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„Collecting memories of a colonial past.
An analysis of collective memories in the context of
urban restructuring processes using the case study
of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.“

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1 Introduction

"Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity."

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie¹

Chimamanda Adichie points at the central issue of my thesis. In her speech "The danger of a single story" she shows how knowing just one story about a certain issue often misleads us. It can be compared to a hegemonic memory that hides the variety of memories and thereby disempowers people. I am interested in collective memories precisely because of their emancipatory capacity.

Collective memory received a lot of scientific attention in recent years. Memories are often used to base identities on; therefore the increased discussion of it may be due to the perceived fragmentation of the contemporary world.

"[T]he surging scholarly interest in memory reflects larger, societal changes. [...] Ours is an age of both rapid social transformation and a search for roots, of time-space compression as well as people looking for a past seemingly removed from the unrelenting social-political-economic forces that have come to be called globalization. That social groups today employ various recollections as vehicles for their constitution, or for their dissolution, [...] points to the usability of this freighted phenomenon."

(Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:349)

My thesis is situated at the intersection of collective memory and urban studies, taking into account the setting and conditions of Tanzanian post- or neo-colonialism. The connections between those three thematic issues are presented in this chapter. I start with the link between memory and (urban) space. Thereafter the significance of collective memories in a postcolonial setting is discussed; lastly the relation between (post)colonialism and urban space is laid out.

¹ Speech "The Danger of a single Story" videotaped (quote at 17:40) and transcript at http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html (14.03.2012)

Places are inscribed with memories and these materializations of memory can be taken as a tool to recall and gain access to them.

"If social, cultural, or collective memory is fundamentally dependent on location, place layers this space with meaning: place is the location of memory."

(Mills 2006:386)

Memory has quite often been studied in the context of gentrification (cf. e.g. Massey 1995; Mills 2006; Blokland 2001). Urban restructuring seems to provide a setting where memory becomes relevant for people as a multiplicity of changes are brought before their eyes at a time. While gradual modifications of the built environment and social relations take place at any time, a condensation of them increases their importance in social thought. Yet, most of these studies concentrate on 'western' cities; gentrification effects in 'southern' cities have attracted far less scientific attention. Urban studies there may be growing, yet usually in connection to infrastructural needs of the growing urban poor population (cf. Calas 2006:10 on the influence of international donors on urban research in Tanzania). When talking about African cities poverty is usually at the cover page. The issues circle around unhalted population growth, infrastructure deficiencies and the like, most of the time the central question is how living conditions can be improved. The meanings that urban spaces have acquired within the last century of colonial and postcolonial rule are often neglected. Processes of urban change are rarely coined 'gentrification', instead 'urban renewal', 'restructuring' or 'upgrading' are the key terms. The context of 'developing country' puts over a lens that makes these modifications appear as a necessary step forward on an imaginary ladder of development. The effects of displacement of certain populations, which are at the forefront in the 'western' literature on gentrification, are only addressed as a side issue. Yet, they might be very similar and possibly accompanied by an upsurge of collective memories pertaining to those places.

Collective memory in an African context is especially interesting because it has often been attributed that Africa has no history prior to colonialism (cf. Abdullah 2005:xi). Therefore bringing up collective memories is a way to overcome this sen-

timent and reclaim history writing, which to a large extent has been shaped by colonialism. To counter this view many African historians have engaged with the pre-colonial societies of Africa, pointing out the developments before European powers conquered their territories (cf. e.g. Rodney 1981:33–48; Iliffe 1979:6–87). But the main aim was not only to investigate what had been there before. It was to make visible that ‘Africans’ had histories. To start writing history from pre-colonial periods provided the necessary construction of ‘African’ political and social organization. A different history could be established that did not have to start with colonialism. It opened the way to take a critical look at how colonialism influenced these existing structures. A critical examination of colonialism, which offered views that were suppressed until independence, needed this basis. (cf. the analysis of Rodney 1981). A multiplicity of stories can reveal a lot about a society. The ‘Africans’ history does neither start nor end with the conquest by European imperial powers; it existed before, during and after the colonial period. This point has been made very clear by lots of works all around the continent in the first years after the demise of colonialism. But the respective process can’t be considered as concluded, we cannot now assume that this new story can replace the old and we are good forever. Instead, it has been shown that several histories may exist at the same time, often intersecting each other. Even under present conditions of post-colonialism we are supposed to listen to differing voices. This is conceded by discourses about globalization that paint a fragmented picture of the world. Memory studies can help us bring these various views to light in order to avoid falling into the trap of believing one single story as Adichie so aptly put it.

The link of urban space and collective memory may also be used as a vehicle engage with colonial heritage. Most of the contemporary African metropolises were founded by European regimes to administer the conquered territories. Their spatial layouts are thus shaped by strategies and needs of imperial exploitation (cf. Demissie 2007:3). Moreover, colonial policy clearly demarcated rural and urban belongings along ‘racial’ lines.

“Colonialism sought to exclude Africans from the domain of modernity itself, especially in the urban sphere. In some cases this entailed trying to bind Africans to rural zones of tradition, denying them rights to the city; in others, it involved efforts to contain or control urban Africans within bounded ‘native’ reserves, locations, or townships. But in either case, colonialism worked to deny the inherent dynamism and cosmopolitan character of African urban worlds, repressing or destabilizing the often creative and spatial practices everyday residents deployed to negotiate the complexity of city sites and social lives. It was precisely these tactics of spatial containment that anticolonial movements vigorously opposed and worked to overcome.”

(Bissell 2007:25)

Cities were supposed to be the realm of a modern western world thus not truly African. Despite the contestation of these spatial notions by the anticolonial struggle, the view of Africa being rural persists until the present day in ‘western’ discourses.

“Even today, the common assumption prevails that Africa is a rural continent. While conceding the fact that cities have grown enormously, large sectors of the international development community may concede that many Africans are urban residents, but that they are not truly urbanized.”

(Simone 2005:2f)

This raises the question of colonial legacies in urban space. The built environment of many African cities still carries the memories of domination. Whether the social relations of colonial domination are present in the memories of people can be sifted out through narratives of places. Various scholars point to the continued influence of these by means of the urban landscape.

“[T]he process of getting past or beyond colonialism is as yet incomplete, and this is especially true in the space of the city. Part of this has to do with the enduring nature of the built environment, which, once established, continues to impact urban imaginations for generations.”

(Bissell 2007:25)

Changing space configurations and social relations make us wonder what might be the impact on place-bound memories. The disruption of the relation between places and memories brings up new narratives that may transform or eradicate older ones, connecting collective memory, urban space and postcolonial discourse all at once.

1.1 Research question

In my thesis I want to scrutinize how place and memory are linked in the specific location of Kariakoo, one of Dar es Salaam's oldest quarters, which has been deeply influenced by the system of colonial 'racial' segregation.

The central question is:

Which memories are being reproduced through the spatial layout, the built environment and place-names.

A multiplicity of stories is targeted since various divisions within society influence collective memories. Special regard is given to those that echo the colonial period. The hypothesis lying behind this is that the urban form is the anchor for memories and significantly expresses how has been dealt with a certain topic of social history.

The second question is:

How do groups (propose to) deal with these memories, especially those considered colonial legacies.

There is no clear hypothesis for this question, it is rather more exploratory. Little was known beforehand about the views towards restructuring and how it affects remembrances in Kariakoo. There is a wide range of possibilities, ranging from outrage at destruction of valued monuments to excitement about new developments that manage to satisfactorily deal with attached legacies. The aim is to analyse these views and work out important perspectives.

The analysis is twofold. On the one hand it investigates how collective memories influence today's views and actions. On the other hand it asks for what is still being remembered within the current socio-political context. Both angles influence each other and will be discussed dynamically.

The setting of the analysed area Kariakoo has been chosen because of its history which is embedded in German and British colonialism. Colonial residential segregation earmarked it as area for 'natives', which were constructed on 'racial' terms from categories such as 'black' and 'African'. This segregation significantly influenced the spatial layout of the quarter and its borders, which may be the markers for collective memory. Also place and street names, some of which have been changed after independence, offer the possibility to attach remembrances. Fur-

thermore, stories about independence movement and various other social actors converge in that space. Such communities that produce and pass on memories are an important basis for conducting research in Kariakoo. It is similar to the setting that Mills found in her study of a neighbourhood in Istanbul, where the construction of a certain community together with the built environment contains memories that are investigated.

“The nostalgia both for Istanbul's minorities and for the small-scale historic urban landscape inform the social memory in Kuzguncuk, making it an exceptionally good site for examining the complex relationship between social memory, landscape and identity in Istanbul.”

(Mills 2006:371)

Additionally, the topic of gentrification is in no other quarter of Dar es Salaam as evident as in Kariakoo. Development there is fast and high-rise, not just changing single buildings but the overall appearance of the area. Not only are the spatial structures altered but also the social composition of its inhabitants. This might affect memories, erasing or transforming existing ones and producing new ones.

While addressing issues that haven't been specifically analysed yet, the research nevertheless fits into the topics that are most important for scholars of Dar es Salaam.

These are the organization of space and its socio-cultural, political and economic consequences; Dar es Salaam's association with the formation of political consciousness and its position in the nationalist movement; and its role as a locus of social struggles.”

(Brennan and Burton 2007a:4)

2 The theoretical background: collective memory?

The central theoretical concept underlying this research is that of collective memory. The most widely used reference for its foundation is the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who worked on it in the 1920s and 30s while some of his writings have only been published posthumously after World War Two. He started his reflections with theories from Bergson and Durkheim, and developed a new one by combining them (cf. Olick 2008:153ff). Until today, his body of work is regarded as quite up to date; therefore I also refer to him in this thesis. In recent years, there has been growing interest in the topic that added new ideas to this theory, some of which I will include here. Also there has been a growing number of applications of the theory in empirical studies, especially linking it to space and place (cf. Hoelscher and Alderman 2004), that assist in connecting it to my research interest.

In short, collective memory *“is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered”* (J. Assmann 1998:8f; cited in Olick 2008:151). The memory of individual people living in a society, and how they remember the past is a central part. Memories influence our thinking and actions in the present.

“[S]ocial memory is inherently instrumental: individuals and groups recall the past not for its own sake, but as a tool to bolster different aims and agendas”

(Hoelscher and Alderman 2004:349)

Exactly these questions are at the forefront of my thesis as noted in chapter 1.1. Yet, memories are also always a reconstruction of the past from a present perspective.² Therefore memory is constantly changing as people slowly, often unnoticed, shift their points of view. An earlier meaning of a certain memory often cannot be reconstructed because the present view has shaped them to fit a new narrative. When the former narrative is lost so is the meaning, the memory has been put into a new context and the old context can never be fully reconstructed³ (Halbwachs

² „[D]ie Erinnerung ist in sehr weitem Maße eine Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit mit Hilfe von der Gegenwart entliehenen Gegebenheiten und wird im übrigen durch andere, zu früheren Zeiten unternommene Rekonstruktionen vorbereitet“ (Halbwachs 1991:55)

³ „Auf diese Weise verblaßt langsam die Vergangenheit, so wie sie mir früher erschien. Die neuen Bilder überdecken die alten“ (Halbwachs 1991:59)

1991:9). This refers to the setting of gentrification in which this research takes place, which has a strong influence on memories due to various factors detailed later. Past and present integrate each other as the mind tries to maintain a coherent view when incorporating new impressions.⁴

On the one hand there are “*traditionalist*” models of collective memory that “*ask how collective memory shapes or constrains contemporary action*” and on the other hand “*presentist*” ones that “*ask how contemporary interests shape what images of the past are deployed*” (Olick 2008:159). Since deciding for one of these sides would limit our understanding of remembering, that is “*always a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past*” (Ibid.:159). I rather look at both sides, considering memory as a process.

There are ongoing discussions about the differentiation of individual and collective memory as well as what the term ‘collective memory’ refers to. I follow Olick’s interpretation of Halbwachs, which transforms these diverse understandings into a dynamic structure that can incorporate both, always keeping in mind that social use is the fuel for this engine.

“No matter how concrete mnemonic products may be, they gain their reality only by being used, interpreted, and reproduced or changed. To focus on collective memory as a variety of products and practices is thus to reframe the antagonism between individualist and collectivist approaches to memory more productively as a matter of moments in a dynamic process. This, to me, is the real message of Halbwachs’s diverse insights.”

(Olick 2008:158)

To sum it up

“Memory, for Halbwachs, is first of all framed in the present as much as in the past, variable rather than constant. Studying memory, as a result, [is about] identifying its shifting social frames. Moreover, for Halbwachs memory is a matter of how minds work together in society, how their operations are not simply mediated but are structured by social arrangements”

(Olick 2008:155).

This will be discussed more detailed in the remainder of the chapter.

⁴“Wenn das, was wir heute sehen, sich in den Rahmen unserer alten Erinnerungen einfügt, so passen sich umgekehrt diese Erinnerungen der Gesamtheit unserer gegenwärtigen Wahrnehmungen an“ (Halbwachs 1991:1)

2.1 Individual vs. collective memory

Halbwachs's theory is used as the basis for this research because he describes memory as framed by social context. The individual doesn't just remember by him/herself but is shaped by the surrounding society. *"[I]t is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories"* (Halbwachs 1992:38; cited in Olick 2008:155; also cf. Marcel and Mucchielli 2008:142). We recall past events clearer and closer to how we did before when we are doing it in company (cf. Halbwachs 1991:2). However, it remains a bit unclear what for Halbwachs constitutes a group. Olick notes that on the one hand Halbwachs was influenced by Durkheim, who often referred to well-bounded societies. Yet, by showing that collective memories are plural Halbwachs opened the way for an interpretation of any social groups and even individual memory as viable (cf. Olick 2008:157).

Often we ascribe thoughts to ourselves when they really have been formed within our group, so that we took them as ours without questioning their source.⁵ Memory doesn't differentiate everything into own experiences and stories being told by others but instead they intermingle. Through this we can also say a collective memory is created when people have lived through something together. By talking about it they form a memory which is influenced by all their different impressions. Often it cannot be determined anymore whether one has noticed it this way personally or only later taken on this perspective through engagement with other people. We feel that we are thinking freely and thereby the majority of the social influences we adhere to escape our notice (cf. Halbwachs 1991:26f).

When we focus on events that affected the foundations of society, like the achievement of independence of Tanganyika, or similar big changes in the economic and political systems, many people who lived then will say they have a memory about it although they themselves did not attend the independence ceremony⁶.

⁵*"So bereichert sich das Gedächtnis mit fremden Beiträgen, die sich, sobald sie Wurzel gefaßt und ihren Platz gefunden haben, nicht mehr von anderen Erinnerungen unterscheiden."* (Halbwachs 1991:63)

⁶*"Es gibt nationale Ereignisse, die zur gleichen Zeit das Dasein eines jeden Einzelnen verändern"* (Halbwachs 1991:64)

Yet, through the media and connections to people who attended, everybody will say that they were there when Tanganyika became independent. Such events shape the memory of people, on the one hand because institutions have been influenced by it but also because various groups actively preserve that living memory. They can even make it become a memory for people who weren't alive at that time but later on joined groups within which it is very important. (cf. Halbwachs 1991:35f)

“All individual remembering, that is, takes place with social materials, within social contexts, and in response to social cues. Even when we do it alone, we do so as social beings with reference to our social identities.”

(Olick 2008:156)

The collective is always part of how I remember since it is rendered by the beliefs and mindsets of groups that I am part of. Memories that are maintained by a single person are the most difficult ones to recall, those connected to the social environment take a much bigger part of human's conscience (cf. Halbwachs 1991:29). Yet, even those events that one has experienced alone are fundamentally shaped by the fact that human beings act within social relations. He/she is still part of a community whose thinking affects his/her mind and thereby influences memory at all times (cf. Halbwachs 1991:15). However, individuals even within one group do not necessarily share the same memories since they may be part of different other groups that also influence their memories. So there are various perspectives according to our position in society (cf. Halbwachs 1991:31).

2.1.1 The frame of remembering

There is one constraint as to the constitutions of groups. In Halbwachs' pattern of thought it could be anything from a family to a citizens' initiatives to a global religion that binds these people together. Yet, groups are bounded by generational renewal. They gradually reconstitute themselves by losing some members, be it through death or other forms of disconnection, and also by integrating new ones, that possibly upset existing structures. And at the same time, society changes, which influences the old as well as the new members. Through this, sometimes un-

noticed, other times quite obvious, ruptures are created with the dawn of a new era or epoch. When the former perspective is out of the memory of the people constituting the group, Halbwachs says it's not the same group that has forgotten its past but a new group has been created that follows in the footsteps of the disbanded⁷. This is despite groups striving to preserve the substance of its thoughts. The time where purportedly nothing has changed takes up the biggest part of memories. What supposedly has changed are the relations of the groups to others. The group cannot see its differences within because the view of itself has changed gradually⁸ (cf. Halbwachs 1991:75f).

The memory that we talk about often reminds us of oral history that lives only as long as it is passed on. For this context Vansina describes three stages of accounts;

"The first is myth and corresponds to a timeless past, the second is a repetitive (cyclical) middle period, and the third deals with linear time. Mythical accounts justify the bases of existing society and correspond to Malinowski's myth as social charter. The middle period justifies the working of present day society and is a static model of it. The recent period is the description of causal change, perceived as a disturbance of legitimate order."

(Vansina 1985:23)

Quite often there is a mass of accounts for the most recent period that declines the farther one moves into the past. When it reaches the stories of the origin one again finds an abundance of information. *"Historical consciousness works on only two registers: time of origin and recent times."* (Ibid. 24). Vansina calls the middle part, which often lacks accounts, the 'floating gap' since it moves with the passage of generations. Assmann (1992:49–56) also refers to this two-tier model of memory, yet, instead of a gap rather tries to connect the two ends by introducing two forms of memory: communicative and cultural. While the former contains the more recent events that are formed by the experiences of people – quite similar to Halbwachs's collective memory – the latter is an institutionalized form of memory

⁷ *"Sobald eine Epoche aufhört, die darauffolgende Epoche zu interessieren, ist es nicht dieselbe Gruppe, die einen Teil ihrer Vergangenheit vergißt: es bestehen in Wirklichkeit zwei Gruppen, die einander folgen."* (Halbwachs 1991:68)

⁸ *"Zweifellos erliegt sie einer Täuschung, wenn sie glaubt, daß die Ähnlichkeiten stärker sind als die Unterschiede, aber es ist ihr unmöglich, sich dessen bewußt zu werden, da sich das Bild, das sie sich früher von sich selbst machte, langsam gewandelt hat."* (Halbwachs 1991:75f)

that is formed by transformations of past events into symbols and rituals. While everybody participates in communicative memory the cultural memory has its mediators and defined boundaries. I am more interested in the former, although the two always interweave and that distinction will not play a major role in the research.

What is important from this distinction for my thesis is the time frame contained by communicative memory. Assmann (1992:50f) indicates it at three to four generations, which is about 80 years that also literal societies do not exceed. The threshold for memory to be articulated seems to be 40 years after an event, half of its life span. At that point, witnesses of the respective time period are less involved in employment that targets the future, and therefore the importance of memory grows. It opens a way to talk about – sometimes traumatizing⁹ – memories. And for many it becomes important to preserve that memory for the young generations as long as they are still alive (J. Assmann 1992:51). Independence in Tanzania is now 50 years ago, so we should be in that period where the phase of overcoming colonialism is in its recall phase. Yet, probably the content and situation are quite different from, for example, remembering the Shoah, the universal memory topic in European history in that effect. The demise of colonialism, which also created long-lasting traumas (cf. Bissell 1999:149–154), provides a different context, because a very significant part of the perpetrators could be located outside the newly independent states. Therefore, engagement with that past started much sooner and the struggle for independence can be remembered as a story of success. We rather face the problem that new ruptures in the socio-political systems affect remembering (cf. Reinprecht 1996). The possibilities of not only remembering, but also forgetting are dealt with in chapter 2.4.

⁹ Assmann takes recourse to the Shoah and World War II

2.2 The relation between history and collective memory

The relationship between memory and history is an interesting one: Halbwachs claims that history starts at the point where tradition ends – at the moment where the social memory disintegrates¹⁰ (cf. Halbwachs 1991:66). Yet, this needs to be contextualized in his understanding of ‘histoire’, which is written history, mostly based on the order of events of regimes and countries¹¹. Today the term history has changed and may be understood as a special form of social memory that is situated in a specific setting of time and interest of author and client (cf. J. Assmann 1992:43; also see Burke 1989). A plurality of histories thereby becomes viable also including oral history as proclaimed by Vansina (1985). The intersection of this more open understanding of history and memory is also acknowledged by Halbwachs when he argues that memory is based on ‘living history’¹² (Halbwachs 1991:42 also cf. 50). That a clear-cut distinction can actually create a barrier for our understanding and use of the concept of collective memory has been put forward more recently:

“Sharp opposition between history and collective memory has been our Achilles Heel, causing us to assert unwillingly, and often despite ourselves, that what is not historical must be “invented” or “constructed” – which transforms collective memory study into a kind of cynical muck-raking”

(Barry Schwartz, personal communication cited in Olick 2008:159)

The memory function of history itself has also been pointed out more recently: *“it is only through mnemohistorical reflection that history [...] becomes aware of its own function as a form of remembering”* (J. Assmann 1998:21 cited in Olick 2008:152). Because a clear line of separation between those two can never be drawn, it depends on the circumstances but cannot be exactly determined, how far living collective memory reaches back into the past (cf. Halbwachs 1991:70f). The

¹⁰ „die Geschichte im allgemeinen an dem Punkt beginnt, an dem die Tradition aufhört – in einem Augenblick, in dem das soziale Gedächtnis erlischt und sich zersetzt“ (Halbwachs 1991:66)

¹¹ „Die Geschichte ist zweifellos das Verzeichnis der Geschehnisse, die den größten Raum im Gedächtnis der Menschen eingenommen haben. In Büchern gelesen, in den Schulen gelernt, sind die vergangenen Ereignisse jedoch Notwendigkeiten und Regeln zufolge ausgewählt, nebeneinandergestellt und eingeordnet, die nicht für jene Gruppen von Menschen zwingend waren, die sie lange Zeit als lebendiges Gut aufbewahrt haben.“ (Halbwachs 1991:66)

¹² „Nicht auf die gelernte, sondern auf die gelebte Geschichte stützt sich unser Gedächtnis.“ (Halbwachs 1991:42)

further something moves into the past the more people with living memories to it are lost. So gradually in this long process history takes over what used to be memories. But also they do not run parallel, on the contrary they intersect. Quite often what has been accepted as a historical fact is inscribed into collective memories. However, it has to take the detour via social engagement that history can become memory. On the other hand the discussion over historical facts involves dealing with diverse histories that are formed out of peoples' and groups' memories. Sometimes historians take up a subject and try to insert it into history because it is an important collective memory. This is possible due to the changed view of history writing to which postcolonial historians have contributed considerably. Therefore the dichotomy that Halbwachs describes is not the standard anymore to measure against. Nowadays academics do not only talk about a plurality of memories but also about a plurality of her/histories.

2.3 The diversity of memories

Like is true for oral history and a changed term of history that allows for a plurality of histories including "history from below" (noted for example in J. Assmann 1992:51), collective memories exist in the plural and thus allow to get insight into hidden pasts of subordinate groups. Halbwachs *"characterized collective memory as plural, showing that shared memories can be effective markers of social differentiation"* (Olick 2008:157). My research deals with remembrances of a repressive regime i.e. colonialism which explicitly excluded people by 'racial' markers it defined itself. Therefore the relations of power and memory are an important aspect here that I deal with in more detail in the following paragraphs.

"Which histories predominate in any society will be directly related to relations of power within it"

(Depelchin 2005:193)

The plural 'histories' here seems to be a close match to our understanding of memories, indicating that it is not about a set of chronologically ordered events but instead discourses on past and present societies. We talk about a hegemonic memory that is most likely closely tied to the singular history being accepted as general

truth at the time. This is what I target in this research; by disclosing which memories prevail the underlying power relations may also be revealed. Regarding colonial memory how people propose to deal with it will give insight as to whether the social and political relations set up then have been overcome and what continues to influence the society.

Surely in Tanzania postcolonial historians have shaped the view of history, which considerably marks the transformation of society. Yet, the new historiography has a lot of reference to official colonial ruling and is thereby probably *“reproducing and not transforming the structures of domination”* (Depelchin 2005:1). Some symbolic markers, such as street names, have been changed, like New Street to Lumumba Street in solidarity with other independence fighters across Africa. Uhuru (meaning independence) Street¹³ runs as a central artery through Kariakoo whereby it symbolically connects the African living quarters with the centre of power as it ends up at the clock tower that was erected to mark the granting of the city status to Dar es Salaam¹⁴.

The challenge for African postcolonial history is to fit within the hegemonic, Europe-centred history, which it inherently criticizes. Therefore, deep ruptures are introduced into history-writing that seemingly disassemble old structures and erect new ones, thereby hiding continuities of domination and dependence (cf. Depelchin 2005:81). A new history is created that seemingly started with independence instead of acknowledging that this history was there before and had been suppressed. Yet, it had existed as memory within groups whose views were not included in the official history.

¹³Vassanji (1991) takes this street as title for his recollections on Kariakoo in the early years after independence highlighting its significance for both the area and the change of socio-political circumstances

¹⁴Ilala Municipal Council
http://imc.go.tz/ilala/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=1 (15.03.2012)

"This is not surprising: it reaffirms one of the ideological principles of colonial rule, regarding the non-existence of African history. In fact it is not a rupture, but rather the confrontation between the ideological negation of history and the reality of historically existing newly independent states. Yet the denial is still maintained since history is seen as emerging out of decolonisation instead of having always existed, but having been suppressed."

(Depelchin 2005:81)

Assmann provides the link back to Halbwachs's understanding of collective memory. He argues that society does not put new ideas into its place in history but adopts the history of other than the previously ruling groups¹⁵ (J. Assmann 1992:42).

As we shall see an important thread of memory that has gained popularity in Dar es Salaam is the 'development discourse'. It gives great relevance to economics and global inequalities. By doing so it also continues to confine memory to a dominating north-south world order fuelled by a hegemonic World Bank view (cf. Depelchin 2005:130). This interpretation will be discussed in detail after the findings from empirical research have been presented in chapter 0.

2.4 Forgetting and silences

Not only how we remember in society but also how we forget specific events in history is an integral part of collective memory. Already Halbwachs explains forgetting – which, according to him, occurs when groups change. It is almost implicit and logic within his body of thought, where social groups are the carriers of memory. He exemplifies this with memories connected to former school classes which were confined to the life span of the respective group¹⁶ (Halbwachs 1991:7). Memories need to have enough connections to be able to reconstruct on a common basis. If they are lost so is the memory. If groups disband, or because of changed circumstances

¹⁵"Die Gesellschaft übernimmt nicht neue Ideen und setzt diese an die Stelle ihrer Vergangenheit, sondern sie übernimmt die Vergangenheit anderer als der bisher bestimmenden Gruppen." (J. Assmann 1992:42)

¹⁶"Alle Erinnerungen, die innerhalb der Klasse entstehen konnten, stützen sich aufeinander und nicht auf außerhalb dieser Gruppe liegende Erinnerungen. Die Dauer eines solchen Erinnerns war also zwangsläufig auf die Existenzdauer der Gruppe beschränkt." (Halbwachs 1991:7)

have shifted their point of view, a former specific collective memory is lost (cf. Halbwachs 1991:12). Even partial memories that may still exist after groups have divided cannot revive the whole memory since the current divisions between those groups play such a significant role even if they try to put it together collectively (cf. Halbwachs 1991:13). Since in Kariakoo certain groups have vanished or are in the process of disbanding they surely have shifted their point of view with the changing socio-political contexts. Therefore it is difficult to revive memories of the colonial past in since there are ruptures in time that may have caused splits in collective memory.

Other scholars expand on the theory of forgetting by talking about factors that actively contribute to creating silences by dominating and subordinating forces of power (cf. e.g. Depelchin 2005). Burke highlights how central forgetting is to understand how remembering works.

“To understand the workings of the social memory it may be worth investigating the social organization of forgetting, the rules of exclusion, suppression or repression, and the question of who wants whom to forget what, and why. Amnesia is related to ‘amnesty’, to what used to be called ‘acts of oblivion’, official erasure of memories of conflict in the interests of social cohesion.”

(Burke 1989:108)

Forgetting can be like censorship unofficially suppressing embarrassing or traumatic memories (Ibid. 109). Especially relevant within the scope of this research are silences in connection to African (colonial) history, because there is an *‘alliance of domination and forgetting’* that counters social change (cf. J. Assmann 1992:72). Domination produces silences, which are *“facts which have not been accorded the status of facts”* (Depelchin 2005:4). They do not just occur because people forget but instead *“silences are the product of a relation between social forces, or individuals or groups of individuals”* (Depelchin 2005:12). These silences are an important aspect of collective memory in context of colonial oppression. From the former colonising powers’ point of view silences – regarding the terror and violence of colonial rule – are essential in order to set a stage where two independent countries can interact as if they had no connecting history. In reality this keeps the inequalities alive, while their roots cannot be talked about (cf. Depelchin 2005:79f).

Yet, political inequality leads to pressure from the ruled, oppressed and underprivileged. In circumstances of domination remembering can therefore become a form of resistance (cf. J. Assmann 1992:71ff). Against the trend of one-dimensionality memory works towards production of asynchrony. Against day-to-day action, which excludes the bigger perspectives, cultural memory provides the background that breaches the sway of prevailing circumstances for short moments¹⁷ (Marcuse 1967:117; cited in J. Assmann 1992:86). Memory therefore can be a tool against repression. In a world of totalizing conformity it enables an experience of the other and provides distance of the absolutism of the present and given situation (cf. J. Assmann 1992:86). Though care has to be taken since “[t]his individual act of breaking out of silence may have contradictory effects on individuals (physical suppression) and the community (for whom it can be emancipatory)” (Depelchin 2005:9). In the context of this research memory could have been a tool against the colonial repressive regime. Divergent memories may have come from the dominated classes. Therefore, not only what people talk about is of importance, but what people do not talk about or explicitly deny. Of course then it becomes very difficult to interpret due to what causes, it can only be noted and guessed. But it is important to keep in mind that things may not just be forgotten but that there are processes that influence what is being retold or silenced.

The additional question now is what happened to those memories in the process of becoming independent. It made some of those suppressed memories become part of the hegemonic power. Could they be preserved as a remembrance towards a struggle or to what extent have they been reconstructed by being taken as legitimation for a new regime? The present perspective might have altered these silences to quite some extent, but also created new ones, thereby making an analysis even more difficult.

¹⁷“für kurze Augenblicke die Macht der gegebenen Tatsachen durchbricht”(Marcuse 1967:117; cited in J. Assmann 1992:86)

2.5 Collective memory and space

Since this research takes explicit reference to a spatial frame the relation of collective memory and space is of special interest. Already Halbwachs noted that collective remembering always takes place within a spatial frame¹⁸. Our memories are being treasured by the material surroundings and the space allows us to reconstruct them (Halbwachs 1991:142). More recently Doreen Massey also connects space to memory:

“The identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant.”

(Massey 1995:186)

2.5.1 Collective memory in a confined urban area

The reason to study collective memory in context of a confined urban area is its link to topology. There is a tight bond between the mentalities of groups and the appearance of the place they live in¹⁹ (Halbwachs 1991:53). Especially in the urban context the continuity of buildings and places leads to the impression of continuing groups (cf. Halbwachs 1991:130f). This continuity may extend the duration of memories since they are grounded locally²⁰ (A. Assmann 1999:299). Groups form their spatial surroundings but also adapt to its material preconditions, so that on the one hand places may be inscribed by certain groups and on the other hand groups may be associated with certain places and spaces²¹ (Halbwachs 1991:129f). Old quarters like Kariakoo can be seen to reflect historic social relations. The existing topology is the work of certain groups which has materialized; it can be altered

¹⁸ „So gibt es kein kollektives Gedächtnis, das sich nicht innerhalb eines räumlichen Rahmens bewegt.“ (Halbwachs 1991:142)

¹⁹ „Nun besteht zu jeder Epoche eine enge Beziehung zwischen den Gewohnheiten, der Geisteshaltung einer Gruppe und dem Aussehen des Raumes, in dem sie lebt.“ (Halbwachs 1991:53)

²⁰ „Nicht nur, daß sie die Erinnerung festigen und beglaubigen, indem sie sie lokal im Boden verankern, sie verkörpern auch eine Kontinuität der Dauer, die die vergleichsweise kurzphasige Erinnerung von Individuen, Epochen und auch Kulturen, die in Artefakten konkretisiert ist, übersteigt.“ (A. Assmann 1999:299)

²¹ „Eine Gruppe, die in einem bestimmten räumlichen Bereich lebt, formt ihn nach ihrem eigenen Bild um; gleichzeitig aber beugt sie sich und paßt sich denjenigen materiellen Dingen an, die ihr Widerstand leisten.“ (Halbwachs 1991:129f)

by others, and sometimes even destroyed (cf. Halbwachs 1991:134). In Kariakoo this question is interesting since colonial policy sought to prescribe a 'racial' definition. The spatial structures to a large extent can be traced back to colonial policies enforcing the desired segregation. Whether and how people remember this aspect of history is the central topic of my thesis. Therefore, the link of memory to space is a central argument to be investigated in a case study.

Halbwachs thought that in order to study the influence of the urban layout on groups one needs to investigate these historic quarters which are relatively bounded²² (Halbwachs 1991:132f).

2.5.1.1 How bounded is Kariakoo?

Kariakoo is and was part of a larger urban agglomeration and nowadays has to be seen as central part of a metropolis. Yet some decades ago it had much more of a village-like setting as the whole of Dar es Salaam was significantly smaller (for an overview of Dar es Salaam's urban expansion cf. Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000). While there have always been central connections between the societies and economies of Kariakoo and other parts of the city, there were two factors that may allow to define it in a more confined sense: the first being the segregation that was enforced during colonialism, which tried to base residence there on belonging to (a) certain community/ies. Although those plans were not strictly implemented, it still shaped the society of Kariakoo to a large extent (cf. Kironde 2007; Brennan 2007). The second is that it remained a predominantly residential area, that didn't attract too many non-residents. The 'community' was somehow confined to those who lived there permanently.

These two factors are important for my research because it is based on the assumption that collective memories are formed by groups. Groups often refer to the

²²*"Um die Art von Einfluß genau zu erfassen, die die verschiedenen Anlagen einer Stadt auf die Gruppen ausüben, die sich ihnen langsam angepaßt haben, müßte man in einer modernen Großstadt vor allem die alten Viertel und diejenigen relativ isolierten Regionen beobachten, die die Bewohner nur verlassen, um zur Arbeit zu gehen, und die gleichsam kleine, geschlossene Welten bilden – oder auch, selbst in den neuen Stadtvierteln, die vor allem von Arbeitern bevölkerten Straßen und Boulevards, auf denen diese sich zuhause fühlen"*(Halbwachs 1991:132f)

boundedness of Kariakoo to legitimize their attachment to the area as well as the constitution of their community. Also people in a small community setting observe each other more and because they may influence the relations within it collective thinking is a more important aspect than in large urban areas. In such a setting communication is more open facilitating the merger of different viewpoints to find a common representation of the past (cf. Halbwachs 1991:65f).

On the contrary, places are never fully bounded and independent and their identity is also always partly formed by their connections to the 'outside'.

„Places, in fact, are always constructed out of articulations of social relations (trading connections, the unequal links of colonialism, thoughts of home) which are not only internal to that locale but which link them to elsewhere. Their 'local uniqueness' is always already a product of 'global' forces.“

(Massey 1995:183)

For Kariakoo this can be very clearly asserted when we just look at the way colonialism shaped its spatial, economic and social settings. These links are what I investigate in the empirical part. Despite or rather on account of colonial segregationist policies the main reason for Kariakoo being planned was that the people living there were the major source of labour for the city, including such strategic industries like railways and port. So Kariakoo can never be fully disentangled from those links that give a central meaning to it within the economic system of Dar es Salaam.

As with all collective memories, the view of space is manifold and each group may create its own²³ (Halbwachs 1991:161). Thus ...

“... it may be useful to think of places, not as areas on maps, but as constantly shifting articulations of social relations through time; and to think of particular attempts to characterise them as attempts to define, and claim coherence and a particular meaning for, specific envelopes of space-time”

(Massey 1995:188)

²³ „es gibt ebensoviele Arten, sich den Raum zu vergegenwärtigen, wie es Gruppen gibt“ (Halbwachs 1991:161)

2.5.2 The context of urban restructuring

Old quarters, such as Kariakoo, may give the impression of perpetuating the life of former days²⁴ (Halbwachs 1991:133). This continuity of buildings and places as well as social groups is broken up in Kariakoo in recent years (cf. e.g. Moshi 2009; Kaitilla 1990; Lupala 2002). These gentrification processes in Kariakoo are addressed in more detail in chapter 5.3. Urban restructuring processes often make collective memories more explicit as they're challenged and voiced to keep them alive, which emphasizes their importance. Amidst this, memories of a past might be evoked even more, since there is a direct materialization to differentiate from. Also there are divergent groups which could engage in memory reconstructions. Groups often resist changes on basis of their memories and try to preserve spatial and social structures or to regenerate them after they've been altered (cf. Halbwachs 1991:135). Especially when it comes to historical quarters the question of *"place-conservation, which are all too often attempts to freeze a (particular view of a) place at a (selected) moment in time"* (Massey 1995:184) may turn up, which is ultimately linked to memory.

Serious events change the relationship between the group and place²⁵, eventually altering both the groups and the place (Halbwachs 1991:130). Yet, people hold on to their representations of the past and often do not notice the changes within their social relations, as already noticed earlier. Quite often interviewees ...

"... indicate a feeling that there is or has been some kind of disruption between the past of these places and at least some elements of their present or potential future. Indeed, [...] 'the past' is seen in some sense to embody the real character of the place. [...] These kinds of (implicitly or explicitly) internalist and essentialist constructions of the character of places, then, not only fail to recognise the long history of interconnectedness with elsewhere (the history of the global construction of the local), they also presuppose a particular relationship between the assumed identity of a place and its history."

(Massey 1995:183)

²⁴ „Die alten Viertel [...] scheinen das Schauspiel des Lebens von früher zu verewigen“ (Halbwachs 1991:133)

²⁵ „Aber ein wirklich schwerwiegendes Ereignis bringt immer eine Wandlung des Verhältnisses der Gruppe zum Ort mit sich.“ (Halbwachs 1991:130)

Many statements in the interviews are references to a 'former community', which imply social structures of a bygone area that shaped Kariakoo. In the process of gentrification this materializes with the continual disappearance of the housing structures representing that community. What is the 'real' Kariakoo, the segregated colonial-style living quarters or the 'modernized' pulsating heart of the urban (informal) economy, are diverging, sometimes conflicting, memories. Interesting from this point of view then is how people construct the image of the former Kariakoo regarding its boundedness. Critiques that relate it to colonialism and colonial economy at least implicitly contain lots of 'the global', as defined by Massey (1995), in its setting. So I want to explore how much awareness of these 'outside' factors there is among the interviewees.

2.6 Collective memory in the Tanzanian context

How can all these theories be applied to the Tanzanian context? Most of them are very general, yet references to 'western' societies, in which they were developed, are frequent. A few cornerstones for the study of memory have been laid out and I will try to link them to some basic facts about Kariakoo, the 'material' being studied. There is the 'floating gap' which limits the horizon of remembering into the past. It is based on people living through histories and their connections to them. This is where one factor comes into play that might influence the spread of memory, namely life expectancy²⁶. This is far lower in Tanzania than in most 'western' societies, thereby probably reducing the reach of memory. Fewer people are alive who have a personal memory of colonialism. Even if the memory window stretches back 80 years, as estimated earlier, it would not extend into the setting up of Kariakoo or World War One, whose ramifications left a trace in the place-name of the area. Still not only the number of people alive are important, but also the connections to the youth. Have the memories been passed on? There is a large presence of youth in urban Tanzania (cf. National Bureau of Statistics 2006:26f), especially in Kariakoo,

²⁶ cf. Halbwachs 1991:76 on his argument that the collective memory does not exceed the average human life span

where young street hawkers try to earn their living. Whether these share memories with older generations or have created newer ones which tell a different story is crucial. Polomack asserts for Dar es Salaam that “[s]ociety has a fragmented memory with little structure that is unequally perceived and heard by residents. Here within territorial legitimation, daily experiences outweigh other reference points in local history.” (Polomack 2006:171)

The challenge, therefore, is to find groups that recall stories about the colonial period. Kariakoo is experiencing immense changes and thus also the groups are altered. Many groups with a history dating back to colonialism dissolve or disappear because of either death or moving away. Polomack, who recently did research in Dar es Salaam, talks about „the fact that society’s memory is resolutely anchored in the short stretch of recent history” (Polomack 2006:171).

Briefly summing up this chapter, the way I understand and find collective memory useful for this research is to regard it as something constantly changing and adapting to the context as already outlined by Halbwachs:

“This means that as members change, die, or disappear, as the spatial frames change and the concerns of the time replace past concerns, the collective memory is continually reinterpreted to fit those new conditions. It adjusts the image of old facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the moment. It is as if the collective memory empties itself a bit when it feels too full of differences”

(Halbwachs 1950 cited in Marcel and Mucchielli 2008:148)

3 Brief outline of Tanzania's history

The socio-political circumstances in present Tanzania have changed dramatically three times within the last one and a half centuries. First was European colonisation at the end of the 19th century. Then independence and socialist 'ujamaa'²⁷ paradigm altered these structures considerably. The latest turn is towards a western-induced neoliberal approach that now characterizes the economy and society, bringing about manifold changes once again.

Despite the discussion about the differences between history and memory, a short overview of the historical context is necessary. This is because it influences collective memories through the 'divisions of collective time'²⁸ (cf. Halbwachs 1991:38). While most of a country's political and social development does not come into contact with individuals' lives, some rare major events have the possibility to influence the life of every being in this very society²⁹ (Ibid.:64). These few have a large impact on collective memories. The attainment of independence for Tanganyika and the demise of 'ujamaa', although this happened more gradually, are assumed to be such moments.

3.1 East Africa prior to colonialism

Written history of East Africa often starts with foreign domination, be it by Arab or European forces. This is exactly the pitfall from which the alleged 'historylessness' evolves. Post-independence historians have therefore sought to include pre-colonial histories, but they still remain marginal compared to the attention the colonial period gets (cf. e.g. Iliffe 1979). This is largely because colonial rule has had an impact and left a legacy that still affects present-day societies. Due to the fact that my the-

²⁷ The term 'ujamaa' has a variety of meanings that pertain to familial bonds. It was used by Julius Nyerere to name an 'African' version of socialism. This meaning has since stuck and is often referenced, therefore I use this term throughout the thesis instead of 'socialism'.

²⁸ „Unterteilungspunkte der kollektiven Zeit“ (Halbwachs 1991:38)

²⁹ „Es gibt nationale Ereignisse, die zur gleichen Zeit das Dasein eines jeden Einzelnen verändern“ (Halbwachs 1991:64)

sis interrogates memories pertaining to colonialism and the area studied was set up during that time the historical outline also only starts shortly before that period.

In the 19th century cities along the coast of the Indian Ocean and on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had a several centuries old history³⁰. Politically and economically they were dominated by 'Arabic' elite and 'Indian' merchants, while the majority of the population were 'African', many of whom slaves. Two features of this society persist until today: Muslim religion and Kiswahili language (cf. Schicho 2004:312). These 'racial'/ethnic categorizations on the one hand intermixed, as 'Shirazi' or 'Swahili' ethnic ascriptions as well as Kiswahili language demonstrate. On the other hand they are used until today as social markers of differentiation in Tanzanian society. Caravan trade with the interior of the continent was a major source of income for these cities, while Zanzibar as part of the Omani Sultanate was an important international player. European diplomats had been present there since the beginning of the century and in 1890 Great Britain enforced a protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar (Ibid.:312). The vast area of the African continent that now forms the Tanzanian mainland was inhabited by various peoples with very diverging lifestyles from nomadism to militarily organized states and kingdoms. All four major groups of languages of Africa can be found in this area revealing its ethnic mixity (cf. Iliffe 1979:6–11).

3.2 Colonialism

Tanzania was formed through a union of independent Tanganyika and Zanzibar, who were not part of the same colony previously. The short overview that I present here concentrates more on Tanganyika, also called 'mainland' in Tanzania, since Dar es Salaam was integral part of that colony. Yet, because of the many ties with Zanzibar, both historically and contemporary, its history is also briefly be outlined.

³⁰ Yet, Dar es Salaam is not one of them, its specific history is given in the next chapter

3.2.1 Tanganyika

In 1884 Carl Peters went to East Africa on his own initiative in order to claim lands for a future German colony. In name of the 'Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG)' he signed treaties with 'chiefs', who were often forced to agree at gun-point (cf. Pakenham 1993:338–344; Iliffe 1979:89ff.). The following twenty years in then 'Deutsch Ostafrika' were marked by armed conflict in various parts. German forces met fierce resistance while trying to establish their hegemony. Several rebellions broke out (cf. Iliffe 1979:92–116), the most well-known the 'Maji Maji' war from 1905 to 1907 that was eventually won by German forces through a scorched earth policy (cf. Schicho 2004:312f; Iliffe 1979:168–202).

German colonists started to develop a settler colony for exporting agricultural products such as sisal and coffee. Slowly infrastructures were set up, the railway (cf. Iliffe 1979:135–141 on the railway's central role for the colonial economy) had just been completed when the First World War broke out. Tanganyika was also dragged into it as German and British forces fought over the territory until the end of the war, once more leaving tens of thousands dead. In 1922 Great Britain officially gained power through a League of Nations mandate. Present Rwanda and Burundi were claimed by Belgium after their occupation during the war. As in most British colonies, a system of indirect rule was introduced. The British administration, unlike the German before, did not want Tanganyika to become a settler colony, therefore German settlers were pressed to move out (cf. Iliffe 1979:262). This was a significant change as Iliffe notes that "*[i]t is more likely than not that if Tanganyika had remained under German rule it would have become a white man's country like Kenya or even Southern Rhodesia.*" (Ibid.:150). However, 'racial' division into 'Europeans', 'Asians' and 'Africans' was clearly evident through the application of different legal systems (Schicho 2004:313–316).

The world economic crisis increased social inequality in Tanganyika. Especially 'African' and 'Indian' businessmen and workers were affected by falling demand and prices, which was aggravated by the concentration of capital in colonial hands. For farmers it was especially difficult since land became scarce due to population

growth, erosion and sale of land to 'Whites' and 'Indians' for export production. This resulted in famine in several districts during the war years. It also led to new formations of resistance to colonialism, first in the form of trade unions (Ibid.:316f). The 1940s and 50s were marked by strikes of different unions (cf. Shivji 1986:166–177, 192–204), which often not only claimed higher wages or better working conditions but also political equality against the racially divisive rule (cf. Schicho 2004:317). At the same time political associations started to gain prominence once again, most notably through the 1954 founding of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (cf. Iliffe 1979:507–513). Yet only slowly 'Africans' were accepted into political structures as the colonial government continued to base positions on 'racial' terms. Also they didn't really have a say in those committees in which they were granted seats. Although 'local' civil servants were prohibited from being members of political organizations, TANU grew, especially through the support of peasants. The clear goal was independence, and in 1955 its president Julius Nyerere went to the United Nations to create pressure, since the British government insisted on a 'multiracial' constitution, which was contradictory to the mandate. In elections between 1958 and 1960 TANU gained an overwhelming majority. This eventually led to independence, which officially took effect on 9 December 1961. A year later Tanganyika became a republic through its new constitution (Schicho 2004:317–320).

Tanganyika was one of the poorest African colonies to gain independence (cf. C. S. L. Chachage 2007:120ff on the state of development of industry, infrastructure, health, education and agricultural production at independence). This low level of development was also one of the main factors that made Tanganyika become the first independent country in British East Africa, in contrast to British West Africa where it was the wealthiest that gained it first. TANU profited from the lack of political development, since there was virtually no opposition and their strength exerted a lot of pressure (cf. Iliffe 2005:168f).

3.2.2 Zanzibar

On the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba the aforementioned Sultanate of Oman had its economy mostly based on exporting cloves that were grown on plantations by slaves, some of whom indigenous to the islands others captured on the African continent. Slavery was officially abolished in 1897 but the distribution of work remained largely the same with former slaves and their descendants working on plantations. The Sultan formally was the sovereign, yet British bureaucracy dominated the government from 1890 to independence. After World War II political parties were founded mainly along 'racial' lines, most notably the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP), which was favoured by the British, and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). While the latter gained the majority of the votes in an election in 1963, the former was granted more seats due to manipulation of constituencies. On 10 December 1963 Zanzibar became an independent country under the government of ZNP. Yet, a month later a revolution broke out that overthrew the government. Several people were killed in subsequent retaliations for decades of 'racial' oppression, while the elite including the Sultan fled. Abeid Karume eventually gained power in name of the ASP.

3.3 Early postcolonial era and 'ujamaa'

In 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed a union which was subsequently named Tanzania (cf. Schicho 2004:325f). During the first few years after independence development at any cost was the aim, largely guided by the World Bank. In 1967 the proclamation of socialist 'ujamaa' policy, announced through the Arusha Declaration, opened a new chapter in the country's policy. Self-reliance instead of continued dependencies of donor nations was proclaimed. Social development of the population was a primary concern therefore the education and health sectors were made accessible free of charge (cf. Schicho 2004:329). Agricultural production and rural development were the main goals as shown by the large-scale villagization campaign, for which many people were resettled, often forcibly (Ibid.:327f). Urban areas, on the other hand, were neglected during that period.

“In Tanzania, for a number of historical, economic, and political reasons urban areas were regarded as parasitic. Town councils were abolished in the early post independence years by the post-conial [sic] state; [...] Therefore the attitude in Tanzania towards “urbanisation” as reflected by Dar es Salaam, has been mostly schizoid. Urbanisation was the antithesis to the purity and wholesomeness of rural development. It was full of business people that exploited and beggared the rural people.”

(Mascarenhas 2000:63)

TANU was officially the only legal party on the mainland and in 1977 it merged with ASP from Zanzibar to form Chama cha mapinduzi (CCM, translated: Revolution Party). However, ‘ujamaa’ eventually found itself in an economic and political crisis in the 1970s. The global oil crisis and the war with Uganda deteriorated already dim-looking state finances. Starting from 1979 shortages in many publicly funded areas, such as transport as well as in consumer goods, affected the country. In 1985 Nyerere, who had president since independence, for the first time didn’t stand for presidential elections, paving the way for Ali Hassan Mwinyi from Zanzibar to start reforming the country (cf. Schicho 2004:328–331).

The legacy of ‘Mwalimu’ (translated: ‘teacher’ because of his original profession) Julius Nyerere can still be felt in Tanzania. His views shaped the period of Tanzanian socialism and after his retirement earned him the title ‘Baba wa Taifa’ (translated Father of the Nation) which is still visibly portrayed by pictures in many offices (cf. Maoulidi 2010:143). He is also known outside Tanzania as one of the leading Pan-Africanists and several scholars have engaged with his legacy (cf. C. Chachage and Cassam 2010; Legum and Mmari 1995; McDonald and Sahle 2002).

3.4 Liberalized economy and multiparty democracy

Economic decline and thereby induced political pressure led to a change of system. During 'ujamaa' the government had a hold on a large share of the country's economy. The new President Mwinyi started privatizing the economy and abolished state monopolies. Amidst the growing debt crisis the International Monetary Fund and World Bank enforced their demands for liberalisation that Nyerere had resisted for many years. Real wages fell drastically and therefore informal economic activity became the major source of income for people in urban areas. Unemployment rose while schools and medical care became increasingly difficult to afford for the population.

In 1992 the country formally became a multi-party democracy (cf. Schicho 2004:331f) yet no other party than TANU-CCM has of yet managed to achieve a majority in parliament or the presidency.

3.4.1 Informalization

While during 'ujamaa' the government tried to regulate most aspects of daily and especially urban life, this has since declined greatly and 'kufanya biashara'³¹ has become the main occupation if you ask people. The economic decline changed the living situation in a way that trying to earn a living out on the street became more reasonable than working for the government or engaging in agriculture. The urban population, which had been growing since World War II despite only few jobs created in formal employment (cf. Burton 2007:122f), had started to make ends meet by informal employment like selling clothes but also opening workshops and garages already during colonialism and in the early independence years. Ujamaa, which discouraged private entrepreneurship, slowed this trend for some period (cf. Lugalla 1997:429–432). But when the economic crisis hit in the 1970s and '80s the government had the load of the country's wage bill on its shoulders. Real wages began plummeting prompting people to leave wage employment. The share of in-

³¹ Literally translated: 'do business', is widely used for any kind of income-earning activity, from selling sweets and home-cooked food or consumer goods on the streets to having small stands

come through informal employment significantly increased up to ninety per cent (cf. Tripp 1997:40–44). Sixty per cent of the population relied entirely on it and two thirds of those in wage employment needed it to supplement their income (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:61). Ever since, this has remained a major characteristic of Dar es Salaam, eventually leading to the new informal name ‘Bongoland’ (literally ‘brain-land’) referring to the necessary sharpness of mind to thrive in this environment. (Ibid. 67; Calas 2006a, 3f)

4 Dar es Salaam

“As in other African urban centres, the organization of space has been central to the city’s history. The legacy of colonial rule remains abundantly clear in contemporary Dar es Salaam. Although it has, through its demographic and physical expansion, undergone radical transformations in the forty years since independence, the city’s postcolonial development has occurred broadly along lines established in the years up to 1961.”

(Brennan and Burton 2007a:4)

4.1 Foundation of Dar es Salaam

The founding of Dar es Salaam is related to a quasi colonial context (cf. Raimbault 2006, 26). Since the early 17th century the Sultanate of Zanzibar and Oman had been a major power on the East African coast, which also controlled the slave and goods trade stretching far into the interior of the African continent. The major town on the mainland that functioned as terminus for caravans was Bagamoyo, situated across the Zanzibar strait from Stone Town. It was Sayyid Majid bin Said Al-Busaid, the Sultan of Zanzibar then residing in Stone Town, who conceived a new town at a large natural harbour about 70 km south of this wealthy trading town in 1862 (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:16).

An argument developed by Fabian (2007) is that the founding of the new city was due to power politics in order for the Sultan to gain real control of economic relations. This is because the Sultan did not exert much power in Bagamoyo, his subordinate administrators on the mainland often worked towards their own political sovereignty and economic gains (Becher 1997:28; also cf. Fabian 2007:457). *“Dar es Salaam, by contrast, [...] was to be the Sultan’s own city; in other words, profit would not be eaten away by local rulers”* (Sutton 1970, 4 cited in Fabian 2007, 450). As also the British Acting Consul to Zanzibar Edwin Seward articulates this move was in order to strengthen his authority:

"There, the Sultan could with great ease extend his authority over the continent, making himself recognized by the tribes of the interior, steering the caravans coming from the lakes to this point, attracting to this port the European navy boats as well as the dhows from Madagascar and Arabia and India, to strengthen himself if need be; to be, in a word, there; to be more secure than on the island of Zanzibar."

(Fabian 2007:448)

Twenty-five years later, after a period of decline following Sultan Majid's death, similar reasons gave Dar es Salaam the push to emerge as the main urban centre on the heels of German colonisation. The major reason generally stated for the shift of capital from Bagamoyo is the better protected harbour, which is also accessible for steamships as it is deeper than the coastline at Bagamoyo (cf. Calas 2006:12; Raimbault 2006:27; Becher 1997:30f). Even though steamships were more important for the Germans than for the Zanzibari Sultan, according to Fabian also their major motifs to move the capital from Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam were to gain control of trade connections.

"Dar es Salaam's rise and Bagamoyo's decline was not dictated simply by German want of a protected, deep-water harbor, but was the result of a conscious and protracted struggle to liberate East African trade from socioeconomic ties established prior to colonial rule. The Germans may have desired Dar es Salaam as a port, but they, like the Omanis and British before them, also wanted greater control over the wealth of Bagamoyo"

(Fabian 2007:469)

This measure was necessary because the trade networks were controlled by 'Indians' and 'Arabs' situated in Bagamoyo, as well as by porters who preferred Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam. (Ibid. 443) During the long struggle trying to break Bagamoyo's dominance it was even proposed to close down its port. (Ibid. 442) Other measures in the attempt to disconnect the age-old ties with Zanzibar were running steamships from Europe directly to Dar es Salaam and imposing customs duties charges also for imports from nearby Zanzibar, therefore offering goods cheaper in the new town. (Ibid. 462; 466)

The towns on the coast were in economic competition (Ibid. 448f) and tax income was an important issue. Bagamoyo's revenues, initially still under the Sultan's con-

trol, by far exceeded those of Dar es Salaam under control of the DOAG (Ibid.:457f; Becher 1997:34f). Direct colonial control of Bagamoyo would have caused friction with residents and in order to avoid a war it was easier to establish a new town where control could be more easily exerted, given that trade connections could be diverted there (Ibid. 456; 459f). When customs duties in all ports along the coast were handed over to the DOAG by Sultan Khalifa ibn Sa'id in 1888 a rebellion broke out, as there had been no consultation with mainland authorities. The fiercest battles were around Bagamoyo where the local elite felt cut off their powerful positions and stood to lose financially as well (Ibid. 460). To counter the insurgency the imperial German government was called for help, which eventually led to negotiations to put DOAG's concessions under imperial rule (Ibid. 460f; also cf. Raimbault 2006, 27), formally establishing the colony of German East Africa. Not long thereafter the decision was taken to move the headquarters away from the pre-colonial trading community of Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam³² (Ibid. 443; 462).

Despite efforts to lure caravans to Dar es Salaam for about 15 years it remained mainly an administrative and garrison town (cf. Becher 1997:30). The German colonial government couldn't break the economic dominance of Bagamoyo even through development of the port in the new capital. Dar es Salaam's economic rise and Bagamoyo's decline began with the railway, which gradually started operating from 1907 (cf. Becher 1997:35; 46f; Fabian 2007:468; Iliffe 1979:137). An important aspect besides time and capacity factors was that the railway was controlled by the German colonial government and replaced porters that were linked to the established trade elite and also preferred "*Bagamoyo where they felt more freedom than in the segregated city of Dar es Salaam*" (Fabian 2007:469). All this shows how much Dar es Salaam is based on and was shaped by colonialism. As will be described in chapter 0 Kariakoo is a central piece within this picture as the place where segregation and 'racial' discrimination materialized.

³² Not only Dar es Salaam but also Tanga and Lindi were proclaimed as new major port towns instead of nearby established Pangani and Kilwa respectively (cf. Fabian 2007:462)

4.2 Colonial segregationist policy shaping the city

Two major thoughts shaped most African colonial cities, the first being that the urban population is constituted by the European elite and other, mostly non-African, economically well-off people. Thus not regarding the majority, formed by the African workforce, as part of the urban population (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007a:5; Burton 2007:121). The movements of Africans were regulated and in case of unemployment also 'repatriated' to the countryside (cf. Lugalla 1997:428). The second, being connected to the first, is that living areas of racial groups in the city were segmented, officially justified with sanitary reasons ('cordon sanitaire') (cf. Kironde 2007:102; Armstrong 1986:45; Smiley 2009:179f).

The enframing order of colonial states was achieved through three spatial strategies, the first of them being to alter African settlement designs to achieve a segmented plan, which led to racial segregation. The second was to define a distinction in architecture and urban design and thereby codifying neighbourhoods. Thirdly the conceptions of space of rural 'Africans' were altered through providing (surveyed) spaces to observe the city in order to normalize the rational Western planning approach to them (cf. Myers 2003:8f). In Dar es Salaam all those strategies were set out at the very beginning of colonial rule with the town's first 'Bauordnung' (building code) by the German colonial government in 1891 (cf. Kironde 2007:100). It divided the town into three zones, which later became known as 'uzunguni'³³, 'uhindini' and 'uswahilini' for 'Europeans', 'Indians' and 'Africans' – referred to as 'Natives' by colonial administration – respectively (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007a:4). Buildings in zone I, stretching along the seashore, had to be of 'European type'. In the 'Asian' zone II, which lay adjacent to the West, solid materials had to be used and 'native huts' were not allowed. For the other areas of the city initially there was no restriction but a permit was required. In subsequent building codes by both German and British colonial governments the zones were extended and boundaries more

³³ In Kiswahili language the belonging of a place can be directly inscribed through suffixes and infixes, 'wazungu' are white people, 'uzungu' the place of white people, and 'uzunguni' translates as 'in the place of white people' although the differentiation between the latter two is not always taken

clearly defined also for zone III. Though the building code did not explicitly mention 'races' it implied it by economic and cultural means (cf. Raimbault 2006:34); the terms 'native quarters' and 'African area' were sometimes used by the administration stating the obvious aim of racial segregation that was in conflict with the League of Nations mandate (cf. Smiley 2009:183f). Existing African settlements in zone I like the village 'Mjimwema' close to nowadays location of state house were cleared (cf. Becher 1997, 36f; compare maps on pages 33 and 37). The urban development plan from 1914 included to introduce an 'empty space' in between zones II and III for 'sanitary purposes' for which existing houses were cleared (cf. Kironde 2007:100–104). The continuity of colonial government policies is attested by the British implementation of the German building code from 1914 (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:31). Similar racially segregated plans were implemented in many African colonial cities, for example Nairobi (cf. Myers 2003:36). Not only the spatial setting was shaped by these colonial practices, it also had repercussions on everyday life in the city.

"The colonial city consolidated different functions, characters and operating practices within different quarters. It then attempted to regulate the interactions among them.

(Simone 2005:11)

Only Africans who were employed by Europeans were allowed to enter 'uzunguni' (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:31). One way of monitoring neighbourhoods was to settle loyal groups, e.g. African policemen, in a specific area (cf. Raimbault 2006:81).

"The planned location system was seen as the way to differentiate between who could be inside the city and who had to remain outside it, while at the same time dictating just how someone inside it should live in it."

(Myers 2003:39)

Because of building restrictions and congestion in the designated 'native' urban quarters Kariakoo and Ilala – the only areas officially available to Africans until the late 1940s (cf. Kironde 2007:106) – people started moving to the surrounding countryside in the 1930s to support their families – who often remained in town – through selling farm produce in the market (cf. Polomack 2006:138f). Those villages, nowadays often transformed into large informal squatter settlements like Manzese,

were not officially integrated into the city because “[t]he logic of ostracism and of segregation prevailed over expansion and urban integration” (Ibid.:138). Yet, more and more they became part of the urban fabric.

“Far removed from the colonial city’s segregated centre and fed by the country’s diverse populations, the periphery was the place where social improvisation³⁴ was achieved as migrants arrived. It was developed and applied on a neighbourhood scale.”

(Polomack 2006:172)

Dar Es Salaam population up to independence

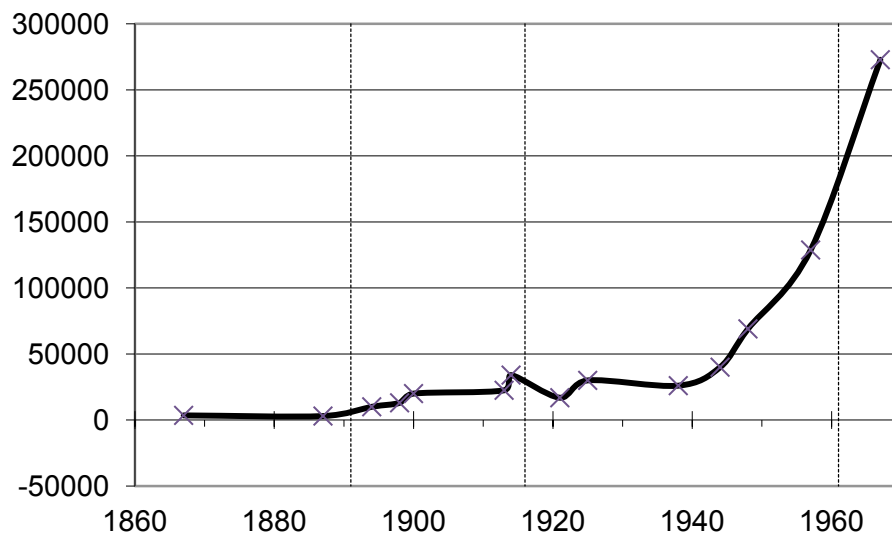


Figure 4.1: population of Dar es Salaam 1867 – 1967

Source: Brennan and Burton 2007b:26, 29, 38

major events: 1891 capital status; 1916 British occupation; 1961 independence

³⁴ Probably it should read ‘integration’ as even the title of the chapter is ‘Individual integration within a context of mixity’; could be a translation error, it was originally published in French

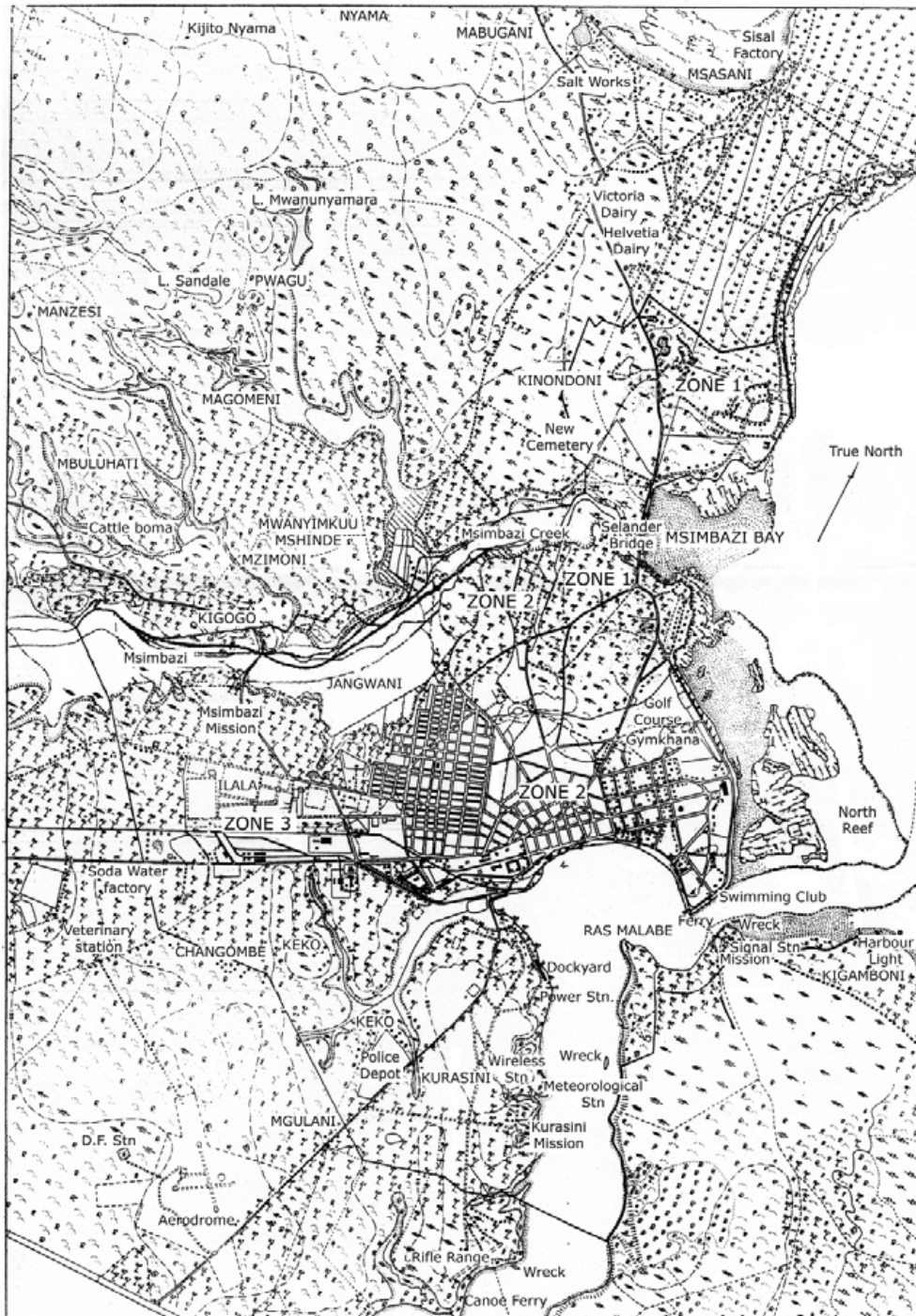


Figure 4.2: map of Dar es Salaam in 1941

Source: Brennan and Burton 2007b:40

Kariakoo can be seen in the centre of the map, identifiable by its strict grid layout of streets

Starting in the 1940s the population of Dar es Salaam increased substantially (see Figure 4.1) and an economic boom led to significant infrastructural development and a more dynamic centre (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:45). Suburbs started to

develop in all directions, pressure by African employees resulted in new residential quarters for them to be developed. Yet the zoning principle was kept alive as European and Asian population grew as well and the better situated areas were developed for and administered to them (cf. Kironde 2007:108–113). It was also during this period that anti-colonial movements and labour activists (cf. Shivji 1986) gained power, which eventually led to the country's independence in 1961.

4.3 'Ujamaa' in Dar es Salaam

"[The] new Socialist orientation [...] was clearly hostile to urban populations, considered as capitalists who were likely to become oppressors in the future"

(Goux 2006:104).

Rural development was proclaimed as the best way to self-reliance through production of food for the local market but also export (cf. United Nations 1995:77). The 1968 master plan for the development of Dar es Salaam aimed for the eradication of all squatter settlements surrounding the city. At that time the city had experienced an annual population growth rate of 9 % and squatter settlements were soon to become the housing situation for the majority of the population (cf. Armstrong 1986:56f). A number of measures were proposed to reduce population growth of Dar es Salaam, including the repatriation of unemployed migrants. (cf. United Nations 1995:77) In 1974 Dodoma was proclaimed as the new capital due to its central location within the country (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:61). Though to this day apart from the parliament and the CCM party's headquarters the new capital couldn't take away any functions from the old one, with ministries and the state house remaining in Dar es Salaam.

In line with socialist policy was the attempt to equalize housing standards among the different groups through nationalizing buildings in 1971, thereby making owners and occupants to tenants of the government. This altered the ownership structure in urban areas and led to the emigration of Ismailis³⁵ as they were the ones losing

³⁵ At some point the biggest minority group of Indian descent in Tanganyika that was overwhelmingly engaged in trade (cf. Iliffe 1979:138f)

most property. Over the long run however, 'uhindini' has still remained predominated by the Indian community (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:56–58). Also attempts at resettling inhabitants of informal settlements through national housing were only partly successful since the costs were too high for a poor government and corruption led to many of them being appropriated (cf. Goux 2006:111f). Although attempts at social housing were started soon after independence, as regards spatial segregation *"[i]nitially, the fact that the two countries [Kenya and Tanzania] became independent did not change the situation at all."* (Goux 2006:111).

"[D]espite the powerful national commitment of Tanzania and the comprehensive and coordinated planning strategy of Kenya, the hierarchy of settlements that each inherited from the colonial period has remained stubbornly resistant to planned reorganization."

(Soja and Weaver 1976; cited in Mabogunje 1990:153)

Until today most residential areas have remained within the social frames they were set up in (cf. Smiley 2009:192).

During the 1980s the country plunged into a deep crisis. The ensuing lack in finances for the city government was so severe that many urban services could not be maintained any more, among them transport and even fire engines (cf. United Nations 1995:76). Eventually it led to the demise of 'ujamaa' and the start of 'mageuzi'³⁶. Policies introduced by the IMF and World Bank and political change in the form of a new President in subsequent years abolished restrictive laws (cf. Tripp 1997:103) and aimed at macroeconomic stability.

³⁶ Translated: 'changes' or 'transformation', in Tanzania this denotes the period that followed 'ujamaa' with all its transformations from state to private ownership
<http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/en?Word=mageuzi>

4.4 Dar es Salaam since 'mageuzi'

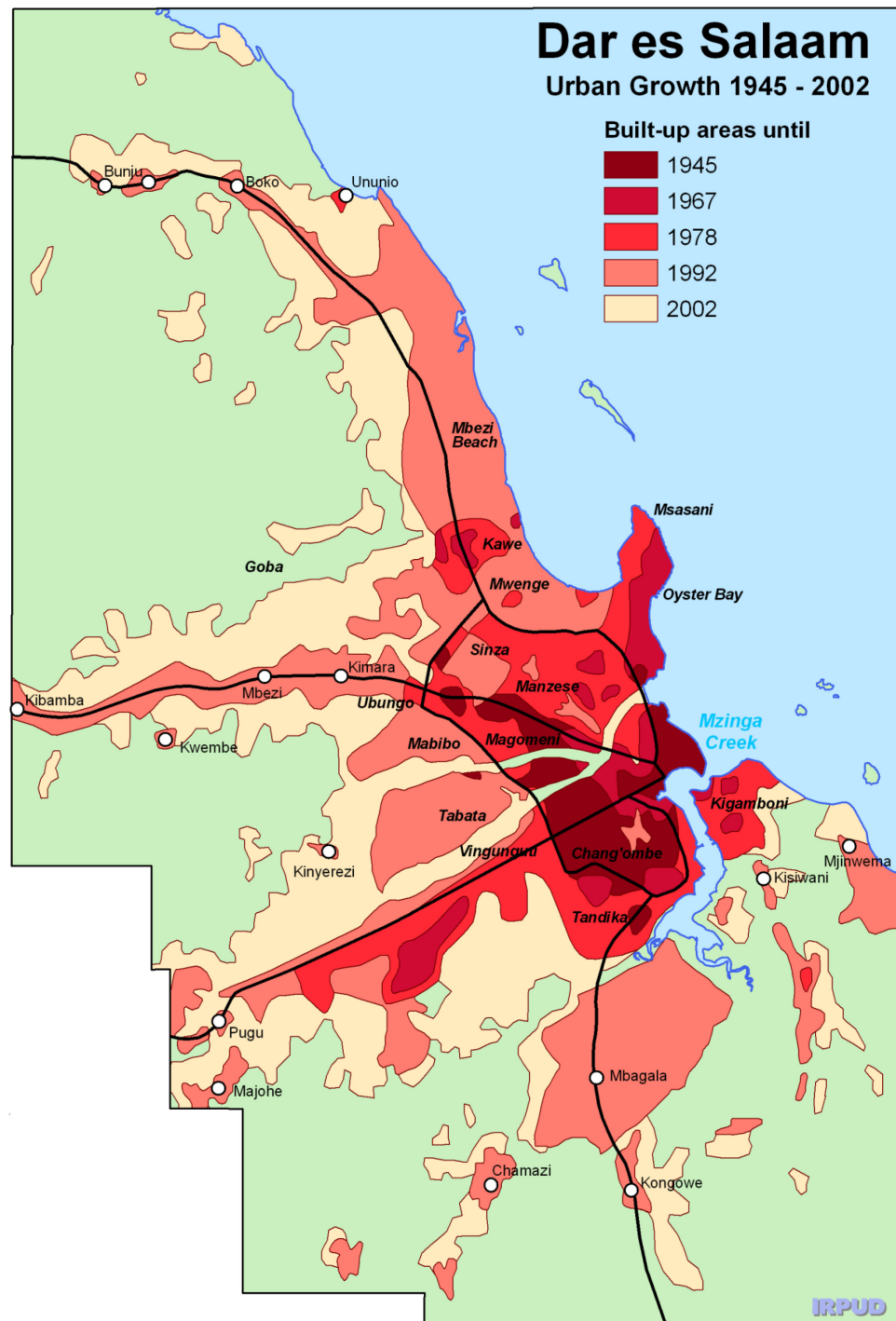


Figure 4.3: Urban expansion of Dar es Salaam 1945-2002
Source: Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000:804

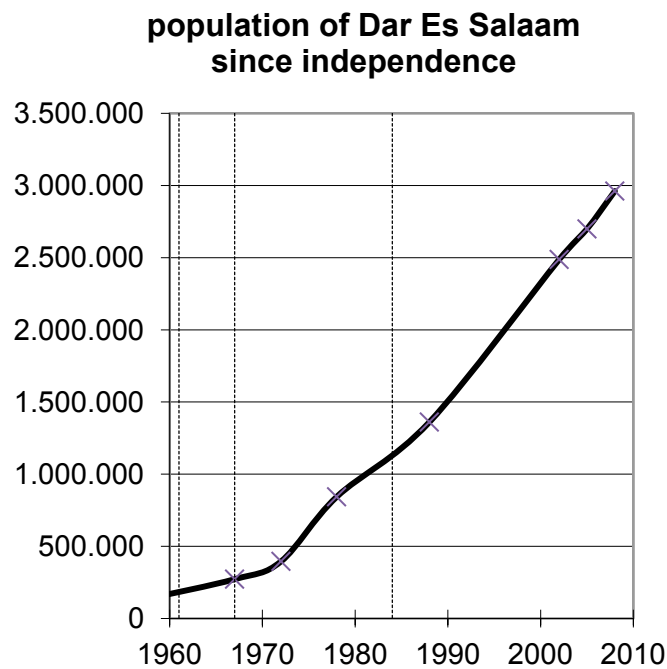


Figure 4.4: population of Dar es Salaam, 1960-2008

Sources: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/tanzania.aspx?> (29.3.2012)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dar_es_salaam#Population (29.3.2012)

<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daressalam#Einwohner> (29.3.2012)

major events: 1961 independence; 1967 Arusha declaration; 1984 first liberalizations

Over the last two decades population growth in Dar es Salaam continued, it is ranked among the ten fastest growing cities in the world, number three in Africa³⁷ (see Figure 4.4). East Africa was the least urbanized region in the world in 1960 at a rate of urbanization less than 5 %; it has since risen to about 25 % in Tanzania (no better comparable data available). The end of colonialism and with it the end of influx controls, pass laws and other restrictions of movement facilitated the growth of African cities (cf. Myers 2003:7), although those measures and similar ones during ‘ujamaa’ could only partially curtail it anyway. Interesting is the form this growth took, contrary to most cities it didn’t lead to much densification but rather wide sprawl up to 30 km from the CBD since the surrounding areas were sparsely inhabited (cf. Calas 2006:16; Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000). *“Dar es Salaam is a sprawling city where the problem of high-density areas is actually inexistent.”* (Goux

³⁷ According to data from http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/urban_growth1.html (17.7.2011)

2006:118) Due to the concentration of many functions in the CBD (cf. Calas 2006:22) the transport infrastructure is at the verge of its capacity. Some satellite centres are developing at about 10 km distance from the historic part of the town easing the pressure a little bit.

“From being centers of European predominance where Africans had restricted rights of residence, towns became the focus for the modernization of African society. The beneficiaries of this shift in policy became the advocates of modernization.”

(Burton 2007:150)

5 Kariakoo

The specific area of Dar es Salaam that I have chosen to study is Kariakoo. It is interesting to study collective memory in association with colonial legacy there because of its history. Especially the colonial segregation along 'racial' lines that defined Kariakoo as the living quarter for 'Africans' is what comes into play here. When looking at the spatial layout of Dar es Salaam in its early years, there are basically two areas in which colonial legacy could be observed: the central business district (CBD) or Kariakoo who formed two distinct centres from the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Kohlert 2007:035–07). They correspond to the zones outlined earlier, in the CBD colonial administrative architecture can be found, whereas the latter was a predominantly residential area yet with its own market. Essentially Kariakoo was the heart of the city in terms of 'local' population.

The second reason to study Kariakoo is because of the gentrification processes taking place there in recent years. I have already pointed to the link between collective memory and such restructurings in chapters 0 and 2.5. The concurrence of these historic and contemporary facts made the decision in favour of Kariakoo, since it gives rise to the assumption to find diverse memories. Its history and social structure will be described in more detail in this chapter.

5.1 Kariakoo in the colonial period

While Dar es Salaam itself has a history based on colonialism as depicted above, Kariakoo is the area of the city that demonstrates 'racial' segregation. In 1914 the plantation where a majority of the African population had settled, formerly owned by the Sultan of Zanzibar, was bought by the German colonial government because of pressure from white settlers to control the development of the area. (Kironde 2007:100) It was designated as zone III, the place where 'Natives' were allowed to settle, which in 1930 through the creation of the "Open Space", now called Mnazi Mmoja, was divided from the rest of the city (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:30). In the area also known as 'uswahilini' plots were leased only on a yearly basis resulting

in the construction of low-quality buildings. *"Migrants' houses were supposed to last only as long as their labour was needed in urban areas."* (Kaitilla 1990:213)

Kariakoo is a Kiswahili corruption of 'carrier corps', porters who carried supplies, weapons and ammunitions for the British army during "[t]he First World War [which] transformed Dar es Salaam into a full-scale military encampment" (Brennan and Burton 2007b:29). They were stationed at the place where the market is situated now, right in the centre of Kariakoo (cf. Anthony 1983:96; Moshi 2009:38; Brennan 2007:121; Iliffe 1979:249f on the carrier corps force during First World War). This big presence, in an area that had just started to be developed when the war broke out, may explain why this name stuck. The area was developed in a grid layout like working class quarters in European cities (cf. Kironde 2007:101), with most streets named after colonial conquerors. It was densely populated and had low standards of infrastructure.

Kariakoo remained a predominantly residential zone until independence, with only few corner shops for daily provisions (cf. Moshi 2009:61). An exception was the market in the centre which also had an adjacent 'non-native'³⁸ trading area. 'Africans' were not allowed to open up shops or workshops in residential areas (cf. Lugalla 1997:428f). An overwhelming majority of trading sites were in the hands of 'Indians', while Africans later on were refused permits on grounds that there were already too many plots occupied by commercial use. Thus the intended 'racial' segregation was partly broken up. Another factor was the rise of rents in zone II in the 1930s that fuelled the influx of 'Indians'. Eventually the area west of Msimbazi Street was declared a residential area and the part east commercial. Contrary to segregation policies nine per cent of houses in the African quarter were occupied by 'non-natives' (cf. Brennan 2007:120–123). Yet, this was mostly concentrated to the market area and the two main streets Kichwele (nowadays called Uhuru) and Msimbazi. It is still visible today in the buildings structure as almost all multi-storey houses of older origin, that until today combine business and residential functions, are concentrated there (cf. Moshi 2009:75–79).

³⁸ The colonial term for minorities that were not of European descent but neither considered to be 'Africans', in Tanganyika and Zanzibar these were mainly so-called 'Indians' and 'Arabs'

Kariakoo also played a central role for the independence movement. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), one of the driving forces to attain independence, was founded there in 1954. Thus the emergence and organization of Tanzanian Nationalism can largely be attributed to that area and its residents.

5.2 'Ujamaa' developments in Kariakoo

There were attempts to completely change the city's layout, doing away with its colonial legacy of high and low density areas, laid out in a master plan for Dar es Salaam in 1968, shortly after adopting the Arusha declaration. It aimed at *"breaking down the exclusive racial and income barriers of the past"* (Armstrong 1987:141). The density in Kariakoo was supposed to be decreased. It was to be completely demolished and rebuilt (cf. Moshi 2009:119f). However, these plans were never implemented due to resistance by residents (cf. Moshi 2009:63; Kaitilla 1990:221). Up to the end of 'ujamaa' the spatial layout and housing structure of Kariakoo remained mostly unchanged.

What remains from these ambitious plans are some landmark buildings. Within Kariakoo those are mainly the market and DDC social hall (cf. Moshi 2009:41). The former is at the same site as it had been during the colonial period but was erected new at the beginning of the 1970s. Until recently it was the main food market in the city, where almost all goods from upcountry arrived and were then traded throughout the city. It came together with other government instituted facilities, most notably the Dar es Salaam Development Council (DDC) social hall. This was a meeting place for both peasants who came for the market as well as residents of Kariakoo, since privately owned businesses were not allowed to sell alcohol at that time.

The nationalization of houses in 1971 mostly hit traders of 'Indian' descent (cf. Moshi 2009:75–79), of whom many thereafter left the country. Only houses above a certain value were nationalized. It involved predominantly those along the two main streets of Kariakoo, while the Swahili type building structure in the other parts of Kariakoo remained untouched.

5.3 Ongoing urban restructuring in Kariakoo

Kariakoo's spatial layout is mostly traceable to colonial planning while the housing stock, predominantly of 'Swahili type', features 'African' and 'Arab' styles (cf. Ombeni and Deguchi 2009:159). About six centrally accessible rooms might be divided among one or more families. This type of housing usually has a 'baraza' (verandah) to the outside and a courtyard to the interior, matching with a specific gendered division of space (cf. Moshi 2009:61–64; Ombeni and Deguchi 2009:162f). However, for about two decades now Kariakoo has been in a phase of restructuring. This has attracted quite some scholarly attention (cf. Lupala 2002; Kaitilla 1990; Moshi 2009; Ombeni and Deguchi 2009). It is a process of increasing commercialisation, so much so that many now refer to it as a second city centre or business district (cf. Ombeni and Deguchi 2009:160; Moshi 2009:44). Its central location in the city is a very important factor for these developments (cf. Ombeni and Deguchi 2008:1517; Moshi 2009:117). This has especially large effects on the building structure. 'Traditional' Swahili type housing is either being modified to suit the needs of commercial tenants or demolished in order to make way for bigger developments (cf. Ombeni and Deguchi 2009:163ff; Lupala 2002:92–124; Moshi 2009). Commercial functions are integrated into the area and partly oust residential uses. Often they are combined, with front rooms of single-story houses for commercial and back rooms for residential uses. Similarly is the division between ground and upper floors in multi-storey buildings. As indicated above, the Swahili type of housing is linked with cultural and social structures. Its transformation and increasing disappearance thus affects communities living there. It might be one of the factors why long-time residents move away, besides the fact of rising rents if one is not a house owner. Ombeni and Swai conclude by pointing at the possible loss of history during this process.

Nevertheless, there is a need to control and monitor the transformation in order to preserve the history of the Kariakoo area.

(Ombeni and Deguchi 2009:166)

They thus acknowledge that memories may be attached to the housing structure although they do not give an account of what their interviews with long-time residents revealed on that subject.



Figure 5.1 Aerial view of Kariakoo/City Centre/Harbour circa Independence

Source: Brennan and Burton 2007b:49

Kariakoo is the dense settlement on the right side of the picture



Figure 5.2: Kariakoo street scene (Swahili houses) (1950s/1960s?)

Source: Brennan and Burton 2007b:55

For decades there have been redevelopment plans for Kariakoo, all of which sought to replace the Swahili type housing structure because of its low plot use ratio (cf. Moshi 2009:99). While in the first years after independence a decrease in density was sought (cf. Armstrong 1987:141) the most recent 'Kariakoo Redevelopment Scheme' of 2002 targets its densification through development of multi-storey buildings (cf. Moshi 2009:99f). *"Urban planning regulations demanded the replacement of the small Swahili buildings with multi-storey structures"* (Moshi 2009:116). Houses that have fallen into serious disrepair have to be demolished because of *"redevelopment regulations which include the requirement to build multi-storey buildings"* (Moshi 2009:63). Nevertheless, gentrification in Kariakoo is mostly driven by an informal process of redevelopment (cf. Ombeni and Deguchi 2008:1517f; Moshi 2009:44, 131–134). Most residents do not have the (monetary) means to manage this urban renewal themselves. It is investors who have the biggest part in that they usually seek out owners of plots they wish to construct on. Their work partly complies with the intended restructuring of the area set out by the municipality, yet it results in a fragmented picture since plots, which are rather small in the area, are rarely combined prior to erecting a multi-storey building. The large fragmentation of ownership, often several people have inherited a plot together, largely contributes to this (cf. Moshi 2009:115f). The informalized development results in a lack of public space with an estimated daytime population of over 200.000 people in Kariakoo (cf. Moshi 2009:6).

"[T]he street is now a space of conflicting interests among several actors: the city authorities are interested in the smooth flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, the petty traders use it as their selling outlet, and the shop owners use it for display of merchandise as well as (informal) rental space for selected petty traders."

(Moshi 2009:116f)



Figure 5.3: Central Kariakoo in 2011

Source: own photograph from rooftop terrace of a ten-storey-building

View from DDC social hall (roof in the foreground) to market hall (big building with flat roof), note the mixed housing structures



Figure 5.4: Kariakoo street scene in 2011

Source: own photograph

Overall, among the various players (owners, investors, architects, government bureaucracy etc.) involved, it is those with most money who have the most to say.

"[T]he developer's desire to maximise the use of available land for profit, coupled with weak coordination among the government institutions has resulted in money power being the dominant force in shaping the transformations"

(Moshi 2009:120)

The government sometimes tries to get a hold on the situation, mostly through police intervention among petty traders every now and then. The planning department is understaffed and therefore unable to implement or even oversee ambitious redevelopment schemes (cf. Moshi 2009:121f).

What results is a small-scale retail environment. Though the area is changed into a commercial district without much coordination among entrepreneurs, it is in the form of a large market. Certain streets even concentrate on the same goods (cf. Moshi 2009:135f). A large part of this market consists of street vendors (cf. Moyer 2003 on street vendors in Dar es Salaam, in whose accounts Kariakoo is frequently mentioned). So while Kariakoo for a long time used to be the place of residence for people employed in the first industries of the colony and then independent country, mainly gateway functions such as the harbour and railway, nowadays it is the arena for a new generation (of largely rural immigrants) to sustain themselves or try to climb up the social ladder.

With the housing structure rapidly altered but the plot layout remaining mostly unchanged (cf. Moshi 2009:136), colonial legacy is retained while memories of life conditions then are probably erased. These are factors that may recall memories I ask about in the interviews.

5.4 Social structure of Kariakoo

Kironde (2000) has surveyed land markets in different areas of Dar es Salaam and states that in Kariakoo, due to its old age, inheritance is the main means of acquiring land there, especially for women, suggesting that a large share of the population has long bonds with the quarter. Also a majority of its population originate from Dar es Salaam and other nearby coastal areas or Zanzibar, thus stating that rural-urban migration of people from farther areas of Tanzania does not affect Kariakoo much anymore in terms of residency. Formal employment plays a minor role compared to informal sector income, while there are many dependents as well. An overwhelming majority of Kariakoo's residents have only primary school education or lower. Yet, of those who have secondary education or higher a majority bought the land or house as opposed to inherited it. This may be a sign of a gentrification process. It is consistent with high land values that owners reported for their plots. They were generally more than ten times the prices of plots in areas farther from the centre of Dar es Salaam (cf. Kironde 2000:159–163).

5.5 Division of Kariakoo

The boundaries of Kariakoo as generally assumed are Morogoro and Pugu Roads in the north and south respectively. In the east Lumumba Street, adjacent to Mnazi Mmoja, the colonially constructed 'open space' forms the border towards the CBD. In the west the boundary is the creek formed by the Msimbazi River. Cutting across are Uhuru Street and Msimbazi Road, intersecting at a roundabout close to the centre.



Figure 5.5: map of Kariakoo with boundaries of Kariakoo ward indicated
Source: www.openstreetmap.org and own drawing

When one looks at administrative boundaries however, there is a discrepancy. The ward of Kariakoo is much smaller, encompassing only the central parts of the aforementioned area. Other parts belong to three different wards. Some of these boundaries are noticeable to a visitor, while most are not distinguishable by any specific physical feature. In the part west of Msimbazi Street developments are slower. For the research I initially set out with the broader boundaries in mind. When it came to fieldwork, due to necessary endorsement by authorities (see detail account in chapter 7), I was mostly limited to the more confined ones of Kariakoo ward. This is further divided into three subwards.

Kariakoo initially had a predominantly Muslim population due to coastal people being the first to move to Dar es Salaam looking for work. Through the missionary

efforts that came with European colonisers an African Christian population emerged in Dar es Salaam. Those mostly came from upcountry and were discriminated against by Muslim landlords. Thus in the 1920s, on the intervention of the Bishop of Zanzibar, the colonial government allocated a plot of land in Kariakoo for Christians to build their homes. With this assistance houses and a small church were built and the area became known as 'mission quarter' (cf. Mbogoni 2004:58). To this day the area retains that name as the church still owns the plots of around forty houses and there is a subward called 'misheni kota'. This subward however is not part of the Kariakoo ward but of the adjacent Mchikichini ward. It is often distinguished and contested whether 'mission quarter' is a part of Kariakoo or not. Its foundation during colonial rule within the zone three reserved for 'natives' is a major factor for me to treat it as a part of Kariakoo relevant in this thesis.

6 Methodology

This thesis is based on qualitative methods, specifically on guided interviews. Those may also be defined as expert interviews, yet with an understanding of experts not being persons who studied on the subject but being knowledgeable about Kariakoo and its social structures. An interview guide was developed in English and translated into Kiswahili with help of my local supervisor and two mediators (see appendix 11.1). The analysis has been done according to Mayring's (2000) techniques using atlas.ti computer software.

6.1 Why qualitative methods?

Due to the exploratory research question this analysis follows qualitative semi-structured interviews were the most feasible method for analysis. The qualitative approach is used because I am not (mainly) interested in which story is believed by a majority of people and/or groups but rather which different stories there are and how they relate to each other. The openness of a qualitative setting is what allows getting an insight into a topic with little prior knowledge (cf. Mayring 2002:27f).

In this context standardized survey questionnaires were not feasible because respondents would not be able to express their views and understandings freely. They would be limited to react to what is presented to them, thereby foreclosing the multiplicity of possible answers (cf. Mayring 2002:9f.; Lamnek 1995:8f). As my thesis is exploratory, it would have been impossible to formulate a questionnaire with standardized answers that could yield any meaningful results.

The analysis does not aim at generalizing memories as valid for all time and place contexts but rather specifically situated, therefore fits well with qualitative methodology. Both the analysis as well as the subject are comprehended as processes. The situatedness of the findings is thus an integral part, which I regard as very important for the study of memories.

6.2 Social groups as carriers of collective memory

A central argument in Halbwachs' (1991) work is that memories are acquired in society and group contexts *"provide us the stimulus or opportunity to recall, they shape the ways in which we do so"* (Olick 2008:155). Every memory is based on social contexts and it references our social identities. Thus collective memories can best be studied by looking at social groups, which have their perspectives and filters of what is being retold and remembered over time. This is why my approach was to do expert interviews selected for respective groups. The expert status however was loosely defined, one didn't necessarily have an official function in a group in order to be seen as a representative for a certain group, everybody can transmit their perspective on memory³⁹. For the research I looked for people which possibly could have a good overview of a group yet all willing to talk about memories were acknowledged to present their perspective.

These various groups may also develop differing or even conflicting memories about the same historic event. The multiplicity of memories is emphasized by the assertion that there are as many possibilities to bring urban space to mind as there are groups. Collective memories of selected groups are observed in their content but also their function. An important question is whether these groups' collective memories urge them to act on the stage of urban space and society.

6.3 Semi-structured 'expert' interviews

In this study semi-structured expert interviews are used. Yet the understanding of expert has to be explicated since it is not experts in the most common sense such as scholars of a specific field or decision makers (Meuser and Nagel 1991:444f). Usually what constitutes an expert is that he/she has knowledge that is different from everyday knowledge, which is not accessible to everybody. It is described as superior to

³⁹ *"Zwar wissen die einen mehr, die anderen weniger und das Gedächtnis der Alten reicht weiter zurück als das der Jungen. Aber es gibt keine Spezialisten und Experten solcher informellen Überlieferung, auch wenn Einzelne mehr und besser erinnern als andere."* (J. Assmann 1992:53)

everyday knowledge and involves a theoretical perspective⁴⁰. The expert status is always attributed to a person and based on the assumption of unequal distribution of knowledge (Froschauer and Lueger 2005:227). Expert is a relational status that is given to people who have privileged access to information about groups of people or decision-making processes⁴¹ (Meuser and Nagel 1991:443).

In this research, the necessary criteria for experts was field intern knowledge in which they themselves participated. Better still those who were at the point of intersection of the field with the outside, thus giving them an initiative to reflect on the group (cf. Froschauer and Lueger 2005:228). Interviewees were not selected because of their participation in decisions in organizations but in order to tell stories from a specific perspective. Not action but thought and knowledge are the central interesting piece here. As outlined earlier collective memory encompasses only those people who are part of a group. This is what informs the understanding of expert within the scope of this research. The subjects questioned are themselves experts of their meaning⁴² (Mayring 2002:66).

Hand in hand with this definition of experts is a modified form of conducting expert interviews. For memories a certain narrative element is needed therefore the interview guide does not only specifically ask questions which could be answered with certain facts. The interview guide is rather semi-structured like in a problem-centred interview (cf. Mayring 2002:67–72; Lamnek 2010:363–368). It is open enough to allow interviewees to determine part of the course of the conversation, yet led through the topics as given by the interviewer. Some theoretical assumptions are there before and shall be brought together in the subsequent analysis. To some extent, the questioning of how memories are influenced by historic events also touches on focus interviews (cf. Lamnek 2010:368–371). The underlying con-

⁴⁰ „Das Wissen muss sich vom Alltagswissen unterscheiden (sonst wäre es kein ExpertInnenwissen), es ist nicht allen zugänglich (sonst bräuchte man keine ExpertInnen), das Wissen erweist sich alltäglichem Wissen als überlegen (sonst könnte man sich auf das eigene Wissen verlassen), es bedient sich einer theoretischen Perspektive (sonst hätte es keinen Erklärungswert)“ (Froschauer and Lueger 2005:226)

⁴¹ „wer über einen privilegierten Zugang zu Informationen über Personengruppen oder Entscheidungsprozesse verfügt“ (Meuser and Nagel 1991:443)

⁴² „Man muss hier die Subjekte selbst zur Sprache kommen lassen; sie selbst sind zunächst die Experten für ihre eigenen Bedeutungsgehalte.“ (Mayring 2002:66)

cept is to animate people to tell their stories, which are always out of a certain perspective due to their position in society and affiliation with specific groups.

6.4 Interpretation of interviews

The interview transcripts were translated into English by Tanzanian friends, i.e. native Kiswahili-speakers. They were then analysed according to the method of Mayring's qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000). This is based on three basic formats of interpretation: summarization, explication and structuring (Ibid. 2000:58–99). The material would not have been very suitable for a hermeneutical analysis because it was obtained through several stages of translation that led to many inaccuracies of statements. Their meanings can be abstracted but the sequences may have been altered.

The first step is to summarize the content of the material. From this we get an overview of the topics addressed. A synopsis is reached by aggregating a variety of statements with similar content.

In order to be able to explain these findings then both narrow and wide context analysis were used. The former refers to extracting the understanding by using that specific interview, relating it to statements that might clarify the intended meaning. The latter included taking into account the context of the interview, but also going beyond that by trying to explain it through the theoretical basis of the research. The process of explication is concluded by paraphrasing the collected statements and examine whether the paraphrase captures the intended meaning.

The third technique then is to filter the structure out of the material. Thus, using the software atlas.ti I coded segments of the interviews according to topics that seemed interesting to investigate further. The coding scheme (see appendix 11.2) partly evolved out of my pre-formed assumptions that also had influenced the interview guide, but also took into account themes that came up during interviews. Each category evolves out of theoretical assumptions and in accordance to the research questions. I had a quite extensive set of categories, and sometimes statements were coded into more than one category as they provided links between

topics. All my codes were according to a thematic criterion in order to extract topics to be presented in the findings. The final step was to write them down combining all the three steps. Meaningful quotes are presented together with summaries and explication on statements to selected topics in chapter 8.

6.5 Observations

Although observations were part of the methods used, it was not in a methodically accurate way. No set of categories which were to observe underlay this process. Rather it was a continual process of getting to know Kariakoo and its social conditions. Observing changes in buildings, business structures and interactions between people of various social standings were the necessary lens to be able to understand what people talked about in interviews. It also influenced the interview guide I eventually set up through information I got on what concerns people. It was an exploratory approach because I needed to see the gentrification process in order to question people about it. I could not go into conversations on that topic solely by reading literature while never having been there. Summing up it comes close to an ethnographic approach that connects observation with qualitative interviews in order to come to an understanding of meaning (cf. Flick 2011:360).

7 Fieldwork experience

My research stay in Tanzania was made possible by the generous support of Dr. J. Abunuwasi Mwami of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Dar es Salaam, who agreed to act as my local supervisor. It was funded by a grant (Förderungsstipendium) from the University of Vienna. From August 2010 to early February 2011 I stayed in Dar es Salaam. Initially it was intended to last only until December 2010, but due to the closure of the University of Dar es Salaam for two months it was extended.

The fieldwork experiences were manifold and in many respects I have to acknowledge that it proved to be more difficult than expected. I was not well prepared for some of its aspects, partly due to information not available to me beforehand. But partly also because I simply didn't have enough experience in empirical research in general to know what to prepare for. Doing research in a foreign country whose language one cannot master to a satisfying degree for scientific interviews is a challenge. While already in the country administration took up a majority of the time, especially long procedures to get official permissions. This delayed getting in contact with groups intended for interviews. Therefore most of the research was carried out within the last six weeks, especially the interviews. I still managed to interview 18 people, however some intended groups could not be reached.

Unfortunately I couldn't find a place to stay in Kariakoo, which would have made observations much easier. A major factor was the common practice of asking for twelve months rent in advance, thus making short-term stay almost impossible. I therefore joined a large number of Dar es Salaam residents commuting daily between half an hour and two hours a day, depending on traffic congestion, from my place of residence to Kariakoo. It hindered me from observing Kariakoo in the later hours of the day.

The fieldwork and interviews would not have been possible without the assistance of Justina and Tony. These two, bachelor graduates of sociology from the University of Dar es Salaam, accompanied me in tours to Kariakoo looking for interview partners. They translated during the interviews and helped transcribe thereafter. When

I refer to a 'we' in the following descriptions it includes them, since we were working together as a team.

7.1 Groups observed – interviewees

As depicted in chapters 6.2 and 6.3 fieldwork was started with the aim of interviewing experts who were selected as representatives for specific groups. Most of these groups in the initial research proposal were ones that were mentioned in historic accounts of Dar es Salaam and Kariakoo. They were assumed to have preserved some memory of colonialism and development of the area from their specific perspective. However, it was not intended as an exhaustive list but as a starting point with others added once more on-the-ground knowledge could be gained. And access to those groups had still to be secured either; many of them were just vague assumptions without an address or information where to find them. These were expected difficulties at the outset of the research yet a snowball system was used so that, once things got started with some connections, references were then used. The research permit requires the holder to get in contact with local authorities. This is where I started to get contacts for interviews. Others were sought through institutions like religious communities or political parties. Random contacts often provided a lot of insight and valuable information.

In the following I refer to 'racial' and ethnic divisions. They are found in almost all literature, but are nevertheless difficult to handle. Their boundaries cannot be clearly defined, yet they are also used in public discourses and conversations with people. While in the literature reference is made to 'Indians', 'South Asian' 'Arabs' or the like I prefer to use Kiswahili terms since they contain a somewhat different meaning. 'Wahindi', 'waasia' or 'waarabu' are more often attributed to be Tanzanian citizens of a certain descent as opposed to immigrants with another citizenship. When I targeted groups on those ethnic ascriptions I tried to go through organizations that explicitly claimed to represent those, like e.g. religious communities with a distinct background of an original location.

7.1.1 Local representatives and long-time residents

As stated the starting point for research were elected local government representatives who represent the residents. Two of the three sub ward officials, called 'mwenyekiti'⁴³, had grown up in Kariakoo, thus knew quite much about memories in the area. I also assumed that they know most groups in the area and would be able to provide me with contacts. Yet, newer residents didn't associate that much with the local order, according to the picture that was given in the interviews with those officials. They stated that they do not get to know new residents moving into newly built apartment buildings. Those also stand for the new lifestyle that possibly upsets the traditional social structures of Kariakoo. The large daytime population of traders etc. was not represented by the 'wenyekiti' since only residents have voting rights in that area.

The two 'wenyekiti', which had lived the majority of their lives in Kariakoo were eager to answer our questions when we first approached them. They were between 55 and 60 years old so had been born shortly before independence and had worked in the industrial sector before becoming elected politicians. A wealth of information ranging from colonial memories to contemporary changes and resulting infrastructure problems arose during the conversations.

One of them referred us to three more people, all of them old men of Muslim faith who had lived almost all their lives in Kariakoo. As they were up to 20 years older they could relate more on the colonial period. One of them can also be counted as a religious leader, he is referred to as 'mfalme', which can be translated as 'chief' or 'king'⁴⁴.

7.1.2 TANU-CCM

Since TANU was founded in Kariakoo, of which later emerged the now ruling parting CCM I assumed that it would be a group that kept memories of independence struggles on the local level alive. The house where it was founded is still there, now

⁴³ translates as 'chairman', plural form is 'wenyekiti'

⁴⁴ <http://www.kamusiproject.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=mfalme> (24.3.2012)

functioning as one of the central offices of the party, called 'Ofisi Ndogo'⁴⁵. In addition it has been the ruling party ever since independence, therefore their influence in the on-going and past restructuring processes is an interesting factor.

However, access was difficult to get, a separate introduction letter from University of Dar es Salaam was required. Even then it needed several attempts for contact to conduct an interview. We then had a conversation with a PR representative of the party. He did not have a specific affiliation with Kariakoo but we got quite some knowledge of the workings of how restructuring processes work in general in Dar es Salaam.

7.1.3 'Wahindi'

Despite Kariakoo supposedly being a segregated 'African' area there has been an 'wahindi' minority for a long time. Their long history in the area is most likely not contained in the hegemonic memory of attaining independence. Thus 'wahindi' associations' perceptions might be an interesting counterpart to the 'African' view. Many 'wahindi' traders still live and work in Kariakoo, mostly in those areas along main roads that had been designated as commercial zones already during colonial times. But they were the group most affected by nationalizations in the 1970s. This has led to many of them moving away, quite a lot leaving Tanzania altogether. It also has to be mentioned that 'wahindi' communities cannot be counted as a homogeneous group but rather they are divided along several lines of location of descent, religion and generation of migration. Ismailis⁴⁶, who used to be the biggest group in earlier times, are the ones who mostly emigrated. On the other hand after the Zanzibari revolution many left the island and settled in Dar es Salaam. Yet, to one who does not know all the distinctions it is quite hard to know of the different associations.

⁴⁵ Literally 'small office', the headquarters of the party was moved to the new official capital Dodoma. Yet with most ministries still in Dar es Salaam this office retains an important function for the leadership of the party.

⁴⁶ So called because of their religious community of Ismailism, a branch of Islam
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismailism> (6.3.2012)

An interview with an Ismaili failed after several referrals when one possible interview partner went travelling. The dates with another had to be cancelled because of my own illness. So unfortunately this important group in the history of Kariakoo is missing. However, contact to a group originally based in Zanzibar was established leading to an insightful conversation. We spoke to the social worker of a primary school of the Memon Jamat community, of whom a majority have migrated from Zanzibar to Dar es Salaam.

One 'muhindi', who apparently has been in Kariakoo for a long time also responded some questions as he was present when we talked to one long-time resident the 'mwenyekiti' had referred us to. However, we don't know about his occupation or belonging to which specific group apart from the fact that he is also Muslim.

7.1.4 'Waarabu'

Another minority group that might be of interest was not specifically targeted. This is mostly due to its unclear definition of who actually belongs to it. People may be referred as 'waarabu' because they migrated from the Middle East but also because of light colour of their skin. Zanzibaris are also often referred to as 'waarabu'. In some contexts it is positively connotated to claim an 'Arab' ancestry because then one certainly does not descend from slaves as is often otherwise assumed when claiming to be an 'African' Zanzibari. However, to this day 'waarabu' in Tanzania are associated with being slave owners and traders, thus has a very negative connotation. Probably therefore associations of people claiming to be 'waarabu' are not easy to be found. It is mentioned here however, since this category comes up several times in the interviews and there are trade relations with the Middle East that possibly have an effect on Kariakoo's development.

7.1.5 Workers and entrepreneurs

Since Kariakoo used to be a residential zone mainly for workers in the narrower sense, trade unions were intended to be contacted. But since among the respondents we had workers were already well represented no more effort was put into this as we were short on time.

Yet, as mentioned, Kariakoo also has a long history of being a centre for trade and entrepreneurship. It couldn't be found out whether an association of entrepreneurs existed. Among the interviews we conducted were two businessmen of about thirty years, who had set up shops after several years of doing petty trade on the streets. They ran a barbershop and a retail trade.

Thus informal connections are included in the sample, longer established, probably inherited, business owners however are missing. Many of those can be considered 'wahindi' to whom access was rather difficult. Also a market vendor was interviewed who had been there since the setup of the new post-independence market telling of a decline in importance of the food market as opposed to other trades in the area. Finally there was a medium aged man, who had come from a district at Lake Victoria, who was selling books at a stand by the roadside.

7.1.6 Religious communities

Historically Kariakoo was predominantly Muslim, now it is more diverse with a significant presence of various Christian faiths. Relations between people of different beliefs are said to be good in Tanzania, yet there are socio-economic inequalities. Especially as regards education because of missionary involvement, therefore there are tensions which also led to violence at rare occasions (cf. Mbogoni 2004:107–111, 155, 171).

While most respondents were Muslim, no official Muslim religious leader has been interviewed because of this function. We had contact with the Catholic Church since it strongly influenced and even named a quarter within/next to Kariakoo that has a history dating back to the colonial period. The catechist who also stays at the local

church in mission quarter, which was built in the 1920s, responded some questions regarding Christian history in Kariakoo.

7.1.7 Women

Women's associations were supposed to be in the sample but no women's groups that specifically are based in Kariakoo could be found. In addition, among all the 18 interviews only two were women. This is largely due to the fact that in institutions and businesses, men held positions of relevance. In addition, their referrals were to other men. The women in the study were relatives of a friend and had already moved out of Kariakoo. These proved to be some of the best interviews conducted because a lot of topics were covered and opinions voiced.

7.1.8 Urban planner

Regarding the restructuring of Kariakoo it was also aimed to talk to an urban planner from the city's planning department. As with the other mentioned government associated positions an official introduction was needed. Nevertheless it was not possible to get through to the relevant persons for an interview. This part can therefore only be deducted from scientific papers written on the matter with better access. It is somehow fitting since, as noted earlier, the city does not have enough capacity to manage the urban restructuring. Also in this study the informal actors are more visible as opposed to regulators.

7.1.9 Investors

I thought of talking with investors who are active in the restructuring process in Kariakoo. Yet it remained unclear how it could be possible to approach them. Since time was limited in the end this approach wasn't pursued anymore. I assumed that it would be difficult to get an insight into their business ventures. Therefore this group remains in the dark. They are often talked about but their voice is not heard, yet their actions clearly seen.

7.1.10 DDC social hall

As said before the list of groups was not exhaustive. An important institution that came up during the research was the DDC social hall right in the centre of Kariakoo. An interview with its manager was conducted which revealed a lot of information about Kariakoo during 'ujamaa'. Also one of the cooks employed there answered a lot of questions about Kariakoo in a conversation.

7.1.11 Former residents

Residents who had already moved out are interesting because it might be related to the gentrification going on in Kariakoo. However, I did not put an emphasis on looking for them since time was limited. But then through a friend I got contacts who, although they had moved away some thirty years earlier, gave me very valuable information.

7.2 Interview situations

Of the 18 interviews only three could be conducted in English, as I had initially intended. Real conversations, in which the respondents felt comfortable, could mostly only be conducted in Kiswahili. This made informal, casual interviews, which could have helped me during the time I waited for the official research permit, quite difficult. Therefore almost all the interviews were made together with one or two mediators, Justina and Tony, whom I have introduced above. They were my portal to this world. It helped me a lot because besides the fact of language translation they were also able to transmit some cultural information when necessary for the understanding. And they were a great assistance in contacting people, especially those in officially representative positions.

Also it adds some obstacles to the research process, mainly due to the fact that no translation can ever be perfect in meaning. This is true both for my questions and the interviewees answers. In a language like Kiswahili, that contains very few scientific words, most of them being borrowed from English since it is the language of higher education (cf. Brock-Utne 2005), this is aggravated. Sometimes diverse

meanings of translations used were only discovered when I was interpreting the transcripts. In social science, where a lot is based on notions and their definitions, this is crucial. As you will see I have then reverted to using Kiswahili expressions since translation would possibly have distorted the intended meaning too much. My own inexperience with leading qualitative interviews also came to light at several points of the research. This however was a good learning factor for the future.

7.3 How my assumptions influence research

The questions that motivated me to set out for this research have been discussed in chapter 0. How these first thoughts of mine as well as my immersion with Kariakoo's history shaped the way I eventually went about the research shall be critically reflected in this chapter.

There is a conflict between engaging with collective memory of people who lived through a certain period of time and posing questions about events and meaning changes in history that are clearly framed by an implicit socio-political context. I thereby assume that official history plays a central role within collective memories. More often than not linear progressions bounded by ruptures in socio-political circumstances are assumed. These clear ascriptions and boundaries that are sometimes taken from literature and lend a hand to more easily find a way for operationalization can be criticized on various sides.

Often they include ascriptions to ethnic groups. While they do have relevance in society, sometimes in very real terms, as e.g. colonial policy explicitly was based along this differentiation, they can never be fully applied as a single entity and categorize every person. Rifts within one group as well as connections between different ones are easily overlooked. And changes of group definitions over time and space occur frequently. Yet, on what basis a researcher then defines them is most of the time very unclear. One approach to elude this in my research was to go by group self-definitions, such as associations that were formed on the basis of a specific descent.

Another fundamental critique of taking official history writing as starting point is that it counters the collective memory approach, which I have described above as not being what is written in history books but what is remembered by people. I nevertheless start within this corset of socio-political periods and use them to extract a meaning and get an understanding of the statements that people made in interviews. For interpretation I do need these kinds of references in order to reveal the real meaning as the background that is rarely voiced explicitly. But by always keeping those glasses on one runs the risk of not seeing the continuities of diverse epochs and that the official history and political events probably are not the major factors producing shifts in society. Instead the negotiations of people might have created them. To discover those is exactly why I use the concept of collective memory, to be more open. To get a picture of what could be the memories about Kariakoo. I therefore use historic references as a starting point since I am not socialized within the surroundings that I researched in and this were the anchor points I could get a hold on while preparing for the fieldwork. It shows a central limitation of a foreigner going to do research in a society that s/he knows too little in its daily reality and discourses. Especially for a topic as collective memory that includes those discourses, and therefore cannot be fully prepared by reading scientific books.

As Kvale states, *the interviewee's statements are not collected – they are co-authored by the interviewer* (Kvale 1996:183; also cf. Meuser and Nagel 1991:451). In qualitative research communication is understood as the central constitutive act of knowledge. Interviewer and interviewee reciprocally negotiate the understanding of the discussed subject (cf. Lamnek 2010:22). This is why I put so much emphasis on the possible influence of my assumptions going into the research. Which questions I ask and how they are perceived influence the interviewees' responses. This continues in the analysis of interview transcripts, where the respondent actually has no possibility anymore to clarify meanings that I may misinterpret. (Kvale 1996:183f)

8 Findings from empirical research in Kariakoo

As stated in the beginning collective memory is seen as a process that has two lines of interaction: How remembered past influences views and actions in the present and how present conditions influence the remembrance of the past. This is also how results of the interviews are framed; it is not only describing people's view of the past and their actions upon but also trying to reconstruct how the frames of present conditions influence the perspectives on the past.

The findings from interview research are presented in the following four chapters. I start with the different views held by various groups about Kariakoo now and then. Two major narratives reveal themselves: that of a close-knit former community that is broken apart by gentrification processes and a young generation which comes for work not residence takes over Kariakoo. Thereafter how relations between groups are perceived and constructed is described; identity constructions form the core in these first two chapters. It is a vital part of this thesis because I assume that social groups are the carriers of collective memory as laid out in chapters 2.1 and 6.2. This is followed by views on and how colonial memory is dealt with. The materialization of memory is at the centre of this analysis. Lastly the often encountered point of view of Kariakoo 'developing' in the sense of modernizing is presented as a possible hegemonic perspective.

8.1 Narratives of Kariakoo: from living neighbourhood to commercial centre

In this chapter I want to give some first insight on the major narratives that were transmitted in the interviews. There are two significant ones that the analysis concentrates on: a residential neighbourhood community that has strong ties but is aging and moving away one the one hand and increasing commercial activity by newcomers establishing Kariakoo as a new commercial centre on the other.

The interviews were started with a very open question about how people would describe Kariakoo (cf. the interview guide in the appendix). In the preceding chapters the context of Kariakoo has been described by its history and socioeconomic

factors. The views expressed by respondents to quite some extent are consistent with the assumptions taken before.

Most elder people, who have been living in Kariakoo before restructuring started, refer to a close-knit community living there that shared many central values. They portray a community life whereby people in the neighbourhood knew each other, a more or less village-like setting.

“Kariakoo people lived the old way, they knew each other, like a small village, he is this person and that is that person, so people used to love, care and stay together in anything, in hard and good times.[...] people were living like brothers and sisters, they knew, loved and helped each other.”

(Mama Timu 2011:22⁴⁷)

In the following quote it becomes obvious how much this community is constructed by social norms that encompass status by gender and age. In many interviews the societal change is proofed with ‘deteriorating’ norms and values in terms of clothes or behaviour of women and youth. Authority positions have been eroded and indicate this change.

“[L]ong time it used to be the first respect to our customs[...] not like now, Kariakoo now it is dirty even our own customs we have forgotten, women are walking naked. [...] “children of today they don’t hear a thing, sometimes the children of now they don’t have respect, when you look at the truth the parents they fail to handle the family. [...] But young people are bringing things which are not there in our customs. [...] I like a chairman of street government, when you look, me outside no one knows me, they just push me around the way”

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:9–11, 30)

This conforms to patterns also encountered in other studies about urban change where elder people reminisce about the past and is not a specificity of Tanzania or Kariakoo. *“The conviction that local life was better in an undefined past is also prevalent in tales of lost moralities.”* (Blokland 2001:274). It is also owed to how people selectively remember the past from within their community and block out differences that were there. *“That life within their own social network tended to be remembered as life in the whole neighbourhood explains why moral accord featured in so many stories.”* (Ibid.:274) These descriptions most likely are informed by

⁴⁷ The ‘page’ numbers for interviews refer to the number of the quote in my analysis software atlas.ti

some part of nostalgia, which blurs the boundaries that were drawn within this community.

"The fact that familiarity was a fount of knowledge orienting people to dis-identify with some while identifying with others is not always in the foreground of people's memory, where nostalgia can blur the boundary between community and familiarity. This blurred boundary is the source of an often vented regret that 'the neighbourhood is no longer what it used to be, when it was a real community'."

(Blokland 2001:272)

On the other hand the young generation voiced a quite different perspective.

"Earlier people and those of today are not the same, because earlier people did all for themselves, they found no need to cooperate with others in any way."

(Retail trader 2010:4)

This young trader counters the view expressed by long-time residents. In opposition he sees the networks of young people and paints a disconnected picture of former generations. The growing disconnection of older generations for one part may be from his perspective as he experienced Kariakoo while it became increasingly fragmented. Yet, an old woman, who had moved away in the late 70s, confirms that break within her generation.

"The old ones who shifted are so far away. [...] Youth does communicate through networks but we elders are finished."

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:56)

What is striking is that the views of each other are so contradictory that there may be very little communication between these different age groups, which also have various other social factors differentiating them. Similarities though are that all of the respondents talk about a sharp rift in Kariakoo's social structure. The community that once was there, however much of its presented closeness is actually true, is fading. And there is an influx of new people to the area, be it as residents or day-time workers, they transform Kariakoo deeply. The changes in resident population and housing structures, which were outlined above, are confirmed by interview respondents.

"I was born here and the life of Kariakoo was not like this, first of all Kariakoo there was only a small number of people not like now. Earlier we used to play football on roads in Kariakoo, not like now, and we didn't have these big houses like now. Most of the houses were normal"

houses and were mud houses and built also with palm grasses. After independence things in Kariakoo started to change, a lot of buildings and people have increased too. And until now, the wenyeji⁴⁸ of Kariakoo have moved out, they have bought places outside Dar es Salaam. [...] So the life of Kariakoo those days and now is different.”

(Mzee⁴⁹ Abdallah 2011:2)

“[E]arlier if you came here even at night you would still find people sitting there, but now it has changed a lot. Even there at the market, all those vendors there, they are not living in Kariakoo, when it reaches 6 pm they will all move out. Earlier the vendors were also from here.”

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:3)

Here we also find the first link of memory to materiality. The description of the ‘original’ setup of Kariakoo mingles with the people who inhabited it. This link will be analysed in more detail in subchapter 0. Long-time residents’ moving out is attributed considerable contribution to the changes in Kariakoo’s social life. Those that now come in supposedly build up another society. Since only few of the young business owners were interviewed their voice doesn’t come out that strong within this research but as cited above they do not see themselves as disconnected. This is also conceded by some of the older residents.

“You see bwana⁵⁰ you find the newcomers are doing things together more than us”

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:2)

Of course relations between people who work in one place and live in another are different than if there is a resident population that forms long-time neighbourhood bonds. The altered housing structure also attracts a different type of occupants. An ‘urbanized’ middle-class moves into flats close to the city centre. Those who adhere to more traditional norms may miss the ‘baraza’ and courtyard of the Swahili house as socializing spaces. It reflects the changes the city overall has taken so that now a more ‘modern’ urban form of housing can be found there. One woman associated

⁴⁸The original Kiswahili ‘wenyeji’ is used here because translation proves difficult and would narrow the possibility of meanings. It may mean native, resident, inhabitant or owner of a place but also host and regular visitor <http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=wenyeji> (5.3.2012) I will refer to it frequently since it is used by many respondents to construct place belongings.

⁴⁹ ‘mzee’ is an address used for an old and/or respected man
<http://www.kamusiproject.org/en/lookup/en?Word=mzee> (28.3.2012)

⁵⁰The Swahili address of ‘bwana’ is often used in a conversation, depending on the social status of interlocutor it may be interpreted from a formal ‘Sir’ or ‘Mister’ to colloquial ‘dude’
<http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=bwana> (5.3.2012)

this new 'modern' form of living with Western forms of living that are replacing 'traditional' structures of the city.

"we live like a business town like in your place, like at your home Europe, the way you live, everyone at his/her own apartment, everyone with his/her family, it's not like 'Mama so-and-so I am out of salt', that it is not there."

(Mama Timu 2011:98)

Yet what from one perspective may be presented as a loss from another is just a different kind of community taking over the symbolical reference point for Kariakoo. When describing current Kariakoo, business and trade play major roles, along with an influx of traders appropriating the space.

"in Kariakoo the biggest characteristic that is known about it is business, or not 'kaka'⁵¹, the biggest is business. [...] In former times people used to live here, but now people don't live in Kariakoo, now it becomes a town of business, it's a place which is more focused on business, different from before, [...] in short it became a business town."

(Barbershop 2010:1, 3)

⁵¹ 'kaka' means brother but is also used as an address among (young) men of similar age

"there have remained only the business people those who have moved from somewhere."

(Mama Timu 2011:12)

"Yes it's only businessmen, most of them are coming here just to do business, try to come here in the evening you will see they have all gone."

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:35)

"The community of people of Kariakoo is the one which is good at business not like earlier. Whereby there was no activeness in business. [...] But now everyone works, and therefore, in one way or another, the community of Kariakoo has been broadened."

(Retail trader 2010:2)

Kariakoo's altered position within an expanding urban conglomeration factors high in defining its social structure. As most people attest its significance has been greatly raised to take over many functions that are attributed to a city centre.

"It has become a second centre from Kisutu, if you say I'm in town people ask where, are you city centre or you're at Kariakoo? Kariakoo is a second city centre. That's why you can see even buildings are coming up more than in other places."

(DDC 2011:50)

"trading centre has shifted from town area to Kariakoo"

(Memon Jamat 2011:6)

Kariakoo is not just seen as one of many quarters of the city but forms the pulsating heart of the urban economy. It is much more open to outsiders than most of the surrounding areas which is even attested by direct bus connections from every part of the city. Because customers flock the area for the wide and cheap availability of a range of goods offered in stores, street vendors also concentrate there due to the good opportunities to sell their items. This leads people from various walks of life to encounter each other there.

"the first favourable place for business is Kariakoo, because people are coming all the way from Mbagala to get their needs at Kariakoo, that is why nowadays everyone is at Kariakoo"

(Mama Timu 2011:7)

In addition the place of residence or work may not be the main reference point for one's social life in a much expanded city that offers opportunities for employment and other attractions in various parts. This ultimately results in looser social relations with one's neighbours so that a community feeling may be lost. The expansion

and increasing fragmentation of Dar es Salaam become apparent and orientations on a bounded neighbourhood community decrease (cf. Polomack 2006:187–190). Similar processes as in Mills (2006) study on neighbourhoods (mahalle) in Istanbul can be attested for Kariakoo.

“The mahalle on the ground becomes more fragmented, divided, more like the conflicted postmodern city of Istanbul, as the mahalle in the imagination becomes more popular, more synthetic, more seamlessly perfect.”

(Mills 2006:379)

The reality of life in Kariakoo is more and more incorporated into fragmentation processes that encompass the whole society but being visible foremost in the urban fabric. Within these surroundings imaginations of the past are increasingly idealized and stripped of conflicts within them. As Mills aptly puts it, when the present cannot be fully grasped because of its contradictions a way out is to retreat to a constructed image of the past where everything was in order.

“It has become necessary to remember a tolerant multiculturalism in order to cope with the tensions in contemporary life.”

(Mills 2006:388)

8.2 Constructions of community

Various divisions segment the society of Tanzania despite its overarching nationalist narrative that binds them closely together, supposedly without conflict. This chapter analyses the interview material on the aspect of how groups are constituted by respondents. Several lines of differentiation can be identified. Central is that of long-term residents versus more recently arrived inhabitants and traders. Economic positions are often a factor in constructing in- and out-groups. But also of importance for group constructions are questions of religion, especially between Christians and Muslims. Furthermore political associations may form special groups that cut across those lines. And appearing between all of them from time to time is what the nationalist narrative tries to cover: ‘racial’ and ethnic divisions as very powerful notions on which belonging to a territory may be based. Sometimes several of those divisions seem to converge, e.g. ethnic and religious belongings are closely linked in

certain part of the country, other times they intersect each other with various religions to be found within one ethnic community.

In the discussions about changes in Kariakoo who belongs to the area and who doesn't were voiced quite often, implicitly as well as explicitly. Appropriations by newer residents are often seen as illicit by older residents. The significance of group constructions is emphasized by Blokland's thesis that *"anyone who cannot participate in the collective enterprise of remembering is an outsider"* (Blokland 2001:279)

"those who you see most are 'wageni'⁵², 'wageni' destroy more than 'wazawa'⁵³, they see and they do what they want."

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:38)

From the perspective of an elder, who is in an official representative position, which seemingly has lost status in recent years, the newcomers he can't control disrupt the way this society works. So we can see how there is a struggle between those who claim to own Kariakoo based on long-term residence and those who seek a living in the expanded city, for whom Kariakoo is the trading place of the city. The elder partly dissolving community complains about the changes and it is usually intermixed with societal changes in greater sense especially regarding generational differences:

"Those times there was respect to the old men, but now they will tell you that your time has passed. And those who will be telling you all this, they are not from here, maybe they have just come to do business and go, but they will still disrespect you."

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:16)

This differentiation of 'old' and 'new' inhabitants of Kariakoo is central within the context of gentrification, which forces some to leave the area because the rents become too high or because the housing and social structure are altered in a way that they may not want to continue living there. From this point of view the social relations in Kariakoo are 'corrupted'. Additionally these processes are not only at-

⁵² Yet another word that expresses belonging and cannot be clearly translated into English, 'wageni' may mean foreigner or stranger but also guest and visitor
<http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=wageni> (5.3.2012)

⁵³ May be translated as 'those who belong here', probably derived from 'being born there' Not contained in the Kamusi dictionary

tributed to overall shifts in society towards modernization or just the younger generation but often specifically to ‘wageni’, people who are in different aspects termed as not belonging there. Religious, ethnic and ‘racial’ divisions are what come into play here and are at first often constructed to not have been there before.

“In former times just the way I told you that the community which inhabited Kariakoo were Muslim ‘wenyeji’, those were the inhabitants of Kariakoo. The inhabitants of Dar es Salaam, the people who own the coastal region, most of them were there. Now it has changed.[...] The inhabitants of Kariakoo are ‘waasia’⁵⁴ and business people, I mean ‘wapemba’, ‘waasia’, ‘wazanzibari’, they are most of the people who have bought there, eh ‘waasia’, ‘wahindi’ and ‘waarabu’.”

(Mama Timu 2011:93)

The argument that those who have been there for a long time were a homogeneous group of Muslims and, implicitly, ‘African’ as opposed to the newcomers, was encountered frequently. So to the appropriation of Kariakoo by other groups and displacement of the own is added, that they are coming from outside, they were not part of those forming the city at ‘the beginning’. Also they don’t carry the memory of fighting for independence together, an important narrative for the community of Kariakoo, as will be laid out in chapter 8.2.2. The distinction is very clear towards Chinese immigrants who do not have a long history of immigration to Tanzania as compared to most of the other mentioned groups, which have a centuries old history of migration.

“‘Wachina’ do not cooperate with anybody here, they have nothing to do with nobody here, [...] but you can sit with ‘mwarabu’ and talk, with the ‘muhindi’ too but with ‘mchina’ you can forget that. ‘Mchina’ will be talking with his/her fellow mchina, paying their rent ‘Alhamdulillah’, but you cannot sit and talk to him/her, never!”

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:19)

⁵⁴I use the Kiswahili terms for ethnic and ‘racial’ ascriptions since they carry a somewhat different meaning than possible English translations. Most of them can be read as people from a certain place whereby the infix ‘wa-’ denotes the plural (m- or mu- the singular) of people descending from a certain place that forms the second part of the word. However naming them in Kiswahili also has the connotation of them being Tanzanians. So ‘waasia’, ‘wahindi’ or ‘waarabu’ may be people who have a migration background (of several generations) from Asia, India or the Middle East but are considered as Tanzanians as opposed to talking of Asians, Indians or Arabs that seems to refer more directly to their homelands. This also because Tanzania is a multilingual country where languages may be mixed and it has a certain meaning of inserting an English word into a Kiswahili conversation pointing to different notions of seemingly translated words.

Then again people recall how it has been a heterogeneous society for a long time, relativising the statements above. But it needs a direct question about relations with 'other' groups that people recall those differences also in past times. Usually it goes hand in hand with negation of any kind of discrimination or segregation between those groups. So while differences may be attested conflicts remain hidden for the most part.

"Yes, we do, there are 'waarabu', 'wahindi' and 'waswahili'⁵⁵ in Kariakoo and we all cooperate very well here in Kariakoo, I don't know about other places."

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:18)

"No, there isn't any kind of 'ubaguzi'⁵⁶, since Dar es Salaam started; there has been cooperation among people, regardless of their colour, religion or tribe. People lived together."

(Baba Abdul 2010:20)

Those groups with a long presence in the area are then integrated into the fabric of the past community. This specifically applies to 'wahindi', i.e. people with a South Asian migration background, that for many dates back more than a century. Up to now 'wahindi' and commerce are deeply interwoven, probably more so in discourse than in reality, though it is visible that shop ownership is quite big among the South Asian descendant population. A class distinction that was fostered by colonialism, as explicated earlier with different residential and commercial zones and regulations for 'natives' and 'non-natives', is the prime line of division for this group.

"Honestly I didn't see 'wahindi' selling things at the market, even 'mzungu'men, even 'waarabu', most of them were the waswahili selling things at the market. [...] Some sold cassava, some bananas, some coconut at the market. But 'wahindi' had only shops, big shops selling clothes and rice and flour."

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:35)

Vassanji, who wrote autobiographically inspired stories from the perspective of a young 'muhindi' growing up in Kariakoo in the 50s and 60s (Vassanji 1991, 1989),

⁵⁵ 'waswahili' is used to refer to 'Africans', in the narrower sense to Muslim people from coastal regions

⁵⁶ A central term in my research in various ways, but difficult to judge which of the meanings was expressed in the interviews. It was initially intended for 'segregation' when the interview guide was translated from English to Kiswahili, but since it also carries the meanings of 'discrimination', 'racism' and 'apartheid' <http://www.kamusiproject.org/en/lookup/en?Word=ubaguzi> (6.3.2012) I will use this term throughout the interview findings to express this complex of notions.

also characterizes this as the dominant narrative. Some also see the differences in religion, place of origin etc. among the diverse groups that are together termed 'wahindi'. For example when talking about the groups who were most affected by nationalizations during *ujamaa* or the Zanzibar revolution:

"You know all those 'wahindi' we had earlier they have moved to Canada. We had those days the 'Ismailis', and after independence they all fled after the Government took their houses, because they had a lot of houses in Dar es Salaam, so after Nyerere took their houses they started to flee to Canada. [...] We lived with them and after independence most of them fled and now we only have 'wahindi' from Zanzibar to cover the place of those who fled."

(Mzee Abdallah 2011:29, 31)

Therefore while there is still a 'wahindi' minority community in Kariakoo, which is visibly active in trade, it is not the continuity of a community. The houses that one community built along the two main roads of Kariakoo were mostly nationalized and many 'wahindi' who operate shops there now moved to Dar es Salaam after the Zanzibar revolution in the 1960s, thus after independence. Yet, for many the similarities in class status and ethnic ascriptions lead to the construction of one group of 'wahindi' regardless of the differentiations these people draw between themselves.

8.2.1 The religious composition of Kariakoo

Kariakoo, as stated earlier and also expressed by residents, has a majority Muslim population. About the question whether there is religious discrimination differing voices can be heard.

"[T]here are many Muslims and we stay with our fellow Christians, now there are many people, but Muslims are the bigger group but we live together well, like cousins."

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:57)

"In Kariakoo there was no religious 'ubaguzi' between Christians and Muslims, if somebody died you went and sat there to mourn together, if it's to bury someone you all go to the church together, [...] that's the story of Kariakoo, very nice, it was soo nice but now everything is upside down."

(Adash 2011:61)

"the majority of the community in Kariakoo was Muslim, so when it happened there is a new person who is not a Muslim there was cer-

tainly a condition which was not bad but was there, there was no hate, fighting, but the person himself will want the freedom to not be with us. [...] So at those times when people came who were not Muslim [...] they used to go and live at the mission quarters, it was a sideplace, there you could find three or two churches, one is Anglican and the other is Catholic, those were the churches since colonial time, so the new people who were not Muslims when they came they bought for themselves, they go to live there, that place it is called mission quarters”

(Mama Timu 2011:32–33)

“Yes, those days there was discrimination, that’s why they even built up this place for Christians to live. Even today if you go to places like Mbagala, it’s hard for a Christian and Muslim to live together.”

(Catechist 2011:27)

Ultimately, that a separate place was declared as Christian area, owned by churches to provide housing for Christians, shows that the distinction did matter to people. Also more recent events, where police killed Muslims at a mosque in Kariakoo (cf. Mbogoni 2004) expose that tensions exist. This, however, does not mean that people of different faiths do not mingle in a multicultural metropolis like Dar es Salaam.

8.2.2 Independence movement based in Kariakoo

The linkage of Kariakoo residents with the independence movement of Tanzania provides an insightful background to the collective memories depicted above. This is because it may form part of the basis that leads to the production of the memory of a former community living closely together. Colonialism and the unity to overcome it and reframe the city are an important narrative informing this community. Therefore these references that link the residents of Kariakoo with the independence movement are of utmost importance for the understanding of the described social structures. The narrative of the ‘former community’ is also based on it fighting for independence. It is another fact beside just the racial segregation of this area; people there were conscious about the situation and organized themselves to fight against it.

“Now what we say CCM as CCM itself it finds the people of Kariakoo are there and they are the ones who have organized and they were here before CCM. [...] So when you say what CCM has done for the people of Kariakoo, you have to say what the people of Kariakoo did to CCM. [...] The people of Kariakoo are the ones who made CCM and TANU. TAA, CCM it was the people of Kariakoo, those are the ones who made this, because they were the ones who sent their money and everything to set up CCM, also that TAA. ... so people of Kariakoo they are the ones who made it happen, not CCM made that happen to the people of Kariakoo”

(Mama Timu 2011:61–62, 66)

This signifies how crucial the people of Kariakoo were in the struggle for independence and the setup of most of the organizations that eventually pushed for independence.

“Yeah I can say they have contributed because the Dar es Salaam elders of those days they are the ones who accepted Mwalimu⁵⁷, they gave this house to TANU. [...] Yeah it was these, it was people. A lot of people, some of them they gave TANU bicycles, some of them they gave TANU motorcycles, some of them they gave TANU cars so that Nyerere could travel or that other officials could go to different areas of the country.”

(CCM 2011:39–40)

It also brings up differentiation in social structures of Kariakoo that somewhat contradict the picture of Kariakoo being for low classes. Those ‘Africans’ who were wealthier also had intimate relations with that area, probably since racial segregation was still in place, and compared to other ‘African’ settlements of Dar es Salaam then it was still the more developed and wealthier part.

“Because Kariakoo was a town and it was a town where business people lived who had enough money to make a party stand by itself, because the late Mwalimu Nyerere was just a teacher who didn’t have a well-paid salary, you see that, therefore the people of this town, most of them were business people, for example Azizi Ali they used to have sand trucks like John Rupia, Mrs. Ronda, they were the ones which made things happen until the branch was able to stand by itself, they were the ones who financed Nyerere. So I think that is why it is famous.”

(Mama Timu 2011:51)

Thus the early activists for independence and later on politicians in the newly independent country were mostly based in Kariakoo.

⁵⁷ Translated: teacher, the public name by which Julius Nyerere was often called because it was his original profession

"[T]here were politicians, [...] many and almost all politicians, to say Kariakoo was taking all the politicians, [...], all of them together they formed TAA and then TANU."

(Mama Timu 2011:13)

How the constructed 'former community' is interwoven with constructions of good old times can be extracted from the following statement.

"Yes as I told you now things have changed, now people are more into business to search their life than political, there is no one who follows politics, there is a small group of people who follow politics for their own good, not like old times politicians they loved politics"

(Mama Timu 2011:63)

In the old times, politicians seemingly were a group who had a collective goal they were working on, while nowadays they are disconnected people who see it more as a business according to this woman, who herself is active in the party. It fits well with the constructions prevalent in the remarks in the preceding chapter: A former community which shared many central values versus a fragmented new society that is based on individualism. That the image of the 'former community' is to quite some part informed by how the independence struggle was passed on to the following generation is revealed by the following statement. One woman recalls how during her school time in the 60s the fight for the recently attained independence was a major topic.

"as I told you before now the situation of patriotism it is not there even in schools, now in schools they are not taught about these things, we were used to be taught about chiefs who had fought for our 'uhuru', [...] we were told until it stuck in our heads, history and politics, now you don't really find them at schools, even when you ask a student about when we got our independence some students they cannot tell you, [...] they don't know, we were used to be told, the cabinet was in our head, even the names of mayors, everything was in our head like in a computer, everything which was happening was in our heads"

(Mama Timu 2011:56)

It once more brings to light that the narrative of fighting for independence was very important to the elite then. It was almost indoctrinated at schools thereby informing memories of that time up to now. The new powers derived their legitimization of ruling from that discourse. The younger generation is being educated in a different political background thus forms other memories of those times.

When asked whether CCM takes a conscious effort in retaining that memory connected with Kariakoo a representative argued that there is no such specific policy.

"It's just a matter of government policy; it doesn't belong to any party policy that Kariakoo has to be this way or that way, no way."

(CCM 2011:35)

Since CCM is forming the majority government by itself, government policy could include that. Regulations, however, point rather to it fostering the restructuring of the area. Only the house where TANU was founded is being protected and there to remain as a heritage.

8.2.3 Whom does Kariakoo belong to?

The interviews included an explicit question as to whom people would Kariakoo attribute to, who they see as the legitimate 'wenyeji' of the area. There are two major narratives, the one again going back to those who have been there for a longer time and supposedly built it up. Their ancestry is often traced to nearby coastal areas of Dar es Salaam and their forefathers being among the first residents of the city.

"The indigenous are the Wazaramo, Wandengereko, especially Wazaramo, who are the ones truly originating from Kariakoo."

(Retail trader 2010:19)

"Now Kariakoo, historically, this place belongs to the wazaramo"

(Mwenyekiti Kaskazini 2010:30)

"There is a mixture, but earlier the natives were the Wazaramo and Wandengereko, but we had also Wamanyema here, [...] But the 'wenyeji' of this city are the coastal people."

(Baba Abdul 2010:32)

"Ethnic groups that lived there were mixed. Wanyamwezi, wazaramo were like the 'wenyeji' as it is said by people. Wanyamwezi, Wangoni, Wandengereko lived there too. Wakwere, we all lived there. There was no distinguished ethnic group. But they say this area is originally owned by Wazaramo."

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:17)

"most of them were immigrants who made up Kariakoo, they built houses there and made up Kariakoo"

(Mzee Mfalme 2011:20)

The ethnic group of 'Wazaramo' that is most often mentioned as being the 'true' inhabitants of Kariakoo used to live in villages nearby Dar es Salaam before its setup. So they were among the first to migrate to the city for work. With the expansion of Dar es Salaam, some land that may be seen as 'Wazaramo' settlement area has been incorporated into the city. But it is also conceded that Dar es Salaam or Kariakoo were not villages in the realm of ethnic authorities. A mixture of people from throughout the territory of the Tanganyika colony has lived there all the time. With the increase of rural-urban migration and thereby raised mixture of ethnicities in Dar es Salaam and Kariakoo these ascriptions are more and more renounced in favour of a more open attribution for all Tanzanian citizens. Since it is defined as urban every citizen has a right to claim it as theirs.

"Aah Kariakoo is the area of mixed races and people, but if you go out, they will say Kariakoo belongs to the Wazaramo, the Shirazi [...] but Kariakoo is the place for the mixed races and people."

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:31)

"That's why if you took to Dar es Salaam those early years they would say that this is for Wazaramo. But [...] you can say this Dar es Salaam is cosmopolitan now because there is no tribe which can tell you that this is area for Wazaramo and this is area for Wandengereko or this is the area for the Wagwere because all of them, when they are dying, when they are dead, they are just being taken to their original homes, so Dar es Salaam is cosmopolitan, it doesn't belong to any group of indigenous people. [...] Dar es Salaam now is cosmopolitan; there is no tribe which can say they are the indigenous people of Dar es Salaam. Because you can ask them if you are saying you are Dar es Salaam people, where is your origin, Posta, Posta Mpya? (laughs) or where, Kariakoo Market (laughs) so there is now Dar es Salaam is cosmopolitan it's anybody's land, especially the Tanzanians. Once we are Tanzanians then you got all the rights here, nobody can say this is our area."

(CCM 2011:8, 15)

"Kariakoo was the place for 'waafrika', different ethnic groups. You cannot say it was for this or that [ethnic] group."

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:43)

The argumentation in this case though is not on everybody's right to the city but that none of them can really base an ancestry in the urban space. All of the ethnic lineages are supposedly based in rural places from which the urban area is exempt. This rural self-inscription for being 'African' complies with colonial attributions. An

urban ancestry for an 'African' is negated. All of the urban residents are supposedly based on immigration from their ethnically inscribed territory.

"Kariakoo is the place of the village which is in Dar es Salaam region, and the indigenous of this place are all the tribes all together. There is no particular person who belongs to this place. You can hear that Dar es Salaam belongs to the wazaramo, because Pwani region is the place of the wazaramo. But in reality Pwani region is the place of the mixed groups, most of them from upcountry. From my perspective, and the knowledge and the history that I learnt from school and till what I know now. The wazaramo who are the 'wenyeji' of these areas are not the real 'wenyeji' of Kariakoo."

(Mzee Mfalme 2011:18)

"You know those days, people came from everywhere, and you know it was everywhere only bush. Eeh! Then came here two, three people and built something till we had a big city. And people spread everywhere and they started saying, well this is Kariakoo, this is so and so..., but you cannot say that this city belongs to someone. No, the city belongs to everybody. Our forefathers I think, they came in small groups but they kept on increasing to make the city."

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:45)

To conclude this chapter on constructions of community I will refer again to why this discussion is important for the thesis. The collective memories that are investigated here are all assumed to be based on a community that informs and retains them. Therefore, in order to position the statements made about the materialization of memories and gentrification processes it is necessary to analyse how respondents construct the groups for whom they are supposedly speaking. This is especially necessary when collective memories are not only informed by what one has lived through but stories that are retold many times. Gradually parts will be excluded and this may significantly affect how group boundaries and relations are perceived. Places may then be claimed for a specific group that in this imagined composition never existed.

"Collective memories are not just memories shared when people interact. They can also be containers of stories that one personally has not lived through. With such containers, a community positions itself and sets boundaries, especially when what is cherished is related to a place that the group has lived with for a long time"

(Blokland 2009:1594)

8.3 Colonial memory in decline

The following part of the interview findings centres on collective memories about colonialism in Kariakoo. The approach to get to this topic for the most part was through the materialization of memories, thus much of the conversations deals with the built environment of Kariakoo and its spatial layout. Whether it is specific buildings, different forms of housing or place names, all of those carry memories for specific groups. How they relate to places forms an integral part of memory. Thus I will show how some of the communities described before deal with colonial memory within the space of Kariakoo. It is mostly the long-term residents on the one hand and 'newcomers' on the other that will be referred to. While the former are often able to relate the area's history with colonialism, most of the latter are not. So with the gentrification process memories might also be lost since groups fade away. It is also an age effect because a few interviewees still have personal memories about life in Kariakoo during colonialism while others were born long time after independence and even later on in their lives moved to Kariakoo. What constitutes Kariakoo is defined quite differently. Its connections with diverse socio-political periods then of course are also perceived in a different manner.

When questioning people in Kariakoo about the past I encountered the following picture: Most young said there isn't any colonial heritage and many of them weren't aware of the past of certain places and spaces. Asked about heritage of colonialism in Kariakoo a young businessman replied *"If there is one I have not been aware of it."* (Retail trader 2010:13) One medium aged woman, who had quite extensive knowledge of the early independence period, states that *"most of the new people are the generation which has come after 'uhuru', so it is not easy to know, to remember"* (Mama Timu 2011:53).

For the understanding of the following analysis it is necessary to introduce one Kiswahili term here. 'Heritage' was translated as *'urithi'* in the interview guide. However, as the reader should have become aware of at this point, most Kiswahili vocabulary has a diverse array of meanings in other languages such as English. So to correctly translate interview transcripts is only possible with considerable loss of

meaning. In order to avoid that in those instances where a term is central for the analysis I resort to using the Kiswahili one. The term *'urithi'* carries the meanings of 'legacy' or 'heritage' but also 'inheritance', 'bequest' or 'succession'⁵⁸. The more abstract notions that were targeted in interviews coincide with very factual understandings. For the associated verb *'-rithi'* the meanings 'succeed', 'inherit' and 'fall heir to' are found in the same dictionary⁵⁹. All of those point to the meaning of *'urithi'* that wasn't specifically targeted in the research but also cannot be fully dissociated. Reframing the questions of the interview guide in the course of the conversation thus may have led respondents to assume a different meaning than intended. Whether this was the case or people anyhow replied to the notion they understood from the context is difficult to judge. One respondent made me aware of this issue when he clearly pointed out his understanding as I assumed to be talking about the more abstract notion.

"No, no! The parents, that's what 'urithi' means. It means the owner is dead and we inherited it. He must be dead in order for other people to inherit the house. And we prepare the inheritance to remember their death."

(Mzee Mfalme 2011:47)

Since all of its understandings are intricately intertwined to untangle them by translation cannot resolve this issue. Therefore I will keep *'urithi'* when it was uttered.

The above quote and understanding of *'urithi'* already point to the materialization of memory. It is buildings that produce associations with socio-political contexts such as colonialism that I investigate. This argument will continue throughout this chapter.

First and foremost when asking about colonial heritage people usually referred to the central business district (CBD) where (former colonial) administration buildings are located. Most people did not think of colonial heritage to exist in Kariakoo, because the place where it is materialized in buildings that explicitly carry that meaning is in the city centre at the harbour front. Mostly infrastructure buildings were

⁵⁸ According to the Online Swahili-English dictionary 'Kamusi Project'
<http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=urithi> (6.3.2012)

⁵⁹ <http://www.kamusi.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=rithi> (6.3.2012)

mentioned such as hospitals, railway stations, churches, bridges, markets, the City Council etc., many of which still retain their functions.

"Ahah, here in Kariakoo now I don't think there is any 'urithi', 'urithi' from colonial? You find some things which are in front like the railway station is from Germans, even when you come to the city council."

(Mama Timu 2011:95)

In Kariakoo colonial heritage is not materialized in the same way. It is not certain buildings that can be singled out and pointed at. Kariakoo does not boast the architecture that reveals its colonial background. Most of the institutions where the urban population had to face the repressive colonial regime were centred in what is now termed CBD. It is rather the overall layout of Kariakoo, its intended segregation from the rest of the city and special regulations as the buildings ordinance that form the colonial heritage in Kariakoo (Brennan 2007; Kironde 2007). All of them are materialized in the spatial structure of Kariakoo yet on a less visible scale thus it needed more in-depth investigation to get to that point. The term '*urithi*' provoked the association with buildings for most interviewees.

"The only colonial 'urithi' that remains is maybe the church, because it is the one built by foreigners."

(Catechist 2011:26)

Colonial heritage in the eyes of Kariakoo residents is what has been left by the colonising forces. Instead other buildings that were erected during that time and shaped by colonialism's regulations are nevertheless considered as work of the people. They may have been restricted to that area but what was built there was done by them. The colonial government didn't provide them with housing; people had to struggle to achieve that. One resident refers to the market in the centre of Kariakoo that initially was set up during colonialism yet a new building has been erected after independence.

"I myself I don't see a thing that the colonial people have built here that we can be proud of, that the colonialists have left us,[...] big houses they were only few, now we have more big houses, there is nothing that they have left that we can say this was for the contribution of Kariakoo, the market with metal sheets was demolished and people from Israel came to build the new market."

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:49)

“Colonial buildings are not here. There are three buildings. They are guessed to be owned by colonialists but they are not. The Rupia’s building is also not from colonials. It’s from [John] Rupia⁶⁰ himself; this one was the first to be built. It has been there for quite some time now at the roundabout. But it was built during colonial era; there are a lot of the kinds.”

(Retail trader 2010:15)

Most of Kariakoo residents were rather poor so a majority of the houses they set up were of low quality materials. Probably drawing on this in comparison with buildings by the colonial government of more durable materials a worker in Kariakoo uttered:

“Maybe we can take an example from colonial people, the memory that they left to us are buildings.”

(Cook 2011:35)

It also explicitly states how memory is expressed by buildings. He further on emphasizes this argument when asked about heritage that remains from other periods, like ‘ujamaa’.

“If they left something it was that time of ‘ujamaa’, maybe others, things like buildings, that is what they left.”

(Cook 2011:40)

The interviews did not stop just asking to describe collective memories but how in the respondent’s opinion best to deal with the ‘urithi’ associated with it. Since memory is attached to the spatial surroundings urban restructuring affects memory. Not only specific buildings by the colonial regime embody collective memory. For the inhabitants of Kariakoo that depicted a close-knit community the Swahili type housing structure carries that memory. So the destruction of this architectural feature already carries a large part of the meaning in the loss of memory and bond of the community.

No nothing will be left, it’s not like something has remained but nothing will remain, all these houses have been demolished.

(Mzee Mfalme 2011:45)

There is a fear to lose ‘urithi’ that can be passed on to the next generation. Memories can thus not be held alive because very little remains that can remind people of

⁶⁰ A well-known businessman in Dar es Salaam who helped finance TANU and its struggle for independence

it. Many have inherited their places in Kariakoo, grew up there and would have liked to pass it on to their children, but now it is being demolished. That's why some still hold on to it as long as they can.

„These changes give people the feeling of inferiority and you know if you get money it's not like your house, it's only few of them who have the strong spirit of not selling their places. For instance myself, I cannot sell this house, I will ask for the contract“

(Mwenyekiti Kaskazini 2010:28)

This fear of the loss of memory is aggravated by the fact that it is not followed by a new generation, whom they feel connected to, which profits from the gentrification. A new community similar like the one that is portrayed in their memory will not be constituted in Kariakoo, because *“every house will be destroyed to build a shop”* (Bookseller 2010:7). The gentrification process stands in for a change in overall lifestyle where it is difficult to find a place for the old one to be carried on. This will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 0.

To go further beyond talking about certain buildings but also the overall spatial layout was more complicated to achieve. Yet, when that point was reached, colonial 'racial' segregation was a reference point. Colonial control of movement of the 'African' population was addressed by several of the elder people. Thus the assumed memories associated with Kariakoo were indeed affirmed. It was such a central factor in society, that it is also known to younger generations, although not in so much detail.

“We used to be given a plan on which areas we can go, for example you could not cross from here to Lumumba [Street] to go to town”

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:16)

“The city centre long time was called 'uzunguni', there used to live only 'wazungu', people like you, and also people who were working with the Government, for the 'wananchi'⁶¹ Kariakoo was their place.”

(Mama Timu 2011:24)

“In 'uzunguni' lived only 'wazungu', it was also the same in 'uhindini', 'waswahili' were there only to work. Waswahili lived only in Kariakoo and Kisutu. We lived like this; we did not mix with other groups.”

⁶¹ 'wananchi' may mean either 'citizen' or 'inhabitant'

<http://www.kamusiproject.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=wananchi> (29.3.2012)

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:15)

“Yes, this was the colonial system called „divide and rule” and it is known everywhere in the country. Here where we are it was called ‘uswahilini’, now Karikaoo, [...] we can say it is ‘ubaguzi’. Talking about 60 years ago, it was impossible for an African to go to the city centre.”

(Mzee Mfalme 2011:27)

Also this ‘racial’ component coinciding with class situations never fully disappeared up to this day. The majority of the poor are still ‘Africans’ and most ‘Europeans’ living there have similar high positions than they had then. Interviewees, however, were cautious to blame it on politics. This might be an interview effect of a white researcher posing that question, in the sense of being metonymic with the group of colonialists who enforced the segregation.

Lumumba Street, where Kariakoo borders Mnazi Mmoja, is often mentioned as line of separation. The setup of the ‘cordon sanitaire’ lies in a too distant past for the interviewees to remember the clearing of houses associated with it. However, restriction of movement along this spatial border has not fully. The inscriptions of those places in Dar es Salaam, which are owed to colonial segregation, are among the most vivid and longstanding memories about colonialism. While all these areas have changed their face somewhat since then, different developments have taken place in them and the borders are still there. Mnazi Mmoja still is an obstacle for movement in the city since there are few possibilities to cross it since the grounds have been fenced.

When interviewees talked about ‘ubaguzi’ it was a quite coherent narrative of colonial exclusion. As argued by Smiley (2009) segregation is by no means gone in Dar es Salaam. It may not be as straight-forward on ‘racial’ ascriptions as during colonial times yet the patterns have only slightly altered.

On rare occasions interviewees opened up to talk about repression by the colonial regime. When I explicitly asked whether there wasn’t a bad side of colonialism after one woman related how well colonialists’ buildings withstood time (as remarked above) she gave the following answer:

“There are bad things which they have done like to slave our elders, they used to take our elders hostage; they took them to work with little salary. [...] To take them to the world wars, to fight with other people,

to fight for other people's rights without a benefit for us, they used to disrespect, like a colonial person can just tell them to carry him."

(Mama Timu 2011:117–118)

A lot of things came up here, all relating to how people were restricted in their personal freedoms. Slavery is one among a variety of forms that ultimately can be traced back to the disrespect of 'African' people. Fighting for other people's rights in World War Two while being subjected to colonial rule connects in a peculiar way to Kariakoo, because the area derives its name from the colonial military subjects that were stationed right in its centre.

From further statements in that direction it can also be noticed how the situatedness in the interview situation most likely affected what was being told about colonialism:

"It was a struggle starting from the head tax up to the lapidary arrest of the people, but there was also some stuff which had benefit to us that the colonial people have brought"

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:19)

While he clearly knows things about colonialism that he would criticize he ends the sentence with vague benefits that colonialism brought. It was quite to the start of the interview so probably he was still trying to get a grip on the situation. After this sentence he actually continues with the struggle of black people during colonialism, the negation of rights for them and use of law and force by colonial authorities to restrict Africans. But I read in it that had he faced someone more easily to regard on his side he would have elaborated more on this. Later on in the interview the degradation of Africans was also transmitted through structural inequalities and limited possibilities as exemplified in the following statement.

"[T]hey [Colonialists, author's comment] did not build schools, they did not want the Africans to be educated, this is how it was under British colony, people got education with rules"

(Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:54)

Overall, the discourse on colonial repression was short; the approach to memory through its materialization was much easier. They did not need to divulge their personal view that much but could more easily refer to what is there in front of everybody's eyes. The few stories that were told were not specifically connected with life

in Kariakoo although it must have influenced it. In contrast, the memory that was recollected by thinking of spatial features, revealed much of the exclusion faced by 'Africans' in the colonial system.

Rarely it was expressed what respondents think should be done about the heritage and memories of the country. Most of the time references were made to 'ujamaa' by people who were politically engaged in those years. Memory politics was an important issue then, as explained in chapter 8.2.2. In a way a continuation of what was then done is preferred. Yet, no real dialogue with the younger generations about their thoughts towards the topic seems to take place. The connection to the present socio-political conditions seems to be missing.

"I think that the political and government leaders they must be at the frontline, it is good to involve in these things, they must come out. If it is possible they must do it like the way we used to do it long time ago, they must put a syllabus to educate students and children about the 'urithi' that we have got from former times. The history must be first; at schools must be that complete syllabus."

(Mama Timu 2011:108)

One woman, who from her youth was active in TANU/CCM and thus deeply shaped by the 'ujamaa' period and politics, calls for increased engagement with the country's history. For her it's the government which should inform people about the heritage, implicitly assuming the government to be one which is directly rooted in anticolonial struggle. Above she has already been quoted on how schools in the 60s influenced political thought. The perceived lack of knowledge and meanings central for her understanding of Tanzania are a main issue between generations.

However, multiple and diverse histories might be difficult to convey in the way she proposes. And the question of integrating the experiences of the younger generation remains open. We are taken back here to the discourse of history versus memory where the school system is more likely to stand on the side of the former. Hegemonic memories could thus be further reinforced.

One building that most likely will be preserved by government and/or CCM voices is the DDC social hall in the centre of Kariakoo. It was set up as part of ‘ujamaa’ programmes at the same time with the new market in the early 1970s. The manager there was very cooperative and laid out the history of the institution and how it was embedded in the system of ‘ujamaa’ that wanted to control rural populations coming to trade in the market in order not to create an influx of people moving to the city.

“The major aim of establishing DDC social hall was to entertain those formers who come to sell their goods to this Kairakoo market, that was the major aim, because they thought these people should not hang around, they should have somewhere to sit waiting for their goods to be sold. [...] The other thing as I told you was to entertain leaders and other residents who were inside and outside the Dar es Salaam city.”

(DDC 2011:30)

The function has since changed and, while maybe still the biggest restaurant/bar within Kariakoo, it is now rather an isle of peace where one can sit down and relax amid the hectic going on outside in the streets. In the 1970s when the market and DDC were built they were imposing structures, by far taller and bigger than the surrounding housing structures clearly marking that this was the focal point of the area. ‘Mageuzi’ has altered this materially and symbolically. The function of both market and social hall have diminished and/or changed and the buildings are now overlooked by newer much higher ones so that now the three storey building seems quite small. As the manager so aptly expressed to me *“we looked down on them, now they look down on us”* (DDC 2011:after recording). Asked about preservation of DDC building the manager replied the following:

“Ah, those should be our forefathers but the coming generation, when they think this structure doesn’t fit people of nowadays, they can demolish it. But if you want to demolish you have to get permission from city council [...] And then it’s a symbol. It’s a symbol. [...] They might refuse. They want their symbol to remain.”

(DDC 2011:57)

Supposedly it is those who built it that should fight for their heritage while it may be legitimate for the younger generation to want to change things, to ‘modernize’ it. But also it is recognized to be a symbol that is protected by institutions and those

for whom the symbol stands legitimately will refuse to it being altered. So we see that heritage protection does not only depend on whether people have memory attached to it but also in which positions those people are. How powerful these groups or institutions are plays a major role (cf. Bissell 2007:30ff on transnational players entering such discourses).

An interesting anecdote is the prominent story of how Stanley found Livingstone which is wrongly relocated to Kariakoo.

“For a long time it has been called Livingstone [Street] because there was a ‘mzungu’ who came here, I don’t know him but it was Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Stanley, they were one of the first ‘wazungu’, they met in this street”

(Mzee Abdallah 2011:21)

Since there used to be a Livingstone and Stanley Street in Kariakoo that intersected the encounter of these two men is assumed to have taken place at that point. The man who related this story had a shop on Livingstone Street where the interview took place, while Stanley Street has since been renamed. How markers such as street names give meaning is thus emphasized since the actual encounter of these two men took place more than a thousand kilometres away at a time when Dar es Salaam had just been founded by the Sultan of Zanzibar. But these names are so prominent that another woman, who grew up in Kariakoo, believes that white men lived there, recalling the names.

“Yes, they used to live in these streets, that is why the streets were also named after them. It’s because of ‘uhuru’⁶² that we changed these names on our own. [...] I think it was during colonialism that white men used to live here. Those who I can still remember are Livingstone and Aggrey.”

(Binti Mwinyi 2011:3)

While the street names she remembers actually haven’t been renamed many others have been changed from coloniser’s names to Kiswahili names of regions and tribes of Tanzania as well as famous leaders of anticolonial struggles in various African countries, such as Patrice Lumumba, Samora Machel and Kwame Nkrumah. It signi-

⁶² Most often used to mean ‘independence’, it also carries the meanings of ‘freedom’ and ‘liberty’
<http://www.kamusiproject.org/en/lookup/sw?Word=uhuru> (29.3.2012)

fies how place names can also inform the meaning and memory of spaces. Changing those names is a practice of getting rid of colonial heritage and inscription, instead promoting the 'local' heritage. Therefore the place name of Kariakoo itself is interesting to investigate when we talk about collective memory of this place. In chapter 8.3.1 this is discussed in detail.

8.3.1 The history associated with the name of Kariakoo

Most place names in Tanzania and Dar es Salaam derive from what was to be found there and are in Kiswahili (cf. Polomack 2006:137f). That the name of Kariakoo derives from an English word and more so, from a military force that was part of the colonization efforts is thus significant (cf. chapter 5.1). It fits with the setting up and structuring of the quarter by colonial policies. Therefore I assume that the remembrance of how the name came about may also tell something about colonial memory in the area.

While the word 'carrier corps' in some corrupted form (e.g. 'carrier cork') is known by many people the meaning less often. Some do recall that there was a centre associated with the war, like a depot. Others refer to things being carried but without a clear connection to what. And in most cases some machine for carrying is assumed but the meaning of 'carrier' being 'Africans' working as porters for the colonial army rarely ever is remembered. Rather the knowledge comes from historians, sometimes internationally, but does not seem to be deeply embedded in collective memories.

"That I also found out from listening to the radio BBC; they are the ones who have said that, I got to know that and people used to say that it came from the Europeans 'carrier cork' [sic], people did not know that, they say Kariakoo."

(Mama Timu 2011:134)

A market vendor, working at the very spot where the carrier corps was stationed, was the only interviewee, who could relate the place's history:

"This market, the history of this place, was a building for the army who were walking on foot, [...] they used to be called carrier corps, those army people who used to fight at the time that Germans and British used to fight, they used to be called carrier corps, when they came back

from fighting they rested here, that name of carrier corps, people could not pronounce it, and they said Kariakoo, after they left, the building was turned into a market"

(Market Vendor 2010:8–9)

Another respondent talked about prisoners of the war that were held captive there in a similar way as slaves. This links to what was mentioned before about colonial repression, that 'Africans' were forced to fight for European forces and most likely were also the ones to end up as captives. My thesis is that because of the long time that has passed since military was stationed there and the place now has been associated with market activity for about 90 years the materialization of this memory has faded. The duration exceeds the 'floating gap' outlined in chapter 2.1.1 thus its forgetting can easily be understood. Also because it vanished long before the independence struggle started to institutionalize. A new meaning has been given to the place that overwrote the former. The materialization of another association may facilitate forgetting.

One interesting different interpretation of 'Kariakoo' shall be mentioned here that was delivered by the two 'wahindi' I talked to. They explained that 'karia' is an expression used by 'wahindi' in Zanzibar, who often mix Kiswahili and Hindi languages, meaning 'waswahili' people.

"You know in Zanzibar they say 'waswahili' are 'karia', and 'koo' is throat. So an Indian was choked by the throat and he came to tell the story about Karia Koo, that means the 'waswahili' have robbed me. Karia is 'waswahili' and koo 'has robbed me'. [...] And after that came this name Kariakoo, I have heard so."

(Adash 2011:48)

The origin of this story cannot be verified as opposed to the historical account related to the above accounts. Most likely this interpretation came after the name had already been established. It shows however that within different groups certain narratives are known that others don't know about. Such stories can be established when the history of colonial military occupation is dismissed.

It could be argued that 'Kariakoo', as it is one quarter that every inhabitant of Dar es Salaam and further afield knows, has gotten a new meaning. It has been incorporated into Kiswahili and its English origins are hardly known. 'Kariakoo' doesn't need

a meaning in Kiswahili that can be traced back to some origins. Everybody has a picture in mind when talking about it and usually it is that urban bustle that people think of for contemporary Kariakoo. So the place has a new collective memory inscribed, that may overwrite both colonial and *'ujamaa'* memories attached to it.

8.3.2 The separation line of Mnazi Mmoja

As laid out in chapter 4.2, Mnazi Mmoja grounds were initially cleared of residential settlements to form a *'cordon sanitaire'* between the segregated living areas of *'Indians'* and *'Natives'*. It was not intended to be a free public park for the neighbourhood but had the purpose to clearly demarcate the racially defined zones. It also served to control the African population since it was easy to restrict the movement of Africans living in the area towards the rest of the city. This is why the question of memory about Mnazi Mmoja was specifically posed in each interview. However, as with the name of Kariakoo, few remember its colonial heritage. Instead, it has received a new inscription since independence that has reclaimed the memory associated with Mnazi Mmoja. Most of the time the celebration of national public holidays, like Independence Day, was associated with the memory of the area. The demarcation line nevertheless is so visible that it is noted by many with different structures on both sides of it.

"Mnazi Mmoja is a sort of a reserved area for [...] any demarcation line between that town, city centre and this part of Kariakoo you see there is a sort of line drawn between but the open space has been used for so many events."

(Memon Jamat 2011:44)

However rarely people do recall that this line also went hand in hand with restriction of movement before independence. If so, the place names of *'uhindini'* and *'uzunguni'* carry most of the meaning for segregation, whereas Mnazi Mmoja itself is just an in-between area that is not attributed to any of the segregated communities.

"Eeh, in former times it was not possible to cross there to 'Uhindini' or 'Uzunguni'"

(Mzee kwa Best 2011:26)

Restriction of movement in the city for 'Africans' was mentioned a few times but usually not in connection with the name of Mnazi Mmoja. That it formed the border is never disputed but that there is a large open space within the inner city seems to bear more significance and memory has been redirected.

"it was the place where people celebrate holidays, there were swings of every kind going around, some of horses, I was very small, my sister used to take me over there, at the holidays they took me there and I went around and we played and I went back home, there it was a very happy place for the holidays"

(Market Vendor 2010:39)

Most likely it was a conscious effort to make use of that place. It is also directly in front of the TANU/CCM office that had been established prior to independence.

"That area was left for the memory, that is why you find traditional dancing pictures over there, the celebrations of the beginning of 'uhuru' started over there, citizens used to celebrate the memory of sabasaba⁶³ over there."

(Cook 2011:49)

I could not find out whether the independence ceremony took place at that space to address the issue of segregation and reclaim it symbolically or it just happened because it was the only free space around available. In any case it succeeded in re-defining Mnazi Mmoja as most of the time it is not referred as a point of segregation but as the space for independence celebrations as well as other political and religious gatherings. The erection of the 'Uhuru Torch' clearly marks this and also the graves from those who died during the World Wars are in this line of being a place for memory. Even proposed plans to build the parliament of Tanzania in this space can be found before the capital was shifted to Dodoma (cf. Brennan and Burton 2007b:52).

However again it has become a border line because most of it is fenced and it is not a free public space anymore. There are only few roads and ways to cross Mnazi Mmoja from Kariakoo towards the city. Rather it is threatened by development being a large plot that is very centrally located and so far mostly 'undeveloped'.

⁶³ Sabasaba, literally seven-seven, refers to the founding date of TANU on 7 July 1954 in the building mentioned before on Lumumba Street directly opposite Mnazi Mmoja

To conclude this chapter I want to emphasize again that the background of changing conditions may play an important part in what and how people remember. If there wouldn't be such an all-encompassing change of structures in Kariakoo how would people differentiate the present from the past. The urban restructuring of the material form acts as a marker for people's memories, as is evidenced by the interview responses. Probably this new marker obstructs the view to other older markers of change such as from colonial to postcolonial or from early independence to 'ujamaa'. This is one possible thesis why colonial memory plays only a minor role in the current discourse. Since memories are always reconstructed within the present conditions the changes that took place some time ago might not seem as significant as the changes affecting people at that moment. Therefore I will continue the discussion by looking at a possible hegemonic perspective in Tanzania's contemporary society that shapes the view towards urban restructuring. It is what is commonly termed as 'development' and interview findings can support this thesis as will be shown.

8.4 'Development' as hegemonic perspective

The viewpoint of 'development' seems to be the most dominant for the people I interacted with. The common thought sounds something like 'Why would one uphold a dilapidated low-quality housing structure when there's the chance of development by erecting something new.' Often implicitly expressed is that transforming the neighbourhood into something positive is the most visible positive symbol that can be given for Dar es Salaam's development.

"Well Kariakoo was not so much developed and ah ... very very limited people were staying in those small huts or these small buildings"

(Memon Jamat 2011:13)

"Now there are changes, long time there were normal houses, you see, but the big buildings have spread around, those multi-storey ones, so you find that the situation which was there earlier is different from now, many shops, in every street you will find some stores, it differs from former times, [...] but now everywhere there are shops even at the mission quarters, so nowadays we have development."

(Cook 2011:30)

This change is fuelled by high and rising prices for rent, especially for business space, which were indicated at about 1.2 million TZS or 300 US Dollars per month for small front side shop spaces (Mwenyekiti Mashariki 2010:72; Bookseller 2010:13). Many of the long-time residents move away in this process. Some move to peripheral areas of the city, other go to rural areas altogether, while some move temporarily during the construction process and then return to live in a 'modern' building at their old plot.

All those who voiced disagreement with the ongoing changes had been living the majority of their life in Kariakoo, many of whom had inherited their house from their parents. They are the ones who had not subdued to the process of gentrification while most of them had already been surrounded by high-rise structures from whose balconies people could look down into their courtyard, formerly protected from the outside view. These are signs of fear of a loss of memory that counters the development perspective that is so prevalent.

The process of on-going restructurings is not led by a fixed development plan by any government institution. What is being told is quite consistent and has also been recorded in scientific studies (Moshi 2009; Lupala 2002:92–124), yet many details remain hidden. Many people who own property in Kariakoo do not have the means to change the buildings themselves (Binti Mwinyi 2011:92). Most of them acquired the plots long time ago at low cost or probably inherited it (cf. Kironde 2000:160). Also the houses they built were cheap. So now the land value by far exceeds the value of the structures built on them. Therefore how changes are taking place is either through selling the land or entering into an agreement with an investor.

"These big people come with their money and say I want to hire your area, I'm going to build a business centre, I'll use it for ten years, that house will cost me 1,5 billion [Tanzania shillings], I'm not paying you money for this rent but you and me we have to sign an agreement I'll give you two shops which people can hire and each shop costs about 600.000 per month so that you can get 1,2 million every month which you are not getting today"

(CCM 2011:37)

Of those usually there are two forms that are differentiated: cooperation and contract (Mzee kwa Best 2011:9; Moshi 2009:135), whereby the first is used when the

investor and plot owner share the building thus are both owners and the second when an investor erects something and gets his investment returned through acquiring the rent of a certain period, e.g. ten years, after which the former owner regains full property rights of land and building. The second is a way for people to actually retain their rights and is preferred by people who identify with the area. In order to allow more people to stay in their home area one chairman of local government called upon the government to assist residents in receiving credits to upgrade the area themselves as desired by the city council.

„now the time has reached for the government to think about this, that people need to get contracts or good credits. So that they can remain here, some of them would like to stay here but it's because of money, they sell these places because they cannot build these multi-storey houses. And it is most likely that later there won't be anymore who were born here, there will be only 'wageni', because, most of the people buying these houses are 'wageni', 'waarabu', 'wahindi' and 'wachina', therefore there is a danger that Kariakoo will only be inhabited by 'wageni' rather than 'wenyeji'”

(Mwenyekiti Kaskazini 2010:28)

So there are indeed concerns that people are driven away from their home area. It is a very strong narrative that it is wealthy *'wageni'* who are the ones bringing about the change. Implicitly, then, *'Africans'*, sometimes narrower *'wazaramo'* or *'coastal people'*, are the supposed locals of Kariakoo that are economically driven away. Although many of those *'wageni'* are most likely Tanzanian citizens (*"wageni from upcountry"* Bookseller 2010:10) *'wahindi'* and *'waarabu'* are to be regarded as outsiders in Kariakoo from this perspective. But this might also be a mix-up of class divisions as Kariakoo may be seen as the residence of a working class that is bought up by a capitalist class.

While the changes are mostly attributed to *'modern'* houses being erected and *'wageni'* moving to the area, the overall changes of society are blanked out. *'Losses'* are therefore emphasized while *'gains'* remain rather hidden. The feeling that everything changed and the community ties are thus lost stand in the foreground (Blokland 2001:274). People associate the new forms of housing with *'western'* cultures. *"up here at the houses with floors there stay white people only"* (Mama Timu 2011:82). Even if it is not true that it is *'white'* people who live in these houses those

who do live there can be said to live a 'western' lifestyle, which is portrayed through popular media.

"Kariakoo of today has gained a lot; it has occupied the European system."

(Retail trader 2010:3)

Generally the restructuring seems to be a process driven by individual action, there is no agency that centrally directs these processes. It is investors, who deem it profitable to build houses in that area, which meet land owners that greatly benefit by the increased values of their plots and need assistance from other people to be able to draw from these resources. What results is a quite scattered development since most of the time small single plots are used to erect taller buildings. It bears the danger of over-densifying the area without any open spaces left but only narrow roads in between that are incapable of providing for the upgraded transportation needs. Many other infrastructures such as sewage and water may also meet their limits soon.

Apart from all the 'personal' efforts going into the restructuring of Kariakoo, the government also plays a certain role. For example through the National Housing Corporation (NHC), who owns some plots and buildings in Kariakoo. They used to conduct business very much the same way as private owners, through investment partnerships. So it is a sign of how inactive and incapacitated the planning department is. Since a minister said the NHC should acquire the loans themselves development on their side has significantly slowed down (CCM 2011:27). While the city council is not itself very active in restructuring Kariakoo, legislation it has passed indicates the way that it wants the area to take. Old housing structures are prevented from being renovated (Mama Timu 2011:84, 87; Market Vendor 2010:34; Bookseller 2010:22; Moshi 2009:98); construction certificates for major repairs are not issued. Instead the owners are forced to contribute to the densification of the area by increasing the plot use ratio, which for Swahili style houses is rather low. Effectively multi-storey houses should be built.

Liberalization and structural adjustment plans had the effect of a largely uncontrolled capitalist expansion. Investors coming in can gain quite high profits yet for

the growing majority of the city stable income is difficult to be found. But the narratives of difficulty of urban life and of changing urban life were almost always separated along lines of newer and older residents.

"Profit is for now only to the citizens who do business, you see, they get much business [...] Negative effects are to the people, money became hard to get and employment [...] here in Kariakoo, employment is very hard to get, you have to study first, without that you don't get."

(Cook 2011:31–33)

8.4.1 The new Kariakoo – driving force of Bongoland

Kariakoo has changed its face and according to some is the heart of the continuously growing metropolis that is Dar es Salaam.

"Kariakoo you have to know that everyone wants to come here, without getting here someone feels like he/she was not in Dar es Salaam."

(Barbershop 2010:37)

This is emphasized by stating that people of (almost) all classes frequent the area. It is not an exclusivist city centre like the CBD where prices are considerably higher still. However upper classes also do not avoid the area since many necessities can be found there that they demand.

"Kariakoo is the place of all the people, poor and rich, they must come to Kariakoo, you can say that at Posta there go people who are afraid of Kariakoo, because of the old ideology that when I go to Kariakoo it is rough and there is no parking, but for Kariakoo here is everyone even of low class comes here to Kariakoo."

(Barbershop 2010:36)

Many people are drawn to the area because things are cheaper there than in other places and also for the wide selection of goods that can be found in the area. Business is thriving despite increasing rents.

"Kariakoo rent is high, but business is there, so you're in equilibrium, there is no problem."

(Barbershop 2010:31)

This includes also higher income for people operating there; the above-quoted owner of a barbershop said he could raise his prices from 500 to 4000 Tanzania Shillings (although probably inflation has to be accounted for). The middle class of Tanzania thus may be invigorating Kariakoo. Perhaps this isn't all too new when one

looks at Kariakoo's history. However, an upward trend in income is noticeable and the overall changes taking place in society are most openly expressed in Kariakoo's development.

This includes many youth trying to seek their living in Kariakoo by selling a variety of goods on the street, popularly referred to as '*machinga*'⁶⁴. They occasionally get into conflict with police (Bookseller 2010:8, 12, 14) as the city tries to aim for a 'nice development' where customers are not 'disturbed' by uneducated youth, who are often suspected to engage in criminal acts. Over the last years several efforts have been made to relocate '*machinga*' to buildings that were built for them. But often they are too far away from the places of business thus not taking into account their needs. This is why these resettlements in most cases have not been successful. Also it goes hand in hand with control mechanisms through registration. As long as the underlying economic conditions remain unchanged such policies won't be able to alter the situation, like none of the other efforts by colonial and postcolonial governments to relocate people could.

The descriptions of residents and newcomers are also gendered. Residents are depicted as families with children, the women inhabiting the space. (Mostly male) 'newcomers' cannot fully appropriate the area by just doing their trade there without raising families as implicitly expressed in the statements by many inhabitants. While women also sell food on the streets and find work in various places young men dominate among the street hawkers. Gender thus implicitly plays an important role in defining who legitimately occupies Kariakoo (cf. Fortier 1999:47).

⁶⁴ "The term '*machinga*', the word most often used to refer to street vendors who walk the city's streets. The term itself is a reference to a small region in the southeastern part of the country that is the home area of many vendors. Regardless of where they come from, however, all those who pursue this profession are referred to as '*wamachinga*' (plural). Although the great majority of '*wamachinga*' are young men, there has been a steady increase in the number of women." (Moyer 2004:138)

As Depelchin argues development is the continuation of the civilization concept from colonialism only framed in different names. (cf. Depelchin 2005:128)

"No-one could deny the building of railways, the building of roads, hospitals and schools. They were all clear, visible, concrete signs of the contribution of colonial rule to promote its own interests. But if we decide that colonial rule began with the raiding for slaves, it then becomes much more difficult to tabulate the costs of destruction since what is destroyed is no longer visible but nurtured only in the memories of those who survived."

(Depelchin 2005:129)

This suggests the hypothesis that the significance of memories could be that they may uphold connections that are not accommodated in official history-writing, which is concentrated on dates of official rule. So when peoples' memories connect slavery before colonial rule to the same processes and/or group of people we have a clear sign of what that domination meant.

On the other hand, as we see that the 'development' discourse is perceived mostly in a positive light, it shows the intrusion and continued roles of domination by very much the same forces as colonialism. Yet it has adapted to the situation and become more subtle, thus more difficult to criticize and openly oppose.

9 Conclusions

This research was driven by the assumption that memories are materialized in urban structures. In line with findings from various scholars in the field (cf. e.g. Massey 1995; Mills 2006; Blokland 2001, 2009), the results of my research indicate that the spatial layout of Kariakoo as well as specific buildings are anchors for memories of diverse groups. There are hints that through urban restructuring the topography of memories may be altered or completely lost. Especially in cases of gentrification, where certain populations are displaced from a city quarter, this threat exists. Several of the long-time residents, who had a rather coherent picture of how the community of Kariakoo was in former times, expressed concerns about the loss of memories. This was often triggered by changes in the society of Kariakoo, whereby this group of residents that portrays itself as having been the majority population of Kariakoo, is now a minority due to new residents and highly increased commercial activity. Therefore the results of the research support the hypothesis that urban restructuring and gentrification processes may affect the vitality of collective memories, and may also change their frame.

Furthermore through this research it came to light that there are different viewpoints on the specific setting of Kariakoo. To the most extent the picture of Kariakoo being a rather quiet residential area until about 30 years ago and it since evolving into a business hub is shared. Some, however, pointed to the fact, that the market had already existed before independence. Thus it is not a completely new development for Kariakoo to draw the attention of people from other suburbs of Dar es Salaam. The residents interviewed demonstrate that not everybody has been displaced. While in public the picture of Kariakoo is clearly about business as it is frequented by tens of thousands of people daily. Yet in between, in some of the backyards and occasionally on the front 'baraza', people who hold up memories of past times can be found, looking at the fast pace of change around them.

Kariakoo is now claimed by a younger 'community' which describe it as their legitimate place for trade. These claims are based on its role within the spatial setting of Dar es Salaam that is very conducive to formal and informal economic activities.

Divergent views of belonging arise out of the fact that a majority of people working in the area does not live in Kariakoo. Many of them also do not have long-time connections with the area, since they moved to the city from other parts of Tanzania or also neighbouring countries. They do not have the same cultural values as older generations owing to differences in time and location of origin. But they appropriate the space of Kariakoo both in physical presence as well as in collective memories since the references to contemporary Kariakoo always contain business and shopping. Thus the research strengthens the hypothesis that residence may be a key factor in discourses about who belongs to a certain place and which memories will be articulated and shared.

A prominent and often expressed view towards the urban restructuring taking place in Kariakoo is that the district reflects the 'development' of Dar es Salaam, or possibly all of Tanzania. Increased business activity and 'modern' buildings signify this as no other place in the country. Therefore old structures should not stand in the way because their value has diminished. Also memories and values associated with them are often not known or shared by younger generations. Economic development seems to have more worth. I hypothesise that the economic system, which has changed from a socialist to a liberalized approach in Tanzania within the last thirty years, plays an important role in the perception of urban restructuring processes.

Between different generations in Kariakoo there is not very much exchange about memories, many social categories divide them. Fragmentation is a central aspect in Kariakoo, urban restructuring is not centrally coordinated, not done according to some pre-fabricated plan. Rather it is through an aggregation of people's actions and decisions that transformation is achieved. Investors come and seek opportunities for profit through real estate. Traders demand more commercial space on an individual basis but create rising prices, which fuels investors' interests. Land owners may or may not sell or 'develop' their plot according to their interests of either making money or preserving their heritage. Thus they are able to resist changes if they want to on a small-scale. However, it is not publicly announced and no association with other likeminded individuals, which could possibly challenge the whole

process, evolves out of it. In such a setting collective memories may remain silent because nobody has a real need to express it publicly. The actors don't need to engage much in public discourses because their decisions and actions are negotiated on a case-by-case basis. This could probably much more different if there were a central actor who would take the decisions and others had to get him/her to decide in one's favour. The hypothesis which arises out of this observation is that the grade of centralization of an urban restructuring process influences how much collective memories may be expressed in public.

There is another point which is connected to the overall social, economic and political system. Specific legacies, like that of colonialism, may be more present in memories when they are in public discourses. These are deeply influenced by political and economic actors. It is exemplified by the fact that during 'ujamaa' emphasis was put on breaking with colonial traditions, which then of course have to be known. As this gets out of focus, memories pertaining to the colonial period may be forgotten. Or they may not just be forgotten but due to neo-colonial structures of the world economy some of it could have become silences that are not publicly talked about.

I want to conclude with some possible ways for further investigation of the topics that arose within this research. Closely linked to Kariakoo would be to go beyond the methods used by engaging several actors in group discussions. Therefore negotiations of these collective memories and which of them are shared or clearly distinguished could become visible.

Urban restructuring in Kariakoo might also present a good case study for research on how space is produced. The setting of an African formerly colonially segregated quarter now finding itself in the centre of a growing metropolis is not unique. As urban restructuring has been studied in several cities in 'western' locations it might be about time to do so in a 'southern' city. It could provide many insights useful for processes in similarly situated quarters of other African cities.

An interesting research from a feminist perspective could be how gendered space is constructed. I came across that idea as it seemed that the reproduction of a certain

community is attributed to women. Male residents who live in Kariakoo with family claim the space as theirs as opposed to male daytime workers, because they go 'home' somewhere else at the end of the day.

Finally investigating the urban restructuring process in Kariakoo on effects on its population is a topic left out. While it is being studied how the spatial layout changes it is often mentioned that long-time residents move away but no reliable data on it can be found. Additionally, the reasons, and who, if anybody, replaces them should be analyzed. Then it may be attested whether people are being displaced by these processes ultimately answering the question if they can be called 'gentrification'.

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10.1 Interview respondents

- Adash. 5 January 2011. This 52-year old Muslim 'Muhindi' man was present when interviewing another Mzee, he also answered some questions, seemed to have long time relations with Kariakoo.
- Baba Abdul. 30 December 2010. This 76 year-old Muslim man from Zanzibar has been living in Kariakoo for 23 years. Has worked as truck and taxi driver most of his life, now retired. His Swahili-style house was soon to be demolished and replaced by a multi-storey building.
- Barbershop. 31 December 2010. This approximately 30 year-old Christian man runs a barbershop in Kariakoo, mission quarter area.

Binti Mwinyi. 4 January 2011. This 78 year-old Muslim woman was born in Kariakoo but moved to another suburb of Dar es Salaam in 1978. She had been working selling self-baked food and as a farmer, now retired.

Bookseller. 31 December 2010. This 42 year-old Catholic man from Musoma had a stand selling books by the roadside in Kariakoo.

Catechist. 13 January 2011. This 32 year-old Catholic is catechist at the church in mission quarter.

CCM. 11 January 2011. Deputy Head of the Propagation Section at CCM.

Cook. 3 January 2011. This 49 year-old Muslim man was working as a cook in DDC social hall. He had been working in various parts of the country, the last nine in Dar es Salaam.

DDC. 10 January 2011. Manager of DDC (Dar es Salaam Development Corporation).

Mama Timu. 4 January 2011. This approximately 50 year-old woman was born and grew up in Kariakoo but moved to another suburb of Dar es Salaam in 1978. She has worked as an accountant in a government institution.

Market Vendor. 30 December 2010. This 55 year-old Muslim man first lived in Kariakoo, then moved to another suburb of Dar es Salaam but has been having his stall in Kariakoo market since it was opened after rebuilding in 1975.

Memon Jamat. 5 January 2011. This 61 year-old Muslim 'Muhindi' man is Administrator of Memon Jamat School in Kariakoo. He was born and grew up in Zanzibar but has lived 43 years in Dar es Salaam.

Mwenyekiti Kaskazini. 28 December 2010. This 57 year-old Muslim man has lived almost all his life in Kariakoo. Before being elected into political office he worked for industrial companies.

Mwenyekiti Mashariki. 28 December 2010. This 60 year-old Muslim man has lived in Kariakoo for most of his life although he had been working abroad as a sailor in between.

Mzee Abdallah. 5 January 2011. This 76 year-old Muslim man was born in Kariakoo and worked as an electrical engineer, now selling electrical equipment in a shop in the area.

Mzee kwa Best. 5 January 2011. This 65 year-old Muslim man was born in Kariakoo and still lived there. He had been working in the industrial sector, is now retired.

Mzee Mfalme. 17 January 2011. This 79 year-old Muslim man still lives in the house where he was born in Kariakoo. He worked as a government clerk but is now retired, he is now engaging as a religious leader organizing pilgrimages.

Retail trader. 31 December 2010. This 30 year-old Muslim man from Lindi in Southern Tanzania has been having a retail trade shop in Kariakoo for 5 years. Before he had worked as a street vendor in the area.

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11 Appendix

11.1 Interview guide

How would you describe Kariakoo?

Unatoa wasifu gani fupi wa Kariakoo?

How would you describe the society of Kariakoo?

Unaweza kuielezea vipi jamii ya watu wa Kariakoo?

What can you tell me about the Kariakoo of former days?

Unaweza kueleza chochote kuhusu Kariakoo kipindi kilichopita?

Could you tell me something about the past of your institution/group, since when it has been here, how it has been set up, when did major changes occur?

Unaweza kunielea kitu chochote kuhusu historia ya taasisi/kundi lako ikiwa ni pamoja na: imekuwepa hapa tangu lini, ilianzishwaje na ni lini mabadiliko makubwa yaliyotokea kwenye taasisi/kundi yenu?

Which people are contained in this group/do visit this institution, have there been changes over time?

Ni aina gani ya watu waliomo ndani ya kundi/taasisi hii, wanaotembelea taasisi hii? Je, kumekuwepo na mabadiliko yoyote hadi sasa?

Where do you see your group rooted?

Unaweza kuona kundi lako limejikita wapi?

What is the role of your institution/group within the social sphere of Kariakoo?

Je, taasisi/kundi lako lina nafasi ipi katika masuala ya kijamii hapa Kariakoo?

How would you describe the relations of different groups in Kariakoo – the feeling/vibe of Kariakoo?

Je, unaweza kuelezea mahusiano ya makundi mbalimbali, nafikrazao.

Between which groups are there major conflicts in Kariakoo?

Ni kati ya makundi yapi ambamo kuna migogoro/mapambano makubwa hapa Kariakoo?

What do you think of the ongoing changes in Kariakoo, how do you see your group/institution involved/affected?

Una maoni gani kuhusu mabadiliko yanayoendelea kujitokeza hapa Kariakoo? Je, kundi/taasisi yako imechangia kwa namna gani na mabadiliko hayo?

What actions does your group undertake to participate/prevent change? How does it deal with/keep group structures intact amidst the change?

Je, ni njia zipi kundi lako linachukua kushiniki za au kukatisha mabadiliko. Inafanya njia zipi katika hayo mabadiliko.

Which group do you see Kariakoo belonging to?

Kariakoo ni mahali pa jamii gani?

What happens to (cultural) heritage amidst the change? Whose heritage is it? How do people deal with it?

Je, unadhani kuna urithi wowote uliopoka katika mchakato mzima wa mabadiliko ya kimuundo hapa Kariakoo?

What do you think about colonial legacy in Kariakoo? What do you think is a good way to deal with colonial legacy/remembrances?

Je, unadhani ni urithi upi wa kikoloni uliopo hapa Kariakoo? Je, unafikiri ni njia ipi

nzuri yo kushughulikia urithi huu wa kikoloni?

How was Mnazi Mmoja created? What is its meaning (segregation – now national celebration grounds)?

Kwanini ihitwa Mnazi Mmoja?

Is there something that reminds you of the segregationist planning of colonial days?

Kuna kitu chochote kinacho kukumbusha kuhusiana na ukoloni?

How did Ujamaa change Kariakoo from colonial days?

Namna gani Ujamaa ulibadilisha Kariakoo katika kipindi cha ukoloni?

Can you explain how this area got the name Kariakoo?

Unaweza kueleza ni namna gani eneo hili lilipata jina la Kariakoo?

Social statistics

Sex

Age

Time lived/worked in Kariakoo

Education level

Employment

Religion

11.2 Codes used for analysis

1. ++KARIAKOO++

- 1.1 city functions
- 1.2 (lack of) infrastructure
- 1.3 crime in Kariakoo
- 1.4 (rural-urban) migration
- 1.5 former community
- 1.6 old generations moving out
- 1.7 unfamiliar current Kariakoo
- 1.8 housing structure
- 1.9 relations with Zanzibar

2. ++CHANGE++

- 2.1 gentrification - new residents
- 2.2 change from residential to business
- 2.3 lifestyle change
- 2.4 architectural/spatial change
- 2.5 effects of change
- 2.6 public plan for Kariakoo
- 2.7 modes of change
- 2.8 price increases
- 2.9 employment situation

3. ++POLITICS++

- 3.1 politics/TANU-CCM
- 3.2 famous people
- 3.3 local leadership
- 3.4 independence movement
- 3.5 colonial government
- 3.6 nationalization
- 3.7 ujamaa politics
- 3.8 liberalisation
- 3.9 current government

4. ++MEMORY++

- 4.0 personal memories
- 4.1 DSM/TZ history

4.2 monuments

- 4.3 historical buildings
- 4.4 name Kariakoo
- 4.5 mnazi mmoja
- 4.6 memories of colonial times
- 4.7 dealing with legacy and heritage
- 4.8 uncertainties about history
- 4.9 colonialism out of time perspective

5. ++REPRESSION++

- 5.1 slavery, wars with europeans
- 5.2 restriction of movement
- 5.3 repatriation - removal from city
- 5.4 racism
- 5.5 policing of city

6. ++SEGREGATION++

- 6.1 segregation
- 6.2 subdivision of Kariakoo
- 6.3 mission quarter
- 6.4 ethnic ascription

7. ++SOCIAL RELATIONS++

- 7.1 gender relations
- 7.2 women's movement
- 7.3 culture
- 7.4 social class
- 7.5 social relations - conflicts
- 7.6 language
- 7.7 generational differences
- 7.8 religion

8. ++INTERVIEW ARTEFACTS++

- 8.1 white interviewer addressed
- 8.2 personal information

11.3 List of abbreviations

ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party
CBD	Central Business District
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
DCC	Dar es Salaam City Council
DDC	Dar es Salaam Development Corporation
DOAG	Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
NHC	National Housing Corporation
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
ZNP	Zanzibar National Party

11.4 Abstract (English)

This thesis deals with collective memories in urban restructuring in a postcolonial setting. It mainly addresses the questions which memories are being reproduced through the spatial layout, the built environment and place-names as well as how it is proposed to deal with those legacies. Special attention is given to memories pertaining to the colonial period. The theoretical basis for this research is the idea of collective memory as formulated by Maurice Halbwachs. He defines collective memories as what groups of people remember in contrast to historically acknowledged facts. Recently various scholars have shown that memories in urban contexts are materialized in spatial layouts.

The aforementioned questions are analysed through a case study of Kariakoo, one of Dar es Salaam's oldest quarters, in Tanzania. This was chosen because of its history associated with colonial 'racial' segregation, which divided the city into three zones, whereby the study area of Kariakoo was designated as the 'natives' quarter. It was cut off from the rest of the city through a so-called 'open space'. Also this area has found itself in an intensive urban restructuring process as it is now located in the centre of a fast growing metropolis. The local Swahili style housing, single-storied with inner courtyard and socialising verandah on the front is increasingly being replaced by modern multi-storey buildings. Kariakoo's social structure is altered from a working class residential area into a commercial centre. This is assumed to affect collective memories.

The research was carried out through a mix of problem-centred and 'expert' interviews. Interviewees are conceived as experts in the sense that they were selected as representatives of certain groups. The groups were selected according to diverse social categories such as duration of residence, ethnicity, religion or economic status affiliated with Kariakoo. However, as the targets were memories, a narrative element was present in the interviews, deviating from usual expert interviews. In total 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted, transcribed, if needed translated and analyzed.

The findings are that there are diverse memories according to groups mainly differentiated between long-term residents and newer residents or traders. While the former describe it as a severely altered social space from the close-knit community that supposedly existed, the latter claim it as important commercial centre where they earn their living. The construction of a rather homogeneous community some decades ago is also the basis for discourses of belonging to the area. The urban restructuring process is often attributed to people coming from outside Kariakoo. Resistance is rarely made publicly but exercised in the form of maintaining one's own house in the way it was built instead of taking an offer of investors. Memories pertaining to the colonial period were fewer than assumed. The perspective on Kariakoo has changed since independence. However, when specifically asked, people pointed toward 'racial' segregation, with some of Kariakoo's boundaries working as anchors for these collective memories. Among a variety of diverse memories one could be identified as hegemonic, which I describe as 'development perspective'. The construction of modern multi-storey buildings in Kariakoo is seen as exemplary for the development of Tanzania. An area which for a long time had been dominated by low-quality housing is upgraded. Despite a range of positive effects potential memories of the former residential community, characterized by the struggle for the demise of colonialism, may be erased through the destruction of their houses.

11.5 Zusammenfassung (Deutsch)

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit kollektiven Gedächtnissen in städtischen Umwandlungsprozessen in einem postkolonialen Umfeld. Es behandelt die Fragen welche Gedächtnisse durch die Topographie, Gebäude und Ortsnamen produziert werden sowie Vorschläge wie mit diesen Vermächtnissen umgegangen werden soll. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird jenen Erinnerungen gegeben, die der kolonialen Periode zuzurechnen sind. Die theoretische Basis dieser Diplomarbeit ist die Idee von kollektivem Gedächtnis wie Maurice Halbwachs es formuliert hat. Er definiert kollektives Gedächtnis als Erinnerungen, die Gruppen von Menschen erinnern im Gegensatz zu historisch akzeptierten Fakten. In den vergangenen Jahren haben mehrere Autor_innen aufgezeigt, dass Erinnerungen in städtischen Kontexten in der Topographie materialisiert werden.

Die zuvor erwähnten Fragen werden in einer Fallstudie in Kariakoo, eines der ältesten Stadtviertel von Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, untersucht. Dieses wurde aufgrund seiner Geschichte, die stark von kolonialer ‚Rassen‘trennung geprägt ist, ausgewählt. Dabei war Kariakoo als Viertel für ‚Afrikaner_innen‘ vorgesehen und vom Rest der Stadt abgetrennt durch eine unbebaute Zone. In den letzten drei Jahrzehnten ist Kariakoo in einem starken Umbruch, da es sich aufgrund des Wachstums von Dar es Salaam nun in einer zentralen Lage befindet. Die lokale Swahili-Bauweise, Bungalowhäuser gekennzeichnet durch einen Innenhof sowie eine Verandah an der Straßenfront, wird zunehmend von modernen mehrstöckigen Gebäuden verdrängt. Die Sozialstruktur Kariakoos wandelt sich von einem Arbeiterwohnviertel in ein Handelszentrum. Es wird angenommen, dass diese Umbrüche kollektives Gedächtnis beeinflussen.

Die Forschung wurde mit einem Mix von problemzentrierten sowie Expert_inneninterviews durchgeführt. Interviewpartner_innen wurden als Expert_innen für bestimmte soziale Gruppen ausgewählt. Diese wiederum wurden nach verschiedenen Kategorien wie Wohndauer, Ethnizität, Religion oder ökonomische Position definiert. Diese Expert_inneninterviews hatten jedoch einen narrativen Charakter, abweichend von der üblichen Methodik. Insgesamt wurden

18 halb-strukturierte Interviews durchgeführt, transkribiert, wenn nötig übersetzt und analysiert.

Die Ergebnisse waren, dass verschiedene Gedächtnisse vorzufinden sind je nach den Gruppen, wobei die trennende Linie hauptsächlich zwischen Langzeitbewohner_innen und vor kurzem Zugezogenen oder Händler_innen verlief. Während die erstere Gruppe Kariakoo als stark verändert wahrnimmt im Vergleich mit der engen Gemeinschaft, die laut ihren Erzählungen früher dort üblich war, beanspruchen die letzteren beiden Gruppen Kariakoo aufgrund der Tatsache, dass sie in diesem Geschäftsviertel ihre Lebensgrundlage erwirtschaften. Die Konstruktion einer relativ homogenen Gemeinschaft vor wenigen Jahrzehnten ist auch die Basis für Diskurse über Zugehörigkeit zu dem Viertel. Oft wird der Wandel den Zugezogenen sowie von außen kommenden Personen zugeschrieben. Widerstand wird selten öffentlich gemacht sondern wird ausgeführt indem Häuser im eigenen Besitz im ursprünglichen Zustand erhalten werden anstatt ein Angebot von einem/r Investor_in anzunehmen. Erinnerungen, die der Kolonialzeit zuzurechnen sind waren weniger als angenommen. Die Perspektive auf Kariakoo hat sich verändert seit der Unabhängigkeit. Wenn Menschen jedoch explizit nach kolonialem Erbe gefragt werden wird Segregation nach ‚Rassen‘ häufig angeführt. Manche Grenzen von Kariakoo sind der Anker für diese Erinnerungen. Unter vielen verschiedenen kollektiven Gedächtnissen könnte eines als hegemonial identifiziert werden, ich beschreibe es als ‚Entwicklungsperspektive‘. Die Errichtung von modernen Hochhäusern in Kariakoo wird als exemplarisch für die Entwicklung von Tansania angesehen. Ein Stadtviertel, welches lange Zeit von minderwertigen Behausungen dominiert war wird aufgewertet. Trotz vieler positiver Effekte bringt dies auch mit sich, dass mögliche Erinnerungen der früheren Gemeinschaft, welche durch den Kampf für Unabhängigkeit charakterisiert ist, verloren geht mit der Zerstörung deren Häuser.

11.6 Curriculum Vitae

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 Date of Birth: 14 September 1984

Education

10/2007 to present Sociology at the University of Vienna
 Specialization in urban studies and migration
 04/2006 to 05/2006 Preparation course for development workers by Horizont3000
 10/2004 to 06/2006 Sociology and Economics at the University of Vienna
 09/1999 to 06/2004 High school; degree with distinction at business school (Handelsakademie) in Braunau am Inn, Upper Austria

Professional experience

08/2010 to 01/2011 Research for diploma thesis in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
 „Collective Memory in an urban restructuring process. The case of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.“
 10/2009 to 06/2010 Student assistant at Department of Sociology, University of Vienna
 02/2009 Participant in “Project 3” at Technical University of Vienna, “Urban restructuring and public transport in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania”
 09/2008 to 04/2010 Several employments for Statistics Austria, labour market division from one to three months
 07/2006 to 07/2007 Community service as social worker for Companionship of Works Association (COWA) in Kampala, Uganda in conjunction with Horizont3000

Language skills

German: native speaker
 English: fluent spoken and written
 Italian: basic knowledge spoken and written
 Kiswahili: basic knowledge spoken and written
 Luganda: basic knowledge spoken