumed these regional settlements; in fact, most are now names of wards in the city. In addition, some of the earlier Zaramo settlements have become African neighborhoods and wards, including Toroli (located in the Keko area) and Buguruni (Sutton 1970; Tripp 1997).

This section makes evident that although a city named Dar es Salaam did not exist two thousand years ago, it was eventually founded in an area with a long history of urbanization. The East African coast was not desolate, nor were the Africans living in the area unfamiliar with urban life. Some materials from the colonial period assert that Dar es Salaam was founded by the Germans after their arrival in 1887. In

² Mbwamaji is also referred to as Mboamaji.

fact one guidebook suggested that the city “owes nothing of its attraction to the old Arab coastal civilization since, unlike Kilwa and Mombasa, it has no long history and was developed out of a tiny fishing village by the Germans” (Tanganyika Guide 1953). Yet this much older story of settlement and trade in the Dar es Salaam area shows the lie of this colonial version.

The Founding of Dar es Salaam

Although the region surrounding today’s Dar es Salaam has long been urban, the city was not founded by name until 1865. In 1862, Sultan Majid – the ruler of Zanzibar – first made his intentions to found Dar es Salaam known. His reasons for wanting to establish this city are not altogether clear. Some believe that he was looking for a more secure home and others that he was attempting to expand his economic empire. Sheriff (1987) proposes that economic motivations were central in the Sultan’s mind. Over the first half of the 19th Century, Zanzibar’s role in international trade increased rapidly, especially through the export of ivory and cloves. In order to increase the island’s position in the world market and extract maximum benefit from its profitable trade with the interior, efforts were made to control all economic activity on the adjacent coast. Accounts of Nyamwezi traders bringing ivory from the interior to Dar es Salaam during this period support Sheriff’s proposals (Gillman 1945). The city’s name, however, implies a focus on security. *Salaam* is the Arabic word for peace and *dar* is the Arabic word for house or home

and is even used to refer to a homeland.³ The Kiswahili word for peace, *salama*, is derived from this Arabic term.

Regardless of the Sultan's main motivation, construction on the new town of Dar es Salaam began in 1865. Rapid progress was made, and early accounts from Captain George L. Sullivan, Tippu Tip, an ivory and slave trader, Dr. Edward Steere, a Bishop with the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and Dr. G. Edward Seward, from the British Consulate in Zanzibar, mention an official hotel for foreign guests, a palace, fine buildings, a fort, and a lively atmosphere (Gray 1947; Tanzania Society 1970). The death of Sultan Majid in 1870 brought an abrupt halt to the city's development and ushered in what is widely considered a period of decay. In 1873, the British Vice-Consul to Zanzibar, J. Frederic Elton, observed that "only two of the houses are habitable and the others have stopped short at the first story" (Tanzania Society 1970: 205). In 1879, Joseph Thompson commented that "grass now grows in the streets. The tenantless houses give shelter only to bats, owls, lizards and snakes, and the whole place wears the aspect of an old battered and deserted city, instead of a new one just springing to life" (Tanzania Society 1970: 207). The 4th Edition of the Indian Ocean Directory described the city in 1882, suggesting that the majority of homes "look more like ruined houses than uncompleted ones" (quoted in Gray 1952: 17). The grand plan that Sultan Majid envisioned for Dar es Salaam was abandoned after his death.

³ For example, Darfur (in Sudan) is translated to mean the homeland of the Fur.

Some efforts were made to reverse the city's deterioration. The British government financed the construction of a road from the coast to the interior. The design of Sir William Mackinnon eventually led to the construction of eighty-three miles of road but the project was abandoned in 1881 and later deteriorated itself. Some buildings from Dar es Salaam's early years did survive until the arrival of the British administration. Instead of considering the period from Sultan Majid's death until the beginning of colonialism a time of deterioration, Sutton proposes that this period actually served as the city's formative years. In these years, "Dar es Salaam grafted its roots into the local scene and forged interdependence with Uzaramo" (1970: 6). By using this later term, Sutton connects this formative Dar es Salaam with the earlier existing settlements of the Zaramo people. Sutton continues: "In place of Majid's grand design and artificial boom-town, a more natural and viable economic system developed. Were it not for this, it is doubtful whether Dar es Salaam could even have evolved into a capital city and major port" (*ibid.*). Thus the legacy of Sultan Majid's dream persisted into the colonial era alongside the Zaramo settlements that predated it.

Dar es Salaam under German Rule

European interest in Africa increased during the mid-1800s as explorers arrived to map out the unknown parts of the continent and claim territory for their motherlands. The nations with the most interests in the continent, including Germany and Great Britain, met in Berlin to formally partition Africa in 1884-1885. The major

outcome of this Berlin Conference was the requirement of effective occupation; in effect, colonial powers were required to have a physical presence in their territories.

The requirement of effective occupation was made less onerous for the Germans because of the political accomplishments of Karl Peters. By the time of the conference, Germany had already obtained twelve treaties granting it significant land area in East Africa. In 1884 he formed the Society for German Colonization, whose sole purpose was to acquire colonies for Germany. He approached this work with a determination to acquire vast amounts of land at any cost, earning the nickname *Mkono wa damu* – the man with bloodstained hands (Gwassa 1969). Peters arrived in Tanganyika on November 4, 1884, having traveled under a false identity, and he quickly began making “bogus treaties” with African leaders (Gwassa 1969: 98). These treaties are now viewed with skepticism, since it is improbable that these leaders understood German and also unlikely that the translators provided were either competent or neutral. Yet Germany’s possession of Peters’ treaties, whether lawfully obtained or not, were reason enough for the government to issue an Imperial Charter for Tanganyika. This charter did not prove immediately popular in Tanganyika or with Sultan Barghash, Majid’s successor in Zanzibar. Sultan Barghash protested the charter in a telegram to the German Emperor on April 25, 1885 and sent troops to fight the German colonial forces (Gwassa 1969). He later relented after Germany threatened a naval blockade and ceded control of the city on August 19 (Gray 1952).

Peters’ society was reorganized into the German East Africa Company, which officially took over administration on May 25, 1887 when Hauptmann Leue arrived.

He encountered the same desolate city described after Sultan Majid's death. "The place and its port were desolate . . . all the houses were joined by narrow native paths only. The town, therefore, teemed with snakes, scorpions, centipedes, mosquitoes and other pests" (Gillman 1945: 4). Yet before official rule was established, the Company maintained its presence. It established a naval base at Dar es Salaam in August 1885, received permission in 1886 to collect customs revenues, and in 1887 achieved "virtual occupation" of the coast with a fifty year lease (Gillman 1945: 4).

The initial resistance from Sultan Barghash was not the extent of resistance to German colonial rule. In 1888, when the government attempted to implement its rule after the Sultan's cession of the coast, Africans did not welcome them warmly. In fact, Dar es Salaam was attacked several times without much result. This resistance is often referred to as the 'Arab Revolt,' but Iliffe (1979) suggests that it was initiated from a wider segment of the population, rather than just from Arab slave traders. Glassman (1995) agrees with Iliffe, suggesting that the 'Arab Revolt' in Pangani, a coastal town north of Dar es Salaam, was actually aimed as much against Arab rule as it was against the Germans. Although the Germans framed the conflict as related to the slave trade, in Pangani, it related more to Tanganyikan displeasure with the ineffectual rule of the Arab elite.

These revolts demonstrated to the German government that the German East Africa Company possessed inadequate resources to deal with African rebellions. As a result, the German government appointed Hermann von Wissmann as the Imperial Commissioner in 1889, sending him to the colony along with officers, equipment, and

soldiers. Along with officially taking control over Tanganyika, the German Government paid the Sultan of Zanzibar to cease his rights to the coast and its hinterland. Yet Glassman (1995) suggests that these ‘peace party’ negotiations occurred after the Germans demonstrated their military invincibility. Thus, any settlements with local rulers were likely for show rather than any measure of goodwill or cooperation. In 1890, Zanzibar became a British Protectorate, effectively ceasing any claims that the Sultan might have had on Dar es Salaam.

More than just marking a changing of the guards, the beginning of German rule also had a significant effect on the urban form of Dar es Salaam. The year 1891 marked the implementation of the city’s first Building Ordinance. This plan dictated construction standards for Dar es Salaam and laid the foundation for how the city would develop in its future. This Ordinance will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. This plan did not just establish a history of segregation; it also suggested a general commitment to town planning for the future, including the construction of many new buildings. The first building, the Evangelical Mission, was completed in 1887. After 1891, it was followed by many others that had a distinctly German architectural style. Some of these buildings still stand and house current ministries. Photograph 2.3 depicts two of these buildings. Of course, not all construction was geared to serve only Germans; in 1897 the Sewa Haji Hospital for Africans and Asians opened. By 1905, the Indian bazaar was completed as well as two native markets. The construction of space for Indians alludes to the increased immigration



Photograph 2.3. German Colonial era buildings. Photograph by Shannon Smiley. Used with permission.

of Asians under the German administration. Schneider (1965: 76) refers to this colonial period as “a new period of development for Dar es Salaam,” since increasing numbers of Indians arrived and found economic opportunities.

The year 1891 was also significant for Dar es Salaam, since it marked the transfer of the government seat there from Bagamoyo. Bagamoyo, a coastal town located north of Dar es Salaam, was a more important port for the export-oriented colonial economic system. Its prominence related directly to Zanzibar’s economy, becoming the principal trade route for ivory, slaves, gum copal, salt, and dried fish between Lake Tanganyika and the coast during the rule of Sultan Said, Majid’s predecessor (Hoyle 1983). Since trade was conducted using traditional sailing vessels called dhows, Bagamoyo’s flat shoreline and sheltered channel was more navigable.

Dar es Salaam's port, on the other hand, was heavily affected by the trade winds and was difficult for dhows to maneuver. As the steamship began to replace dhows, Dar es Salaam replaced Bagamoyo as the colony's principle port. The emergence of Dar es Salaam as a port city also resulted in the 1905 construction of the Central Line Railway, beginning in Dar es Salaam and terminating at Lake Tanganyika. With this construction, Bagamoyo's role as the terminus of slow-moving caravan trade was further eclipsed by Dar es Salaam (Hoyle 1983). The railway brought an increasing amount of revenue to Dar es Salaam, which led to increased construction, increased numbers of government employees, and increased European population. It also brought a better electricity supply, funded by the railway, and the first real hotel in the city; the hotel was famously known for having both hot and cold water. All of these factors combined to promote Dar es Salaam to capital city status.

Yet in spite of all of the progress that Dar es Salaam experienced, Gillman (1945) suggests two major shortcomings of the German administration: the Indian area, which was squeezed between the well-planned native area and the European residential area – what he terms the quarters of the Masters – and the lack of an efficient drainage and sewage system. It must be noted that Gillman was British and therefore likely to be prejudiced against any German progress.

Certainly it should not be assumed that German rule was filled only with progress. It was during this time that the most widespread violence in Tanzania's history occurred: The Maji Maji Rebellion. This rebellion, which lasted from 1905 until 1907, claimed an estimated 75,000 African lives and is considered one of the

continent's most important anti-colonial struggles (Iliffe 1967). Scholars have written extensively on the Maji Maji Rebellion, establishing a traditional narrative on its social and political origins. Recent research, however, have proposed counter-narratives of the rebellion. The traditional narrative identifies its roots in peasant grievances and its expansion in religious ideology. German rule was brutal at times, especially in its harsh requirements of forced labor and taxation, yet the uprising arose from grievances over cooperative cotton farming. Though the African cultivators were paid for their work, the labor intensive farming detracted from their efforts in subsistence farming and negatively impacted their social relations. This traditional narrative does not end with these grievances; it also incorporates religion. Ministers and tribal leaders distributed *maji* (water) that was said to provide protection from Europeans and their bullets. Though Maji Maji fighting never reached Dar es Salaam, it demonstrates the deeper character of German rule and African resistance.

This traditional narrative, called the collective authority by Monson (1998), achieved widespread acceptance through its connection to the Tanganyika African National Union's (TANU) nationalist struggle in 1950s Tanganyika. With its framing as an anti-colonial resistance struggle, the Maji Maji Rebellion helped to lay the foundation for the country's independence movement. At the household level it was "not a fight for the state, rather it was a symptom of struggles in the households to overcome problems created by colonial rule" (Sunseri 1997: 259).

Some scholars propose an alternative reading of the rebellion's history. Sunseri (1997) suggests that a 1905 unrecorded famine in Uzaramo greatly affected the area's rural economy and left Zaramo people unable to deal with these famine conditions. Traditionally, women controlled food production while men hunted and readied fields through burning and clearing. Colonial policies limited these male activities and required labor hours away from the home. Furthermore, colonial agricultural schemes, including the cotton project, increased famine frequency. Thus, the *maji* was not personal protection but rather protection for crops and fields. Monson (1998) likewise counters the traditional narrative. She places the Maji Maji Rebellion as part of a larger history of tensions and grievances in the Southern Highlands. Regardless of how the rebellion is framed, it represented a larger displeasure with the German colonial government.

German rule, both aspects of progress and its disputed policies, was interrupted by World War I. Although no major battles were fought within the colony's borders, Tanganyika was certainly affected by the war. The Congo Act of 1885, which laid the framework of colonial rule in Africa, contained a provision requiring African colonies to remain neutral during any European war, but this provision was ignored (Iliffe 1979). Even though the colony's governor attempted to keep peace in Tanganyika for several reasons, including the fear of African rebellion and the fact that the area was indefensible, he was overruled by the colony's military leaders. These leaders cared little for any potential consequences of war on African soil and instead wanted to distract European troops. Thus Iliffe (1979: 241) suggests

that the situation was the “climax of Africa’s exploitation” by using Tanganyika as a battlefield.

Britain wanted to protect its own colonial interests in East Africa, so it focused on preventing German ports from being used as naval bases, limiting communication abilities, and invading Dar es Salaam with an Indian Army. On November 2, 1914, Indian troops arrived in Tanga, 222 miles north of Dar es Salaam, a move which was anticipated by the Germans and quickly led to the massacre of these Indians. Fighting continued in Tanganyika, with some direct effects on Dar es Salaam, including its bombing in 1914. Over the course of the entire war, over 100,000 Africans were involved. It is not known exactly how many died but at least 1,798 died fighting for the German side (Ilfie 1979). Many more Africans died of non-combat related diseases including at least 44,911 porters on the British side (*ibid.*). Even though German fighters did not surrender until the official end of the war, by 1916 the majority of the territory was controlled by the British military. By the end of that year, it was ruled by a civilian authority that began to rebuild the territory’s infrastructure, develop trade, and appoint a British staff (Callahan 1999).

One consequence of World War I for Dar es Salaam was the temporary shifting of the German colonial government seat, eventually relocated to Tabora, a more centrally located town in Tanganyika. This shift proved especially problematic for the archives as many files did not survive the war; some were lost in transit, some were purposefully destroyed, some were left behind to make movement easier, and some were hidden to protect national security interests (Karugila 1989). The end of

World War I saw Germany stripped of its colonial possessions by the League of Nations, and German East Africa was mandated to Great Britain.

The German colonial era (1885-1919) thus had a mixed legacy for Dar es Salaam. On the one hand, Dar es Salaam spent most of this period as the colonial capital. It therefore benefited from investments in its port and basic infrastructure. On the other hand, German rule started the trend toward neglect of the needs of African urban residents. This neglect was perpetuated and greatly expanded under British colonial rule.

Dar es Salaam under the British Mandate

The shifting of Tanganyika's administration from Germany to Great Britain had significant political ramifications. Great Britain was limited in the scope of its power by the League of Nations, but this should not suggest that the British administration was weak or ineffective. The administration was actually able to exert a substantial degree of control over the population and organization of its territory, especially Dar es Salaam.

By the end of World War I, Britain had already established a sizable presence in Tanganyika, but administration was not officially announced until January 21, 1919, with the first administrator, Sir Horace Byatt, arriving on February 12. Gillman (1945: 16) refers to Byatt as a "Prince Charming come to kiss the Sleeping Beauty back to life". Governor Twining (1959), Governor of Tanganyika Territory from 1949 until 1958, echoed these sentiments, calling the Territory backward. It is true

that Dar es Salaam, like the rest of Tanganyika, suffered from a lack of development during and immediately after the First World War, but the British administration certainly was prejudiced toward the ability of its colonial officers to rule the territory. British colonial rule, in reality, proved somewhat less 'charming'.

At the beginning of British colonial rule, the administration attempted to distance itself from the German government. One significant aspect of this separation involved the expulsion of German citizens, primarily achieved through land legislation. The year 1922 saw the implementation of several acts concerning German property. The Enemy Property (Retention) Ordinance allowed the government to retain ex-enemy property and the German Property (Liquidation) Ordinance allowed the government to liquidate assets. In 1923, the Ex-Enemies (Land-holding) Ordinance forbade ex-enemies to hold land without a license from the Governor unless the land was a rental property or only a small area of space. Through these Acts, the British government discouraged Germans from remaining in Tanganyika Territory and attempted to establish a firm break between the two colonial eras.

Although Tanganyika remained a mandated territory to Britain until becoming independent in 1961, many felt that the Mandate System was a thinly disguised colonial system (Callahan 1999; Dumbuya 1995). Lord Frederick Lugard (1965), the original proponent of indirect rule, even suggested that the only solution to the difficulties inherent in the mandate system was annexation. Regardless of these feelings, Tanganyika was never an annexed territory. The mandate relationship did

limit British authority in Dar es Salaam and the rest of the territory so that Britain was prohibited from establishing formal policies that were outwardly discriminatory. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, the Mandate required Great Britain to provide for the social development and moral well-being of all residents, including native and non-natives. Thus, official government action was to be designed to benefit all inhabitants of Tanganyika Territory. It is important to make clear that Britain still had a sufficient degree of freedom in its policies and was able to achieve discriminatory end goals through seemingly non-discriminatory policies.

British colonial rule in Tanganyika, and its other colonies in Africa, utilized a system of government termed indirect rule. In Tanganyika, Governor Cameron officially implemented this system of indirect rule. Under this form of rule, the Territory was divided into provinces each ruled by a Provincial Commissioner. Each province was subdivided into districts that were governed by a District Commissioner. The small number of European colonial officials necessitated the creation of Native Authorities to rule the African population. The Native Authority Ordinance, Cap. 47 of the Laws of Tanganyika Territory, established this system of governance by creating Native Authorities from native political organizations (Brown and Hutt 1935). These Native Authorities were overseen by the Secretary for Native Affairs' Office; Charles Dundas was the first Secretary of this office (Dundas 1955). These Authorities were delegated power by the Colonial Government to maintain order and good government, prevent crime, apprehend criminals, and to seize and detain stolen property (Cameron 1939). In addition, the Authorities had the power to

issue orders on a variety of topics including pollution, spread of disease, weapons, and alcohol (*ibid.*). Beyond these executive and legislative powers, the Native Authorities had judicial and exchequer powers.

P.E. Mitchell, a former Secretary for Native Affairs, called the system of native administration a policy of local government “designed to provide the framework within which the administrative, social, and economic progress of the people might be promoted from foundations resting on their past, compatible with their present, and suited to their future” (Brown and Hutt 1935: xi). He continued that this was an “administrative system deriving from and resting on local organizations, loyalties, and traditions, but compelled by the supervision of a trained British staff to assure to the people proper standards of security, honesty, justice, and efficiency” (*ibid.*). Though this system was ostensibly designed to serve the interests of the African population, Hyden (1980) views them in a more skeptical manner, calling the Native Authorities buffers between the colonial authorities and the local population.

The actual terms of administration were not the only differences between German and British officers. First, British civil servants both demanded and expected a more leisurely life in Dar es Salaam than German civil servants and were therefore provided with larger accommodations in “houses which could be turned into ‘homes’” (Gillman 1945: 17). This desire on the part of colonial officers had important connotations for the physical ordering of Dar es Salaam. Construction was geared toward providing Europeans with appropriate homes so that the needs of

Africans and Asians were ignored. Second, Gillman suggests that the British helped to facilitate a move away from the color bar by unofficially recognizing Indians as “fellow subjects of the Empire,” leading to a dramatic population increase (*ibid.*). It is not clear whether Gillman believed this shift in British policy was due to ideological shifts or requirements from the League of Nations Mandate. Judging from the treatment of Asians and Africans throughout the entire Mandate period, I would argue that the color bar actually became more pronounced. This color bar still exists today, as the accusations of racism toward black women in Dar es Salaam’s tourist class hotels made clear at the beginning of this chapter (Liganga and Ndomba 2006). The legacy of colonialism, especially the unequal treatment of races, still persists today.

German colonial rule was interrupted before many of the administration’s policies could be implemented, especially policies related to spatial ordering. The British administration, however, was able to adapt and expand these policies to create a clearly planned and divided city. Of course the planning of certain areas and for certain races was privileged over other areas. Gillman (1945: 17) suggests that the administration’s greatest achievement was “the successful rearrangement of the various units composing the township of Dar es Salaam”. This rearrangement, more appropriately called segregation, divided the city into distinct areas. Chapter 3 will discuss the divisions outlined in British Building Ordinances, which are somewhat different than the five areas Gillman identified: the residential quarter, the city, the Asian town, the native town, and the land reserve. The city’s first Master Plan,

funded by the British government and produced by a London-based firm, maintained these divisions. It had two main goals, each related to a divided city: to create a healthy city by preventing and controlling disease and to maintain the rigid racial residential segregation while at the same time privileging the expatriate community (Armstrong 1986; Armstrong 1987).

Twining (1959) credits Governor Cameron with implementing three policies that had lasting and significant impacts on Tanganyika: he extended communication and transportation networks to reach all of the territory's populated areas, he introduced the system of indirect rule which decreased administrative costs and streamlined tribal administration, and he laid the foundation of multi-racial policy. Twining commented: "I think that the good relationship which has been built up in Tanganyika between the three races can probably be put down to the era of Sir Donald Cameron" (1959: 16). More than just the physical ordering of the city, the British government did recognize the need for social infrastructure. Even though the government's development plan was impressive and sufficient money existed to implement it, it was never fully implemented (Twining 1959). Still he suggested that the plan's results were remarkable and that "the Territory as a whole is fairly well equipped today with communications, public utilities and all those other sinews of development which are so necessary to provide before you can make real progress" (1959: 18). Over the course of the Mandate, the administration did construct better housing and an improved water supply. This infrastructure, however, did not serve the entire city. City planners placed a higher priority on housing and service

provision to benefit the European population. As part of the Mandate, Britain was charged with securing development for Tanganyika. Although it was not successful in improving the lives of all residents, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the government was certainly more focused on development than the previous colonial administration.

In spite of developmental gains, the British government was not entirely successful. Perhaps its biggest failure was the East African Groundnut Scheme. As part of this plan to produce raw materials for cooking oil, the Overseas Food Corporation and British Government selected three sites in Tanganyika for groundnut cultivation. Along with the goal of alleviating the post-World War II oil shortage in the United Kingdom, the British government had a second goal of selling groundnuts below current market prices to quickly recoup the plan's start-up capital. The majority of this cultivation was planned for Nachingwea, a town in Southern Tanzania located west of Mtwara.

The Groundnut Scheme was justified by the development it would ostensibly bring to Tanganyika's African population, but the planned benefits did not materialize. The permanent labor force was lower than anticipated and few workers received educational training (Hogerndorn and Scott 1983). The scheme failed in other ways. Delays from inadequate infrastructure affected the project. Dar es Salaam's port was insufficient to handle the increased traffic associated with the scheme because it lacked deep-water berths. Without these berths, ships were forced to offload their cargo onto smaller ships, an effort that took additional time and

money. The government began construction on a new deepwater port at Mtwara in 1948 and opened a railway from Mtwara to Nachingwea in 1954 (Hoyle 1983). Actual yields were much lower than expected. Although over 55,000 tons were expected from the first year's harvest, only 1,600 tons were yielded (*ibid.*); similarly, 150,000 acres were projected for clearing in the first year, but only 7,500 acres were cleared (*ibid.*). In spite of the smaller cultivation area, project costs continued to rise and by 1951 the Scheme was abandoned. As Rizzo (2006: 207) suggests, within a short time span "the groundnut scheme and its spectacular failure was to become emblematic of the fallacies (or fantasies) of late colonial developmentalism."

Though the Groundnut Scheme became one of the British administration's most significant failures, the administration also failed in establishing urban control, especially in Dar es Salaam. Burton (2005) documents British efforts to control the urbanization of Dar es Salaam, largely through measures designed to control who could legally occupy the city. With the rapidly increasing African population, the British colonial government was increasingly unable to physically control the city. The rapid population growth strained infrastructure, unplanned settlements arose, and the informal sector became important in the face of low wages and insufficient jobs for Africans. Associated with this lack of urban control was the rise of urban crime, which was dealt with by the expulsion of the 'undesirable' population from cities. These policies were generally unsuccessful, however, due to the limited scope of the government and its lack of understanding of African society.

Chapter 3 will delve into British policies in greater depth, especially those policies related to segregation and the unequal treatment of races. Yet in terms of this chapter's broad history, the importance of the British administration lies in the character of its rule, its desire for physical control of the city, and its efforts, though not always successful, to promote development.

Post-Colonial Dar es Salaam

With the changing of the flag from Britain to independent Tanganyika, the new government was not able to fully escape its colonial past. Its experiences under German and British rule shaped the country's development and more importantly shaped the urban form of Dar es Salaam. Despite attempts to change the face of the city, specifically through the 1971 Building Acquisition Act and the 1973 relocation of Tanzania's capital to Dodoma, Dar es Salaam has retained much of its colonial form. This section briefly sketches out how the country has evolved since independence, with specific focus on how the government's policies have directly affected Dar es Salaam.

Tanganyika received independence in 1961 and in 1964 united politically with Zanzibar to create the United Republic of Tanzania. Since receiving independence, Tanzania has had four presidents: Julius Nyerere (1961 - 1985), Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985 - 1995), Benjamin Mkapa (1995 - 2005), and Jakaya Kikwete (2005 - present). All have come from the same political party, originally named TANU and renamed *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) after the 1977 merger of TANU with Zanzibar's ruling

party. This political uniformity and continuity results in rather consistent policies toward urban areas since 1961. On the surface, the most consistent TANU / CCM policy would probably be an anti-colonial one. Lugalla (1995a) indeed suggests that the first immediate action of the post-colonial government related to Dar es Salaam as well as all towns was the abolishment of colonial policies that restricted African urban immigration. Although it allowed for greater movement of the African population, the government was extremely restrictive in other arenas. It implemented a system of total control and allocation of all land.

The period between independence and that of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, did not only witness the perpetuation of most of the colonial urban policies, but also the unequal regional distribution of resources which led to unequal regional development, housing problems and the problems of unemployment (Lugalla 1995a: 27-28).

Any hope of political independence ushering in an abandonment of colonial policies was quickly lost. The Tanzanian government shifted from a colonial system to a neo-colonial system, perpetuating many of the same discriminatory policies that resulted in segregation and social inequality.

The political tenure of Julius Nyerere had arguably the most significant impacts on the urban development of Dar es Salaam. On February 5, 1967, Nyerere implemented a policy of 'Socialism and Self-Reliance' in his Arusha Declaration, named for the northern Tanzanian city that hosted the TANU party congress where he made this declaration. In its initial stages, the policies emanating from the Arusha Declaration were warmly received. "Tanzania has thus embarked on the final stage

of decolonization – the restructuring of its economy and society along socialist, classless lines in accordance with what the people see as being right and just, and with what is seen as the essence of indigenous African society” (Cliffe 1969: 256-7). This socialist path, which Nyerere termed *ujamaa* (familyhood) aimed to restructure Tanzanian society and produce more even growth and development. In this way, Dar es Salaam was to lose much of its dominance. Rural areas were to be privileged over urban areas, yet at the same time the policy called for increased industrialization. In order to satisfy the needs of both agriculture and industry, the government established a system of growth poles. President Nyerere called for the creation of nine urban centers (Mwanza, Arusha, Moshi, Tanga, Mtwara, Mbeya, Morogoro, Dodoma, and Tabora) designed to establish a more spatially even system of industrialization (Darkoh 1994). The ideas of growth poles and the devolution of power resemble policies used by the British administration (Hoyle 1979). The British government established regional / provincial offices for agriculture in Morogoro, geological services in Dodoma, veterinary services in Mpwapwa, and tsetse fly control in Shinyanga. Thus Nyerere’s plans to establish a new path for Tanzania were again neo-colonial. Another aspect of this socialist policy was that of villagization, where Tanzanians would live in cooperative villages. These villages would provide agricultural inputs and serve as processing centers for the village products. The shift of population from Dar es Salaam to the growth poles and the villages was designed to decrease the power of Dar es Salaam.

Nyerere's vision of a socialist Tanzania, including its spatial restructuring, included several contradictions. Massaro (1998) draws attention to the capitalistic underpinnings of *ujamaa*. This policy envisioned growth through stages that would bring "self-sustaining growth via technical innovation" and eventually result in the economic 'take-off' of Tanzania (Massaro 1998: 286). This language, especially the idea of a take-off, draws heavily on the ideas of Walt Rostow. In fact, Rostow (1960) outlines five stages of economic growth: traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption.

A second contradiction inherent in *ujamaa* involves the villagization program. Although originally conceived as a voluntary aspect of Nyerere's policy, peasants were 'encouraged' and later forced to move into cooperative villages. In Operation Dodoma, the government attempted to shift all residents of Dodoma Region in central Tanzania into villages; to gather support for this idea, President Nyerere himself even lived for a short time in one of the region's first villages (Hyden 1980). Yet this process of 'encouraging' the creation of villages took away the peasants' choices. Contradictions arose between the autonomy of villages and these directed state efforts. "*Ujamaa*, because it was framed in revolutionary terms, inviting the state to play a major role in transforming the rural areas, carried its own seeds of contradiction. It asked the peasant farmers to accept a social relation that they did not conceive as necessary for their own reproduction. Neither the party officials nor the government servants were particularly welcome guests in the villages" (Hyden 1980: 105). Massaro also critiques this policy. "Villagization was a matter of drawing

boundaries around existing homesteads, making many villages contiguous, with no space or obvious natural features to mark where one ended and the next began. The major impact on spatial organization was added nodalization as shops, bars and other establishments clustered around village offices” (1998: 290).

In addition to its contradictions, *ujamaa* is criticized by scholars for actually undervaluing peasant farming and its associated indigenous adaptations and innovations (Massaro 1998). Socialism viewed the peasant as backward and blamed his impoverishment on his ignorance and reliance on small scale farming. The remedy to these ills was the implementation of modern knowledge and techniques using collective production. This collective production was to be achieved by following strict government rules that took power away from peasants and robbed them of their opportunities for spontaneity (Hyden 1980).

A second policy implemented by the Nyerere government with substantial implications for Dar es Salaam was the 1971 Building Acquisition Act (United Republic of Tanzania. 1971). This Act granted Nyerere the power to acquire any building on behalf of the national government as long as the acquisition served the public interest. This right included residential, commercial, and industrial buildings, with few exceptions. This Act disproportionately affected the Asian community since they owned the majority of the city’s buildings, having purchased them from expelled Germans after World War I. The African population benefited substantially from this Act since it created a large pool of national housing that was rented at cheap prices. This nationalized housing was also located across the city, and the Act allowed

Africans the opportunity to live in areas previously unobtainable whether due to cost or colonial segregation.

Although this point may seem to contradict the central premise of this dissertation – that the legacy of colonial segregation persists in Dar es Salaam – it does not. The 1971 Act did allow for the spatial mixing of races but this intermixing was only temporary. In particular, the concept of ‘key money’ significantly altered the city’s racial composition achieved by the Building Acquisition Act. Key money refers to a large, lump-sum payment paid to an occupant of National Housing. This payment in effect illegally transfers occupancy to a new owner, often a member of the wealthy Asian community. One of my respondents shared that he paid 2,000,000 Tanzanian shillings in key money to gain occupancy of a National Housing apartment in Kariakoo; he also pays the 56,000 Tanzanian shillings monthly rent (F.S.).⁴ By doing so, he is able to live cheaply in a National Housing unit that is officially allocated to someone else. Kleist Sykes, a former mayor of Dar es Salaam, reiterated this point. The 1971 Act allocated Africans plots on Toure Drive, a desirable ocean-front street now home to embassies and Ambassadors’ residences, including the US Ambassador. Many Africans felt out of place on Toure Drive and sold their plots, using their profits to build new homes in more comfortable areas and for their children’s school fees. Sykes (2006) suggested that part of Dar es Salaam’s residential transformation after the Building Acquisition Act is because “Africans are not apartment dwellers”. The daily activities of many African homes are

⁴ At the time, this exchanged to approximately \$1660 in key money and \$46 in monthly rent.

incompatible with apartment life. A centerpiece in most Tanzanian meals is *ugali*, a starch made from pounded cassava flour and cooked over a charcoal stove; this method of cooking is difficult in apartment buildings. Thus, the city has reverted back to the segregated form that Nyerere tried to abolish.

Dar es Salaam was also impacted by Nyerere's decision in 1973 to shift the seat of government to Dodoma, located in central Tanzania. His policy of villagization ultimately failed to produce an economic system of self-reliance, and Dar es Salaam remained the most important urban center in Tanzania. The shift to Dodoma was designed to help Tanzanians forget their past. For many, Dar es Salaam "represents to modern Tanzanians a century of colonial exploitation; the very fabric of the settlement – the streets, houses, administrative and public buildings, the morphology and social structure – displays at every turn incontrovertible evidence of the Arab, German and British periods of urban growth" (Hoyle 1979: 215). Yet as the above discussion demonstrates, Tanzanians did not permanently forget their colonial history. Even though Nyerere attempted to start anew, Dodoma has yet to achieve even a fraction of Dar es Salaam's prominence. Thus, rather than forgetting the past, Tanzanians continue to acknowledge and maintain it.

Interestingly, like the devolution of power, the shift to Dodoma has its roots in British colonial policy. In 1933, the British administration considered shifting the capital from Dar es Salaam to a number of towns including Dodoma. Yet the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services was not able to think of any reason to justify the expense of the move nor did he personally prefer to live in Dodoma rather

than Dar es Salaam (TNA 20961). In spite of the decision on paper to move the country's administrative functions, Dar es Salaam has remained the *de facto* capital city. The legislature officially relocated in conjunction with the new session after the 1995 election, but otherwise Dodoma has little power or significance. Dar es Salaam remains the country's primate city and continues to be the home of foreign embassies, government agencies, and private corporations, as well as the hub of the country's transport system.

Nyerere's political policies did have major impacts on the urban development of Dar es Salaam. The city was also affected by the economic experiences of Tanzania, which are directly linked to Nyerere's socialist policies. The entire African continent suffered from a severe economic crisis in the 1970s that led to the amassing of large amounts of debt. Shao et al. (1992) suggest that both internal and external factors aggravated Tanzania's economic situation, but they make a special case for not ignoring the internal aspect. Nyerere's attempts to shift Tanzania's economy from its reliance on the export of primary products to a manufacturing economy failed. As a result, Tanzania maintained the colonial policy of privileging the production of export crops as primary goods over the production of food crops. By 1974, this agricultural nation was forced to begin importing food items. The independent government also inherited social, political, and cultural structures from the colonial government that it was unable to sustain financially. One structure was the increasing size of the public sector at the expense of the private sector. The British colonial administration employed a disproportionate number of civil servants,

and the independent Tanzanian governments maintained this legacy. The strain on the national economy was compounded by the nationalization of many companies, resulting in a lack of accountability, increased spending, and general inefficiency. In fact, during most of Nyerere's rule, the public sector was the fastest growing sector of the economy.

Nyerere recognized the contribution of his failed policies to his country's worsening economic situation. He revisited his Arusha Declaration after ten years and concluded that it would take much longer than expected to reach its lofty goals. He did not admit total failure but conceded that his country was neither socialist nor self-reliant (Smyth and Seftel 1999). By 1979 the country's economic situation was out of control, largely the result of food imports and low-value exports, and Nyerere agreed to implement some recommendations made by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. He refused, however, to comply with all of their conditions, and the agreements failed. In 1981, Tanzania initiated what are termed 'home grown policies' in the form of the National Economic Survival Program. These policies failed to alleviate the country's economic crisis, and Tanzania implemented a more formal Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1982. These economic policies were continued in 1986 through the Economic Recovery Program.

SAPs in Tanzania included traditional economic policies often recommended by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as remedies to development diseases: currency devaluation, inflation reduction measures, privatization and its associated reduction of state involvement in the economy, and market and trade

liberalization. President Mwinyi became so involved in implementing these measures that he was commonly known as *Bwana Rukhsa*, a Kiswahili name that translates to Mister Permission, a reference to his bias toward the business sector (Myers 2005).

SAPs have significant effects on cities as well as national economies.

Although many theorists suggest that SAPs result in negative urban economic growth, Briggs and Yeboah (2001) found that the traditional elements of these programs work together to produce opportunities for cities rather than directly causing urban decline (or even urban growth). In Dar es Salaam, one significant opportunity from SAPs has been an increased investment in housing, which has resulted in significant levels of urban sprawl. Housing is a favored area since many investors maintain high levels of distrust toward the national government. After the nationalization of businesses under the Arusha Declaration, investors are often unwilling to place large amounts of capital in one place. As the national government has implemented economic reforms, Dar es Salaam has been the beneficiary of increased levels of urban growth, in terms of economics, population, and physical expansion.

Yet it must be noted that although Dar es Salaam continues to experience investment in housing, this investment does not necessarily translate into increased investment in business or industry, employment, or infrastructure. In fact, most scholars recognize the negative impacts of SAPs on the poorest members of society, including the urban poor. Lugalla (1995a) uses his research on housing in Dar es Salaam to paint a much different picture than Briggs and Yeboah (2001). According

to Lugalla (1995a: 96), not only are over eighty per cent of residents living in substandard housing, these same people have little access to social services:

Due to the economic crisis, urban areas in Tanzania have not experienced positive development. Most of them are in a state of chaos and decay. Their problems have multiplied geometrically during the last two decades. The majority of the urban population has difficulties in accessing clean water, adequate shelter, and other vital services like hospitals, employment, and efficient urban transportation. . . . This does not mean that Tanzanian cities suffer from a lack of developmental efforts, planning, or management initiatives. . . . Airports have been expanded and multi-story houses are being built. . . . At the same time, shanty housing which reflects conditions of abject poverty and squalor are also there and are increasing. The number of luxurious air-conditioned saloon cars is going up, yet the number of beggars and disabled people in the streets of Dar es Salaam is increasing as well.

Importantly, not only are the poor negatively affected by these adjustment policies, the divide between the rich and poor continues to widen.

The poor are most affected by the rising costs of food. Prices rose over 700 per cent between 1977 and 1986 (Lugalla 1995a). In addition to food, urban residents identify as problems the high costs of living more generally as well as the scarcity of essential items (Lugalla 1995b). These issues, along with the government's reduced spending on social services, are considered the social costs of adjustment. The poor suffer from falling real incomes and higher living costs, resulting in the deterioration of living standards in Tanzania and especially Dar es Salaam.

To bridge the gap between low incomes and high prices, nearly ninety per cent of Dar es Salaam residents engage in informal sector activities. These informal workers rely "on their own wits, energy and ambition in order to survive and prosper"

(Lugalla 1995a: 131). Tripp's (1997) research on the informal economy of Dar es Salaam suggests that during the economic crisis, ninety per cent of household income derived from informal businesses, often generated by women, children, and the elderly. She also found that more than two-thirds of residents in Buguruni and Manzese wards were self-employed.

More than just the social cost of adjustment, Tanzania's national economy suffers from the effects of SAPs. Although economic growth did increase as a result of adjustment policies, Tanzania remains one of the world's poorest countries. The total value of imported goods continues to dominate the value of exported goods, resulting in an increasing amount of debt. Tanzania's debt was \$196 Million in 1970 but reached \$7.5 Billion in 2001 before the country received debt relief that same year (Mbelle 2001). Debt relief has eased some of the social burdens of adjustment, in particular providing universal primary school enrollment. Yet in spite of any improvements, SAPs adversely affected Tanzania's poor.

In the period since independence, Dar es Salaam has been on the receiving end of political and economic policies with significant results. Under President Nyerere's Arusha Declaration, other urban regions and rural areas were privileged over Dar es Salaam. Yet with the failure of these policies, Dar es Salaam remains the most important urban center in Tanzania. With the economic crisis during the 1970s and 1980s, Dar es Salaam has actually benefited from policies and seen increased population growth and increased physical growth. It must be noted that although population growth has slowed in recent years, the city's population continues to rise.

The population growth of Dar es Salaam is shown in Table 2.1, and Figure 2.1 shows the city's physical expansion. Although Dar es Salaam is no longer the official capital city of Tanzania, it remains the most important city and is the focus, whether positively or negatively, of many national policies.

Conclusions

It is only possible to understand the present day urban form of Dar es Salaam by understanding its history. This history can be divided into five periods: early urbanization of the East African Coast, the official founding of Dar es Salaam, German Colonial Rule, British Colonial Rule, and the Independence Period. More than just laying the groundwork for how the city looks today, this history also established its urban order. As the next chapter makes clear, Dar es Salaam has a history of racial residential segregation. This segregation was first implemented by the German government but persists in independent Tanzania, in spite of early government efforts to encourage racial mixing.

The Dar es Salaam that I experienced offered glimpses into its historical origins. Evidence of early urbanization on the Swahili Coast came from the large numbers of Zaramo people I interviewed. As Dar es Salaam grew in size and absorbed regional settlements, including Zaramo settlements, it laid the foundation for a large Zaramo population today. Indeed, Tripp (1997) estimates that the Zaramo remain the most populous and most influential ethnic group in today's heterogeneous Dar es Salaam.

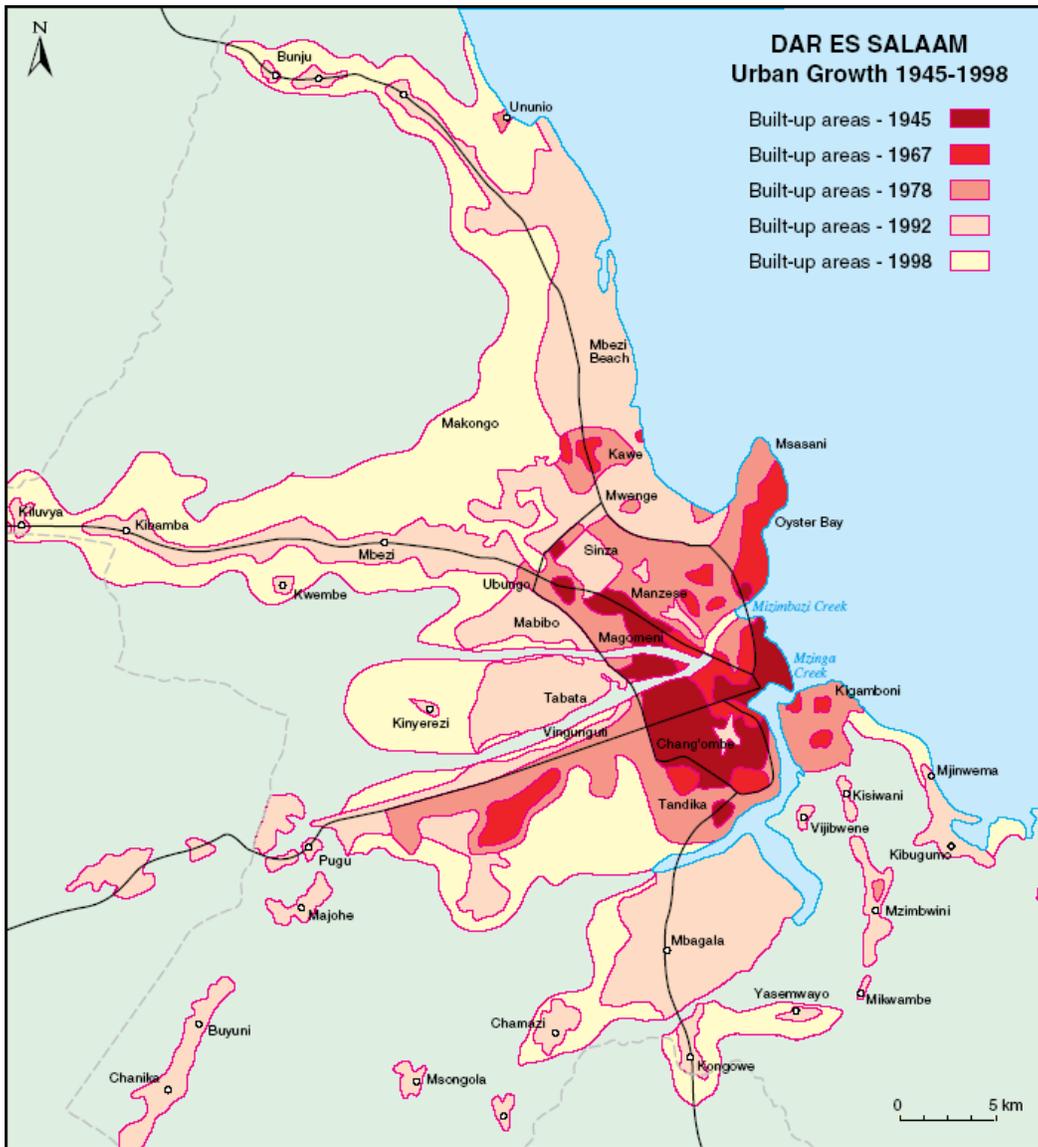
Table 2.1. Dar es Salaam Population.

Year	Population
1887	3,000 – 4,000
1894	10,020
1900	19,840
1913	22,500
1921	24,600
1928	29,281
1931	34,330
1942	37,580
1943	45,100
1948	67,779
1967	356,286
1978	843,090
1988	1,360,850
2002	2,497,940

(de Blij 1963; Gillman 1945; TNA Annual Reports; TNA Acc. 540, 18/4; TNA 18950, Volume 3).

To me, the legacy of Sultan Majid’s founding of Dar es Salaam is most evident in the strong ties between Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. My apartment was within a few blocks of the ferries that travel between the mainland and Zanzibar Island five times each day. The ferries from Dar es Salaam are filled with two general types of people: tourists carrying large backpacks and Zanzibari residents carrying large parcels of goods to resell on the island. The German history is seen in the buildings that line the harbor front. I passed them regularly on my way to the fish market and interviews and would always feel like I had been transported to Germany. The British legacy is seen in the many red-roofed homes in the City Center, built originally to house the expansive colonial service.

Figure 2.1. Dar es Salaam Urban Growth.



Produced by Mike Shand. Used with permission.

These four legacies are further influenced by the past forty years of independence. Intermixed within the remnants of British and German rule are the Kiswahili language, the construction of new ministries and government offices to house the ever-expanding bureaucracy, and photographs of the current and past presidents hanging everywhere, including restaurants and private homes. In a similar fashion to mainland Tanzania, Myers (1993) suggests that the Zanzibari state's private goals have affected colonial and post-colonial urban planning at levels equal to or perhaps greater than public goals. Thus, legacies other than those easily visible may be important to understanding patterns of urban life in Dar es Salaam.

Dar es Salaam did not develop overnight. It is a product of thousands of years of history, beginning with early urbanization along the coast and continuing through to the newly elected government of Jakaya Kikwete in December 2005. I witnessed his victory in what was widely considered a free and fair election. These nearly five decades of independent African rule have not erased the city's colonial past. The legacies of the German and British governments are still evident in architecture, service provision, and spatial ordering. The next chapter explores colonial informal policies of residential segregation, providing a grounded perspective to consider how segregation persists in contemporary Dar es Salaam.

Chapter 3. History of Segregation in Dar es Salaam.

The colonial idea of equality . . . is interestingly illustrated by an episode in 1955 when an education grant worth 3.6 million pounds was allocated ‘equally’ to European, Asian, and African education. As Nyerere pointed out at that time, with 21,000 Europeans, 80,000 Asians, and 8 million Africans in the country, this worked out at approximately 720 shillings to each European, 200 shillings to each Asian, and 2 shillings to each African.

-- Lugalla 1995a: 14-15.

There is therefore no discrimination as between races.

-- Executive Officer of the Township
Authority, TNA 18950, Volume 1.

Living in the City Center of Dar es Salaam, I was out of place. Yet I made the choice to live where I did. With a higher budget, I could have easily lived on Toure Drive next to the American Ambassador’s residence. Equally true, there was nothing preventing me from living in the midst of Manzese, the city’s largest unplanned settlement. No official laws exist in contemporary Dar es Salaam that dictate where a person can or cannot live; today people make their own choices about residential location. Society, not legal code, regulates the face of the city today. It was this society that laughed at my apartment location and reacted in so many comical ways. On a trip back to the City Center from *Rangi Tatu*, heavy traffic prevented my bus from picking up much speed. As we slowly passed one crowded bus stop, a woman saw my white face in the window and, with a surprised look on her own face, pointed me out to her companion. I was out of place, both on the bus, and in that part of

town. I was not out of place, however, in the lobby of the Kempinski Kilimanjaro, the city's most expensive hotel. It was in that lobby that I sat writing in my journal, wearing dusty and threadbare clothing. Yet my presence was never questioned. In spite of the contrast I offered to the businessmen in three-piece suits, I was perfectly in place. My skin color alone allowed me access to some places and made me stand out in others. In contemporary Dar es Salaam, beliefs about race, place, and belonging certainly exist.

The present-day urban form of Dar es Salaam has its roots in informal policies dating back more than one hundred years. Beginning during German colonial rule, government issued Building Ordinances prescribed building standards and, by extension, dictated the race and social class of building inhabitants. The shift to British administration did not eliminate these standards but rather continued and elaborated German policies. The coming of independence saw attempts by the government to change the face of Tanzanian cities, especially Dar es Salaam. Yet these policies achieved little permanent change. Instead the Dar es Salaam of the 21st Century strongly reflects its colonial legacy.

This chapter outlines the history of segregation in Dar es Salaam, from its role as the capital of German East Africa to observations of this cosmopolitan city in the twenty-first century. As Lugalla recognizes, towns in Tanzania “were designed in such a way that their physical layout reflected the social distances of hierarchical colonial social organization” (1995a: 14). Dar es Salaam is unique in that its segregation did not result directly from explicitly racial legal codes. Rather it

developed what Mascarenhas terms “ethnic enclaves” through subtle, backdoor policies of segregation (1966: 27). In this chapter, I follow the emergence of these backdoor policies and their legacies in more recent times. One prominent component of this chapter’s argument is a 1920 British colonial file entitled ‘Segregation of Races’ (TNA AB 616). The archival materials contained in this file outline the government’s intention of racially segregating Dar es Salaam in the absence of formal policy.

In addition to this file on segregation, this chapter relies on other archival material from the Tanzania National Archives (TNA), in Dar es Salaam. Though these archives hold files from both the German and British Colonial administrations, the holdings are far from complete. The TNA indexes its files in books and stores its files in cardboard boxes. A small staff means that the time between requesting and receiving a file may be days during the busy summer research season. A small staff also means that files are rarely returned promptly to their storage boxes. Recently, or in some cases not so recently, viewed files sit in stacks waiting to be reshelfed. Since these files are not in their boxes, they are not accessible to researchers. Time and the humid Dar es Salaam climate affect these files, with some pages fading and literally disintegrating. These problems present hurdles for any researcher and as a result, I was unable to read every relevant file to this dissertation. Nevertheless, this chapter presents what I consider a broad reading of the city’s urban history of segregation.

Another perhaps more important problem with archival research is that of voice. As Hannam (2002) points out, even though archives may appear omniscient,

they are often selective. Some sort of selection process determines what materials are worthy of preservation. In the case of Tanganyika Territory, the archives include surprisingly trivial materials such as edits and comments about draft documents and newspaper clippings of little relevance to the file. At the same time, surprisingly vital historical documents such as the first Dar es Salaam Master Plan and the famous Baker Memorandum on Social Conditions in Dar es Salaam are not included. With this varied range of material it is easy to consider what other important documents did not meet the selective criteria of the Colonial and Independent Governments.

Another issue with archives is that materials are generally from the perspective of the elite male and therefore may not be representative of the entire society. For Tanganyika Territory, this means that documents are exclusively from the point of view of German and British Officers. Though these documents generally make clear the intent of colonial policies, they shed no light on the effects of these policies on Africans, Asians, or even non-officer Europeans. In these ways, the archives offer a vital but narrow view of Tanganyika Territory and Dar es Salaam.

Segregation in Colonial Africa

The central premise of this dissertation is that the colonial legacy of segregation in Dar es Salaam persists in independent Tanzania. More than just affecting spatial patterns of residence, this segregation has expanded to include broader aspects of residents' daily lives. The segregation implemented in Dar es Salaam was unique in the context of African colonial racial segregation in that it used

informal policies focused on building standards to dictate the racial composition of the town. Across the continent, colonial governments achieved segregation in different ways, including health and sanitation arguments and the legalized separation of races. These policies were largely absent in Dar es Salaam although the same divided landscape emerged. This section outlines the varied face of segregation across colonial Africa to provide a deeper context for understanding Dar es Salaam's unique experience.

Urban racial residential segregation was certainly not exclusive to Dar es Salaam. In fact, Curtin suggests that "some form of racial, social, or cultural segregation triumphed everywhere in colonial Africa" (1985: 612). Yet the widespread existence of segregation should not suggest that a cookie-cutter model existed. Even though all British colonies experienced some degree of segregation, "there was no official model upon which colonial administrators could draw. Thus the urban planners of the Empire adopted a highly pragmatic approach to the subject, which rarely aimed at the rigid enforcement of legalized segregation" (Christopher 1992: 105). This pragmatic and practical approach often utilized health arguments. In particular, the British colonial government sought to protect the European population from African diseases by limiting the opportunities for transmission. Though this segregation did have racial connotations, for some government officials it truly was segregation from disease not the separation of races (Frenkel and Western 1988).

Great Britain was not the only colonial power in Africa nor was it the sole power interested in segregation for health reasons. Yet the two largest colonizers, Great Britain and France, ruled their colonies through vastly different methods. These methods impacted how segregation affected their respective colonies. The British style of administration, indirect rule, was discussed in Chapter 2. In brief, it delegated some powers to African leaders to assist in the governance of Africans. The French government on the other hand adopted a policy termed assimilation, which sought to create Frenchmen in Africa. As Freund (2001) demonstrates in his comparison between Durban, South Africa and Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, this difference in rule created different systems of segregation. In Durban segregation was directly related to race while, in Abidjan, segregation distinguished between French citizens and subjects. Under the policy of assimilation, citizens could be either European or African.

The argument behind residential segregation for health concerns owes its beginning to research on the transmission of diseases by mosquitoes. In fact, researchers traced yellow fever transmission to the mosquito in 1881 (Curtin 1985). In 1899 Ronald Ross, a lecturer at the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, traveled to Sierra Leone and recommended four approaches for eliminating malaria: draining breeding pools, destroying mosquito larvae with kerosene, using window screens and mosquito nets, and constructing European homes on elevated sites (Frenkel and Western 1988). Also in the late 1890s, Dr. Robert Koch promoted the use of quinine as another effective prevention for malaria. His research in

Tanganyika resulted in the use of quinine, along with mosquito eradication and the screening of homes, until World War II.

Yet by 1900, a significant shift in malaria prevention occurred. Rather than a focus on the mosquito or drugs, segregation became a preventative tool. In that year, Britain's Royal Society sent two doctors, C.R. Christophers and J.W.W Stephens, to West Africa to investigate malaria. These doctors offered the first recommendation for racial segregation:

In fact, in Africa the primary aim should be to remove susceptible Europeans from the midst of malaria. To stamp out native malaria is at present chimerical, and every effort should rather be turned to the protection of the Europeans (quoted in Curtin 1985: 598).

The doctors proposed segregation based on the now-faulty belief that mosquitoes were "race-specific in their taste for human blood, preferring the African to the European variety" (Curtin 1985: 599). It followed that since mosquitoes preferred African blood, they would congregate around African huts. Separating Africans and Europeans would therefore eliminate the threat of malaria for the European population.

The British Colonial Office gave strength to these segregationist ideas. In May 1900 it began to distribute a pamphlet to colonial officers. This pamphlet, prepared by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, recommended residential segregation of the European population. In fact, the Colonial Office agreed in 1911 to include a discussion on segregation in the forthcoming edition of the *West African*

Pocket Book. Beyond just recommending segregation, this book offered it as a factually proven idea:

It has been proved that the separation of Europeans from natives is one of the most efficient means of protection against disease endemic amongst native races. Even partial separation, such as sleeping outside the native quarter at night time, affords a very considerable degree of security (quoted in Curtin 1985: 606).

In 1912, the Colonial Office created a plan for the segregation of all Europeans in all African towns within ten years (Curtin 1985). Thus, within approximately ten years, segregation went from a proposal to a government-sanctioned policy.

Physical separation of African and Europeans also occurred outside of British colonies. As Goerg points out, “both the French and the English used the hygiene paradigm to enforce a clear division between so-called races and ethnic groups and to make these categories visible in everyday life” (1998: 3). In French Colonial Africa, medical and non-medical staff agreed almost unanimously on the role of racial segregation in preventing the spread of transmissible diseases and limiting other nuisances attributed to Africans including smells, dirt, and pollution.

The experience of segregation in Dakar, Senegal is particularly well-documented. There the first mass segregation effort began in 1858 when African villages near the coast were relocated inland (Echenberg 2002). Like in Dar es Salaam, the coastal areas of West Africa were the most desirable residential plots for Europeans. In 1901, segregation for health reasons became linked with segregation by construction standards. Although this connection to construction is interesting, the

experience of Dakar does not completely mirror that of Dar es Salaam. A focus on construction was never the primary tool for segregation in Dakar; health always played an important role. Still in 1901, the linkage occurred when a sanitary commission study on a yellow fever outbreak recommended the establishment of a sanitary village. Homes in this village were to be constructed from durable materials rather than straw. This recommendation eventually led to a 1905 building code that prohibited straw and wood construction in European areas. Importantly, this code did not apply to African-occupied brick and wooden homes in the European area. In 1909, Senegal's Governor-General gave support to this code, suggesting that all Europeans should recognize the necessity of living apart from Africans. Even in the absence of formal definitions of segregation and formal demarcations between racial areas, by 1910 three zones existed in Dakar: the first for rich Europeans, a second for Africans, and a third mixed zone for working class Europeans and middle-class Africans. Unlike East Africa, no significant population of the colonized middle (such as Arabs or South Asian merchants) lived in West Africa.

The relationship between health and segregation in Dakar again received attention after a European died from yellow fever in 1912. The immediate response to this death was the burning and disinfection of all African homes, but not European homes, in close proximity to the deceased's residence. Segregation for health began in earnest in response to a 1914 outbreak of bubonic plague in Dakar. A *cordon sanitaire* (sanitary zone) sealed off the African zone of the city from the other areas even though some of the earliest plague cases occurred in the racially mixed area.

More than just offering an open space like the *cordon sanitaire* in Dar es Salaam, this area was guarded to limit racial interaction. Still it was eventually abandoned because it disrupted daily life and was not effective in stopping disease transmission. Again, the government burned African homes as a secondary response to this outbreak. Thus the African areas of Dakar received the brunt of the control measures in spite of the fact that the disease occurred both inside and outside of the African area.

During this 1914 health emergency, the Dakar Health Committee advocated the creation of an African segregation village, saying “that segregation of the native population at a place some distance from the Europeans city and the destruction of all shacks and huts incapable of being disinfected constitutes the only measure capable of stopping the current epidemic and preventing the return of others which have periodically desolated the city” (quoted in Echenberg 2002: 71). On July 24, 1914 the Governor-General issued a decree that officially created the Médina, the segregation village. This decree relocated a large portion of the African population and “legally assured the segregation that had long been talked about” (Betts 1971: 144).

Dakar and Dar es Salaam were not the only cities with a relationship between segregation and building codes. Like Dakar, Freetown, Sierra Leone also superseded construction standards with health segregation. As Goerg (1998) points out, the British government of Freetown implemented a law in 1884 forbidding the use of flammable materials after a fire destroyed a large number of houses. This law

received opposition from the African population and was altered in 1899 to limit the spatial extent that it applied to. In spite of these early efforts, Freetown eventually shifted its focus away from home construction and created a separate reservation for European settlement. This area, termed Hill Station, presented an alternative form of racial segregation by moving Europeans rather than Africans.

The experience of Conakry, located in the former French West Africa, more closely resembles that of Dar es Salaam. In Conakry, three zones were established based on the cost of buildings. Those buildings in Zone One, closest to the government center, were the most expensive since they required durable building materials and prohibited thatched roofs. This zone was not limited to Europeans. “Provided that a settler could comply with these new legal demands and have the necessary literary skills to understand the complex written French legislation as published in the *Journal Officiel*, anybody could acquire a urban plot anywhere in Conakry” (Goerg 1998: 13). In spite of this reality, few Africans could actually afford to live in this first zone, the European Zone, so the third zone became known as the native zone. This terminology “highlights the underlying assumption of the law, although not officially phrased in terms of racial segregation or legal exclusion, the implications were overtly those of separation between the colonizers and most of the colonized” (Goerg 1998: 13). This reality of life in Conakry appears to mirror that of Dar es Salaam.

In spite of the government-backing behind these segregation plans, both in British and French colonies, the health argument contained significant flaws. Rich

Africans were not considered to be a sanitary threat so they were not forcibly moved in Lagos, Nigeria (Curtin 1985). In Freetown, servants received permission to live in the Hill Station, the European area, to serve the colonial officials. In fact, initial complaints of the lack of servants in Hill Station led to a compromise which allowed the construction of living quarters for one servant per European bungalow; Europeans found one servant unsatisfactory and successfully lobbied for quarters for two servants per bungalow (Frenkel and Western 1988). These cases suggest that segregation was more political than medical. As a result of the flaws in health segregation, those Europeans living at Hill Station contracted malaria at the same rate as those Europeans living in non-segregated areas elsewhere in the city (Curtin 1985).

The creation of an African segregation village in Dakar to aid in the prevention of bubonic plague actually resulted in an unsanitary village. In spite of the rationale for improved health, this village had no sewage system, no electricity, and no clean water (Echenberg 2002). More than just contradicting the health argument, segregation was not mandatory. The government was unwilling to forcibly relocate Africans since the political policy of political assimilation made relocation “politically inconvenient, if not embarrassing” (Betts 1971: 150). In addition, the high demand for African labor at the port left the government reluctant to relocate Africans to the Médina, located a significant distance from these jobs.

A final contraction to segregation occurred in Brazzaville, located in the former French Equatorial Africa. Segregation policies created African townships separate from Europeans yet medical services were overwhelmingly concentrated in

the European area. This segregation of healthcare was viewed positively. “One ‘advantage’ of the new hospital, according to the head of the health service, was that it was now possible to segregate Africans from Europeans, men from women, and different classes of patients” (Headrick 1994: 59). Thus the argument of segregation for increased health fails since healthcare was not provided equally to all residents. To truly protect the health of Europeans, the prevalence of transmissible diseases should be decreased for all residents. Instead, these health arguments considered only the health of Europeans:

In different ways, both colonizers [Great Britain and France] put an emphasis on European health, although they took some measures to improve the general sanitary state of cities. Considered a priority at the end of the nineteenth century, when Europeans were obsessed with tropical fevers, unknown diseases, and high mortality rates, sanitation became less of a concern once basic infrastructures had been made available to the expatriates (Goerg 1998: 23).

Equally important is that colonial government rejected other health control measures such as draining that would have benefited Africans as well as Europeans.

This focus of colonial segregation in Africa often focused on the separation of Africans and Europeans. Yet in some areas of the continent, particularly East Africa, the existence of Asians influenced segregation. Swanson (1983: 404) suggests that in the early stages of colonial rule, Europeans gave little regard to the Asian population:

Whites perceived the Africans as a passive threat and affected a paternal regard for their allegedly natural subordination, but eventually they saw in the Indians a sophisticated and active menace to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade, and political influence with the imperial authority. They expressed this alarm largely by emphasizing the ways in which the Indians were most unlike themselves, culturally alien with social traditions and practices that Victorian colonials found repugnant. Above all, to the dominant Whites, Indians were a difficult legal and political problem, effectively claiming civil and economic rights as British subjects. Unlike Africans, there was no 'Native Law' for them.

In Tanganyika especially, this awkward relationship between Asians and Europeans dominated social relations. Under the terms of the League of Nations Mandate, Indians, the predominant nationality of most Asians, were guaranteed full and equal rights. This contradiction between guaranteed equality and dislike also existed in Durban, South Africa. In that city, the Mayor conceded in 1890 that Asians had equal rights and could not be segregated but in 1891 he viewed segregation as the only solution to the city's Asian problem (Swanson 1983).

As stated previously, racial segregation in Dar es Salaam differed significantly in character than the segregation experienced in other colonial cities across Africa. The above paragraphs detailed how health arguments provided a justification for segregation, namely the protection of European health. Yet another type of segregation existed, though more limited in scope. Laws establishing and regulating racial segregation also divided African urban landscapes, particularly in South Africa. South Africa's experience with legalized segregation took two forms: the creation of locations to house the black population and the national policy of apartheid that applied to all races, including whites.

Importantly, locations and apartheid have roots in colonial segregation. Christopher even suggests that “the Apartheid city had thus been created from the colonial segregation city” (1987: 202). Within the South African colonial city, segregation initially occurred for two main reasons. First, like in many other African cities, races were separated for health reasons. In South Africa, outbreaks of bubonic plague and later influenza provided an impetus for segregation. Second, segregation resulted from religion. As part of the desire to civilize and bring Christianity to the natives, blacks were relocated in Port Elizabeth to an area close to the Missionary Society.

The 1890 construction of the Dock Natives Location in Cape Town to house black dockworkers marked the first instance of legalized segregation (Western 1981). Many more locations emerged after this first experience as a way for the government to better control the black African population. In Port Elizabeth, the government relocated blacks to the New Brighton Location. The population shift to these locations was rather small, with only 3,650 people living in New Brighton in 1911. Still in spite of any freedom of choice to relocate, these locations were not pleasant places; to further remind South African residents of the racial divide, the locations were surrounded by fences (Robinson 1990). Like the Indian Question in Kenya, discussed below, the South African government spent much time debating a solution to what Robinson (1990) calls its Native Question. The solution eventually arose in the legalized segregation authorized by the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act. This legislation required all municipalities to establish African locations. Perhaps the

greatest legacy of these locations is the segregationist idea of “continual removal” (Western 1981: 46). As South African cities grew in area, the government relocated the locations so that they were always on the periphery and away from whites. Thus, the legacy has less to do with the locations themselves and more with the separation.

It was not until the South African elections of 1948 when segregation reached a national scale. That year, the National Party won based on its segregationist platform. Through the Group Areas Act of 1950, it created a system of apartheid that prevented any racial mixing in either residential or commercial areas, and ultimately created towns for each racial group. Importantly, this Act canceled any previous ownership or renting rights since even property owners could be removed. The only exception to these group areas were live-in servants. In Port Elizabeth, the relocation of blacks to New Brighton was the first priority. When New Brighton was unable to immediately house all blacks, the government built temporary housing to separate the races. By 1950, the population in this black town reached 35,000 (Christopher 1987). This segregation was nearly universal; by 1985, less than four per cent of Port Elizabeth residents lived outside their designated areas.

Although this dissertation considers the experience of segregation in Dar es Salaam, it is necessary to understand the broader history of African colonial segregation. Dar es Salaam is just one example of a segregated city but it achieved this divided form in a fairly unique way. Unlike other French and British cities, segregation on Dar es Salaam never took on a significant health dimension. Rather

segregation occurred through ordinances regulating construction and building standards.

Theories of Race

This dissertation is about racial segregation, specifically among expatriates, Asians, and Africans in Dar es Salaam. In effect, these categories become racial: white, Asian, and black. Yet a growing literature suggests that race is not simply the color of one's skin. Instead race may be more of a social construct, created to help categorize people as 'the same' or 'the other'. In this dissertation, these competing theories of race will not be analyzed. Instead I am concerned primarily with race as identified by the German and British Colonial governments. These administrations segregated Dar es Salaam into three racial categories. This dissertation does not examine whether these categories are appropriate but rather acknowledges their historical existence and considers whether they persist today.

Appiah (2000) considers race as one of the major identifications present in today's society. Race, unlike some of these other identifications, is socially salient; for most people, their race is immediately obvious. In this way, this dissertation, like colonial policies, uses the obvious characteristic of a person's skin color as the basis for categorization. As Christopher suggests, "[race] is particularly useful in the colonial context where structural segregation was related to perceived racial distinctions" (1992: 97). The colonial government used race not only to perceive differences but also to order society. Using racial distinctions, a social hierarchy

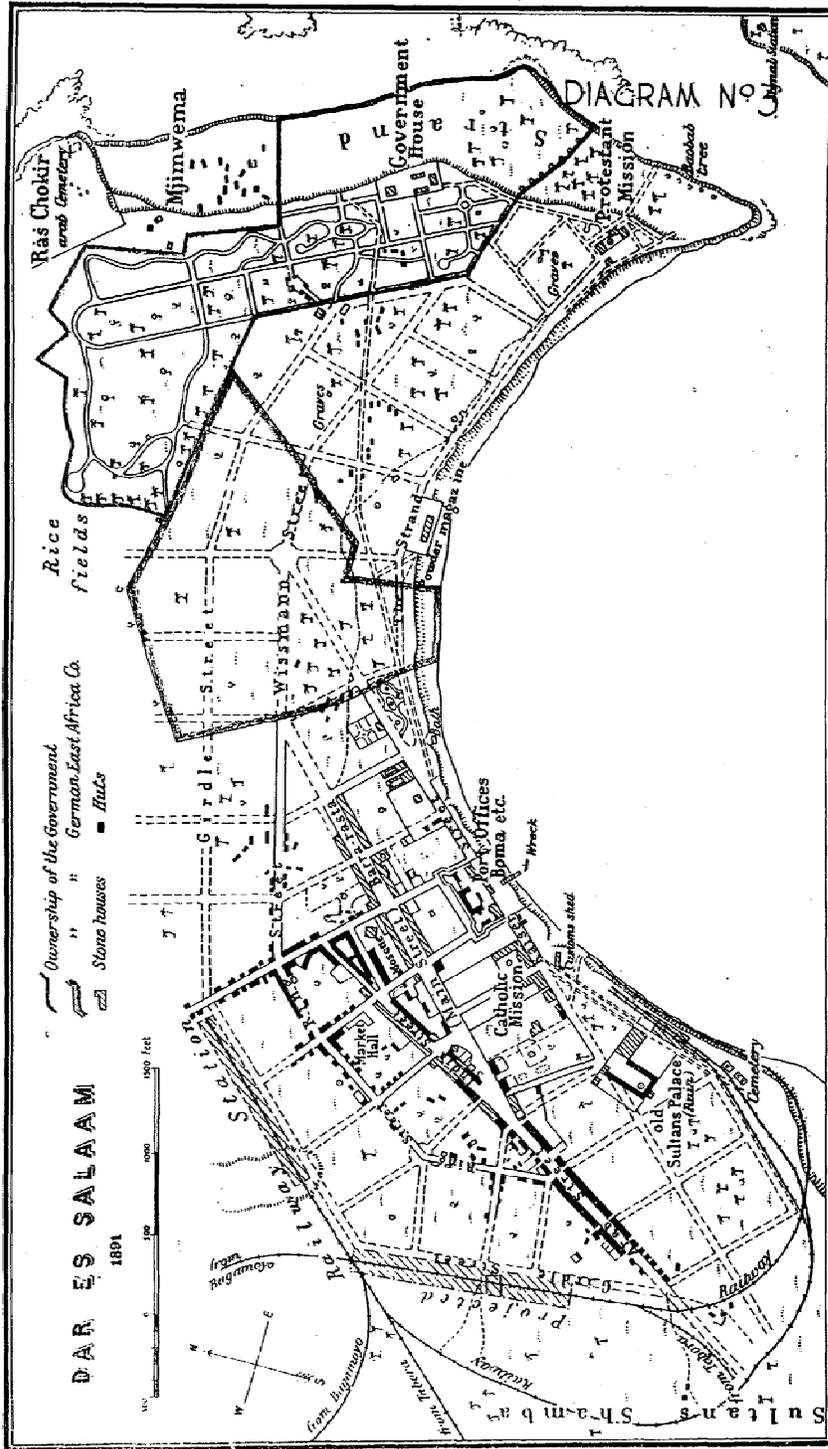
developed, with Europeans at the top, Asians in the middle, and Africans at the bottom. A person's place in this hierarchy affected almost every aspect of his life. In Kenya, "a person's racial status – that is, the racial category into which he is officially assigned – affects such fundamental matters as his civic rights and obligations" (Goldthorpe, quoted in Otiso 2005: 80).

Of course, this obvious consideration of race does lead to some problems. For example, I encountered a woman who appeared to me to be a white member of the expatriate community. I met her at a meeting of a primarily expatriate social group. Yet this woman was born in Tanzania to a European father and Asian mother and identifies herself as a Tanzanian. Issues also arise for the Asian community. I encountered a Canadian woman who is of Asian descent. Although she is an expatriate living in Dar es Salaam, she is widely regarded on the streets of the city as a part of the Asian community. I attempted to circumvent these issues of race and identity by asking my oral and written survey respondents to self-identify themselves. Asking for place of birth, nationality, and ethnicity, I was able to better understand how people perceive themselves. In this way, my research subjects are not just white, Asian, or black but self-identified members of the expatriate, Asian, and African groups. The remainder of this chapter explores the racial segregation of these three groups, beginning with the German Colonial administration and continuing through the British Mandate Period.

German Building Ordinances

The history of segregation in Dar es Salaam began during German colonial rule when the government enacted the city's first Building Ordinance on May 15, 1891 (TNA G 7/198). More than just shaping the initial development of Dar es Salaam, this ordinance laid the foundation for the city's development through its entire colonial history and continues to impact its contemporary development. This first building plan divided the city into forty-six separate lots. Figure 3.1 depicts the city in 1891 and shows these lots. Those lots facing the harbor were allotted to Europeans and only allowed for the construction of sturdy buildings of a European style. The remaining lots, those considered to be the backside of the city, allowed for the construction of other types of buildings as long as they also were built of sturdy materials. This language of European and other clearly demonstrates colonial views on othering; the city was divided based on difference. African, or Negro, style Huts were explicitly prohibited. The Imperial District Authority issued mandatory construction permits for all residents and made the final decision concerning what was European style and what was an 'other' style. "As long as the construction complies with the current ordinance as well as the necessary hygienic demands, the permit may not be denied" (*ibid.*). Importantly, the necessary hygienic expectations were not specified in this code so it is possible that permits were denied using hygienic reasons to disguise racial discrimination.

Figure 3.1. 1891 German Building Ordinance for Dar es Salaam.



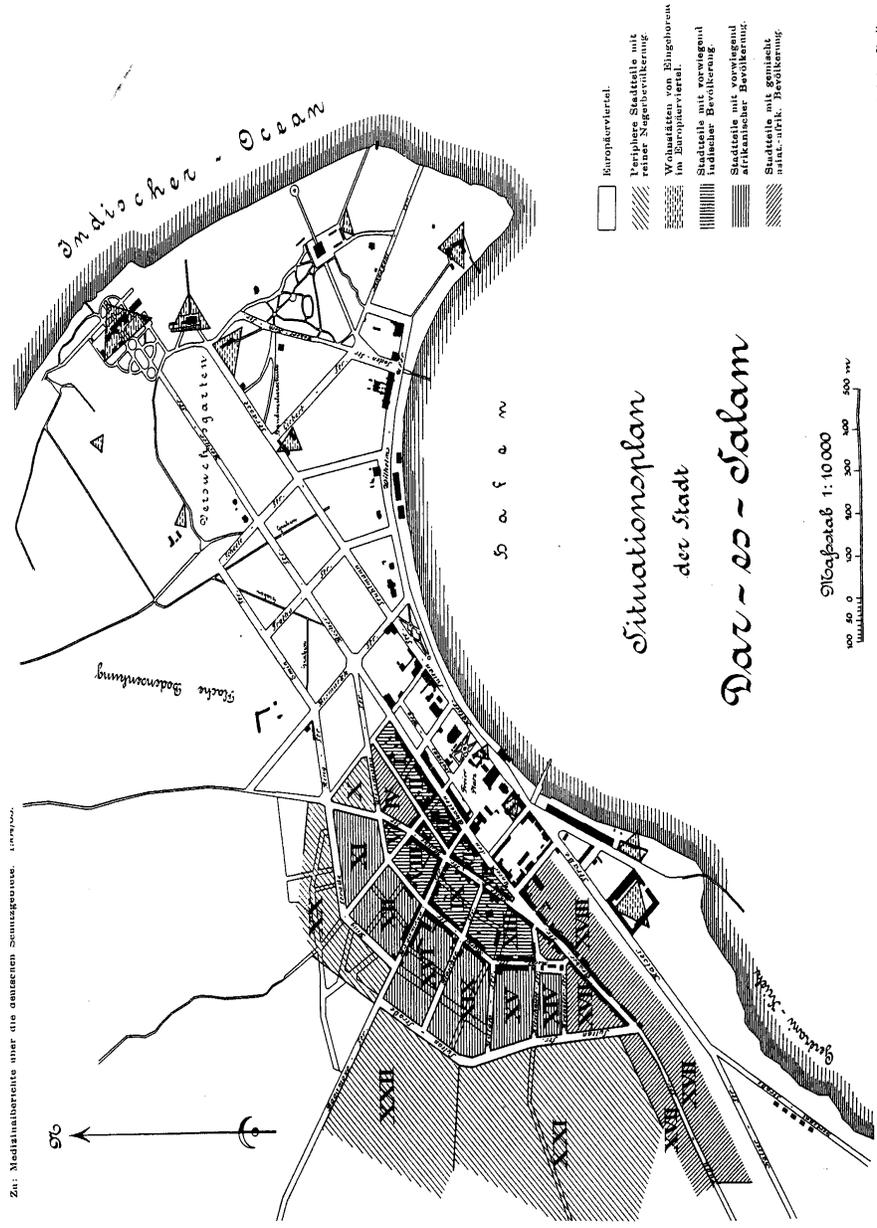
(British Institute of Eastern Africa 2002).

The German Government issued a series of Medical Reports for the German Protectorate. The report for the year 1904 / 1905 includes a plan dividing Dar es Salaam into six areas: 1) the European Quarter; 2) the peripheral parts of the city with only Negro population; 3) the living quarters of natives in the European Quarter; 4) the parts of the city with a largely Indian population; 5) the parts of the city with a largely African population; and 6) the parts of the city with a mixed Asian and African population (Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amts 1907). The map of these six living situations is included as Figure 3.2. These six zones were not segregation zones but rather reflected the urban planning reality based on the 1891 Building Ordinance. This report is especially interesting to this dissertation because it confirms that segregation in Dar es Salaam was not primarily for health reasons. The German government recognized that malaria was endemic in all areas of the city, including the European quarter. Furthermore, it conceded that efforts to control the disease, such as removing breeding pools and expelling Africans from the European area, would never completely eliminate new infections. As a result of these realizations, segregation for health concerns was not a central government policy; instead Dar es Salaam was segregated based on construction codes.

In 1914, the German government expanded the city's first Building Ordinance (G 7/18). Figure 3.3 shows the zones created with this code. The most significant change to the building standards involved the addition of a third zone within the city. Thus, 1914 marked the first time that each of the three races had a specific place in

Figure 3.2 1904 / 1905 Map of Dar es Salaam.

Anlage IX.
P. 38/39.



(Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amts. 1907).

Dar es Salaam. Zone 1 was the living quarter for Europeans; only with special authorization could natives permanently live in this area. Zone 2 was the business quarter and ultimately housed the large population of Indian traders. Although multiple types of construction were permitted in this area, including European-style buildings, all native-style buildings were prohibited. Zone 3 was the native zone. This updated code again required government permits for all construction, which gave the government the final say in where the races lived. This ordinance also contained many more regulations concerning European-style homes. For example, all rooms were to have at least one window that measured three-fourths of a square meter and all toilets were to have flushing mechanisms and a cover to contain odors (*ibid.*). Interestingly, all European homes were to also have a native-style toilet.

Although the first German Building Ordinance took effect in 1891, Kironde (1994) suggests that segregation was an early goal of the German administration. Prior to enacting that ordinance, the government seized Eastern portions of the city from Africans and expelled them further west. The Building Ordinances in 1891 and 1914 merely reinforced these early actions. In spite of conscious and long-planned segregation, Burton (2005) suggests that the German government did not strictly enforce this segregation. Though the European population did live near the harbor and Botanical Garden and the Asian population lived near the bazaar in the City Center, more flexibility initially existed for the African population. After 1912, however, the German government began to purchase land for dedicated African settlements, suggesting that more strict segregation was envisioned for the future

(Burton 2005). In particular, the government planned what later became Kariakoo, though it was not completed before the outbreak of World War I. Figure 3.4 depicts Dar es Salaam in the period immediately preceding the war. The physical expansion of the city, as compared to 1891, is evident as are the three zones created with the 1914 ordinance and labeled Flur 1, 2, and 3.

The League of Nations Mandate

The era of German colonial rule was interrupted by, and ultimately ended by, World War I. At the conclusion of the war, the Treaty of Versailles stripped Germany of its colonial possessions. Under the League of Nations Covenant, all German colonies, including those in Tropical Africa, were mandated to other European colonial powers. Tanganyika was mandated to Great Britain; Britain did not annex Tanganyika nor did Tanganyika become a part of Britain's colonial empire as a Crown Colony. This mandate granted Britain sovereign rights over Tanganyika, a distinction extremely relevant to the territory's history of segregation, especially in regard to the treatment of Indians. India was a member of the League of Nations. As such, the League of Nations guaranteed Indian citizens living in mandated territories equal privileges and rights as citizens of other member nations (Callahan 1999). Thus, Indian and British citizens were to be treated equally in Tanganyika.

Figure 3.4. Dar es Salaam Pre-World War I.



(British Institute of Eastern Africa 2002).

The League of Nations Covenant specifically explained how Mandates were to work. Article 22 of the Covenant charged Great Britain, and the other Mandatory European nations, with bringing development to these territories. Furthermore, these nations were “responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals” (Wright 1930: 591). Article 23 of the Covenant also required the Mandatory Nations to “undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control” (Wright 1930: 592). Within this Covenant, the League of Nations laid out specific guidelines for the mandate of Tanganyika. Great Britain was to “be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and shall undertake to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants” (Wright 1930: 613). What is clear from the language of the Mandate is that Britain’s role in Tanganyika concerned development and equality. The Mandate did not allow for or authorize segregation or the unequal treatment of races. This guarantee of equality and freedom for Tanganyikan residents, including Indians, resulted in the dramatic population increase of Indians. Indians living in Tanganyika asserted their power to gain equal rights in several aspects of society. In 1921, they forced the British administration to end segregation in rail travel and used protests and store closings to repeal a discriminatory tax (Callahan 1999).

Of course the goal of the League of Nations Mandate should not imply that segregation and inequality did not exist in Tanganyika. As this chapter will show, the

reality of British Tanganyika did in fact include racial segregation. A former District Commissioner for Tanganyika under the British Administration, Edward Lumley, commented on the Mandate in his memoirs. He characterized its principle as the promotion of the “welfare of the indigenous peoples. Should there be a conflict between their interests and those of other races the interests of the former were to be treated as paramount. This principle proved easier to enunciate than to implement” (Lumley 1976: 167).

Lumley’s comments refer to African Paramountcy, a formal principle of British Colonial rule laid out in the Devonshire White Paper of 1923. In effect, this policy considered the needs of Kenyans as paramount, above both European and Indians. Though the idea of privileging the native majority over a foreign minority seems logical, it represented a significant break from early colonial rule in Kenya. Early colonial policies were designed to benefit only white settlers. The relationship between European settlers and the African majority never received substantial debate in Tanganyika. Not only was the European settler population rather small, but Brown and Hutt (1935) document a cordial working relationship between white settlers in Iringa District and the Hehe ethnic group.

This policy of rights for natives first developed as a solution to the ‘Indian Question’ in Kenya (Maxon 1993). Kenya had a much larger white settler population than Tanganyika. These settlers initially held no voting rights and were represented on the territory’s Legislative Council only by non-elected members. In calling for a change to their representation status, these settlers initiated a broader conversation

about the rights of all minority groups living in Kenya. In particular, Indians protested what they viewed as favoritism toward the settlers. In these protests, they demanded full legal equality, elected representation on the Legislative Council, permission to acquire land in the White Highlands, and the abolition of urban segregation.

The colonial government offered various proposals and appeasements to the Indian population but not until the Devonshire White Paper was an appropriate solution found. The concept of African Paramountcy established in this paper places native interests above the interests of all other groups but does not consider other interests equally. In rejecting full legal equality between Indians and Whites, the government suggested that Indians detrimentally influenced Africans; thus the government could not simultaneously promote both African and Indian interests (Maxon 1993). The solution to the Indian Question reached in the White Paper gave them elected seats on the Legislative Council, and abolished residential and commercial segregation but at the same time it also allowed limited control on Indian immigration and retained the restrictions on Indian residence in the highlands. In Tanganyika, the Indian Question never materialized to the same degree as it did in Kenya. Although the Indian population was significant in Tanganyika, the smaller European settler population provided less opportunity for conflict between the two races. Thus, the League of Nations Mandate rather than a large settler population had the most significant impact on the Indian population.

The Mandate also had significant implications for the African population in Tanganyika. Though a Native Question never emerged in Tanganyika as it did in South Africa, the Mandate was not completely benign. Even though the Mandate and British Colonial Rule more generally did not evolve into legalized apartheid, it had important consequences for Africans. One of the most significant characteristics of British rule was the system of indirect rule, which appeared, at least on paper, more inclusive for the African population. That the Mandate provided for equal treatment of all races, also provided potential opportunities for Africans. Still enough loopholes existed in the Mandate to allow for discrimination. For example, in theory the Mandate required restitution of former German property to Africans, but the British government used its power of preemption to retain agricultural land (Leubuscher 1944).

Africans were discriminated against in terms of education. The territory's educational policy increased education spending for the Territory without providing education for Africans. The lack of education for Africans was "one of the least fortunate chapters in the history of the country under mandate" (Leubuscher 1944: 89). So although a formal Native Question never emerged, the Mandate was not especially beneficial for the African population of Tanganyika. Although the Mandate charged Britain with providing development for all residents of the territory, Europeans were certainly privileged over Asians and Asians were privileged over Africans. In fact, a 1932 economic report suggested too much expenditure was going

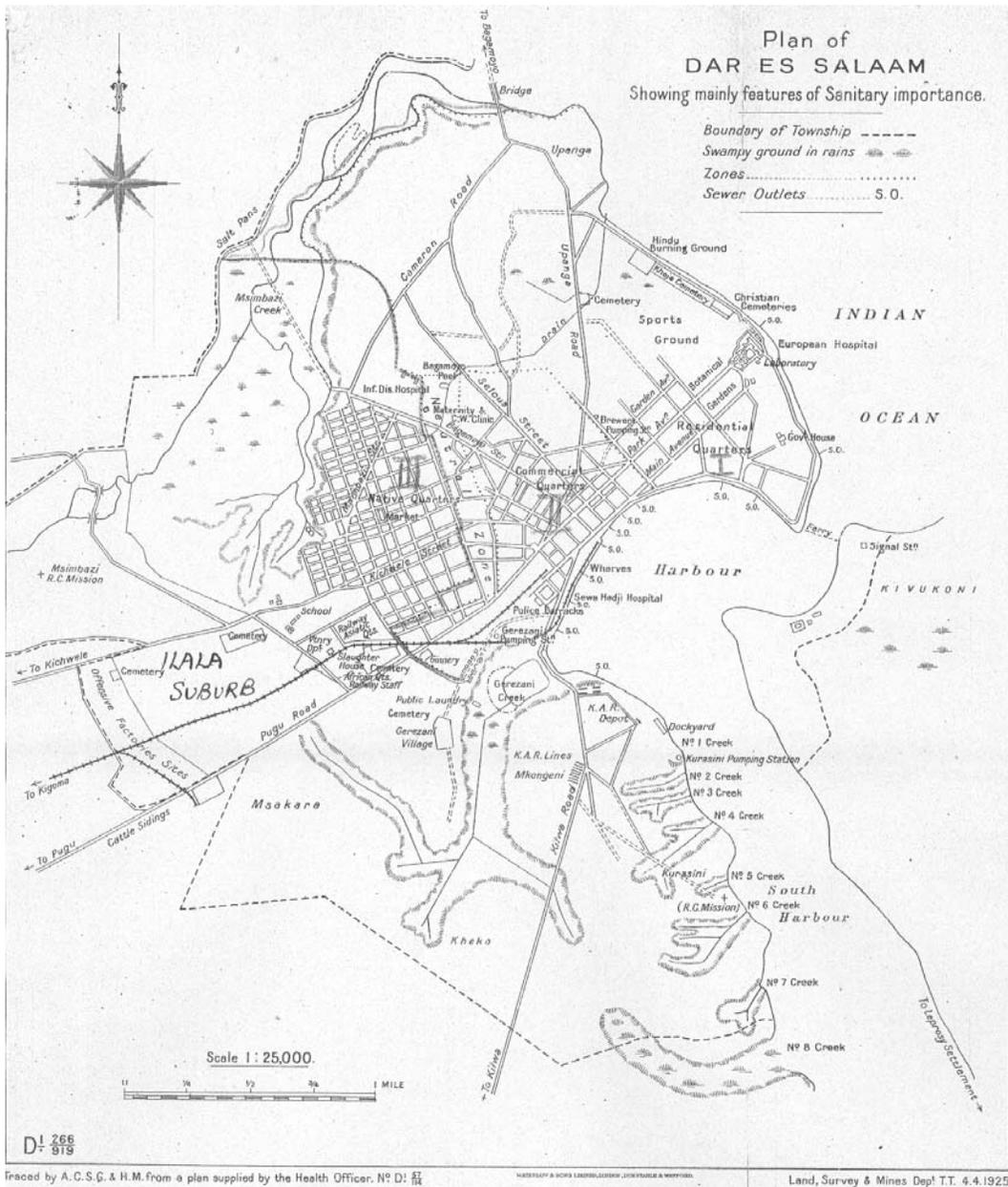
toward the European Administration in a place where the needs of Africans were to come first.

British Building Ordinances

Since the German government published its expanded 1914 Building Ordinance just one month before World War I began, it was not strictly enforced (TNA 12589, Volume 1). One area of poor enforcement concerned the haphazard manner in which Africans received building permits during the war. This distribution resulted in African settlement in Zones 1 and 2. The official entrance of the British administration into Tanganyika saw a renewed interest in Dar es Salaam's planning and development. In April 1921, the British translated the 1914 Ordinance from German into English. It was not until two years later, however, that the British enacted their own Building Ordinance. In that year, a three zone system that mirrored the German plan was laid out in Rule 94 of the Territory's laws but not officially prescribed until 1924 (TNA AB 516). As stated in Cap. 29 of the Laws of the Tanganyika Territory, the zones were distinguished based on the types of building permitted within each zone (TNA Laws of Tanganyika Territory). Zone 1 allowed "residential buildings of European type only," Zone 2 permitted "residential and trading buildings only," and Zone 3 allowed "native quarters" (*ibid.*). These zones are visible in Figure 3.5.

Over the course of the British administration, two significant modifications to these regulations occurred. First, as the city grew in population, the government

Figure 3.5. 1923 British Building Ordinance for Dar es Salaam.



(TNA 12589, Volume 1).

extended the boundaries of the township. Even though the zones expanded in size, for the most part contiguous areas stayed in the same zone. The main exception concerns the addition of the majority of the Msasani Peninsula into Zone 1. Large portions of the city between the harbor and the peninsula are in Zones 2 and 3. Second, the description for Zone 3 was altered in 1933. In that year, Government Notice 14 substituted the phrase “buildings of any type, subject to the approval of the Authority” for the phrase “native quarters” in the township ordinance (TNA 11150, Volume 2).

The change in wording for the Zone 3 regulations was significant, since it clarified the purpose of these zones. On multiple occasions, the British administration reiterated its position that the zones were not a means of racial segregation. The Chief Secretary said that “it has not been the intention of Government to prevent Natives from building elsewhere than in zone 3” and the Secretary of the Central Town Planning and Building Committee (CTPBC) said that segregated patterns evolved “more or less automatically as the Germans had the same restriction” (TNA 11150, Volume 2). Yet on other occasions the administration referred to Zone 3 as the “African Area” (TNA 33024). It is impossible for these zones to be simultaneously racially homogenous and not about race at all. To understand how the British administration approached the issue of segregation and residential zoning, it is useful to specifically discuss one file from the TNA entitled “Segregation of Races” (TNA AB 616). This file contains a small number of documents from 1920, the majority of which are inter-office correspondence. In

essence, this file is about how to actually have a segregated Dar es Salaam in the absence of an official policy of segregation. The government recognized that an official policy of racial segregation would violate the League of Nations Mandate. In spite of this knowledge, the administration clearly expressed its interest in implementing such a policy and discovered ways to circumvent the Mandate. The Secretary of State's 1920 Annual Report justified segregation to the Territory's Governor:

A Central Building and Town Planning Committee has been formed to regulate Town Planning, and endeavors are being made to secure an European residential area bounded by a neutral zone clear of all buildings. Racial segregation not being practicable, a standard to which all new buildings must conform has been adopted, and this, it is hoped, will secure the same advantages (TNA AB 616).

The desire to segregate Dar es Salaam was not expressed only by low-level officials.

Even the Governor of Tanganyika Territory, Horace Byatt, found segregation appealing:

So far as Segregation is concerned it is pretty clear to me that in this Territory we cannot adopt the principle of racial segregation as such, for that would lead us into a position (e.g. with the sale of enemy properties) where we should be in conflict with the terms of the Treaty and the Mandate. There is universal agreement as to the wisdom and necessity of segregation except on the part of the Indian agitator, and he objects solely because objection is a political maneuver. But we can, I believe, ensure proper segregation in actual practice by means of Building and Township Regulations. For example, though an Asiatic may buy a plot in the European residential quarter, we can require him to build on it a house of a type which would not suit his methods of life in that we should prohibit the existence of the Asiatic conception of a latrine . . . (TNA AB 616).

These quotes demonstrate that the administration was acutely aware of the inherent problems with instituting a racist policy. Yet it embarked on discussions concerning ways to achieve this goal that would not violate the Mandate or be outwardly discriminatory. Effectively, the government achieved its goal through racist assumptions: that only a European would want a flush toilet and that Africans were incapable of maintaining any structure other than a hut.

The Neutral Zone in Dar es Salaam

As this dissertation makes clear, both the German and the British colonial governments used building codes to implement residential racial segregation. Unlike many other African cities, the administrations never used health arguments as the primary tool for racial separation. Crucially, however, the administrations did recognize that health and sanitation offered a justification for segregation and efforts to curb malaria transmission influenced the building ordinances. One explanation for the lack of health segregation was the absence of any widespread disease outbreak. Certainly malaria affected the residents of Dar es Salaam but with Koch's promotion of quinine as a prophylaxis, Tanganyika never became known as 'the white man's grave' like Sierra Leone.

When health did factor into Dar es Salaam's segregation, the conversations mainly discussed the benefits of a *cordon sanitaire* to separate races. The use of a *cordon sanitaire* certainly was not unique to Dar es Salaam, having been implemented in many other cities including Dakar, Senegal as previously discussed.

The German administration first proposed a zone of separation called the “*Tote Zone*” but the outbreak of World War I prevented its full implementation. The name of this area is particularly interesting. In German, *tote* translates to mean dead but can also refer to an empty area. It is difficult to know exactly what meaning the German Government intended for this area. In spite of the war’s interruption to urban planning, this zone is visible on Figure 3.3, the 1914 Ordinance, located between Zones 2 and 3. The British administration considered this area “an ideal which should be arrived at” (TNA AB 516). It thought that if sanitation rules were followed, “then in all probability there will arise no necessity for any law compelling ‘community segregation’. The problem solves itself” (*ibid.*). The British renamed the Dead / Empty Zone, instead calling it the Neutral Zone. Although the government initially wanted this space to separate Europeans from all other races, it recognized the impracticability of this desire. As an alternative, the Land Officer suggested the segregation of Africans from the other races, using a zone of separation at least 300 yards wide. As the Chairman of the CTPBC recognized (TNA AB 516), by implementing the area for health reasons rather than explicit segregation, it did not contradict the Mandate:

The policy of segregation by sanitary standards was adopted instead of that of racial segregation; it is a policy to which no thinking person can take exception. Put bluntly, it consists in dividing the town’s inhabitants into two classes: those who use a water closet, whether of Eastern or Western pattern, and those who can only afford primitive means of disposing of their waste matter, by means of the privy pit and untrapped soakage pit; both of these being responsible for much fly and mosquito breeding.

The government justified the Neutral Zone as a tool in disease control. It was thought that rats, as vectors of the plague, were unlikely to cross a wide, lighted space.

Eventually the broad goals of the zone were expanded to include fire prevention, as a reaction to a fire in the Asian area.

In 1926, the CTPBC approved a recommendation to change the name of this area from the Neutral Zone to the Open Space (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). This shift in name made the area seem innocuous. Though originally designed to separate Africans from the rest of Dar es Salaam's residents, the Neutral Zone also served as a place for recreation. After the government successfully evicted Africans living in this space and demolished their homes, city plans called for leveling of the ground to create sports fields. In spite of these intentions, the government did little to develop the area other than planting a few trees (TNA 18950, Volume 2). Even when a Board of Management took over management of the space, no Africans served on the Board even though it was designed first and foremost for them. After the medical and sanitation rationales behind the space were disproved, the space remained, justified by the opinion that open space was desirable and aesthetically pleasing. Even today, the space exists as *Mnazi Mmoja* (One Coconut Tree), a place for concerts, festivals, and general recreation. Though the area is a part of contemporary Dar es Salaam, it persists as a legacy of colonial segregation.

For Dar es Salaam, three racially segregated zones existed in the absence of an official policy of segregation. The British retained German policies but unlike other colonial cities, these policies had only a passing connection to health and sanitation.

Instead construction and building standards played a prominent role. Tied to this role were the German and British requirements of building permits. By denying Africans permits to build or repair homes, the government ensured that homes would deteriorate to the point they needed to be torn down. Thus, the government removed undesirable homes in desirable areas without any explicit official policy of segregation. Before examining the history of segregation in practice, the next section considers how segregation affected Dar es Salaam's residents socially. Segregation physically separates people but has a larger effect on how they perceive themselves as individuals and in relation to others.

Social Segregation

Not only was Dar es Salaam zoned into racial areas – albeit without any formal policy of racial segregation – members of each race were treated rather differently. The British administration provided official housing in all three zones, since Asians and Africans worked for the government alongside European colonial officials. Yet the estimated cost for each type of house varied considerably. At one point, construction costs per home were £1650 for the European Quarter, which included the provision of furniture, £500 for the Asian Quarter, and £75 for the African Quarter (TNA 33258).

The discrepancy in construction expenditures suggests a wide difference in housing quality. More than just the actual structures, there was also a discrepancy in service provision between the zones. During the mid-1940s, of 23.3 miles of roads in

Zone 3 only 1.2 miles were actually tarred (TNA 33024). Zone 3 had no water-borne sewage at this time and water was only available at sixteen public kiosks, fourteen of which were located in Kariakoo. The African zone had twenty-four street lights, all located in Kariakoo. In spite of this concentration of services in Kariakoo, a large portion of the African population did not live in this area. African residents of Dar es Salaam contributed a significant amount of money to the city in the form of poll taxes, house taxes, liquor licenses, market receipts, trade licenses, and water sales but African neighborhoods saw little or no improvement. They expressed their displeasure with their inferior place in the city. The District Officer (TNA 33024) understood and sympathized with the African population:

As a personal opinion, the present system is unsatisfactory. In 25 years, we have nothing to show and we cannot have any pride in our past record. We have made numerous promises but they have come to naught. The local Africans are becoming increasingly vocal and increasingly antagonistic to the apathy with which they feel that Government treats their problems. They may not understand the full implications, it is true, but when they see the meanest street in Zone 1 and 2 is constructed of tar macadam and even their main streets left almost untouched, they are convinced that the present system means benefits for the European and Asian at their expense. Their point of view may be wrong but it exists and it is growing. It is a problem that demands a solution, if cynicism is not to become open hostility.

In light of these comments, it is interesting that the same government official suggested making the African Township independent from the rest of Dar es Salaam since previous urban development schemes have “failed and instead of people with some degree of civic consciousness, everywhere one finds the urban African populations steeped in poverty, crime and filth” (*ibid.*). Without significant

investment in infrastructure and services, it seems unlikely that the African areas of Dar es Salaam would experience any different outcome. Colonial officials in Lusaka likewise ignored African areas, an inaction that resulted in a significant increase in unauthorized, squatter housing (Myers 2006). Yet in Lusaka, the initial solution to this problem involved the condoning of these areas rather than their improvement.

In addition to directly contributing revenue from taxes, African residents indirectly funded the government through their native beer hall. All profits from this establishment were funneled into the territory's general fund rather than being directed toward African Townships. Governor Donald Kennedy indicated in 1939 that it was a "pity" that the profits could not be used to provide "real amenities" for the natives (TNA 26602.). Other colonial officials shared this sentiment that Africans received few benefits in Tanganyika, suggesting that "surely the native town deserves something, when officials, who pay no rates, have their hedges cut and their drives graveled for nothing" (*ibid.*). These officials viewed the problem of Dar es Salaam in simple terms: "It has been governed for years by gentlemen the interests of the majority of whom have been confined exclusively to the non-native commercial and residential areas, with the result that the native areas have been sadly neglected" (*ibid.*). Not only were Africans segregated within the city, they rarely benefited from city services. The British Administration favored the tiny European population at the expense of the native population.

Dar es Salaam was a heterogeneous city under both German and British colonial rule. In the 1924 Dar es Salaam Annual Report, the District Commissioner refers to the “cosmopolitanism” of the city, specifically mentioning its “astonishing variety of nationalities” (TNA 1924 Report). Yet in spite of the city’s mixed population, there was little, if any, spatial mixing of ethnicities and races. The system of zoning instituted by the Building Ordinances produced a segregated city. In some cases the segregation was due to actual boundaries, such as the Open Space, while in other cases the boundaries were mental and social. The next sections discuss the development of these zones in more detail, specifically highlighting disparities between racial groups. Table 3.1 breaks down the colonial racial composition of Dar es Salaam to help illustrate how absurd some of the administrative policies were. Even though the African population was significantly greater than that of the European population, colonial policies favored the minority urban residents. Table 3.2 illustrates the racial population in Dar es Salaam’s different neighborhoods. These figures help to illustrate the misguided priorities of the government in allocating funds; for example Kariakoo received the bulk of social services in spite of large African populations elsewhere in the city. These 1957 figures are adapted from Mascarenhas (1966) and mirror the same proportions presented by Burton (2005) from the 1952 city census.

Table 3.1. Population by Race in Colonial Dar es Salaam.

Year	African	Asian	European	Total
1887	-	-	-	3000 - 4000
1894	9,000	620	400	10,020
1900	18,000	1,480	360	19,840
1913	19,000	2,500	1,000	22,500
1921	20,000	4,000	600	24,600
1928	21,930	6,100	1,251	29,281
1931	22,734	8,910	1,341	32,985
1942	27,200	9,200	1,180	37,580
1943	33,000	11,000	1,100	45,100
1948	50,762	15,208	1,809	67,779
1957	94,000	28,000	4,500	150,000

(de Blij 1963; Gillman 1945; TNA Annual Reports; TNA Acc. 540, 18/4; TNA 18950, Volume 3).

Table 3.2. Distribution of Races in Colonial Dar es Salaam, 1957.

	African	Asian	European
Kariakoo	22,399	7,311	8
City Center	1,874	13,331	1,181
Ilala, Buguruni, and Vingunguti	22,219	1,394	41
Magomeni and Kigogo	13,695	229	0
Temeke	16,552	324	150
Chang'ombe	4,173	1,930	7
Keko and Kurasini	3,845	719	842
Kinondoni	4,100	71	195
Msasani	3,477	410	1,877
Upanga	443	5,181	178

(Adapted from Mascarenhas 1966).

Segregation in Practice

As mentioned previously, the TNA contains records from both the German and British colonial administrations yet not all of the German files survived to this day. Though the German government planned Dar es Salaam as a segregated city, the outbreak of World War I interrupted many of these efforts and prevented the government from fully realizing its end goal. For those two reasons, this chapter focuses on the British colonial period to understand the actual practice and implementation of racial segregation.

Two distinct British government approaches exist in looking at the history of the three construction zones in Dar es Salaam. The dividing line between these approaches is the end of World War II, which brought about a significant change to the British approach to all of its colonies, including Tanganyika. “Tanganyika emerged from the war to face a new future, reflected almost immediately in the capital where, for the first time in decades, there was something resembling a building boom” (de Blij 1963: 23). Yet this new post-war approach to colonies actually began in 1940 with what Iliffe (1979) terms ‘new colonialism’. The cornerstone of this new colonialism was the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, which financed long-term development plans in British colonies. The Colonial Office created this legislation for both altruistic and self-serving reasons; on one hand, the Act gave Britain more economic control over its colonies, but on the other it fulfilled the greater public desire for poverty reduction and colonial development. The real result of this Act in Tanganyika was small, with Iliffe

suggesting that “in Dar es Salaam the Colonial Development and Welfare Act scarcely ruffled the leaves in Acacia Avenue” (1979: 438).

Regardless of how meaningful the 1940 Act was, this dissertation uses that year as a division in the history of segregation. Prior to this date, the administration focused more on simple housing provision while the end of the war initiated a focus on development. Almost all African colonies experienced a similar shift in administrative approach, termed the ‘second colonial occupation.’ With significant numbers of African soldiers fighting in World War II, Africans across the continent demanded increased rights and political independence. It is important to note that my consideration of segregation in these two time periods does not suggest a rigid policy break. Certainly there were housing shortages after the war and the government did enact policies with a development focus before the war. The year 1940 simply marks the time when a significant shift in colonial mentality occurred.

Perhaps most important in this consideration of segregation in practice are the ways that the British government approached the three zones of Dar es Salaam. These approaches remained fairly consistent throughout the entire mandate period, in spite of the development focus after the war. In Zone 1, the government focused on providing adequate standards of housing. As pointed out in Chapter 2, British colonial officials expected and demanded high-quality housing, both in size and services. Thus, the government attempted to construct large homes with gardens and sea views. In Zone 3, the administration focused its attention on the quantity of home construction, with little regard to standard or amenities. The approach toward Zone 2

differed significantly. Rather than showing concern over housing provision, in terms of either quantity or quality, the government focused its attention on the general state of the zone, particularly the state of the commercial district. The following sections outline the government approaches to these zones, both before and after 1940, relying heavily on documents from the TNA. Though these documents clearly illustrate the government's point of view, the opinions and experiences of Asians and Africans are largely absent from this archival material.

Pre-1940 Zone 1

In terms of Zone 1, a constant theme in its history was the shortage of adequate and appropriate housing. The government recognized the importance of careful planning to ensure that proper standards were met (TNA 1923 Report). Although these European homes did vary in size and standard, they were always of a higher quality than homes in other urban zones. The government constructed the highest quality homes, which were reserved for top colonial officials, on premium, ocean-front lots. Even when the government faced shortages of adequate housing, it refused to allocate these premium lots to lower-level staff. A specific instance occurred in 1926 when the government faced a housing shortage for railway officials. At the time, the only available plots were located along the coast at Sea View, in the northern portion of the City Center. Rather than build on these plots, the CTPBC recommended retaining these plots for future use (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). The

government acquired private land, at an additional expense, instead of solving the immediate housing problem.

With the decision to retain lots at Sea View for future use, the government began to search for additional land for European housing. In 1927, it proposed the construction of a new European suburb outside of existing township boundaries on the Msasani Peninsula (TNA 20399). To fund this construction, the Acting Governor proposed to lease the government-owned land at Sea View. Not surprisingly, the Treasurer questioned the logic of this recommendation and proposed to instead make use of the existing plots rather than locate a new suburb far from government offices, shops, and markets (*ibid.*). The government sided with the Acting Governor rather than the Treasurer and completed an initial layout of the suburb in 1928. By 1931, the Oyster Bay suburb on the Msasani Peninsula contained forty-four homes. This area was designated part of Zone 1 in order to prevent the building of non-European standard homes. Two years later, government officials recognized the difficulty of living in Oyster Bay, far from city amenities, and proposed a temporary shop to sell eggs, vegetables, milk, and petrol (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). The needs of Europeans were a priority for the government; not only were high-quality homes constructed along and near to the coast, the government provided amenities to these Europeans to ensure a convenient lifestyle.

Pre-1940 Zone 2

Though the government focused its attention on providing adequate, high-quality housing in Zone 1, its interest in Zone 2 was minimal. In general, the government showed little concern for Zone 2, even questioning whether it should provide any housing there for the Asian population (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). Although government officials occasionally talked about this zone, it did not act upon these conversations. These conversations focused on either providing a place for Asians away from Europeans or complaining about the state of the Asian area.

John Pashen, the Government Architect, made Asian housing a central part of his 1929 Town Planning Scheme. His plan proposed to create a residential area west of Upanga Road, designed to “provide a necessary social outlet for the better plan Indian population” (TNA 26160). Governor Kennedy agreed with Pashen, suggesting that Upanga is where “the better-class Indian population will find a social outlet if given the opportunity; if the opportunity is not afforded, it will endeavor to penetrate the areas which we have decided should be kept as far as possible for persons of a different standard of living: for example, Sea View and Oyster Bay” (TNA 13483, Volume 1). Though the emphasis on segregationist policies was often in separating the Europeans and Africans, the administration also expressed an interest in separating Europeans from everyone else. These policies saw both Asians and Africans as ‘the other’.

The government felt it was important to provide a place for Asians, especially since it considered their living conditions scandalous and often worse than slums in

London and other European cities (TNA 1929 Report). Even the District Officer shared these concerns, arguing it was most important to improve residences rather than social halls since “many live in conditions of filth and squalor which no native would tolerate” (TNA 1927 Report). The government also disapproved of conditions in the Indian bazaar, an area considered a “disgrace to the town” (TNA 13483, Volume 1). Unfortunately, these concerns did not translate into increased funding for improvements to the bazaar or the construction of additional homes in Zone 2. By 1938, the government had yet to take action on Pashen’s plan for Upanga since it could not justify the expense of extending the town boundaries to include this proposed area in the absence of any real demand for Asian housing. Even though government rhetoric focused on improving Zone 2, no actions were taken; the government did not consider Zone 2 a priority for urban planning.

Pre-1940 Zone 3

Government priorities prior to 1940 basically ignored the Asians in Zone 2 and placed a heavy importance on catering to European demands and expectations. Although not ignored like Asians, Africans did not necessarily benefit from early British policies. The government did attempt to alleviate the severe housing shortage for natives but placed little importance on improving their lives. The government constructed a temporary store in Oyster Bay to lessen the commute of Europeans to the city but it provided few services in Zone 3 for the African urban majority.

From 1919 until 1921, the government primarily concerned itself with attempting to “adjust past mistakes”, specifically the haphazard appropriation of plots to natives (TNA 12589, Volume 1). This adjustment was largely achieved through the requirement of permits for any building or repair done to an existing building. These permits were regularly denied for Africans living in Zone 1 and 2. By denying these permits, the government successfully controlled the appearance of the other zones. Since the government owned the city’s land and merely leased it to residents on a yearly basis, it was not necessarily illegally denying permits. The lack of any legal wrong-doing does not mean that the government was just and fair. By selectively denying permits to Africans, the government was in fact beginning its unofficial policy of racial segregation.

By 1921, the government began to pay more attention to the existing native zone, specifically concerning its drainage (TNA 1921 Report). The area suffered from drainage problems but the government had not proposed any repairs to the drainage system. This lack of attention was not financial; the government collected sufficient tax revenue from Zone 3. Coinciding with the widespread pools of standing water in Zone 3, the government declared these pools illegal in Zone 1. In 1924, just two years after the completion of a drainage system in the African area, the District Officer complained that the system was “most unsatisfactory and objectionable” (TNA 1924 Report). This drainage example demonstrates that even when Zone 3 received services, they were not necessarily of high quality nor did they offer much lasting benefit to the population.

It quickly became apparent that the existing native zone was not large enough to meet the rapidly increasing demand for housing. Leslie (1963: 1-2), in his survey of Dar es Salaam, suggested a variety of reasons for why Africans come to the city.

They are drawn by the success stories (not necessarily always true) of those who have gone before; the sight of goods brought home by those who have done well; and their polish; a disbelief in such stories as they hear of unemployment, and in converse belief in stories of available jobs; a mistaken confidence in an inadequate education; the discontent with country life of the boy who has been to school; a dislike of irksome duties and discipline at home and in the village and tribal society; the search for an uncontributing anonymity in town; and by the glamour of the town's reputation; all come basically because it is in the town that they can get on to a cash basis of living: thinking of what money can buy, and disregarding the necessity of paying for everything one gets.

At first, the government attempted to find a 'quick fix' by allocating trading plots as residential plots. When this fix did not alleviate the housing deficit, in 1923 the government demarcated 600 plots in Ilala, an area adjacent to the existing native quarter of Kariakoo (TNA 12589, Volume 1). Ilala developed on former German enemy property called Borman's *Shamba* (Borman's farm). Interestingly, the government first proposed to use this land for European housing but later rejected this option since any homes located there would "be separated from the present residential area with its amenities by the Native Quarters" (TNA Acc. 189, 961).

Limited development came to Zone 3 in 1923. In that year, the government opened a new market, which was supplied with electricity, and designated the old market to sell native cooked food and house petty trading activities, which had previously been "scattered about the streets in a very unsatisfactory way" (TNA 1923

Report). So although some services were provided to the African population, it was not entirely for their benefit. It served the government's underlying interest to clean up the city and instill greater order and control.

With the addition of Ilala, the number of plots available in Zone 3 steadily increased to 2,348 in the year 1927 (TNA 1927 Report). The alarming trend of poor service provision continued in this area. Rather than solve problems, the government assigned blame. The lack of adequate transport explained poor sanitation and the city-wide water supply shortage explained the lack of water. Since the problem was widespread, the government refused to increase the number of public water standpipes in African areas until it found a permanent city solution. Still, in spite of these problems, the government thought that "compared with the conditions of the town in 1922 wonderful progress has been made" (TNA 1927 Report). Yet in 1932, just five years later, the Deputy Director of Sanitary Services said "it is depressing to note how little has been done by Government in this direction" (TNA 18950, Volume 1). This quote suggests that even when the government did make development progress in Zone 3, the progress was not nearly enough to produce meaningful and lasting results.

Even though the African housing supply increased, the continued in-migration to Dar es Salaam meant that the shortage was never fully resolved. Yet the government compounded the shortage by expelling Africans from various parts of the city including the Neutral Zone / Open Space and a portion of Gerezani, an area located near the Neutral Zone. More than one hundred homes located in Gerezani

Village extended within “a few yards” of a compound of European homes for railway workers (TNA 12589, Volume 1). The Senior Health Officer expressed concern that this proximity could produce an outbreak of malaria among the European population. Since these native huts were poorly constructed and technically within the boundaries of Zone 1, the District Commissioner entertained the option of forcibly removing the African residents. The fact that these Africans had lived in Gerezani for many years was not considered. Not only were these residents forcibly moved, alternative housing did not exist; the government initially proposed to relocate them to Magomeni but decided against this proposal because of its distance from town (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). It is necessary to mention that the government was occasionally lenient with African housing. It allowed illegally built homes in Keko to remain as long as they met construction standards (TNA Acc. 189, 96I). Of course this area was already in Zone 3 and not adjacent to European housing.

Within Zone 3, the development of plots continued, as did the use of trading sites as residential plots (TNA 1928 Report). Ilala eventually evolved into what was called a “well laid out native village,” referring to its market and water pipeline (TNA 1930 Report). Even though Ilala was unpopular at first because of its distance from the city, 1,500 people lived there in 1930. Yet as Hansen (1997) points out in the case of Lusaka, colonial censuses often severely undercounted the African population, focusing only on those in formal employment. As a result, population counts were biased toward men and ignored the unemployed or those employed in the informal sector.

In spite of both the drawbacks of life in Ilala and the increased allocation of plots there, a waiting list of more than 200 people existed. The government hoped that by extending the township boundaries to include the new European suburb on the Msasani Peninsula, it would also incorporate enough new land to meet African demand (TNA 1931 Report). Yet the very construction of the Oyster Bay suburb raised questions of housing for servants. The Medical Officer proposed the construction of a native village to accommodate these servants since “most town natives prefer to live in the town rather than to reside at the quarters of their employers, and it appears likely to me that many servants will prefer to live in a cheaply erected shack on some *shamba* adjoining the suburb, rather than occupy Government Quarters provided for them” (TNA 19825). In 1938, the Secretary of the CTPBC proposed a “proper native area” for these servants rather than servants’ quarters at the Zone 1 European houses. He also recommended fast action on this area in order to prevent the construction of more uncontrolled and unsanitary houses (TNA 26179). The end result of this recommendation was that even though the majority of the Peninsula was designated Zone 1, small portions were also include in Zones 2 and 3.

The government, rather than put all of its efforts toward alleviating housing shortages, placed a high priority on reordering the city. The Executive Officer of the Township Authority (TNA 18950, Volume 1) expressed his opinions about natives living in European and Asian areas:

As regards the question of the continued residence of Natives in Zones 1 and 2, the problem is purely an economic one. Houses in these zones are required to be of a Western type and no Native who is able to erect such a house could be interfered with. Moreover, no Native type dwelling already existing in these zones are interfered with so long as they can be kept habitable from the point of view of health and safety by effecting 'true repairs'. When this can no longer be done and a new building is required, it must necessarily conform to the requirements prescribed for structures in those Zones. This policy is of course enforced not only in respect of natives but of all property-owners of whatever nationality. There is therefore no discrimination as between races.

These policies were not followed consistently; in 1934, when an African attempted to transfer his home in Zone 3 to an Arab, the Land Officer said "as far as I am aware it was decided in 1931 that the native quarter west of Msimbazi Street and including the Ilala area be reserved for natives only" (TNA 12589, Volume 2). This statement followed the recommendation of the CTPBC from 1931, but the Chief Secretary never made this recommendation official; Zone 3 was never officially limited only to Africans though it unofficially served as the native area. Adding further confusion to racial zoning were the existence of thirty-one native huts in Kisutu, part of Zone 2. The government decided to remove these huts because of the crime and prostitution danger they posed (TNA 23547). In using these arguments, the government avoided racial discrimination; it was acting on the best interest of the entire city.

As these sections make clear, the government approached these three zones differently prior to 1940. The British government's approach to urban development prior to 1940 can be characterized as one of housing provision. For Europeans, the government focused on high-class accommodations while it gave no concern to

housing standard for Africans. In fact, the government struggled continuously to house the native population. In addition to these severe housing shortages, Africans had little access to social services and were often forcibly relocated in order to further the government's broader planning goals. When development policies did affect Africans, they saw few lasting improvements to their living situation in Zone 3. For Asians, the government was primarily concerned with keeping them out of European areas. In the absence of official racial segregation policy, the British government was extremely successful in dividing the city, often using back-door policies such as the denial of building permits. The next sections outline how the British government approached these same areas in association with its shifting colonial priorities.

Post-1940 Zone 1

As previously discussed, 1940 marked a shift in British attitudes toward urban planning in Dar es Salaam. At this time, the administration placed a greater emphasis on development rather than simple housing provision. Yet this shift in thinking should not indicate that no housing shortages existed. To the contrary, housing remained a significant problem, especially in Zones 1 and 3. Like the period before 1940, however, Zone 2 received little government attention.

European housing continued to present a problem. In 1946, seventy colonial officials were without homes and plans existed for the construction of only thirty additional homes. To further compound this shortage, the creation and anticipation of new posts actually increased the housing deficit to eighty homes (TNA 35152). The

Public Works Department (PWD) laid out the necessary plots in Oyster Bay in 1947. Yet by the end of the year, only twelve homes were constructed. In spite of this slow progress, the government thought that eventually Oyster Bay would be a “first-class residential suburb” with six hundred plots (*ibid.*). It is nonsensical that the government would consider developing that many plots for a small expatriate population at the same time a severe housing shortage existed for Africans.

Although Europeans housing continued exclusively in the Oyster Bay area, not all Europeans wanted to live there (TNA 31662). Staff members of the PWD worked on Pugu Road, a great distance from the Msasani Peninsula. The city’s poor bus service compounded their long commute from work to home. The PWD, therefore, requested new home construction for its staff within bicycle range of its offices, preferably in Chang’ombe. The Government Press and Medical Departments shared this same view and suggested constructing the balance of 1951’s planned homes in Chang’ombe.

Rather than following the suggestion of the PWD, the government constructed the balance of homes in Kinondoni. Even though this decision ignored the wishes of colonial officials, it further privileged these Europeans over Africans. At the same time that Europeans were denied a request, they still received better treatment than other races in Dar es Salaam. In locating these officials in Kinondoni, the government encountered difficulties with service provision. It was unable to satisfy the city’s growing demand for electricity so officials prioritized waiting projects. According to one official:

In Dar es Salaam the most urgent works to be carried out are at the houses at Kinondoni and the Asian houses at Chang'ombe in the Pugu Road residential area. I would definitely place the Asian houses at Chang'ombe, which are already occupied, in a lower category than the Senior Service houses which have been completed at Kinondoni (TNA 31662).

In considering the new European homes in Kinondoni, the government thought that “if we are not to get supplies before October 1952 for the new houses they clearly cannot be occupied and the position becomes ridiculous” (TNA 31662).

Furthermore it was stressed that even though the governor desired electrical provision for Dar es Salaam's African areas, no progress had been made toward this goal. The government allowed Temeke, part of Zone 3, to have home construction without electricity but it was unwilling to allow Europeans to live without this service.

Even though the government wanted to locate more European homes closer to the City Center in areas like Kinondoni, construction in Oyster Bay continued. Disparities between home styles also continued. New European homes built in 1952 contained a second bathroom but African areas shared a disproportionately small number of public toilets (TNA 31662). As further evidence that the government privileged Zone 1 over Zone 3, one only needs to look at spaces of recreation. When the government discussed whether to provide an open space in Kinondoni, it considered who should pay for the initial leveling and laying out of the field as well as provide the grass. When a similar discussion was held about an open space in Magomeni, the government questioned whether the cost of leveling was even justified (TNA 31662).

The provision of suitable housing for Europeans remained an issue in 1952. No suitable sites existed to house Legislative Council members so the government considered the possibility of renovating existing homes (TNA 31662). At a cost of £2750 per house, the government proposed adding a second storey, which would contain two bedrooms, a study-workroom, a bath, and toilet, and also to add a store and garage to the main floor. This proposal is particularly outrageous when compared to the average cost of African homes, £75 as referenced previously, and that the fact that these European homes already were more spacious and luxurious than any houses in Zone 2 or 3.

The government made another strange housing decision when it considered demolishing temporary European housing at Oyster Bay and rebuilding permanent homes on the same plots (TNA 31662). Since housing for Africans was inadequate in quantity, it makes little sense that resources were diverted toward these renovations when homes, albeit of a lower quality, already existed. Lusaka experienced similar misguided priorities toward housing; substandard houses were demolished rather than improved and the lag time between demolitions and new construction simply necessitated the construction of new substandard homes (Myers 2006).

Post-1940 Zone 2

Again during this second period, the government paid little attention to housing in Zone 2. Most Asian government workers lived in Chang'ombe with a secondary concentration of Asians in the City Center. Asians not working for the

government overwhelmingly lived in the City Center. Although some European workers requested homes in that area, Chang'ombe remained dominated by the Asian population. The prominence of these Asians was even apparent in the area's street names, such as Ismaili Street named after the influential Muslim religious sect (TNA Acc. 540, HC/5). Though, the lack of attention given to Asian housing should not suggest Asians were ignored or treated worse than Africans. In fact, one way for an Asian government employee to receive a home was to prove he lived in "a native owned home" (Acc. 540, JHC/2). Regardless, the focus of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act was not on Asians.

Post-1940 Zone 3

If the period until 1940 was characterized by a general lack of development in Dar es Salaam, that year marked a turning point in the government's ideology. This does not mean that the government succeeded in developing the city evenly or that it always prioritized the development of all citizens. Rather, from this year forward, the administration at least considered the well-being of all Dar es Salaam residents, not just Europeans. In particular, 1942 marked the proposal of a program for the development of Dar es Salaam Township (TNA Acc. 61 643/3). The Municipal Secretary recommended a series of improvements for the entire city, including the "improved distribution of water in the Native areas" through the provision of twenty water kiosks in Kariakoo and Ilala (*ibid.*). In 1944, the government proposed additional development efforts. The Divisional Engineer recommended an increase

in road expenditure but the government did not earmark any funding for African areas “in view of the possibility that the layout may be altered” (TNA 33024). Specific recommendations for Kariakoo included more housing, proper drainage, and water-borne sewage. The sewage plans were especially important since no existing sewage infrastructure served Zone 3. Generally, officials in 1944 recognized the need for increased development in Zone 3 but refused to actually set timetables (*ibid.*).

One specific proposal enacted in 1944 involved a program of model native housing. In that year, the Advisory Committee for Model Native Houses recommended the construction of a model village of thirty-four homes on Kichwele Street (TNA 540 27/19).⁵ At this time, however, the committee estimated that more than 15,000 Africans required housing so this program would have had a negligible effect. The committee designed these model homes to appeal to a higher class of native, a limitation that sparked a larger debate about the benefits of a model village. Many officials thought that it was more important, and more urgent, to provide housing for the poor. In spite of any reservations toward this model housing village, its construction went ahead as originally planned.

By 1945, Dar es Salaam experienced increased conflict between Africans and Asians. The Tanganyika African Government Servants Association complained that Asians occupied all well-ventilated and hygienic homes (TNA 32982). The Association suggested that “the government has at present only felt and realized the shortage of housing that faces Europeans and Asians . . . If the position is hard to

⁵ Kichwele Street is now called Uhuru Street.

Europeans and Asians, it is more serious to Africans” (*ibid.*). Yet while the Provincial Commissioner conceded that there was a shortage of African housing, he also asserted that the Asian zone was “grossly overcrowded” and therefore an equally urgent problem (*ibid.*). Furthermore, since there was “no policy of segregation of races . . . the compulsory removal of Asians from Zone 3 would conflict with present policy” (*ibid.*). Little attention continued to be paid to Zone 2 in spite of the problems in this area.

Yet the government still refused to sanction the renting or leasing of rooms or houses by natives to non-natives in Ilala and Kariakoo. In a time without racial segregation, the government’s attitude often wavered. Asians could not be expelled from Zone 3 but efforts could be made to discourage them from entering Zone 3. The issue of Asians in African areas continued in 1947 when only 20 of 1000 Asians living there had permission to do so (TNA 36707). Again, as Hansen (1997) points out, this number is likely an undercount. The Labor Commissioner recommended evicting these Asians but also providing them with temporary housing. Since no policy of racial segregation existed, the government was unable to approve this recommendation until after an investigation of its legality.

The model housing scheme that was begun in 1944 had lasting effects on housing in other parts of the city. Since the government sanctioned this pilot project, it was impossible to simultaneously construct temporary homes to alleviate the housing shortage (TNA 32982). In addition, Africans complained about the location of the model village. Africans desired a location closer to the City Center, perhaps in

Zone 2, since they were prohibited from owning “wheeled transport” (*ibid.*). Even though the poorest Africans had salaries of only thirty shillings per month, rents in the model village were between ten and fifteen shillings per month (TNA 540 27/19). Though the intent of this model village was to improve the standard of living for Africans, its rent prevented most natives, especially those with the most pressing need, from living there.

Eventually the government agreed to consider temporary African housing, which it already provided for Europeans. Yet by 1948, Africans living in these temporary homes, located in Ilala, complained that the latrines were full, the kitchens were too small, poor construction allowed in rain and thieves, the open space was flooded, and there were no shopping facilities (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). Later in 1948, the government decided to lease empty land to Africans, allowing them to construct their own houses. The decision to allow temporary housing stemmed from the government’s reluctance to build a new settlement in Magomeni. Although space was available there, homes in Ilala were contiguous to existing African areas. Again, this temporary approach to housing seems strange. In the face of a substantial housing crisis, the government focused on building pilot homes rather than housing the African population. Although the focus on service provision is admirable, it makes little sense if a large portion of the population has no home to be provided with services.

In 1949, the government finally seemed to realize the extent of the housing shortage for Africans. The Municipal African Affairs Officer estimated the need at

3,000 homes (TNA 36707). The possibility to meet this need was non-existent, with only 79 temporary and 134 permanent homes available and plans for the construction of only 152 more that year. The government worked on demarcating additional plots, with 34 completed in Ilala and 365 slated for completion in Chang'ombe (*ibid.*). The great distance between the City Center and Chang'ombe caused the government to recommend constructing additional homes in Kinondoni; even though space was available in Magomeni, it still was not considered. In the early 1950's, however, the government relented and developed this area for African housing. Previously, the government believed the inclusion of Oyster Bay in the township boundaries would improve the housing situation for Africans but officials realized that it actually negatively affected the situation; new home construction was simply increasing the number of Africans seeking employment in the city as servants (*ibid.*).

In 1950, the government began new home construction in Temeke, an area adjacent to Chang'ombe (TNA 540 27/19). Of the 600 homes planned for that year and the next, it decided to locate half of them in Temeke. Yet Temeke suffered from a low occupancy rate due to its distance from workplaces in town and the city's amenities including the cinema, beer hall, and markets. One particular complaint was that the last bus traveling from the city's community center to Temeke left at 9 PM, making it impossible to return home after an evening in the city. Another complaint was that Temeke had few services of its own, lacking even a school or electricity. In spite of these problems, rents were higher in Temeke than in Ilala; a two-roomed home rented for twenty-seven shillings in Ilala and thirty-five shillings in Temeke

while a three-roomed home rented for forty-five and fifty-two shillings respectively (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19).

Service provision in Zone 3 continued to be poor in 1953. The government expressed concern that permitting pit latrines in each house would require each home to be connected to the city's water supply and also necessitate the construction of septic tanks (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). Officials excused this lack of services by suggesting that Africans were unable to afford and maintain permanent western style buildings (*ibid.*). The Town Clerk said that "insistence on high standards can only be detrimental to our aim of housing the homeless" (*ibid.*). This belief is reminiscent of the mentality behind the 'Segregation of Races' file in the TNA; the government used racist beliefs to segregate the city. The District Commissioner did recognize the fallacy of this assumption. He suggested that Africans were resentful of European housing at Oyster Bay and Asian housing at Chang'ombe (*ibid.*). They were jealous not of the type of house but of the services provided there such as roads, water, electricity, and sanitation. He suggested that it was more important to provide services than to focus on permanent houses with few amenities.

Still even though the Commissioner advocated better service provision, it was not always implemented. By 1953, only some homes in Magomeni had a bathroom and latrine (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). More so, this area had over 10,000 residents and only one public water point (*ibid.*). The government again assigned blame rather than taking action; it said that the absence of funding for the construction of water mains prevented water provision. The government hoped to allot money for water mains by

late 1953, proving that even when services were actually promised to Zone 3, the timetable was slow. In Ilala, the government estimated that wiring less than four hundred homes for electricity would take several months and the actual provision of electricity even longer (*ibid.*).

Until the early 1950's, the government hesitated to develop African housing in Magomeni because of its distance from town, and by 1954 there were two hundred vacant homes there. More than just its distance, Africans were unable to live in this area since the minimum income required of its residents was one hundred shillings per month (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). As referenced above, in 1950, three-roomed homes rented for less than half this amount in other parts of the city. At the same time that parts of Magomeni had vacancies, other parts of the city were overcrowded. To house this ever-growing population, an additional 2,200 plots were laid out in Magomeni for self-build homes.

As a way to increase the population of Magomeni, the Commissioner for Development and Housing gave permission in 1954 for welfare officers to use an empty government home for a welfare center (TNA Acc. 225, DC 3621, Volume 2). Associated with this action, the government attempted to improve service provision. By July of that year, there were two water kiosks and a request for a third. In addition, the government considered improving the roads. Yet this improvement scheme did not cover the entire Magomeni area. The area still suffered from poor drainage, a collapsing toilet block, and absence of a cinema and shops. Eventually the government addressed some of these problems in Magomeni. It constructed a

football pitch, opened a market and school, and began construction on a shopping area and a new road for bus service (*ibid.*). Rents were reduced so that a three-room house cost twenty-nine shillings per month (*ibid.*).

As these examples from Magomeni illustrate, the British Administration placed a greater emphasis on the development of Dar es Salaam after 1940 by providing more services to its residents. Unfortunately not all residents benefited equally from these policies. Europeans still received the best type of treatment while Africans often lived without basic amenities. Even when African areas did receive services, often their scope and quality was inferior to services in other parts of the city. Like the earlier period of the Mandate, Asians were largely ignored. Through this series of actions, and in many instances inaction, the government instituted a policy of racial segregation that separated the city on physical and mental lines. At independence, these patterns did not disappear.

Conclusions

During my research in contemporary Dar es Salaam, several people told me that the city is not racially segregated. Instead, they proudly proclaimed, they can live anywhere they want as long as they can afford it. To them the city might be segregated economically or by social class but not racially. These statements remind me of the colonial policies described in this chapter. As the British government detailed in its file ‘Segregation of Races,’ true segregation violated the League of Nations Mandate. Instead of having formal policies, the government instead used

backdoor policies to achieve the same landscape. One of these policies involved economics; the government could not prevent Asians or Africans from living in the new Oyster Bay suburb but it could require all residents there to build and maintain western style flush toilets. The lack of financial ability for most Africans therefore prevented them from living in this suburb. So like contemporary Dar es Salaam, anyone could live anywhere as long as they could afford it. In reply to the proud declarations that Dar es Salaam is not racially segregated, I asked them to count the number of Africans living on the Msasani Peninsula or the number of Europeans living in the City Center. Anyone can live anywhere but that does not mean they choose to live outside of their historical racial zones.

In spite of efforts to change the racial composition of Dar es Salaam, the city still resembles its past. As Kleist Sykes told me, “Africans are not apartment dwellers”. They need space to cook their meals over charcoal stoves and space to pound their grains into flour for homemade breads. Even though the Building Acquisition Act allowed Africans to live in City Center apartments and ocean-front homes, within several years many people returned to the areas of Dar es Salaam that they knew and preferred. According to Mascarenhas (1966), the first African moved to Oyster Bay in 1959, but this man did not open the floodgates of social mobility. Simply being able to afford to live among a different race does not mean that today the races are mixed. Schneider (1965: 76-77) suggests that:

In the 1960's with 'Uhuru' a reality for independent Tanganyika, ethnic groupings are no longer the sole basis of residential differentiation. Income and education increasingly count as major factors influencing the distribution. Senior African officials, rich Indian merchants and European diplomats live as neighbors in the select Oyster Bay district. Today, Indian and African alike are adopting European or Anglo-Saxon concepts of social status. However, the process of social and geographical realignment as it affects residential areas is a slow one, and the old pattern of ethnically and culturally distinct housing areas can still be traced.

I argue that what Schneider observed in the early years of independence was not maintained. Although the role of class in patterns of residence and urban activity cannot be completely ignored, I propose that race is the most important determining factor. Today, Dar es Salaam is three cities within one city. The history of racial segregation has persisted and created a city of divisions, both physically and socially. As Christopher recognizes, simply demolishing the racial barriers of segregation does not erase the "heritage of racially based politics" (1992: 95). The remainder of this dissertation explores contemporary Dar es Salaam to understand whether these racial divisions have been erased or whether they still persist. Chapter 4 details the methodology used in this research and Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present findings from current residents of Dar es Salaam. These findings clearly show that in spite of efforts by the independent government to erase racial segregation, the policies of the German and British governments are very visible. This history of physical and social segregation, especially those policies that privileged Europeans at the expense of Asians and Africans, still affects Dar es Salaam's urban form.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology and Urbanism in Dar es Salaam.

The three previous chapters lay the foundation for the remaining chapters of this dissertation. Chapter 1 outlines an approach to this study on Dar es Salaam, considering it not just as a segregated or colonial city but as a neo-colonial city. Chapter 2 provides a brief history of the city, focusing specifically on historical events related to patterns of urbanism and segregation. Chapter 3 uses archival material to describe how German and British colonial policies created a racially segregated Dar es Salaam. The remaining chapters consider contemporary Dar es Salaam, East Africa's "emerging metropolis" (British Institute in Eastern Africa 2002). Although the city is the site of significant growth and change, this dissertation examines whether patterns of segregation remain unchanged. More than looking to see if these patterns persist, this dissertation is also concerned with why they persist. Why do residents of Dar es Salaam choose patterns of urban life that closely resemble patterns from colonially segregated Dar es Salaam? I consider these patterns of urban life to include regular activities performed in the city such as food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation as well as the actual location of residence.

This chapter discusses the methodology used to uncover these patterns and also presents a case-study on urbanism, focusing on perceptions of safety and security. By looking closely at how expatriates, Asians, and Africans view their personal safety, it is possible to begin to see major differences between these groups. Not only do they have differing patterns of urban life, their actual lives differ as well. In the next sections, I explain the multi-method qualitative research design used in

this dissertation. This chapter also situates this research in a broader context. In considering why specific urban life patterns exist, this dissertation looks generally at life in the city. Yet I do not take a sense of place approach. As Ekinsmyth and Shurmer-Smith (2002) point out, the idea that a sense of place exists is enticing but wrongly assumes that each place has just one soul or character. Instead, they argue that each place has multiple meanings; a dominant space for one person is a space in which another is dominated. Likewise, in this research on Dar es Salaam, perceptions of the city vary between groups. This idea of multiple meanings and interpretations is crucial for this dissertation and will be explored later in this chapter in the case study on urban safety.

In this chapter, as well as those that follow, I break up larger discussions on methodology and research results with short ‘notes from the field’ that provide glimpses into urban life in Dar es Salaam. Certainly this idea of including personal experiences and anecdotes is not new; Richa Nagar (1995; 1997) uses it quite effectively in her writings on South Asians in Dar es Salaam. These notes were collected during my entire fieldwork experience, both during official research activities and during personal time. My urban experiences included shopping and relaxing at Western-style malls, eating Indian food at my favorite restaurant in Upanga, and staring out numerous bus and taxi windows to observe differences between areas. I also engaged in more serious observations, participating in a US Embassy sponsored city tour and touring an Ithna’sheria mosque. All of these experiences combined to add insight to my research. Through my observations, I

collected what I call a 'geography of everyday experience,' a term inspired by Ley (1983). In this way, my wanderings and observations are similar to fieldwork activities best described by Ford (2001) as lurking. Lurking takes advantages of research opportunities in unexpected situations, embracing a flexible approach to complex urban areas.

Reflecting on my field experience, I am reminded of an outdated calendar that hangs in my office. Brought back from Malawi, it boasts a seemingly strange phrase: *Feel the Taste of Malawi*. There have been many good laughs over this phrase; how can one feel the taste of anything? Yet in a way, that is what my notes from the field attempt to do. They cannot replicate my experiences since fieldwork is such a unique and personal process but they can offer a taste or a touch of life in the crazy and colorful place that is Dar es Salaam. These notes present aspects of urbanism – of a way of life – in Dar es Salaam.

Methodology

Having already established that Dar es Salaam has a long history of segregation, established first by the German Colonial Government and continued and expanded by the British Administration, the following chapters examine the city today. This research considers whether segregation persists in Dar es Salaam. If it does persist, has it extended beyond residential areas into other facets of everyday life? To answer these questions, I collected data from three groups in Dar es Salaam: Expatriates (the contemporary equivalent of the colonial European category), Asians

(specifically Tanzanians of Asian Descent), and Africans. I asked respondents to identify where in the city they lived and where they went for various activities, including shopping and recreation. I conducted in-depth interviews with a sub-set of my respondents to better understand their decision making processes. Using this information, I produced spatial representations of the daily lives of residents of Dar es Salaam. By comparing these maps to maps of the three colonial building zones, it is possible to see how these patterns have persisted and evolved over time. To further understand how these people perceive and experience their city, I asked all respondents to draw a mental map of Dar es Salaam. These maps are discussed in detail in Chapter 8. All of this research was conducted with approval from the Human Subjects Committee at the University of Kansas.

This research methodology is qualitative in nature. Jacobs (1993) reviews the increasing number of qualitative approaches to urban research, including research areas related to this dissertation such as race, segregation, and hybrid cities. Lees (2002) builds off these ideas, suggesting that the strength of contemporary urban geography is its ability to blend the material with the immaterial. This dissertation takes this rematerializing approach to urban geography by looking not only at the physical form of Dar es Salaam but by also considering the social effects of segregation and the various ways in which people conceive of their city. Yet as Lees (2003) makes clear, it is not simply enough to declare the intent to utilize qualitative methods. Instead, geographers must both use these methods in their urban research

and offer critical discussions of them. It is for this reason that I include this chapter's in-depth outline of my research methods.

It is important to make clear that I do not use qualitative methods simply because they are advocated or considered 'fashionable.' Rather I use these methods because they are the most appropriate for this study. Urban geographers promote qualitative methods for many reasons, most importantly their unique ability to provide insight into the complicated nature of cities. These methods allow researchers to "explore some of the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes shaping our social worlds" (Dwyer and Limb 2001: 1). By engaging with these complexities rather than ignoring them, qualitative methods allow the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the city by recognizing that a variety of perspectives and perceptions exist toward it. Since this research considers the various perceptions toward Dar es Salaam by urban residents, these methods are particularly appropriate. In addition, another reason for using this type of research methodology is the unavailability of quantitative data. To complete a quantitative study on segregation in Dar es Salaam, I would need access to census data at the ward level. This data is simply not available. Although the government conducted a census in 2002, the data for Dar es Salaam looks at municipality and ward populations, broken down only by gender; no information on race or ethnicity is publicly available.

A benefit of qualitative methods is that they help to achieve a deep understanding of places. I am not, however, ascertaining that I have a complete and

total knowledge of the city. Ten months of fieldwork, while extensive, is nowhere near enough time to see every corner of the city, hear the story of every resident, or to truly experience the intricacies of daily life. Though I may not have a complete understanding of the city, I do have an understanding of the complexities of urban life. Dar es Salaam is many things to many people. It is a modern town, with skyscrapers and plans for a rapid transit bus system. It is also an Indian town, with smells of curries and women dressed in saris. At the same time it is an African city, with sights and sounds of informal trading and the vibrant street life one would expect in any African country. In many ways, Dar es Salaam is three cities in one, and it is this complexity that provides an interesting setting for research.

Research Scale

This research on patterns of urban life and urban segregation could be conducted on a variety of scales within Dar es Salaam. The structure of the city government is rather complicated and provides several research possibilities. The city itself is divided into three municipalities: Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke. Figure 4.1 shows the location of these municipalities within the city. These municipalities are further subdivided into divisions, which are subdivided into wards, which are subdivided into subwards. I identified wards as the ideal scale for several reasons. Dar es Salaam's seventy-three wards, including population from the 2002 census, are included in Table 4.1. First, these wards are well-known by residents of Dar es Salaam. In many ways, these serve as social identifiers for their inhabitants, in much

Figure 4.1. Dar es Salaam Municipalities.

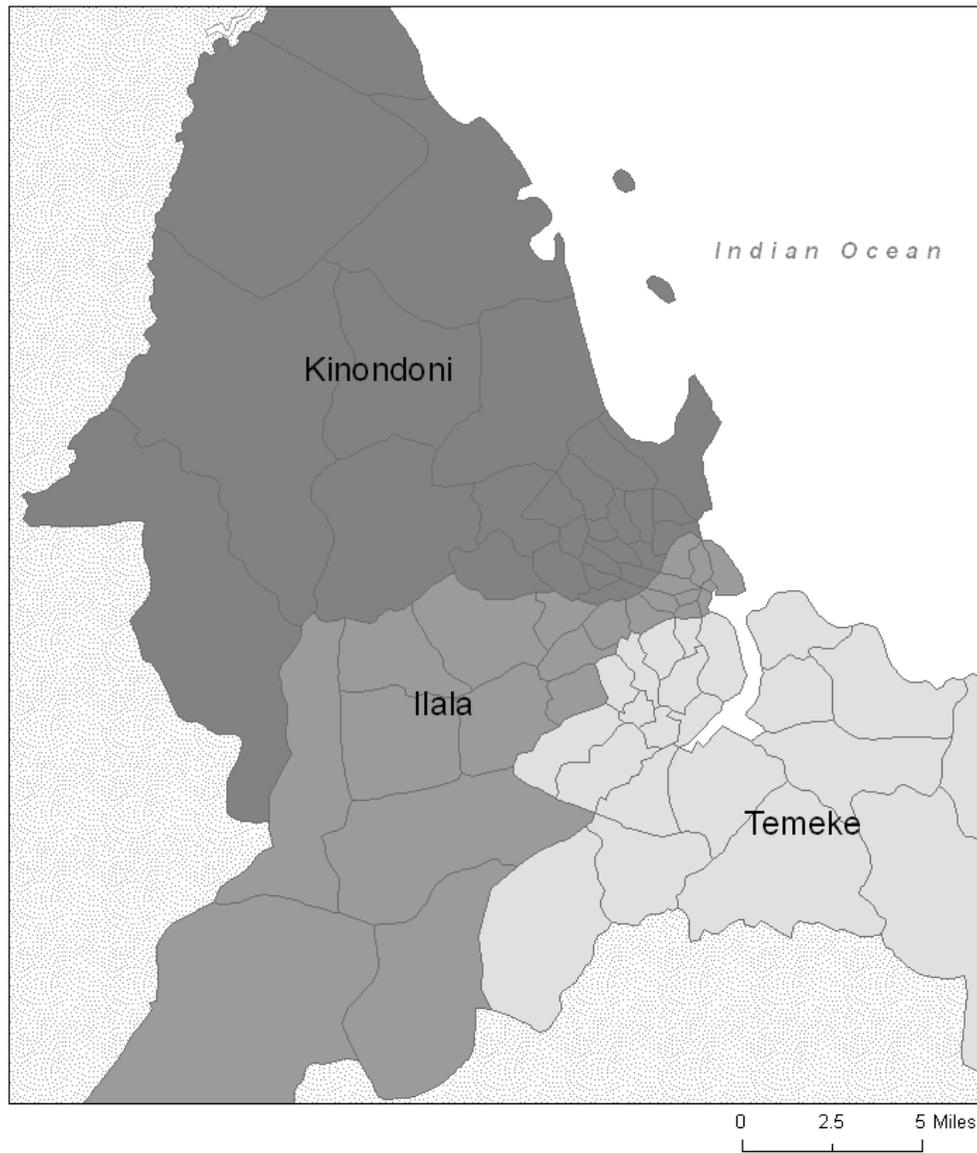


Table 4.1. Dar es Salaam Wards and Population.

Ilala	Kinondoni	Temeke
Buguruni (67,028)	Bunju (20,868)	Azimio (61,182)
Chanika (23,450)	Goba (8,517)	Chamazi (8,313)
Gerezani (5,599)	Hanasif (32,023)	Chang'ombe (19,452)
Ilala (32,799)	Kawe (94,535)	Charambe (83,401)
Jangwani (15,722)	Kibamba (17,998)	Keko (32,249)
Kariakoo (9,405)	Kigogo (37,964)	Kibada (3,305)
Kinyerezi (5,811)	Kijitonyama (47,096)	Kigamboni (36,701)
Kipawa (49,456)	Kimara (66,288)	Kimbiji (3,673)
Kisutu (6,365)	Kinondoni (21,489)	Kisarawe II (4,263)
Kitunda (23,428)	Kunduchi (72,927)	Kurasini (34,501)
Kivukoni (4,826)	Mabibo (73,978)	Makangarawe (42,332)
Kiwalani (61,960)	Magomeni (22,616)	Mbagala (70,290)
Mchafukoge (7,664)	Makuburi (34,633)	Mbagala Kuu (69,823)
Mchikichini (19,463)	Makumbusho (55,702)	Miburani (41,176)
Msongola (7,315)	Makurumla (53,794)	Mji Mwema (9,087)
Pugu (14,652)	Manzese (66,866)	Mtoni (47,952)
Segerea (75,821)	Mbezi (32,641)	Pemba Mnazi (5,190)
Tabata (46,228)	Mburahati (21,608)	Sandali (39,136)
Ukongwa (75,014)	Mbweni (3,475)	Somangira (10,799)
Upanga Magharibi (9,259)	Mikocheni (27,283)	Tandika (42,014)
Upanga Mashariki (7,385)	Msasani (43,457)	Temeke (27,848)
Vingunguti (68,923)	Mwananyamala (44,531)	Toangoma (13,641)
	Mzimuni (25,283)	Vijibweni (5,197)
	Ndugumbi (37,429)	Yombo Vituka (59,975)
	Sinza (36,469)	
	Tandale (45,058)	
	Ubungo (44,339)	

(Government of Tanzania 2002).

the same way as neighborhoods in New York City such as Soho or Greenwich Village. Second, the spatial extents of these wards are both fixed and readily available, making it possible to visually represent my data. For this representation, I used existing shapefiles of the city's wards, which I obtained from government offices, to create maps using geographic information systems (GIS). Third, information at the ward level is much less intrusive than information at the subward or even street level. Especially for many members of the Asian community, there is a reluctance to disclose personal information to outsiders.

The collection of ward level data was not entirely without problems. In particular, difficulties rose with three areas of the city. The first is the area commonly referred to as the 'City Center.' This part of town is actually comprised of three wards: Kisutu, Kivukoni, and Mchafukoge. Admittedly, I was unaware of this fact until after I returned to the United States and began mapping my survey results. Although I knew that the Kisutu and Kivukoni areas existed, I still thought about the City Center as one large entity. Especially as a resident of this area, I was accustomed to thinking about it as one place. In fact, even the city's signs labeled this area in this way, as shown in Photograph 4.1.

Obviously my survey respondents thought about the city in the same way; answers to my written and oral surveys were always either City Center, town, *mjini* (in the city), or *posta* (the city's main bus station, located at the main post office). For some responses, I do know the specific ward either through personal knowledge or aerial photographs; for example the Kisutu Market is located in Kisutu Ward and



Photograph 4.1. Dar es Salaam City Center Sign. Photograph by author.

the Holiday Inn is located in Kivukoni Ward but responses of *duka* (store) are too vague to locate. For that reason, I consider these three wards as one composite ward in my data analysis. Thus, when I talk about the City Center, it is this agglomeration of Kisutu, Kivukoni, and Mchafukoge wards.

A second problem with ward level data involves the Upanga area. This area actually encompasses two wards: Upanga Magharibi and Upanga Mashariki (Upanga West and Upanga East). Since responses to my surveys always indicated just Upanga, I consider these areas as one in my analysis. Unlike the City Center, my lack of familiarity with Upanga prevents me from identifying the specific location of most responses. Only the popular entertainment venue, Diamond Jubilee Hall, is easily located on aerial photographs.

The third problem with ward level data is slightly more problematic. Mbagala and Mbagala Kuu (Central Mbagala) are separate but adjacent wards. Responses to my surveys simply listed Mbagala so I refer to them jointly as Mbagala in my

analysis. The problematic part of this ward concerns *Soko la Rangi Tatu*, the market I have written about at length. For most Tanzanians, *Rangi Tatu* and Mbagala are identified as the same place. *Daladalas* to this part of town are even labeled ‘MB / *Rangi 3*’ as shown in Photograph 4.2. For further confirmation of this association between Mbagala and the market, I can turn to my experiences in oral surveys. *Rangi Tatu* is one of the city’s most popular destinations for secondhand clothing shopping. When a respondent replied Mbagala in response to this survey question, I generally asked if he meant *Rangi Tatu*. Often both the respondent and James, my research assistant, would laugh that I knew this obscure place and confirm that is what he meant. Yet according to Kombe and Kreibich (2000), *Rangi Tatu* is located within Charambe Ward. It is difficult to distinguish between Mbagala and Charambe in my research data so in my mapping and analysis all responses for either Mbagala or *Rangi Tatu* are considered Mbagala not Charambe. It is important to note that these wards are contiguous; Charambe is located directly south of the two Mbagala Wards.

Sampling Techniques

The next sections will detail my specific methodological approaches to each of the three groups, but first it is useful to describe my general sampling techniques. In selecting research participants, researchers can use a number of sampling techniques including extreme, typical, maximum variation, snowball, criterion, opportunistic, and convenience (Bradshaw and Stratford 2005). The best methodology, however, does not rely solely on one type of sampling but instead uses



Photograph 4.2. *Daladala* to Mbagala / Rangi Tatu. *The Guardian* November 16, 2005, Page 3.

a combination of these techniques. For this reason, my research uses a multi-sampling approach. For example, I consciously talked with expatriates at the University of Dar es Salaam and Africans living in the shadow of mansions (extreme case). I used personal contacts within Asian religious communities to increase my standing and level of access (snowball case). I remained flexible and allowed unexpected opportunities to improve my research, such as an invitation to a Sikh temple (opportunistic case). I also allowed my position as a white woman in predominantly African areas to work in my favor on the occasions that curiosity led people to approach me (convenience case). By selecting survey respondents in these

ways, my sample is not random. The use of a variety of sampling techniques, however, allows for the inclusion of respondents from a variety of backgrounds.

More than recognizing the usefulness of nonrandom samples, this qualitative dissertation is not concerned with sample size. The goal for qualitative methods is not a representative sample but rather a meaningful sample. So although I set personal research goals, I was more concerned with the quality of my information than the quantity of survey respondents. To ensure the quality of my sample, I can substantiate my findings with personal observations. For example, the majority of my expatriate respondents live in Msasani Ward, on the Msasani Peninsula. Through my social and personal time in the city, the overwhelming majority of expatriates I met lived in this area. Although my research is not particularly random or totally representative, I believe that my methods and data acknowledge the complexity of urban life and begin to shed light on it.

Expatriate Methodology

Within Dar es Salaam's expatriate community I distributed a written, English-language survey. This survey is included as Appendix 1 and contained three parts. The first part collected basic demographic information about where people live and work, their family size, and the amenities of their homes. The second part requested respondents to identify the name and location of places they frequent for shopping and recreation activities. For both of these parts, I requested general locations. I was not interested in street address (which admittedly few people know) but rather the

general location of each place. The third part asked respondents to complete a simple mental mapping exercise. They were provided a piece of paper with short instructions and asked to draw their personal map of Dar es Salaam.

I distributed one-hundred paper copies of my survey to expatriates associated with three organizations: the Corona Society, the Diplomatic Spouses Group (DSG), and the US Embassy. I also distributed electronic copies to members of the DSG and employees of the Belgian Embassy.⁶ A final sampling method involved distributing surveys to acquaintances, including students at the University of Dar es Salaam, employees at Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and other Americans not affiliated with the US Embassy. All of these methods resulted in fifty survey responses from the expatriate group. Since the majority of my respondents came from the Corona Society, the DSG and the US Embassy, the next few paragraphs describe these organizations in more detail.

The Corona Society is a world-wide organization that originated as a dining club for British colonial officers. It evolved into a women's group associated with the colonial government (likely as spouses since few if any women actually worked for the government) and in 1960 opened its membership to all women living overseas. Beginning in 1962, the Society was recognized as a charity and it is now considered an NGO by the Tanzanian government. As such, it works to establish "good relations

⁶ Though this distribution at the Belgian Embassy may seem out of place, it is not. I met the Belgian Ambassador's wife through the DSG and she offered assistance beyond simply filling out my survey herself.

with local women and communities where useful volunteer work is done to support local projects through fundraising and practical help” (Corona Tanzania 2004: 1).

In Dar es Salaam, Corona Society members include a variety of women, ranging from employees at embassies to ‘trailing spouses,’ a term that refers to unemployed women that accompany their husbands abroad.⁷ The Society meets once each month for a coffee hour at the Sea Cliff Hotel, an ocean-front hotel on the Msasani Peninsula. In addition to the social aspect of these coffee mornings, the meetings also include a speaker covering some aspect of Tanzanian culture. At a meeting I attended, an expatriate spoke of her experiences assisting Maasai women in Northern Tanzania in establishing income generating businesses. The Society also holds an annual crafts bazaar every December to raise money for local charities.

Notes from the Field: Corona Women.

I interacted with Corona Society members in various ways. I attended its annual holiday bazaar, a monthly meeting, and a Newcomer’s Orientation Meeting. From these events, I became acquainted with several members and was able to sit down with them for follow-up interviews after they completed my survey. I was welcomed into their homes, fed homemade foods, loaned books, and given rides to bus stops. These women also invited me to go on a group beach outing in Mjimwema Ward. I spent a day relaxing with them while playing a game of Pictionary and enjoying Indian food. Through all of these experiences, I was welcomed into this aspect of expatriate life and treated warmly, often like a daughter.

⁷ Although in the case of the Corona Society, these spouses are female, the term can also refer to men.

The DSG is open to spouses, male and female, of employees of foreign embassies and International Organizations, such as the World Bank and United Nations. This group has been in existence since at least 1977, when it was called the Diplomatic Wives Group and open only to wives of Ambassadors. It was not until 1983 that wives of other officials were allowed to join the group and not until 1998 was membership open to male spouses. In many respects this organization is similar to the Corona Society. It raises money for local organizations through an annual charity bazaar and meets once a month. Like the Corona meetings, the DSG meetings contain a mix of socializing and education. At a meeting I attended, held at the home of the Irish Ambassador, a speaker detailed the results of educational programming broadcast over radios purchased and distributed by the group. Since the meeting occurred the week before St. Patrick's Day, an Irish band played traditional music.

My position as a Fulbright researcher granted me greater access to the US Embassy than the traditional American tourist. After attending a security briefing, the Embassy issued me a badge. Like employees, both American and Tanzanian, this badge allowed me access to the Embassy compound during business hours. In addition, the badge allowed me to bypass some of the Embassy's security, including multiple metal detectors and an x-ray machine, and permitted me to walk unattended inside the grounds and buildings; people without badges must be accompanied by a staff member at all times. This unrestricted access allowed me to befriend some of the Embassy's approximately fifty American and hundreds of Tanzanian employees

while eating lunch in the cafeteria, selecting books in the library, or cashing checks at the bank.

Notes from the Field: The American Embassy

In 1998, a bomb exploded outside the US Embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, Kenya. Although few Americans remember the bombings, most Tanzanians have yet to forget. One day, I walked out of the Embassy with the Tanzanian staff member who coordinates the Fulbright program. She stopped walking abruptly outside of the compound walls when she saw a water tanker parked on the street. A native of Dar es Salaam, she vividly remembers that the 1998 bomb exploded from within a tanker truck. As a result of this terrorist act, today's US Embassy is a fortress. There are multiple layers of security for visitors: 2 metal detectors, three separate security guard stations, an x-ray machine for bags, and a steel door that can only be unlocked by an armed marine stationed behind bullet proof glass. As a cleared researcher, my entrance was much simpler but it was always disconcerting to breeze pass a long line of Tanzanians waiting for their visa interviews. These walls do more than keep the 'bad guys' out; they also keep the Americans in. Within these walls is American soil; a place where anyone with a badge can get a hamburger and french fries, have a drink at the weekly Marine-operated bar, and speak only English.

I identified the majority of my expatriate respondents, thirty-nine out of fifty, from the Corona Society, the DSG, and the US Embassy. The remaining eleven came from personal relationships: for example a mutual friend's father, co-workers of friends, and my travel agent. All of my respondents come from a wide range of backgrounds but these expatriate respondents share some common characteristics. They are overwhelmingly female, an inevitable outcome from my connections to the Corona Society and the DSG; although I made concentrated efforts to survey men, only ten of my respondents are male. Though my respondents cover a range of

nationalities – in fact originally from eighteen different countries – only thirteen are from outside of the United States and Western Europe. Of these, only four are not white and all are originally from Asian countries. Interestingly, the written survey responses of my non-white respondents do not differ from my white respondents. In this way, the race and ethnicity of expatriates matters little; rather what is important is that they are expatriates. As expatriates, they are of upper-class economic status in Dar es Salaam.

Asian Methodology

For the Asian group, I used a written survey similar to that distributed to expatriates; it was written in English and contained three parts. This survey is included as Appendix 2. I purposefully chose to distribute this survey in English rather than Kiswahili and encountered no situation where a respondent was unable to understand this language. On three occasions, respondents spoke fluent English but requested that I read the questions aloud and write down their responses. I did update this survey version through the addition and deletion of some questions. For example in the first part, I requested information on religion, ethnic background, and locations of previous residences within Dar es Salaam. In asking for religion, I was able to ensure that I surveyed members of all three major religions for Asians in Dar es Salaam: Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Allowing respondents to list their ethnic background, in conjunction with the questions on religion and nationality, provided them the opportunity to self-identify. As discussed in Chapter 3, race is a

complicated issue. In asking for this information, I allowed my respondents to classify themselves. I also asked for previous residences in Dar es Salaam, in recognition of the fact that many Asians have lived in Dar es Salaam for extended periods of time. This question allowed me to see long-term patterns in life, from childhood to the present day. I also omitted questions in the second part for two reasons. First, I wanted to make this survey shorter. Unlike the expatriate community respondents, I anticipated that most Asians are employed in small shops with long workdays and therefore unable to dedicate too much time to answering my survey questions. Second, I determined that some shopping activities, such as for small appliances or stationery, were done too infrequently to influence a person's everyday life.

In spite of my efforts to make my survey as accessible as possible, I still had a lower than expected response rate. Out of approximately 125 distributed copies, I received 40 responses. I encountered a general reluctance from members of this group to participate in my research. Some people refused outright to fill out my survey while others personally participated but refused to help identify other respondents. Since I assumed that part of this reluctance was due to my race, I recruited intermediaries to provide me with some standing within Asian communities. In some cases this was a successful tool but with the Bohora and Ismaili Muslim communities, it was a failure.

I recruited two 'middlemen' to help distribute surveys within the Bohora Community, both of whom work at the US Embassy. One of these men filled out a

survey himself but his peers found the questions too personal, even though the survey was anonymous. Specifically, they objected to the question concerning their internet access at home. Since this man was just twenty-five when he completed the survey, I suspected his youth played a role in these refusals. I then approached an older Bohora man, hoping his position as an elder in the community might provide more responses. Although he promised to deliver surveys on several occasions, he never did. It is impossible to know whether he also encountered resistance to my research, whether he simply kept forgetting to bring me completed forms, or whether he practiced the Tanzanian method of apologetic delaying and postponing rather than a rude, outright refusal.

I attempted to locate a similar ‘middleman’ in the Ismaili religious community. My search eventually led to a secretary in the mosque’s Council Office. This secretary arranged a meeting for me with the director of the Aga Khan Foundation, the development agency of this religious group. The director approved my research and survey format and agreed to personally distribute copies within the Ismaili community. He asked for thirty survey copies and assured me that these would be filled out and returned quickly. Yet after several weeks, he received no responses and claimed that some mosque members protested the invasive questions and others expressed their displeasure over the involvement of the mosque in outside research. Although the director did not feel the information was too personal, especially since no name was required, other members of his community obviously did.

It is difficult to know exactly what caused this hesitancy of Bohoras and Ismailis to complete my survey. Another Asian, a Goan, suggested that perhaps groups hesitated to be compared to each other; the Ismaili Community is often considered to be the wealthiest of all Asians in Tanzania so perhaps they feared my research would, or would not, reflect that. Asians from several communities were not surprised by the unwillingness of Bohora and Ismaili Muslims to participate in my research since these two communities are stereotypically closed off and private. It is also possible that there was a general reluctance to talk to me since I am not Asian. Whatever the reason, I believe that no other actions could have increased my rate of return from these two groups.

Even if I could not have done much else to increase my data, does the lack of information from certain groups limit my results? It is possible that the lack of Ismaili data is somewhat limiting. Morris (1956) suggests that the Ismaili leader, the Aga Khan, encouraged followers in East Africa to disassociate from their Indian habits and patterns of life in order to prevent discrimination and other hardships. For this reason, it is possible that Ismaili responses might resemble those of expatriates. In spite of any problems I encountered, I still have representation of the three main religions among Asians in Dar es Salaam: Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. In addition, I can supplement these returns with observations collected during my ten months of fieldwork.

Another potential limitation comes from combining these Asian groups together. Although they do share commonalities, these groups do have a history of

self-segregation. As Campbell (1999a) suggests, the Ismaili Community led the way in establishing community services including medical facilities, a development fund, and secular education eventually prompting other communities to follow suit. So for many Asians life became “increasingly rooted in their physically bounded ‘community’ and its segregated institutions (schools, clinics and so on) defined increasingly, though not yet exclusively, in terms of ethnicity, religion, and sect” (Campbell 1999a: 179). I explore this issue further in Chapter 6 but based on my findings and research by Nagar (1995), I believe that it is reasonable to consider these groups as one since they share similar patterns of urban life.

The above discussions on research difficulties and limitations should not suggest that I did not also have success stories. I did receive survey responses from forty Asians. Primarily these Asians are Hindu, Christian, Muslim, and Sikh. In these cases, I also used a middleman but with more luck. With each of these communities, I successfully located a respected group member to introduce me to others and to give my research credibility. For example, one Hindu woman presented me with a hand-written note to serve as an introduction. The use of a middleman was perhaps the most successful in the Goan Christian community. I was able to spend a significant amount of time with members of this community, primarily at their social institution. This interaction certainly aided my research and helped inform me about this community. Though it is difficult to know why I was welcomed into this community, it is likely due to religion. Though I never identified my personal religious beliefs, many probably assumed I was Christian.

Notes from the Field: The Dar Institute.

The Dar Institute holds a special place in my heart. Not only could I see it from my kitchen window but I spent many hours listening to the music pulsing from its speakers on Friday nights and holidays. Some of these hours were spent eating curries with the Goan members of the Institute and others were spent trying unsuccessfully to fall asleep to a strange mix of songs. Though the Institute is a members-only club, I went as a regular guest of the Goan Fulbright Coordinator at the US Embassy. It was at the Institute that I observed first-hand social relations within the community and witnessed one of the most memorable sights of my fieldwork: a children's Christmas party that was visited not only by Santa Claus but also Spiderman, clowns, Barney, and oddly Uncle Sam Mickey Mouse.

My research is concerned with the urban lives of Tanzanians of Asian Descent. Although I tried to limit my research to Asians born in Tanzania, I included two Asians born in India. Since both people self-identify themselves as Tanzanian nationals, I included their responses in this research. I also included three Asians born in Tanzania that listed a nationality other than Tanzanian. My ultimate goal is to understand the urban lives of Asians in the city. I feel it is important to focus on Asians that truly understand the city, whether by being Tanzania or by spending an entire life in the country.

African Methodology

For the African community, I utilized a different methodology. Rather than written surveys in English, I developed an oral survey in Kiswahili, the national language of Tanzania. I decided to use an oral approach for several reasons. First, the written survey, which I initially translated into Kiswahili, was long and I was

afraid that the length would discourage people from participating. Second, the literacy rate for Tanzanian Africans is low, measured as 69.4% in 2006 (UNDP 2006). Although all Tanzanian Africans should speak Kiswahili, not all people can read and write it. Using an oral survey therefore lessens the intimidation factor of this research. Third, an oral survey also allows respondents to ‘multi-task’. While answering my questions, people could simultaneously engage in their everyday activities. These activities ranged from setting up market stalls, to *mama ntilie* cooking food, to men playing checkers. The use of an oral survey allowed me to collect information from 326 respondents, more than my original goal.

Though I took a different research approach with Africans, I collected the same spatial information about respondents’ lives. The questions asked are included as Appendix 3. I collected basic demographic data, including ethnic group, place of birth, length of residence in Dar es Salaam, education, occupation, and location of current and previous residences in the city. A second part of the survey asked about locations frequented for food shopping, clothes shopping, and entertainment on holidays and weekends. I focused on these three activities since they were the aspects from expatriate and Asian surveys that are both regular activities and activities with a strong spatial component. A third part asked respondents to draw a mental map of the city.

Another significant difference with my methodology for Africans involved my use of a research assistant. James Nindi works as a freelance journalist covering entertainment stories while also completing his first degree at the Open University of

Tanzania. Although born in Tanga, a coastal city in northern Tanzania, he has lived in Dar es Salaam for over ten years. He also serves as a research assistant for other American researchers. In fact, I met him through another researcher and know of at least three others who completed their dissertations with his assistance. With positive recommendations from other researchers, I felt confident in his abilities. Though I asked the majority of questions myself, James was always on hand to help translate any unfamiliar Kiswahili words and to help locate potential respondents. Using his connections within the city, including his family, friends, and journalist contacts, we surpassed my research goals.

My sampling techniques differed significantly for Africans than for Asians and expatriates. Rather than finding people through organizations such as the DSG or Asian religious networks, I found respondents using the city's wards as a starting point, identifying high-priority research areas. I chose what I term high-priority research wards based on population and the city's history. For example, although Kariakoo has a low official population, it was the city's first area designated for African settlement. I also focused on urban wards; within Dar es Salaam's seventy-three wards, some peripheral areas are categorized as rural and therefore not relevant to this research. After identifying target wards, James and I visited these areas.

Notes from the Field: Buguruni.

Our research day at Buguruni is one of my fondest memories from the field. I first visited the market area on my third day in Dar es Salaam. I arrived in town on a Friday morning and spent my first Sunday traveling the city with the cousin of my initial host family. Together we went to various neighborhoods by taxi and bus and I had my first real introduction to the complexity of Dar es Salaam. Of all the places we visited, I only felt uncomfortable in one: Buguruni. I was stared at, followed, and repeatedly bumped into as pickpockets felt for valuables in my pockets. So when it came time for me to revisit the area with James, I was hesitant. We arrived and found a street near the main market area that was lined with small shops and seemed to be a busy thoroughfare. I sat on a bench near several *mama ntilie* and eventually attracted quite a crowd. I conducted many more surveys than planned, even running out of tea boxes given to African survey respondents as tokens of appreciation. In spite of the lack of reward, people lined up to talk to me. On that day I met two old women, curious toddlers, and a shop owner that gave me a thank you gift.

Our research days rarely followed a predictable schedule. On our first day of research, we traveled to Kimara where we had a difficult walk from the bus stop to the settled area because of mudslides caused by the springtime heavy rains. On another day, we planned to walk from one ward to another but changed our plans because of the strong sun's rays on my easily sunburned skin. Another morning, two well-known *bongo flava* (a Tanzanian version of rap music) musicians spent almost two hours drawing their mental maps. While waiting on them, however, I met some interesting women at a nearby tailor. During my research, we drank countless sodas, ate home-cooked meals, and were invited into respondents' homes. So although our well-formed research plans were easily waylaid, the resulting experiences were just as insightful into Dar es Salaam urban life.

Spatial Representations of Everyday Life

Using the qualitative data collected from the oral and written surveys, I produced what I term daily life maps. These maps spatially represent the extent of expatriate, Asian, and African lives in Dar es Salaam. Specifically, I produced maps of residence, food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation. These maps are included in the following chapters but one important aspect of these maps needs mentioning. I use a common legend in my daily life maps, breaking my data into four categories: 1) no respondents; 2) low; 3) medium; and 4) high. As discussed above, my research focused only on urban areas of the city with high populations or historical importance. Thus the areas of the city with no data do not indicate that they are devoid of activity but rather are not important areas of the city for my respondents. Responses were divided into low, medium, and high categories using the natural breaks system of classification. For example, the natural breaks for expatriate food shopping were low (1-4 responses), medium (15-17 responses), and high (44 responses). African clothing shopping breaks were low (1-8 responses), medium (20-47 responses), and high (236 responses). Not every map has all four categories; for example expatriate residential wards are divided only into low (1-4 responses) and high (38 responses).

Each map is accompanied by a table. In each table I list the total number of responses and the total number of respondents. In some cases the total number of responses is greater than the total number of respondents. For example, there are 341

responses for African food shopping but only 326 African respondents; some respondents shop in multiple wards.

Urbanism and Urban Perception

My research on patterns of urban segregation sheds light on the broader issues of urbanism and the perceptions of cities. An important point of this research is that patterns of urban life vary between residents of Dar es Salaam and these same residents have multiple perceptions toward their city. In order to understand how residents of Dar es Salaam perceive, experience, and understand their city, it is important to understand how they live in and navigate the city. Wirth (1938: 7) considered urbanism the “complex of traits which makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities”. Importantly, urbanism also relates to how people perceive of their surroundings. As Konings et al. (2006: 16) suggests, “...there are many ways of exploring urban people’s understandings of the structured versus unstructured spaces that the city represents to them. These spaces primarily take shape through social relations that are produced on the basis on a range of sentiments and identities that revolve around issues of belonging, of a shared history, a shared predicament, gender and age”. It is for these reasons that this research is not just concerned with patterns of urban life and patterns of segregation. Instead, the reasons and explanations behind these patterns are of equal importance.

Perceptions of Safety and Security

In this portion of the chapter, I focus on one specific aspect of urban perception and urban life: perceptions of safety and security in Dar es Salaam. I offer this as a case study to clearly indicate how the different groups perceive of their city in vastly different ways. Researchers study aspects of crime in African urban geography. For example Ndjio examines Douala, Cameroon, suggesting that the prevalence of “insecurity, violence, and terror have become the daily experience of a vast majority of city dwellers” (2007: 103). In East Africa, Nairobi is often considered to be the most dangerous city. Talking with Kenyans, it is common to hear stories of violent crime involving guns and machetes. Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, is widely thought of as a peaceful place. The city’s name is even regularly translated to mean ‘Haven of Peace’.

Of course Dar es Salaam is not free of crime but rather has a reputation for crimes of opportunity as opposed to violent crimes. Toward the end of my research, several armed robberies did occur. One of these, the robbery of Anghiti, a popular and upscale Indian restaurant, demonstrates the different attitudes of urban residents toward personal safety. This restaurant, popular with expatriates and Asians, boasts a secure parking lot. Yet on February 25, 2006, a Sunday night, it was robbed by five men. Immediately rumors flew that the robbers first took customers’ belongings and then enjoyed a leisurely drink at the bar. Later the story shifted blame on the slow response of the police to calls for help. What is most important, however, is that in the aftermath of this robbery, many expatriates hesitated to return to the restaurant for

fear of another robbery. I interviewed an expatriate woman several days after the robbery. After our interview, she had dinner plans; originally they planned to eat at Anghiti but her fear of crime convinced her to choose another venue. Within only a few days, a 'safe place' became a dangerous place and a place to be avoided.

Crime statistics collected as part of the United Nations Safer Cities Program found lower crime levels in Dar es Salaam than in South African cities but suggest that the city does have some safety issues (Robertshaw et al. 2001). In particular, urban residents experience high levels of burglary and mugging, as detailed in Table 4.2. Yet as previously mentioned, violent crime levels are much lower than these crimes of opportunity, which are often committed by the poorest members of society such as street children. As a result of these crime levels, eighty per cent of African city residents use some form of protection in their home, as depicted in Table 4.3. Some of these security measures are depicted in Photographs 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6.

Though most Africans use some type of security, only seven per cent use security guards. Interestingly, my research suggests much different levels of security precautions by expatriates and Asians. Of my expatriate respondents, all fifty have security guards. Forty-five have a twenty-four hour guard while five have an evening guard only. Of my Asian respondents, twenty-four (out of forty) have security guards; twenty-one of these are on duty twenty-four hours a day and three on duty only at night. There appears to be a greater perception of danger in Dar es Salaam by expatriates and Asians than Africans.

Table 4.2. Crime in Dar es Salaam.
Per cent of Residents Victim to Crime, 1995-2000.

Felt Unsafe at Home at Night	61 %
Victim of Burglary	43 %
Victim of Mugging	32 %
Victim of Vehicle Part Theft	19 %
Victim of Assault	16 %
Victim of Robbery	14 %
Victim of Vehicle Theft	3 %
Household Member Murdered	1 %
Victim of Carjacking	1 %

(Robertshaw et al. 2001).

Table 4.3. Residential Security in Dar es Salaam.
Per cent of Residents Using Method, 2000.

Burglar-Proofing	22 %
High Fence / Wall	14 %
Dog	13 %
Carry Weapon	12 %
Security Door	9 %
Security Guard	7 %
Neighborhood Watch	7 %
Traditional Methods	7 %
Razor Wire / Broken Bottles	6 %
Burglar Alarm	2 %
Armed Response	1 %

(Robertshaw et al. 2001).



Photograph 4.3. Electric Fence. Photograph by author.



Photograph 4.4. Barbed Wire Fence. Photograph by author.



Photograph 4.5. Glass Topped Wall. Photograph by author.



Photograph 4.6. Gated Door. Photograph by Shannon Smiley.
Used with permission.

In talking with expatriates about security, it is clear that they do not consider all parts of the city equally dangerous. Many view the City Center area as a particular threat. After one woman was the victim of an attempted mugging in town, she now limits her trips there. When it is necessary to go into the city, she drives to a secure parking lot, such as the Mövenpick Hotel, to limit her exposure to urban threats (V.C.). Not all expatriates are fearful of the city, however. One woman shared that, although she mainly shops in Msasani, it is for convenience rather than safety concerns; after living in Karachi, Pakistan and Pretoria, South Africa, she does not consider Dar es Salaam a high-crime area (D.P.).

Other areas of Dar es Salaam are also considered higher crime threats. Americans who attend a security briefing at the Embassy are provided with a booklet entitled *Safe in Dar es Salaam* (RSO 2002). It suggests ways to be safe at home, on the streets, on the road, on safari, at work, and about how to plan for emergencies. This book and the security briefing itself stress the dangers of Dar es Salaam and the importance of protective measures. In particular, the book classifies the City Center and Toure Drive, a road on the Msasani Peninsula, as high crime areas. The inclusion of Toure Drive is particularly amusing since the US Ambassador and one of the Embassy's Regional Security Officers live on this road. The end result of this booklet and the warnings of high crime in Dar es Salaam is to create a sense of fear and insecurity.

This fear is present to a much higher degree in expatriates than in Asians and Africans. These groups perceive of Dar es Salaam in different ways and these

perceptions have important connotations on their patterns of urban life. For example, Kariakoo is an extremely popular shopping destination for Asians and Africans but most expatriates avoid it based on safety concerns. Travelers are frequently advised that Kariakoo is a dangerous place. In fact, an issue of *Dar Guide* (2003: 11), a monthly publication that serves to some degree as a visitors' guide, included a section advising visitors of important sites but recommended caution for Kariakoo: "It's a lively area but take care. Its lack of glamour is part of the allure; just keep in mind that pickpockets have their heyday in the crowded streets. Comments like this convince expatriates to avoid visiting Kariakoo.

Conclusions

Significant differences exist between the styles of urban life for expatriates, Asians, and Africans. During a follow-up interview, one expatriate mentioned a newspaper article she read. It covered a man accused of killing his wife after she sold their last chicken in exchange for a week's worth of food. She earned about \$2 for the chicken and this expatriate did not understand how this small amount could purchase food for a family for an entire week. After all, she admitted that she spends more than that on a granola bar at her regular western-style supermarket in Msasani (M.E.).

The following chapters discuss my research data in more detail. Each chapter focuses on a particular group: Chapter 5 on expatriates, Chapter 6 on Asians, and Chapter 7 on Africans. Within these chapters, I discuss the groups, both in historical

and contemporary terms. These chapters also present my oral and written survey results as well as the maps that visually represent this data. These chapters demonstrate that significant differences exist between these groups in terms of urban life patterns. In fact, contemporary patterns of life closely mimic colonial patterns of segregation. Yet more than illustrating these patterns, the following chapters also explain these patterns using information collected from follow-up interviews. As this chapter suggests with information on perceptions of safety and security, these groups differ both in the locations of their daily lives as well as how they live these lives.

Chapter 5. Expatriate Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.

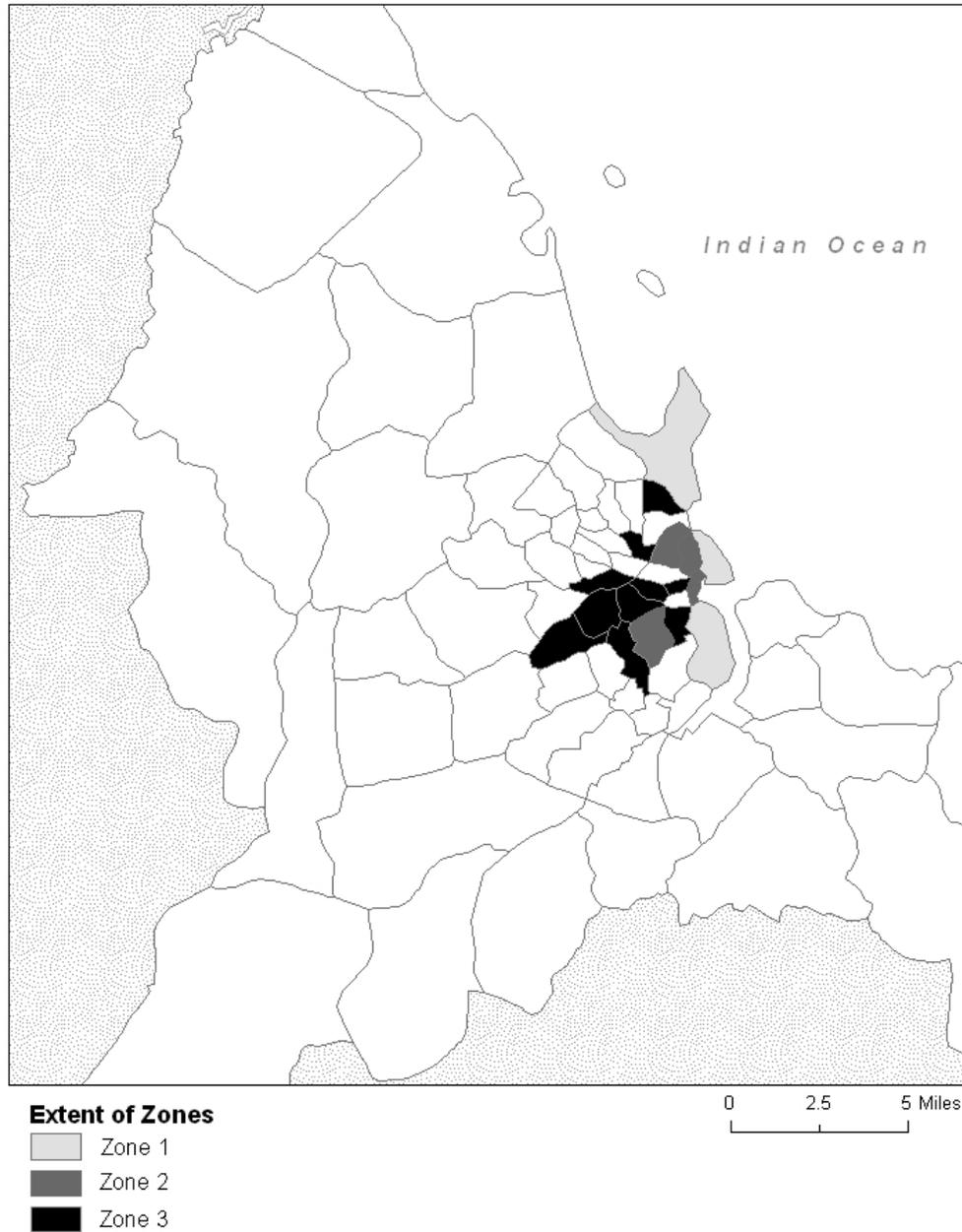
Dar es Salaam had its dives and traffic, its banks and hustle. But in the main it was laid-back, easy going. Miranda liked to go to the Salamander Café for English-style fish and chips, and to eat ice-cream at a place called the Sno-Cream Parlour. She also had become a member of something called the Yacht Club, which had a superb little private beach near her embassy-supplied house in Oyster Bay.

She'd realized a strong idea of America since coming to Africa. It was not a positive idea – since the country was too vast and complicated to be thought of in that way – but a negative one. Those shacks roofed with plastic bags, those pastel-paint signs in Swahili and broken English, that smell of wood smoke from the breakfast fires of crouched old women – those things all told her: this *isn't* home. This is far away. This is different.

-- Foden 2002: 106, 241.

Chapter 3 traced the history of segregation in Dar es Salaam, beginning with the first German Building Ordinance in 1891 and continuing through the British Mandate, a period of rule that saw the continuation of construction standards and the implementation of discriminatory policies. During the colonial era, Dar es Salaam developed into a racially segregated city, with three distinct zones for Europeans, Asians, and Africans. Figure 5.1 maps these three areas within the boundaries of contemporary Dar es Salaam. What is immediately apparent from this map is the immense spatial growth that the city experienced since its establishment as the capital of German East Africa (see Figure 2.1 for growth since 1945). The extent of the colonial building zones is just a small fraction of the current urban landscape. These boundaries are slightly misleading, however, since not all of the city's wards are urban wards, as discussed in Chapter 4. Though these peripheral wards are officially

Figure 5.1. Extent of Colonial Building Zones in Contemporary Dar es Salaam.



part of Dar es Salaam, little development occurs there. The massive expansion and sprawl of the city to date would suggest that these eventually will be urbanized.

This chapter is focused exclusively on the Colonial Zone 1, the European Quarter, and the contemporary expatriate population. As a researcher, I found this population simultaneously the most enjoyable and most foreign to investigate. The quotations at the beginning of this chapter, demonstrate this duality; though from a fictional perspective, the character is both comfortable with Western luxuries and uncomfortable with Tanzanian realities. Working with this expatriate population and my respondents brought me close to home. I was able to speak English, eat Western food, and relax away from Tanzanian social customs and expectations. Yet at the same time, I often felt out of place. As much as society viewed me as out of place in the City Center, I did not feel comfortable in Msasani, behind walls and surrounded by servants.

The Colonial governments situated Zone 1 along the coastal areas of Dar es Salaam. Although the Colonial Building Ordinances applied solely to the buildings themselves, the European Quarter became both the place for housing of a European type and the place for Europeans, as demonstrated in Chapter 3. This chapter explores whether this former Zone 1 remains the expatriate area in contemporary Dar es Salaam. More than just considering residential patterns, this chapter looks at other aspects of life to understand whether expatriates concentrate their daily activities in these areas or whether they extend to other parts of the city.

The Colonial Zone 1 exhibited a significant spatial trend; European residences were located almost exclusively along the city's coastline. This coastal bias allowed officials to take advantage of sea breezes to mitigate the tropical heat and humidity. Even today, real estate companies advise expatriates to live in areas with "unrestricted sea breezes" to improve their "quality of life" (Corona Tanzania 2004: 50). The first significant European settlement was along the northern edge of the harbor, in the Kivukoni Ward of the City Center. Europeans lived in the area referred to as Sea View and on streets bordering the Botanical Gardens. As the European population grew in size, Zone 1 expanded to include Kurasini and the Oyster Bay suburb in Msasani. As Table 3.2 makes clear, Europeans did live in other areas of the city; archival records mention the construction of flats in Kinondoni and that parts of Gerezani housed colonial officials (TNA 12589, Volume 1; TNA 31662). Yet the majority of Europeans lived initially in coastal areas of the city and later almost exclusively in Msasani. This chapter considers this expatriate population to understand whether expatriate patterns of urban life mimic those of the colonial European population. Is expatriate life concentrated in the coastal areas of Dar es Salaam, especially in Msasani, the area created as an European suburb?

Expatriates in Dar es Salaam

During the Colonial era, the European population consisted largely of two types of people: colonial officials and missionaries. Table 5.1 presents the colonial European population. The ethnic breakdown of the European population in colonial

Table 5.1. European Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.

Year	European	Total Population
1887	-	3000 - 4000
1894	400	10,020
1900	360	19,840
1913	1,000	22,500
1921	600	24,600
1928	1,251	29,281
1931	1,341	32,985
1942	1,180	37,580
1943	1,100	45,100
1948	1,809	67,779
1957	4,500	150,000

(de Blij 1963; Gillman 1945; TNA Annual Reports; TNA Acc. 540, 18/4; TNA 18950, Volume 3).

times is not available, but it was dominated by Germans until World War I and then by Britons after the war. It was during the early days of Colonial Dar es Salaam that missionaries played an important role. The White Fathers (the Society of Missionaries of Africa) established a mission during Sultan Majid's rule, and the first permanent German Colonial building was the Berlin (Lutheran) Mission (Casson 1970). The White Fathers Mission still stands today, visible in Photograph 2.3. The European population shifted during the British administration to include a growing colonial service. As Chapter 2 demonstrated, the British employed a large number of colonial officials in Dar es Salaam, a fact reflected in the population growth after World War II.

Few specifics are available about this colonial European population, but Sofer and Ross (1951) studied Europeans in an East African urban area. Rather than naming their research site, they refer to it anonymously as Stonetown in the fictitious

country of Udongo. Though no identifying details are given except that it was a British colony, Sofer conducted more extensive research in Jinja, Uganda so it is likely that Stonetown refers to this city. Though Byerley (2005) does not reference this study, his discussion on Jinja's industrialization suggests that it may indeed be Stonetown. The town's European population in 1948 was just 194 and was almost entirely comprised of Britons, predominantly government workers and their families. Yet the composition of this European population shifted significantly in 1949 with the initiation of several large construction projects. By 1950, the European population increased to 549 and comprised more nationalities and occupations; in fact, only approximately twenty-five per cent of the Europeans worked for their national governments. Regardless of the occupation, these people lived in Stonetown primarily because of male jobs; the female population was almost exclusively there as accompanying spouses.

In thinking about why expatriates come to Africa, many reasons exist; some expatriates, such as the early missionaries, come to help the population while many others come for employment. In an essay comparing expatriates in Africa to Tarzan (both are kings), Theroux (1997: 52, 54) suggests selfish undertones to these decisions:

We should not wonder why Tarzan came to the jungle. The reasons Tarzan had could be the same as those of any white expatriate in Africa: an active curiosity in things strange; a vague premonition that Africa rewards her visitors; a disgust with the anonymity of the industrial setting; a wish to be special; and an unconscious desire to stop thinking and let the body take over. All these reasons are selfish to a degree. Mixed with them may be the desire to do a little good, to help in some way; but this is desire together with the knowledge that the good deeds will be performed in a pleasant climate. This, in the end, is not so much a reason for coming as it is an excuse. The wish to be special (and rewarded) is dominant. . . . He *does* want to be special, visible, one of the few. But this is the easiest thing of all, and so surprising in its ease that the result is a definite feeling of racial superiority. His color alone makes him distinct. He does not have to lift a finger.

In this essay, originally published in 1967, Theroux takes a cynical approach to expatriates in Africa. Yet it is not necessarily an exaggeration; as this dissertation shows, a distinct color bar exists in Dar es Salaam between the primarily white expatriate population and the dominant black African population. Without the attitudes suggested by Theroux, this bar and the resultant patterns in urban life would not exist.

Still Theroux's comments are generalities about a diverse population. Though the expatriate population in contemporary Dar es Salaam is primarily white, it is not exclusively white; for example, Tanzania, like many African nations, is home to a growing Chinese population. Some of this diversity can be attributed to diplomatic representation. Even though Dar es Salaam is not the capital city, it is home to over fifty missions and embassies. The expatriate community is characterized by its national diversity but also by its job diversity. These foreigners arrive in Dar es

Salaam to work for a variety of employers including embassies, NGOs, international organizations such as the World Bank and United Nations, and private companies.

The large number of private companies in the city is partially due to Dar es Salaam's role as the main transportation hub for Tanzania, especially in terms of shipping. The high concentration of expatriates from these various employers has created a need for a school that is designed to teach at the standard expected in the US and Europe. This school, the International School of Tanganyika (IST), also operates a health clinic staffed with European doctors.

Regardless of the reason bringing these expatriates to Tanzania, this group is characterized by its temporary nature. The majority of these people have not permanently relocated to Dar es Salaam. For some, however, short-term tours of duty become prolonged; one of my respondents initially lived in Dar es Salaam as part of the British police force and has remained there for over fifty years. This woman serves as an exception, however, since many expatriates tend to move from one city to another, creating nomadic existences. Being a person without roots has strong implications for relationships. On one hand, these people are alone in a strange world, so the people that an expatriate meets abroad quickly become close friends and even family. I experienced this phenomenon; I hosted a Thanksgiving potluck dinner at my City Center apartment for other Americans. Though some of my guests were strangers before that meal, two eventually became my roommates and all became part of my social and support network. Many expatriates find themselves grasping tightly onto things that are familiar, whether it be language, a mutual friend, or a shared

experience. These shared experiences do exist; I met two expatriate women that first formed a relationship in Kabul, Afghanistan and rekindled this friendship in Dar es Salaam.

Though this lifestyle provides the opportunity to see the world, it also carries potential consequences. Perhaps the greatest consequence is that some expatriates lose touch with the reality of life in their home countries. Generally this loss can be linked to economics; expatriates are able to live a life of luxury and achieve a much higher standard of living than they could ever have at home. Foreign Service employees at the US Embassy receive the same base salary that they would receive in the United States and receive several cost of living allowances (State Department 2006). These salaries are often well-deserved since expatriates make considerable sacrifices to live abroad. Yet, in my experience, it is possible to live a comfortable life in Dar es Salaam for less money than a comparable life in the United States. As one embassy worker commented to me, “the US is at the top of the food chain” (A.B.).

This higher standard of living for US Embassy employees is also due to housing, which is provided free of charge. It is a US government requirement that all embassy houses be comparable in terms of amenities to housing in the US. More than just having safe drinking water, showers, American style flush toilets, and safe electrical wiring, these homes also have a generator that is regularly refilled with fuel, a reliable water supply, a hot water heater, twenty-four hour security guards, air conditioning, a landline telephone, and all major appliances including a washer and

dryer. The electric bills for US Embassy homes are paid in full, with no limits on usage. Though other embassies provide similar amenities to their staff members, the British Embassy does not pay for unlimited electricity; rather its staff members receive an electricity allowance that does not cover constant air conditioner usage. More than just having these amenities, expatriate homes tend to be large. Two of my survey respondents live alone in four bedroom homes in Msasani. Housing size is comparable for expatriates outside the US Embassy; one employee of an International Organization lives with her husband in a six-bedroom house.

Notes from the Field: Expatriate Life.

There were certainly times that I experienced and enjoyed living this top of the food chain life. Life in Dar es Salaam can be overwhelming and chaotic. Flooded streets, traffic jams, and power outages were all parts of my daily life. Some days it was just too much and I had to escape. I found my escape on the Msasani Peninsula eating a Subway sandwich, reading an imported magazine, watching episodes of current American television shows, drinking a cappuccino, and browsing mystery novels in the bookstore. I chose to engage in these activities in order to lose touch with the reality of my life for a short period of time. Yet these breaks from reality allowed me to better understand the social inequalities of Dar es Salaam. As an *mzungu*, I was expected by many Tanzanians to fit into this lifestyle. To them I was doing something strange by taking buses rather than taxis and eating beans and *ugali* rather than a hamburger. To Tanzanians I was the other, yet to expatriates I was also the other. I did not quite fit anyone's expectations. In this way, I was able to experience several lifestyles and appreciate them all. It is hard to say what is better – a Subway sandwich or a bowl of beans - but perhaps the best part of my life in Dar es Salaam was having the freedom and opportunity to make this choice.

Dar es Salaam is home to an enormous variety of expatriates in terms of occupations and nationalities. Many embassy workers, including those at the US Embassy, chose this posting in Tanzania. Once joining the Foreign Service, Americans are required to fulfill several requirements including serving at a Hardship Post. While at these posts, workers receive a hardship allowance in addition to their salary and cost of living allowance. Posts are considered hardships if “living conditions are extraordinarily difficult, physical hardships are excessive, or conditions are notably unhealthy” (State Department 2007). One-third of all embassy posts, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Haiti, and Tanzania are considered hardships; Tanzania is classified as a twenty-five per cent hardship post, the same level as Cuba and Sudan. Until recently, twenty-five per cent was the highest level but now Iraq and Afghanistan are designated thirty-five per cent hardship posts. Foreign Service employees consider Dar es Salaam the easiest twenty-five per cent hardship post in the world. Not only are workers attracted to Dar es Salaam for the high salary, Tanzania is particularly popular with families because of the nearby beaches, the tropical climate, the proximity to game parks, and the high caliber IST. The same trends exist with British Embassy workers; many of the Britons have young families and chose Tanzania for the sun, surf, and safaris.

Daily Life Maps

This section begins to explore contemporary Dar es Salaam to see whether colonial patterns of racial segregation persist today. One significant change in the city's urban form occurred since independence; the former colonial Zone 1 area in Kivukoni is no longer a residential area. Today, this part of the City Center is home to government offices, embassies, and businesses. My apartment was located on the border between the colonial Zones 1 and 2. Yet a short walk to what was once the first European residential area in the city hardly resembles its past. A few red-roofed colonial-era homes still stand, but the wide, tree-shaded colonial streets are now lined with the National Museum, a business school, and the Ministry of Finance.

In this section, I discuss four aspects of expatriate life in Dar es Salaam: locations of residence, food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation. For each topic, I detail my research findings in both tables and maps. More than just presenting the results of my qualitative research, I use information from follow-up interviews and urban observations to explain these urban life patterns.

Where Do Expatriates Live?

The expatriates that I surveyed live in eight wards, and, with only a small exception, these eight wards are contiguous; they are separated only by Hananasif, one of the city's poorest wards, and one frequently researched by development consultants and academics. A list of these wards is included in Table 5.2 and they are mapped in Figure 5.2. Though at first glance it appears that the expatriate community

Table 5.2. Expatriate Residential Wards.	
Total Responses = 50	
Total Respondents = 50	
Low	
	City Center 1
	Kawe 2
	Kinondoni 1
	Kunduchi 1
	Mikocheni 4
	Ubungo 1
	Upanga 2
Medium	
	No Wards
High	
	Msasani 38

has expanded its residential boundaries beyond the historical Zone 1, only twelve of my fifty respondents, less than twenty-five percent, live outside of Msasani Ward. My experience living in Dar es Salaam, my conversations with expatriates, and the findings of other researchers suggest that this is a highly representative sample.

Several factors contribute to this high concentration of residence in Msasani. The first is the historical origin of this area. As explained in Chapter 3, the British colonial government established Oyster Bay, located in Msasani Ward, as an European suburb. Some of these original colonial buildings still stand, easily recognizable by their distinct red-roofed architecture, as visible in Photograph 5.1. These homes were generally constructed on large plots, a factor that is important for many expatriates in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Photograph 5.2 depicts one of these homes. As explained above, the US Embassy provides its American employees

Figure 5.2. Expatriate Residence.





Photograph 5.1. Msasani Ward House in British Colonial Style. Photograph by author.



Photograph 5.2. Msasani Ward House in Contemporary Style. Photograph by author.

with significant levels of amenities including grassy space within compound walls. Large lots laid out by the British Colonial government contain the necessary space to provide these yards.

A second reason for this high concentration of expatriate residence includes the social amenities that will be described in the following sections. Yet in spite of all of these amenities, a third reason for high numbers of expatriate residences in Msasani is the lack of traffic congestion. Dar es Salaam has a large number of automobiles, including personal cars, taxis, and *daladalas*, on its streets. The Msasani Peninsula does not suffer from such high levels of congestion. Though many residents do own personal cars, only one bus route travels through this area and as a peninsula, it receives no through-traffic. A final reason for expatriate residence in Msasani is because other expatriates live in this area. As one woman stated, “We like to live among our own kind” (R.P).

All of these factors combine together to influence the decision-making process for expatriate residences, as illustrated by one of my respondents (M.E.). She wanted to live near the ocean and be within walking distance of shopping facilities. After other expatriates recommended Msasani, she moved there for several reasons. In addition to the lack of traffic problems, her apartment building’s compound has its own security guards, water tank, and generator. One of the most attractive features of this apartment was its proximity to the Slipway, a western-style shopping center. Yet Dar es Salaam’s tropical heat prevents her from walking to these shops, including the grocery store, as she originally intended. These attractive amenities do not come

cheap; her monthly rent is \$2300, which she considers reasonable since units in the neighboring compound rent for \$4000 per month.

It is important to note that the high concentration of expatriate residence in Msasani is not entirely by choice. The US Embassy has forty-eight residences in Dar es Salaam, and of these homes, only four are not located on the Msasani Peninsula; these other homes are situated closer to the main road leading to the City Center, a location remnant of the Embassy's previous location before the 1998 bombing. One factor important to selection of Embassy housing is the size of the home; some Foreign Service positions, such as the Deputy Chief of Mission (the equivalent of an Assistant Ambassador and the highest non-appointed position at the Embassy) and the Defense Attaché, require frequent entertaining and therefore necessitate a home with a certain square footage. The Msasani Peninsula is one of the only areas in the city with homes that fit this requirement.

Staff at the British High Commission, both the consulate and its international aid agency, are also housed primarily in Msasani; the only exceptions are a private compound of apartments in Sea View (in the City Center and part of former Zone 1) and one house in Regent Estate (Kinondoni). In the past, the government rented a home in Mikocheni but the staff preferred to be located on the Peninsula. The British Embassy's Community Liaison Officer suggests that expatriates who can afford it want to live on the Peninsula. This is partly due to the stereotype that other coastal areas house different types of people: NGO workers in Mikocheni and South Africans in Kawe. This is not completely true since my sole South African respondent lives in

Mikocheni. The British government also considers Msasani's proximity to amenities, especially the IST secondary school campus, in selecting housing locations. For this reason, the British Community Liaison Officer doubts that her government would consider placing its staff in any other areas. Of course the location of these amenities in Msasani has a direct correlation to colonialism. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the British government developed Msasani as an European suburb. To make this area as convenient as possible for colonial officers, amenities were provided to this area, including a store.

Although the majority of my respondents live in Msasani Ward, twelve live in other areas of the city. Several of these places are easily explained based on the same factors used to support Msasani housing. Mikocheni Ward is home to the second largest expatriate population from my survey. Although it was not a part of the historical Zone 1, it houses an upper-class population, including the current and former Tanzanian president as well as expatriates. It is important to expatriates for several reasons. Not only is it adjacent to Msasani Ward, portions of this area are situated close to the coast. In addition, it contains important amenities, including two large Western-style shopping centers. Kawe and Kunduchi Wards are coastal wards and Europeans historically gravitated toward the Indian Ocean coast. Though these wards are situated further north than Msasani, this distance is easily explained by the city's phenomenal spatial and population growth since independence.

Other residential ward choices can also be explained. The University of Dar es Salaam is located in Ubungo Ward. Many students and faculty, including

expatriates, live on or adjacent to the campus. Although Upanga was historically an Asian neighborhood, it is also home to several organizations that employ expatriates such as Muhimbili, Tanzania's National Hospital, and the NGO *Haki Elimu*; to avoid the city's traffic congestion, some of these expatriate employees move to this area. Interestingly, one expatriate respondent moved from Upanga to Kawe (T.N.). Although she is of Indian descent, she was born in Canada and feels more at home living in an expatriate-dominated area. In addition, Kawe does not suffer from frequent power outages like Upanga, making her current life more comfortable.

Where Do Expatriates Purchase Food?

In my written survey, I asked respondents to provide information on various types of food shopping including meat, seafood, produce, and dry goods. Generally, expatriates tend to purchase their food at only one or two places and these places are mostly Western-style supermarkets, located in Msasani and Mikocheni Wards. These responses are listed in Table 5.3 and are mapped in Figure 5.3. Thus, food shopping responses closely reflect residential patterns.

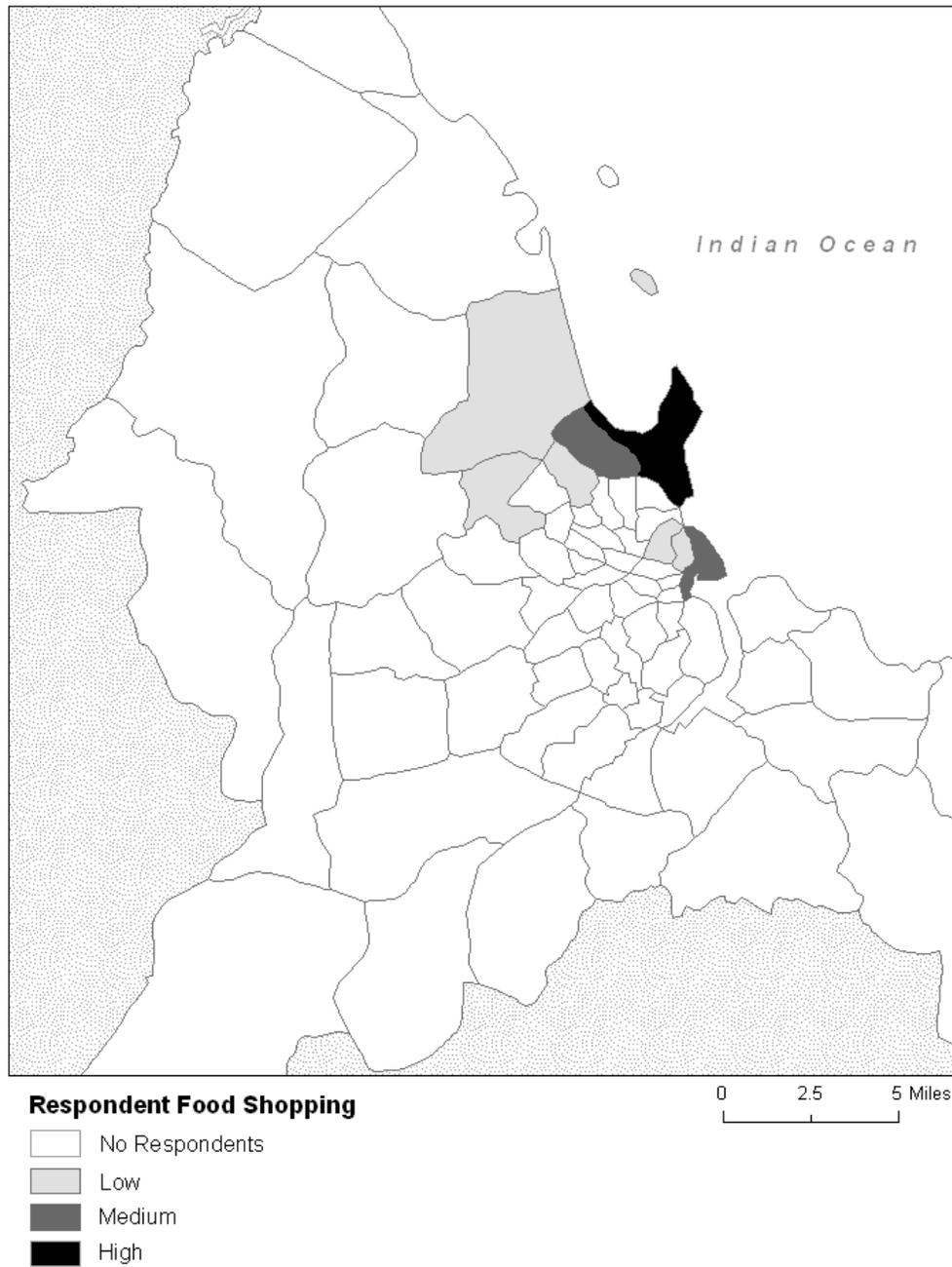
Almost exclusively, expatriates do their food shopping in three wards: Msasani, Mikocheni, and the City Center. Msasani houses three western style supermarkets. One is Shoprite, a South African chain located at the Slipway and one of four locations in Dar es Salaam. The second is the Village Market, located in the Sea Cliff Shopping Center and owned by an East African Asian couple (from Kenya

Table 5.3. Expatriate Food Shopping Wards.	
Total Responses = 84	
Total Respondents = 50	
Low	
	Kawe 1
	Kijitonyama 2
	Ubungo 1
	Upanga 4
Medium	
	City Center 15
	Mikocheni 17
High	
	Msasani 44

and Uganda). The third is Shrijee’s, also Asian owned and one of three locations in the city. This supermarket is located in a strip mall rather than a shopping center but is situated along the Peninsula’s main road. These supermarkets have a wide selection of canned goods, frozen and refrigerated items, beverages, and household items. Msasani has an additional shopping area that is popular with expatriates. Termed Four Corners, it is composed of several small shops at the intersection of Chole and Haile Selasie Roads. This intersection is close to both the Slipway and the IST’s secondary school campus. At this intersection, it is possible to buy produce, fish, alcohol, and household goods; one day I even saw boxes of Tide laundry detergent for sale.

One reason for Mikocheni’s popularity with expatriate food shopping is that it is home to two Western-style shopping centers. One center houses another Shoprite location and the other is home to Shoppers Supermarket, located in Shoppers Plaza. Shoppers is owned by the same people that opened the city’s first supermarket, called

Figure 5.3. Expatriate Food Shopping.



Europa, in Msasani. In addition, Shoppers Plaza houses a bakery and a produce store, named Fairy Delights and Fruit of the Loom respectively.

The popularity of the City Center for expatriate food shopping can be attributed exclusively to the Fish Market. Although the City Center is home to both Shoprite and Shrijee's Supermarkets, these are not important shopping locations for my expatriate respondents. The importance of the fish market is not surprising; this is the best place in the city to purchase fresh seafood since it is sold immediately after being unloaded from shipping vessels. Still, I spoke with several expatriates who were unwilling to travel the distance to the market; instead they purchased their seafood from roving fishmongers. These expatriates knew their purchases originated at the fish market but preferred the convenience of the fishmongers over the lower price of the fish market. One expatriate respondent even admitted to purchasing unwanted and overpriced items from her fishmonger but she still received better prices than in her home country (D.P.). In addition to the convenience of the fishmongers, some expatriates believe the fish market is a high crime area. The market is crowded and hectic and can feel intimidating to expatriates, myself included.

It is interesting to understand the historical patterns of shopping in Dar es Salaam. One expatriate says that when she first arrived in the city five years ago, it was impossible to purchase most items on the Msasani Peninsula (V.C.). It is only within the last several years that more shops have located there. For example, in order to purchase meat she used to travel to the City Center to Home Butchery, a

popular and high quality supplier but today Home Butchery supplies packaged meat to the Peninsula's supermarkets. As a result she rarely goes into the City Center for everyday items. Likewise another expatriate does all of her shopping on the Peninsula because the city has nothing that she wants (D.P.). In this way, many expatriates purchase their food in Msasani because of the selection and convenience to their personal residences.

Traditional retail geography suggests that shopping decisions are based on several factors including location, previous knowledge, and price (Jones and Simmons 1990). Yet at the same time, the actions of consumers are not completely rational; shoppers are not 'economic man': rational, well-informed, and interested in maximizing benefits (*ibid.*). Instead decisions are made based on factors that are uncontrollable and unpredictable. Although Bell et al. (1998) suggest that fixed and variable costs influence shopping decisions, they concede that location is a primary factor; in fact, up to seventy per cent of food shopping decisions are based on store location. The expatriates I surveyed almost exclusively shop for food based on location. None of the respondents indicated a willingness to travel outside of Msasani in order to find better prices. In this way, Msasani functions as what Knox and McCarthy (2005) call an 'urban realm.' For these respondents, Msasani functions as a central place or central business district. For them, the Peninsula functions as a complete city, with all the services and amenities they need. Thus, Msasani becomes an 'edge city,' overshadowing the actual City Center.

Where Do Expatriates Purchase Clothing?

Perhaps more than any other research question, for Asians, Africans, or expatriates, my survey data for this question do not accurately reflect the true situation. As listed in Table 5.4 and mapped in Figure 5.4, most expatriates purchase clothing in Msasani Ward. What is immediately apparent, however, is that this data is based on only thirteen responses from a sample size of fifty.

The remaining respondents purchase their clothing, whether casual, work, formal, or children's clothing, abroad or over the internet. In fact, twenty-six respondents purchase clothes abroad while on vacations or leave and ten purchase clothing on the internet and have it shipped to Dar es Salaam. I saw this evidence firsthand at the US Embassy, where Foreign Service workers can receive packages free of charge. The mailing address for these employees is at Dulles Airport in Washington, DC; letters and packages are then transported to Dar es Salaam through the diplomatic pouch. Interestingly, six respondents have mixed shopping patterns, purchasing some clothing in Dar es Salaam but also some clothing abroad.

For the few expatriate respondents that do shop in Dar es Salaam, two locations are important. The first, located in the City Center, is Woolworth's, a South African department store. Items in this store are sold at prices comparable to stores in the US or Europe and there is a very limited selection. This store is located one block from my apartment so I often browsed its selection; I never purchased anything because of the high prices but occasionally saw expatriate women wearing outfits from the store. The second important location, in Msasani, differs significantly from

Table 5.4. Expatriate Clothing Shopping Wards.

Total Responses = 13
Total Respondents = 50

Low

City Center 2
Mikocheni 2

Medium

Msasani 9

High

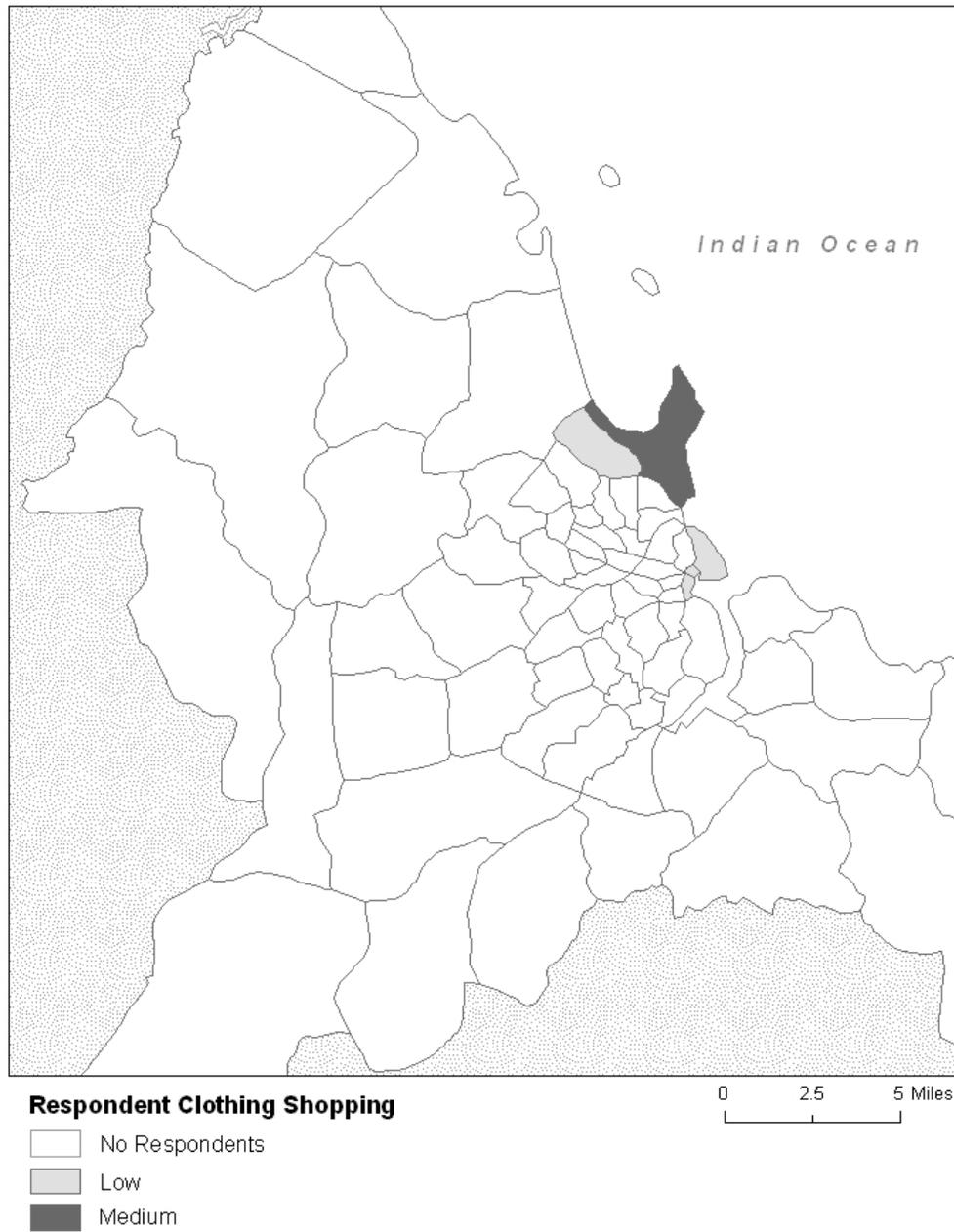
No Wards

Woolworth's. It is commonly called 'The Tree' and consists of large displays of used clothing, across the street from Shrijee's Grocery Store. The purchase of used clothing in Dar es Salaam is nothing strange to Africans but this is the only location that caters to expatriates. Beneath the tree it is possible to find current styles and designers.

Notes from the Field: Shopping at the Tree.

It is inevitable that after nearly ten months of wearing, and hand washing, a small number of clothes, it becomes time to go shopping. I lived near Woolworth's and occasionally admired its rather small and extremely overpriced selection. Almost daily I was approached on City Center streets by roaming clothing sellers but was intimidated by the lack of privacy on the street and the pushy demeanor of the vendors. Once one man rubbed a corduroy skirt on my arm; not only was I unlikely to buy this material in a tropical climate, I found his style quite forward. My expatriate friends directed me to 'The Tree' to find good quality clothes in a western style. One day I went shopping there for linen pants. After telling the male sellers what I wanted, they proceeded to bring me armfuls to look at – some pants, some shirts, some linen, some not. I left with two pair of pants, neither of which fit well but were at least a good deal.

Figure 5.4. Expatriate Clothing Shopping.



Where Do Expatriates Go for Recreation and Entertainment?

Patterns of recreation are of interest to geographers. Research shows that these patterns are related to personality traits (Ryan 1986) and even a person's place of residence (Zelinsky 1974). Beyond the significant spatial dimension of recreation, these activities are of interest in this dissertation because they provide an opportunity for social interaction. Unlike food or clothing shopping, recreation is not a necessary activity but rather a discretionary one. The purely personal nature of recreation means that locations should clearly indicate areas of Dar es Salaam that a person considers important, appealing, and safe. People choose recreation locations based on these factors rather than physical proximity. Thus, patterns of recreation present the best opportunity for interaction between Dar es Salaam's groups.

The category of recreation and entertainment encompasses a variety of activities. Not only does it include weekend excursions to beaches and religious worship, it also includes responses for restaurant meals and nighttime activities such as drinking alcohol and dancing. The two most important wards are Msasani and the City Center, a reason largely attributed to the Western-style hotels and shopping centers located in these wards. Ward responses are listed in Table 5.5 and mapped in Figure 5.5.

Of the city's popular hotels, all are located in these two areas. In the City Center the Holiday Inn, Mövenpick, New Africa, and the Kempinski boast a Sunday brunch, live jazz music, a discount happy hour with free appetizers, and a bar with harbor views respectively. In Msasani, the Sea Cliff and Golden Tulip offer ocean-

Table 5.5. Expatriate Recreation Wards.

Total Responses = 111

Total Respondents = 50

Low

Kawe 2

Kigamboni 1

Kijitonyama 1

Kinondoni 3

Kunduchi 2

Mikocheni 2

Mjimwema 14

Mwananyamala 9

Sinza 1

Ubungo 2

Upanga 4

Medium

City Center 29

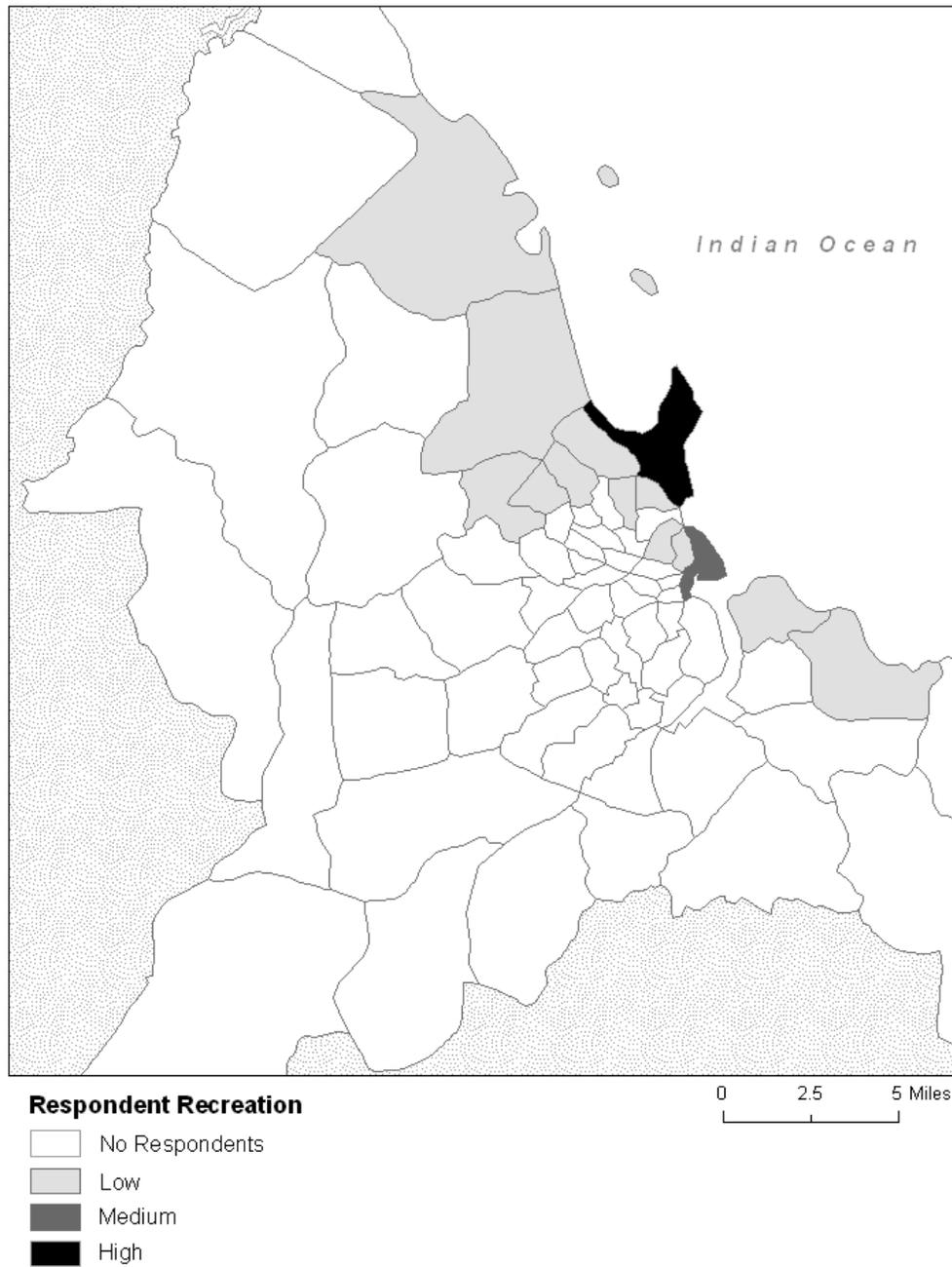
High

Msasani 41

front dining while the Protea is a popular lunch spot for expatriates. In addition to offering food, drink, and music, these hotels also have swimming pools accessible to those willing to pay a small fee.

Msasani also is home to other popular live music venues and restaurants located in and near these hotels and shopping centers such as Slipway. Two other Msasani destinations are more exclusive. The Yacht Club is open to members only, regardless of whether these members own yachts. Most Americans, especially those employed at the Embassy, spend their Thursdays at the Marine House Happy Hour. Located in the Embassy compound, this residential dorm for the Marine guards is a popular after-work venue.

Figure 5.5. Expatriate Recreation.



Notes from the Field: Recreation at the US Embassy

The Marine House is known for Thirsty Thursdays, a weekly happy hour. Though technically open to anyone, the high levels of Embassy security tend to limit the event to Embassy staff – American and Tanzanian – and other Americans with security clearance (such as Fulbright Scholars and Peace Corps Volunteers). At these weekly parties, the Marines sell drinks and food and often project American movies on a big screen. Guests can play pool, foosball, and darts and socialize in this almost exclusive expatriate crowd. Apart from Thursdays, the Marine House is famous for 4th of July party.

Other popular places for expatriate recreation include the city's ocean-front wards, especially Mjimwema. Though on a map Mjimwema appears to be fairly inaccessible from Msasani, it is reached via a short ferry ride that leaves from the fish market, in the City Center. For less than \$2, a person can drive a car onto the ferry and cross the harbor; for less than 10¢, a person can board the ferry on foot. From the other side of the harbor, it is a short drive or bus ride to a number of beach-front hotels where it is possible to spend the day eating, drinking, and swimming.

One popular recreation response stands out. Mwananyamala Ward is the fourth most popular response yet it is not part of responses for residence or shopping. Rather it becomes important for recreation since it is home to several popular restaurants frequented by expatriates. These places, including Anghiti Indian Restaurant, are situated along Dar es Salaam's major road north from the City Center and also have guarded parking areas; thus even though expatriates are willing to recreate in areas not typically popular for other activities, they limit these excursions to easily accessible venues. Although Mwananyamala is primarily an African ward, little social interaction occurs between groups at these expensive restaurants.

Interestingly, as pointed out in Chapter 4, Anghiti was the site of an armed robbery in spite of any perceptions of increased safety.

Influences on Choices

As the previous sections illustrate, expatriate respondents live, shop, and recreate in a variety of Dar es Salaam's wards. In spite of this variety, the majority of respondent activities occur within one ward: Msasani. These location decisions are conscious decisions; expatriates have the ability to choose where to go in the city for their activities. A large part of this ability is due to economics. Generally expatriates in Dar es Salaam have the financial means to choose activities based on preference rather than cost. Their incomes in Dar es Salaam, which are often comparable to salaries in their countries of origin, allow them personal freedom in decision making. These decisions, however, are made in the face of commonly available information.

Some of this information comes from other expatriates while other aspects are gleaned from several publications designed to serve the expatriate community:

Advertising Dar; Dar Guide; What's Happening in Dar es Salaam. These publications list restaurants, shops, cultural events, and other places of interest for the city's more affluent residents. Although they are free and available to everyone, most Africans are unable to afford many of the advertised and reviewed businesses. In fact, in the absence of city-specific travel literature, the tourist bureau, popular travel guidebooks, and embassies recommend turning to these private publications for city information (Fitzpatrick 2005).

One such publication is the *Dar Guide*, a monthly publication begun in 1997. When its current CEO, Munirah Kheraluwala, took charge in 2004, she redesigned the format substantially. What began as a service to tourists has been retooled to also appeal to residents to inform, educate, and entertain. Though designed for residents, Kheraluwala (2006) admits that it does cater to an up-market audience, specifically expatriates, upper-class Asians and Africans, and members of the government. As a result of this target population, articles and advertisements focus on activities and services for this wealthy community. A second monthly publication, *What's Happening in Dar es Salaam*, also serves this same purpose.

Advertising in Dar is a weekly publication that is also geared toward a more selective community. Though it has a much smaller distribution than the monthly publications, it is distributed in similar places including supermarkets, embassies, and the businesses and stores that advertise in it. Since it serves several purposes – containing advertisements for stores and restaurants as well as classified advertisements from individuals – it is geared toward newcomers in town rather than tourists. According to its CEO, Janet Munthali (2006), most of the advertisers do cater toward expatriates.

The Corona Society publishes a book designed to help new arrivals adjust to life in Dar es Salaam. *The Newcomers Guide to Dar es Salaam* (Corona Tanzania 2004) is sold throughout the city at bookstores and other locations such as the US Embassy and includes information on a variety of subjects to help expatriates become acclimated to life in the city. Although it does not advertise businesses, it does serve

as a phone book of sorts with location information. The vast majority of locations listed, however, tend to be located in the areas with significant expatriate populations. For example, of seven locations listed for fruit and vegetable shopping, only one is located outside of Mikocheni and Msasani Wards. In the section on real estate contributed by a local realty company, information is included only Msasani, Mikocheni, and Kawe Wards. These preferences do make sense since expatriates concentrate their lives in these areas. Yet this narrow geographic focus also serves to reinforce the limited extent of daily lives.

The US Embassy provides its employees with information on the city in the form of welcome packets created by the Community Liaison Office. All employees receive a copy of *What's Happening in Dar es Salaam*, a short briefing on Tanzanian social etiquette, the US Department of State Background Note for Tanzania, security information for the city and country, and a visitor's guide created by the office (Community Liaison Office 2006). This guide includes basic information about health and safety in the city as well as recommendations for dining and shopping; only five of the twenty-seven restaurants listed are not located in Msasani, Mikocheni, or one of the city's hotels. Long-term staff also receive information on malaria, instructions for the residential alarm system, a summary of customs procedures, a detailed city shopping guide, a list of popular internet shopping sites, and a handbook on domestic employees. Another form of city information is a driving tour of Dar es Salaam. Based on a driving tour for newcomers organized by the DSG, this tour takes embassy staff to see shopping areas, restaurants, schools,

recreation facilities, cultural centers, and important landmarks. The majority of this tour takes place in Msasani and Mikocheni.

All of the sources of city information focus largely on Msasani and Mikocheni, the areas of the city most important for expatriate daily life. Certainly there is some correlation; businesses that cater to a more up-market crowd advertise in publications viewed by expatriates. At the same time, expatriates also trust these guides to learn about new places. In this cycle of limited advertisement, it seems unlikely that many expatriates will begin to frequent new places.

An interesting twist on this cycle is the Dar Reality Check, a bicycle tour of the city created by AfriRoots, an outdoor sports, recreation, and adventure company. Founded by two young Tanzanians who saw a need for ecotourism and the need for foreigners to learn about African life, this company supports local communities and offers budget trips. Though they organize safaris to national parks, the company also runs the reality check. According to AfriRoots, the trip “concentrates on the poorest areas of Dar es Salaam which one will never see on their way around Dar es Salaam through the big busy highways” (AfriRoots 2007). It travels through all parts of the city, beginning in Msasani and Mikocheni and then continuing through Kijitonyama, Mwananyamala, Tandale, Manzese, Kigogo, Kariakoo, and Ilala. For less than \$15, riders can see a different side of the city than what is presented in local publications geared toward expatriates. I had the opportunity to speak with IST students after they completed this cycle. The majority of these students live on the Msasani Peninsula, and most were unfamiliar with the areas of the city they visited. They noted the

significant differences between areas of Dar es Salaam and saw unfamiliar sights such as garbage along the roads; some also ate local food for the first time.

Conclusions

Historically, Europeans, the predecessors of today's expatriate community, lived in Zone 1. This area had a limited spatial extent of coastal areas. In particular, Zone 1 included part of the Msasani Peninsula, part of which the British government developed as a European suburb. Today similar patterns still exist, but importantly these patterns are not limited to residential locations. Instead, many aspects of expatriate daily life center on a small area. The previous sections discussed aspects of expatriate urban life, including residence, food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation. In Table 5.6 and Figure 5.6, I combine expatriate responses together to illustrate what I term daily activities. As would be expected from this chapter, these activities are focused in a small extent of the city, primarily Msasani and the City Center. In fact, forty-nine of my fifty respondents (ninety-eight per cent) complete some activity in Msasani; thirty-seven respondents (seventy-four per cent) do so in the City Center.

Parts of the City Center and the majority of Msasani were Zone 1, and this concentration of contemporary activities suggests that colonial patterns of segregation persist for expatriates. As stated earlier, some of this segregation is uncontrollable, while some is self-imposed. Some employers, including the US and British Embassies, provide their staff members with housing, predetermining some of the

Table 5.6. Expatriate Daily Activity Wards.

Total Responses = 192

Total Respondents = 50

Low

Kawe 3
Kigamboni 1
Kijitonyama 3
Kinondoni 3
Kunduchi 3
Sinza 1
Ubungo 2
Upanga 6

Medium

Mwananyamala 9
Mjimwema 14
Mikocheni 17

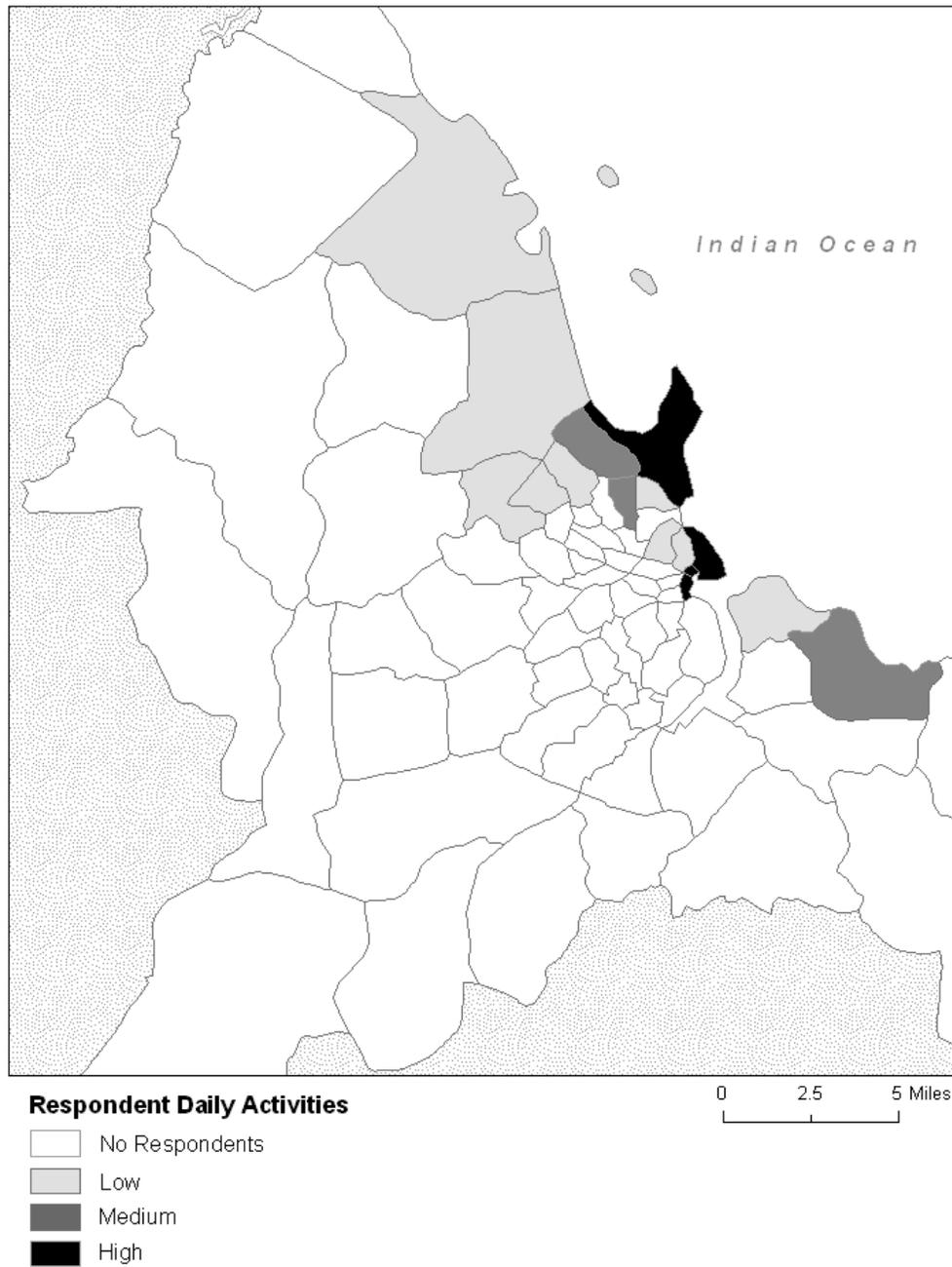
High

City Center 37
Msasani 49

outcomes. Yet expatriates are drawn to certain areas for their amenities, lack of traffic, and proximity to other foreigners.

Certainly not every expatriate focuses their life in Msasani. I met an American woman who lives in Sinza. As a lawyer in Dar es Salaam, her firm originally provided her with housing in Mikocheni. Yet in addition to her law work, she and her husband run an orphanage and community center that serves vulnerable children. In order to live closer to these children, they moved from Mikocheni to Sinza. Though many of her expatriate friends tried to talk her out of this decision for safety and convenience reasons, she is happy living in Sinza. Not only has crime been an insignificant issue, her Tanzanian friends are more comfortable in this new house and she feels more appropriate living in the community her center serves. As

Figure 5.6. Expatriate Daily Life.



interesting as this story is, it is the exception not the rule. Msasani is still the most important area for most expatriate activities.

Chapter 6. Asian Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.

Long before Mawingu House reached for the clouds behind Ocean Road to become the tallest building in Dar . . . there was Hassam Punja's building . . . a pyramidal structure broad at the base, narrowing to the top, an imposing landmark overlooking Mnazi Moja from the downtown side, where families lived and scruffy children ran around . . . When the Arusha Declaration was announced – when the nation chose the socialist path and banks were nationalized and the state took over the importation and exportation of key items . . . during a rally not far from Mnazi Moja, a government leader pointed to the yellow pyramid-building that towered in the distance and laughed: 'Tell him not to worry. We won't take his buildings!' . . . Four years later all of Hassam Punja's buildings were taken, to which event everyone attributed the heart attack from which he died.

-- Vassanji 1989: 240-241.

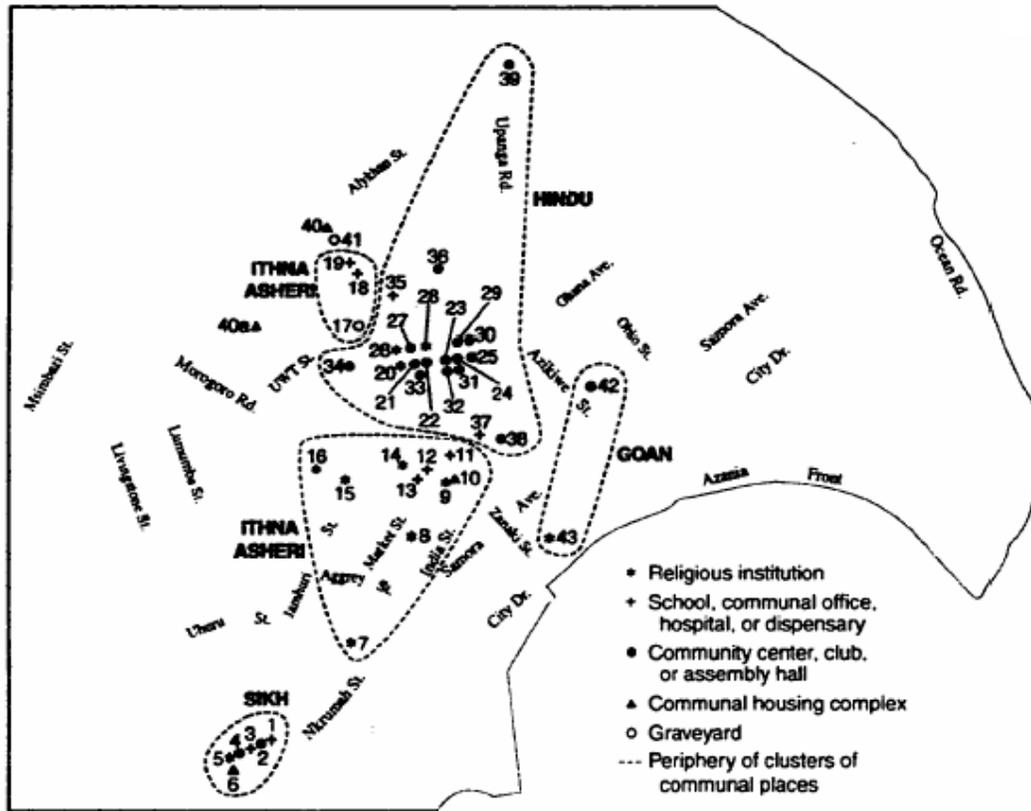
This chapter focuses on the patterns of urban life of Asians living in Dar es Salaam. As Chapter 4 made clear, I encountered problems in researching Asian communities; specifically I faced limited access to certain communities. In spite of these barriers, I still collected information on urban life from forty Asians from four religious communities: Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. In addition, I conducted follow-up interviews with at least one member of each of these groups and collected urban observations from temples, mosques, and social institutions. With these research results, I believe that I can successfully shed lights on the urban life patterns of Asians in Dar es Salaam. As the above quotation, from a novel by Tanzanian Asian M.G. Vassanji suggests, the Asians in my survey have a complicated history that shapes how they experience, perceive, and understand Dar es Salaam.

Still, this portion of my research does differ from my research on expatriate and African urban life. As a white American living in Dar es Salaam, I was a part of the expatriate community even if I did not completely follow their typical life: a house in Msasani, food shopping in supermarkets, and recreation at hotels. I became aware of this life, and occasionally participated in it, through both formal research activities and personal experiences. These experiences enhanced my research results. For my African research, I was an outsider based on my skin color but attempted to become an insider by devoting a significant amount of time to this section of my research. James and I spent many full days talking with people, observing, walking, and eating at local restaurants. In addition to this time investment, I collected information on African urban life from a much larger sample of respondents. I was able to immerse myself in this life through time and energy and believe that these experiences led to strong research results.

I approached my research on Asian urban life differently. I did not live an Asian lifestyle even though I shopped in Asian-run stores and ate a lot of Indian food. I did not spend the majority of my research time talking with Asians, although I invested a significant amount of time trying unsuccessfully to talk with Asians. For these reasons it is difficult for me to make conclusions on Asian life based solely on my research. I collected data on patterns of urban life and mapped these patterns in identical fashion to my expatriate and African research in Chapters 5 and 7. Still, my low number of respondents coupled with the diversity of Dar es Salaam's Asians makes me hesitant about the scope of my results.

To alleviate my uneasiness, I turn to the work of Richa Nagar (1995; 1996; 1997) on South Asians in Dar es Salaam. Her work is significant both for its geographical focus and because she is herself South Asian. Though it does not explicitly address the topics of this dissertation – urban segregation and patterns of urban life – she offers interesting insights into this diverse Asian community. Like this dissertation, Nagar focuses on Sikh, Goan (Christian), Ithna’sheria (Muslim), and Hindu communities within Dar es Salaam. She selects these communities in order to “problematize the too-often made distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian” (Nagar 1995: 36). By challenging these automatic categorizations, she demonstrates that other factors, including organizations, institutions, and societal processes, influence Asian identity. More than differences between these communities, she also suggests that important differences exist within these communities in terms of class, gender, religion, and caste. In spite of these “differences in their social backgrounds and experience, Asians as a whole have largely remained socially, politically, and spatially isolated from their African neighbors since colonial times” (1996: 62). As shown in Figure 6.1, though these groups inhabit distinct areas, all of these areas are still within the City Center. Throughout this chapter I will include aspects of Nagar’s research to supplement and enhance my own findings.

Figure 6.1. Asian Communities in Dar es Salaam's City Center.



(Nagar 1995).

Are Asians a Cohesive Community?

As this chapter makes clear, the Asian community in Dar es Salaam is diverse. Still, this chapter looks at Asian patterns of life to understand whether colonial segregation persists in contemporary Dar es Salaam. In doing so, I consider information from all the communities I surveyed as a whole. For these communities, I use the term Asian to refer to Tanzanians of Asian Descent. Though some scholars (Brennan 2002; Nagar 1995) suggest South Asian is a more accurate term, Asian is more convenient. Colonial documents use the term Indian, which was the official

term until the 1947 partition of Pakistan and India. These Tanzanians of Asian Descent are generally those people born in Tanzania, who use a Tanzanian passport, and consider themselves to be Tanzanian nationals. Many of these people are second and third generation Tanzanians; in fact, Amirali Yusufali Karimjee, a former mayor of Dar es Salaam, can trace his family's roots in East Africa to 1825 (Delf 1963). Indians have traded with and lived in the area for a much longer period; the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* references Indian traders in the 1st Century and Vasco da Gama observed many Asians living along the coast in the 14th Century (Gregory 1993). The existence of Asians in Dar es Salaam occurred more recently. The first Asian, a Bohora trader, arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1856 and was followed by Ithna'sherias in 1875, Ismailis in the late 1800s, Hindus in the early 1900s, and Sikhs in 1915 (Campbell 1999a).

It is important to understand the differences between these Muslim sects. Within Islam, followers are either Sunni or Shia. This division arises from disagreements about how to choose the religion's leader. Sunnis view this leader as an elected official while Shias consider the position to be hereditary, occupied by an ancestor of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed. Other differences exist concerning prayers and pilgrimages. Although Sunnis comprise the majority of the global Muslim population, most East African Muslims are Shia. Ismailis, Bohoras, and Ithna'sherias are all Shia Muslims. The Ismaili leader is the Aga Khan and this sect is known for its cosmopolitan, well-educated, and modern followers (Delf 1963). Bohoras are considered to hold the middle position of these three sects; they are

“more modernistic, more entrepreneurial, and most highly oriented toward imported values” than Ithna’sherias (Bharati 1972: 85). Though Ithna’sherias form the majority Shia population worldwide, they are not the dominant sect in Tanzania (Delf 1963). This sect originally followed the Aga Khan but split in the mid-19th Century; today, Ithna’sherias do not have the tight communal bonds of Ismailis, nor are they as interested in westernization or education (Gregory 1993).

In spite of this long history of residence in the area and the difference between Asian communities, group commonalities do exist. In 1914, Dar es Salaam’s Asians formed an Indian Association with the goal of convincing Great Britain and the League of Nations to designate Tanganyika an Indian colony. Asians in the city also became a largely self-sufficient population, possessing their own hospitals, schools, and social clubs and rarely intermixed with other races (Delf 1963). Ghai (1966) relates this characteristic of Asian society to colonialism more generally; like Myers (2003), he considers the compartmentalization of colonial cities to be their striking feature. This effect of this compartmentalization was “to make the Asians inwardlooking and to organize schemes of self-help to supplement deficiencies in government provision of schools, hospitals, etc.” (Ghai 1966: 11). This inward focus is not a negative characteristic of Asian urban life. Rather, Ghai and Ghai (1970: 11) suggest it was “deeply rooted in their traditional beliefs”.

Though at times this inward focus was toward specific communities, it is common to all Asians. As a result of these characteristics and their shared history of segregation, I consider Asians as one group. Both the German and British Colonial

government considered Asians as one group, and they lived within the small spatial extent of Zone 2. Since this research is concerned with whether this colonial pattern persists, it follows to continue to consider them together. The next two sections outline briefly the history of Asians in Dar es Salaam, to understand the reasons for their population increase and the factors that caused Asians to become more inward-focused. The relationship of Asians to the colonial and independent governments is essential to understanding their urban life patterns.

Asians and the Colonial Governments

By the beginning of German colonial rule, Dar es Salaam already had a small Asian population as illustrated in Table 6.1. Under German administration, this population steadily increased, because the government recognized the potential economic benefit of Asians to its colony and encouraged them to settle there as traders. The government considered these traders “indispensable in mediating trade between European firms and the natives” (Iiffe 1969: 96). In addition to work as traders, Asians during this time period also worked as mechanics, artisans, and in government positions (Delf 1963).

Under German rule, the majority of the Asian population was comprised of Indians. Yet, in spite of the rapid population growth, the Indian government never legalized the emigration of indentured laborers to German East Africa (Mangat 1969). Unlike in the neighboring British colonies of Kenya and Uganda, which did receive indentured laborers, the German government did not outlaw certain punishments for

Table 6.1. Asian Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.

Year	Asian	Total Population
1887	-	3000 - 4000
1894	620	10,020
1900	1,480	19,840
1913	2,500	22,500
1921	4,000	24,600
1928	6,100	29,281
1931	8,910	32,985
1942	9,200	37,580
1943	11,000	45,100
1948	15,208	67,779
1957	28,000	150,000

(de Blij 1963; Gillman 1945; TNA Annual Reports; TNA Acc. 540, 18/4; TNA 18950, Volume 3).

Indians, including flogging. As a result, all Indian immigration to German East Africa was strictly voluntary. The Asian population difference between these colonies was striking; together Kenya and Uganda imported between 32,000 and 38,000 indentured workers to work on the East African Railway, while less than 200 chose to voluntarily work in German East Africa (Nagar 1995). Though the Indian government prevented the enlistment of indentured workers, it did allow the German government to recruit skilled workers. Even when faced with increased demands for Indian labor in the colony, the Indian government was reluctant to change its labor policies. This reluctance stemmed from the government's fear that the small European population in German East Africa was insufficient to protect Indian rights (Mangat 1969).

Even though the German government initially welcomed Asians in Dar es Salaam, eventually their relationship became more contentious. One impetus for this shift was the change in perception of the Indian trader from indispensable to “a crafty trader” (Mangat 1969: 110). A second factor in this shift was that India was a British colony meaning that all Indians were British subjects, including those living in German East Africa. This perceived allegiance to Britain made Indians seem dangerous to German colonial policy. In fact, during the Maji Maji Rebellion, the German government linked some Indians to the African rebels as weapons suppliers (Iliffe 1969).

Associated with this shift in relationship was the growing support for immigration restrictions on Asians. The Governor of German East Africa disagreed with these demands, pointing out the significant economic contributions of Asians as well as the fact that racial discrimination would “contravene the Congo Act” (Iliffe 1969: 96). This Act, also called the Berlin Act, established the principles of colonialism and was signed at the Berlin Conference by the European colonial powers. This recognition by the Governor is especially interesting in light of the later British attitudes toward racial segregation. Even though the British government realized that segregation would violate the League of Nations Mandate, segregation still occurred. Likewise, even though the German government knew that racial discrimination would contradict the law establishing colonialism, discrimination still occurred. In spite of the Governor’s position, in 1911 the Legislative Assembly

passed a resolution that limited Asian rights to own land and recommended segregation and immigration restrictions (Mangat 1969).

If the relationship between the German government and the Asian population in Dar es Salaam appears complicated, their relationship with the British government was even more so. Though the League of Nations Mandate and the end of World War I did bring increased potential to many Asians, this period was not without continued racial discrimination. The end of the war brought an immediate opportunity for Asians in the city to become property owners. The new British government sold all German property, called ex-enemy property, as a way to discourage Germans from returning to Tanganyika Territory. Asians purchased most of this property and within ten years they controlled ninety per cent of freehold property in Dar es Salaam and almost all of the city's hotels and stores (Hollingsworth 1960).

A second area of increased opportunity for Asians concerned the general transition to British rule. As British subjects, the German government considered Asians dangerous. On the surface, the transition to British rule eliminated this political tension. More than just being British subjects, Indians also received other privileges from the League of Nations. Since India was a member of the League, the Mandate guaranteed Indians equal rights and, theoretically, prevented racial discrimination toward them. As discussed in Chapter 2, Indians used their status within the League to fight for, and win, better treatment by the British government. In spite of any promise of equality, the British government did discriminate against

Asians. In addition to the racial segregation that is the focus of this dissertation, discrimination occurred in other ways. A smaller proportion of government revenue was allocated toward Zone 2 than Zone 1 even though the Asian population was larger than the European population. As shown in Table 3.1, in 1921 the Asian population was six times greater than the European population; by 1943 it was ten times greater. Though some Asians did work for the colonial government, they were never appointed to high-level positions and they were disproportionately represented in the Legislature (Hollingworth 1960).

In spite of this discrimination, the situation of most Asians was still better than that of most Africans in Dar es Salaam. Asian population growth continued during this period, largely influenced by the perceived opportunities in the city. An emigrant from the Punjab region who arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1928 came because he “heard that the streets were paved with gold” (Gregory 1993: 15). Asians achieved high standards of living, both from increased property ownership and also from their continued involvement in the commercial sector. Although it is often stereotypically assumed that Asians became involved in the commercial sector of Tanzania because they were business-minded, this decision was motivated more by the vast number of opportunities in this sector; in fact between 1957 and 1962, half of the Asian population was involved with the commerce and banking sectors (Gregory 1993). Compared to their lives in Asia, they earned higher salaries, made larger profits, lived in a healthier climate, and had better educational opportunities for their children (Hollingsworth 1960).

Asians and the Independent Government

After Tanganyika received its independence in 1961, discrimination against Asians did not end. Rather it persisted through various policies designed to promote African interests in the country at the expense of Asian and European interests. This general policy of Africanization included several efforts coordinated with the country's transition to socialism that were intended to benefit the African majority. One such policy attempted to increase the number of Africans working in the civil service. As Nagar (1995) points out, this policy disproportionately affected Asians, who either lost their jobs outright or lost any potential for promotion. Although these policies also limited European positions in the civil service, that population shifted into diplomatic and private sector employment. Understandably, many Asians viewed these policies as discriminatory and were therefore unsure about their future in Tanganyika. Asians realized that they benefited greatly from the colonial racial hierarchy, as opposed to Africans who suffered immensely, and concluded that independence would likely change things to their disadvantage (Nagar 1996). One solution to these fears was for some Asians to retain British or Indian passports, rather than become Tanganyikan citizens. This factor helps to explain why some of my research respondents list a nationality other than Tanzanian in spite of living their entire lives in that country.

As May Joseph points out, this time period was difficult for Tanzanian Asians.

As an Asian living in Dar es Salaam during the early independence period, she experienced the contradictions of life as a minority and non-citizen in a time that stressed familyhood:

I recall my own efforts at expressively staging citizenship in those early years of independence, my enthusiastic attempts to demonstrate that I was, indeed, a good Tanzanian socialist: marching along with my peers, emulating the best *ngoma* dancers by shaking my hips just so, beefing up my Swahili so that I would be among the handful of Asians accepted into the local Swahili medium secondary schools, singing Swahili songs with the right accent (Asians were constantly mocked for their poor pronunciation of Swahili), trading my skills in drawing frogs and butterflies for help from green-thumbed comrades with my *shamba*, or vegetable garden, so that I would not fail the year. Despite the anti-Asian graffiti present in the streets on the route home, I was determined to prove that I had assimilated. But being defined inauthentic proved a more potent force than my expressive stances. Clearly, more was needed than speaking perfect Swahili – more important, a sense of historicity in relation to this transitioning place of Tanzanian socialist citizenship (1999: 2).

Her efforts demonstrate the problematic situation of Asians in Tanzania; they were not Africans and therefore not a governmental priority but they were unwilling to leave their home and their lives in Africa.

A second policy of Africanization was the nationalization of businesses and buildings. In 1964, the Zanzibari government nationalized all land owned by either Asians or Arabs. Though at the time, Zanzibar and Tanganyika were still separate countries, this action of the Revolutionary Government was a precursor of what would happen in Tanzania. After the union, other actions by the Zanzibar government affected Asians. Karume, the first president, implemented a policy in

1970 that denied trading licenses to all minorities and the next year, denied citizenship to anyone not of black African ancestry (Nagar 1996). Karume's goal of a multi-racial society even led him to promote intermarriage between Asian women and male members of the government. This goal was such a priority to the president, that it was illegal for a woman to refuse a marriage proposal (Nagar 1996). These policies led to a mass exodus of Asians from Zanzibar, with many emigrating to Dar es Salaam.

In 1967, the Arusha Declaration laid out the government's path toward socialism. In 1968, the Co-operative Societies Act created marketing cooperatives that eliminated the role of private Asian traders (Nagar 1996). Other socialist policies nationalized major businesses and industries, including factories, banks, and insurance companies. This nationalization even affected import, export, and wholesale trade, and the licenses of traders were revoked; the vast majority of these traders were Asian. Operation Maduka in 1976 phased out all retail trade, further affecting the Asian commercial class. Perhaps the most detrimental policy to Tanzania's Asians was the 1971 Building Acquisition Act that nationalized all buildings. With this Act, the government acquired 2,908 buildings; only 97 belonged to Africans and the rest belonged almost exclusively to Asians (Nagar 1995).

The acquisition of buildings played an important role in defining race relations in post colonial Tanzania. While the newspapers and political leaders justified the acquisition by labeling all Asians as 'unpatriotic' and 'exploitative,' Asians criticized the African government for 'discriminating' against them on the grounds of race and declared that socialism and Ujamaa were 'anti-Asian' (Nagar 1995: 88).

Africanization did not impact only civil servants. It also affected the wealthier Asian population involved in the private sector. Importantly, even middle class Asians felt the effects of this policy since many owned flats in larger buildings owned by the rich.

Interestingly, however, this policy of Africanization did benefit some Asians. One particular goal of this policy was to integrate and Africanize Upanga, an historically Asian area. To meet this goal, Asians were not granted new land there. Instead, African political leaders acquired plots for sublease. Yet the Arusha Declaration limited government and party leaders to only one source of income and prevented them from involvement in any private business, including real estate. Asians therefore had the opportunity to return to Upanga and enter into this real estate market. Asians also benefited when the Acquisition Act caused wealthy Asians, primarily Ismailis, to leave Tanzania. Poorer Asians, mainly Ithna'sherias and Hindus, moved to Dar es Salaam from up-country and entered into the commercial sector. Even though many Asians left Tanzania because they feared for their futures, those that remained in Dar es Salaam prospered from *ujamaa*. Though socialism was designed to benefit the public sphere at the expense of the private, it failed. It ultimately benefited Asians.

Daily Life Maps

This section examines whether colonial patterns of segregation persist for Dar es Salaam's Asians. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the members of the expatriate community that I surveyed largely complete their daily activities in the former Colonial Zone 1. The following sections will consider whether the former Zone 2 remains important to Asians. With the Colonial Building Ordinances, Zone 2 was an area for both residential and commercial buildings. The primary construction requirement was that they not be buildings of a native type. Originally, this area comprised the City Center and the Central Business District, in what are today Kisutu and Mchafukoge Wards. Photograph 6.1 shows a present-day City Center street in Dar es Salaam. This Zone 2 street is typical of this area. The multi-use buildings have street level shops and upper-level residences and the area has a concentration of places of religious worship. As the city's Asian population increased, Chang'ombe and Upanga became important Asian settlements. Photograph 6.2 shows a Colonial Era home in Chang'ombe. Though it resembles European homes from this time period – having the distinctive British-era red roof – this structure is actually a double family home even though it is smaller than single family colonial homes in Msasani. Although Upanga remained part of Zone 1, the British government designed it to offer upper-class Asians a suitable alternative to Msasani. Always, however, these Asian areas served as a buffer between Europeans and Africans.



Photograph 6.1. City Center Street. Photograph by Shannon Smiley. Used with permission.



Photograph 6.2. Chang'ombe Colonial Era Home. Photograph by author.

In this section, I discuss four aspects of Asian life in Dar es Salaam: locations of residence, food shopping, clothes shopping, and recreation. For each topic, I detail my research findings in both tables and maps. More than just focusing on the results of my qualitative research, I use information from follow-up interviews and urban observations to explain these urban life patterns.

Where Do Asians Live?

Like the expatriate population, the Asians that I surveyed live in only eight wards. Table 6.2 lists these wards and Figure 6.2 maps them out. Though these areas are not entirely contiguous, the areas with the highest concentration of residences are bordering wards. In fact, three-fourths of respondents, thirty out of forty, live in either the City Center or Upanga. This high concentration can be attributed primarily to historical reasons. Not only were these areas historically the homes of the Asian population of Dar es Salaam, but significant ties exist between Asians and the commercial sector in the city. Thus, for many Asians, the ability to live and work in a single area is important. In addition, another important amenity to this community – religious worship – is also concentrated in this area. This proximity to all aspects of life was a strong influence on residence choice for one respondent (A.M.). By living in the City Center, she is near her elderly in-laws and is within walking distance of church and friends. This proximity is especially important since her elderly mother lives with her. Other factors in choosing residences were the higher levels of security

Table 6.2. Asian Residential Wards.	
Total Responses = 40	
Total Respondents = 40	
Low	
	Ilala 2
	Kariakoo 1
	Kipawa 1
	Magomeni 1
	Mikocheni 3
	Msasani 2
Medium	
	No Wards
High	
	City Center 17
	Upanga 13

in an apartment building than a single family home and the lower price as compared to other areas of Dar es Salaam.

The remaining ten respondents live in six other wards. Several, Ilala, Kariakoo, and Magomeni, are situated close to this historic Zone 2. Kariakoo is an important commercial part of the city; not only is it home to the city's largest food market, it also is home to more formal stores. Proximity to work is also important in Kariakoo; another respondent (H.H.) lives and works on the same street in Kariakoo. In fact, his apartment's balcony overlooks the entrance to his jewelry store. With the strong involvement of Asians in the commercial sector, one would expect to find Asians living in Kariakoo. This residence is expected even though Kariakoo was the central area of Zone 3, located on the western edge of the Neutral Zone from Zone 2. Yet in spite of this separation, significant tensions existed between Asians and Africans as a result of Asians living in Kariakoo (TNA 32982).

Figure 6.2. Asian Residence.

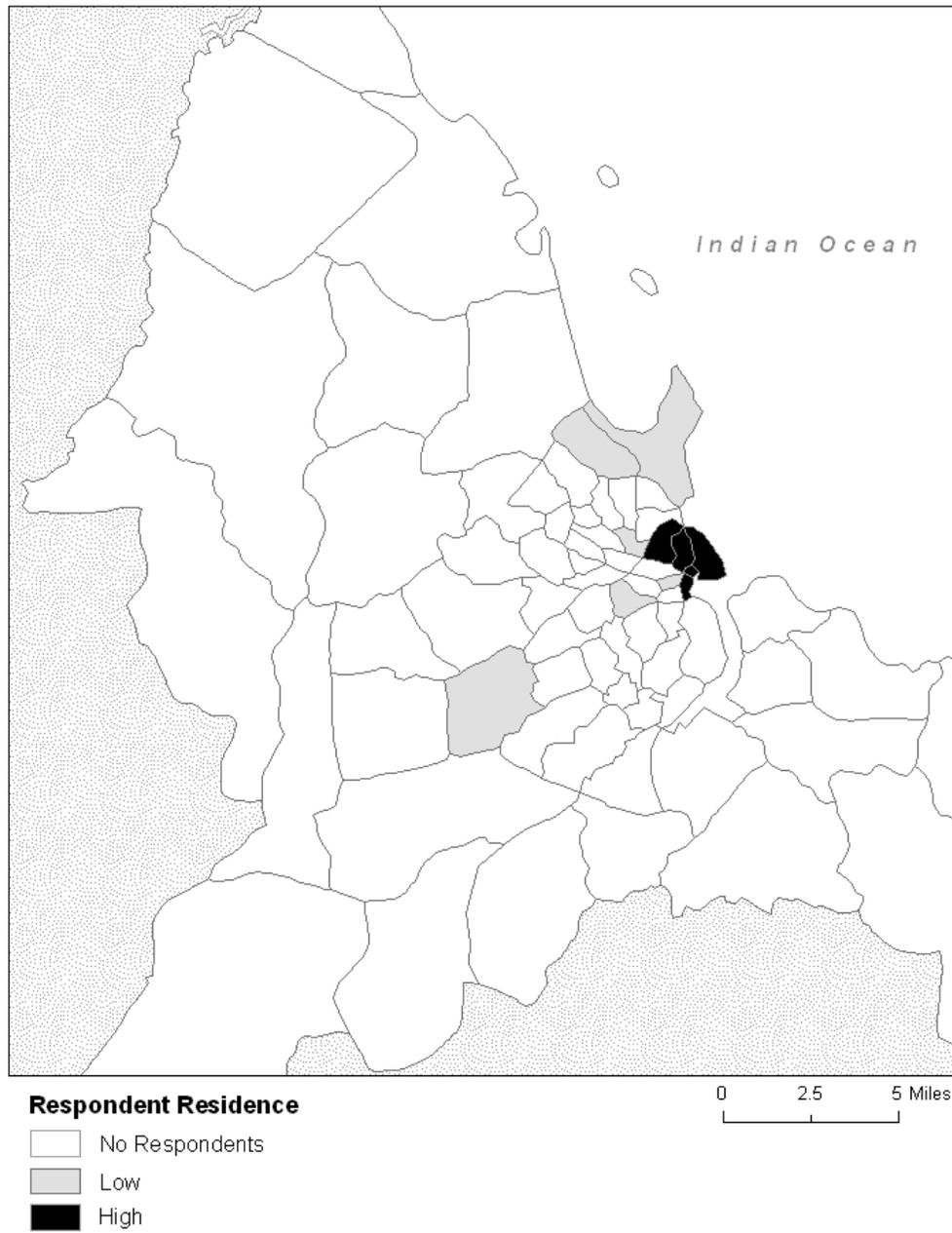


Table 6.3. Asian Previous Residential Wards.

Total Responses = 30
Total Respondents = 40

Low

Gerezani 1
Kariakoo 1
Mbezi 2
Msasani 2
Upanga 5

Medium

No Wards

High

City Center 19

Residence of a small number of Asians in this survey in Mikocheni and Msasani Wards suggest some degree of social mobility; as incomes rise, some Asians choose to relocate to larger houses and plots. Interestingly, one respondent chose Mikocheni for a different reason (M.C.). She and her husband built a home in this area before it was a densely settled area. At that time, shortly after the 1971 nationalization of buildings, new home construction was non-existent and they had few options. Building in Mikocheni was cheap at the time because the area was nearly empty, and they became the first Indian family in the area.

Interestingly, similar patterns exist for previous residential wards. As demonstrated in Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3, nearly half of my respondents previously lived in the City Center. In fact, twenty-six respondents have lived in City Center at some point and thirty-five have lived in either the City Center or Upanga at some point. This overwhelming concentration in these two areas serves to further underscore their importance to Asians in Dar es Salaam.

Figure 6.3. Asian Previous Residence.



Where Do Asians Purchase Food?

As Chapter 5 makes clear, the majority of expatriates purchase food at Western-style supermarkets. The food shopping of the Asians in my survey, however, takes three forms: supermarkets, local markets, and home sales. Table 6.4 lists the locations for these shopping venues and Figure 6.4 maps them out. Rather than shopping by convenience, as many expatriates do by shopping on the Msasani Peninsula, Asians appear to shop based on selection, quality, and availability.

In terms of supermarket shopping, the most important location is not in Msasani; rather Asian respondents frequent a Shoprite supermarket located in Gerezani Ward, adjacent to the City Center. This is the largest Shoprite in Dar es Salaam in terms of square footage and selection, but it has prices similar to the other Shoprites in the city.

For local markets, which have lower prices and generally fresher products than supermarkets, four locations in the City Center and Kariakoo are prominent in Asian responses. In the City Center, the Kisutu Market and Fish Market are formal markets while more informal produce stalls line Zanaki Street, a main road near the Kisutu Market. Kariakoo Ward, located near to the City Center, is home to the city's largest market. Since most of the city's fresh produce originates there, it often has the lowest prices in town.

Table 6.4. Asian Food Shopping Wards.

Total Responses = 65
Total Respondents = 40

Low

Gerezani 7
Kariakoo 6
Kinondoni 3
Mikocheni 4
Mjimwema 1
Msasani 6
Upanga 7

Medium

No Wards

High

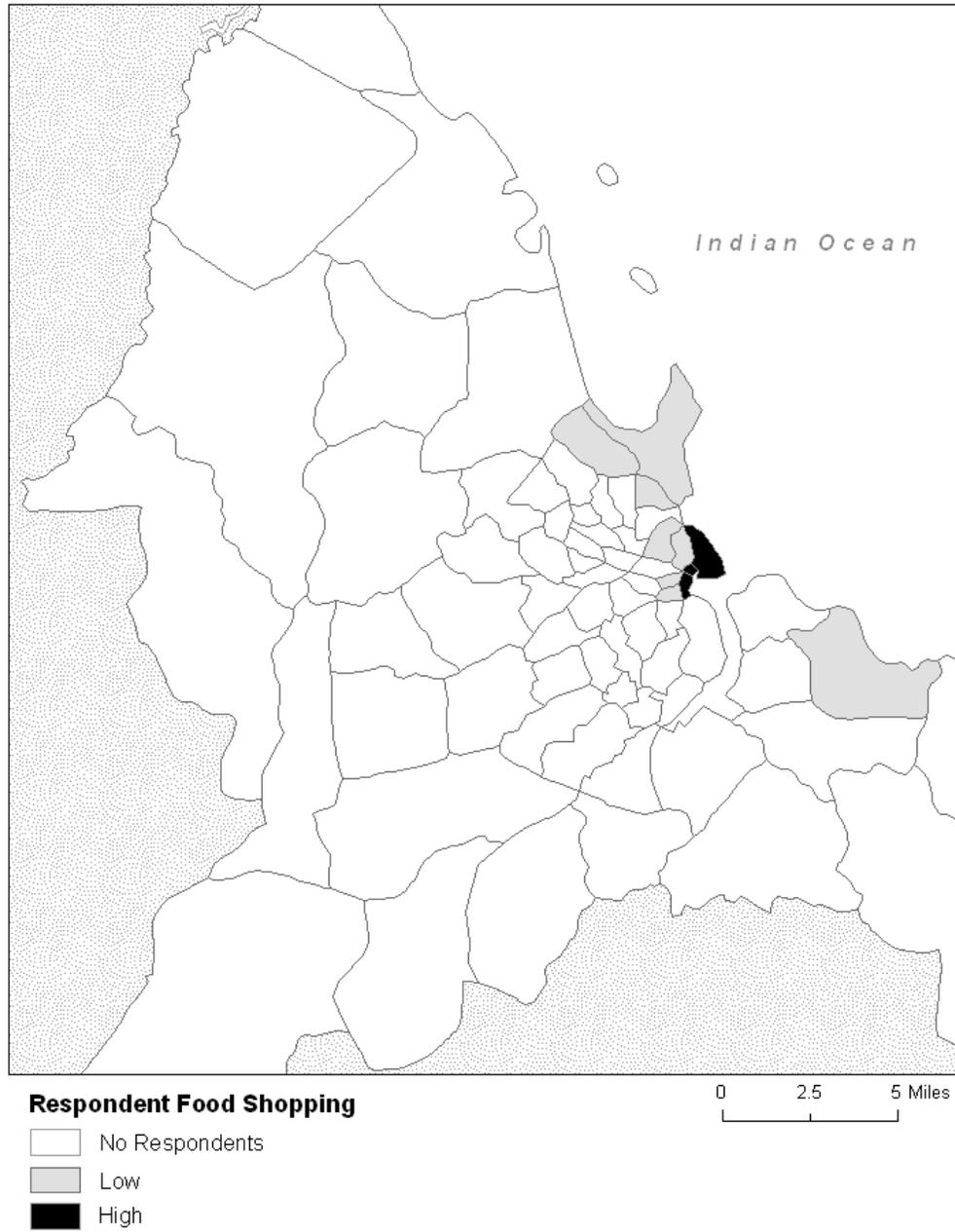
City Center 31

Notes from the Field. Zanaki Street.

I found Zanaki Street by accident one day. An Asian friend recommended Kisutu Market as the closest market to my apartment and even gave me a walking map to find it. Unfortunately, my friend is known for her less-than-accurate maps and I never found the market. Instead, I found Zanaki Street and its many stalls of fresh produce. I found that these stalls have fairly reasonable prices; they were higher than I could find at Kariakoo but I never felt I received an inflated *mzungu* price. I was always amazed at what I could find there: fresh cilantro for guacamole and fresh, albeit limp, celery for Thanksgiving stuffing. I found many of the vendors friendly; I received several free samples of unfamiliar fruits to tempt me into buying them.

The third component of Asian food shopping concerns the phenomenon of home sales. With the expatriate population, home delivery occurs with seafood, both out of convenience and perceived safety threats at the fish market. Yet with Asians, produce is actually sold door to door, rather than ordered and later delivered. Some of these home sales arise out of convenience, but often specialty fruits and vegetables are sold in predominantly Asian areas that might be otherwise hard to obtain.

Figure 6.4. Asian Food Shopping.



Where Do Asians Purchase Clothing?

A higher percentage of the Asians that I surveyed purchase clothing in Dar es Salaam than my expatriate respondents. Table 6.5 lists these locations, which are included in Figure 6.5. These shopping patterns should not, however, give the impression that Asians do not purchase clothing abroad. Instead, seven respondents purchase clothing while on vacation in Europe. Interestingly, internet shopping is not important to this group, likely because of the country's high duties on packages. These duties are not fixed, but are calculated by postal workers and are often based on a person's ethnicity, as evidenced by the experiences of other researchers in Dar es Salaam. In addition, many Asian respondents frequent tailors for hand-sewn clothing.

When clothing purchases do occur in Dar es Salaam, they predominantly occur in the City Center, with over half of respondents shopping there. These shopping locations take several forms. Some used clothing is sold in the City Center, both by roving salesmen and in fixed displays near the main bus stop. Though these displays do not reach the scale of 'The Tree' in Msasani, it is possible to find a variety of items. Most shopping, however, occurs in permanent stores in the City Center. These stores sell a variety of styles, ranging from imported clothing from Britain and the United States to traditional styles and materials from India.

Table 6.5. Asian Clothing Shopping Wards.

Total Responses = 29
Total Respondents = 40

Low

Chang'ombe 1
Kariakoo 6
Kinondoni 2
Mikocheni 1
Msasani 2

Medium

No Wards

High

City Center 17

Where Do Asians Go for Recreation and Entertainment?

This category of recreation and entertainment encompasses a variety of activities, including eating meals at restaurants, listening to live music, dancing, and religious worship. In spite of this variety of activities, some Asians, especially Muslims, do little recreation outside of the home except for religious worship. Respondents recreate in thirteen different wards, which are listed in Table 6.6 and mapped in Figure 6.6.

The most important activity for these Asians is religious worship, whether it be in temples, mosques, or churches. Three areas house these places: the City Center, Msasani, and Gerezani. The City Center contains a Catholic Church as well as numerous mosques and Hindu Temples. Msasani is home to a second church, while the Sikh Temple is found in Gerezani. The City Center is also an area of high importance for restaurants and community halls. There are a number of Indian

Figure 6.5. Asian Clothing Shopping.

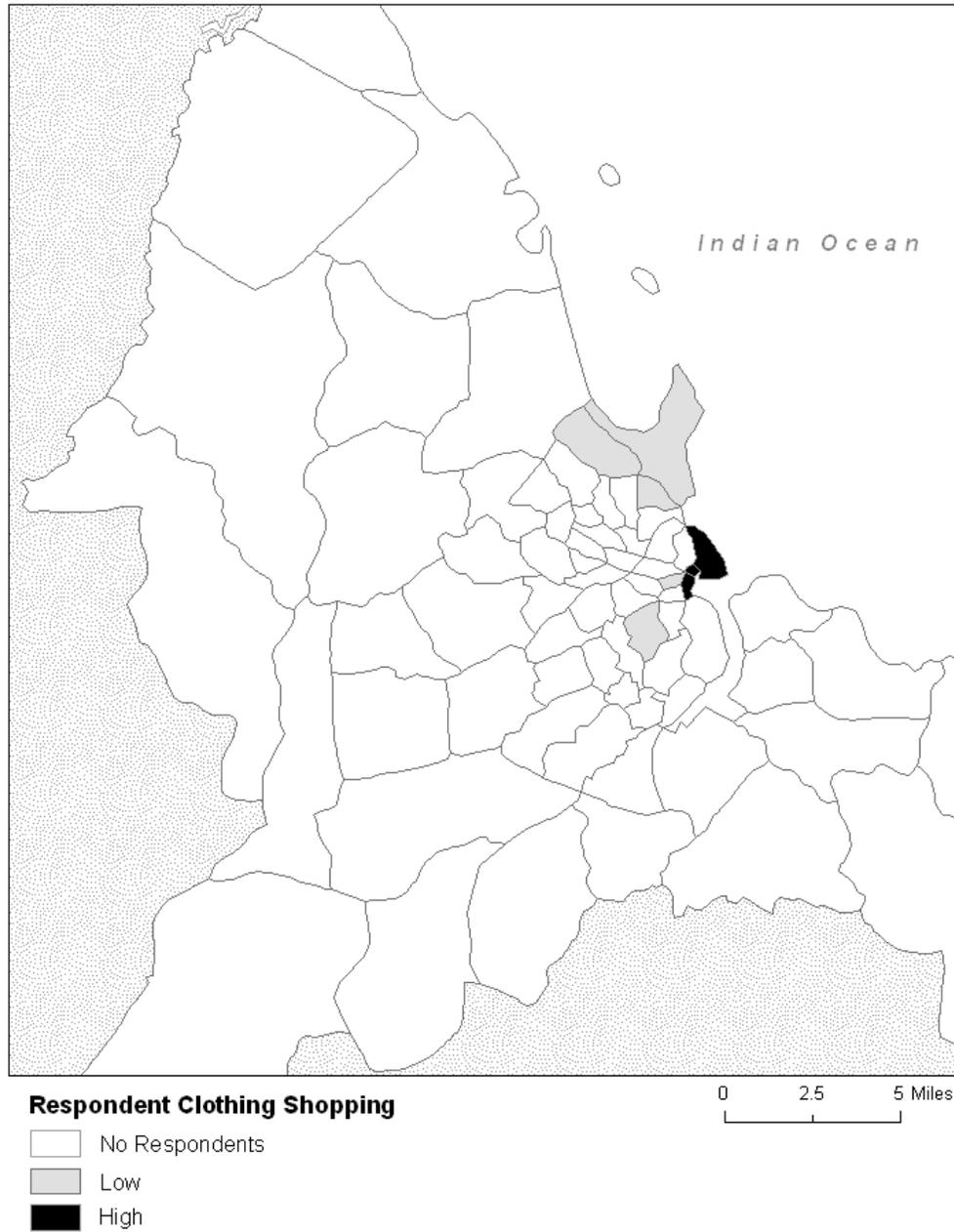


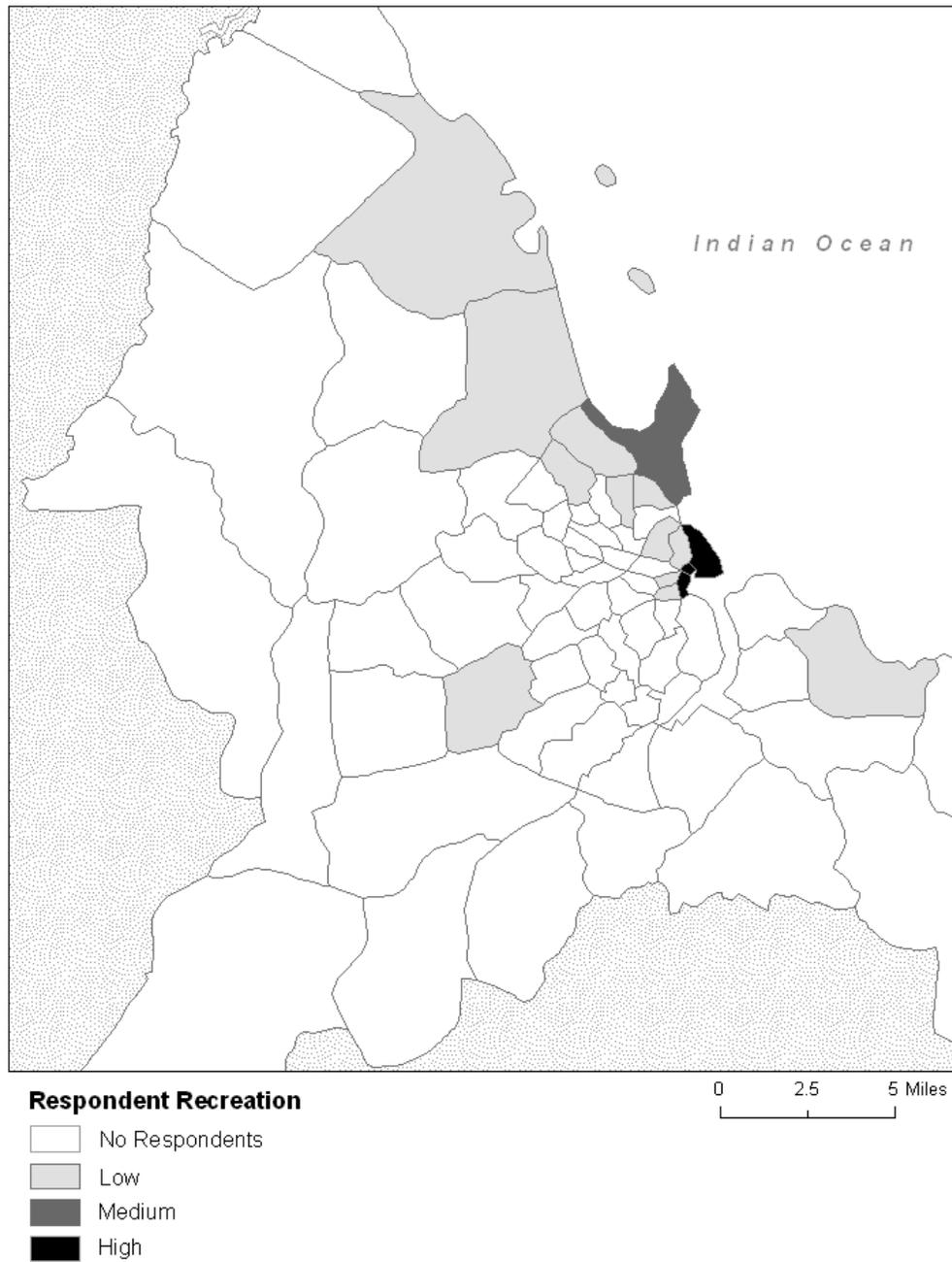
Table 6.6. Asian Recreation Wards.	
Total Responses = 85	
Total Respondents = 40	
Low	
	Gerezani 4
	Kariakoo 1
	Kawe 2
	Kijitonyama 2
	Kinondoni 1
	Kipawa 1
	Kunduchi 4
	Mikocheni 5
	Mjimwema 8
	Mwananyamala 4
	Upanga 5
Medium	
	Msasani 13
High	
	City Center 35

restaurants that prepare traditional and affordable cuisine from all parts of India.

Community halls for several communities, including the Goans' Dar Institute, are found in the City Center.

In addition to the Catholic Church, Msasani is also an important site of recreation because of the Slipway and Garden Bistro, where people can eat and listen to music. Garden Bistro in particular serves Indian food. In spite of the fact that some respondents do eat meals at restaurants, overwhelmingly the Asians that I surveyed tend to eat the majority of their meals at home. One respondent even goes home during the work week to eat lunch, since she both lives and works in the City Center (A.M.). Like with the expatriate population, oceanfront wards are popular recreation destinations, including Mjimwema, Kunduchi, and Kawe.

Figure 6.6. Asian Recreation.



Notes from the Field: The Ithna'sheria Mosque.

There are few opportunities for a person from Kentucky going to school in Kansas to visit a mosque. So when the opportunity to visit an Ithna'sheria mosque presented itself, I jumped at it. I met Firozali at the British Council Library, where we both used the computers to check email and keep up with world news. After seeing each other for many months, he greeted me and was interested to hear about my research. As it turns out, he earned a PhD and understood the research process and offered his assistance. As my research progressed to include the Ithna'sheria community, he wanted me to learn about the religion as well as the lives of its followers. He took me on a tour of the mosque complex, where I saw everything from the women's prayer room to the enormous pots for cooking to the rooms used for preparing bodies for burial. I did not particularly want to see those rooms, but my tour guide shoved me – literally – inside to see the embalming tables and white shrouds. More than just seeing this complex, I also visited the community's hospital and bookstore. Of course, none of these areas are closed to visitors, but I doubt I would have ever taken the initiative to visit them without an invitation.

An interesting form of recreation in the city is the New World Cinema, located in Kijitonyama. Though only two respondents listed it as a recreation location, it is popular with many of the city's Asians. This cinema shows up to four films in any given week, and two are always Bollywood Hindi films. This theater looks similar to any movie theater in the United States; it even has a snack bar that sells popcorn alongside the more traditional Tanzanian and Asian snack of samosas. Movie ticket prices are comparable to prices in the United States – approximately \$6 per ticket except for Tuesday when they are approximately \$4 – hence they are out of reach for many city residents. I saw one movie during my research, and the patrons were mostly Asian.

Conclusions

Historically Asians lived and worked in Zone 2, the mixed residential and commercial zone located in part of what is now the City Center. As the city's population and size increased, Asians expanded their residential patterns, moving also into Upanga and Chang'ombe. Importantly, Chapter 3 discussed the animosity felt between many Asians and other Dar es Salaam residents. Initially, the European population designed the Neutral Zone to separate them from everyone else, but the League of Nations Mandate prevented them from enacting this plan. Instead, the Neutral Zone, now called *Mzazi Moja*, separated Africans from everyone else. Yet colonial references to Asians are almost always negative, mentioning the dirtiness of the Indian bazaar or the dishonest Asian trading practices (Gillman 1945). The colonial relationship between Asians and Africans was also contentious. Africans in particular were upset with the number of Asians living in Zone 3, especially in Kariakoo. These Asians both took up the limited African housing and raised rents for Africans since Asians were willing and able to pay higher amounts (TNA 32982). The presence of Asians in Kariakoo both demonstrates the state of the city's historical race relations but also illustrates how Asians lived in areas other than the City Center.

Table 6.7 and Figure 6.7 illustrate the spatial extent of Asian daily activities in Dar es Salaam according to my survey. It is apparent from my sample at least that Asian activity is still centered predominantly in the City Center area. In fact, all forty of my respondents complete at least some daily activity in the City Center.

Table 6.7. Asian Daily Activity Wards.

Total Responses = 154

Total Respondents = 40

Low

Chang'ombe 1
Gerezani 9
Ilala 2
Kariakoo 12
Kawe 2
Kijitonyama 2
Kinondoni 6
Kipawa 2
Kunduchi 4
Magomeni 1
Mbezi 2
Mikocheni 9
Mjimwema 9
Mwananyamala 4

Medium

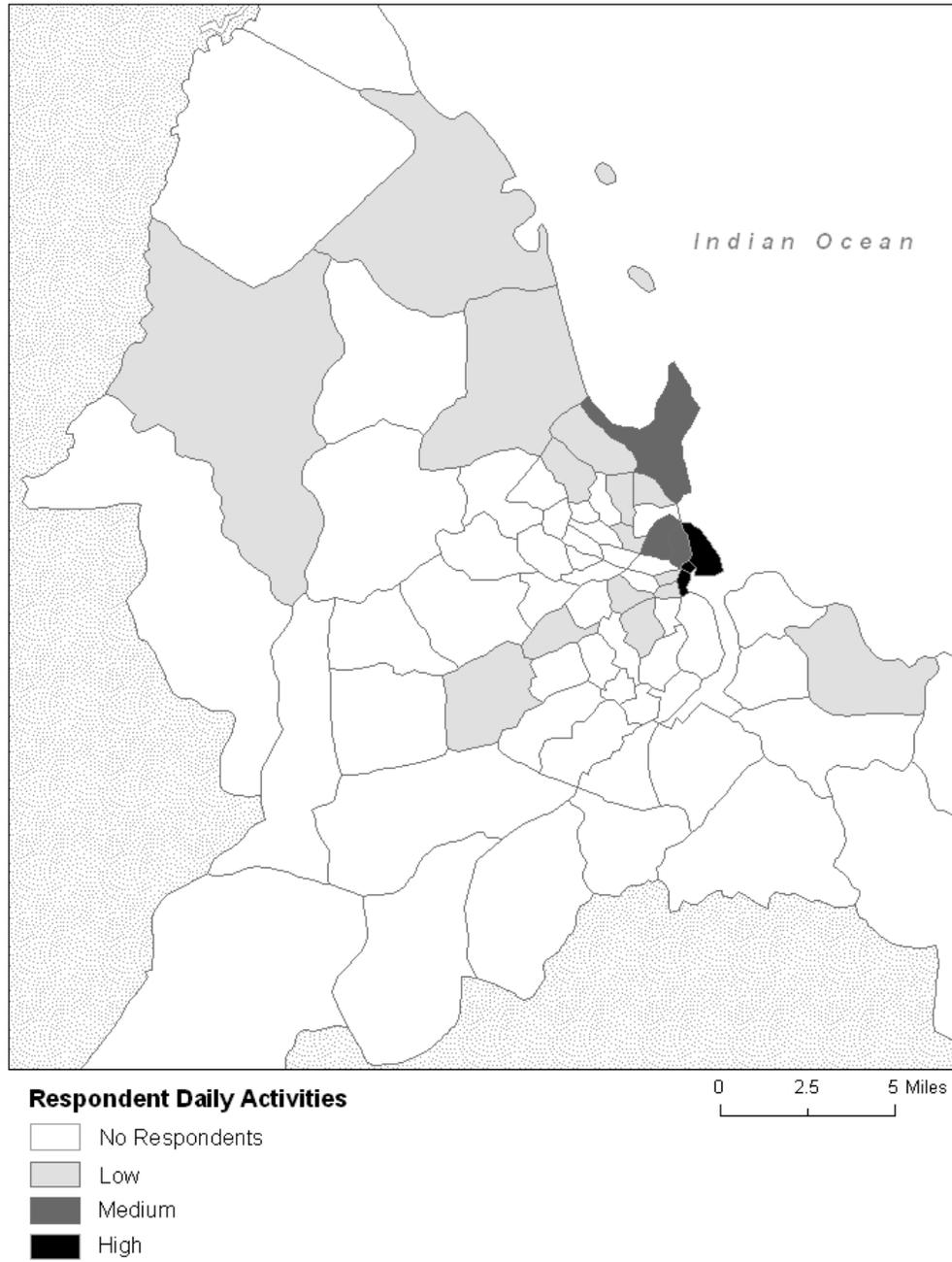
Msasani 17
Upanga 17

High

City Center 40

What is most interesting about my Asian respondents is that although they exhibit a degree of spatial concentration, their lives are not completely confined to Dar es Salaam. As mentioned in the discussion on patterns of clothes shopping, seven respondents indicated they purchase clothing abroad (and an additional five do not shop in Dar es Salaam but did not indicate an alternate location). This pattern of activity suggests that the Asian spatial life-world is, to a small degree, global.

Figure 6.7. Asian Daily Life.



Although the historical spatial extent of Asians does not strictly apply to Asians living in contemporary Dar es Salaam, many members of this community rarely venture beyond the heart of the city. For many Asians that I surveyed, shopping, worship, workplace, and home are concentrated in a small geographical area so there is little need to go outside this compact, familiar place. When I moved into my City Center apartment, Africans laughed at my decision to live in the Indian area. Though Asians live, shop, and recreate in other areas of Dar es Salaam, and indeed other parts of the world, the City Center has been, and will continue to be, the focus of many Asian daily activities.

Chapter 7. African Urban Life in Dar es Salaam.

The mnada [auction] was an open-air market in the African section of town. It was a square bustling with activity, uproarious with catcalls and jeers and bargains being struck, festooned with brightly-colored cloth and lit up in the night with the yellow light of kerosene lamps. It was packed in on three sides by rows of mud houses and accessible on the fourth by a short alley. As you came up this alley, missing potholes, avoiding banana and orange peels and other rubbish, giving right of way to carts of fruit and other wares pulled by men with impatient voices and straining backs, a brilliant and unsettling display of furniture suddenly came in sight. Folding chairs, sofas and tables, all functional – simple, roughly finished, varnished cheap red or gleaming yellow – lay exposed to the world and the weather. In front of this display, alongside the road and the open gutter ran a line of fruit and peanut sellers. Behind the furniture in small make-shift stalls and spread out on racks, crates, and on the ground, were the other articles on sale: new and used clothes, shoes, glass beads, mirrors and plastic jewelry; Japanese perfumes with exotic-sounding Arabic names, in bottles that cracked if exposed to the sun; toys, and even used appliances. Many a common thief had been chased through these grounds.

-- Vassanji 1991: 43-44.

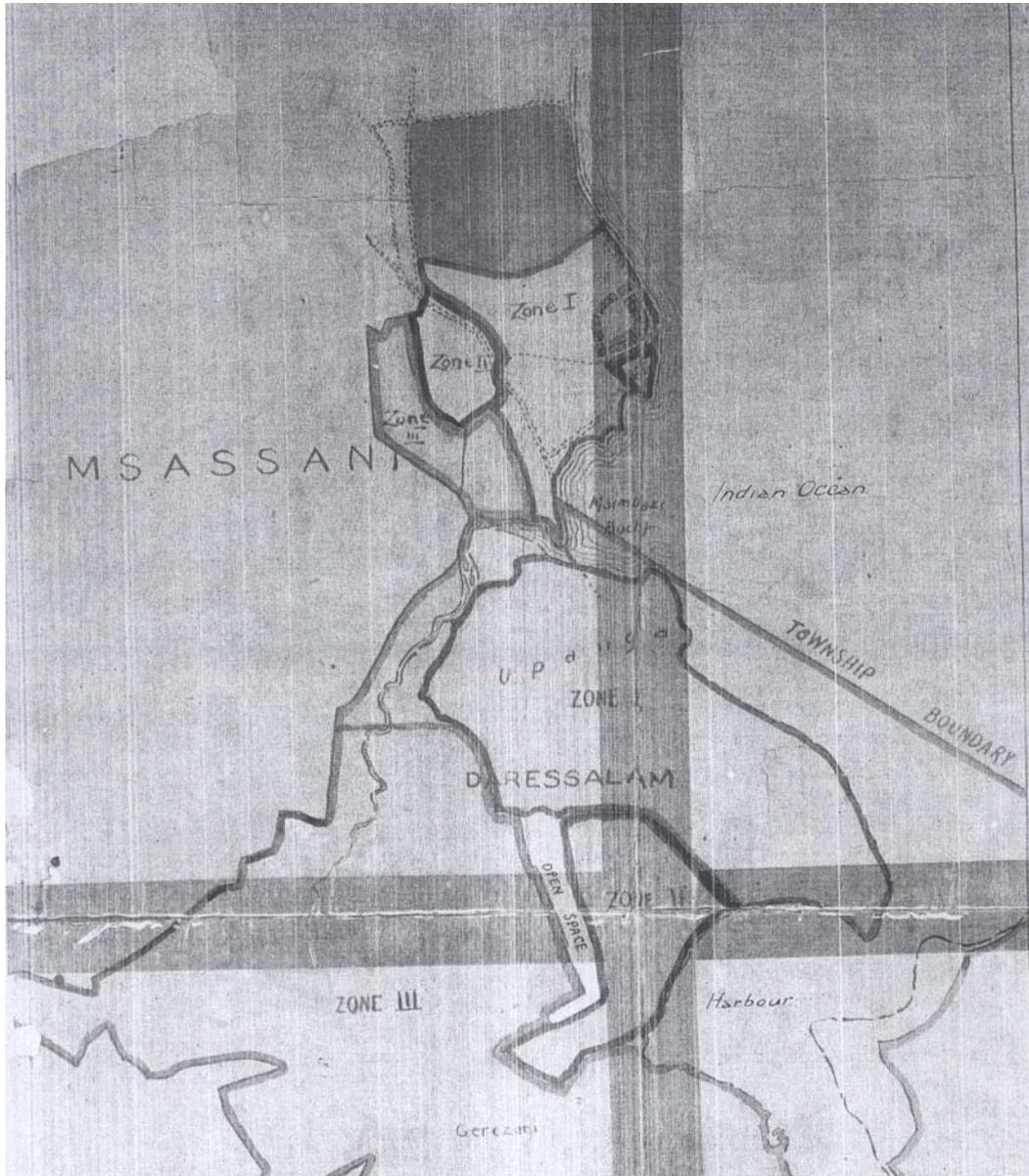
This chapter focuses on patterns of African urban life in Dar es Salaam. The Colonial Building Ordinances, discussed in previous chapters, permitted the construction of African-style homes only in Zone 3. Since these ordinances affected only the structures themselves, in theory Africans were free to live anywhere in the city as long as they could afford the rent and maintenance for a European-style house. In reality, the majority of Africans in Dar es Salaam could barely afford the rents on their native-style homes; in the period after World War II, the salaries of the city's poorest residents were approximately thirty shillings per month and a two-roomed house rented for twenty-seven shillings in Ilala and thirty-five shillings in Temeke

(TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). So although Africans could officially live anywhere in the city, residence outside of Zone 3 was financially impossible. In colonial Dar es Salaam, Zone 3 was located in the areas farthest removed from European coastal areas. To further physically separate the African population, the Neutral Zone served as a *cordon sanitaire* between the races. In areas of the city without this empty space, Zone 2 was a buffer zone between Africans and Europeans; when an area of the Msasani Peninsula was designated to house African servants, an area of Asian housing was also created, as shown in Figure 7.1.

As pointed out in Chapter 3, not only were African settlements located in undesirable parts of the city, they received less than adequate funding. These areas, Temeke in particular, were far removed from the city's jobs and social activities and were not easily accessible by public transportation. Since colonial regulations prohibited Africans from owning personal transportation, these areas were inaccessible (TNA 32982). In addition, these areas were not served with water or electricity; water was available only from public taps that were too few and far between to adequately serve the immense population (for example see TNA Acc. 540, 27/19).

Even today, these areas continue to experience problems from lack of services. This system of uneven water distribution is documented by Kjellén (2006), who suggests that only one-third of Dar es Salaam residents have formal access to water. Dar es Salaam experienced a cholera outbreak that lasted for more than half of my field experience. Though the outbreak occurred across the city, it was

Figure 7.1. British Era Building Zones.



(TNA 12589, Volume 1).

concentrated in African areas (*The Guardian* 2006a). The hardest hit areas were Buguruni, Kigogo, Tabata, and Vingunguti (*The Guardian* 2006b). As a water-borne disease, cholera is closely linked to the lack of a clean and efficient domestic water supply. African areas tend to have the most problematic water shortages; for example, residents of Mburahati Ward, in Kinondoni Municipality, complained to the Tanzanian government that they had not had water for ten years (Kasumuni 2005). Electrical provision also remains a problem. During my research, Dar es Salaam experienced frequent power outages and power rationing, but some areas were affected more than others; 3,000 residents of Kwembe, in Mbezi Ward, were without electricity for more than two weeks (Tindwa 2005). The colonial legacy of under-servicing African areas remains a problem in contemporary Dar es Salaam. These legacies do not escape residents of these areas. Some African residents of Dar es Salaam harbor feelings of bitterness and resentment based on their lack of services.

Notes from the Field: Mbagala.

After James and I heard the amusing, and unfortunately false, story of the origin of *Rangi Tatu's* name, we went to the area to investigate. We found several middle aged men sitting and talking in an unused area of the market. After learning their stories about the name, we then asked if they would be willing to answer my research questions. The informal leader of this group gave a long and heated reply. He said that that many white people do research in Mbagala and they ask him about its water and electricity provision. Yet after answering all of these questions, he still has neither service. Why then, he asked, should he answer my questions?

Initially Zone 3 included only Kariakoo, an African settlement planned by the German colonial government and laid out by the British. Today Kariakoo remains an important area in Dar es Salaam, housing the city's largest market. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter from a Vassanji novel describes this market and its hustle-and-bustle atmosphere. As the colonial African population continued to increase at a rapid rate, as demonstrated in Table 7.1, the government expanded Zone 3 to include other areas. In Leslie's (1963) survey of the city, he focuses on African populations in Kariakoo, Ilala, Magomeni, Temeke, Kinondoni, Msasani, Buguruni, and Keko. Though recent population censuses in independent Tanzania do not break figures down by race, certainly the overwhelming majority of the city's official 2.5 million inhabitants are African.⁸

The rapid population growth of Africans in Dar es Salaam is both from natural increase and in-migration. This in-migration is evident in my survey population. Of my 326 African respondents, approximately thirty-six per cent were born in Dar es Salaam Region, one of twenty-six administrative regions within Tanzania. Twenty-one of these regions are within the mainland, and respondents identified all of these areas as birthplaces. Most respondents were born outside of Dar es Salaam Region, with Kilimanjaro Region having the second highest total at thirteen per cent. In addition to having a high rate of in-migration, Dar es Salaam's immigrants become permanent residents. Of those respondents who were not born in the city, they have

⁸ Though the 2002 Tanzanian national census lists the city's population as 2,497,940, many estimate it is at least 3,000,000.

Table 7.1. African Population in Colonial Dar es Salaam.

Year	African	Total Population
1887	-	3000 - 4000
1894	9,000	10,020
1900	18,000	19,840
1913	19,000	22,500
1921	20,000	24,600
1928	21,930	29,281
1931	22,734	32,985
1942	27,200	37,580
1943	33,000	45,100
1948	50,762	67,779
1957	94,000	150,000

(de Blij 1963; Gillman 1945; TNA Annual Reports; TNA Acc. 540, 18/4; TNA 18950, Volume 3).

lived there for varying lengths of time. Four arrived before Tanganyika received its independence from the British, and only eight respondents arrived in the city within the last two years. These figures suggest that migrants are constantly moving to Dar es Salaam and that the vast majority do not return to their birthplaces.

This chapter considers patterns of urban life for the majority African population of Dar es Salaam. Though limited to Zone 3 areas during colonialism, the majority of the city's land was designated for African residences. The following sections explore whether contemporary patterns mimic these colonial patterns, as they do for expatriates and Asians. What is important to remember, however, is that Dar es Salaam is ultimately an African city. It is the *de facto* capital of Tanzania, a country ruled by an African government that should in theory put the needs of its

African citizens first. Patterns of urban life therefore reflect the intersection of colonial legacy and contemporary reality.

Respondent Characteristics

Before looking at these patterns more closely, it is interesting to consider the survey population in more detail. This portion of my research involves the largest number of respondents and reflects the diversity of Tanzania and Dar es Salaam's African population. As with my Asian respondents, it may be difficult to speak of Dar es Salaam's Africans. These Africans span many social and economic classes yet they are united as Tanzanians. Even though the country is one of the continent's most ethnically diverse, with over 120 ethnic groups, Tanzania has never experienced a major ethnic conflict. The country's history of peace and stability is often attributed to the unifying nature of the Kiswahili language. By having a common language, ethnic differences are less important than national identity. Another factor that contributes to ethnic harmony is the fact that no one group comprises a majority of the population. The Sukuma are the largest group, but account for only thirteen per cent of the population. Dar es Salaam reflects this diversity; my respondents include members of forty-five ethnic groups. Like the country, no one group dominates my respondent population. In fact, the Chagga comprise less than twelve per cent of the survey population. The second largest group, at eleven per cent, is the Zaramo. Even though the Zaramo are indigenous to the Dar es Salaam Region, the fact that they do

not dominate my survey further underscores the apparent importance of in-migration to the city.

The Africans that I surveyed have a variety of education levels. Only five have no formal education. One reason for the small number of uneducated people is that the Arusha Declaration abolished primary school fees in 1974. Though they were reinstated in the 1980s as part of the country's economic reforms (Nagar 1996), they were again abolished in 2001 under the World Bank and International Monetary Fund debt relief program. The national goal is to eventually reach one hundred per cent primary school enrollment, and currently almost all children are able to attend some schooling. Importantly, even though there are no school fees, other aspects of primary school education are not free such as textbooks, uniforms, paper, and pencils. Even though almost my entire survey population has some formal education, forty-seven per cent did not continue past primary school. The most common reason given for stopping schooling was poverty; families were unable to pay secondary school fees. Twenty-eight per cent completed secondary school but only five per cent continued formal training, either advanced secondary school or a university degree. Interestingly, an additional nineteen per cent earned some type of diploma or certificate. These programs vary widely in structure and quality; for example some do not require a secondary school education. These programs offer training in trades – electrical or weaving – as well as more professional programs such as teaching.

As might be expected by this variety in education levels, there is also a great range in occupation. The jobs with the most respondents include selling of some

type, which is done by eighteen per cent of respondents. This selling, referred to as *biashara* (business) by respondents, takes many forms. Some sellers have fixed locations where they display items on the street and some are roving salesmen, carrying their goods throughout the city. A small number have more permanent stalls to sell from. Thirteen per cent of respondents are unemployed. For some, they are unemployed by choice to raise children and for others they are actively seeking employment. Other occupations include musicians and artists (nine per cent), shopkeepers (seven per cent), *mama ntilie* (seven per cent), taxi and *daladala* drivers (four per cent), government and NGO workers (four per cent), and tailors (three per cent). Only two respondents listed more than one occupation. As Owusu's (forthcoming) research on multiple livelihood strategies in Ghana reflects, many Africans participate in several income-generating activities. In some cases, these multiple livelihoods help with survival but in others they help with wealth accumulation. Based on these findings, I would expect more respondents to have second and third occupations. It is possible that my survey respondents were hesitant to admit to these supplemental activities if they were done illegally, as is the case in Ghana (*ibid.*).

Unlike with expatriates and Asians, I made little attempt to target certain types of respondents. I concerned myself more with having spatial coverage of the city than the types of people that I talked to. Though at times I did ask James to help me find certain occupations – in particular I was interested in talking to *daladala* drivers – this mix of respondents occurred much by chance.

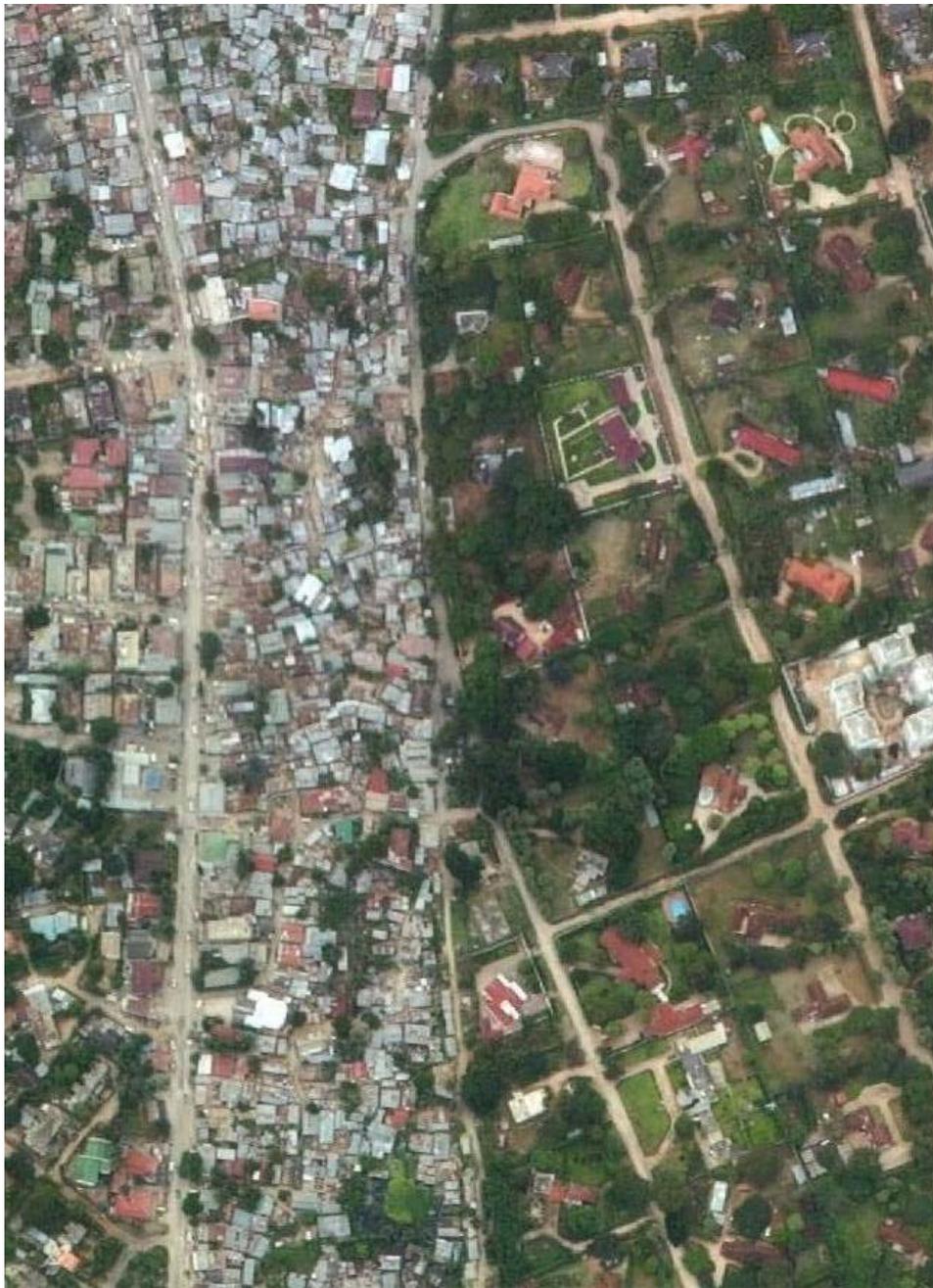
Notes from the Field: Upanga.

My last day of research was in Upanga. I talked with many interesting men but by afternoon, I had no female respondents. James had a friend there who tried valiantly to find us women. And while he did find us some in a beauty salon, none actually lived in Upanga. These men laughed at my troubles finding women to talk to because they have the same troubles; they complained that there are no women in Upanga, as evidenced by their lack of dates.

Daily Life Maps

The following sections detail patterns of life for the Africans that I surveyed. Like the previous two chapters, I focus on patterns of residence, shopping, and recreation. This research demonstrates some interesting patterns, especially when compared to those of expatriates and Asians. Colonial segregation sought to distance Africans and Europeans. Although the colonial governments provided few services to Africans, they did designate much of the city as Zone 3. In contemporary Dar es Salaam, African urban patterns are more complicated. Though Africans live, shop, and recreate in most of the city's wards, their lives are concentrated in only several wards. Even though some of these wards, the City Center and Msasani in particular, are also areas of Asian and expatriate concentration, these groups frequent different locations within these wards. As shown in Photograph 7.1, although African and expatriate residential areas in Msasani Ward are adjacent, they bear no resemblance to each other. An African neighborhood occupies the left-hand side of this photograph. This area is marked by a small number of roads, closely constructed housing, and little open space. The right-hand side of the photograph shows an

Photograph 7.1. Aerial Photograph of Msasani Ward.



expatriate area, marked by the colonial-era red roofed homes, large lots, green grass and trees, and even a swimming pool inside one plot. Even when expatriates, Asians, and Africans exhibit similar patterns of urban life, these lives still have significant differences.

Where Do Africans Live?

This research considers patterns of current and previous residence for my African survey respondents. In looking at Tables 7.2 and 7.3 and Figures 7.2 and 7.3, one pattern of current residence is immediately apparent: Africans live in all parts of Dar es Salaam. Unlike with expatriates or Asians, there is no clear pattern of residential segregation for Africans. At first, this point seems to contradict one of this dissertation's main themes: that Dar es Salaam is a segregated city, strongly affected by its colonial legacies. Yet, upon closer examination, one would expect to find Africans living in all parts of the city. Dar es Salaam is an African city, with an African majority population.

Tanzania has no legal segregation and the independent government has a long history of proclaiming that it is putting African interests first, above the interests of Asians or expatriates. For that reason, finding areas of the city with no African population would actually be strange. This widespread residential pattern does not mean, however, that these populations have any significant interaction. As pointed out above, although Africans live in Msasani, they are not living next door or even on the same streets as expatriates.

Table 7.2. African Residential Wards.

Total Responses = 326

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Buguruni 16	Kiwalani 2	Mtoni 4
Bunju 1	Kunduchi 4	Mwananyamala 25
Chang'ombe 13	Kurasini 12	Segerea 1
Charambe 1	Mabibo 7	Sinza 17
City Center 2	Magomeni 11	Tabata 13
Ilala 15	Makangarawe 1	Tandale 1
Kariakoo 14	Makumbusho 1	Tandika 3
Keko 8	Manzese 16	Temeke 18
Kigamboni 2	Mbagala 17	Town 2
Kigogo 3	Mbezi 3	Ubungo 3
Kijito Nyama 4	Mburahati 1	Ukonga 2
Kimara 13	Mchikichini 1	Upanga 10
Kinondoni 14	Mikocheni 19	Vingunguti 14
Kipawa 1	Msasani 13	

Medium

No Wards

High

No Wards

Another important characteristic of this research is that no ward in Dar es Salaam shows a high level of concentration of current African residence. As discussed in Chapter 4, I identified some high priority research wards based on population and history. Yet although I did specifically target some areas of the city, I purposefully avoided having an overwhelming number of respondents from any one ward. In this way, my data on other daily activity patterns is more representative of reality; if the majority of my respondents were from Mbagala, I would expect that most daily activities would be concentrated in that southern ward rather than Kawe, one of the city's northern wards. By including respondents from all over the city, any patterns will demonstrate actual preferences of my African survey population.

Table 7.3. African Previous Residential Wards.

Total Responses = 449

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Buguruni 14	Kiwalani 2	Mtoni 9
Chang'ombe 4	Kunduchi 5	Mwananyamala 12
Gerezani 1	Kurasini 9	Pugu 4
Ilala 14	Mabibo 8	Segerea 1
Kariakoo 15	Makumbusho 1	Tabata 15
Keko 7	Manzese 15	Tandale 2
Kigamboni 4	Mbagala 11	Tandika 17
Kigogo 4	Mbezi 7	Ukonga 4
Kijito Nyama 13	Mburahati 7	Upanga 10
Kimara 7	Mchikichini 1	Vingunguti 4
Kipawa 8	Mikocheni 9	Yombo Vituka 2

Medium

Kawe 23
Msasani 22
Sinza 28
Temeke 24
Ubungo 30

High

Kinondoni 39
Magomeni 37

In terms of previous residences, there are some wards with a higher concentration. Of these seven wards (Kawe, Kinondoni, Magomeni, Msasani, Sinza, Temeke, and Ubungo), several interesting patterns emerge. Five were part of Zone 3, designated for African settlement and located far removed from the European population. The other two, Kawe and Msasani, both are coastal wards. Msasani was predominantly Zone 1, with small pockets of African servant populations. Kawe was not included in city boundaries until after colonialism ended but its location would have likely placed it in Zone 1. Today, it has a significant expatriate population. Yet

Figure 7.2. African Residence.

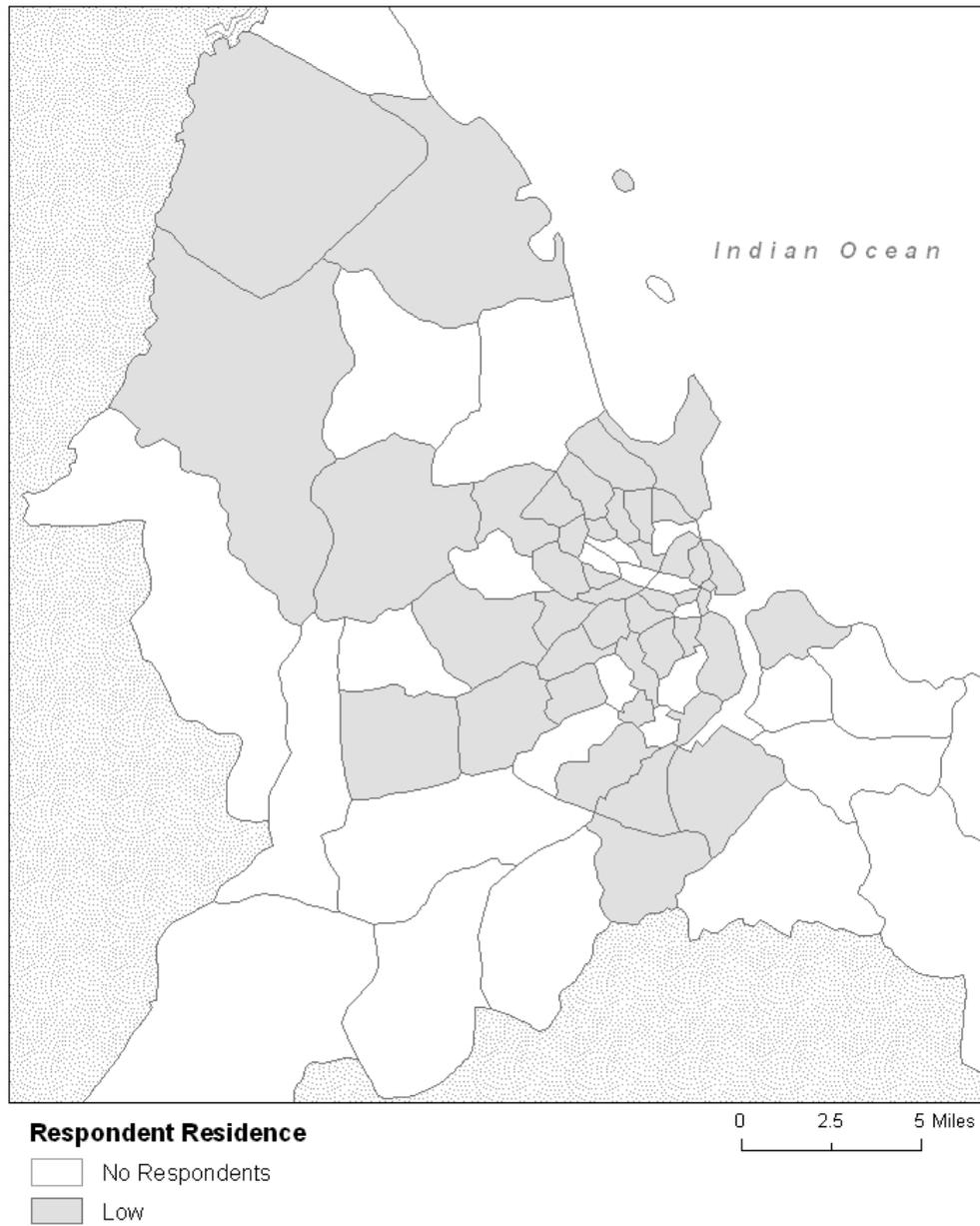
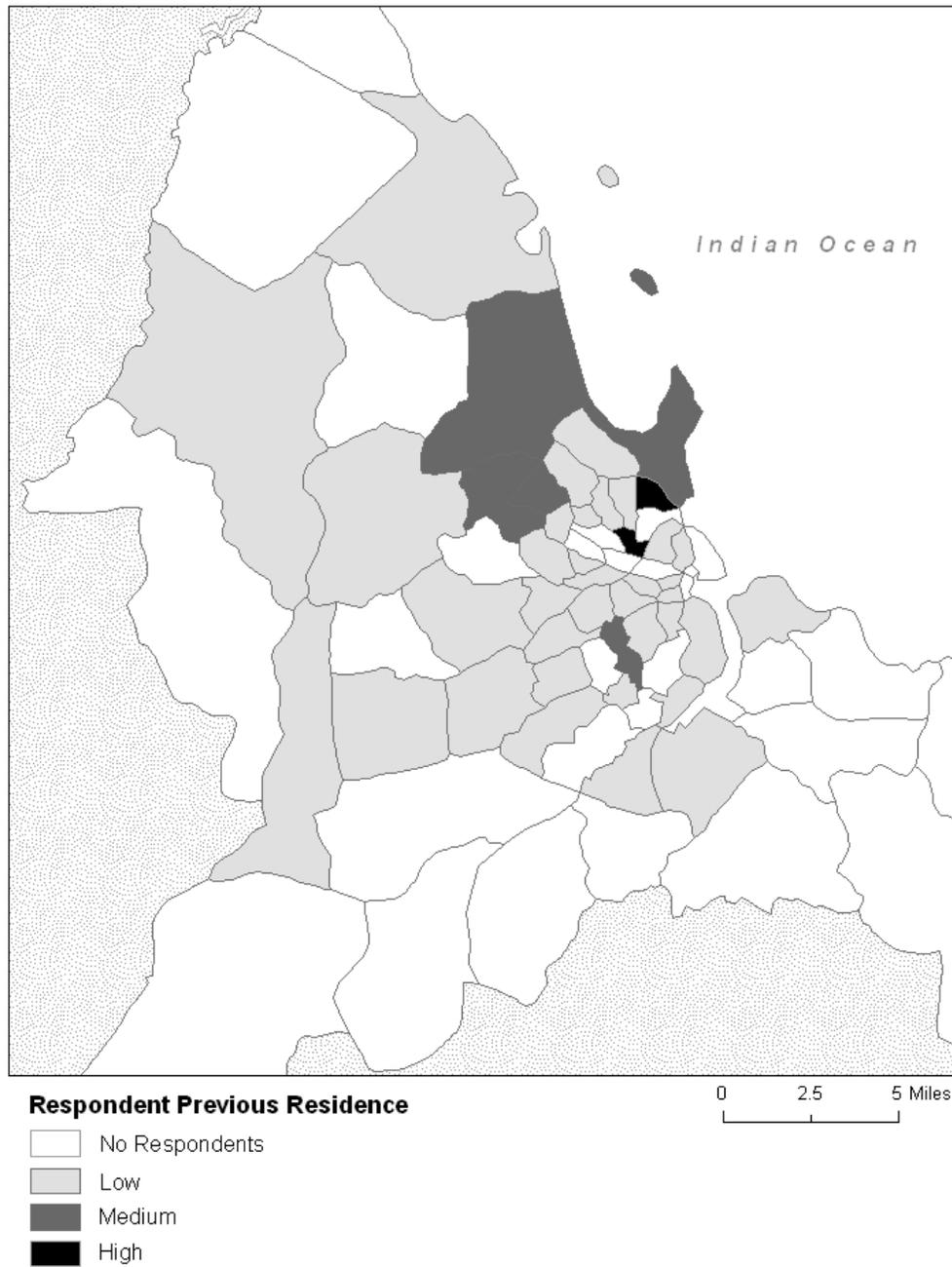


Figure 7.3. African Previous Residence.



as already pointed out, though Africans live in areas with large numbers of expatriate homes, these groups do not live in close proximity to each other.

Respondents identify several different reasons that influence their residential location choices. The most important factor is location, with more than thirty per cent of respondents choosing homes for this reason. Location can refer to a variety of things; either the house is close to something – work, family, friends, the City Center, buses, a hospital, shopping, or markets – or is convenient for another reason. This convenience could be a location with regular water supply or no traffic congestion. Also location refers to general attributes of an area: that it is safe, quiet, or spacious. Location is important for many respondents based on their transportation patterns. Howe (2001) found that forty-six per cent of Dar es Salaam's residents rely on walking for transport and forty-four per cent rely on *daladalas* for public transport.

After location, other factors influencing residence choice are that a house is a family house (twenty per cent), because the respondent built the home (eighteen per cent), because the respondent likes it (seventeen per cent), or because of price (eight per cent). Thus, location rather than price influences housing choices for the Africans that I surveyed. I expected price to be a more important factor but it does influence location. In choosing a house based on its proximity to activities, respondents save money on transportation costs.

In thinking about housing choices, it is interesting to consider what African houses tend to look like. My respondents live in a variety of situations. One woman purchased a plot in Tabata. She built both a main house and servants' quarters. She

lives in the quarters and rents out the main house, using her profits to make improvements around her plot. Another respondent lives in a small flat within a National Housing Corporation building in Keko. Though these are two respondents, these situations are not uncommon.

More typical of African housing, however, is to live in a Swahili-style house. These Swahili houses are widespread in the city; according to Leslie (1963), almost 75% of Africans lived in Swahili houses at the end of British rule. A typical house of this style has a central hallway corridor with three rooms on each side of the corridor. This corridor leads to a courtyard which often contains outbuildings such as a latrine, a kitchen, and a pantry. I visited several of these homes. James rents one room in a Swahili house in Mwananyamala for 15,000 Tanzanian shillings per month (approximately \$13). Within this room, he has a bed, a television, a computer, a full-size refrigerator, a small gas stove, and a food storage area. In his courtyard are a freestanding latrine and shower. The rest of the courtyard is open and used for laundry. I spoke with a respondent in his Swahili house's corridor in Kariakoo. He rents two of the six rooms for 15,000 shillings each, using one as a bedroom and the other for storage and limited cooking. Other respondents indicated that they lived in individual rooms within Swahili houses. Their rents varied but were as low as 5000 shillings.

Where do Africans Purchase Food?

For the Africans that I surveyed, most food shopping is done at either markets, small stores called *maduka*, or freestanding stalls called *magenge*. As shown in Table 7.4 and Figure 7.4, this shopping occurs in wards located across the city. In spite of this wide spatial pattern, the majority of shopping takes place in Kariakoo; twenty-five per cent of respondents shop in this ward. Almost exclusively, these respondents are shopping at the Kariakoo Market.

As pointed out earlier, Kariakoo is an important location for Africans since it was the first designated African residential settlement in Dar es Salaam. Today it remains important as a commercial area; though not the city's primary Central Business District (CBD), it serves as a secondary CBD after the City Center (Lynch 1994). Kariakoo is Dar es Salaam's largest food market and also the main shopping location for all other goods; a number of my respondents from Kariakoo work in the area's spare automotive parts business. Kariakoo is both a retail and wholesale market and it is often said that if something is not available in Kariakoo, it is not available in Dar es Salaam (*Dar Guide* 2003).

The present day Kariakoo Market Complex was built in 1974, though the area has housed markets since the colonial era (Msungu 2005). According to Tanzanian law, all imported food into Dar es Salaam intended for resale must pass through the Kariakoo wholesale market (Lynch 1994). Though some items are instead distributed through wholesalers in other markets, Kariakoo does handle the majority of the city's produce; sixty-four per cent of retailers purchase food from there (Lynch 1994). This

Table 7.4. African Food Shopping Wards.

Total Responses = 341

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Bunju 1	Kinondoni 14	Segerea 1
Chang'ombe 2	Kipawa 1	Sinza 6
Charambe 1	Kiwalani 1	Tabata 7
City Center 8	Kunduchi 4	Tandale 9
Gerezani 6	Kurasini 5	Tandika 11
Ilala 3	Mabibo 8	Ubungo 2
Kawe 4	Magomeni 10	Ukonga 2
Keko 5	Mbagala 12	Vijibweni 2
Kigamboni 2	Mbezi 2	Vingunguti 10
Kigogo 2	Mikocheni 11	Yombo Vituka 2
Kijito Nyama 4	Msasani 11	
Kimara 5	Mtoni 3	

Medium

Buguruni 25
Manzese 22
Mwananyamala 19
Temeke 18

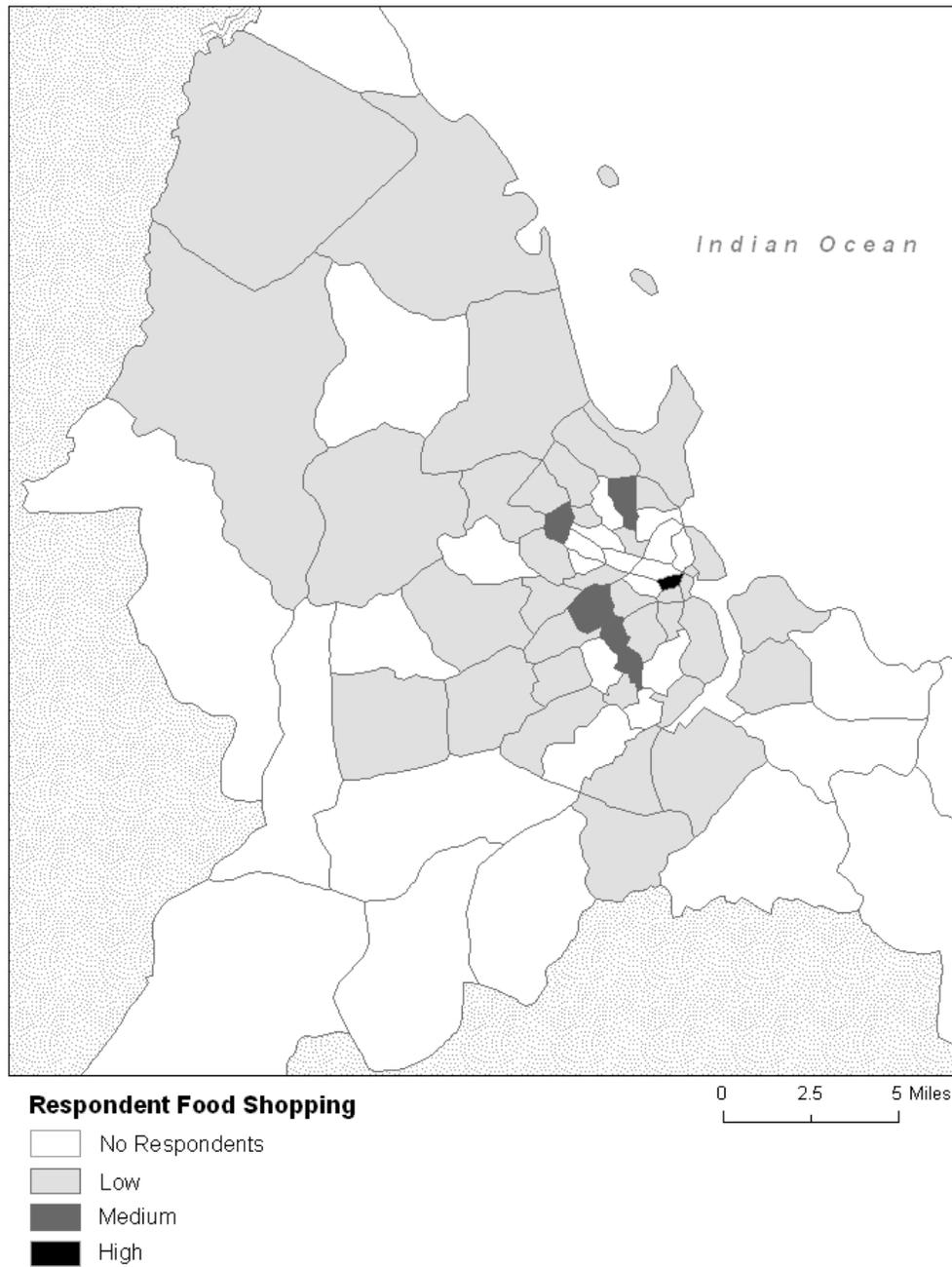
High

Kariakoo 80

wholesale market is situated in the basement of the retail market, and in the early morning it is possible to see up-country trucks delivering food into this area.

Kariakoo is the most popular food shopping location for two reasons. First, as the city's primary wholesale market, it has the lowest prices for produce. Second, as the city's largest market in terms of square footage, it offers the best selection. This large market area allows for multiple vendors to sell the same items. Kariakoo therefore presents some of the city's best opportunities to bargain for low prices. Photograph 7.2 illustrates the scale of this market.

Figure 7.4. African Food Shopping.





Photograph 7.2. Kariakoo Market. Shared photograph from internet.

As suggested by the example of Kariakoo, price is an important factor in food shopping. In fact, it influences the decisions of thirty per cent of respondents. Some people commented that they are willing to spend a significant amount of time on *daladala*s traveling to Kariakoo in order to get the lowest prices on foodstuffs. Yet for thirty-seven per cent of respondents, location rather than price influences food shopping. By shopping at places near to home or work, these respondents do not incur additional transportation expenses. Depending on the route and type of bus, most *daladala* fares are between 200 and 300 shillings (approximately 17 – 25 cents). Though Kariakoo is one of the city's largest bus terminals and can be reached directly from most parts of the city, a roundtrip bus fare is still a significant expense. Many respondents are therefore willing to pay slightly higher prices to shop at more convenient markets. These more convenient markets are located across the city,

including Buguruni, the Fish Market in the City Center, Manzese, Mbagala, Mwananyamala, Tandika, and Temeke.

Notes from the Field: The Fish Market.

The Fish Market is located in the City Center and is the best place in Dar es Salaam to buy fresh seafood. The seafood goes straight from the boats to the market stalls and is both sold and auctioned. Though it is a popular shopping place for Asians and expatriates, I only ever saw Africans shopping there. One afternoon, James and I went to the market to visit some of his friends that sell fish. As the weather turned from sunny to rainy, many of the shoppers crowded in the covered market area. I joined the sellers behind the counter and began talking with them. One man reacted strangely to my research request. He stood on the counter – luckily all the fish had been sold – and began a performance. He proclaimed that he could not talk with me since he had never talked with a *mzungu* before. Doing so would give him dreams and prevent him from getting a good night's sleep. More than just interrupting his sleep, talking with me would force him to return to his home village to share his experience. He did eventually talk with me and I sometimes wonder if he is sleeping again. After this performance and survey, we went to the auction section of the market where I was totally surrounded by young men. They were drawn to me for two reasons: the boxes of tea I distributed to respondents as thank you gestures and the uniqueness of a *mzungu* speaking Kiswahili. I was uncomfortable by the crowds that I attracted, yet not a single hand reached into my bag.

In addition to these markets, many respondents shop at small stores. These stores vary considerably. Some are permanent concrete structures and some are housed inside of shipping containers (which earn them the Kiswahili name *kontena*). Until the Dar es Salaam City Council cracked down on unlicensed traders and demolished illegal stores, some were housed in wooden structures. Though the sizes of these stores vary, they all display goods behind a counter or barred window; the

shopkeeper retrieves the items for customers unlike self-service supermarkets.

Another commonality is the variety of items for sale in these stores; they sell all kinds of goods, including food, personal products, and even occasionally clothing.

Photograph 7.3 shows one of these stores.

A final type of food shopping involves *magenge*. These are small stalls that generally only sell fresh produce. These are typically located away from markets, within residential areas. I encountered many on the walking paths between bus stops and neighborhoods. Unlike mobile sellers in the City Center that sell from bicycles and handcarts, *magenge* sellers have physical, but not necessarily formally constructed, stalls. Instead, these stalls might be little more than a table or a blanket spread on the ground, a sharp contrast to the *kontenas* that have roofs, doors, and sometimes windows. Mobile sellers were not a significant food shopping choice for my survey respondents.

Interestingly, a few survey respondents do shop at supermarkets. Eleven respondents, three per cent, indicated that they occasionally shop at these places, but supermarkets are not the sole shopping locations for any of these people. One respondent lives in Manzese and purchases most of her food there in the market or at *magenge*. Only on holidays or special occasions does she shop at Village Supermarket. Together these eleven respondents shop at Shoppers in Mikocheni, Village Supermarket in Msasani, and Shoprite locations in Gerezani, Mikocheni, and the City Center. The Shoprite in Gerezani is the most popular supermarket. Reasons given for shopping at these places were quality and choice. For example, the rice at



Photograph 7.3. Dar es Salaam Store. Shared photograph from internet.

Shoprite has fewer stones and requires less sorting before cooking than rice purchased from local markets. These supermarkets also have more choice and carry items that are difficult to find in local stores such as peanut butter. Some respondents specifically commented that they never shop in supermarkets because the food is expensive and produce is less fresh than at local markets. Of the respondents who live in Msasani and Mikocheni, areas with the most supermarkets, none actually shop at these places. Instead, like most respondents, they purchase food at markets, stores,

and *magenge*. Not all of my respondents purchase food however; in fact thirty, all single men, do not cook but rather eat their meals at *mama ntilie*. Some indicated that they do not know how to cook and others do not like to wash dishes.

Where do Africans Purchase Clothing?

Unlike patterns of residence and food shopping that cover most of the city, clothing shopping for the Africans that I surveyed is limited to a smaller number of wards. As shown in Table 7.5 and Figure 7.5, they shop in twenty-five wards. Of these, respondents concentrate in five wards, which all are centers in the used clothing trade. All of these – Ilala, Kariakoo, Manzese, Tandika, and the City Center – have a large number of vendors selling *mitumba* (used clothing). Kariakoo is the overwhelming shopping choice, popular with almost three-fourths of my survey respondents. Manzese’s clothing market, called Big Brother, is the second most popular, attracting fourteen per cent of respondents.

Mitumba is an interesting aspect of clothing shopping in Dar es Salaam. As discussed earlier in Chapters 5 and 6, expatriates and Asians from my survey purchase used clothing. For most Africans, however, this type of shopping makes up the majority of their clothing purchases. In fact, thirty-nine per cent of my survey respondents chose shopping locations based on price, and *mitumba* offers the best prices on clothing in the city. Photograph 7.4 shows *mitumba* vendors in Kariakoo, where an entire street is blocked from vehicle traffic in order to allow them to display

Table 7.5. African Clothing Shopping Wards.

Total Responses = 425

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Buguruni 6	Magomeni 1	Tabata 1
Kawe 2	Mbagala 6	Tandale 8
Kigamboni 1	Mchikichini 5	Temeke 2
Kijito Nyama 3	Mikocheni 2	Ubungo 2
Kinondoni 7	Msasani 1	Upanga 1
Kipawa 1	Mwananyamala 2	Vingunguti 1
Kurasini 1	Sinza 2	

Medium

City Center 20
Ilala 27
Manzese 47
Tandika 40

High

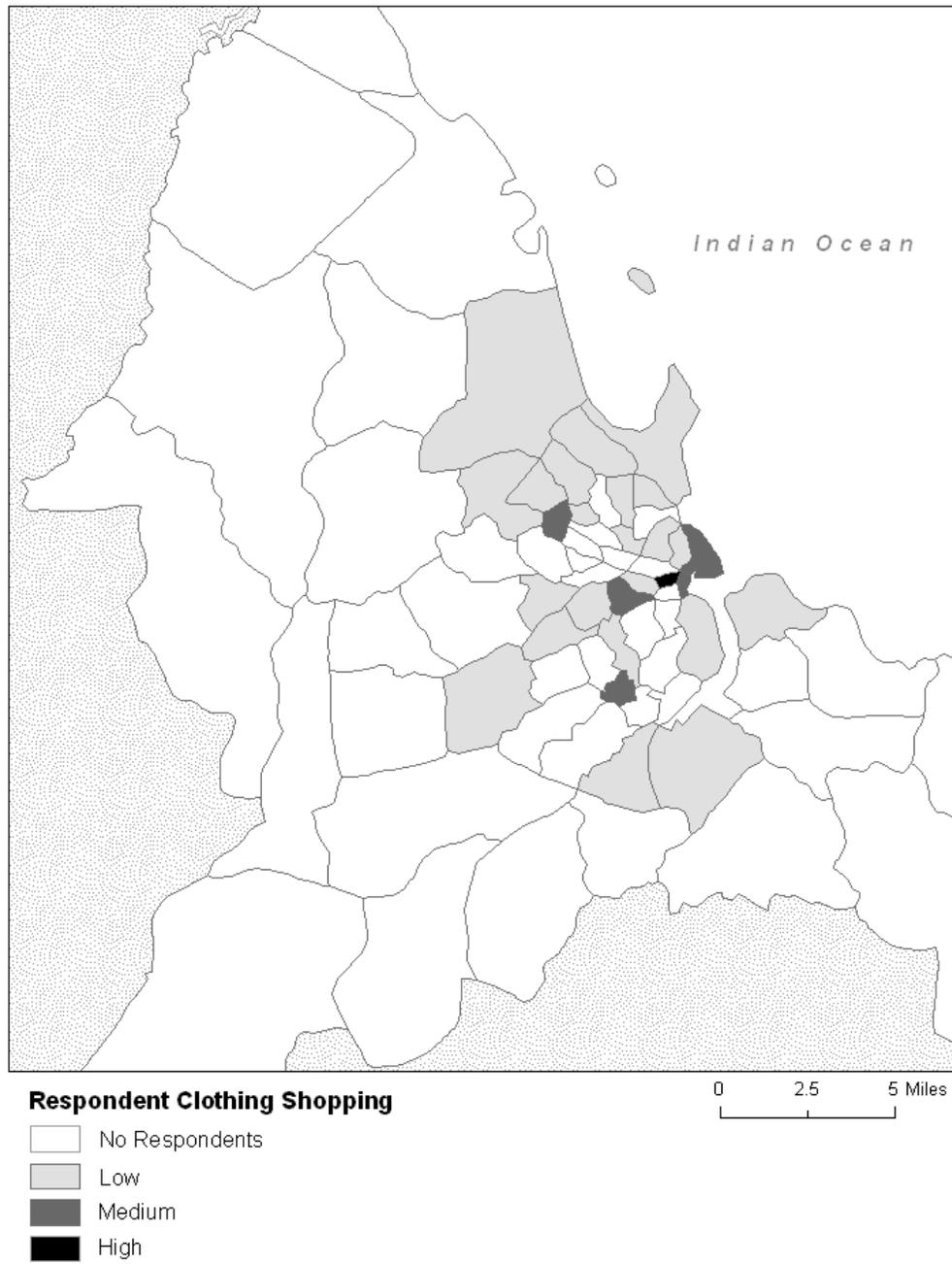
Kariakoo 236

clothing. *Mitumba* is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, Nyerere banned the import of used clothing as part of his effort to make Tanzania self-reliant (Rivoli 2005).

The used clothing market is also not unique to Tanzania. In Zambia, used clothing is called *salaula* and its popularity is due to the fact that “only the tiny high income group has an effective choice in the clothing market” (Hansen 2003: 305). For the majority middle and lower classes, used clothing is the only viable option. Hansen (2000) estimates that three-fourths of Zambia’s population purchases *salaula*. In addition to the price of used clothing, Africans like that it is unique.

Second-hand clothing in Africa generally originates from charitable organizations in the United States and Europe. These groups sell anywhere from forty to seventy-five per cent of their donations and most of this sold clothing is exported (Hansen 2004). These exports are sorted and packaged into bales, often

Figure 7.5. African Clothing Shopping.





Photograph 7.4. *Mitumba* Clothing on Congo Street, Kariakoo. Photograph from respondent. Used with permission.

weighing as much as fifty kilograms, and shipped around the world. The lowest quality items are exported to Africa while high quality, brand name blue jeans are generally exported to Japan. Once these used clothes arrive in Africa, they are purchased by the bale. Rivoli (2005) tells the story of Geoffrey, a *mitumba* seller in Manzese. He began his business by purchasing one bale per month and now sells approximately one hundred bales each month from three stalls in Manzese's Big Brother Market. To make these clothes more popular, they are often altered. I visited with a tailor who was sorting through a large bag of *mitumba* and shortening hems and mending tears.

Price leads many respondents to purchase used clothing. Others also shop based on choice; twenty-three per cent of people shop at areas with a large selection.

For some respondents interested in purchasing western-style clothing, selection is important. One of my respondents is rather overweight and has difficulty finding clothing in his size so he is forced to shop at areas with large choices. Two other respondents shop based on unusual circumstances. One man, a Maasai, shops at Kariakoo since it is the only place within walking distance of his home where his traditional garments are available. Another man, a musician, shops at a formal store in Temeke that stocks new clothing. Though he also purchases *mitumba*, he visits this store since it is owned by his music producer. In spite of these cases, most clothing shopping decisions are based on price so that used clothing dominates the clothing market for Africans in Dar es Salaam.

Where do Africans go for Recreation and Entertainment?

In thinking about leisure activities, Africans participate in a variety of activities that take place across the city. Table 7.6 and Figure 7.6 show this broad pattern of recreation in Dar es Salaam. Though these activities cover the city, the Africans that I surveyed do concentrate in two wards: Msasani and the City Center.

At first glance, the high importance of Msasani and the City Center to the Africans that I surveyed seems strange. Until now, these areas have been important as recreation locations to expatriates and Asians but in the same way as residential patterns, these groups are using different locations within these wards. Expatriates and Asians tend to recreate at hotels and restaurants in these wards, but Africans use them for their beaches. In the City Center, Africans visit two beach areas. The first is

Table 7.6. African Recreation Wards.

Total Responses = 321

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Buguruni 5	Kiwalani 1	Mji Mwema 2
Bunju 1	Kunduchi 11	Mtoni 3
Chang'ombe 5	Kurasini 3	Tabata 4
Kawe 2	Mabibo 1	Tandale 1
Keko 1	Magomeni 4	Tandika 1
Kigamboni 12	Makumbusho 1	Temeke 7
Kigogo 1	Manzese 5	Ubungo 6
Kijito Nyama 8	Mbagala 3	Ukonga 2
Kimara 3	Mbezi 1	Upanga 8
Kipawa 4	Mikocheni 10	Vingunguti 2

Medium

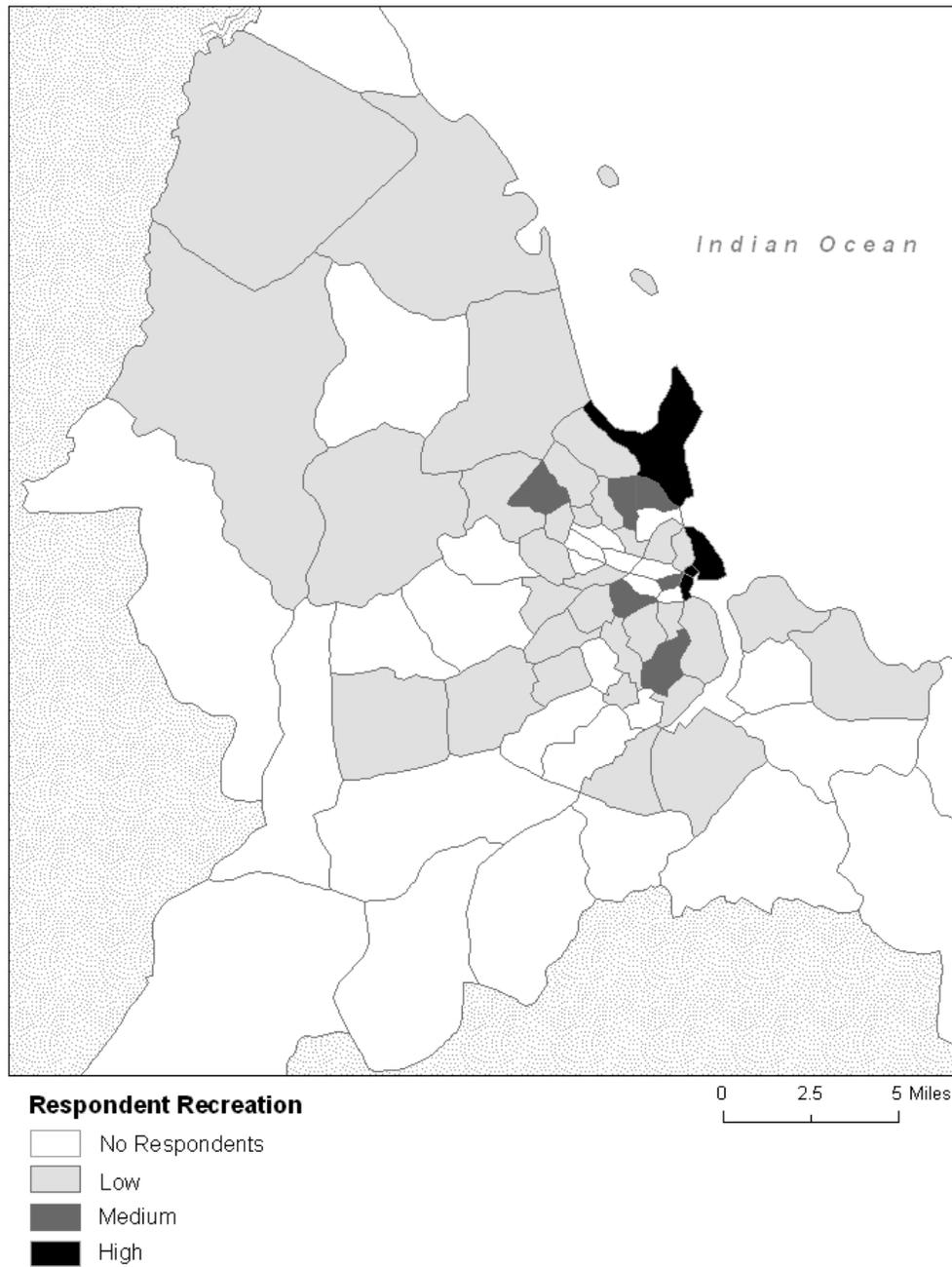
Ilala 15
Kariakoo 16
Kinondoni 16
Miburani 14
Mwananyamala 22
Sinza 14

High

City Center 46
Msasani 60

the Ocean Road Beach in Sea View. On weekends, this area is a popular destination for wedding parties to take photographs and for onlookers to watch these parties. In addition to enjoying the view and air, vendors sell ice cream and coconuts to the people relaxing on the beach. Since sewage from the City Center, Kariakoo, and Upanga is expelled into this water for dilution, most people do not actually swim at this beach (Dar es Salaam City Council 2004). Also in the City Center, respondents spend time along the harbor front near the Fish Market and the main bus station. Even though there is no beach access in this part of town, respondents indicated they liked the fresh air and the change of scenery from the rest of Dar es Salaam.

Figure 7.6. African Recreation.



In Msasani, respondents visit Coco Beach, which is pictured in Photograph 7.5. This area is more popular with swimmers since it is away from the city's sewage discharge pipes and becomes very crowded on weekends. Not only do people swim but vendors set up temporary food stalls. Like the famous Forodhani Gardens in Zanzibar that sell fresh seafood, Coco Beach becomes a market of food stalls selling freshly prepared food on weekend evenings. Interestingly, none of these beaches are extremely popular with expatriates or Asians. The US Embassy warns Americans that this beach is one of the most dangerous spots in the city (RSO 2002). These recreational activities are both popular with Africans and almost exclusive to them.

I expected Miburani Ward to be more important to my African respondents since it houses the National Stadium and is home to many football (soccer) matches. Though many respondents commented that they enjoyed watching football matches in their leisure time, most only watch games on television. They complained that tickets to the National Stadium are too expensive so they watch games either at home or in public places.

Interestingly, many respondents do not go outside of their home for recreation. Some choose to stay home because they have no money and others because they have no free time outside of work. Two respondents gave interesting explanations for their lack of recreation. One suggested that he is not a drunk so he does not go to bars. Another respondent, who estimated her age at around seventy years old, complained that she has no boyfriend to spend time with.



Photograph 7.5. Coco Beach, Msasani Ward. Shared photograph from internet.

One leisure activity that is conspicuously absent from African responses is eating meals at restaurants. Unlike expatriates or Asians, few Africans consider a restaurant a leisure activity. Africans, especially single men, do eat meals outside of the home but they frequent different places than expatriates or Asians. Most visit *mama ntilie* for fast and affordable meals that are the equivalent of fast food (Dickinson 2003). These meals are much cheaper than a typical restaurant meal, averaging about 500 shillings (about 45 cents). When respondents do go to public places for food and beer, to listen to music, or watch football, they tend to frequent establishments near their homes out of convenience.

Conclusions

The above sections described patterns of African urban life. In terms of residence, shopping, and recreation, African patterns cover a larger extent of Dar es Salaam than either expatriate or Asian patterns. Within this broad extent, there is spatial overlap between these three groups. It is important to note, however, that although Africans use the same wards as expatriates and Asians, they are using different places within these wards. Thus, while Africans and expatriates both recreate in Msasani Ward, Africans go to Coco Beach while expatriates visit hotels. In the same way, while Africans and expatriates both purchase food in Msasani, Africans frequent *magenge* and local stores while expatriates frequent western-style supermarkets.

In looking at all of these patterns together, it is possible to understand the daily lives of the Africans I surveyed. As Table 7.7 and Figure 7.7 demonstrate, the lives of my African respondents take place in forty-six wards. Still, in spite of this broad coverage, daily activities focus on one ward: Kariakoo. Seventy-eight per cent of my respondents (253 out of 326) complete at least some activity there. No other ward comes close to the importance of Kariakoo; it is nearly three times more popular with respondents than Msasani, the ward with the next highest response rate.

As this chapter makes clear, Kariakoo is important to Africans because of its historical origins and its contemporary role as a center of commercial life. What is especially interesting, however, is that the importance of Kariakoo to Africans does

Table 7.7. African Daily Activity Wards.

Total Responses = 1369

Total Respondents = 326

Low

Buguruni 38	Kiwalani 4	Mji Mwema 2
Bunju 1	Kunduchi 18	Mtoni 16
Chang'ombe 21	Kurasini 20	Pugu 4
Charambe 1	Mabibo 17	Segerea 2
Gerezani 7	Makangarawe 1	Tabata 29
Kawe 30	Makumbusho 2	Tandale 19
Keko 15	Mbagala 29	Ubungo 37
Kigamboni 17	Mbezi 10	Ukonga 6
Kigogo 7	Mburahati 8	Upanga 25
Kijito Nyama 27	Mchikichini 6	Vingunguti 18
Kimara 20	Miburani 14	Yombo Vituka 4
Kipawa 13	Mikocheni 33	

Medium

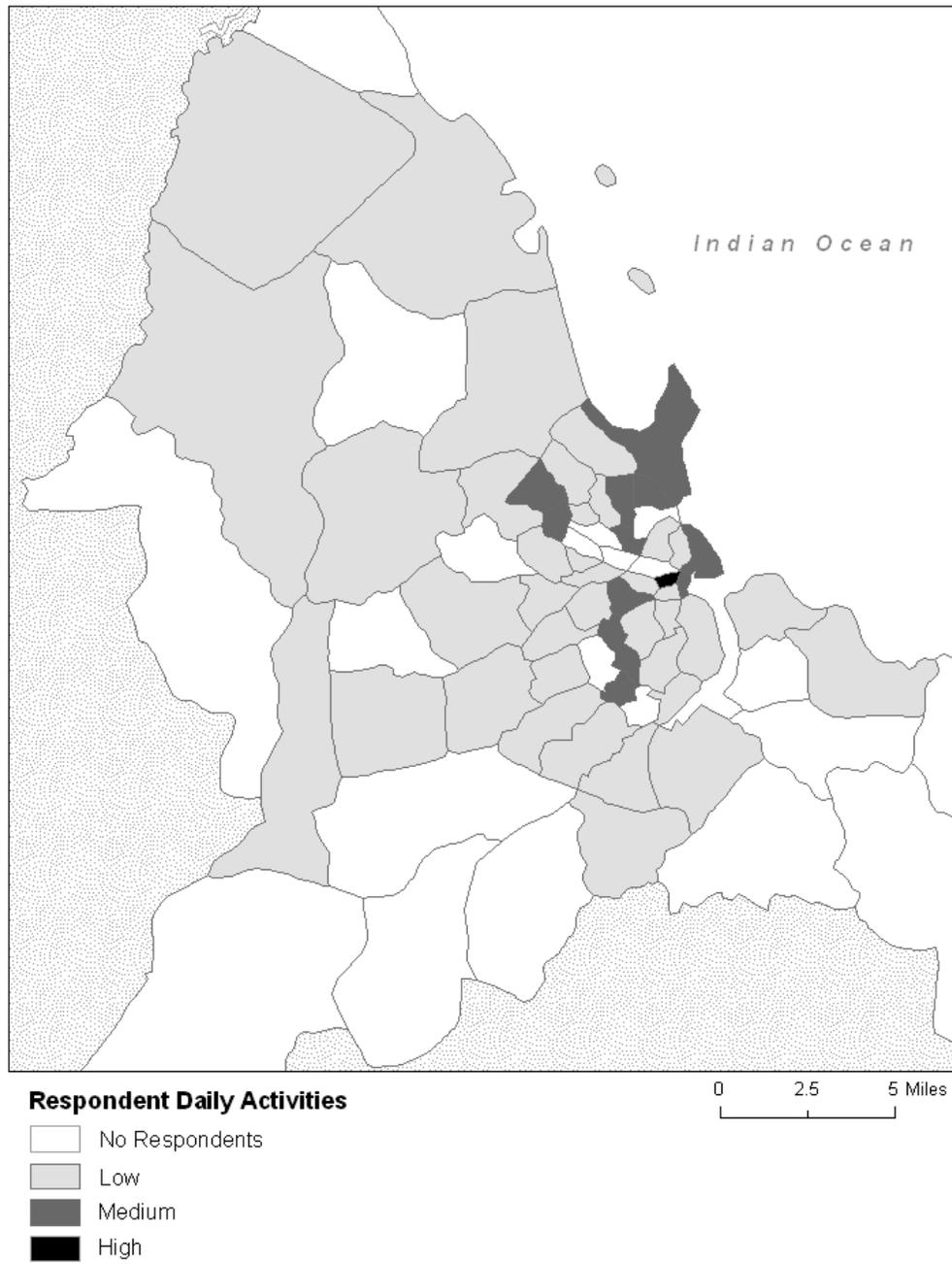
City Center 68
Ilala 57
Kinondoni 68
Magomeni 51
Manzese 64
Msasani 86
Mwananyamala 49
Sinza 51
Tandika 53
Temeke 48

High

Kariakoo 253

not mean that all of the locations within Kariakoo are owned by Africans; many are owned by Asians. Though Dar es Salaam is an African city and an African presence is visible across the entire city, Kariakoo remains an area of primary importance for this population. Perhaps even more important, is that for other groups in Dar es Salaam, Kariakoo is an area that is avoided. Guidebooks warn visitors of the high

Figure 7.7. African Daily Life.



levels of crime and pickpockets there. In fact, none of my expatriate respondents go there for daily activities. Though some of my Asian respondents frequent Kariakoo, not all Asians are comfortable there. In Nagar's research on Asians in Dar es Salaam, two respondents shared interesting views of this area: "I rarely go to Kariakoo because of pickpockets and things like that – it is very, very dangerous" and "I will start [drawing my mental map] from Kariakoo because even though it is on the periphery of the town, it is my home" (1995: 169, 172). As these quotes suggest, although more Asians than expatriates spend time in Kariakoo, it is not the hub of the city for either group. For the Africans that I surveyed, Kariakoo is an essential part of Dar es Salaam.

Chapter 8. Mental Maps.

The previous three chapters demonstrate that colonial patterns of racial segregation persist in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Although the boundaries between expatriates, Asians, and Africans are not as fixed and impermeable as those created by the German and British Building Ordinances, they continue to influence patterns of urban life. Significantly, my research surveys suggest that these segregated patterns affect more than just residence; they also impact patterns of food and clothing shopping as well as recreation. In this way, Dar es Salaam can be considered a neo-colonial city, strongly impacted by its past.

This chapter uses mental maps drawn by my survey respondents to further underscore these spatial divisions. These maps clearly illustrate the important places to these respondents, reinforcing the patterns of urban life observed in this research. As explained in Chapter 1, mental maps are “cartographic representations of how people differ in their evaluation of places” (Tuan 1975: 206). These maps are very personal and individual products, influenced by a variety of factors including political, social, cultural, and economic components (Gould 1966). Through all of these components, mental maps help to illuminate the complexity of perceptions toward Dar es Salaam. A person who drives himself through city streets will likely have a much different map than someone who only walks. Likewise a tourist will see a city differently than a resident. I collected mental maps only from residents of Dar es Salaam. One common theme for all of these maps, and all urban residents in general, is that they have “clear images of their neighborhoods” (Haney and Knowles

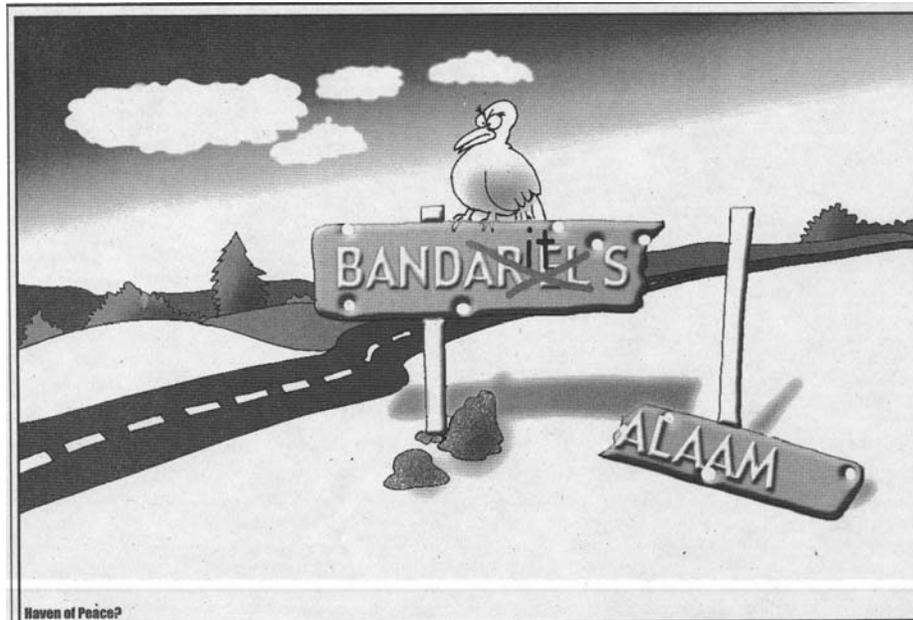
1978: 208). These maps will therefore provide significant and important insight into how expatriate, Asian, and African residents perceive Dar es Salaam.

During my fieldwork, Dar es Salaam was the site of many troubles: a cholera outbreak, an electricity shortage, and multiple armed robberies. These events combined together to influence the media's representation of Dar es Salaam. As Figures 8.1 and 8.2 show, people's perceptions of the city shifted negatively with these events. Although the mental maps of my survey respondents do not also reflect these negative representations, these cartoons help to suggest that people's perceptions of their city are complicated. Mental maps demonstrate how a person feels about a place and these feelings are influenced both by personal experiences and by the experiences of others.

Mental Map Research

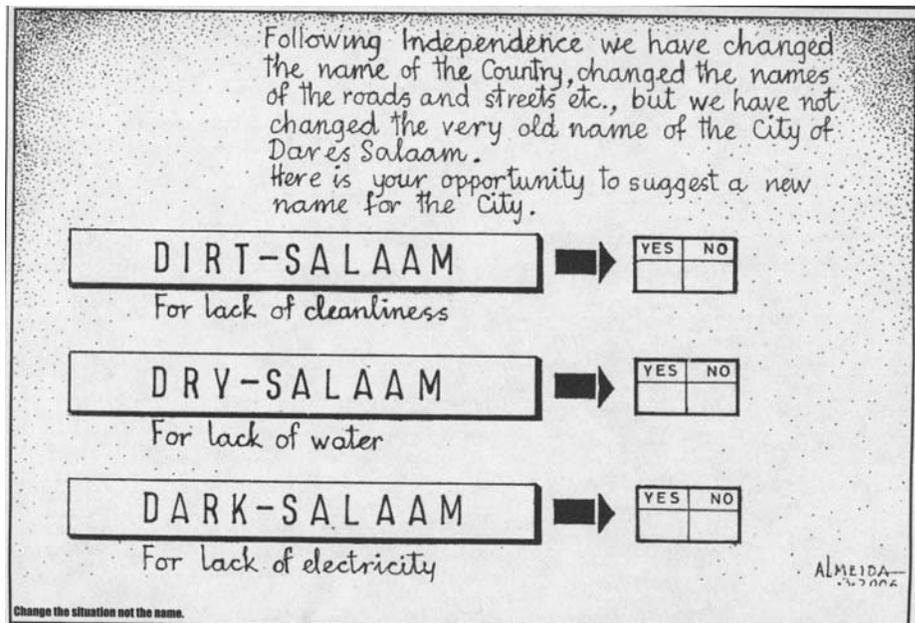
Researchers use mental maps, also called cognitive maps, to illustrate a variety of place perceptions. Lloyd (1989) compares long-term residents with those that learn the city through map reading alone. He finds that map-readers are able to draw cognitive maps faster and more accurately than long-term residents. Long-term residents, however, have deeper knowledge of cities; they know about the character of places. Both groups are significantly less accurate in their maps when using reference points on a city's periphery. From this

Figure 8.1. Bandit Cartoon.



(The Guardian 2006c).

Figure 8.2. Name Suggestion Cartoon.



(The Guardian 2006d).

result, I would expect most mental maps of Dar es Salaam to focus on the urban City Center rather than the city's rural periphery.

Lewis et al. (1980) investigated how Nigerian university students understand Africa. They expected students to be most familiar with three categories of countries: 1) those geographically closest to Nigeria; 2) those who share Nigeria's British colonial history; and 3) large countries, either in terms of population or area. Though these three factors were important, they did not fully explain students' knowledge; other influences included mass media, locations of important physical features, and the interaction and accessibility of countries. From these complex research results, I would expect significant variation in mental maps of Dar es Salaam; for example I should not expect expatriates to include Hananasi on their mental maps simply because of its proximity to Msasani nor should I expect all respondents to include Kawe based on its large population.

Pellow (2006) uses mental maps to consider an ethnic neighborhood within the cosmopolitan city of Accra. She draws on de Certeau's ideas of everyday life in that "people construct their own realities and meaning in space, and they experience that space in their daily lives" (Pellow 2006: 149). De Certeau considers the city as a "way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable, and interconnected properties" (1984: 94). Thus, maps reflect personal realities but are ultimately based on some common properties; as a result, I might expect to see similarities between maps produced by the same groups.

By using mental maps in urban geography research, scholars are “emphasizing the fact that cities are not just physical entities but are places which people know, operate in, make decisions about, and in which they exist” (Golledge 1978: 76). Thus, the way that people think about their cities influences how they use their cities; Golledge (1978) suggests that urban perceptions are especially influential on repetitive acts such as planning travel routes, choosing a new place of residence, and selecting locations for shopping and recreation. Yet as Spencer and Dixon (1983: 374) point out, “clearly, the individual is unlikely to choose a route, or a neighborhood, if he is unaware of its existence; but . . . the fact that he comes to know of its existence does not then predict that he will make a positive choice”.

Stemming from this final observation, mental maps have two important roles in this research. On one hand, people include on their maps the areas they are most familiar with and find most important. Yet, at the same time, they make decisions based on these maps. As a result, they likely would not consider frequenting a place that is not on their map. These conflicting roles create what Soja (1989) terms the socio-spatial dialectic. This dialectic constitutes an inter-reactive and interdependent relationship between society and space. More than just its relevance to mental mapping, this dialectic applies to the broader themes of this dissertation. This relationship between space and society also manifests itself in issues of ‘the other’, such as core / periphery and bourgeois / proletarian (*ibid*).

Mental Maps in Dar es Salaam

In Dar es Salaam, Nagar and Moyer have used mental mapping exercises to understand how residents view their city. Nagar (1995) uses these maps to explore South Asians in the city, and her findings help reinforce my conclusions on segregation in Dar es Salaam. Her mental maps drawn by Asians are overwhelmingly focused on three areas of the city: the City Center, Upanga, and Kariakoo. Though these maps tend to include the same general areas of the city, the respondents perceive Dar es Salaam differently. For example, of two neighbors, one spends significant time in Kariakoo while the other never goes there out of fear. According to Nagar (1995: 189-190), these maps

reflect an 'Asian-centric' view of Dar es Salaam where the perceived limits of the city coincide with the limits of Asian residential and business area. African areas and institutions are conspicuously absent or appear only marginally in these maps. The marginal position of Africans in these maps represents the social and spatial distance between Asians and Africans. It also indicates the role that Asian communal places and residential areas indirectly play in intensifying racial segregation and stereotyping and in strengthening racial identities of both Asians and Africans.

Moyer (2004) uses mental maps, which she calls popular cartographies, to understand how poor youth live in the city. These maps demonstrate an important aspect of these personal perceptions of place; the youth that she surveyed do not draw unimportant areas. For example, of five mental maps drawn by these street vendors, only two included a fence that borders their market area.

Those who had not drawn the fence explained that the fence was irrelevant to their experiences. Those who had drawn it acknowledged that they were sometimes forced to negotiate the boundary it delineated in order to gain access to the water source on the other side (Moyer 2004: 134).

As these maps prove, proximity is not necessarily the most important element in mental mapping; if an area is not significant to the individual, it was not included on the map. It is based on this conclusion that I use mental maps in this dissertation. By understanding which areas are important to my survey respondents, I can see whether patterns of segregation influence more than just urban life patterns. I can also see whether segregation influences how residents perceive their city: do Africans think of the Msasani Peninsula when drawing a map of Dar es Salaam? Likewise, do Asians think of areas other than the City Center and Upanga?

Mental Mapping Methodology

My research on patterns of urban life and urban segregation is largely focused on the locations that Dar es Salaam residents frequent for daily activities. To supplement and enhance this data, I asked all of my respondents to complete a mental map of the city. On the written surveys for expatriates and Asians, I provided the following instructions to respondents:

Please draw a map of Dar es Salaam. Do not consult any other materials. This map should be drawn from your memory only, without any assistance from other people or books. There is no right or wrong map. This is your personal map of the city.

For Africans, I provided these same instructions, translated into Kiswahili.⁹ For those respondents who could not read these instructions, James or I read them aloud.

Many of my respondents were hesitant to draw maps. Some said that they knew the city too well to map it on a single piece of paper. Others said they had not taken a geography course in many years and were unable to draw a map. Stea (in Pellow 2006: 152) suggests several reasons that people are unwilling to draw maps: “unfamiliarity with pencils, viewing the interviewer as the ‘expert’ who would do this better than they could, seeing themselves as being of low status and thus not capable”. Some respondents eventually drew a map when assured that I would not laugh or judge their cartographic abilities. Ultimately, forty-two expatriates, twenty-one Asians, and ninety-one Africans completed this portion of the survey.

The point of these mapping exercises was to further understand how my respondents perceive, understand, and experience Dar es Salaam. In particular, I was curious whether respondent maps would mirror the patterns seen their daily activities. Although I only asked respondents to draw a map, some respondents quickly understood the point of this exercise. One expatriate, whose map is included as Figure 8.4, completed her survey at a Corona Society meeting (D.P.). After the meeting ended, she returned her survey and we visited for several minutes. She admitted that she had not drawn a map because she would just be drawing exactly

⁹ Tafadhali chora ramani ya Dar es Salaam. Usitumie msaada wowote toka chanzo chochote. Ramani hii ichore kutokana na kumbukumbu zako tu, bila kupata msaada toka kwa mtu yeyote au vitabu. Hakuna ramani iliyokamilika au isiyokamilika. Hii ndiyo ramani yako ya jiji.

what I expected: the Msasani Peninsula. She later changed her mind and drew the limited map included below.

Another expatriate included a handwritten comment to explain why her map only included two areas: the Peninsula and Downtown Dar es Salaam:

If you read this you will think my life evolves [sic] around Seacliff/Slipway. This applies only to shopping however. . . . I actually hate shopping and basically choose supermarkets which are nearest to my house (M.dB).

Other expatriates drew similarly limited maps. One included a detailed map of the Msasani Peninsula but only drew a large ‘X’ for the City Center. She noted on the map: “We are advised not to go into the city” (C.C.). As an employee at the US Embassy, this woman was warned by security personnel that the City Center is a high crime area.

These types of comments were not limited to expatriates. One of my Asian respondents has lived in Dar es Salaam for six years and has his own car. For many people, a personal car allows them greater freedom in exploring and navigating the city. Yet in spite of his experiences in Dar es Salaam, he still has little knowledge of the city. Rather than draw a mental map, he wrote this comment:

Oh this sounds like a wonderful exercise and I can imagine what the point would be. Due to lack of time I won’t do it, but the results would have shown a very limited understanding of the outlying areas such as Tandale, Mbagala, etc (R.R.).

Another Asian attempted to draw a map of the city but quit after completing just an outline of the city. He was embarrassed by his attempt and wrote on the map: “Don’t laugh” (D.V.).

The following sections highlight some of the mental maps received from each of the three research groups. The maps included here represent common themes and trends in these maps. Of course not every map drawn by a respondent was illuminating. Some became nervous and embarrassed while drawing and stopped after only making a coastline, city outline, or road intersection. Other respondents produced a more cartographical representation of Dar es Salaam, locating it within Tanzania and including north arrows and legends. Rather than include all of these maps, I selected a small number from among the many that resonated with the conclusions of this dissertation: that segregation persists in Dar es Salaam and affects more than just patterns of residence.

In the following sections, I identify commonalities of these mental maps, based in part on the existing literature. Lynch (1960) considered nodes, districts, paths, edges, and landmarks when analyzing mental maps of Boston, Los Angeles, and Jersey City. Golledge (1978) recognizes the potential difficulties in analyzing areal, linear, and point information in maps so his research focuses entirely on nodes. What is important from these studies is that the complexity of mental maps, urban perceptions, and the cities themselves allows for greater flexibility in my analysis. Lynch (1960) identifies elements of analysis directly from the maps and proposes using other subjective methods, specifically the perceptions of urban observers, to

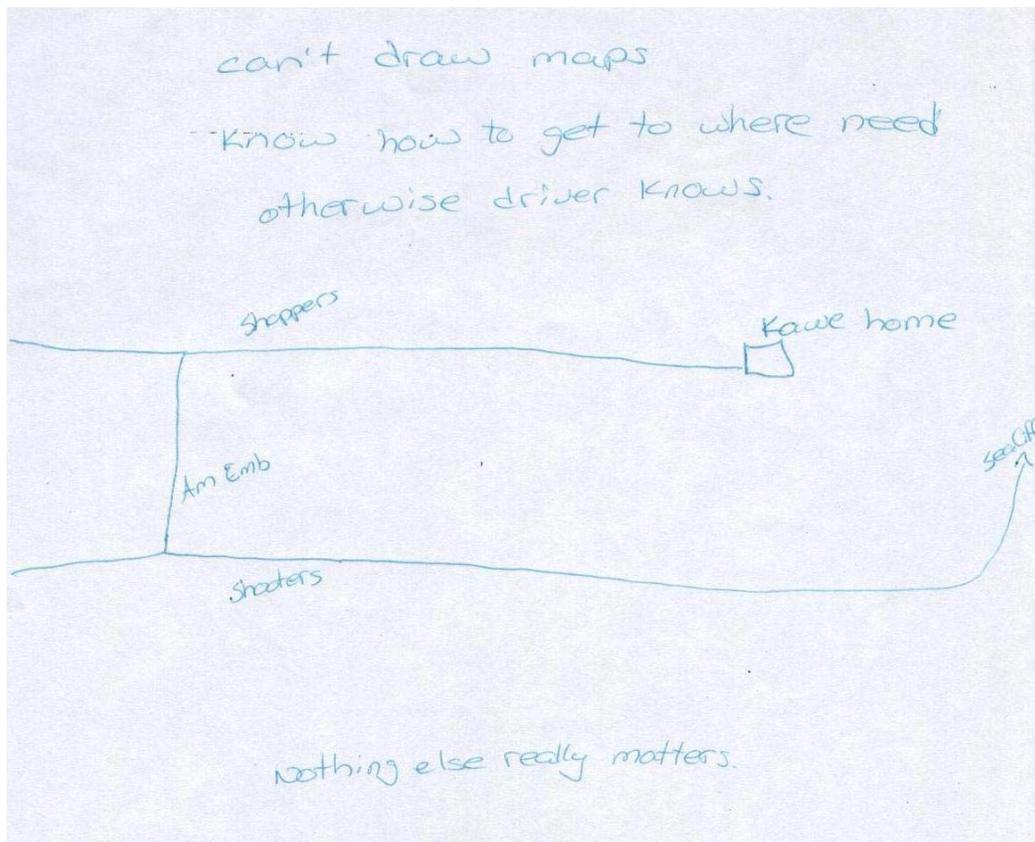
reach conclusions rather than factual data such as aerial photos, maps, and city diagrams. Golledge (1978: 98) suggests some questions that should be key in mental map analysis: “What is it that people learn about urban areas? Does the mode of transportation used influence cognition of spatial relations? How does access to various information sources influence cognized spatial relations? What produces ‘holes’ in cognitive representations . . . ? Do well-know areas (such as neighborhoods) seem larger than they are?”. Based on these ideas, I consider the following mental maps in the broader context of my research on segregation and urban life to understand how perceptions of Dar es Salaam differ between expatriates, Asians, and Africans.

Expatriate Mental Maps

This section highlights five mental maps drawn by expatriate respondents. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, expatriate daily life is concentrated on the Msasani Peninsula, although the City Center is also popular for recreation activities. Mental maps from these respondents support these patterns. The maps are overwhelmingly focused on the Msasani Peninsula, with very little acknowledgement of other parts of Dar es Salaam.

Of all the mental maps that I received, Figure 8.3 is my favorite. This woman, who had lived in Dar es Salaam for four years at the time of the survey, made a strong impression on me (T.N.). She did not draw a map at first because she did not think I would want a map from someone who hates living in Dar es Salaam. When she later

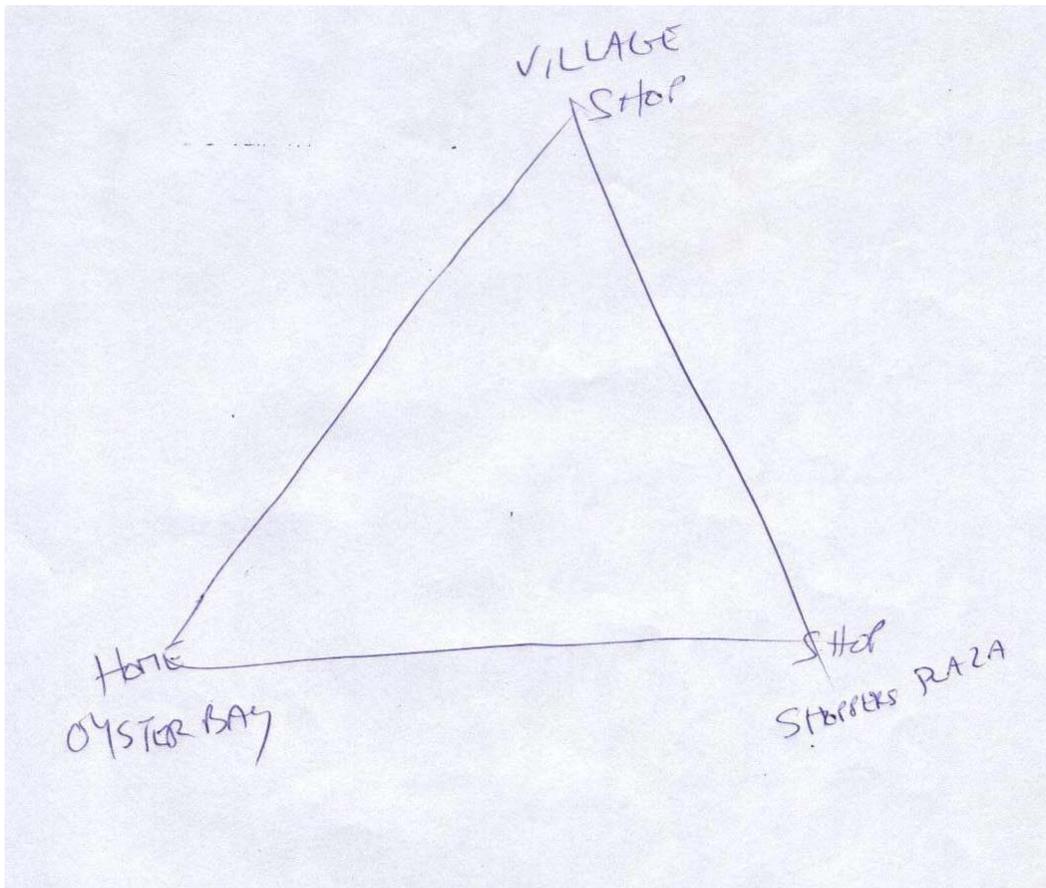
Figure 8.3. Expatriate Mental Map.



completed her map, she included only five places and several comments. She labeled her home, two western-style shopping centers, the US Embassy, and her favorite bar and restaurant. Her city view is rather limited, further illustrated by the comment that “nothing else really matters”. This map is particularly interesting in light of the fact that she formerly lived and worked in Upanga and walked to work everyday. Even though she knows a significant area of the city, it is unimportant in her current life.

I previously discussed the situation leading to Figure 8.4. This respondent understood the mapping exercise and hesitated to draw such a limited map (D.P.).

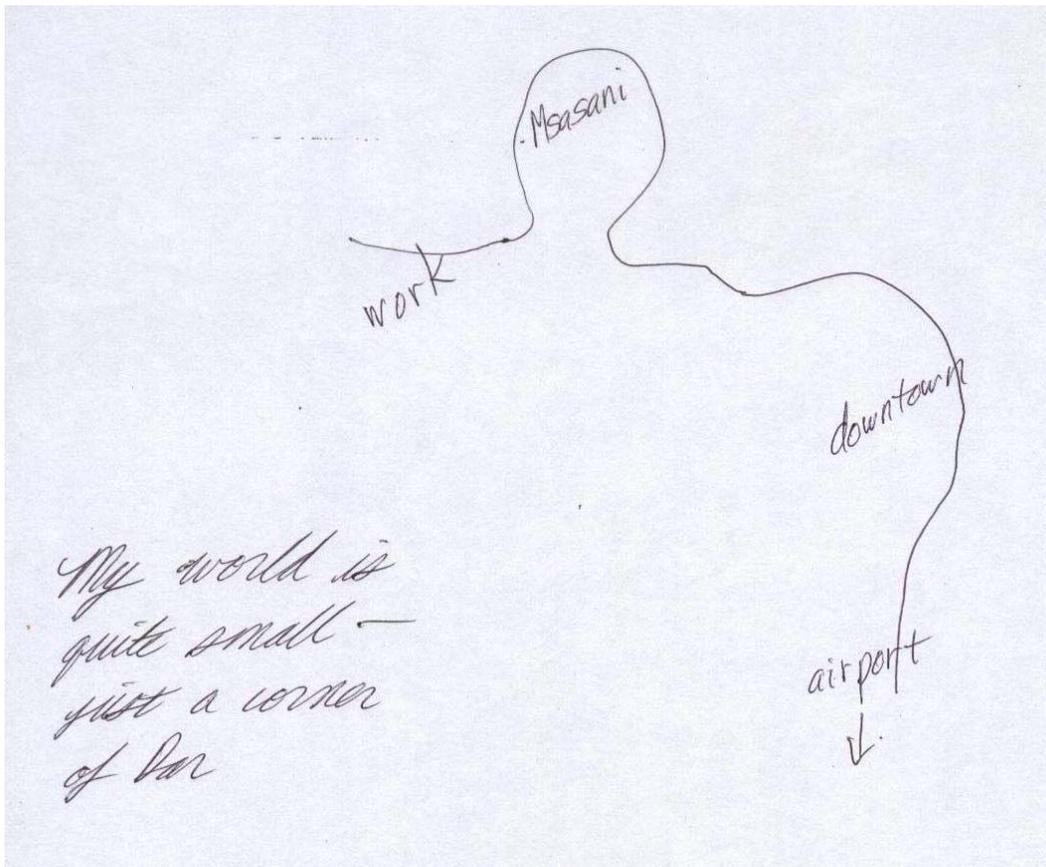
Figure 8.4. Expatriate Mental Map.



When she completed her map, it contained only three locations: her home and two western-style shopping centers. During a follow-up interview, she clearly stated that she did not limit her activities to only Msasani and Mikocheni out of fear; she previously lived in dangerous, high-crime cities and finds Dar es Salaam to be fairly safe. Rather, she feels no need to go to other places to complete her daily activities.

Figure 8.5 labels only four locations in the city: work, Msasani, downtown, and the airport. This respondent also commented “my world is quite small – just a corner of Dar” (M.L). Her inclusion of the airport is both interesting and

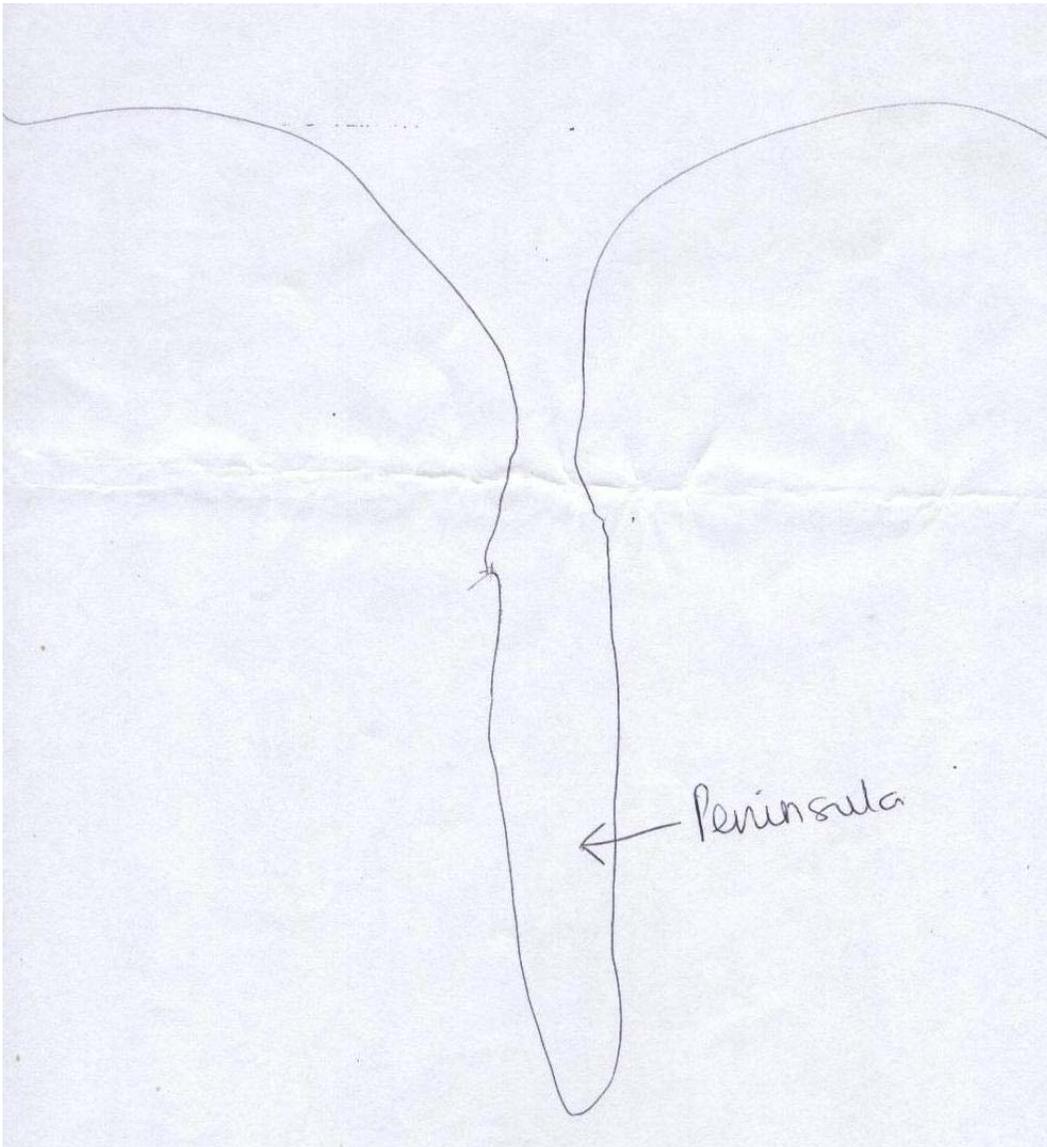
Figure 8.5. Expatriate Mental Map.



representative of other expatriate maps. To reach the airport from the Msasani Peninsula, it is necessary to drive south through the City Center, passing many landmarks referenced on African mental maps such as the Tazara and Central Railway Train Stations as well as roadside markets and commercial areas. Yet on this expatriate map, there is no recognition of the large parts of Dar es Salaam located between the City Center and the airport.

Figure 8.6 is the most limited map included in this section, showing only a portion of Dar es Salaam's coastline. The Msasani Peninsula is drawn, with an arrow

Figure 8.6. Expatriate Mental Map.



indicating this part of the city. No places within the Peninsula, or the city more broadly, are labeled. Several other maps include a similar, limited view of Dar es Salaam; to many expatriates Dar es Salaam is only the Msasani Peninsula. The map is especially interesting because it is representative of the starting point for the vast

majority of expatriate mental maps. Almost all of my respondents began their maps by drawing the coastline and most included the coastline of the Peninsula. Unlike Asian and African mental maps that focus on areas within the city, expatriate maps primarily focus on the Indian Ocean.

The final expatriate map included here, Figure 8.7, represents many of the comments made previously. It contains a coastline of the city, including the Msasani Peninsula, and has few places labeled. The respondent labeled the Yacht Club and was in the process of labeling her home when she gave up on the exercise. Had she continued, she may have included other areas but it is clear what she considered the most important places by where she began. Interestingly she divided the city into two areas: Msasani and Dar. To her the Msasani Peninsula is not part of the city but rather a separate and distinct entity. Dar es Salaam is everything beyond the Peninsula.

Asian Mental Maps

This section highlights five maps from my Asian respondents. As discussed in Chapter 6, Asian daily life is concentrated in the City Center and Upanga; Msasani is also important for recreation and indicates social mobility for some respondents. Still, even though some Asians have moved outside of these traditional Asian neighborhoods, the City Center is still a central focus for these communities, largely due to the presence of places of worship and Indian restaurants.

Figure 8.7. Expatriate Mental Map.

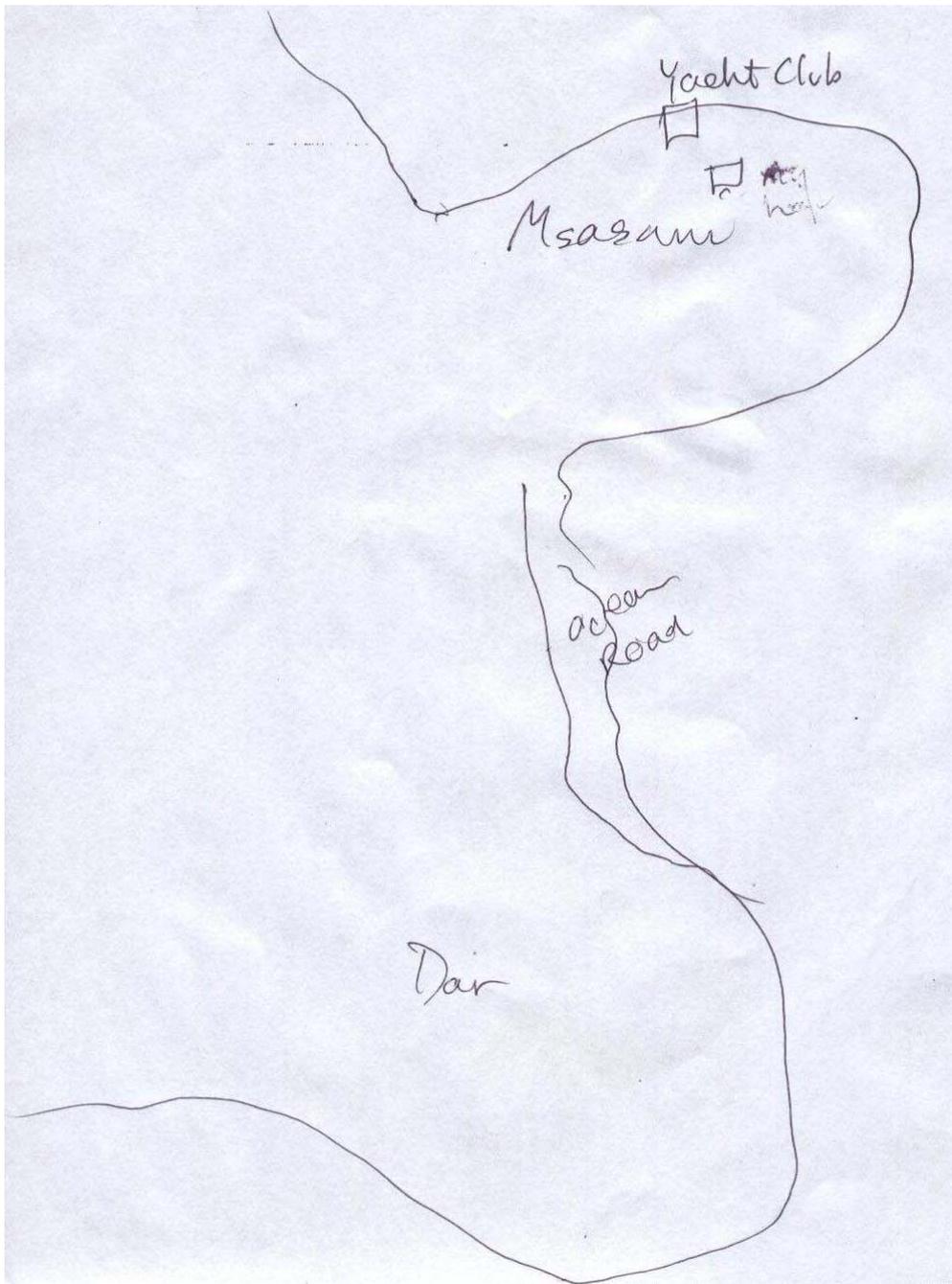


Figure 8.8 shows Dar es Salaam as one large area comprised of distinct neighborhoods. It includes the coastline but the Msasani Peninsula is not clearly visible. It divides the city into three areas: Msasani, Upanga, and the City Center. These are the three city wards with the most survey responses from Asians so it makes sense that they would be the only ones labeled on this map. The image of the city as bounded areas is interesting since it shows that this respondent views these places as significantly different. In this way, it mimics the Colonial Building Ordinances that divided the city into different zones based on building style.

Figure 8.9 also uses a divided city approach. In a slightly different perception, this respondent classifies areas based on their purposes. Upanga, Town, Kariakoo, and Temeke are residential areas. The City has offices and Ilala and Mbezi exist but are not assigned a purpose. He also identifies the hotels and resorts along the oceanfront and distinguishes this area from the port. This image of a divided Dar es Salaam is again drawn in Figure 8.10. In this map, Upanga and the City Center are depicted as distinct, bounded entities, as is Gymkhana, the sports club and golf course located in the City Center. The map also uses directional arrows to illustrate other places in the city: Kariakoo, Masaki (in Msasani), Kinondoni, and the Ferry Crossing to popular recreational beaches in Kigamboni and Mjimwema.

Figure 8.8. Asian Mental Map.



Figure 8.9. Asian Mental Map.

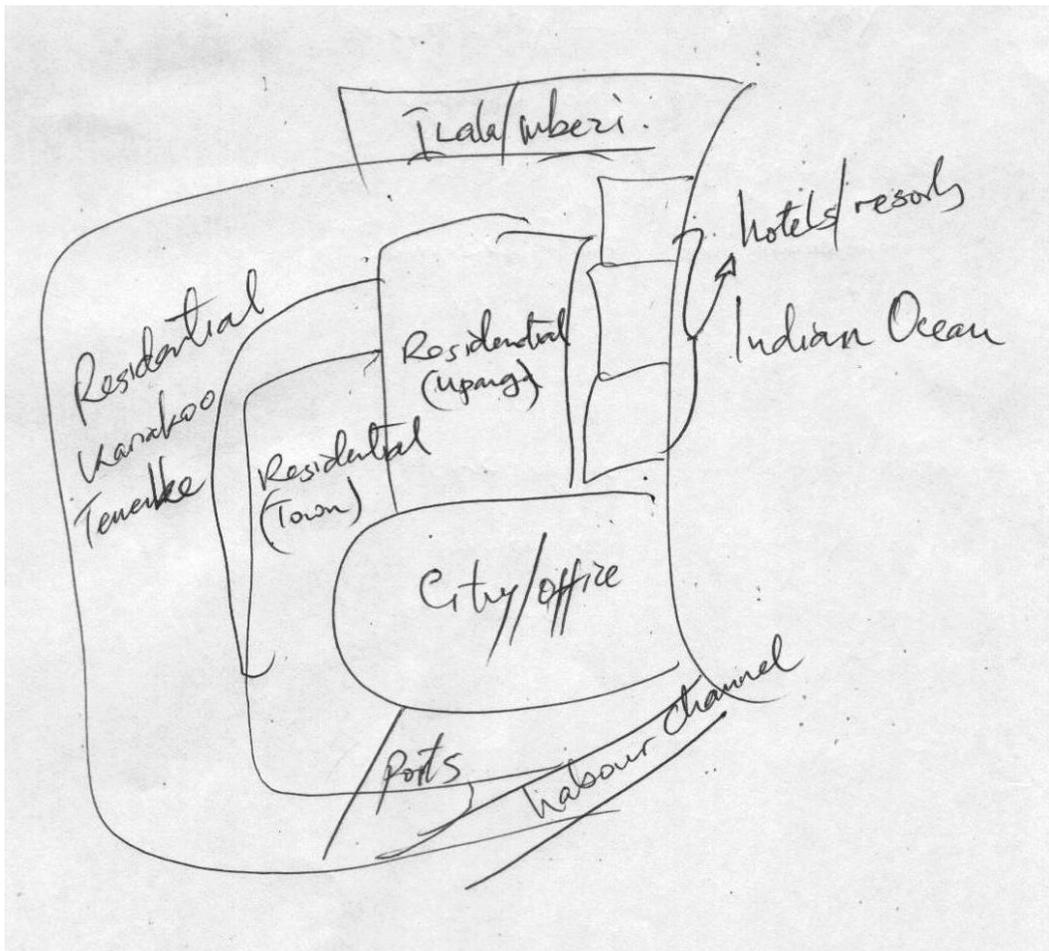


Figure 8.10. Asian Mental Map.

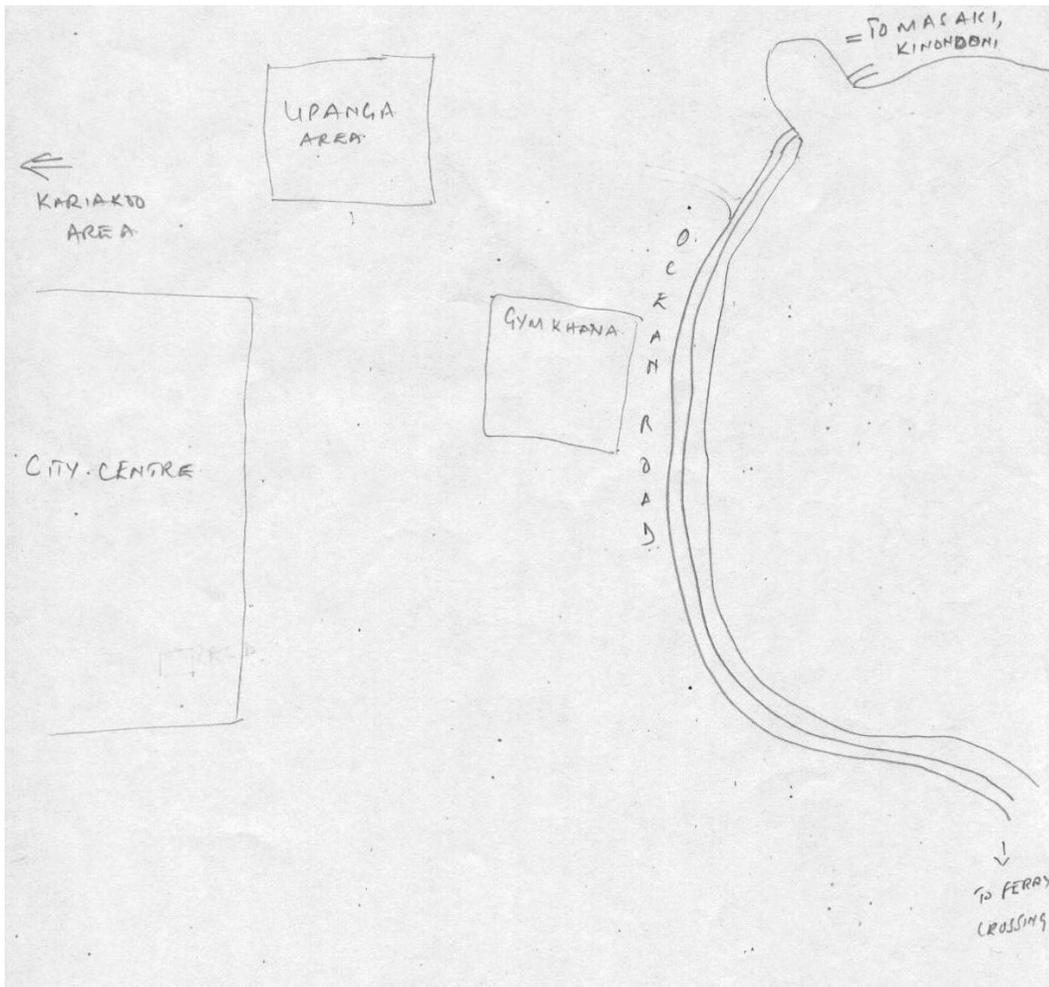


Figure 8.11 begins with the respondent's house in Upanga. From there, he uses directional arrows to illustrate other parts of the city: the airport, the City Center, Oyster Bay (in Msasani), and South Beach (the beaches accessed by the ferry). Interestingly, the City Center is listed twice. Since he has a personal car and his primary form of transportation is self-driving, this suggests his knowledge of the city's roads to avoid traffic. Still, in spite of this knowledge, he shows only limited parts of the city.

My favorite mental map from my Asian respondents is Figure 8.12. This respondent lives and completes her daily activities in a small part of the City Center. On her map, she includes the most important places in her everyday life: her home, her post office, the vegetable market where she buys the ingredients for her Hindu vegetarian diet, the concentration of small grocery shops where she buys other things, her workplace, her temple, a favorite café for eating sweets, and her temple's library. She is an avid reader and spends her free-time reading rather than other forms of recreation. Though she acknowledges that Dar es Salaam is much bigger than her map shows, she said during a follow-up interview that she included only those areas that are of personal importance.

African Mental Maps

This section highlights six mental maps drawn by Africans. I received the most variety in maps from these respondents. Some were more cartographic while others were very basic, including just the city's three municipalities. The maps

Figure 8.11. Asian Mental Map.

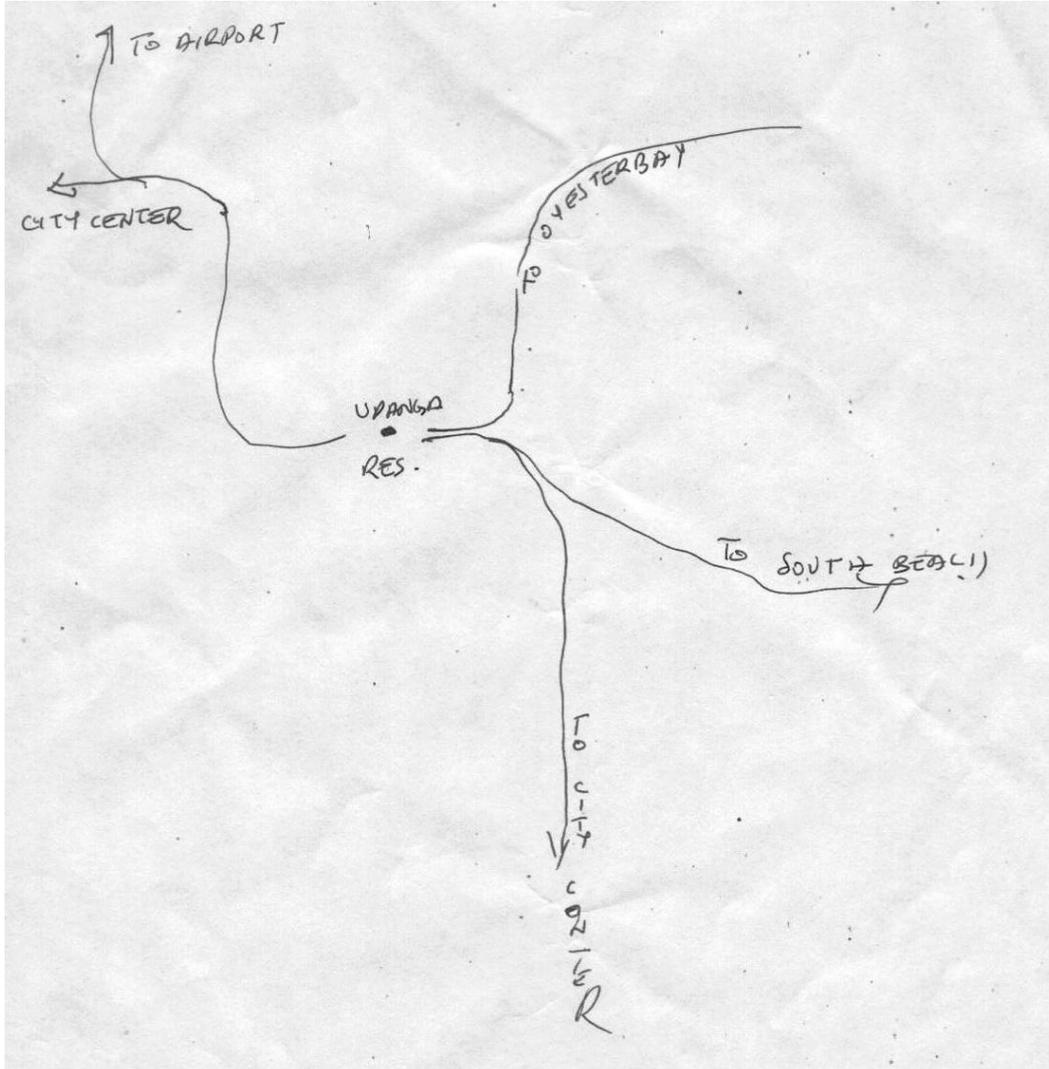
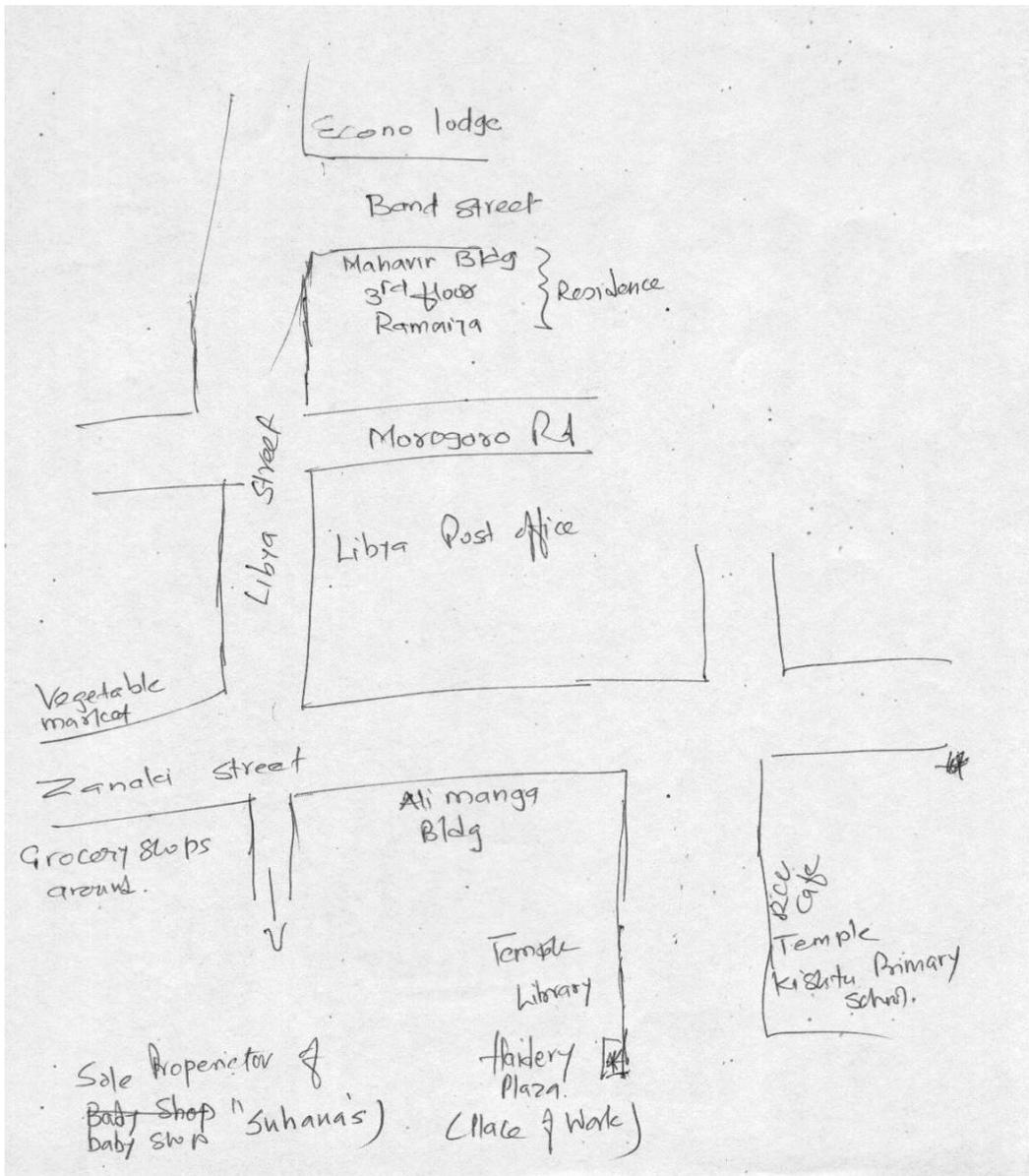


Figure 8.12. Asian Mental Map.

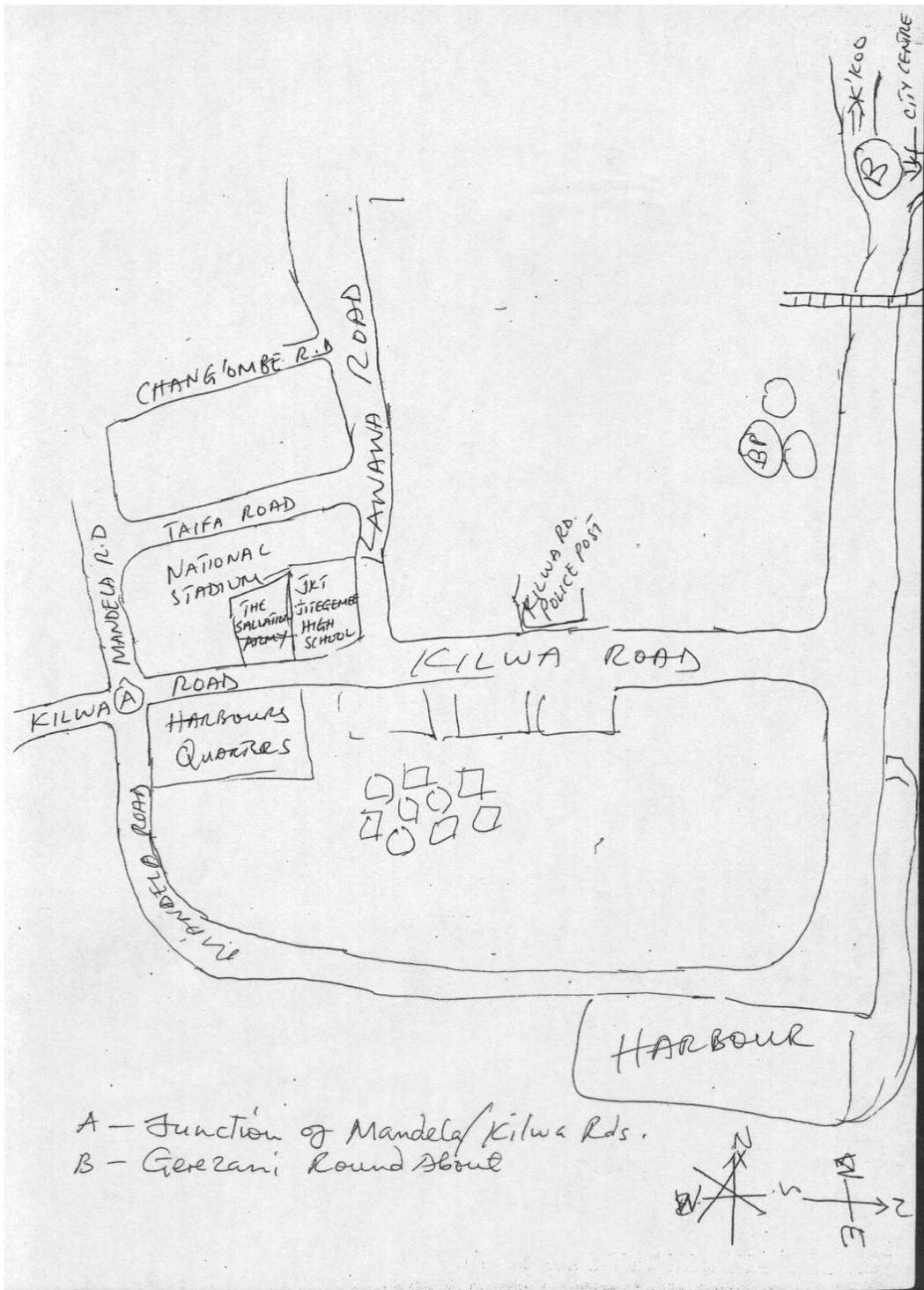


included here represent some interesting themes. As Chapter 7 illustrated, the extent of African daily life for my respondents extends beyond the former Colonial Zone 3. Africans live, shop, and recreate in all parts of this African city. Yet in spite of these broad spatial patterns, African daily activities are overwhelmingly concentrated in Kariakoo.

Figure 8.13 is interesting both for its content and the context in which it was drawn. This respondent, along with his roommate, spent approximately two hours drawing their mental maps. They first sketched them out on scrap paper and then used rulers to make these final maps perfect. These efforts produced a map that is part street map, part neighborhood locator, and part landmark locator. It identifies Tabata, Sinza, Ilala, Kariakoo, and Kinondoni and shows main bus stops such as Ubungo, Mwenge, Morocco, Fire, and Posta. It lists important locations such as hospitals and the University of Dar es Salaam. It also shows the city's main roads. What is most interesting, however, is that the respondent's home – Manzese – is not included on this map. Instead the map begins at the coastline, like many expatriate maps, and does not extend to Manzese or other outlying African areas. It is important to point out that although this figure appears to be only a fragment of a larger map, the respondent's entire map is included.

Figure 8.14 is similar in that it includes main roads and important physical features such as the National Stadium, The Salvation Army, a Police Station, and a large housing settlement. Yet what is especially interesting is that this map is oriented from Kurasini where the respondent lives. Arrows indicate the way to

Figure 8.14. African Mental Map.



Kariakoo and the City Center but these places are not explicitly drawn on the map. Rather the focus is on the area the respondent regularly experiences.

Figure 8.15 looks less like a road map and more like the majority of the maps that I received from my African respondents. It is a noded neighborhood map, showing different places in the city with nothing between them. Like the previous two maps, it does label neighborhoods such as Temeke, Kariakoo, and Manzese but the roads that connect these areas are not clearly drawn. Dashed lines indicate that these areas are connected but these connections are absent. Like the previous map, this one is centered on the area where the respondent lives: Mbagala.

Figure 8.16 differs significantly from other maps that I received due to its visual representation of places. Rather than just naming neighborhoods and places or drawing them as bounded entities, this respondent drew pictures. He shows skyscrapers, the people and buses at Ubungo bus terminal, the market stalls lining Morogoro Road, the State House, and the Kariakoo Market, complete with foodstuffs.

Figure 8.17 is special to me since it was the first mental map drawn by an African respondent. The center of the map is the respondent's home in Tabata, which she has slowly been building since purchasing the plot. She explained in an interview that the rest of her map contains areas she considers important in the city: her church, a community bank she helped found, the Tandika market where she buys her *mitumba*, the hospital she goes to regularly, the bank where she collects her monthly pension, the Kariakoo market where she spends her pension on food, and a relative's house whom she visits on weekends.

Figure 8.16. African Mental Map.

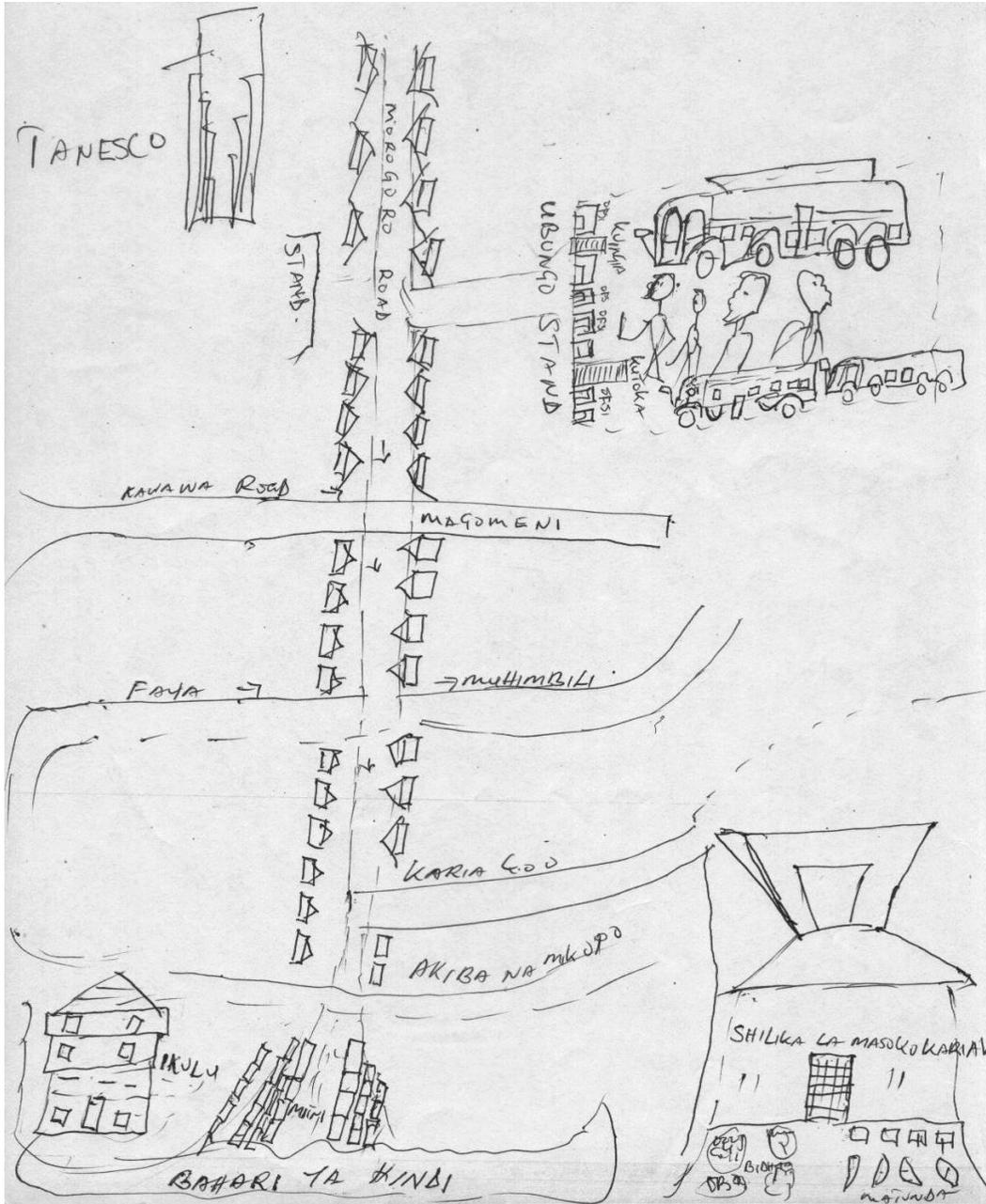
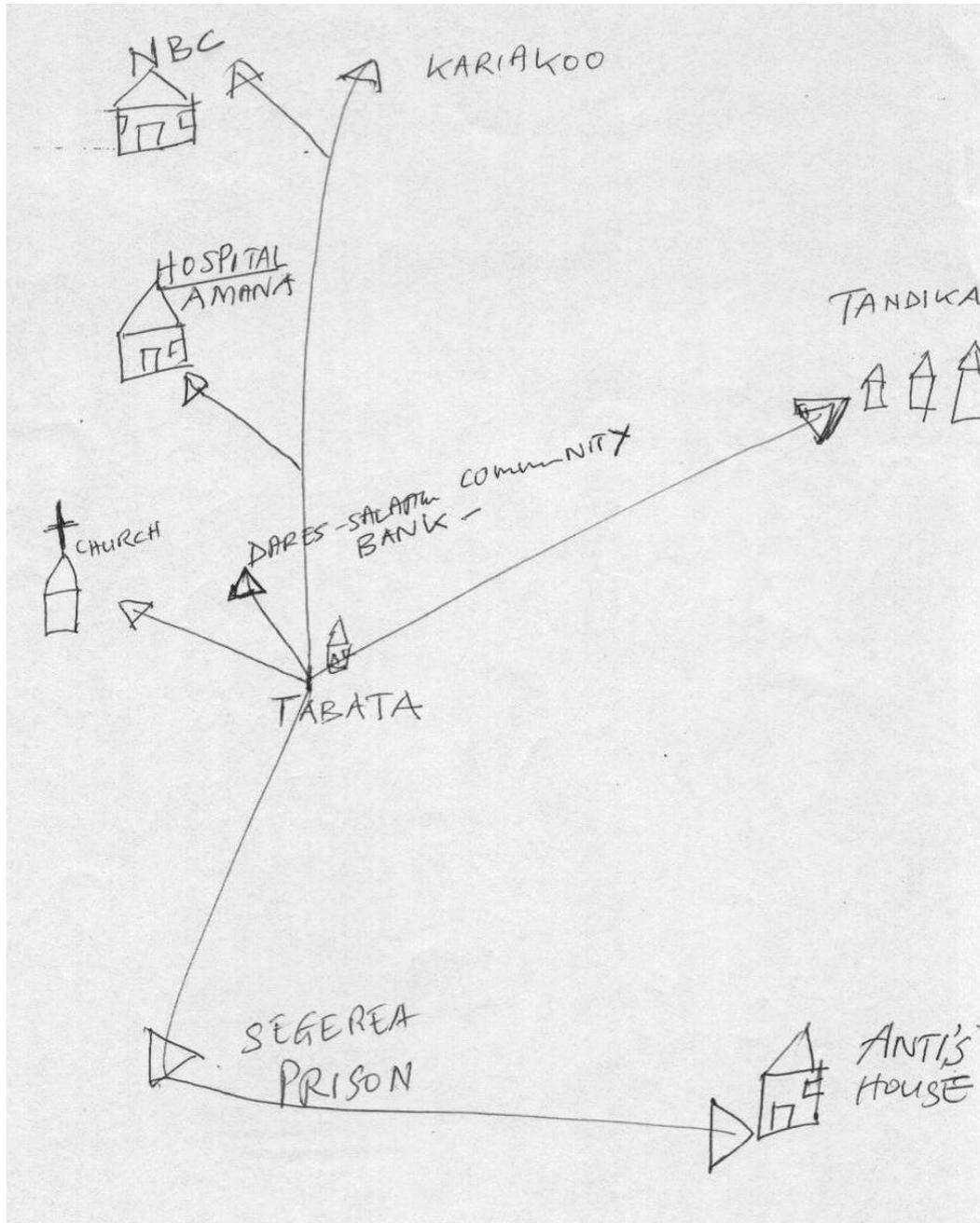


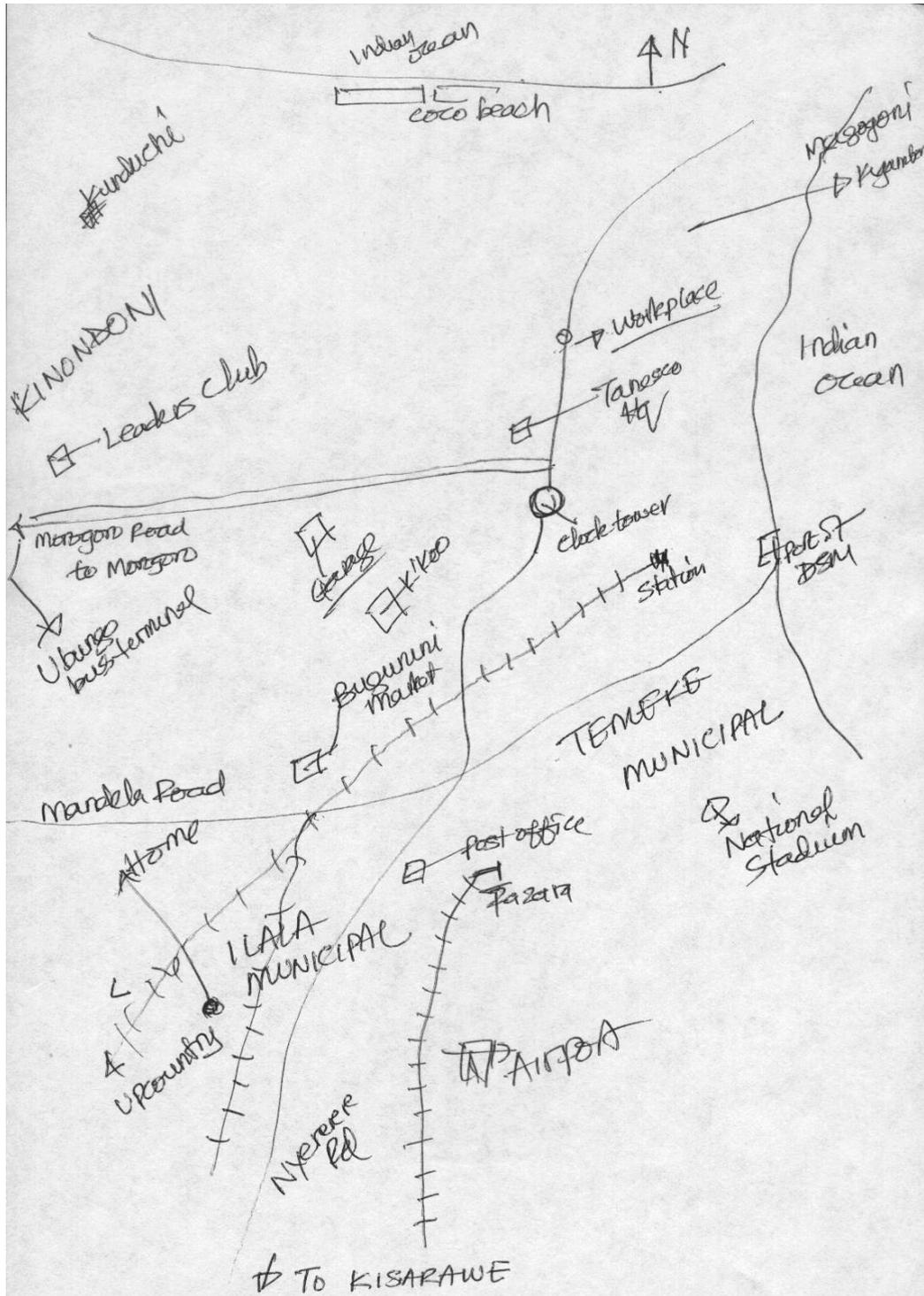
Figure 8.17. African Mental map.



In a similar fashion, Figure 8.18 includes the places of Dar es Salaam most important to this respondent and his family. Interestingly, while drawing this map, he commented that there are large parts of Dar es Salaam that he did not include on the map. He recognized that the city is bigger than what he was illustrating but since these areas were not important to him, he omitted them. He takes his children to Kunduchi and Coco Beaches on the weekends. For his personal recreation, he goes to the Leaders Club (in Kinondoni) and the National Stadium. He included the garage in Kariakoo where he takes his personal car for repairs, which is located near the market where he occasionally purchases food. He also drew his office, the place where he buys his electricity, the post office where he maintains a mail box, and the Buguruni market where he purchases food on his way home from work.

These final two African maps illustrate what Moyer's (2004) findings suggest: people include only those areas of high importance on their maps such as home, work, shopping, and recreation. Likewise, the expatriate maps always included the Msasani Peninsula, the central area of life for these respondents. Asian maps focused on the City Center, Upanga, and Msasani and tended to illustrate Dar es Salaam as a place comprised of distinct and separate neighborhoods.

Figure 8.18. African Mental Map.



Conclusions

The previous three chapters demonstrate that colonial patterns of urban segregation persist in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Using written and oral survey data in conjunction with interviews and urban observations, these chapters show that these patterns persist for all aspects of daily life in the city. For those expatriates, Asians, and Africans that I surveyed, clear patterns of urban life exist. This chapter presents a small sample of mental maps drawn by these respondents to further support these conclusions.

Expatriate mental maps show a strong emphasis on Dar es Salaam's coastline, specifically the coast of the Msasani Peninsula. Not only do all of these maps include this part of the city, few include other places. Even when respondents also drew the City Center or the airport, little attention was given to space between these places. These maps demonstrate a limited understanding of the city beyond the Msasani Peninsula. Asian mental maps show some similarities to these expatriate maps in that they largely ignore African areas of town; all include the City Center and most also include Upanga and Msasani but adjacent areas are omitted. African mental maps offer the most diversity of all those collected from my respondents. Some resemble street maps while others are noded maps. One commonality, however, is the lack of focus on Msasani and the City Center. Although these areas do appear on African mental maps, they are included alongside areas previously absent such as Tabata and Manzese.

It is important to note that these mental maps were collected at the end of my research surveys so that respondents were asked to draw their maps after answering questions about their urban patterns. Therefore, it is possible that my questions about locations of food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation caused respondents to include these places on their maps. I do not believe that this is a significant issue since the vast majority of mental maps did not include locations mentioned in their survey responses. Asking respondents to draw mental maps first might have also lowered my response rates. It is likely that if a person refused to draw a map, he would have then refused to answer questions.

These themes in expatriate, Asian, and African maps reinforce the patterns observed through survey data. Expatriate life is overwhelmingly centered in Msasani, Asian life revolves around the City Center, and African life, although spatially broad, rarely overlaps with expatriates and Asians. Mental maps provide a final layer of insight into how residents of Dar es Salaam perceive their city by showing that these three groups of urban residents understand and experience Dar es Salaam in vastly different ways.

Chapter 9. Conclusions.

This dissertation considers patterns of urban segregation and urban life in Dar es Salaam. In particular, I seek to understand whether colonial patterns of segregation still persist and, if so, whether these legacies affect more than just residential patterns. I base this dissertation on qualitative research collected during fieldwork in Dar es Salaam. I utilized five primary research methods: archival research, written and oral surveys of urban residents, in-depth follow-up interviews with survey respondents, urban observations, and mental maps. Together, these methods provide several lenses for considering colonial legacies in Dar es Salaam and the ways that urban residents perceive their city.

Chapter 1 suggests several ways to approach these ideas, ultimately arguing that Dar es Salaam is more than a segregated or a colonial city; rather Dar es Salaam remains strongly affected by colonial policies even though it received its independence in 1961, more than forty years ago. In this way, I propose that it is a neo-colonial city. Chapter 2 traces out the city's history, from its formal inception in 1865 to its role as Tanzania's *de facto* capital city and its emergence as the bustling hub of East Africa. An important aspect of this history is that Tanganyika – what is today mainland Tanzania – was both a German and British colony. Both administrations were concerned with establishing and maintaining order. Since independence, urban policy remained focused on control as seen through *ujamaa*, the Building Acquisition Act, and SAPs. Yet more than the rapid population and spatial growth discussed in this chapter, this dissertation is concerned with how this growth

occurred. As Chapter 3 shows, Dar es Salaam developed as a segregated city. Within four years of its arrival in the city, the German colonial government implemented a program of ordering based on racial segregation. Racial segregation remained a central tenet of colonial urban planning under the British colonial government.

Segregation was not unique to colonial Dar es Salaam. As Christopher (1992) points out, all British colonies experienced some degree of racial segregation, and Echenberg (2002) and Goerg (1998) confirm that French colonial cities were also segregated. Dar es Salaam is unique, however, in the way that it was segregated. Unlike South African policies of locations and apartheid, Dar es Salaam was never officially segregated through legal codes. Likewise, unlike in Freetown or Dakar, segregation was not used to protect Europeans from 'African' diseases such as malaria and the plague. This lack of segregation for health reasons can be explained in two ways. First, Dar es Salaam experienced no major disease outbreaks and never became known as the 'white man's grave' like Sierra Leone. Second, the German government recognized in its 1904/05 Medical Report (Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amts 1907) that malaria was endemic to Dar es Salaam and that it was impossible to completely prevent infections in the European population.

As a result of the government's conclusions, segregation in Dar es Salaam was achieved through building ordinances that applied only to the city's physical structures rather than their inhabitants. The first German Building Ordinance, enacted in 1891, divided the city into European and other areas, reflecting strongly on Fanon (2004), Foucault (1970; 1989), and Said's (1993) ideas on the

compartmentalization of society, exclusion, and difference. In 1914, a second German Building Ordinance was enacted, which divided Dar es Salaam into three separate and distinct zones based on the style of construction permitted in each area. These construction standards used colonial ideas of race to segregate the city. For example, Zone 1 was for buildings of a European type. Each room in these European style homes was required to have a window and all homes to have flush toilets. The underlying assumption of the German government was that only a European would want these amenities, and, perhaps more important, that only a European could afford these amenities.

As a consequence for its actions in World War I, the League of Nations stripped Germany of its colonies and mandated them to other European nations; German East Africa was mandated to Great Britain and renamed Tanganyika Territory. More than just a change in flags, this Mandate had important implications for Tanganyika's population and the urban planning of Dar es Salaam. Under this Mandate, Great Britain was charged with the social, material, and moral development of all the territory's inhabitants, native or non-native. The Mandate had the most significant effect on Indians. Since India was a Member Nation of the League, its citizens were guaranteed equal treatment in Tanganyika. In fact, Indians fought for, and won, the end of discriminatory taxes and segregation in railway cars (Callahan 1999).

Yet in spite of the Mandate, segregation did not disappear during British colonial rule. Instead, this administration implemented its own system of segregation

that divided Dar es Salaam into three zones based on building standards: Zone 1 was for buildings of a European type, Zone 2 was for residential or commercial buildings, and Zone 3 was for native style buildings. It is important to note that this segregation did not arise by accident. As made clear in the 1920 file from the TNA entitled ‘Segregation of Races’ (AB 616), the administration expressed an interest in having a segregated Dar es Salaam but it recognized that such a policy would violate the terms of the League of Nations Mandate. In order to circumvent the Mandate, it used this Building Ordinance to innocuously segregate Dar es Salaam. The interest was not limited to low-level officials; even the governor of Tanganyika Territory, Horace Byatt, wrote about what he considered to be the wisdom and necessity of segregation (*ibid.*).

Not only did the city’s population experience physical segregation, but the building ordinances also resulted in social segregation; the British government in particular privileged the European quarter, Zone 1, by providing it with more amenities and services than either Zone 2 or 3. For example when electricity provision was unable to keep pace with home construction, unoccupied European apartments were given a higher priority than occupied Asian homes (TNA 31662). At the same time, homes in the African area did not have electricity.

Since Tanzania received its independence in 1961, its governments have implemented a variety of policies designed to alter Dar es Salaam’s urban form. The most significant of these was the 1971 Building Acquisition Act, which nationalized many of the country’s buildings. Once nationalized, the government allotted these

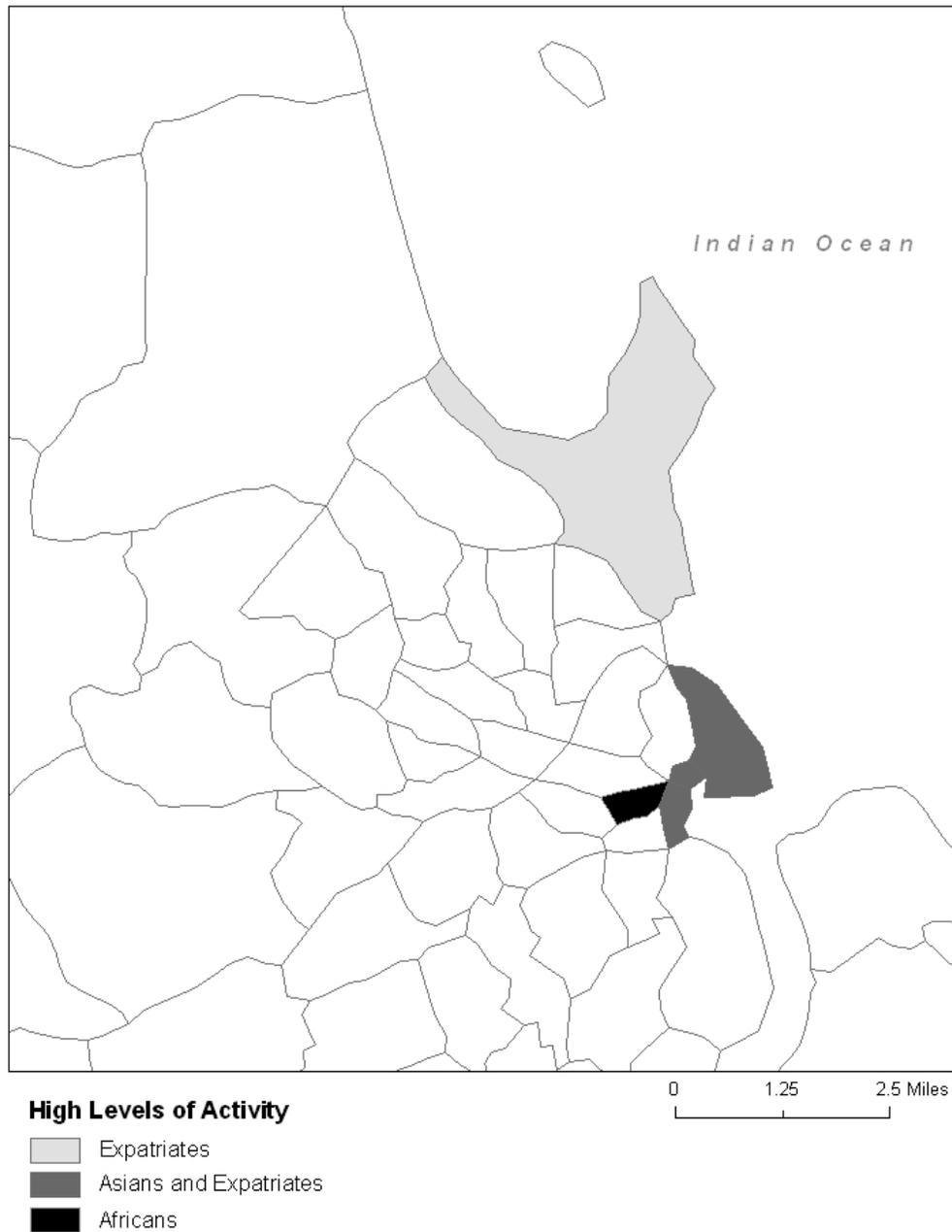
residences to citizens – the majority of whom were African – allowing for racial intermixing. The immediate result of this policy was that Africans moved into traditionally white, European neighborhoods. This Act had little permanent effect on the city, however, and it has slowly reverted to its former colonial patterns. Often this shift occurs through the illegal occupation of nationalized housing, as tenants pay ‘key money’ to take over nationalized residences. Several of my survey respondents admitted to paying key money to obtain a home in their desired area. I personally experienced the reality of Dar es Salaam since the Acquisition Act; Africans laughed at my decision to live in the City Center – since “only Indians live in the city” – and Americans expressed concern at my adventurous housing choice. Likewise, patterns of social segregation persist in contemporary Dar es Salaam. During my fieldwork, the former Zone 3 was the site of the vast majority of cholera outbreaks – directly linked to the lack of clean water – and the site of prolonged blackouts caused by power rationing.

In this dissertation, I seek an understanding of how far this segregation has penetrated into and endured within everyday urban life. Has it extended beyond the colonial residential segregation to impact other aspects of daily life? Chapter 4 details my methodology and provides a short case study of one aspect of urbanism: perceptions of safety and security in Dar es Salaam. This case study demonstrates the vast differences between the perceptions of expatriates, Asians, and Africans of the city. One hundred per cent of my expatriate respondents and sixty per cent of my Asian respondents employ residential security guards; data collected as part of the

United Nations Safer Cities Project indicates only seven per cent of Africans employ guards (Robertshaw et al. 2001). Of course some of these differences may be attributed to cost; Ultimate Security, one of several companies in Dar es Salaam, charges approximately \$400 per month for a twenty-four hour guard and \$200 per month for a night guard (Carvalho 2007). Regardless of whether the differences in security measures are based entirely on perceptions of safety or also include financial considerations, these differences speak to the disparities between expatriates, Asians, and Africans in Dar es Salaam.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 consider patterns of residence and other daily activities such as food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation and entertainment in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Through these activities, it is possible to understand the spatial extent of daily life for the expatriates, Asians, and Africans that I surveyed. As Figures 5.6, 6.7, and 7.7 show, the patterns of daily activity for these three groups have a spatial component that strongly reflects the three zones created by the German and British Building Ordinances. The high values from each of these maps are mapped on Figure 9.1 to illustrate segregation in contemporary Dar es Salaam. From looking at this map, two important themes stand out. First, segregation appears to exist between expatriates, Asians, and Africans in terms of the primary spatial concentrations of their lives. Second, this segregation almost identically mimics the three zones of the colonial building ordinances (see Figure 5.1). The only exception to either of these themes is the City Center.

Figure 9.1. Segregation in Contemporary Dar es Salaam.



This figure shows that Msasani is an area of high activity for expatriates and that Kariakoo is an area of high activity for Africans. These results clearly reflect the colonial situation. The British government created Msasani as a European suburb. The German government originally conceived of Kariakoo as Dar es Salaam's first designated African settlement, although it was not completed until after World War I. As the previous chapters made clear, Msasani remains important for expatriates because of its amenities, particularly its hotels, Western-style supermarkets, and embassy-approved housing. In fact, all but one expatriate that I surveyed (forty-nine out of fifty respondents) completes at least some daily activity in Msasani. Likewise, Kariakoo houses the city's largest local market and remains the place to purchase anything and everything in Dar es Salaam. Seventy-eight per cent of my African respondents (253 out of 326) complete at least some daily activity in Kariakoo.

The City Center presents a more complicated situation. This is an area of high activity for both expatriates and Asians. Under German and British colonial rule, this area was divided between Zone 1 and 2; the northern portion of the City Center was part of the European Quarter while the rest comprised the Indian bazaar and Indian residential area. Today, the majority of the City Center is utilized by Asians. As a resident of the City Center, I shopped and ate in the area daily; the majority of shopkeepers and restaurant patrons were Asian. Expatriate activity is almost exclusively limited to recreation at three hotels in this area. Importantly, the City Center accounts for a larger percentage of Asian activity than expatriate activity; one hundred per cent

of Asian respondents and eighty-four per cent of expatriate respondents complete at least some activity there.

The mental maps drawn by survey respondents and included in Chapter 8 further reinforce the patterns visible in Figure 9.1. Expatriate maps overwhelmingly concentrate on the Msasani Peninsula, with little recognition of the rest of Dar es Salaam. Even when a respondent included the airport, located in the southern part of the city, no attention was given to the area between it and Msasani. Asian maps focus on the City Center, Upanga, and Msasani, areas with high concentrations of activity for my respondents. Though African mental maps are more diverse, they generally include areas absent from expatriate and Asians maps such as Mbagala, Tabata, and Manzese – former Zone 3 areas.

The persistence of these segregation patterns has strong implications for contemporary Dar es Salaam. Segregation impacts how people interact with each other. For many expatriates, their interactions with Africans are limited to servants, taxi drivers, and clerks at the western-style grocery stores. The majority of the expatriates that I surveyed, thirty-eight out of fifty, speak no or only basic Kiswahili. Most do not include African areas of Dar es Salaam in their mental maps or actual activity patterns. Thus, they have few opportunities for meaningful social interaction with the majority of the city's population. Nagar (1995: 191, 192) finds similar trends in the city's Asian population:

For most of the Asian middle class, the only Africans with whom a day-to-day interaction occurs are African domestic servants, African vendors and African employees who work in Asian shops and businesses. . . . The physical distance between an Asian shopkeeper living near the Clock Tower and an African vendor living on Uhuru Street in Kariakoo may be a few blocks, but socially, the two are worlds apart.

The city's colonial history of segregation does nothing to improve these social relations. Colonial officials realized that by favoring Zone 1 over Zone 3, they created ill-will between whites and blacks in the city (TNA Acc. 540, 27/19). Relations between Asians and Africans were similarly antagonistic after Zone 3 experienced severe housing shortages, a situation worsened by Asian residence in that zone (TNA 32982).

Counter-Arguments

The conclusion of this dissertation is that the colonial practice of residential racial segregation persists in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Although these patterns now extend beyond just residence to affect shopping and recreation, expatriates, Asians, and Africans in Dar es Salaam continue to lead distinctly separate lives. To reach this conclusion, I examine residents of Dar es Salaam in these racial categories, but I recognize that some readers might find fault with this racial argument. Some might suggest that it is too narrow and misses other relevant aspects of urban society.

Thus, the following sections present counter-arguments to this conclusion. By doing so, I do not abandon my argument for a racial explanation but rather demonstrate the nuanced complexities of interpreting Dar es Salaam's contemporary

human geography. In particular, I recognize this complexity in my discussion of the intersection of race and class. Even though I do acknowledge the importance of class, I still purport that race is important and a primary explanation for the patterns of urban life illustrated in this dissertation.

Importance of Cosmopolitanism and Globalization

Some of my respondents, especially expatriates and Asians, conduct portions of their daily activities outside of Dar es Salaam. They order clothing from the internet or purchase it while on holidays abroad. A few expatriate respondents even order food from outside of the city; Meat King, a butcher in Arusha – a town in northern Tanzania – is particularly popular with Americans since it sells ribs for barbequing and turkeys for Thanksgiving dinners. This globalized activity might suggest that some expatriates and Asians experience Dar es Salaam as part of a broader transnational lifestyle. This lifestyle is illustrated in survey responses and mental maps that show little connection to large parts of the city. On the other hand, the majority of my African respondents complete all of their activities inside the city. This reality is reflected in their responses and maps, which demonstrate a more intimate knowledge of the city.

This globalized world exists in Dar es Salaam because of the city's cosmopolitanism, which was identified in the 1924 Annual Report by the British colonial government (TNA). To me, a cosmopolitan city is vibrant, full of life and movement, constantly changing, and the site of construction. It is a city that is

growing and changing, words used by Gillman to describe the city in his 1945 work on its urban history. Cosmopolitan cities are also open to the world. This openness can manifest itself in various ways: immigration, emigration, and the mixing of cultures. The large expatriate population in Dar es Salaam and the presence of Tanzanians of Asian Descent certainly contribute to this openness.

This vibrant nature of city life is an integral component of urban research that seeks to focus not on the problems of African cities but rather on their successes. In this way, Simone (2004:1) describes African cities as “works in progress” that are “exceedingly creative”. The high level of intense activity in these cities allows them to persist, remain full of vitality, and possess “endless possibilities of remaking” (Simone 2004: 9). One way to see these possibilities is to consider roads as openings to somewhere rather than dilapidated, flooded, and pothole-filled places (*ibid.*). Again, this openness to the world is a characteristic of cosmopolitan cities.

In considering the globalized world, Armstrong and McGee (1985) refer to cities as theaters of accumulation. This creative phrasing suggests the role of what they then called Third World cities in national accumulation as well as their role as a link to other global cities. This link is visible in Dar es Salaam by the importance of internet shopping to some city residents, the inclusion of the airport on mental maps, and the diverse urban population represented in this research.

This diverse population exhibits contrasting urban experiences. These experiences further support this dissertation’s arguments of urban segregation since they demonstrate significant differences between expatriates, Asians, and Africans.

The fact that some of my survey respondents straddle lives in Dar es Salaam and somewhere else – so that they do not fully belong in either – illustrates what Graham and Marvin (2001) call splintering urbanism. Some urban residents secede into exclusive and exclusionary spaces that owe their existence to the globalized, networked world. At the same time, the majority of urban residents – the others – are left with fewer amenities and services. These processes of splintering observed across the globe limit the interaction and mixing of people and ideas. Thus, the very fact that some expatriates and Asians live global lives further segregates Dar es Salaam.

African Life is Everywhere in Dar es Salaam

Although on the surface, Chapter 7 suggests that Africans live, shop, and recreate across much of the city, the reality is more complicated. The Africans that I surveyed do engage in activities – especially recreation – in areas that are traditionally dominated by expatriates and Asians: Msasani and the City Center. Yet as Photograph 7.1 clearly illustrates, these groups occupy very different areas within Msasani ward. There, Africans purchase food at *magenge* and local markets rather than the western-style supermarkets frequented by expatriates. Likewise, they spend their free time on weekends at Coco Beach rather than at the hotels and restaurants visited by expatriates. In the City Center, Africans spend time at the Ocean Road Beach and Bilicanas Nightclub rather than eating at the numerous authentic Indian restaurants or attending Asian dominated places of worship.

To further illustrate this lack of overlap between these groups, I return to a comment made by one of my expatriate respondents. She suggested that expatriates like to “to live among our own kind” (R.P). As a resident of Mikocheni, an area not historically part of Zone 1 and one that today has a significant African population, she is able to do just that. Although she lives in an area near to Africans, she does not live in close proximity, as illustrated by Photograph 9.1, an aerial photograph of Mikocheni Ward. This photograph clearly demonstrates the same divided settlement structure patterns seen in Msasani. The southern, low-density area is overwhelmingly expatriate, and the high-density, northern portion is overwhelmingly African. While Africans might live throughout the entire city, there still are spaces of exclusion along racial lines, within wards and neighborhoods.

Alongside the visual evidence of this aerial photograph and the qualitative evidence of my oral surveys, there is a third piece of evidence for the segregation of African life. If it was indeed found everywhere in the city, we would expect more interaction between races. Yet as the earlier quote by Nagar demonstrates, most interaction between Asians and Africans occurs through unequal relationships. These relationships place Africans in subservient positions, as servants, drivers, and store clerks. Similar unequal relationships exist between expatriates and Africans. As pointed out in Chapter 4, places have multiple meanings to different people. Msasani and the City Center are simultaneously spaces of domination and spaces where others are dominated; places where Africans dominate are not the same places where expatriates or Asians dominate.

Photograph 9.1. Aerial Photograph of Mikocheni Ward.



Choice

At the beginning of Chapter 4, I asked the question: Why do residents of Dar es Salaam choose patterns of urban life that closely resemble patterns from colonially segregated Dar es Salaam? I use the word *choose* because of the lack of formal laws and policies in both colonial and contemporary Dar es Salaam to dictate where a person can or cannot live. In the absence of these laws, there must be some degree of choice involved. The question remains, however, whether these decisions are entirely voluntary or whether another factor is at play.

Certainly some aspects of urban life are influenced by outside factors. For example, transportation costs constrain shopping options. For a resident of Mbagala to shop at the Msasani Shoprite supermarket, he would have to take two *daladalas* each way and then walk a significant distance from the nearest bus stop. Not only would this trip be time consuming, it would cost about 1,000 shillings total, about eighty cents. This cost is simply not affordable to many urban residents; when *daladala* fares increased by just 50 shillings each trip, many people complained they were forced to skip a meal in order to pay the new fare. So even though the Mbagala customer can choose to purchase food at this Shoprite, it is not a practical choice. Expatriates are also free to make informed choices. Although they can choose to purchase food at the Kariakoo Market, none of my respondents do so. Even though this market has some of the lowest prices in town and one of the best selections, no expatriates that I surveyed make this personal choice.

The issue of service provision has been discussed at length in this dissertation, demonstrating the unequal levels of access to basic amenities such as water, electricity, and sanitation. Although the government does privilege some areas over others, in some ways its options are limited. To construct water pipes to the city's periphery – the area where people can build informal housing and the historic Zone 3 – represents a tremendous cost to the government:

Faced with the problem of insufficient surveyed plots, residents have built their houses in unsurveyed areas without seeking any official permission. They later look for a surveyor to survey the already developed plot. This process frustrates future efforts to design urban streets, construct urban drainage systems, install water supply systems etc. and it becomes technically impossible to straighten streets or install water supply systems without demolishing some buildings. Even if it is possible to demolish some buildings, lack of finance to compensate the affected owners, forces the city authorities and the national government to shy away from undertaking such a move (Mhamba and Titus 2001: 221-222).

As a result of this government inaction, some service provision occurs outside of the public sector. In fact, as Burra (2004) suggests, the original water supply to Makongo, located in Kawe Ward, was provided because of community action. Settlers initiated this system but rapid population growth caused it to collapse. With funding from the Japanese Embassy secured by MAJUDEA, a Community-Based Organization, and resident-supplied labor, a new water system was implemented without governmental funding or planning.

Role of Fear, Health, and Security

The role of fear in urban planning and ordering can be traced back to the colonial era. The European population initially wanted to separate itself – to seclude itself – from all other residents of Dar es Salaam. The League of Nations Mandate prevented this blatant discrimination, so instead Africans were separated from Asians and Europeans by other means. In spite of the Mandate, archival materials are filled with rhetoric about the filth of the Asian bazaar and the danger posed by Africans in the city.

Sibley (1995: x) examines these geographies of fear and exclusion in the Western world. In doing so, he asks “who are places for, whom do they exclude, and how are these prohibitions maintained in practice?”. He points out that “exclusionary discourse draws particularly on colour, disease, animals, sexuality and nature, but they all come back to the idea of dirt as a signifier of imperfection and inferiority” (1995: 14). As a result, the house becomes a haven for many people as a way to seclude themselves from these unfamiliar and undesirable things. This seclusion is particularly detrimental because without engagement with ‘others’, it is extremely difficult to reject stereotypes of them or to lessen fears about them. Yet at the same time, limited engagement is not any better. Thus, the limited contact between Africans and Asians and Africans and expatriates in Dar es Salaam does not negate exclusionary geographies.

This racial separation was achieved through both the construction standards and the implementation of a *cordon sanitaire*. Though this sanitary zone existed, it

never received the same attention as similar areas in other colonial African cities.

The lack of segregation for health reasons in Tanganyika meant that the *cordon sanitaire* – termed the *Tote Zone*, the *Neutral Zone*, the *Open Space*, and *Mnazi Moja* at various points in its history – was not an active tool of separation. Rather it developed out of colonial fears of ‘the other’.

This idea of the *cordon sanitaire* had not disappeared from the contemporary world. In military rhetoric, this area is used for safety, to protect troops from their enemies rather than diseases. For example, the idea was used during the Cold War to contain the spread of communism from the Soviet Union. Today, during the US war in Iraq, the *Green Zone* is buffered from insurgent activity by a *cordon sanitaire*. Though not related to health, this space still serves as a zone of separation from those people and ideas deemed dangerous and different – ‘the other’.

A *cordon sanitaire* can also exist in a mental form. As discussed above and earlier in Chapter 4, expatriates, Asians, and Africans seem to perceive of their safety and security in vastly different ways. These perceptions are connected both to physical dangers and the physiological perception of danger. In this way, a *cordon sanitaire* can exist in a person’s subconscious as a dividing line between secure and insecure areas. As a resident of the City Center, an area termed dangerous by the US Embassy, I suffered from these perceptions of danger. One late night, I was refused a ride home by US Embassy employees, one of whom worked in the security office. The fear of a carjacking or other violent crime outweighed the concern for my personal safety; I was instead driven to a nearby taxi stand and left to negotiate my

way back into this ‘dangerous’ place. For these Americans, the *cordon sanitaire* separating the Msasani Peninsula from the rest of Dar es Salaam was too big to cross.

The Intersection of Race and Class

In this dissertation, I discuss patterns of urban life and urban segregation based on three groups of people: expatriates, Asians, and Africans. These groups are ultimately based on race and the conclusions of this dissertation are that these races exhibit significantly different patterns. As illustrated by Figure 9.1., these groups exhibit clear spatial preferences, with overlap only occurring in the City Center. Equally important is that these patterns closely resemble the spatial patterns established by the German and British Building Ordinances. Yet some might read this dissertation and come to a different conclusion; they might conclude that class rather than race is the overriding factor in these urban patterns. To these people, I would suggest that distinctions between class and race are often difficult to make.

This is not the first research in Tanzanian studies to find the intersection of race and class a tricky place. Sheriff (1991a), in writing about Zanzibar’s colonial history, concedes that these issues are intertwined. He recognizes that historians often point to race as the sole explanatory factor, equating class and race as one issue. Yet recent research on the island suggests that “classes cut across racial boundaries and political alignments” (Sheriff 1991a: 7). For example, the struggle for independence caused the advent of class alliances at the expense of ethnic politics (Sheriff 1991b). Mlahagwa and Temu (1991: 145) suggest that these questions of

race and class are not unique to Zanzibar but rather are a feature of capitalism; ruling parties often use ethnicity and race to “obscure class contradictions and misdirect the class struggle”. Thus, the distinctions between class and race become blurred and are minimized – or perhaps sometimes maximized – to achieve a desired political or social goal. One such goal was the attempt to achieve urban order and control in racially segregated colonial Dar es Salaam.

In contemporary Dar es Salaam, the picture becomes even more complex. Fanon (1967) foreshadowed the future of African societies and the role of class. He warned of the emergence of a black middle class, a group of Africans that strives to be like their white colonizers: “The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man, and all his efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence” (1967: 228). It is with these “colored intellectuals” (1967: 230) that he predicted the emergence of problems in independent Africa.

Today there is a distinct black middle class in Dar es Salaam, what Shivji (1976) refers to as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This group is comprised of government ministers, high-ranking civil servants, and military officers. Likewise, Fanon (2004: 152) refers to the national bourgeoisie:

The national bourgeoisie steps into the shoes of the former European settlement: doctors, barristers, traders, commercial travelers, general agents, and transport agents. It considers that the dignity of the country and its own welfare require that it should occupy all these posts. . . . The national middle class discovers its historic mission: that of intermediary.

His opinion of this group as an intermediary is particularly interesting. It conjures up the images of the colonized middle, what has until now been the area of the Asians in the Dar es Salaam example. Yet what is most important from this terminology is that Fanon predicted that this bourgeoisie would be distinctly separate from other Africans.

I do recognize the existence of this black middle class in Dar es Salaam. Members of this group participated in my research and I encountered others in social situations. Knowing that this group exists, however, is not the same as conceding that it will exhibit distinctly different spatial patterns. I surveyed one member of this middle class whose patterns do not differ. This man works for the government in public relations. He has significant training beyond secondary school and his primary mode of transportation is a self-driven car. He previously lived in Vingunguti and now lives in Kipawa. He purchases food in either Buguruni or Kipawa and generally recreates in Kinondoni, Miburani, or else stays at home due to a lack of money. His mental map, included as Figure 8.18., omits large parts of the city. In fact, he commented that he is “not interested” in the parts of town not included in his map (R.).

I personally find it difficult to completely separate race and class. During my fieldwork, it was almost universally assumed that I was wealthy because of my skin color. My white skin alone places me in a high social class, regardless of the reality. Although my income was greater than the income of most Africans, it was certainly much lower than that of the American Ambassador. Yet the very fact that both of us

were white elevated our social standing. The fact that I was a student played no role since my ability to afford higher education substantiated the assumption that I was wealthy. My skin color allowed me to access places that are inaccessible to many Africans. I was able to sit in hotel lobbies and write in my journal and able to enter the Canadian Embassy, the Swedish Embassy, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs without appointments.

Notes from the Field: The Reality of Being ‘The Other’.

For every time that my skin color opened a door for me, there were also times that it closed them. For every time that a fellow bus passenger took pity on the *mzungu* and offered me a seat, another passenger purposefully elbowed me, pushed me, and crowded me because I was white. For every time that I was able to wander the air-conditioned aisles of a store in the Slipway, I was looked at suspiciously by store clerks. I liked to browse in a kitchen-goods store in the City Center and occasionally purchased items there. Each time I entered the store, however, I was closely followed by a store clerk, generally a young African male. Although I would like to assume he was there to offer service, I always had the impression he was making sure I did not steal.

Simply by being a white person in Dar es Salaam, I received elevated social standing. Of course, not all *wazungu* in the city are equal. Students and volunteers are there alongside successful businessmen. There are also those people that come to Africa because they have no opportunities left at home; in Africa even the poorest expatriate can live a life of luxury unobtainable at home. Yet even though these class distinctions do exist, there are some sights that I never saw in Dar es Salaam. I never saw a white street child, a white street vendor, or a white beggar.

Even though class exists in Dar es Salaam just as it exists around the world, it alone does not explain every urban pattern. During my fieldwork, I was told during two interviews that Dar es Salaam is not a racially segregated city (Mukama 2006; Mungala 2006). A former Deputy Mayor suggested that income determines urban patterns while the Permanent Deputy Secretary for Local Government proposed that history and economics play equal roles in determining urban form. Though I concede that race alone does not fully explain the situation in contemporary Dar es Salaam – as proved by my discussion in Chapter 5 of an expatriate woman moving from Mikocheni to Sinza – I do consider it the most significant factor. This claim is supported by the changes in urban form observed in the aftermath of the 1971 Building Acquisition Act. Even though this Act allowed Africans to move to Toure Drive on the Msasani Peninsula, the city soon reverted to its historical form, which was intricately linked to race.

Future Directions

This dissertation provides the starting ground for a broader, comparative research project on urban segregation in Africa. I envision using Chapter 3 as a model for archival fieldwork conducted in other African countries. This research could take two different directions. One option is to focus generally on former British colonies. This examination would offer the opportunity to expand on Frenkel and Western's (1988) research on Freetown, Sierra Leone or to build on the existing literature on Nairobi, Kenya that was referenced in Chapter 2. Since both of these

cities were segregated for health reasons, they would allow me to investigate whether different methods of segregation produced similar urban forms.

A second option is to narrow my focus to other former German colonies, specifically those that were mandated to English speaking nations. As McEvedy (1995) explains, Rwanda and Burundi were mandated to Belgium and German Southwest Africa (Namibia) was mandated to South Africa. The Mandates for Cameroon and Togoland were more complicated. Both colonies were divided between France and Great Britain; a portion of Cameroon was attached to Nigeria and a portion of Togoland was attached to the Gold Coast (Ghana). Since there is not a large existing literature on segregation in Ghana, Nigeria, or Namibia, this research option is extremely interesting.

Regardless of which research path I take, I envision conducting additional archival research at the National Archives in Great Britain. The Public Records Office, located in Kew, contains a variety of relevant materials including records from the Colonial Office. Although these records would share the same limits of archival materials discussed in Chapter 3 – privileging the voice of the white, elite male as well as the selective preservation of documents – these documents may provide an important and previously missing viewpoint. Since the TNA is less than complete, it may be possible to find relevant materials in the British archives.

An important theme in this comparative research would be the idea of ‘the other’, which could take several forms. I am particularly interested in the juxtaposition of dirt / cleanliness and disease / health, ideas discussed by Sibley as

geographies of exclusion (1995). These topics, while mentioned in this dissertation, were not a central focus for two reasons. First, health was not a central tenet of segregation in Tanganyika. Second, and perhaps more important, it was only after I returned from the field that I encountered the vast literature on health segregation. The previously cited works by Frenkel and Western (1988) and Echenberg (2002) offer important starting points for research on ‘the other’.

Final Thoughts

Segregation persists in contemporary Dar es Salaam and closely mimics colonial patterns. In this way, Dar es Salaam is not merely a colonial or post-colonial city. Instead it can be considered a neo-colonial city, experiencing colonial policies in an independent political era. Dar es Salaam was never officially segregated by legal codes. Rather colonial governments used back-door policies to achieve a racially segregated city. Today, these racial divisions are still clearly visible in patterns of daily activities, including residence, food shopping, clothing shopping, and recreation. Not only do these colonial patterns persist but very little spatial overlap occurs between the activities of expatriates, Asians, and Africans. Equally important is that the social divisions of colonialism also persist; the former Zone 3 areas still suffer from problems related to inadequate service provision such as prolonged power outages and cholera epidemics. Even though Dar es Salaam is the *de facto* capital city of an independent Tanzania, theoretically ruled by the African majority for the African majority, colonial patterns of segregation have not been

eliminated. Contemporary Dar es Salaam, in certain respects, looks much the same as it did one hundred years ago: a city of three colors.

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5. Interviews.

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- Respondents identified by initials only were interviewed in 2006 in Dar es Salaam.

Appendix 1. Expatriate Written Survey.

Part 1: Demographic Information

Name (Will be kept confidential)	
Age	
Sex	Male Female
Marital Status	Single Married Other:
Nationality	
Place of Birth	
Highest Level of Education Completed	None Primary School Secondary School Diploma University Degree Other:
Occupation	Government Private NGO Student Unemployed Self-Employed Retired Other:
Months you have lived in Dar es Salaam	
Knowledge of Kiswahili	None Basic Intermediate Advanced
Location of Residence (Neighborhood only. For example Mikocheni)	
Location of Workplace (Neighborhood only)	Not Applicable
Do you own a vehicle for personal use	Yes No
Main form of transportation	Self-Driven Car Taxi Bicycle Bus Car with Driver Other:

Number of children and their ages	Number: Ages: Not Applicable
Location of Children's Schools (Neighborhood only)	Not Applicable
What type of residence do you have	House Apartment / Flat Other:
What type of security does your residence have	Locked Gate 24 hour Guard Evening Guard None Other:
How many people live in your residence	
How many bedrooms does your residence have	
What type of power does your residence use	Electricity Gasoline Kerosene Firewood Charcoal None Other:
Does your residence have a generator	Yes No
Is your residence connected to the city sewage system	Yes No
Does your residence have piped / running water	Yes No
If your residence has water, where is the tap	Indoor Outdoor Not Applicable
If your residence has water, what is the water source for your residence	City Water Connection Delivered by Truck Borehole Not Applicable Other:
Do you have a mobile phone for personal use	Yes No
Do you have a landline telephone in your residence	Yes No
Do you have a computer in your residence	Yes No
Do you have an internet connection in your residence	Yes No Not Applicable

Part 2: Location of Places you Frequent

This section asks you to indicate where you go to purchase various items and places you frequent for entertainment purposes. Please list the name of the place you go most often and also indicate its location.

If you purchase items from a catalogue or the internet or have them shipped by family or friends from outside of Dar es Salaam, please indicate that.

	Place you go most often (For example Shoprite)	Place Location (For example Slipway)
Food Shopping		
Produce (fruits, vegetables)		
Meat (beef, chicken, pork)		
Seafood		
Bread		
Dry Goods (for example flour, sugar, rice)		
Clothes Shopping		
Formal Occasion		
Work		
Casual		
Children's (if applicable)		

Household Goods		
Furniture		
Electronics (for example TV, DVD Player, Stereo)		
Kitchen Appliances (for example toaster, blender)		
Kitchen Items (for example plates, utensils, pots)		
Linens (for example sheets, towels)		
Entertainment / Recreation		
Religious Worship		
Live Music		
Dancing		
Bar		
Weekend / Holiday Day Trips		

Miscellaneous Shopping		
Cleaning Supplies		
Healthcare		
Pharmacy		
Books		
DVDs / VHS Movies		
CDs / Cassette Tapes		
Stationary		
Personal Items (for example soap, shampoo, toothpaste)		
Eating Out		
Breakfast		
Lunch		
Dinner		
Snack		
Special Occasion		

Part 3: Map of Dar es Salaam

Please draw a map of Dar es Salaam. **Do not** consult any other materials. This map should be drawn from your memory only, without any assistance from other people or books. There is no right or wrong map. This is your personal map of the city.

Appendix 2. Asian Written Survey.

Part 1: Demographic Information

Name (Will be kept confidential)	
Age	
Sex	Male Female
Marital Status	Single Married Other:
Nationality	
Ethnic Background	
Place of Birth	
Religion	
Highest Level of Education Completed	None Primary School Secondary School Diploma University Degree Other:
Occupation	Government Private NGO Student Unemployed Self-Employed Retired Other:
Years and months you have lived in Dar es Salaam	
Knowledge of Kiswahili	None Basic Intermediate Advanced
Location of Current Residence (Neighborhood only. For example Mikocheni)	
Locations of Previous Residences in Dar es Salaam (Neighborhoods only)	

Location of Workplace (Neighborhood only)	Not Applicable
Do you own a vehicle for personal use	Yes No
Main form of transportation	Self-Driven Car Taxi Bicycle Bus Car with Driver Other:
Number of children and their ages	Number: Ages: Not Applicable
Location of Children's Schools (Neighborhood only)	Not Applicable
What type of residence do you have	House Apartment / Flat Other:
What type of security does your residence have	Locked Gate 24 hour Guard Evening Guard None Other:
How many people live in your residence	
How many bedrooms does your residence have	
What type of power does your residence use	Electricity Petrol Diesel Kerosene Firewood Charcoal None Other:
Does your residence have a generator	Yes No
Does your residence have piped / running water	Yes No
If your residence has water, what is the water source for your residence	City Water Connection Delivered by Truck Not Applicable Other:
Do you have a landline telephone in your residence	Yes No
Do you have a computer in your residence	Yes No
Do you have an internet connection in your residence	Yes No Not Applicable

Part 2: Location of Places you Frequent

This section asks you to indicate where you go to purchase various items and places you frequent for entertainment purposes. Please list the name of the place you go most often and also indicate its location.

	Place you go most often (For example Shoprite)	Place Location (For example Slipway)
Food Shopping		
Produce (fruits, vegetables)		
Meat (beef, chicken, pork)		
Seafood		
Dry Goods (for example flour, sugar, rice)		
Clothes Shopping		
Formal Occasion		
Work		
Casual		

Medical		
Healthcare		
Pharmacy		
Entertainment / Recreation		
Religious Worship		
Live Music		
Dancing		
Bar		
Weekend / Holiday Day Trips		
Eating Out		
Breakfast		
Lunch		
Dinner		

Part 3: Map of Dar es Salaam

Please draw a map of Dar es Salaam. Do not consult any other materials. This map should be drawn from your memory only, without any assistance from other people or books. There is no right or wrong map. This is your personal map of the city.

Appendix 3. African Oral Survey.

1. Name
2. Age
3. Tribe
4. Religion
5. Occupation
6. Education Level
7. Place of Birth
8. Length of Time Living in Dar es Salaam
9. Place of Residence in Dar es Salaam
10. Previous Residences in Dar es Salaam
11. Locations Frequented for Food Shopping
12. Locations Frequented for Clothing Shopping
13. Locations Frequented for Recreation and Entertainment
14. Mental Mapping Exercise