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THE IMPACT OF NATIONHOOD ON DAR ES SALAAM

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The site of Dar es Salaam must have always been attractive for human settlement. However, until a few months ago, it was readily accepted that the importance of Dar es Salaam went no further back than the 1860's when Sultan Majid, feeling insecure at Zanzibar, decided to start a seat of refuge on the mainland which since that time is known as "Heaven of Peace" (in Swahili: Dar es Salaam). The discovery of *sgraffiato* pottery in 1966 allegedly indicates that this site might have been an important settlement some seven hundred years ago. But interesting and controversial as the origin of Dar es Salaam is, it has little bearing on the present study of the town. The decree of the German government in January 1891, which made Dar es Salaam the capital of their colonial possessions in East Africa, can be considered to have been a dominant factor in initiating its growth. The construction of the Central Railway line which commenced from Dar es Salaam in 1905 added further impetus. Improvements to the harbour and the extension of the communication network of the country in several different phases have all left their imprint on the growth of the city. Other circumstances such as the concentration of a large alien population, and the growth of trade, commerce and industry have persisted inconspicuously over a long time but since 1945 have emerged as generating factors in the growth of the city.

For almost the last two decades the area of Dar es Salaam, constituting about 30 square miles, has changed very little. In contrast, the extension of the city planning boundary in 1966 has been radical, for 38 square miles have been added on the west and southwestern sides and 12 square miles added across the harbour. The extension of the planning area (Figure 1) had become very urgent since independence. Already long before independence, Tanganyika Packers (a meat canning plant), Tasini Textiles and the airport were located outside the city boundary. Since independence the city has sprawled dramatically northwards. The University College with its complex of modern buildings occupies a site of over 800 acres. To the southwest of the University lies the new industrial estate at Ubugo. Cashew trees and thicket are giving way to bulldozers, and the present transformation is dominated by a large textile mill being constructed by the Chinese. Seven miles to the north of the University is the new cement plant. Finally, across the harbour at Kigamboni a nucleus of still another industrial estate has been created by the completion of an oil refinery. At the same time uncontrolled village settlements are encroaching on these new developments and on the city, obvious examples being Manzasi, Mabibu and Yombo. Within the city boundary empty areas are fast diminishing at Oyster Bay, Kurasini, Upanga, Magomeni and Ilala (see Map 1). Table 1 shows the growth of the population of Dar es Salaam, and indicates its composition.

On 9th December 1961, Tanganyika became independent, and with this status there began a new phase in the growth of Dar es Salaam. The most significant

factor, at present, in the growth and character of the city is that it is the capital city of a sovereign state. In theory and in practice, independence has meant actual and potential increase in the number of people involved in the commitments of the country. The government affairs of the country are now managed from the capital city, and, although in theory this function is nothing new to Dar es Salaam, in practice there are many new aspects to its present role. For instance, decisions which in the past were made in Britain, are now replaced by directives from Dar es Salaam. Secondly, the civil functions and the commitments of a sovereign state are obviously greater than those of a colonial entity. One measure of the increase in involvement is to be found in the number of ministries. In 1955 there were 9 ministries; in 1963 this number had risen to 15. All these ministries have their headquarters in Dar es Salaam. In addition, many new government sections were opened so that the greatest increase in the services sector has occurred at Dar es Salaam. The increase in the services associated with the internal affairs of the

TABLE I

Composition of the population of Dar es Salaam within the 1966 City boundary

	African	Asians	Europeans	Others	Total
1887 ¹					34,000
1894	9,000	1,620	400		11,000
1900	18,000	1,480	360		20,000
1913	19,000	2,500	1,000		22,500
1921	20,000	4,000	600		24,600
1931	24,000	9,000	1,330		34,300
1934	33,000	11,000	1,100		45,100
1948 ²	50,765	16,270	1,726	466	69,227
1952 ²	72,330	22,547	3,603	660	99,140
1957 ²	93,363	29,986	4,479	914	128,742
1962 ³					150,000
1964 ³					180,000
1966 ⁴					200,000

Sources: 1. Population figures from 1887 to 1934 from C. G. Gillman, Dar es Salaam 1860 to 1940: *Tanganyika Notes and Records Vol. 20 (1945) p. 22*

2. Census figures

3. Estimated by City Council

4. Inferred from employment figures

country and contributing to the growth of the capital city is being matched by the role of Dar es Salaam as a base for the external affairs of the country.

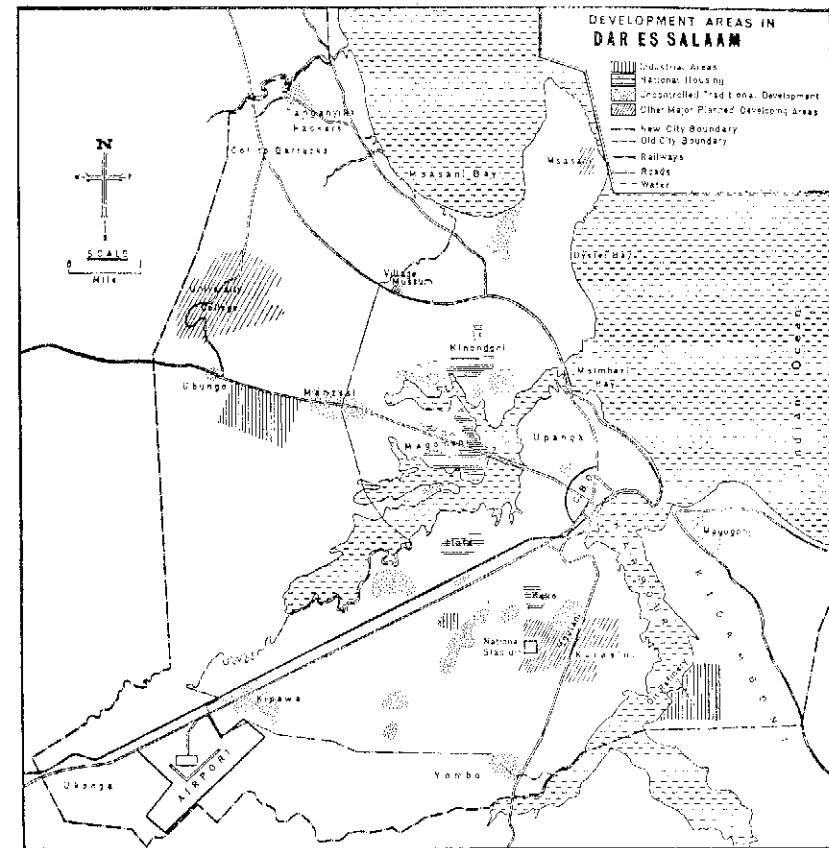


Figure 1

At the attainment of independence some of the foreign representations in the country were upgraded from consular to ambassadorial posts and this in many cases meant an increase in staff. More important, however, was the increase in new representations. In 1960, prior to independence, there were 9 consulates; in 1965, representatives from 34 countries were accredited and the latest figure indicate 44 countries represented in the country. The list reads 31 Embassies, 6 High Commissions (excluding U.K.) and 6 consulates. The High Commission of Cyprus is located in Tanga, and is the only representative located outside the capital. The influx of foreign diplomatic missions has had several repercussions; notably it led to a demand for high class accommodation and this caused inflation of rents and an increase in land values in the favoured region of Oyster Bay. The shortage of this type of accommodation meant that some of the less affluent embassies sought locations in the adjacent suburbs of Upanga, and this increased the pace of development there and improved the status of that area. In addition, members from international organisations, newspapers and trade representations have all added to the population. External influences which were inhibited during the colonial period flourished with independence and with it came some increase in employment, a demand for office and residential accommodation as well as the need for services.

The position of Tanganyika in 1961 as the southernmost territory in Africa to obtain independence gave Dar es Salaam a pan-African importance. Hitherto, Accra and Cairo had been the main centres for African liberation movements. The stand taken by Tanzania in the affairs of southern Africa and its adjacent position both contributed to a re-location of the centre of liberation movements to Dar es Salaam. Groups from South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique, Lesotho, Rhodesia and until 1964, from Zambia and Malawi, operated from Dar es Salaam. The refugees, students and freedom fighters introduced a new element in the population of the city. One measure of the important part played by Dar es Salaam as a strategic centre for independence movements has been the location within the city of the headquarters of the Liberation Council of the Organization for African Unity.

The close relationship which had been established between independent Tanganyika and the Zambia independence movement has continued, and in fact has become materially stronger with the Rhodesia crisis. For instance, there has been an enormous increase in the Tanzania/Zambia trade, especially in re-exports. Thus, in comparison with the re-exports of £58,225 between January and June 1965, the figure for the same months in 1966 was £1,829,165. Exports, too, from Tanzania, have nearly doubled from £85,294 in January-June 1965 to £135,838 in the first six months of 1966. These changes have had great repercussions in the transportation sector. In the figures indicated above it is obvious that Zambia, forced to look for an alternative route for her overseas trade, has made Dar es Salaam the chosen outlet. As a result, it has already been proposed that the port facilities of Dar es Salaam, which even without the Zambia trade are strained, will have to be improved. New sheds have been constructed and equipment for handling cargo has already arrived. Plans have also been made for additional deep water berths. These will be of lasting benefit to the city even if the Zambia trade through Dar es Salaam should decline. The direct oil airlift from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka was only a temporary gain. More permanent will be the newly initiated scheduled air services from Dar es Salaam to Zambia. The opening of the new oil refinery in Dar es Salaam could not have come at a more opportune moment to supply one of Zambia's most vital needs. In the first 10 months of 1966 more than 23 million gallons of oil have been sent from Dar es Salaam to Zambia.

Visitors in the past who have been impressed with the African stamp and vitality of Kampala/Mengo and the European nature of Nairobi, found Dar es Salaam a cosmopolitan city. This is because no ethnic group dominantly associated itself with the city. Since independence, however, Dar es Salaam has assumed a subtle new cultural role. The impetus for this role is nationalistically inspired. In Tanzania, nationalism is reviving culture. The city integrates tribal tradition and makes it part of the national heritage and instead of stifling tribal culture gives it a national character. Tribal traditions such as tribal dances and crafts are integrated and made part of the national heritage and this finds its strongest expression in the capital city. Also the location within the city of people of different tribes who nevertheless owe their important positions (such as in the civil service or politics) to the concept of a nation rather a tribe aids considerably in bringing change. This concept is not abstract, but manifests itself materially in diverse ways in the utilisation of space in the city itself. Foremost among these has been the physical transformation of the sandy wasteland called Mnazi Moja. The empty stretch once separated the Asian quarters and the central business district from the African residential area. Most of what was Mnazi Moja is today covered by a park, adjacent to which are an obelisk and a fountain as monuments to national achievement. The creation of a village museum depicting different tribal houses, the expansion of the national broadcasting facilities, the building of the national stadium and an exhibition park are other physical manifestations of the growth of the city because of nationhood.

Ecologically and socially, Dar es Salaam is also changing. The evolution of functional zones has not hitherto been so much a consequence of growth as a product of having separate racial quarters. In the pattern which prevailed in the past, the Asians were the most urban, concentrating very largely in the central business area; the Europeans out of choice and economic means preferred suburban residential areas; while the Africans lived at a distance from the centre because they had no choice. Before independence opportunities for social mobility in the broadest sense, were very restricted. Within the city, in a physical sense, there was no differentiation made between Africans of different income levels or between the leaders and the led. The greatest change in social mobility has occurred in areas where previously administrative control was strongest. Nowhere is this better seen than in the occupation of the government quarters at Oyster Bay and Mvasani. The first African to occupy the bungalows at Oyster Bay moved in when the ministerial form of governmental was introduced in 1959. With independence, more and more Africans have succeeded in attaining senior administrative posts and they have naturally occupied areas once subtly denied to them. The movement of the African elite to such areas as Oyster Bay has physically separated the African leaders from the masses. Inherent in such a division is the danger of the loss of sensitivity of leaders to the problems of the masses.

If the change that has taken place in Oyster Bay through the inflow of Africans is remarkable, then the *status quo* in the central business district is equally interesting. The central business district is still in fact the domain of the Asians. The forces which broke the exclusiveness of the Oyster Bay area cannot operate at the core. Different forces, such as the sizeable movement of Asians away from Tanzania or a rapid growth of an African commercial entrepreneurial class may bring changes in the core of the city. It might even be that the present business area will lose its importance and will come to play only a secondary role, as does 'Old Town' Mombasa.

The attainment of independence has increased the number of indigenous people involved in the affairs of the country. A corollary is that the people in service today are answerable more directly to pressures from the masses and there has been a sincere effort to bring about improvement for the greatest number. During the early period of independence largely through self help schemes new and better housing has been put up at Magomeni. The task was too big and the National Housing Corporation has largely replaced these and formalised the whole problem of low cost building and development. Its record so far is impressive: - 777 units have been provided at Magomeni, 707 at Kinondoni, 333 at Keko, 252 at Ilala and 12 at Kariakoo. The location of the new industrial estate at Ubungo, close to Magomeni, shows the dangers associated with rapid growth and lack of co-ordination. Unless something is done now, slums similar to those which developed around the old industrial estate on Pugu Road are going to occur around Magomeni. In the southwestern section of the city the slums at Keko and Yombo are bigger than ever, yet the major changes and perhaps most of the growth has taken place in this area.

The most ambitious development of the National Housing Scheme has taken place in the area adjacent to Keko where the nucleus of a satellite town has been initiated. Further east, after a period of stagnation, development is taking place at Mgulani and Kurasini. Land values appreciably lower than at Oyster Bay, and government policy of only granting leasehold titles, has promoted the growth of a good residential area at both places. Two other factors explain the present tendency of the city to spread. Capital investment which can be afforded by the middle class group is essentially modest and this precludes ownership of flats or apartment buildings. Secondly, many local people prefer to live in their own houses in suburban surroundings.

Planning will have to keep pace with the trend towards the increasing suburban preference. Obviously the concept of suburban dormitories without social or economic amenities is out-dated. There is a golden opportunity for the government to embark on two major political commitments. In the first case, the neighbourhood shopping centre seems to be an ideal co-operative unit, and secondly, a growing suburb opens possibilities for Africans to break the business monopoly enjoyed by Asians. There is need, too, for technological change. During the present spate of construction more effort will have to be spent on experimenting with new materials and new techniques of building. What is needed is to accelerate, cheapen and bring uniformity into the construction industry.

Political and social subordination during the colonial period were also present in economic affairs so that there were marked urban abnormalities. For instance, for the size of the city the economic turnover was small. This was brought about largely by the colonial policy of racially graded salary scales and wages. There was great disparity between the salaries of the non-Africans and Africans. Skilled or qualified Africans especially before 1954 received half or even less of the salaries paid to non-Africans doing similar jobs. Low wages and an arbitrary scaling off for advancement were probably responsible for a high labour turnover. There was no incentive to remain in the same occupation for long period because there were no benefits to be accrued. Wages differed only slightly so that changing jobs probably only helped to relieve boredom. In some instances, to offset low wages, some people led dual lives: partly spent in Dar es Salaam and partly in the peri-urban areas in agricultural pursuits. The fact that a large majority of people were earning low wages had several results. For one thing the low earning power of the majority of Africans meant that their contribution to

the economic activity of the city was small. Since independence the population of Dar es Salaam has very much broadened its economic base. There has been an increase of 44% in the average male earnings in Tanganyika since independence and the greatest increase has taken place in Dar es Salaam where the minimum wage is by law 150/- per month compared to 125/- in the other urban areas. The city also gains considerably because high salaried government and private wage earners are concentrated within its boundaries. A new entrepreneurial class if it should arise, will come from this group, but already this group generates a strong market in Dar es Salaam.

The position of Dar es Salaam as a base for livelihood has improved vastly in several other ways. Since independence the government has encouraged industrialisation through the provision of information for potential investors and manufacturers on such aspects of the development of industries as the market for the product, the availability of labour, power, communication and raw materials; and by offering economic incentives. Most industrial equipment, chemicals, raw materials, implements and tools for instance are exempt from customs duty. The major changes associated with the economic development have directly affected Dar es Salaam which has become the most natural site for the location of industries. The oil refinery, the aluminium and plastic-ware plant, the cement factory and the new textile mill (being built by the Chinese) are all examples of some of the major industries which have already been attracted here. Finally, skill and opportunity for employment are no longer left to chance. The pace has been deliberately accelerated by in-service training both by the government and by private industries. A school of business management, a much improved technical college and training abroad are some of the examples of directed training. And to all this one must also add the community of 2,000 people who make up the University College at Dar es Salaam.

The attainment of independence in 1961 brought to an end one era in the growth of Dar es Salaam and started a new one. The total population residing in the major urban areas in 1957 was as follows: Dar es Salaam 129,000; Tanga 38,000; Mwanza 20,000; Tabora 15,000; and Morogoro, Moshi, Dodoma, Ujiji, Mtwara, Lindi and Arusha 10,000-15,000 each. Although in 1957 only 4.1% of the nation's people resided in the 33 gazetted townships, Dar es Salaam claimed one third of them. In many ways the growth of Dar es Salaam in the old era was for colonial convenience, as was displayed in the large number of alien people to be found there. The separation into ethnic quarters combined with limited economic opportunities restricted the city in its growth.

In the very brief period which has elapsed in the new era, the growth of Dar es Salaam can be measured visibly by the changing skyline, the sprawl of the city and its new functions. The distinctive harbour frontage of German colonial architecture is rapidly being replaced by one of multi-storeyed premises of twentieth century uniformity, a change which is seen by the populace to lend prestige to the capital, however much it may be regretted by a minority. The improved economic opportunities, and a greater involvement of the indigenous citizens in civil and economic affairs augurs a rapid increase in the size of the city. One measure of growth is the rise in employment which in 1962 was 42,984 and which rose to 54,604 in 1965, with an especially rapid rise from 46,640 in 1964. In attaining independence, Tanzania acquired the special status of nationhood. This status has provided a pride in being a nation and a sense of responsibility to the people; a serious desire for economic development and social betterment, and direct involvement in international affairs. Briefly, the growth of

Tanzania as a nation and what it stands for, will be reflected in Dar es Salaam, in as much as the capital city may mirror the major accomplishments of the nation.

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LANDSCAPE STUDY IN GEOGRAPHICAL TEACHING

L. W. HANNA

It is unnecessary here to justify the importance of landforms in the study of geography and the claim that their full understanding requires careful field observation. What is true of geography as a discipline is vital in its teaching. This is the essence of the problem of good geography teaching, for it can be taught with textbooks and chalkboard, but to be successful these must be supported by skilful use of visual materials and field work, both of which make great demands on the time and energy of the teacher. Without them the student is equipped with a mass of factual material, a poor foundation for further academic study and only a small contribution to his real education. He may understand the mechanics of the earth's structure or the processes of denudation and yet be incapable of recognising the consequences of these on the landscape or a map. Such dangers in unimaginative formal teaching are numerous, and the concentric approach, working from the known to the unknown, and sample studies, while not complete answers in themselves are attempts to provide a basis in comprehensible features. At the same time there has been a commendable increase in fieldwork in schools which is the best way to bring reality and understanding into geographical teaching.

Ideally the teacher supplies the material and guides the student in its analysis and even the synthesis needed to present a regional picture. This is only possible with the time and resources that few schools can afford. The local environment is available to all with the energy and enthusiasm to organise its study. Here can be found features, distributions and relationships which in their study yield methods and principles which have a wider application. However, unless the student is an active participant the effort is not worthwhile and to remove the classroom out of doors does little more than increase the distractions. It is the process of observation and analysis which is so valuable in education and not the final product of the efforts. To place the student in a position to observe and to direct his interpretation is a considerable task in itself and the success rests more with this organisation than with the ability of the student.

Landscape Sketching

Landscape sketching is one technique which can be readily applied to field study and provided the purely technical problems of drawing can be taught satisfactorily it can be used effectively at any level of geographical training. The geographer is not concerned with the colour, tone values or the composition of the landscape but rather with extracting geographical features and by drawing representing them in the most effective manner. However, like the artist, he must suppress irrelevant details which would confuse the drawing and obscure the essential forms and lines. In Figure 1 the plain extending to the foothills of Elgon is covered with an open savanna vegetation broken by scattered settlements with their patches of cultivation and occasional banana groves. To have included this