

MORALITIES OF OWING AND LENDING: CREDIT, DEBT, AND URBAN LIVING IN
KARIAKOO, DAR ES SALAAM

By

Benjamin Amani Brühwiler

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ABSTRACT

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The literature on Africans and credit and debt is marked by a double binary. Scholars have tended to separate “traditional” or “informal” credit and debt relations from “modern” or “formal” financial institutions and instruments. In addition, scholars have either focused on the role credit and debt relations played in the economic realm or they have examined the social and cultural significance of debt and credit. As a result, the prevailing picture of Africans and finance in twentieth-century urban Africa is one of inadequacy, lack, and exclusion: the inadequacy of traditional forms of credit in market economies, Africans’ lack of access to formal financial institutions, and their exclusion from the modern world of finance. This dissertation challenges this doubly binary conceptualization and locates the myriad views and uses of credit and debt in one conceptual frame. It shows that credit and debt relations were constitutive of various aspects of urban life, including multi-racial neighborhood sub-communities, respectable identities, urban membership and belonging, urban livelihoods and entrepreneurship, and urban planning and governance. The Kariakoo neighborhood in Dar es Salaam serves as the locus to examine how debt and credit shaped work and business, social and communal life, and people’s identities and subjectivities in urban Africa. If debt is an anthropological and historical constant, the relations of debt and credit also changed significantly over the twentieth century when economists and planners as well as urban traders and lenders debated and shaped these relations and the multiple – at times competing, at times intersecting – moralities undergirding them.

This dissertation contributes to our understanding of the ways and meanings of borrowing, investing, and doing business in urban Africa. First of all, it challenges histories of credit and finance in colonial and postcolonial Africa, which have focused exclusively on formal financial institutions to which few had access. In fact, wholesale traders at the Kariakoo market relied on an informal and long-established credit system known as *mali kauli* to trade agricultural products while having little cash at disposal. Kariakoo residents also turned semi-formal pawnshop credit to their advantage and proved to be reliable borrowers. Second of all, it shows the significance of credit and debt well beyond the economic sphere of urban life. Credit and debt relations were central to cosmopolitan neighborhood communities Kariakoo residents formed across racial and class categories. The availability of shop credit and pawnshop credit was a constitutive element of the urban experience, urban living, and urban belonging.

Third of all, I demonstrate how the morality at the center of discourses and practices of debt repeatedly acted as fulcrum for reforming urban subjects. Colonial and postcolonial governments undertook repeated efforts to make urban residents more business-minded by impelling them to work on their creditworthiness and become “good debtors.” However, multiple moralities continued to exist in Kariakoo, which allowed urban residents to critically evaluate new forms of credit and debt and the attending moral discourses. Finally, I illustrate that the racial antagonisms between urban residents, which have dominated the literature on credit from the colonial era to the present, have obscured the intimate and long-standing relations of credit and debt between people of African, Arab, and Asian descent in various aspects of urban life. Following commodity trails and describing the workings of urban sub-communities, I show how Kariakoo residents of all hues and colors not only worked and lived together but also shared cultural notions of respectability, generosity, and shame.

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INTRODUCTION

It was a cool, breezy evening in Dar es Salaam during the month of Ramadan in 2013. The largely Muslim residents of the Gerezani section in the Kariakoo neighborhood had already broken the fast. Some of the men had gotten together at the *kijiweni*, their gathering point at a street corner in front of the house of an elderly man nicknamed “Mzee Dubai.”¹ Mzee Dubai, one of the better-off *kijiweni* members, requested an itinerant coffee vendor to offer coffee for everyone in the group. He insisted that we were all invited to drink and share some dates and sweets. Story telling, exchange of information, and poking fun at each other kept the *kijiweni* going and time passing. Just like tea and coffee houses, *kijiweni* corner communities have formed central units of urban culture in Dar es Salaam.² Politics, sports, gossip, and urban rumors were the most popular topics of discussion. And then, there were lots of stories about money lending and borrowing, outrageous interest rates, interest rates and Islam, debt enforcement, unpaid credit, foreclosure auctions, and bankruptcies.

At that particular evening, I was at the *kijiweni* with my friend and research assistant Riziki. He was on the phone with a potential customer of his unregistered business in which he sold phones on credit and used much of his time and energy following up on debt payments. I eyed an old issue of the local newspaper *The Citizen*, picked it up, and flicked through it. I was

¹ Names changed in this prelude.

² On the importance of tea and coffee houses in Dar es Salaam, see David Henry Anthony, “Culture and Society in a Town in Transition: A People’s History of Dar es Salaam, 1865-1935” (University of Wisconsin, 1983).

³ Ludger Kasumuni, “Govt: Domestic Debt Swelling,” *The Citizen*, April 4, 2013.

² On the importance of tea and coffee houses in Dar es Salaam, see David Henry Anthony, “Culture and Society in a Town in Transition: A People’s History of Dar es Salaam, 1865-1935” (University of Wisconsin, 1983).

struck by an article on the national debt in which the Minister of Finance warned against the “excessive increase in domestic debts” and the dangers they posed for the national economy. The author of the article counterpoised this statement with a recent IMF report, which came to the conclusion that Tanzania’s risk of debt distress remained low.³ My attention shifted to the small shop on the other side of the street where a dispute between the shopkeeper and a customer had broken out. The shopkeeper had refused to sell the customer a coupon to top-up his cell phone account on credit before the customer cleared his debts with the shopkeeper. The customer was outraged and started to insult the shopkeeper, called him a bad person, and swore to never buy at his shop again.

Meanwhile, the *kijiweni* members started to engage in a discussion about the role of banks in business. As we were snacking on dates, Mzee Abdul told the story of a businessman shipping large amounts of dates to Dar es Salaam ahead of Ramadan. The bureaucrats at the harbor were aware that the market for dates was limited so they took advantage of that knowledge and extorted enormous amounts of bribes so the dates could be cleared. Mzee Bakari jumped in to tell the story of a rich man of South Asian origin from Iringa, who exploited another businessman and caused him to go bankrupt. In the end, the Asian businessman went bankrupt himself because “you can’t be successful when you treat other people unjustly.” Mzee Chacha then started to wonder whether businessmen such as Said Salim Bakhresa, one of the most successful entrepreneurs in Tanzania and based in Kariakoo, were able to conduct business without having to rely on interest-bearing bank loans, which were illegal or *haram* according to Islamic jurisprudence. Mzee Daudi called him naïve and asserted that the big businessmen as well as the small and medium business in Kariakoo, who were mostly Muslim, were involved in

³ Ludger Kasumuni, “Govt: Domestic Debt Swelling,” *The Citizen*, April 4, 2013.

the *haram* practice of using bank loans. Thus, whatever *sadaka* (voluntary charity) businessmen gave out during Ramadan were ultimately based on money gained in unlawful ways. To a few men at the *kijiweni*, this came as a surprise, but for most it was a fait accompli.

Mzee Elyudi brought up the point that large-scale businessmen such as Bakhresa were able to get loans from international financial institutions such as the World Bank or the African Development Bank, which provided loans at very low interest rates. On the other hand, ordinary citizens only had access to loans from one of the numerous private banks, which had recently opened branches in the bustling and economically active Kariakoo neighborhood. They offered loans at considerably higher rates, namely 30 per cent per annum and more. Mzee Faridi, the most outspoken man at the *kijiweni* when it came to loans, disliked bank loans not only because they were *haram* but also because of the dangerous trappings they entailed and the shame of losing one's house and belongings when failing to repay loans. Mzee Galinoma added that debts caused sleepless nights because one was too worried about how to make repayments. He gave an example of a man who was not able to sleep for two nights because of an outstanding loan. The discussion was interrupted when my friend Hamadi passed by. I jokingly challenged him to offer us some sodas but he refused stating he did not have any money. Later that evening, Hamadi wanted to talk to me in private and explained how he used most of his earnings to pay school fees for his brother because the funds from the local religious community only paid for a portion of the fees. So he asked me to lend him some money for that purpose. When I offered to give him a small amount as a gift, he insisted on accepting it not as a gift but as loan.⁴

This urban scene drawn from my research journal encapsulates various forms of lending and borrowing in present-day Kariakoo and the multiple moralities undergirding them. Practices

⁴ Fieldnotes journal, July 12, 2013.

of lending and borrowing were immersed in discourses of credit and debt touching on the obligation of affluent people to share their wealth, the incompatibility of interest-bearing loans and Islam, the importance of bank loans for businesspeople in Kariakoo, the danger of debt and the shame associated with failing to repay debts and losing one's possessions, trust as the basis for mutually beneficial credit and debt relations, and the social pressure on shopkeepers to sell goods on credit. The Kariakoo neighborhood in Dar es Salaam serves as a case study to examine how debt and credit shaped work and business, social and communal life, and people's identities and subjectivities in urban Africa. If debt is an anthropological and historical constant, as some scholars have argued,⁵ relations of debt and credit in Kariakoo certainly changed in significant ways over the twentieth century. In fact, credit and debt relations have been hotly debated and discussed, created and maintained, facilitated and prevented not only by economists and urban planners but also by urban traders and various groups of lenders. What remained constant, however, was the reality for Kariakoo residents to be perpetually indebted while simultaneously serve as creditors.⁶ Kariakoo residents actively sought to create debt and credit relations rather than to avoid them at any cost. Debt and credit relations formed the basis for the membership in urban neighborhood communities, the organization of trading goods and agricultural produce in and out of Kariakoo, and the creation of respectable urban identities.

⁵ Nathalie Sarthou-Lajus, *L'éthique de la dette* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997); David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2011); Philip Coggan, *Paper Promises: Debt, Money, and the New World Order* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2012).

⁶ As I became a regular member of the above-mentioned *kijiweni* community in the course of my time spent as a researcher and resident in Kariakoo, I became wrapped up in the intricate network of debt at the *kijiweni*. I was repeatedly confronted with other members' requests for small loans. I usually offered to help out with a small amount of money. To my surprise, people never asked me to give them money as a gift but as a loan and these loans were generally paid back but the repayment period varied from a less than an hour to several months. Eventually, I found it difficult to keep track of who owed what to whom.

CULTURAL APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC HISTORY

The argument that credit and debt relations formed central aspect of urban life and livelihoods in Tanzania challenges Eurocentric histories of credit and finance in colonial and postcolonial Africa, which have focused exclusively on formal financial institutions to which few had access. The literature has remained relatively silent on Africans' views and uses of credit and debt and the social and cultural – not just the economic – work of those relationships.⁷ In fact, residents in urban Africa made extensive use of various forms of credit to create urban communities, trade networks, and personal businesses. Wholesale traders at the Kariakoo market hall relied on the credit system known as *mali kauli* – verbal letters of credit based on reputations and social capital rather than bank accounts – to trade relatively large amounts of products such as rice and textiles (chapters 3 and 4). Kariakoo residents also turned pawnshop credit to their advantage and proved to be reliable borrowers (chapter 2).

The significance of credit and debt went well beyond the economic sphere of urban life in twentieth-century Africa. Credit and debt relations were central to neighborhood communities Kariakoo residents formed across racial and class categories. For instance, Asian shopkeepers were often compelled to sell goods to African customers on credit (chapter 1). Credit and debt relations were also crucial for the meaning and understanding of urbanity, urban living, and urban belonging. Kariakoo residents in colonial Dar es Salaam, for instance, viewed pawnshop credit to be a right they were entitled to as urban citizens (chapter 2). And Kariakoo residents

⁷ For Tanzania, see Charles Stephen Kimei, “Tanzania’s Financial Experience in the Post-War Period” (Ph.D. Thesis, Uppsala University, 1987).

created feelings of belonging in the city by becoming members of neighborhood communities by establishing credit and relations with other community members (chapter 1).

Instead of conceiving of credit and debt purely as belonging to the economic realm of the human experience, credit and debt are conceptualized as economic, social, political, and cultural formations in this dissertation.⁸ A focus on the cultural underpinnings of credit and debt relations allows taking into account the (etic and emic) references to the importance of “culture” when it comes to using loans and doing business in urban Tanzania. In a speech on financial institutions, Tanzania’s first president Julius Kambarage Nyerere made such a reference:

[T]here is no such thing as a ‘neutral’ financial system. ... [T]hings like interest rates and price structures are not neutral ... in their effects. ... An apparently ‘neutral’ financial decision will lead to one result in a highly developed capitalist system, and possibly a quite different one in an undeveloped poor society – whether or not it has adopted a capitalist philosophy. Money in the hands of an agricultural producer in U.S.A. may – although I do stress the word may – lead him to invest in more productive agricultural machinery; the same money in the hands of a peasant in Tanzania may – again notice the word [sic] – lead him to take another wife, or purchase more cattle. Both producers will be acting sensibly in the light of their own culture, and their individual economic well-being; the results for the national economy will be very different.⁹

Understanding credit and debt relations broadly as cultural formations means to escape an economistic understanding of the matter. With regards to slavery, Frederick Cooper remarked that taking the market for granted and assuming people to act as self-sufficient and self-interested economic actors does not provide “an adequate framework to analyse the fundamental differences in the ways labour was controlled and surplus value extracted or to understand the

⁸ Marcel Mauss understood “the gift” as a “total social fact” with implications in the economic, political, legal, and religious spheres (Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, Norton Library (New York: Norton, 1967)). For how “the economy” came to be conceptualized as a sphere separate from cultural, social, and political life and following its rules, see Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Inaugural Address by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere President of the United Republic of Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Bank of Tanzania, 1983), 2.

consequences that the ability of particular groups to control and use slaves had for social organization, cultural values, and ideology.”¹⁰ A similar skepticism with the application of Western views of economic actors in African contexts should be displayed when investigating credit and debt. Therefore, credit is understood not merely as an economic instrument, which people used to various degrees of success depending on their economic skills, available capital, and other quantifiable variables. Rather, I investigate to what ends lenders and borrowers in the urban neighborhood of Kariakoo used credit, how urban credit contributed to the formation of specific neighborhood communities, and how it sparked debates about desirable kinds of urban African subjects.

The recent literature has shown that a focus on debt and credit opens up possibilities to make visible and examine the cultural underpinnings of economic relations. In an exemplary study on the history of installment plans in the US with the indicative subtitle *A Cultural History of Consumer Credit*, Lendol Calder has demonstrated the usefulness of integrating economic, social, and cultural approaches when looking at debt and credit.¹¹ Drawing on Calder, I understand credit as embedded in social relations and cultural norms rather than as purely economic transactions between self-interested individuals. Creditors engaged in complex calculations that were concerned with the potential of great gain and the risk of equally great

¹⁰ Frederick Cooper, “The Problem of Slavery in African Studies,” *Journal of African History* 20, no. 1 (1979): 104.

¹¹ Lendol Glen Calder, *Financing the American Dream: A Cultural History of Consumer Credit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). David Graeber has rightly noted that the study of pawnship in African history might benefit from a more integrative approach as well. While Mary Douglas viewed pawnship as a matter of kinship, Toyin Falola and Paul Lovejoy understood it as the equivalent of an interest-bearing loan (Graeber, *Debt*; Mary Douglas, “Blood-Debts and Clientship among the Lele,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90, no. 1 (1960): 1–28; Mary Douglas, “Matriliny and Pawnship in Central Africa,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 34, no. 4 (October 1, 1964): 301–13; Toyin Falola and Paul Lovejoy, *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994)).

loss. Likewise, cultural values concerning generosity and patronage as well as social bonds in the community considerably affected the ways in which credit was perceived and used.

Sometimes, scholars have treated the investment in social relations in a rather instrumentalist manner. People's investment in "social capital" rather than material assets is understood as a matter of accumulation. Shared senses of ethnicity, religion, and race are portrayed as merely building trust and thus facilitating more efficient uses of credit.¹² Sara Berry provides a necessary critique of "social capital" when she points out that the "most intimate social relationships are often the most conflict-ridden" and she urges scholars "to recognize the tension between trust and suspicion that permeates all social relationships and try to understand its dynamic power and potential."¹³ Likewise, John Lonsdale challenges the idea that the market serves as a morally neutral entity while community is inherently moral.¹⁴ Understanding debt as a calculable, payable, and enforceable entity, which the debtor is morally obliged to repay, makes debt and credit compatible with the logic of the market. Credit and debt are then understood merely as a way to enhance circulation and make allocation of capital more efficient.¹⁵ This economistic view of credit and debt constituted one of the discourses that guided people's behavior with regards to credit and debt, but it rarely provided the only such discourse. Debt is not always calculable and payable, for instance when we consider the debt we owe to our

¹² Abner Cohen, *Custom & Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969).

¹³ Sara Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Asante, 1896-1996* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001), 156. See also Janet L. Roitman, *Fiscal Disobedience: An Anthropology of Economic Regulation in Central Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ John Lonsdale, "States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey," *African Studies Review* 24, no. 3 (1981): 139.

¹⁵ Joseph Miller shares this understanding when he argues that debt fuelled the slave trade in central western Africa because debt was a way to make local producers produce more slaves and cash crops (Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830* (Wisconsin: Currey, 1988)).

parents for having given us life.¹⁶ Debt can also be used as a political tool to exert power over subjects and cultivate loyalty amongst them.¹⁷ Even as creditor-debtor relationships helped to form communities, these communities and the debt and credit relationships undergirding them should be considered as social processes constantly in the making, open to multiple interpretations, and potentially filled with tensions.

Thus, there is a need to broaden the view on debt and credit relations. Using the history of the Kariakoo neighborhood in Dar es Salaam as a case study, I look at the various forms of debt in that neighborhood, and how forms of debt have shaped work, social life, and people themselves in the neighborhood. A focus on debt and credit provides particular insights into forms of power, governmentality and subjectivities. It also allows for new understandings of the ways and meanings of saving, investing, and doing business in urban Africa. And it sheds new light on the history of race and race relations in urban Tanzania. It is important to avoid the binary trap of dividing societies as either gift- or market-economies.¹⁸ As will be seen below, creditors and debtors used credit as a way to build personal relationships and conform to communal norms. This provides insights into urban subjectivities, which did not easily comply with hegemonic power structures and the notion of *homo oeconomicus*. Shopkeepers in colonial Dar es Salaam, for instance, sold goods on credit even though the chances were that customers would not pay for the goods. When considering the social and cultural aspects of this practice, it

¹⁶ Sarthou-Lajus, *L'éthique de la dette*. See also Graeber, *Debt*.

¹⁷ Cassandra Mark-Thiesen, "The 'bargain' of Collaboration: African Intermediaries, Indirect Recruitment, and Indigenous Institutions in the Ghanaian Gold Mining Industry, 1900–1906," *International Review of Social History* 57, no. S20 (2012): 17–38.

¹⁸ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: Norton, 1967).

may be described as a way to build social relations within the community.¹⁹ Shopkeepers who never sold on credit might have been more successful in accumulating wealth for themselves, their families, and religious community. Their status and reputation in the neighborhood community, however, were affected negatively by their business behavior (chapter 1).

DEBT, MORALITY, AND SUBJECTIVITY

Framing credit and debt relations broadly as cultural formations means to take seriously the moral discourses constituting these relations.²⁰ It does not necessarily follow, however, that these discourses and practices need to be conceived as a “moral economy” constituting a separate sphere with its own rules.²¹ Rather, it means to take into account the competing moralities of credit and debt that undergirded relations in urban collectives, between patrons and clients, and

¹⁹ See also Julia Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession: NGOs, Economic Development, and the State in Cairo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

²⁰ Lendol Calder shows how the use of installment plans was seen as a sign of moral decline even though it actually imposed discipline on consumers (Calder, *Financing the American Dream*).

²¹ In its original formulation, E. P. Thompson applied the concept of the moral economy to food riots in eighteenth-century rural England. Thompson argued that these rioters England were rational actors who aimed to re-establish a moral order by drawing on centuries-old customs and patterns of behavior. The moral economy of provision established informal rules, which guaranteed the rights of lower-class people to be the first to buy grain at regulated prices. As large-scale merchants increasingly challenged the ways in which actors of the economy of provision traded commodities, consumers rebelled against high prices of grain during times of shortage. Thompson argued that rioters acted out long-established modes of behavior to force farmers, millers, and bakers to lower the price of grain and bread. Although riots were not led by institutionalized groups, they were characterized by clear rules of order in which outright theft was largely absent. Rioters understood themselves as re-establishing a moral economy of provision in which they had the right to buy grain and bread to low prices. Thompson himself considered the moral economy of provision to be no longer in existence as the logic of the market economy assumed hegemony at the beginning of the nineteenth century (E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present*, no. 50 (1971): 76–136). For an example of the application of the concept to modern urban contexts, see Benjamin Orlove, “Meat and Strength: The Moral Economy of a Chilean Food Riot,” *Cultural Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (1997): 234–68. For a critique of the concept, see Roitman, *Fiscal Disobedience*.

among market participants. As Julia Elyachar has shown for the el-Hirafiyeen neighborhood in Cairo, workshop owners acted in market-oriented ways while at the same time engaging in the moral project of building a neighborhood community.²² The morality at the center of discourses and practices of debt repeatedly acted as a fulcrum for reforming urban subjects in Kariakoo. The pervasiveness of (supposedly harmful) credit and debt relations also served as the discursive moral foil against which urban planning interventions were legitimated (chapters 3 and 4). Moral discourses around credit and debt were productive spaces because they provided a realm where local views of business practices and government visions of desirable business behavior intersected. Colonial and postcolonial governments undertook repeated efforts to make urban residents more business-minded by impelling them to work on their creditworthiness and become “good debtors.” However, competing moralities continued to exist in Kariakoo, which allowed urban residents to critically evaluate new forms of credit and debt and their attending moral discourses (chapter 5).

The importance of credit and debt for the formation of communities or collectives reverberates with Friedrich Nietzsche’s argument in *On the Genealogy of Morals* that creditor-debtor relationships, which he considered to be a universal phenomenon in human history, formed the basis on which people came to measure themselves against others. Nietzsche contended that creditor-debtor relationships brought about morality and conscience as well as feelings of superiority, guilt, and obligation as the linguistic similarities of the German “Schulden” (debts) and “Schuld” (guilt) indicates. While punishing bad debtors compensated creditors and gave them the privilege and pleasure of inflicting pain on debtors, the punishment of debtors also gave rise to memory and morality. Nietzsche argued that as relationships of debt

²² Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*.

assumed an intergenerational character, the present generation came to see its wealth as a form of debt incurred to its ancestors. The wealthier and more powerful a society was, the greater became the desire to pay back the debts in the form of sacrifices. In the most extreme cases, ancestors became deified and venerated as gods.²³ Most relevant for the purposes of this dissertation is Nietzsche's contention that creditor-debtor relationships produced particular subjectivities, i.e. they forced individuals to measure themselves against others and to adopt a sense of time in which promises for future repayment could be made and contractual agreements reached in the past could be remembered.²⁴

The central term at the nexus of debt, morality, and subjectivity is creditworthiness. In the Kariakoo market environment, where social relations were heavily marked by aspects of credit and debt, local notions of honesty, trustworthiness, and creditworthiness intersected with continuous efforts by colonial and postcolonial governments and financial institutions to educate residents in financial matters. Credit and the quest to form creditworthy subjects and citizens stood at the heart of policies formulated and implemented by colonial as well as the postcolonial state actors. In British colonial Tanganyika, the government passed a law prohibiting Africans from taking out loans. In numerous debates, colonial officials legitimated the restriction of Africans' access to credit by presenting the colonial state as the paternalistic protector of Africans, who were supposedly unable to handle money properly and for whom the availability of credit presented the danger of getting sucked into the spiral of perpetual indebtedness. At the

²³ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 62–64, 70–71, 88–91.

²⁴ Ibid., 64. For a critique of Nietzsche's conception, see Graeber, *Debt*, chapter 4. With Foucault, I consider subject formation as a continuous process taking place in an environment of power manifested in social relation. In this environment of power, human beings turn themselves into subjects and create certain subjectivities (Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 777–95).

same time, officials grudgingly admitted their own dependence on Asian credit, which made it impossible for them to restrict Asian residents from accessing and providing credit. In the postcolonial period, the socialist state used credit as a tool to promote President Julius Nyerere's vision of Tanzania as a modern agricultural economy. Banks were nationalized in 1967 and the newly founded National Bank of Commerce allocated credit to socialist *ujamaa* villages rather than urban-based businesspeople. Still, the socialist government and financial institutions complained about African borrowers, who often considered loans to be gifts and did not have any intention of paying them back. In the post-socialist period since 1985, credit increasingly came to be seen by state and non-state institutions as a way to alleviate poverty, both in rural and urban areas. Former president Jakaya Kikwete in 2005 ran on a platform of assisting the Tanzanian poor with the help of a fund that provided money to microcredit institutions, which in turn applied their ways of gauging potential lenders' creditworthiness. Again, African borrowers were seen as being in need of training and education because they supposedly did not know what credit was and how to handle loans. The various ways of how different governments allocated credit and legitimized these credit allocations reveal much about state power and how Tanzanian state actors tapped into the powerful moral discourses surrounding credit and debt to govern citizens.

These long-lasting and sustained efforts by governing and financial institutions determined how credit was allocated and they shaped how people would use credit. In short, credit has been a primary means to shape desirable subjects and citizens. At the same time, local actors drew on multiple available discourses to question and challenge imposed definitions of creditworthiness. To a large extent, Africa historians have reproduced a colonial view of Africans when it comes to business and creditworthiness. Africans either emerge as being

exploited by larger market forces or they are portrayed as acting in spheres separate from these market forces. In the former view, Africans end up being victims; in the latter view, Africans emerge as agents who heroically and self-knowingly carve out spaces for their livelihoods. Rather than simply putting the colonial view on its head and celebrate African ingenuity and business efforts that largely went unnoticed by both colonial and postcolonial governments or even forced governments to change their political ideologies,²⁵ I am interested to explore where local business practices and government visions of desirable business behavior intersected. The realm of intersection was often the moral discourses surrounding the use of credit.

Debt and time were intricately linked to each other, as Nietzsche pointed out, and this was true also on the East African coast. In his *Dictionary of the Suaheli Language* from the late nineteenth century, Johann Ludwig Krapf translated the Kiswahili word “Kopesha” with “*to lend, to supply a trader with goods on credit*” and provided the example “*Baniani ame-ni-kopesha m’da miezi miwili, the Baniani [Hindu Asian person] gave me goods on credit for two months.*” He translated the Kiswahili word “m’da” or “muda” with “*a space of time agreed for –, a set term*” and more specifically “*an appointed space of time within which a debt must be paid or the borrowed money or property returned to its owner.*”²⁶ The definition of time with the help

²⁵ See, for instance, Aili Mari Tripp, *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

²⁶ Johann Ludwig Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language* (London: Trübner and Co., 1882). Johann Ludwig Krapf was a long-time resident of Mombasa, Kenya, and a missionary of the London Missionary Society. A few additional comments on how credit, debt, borrowing, and lending have been conceptualized in the Kiswahili language might be useful here. To owe and to be in debt are expressed in different ways in English and in Kiswahili. The active verb “kudai” means “to claim” and it also means “to be owed to” in the context of credit and debt. The closest translation for the passive form “kudaiwa,” on the other hand, is the active form “to owe.” These verb constructions are indicative of the status and position of creditor and debtor. In Kiswahili, “mtu anayedai” is the active person, who makes a claim on someone else. “Mtu anayedaiwa” is the passive person, who is being made claims on. Krapf used the example “nadai kuako fethayangu, *I demand my money [from you].*” Related to this, the Kiswahili verbs “kukopa”,

of credit is remarkable, and the explicit connection between time and credit also illustrate that different credit relations come with distinct conceptions of time. Local credit arrangements such as *mali kauli* (chapter 4) entailed a conception of time that was flexible, whereas bank loans and microcredits depended on fixed time periods, which challenged more flexible understandings of time. These loans had to be paid back in regular intervals, usually weekly or monthly.

Official visions and imaginations of what urban residents should do with respect to credit and debt were plentiful in Dar es Salaam. Colonial governments viewed the urban population through a racial lens and formulated policies accordingly. With regards to people of Asian descent, credit was presented as beneficial for their business activities with Europeans and other Asians. When it came to people of African descent, the colonial government considered credit to be dangerous because it would make Africans dependent on immoral Asian *dukawallahs* or shopkeepers, who exploited African customers by providing loans they could only repay by selling their houses and belongings. The racial antagonisms between Asians and Africans have dominated the literature on Dar es Salaam. James Brennan has argued that credit and debt relations between Asians and Africans contributed to the racialization of identities in colonial

“kukopesha”, and “kukopeshwa” differ from the English translations “to borrow” and “to lend”. In English, the verbs “to borrow” and “to lend” are two completely different verbs that do not share a common root. In Kiswahili, the verbs share the common root “-kopa.” The original verb is “kukopa,” which means “to borrow,” is rarely used in this form. However, it does serve as the root for various derivative forms, including the noun “mkopo” for “credit” or “loan.” “To lend” in Kiswahili is a derivative form of “kukopa,” namely the causative form “kukopesha,” which would be best translated as “to make [someone] borrow.” “Kukopeshwa,” the passive form of “kukopesha,” is the most commonly used expression of the English “to borrow.” It would be best translated as “to be made to borrow.” In short, a person who lends money actually makes somebody borrow money in Kiswahili. And the person who borrows money is being made to borrow money. As in the above example of “kudai” and “kudaiwa”, the creditor emerges as the active person, who makes the debtor borrow money. The debtor occupies the passive part, who is almost being made to borrow, almost against his or her will.

Dar es Salaam.²⁷ Looking at the printed press in the colonial period, Brennan is certainly right to detect the fostering of racial identities and the development of racial antagonisms in political discourses. However, the focus on racial antagonisms and stereotypes has obscured the intimate and long-standing relations of credit and debt between Asians and Africans in various aspects of life.²⁸ Credit and debt relations sustained a specific economic system and intimately connected Kariakoo residents of all hues and colors, who not only worked and lived together but also shared cultural notions of respectability, generosity, and shame. Mutual trust manifested itself in various forms. Kariakoo residents, for instance, routinely deposited their savings in the form of textiles or money with the local shopkeeper, whereas shopkeepers and itinerant traders generally sold goods on credit. When Kariakoo residents talk about the past, they often use the word *uaminifu*, which is Kiswahili for “trustworthiness” and “honesty.” Notably, *uaminifu* was not reserved for a particular ethnic or racial group but could be applied to any resident in the cosmopolitan Kariakoo neighborhood. Despite myriad government efforts to create particular urban subjects, market and community relations in Kariakoo were rather resilient and continued to be based on trust and credit throughout the colonial, socialist, and postsocialist periods.

Although people’s actual practices did not always conform to government regulations, racial stereotypes and racialized policies did, of course, shape everyday life and livelihoods in

²⁷ James R. Brennan, *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), chapter 2.

²⁸ Franck Raimbault, who mentions credit and debt relations in German colonial Dar es Salaam, writes with respect to the use of the Kiswahili language, “il n’est guère possible d’analyser la situation avec les catégories raciale-géographiques en usage dans les sources. ... On ne peut donc pas tenir un discours général sur les relations entre les Africains et les marchands indiens. Les marchands installés depuis des décennies dans la région connaissaient cette langue [Kiswahili] et les coutumes locales. Ceux qui résidaient à Dar [es Salaam] depuis les années 1860 ou 70, avaient développé des relations sociales étroites avec la population, notamment les chefs locaux” (Franck Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)” (Ph.D. Thesis, 2008), 140).

colonial Kariakoo and their legacies have shaped postcolonial contexts. First of all, being a creditor was for a long time associated with being of Asian origin because Asians were more likely to be creditors in colonial Dar es Salaam. Second of all, Africans to a certain extent embraced the stereotype of being irresponsible debtors, as the cartoon below from 1979 expresses (figure 0.1).



Figure 0.1: Cartoon in *Uhuru* newspaper, June 27, 1979. “Why should I not sell alcohol to other people? They also have money.”—“Today, I am full [of money]. Don’t you know that I received that house loan today?”²⁹

The man at the bar, who has received a house loan earlier that day, tells the waitress to reserve enough beers for him. Beer – as so many other commodities in the late 1970s – was scarce due to economic difficulties and the socialist policy of self-reliance, which did not allow goods to be imported to Tanzania unrestrictedly. Apparently, the man plans to spend the loan money on beer rather than on the house for which the loan is intended.

²⁹ *Uhuru* newspaper, June 27, 1979.

More important than racial aspects were communal and class aspects of credit and debt relations. Borrowing and lending among members of the same urban community was very common and an expression of solidarity among community members. The willingness to loan money was understood as an expression of community membership. Notably, loans from wealthier members of the community were considered to be gifts or entitlements and debtors did not necessarily feel the need to repay these loans. Wealthy people, who were not willing to lend money, were critiqued for their lack of solidarity and not considered to be part of that particular urban community. Creditors themselves, therefore, invested in highly valued social relations at the expense of economic profit, thus helping to build social life in colonial Kariakoo while ensuring their status of well-respected members of the local community, a particularly delicate task for members of the relatively privileged minority of Asian residents.³⁰ The following discussion illustrates how the findings presented in this dissertation build on and challenge the existing historiography of credit and debt in (East) Africa.

DEBT AND CREDIT IN (EAST) AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

There has yet to be published a monograph that is mainly devoted to the subject of credit in African history. In addition to the “debt studies” literature referred to above,³¹ I draw on the literature on credit and debt in Africa. Economic and social historians as well as historical anthropologists have addressed credit as an economic and social relation since the inception of the sub-discipline of African history in the 1950s. Scholars have discussed the importance of

³⁰ With respect to trade arrangements based on credit, however, loans always had to be paid back. In fact, traders did not refer to these arrangements as credit transactions but simply as *mali kauli* transactions (see chapter 4).

³¹ Mauss, *The Gift*, 1967; Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989); Calder, *Financing the American Dream*; Graeber, *Debt*; Coggan, *Paper Promises*.

credit in the economic sphere, and they have noted that precolonial long-distance trade, the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade, imperial economies of the colonial period, as well as national economies of postcolonial Africa cannot be adequately understood without looking at credit transactions. Scholars have also looked at how institutions of social discipline used credit to shape subjectivities by instilling certain values into African subjects. Providence, calculation, saving, and self-discipline were emphasized as core principles for a productive use of credit. Notably, these projects of social discipline had their limits as African debtors used credit to their own ends. The following sections provide an overview of the kinds of knowledge historians and anthropologists of Africa have produced with regards to credit. Particular attention is paid to the scholarship of East Africa.

Africa historians focusing on the precolonial period have viewed and examined credit most often as a financial instrument. Credit was widely used and played an important role in the organization of long-distance trade in precolonial Africa. Already in the 1950s, Kenneth Dike described how the palm oil trade in the Niger Delta depended on an elaborate credit system, which had its roots in the slave trade. Initially, the use of credit was based entirely on mutual trust as exclusive groups of traders created and negotiated reputations of creditworthy merchants. Over time, however, African middlemen in the Delta failed to maintain their exclusive sense of creditworthiness. As they came to depend on the supply of goods and credit from Europeans, corruption and abuse of credit crept in and increasing competition made the lives of middlemen more difficult and even more dependent on European merchants.³²

Writing in the 1980s, Joseph Miller examines the organization of the slave trade in West Central Africa. He draws on Karl Marx' works to distinguish two systems of trade based on

³² Kenneth Onwuka Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

different political economies.³³ The capitalistic Atlantic system was based on exchange value, while the pre-capitalist African system was based on use value. Far from being incompatible, the two systems complemented each other in various ways. Miller argues that central western Africans did not simply turn into capitalists when their societies started to interact with Atlantic traders. Rather, Africans continued to view the production of goods as based on use value rather than exchange value. For instance, Africans measured the prices for slaves in fixed sets of commodities rather than in currencies that could be adjusted incrementally. However persistent, African notions of “gift-giving” and “sharing” were transformed into more market-based values of exchange with the help of Atlantic traders’ use of credit. Merchant kings liked the relationships with Luso-African merchants because Luso-Africans sold goods on credit without expecting African kings to establish relationships of dependence, as was common in the African system. Furthermore, Luso-African traders did not rely on local notions of creditworthiness and offered less powerful people the opportunity to acquire and trade goods, which could increase their status.³⁴ These new merchant kings used the commercial credit available in the Atlantic system and extended it to their subjects. At times, they compelled elders and nobles to take loans with the aim of making them more dependent.³⁵ European creditors, on the other hand, applied various strategies to ensure that debtors would pay back their loans. They helped to put people with good credit ratings in power and boycotted offending debtors. Direct seizure of offending debtors, however, was infrequent.³⁶ African traders used the high morbidity and mortality of slaves to force slave buyers to agree to more favorable credit arrangements.³⁷ According to

³³ Miller, *Way of Death*.

³⁴ Ibid., 97.

³⁵ Ibid., 131.

³⁶ Ibid., 124.

³⁷ Ibid., 188.

Miller, the extensive use of credit was responsible for the increased production of slaves in West Central Africa. As more goods became available and African rulers faced greater levels of indebtedness, marginalized people such as pawns were transformed into slaves. Pawnship itself had been a form of credit in precolonial Africa but the relatively mild creditor-pawn relationships were transformed into harsh slave-master relationships.³⁸

Roberts and Mann likewise investigate precolonial intercontinental trade. They show how trade relationships between Africans and Europeans centered on credit and property. Paying particular attention to legal aspects of these relationships, the authors describe how in the nineteenth century, the provision of credit was increasingly undertaken by writing contracts and pledging property rather than establishing patron-client relationships or swearing oaths. With the abolition of slave trade and slavery, slave owner-slave relationships transformed into credit-debtor relationships as former slave owners extended credit to former slaves.³⁹

³⁸ Ibid., 95. While Miller gives a very logical account of how African regional trade based on use value might have looked like and how it changed with the arrival of the Atlantic slave trade, he does not provide much evidence to document these developments.

³⁹ Richard Roberts and Kristin Mann, "Introduction: Law in Colonial Africa," in *Law in Colonial Africa*, by Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts (London: James Currey, 1991), 9, 11, 29. Documents produced and assembled by German colonial state actors contain reference to slaves and slave owners in Dar es Salaam. This is not surprising because slaves were among the early Dar es Salaam inhabitants and the Germans never outlawed slavery in German East Africa (Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006)). Koponen estimates the number of slaves in Dar es Salaam district in 1912 at about 4000 (Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914*, Finnish Historical Society Studia Historica 49 (Helsinki: Tiedekirja, 1994), 613). However, there are no indications that slave owner-slave relationships were transformed into credit-debtor relationships in Dar es Salaam. When slave owners died, slaves were either freed or they bought themselves free or other people bought them free. In one case, the death of Jumbe Kirumbi bin Bwanaumari, 15 of the 135 rupees with which Kirumbi's four slaves had bought themselves free was used to pay Kirumbi's outstanding debts (TNA: G35/3: "[Verwaltung der] Nachlässe [verstorbenen Nichteuropäer]. 1910-1912"). In interviews, (former) Kariakoo residents sometimes used the language of slavery, which is commonly used for situations of oppression and exploitation, to refer to bank loans with exorbitant interest rates. Taxi driver Briton took out a loan of 15 million TSh to finish building his house. The loan was

Gareth Austin, in one of the rare pieces entirely devoted to the uses of credit in African societies, traces the origins of credit Africa prior to European contact.⁴⁰ Overall, Austin takes stock of the various forms of indigenous credit institutions. He argues that human pawning was so prevalent in precolonial Africa because land was abundant and therefore had little value as security.⁴¹ With regards to rotating credit and savings associations, he contends that they were more likely to be used by relatively affluent members of the community rather than by already impoverished people. Debt among kin members was rarely considered debt and death did not cancel a debt but transferred it to kin. He views trading diasporas as institutions, which facilitated the use of credit among an exclusive group of people with the help of a code of business ethics, sometimes underpinned by the sanctions of Islam. This echoes Abner Cohen's study of how urban Hausa traders – by maintaining and strengthening their ethnic exclusiveness – were able to participate competitively in trade. The internal cohesion of the Hausa community formed the basis of trust, on which credit transaction could take place.⁴²

As an economic historian, Austin refutes the theoretical underpinnings of dependency theory and the modes of production school of the 1970s because they overemphasized the domination of outsiders. While embracing a market-based approach to African economies, he is wary of modernization theory and the substantivist school – two theoretical frameworks, which had been influential in the 1950s and 1960s. Austin challenges both frameworks because they

repayable within three years at the interest rate of 18 per cent. He worked as a prison guard at the time and the monthly loan payments were directly deducted from his salary. "When you borrow, you become a slave. Life becomes very difficult" (Briton, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ilala, Dar es Salaam, March 17, 2013).

⁴⁰ Gareth Austin, "Indigenous Credit Institutions in West Africa," in *Local Suppliers of Credit in the Third World, 1750-1960*, by Gareth Austin and Kaoru Sugihara (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993).

⁴¹ See also John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁴² Cohen, *Custom & Politics in Urban Africa*.

regarded precolonial indigenous economic institutions as either hostile to economic growth or as largely incompatible with market economics. Nevertheless, Austin wants to go back to the earlier market approach and answer the unresolved questions of market ‘imperfections’ and conflicting rationalities of precolonial Africa. While Austin laudably emphasizes the rationality of African actors and the efficiency of indigenous economic institutions, his unwillingness to abandon a Western market-based approach leads him to describe African economies as fragmented and incomplete. For instance, Austin describes the fact that the terms of lending were often determined at least in part by the individual relationship between the two parties rather than by conditions in a competitive market as a form of “market fragmentation.”⁴³ As the lender tended to have much information about the debtor, the risks involved in providing credit could be reduced.

Stiansen and Guyer emphasize the role of Islam with its guidelines for conducting business. Charging of interest on credit was explicitly prohibited by the Qur’an. Aside from Islamic notions, precolonial concepts of interest were very flexible. The concept of default did not exist and credit contract were re-negotiated when the debtor failed to pay back loans in time.⁴⁴ Robin Law concurs with Stiansen and Guyer that credit transactions tended to be negotiated individually. Although credit was important for overseas and domestic trade in precolonial Dahomey, personal and informal relationships, rather than specialized financial institutions, formed the basis of economic transactions. Like Miller for West Central Africa, Law describes how European traders extended credit in the form of goods supplied in advance of the delivery of slaves and later palm oil. Most of these credit arrangements were short-term although

⁴³ Austin, “Indigenous Credit Institutions in West Africa,” 110.

⁴⁴ Endre Stiansen and Jane Guyer, “Introduction,” in *Credit, Currencies, and Culture: African Financial Institutions in Historical Perspective*, by Endre Stiansen and Jane Guyer (Uppsala Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999), 9–10.

long-term credits existed as well. Debts were not always repaid and European and Brazilian creditors found themselves in too weak a position to withhold credit. Africans, on the other hand, sometimes extended credit to Europeans. Over time, European traders replaced the practice of advancing goods to African suppliers with employing Africans or Afro-Europeans as local agents of European firms.⁴⁵

In precolonial East Africa, the provision of credit had been a long-standing phenomenon with particular Asian characteristics in towns and cities along the East African coast. Creditors in nineteenth-century Zanzibar were either India-born or of Indian descent and they brought capital accumulated in India to do business on the East African coast.⁴⁶ A considerable share of lower-class Africans' income consisted of loans and credits that were never paid back.⁴⁷ Jeremy Prestholdt describes how demanding the repayment of debts in pre-Busaidi Mombasa was not only very difficult but also dangerous as creditors were "harangued, jailed, or otherwise molested when they attempted to call in their debts."⁴⁸ When the Zanzibar-based Busaidi government formally annexed Mombasa in 1837, it changed the ways in which business was conducted. It encouraged Zanzibar-based traders to do business with Mombasa by facilitating their access to credit. Furthermore, it enforced creditors' rights, which gave lenders incentives to do business in Mombasa. Owners of local businesses, landowners, and merchants engaged in the caravan trade

⁴⁵ Robin Law, "Finance and Credit in Pre-Colonial Dahomey," in *Credit, Currencies, and Culture: African Financial Institutions in Historical Perspective*, by Endre Stiansen and Jane Guyer (Uppsala Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999), 17–24.

⁴⁶ Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 32; Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 78–79.

⁴⁷ J. A. K. Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 139.

⁴⁸ Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World*, 188, footnote 6.

to the interior all took advantage of the availability of money capital.⁴⁹ Coastal urban patricians in Pangani, Saadani, and Bagamoyo equally borrowed money from Zanzibar-based creditors to finance the expensive caravan trade to the interior.⁵⁰ As the Sultanate of Zanzibar expanded its influence on the coast, it actively helped to spread economic activities that involved the regulated lending and borrowing of money. Robert Gregory showed how old forms of credit-provision used in India became more common in East Africa. The most prominent feature was the use of promissory notes called *hundi*.⁵¹ Overall, credit and debt relations in precolonial Africa have been described as existing outside or side by side with capitalist exchange values.

With the colonial conquest and institution of colonial rule on the African continent, European powers started to pursue their economic interests with the help of colonial states. Colonial administrations were wary of local moneylenders, and Western financial institutions operating in colonial Africa tended to display extraordinary caution with regards to providing credit to African subjects. One of the effects of this “unnecessary caution” was the survival and proliferation of precolonial forms of credit, such as rotating credit societies. Colonial administrators classified these practices as “informal.”⁵²

Colonial financial policies introduced rigid time limits to credits and the novel notion of default, which replaced more flexible negotiations and re-negotiations over the terms of credit.⁵³ The colonial state – and later the postcolonial state – also used credit as a political instrument. African veterans of the colonial military, for example, were granted low-interest loans as a way

⁴⁹ Ibid., 35–36.

⁵⁰ Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 39.

⁵¹ Robert G. Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa: An Economic and Social History, 1890-1980* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 102.

⁵² Austin, “Indigenous credit institutions in West Africa,” 133.

⁵³ Stiansen and Guyer, “Introduction,” 10.

to ensure their loyalty to the French Empire.⁵⁴ Slavery, pawning, and debt bondage, on the other hand, were actively suppressed. Disputes over debt became increasingly resolved in colonial courts and with the help of a fixed set of “customary laws.” Furthermore, political actors used indebtedness as a way to accumulate power. In Asante, for instance, Frimpon legitimized his aspirations to become Asantehene by referring to the fact that other chiefs were indebted to him and were therefore his subordinates.⁵⁵

In colonial Egypt, the state promoted the use of credit and debt as a way to facilitate tax collection. Against the wishes of the rural population, the British first introduced the concept of privately owned land. The villager councilor, who was forced by the state to own a certain amount of land, was made responsible for the payment of taxes of all the villagers. Those who were unable or unwilling to pay taxes, were then compelled to work the land of the village councilor so as to pay off their debts. Others lost the right to work their own land as it was confiscated by the state. These forced relations of debt were based on the idea of private property, which many villagers objected to.⁵⁶

For colonial Africa, the best study is a chapter by Mann and Guyer on the *sociétés de prévoyances* (local credit and cooperative associations) in French West Africa.⁵⁷ These associations aimed at encouraging cash savings amongst African populations, offering an alternative to loans from the local informal sector, which were seen as usurious. In addition to that, the associations had the purpose of educating farmers in credit and savings. By inculcating

⁵⁴ Gregory Mann and Jane Guyer, “Imposing a Guide on the Indigène: The Fifty Year Experience of the Sociétés de Prévoyance in French West and Equatorial Africa,” in *Credit, Currencies and Culture: African Financial Institutions in Historical Perspective*, by Endre Stiansen and Jane Guyer (Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999), 129.

⁵⁵ Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries*, 22.

⁵⁶ Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*.

⁵⁷ Mann and Guyer, “Imposing a Guide on the Indigène: The Fifty Year Experience of the Sociétés de Prévoyance in French West and Equatorial Africa.”

prévoyance or foresight into African subjects, they functioned as institutions of social discipline, which “sought to remold local farmers into profitable and productive subjects.”⁵⁸ Ultimately, however, the sociétés failed to bring about the individualized sense of financial self-discipline because administrators’ actions did not conform to their own preaching and because the use of coercion became politically unacceptable in the late colonial period.

In colonial East Africa, Asian capital and moneylenders continued to play a crucial role in the economy. Gregory locates four social groups, for which Asian credit was important. European farmers borrowed money to get through periods of drought or economic decline. In German East Africa, a Punjabi Hindu became known as “The Bank” because Germans regularly relied on him for loans when they failed to get any from banks. Likewise, Africans and Arabs in Zanzibar and on the coast made regular use of Asian credit. Unlike European settlers in the Kenya highlands, who could not legally lose their land to Asians, coastal Africans and Arabs became increasingly indebted to Asians and sometimes ended up losing their land. Africans from the interior, who were drawn into the market economy, bought goods like seeds, fertilizer, and farm implements from the local Asian shop, often on credit. According to Gregory, their word was sufficient as collateral. Most importantly, credit and the advancement of goods on credit were used among people of Asian descent. It allowed for a rapid expansion of family businesses, especially in wholesale and retail trade. In Dar es Salaam, the Ismaili Khojas, who were followers of the Aga Khan, formed their own lending institutions, which offered loans at six per cent and matched the amount provided by the borrower as a security.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid., 132.

⁵⁹ Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 98, 100, 102–105. Overall, Gregory paints a rather rosy picture of the effects that Asian money lending had on all sections of East African society.

In the case of colonial East Africa, I show in chapter 2 how debtors' failure to repay loans in time had devastating consequences in terms of their material wealth and social status. As pawnshop credit was regulated by the colonial state, it no longer assumed the symbolic role of gift giving in the way earlier uses of credit had done. Rather, the failure to repay debt involved tangible dangers and some landlords lost entire houses because they continued to buy goods from their tenants-cum-shopkeepers without clearing the debt.⁶⁰ One pawnshop user complained about his inability to influence the terms of business: "when one goes to pledge a shirt or a vest or a pair of trousers, they give the smallest amount, far less than they cost to buy. *One is in their hands*, they make on every transaction and one loses."⁶¹ Therefore, poor urban residents, who lacked valuable securities and regular incomes and had no access to bank loans, often had little choice but to use the long-established system of pawnshop credit and obey the rules. Surprisingly, however, debtors were reluctant to report any abuses to the British officials and they did not want the colonial government to ban Asian credit. Evidently, pawnshop users had come to view the availability of urban credit as their right although many had become caught in a monthly cycle of pawning goods for credit.⁶²

In postcolonial Africa – and especially after the demise of socialism and communism – international organizations portrayed credit as a liberating force for the common people, not a bene as long as it bypassed the state. Non-governmental organizations such as the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh came to serve as a model for economic development in the Global South. Julia Elyachar described for urban Egypt how international development agencies promoted people's right to get into debt by having access to microcredits. For postcolonial Africa, Elyachar's study

⁶⁰ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 142.

⁶¹ Ibid., 105–106, emphasis added.

⁶² Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 105–107.

of microcredit programs in the el-Hirafiyeen neighborhood of Cairo in the 1990s addresses the question of subjectivities most explicitly.⁶³ In seminars and workshops sponsored by international organizations, the users of microcredits were instructed to make life choices based on evaluations of the finances involved. The prospective managers of local microcredit services, on the other hand, were instructed to use “culture,” such as the headman, the religious leader, community pressure, or the police, as ways to ensure the repayment of loans. While “culture” was turned into a cost-saving device, micro-credit services generated new subjects, which understood their economic failures on the market in terms of their own failures detached from the social environment of the neighborhood. Thus, the older network of mutual obligations created by workshop owners was undermined and became increasingly meaningless as residents of el-Hirafiyeen came to understand themselves as “individual subjects free to own and to sell.”⁶⁴

In postcolonial Tanzania, the socialist state as well as financial institutions in postsocialist times formulated moralities that challenged long-established moralities underlying credit relations. At the same time, long-standing moralities served as a way to criticize and resist new forms of credit. In socialist Tanzania the state attempted to restrict private lending of money by nationalizing bank and credit institutions and by making pawnshops and practices of moneylending illegal. At the same time, the state started to provide credit for state officials and farmers. Shopkeepers’ and pawnbrokers’ opportunities to engage in moneylending activities were restricted as the socialist state attempted to curtail the power of “capitalistic” businessmen.⁶⁵

⁶³ Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 194, 200, 211, 214–215.

⁶⁵ Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 110.

Overall, the existing scholarship on the use of credit in African history only hints at what Nietzsche discussed in rather abstract terms. Credit was more than the availability of money or goods that could be borrowed and paid back at a later point in time. Credit was ultimately a social relationship between human beings embedded in a material world and conflicting normative and legal discourses around the rightful use of credit. Creditors were sometimes successful at instilling values into debtors and at creating new debtor subjectivities by providing new kinds of credit and establishing hegemonic discourses of economic behavior. However, as will be seen below, urban Tanzanians did not simply play by the rules set by creditors. Instead, they perceived and evaluated new forms of credit against the backdrop of a multi-layered history of borrowing and lending, histories of dispossession and wealth-creation, and systems of trade.

METHODOLOGY

The Kariakoo neighborhood in colonial and postcolonial Dar es Salaam serves as a case study to examine how debt and credit shaped work and business, social and communal life, and people's identities and subjectivities in urban Africa. To get at these various aspects of credit and debt, including the moral perceptions involved, I have combined the tools of cultural, social, and economic history approaches and I have drawn on a variety of methods and sources. I have generated oral sources with the help of the methods of oral history and life history, I produced field notes by doing participant observation, and I have examined written sources at various archives in Tanzania, the United Kingdom, and Germany.

More than one hundred and thirty oral history interviews with long-standing traders, merchants, bankers, and microcredit lenders form an important part of sources for this dissertation. I conducted these interviews during a year-long research stay in Dar es Salaam in

2012-13. Kariakoo market stalls and shops, bank offices, traders' homes, and my apartment situated right next to the Kariakoo market hall all served as interview locations. Interviews varied considerably in length, ranging from a quarter of an hour to two and a half hours.

Particularly relevant and co-operative traders were interviewed several times. Some interviews took the form of life history interviews. These open-ended and semi-structured interviews have provided insights into people's personalities, identities, and subjectivities because they allow space for the expression of expectations and desires, dreams and disappointments.

Ethnographic observations and the oral history interviews with long-standing residents of the Kariakoo neighborhood have complemented and challenged much of what I found in archives and libraries. First of all, the interviewees have challenged the missionaries' and state actors' rhetoric that Africans were unable to save and thus needed to be trained to save.

Interviewees revealed numerous forms of saving money Kariakoo residents had practiced. They put their savings with shopkeepers, who would keep the money for them. They also saved money with the help of rotating savings groups. In addition, religious communities organized savings groups. Members of the Ismaili Khoja community formed a savings and credit group in Dar es Salaam in the 1930s. Thirty years later, the Catholic Church started to promote savings and credit co-operatives (SACCOs), which were outlawed again in the 1970s when the socialist state abolished all non-state associations in the country. However, rotating credit societies continued to exist throughout the socialist period, and in the late 1980s, the government legally authorized SACCOs again and in the 2000s started to promote SACCOs activities as a form of poverty alleviation.

Second of all, oral history interviews have allowed me to gain a better understanding of how traders and middlemen were able to do business in Kariakoo at times when it was very

difficult if not impossible for them to access loans from banks and other financial institutions. It emerged that the chains of credit, which were characteristic of the Dar es Salaam trade in the colonial period, continued to be the dominant characteristic in the postcolonial period. Until around the year 2000, business transactions based on *mali kauli* – which is Kiswahili expression for selling goods (*mali*) on credit through a verbal promise (*kauli*) – was the most prominent way of doing business. Trading farmer and upcountry traders would bring goods to the Kariakoo market, where middlemen received the goods and paid the farmers once they had sold the produce wholesale to retailers. Only with the introduction of small-scale loans to Dar es Salaam businesspeople in the late 1990s did the system of *mali kauli* start to break down in favor of cash-based transactions.

Very closely related to *mali kauli* is the concept of *uaminifu* or trustworthiness/honesty that came up in many interviews with long-standing traders. It is usually with a sense of nostalgia that people talk about what trade was like in the past. Traders really knew each other very well in the colonial and early postcolonial periods, they trusted each other, and they traded goods on that basis of trust. A trading farmer from upcountry usually handed over the produce to a particular middleman at the Kariakoo market. He then waited for the middleman to sell the produce, which usually took a few days. During that time, the upcountry trader slept at the middleman's house. Once the produce was sold, the upcountry trader was paid his share and he went back to his farm. Several long-standing traders described this kind of honesty as a form of credit even though they did not call it credit at the time.

Finally, ethnographic observations and oral history interviews have shown how prevalent small-scale lending and borrowing on a verbal basis was and still is among Kariakoo residents. For small-scale entrepreneurs, much of their time is devoted to claiming outstanding debts

because they tend to sell their goods on credit. Without this kind of verbal credit arrangement, however, they would be unable to do business in the first place. The interviews also show how past events and experiences have shaped how Kariakoo residents perceive present-day lending and borrowing activities. A large majority of small-scale businesspeople are skeptical of bank credits and they tend to describe bank activities by using terminology from the socialist period. For instance, people use the verb “taifisha,” to nationalize, in order to describe the fact that banks seize a borrower’s house in case the borrower is unable to repay the loan in time. The banks, of course, are private companies in present-day Tanzania and the word “to nationalize” may not be completely accurate in this context. But it conjures up the memories of how the socialist state nationalized all the houses of wealthy people in 1971. This illustrates how present-day forms of lending and borrowing are embedded in a very particular history of social and economic relations.

The written sources accessed in fourteen archives located in Tanzania, the United Kingdom, and Germany between 2010 and 2014 provided additional insights. They have been particularly helpful in three different aspects, namely creating maps of credit and debt, understanding state policies, and examining moral discourses around debt in colonial Dar es Salaam. Firstly, archival sources have provided insight into the social and economic networks of credit in Dar es Salaam. Bankruptcy files and inheritance cases show that businesspeople located in colonial Dar es Salaam set up numerous relations of credit and debt with clients as well as suppliers. In fact, the wealthier a businessman was, the more outstanding loans he had and the more loans he had given to other people. This was mainly due to the fact that business was not done on a cash basis but on a credit basis. European suppliers forwarded goods to Dar es Salaam merchants on credit and the Dar es Salaam merchants themselves forwarded the goods to

retailers on credit. As it turns out, these chains of credit were not only a particular characteristic of Dar es Salaam trade in the colonial period but they also continued to be the dominant characteristic of trade in the postcolonial period.

Secondly, the documents held at government archives and university libraries in Dar es Salaam have revealed that credit and the quest to form creditworthy subjects and citizens stood at the heart of policies formulated and implemented by the colonial as well as the postcolonial state. The colonial state in Tanganyika restricted access to bank credit for people depending on their racial identity. In numerous debates, colonial officials legitimated the restriction of Africans' access to credit by presenting the colonial state as the paternalistic protector of Africans, who were supposedly unable to handle money properly and for whom the availability of credit constituted the danger of getting sucked into the spiral of perpetual indebtedness. At the same time, officials grudgingly admitted their own dependence on Asian credit, which made it impossible for them to restrict Asians from accessing and providing credit. In the postcolonial period, the socialist state used credit as a tool to promote President Julius Nyerere's vision of Tanzania as a modern agricultural economy. Banks were nationalized in 1967 and the newly founded National Bank of Commerce allocated credit to socialist *ujamaa* villages rather than urban-based businesspeople. Meanwhile, the newly constructed market complex in Kariakoo, which was opened in 1975, housed numerous consumer cooperative shops run by state parastatals. Similar to *ujamaa* village projects, they were eligible for loans from the National Bank of Commerce. In the post-socialist period since 1985, credit increasingly came to be seen by state and non-state institutions as a way to alleviate poverty, both in rural and urban areas. Former president Jakaya Kikwete in 2005 ran on a platform of assisting the Tanzanian poor with the help of a fund that provided money to microcredit institutions. The various ways of how

different governments allocated credit and legitimized these credit allocations reveal much about state power and how Tanzanian state actors tapped into the powerful moral discourses surrounding credit and debt to govern citizens.

Thirdly, primary sources held at missionary archives and personal papers provide additional insights into moral discourses. Historians have traditionally viewed missionary texts as sources to write about religious, social, and political aspects of history. Here, the missionary sources I have examined account for economic aspects of history and help to gain a better understanding of the moral discourses around the borrowing and lending of money in colonial Dar es Salaam. European missionaries portrayed credit as dangerous because it had the potential of trapping Africans in cycles of debt. They urged Africans in Kariakoo to save money during prosperous times so they would not have to borrow money from supposedly exploitative Muslim moneylenders during hard times. Mission stations provided banking services for Africans while missionaries taught Africans the importance of saving and the dangers of borrowing money. The call to save money was taken up not only by the colonial state but also by the postcolonial state as well as banking institutions, which used credit to promote certain agendas and to create particular kinds of subjects.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 focuses on the intersection of credit, morality, and community in the Kariakoo neighborhood in colonial period. Government officials planned Kariakoo as the “African section” of the city with a grid-like structure of orthogonally intersecting streets and neatly separated from the Asian and European sections by a cordon sanitaire. Although a certain anonymity was inherent in the monotonous and repetitive street layout, the cosmopolitan

residents of the neighborhood, who were of African, Asian, and Arab descent, formed meaningful local communities, usually around corner shops. Members of these “corner communities” were held together by myriad intersecting relations of credit and debt, which in turn were regulated by moral codes embedded in these communities. Membership was defined by a member’s ability to lend or borrow money or goods to another member, according to one’s status and wealth. The existence and effectiveness of moral corner communities also enabled members to buy goods on credit from the nearby shop. For shopkeepers, in turn, the practice of selling goods on credit was a crucial way of asserting membership in Kariakoo. Trust, shame, and respectability were shared notions among members irrespective of their racial and class backgrounds. This understanding of neighborhood sub-communities challenges colonial views of Asian-African relations in Dar es Salaam as oppositional and benefitting only Asians. It also complicates the literature on race relations in urban Tanzania, which views credit relations as merely fostering racial tensions. Actual credit relations routinely crossed racial boundaries. Finally, it exemplifies how Africans were able to create meaningful spaces of belonging in the city. Overall, credit and debt relations were constitutive of urban communities and the urban economy.

Colonial officials held two related mythical beliefs about urban Africans’ financial behavior as examined in chapter 2. Firstly, debt was inherently dangerous for Africans. Since Africans were not able to pay back borrowed money in time, they would get trapped in endless cycles of debts. In 1931 the colonial government enacted the Credit to Natives Ordinance, which prohibited Africans from taking out bank loans. Secondly, Africans did not have the ability to save money. Explanations for this inability varied. Some argued that Africans lived in the moment, were unable to plan ahead, and spent money as soon as they had some. Others

contended that Africans were inherently “unbusiness-like” and did not understand one of the pillars of what Max Weber called “the Protestant ethic,” namely productively reinvesting one’s savings into a business. I redress these beliefs by investigating the one (semi-)formal channel of borrowing and saving to which Africans in colonial Dar es Salaam had unrestricted access: pawnshop credit. Urban Africans borrowed and lent money and goods from and to a whole range of people in the form of verbal credit arrangements such as trade credit, community-based credit institutions, rotating credit and savings associations. However, the only somewhat formal kind of credit for urban Africans was pawnshop credit. The historical picture emerging reveals that urban Africans used pawnshops repeatedly and in large numbers. Africans regularly borrowed money and paid back loans in time. Having access to pawnshop credit could be an indisputable advantage when it came to investing in a side-business, buying seeds for peri-urban gardens, helping a friend clear debts, and affording expenses for a wedding or a funeral. As many Africans in colonial Kariakoo patronized pawnshops on a regular basis, they came to view pawnshop credit as an indispensable aspect of urban life. Even though the colonial government did consider pawnshops morally right, it did not dare ban them. Only the first independent government outlawed pawnshops shortly after independence.

Shops – in Kiswahili *maduka* (sg. *duka*) – had been at the center of economic policies since the late nineteenth century. They were the foil against which a supposedly better, more efficient, more just economic system could be created. Retail shops were the bone of contention prompting the German colonial government to set up a “market hall system” rivaling the “*duka* system.” Government campaigns to reform the retail sector run like a thread through the history of Dar es Salaam. Chapter 3 examines what these campaigns were aimed at: the modus operandi of trade at shops in Dar es Salaam. The advancement of goods on credit and the underlying credit

and debt relations were the defining feature of the *duka* system as well as the reason for its longevity and persistence. To illustrate the concrete trade and credit relationships, the chains of credit, the various types of debt relation as well as the scales of credit and interest rates available to shopkeepers, I follow one particular commodity – textiles – and portray how it was traded in Dar es Salaam shops from the late nineteenth century onwards. I argue that the very convertibility of textiles not only contributed to their high demand and their use as the main medium of exchange; it also facilitated the creation of a system of trade based on credit and personal relations. After independence, state institutions started to play a considerably more important part in the textile trade and production. Newly established textile mills were a source of national pride and symbols of self-reliance. Regional and national distributors, cooperative shops, and factory shops were supposed to completely take over textile retailing from private shops. Despite the increased role of state institutions, however, long-standing trade and credit relations continued to be relevant in the textile trade. When regional distributors went bankrupt, Dar es Salaam wholesale traders provided the credit to finance the textile trade from the factory to their own shops and to urban retailers in Kariakoo.

The market hall formed the geographical, architectural, and symbolical heart of the Kariakoo neighborhood from the construction of first hall in 1914 onwards. It was also at the center of the “market hall system,” an economic policy with roots in the German period, which stand at the center of chapter 4. German – and later British and Tanzanian – authorities attempted to establish a trade system that would rival and eventually replace the *duka* system for the trade in agricultural products. By forcing traders to engage in instant cash transactions rather the credit relations, the German government envisioned the market hall system to turn Africans into better taxpayers and more productive farmers. However, by the 1940s at the latest and probably much

earlier, instant cash transactions were the exception rather than the rule at the Kariakoo market hall. Instead, *mali kauli* – a form of credit based on verbal promises – was the commonly acknowledged practice of trading agricultural goods. The *mali kauli* system allowed wholesale traders to trade relatively large amounts of produce without having to have much cash at their disposal. Traders received upcountry goods from suppliers and they verbally agreed on a price for the goods. Suppliers were paid according to the agreed-upon price once goods were sold to retailers. *Mali kauli* was compatible with Muslim prescriptions concerning commercial activities, which considered charging interest on money sinful. In *mali kauli* credit arrangements, interest was not visible. *Mali kauli* remained the mode of trading agricultural products after independence and after the socialist state increasingly took control of trade in the country via cooperative unions. Even the construction of a new market building – a symbol of socialist modernity and a model for socialist wholesale and retail trade – in 1975 did not interrupt traders’ long-established trade and reliance on *mali kauli* arrangements. *Uaminifu*, “honesty” or “trustworthiness,” was the central notion undergirding *mali kauli*. The *uaminifu* discourse set out business rules, formed a framework of expectations, and compelled Kariakoo traders to cultivate their reputation as trustworthy and honest traders in the eyes of upcountry suppliers and the people in the market and in Dar es Salaam. If traders had the reputation of being honest, they could do business even if they did not have any cash at disposal. Traders’ conceptions of personhood and self-worth were constituted relationally.

The last chapter focuses on the time since the 1990s when the financial sector in Tanzania was deregulated and small and medium-size loans became available to Kariakoo traders. Providers of small bank loans and microcredits in Kariakoo were convinced that their potential clientele was “financially illiterate” and first-time customers of financial institutions.

Creditors' mission was not only to lend money to small traders but also to change borrowers' ways of handling money, conceiving of time, viewing themselves, and relating to other traders. Credit providers understood bank and microcredit loans as a catalyst for the emergence of a new culture of doing business and for the transformation of borrowing traders' subjectivities towards more individualistic concepts of selfhood. Kariakoo traders – especially those of the younger generation – started to take out bank loans and pay their suppliers immediately in cash instead of having to rely on *mali kauli* credit arrangements. This challenged the *mali kauli* system and the conceptions of self-worth and personhood. For traders, who had long relied on verbal promises, the shift to bank loans and written documents constituted a qualitative change. Signed written documents meant that there was a legal obligation to make agreed-upon repayments, which brought about a new experience of time as well. Despite the multi-pronged attempts to create new borrowing and debt-responsible subjects, former conceptions of self and personhood were not entirely undermined. Most Kariakoo traders were skeptical of bank loans and their skepticism referred not only to the technical characteristics and technicalities of these loans such as high interest rates and short repayment periods, but also to the new business culture bank loans were supposed to bring about, which challenged older ways of doing business and their attendant value systems. Traders of the older generation were not willing to submit to the psychological pressure that accompanied bank and microcredit loans. They had built a lifetime of *uaminifu* they could draw on. In the Kariakoo market environment, where communal and trade relations were heavily marked by aspects of credit and debt and shaped by moral discourses on debt, the project of impelling borrowers to re-think themselves as independent, rational, and fiscally responsible entrepreneurs did not unfold uncontestedly. Rather, Kariakoo borrowers perceived small and microcredits against the backdrop of a multi-layered history of borrowing

and lending, histories of dispossession and wealth-creation, and systems of trade. The persistence of older forms of morality and relations of trust served as a way to evaluate and criticize bank loans.

CHAPTER 1—URBAN BELONGING: MORAL NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITIES IN COLONIAL KARIAKOO

In *The Gunny Sack*, Tanzanian novelist M. G. Vassanji reminisced about his childhood growing up in the Kariakoo neighborhood – the “African section” – of Dar es Salaam in the late colonial period. His family, which had their roots in South Asia, had just lost their livelihood and savings and they started a new life in Kariakoo:

We had to start from scratch, borrowing and buying on credit, and we opened a duka [shop] in the African section [of Dar es Salaam], selling kerosene by jigger and packets of spice, and our fortunes never rose again, we were mukhis [chieftains] once, people called us Sharriffu [noble], Germans called us Bwana [Sir], but for forty years and more we stayed poor, changing trades, trying this and trying that, moving from here to there. Collectors would shout and wave their hands, making sure the neighbours heard, and we would pay out of shame even if we had to borrow more money to do it.⁶⁶

Credit was widely used in colonial Kariakoo. Shopkeepers often sold goods on credit in order to maintain good relations with their customers. Various pawnshops provided loans in exchange for everyday goods such as shirts and *kanga* cloths. Workers relied on small credits to get through the “hungry days” before payday. The provision of credit helped street vendors and shopkeepers to start new businesses, expand existing ones, and prevent businesses from collapsing in bad times.

Credit, morality, and community intersected in the cosmopolitan urban society Vassanji and his family lived and did business in. The use of credit was deeply embedded in moral discourses, so the (in)ability to repay debts had moral implications in Kariakoo. The above extract illustrates how collectors of debt drew on moral discourses to challenge debtors’ reputation and sense of pride so as to urge the repayment of borrowings rather than using the legal system and state actors to enforce the repayment of loans. The practices and moralizing

⁶⁶ M. G. Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1989), 53.

discourses of debt and credit considerably shaped communal relations in Kariakoo and credit and debt relations encompassed urban residents across racial categories.

The provision of credit in colonial Kariakoo always involved a considerable amount of trust. Certainly, shopkeepers and pawnshop owners made use of financial and legal measures to gauge the creditworthiness of a debtor. They required securities and used the legal system to minimize potential losses. However, the lenders ran a risk that the borrower would not repay the money, particularly in a neighborhood like Kariakoo where the colonial state was conspicuously absent. Therefore, creditors had to use other means of ensuring the repayment of credit. In other cases, loans were not necessarily expected to be paid back, especially when customers bought goods on credit. The practice of selling goods on credit was widespread and it suggests that shopkeepers did not always give credit with the sole aim of making profit. At times, it was used to foster social ties in the community. Thus, shopkeepers' business conduct and debtors' use of credit are examined in the larger social and cultural context rather than strictly from an economist's point of view.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The discussion of shopkeepers' lives and moral urban communities in colonial Kariakoo in this chapter relies heavily on M. G. Vassanji's novels *The Gunny Sack* and *Uhuru Street*. Both describe the author's experiences growing up as a child of an Asian shopkeeper in late-colonial Kariakoo. Vassanji wrote these books about thirty years after he had lived in Dar es Salaam. Thus, his descriptions stem from a combination of his memory of growing up as a child in Kariakoo, his memory of what his family and friends told him about that time, and his own investigation into his family history. In addition to that, Vassanji's conscious and unconscious forms of remembering have to be read against the events and happenings that took place during the time period between the late 1950s and the actual writing of the books in late 1980s. Therefore, his depiction of Kariakoo (as any historical text) needs to be contextualized. Wherever possible, I use other accounts, such as J. A. K. Leslie's social survey, colonial records, maps, and newspaper articles, to elaborate historically sound arguments. Particularly interesting is Vassanji's conscious acceptance of his African ancestry, which leads him to carefully describe everyday interactions between Kariakoo residents of African and Asian descent.

COSMOPOLITAN KARIAKOO: THE VIEW FROM ABOVE

The thousand faces of Kariakoo ... From the quiet and cool, shady and dark inside of the shop you could see them through the rectangular doorframe as on a wide, silent cinema screen: vendors, hawkers, peddlers, askaris, thieves, beggars and other more ordinary pedestrians making their way in the dust and the blinding glare and the heat, in kanzus, msuris, cutoffs, shorts, khaki or white uniforms, khangas, frocks, buibuis, frock-pachedis ... African, Asian, Arab; Hindu, Khoja, Memon, Shamsi; Masai, Makonde, Swahili ... men and women of different shades and hues and beliefs.⁶⁸

The Kariakoo neighborhood in late-colonial Dar es Salaam was a truly cosmopolitan social space and a veritable market neighborhood. Day after day residents of adjacent and outlying neighborhoods of the city as well as people from the countryside were willing to take the time and spend the money to go to Kariakoo. The central neighborhood's attractions were both economic and social in nature. On the one hand, the neighborhood's covered and open-air markets as well as numerous shops offered a broad variety of goods at low prices. And markets and shops were more than physical sites where goods, foods, and drinks were exchanged for money. They were spaces where social interactions of an urban nature took place. At the central market, buyers listened to the local radio programs and popular songs that were broadcast through loudspeakers; at open-air markets, local bands took advantage of the ready audiences and played their music; shops sold newspapers, which were read and discussed at the shops themselves or at the tea stalls right next to the central market. Shops also sold fashionable textiles such as *kangas* and *kanzus*, which residents wore to express their urban identities. Finally, friends and strangers came together at the *pombe* beer market, which was the only place in town where the popular millet beer was legally sold.

Before getting into the details of how credit and debt relations helped constitute moral neighborhood communities on the ground level of this cosmopolitan urban space, it is worth

⁶⁸ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 85–86.

sketching out the perspective assumed by what Michel de Certeau called the “voyeurs,” i.e. city planners and state officials, who viewed the colonial city from a distance and as abstract geometric space.⁶⁹ The underlying rationale of urban planning tells us something about the imaginations colonial authorities had about urban residents and about the roles these residents were to play. Government officials in colonial Dar es Salaam planned Kariakoo as the “African section” of the city neatly separated from the Asian and European sections by a *cordon sanitaire*. The neighborhood initially also housed soldiers and members of the Carrier Corps serving the colonial army. From a bird’s eye view the neighborhood had all the appearances of a well-ordered section of the city. The structure was thought to create and maintain control and order and, thus, make Kariakoo more easily governable.

In both German and British colonial imaginations, Dar es Salaam was to be a racially segregated town with Europeans, Asians, and Africans residing in their respective racially-defined neighborhoods. During the German colonial period, which ended with the First World War, European and Asians mainly lived in two adjacent neighborhoods near the natural port. Africans tended to reside either in unplanned settlements outside of the European and Asian sections or in the pre-existing villages such as Keko and Kigogo. The German colonial government had not established a separate neighborhood for Africans although segregated living areas for Africans, Asians, and Europeans including a “tote Zone” – a “dead zone” – between the African and the Asian sections existed on paper since 1891.⁷⁰ Only shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, the Germans started to act on the plans of creating a *cordon sanitaire*

⁶⁹ Michel de Certeau, “Walking in the City,” in *The Certeau Reader*, by Michel de Certeau and Graham Ward (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

⁷⁰ Anthony, “Culture and society in a town in transition”; Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime & Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (London: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2005), 44–45; Anders Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam* (Lund: Royal University of Lund Department of Geography, 1985), 54.

between the Asian and African neighborhoods. A colonial official wrote in October 1913 that about half of the inhabitants of the “dead zone” would be willing to sell their houses and plots provided they receive an adequate compensation and a new plot elsewhere in town.⁷¹ By then Dar es Salaam had a population of around 22,500 people of whom 19,000 were of African and 2,500 of Asian descent.⁷² Sixteen years later – at the end of the 1920s –, the British administration of Dar es Salaam resumed the German plan and established an “Open Space Area” between what was now called “Zone II” (the Asian section) and “Zone III” (the African section). “The policy of creating this broad neutral belt separating Zone III, the native area, from Zones I and II has been steadily carried out without hardship to the natives, who have received land in other parts of Zone III chiefly in the recently created extension known as Borman’s shamba.”⁷³ Colonial attitudes towards race and urban living had left their marks on the residential pattern in Dar es Salaam. By 1932, the creation of the cordon sanitaire was complete as the area had been “cleaned” of coconut trees and human residents.⁷⁴

Cleanliness and order were the central terms around which urban policies in colonial Dar es Salaam were framed. The general colonial understanding of urban conditions was that they were unhealthy, which generated a constant discourse about public health and sanitation. Just as in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth in the early 1900s, separation policies in Dar es Salaam were couched in the language of hygiene and sanitation.⁷⁵ “In the interest of public health,”

⁷¹ October 12, 1913, TNA: G4/49: “Kommunal-Angelegenheiten Daressalaam. Bd. 3: 1913-1915.”

⁷² Burton, *African Underclass*, 45.

⁷³ Annual Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam for the year 1929 by Senior Commissioner, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

⁷⁴ Annual Report for 1931, TNA: “Tanganyika Territory: District Officer’s Reports Dar es Salaam Districts, 1931-1937.”

⁷⁵ Maynard Swanson, “The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909,” *Journal of African History* 18, no. 3 (1977): 387–410.

neighborhoods such as the Upanga Area, which had been placed within the European residential zone, were turned into racially-exclusive residential areas in the interwar period. In the words of the Executive Officer of the Township Authority, “the Township Authority cannot doubt from advice given to it by the Health Authorities that the methods of life of these natives are a constant menace to the health of its [the neighborhood’s] non-native community.”⁷⁶ The ninety-nine “native huts” obviously did not qualify as “buildings of European type” and had to be removed. Many African residents including the Tambaza family relocated to the Kariakoo area.⁷⁷

Notions of health and sanitation also informed the lay-out of the new urban neighborhoods of Kariakoo. Straight streets were thought to both improve hygienic conditions and government control. German plans for an African neighborhood on a grid pattern existed but they were never realized. Shortly after World War One, the Senior Commissioner in the British colonial administration noted that “great efforts have been made towards improving the sanitation and general lay-out: a higher standard has been exacted, especially in the better quarters, and a considerable new area has been surveyed and cut up into plots for native occupants. All this has done much to straighten streets, increase the comfort of the population, and also to facilitate administration.”⁷⁸ This new area was the Kariakoo neighborhood and it came to be characterized by its orthogonally intersecting streets, which contrasted starkly with the convoluted and narrow streets of the Asian section to the east of the “Native Quarters” (see figure 1.1).

⁷⁶ Letter by P.C., Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, December 16, 1935, TNA: 12589: “Dar-es-Salaam Township, Lay-out of.”

⁷⁷ Abdallah Mohamed Tambaza, interview with author, March 21, 2013, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

⁷⁸ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1923, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”



Figure 1.1: Map of Dar es Salaam, March 1918. The “Native Quarters” are located in the western area of the Dar es Salaam.⁷⁹

Malaria also formed an important concept in the discourse on urban planning, both in the interwar and the postwar period. In the Kariakoo area, schemes for draining the swamp at Mgogoni, the Gerezani Creek, and Msimbazi Creek were planned and realized in order to control malaria. The drainage of the Msimbazi Creek, which was only completed after WWII, opened up land for the establishment of recreational grounds just to the north of Kariakoo known as Jangwani.⁸⁰ A recurrent problem of sanitation in Kariakoo was the sewage system. In 1956,

⁷⁹ Map of Dar es Salaam, March 1918, PRO: MPG 1/1086.

⁸⁰ Letter by the Director of Medical Services to the Member for Social Services, Dar es Salaam, February 18, 1954, TNA: ACC 39/SS 3/43/08: “Malaria in Dar-es-Salaam; Minutes, July 4,

Kariakoo resident Ahmed Abdalla complained that the “[t]he daily overflow [sic] of the dirty water from the cesspit ... is not only a nuisance to the neighbouring houses but also to the public. The daily overflow of the dirty water spreads and runs to Pemba Street and then right to Livingstone Street, and the very bad smell emanating from this stench is more than a man can be expected to bear. This has created every fear that serious disease might result to people living nearby here.”⁸¹ Garbage collection was inadequate as well, mainly because the Sanitation Department did not have the necessary machinery. In 1924, the Senior Commissioner complained that “[t]he Ox Carts are slow and too small. They should be scraped for obvious reasons and at least six more motor lorries of large capacity obtained for the use of the town generally.”⁸² Another health concern, which was directly related to urban planning, was the port in Dar es Salaam. Because of the fear of infectious diseases from outside, the Public Health Department was deeply involved in controlling ships, warehouses, etc.⁸³ These sanitary issues, in turn, served as the basis of legitimacy for restricting trade and business premises in Kariakoo.

The racist aspects of this discourse of sanitation and urban planning were always obvious and explicit. The Asian section or “Indian Bazaar” was persistently described in the least favorable light. “This section [the Indian Bazaar] of the Township is very congested and the conditions under which people live, Asiatics chiefly, are often thoroughly insanitary.”⁸⁴ Space

1953,” and October 4, 1954, TNA: ACC 39/SS 3/43/014: “Anti-Malarial Drainage and Reclamation of the Msimbazi Creek Area.”

⁸¹ Letter by Ahmed Abdalla, resident at 29 Pemba Street, Dar es Salaam, to the Medical Officer of Health, Dar es Salaam, February 8, 1956, TNA: ACC 39/SS 3/37/03: “Health & Sanitary Measures, Dar es Salaam Municipality.”

⁸² Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1924 by Senior Commissioner, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

⁸³ Minutes, May 5, 1954, TNA: ACC 39/SS 3/37/03: “Health & Sanitary Measures, Dar es Salaam Municipality.”

⁸⁴ Annual Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam for the year 1929 by Senior Commissioner, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.” For Zanzibar,

was limited in the Asian section because the neighborhood was demarcated by the European and African neighborhoods and, thus, there was no room for expansion. In 1929, John Pashen had drawn up a plan to develop the Upanga neighborhood into a residential area for Asians, but Asian housing was not a government priority and the Pashen Plan was never fully realized.⁸⁵ At a Township Authority meeting, it was stated that “Dar es Salaam had no real scheme for town planing [sic]. In theory there was the Pashen plan, but in practice that was quite unworkable, and there was nothing to put in its place.”⁸⁶ Although overcrowding was a real problem, the way colonial officials described the low sanitary standards in the Asian section fit too neatly into the colonial discourse of Asians in Tanganyika. They were out-of-place, bearers of disease, potentially dangerous for Africans, and a problematic part of colonial society. Sometimes, Asians were presented as the Oriental “other” that was not compatible with western, and African, values and ways of living:

[T]he large proportion of very low class types [of Asians] renders all measures connected with sanitation most difficult of application, the more so, since the rackrenting landlord is unfortunately by no means rare. The religion and psychology of the Oriental also furnish complications; a comparatively well-to-do man, possibly in Government employment, will gravely state that he prefers miserable and insanitary surroundings, since he thereby acquires additional spiritual merit; the love of extreme privacy, particularly as regards their womenfolk, also tends to create dark, ill-ventilated, unhealthy dwellings. The result is obvious, in the terrible figures of Indian child mortality, which, even allowing for all sources of inaccuracy, are some four times as great as those of the European and African communities.⁸⁷

see Garth Andrew Myers, *Disposable Cities: Garbage, Governance and Sustainable Development in Urban Africa* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005).

⁸⁵ Sarah L. Smiley, “The City of Three Colors: Segregation in Colonial Dar es Salaam, 1891-1961,” *Historical Geography* 37 (2009): 189.

⁸⁶ The Tanganyika Standard, October 8, 1943, accessed at TNA: 13483: “Town Planning Schemes D’Salaam.”

⁸⁷ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1924 by Senior Commissioner, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

CREDIT AND COLONIAL ECONOMIC RATIONALITY

The architectural and hygienic orderliness of colonial urban planning was complemented by a vision of economic and commercial orderliness. The German and British colonial administrations made the distinction between two systems of trade: the problematic “*duka* system” and the desirable “market hall system.” The *duka* system was based on credit relations between Asian shopkeepers and African traders and farmers. Shopkeepers typically advanced textiles on credit to customers in exchange for agricultural products. Colonial authorities depicted the credit-based *duka* system as morally wrong because, in their view, it allowed unscrupulous Asians to exploit helpless Africans.⁸⁸ Shopkeepers were seen as problematic and in need of reform, and colonial governments periodically aimed to reform the opaque and difficult-to-control *duka* system by forcing shopkeepers to use cash transactions only and to keep account books in German or English.⁸⁹ As a more radical measure, colonial authorities proposed to abolish the *duka* system completely and replace it with the market hall system in which products were to be traded publicly in a central market hall located at every town in the colony including, of course, in Dar es Salaam. Again, transactions were to be made on cash rather than credit basis.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ “La pratique du crédit est souvent citée par les sources européennes comme l’un des problèmes centraux dans les relations entre les marchands indiens et leur clientèle africaine” (Franck Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)” (Ph.D. Thesis, 2008), 116).

⁸⁹ Only in the post-World War Two period did the colonial government come to think of shops not as problems but as useful tools to shape African consumers’ tastes and desires and to prevent Africans from hoarding money; see Fergus Chalmers Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika: An Enquiry into the Distribution and Consumption of Commodities among Africans Carried Out in 1952-1953* (London: H. M. Stationery Off, 1955).

⁹⁰ In-depth discussions of the *duka* system and the market hall system are to be found in chapters three and four.

The market hall system was at the heart of the German urban economic policies and the German colonial administration initiated the move of the main market hall from the edge of the Asian section of town to what was to become the “African section” of town. The completion of the market hall coincided with the outbreak of the First World War so the market hall was immediately turned into a military barrack for porters. When the British took control of the city in 1916, they continued to use it for their Carrier Corps.⁹¹ The presence of the Carrier Corps in the market hall inspired the neighborhood residents to use a Kiswahili-ized version of the name carrier corps – “Kariakoo” – for the entire neighborhood.⁹² Only when the war ended, did it finally fulfill its intended function as a market hall.

The rationale behind creating market halls was to bring order in the supposed chaos of market transactions and to break up credit relations between Asian shopkeepers and African farmers and small traders. Again, discussions about urban planning were wrapped in the language of hygiene and sanitation, also with regards to economic policies. The example of the so-called “shark market” located in Kariakoo makes explicit the link between health concerns and urban planning. It also demonstrates the colonial government’s preference for the market hall system over the *duka* system. And it hints at the limits of the colonial government power to control the urban economy.⁹³

⁹¹ James Brennan, “Nation, Race and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1916-1976” (Ph.D. Thesis, Northwestern University, 2002), 46–47.

⁹² James R. Brennan and Andrew Burton, “The Emerging Metropolis: A History of Dar Es Salaam, circa 1862-2000,” in *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis*, by James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton, and Yusufu Qwaray Lawi (African Books Collective, 2007), 13–75.

⁹³ Urban spaces such as a Kariakoo in Dar es Salaam were different from rural areas, also in legal matters (see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)). In October 1934, Dar es Salaam Township was officially separated from the rest of the Dar es Salaam District (Annual Report 1935, TNA: “Tanganyika Territory: District Officer’s Reports Dar es Salaam Districts,

For much of the early history of Dar es Salaam, shark meat was a popular food for the African population. It was relatively cheap and an important source of protein. Shark meat was both locally produced and imported on dhows from the Arabian Peninsula. Monsoon winds only allowed for the import of shark meat seasonally so imported shark meat had to be stored between dhow seasons. Initially, shark meat traders, who were mostly of Arab descent, stored the shark meat in their houses and sold it at their shops located at various sites in Dar es Salaam. The British colonial government considered the storage and sale of shark meat in shops problematic due to sanitary concerns and, in 1924, it decided to abolish the *duka* system and re-organize the shark meat trade along the lines of the market hall system noting “the advantages of setting the trade concentrated into one building where it can be controlled and supervised.” A central shark market was erected in Kariakoo “for the sale of the popular if unsavoury delicacy,” although traders did not initially appreciate the new shark market.⁹⁴ Only four years later, a new and more spacious shark market was constructed housing a total of eighteen stalls instead of the previous sixteen.⁹⁵ Despite shark meat traders’ initial resistance, the government successfully implemented its vision of a centralized, regulated, and easy-to-control market for shark meat instead of its sale at unhygienic shops scattered throughout town.⁹⁶

1931-1937”). The regulation of markets was different for urban and rural markets. Rural markets were regulated by Native Administrations and fees were paid into Native Treasuries. Urban markets such as the public market hall in Kariakoo, on the other hand, were much more directly controlled by colonial authorities, who had the power to enforce regulations such as making the use of the market compulsory. These rules were made in the Townships Ordinance, 1920, and later in the Market Ordinance, 1928. Letter by Attorney General, Dar es Salaam, February 10, 1928, TNA: AB. 1031: “Market Procedure Regarding Dues etc.”

⁹⁴ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1924, TNA: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

⁹⁵ Annual Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam for the year 1928, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

⁹⁶ Around the same time, beer sale in Kariakoo was re-organized along almost identical lines and based on a similar legitimation. Beer shops located in various part of town were closed down in

After World War Two, the British colonial government drew again on the discourse of sanitation and hygiene to effect policy changes with regards to urban trade. In 1952 the Municipal Council “wished to demolish the existing [shark] market on health grounds” and it was argued that the smell of shark meat was not appreciated by all sections of the community.⁹⁷ In subsequent discussions among colonial officials, the removal of the market was justified on the basis of “public health reasons” and of shark meat being “such a noxious substance” warning that “the odour of Msimbazi Street will permeate the town” if no solution to the shark meat trade is found.⁹⁸ “Municipal Council has long been pressing for the demolition of the present Shark Market and, from the Public Health point of view, Municipal Council will be interested in the proper construction and management of the new Shark Store.”⁹⁹

The Dar es Salaam Municipality and the colonial government debated over who was to finance the construction of the new shark market and whether a shark market was still needed in the first place. The Municipality argued that the provision of shark meat was of national importance and not only a Dar es Salaam affair because shark meat was taken to upcountry areas. The Municipality turned down an offer by the colonial government to provide a loan of 2000 pounds at six per cent interest rate per annum and demanded that the funds for the

1926 and the sale of beer was centralized in one “Government Beer Hall” or the *pombe* market, where twelve licensees were allowed to sell beer (Report on the Eastern Province of Tanganyika Territory, 1926, TNA: AB.41: “Annual Report 1926, Eastern Province”).

⁹⁷ August 24, 1954; August 28, 1954, TNA: ACC 183/UW/81510/I: “D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

⁹⁸ Msimbazi Street is one of the main streets in Kariakoo. R.H. Robertson, February 28, 1956; June 4, 1956; C.C. Harris, District Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, October 23, 1956, TNA: “ACC 183/UW/81510/I: D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

⁹⁹ M.L.G., Minutes, June 21, 1956, TNA: “ACC 183/UW/81510/I: D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

construction of the new shark market should be fully provided by the colonial government.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, the shark market traders inserted themselves into the discussion by writing letters to the Governor of the Tanganyika Territory, Edward Twining. The traders, who were all of Arab descent, noted that it was “in the interests of africans [sic]” to make the provision of shark meat available in Dar es Salaam because it was a wholesome food affordable for lower-class

Africans.¹⁰¹ “We consider this matter so important to the stability of our economy to justify your immediate sympathetic and fatherly consideration.”¹⁰² Furthermore, “Government is under moral obligation to provide us with alternative facilities” and “we are confident Government will have no desire to be party to the increase of the cost of living of Africans.”¹⁰³ Eventually, the colonial government made the eighteen shark meat traders pay part of the funds for the construction of the new market as a way of them more “responsible” and more “productive” people.

The concern with “development” and ownership was characteristic for colonial policies in the post-World War II period. A focus on urban housing illustrates the British colonial government’s attitude towards loans and credit, how colonial policies changed before and after World War Two, and what role housing credit was imagined to play in creating new urban subjectivities. Especially at the periphery of town, indebted Dar es Salaam residents sometimes

¹⁰⁰ Letter by Acting member for local government, to the P.C., Eastern, June 15, 1956, TNA: ACC 183/UW/81510/I: “D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

¹⁰¹ Letter by the Shark Market Stall Holders to His Excellency Sir Edward Twining, Governor and Commander in Chief, T.T., Dar es Salaam, April 21, 1956, TNA: ACC 183/UW/81510/I: “D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

¹⁰² Letter by the Shark Market Stall Holders to His Excellency Sir Edward Twining, Governor and Commander in Chief, T.T., Dar es Salaam, December 22, 1955, TNA: ACC 183/UW/81510/I: “D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

¹⁰³ Letter by the Shark Market Stallholders to the Officer Administering the Government, June 16, 1957, TNA: ACC 183/UW/81510/I: “D’Salaam Municipality – Boundaries Layout and Markets.”

resorted to the option of selling land or houses when they were unable to clear their debts.¹⁰⁴ In 1929, Mohamed bin Hassan, identified as “Zaramo” and a “Native,” wanted to sell land in the Ukonga area just outside of Dar es Salaam in order to pay outstanding debts.¹⁰⁵ The only willing buyer was Alidina Datu Patel, a man of Asian descent. The current occupier of the land, Sebi bin Mbaruk, expressed his fears that his family might no longer be allowed to live on the land if it was sold to Asians. Thus, Sebi asked the district government “not to allow the sale on the grounds that his community are poor and that if once an Indian gets a footing at Ukonga it will be the beginning of their end.” Colonial authorities were generally wary of Africans selling land to Asians, and the District Officer stated “I feel that it would be politically unsound to allow a Non-Native to acquire a holding in this community.”¹⁰⁶ The Land Officer, on the other hand, simply made the rather unrealistic suggestion that Sebi raise the purchase price of 500 shillings to keep the property for his family.¹⁰⁷ In another land case from the same year, the District Officer again expressed his discomfort with Asians acquiring African land in Dar es Salaam. “[N]ative owned land in the township of Dar-es-salaam is rapidly passing into the possession of non-natives who are mostly of Asian nationality. This general process is causing me some uneasiness.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ For the German colonial period, see Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 70.

¹⁰⁵ Letter by District Officer, Dar es Salaam, to Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, January 2, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

¹⁰⁶ District Officer, Dar es Salaam, January 18, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

¹⁰⁷ Land Officer, Dar es Salaam, April 17, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

¹⁰⁸ Case of Conveyance of land between Indu and Mfiti Mwinyimkuu (Africans) and Ashabhai Kashibhai Patel (Asians) in Dar es Salaam, District Officer, Dar es Salaam, to the Land Officer, Dar es Salaam, July 30, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

Indebtedness was a reason for Africans to sell land, and it was a motive for selling houses in Dar es Salaam as well. House owners in the “African section” of Dar es Salaam sometimes became indebted to their residents, for instance when one of their residents ran a shop in the house and routinely sold the house owner goods on credit.¹⁰⁹ Kariakoo resident Fawzi Said’s father used to sell ginger at the old Kariakoo market hall. He eventually became a wholesale trader and was able to buy a house in the Gerezani section of Kariakoo, which is the house Fawzi lives in today. The price for the house was 2000 Shillings, which was a lot of money at the time. He was not able to pay the total sum in cash but he provided the owner of the house with small amounts of goods over an extended period of time until he had paid 1000 Shillings. Then he paid 500 Shillings in cash and moved into the house while paying the remaining 500 Shillings again in small portions.¹¹⁰ In cases like these, the relationship between tenant and landlord came to resemble a creditor-debtor relationship. House owners could also take out mortgages on their houses. When house owners in Kariakoo were unable to repay debts or mortgages, they sold their houses, sometimes also to families of Asian and Arab descent.¹¹¹ This was much to the dislike of the colonial government, which had designated Kariakoo the “African section” of town. The colonial government’s response to “the steady infiltration of Asians” into Kariakoo¹¹² in the interwar period was to prohibit Africans from taking out loans, which culminated in the Credit to Natives Ordinance of 1923.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Leslie described how a shopkeeper acquired a house because the landlord became increasingly indebted to the shopkeeper as the landlord was buying goods at the shop on credit (Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 142).

¹¹⁰ Fawzi Said, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Gerezani, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, December 25, 2012.

¹¹¹ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 142.

¹¹² Memorandum, Housing Conditions, Dar es Salaam, Asians, n.d. [1943], TNA: 24387: “Improvement to Native Houses.”

¹¹³ Brennan, *Taifa*, 36. For more on the Credit to Natives Ordinance, see chapter 2.

Before World War Two, Kariakoo residents themselves took the initiative and used their own money and labor to build houses, while the colonial government did not play an overly active role in shaping the building of and financing of houses in Kariakoo even though colonial officers repeatedly lamented the poor quality of housing and the dangers this entailed for the health of the entire urban population.¹¹⁴ The kind of houses people usually built in the African section of Dar es Salaam came to be referred to as “Swahili houses.” They contained six rooms aligned in two rows separated by a hallway. The house owner usually rented out three to five of the rooms to generate income. The courtyard in the back was shared by all parties and constituted a semi-private living space where house dwellers cooked, washed, and received visitors. Swahili houses in Kariakoo typically did not have electricity, piped waters supply, or water-borne sanitation. Swahili houses gave form to a distinct way of urban living as they provided the space in which people with various backgrounds had to figure out ways of living together, interacting, co-operating, and solving conflicts. A considerable number of houses were owned by women, who had made money in the urban economy through such activities as petty trade and sex work.¹¹⁵ By the late-colonial period, one tenth of the inhabitants of Kariakoo owned one or more houses in Dar es Salaam. House owners rented out rooms for relatively little money but they were still able to generate a steady income. They usually charged people of relative wealth more rent than ordinary workers and underemployed people. Asian families could also rent rooms in Kariakoo but they had to seek prior approval from the government and take

¹¹⁴ In one case, a colonial officer argued that new and better houses would help mitigate the malaria threat (*Tanganyika Standard* newspaper, August 7, 1943, accessed at TNA: 24387: “Improvement to Native Houses”).

¹¹⁵ “It is often a mystery how natives manage to build their houses especially the old women who will embark on the building of a house with no sensible means at their disposal but what they can make from the sale of rice cakes and fried fish” (E. C. Baker, “Memorandum on the Social Conditions of Dar es Salaam,” 25, copy in SOAS special collections; see also Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 117, 178).

out a Right of Occupancy. This was not always done, especially when house owners could charge Asians higher rent in exchange.¹¹⁶ Asians eventually bought some houses in the African section, which prompted much debate among colonial authorities.

In the postwar period, the colonial government changed its attitude towards urban housing and took on a much more interventionist stance. As Fred Cooper has described for postwar Mombasa, the goal was to create particular urban subjectivities or, in the language of contemporary colonial officials, a “stable and tranquil” urban African population.¹¹⁷ An important aspect of the “respectable” urban living entailed accommodation, and the colonial government actively promoted the ideal of home ownership. A white paper on urban housing stated that “much has been done to cope with the demand for housing in general, to provide permanent, if modest, living quarters for some of the increasing urban population, and to mitigate the problem of overcrowding. But as a major principle of policy house ownership must be encouraged in every way. A stable and contented population can only be assured if large numbers are the owners of houses.”¹¹⁸ The ideal of home ownership itself was pervasive in different strata of society, also among African residents. To be sure, the colonial government put

¹¹⁶ Municipal Secretary, Dar es Salaam, September 29, 1938, TNA: ACC 61/490: “African Welfare and Commercial Association, Dar es Salaam.”

¹¹⁷ Frederick Cooper, *On the African Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). “It is only during the last few years that the question [of housing] has come into prominence. It is obvious that the provision of proper and adequate housing is a major factor in maintaining a stable and tranquil society, and that per contra lack of suitable homes leads to discontent and restlessness among the population” (J.F.R. Hill, Member for Communication, Works and Development Planning, October 13, 1953, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee”).

¹¹⁸ No author, n.d. [mid-1950s], TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee.”

particular emphasis on the “permanency” of houses.¹¹⁹ Colonial officials went so far as to outline the specific construction materials necessary for a house to be considered permanent and thus suitable for respectable urban residents.¹²⁰ In a two-page document, they described 17 aspects that qualify urban houses as permanent. In addition to “Floor,” “Walls,” and “Roof,” these aspects also included a detailed description of “Decoration.”¹²¹ The costs for a “permanent” three-room house were estimated to be £300, about the same as a “traditional” six-room Swahili house.¹²² Africans shared the ideal of home ownership and the number of African house owners grew in the postwar period. In 1956 the number stood at over 8000, which was equal to 19 per cent of the African population. In Kariakoo, 10 percent of the African population owned one or two houses.¹²³ For urban Africans, the ownership of a house was a way to invest savings, a means to generate income by renting rooms out to lodgers, and a form of insurance against indigence in old age.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ The Asian population also felt strongly about home ownership in Dar es Salaam. When the Aga Khan advised his Ismaili followers in the postwar period to build houses wherever they were residing, it boosted the house construction industry in Dar es Salaam. In Kariakoo, however, home ownership among Asians was a contested subject. The colonial government did not like to see Asians acquiring and building houses in the Kariakoo neighborhood because it was supposed to be reserved for Africans. For a collection of articles on the “housing question,” see Edward Murphy and Najib B. Hourani, *The Housing Question from High Modernist to Neoliberal Urbanism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

¹²⁰ Construction materials are still a much-debated political issue in Dar es Salaam today but it is now discussed in the context of security and bribery. During my research stay in Dar es Salaam, a 16-storey building, which was under construction, collapsed in the city center killing 36 people on March 29, 2013. The constructors were accused of using sub-standard construction material the government was criticized for not enforcing building standards.

¹²¹ TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: “General Specification for Typical Houses Built Under the Urban Loan Fund.”

¹²² J.F.R. Hill, Member for Communication, Works and Development Planning, October 13, 1953, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee.”

¹²³ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 153, 261.

¹²⁴ Memorandum. Housing Conditions. Dar es Salaam [1943], TNA: 24387: “Improvement to Native Houses.” The value of a plot in Kariakoo was estimated at Shs. 3,000/- (Letter by District

What is particularly interesting for the purposes of this study is *how* the colonial government promoted home ownership among urban Africans. Colonial officials imagined the provision of urban housing loans to be a way to create a stable and contented urban middle class.¹²⁵ In 1953, it established the African Urban Housing Loan Fund to enable Africans to build their own houses. Special plots in the new Magomeni neighborhood were set aside for loan applicants, who had to deposit one-third of the estimated cost of the house. The loan had to be repaid at 4.5 per cent in monthly installments over a time period of twenty years. While the colonial government considered credit dangerous and harmful for Africans in the interwar period, after WWII colonial authorities imagined specific loans to bring about desirable new urban African subjectivities. The provision of credit was a specific art of governance through which the colonial government put to use an ideal shared by both rulers and ruled to shape new urban subjectivities. Member of the Urban Housing Loans Committee argued that the “psychology of ownership” was crucial in so far as Africans would only value their houses if they owned them,¹²⁶ echoing the government’s argument with regards to the construction of the new shark market mentioned above.

The problem was that few Africans could afford to put down the initial one-third of the capital cost needed to qualify for these loans. Also, according to J. F. R. Hill involved in Works and Development Planning, “Few Africans would, at present, be sufficiently far seeing” to appreciate the generous terms of the loans. Therefore, he suggested, “unorthodox methods” were

Commissioner, Kisarawe, to the P.C., Eastern, March 3, 1949, TNA: 29538: “Native Courts in Dar es Salaam Township”).

¹²⁵ No author, n.d. [mid-1950s], TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee.”

¹²⁶ Minutes of the fifteenth meeting of the urban housing loans committee, January 14, 1959, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/033: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Agenda and Minutes.”

required to hand out these loans and promote house ownership among Africans.¹²⁷ And indeed, as a way to popularize housing loans, the contribution to receive a loan was reduced from one third of the capital cost to one twentieth of the capital cost or even less. With a contribution of £25, one could get a loan of £500 or more. Consequently, these loans became hugely popular and the funds of £50,000 set aside by the Legislative Council for housing loans for the year 1957 and the £75,000 set aside for 1958 turned out to be insufficient.¹²⁸ The sudden rise in demand for these loans that set in once the loan conditions were eased also dispelled colonial officers' earlier doubts that Africans would react to loan conditions "rationally."¹²⁹ Overall, housing loans are an example of how creditors aimed to shape debtors through loans and conditions. Most explicitly, D. C. Hill stated that "it was His Excellency's idea to try and encourage a stable middle class African group to emerge as a result of these loans."¹³⁰

¹²⁷ "Few Africans would, at present, be sufficiently far seeing for such a proposition. It is not at all easy therefore to devise a system by which Africans can acquire houses of a permanent nature and it is probably impossible unless unorthodox methods are pursued. Strict adherence to the business methods of building societies, and the total elimination of risks or subsidies, would not enable many to participate" (J. F. R. Hill, Member for Communication, Works and Development Planning, October 13, 1953, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: "Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee").

¹²⁸ Letter by D. C. Hill, Officer in Charge, African Urban Housing Loans & Investments, October 27, 1957, and November 26, 1958, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: "Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee."

¹²⁹ The new houses were also supposed to improve the public health situation as they helped to mitigate the malaria threat. The creation of a permanent urban middle class with the help of housing loans was not always a straightforward matter as not all receivers of housing loans in fact used them to build or improve houses. Hussein Omari Mwagao, a resident of Mwanza on Lake Victoria, used a loan provided by the Local Development Loan Fund to invest in a timber transportation business rather than to build a house in Mwanza. The borrower was eventually imprisoned for six months because he sold the chattels he used as security to receive another loans from the same fund (Letter by Officer in Charge, African Housing Loans & Investments, October 25, 1957, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/036: "Urban Housing Loans Committee. Memorandum to Committee").

¹³⁰ Minutes of the 13th meeting of the Urban Housing Loan Funds Committee, May 30, 1958, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/033: "Urban Housing Loans Committee. Agenda and Minutes."

However, the creation of a stable urban middle-class of house owners ran into difficulties. Despite the eased conditions for urban housing loans, poor Africans were not able to raise enough money to make the required down payment, and they felt that the loan scheme favored wealthy Africans. And even those who received housing loans did not always make “proper use of the loan” as far as the colonial government was concerned. Instead of building “modern” three-room houses for their nuclear families, they continued to build six-roomed Swahili-type houses, which offered the house owners the possibility of generating income by renting out room to lodgers. Furthermore, the number of urban housing loans offered was far too small to actually create an urban middle class worthy of its name. The number of current loans provided was a mere 98 in September 1958.¹³¹ While “[t]he object of the scheme was to ‘prime the pump’ to encourage private enterprise to loan monies to Africans for building houses,” the colonial government’s willingness to subsidize urban housing loans was ultimately too short-termed and too small in scale. By late 1958, the demand for these loans had already outstripped the supply of money available. Already in October 1959, there were calls from within the colonial government to stop subsidizing urban housing loans and to provide loans on a commercial basis to much less favorable conditions instead.¹³²

¹³¹ Minutes of the 16th meeting of the Urban Housing Loan Funds Committee, March 11, 1959; Quarterly Report on Loan Funds Available to Africans, September 30, 1958, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/033: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Agenda and Minutes.”

¹³² Letter by Assistant Director Administrator, Dar es Salaam, to the Ministry of Urban Local Government and Works, Dar es Salaam, October, 1959; Minutes of the 14th meeting of the Urban Housing Loan Funds Committee, December 4, 1958, TNA: ACC 183/LG/139/033: “Urban Housing Loans Committee. Agenda and Minutes.”

COSMOPOLITAN KARIAKOO: THE VIEW FROM THE GROUND

While the colonial government's vision of Dar es Salaam was quite clear and unambiguous, community life in colonial Kariakoo did not always comply with colonial ideas of urban living and livelihoods. Therefore, a switch of perspectives back to the street level along the lines suggested by de Certeau is in order here. De Certeau argued that city planners and state officials' image of the city as a connected grid and a unified field largely fails to grasp the complexity of the city, which people practice at ground level. In everyday life, "walkers" on the ground are the writers of urban text, which ultimately evade the totalizing eye of the voyeurs. They experience the city by making multifaceted use of streets and other urban spaces. Comparing walkers' pedestrian movements to speech acts, de Certeau argued that walking has the potential of transgressing the forms laid out by planners. By engaging in the everyday acts of walking, urban dwellers are able to turn urban space into their own place. Adopting different styles, walkers make urban space more dense or open gaps. Appropriating and manipulating proper names such as street names also provides a means to make urban spaces meaningful for walkers. Narrating local legends generates memories of local places that are personal and that may contradict official narratives. For instance, the bird's eye view of the Kariakoo grid-system of streets had all the appearances of a well-ordered neighborhood. It resulted in a repetitive succession of rather monotonous and look-alike street intersections and inhabitants of the wealthier downtown area were often unable to distinguish one street corner from another when they visited Kariakoo.¹³³ Kariakoo residents, on the other hand, appropriated this urban space and were able to distinguish different intersection according to the respective corner shop at the corner community there.

¹³³ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 100.

Thus, lived spatial relations in the city partially escape and contest the panoptic gaze of urban planners and administrators, to which Foucauldian approaches attribute much power.¹³⁴ First of all, insufficient investments in infrastructure and government oversight as well as rapid urban growth led to a conspicuous lack of government control despite the fact that the ordered layout of the African section was to make the neighborhood easily governable. The racially defined sections of Dar es Salaam were assigned different levels of investment in infrastructure and services, which was consistent with colonial policies. Water kiosks, for instance, were few and far between and water-borne sewage was lacking completely.¹³⁵ The levels of investment in the African section were so low they worked against the goal of making Kariakoo an easily governable and controllable urban space. Streetlights are a case in point. By 1944, there were merely twenty-four streetlights in the African section.¹³⁶ Thus, the colonial government restricted Africans to certain parts of the town at night and required them to carry a light in all areas at night,¹³⁷ a policy which was not easily enforceable and which was indicative of the lack of control the colonial government exercised in the African sections of town.

Population growth in Dar es Salaam was rapid, and the colonial government proved unable to enforce restrictions. The number of Africans in Dar es Salaam grew from an estimated 20,000 in 1921 to 24,000 only three years later. It slightly decreased to 22,734 in 1931 mainly because of the global economic recession, only to increase to 33,000 before World War Two and

¹³⁴ Certeau, "Walking in the City." For an early effort to write a history of Dar es Salaam from the perspectives of Africans, see Anthony, "Culture and Society in a Town in Transition."

¹³⁵ J.M. Lusugga Kironde, "Race, Class and Housing in Dar es Salaam: The Colonial Impact on Land Use Structure, 1891-1961," in *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis*, by James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton, and Yusufu Qwaray Lawi (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2007), 114; Sarah L. Smiley, "Patterns of Urban Life and Urban Segregation in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania" (University of Kansas, 2007), 106–107.

¹³⁶ John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 386.

¹³⁷ Burton, *African Underclass*, 164–165.

45,000 in 1943.¹³⁸ The African population in town was extraordinarily multi-ethnic and men outnumbered women. In 1931, for instance, Africans in Dar es Salaam represented 159 different tribes and two thirds were men.¹³⁹ Dar es Salaam's Asian population also grew quickly. In 1921, there were 4005 Asian residents of whom 600 had commercial occupations,¹⁴⁰ and ten years later, the number stood at 9491 most of whom were male and born in India.¹⁴¹

Second of all, despite the fact that Kariakoo was planned as the "African section" of the city, almost a quarter of Kariakoo residents were of South Asian origin. Due to a lack of space in the Asian section of town and because of a lack of personal funds, Asians increasingly moved to Kariakoo where relatively cheap accommodation was available. In 1931, nine percent of the houses in Kariakoo were either rented or owned by Asians,¹⁴² especially along the two main commercial streets Msimbazi and Kichwele as well as on the streets surrounding the market hall where Asian and Arab shops dominated the cityscape. In 1943, a colonial official aware of the fact that Kariakoo was not as well-ordered and clean as it was intended remarked "[t]he African

¹³⁸ Annual report on Dar-es-Salaam District for 1922 by F. W. Brett, Senior Commissioner, TNA library: "Provincial Commissioner's Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930;" Tanganyika Secretariat and Philip Euen Mitchell, *Census of the Native Population of Tanganyika Territory, 1931* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1932); Burton, *African Underclass*, 54; Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1924 by Senior Commissioner, TNA library: "Provincial Commissioner's Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930;" Annual Report for 1931, TNA library: "Tanganyika Territory: District Officer's Reports Dar es Salaam Districts, 1931-1937." All the statistics except the national censuses are rough estimates as the colonial officials themselves acknowledged.

¹³⁹ Annual Report for 1931, TNA library: "Tanganyika Territory: District Officer's Reports Dar es Salaam Districts, 1931-1937."

¹⁴⁰ Tanganyika and D. C. Campbell, *Report on the Native Census, 1921* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1921); Tanganyika Territory, *Non-Native Census, 1921: Report* (Dar es Salaam, 1921).

¹⁴¹ Tanganyika Territory, *Non-Native and Native Census 1931* (Dar es Salaam, 1931).

¹⁴² Brennan, "Nation, Race and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1916-1976," 46-47. Many of those had lost most of their wealth during the war as their savings held in German currency lost all of their value (Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 54).

quarter of the town which is well and spaciouly planned, gives a superficial impression of cleanliness and good order, especially in the dry season, but in fact it is badly congested, and there is ... a steady infiltration of Asians.”¹⁴³ In 1957, Kariakoo’s population stood at around 29,000 of whom 3800 were of Asian and 1820 of Arab descent.¹⁴⁴ “This cosmopolitanism presents a real problem,” stated the Senior Commissioner of the District of Dar es Salaam already in 1924, because “an astonishing variety of nationalities may be envolved [sic] in any question which arises.”¹⁴⁵ What was perceived as problematic from the viewpoint of colonial administrators, however, was the basis for the emergence of a vigorous urban culture, society, and economy in Kariakoo.

Third of all, although the German and British colonial governments envisioned the African section to be mainly a residential neighborhood, Kariakoo developed into the most important commercial center of the city, particularly for the lower-class population. In fact, Kariakoo derived much of its vibrancy and social vitality from its dual function as residential and business neighborhood.¹⁴⁶ Both African and Asian businesspeople were considerably involved in this development. In the colonial imagination of a racially segregated Dar es Salaam, however, the Kariakoo neighborhood was planned as a *residential* neighborhood for Africans. The African urban economy was to be based exclusively on the public market hall at the center of the

¹⁴³ Memorandum. Housing Conditions. Dar es Salaam [1943], TNA: 24387: “Improvement to Native Houses.”

¹⁴⁴ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 276; Burton, *African Underclass*, 212.

¹⁴⁵ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1924 by Senior Commissioner, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

¹⁴⁶ Even today, Kariakoo displays a distinctly different atmosphere. Cars, motorbikes, trucks, bajajis, push-carts, bicycles, and pedestrians together created an enormous chaotic energy that is different from the various other markets had sprung up in suburbs like Tandika and Temeke. These suburban markets are also very busy and thronged with people, street vendors, and market stalls, but they were relatively calm because they are clearly delineated market areas where only market business is being done.

neighborhood. The number of private shops or *maduka* (sg. *duka*) was to be reduced to a minimum. In reality, municipal policies were not as clear-cut and unambiguous as the colonial imagination suggested. In fact, policies regarding the urban economy in Dar es Salaam were complicated and at times contradictory.¹⁴⁷

The contradictory nature of colonial policies was acknowledged even by colonial officers, albeit not openly. With regards to a request by Salim Asmani to lease his house located in the Kariakoo neighborhood to an Asian trader, the district officer wrote “Mr. Salim Asmani was not granted permission to rent his house to a non-native (65 Livingstone Street) for the purpose of opening a shop therein, as this Street is outside the trading area.” The two sentences following this statement were crossed out by still readable. ~~“The question of the trading area in the Township was considerably complicated some years ago when owing to a misunderstanding shops were allowed in residential streets outside the Trading Area. The Township Authority would now like to eliminate these shops but is unable to do so owing to legal and other difficulties; it certainly does not wish to increase their numbers by allowing new shops to be opened.”~~¹⁴⁸ Due to this “misunderstanding,”¹⁴⁹ which the colonial administration did not want to

¹⁴⁷ Brennan, *Taifa*.

¹⁴⁸ Letter by Ag. District Officer, March 28, 1939, TNA: ACC 61/490: “African Welfare and Commercial Association, Dar es Salaam.”

¹⁴⁹ The confusion and lack of certainty was expressed in formulations like “*It appears* that at present trading is not allowed in Ilala” and “The reservation of the area for native residents would not in itself presumably prevent a non-native from acquiring houses in the area, although the intention of the Committee was *I think* that the area should be reserved for native owners” (Letter by D.C. Campbell, Acting Chief Secretary, to the Executive Officer, Township Authority, Dar es Salaam, July 4, 1934; Letter by the P.C., Eastern, to the Land Officer, Dar es Salaam, TNA: 12589: “Dar-es-Salaam Township, Lay-out of,” emphases added by author). The misunderstanding was mainly based on the fact that the Township Authority adopted a resolution to regularize the policy of refusing approval of ordinary native houses for use as shops. It also recommended declaring the area west of Msimbazi Street to be a residential area. However, there never followed an official declaration. As a result, colonial authorities decided on a case-by-case basis whether houses could be used as shops in Kariakoo and the adjacent Ilala neighborhood.

openly acknowledge, colonial policies were inconsistent and open for interpretation. In the case described above, Salim Asmani was allowed to trade in his own house even though it was not located in the trading area as long as the Medical Officer of Health approved of the premises. However, he was not allowed to rent it to a “non-native,” who intended to trade in that house.¹⁵⁰ Generally, existing shops run by Asians, Arabs, or Africans could not be shut down. As a result, a multitude of shops existed in Kariakoo throughout the colonial period, not only in the streets and areas officially acknowledged as trading areas along the two main streets Kichwele and Msimbazi and the streets around the public market hall, but also outside these areas. Kariakoo residents formed meaningful local communities despite the social anonymity inherent in the monotonous and repetitive street layout, and particular roles were taken up by shopkeepers, whose shops were to be found at just about every intersection in the neighborhood.

Kariakoo in postwar Dar es Salaam was a cosmopolitan and socially, politically, and culturally most vibrant neighborhood. Various communities based on religion, place of origin, ethnicity, occupation, politics, and leisure had their localities in Kariakoo. The TANU headquarters was located in Kariakoo’s east side and was a meeting place for people involved in the independence movement.¹⁵¹ Various associations based on leisure activities such as dance societies, musical clubs, and football teams were located in Kariakoo. The Mnazi Mmoja park

Yahya Mohamed, who was of Arab origin, was allowed to acquire a house in the Ilala neighborhood, but he was not allowed to convert it to a shop. “Yahya Mohamed should not be allowed to trade until the general policy has been clearly formulated, after which a decision should be given in his case in accordance with the general policy which it is decided to adopt” (Letter by D.C. Campbell, Acting Chief Secretary, to the Executive Officer, Township Authority, Dar es Salaam, July 4, 1934, TNA: 12589: “Dar-es-Salaam Township, Lay-out of”).

¹⁵⁰ Letter by T. M. Revington, Chief Secretary to the Government, July 8, 1939, TNA: ACC 61/490: “African Welfare and Commercial Association, Dar es Salaam.”

¹⁵¹ In Gabriel Ruhumbika’s novel *Miradi Bubu ya Wazalendo*, the character Saidi, who lived in Kariakoo and worked at an Asian shop in the downtown area during the late-colonial period, volunteered at the TANU headquarters and was eventually employed there (Gabriel Ruhumbika, *Miradi Bubu ya Wazalendo* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1992), 45–57).

adjacent to Kariakoo served as a playground for children who might have acquired their sporting equipment at one of the auction markets in Kariakoo.¹⁵² In addition to that, tea and coffee houses were important institutions in the city because they provided residents with public spaces that were not restricted by ethnicity, education, or class. Historian David Anthony characterized the makeshift tea and coffee stands “central units of mass culture.”¹⁵³ Probably the liveliest of these public-drinking places was the *pombe* beer market, which was the only legal place in the entire city where locally brewed *pombe* or grain beer was sold and consumed.¹⁵⁴ Vassanji repeatedly describes the sounds of drums and songs, the sight of dancers, and the smells of beer, maize, cassava, and meat stemming from the *pombe* beer market.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, several mosques, a temple, and the Mission Quarters were located in Kariakoo. The official festivities for Eid al-Fitr, which marks the end of Ramadan, were held at Mnazi Mmoja, involved food, drinks, dances, and games, and lasted for three days.¹⁵⁶ This impressive set of activities contributed to the neighborhood’s particularly vibrant and truly urban character.¹⁵⁷ All these activities, however, cannot be understood in separation from Kariakoo’s role as Dar es Salaam’s commercial center and the various economic activities in which its residents were involved.

¹⁵² Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 245; M. G. Vassanji, *Uhuru Street: Short Stories* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1991), 44, 69.

¹⁵³ Anthony, “Culture and Society in a Town in Transition,” 121.

¹⁵⁴ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 250. According to Burton, the consumption of alcohol at any other place outside the *pombe* market was outlawed in 1926 (Burton, *African Underclass*, 56).

¹⁵⁵ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 87, 90, 95.

¹⁵⁶ *Habari za Leo* newspaper, August 20, 1948, accessed at Zentralbibliothek für Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Kiel and Hamburg.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony, “Culture and Society in a Town in Transition.” The authors of the *Master Plan* called Kariakoo a community with a “closely knit social pattern” (Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania* (Toronto, Canada: The Associates, 1968), 47–48).

The neighborhood's attractions were both economic and social in nature.¹⁵⁸ Physical spaces and infrastructures as well as social actors facilitated the making of Kariakoo as a market neighborhood. The central market building, the shark market, the *mnada* market, and numerous shops built into existing houses were the physical structures that made these social interactions and experiences possible. Day by day residents of adjacent and outlying neighborhoods of the city as well as people from the countryside were willing to spend time and money to commute to Kariakoo several times a week or even daily.¹⁵⁹ Inner-city traders purchased their goods at Kariakoo central market and sold them at their shops or in the streets in other parts of the city.¹⁶⁰ Kariakoo was Dar es Salaam's commercial center, if not for the city's European and Asian population, then certainly for its majority African population as well as for the Asian and Arab population living in Kariakoo. The daily stream of visitors and shoppers, who caused Kariakoo's daytime population to be considerably larger than its nighttime population, was one group of people that marked social life in Kariakoo.

But markets and shops were more than physical sites where goods, foods, and drinks were exchanged for money. They were spaces where social interactions of an urban nature took place. The largest and most important market place was the central market hall. It was not merely a place to buy and sell commodities. It was also a place to meet friends and relatives and to engage in forms of recreation and entertainment. "The central market of Kariakoo represents the

¹⁵⁸ Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 63–64.

¹⁵⁹ "All of the African sections of the city, including the most distant from Kariakoo such as Temeke and Kinondoni, use this market as often as three to four times a week. Those in closer proximity, such as Magomeni, Ilala and Buruguni [sic] visit the market almost daily" (Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*, 26). Kariakoo occupied the central place in bus-users' mental maps of the city as Kariakoo was the central node of the inner-city of colonial Dar es Salaam. "At present Kariakoo is the terminus and origin of the transit system" (Ibid., 39).

¹⁶⁰ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 182.

most active centre in the city serving as the market place as well as the place to see friends and relatives. ... this traditional market place, besides being a place for shopping, is a meeting place of friends and relatives and serves as an extremely valuable form of recreation and social contact.”¹⁶¹ Also, buyers listened to the local radio programs, news programs, and popular songs that were broadcast through loudspeakers at the Kariakoo market.¹⁶²

In addition to these regulated markets, there were several open-air markets where people sold things in the streets or courtyards. Auctions were held for goods that were otherwise only available in downtown shops, which were considered more respectable but were more expensive. Customers with personal relations to vendors at open-air markets were more likely to get the things they wanted to buy. In the evenings, music bands sometimes took advantage of the ready audiences and played their music.¹⁶³ Market places were thus much more than sites where goods were bought and sold. They created the space for the kind of personal interactions and experiences that characterized Kariakoo as the social and cultural center of Dar es Salaam. This was the reason why a resident from the Buguruni neighborhood “likes to go to town” to look for work but also to “see his other friends ..., some in Kariakoo, where he can fit in a visit with a shopping expedition to the market.”¹⁶⁴

Just like regulated market halls, open-air market places, and tea and coffee stalls, shops were integral and vital social elements of the Kariakoo market neighborhood. Shops sold newspapers, which were read and discussed at the shops themselves or at the tea and coffee stalls right next to the central market. Shops also sold fashionable *kangas* cloths and *kanzus* robes,

¹⁶¹ Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*, 25–26.

¹⁶² Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 196; Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 149.

¹⁶³ Vassanji, *Uhuru Street*, 43–45.

¹⁶⁴ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 182.

which residents used to express their urban identities. Shops did not only provide the building blocks on which corner communities within Kariakoo were created, they were also a central aspect of the – visible and mental – image of Kariakoo. When urban residents thought of Kariakoo as a neighborhood, they not only envisioned the central market and the adjacent central bus terminal, which formed the heart of the neighborhood. They were also likely to think of the two main streets, Kichwele and Msimbazi, which were the defining streets of Kariakoo leading right into the interior of the neighborhood. Leslie described how a resident of Ilala took his brother, who had just arrived at Dar es Salaam for the first time, for a walk to show him the city. After strolling along Acacia Street and Ring Street in the downtown area, they wandered down Kichwele Street and Msimbazi Street in Kariakoo.¹⁶⁵ Both Kichwele Street and Msimbazi Street were lined with shops – an image which came to represent one of the ways in which urban residents imagined and remembered Kariakoo.¹⁶⁶

The social world in Kariakoo was extraordinarily “thick” due to the neighborhood’s social, cultural, economic, and political vibrancy. Even the authors of a national capital master plan published shortly after independence noticed the “intense social structure existing in all African communities, directly related to their high densities. ... The functioning of communities such as Kariakoo with its closely knit social pattern resulting from small scale and distance relationships.”¹⁶⁷ Workers and employees, who worked at the port or in the downtown area and who often spent their leisure time in the Kariakoo area, were important group of actors to shape

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 102–103.

¹⁶⁶ See map 5 in Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*; Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 85.

¹⁶⁷ Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*, 47–48.

Kariakoo as a market neighborhood. Still more important the residents, who gained a living by engaging in market activities: shopkeepers.

Most shops in colonial Kariakoo were owned by Asian inhabitants of the poorer strata of the Asian community in Dar es Salaam. The preferred kind of shop was the so-called “corner store,” which was open on the fronts to two streets and whose verandahs needed to be cemented by law. In comparison to an ordinary shop that was open only to one street, a corner store was more visible, offered more room for displaying sales items, and allowed for attending to several customers at a time (see figure 1.2). Between the two doorways some shops even had display windows, which shopkeepers used to catch passing pedestrians’ attention. Vassanji describes how “African boys and girls would come and gaze for long mouthwatering minutes” at these display windows.¹⁶⁸ Shopkeepers helped to create desires among inhabitants of the neighborhood.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 106.

¹⁶⁹ Wright pointed out the fact that colonial officers in Tanganyika and Nyasaland saw traders and shops as means to create a new kind of African consumer, who desires more and a broader variety of consumer goods (Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*, 6).



Figure 1.2: An Arab shop in a Swahili-type house in late-colonial Dar es Salaam.¹⁷⁰

Shops often stood at the center of the social worlds of their owners and their families.

Vassanji describes the most established shopkeeper in the immediate neighborhood, Mzee Pipa, as an old man who spent more time in his corner store than outside of it.

All day long he would sit in a white singlet and a worn-out loincloth, perched on a carseat [sic] atop a wooden crate, so that surrounded by all his wares, he looked on the two streets ... He looked sweaty and dirty, a part of his shop; it seemed you could rub layers and layers of turmeric or coriander, or whatever else he sold, off his skin, he breathed in and breathed out nothing but musty air with the odour of grain and spice, gunny and cockroach egg.¹⁷¹

Mzee Pipa had become one with his shop visibly resembling the goods he sold and embodying the store, which served as the basis for Mzee Pipa's livelihood for decades.

¹⁷⁰ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 176-177.

¹⁷¹ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 100.

In other cases, shops were not run by individuals but by entire families including children.¹⁷² Vassanji's family owned a shop on Kichwele Street, which was managed by his widowed mother who heavily relied on the help of her children, her mother, and her brothers. The central place of social interaction for children of a shopkeeper's family was the store itself. The shop was considered part of the family's living area especially in the afternoon and in the evening.¹⁷³ The shop was not only a physical and social space but also a room filled with scents and odors stemming from the various spices and food items as well as the *kanga* cloths and other clothes and textiles being sold.¹⁷⁴ Shopkeepers' families tended to rent and live in backrooms of Swahili-style houses or rooms on the second floor of multi-story houses of which there were few in colonial Kariakoo.¹⁷⁵ As the shops were so deeply interlinked with the house and its inhabitants, the shop came to define the social function of the house it was located in.

Asian shopkeepers did not quite comply with colonial officers' image of them as business-like and eager to reinvest profits into their shops rather than spending it on other commodities or giving it away.¹⁷⁶ O Vassanji's uncle's wife Zera was a "compulsive giver" who regularly used the profits derived from their shop to supply children and neighbors with food and money. Vassanji's mother Kulsum, on the other hand, only became "efficient" and "business-minded" when she realized that – as a single mother raising five to eight children – she did not have any other option.¹⁷⁷ To be business-minded and efficient was not so much a choice but the

¹⁷² Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 92–93.

¹⁷³ Vassanji describes how, after the afternoon nap, "there would be more of us than customers [in the shop], fighting over snacks of roasted cassava and corn and the occasional bottle of Coke" (Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 105).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 86.

¹⁷⁵ Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 92–93.

¹⁷⁶ See also Gijsbert Oonk, *Settled Strangers: Asian Business Elites in East Africa (1800-2000)* (New Delhi: Sage, 2013).

¹⁷⁷ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 92–93.

outcome of circumstances and a sign of poverty. Being business-like and efficient found its expression in Kulsum's constant worry about her savings and her hardened physical appearance. Wealthy shopkeepers like Zera, on the other hand, were able and willing to dispose of their wealth and use it to create and intensify social relations.

Shopkeepers in Kariakoo did not live isolated lives that were guided by the sole concern of profit maximization. Rather, they were part of a broader social world that comprised their families, religious and business communities, and members of the neighborhood. Shopkeepers were exposed to various sets of social norms according to which shopkeepers were expected to meet certain obligations. According to Vassanji, Kulsum's brother Bahdur successfully demanded a large amount of money from Kulsum to support a friend's political campaign. Kulsum was willing to give her brother the requested amount even though she had to take the money from her emergency fund.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, the well-established and relatively wealthy shopkeeper Mzee Pipa was confronted with his sister's continuous and publicly announced demands for food, money, and social recognition. Unlike Kulsum, Mzee Pipa failed to appropriately support his relatives because the food he sent to her were leftovers and the money too little. Due to the insufficient support for his sister, Mzee Pipa was known in the neighborhood for his avarice.¹⁷⁹ Pointing out inappropriate social behavior by making it public was one way of ensuring that the wealthier members of the community met their social obligation.

In addition to meeting their relatives' demands, Muslim shopkeepers in Kariakoo were expected to donate to their respective religious community as well as to the poor and handicapped who were often known by their name in the neighborhood and who "paraded the

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 147–148.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 122; Vassanji, *Uhuru Street*, 55.

streets with begging bowls” on Fridays, “the day of charity.”¹⁸⁰ Interestingly, while Mzee Pipa did not meet his sister’s demands, he was careful to send weekly offerings to his mosque every Friday to fulfill a family obligation.¹⁸¹ This kind of charity by the wealthy to religious communities in the name of a larger social group is strikingly similar to what Jeremy Prestholdt describes for nineteenth-century Mombasa where wealthy people invested in the construction and renovation of mosques. The aim was to have themselves and their social group be commemorated as both wealthy and generous.¹⁸² The religious community was similarly important for Muslim Asians in twentieth-century Tanganyika. When Vassanji’s father, the community leader Dhanji Govindji, took money out of the community fund when his savings were used up, this was considered the greatest sin possible and he faced shame and social exclusion.¹⁸³ Thus, Muslim Asians and coastal Africans shared a sense of social responsibility to their religious community.

With regards to their immediate neighborhood, shopkeepers in Kariakoo provided certain services, ranging from the free provision of water for beggars and thirsty customers to the transportation of the neighbors’ children to school.¹⁸⁴ Mzee Pipa offered a transportation service for schoolchildren in the neighborhood, which the city did not provide.¹⁸⁵ These relations point to the existence of sub-communities within the larger Kariakoo neighborhood. Everyday interactions between neighbors irrespective of socioeconomic, religious, and racial background living at and close to an intersection led to the formation of sub-communities within the larger

¹⁸⁰ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 86, 122. Brennan describes an incident in which an Asian resident was surrounded by a crowd of angry people after he refused to give alms to a beggar and hit him (Brennan, “Nation, Race and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1916-1976,” 183).

¹⁸¹ Vassanji, *Uhuru Street*, 52.

¹⁸² Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World*, 188–189, footnote 11.

¹⁸³ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 54.

¹⁸⁴ Vassanji, *Uhuru Street*, 29.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

Kariakoo neighborhood. Corner shops stood at the center of corner communities because they provided certain service to their immediate neighbors. Leslie mentioned that “there are small groups, usually of better-dressed young men, listening to radios in shops, ... and parts of Kariakoo are a forest of aërials.”¹⁸⁶ Many shopkeepers owned radios, which drew large audiences when football games were broadcast.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, shops provided a kind of street lighting, especially when shops closed late during Ramadan, which was enjoyed by both children and adults.¹⁸⁸ While street lighting and electricity were scarce in Kariakoo, gas lighting was more common for private houses.¹⁸⁹ However, the number of consumers of electricity in Dar es Salaam rose from about 5800 to almost 13,000 in the years between 1951 and 1961 and shopkeepers in Kariakoo were likely to be among the few people in the neighborhood who were able to afford electricity.¹⁹⁰

Corner communities were cosmopolitan in character as residents of African, Arab, and Asian descent were constitutive elements. Corner communities were facilitated by the physical proximity of neighbors, the existence of shops serving as semi-public meeting places, and the almost-permanent presence of shopkeepers, who assumed the roles of communicators. Like urban associations and groups as well as *hoteli* and *mikahawani* tea and coffee stands, the social space created around corner shops acted as “equalizers” of urban society.¹⁹¹ Members of these

¹⁸⁶ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 196.

¹⁸⁷ Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*, 26.

¹⁸⁸ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 128.

¹⁸⁹ “We strolled in the streets, Acacia Avenue, Ring Street, Kichwele, Msimbazi Street ... Every house was bright with lights, electric in the stone town, pressure in the wattle and daub” (Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 102–103). Burton notices that roads in the African township were poorly lit as there were only 24 street lights in 1940 (Burton, *African Underclass*, 89).

¹⁹⁰ Tanzania, *Selected Statistical Series* (Dar es Salaam: Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs, and Planning, 1987), 43.

¹⁹¹ Anthony, “Culture and Society in a Town in Transition,” 123.

neighborhood sub-communities were not organized along aspects of identity to which the colonial government paid most attention to, namely race and occupation. Rather, corner communities brought together Kariakoo residents regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, or occupation, and they provided opportunities for urban residents to form moral communities and meaningful urban identities within the larger framework of a European-dominated colonial society. Kiswahili as the lingua franca and Islam as the religion of the large majority of urban residents facilitated the formation of a sense of community and togetherness.

Tensions between Kariakoo residents of Asian, Arab, and African descent were far less severe than has been suggested for colonial Dar es Salaam.¹⁹² Shops were spaces where residents of the neighborhood met and interacted with each other as vendors, customers, employers, and employees on an everyday basis. People of all hues and colors met and interacted with each other on an everyday basis. Although economic relationships were unequal as Asians tended to be wealthier than Africans and often acted as employers and shopkeepers, both Asians and Africans profited from successful economic cooperation. Ultimately, both shopkeepers and other residents were part of the social world of Kariakoo where members of the neighborhood were able to sanction excessively exploitative behavior.

The importance of shops for social life in Dar es Salaam was also noted by outside observers such as geographer Harm de Blij and the authors of Dar es Salaam's first master plan. In his richly illustrated booklet, de Blij noted that "Everywhere, the *duka* stores occupy corner locations" and that "practically every residential block in Kariakoo includes one or more stores of the *duka* type. These stores, which usually occupy corner locations, sell everyday household requirements. Like most of the businesses in Kariakoo's commercial zone, these are operated by

¹⁹² Brennan, *Taifa*.

Asians or Arabs.”¹⁹³ The authors of the Dar es Salaam master plan proposed profound changes to turn the city of Dar es Salaam into a capital city worth its title, but they argued that certain elements of the historically grown urban city needed to be retained. One of them was the “system of corner ‘dukas’ [stores],” which should not only be preserved but be planned for. “At almost every corner (and especially in Kariakoo) we find the traditional duka. It is usually merely a variation on the design of the Swahili house. The shops or dukas have an extremely small service area yet amazingly enough function as everything from a drug store to groceries and hardware stores and are part of the essence of the life pattern of the African people. The owner very often has a radio and especially on the occasions of broadcast sporting matches, the audiences are large.” Furthermore, “[t]he traditional corner duka [store] serving the houses and its particular city ‘block’ also provide a force to shape meaningful neighborhoods.”¹⁹⁴ The physical proximity of neighbors, the existence of shops, which served as permanent meeting places, and the presence of shopkeepers, who assumed the roles of communicators, facilitated the emergence of what I call “corner communities.”

¹⁹³ Harm J. De Blij, *Dar es Salaam: A Study in Urban Geography* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963), 39–40.

¹⁹⁴ Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*, 26, 45, 49.



Figure 1.3: A visualization of the “system of corner ‘dukas’” in Kariakoo, 1968. The black squares indicate the location of shops.¹⁹⁵

Shops and shopkeepers played important social roles in corner communities in colonial Kariakoo. Not only did they spend the better part of the day in their shops, they often rented or owned the rooms adjacent to the shop. They were highly visible figures as their shops were semi-public spaces that were used by customers, workers, and visitors. Long-standing shopkeepers were thus well known in the immediate neighborhood especially when they were relatively wealthy and owned houses and cars, and when they were active members in other communities or associations. Unlike visitors from other Dar es Salaam neighborhoods, Kariakoo residents were able to distinguish between intersections and street corners and they named street corners

¹⁹⁵ Project Planning Associates, *National Capital Master Plan, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania*.

after their most visible, well known, and longest-standing residents, who were often shopkeepers. The Kichwele/Viongozi intersection where Vassanji's family lived was known as "Pipa Corner" named after its most illustrious resident Mzee Pipa.¹⁹⁶ Residents of late-colonial Kariakoo used corner stores to appropriate the intersection they lived on and define it as their own.¹⁹⁷ Vassanji describes his immediate neighborhood in colonial Kariakoo with explicit reference to the buildings on the four corners and their occupants:

Habib Mansion, into which we moved, was on the corner of Kichwele and Viongozi Streets ... With Habib Mansion the development of the Kichwele/Viongozi intersection became complete: there were on the remaining corners, Salama Building, and Anand Bhavan, and Mzee Pipa's Amin Mansion. ... Mzee Pipa, Old Barrel, was the oldest resident on the corner. In Anand Bhavan was short, fiery Nuru Poni the pawnbroker who also wrote letters to the Editor ... Salama Building boasted Daya's, the rumour-monger, and the Mawanis.¹⁹⁸

Shopkeepers and their shops occupied prominent places and they often formed the basis on which corner communities could be built. As almost all the shopkeepers in colonial Kariakoo were of Asian or Arab descent, one might suspect that these corner identities were not relevant for and excluded the majority of African residents. In fact, Africans were directly involved in the creation of these communities and were an integral part of them. This becomes apparent with respect to the shopkeepers' nicknames. The attribution of nicknames seems to have been an inevitable act with which all new residents were blessed or cursed. According to Vassanji, "When you move into a neighbourhood, you wish in your heart of hearts, above anything else save for good business in your shop, for a *nice* nickname."¹⁹⁹ Nicknames such as "Mzee Pipa"

¹⁹⁶ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 100.

¹⁹⁷ For a discussion of naming practices in urban Zanzibar, see Garth Andrew Myers, "Naming and Placing the Other: Power and the Urban Landscape in Zanzibar," in *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*, by Lawrence D. Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2009), 85–100.

¹⁹⁸ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 98–100.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99., emphasis in original.

(Elder Barrel), “Nuru Poni” (Pawn[broker] Brightness), and “Mawani” (Spectacles) given to Asian residents of the Pipa Corner were all based on the urban lingua franca Kiswahili rather than Hindi, Arab, or Gujarati words. Pawnshop owner Nuru Poni, whose actual name was A. A. Raghavji, was given his nickname by an African customer who made fun of Raghavji’s excessive religiosity.²⁰⁰

Corner communities were by no means the only meaningful communities in colonial Kariakoo. Nor did the existence of corner communities mean that all the members of a community got along well with one another. To the contrary, neighborhood gossip and jealousy were certainly integral aspects of these communities.²⁰¹ Nor did it mean that all the residents of a particular area were active members of the community. Some residents of the houses located at the Pipa Corner, Peter and Viviana, did not partake in the corner community while their sister Alzira found refuge from the violent and depressing life of their parents at Kulsum’s shop. Peter and Viviana, on the other hand, chose to spend much of their time at the Goan Institute, at parties, and at dances.²⁰² Communities based on religion, place of origin, ethnicity, occupation, politics, and leisure were similarly important and were represented in some form in Kariakoo, which gave the neighborhood its social, political, and cultural vivaciousness.

However, the social importance of Kariakoo cannot be understood without looking at the neighborhood’s economic role as the commercial center of Dar es Salaam. Systems of credit were instrumental in connecting the social and the economy because shopkeepers and other members of corner communities facilitated the access to credit, which allowed residents of Kariakoo to spend money more immediately and according to their wishes. Shopkeepers equally

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 119–120.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 102.

²⁰² Ibid., 123.

borrowed money either to start a business or to get through financially difficult times. To ensure the paying back of money, creditors might challenge the debtor's reputation in the neighborhood community. Thus, economic activities in colonial Kariakoo were not detached from the local community but operated within the social norms of this community. Credit helped to shape the market neighborhood of Kariakoo.

MORALITY, DEBT, AND BELONGING

Watu wengine wanapenda sana kurediti
Kukopa madukani mwisho wa mwezi hawalipi
Mwenyeduka akimwuliza “wapi pesa zangu?”
Kujibu rahisi “mwisho wa mwezi nina tafu nyingi kaka”

Some people like credit a lot
To buy on credit at shops [but] at the end of the month they don't pay
When the shopkeeper asks “Where is my money?”
The easy answer is “I have many troubles at the end of the month, brother”²⁰³

Within corner communities in Kariakoo, the lending of money and selling of goods on credit assumed importance for the workings of social relations and the formation of particular subjectivities. The existence of formal loans, such as pawnshop loans described in chapter 2, in no way restricted more verbal credit arrangements. The practice of selling goods on credit, which constituted the social norm in the multiracial corner communities of Kariakoo, became crucial in the context of shopkeepers' assertion of urban citizenship and belonging.

²⁰³ Song “Kukopa Mwisho Hawalipi.” The notion that customers are entitled to buy goods on credit, which may or may not be paid back in the future, is of continuing relevance in contemporary Dar es Salaam. In his recent song *Kazi ya Dukani* (“work at the shop”), Tanzanian artist Dogo Mfaume sings about the difficulties in Dar es Salaam to run a profitable shop because the neighbors-cum-customers assert their right to buy goods on credit by invoking their seniority or their female attractiveness. The shopkeeper eventually goes bankrupt because his customers fail to pay for the goods bought on credit.

Members of corner communities were held together by a myriad of intersecting relations of credit and debt, which in turn were regulated by moral codes embedded in these communities. Membership was defined by the possibility for a member to borrow or lend money or goods to another member, according to his or her status and wealth, and usually on an oral basis. Trust, shame, and respectability were shared notions among members irrespective of their racial and class backgrounds. Drawing on the literature on credit and community in East Africa – particularly with regards to the cultural values of patronage and generosity –, I use the term “moral economy” to analyze these communities. Instead of understanding the term “moral economy” as inherently oppositional as in E. P. Thompson’s and James Scott’s conceptions,²⁰⁴ I use it as a way to take into account how shared moral discourses and cultural values defined communal meanings of debt and credit and how they shaped urban communities and the urban economy.

In a study of two sections of the Keko neighborhood in Dar es Salaam in the early 1970s, Katherine Levine identified a distinctive kind of community life in the low-income section based on the geographical proximity of the houses and people’s tendency to spend their work and leisure time within their section of the neighborhood. The residents of the middle-income section, on the other hand, lived further apart from each other and were more likely to interact with people living outside of their neighborhood section. The lack of social cohesion and community between residents of the two different sections also pertained to the possibility to borrow money from fellow residents. A resident of the low-income section put it: “I could more easily borrow a shilling from one of the fellow workers as poor as me than get anything out of

²⁰⁴ Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century”; James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

those people [from the middle-income section], with their Sh[illing]s. 1000/= a month and their big cars.”²⁰⁵

Understanding the willingness to loan money as an expression of community membership and using money to invest in social capital in the community have a longer history in societies on the East African coast. In the nineteenth century, patriarchs in Swahili towns such as Pangani, Saadani, and Bagamoyo made use of credit provided by Asians in ways that did not generate monetary income. They hosted huge feasts to display their power as patrons and foster bonds with clients. As a result of this competitive generosity, they became highly indebted.²⁰⁶ In nineteenth-century Mombasa, the possession and display of material things likewise influenced a person’s social status. The appropriate thing for wealthy people to do was to establish relationships with clients, who were able to make claims on their patron. Even outside of relationships with their clients, affluent people engaged in public spending and actively distributed their wealth on an everyday basis. People, who did not distribute their wealth, were considered “miserly,” an attribute usually reserved for Hindu businesspeople, who became the stereotyped examples of what respectable people should not do. Rich Swahili people found themselves confronted with what Prestholdt called the “paradox of socioeconomic morality.”²⁰⁷ While giving away one’s wealth contributed to a person’s social status, the person had to make sure that enough resources would be available to generate income in the future. Wealthy people in Mombasa invested in the construction and renovation of mosques with the aim of having themselves and their social group commemorated as both affluent and generous.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Katherine Levine, “Social Inequality and National Politics in a Suburb of Dar es Salaam” (University of London, 1971), 19, Archive of the SOAS library.

²⁰⁶ Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

²⁰⁷ Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World*, 46–51.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 188–189, footnote 11.

People who did not comply with these norms faced social sanctions and accusations of avarice. Expectations that a wealthy person on the Swahili coast was to distribute wealth in the form of gifts and credit even found their expression in Johann Ludwig Krapf's Kiswahili dictionary assembled in Mombasa in the 1880s. A Kiswahili proverb from the 1880s went *mali bahili kula duda*, i.e. "worms will eat the property of a miser," and the Kiswahili word for a greedy person, *bahili*, was translated as "a man who is only bent upon gathering property without using it."²⁰⁹ However, the pressure to share and the desire to generate clients and power by handing out money and goods could also ruin wealthy people. When explaining the word *ku-komba*, "to hollow out," Krapf provided the example "*Watu wame-m-komba maliyakwe pia iote*, the people got all his money," and explained "There are many Suahili [people on the coast] who were once wealthy people, but who lost all their riches by aspiring after greatness, influence, and a large retinue."²¹⁰ To be wealthy in a nineteenth-century East African coastal town involved a delicate balancing act of accumulating and distributing wealth. It almost always meant to give money and goods to less-wealthy members of the community, either as loans to be repaid with interest at a later date or as gift-like loans to be repaid by means of political allegiance.

An example from Bagamoyo in what is today Tanzania illustrates the importance of values such as generosity and charity, not only for the local Swahili population but also for people of South Asian descent.²¹¹ Sewa Haji was a wealthy businessman, who was born in Bagamoyo on the coast and lived in the second half of the nineteenth century. He had made a lot of money equipping caravan leaders with products such as cloth and beads and he recruited

²⁰⁹ Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*.

²¹⁰ Ibid.; see also Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*; Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914*, 35, 42.

²¹¹ Robert G. Gregory, *The Rise and Fall of Philanthropy in East Africa: The Asian Contribution* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992).

porters, usually among his debtors.²¹² Caravan leaders borrowed money from him to finance their caravans. Upon return, Sewa Haji collected the debts with interest, usually in the form of ivory and other goods the caravans brought to the coast from the interior. Rather than keeping his wealth to himself and his family, Sewa Haji donated some of it to the broader public shortly before his death. In Dar es Salaam, he bestowed 12,400 rupees to the German authorities for the establishment of a school and a hospital. All these institutions were to be open for everybody and services free for the poor, and the language of instruction in schools was to be Kiswahili.²¹³ In Bagamoyo, he gave his buildings and various luxury items to the German authorities on condition that a school and a leper station be built bearing his name.²¹⁴ One of Sewa Haji's goals was certainly to have his name remembered by the people in the community.

The establishment of colonial states did not fundamentally change local people's views and dealings with credit and debt. Generally speaking, colonial state actors were not always able

²¹² Jan-Georg Deutsch speculated that "[i]t is likely that these latter [guides and porters] were slaves" (Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914*, Eastern African studies (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 71). Raimbault confirms that Arabs indebted to Sewa Haji were obliged to supply him with their dependents, whether they were slaves, pawns, or otherwise dependent. Raimbault relies on a report by Lieutenant von Götzen: "Die Hauptschwierigkeit in der Organisation einer Karawane nach dem Innern ist das Anwerben von zuverlässigen Trägern. Die grosse Mehrzahl geht nur mit, um sich ein paar Tage verpflegen zu lassen und dann durchzubrennen. Der einzige, der eine Art von Garantie hiergegen leistet, ist immer noch der Inder Sewah Hadjih, der überall Agenten hat, dem alle Araber so verschuldet sind, dass sie ihm die nöthigen Leute stellen müssen" (von Götzen, "Reisebriefe aus Ost-Afrika" in *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1891, 411" in Raimbault, "Dar-es-Salaam histoire d'une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)," 95).

²¹³ Letter by Freiherr von Soden, Kaiserlicher Gouverneur, April 15, 1892, TNA: G4/1: "Kommunalangelegenheiten, Allgem. 1901-1905."

²¹⁴ The Germans sold the goods and buildings received and established a fund they called "Bazarfonds." Instead of building the leper station, the fund was used to offer loans to various German and Asian businessmen and entrepreneurs in Dar es Salaam. While most debtors repaid the loans ranging from 1000 to 9000 rupees plus 7 to 9 per cent annual interest rates, the German entrepreneur Burg was not able to do so because his ice-making business never took off. He owed a total of 4272.09 rupees and was unable to pay back 1691.95 rupees. As a result, Burg's plot was put up for compulsory sale. Still, the leper station in Bagamoyo was never built (TNA: G3/91: "Verwaltung des sogenannten Bazarfonds;" TNA: G3/92: "Verwaltung Bazarfonds").

to establish a hegemonic hold over colonized peoples and their economic actions. Colonial power was “dominance without hegemony”²¹⁵ and “arterial” rather than “capillary.”²¹⁶ Following the limits of colonial power, the economic impact of colonization was uneven and depended on place and time. The capitalist transformation in the colonial context was by no means comprehensive and was accompanied by a multitude of tensions and struggles. As a result, Western notions of credit often did not become hegemonic. Local people sought credit opportunities and used loans to their own ends even as companies and state officials tried to deploy credit as a means to extract labor and resources from African economies.

This is not to say that nothing changed with the onset of imperialism and colonialism. The ways communal ties were sustained and power relationships maintained with the help of credit were also affected by colonial capitalism. As slavery was abolished and master-slave relationships were reworked outside of colonial courts, some master-slave relationships were redefined as creditor-debtor relationships.²¹⁷ In colonial East Africa, credit remained closely associated with people of Asian descent like Sewa Haji, who had provided the finance for the caravan trade in the nineteenth century. Colonial authorities reinforced that association because they saw credit in a dual light. When it came to Asians, credit was seen as something beneficial, something that ensured their business activities. When it came to Africans, the colonial government considered credit something dangerous, something that made Africans dependent on Asians. The provision of access to credit to certain groups became a way for the colonial government to rule.

²¹⁵ Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1531; Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

²¹⁶ Cooper, “Conflict and Connection,” 1533.

²¹⁷ Roberts and Mann, “Introduction: Law in Colonial Africa,” 29–30.

Asian credit remained important throughout the colonial period, for different social groups in East Africa. European farmers borrowed money to get through periods of drought or economic decline. In German Tanganyika, a Punjabi Hindu became known as “The Bank” because Germans in Arusha regularly relied on him for loans when they failed to get loans from banks. Likewise, Africans and Arabs in Zanzibar and on the coast made regular use of Asian credit. Unlike European settlers in the Kenya highlands, who could not legally lose their land to Asians, coastal Africans and Arabs became increasingly indebted to Asians and often ended up losing their land. Africans from the interior, who were drawn into the market economy, bought goods like seeds, fertilizer, and farm implements from the local Asian shop, often on credit. Asian credit was sometimes available for African retailers as well. Africans, who had gained Asians’ confidence through years of association, obtained credit without having to provide any kind of collateral or security. The provision of credit was based on trust and was not limited to exclusive ethnic or racial groups. And Asian shopkeepers and merchants routinely offered to hold money in trust of employees and people in their community.²¹⁸ Most importantly, credit and the advancement of goods on credit were used among people of Asian descent in East Africa. It

²¹⁸ Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 97–98. Examples from German-colonial Dar es Salaam of how Europeans bought goods at Asian shops on credit include: John Thomas, who bought a bicycle at Bhijibhai Raibhay’s shop and paid less than half the full price for it promising to pay the rest at a later point in time (TNA: G21/714: “Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen des Unternehmers John Thomas, Daressalaam, 1905”); Johannes Mastrokosta, who borrowed money from Nur Muhammed and provided a golden watch, 25 square meters of gravel, and two *makuti* houses as security (TNA: G21/913: “Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen des Kaufmannes Johannes Mastrokosta, Daressalam, 1891-1896”); Steinkopf & Co., who had debts with De Silva, Souza Junior & Dias, and Mr. Manekji F. Metha (TNA: G21/699: “Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen der Steinkopf & Co., OHG, Daressalaam, 1893-1895”); Rigas Mutopulos, who owed money to Souza Junior & Dias, Saip Ali Ismailji and others (TNA: G21/700: “Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen des Kaufmannes Rigas Mutopulos, Daressalaam, 1893-1895”); and Julius Kühnendahl, who was in debt with Gulalm Hussein, Mrubey Jatterji and others (TNA: G21/701: “Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen des Kasinowirtes und Kaufmannes Julius Kühnendahl, Daressalaam, 1898”).

allowed for a rapid expansion of family businesses, especially in wholesale and retail trade. In Dar es Salaam, the Ismaili Khojas, who were followers of the Aga Khan, formed their own lending institutions, which offered loans at six per cent and matched the amount provided by the borrower as a security. The first such institution was the Tanganyika Ismailia Co-operative Society, which was formed in 1937-38. Among other things, it allowed some Ismaili families to expand their shops, also in Kariakoo.²¹⁹ The advancement of goods on credit became a widely used practice within the Ismaili community and allowed a rapid expansion of businesses from the coast into the interior.²²⁰

Local understandings of credit, debt, and community also remained pertinent in the colonial period. The writings of Baraka bin Shomari from Kunduchi, a coastal village just twenty kilometers north of Dar es Salaam, provide detailed insights into how the local people understood credit and debt at the very end of the nineteenth century.²²¹ While Asians tended to write down credit agreements, for instance when relying on *hundi* promissory notes long established throughout the western Indian Ocean world, Swahili debtors handed out pieces of wood or knots the creditors had to present when claiming their money. Still, the terms of repayment were flexible and creditors found it difficult to claim their money as debtors appeased them with sweet words and sweeter food when the time of repayment drew near. When creditors

²¹⁹ Shirin Remtulla Walji, "A History of the Ismaili Community in Tanzania" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1974), 169.

²²⁰ Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 97–105. Overall, Gregory paints a rather rosy picture of the effects that Asian money lending had on all sections of East African society. If Africans were not always able to use the borrowed money to improve their situations – and in fact many lost their land and chattels –, it was due to their inability to invest the loans properly and to gauge the risks involved in borrowing money. What Gregory and other historians have left largely unexamined is the role of more informal urban credit and the social and cultural contexts, in which the economic practices of lending and borrowing money took place.

²²¹ Baraka bin Shomari wrote down his insights and provided them to Carl Velten in 1895 (Carl Velten, *Schilderungen der Suaheli von Expeditionen v. Wissmanns, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901), vi).

insisted on repayment, neighbors, friends, or the local *Pazi* chief were asked to mediate. With the establishment of the Zanzibari Sultanate in the mid-nineteenth century, new institutions were set up to help creditors enforce debt repayment, one of them being the *chumba cha wadeni*, the cell for debtors, where reluctant debtors could be locked up. Generally, however, severe punishments like putting someone in chains were not applied for failing debtors, who were considered to have committed merely minor offenses. Even debtors who ended up in the *chumba cha wadeni* were allowed to visit friends and relatives.²²²

Debt had sometimes been associated with pawnship, as Baraka bin Shomari asserted. Nephews or nieces were pawned when one had incurred financial debts or what Mary Douglas called “blood debts,”²²³ i.e. when someone had killed a person from another lineage.

Alternatively, a person could pawn himself or herself, which happened especially in times of famine.²²⁴ Debt could also lead to enslavement, at least before World War One because the German authorities never really outlawed slavery during their rule in German East Africa. In extreme cases, when the power relationship between creditor and debtor was particularly wide and when geographical distances between creditors and debtors were long, pawnship was equivalent to slavery, as pawns could no longer be redeemed by paying the outstanding debt.²²⁵

On the local level, however, debt – or rather being indebted to another person – had the potential of creating friendship and a sense of community. Among members of the same community, borrowing and lending small amounts of money was an everyday occurrence.

²²² Ibid., 234–235, 360.

²²³ Douglas, “Blood-Debts and Clientship among the Lele.”

²²⁴ Velten, *Schilderungen der Suaheli*, 234–236. For a regional overview, see Edward Alpers, “Debt, Pawnship and Slavery in Nineteenth-Century East Africa,” in *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*, by Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

²²⁵ Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914*, 55–56.

Baraka bin Shomari observed that “to borrow is our habit.”²²⁶ Borrowing and lending were ordinary social actions, and friendship and indebtedness went together.

When [s/he and] his/her friend borrow money from each other, they don’t claim the money from each other, but the friend himself/herself makes a decision – I must pay. But only good people proceed that way, bad people file a suit and insult each other, and the friendship ends. And when s/he borrows money from a person, who is not a friend, s/he pays reluctantly. The ones who are reluctant to pay back usually say:

‘borrowing is [like] a wedding
paying back is [like] mourning.’²²⁷

What Baraka bin Shomari described for late nineteenth-century Kunduchi was true for colonial and postcolonial Dar es Salaam, save that practices of borrowing and lending were not only common among Swahili people but among residents of all racial, class, and ethnic backgrounds. Vassanji describes a person in 1960s Kariakoo, who got to know another person and agreed to lend him money. When the money got paid back, the two men became friends.²²⁸ Even in more recent decades and up to the present, the sense of community in urban East Africa has been understood and read through one’s willingness and ability to borrow and lend, as the above-mentioned example of the Keko neighborhood in Dar es Salaam and the street scene at the beginning of this dissertation illustrate.²²⁹ J. A. K. Leslie observed for late-colonial Dar es

²²⁶ Carl Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli na Khabari za Desturi za Sheri’a za Wasuaheli* (Göttingen, 1903), 8. Translation from Kiswahili by the author.

²²⁷ Ibid., 60. Translation from Kiswahili by the author.

²²⁸ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*.

²²⁹ This has not been specific to East African coastal societies. Anthropologist Julia Elyachar shows that the significance of creditor-debtor relationships for the making and unmaking of a community have also stood at the center of social life in the el-Hirafiyen neighborhood in Cairo. Workshop owners in the neighborhood act in market-oriented ways while at the same time engaging in the moral project of building a neighborhood community. While the sending away of a customer to another workshop might be considered a loss from a capitalist perspective, it may also constitute an investment in social relations from the craftsman’s perspective (Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*).

Salaam that “borrowing between Africans ... is never repaid.”²³⁰ How being indebted to other people was a sign of having good relations with other people in the community also became obvious when I attended the funeral of a friend’s relative the Kigogo Mburahati area of Dar es Salaam during my research in 2013. At the funeral, the attendees were asked whether there was anybody who had lent the deceased person money and the money had not been paid back. Quite a few people raised their hand, which I took as a sign of impending negotiations and potential tensions between creditors and relatives of the deceased debtor. When I communicated my thoughts to my friend, she was surprised and explained that having a lot of creditors was a good sign as it showed that the deceased person had good relations with other people. When a deceased person did not have any creditors at all, it meant that the person was isolated and not a member of the community.²³¹ A final example of how being indebted creates close social relations, is how bride wealth is paid. When getting married, it is not considered polite and respectful for the husband to pay bride wealth in full and at once. Instead the husband pays some of the bride wealth and leaves the rest to be paid at an undefined point in the future. The share of the bride wealth that is not paid is referred to in Kiswahili as *kishikaundugu*, roughly translated as “what keeps familyhood.” It brings the two families together and creates *undugu* or familyhood.²³² An indication that this practice has been common for at least a century in Dar es Salaam can be found in documents from German colonial times. When married men died in German colonial Dar es Salaam, it was quite common for their wives to claim an outstanding share of the bride wealth. One can read in bequests from 1910 to 1912 “His wife claims from him (2 rupees),” “Debt on his body: the bride wealth of his wife: 40 rupees,” “Debt on him: the

²³⁰ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 6.

²³¹ Fieldnotes journal, November 2, 2013.

²³² Fieldnotes journal, October 19, 2013.

bride wealth of his wife: 33 rupees,” “Daughter of Selemani (his wife) bride wealth: 20 rupees,” “Bride wealth of his wife Sikuzani binti Hamisi: 70 rupees,” and “3 women received each 40 rupees bride wealth today.”²³³ Bride wealth was a form of an ongoing debt relation as long as husband and wife or wives were alive. Only when the husband died, the outstanding debt was forgiven or paid by the husband’s family. The unpaid share of the bride wealth constituted husband and wife/wives as debtor and creditors and locked them and their families into a debtor-creditor relationship that cemented the social ties between the families.

The practices of giving and receiving credit in the absence of a due date can thus be understood as a form of fostering valuable social ties in the community. In light of the works discussed above, I understand credit as more than a simple monetary transaction between two rational and profit-maximizing subjects. The use of credit cannot only have the effect of undermining existing webs of mutual obligation, but it can also work towards building social relations, thus resembling Mauss’s concept of the gift, especially when the terms of repayment are not clearly set.²³⁴ Following David Graeber’s suggestion to conceive of society as “an active project or set of projects” and to understand value as “the way actions become meaningful to the actors by being placed in some larger social whole,”²³⁵ the practices of lending and borrowing money and goods in the absence of a due date can be understood as a form of fostering valuable social ties in the community. Relationships of credit and debt involve larger amounts of trust than other financial dealings, as Arjun Appadurai has argued when discussing the importance of

²³³ “Mke wake anamdai (2 Rp. [rupees]),” “Deni juu yake maiti: mahari ya mke wake: 40 Rp.,” “Deni juu yake: Mahari yake mke: 33 Rp.,” “Mahari ya mke wake Garza: 20 Rp.,” “Mtoto binti Selemani (mke wake) mahari yake: 20 Rp.,” “Mahari ya mke wake Sikuzani binti Hamisi: 70 Rp.,” “3 Weiber haben heute je 40 Rp mahari erhalten” (TNA: G35/3: “Nachlässe. 1910-1912”). Translations from Kiswahili and German by author.

²³⁴ Mauss, *The Gift*, 1967.

²³⁵ David Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*, 1st ed (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 254.

trust in “socially mediated chains of debt” between friends, neighbors, and co-workers found in the urban setting of Mumbai.²³⁶ So, the widespread use of credit and debt among members of an urban neighborhood is indicative of an existing sense of community.

Accordingly, credit and debt relations shaped communities in late-colonial Kariakoo, and to apply the above understanding of credit and debt relations to the Kariakoo neighborhood has ramifications in three different areas. First of all, it means to complicate the literature on race relations in urban Tanzania, which views credit and debt relations mainly as a source of racial tensions and contributing to the racialization of identities in colonial Dar es Salaam.²³⁷ This may have been true when we look at credit and debt only in so far as they became political issues. But examining credit and debt relations in Kariakoo means to inquire about their relevance on various other societal levels, how credit and debt relations helped to sustain a specific economic system, what it meant for Kariakoo residents to be perpetually indebted, to what extent Kariakoo residents were considered to be “creditworthy” subjects, and how credit and debt shaped market subjectivities in Kariakoo. As far as racial identities go, actual credit relations routinely crossed racial boundaries and concepts such as trust, reputation, status, and shame were crucial for and shared by Kariakoo residents of all races and classes. The existence and effectiveness of moral corner communities enabled members to buy goods on credit from the nearby shop. For shopkeepers, in turn, the practice of selling goods on credit was a crucial way of asserting citizenship in the urban market neighborhood of Kariakoo.

Shopkeepers were constantly faced with customers’ requests to lower prices and to sell on credit. Customers used the strategy of bargaining to demand the distribution of the

²³⁶ Arjun Appadurai, “Spectral Housing and Urban Cleansing: Notes on Millennial Mumbai,” *Cosmopolitanism* (2002): 55, 61.

²³⁷ Brennan, *Taifa*.

shopkeeper's wealth in their favor. As Wright pointed out for rural Tanganyika, customers challenged shopkeepers' setting of prices. "In the indigenous African system of bargaining, the seller apparently feels constrained on occasion, lest he be regarded as a skinflint, to leave the decision [on the selling price of a commodity] in the hands of his customer."²³⁸ Bargaining also allowed shopkeepers to charge prices according to customers' wealth and ability to pay. Verney Cameron and Daniel Oliver in Zanzibar experienced an extreme case in 1877. "In the first place they [Arabs, Wasuahili and Wameriam] naturally supposed that we were in the employ of the English Government, and therefore ought to pay twice or three times the ordinary price for men [porters] and stores. All who thus defrauded us considered themselves perfectly justified in cheating a Government so rich and liberal as ours has the reputation of being."²³⁹ Shopkeepers considered it legitimate to charge wealthy people more.

Likewise, customers' requests to buy goods on credit were ever-present. Already in the mid-1890s, Baraka bin Shomari noted that shops and shopkeepers constituted important sources of credit and that people liked to buy things on credit.²⁴⁰ Asian shopkeepers in Kariakoo were confronted with these requests just as much as African shopkeepers.²⁴¹ Although demanding the repayment of debts was no longer as dangerous as in pre-Busaidi Mombasa, where creditors were "harangued, jailed, or otherwise molested when they attempted to call in their debts,"²⁴² creditors in late-colonial Kariakoo still found it difficult to make debtors pay. When he

²³⁸ Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*, 53.

²³⁹ Verney Lovett Cameron and Daniel Oliver, *Across Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), 9–10.

²⁴⁰ Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli na Khabari za Desturi za Sheri'a za Wasuaheli*, 8.

²⁴¹ Goanese restaurant and bakery owner Pinto routinely sold food and drinks to his African customers, mainly soldiers and musicians, on credit in 1900s Dar es Salaam. Bills were to be paid at the end of the month (TNA: G21/146: "Ermittlungssache gegen den Bäcker Pinot, Daressalaam, wegen Schankkontravention. 1906-1907").

²⁴² Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World*, 188, footnote 6.

investigated poorer urban Africans' sources of income, Leslie described the phenomenon of "net borrowing" or forgiven debt, i.e. a considerable share of lower-class Africans' income consisted of loans and credits that were never paid back. Employers as well as landlords forgave debt or were forced to forgive debt when employees and renters were unable to pay.²⁴³ Also, shopkeepers were not always able to enforce the repayment of debt, especially with their regular customers.²⁴⁴ By requiring advances from their employers, delaying the payment of their rents, and buying goods on credit, urban Africans were able to draw on debt relations to make a living in the city.

From the shopkeeper's perspective, allowing certain customers to delay the payment of goods was a way to foster social ties in the neighborhood. However, shopkeepers did not sell goods on credit undeliberately. Shopkeeper Mzee Pipa in Vassanji's *The Gunny Sack* had two pictures in his shop hanging side by side, "one, a man at his desk, holding his head in despair, his safe open and spilling over with useless scraps of paper and rats running amok among them, with the caption: 'I sold on credit'; the other, a smug gentleman counting money in a neat office: 'I sold for cash'."²⁴⁵ This policy loudly echoed colonial authorities' views of the use of credit. In practice, however, shopkeepers were willing to sell goods on credit to regular customers and those with steady employment. Credit at shops "is not perhaps so common, except among the steadier workers ... it is normally only the better paid, those with known jobs and a regular

²⁴³ Renters and workers chose housing and jobs according to how favorable their credit and debt relations were with landlords and employers. Domestic servants preferred to work for Asian rather than European employers despite the fact that salaries paid by Europeans were higher. Asian employers, however, were tended to chose to work for Asian employers, who gave advances more willingly and did not insist on repayment as much as Europeans (Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 84).

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 139–142.

²⁴⁵ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 100–101.

income, who are allowed to take their groceries on credit.”²⁴⁶ Interestingly, shopkeepers considered exactly those people creditworthy, whom colonial authorities at the time considered to be the desirable class of permanent urban residents. Still, there were ways for other people to take advantage of shopkeepers’ credit as well, as a telling example in Krapf’s Kiswahili dictionary indicates. Illustrating the use of the word *ku-kopea*, “to borrow for someone,” Krapf gave the example “nime-ku-kopea mali kua Baniani,” which he translated with the lengthy “I have taken goods for you from the Baniani, you would not have got the goods from him, but I got them for you.”²⁴⁷ With the help of a guarantor, who had a personal relationship of trust with a shopkeeper, shop credit was accessible for otherwise uncreditworthy residents.

A way for a resident to build up the reputation as a creditworthy customer was to deposit the savings with the shopkeeper. Shopkeepers routinely played the role of bankers for neighbors and customers in colonial Kariakoo, already before World War One.²⁴⁸ How much people owed and borrowed each other and what securities they had accepted, became visible when people died and state officials took care of the estate of the deceased person. Mohamed bin Nasor, who died in 1911 in Dar es Salaam, was a relatively wealthy person with property worth 4281.50 rupees. He had accepted *amana* or “securities” from more than twenty people. Abdalla Premji, who had lived in the Gerezani section of Kariakoo, had accepted securities of 600 rupees from Wirbai binti Bhanji and 2000 rupees for the mosque. People also put securities in the hands of

²⁴⁶ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 141–142.

²⁴⁷ Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*.

²⁴⁸ E.g. letter by Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtmannd Londau, Daressalam, July 30, 1904, TNA: G1/29: “Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906.” See also Bi Ashura, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, April 18, 2013; and Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kigogo, Dar es Salaam, May 26, 2013.

Simba bin Halfani Tungi, who died August 6, 1911.²⁴⁹ Leslie observed in late-colonial Kariakoo that “[i]n a number of cases, usually among the older, more permanent residents, any surplus cash – for instance the proceeds of the sale of a crop, or dowry received – is deposited with a shopkeeper, and acts as surety for the monthly credit.”²⁵⁰ Being a shopkeeper in colonial Kariakoo involved engaging in social relations in the community, which transcended commercial and market relations in a narrow sense.²⁵¹

Second of all, this understanding of credit and debt challenges colonial views of Asian-African relations in Kariakoo as necessarily oppositional and benefitting only Asians. As described above, Africans and Asian urban residents refused to follow the colonial government’s view of Dar es Salaam as a racially segregated city, in which European lived in the eastern and Asians in the western downtown area, while African resided in the surrounding areas to the north, east, and west.²⁵² At least in the Kariakoo neighborhood, inhabitants considered Asian shopkeepers to be rightful residents in so far as they were part of corner communities.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ TNA: G35/3: “Nachlässe 1910-1912.”

²⁵⁰ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 142.

²⁵¹ See also Rimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 92.

²⁵² Other historians have been more willing to adopt the view that race was the most important social category in colonial Dar es Salaam (see Burton, *African Underclass*; Brennan, *Taifa*). While race certainly mattered in urban politics in colonial Dar es Salaam, class often proved to be a more important social category, for example when African landlords and landladies in Kariakoo turned out African tenants and rented entire houses to Asians (Brennan, “Nation, Race and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1916-1976,” 188). These Asians, in turn, were part of the poorer strata of the Asian urban population while richer Asians lived in the downtown area.

²⁵³ Franck Rimbault also hints at colonial authorities’ misguided interpretation of Asian-African relations in German colonial Dar es Salaam: “Les abus indiens vis-à-vis de la population constituaient au total une réalité faisant moins peur aux Africains que les autorités coloniales” (Rimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 117). There is a marked discrepancy of how relations between Africans and Asians are conceptualized in oral and written sources. When interviewees talked about race relations in the past, they acknowledged that Asians had been generally better off while Africans

Third of all, the creation of neighborhood communities based on credit and debt relations were deeply moral affairs. These corner communities were held together by moral discourses that guided and shaped credit and debt relations. Being indebted and lending money to others was common and it was rather easy to raise money to buy a direly needed article when one was a member of a corner community. However, being indebted came with its own problems and the debtor's sense of honor was at stake. Creditors were entitled to brag and joke about debtors, who constantly borrowed money without repaying it. The play *Hukooo Darisalama* illustrates the centrality of the concepts of honor and humiliation in communal debt and credit relations. The story line revolves around relations of credit and debt in rural Tanzania, and the act of borrowing money is intricately related to *aibu*, "humiliation," and *heshima*, "honor." The main character, Baba Semeni, asks the village teacher Baba Ana for money to cover the various debts he incurred in anticipation of a money order from his son-in-law, Bandu, who lives in Dar es Salaam. "I ask you to help me. Cover up my *aibu*, teacher. I need it. I ask you to lend me 100 shillings, when Bandu comes back for Dar es Salaam, he will bring me money." When Baba Ana hesitates to lend Baba Semeni money, Baba Ana's wife puts additional pressure on her husband: "Baba Ana, give your friend money, you are putting *aibu* on him [*unamwaibisha*]." The creditor's reputation is likewise at stake as Baba Ana fears that other people will consider him a fool because he keeps giving Baba Semeni money without ever getting repaid. Baba Semeni, on the other hand, complains about being unfairly derided by Baba Ana.²⁵⁴

were poor. The relations between Africans and Asians, however, were usually described in a positive light. Asians were good and helpful people, who helped others (including non-Asians) start a business etc. In written documents, on the other hand, Asians were portrayed as bad and merely looking after their own business and caring about their own communities. They were dangerous for Africans.

²⁵⁴ Mobali L. Muba, *Hukooo Darisalama* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1980), 20–24, translation from Kiswahili by the author.

Both debtors' and creditors' senses of honor were at stake in credit relations in Tanzania, and failing to pay debts had the potential of putting *aibu* on them. As described in the section from Vassanji's *The Gunny Sack* quoted at the beginning of this chapter, debtors even borrowed money from other people in order to repay the first lender. After his father had used money from the communal society fund for private ends, the family experienced financial hardship. "We had to start from scratch, borrowing and buying on credit, and we opened a duka [shop] in the African section [of Dar es Salaam, i.e. Kariakoo], selling kerosene by jigger and packets of spice ... Collectors would shout and wave their hands, making sure the neighbours heard, and we would pay out of shame even if we had to borrow more money to do it."²⁵⁵ When the family was unable to pay back the money in time, collectors made public the failure of paying back, thus challenging the debtor's reputation in the neighborhood community to ensure the repayment of money. As we will see in chapter 5, bank loans and their requirements for collateral, which in case of non-repayment could be seized by the lender, exacerbated the danger of being put to shame.

CONCLUSION

The intersection of credit, community, and morality in the Kariakoo neighborhood in colonial Dar es Salaam has stood at the center of this chapter. Government officials planned Kariakoo as the "African section" of the city with a grid-like structure of orthogonally intersecting streets and neatly separated from the Asian and European sections by a cordon sanitaire. Although a certain anonymity was inherent in the monotonous and repetitive street layout, African, Asian, and Arab residents of the neighborhood formed meaningful local and cosmopolitan communities, usually

²⁵⁵ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 53.

around corner shops. Members of these corner communities were held together by myriad intersecting relations of credit and debt, which in turn were regulated by moral codes embedded in these communities. Membership was defined by a member's ability to lend or borrow money or goods to another member, according to one's status and wealth. The existence and effectiveness of moral corner communities enabled members to buy goods on credit from the nearby shop. For shopkeepers, in turn, the practice of selling goods on credit was a crucial way of asserting membership in Kariakoo. Shopkeepers, who never sold on credit, might have been more successful in accumulating wealth for themselves, their families, and religious communities, but their status and reputation in the corner community were negatively affected by their business behavior. Thus, acknowledging that building personal relationships within the local community was something Kariakoo residents considered a project worth investing in helps to come to a better understanding of shopkeepers' business behavior.

Trust, shame, and respectability were shared notions among members irrespective of their racial and class backgrounds. Overall, economic activities in colonial Kariakoo were not detached from the local community but operated within the social norms of this community, and credit and debt relations were constitutive of urban communities and the urban economy. Although for a long time not being considered fully urbanized, both in the eyes of colonial authorities and social scientists, Africans – together with Asians and Arabs – formed moral corner communities in colonial Dar es Salaam. This suggests that Africans were able to create meaningful spaces of belonging in the city and that debt and credit relations were central for these emerging urban subjectivities.

CHAPTER 2—BORROWING AND SAVING AGAINST ALL ODDS: PAWNSHOP CREDIT AND SAVINGS ACCOUNTS IN COLONIAL KARIAKOO

Pawnbrokers' various stalls belong to the Dar es Salaam cityscape. Whoever crosses the African neighborhood on Kichwele Street, is being screamed at by numerous shop signs: 'Pawnbroker-Mshika-Rehani!' ... How do we protect our urban Africans from such dangers? By caring about their social welfare, by teaching them a prudent way of living, and by urging them to be thrifty ... Where our children of pastoral care think of 'kuweka akiba,' [i.e.] putting aside, in time of plenty, they don't have to concern themselves with 'kuweka poni,' [i.e.] pawning, in lean years.²⁵⁶

Discourses around borrowing and lending money in colonial Dar es Salaam were marked by strong moral undertones. European missionaries like Father Engelberger, a Catholic priest from Switzerland working in Kariakoo in the late 1940s quoted above, portrayed credit as dangerous because it had the potential of entrapping Africans in cycles of debt. Although Engelberger acknowledged that in rare cases, pawning goods might help urban residents to get through periods of unemployment and other hardship, he condemned the habit of borrowing money as morally corrupting. Depicting moneylenders in Kariakoo as exploitative and dangerous for Africans, Engelberger argued that pawnshop credit did not help people overcome obstacles, but it locked them into relations of increasing dependency. Engelberger further considered pawnshops undesirable because they provided thieves with a way to turn stolen goods into money. Instead, Engelberger urged Africans to save money during prosperous times so they had savings to fall back on during hard times. In order to facilitate and encourage African savings, the mission

²⁵⁶ "Zum Stadtbild von Dar-es-Salaam gehören nicht zuletzt die vielen Buden der Pfandverleiher. Wer auf der Kichwelestrasse das Negerviertel durchquert, den werden von links und rechts zahlreiche Ladenschilde anschreien: 'Pawnbroker-Mshika-Rehani!' ... Wie schützen wir unsere Stadtneger vor solchen Gefahren? Indem wir um ihr soziales Wohl besorgt sind, sie zu einer vernünftigen Lebensweise erziehen und zur Sparsamkeit anhalten. ... Wo unsere Seelsorgekinder in fetten Jahren an das 'kuweka akiba', ans Zurücklegen, denken, da müssen sie in mageren Jahren sich nicht ums 'kuweka poni', ums Pfandanlegen, kümmern" (Franz Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*, Bd. 3 (Zurich: Christliche Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1949), 44, 48, translation from German by the author).

station in Kariakoo provided banking services for Africans while missionaries taught Africans the importance of saving and the dangers of borrowing money.²⁵⁷ The call to save money was taken up by both colonial and postcolonial state actors as well as representatives of banking institutions, who used credit to promote their agendas and to create particular kinds of financial subjects.

Two related goals are being pursued in this chapter. The first is to challenge two related mythical beliefs about urban Africans' financial behavior commonly held amongst government officials in the colonial period. Firstly, indebted Africans were in danger because they were not able to pay back borrowed money in time and get trapped in unending cycles of debts. Secondly, Africans did not have the ability to save money. Explanations for this inability varied. Some argued that Africans lived in the moment, were unable to plan ahead, and spent money as soon as they had some. Others contended that Africans were inherently "unbusiness-like" and did not understand one of the pillars of what Max Weber called "the Protestant ethic," namely productively reinvesting one's savings into a business.²⁵⁸ Up to the present, versions of these beliefs have persisted, although explanations for their validity have varied. I redress these beliefs by investigating the channels of (semi-)formal borrowing and saving to which Africans in colonial Dar es Salaam had unrestricted access: pawnshop credit and savings accounts at the Post Office Savings Bank (POSB). The picture that emerges is one of Africans borrowing money to a great extent and paying back loans in time. Likewise, urban Africans knew various forms of saving and rather than making use of bank savings accounts, they continued to rely on their own long-established forms of saving.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 3:97–98.

²⁵⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Los Angeles: Roxbury Pub., 1998).

The second goal of this chapter is to argue that Kariakoo residents in the colonial period came to view credit, and particularly pawnshop credit, as an urban right. Despite government efforts to curb and regularize pawnshop loans, urban Africans continued to pledge household goods and jewelry at pawnshops throughout the colonial period. This changed dramatically shortly after independence when pawnshops were banned and banks were nationalized, which made it considerably more difficult for urban Africans to take out loans. The banning of pawnshops was an element of Nyerere's long-term plan to create a socialist economic and financial system in which government banks monopolized the allocation of loans for the use of productive and desirable ends. The nationalization of banks took place in 1967 and loans were directed away from urban to rural borrowers. The net effect was that rural farmers in socialist *ujamaa* villages had increasing access to loans at the expense of lower-class urban residents. Savings institutions were less affected by the nationalization of banks since the POSB was not considered a fully-fledged bank. Nevertheless, the POSB lost its position as a trustworthy place to deposit one's savings and overall savings by urban Africans decreased.

DEMONIZING BORROWING AND EULOGIZING SAVING

Practices of borrowing and lending have often been undergirded by particularly strong moral discourses. Demonizing acts of borrowing while eulogizing acts of saving were not only common in the context of pawnshops in colonial Dar es Salaam, but also with regards to the installment plan in twentieth-century United States.²⁵⁹ In colonial Dar es Salaam, these discourses were racially tinged, as they set up the binary Asian creditor-African debtor and constituted "the borrowing African" as a problem, thus legitimizing repeated efforts aimed at

²⁵⁹ Calder, *Financing the American Dream*.

solving or mitigating this problem. One way to tackle the problem was to force African traders and farmers to engage in commercial activities on cash basis only (see chapter 4). Another was to educate Africans about the dangers of borrowing money (see chapter 5). A third option was to simply ban Africans from borrowing money, which was what the British colonial government decided to do in 1923. The Credit to Natives Ordinance prohibited Africans from taking out bank loans.

Demonizing borrowing was a common practice among governing authorities in Dar es Salaam from the late nineteenth century until the end of the socialist period in the 1980s. In the colonial period, borrowing was believed to be particularly dangerous for Africans because they supposedly did not know how to make repayments. Already in mid-nineteenth century Zanzibar, Sayyida Salme, later Emily Ruete, a member of the Sultan's family, complained in her memoirs about her escort of armed slaves. She lamented that "[t]hey used to give us a lot of trouble, and to cause great expense. For all their weapons, with the exception of rifles and revolvers, were inlaid with gold or silver, and these rascals would put them in pledge for a trifle with some East Indian usurer, simply to quench their thirst in *pomba* [sic] (palm wine). So what could a mistress do but buy the articles back at ten times the amount, or fit the creatures out anew after having them soundly whipped?"²⁶⁰ A British colonial officer stated in 1948 "I do not like Africans borrowing money as they are all too prone to acquiring debts which they find difficult to settle."²⁶¹ Even the otherwise so keenly and compassionately observing J. A. K. Leslie was not always able to refrain from reproducing a well-established stereotype when describing Africans' management of money. Newcomers in the city did not have any knowledge of how to handle

²⁶⁰ Emilie Ruete, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar. Translated by Lionel Strachey* (New York: DoubleDay, Page & Company, 1907), 134.

²⁶¹ Minutes, S.A.A., March 12, 1949, TNA: 38850: "Money Lenders, Registration of."

money, he asserted, and “certainly very few indeed have used money to such an extent that they are able to calculate how long it will last and to allocate it throughout a month or a fortnight.”²⁶²

The trope of the financially illiterate African also found expression in literature. In Shiva Naipaul’s *North of South*, a magistrate says “Africans, as a rule, don’t seem to understand that when banks lend you money, they expect something back in return.”²⁶³

The stereotype of the financially illiterate African was perpetuated over decades and it constituted of two aspects. Governing authorities not only considered Africans to be unable to handle borrowed money. They also doubted Africans’ ability – and particularly African men’s ability – to save money. To demonize borrowing and eulogize saving were two sides of the same logical coin. Thrift was described as a character trait, which would help Africans lead economically successful lives. In his annual report for 1921, Senior Commissioner of the Dar es Salaam District, F. W. Brett, deliberated “The struggle for existence would be less if the natives concerned could be imbued with some idea of thrift.”²⁶⁴ And an article on the Post Office Savings Bank published in the *Mambo Leo* newspaper in 1927 unambiguously stated “The thrifty man is the successful man.”²⁶⁵ According to colonial authorities, the common African in Dar es Salaam was unable to engage in practices of saving and borrowing money.

With regards to saving, however, colonial authorities believed that Africans would be able to change and improve their habits. Particularly African women’s economic practices repeatedly confused colonial officials’ perceptions. E. C. Baker observed in 1931 that “[i]t is

²⁶² Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 116.

²⁶³ Shiva Naipaul, *North of South: An African Journey* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 42%).

²⁶⁴ Annual report on Dar-es-Salaam District for 1921, F.W. Brett, Senior Commissioner, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

²⁶⁵ Mambo Leo, 1927, accessed in TNA: 20999: “Co-operative Society (Development Fund) – Proposal by Bukwimba Federation to establish.”

often a mystery how natives manage to build their houses especially the old women who will embark on the building of a house with no sensible means at their disposal but what they can make from the sale of rice cakes and fried fish. The building usually progresses at a very slow rate and it is often months before they can do more than erect the uprights. A small sum must first be saved and this is used to pay men to cut poles whilst the builder takes advantage of every possible means to add to his capital. ... [T]he building of a house entails, in many instances, an amount of self denial and thrift of which one would imagine the African to be incapable.”²⁶⁶

More than twenty-five years later, J. A. K. Leslie made colonial authorities gendered perception of African saving even more clearly. “Most women seem much more cautious over money in town than the men, and many have managed to save quite large amounts, enough in some cases to build a house with, from the sale of small quantities of firewood, fish or beans, a few cents at a time. Few men could resist the temptation to spend these earnings at least as fast as they came in.”²⁶⁷ Since they believed it was possible, state officials repeatedly engaged in efforts to teach Africans how to save money. As discussed in detail below, the inculcation of thrift into Africans assumed particular importance in the interwar period when the Post Office Savings Bank was launched in Dar es Salaam.

PAWNING GOODS

As far as handling borrowed money was concerned, the consensus among government officials before World War Two was that Africans could not be taught how to change their habits.

Therefore, they attempted to prevent Africans from borrowing money with the help of the so-called Credit to Natives Ordinance. The argumentation in favor of the Credit to Natives

²⁶⁶ Baker, “Memorandum on the Social Conditions of Dar es Salaam,” 25.

²⁶⁷ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 117.

Ordinance was that Africans did not have a strong enough character to be able to protect themselves from the danger inherent in taking out loans. They would be in danger of getting trapped in endless cycles of debt and of being exploited by reckless Asian creditors. This form of colonial governance was undergirded by moralized views about Africans and Asians. Instead of reforming borrowing Africans' character by compelling them to deal with borrowed money in "appropriate", i.e. morally right, ways, the colonial government chose to "protect" the supposedly vulnerable urban Africans from the dangers of debt.²⁶⁸

The Credit to Natives Restriction Ordinance was implemented in 1923 with the goal to protect African debtors from creditors in so far as creditors were unable to claim repayments of Africans' debts if they had not been pre-approved.²⁶⁹ And occasionally, indebted Africans indeed found protection from their non-African creditors. Abdulla bin Msopola from the town of Rudewa took a mortgage of 3000 shillings from the K. S. Patel, who was of Asian descent. Abdulla bin Msopola did not have to pay the money back because "the transaction, by which the native borrowed Sh.3000/-, was carried out without the approval of the District Officer. The debt is now legally irrecoverable under the Credit to Native Restriction Ordinance."²⁷⁰ The more important effect the ordinance had on Africans, however, was that it prevented them from receiving loans from non-Africans, unless they had special permission to do so. It applied to all people of African descent in Tanganyika and a few examples from both rural and urban areas of the territory illustrate how it worked in practice. Magji Visram of the town of Kilosa, a man of

²⁶⁸ In that sense, the Credit to Natives Ordinance did not represent a form of "moral governance" (Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). This contrasts with governmental practices in post-socialist Dar es Salaam described in chapter 5.

²⁶⁹ Brennan, *Taifa*, 36.

²⁷⁰ Letter by the Acting District Officer, Kilosa, to Land Officer, Dar es Salaam, September 26, 1931, TNA: ACC 61/324: "Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives."

Asian descent, applied for permission from the district officer to loan the sum of 2000 shillings to Abdulamani and the sum of 500 shillings to Muhimbogoo bin Itbari, who were both of African descent. In both cases, the Credit to Natives Ordinance was invoked and permission was not granted.²⁷¹ Advances on produce also fell under the ordinance, as another case from Kilosa shows. The Ibrahim Brothers and Co. from Dar es Salaam wanted to provide a loan of 2000 shilling to Tupa bin Tupa from Kilosa so he could grow cotton. The Morogoro Provincial Commissioner did not approve of the loan because “[i]t is far too big a sum of money to allow the man to become indebted on the security of a cotton crop which may be destroyed.”²⁷² Usagara Company in Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, were allowed to give “office boy” Omari bin Zahoro a loan amounting to 1460 shillings. Omari bin Zahoro wanted to invest the money in his house in Dar es Salaam and he offered to pay back the loan in monthly installments of 60 shillings. Permission for the loan was given under the condition that Omari bin Zahoro’s house was used as collateral.²⁷³

The racial aspects of the Credit to Natives Ordinance were explicit, which meant that Asians and Arabs were allowed to take out bank loans. When Saleh bin Said bin Saleh living in House No. 69 on Livingstone Street in Kariakoo applied for a mortgage from Karishanker Mulji

²⁷¹ Letter by the District Officer of Kilosa to Magji Visram, February 19, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

²⁷² Letter by the Provincial Commissioner, Morogoro, to the District Officer, Kilosa, February 16, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

²⁷³ Letter by Usagara Company to District Officer, Dar es Salaam, July 9, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.” Another effect of the introduction of the Credit to Natives Ordinance was the increase of the moneylender’s licenses, which was recorded for Zanzibar but might have been felt in Dar es Salaam as well. In Zanzibar, since Africans were no longer able to take out mortgages on their land, they officially sold a plot to an Asian creditor, received money, only to buy back the same plot after some time for a slightly higher price. These sales were in fact mortgages in sale guise or disguised mortgages. Needless to say, they put the African vendors/lenders in a difficult position and they were prone to lose their land to Asian buyers/creditors (February 24, 1930, ZNA: AB 14/68: “Mortgages by natives to moneylenders”).

and Company in 1932, the Provincial Commissioner requested to “Please report if the ‘borrower’ is a native and if so whether the necessary sanction to borrow under the Credits to Natives Ordinance was obtained.” The Land Commissioner replied “Borrower is an Arab,” which meant that he was exempted from the ordinance and allowed to apply for the mortgage.²⁷⁴ Sebe bin Mbaruk, a Dar es Salaam resident, wanted to raise a loan of 2500 shillings on his house on the corner of Sewa Street and Upanga Road “from a non-native firm” at the annual interest rate of 24 per cent. The loan was approved because “Sebe bin Mbaruk is an Arab and ... the Restriction to of [sic] Credit to Natives Ordinance does not apply to him. Permission to contract a loan is therefore not required.”²⁷⁵ Thus, race constituted an important aspect of who was able to access bank loans in interwar Dar es Salaam, and it put people of African descent at a distinct disadvantage.²⁷⁶

Despite the Credit to Natives Ordinance, urban Africans borrowed and lent money and goods from and to a whole range of people in various forms of credit arrangements. Trade credit involved suppliers advancing goods to wholesalers and retailers, who paid the supplier once they had sold the goods. When traders died in colonial Dar es Salaam, they typically left behind

²⁷⁴ Letter by Land Officer, Dar es Salaam, to Provincial Commissioner February, Dar es Salaam, February 19, 1932, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

²⁷⁵ Letter by the District Officer, Dar es Salaam, to the Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, July 24, 1931, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives.”

²⁷⁶ As in other historical contexts, race in Tanganyika was a social construct, and it was at times malleable and defined by culture. A case from Bagamoyo illustrates how people of Baloch descent successfully recast themselves as “Swahili” people because “they are the descendants of settlers of many years ago, and the majority have intermarried with coast natives and have adopted native customs.” This allowed them to acquire land in the Akuna section of Bagamoyo (January 28, 1929, TNA: ACC 61/324: “Dealing in Real Estate etc. between Natives and Non-Natives”).

several pages filled with outstanding debts and credit.²⁷⁷ Shop credit was also very common as discussed in the previous chapter. Shopkeepers played the role as “mini-bankers”²⁷⁸ since they not only sold goods on credit, but also stored local residents’ deposits. To be a potential borrower and lender in the eyes of other members was one of the defining characteristics of being a member of a corner community in Kariakoo, and it was particularly important for shopkeepers of Asian descent to establish their membership in a local urban community. Moneylenders also existed, but they were few in numbers and they charged extraordinarily high interest rates. Contrary to pawnbrokers, moneylenders did not ask debtors to provide property as collateral.²⁷⁹ Religious-based credit institutions also existed, most prominently among the Ismaili Khoja community, a Shia Muslim group with origins in northwestern India. The Tanganyika Ismailia Co-operative Society was formed in 1937-38. By 1939, there were four credit societies in Dar es Salaam, whose “sole function is to make credit available to their members on somewhat easier terms than those offered by banks and financing houses.”²⁸⁰ Loans also went to families, who used the funds to expand their shops in Kariakoo.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ For more on trade credit, see chapters 3 and 4.

²⁷⁸ Franck Rimbault uses the term “mini-banquiers” to describe Asian shopkeepers in German colonial Dar es Salaam (Rimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 116).

²⁷⁹ Dar es Salaam Municipal Secretary E. H. Helps noted in 1936 that there were two licensed moneylenders in town at the time (letter by E. H. Helps, Municipal Secretary, Dar es Salaam, to the P.C., Eastern Province, August 14, 1936, TNA: 24324: “Trades Licensing and Licensing of Itinerant Traders Draft Bills”).

²⁸⁰ Report by His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the TANGANYIKA TERRITORY For the Year 1939, page 40, accessed at TNA library: “Report to the League of Nations on Tanganyika Territory, 1939.”

²⁸¹ Walji, “A History of the Ismaili Community in Tanzania,” 169.

In addition to these various forms of credit and debt, there was one somewhat formal kind of credit urban Africans in the colonial period had access to: pawnshop credit.²⁸² The colonial government tolerated pawnshop credit despite the existence of the Credit to Natives Ordinance preventing Africans from taking out loans. Even though the colonial government did not approve of pawnshops and pawnbrokers' practices and considered pawnshops to be morally wrong, pawnshop loans were exempted from the Credit to Natives Ordinance because so many Africans patronized pawnshops on a regular basis. Pawnbrokers specialized in providing relatively small amounts of money in exchange for personal goods. Pawnbrokers kept these valuables at their shops until the customer paid back the borrowed money plus a previously agreed-upon amount of interest. In case the borrower failed to repay the money in time, the pawnbrokers were obliged by law to sell the pledged object at a public auction. As most Kariakoo residents did not qualify for bank loans, they made considerable use of pawnshop credit either to bridge the last few days before payday or to get investment capital for larger projects.²⁸³ Low-value items such as shirts and *kanga* cloths were pawned to bridge short-term financial needs. High-value items such as jewelry were used for longer-term investments or for the payment of taxes and licenses.

Pawnshop customers were used to paying back loans in time and with interest.²⁸⁴ Smaller loans were usually paid back at the beginning of the month when workers and employees received their salaries. To buy back pawned high-value items was a more costly matter. Some Kariakoo residents relied on revenues from the annual sale of the rice harvests in June and July.

²⁸² In the postwar period, hire purchase loans and house loans also became available. Loans from colonial banks, however, were never accessible to Kariakoo residents in colonial Dar es Salaam.

²⁸³ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 142–143.

²⁸⁴ Leslie observed that “Unlike borrowing between Africans, much of which is never repaid, pledges pawned are nearly all redeemed” (Ibid., 6). In Zanzibar town in 1939, eleven pawnbrokers stated that articles of wearing apparel were usually redeemed, and one stated that 75% were redeemed (Letter by Manning, January 3, 1939, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

Leslie observed that in July, “a large proportion [of houses] even in Kariakoo, has a mat spread out and newly harvested rice drying in the sun.”²⁸⁵ This indicates the importance of revenue generated from agricultural activities for urban residents in colonial Dar es Salaam.²⁸⁶

Unsurprisingly, then, pawnbrokers in colonial Dar es Salaam, but also in other towns in colonial East Africa, were of Asian descent. As pawnshops were mainly patronized by Africans, pawnshops were located in the Kariakoo neighborhood in colonial Dar es Salaam. At the turn of the twentieth century in German colonial Dar es Salaam, there were about seven shopkeepers, who exclusively focused their business on pawnbroking. Various other Asian shopkeepers were involved in pawnbroking, but they were officially registered as shopkeepers.²⁸⁷ In 1928 in British colonial Dar es Salaam, there were eight licensed pawnbrokers. They were legally allowed to provide loans for three months with interest of 6 cents per shilling per month.²⁸⁸ The Dar es Salaam pawnbrokers claimed in 1930 that each one of them attended to about 300 to 400 customers on the first day of each month.²⁸⁹ Even if this number may be a slight exaggeration, it still indicates how popular pawnshops were. On the first day of every month, a total of well over

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 147.

²⁸⁶ See chapter 4 for an elaborate discussion of the rice trade in and out of Kariakoo.

²⁸⁷ Letter by Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtman Londa, Dar es Salaam, June 30, 1904, TNA: G1/29: “Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906.”

²⁸⁸ Letter by Brett, Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, May 5, 1928, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

²⁸⁹ Letter by the Pawnbrokers of Dar es Salaam, represented by W. Dharsee, Dar es Salaam, March 31, 1930, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.” Pawnbrokers in Zanzibar claimed in 1941 that the eighteen existing pawnshops in Zanzibar “cater to the immediate needs of the inhabitants of the Protectorate and every year at a conservative estimate about a hundred thousand people are being accommodated” ([Signed by 18 pawnbrokers] Zanzibar, September 20, 1941, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

2000 people in Dar es Salaam – or roughly one out of every ten African residents – rushed to one of the eight pawnshops to redeem pledged goods.²⁹⁰

Pawnshops remained popular during World War Two and in the postwar period. There were thirteen pawnshops in Dar es Salaam in 1940²⁹¹ and eighteen pawnshops in the late 1950s, and all of the pawnbrokers were Ismaili Khojas, many of whom were related to each other and to the longer-established pawnbrokers in Zanzibar. Pawnbrokers typically specialized on certain goods because the license they were required to have in order to conduct their business defined a particular price range of goods that could be pawned. Leslie estimated that pawnbrokers in Dar es Salaam gave out over 300,000 small loans every year.²⁹² Pawnshop credit was so common that “the interest on pawnbrokers tickets was included as a basic item in the cost of living computations for Africans,” as a colonial officer observed in 1948.²⁹³

Leslie described the network of pawnbrokers as a “closed circle” where competition was absent. Pawnbrokers were also organized in a pawnbrokers association, both in Dar es Salaam and in Zanzibar. Despite the lack of outright competition, pawnbrokers rarely exploited their clients, as Leslie noted to his surprise.²⁹⁴ Legally, pawnbrokers were not able to raise interest

²⁹⁰ In Zanzibar town, the estimated numbers were similar. Pawnbrokers claimed in 1938 that each pawnbroker sold 600 pawn tickets a month (Comments by Seif bin Soleman, December 22, 1938, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

²⁹¹ Minutes, January 6, 1940, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

²⁹² Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 144. Furthermore, Leslie recounted how an African visitor to Dar es Salaam observed that “pawn-shops thronged and packed with more *khangas* than the eye could count” (Ibid., 103).

²⁹³ Minutes, February 25, 1948, 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

²⁹⁴ See also the Report of the Committee on Rising Costs: “... there is a surfeit of them [pawnbrokers] in Dar es Salaam and what evidence we have heard on this subject suggests that the pawnbroker plays a prominent part in the economy of the average African household. It is easy to assume that the continuance in business of these myriads of petty pawnbrokers derives from the exploitation of African customers. This may well be true but it would be difficult to secure evidence to prove it” (Extract from the Report of the Committee on Rising Costs [1951], TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of”).

rates indefinitely because the pawnshop ordinance clearly defined the maximum interest on both low-value and high-value items. When it came to determining how much money a client would receive for a particular pledged item, however, pawnbrokers did have some leverage. Here, the personal relations between client and owner of a pawnshop as well as the client's social standing in the neighborhood became crucial. Recurrent visits and repayments helped to build trust so clients tended to have their preferred pawnshops in Kariakoo, whose service they would regularly call on.²⁹⁵ A 1939 report from Zanzibar town included the remarkable statements that "In receiving goods in pawn, pawnbrokers take into consideration the social standing of the pledger. In the case of a person of good social standing wishing to pawn gold or silver articles, and who is expected to redeem the pledge, the pawnbroker will advance up to 50% [of the value] of the article pawned. To other persons, 25% or less is advanced."²⁹⁶

D. R. Gangji was one of these pawnbrokers in colonial Kariakoo (see picture 2.1). He had a shop in house number 46 on Kichwele Street, one of two main streets in Kariakoo (later renamed Uhuru Street). His shop was constantly busy with customers, but like other pawnshops, it was particularly busy at the end of the month. Father Engelberger, who provided a detailed, if biased, portrayal of D. R. Gangji in 1949, described Kariakoo residents as being intimately familiar with pawning goods for credit on a regular basis. Goods commonly pawned were household items such as shirts, pants, *kanga* cloths, hats, shoes as well as silver and gold. Engelberger estimated that at any given time, one in four Africans walking around in Dar es Salaam had a pawn ticket in her of his pocket.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 143.

²⁹⁶ Letter by Manning, January 3, 1939, ZNA: AB 14/71: "The pawn brokers decree."

²⁹⁷ Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*, 3:44–48. In a letter to the Tanganyika Standard, A. G. Christie disapprovingly stated that "whatever else the African may have in his pocket he will always have an imposing bundle of pawn tickets which are bound to represent a dead loss to



Figure 2.1: “*Der Laden von Mr. Gangji*” – D. R. Ganji’s pawnshop in late-colonial Kariakoo.²⁹⁸

Engelberger’s description of Gangji exudes the missionary’s visceral dislike for the pawnbroker as the missionary considered pawnbroking to be morally wrong because it put African debtors in danger of getting caught up in unending cycles of debt and dependence. Colonial officials to some extent shared Engelberger’s views. They lamented the questionable character of pawnbrokers, and they generally suspected pawnshops to be “the ‘clearing houses’ of much stolen property” and pawnbroking a “profitable form of parasitism [on the African].”²⁹⁹ Overall, colonial officers displayed a general unease about pawnbroking. Urban Africans’ extensive use of pawnbroking loans also challenged colonial officials’ understanding of Africans as “unbusiness-like.” In the minutes to the registration of pawnbrokers, colonial officials

him” (Tanganyika Standard, November 15, 1944, accessed at TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of”).

²⁹⁸ Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*, 3:46.

²⁹⁹ Letter by Brett, Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, May 5, 1928, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of;” Minutes, May 15, 1951, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

engaged in a debate whether this topic should be an “A” file (“African Affairs”) or an “F” file (Business and Economics) because pawnbroking involved aspects of both spheres, which the colonial administration had tried to separate neatly.³⁰⁰

In general, colonial officials took a more pragmatic approach than people like Engelberger. Although the pawnbroking business was considered to be morally wrong, pawn shops were – in the words of the Dar es Salaam Provincial Commissioner – “a necessary evil in Dar es Salaam and [they] are used by approximately 75% of the population.”³⁰¹ The Committee on Rising Costs confirmed this view by stating that “recourse to pawnbrokers is an unavoidable aspect of the present social organisation of Tanganyika,” mainly because wages for urban African workers were very low.³⁰² The Social Welfare Organizer unwillingly acknowledged that pawnshop credit had become an intricate part of urban life in Dar es Salaam. “There is no doubt that the pawnshop has become part of the economic life of the lower paid Africans in the town. The absorption of so much money from the pockets of the Africans for an unproductive service which encourages imprudence [sic] is deplorable, but the pawnbrokers provide financial accommodation for Africans in an emergency which is provided by no other agency.”³⁰³ Other observers noted that “the pawnbroker plays a prominent part in the economy of the average African household” and that “[t]he addiction to pawning is ... widespread.”³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Minutes [1948], TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³⁰¹ Letter by Commissioner, Tanganyika Police and Prisons, May 21, 1928, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³⁰² P.A.S., Minutes, September 9, 1952, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³⁰³ Letter by the Social Welfare Organizer, Dar es Salaam, to the Member for Education, Labour and Welfare, November 19, 1948, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³⁰⁴ Extract from the Report of the Committee on Rising Costs [1951], TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of;” Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 143. Likewise in Zanzibar town, colonial officials noted “The position of pawnbrokers in Zanzibar should be appreciated. They have been termed ‘the poor man’s banker’ and, in Leg[islative] Co[uncil], the Honourable Member for Pemba even went as far as to ask that the State should undertake Pawnbroking at

The colonial governments did not ban pawnshops but instead they tried to regulate them. Already the German colonial government legislated a *Pfandleiheverordnung* (pawnbroking ordinance), which was based on the existing pawnbrokers ordinance from Zanzibar. The most hotly discussed topic was the issue of language. It was suggested that pawnbrokers needed to keep their books in German or in Kiswahili so the government would be able to control and oversee Asians' business activities.³⁰⁵ The second major point of discussion was how to determine who a pawnbroker was. Only a handful of people had specialized in pawnbroking whereas many traders engaged in pawnbroking as a side business in order to satisfy Africans' and Arabs' demands for financial services.³⁰⁶ Most of these transactions were arranged directly between creditor and debtor but the colonial state was sometimes involved, especially when it came to larger sums of money. An example was Dar es Salaam resident Nasabu Hussein bin Muhamad, who in October 1904 borrowed 1000 rupees from Dar es Salaam trader Adamji Babuji and Sons for the duration of one year. The creditor provided his house on Marktstrasse as a collateral.³⁰⁷

low rates of interest for the benefit of poor people. In the Town of Zanzibar it would appear then that they are almost a public necessity" (Provincial Commissioner, December 30, 1940, ZNA: AB 14/71: "The pawn brokers decree"). The Zanzibari pawnbrokers themselves claimed that "the Pawnshops are the CASH BANKS where they [the poor class Africans and Arabs] are sure to be relieved of their pressing needs" (Pawn-Brokers of Zanzibar, March 21, 1946, ZNA: AB 14/71: "The pawn brokers decree").

³⁰⁵ TNA: G1/29: "Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906." Others argued that the language requirement would force Asians to employ a bilingual secretary to translate their books from Gujarati to German. This brought up racial fears as some colonial officials were worried that a German secretary employed by an Asian pawnbroker would come from the lowest ranks of German society and would generally hurt the reputation of all Germans living in German East Africa (Kaiserliche Bezirksamtman, Pangani, May 13, 1906, TNA: G1/29: "Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906").

³⁰⁶ "[E]n matière financière, Africains et Arabes préféraient largement se tourner vers un marchand indien de leur connaissance plutôt que vers un Européen" (Raimbault, "Dar-es-Salaam histoire d'une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)," 86).

³⁰⁷ Pledge agreement, Dar es Salaam, October 10, 1904, TNA: G35/3: "Nachlässe, 1910-1912."

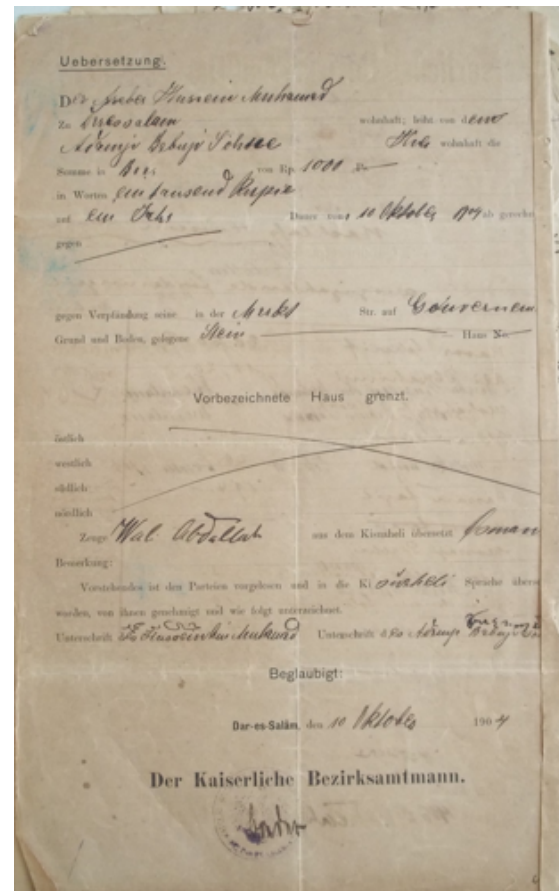
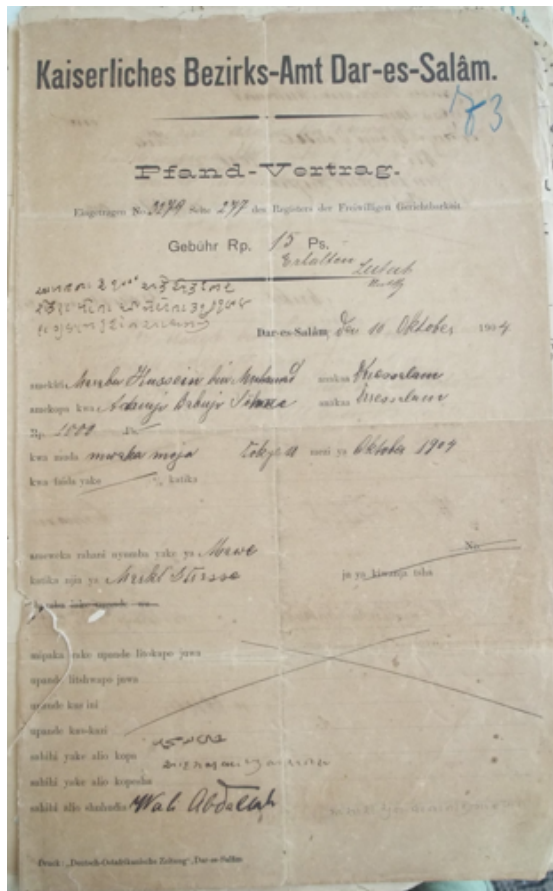


Figure 2.2: Pledge agreement I, ca. 1910.³⁰⁸ Figure 2.3: Pledge agreement II, ca. 1910.³⁰⁸

By 1904, pawnbroking had grown to such an extent as to make it the object of colonial legislation. The *Pfandleiheverordnung* determined the monthly interest rate to be 2 pesa per rupee for loans below 20 rupees and 1 pesa per rupee for loans above 20 rupees. As 1 rupee contained 64 pesa, the interest rate amounted to 3.125 per cent per month and 37.5 per cent per year, and 1.5625 per cent per month and 18.75 per cent per year, respectively. In cases where loans were taken out for less than one month, interest rates were doubled. Pawnbrokers were required to issue a pawn ticket for every pledged item and unredeemed items were auctioned off

³⁰⁸ TNA: G35/3: "Nachlässe, 1910-1912."

under the supervision of a government official.³⁰⁹ At the same time, traders engaging in pawnbroking activities were required to keep a separate account book for pledged items.³¹⁰ After World War One, the British administration introduced a Pawnbrokers Ordinance that by and large resembled the German *Pfandleihverordnung*, although it was mainly based on the Kenya Colony Pawnbrokers Ordinance.³¹¹ Even though the Credit to Natives Ordinance was introduced in 1923, the Pawnbrokers Ordinance was only legislated seven years later in 1930. Again, one of the requirements was for pawnbrokers to issue a pawn ticket for each pledged item.

Pawnbrokers in Dar es Salaam were quick to express their frustration with the new ordinance in 1930. They were unhappy with the caps on interest rates to three per cent per month as specified in the ordinance, particularly for low-value items and for items pledged for shorter than a month.³¹² More controversial was the issue of language, which had been a bone of contention since the German colonial period. In a petition, they took on section 8 of the ordinance, which made it compulsory for all the pawnbrokers to keep their books in English or Kiswahili in English characters. “Unfortunately, most of us, not being blessed with sufficient knowledge of English or Swahili to enable us to keep the books in the manner required, shall be compelled to engage a book-keeper competent enough to undertake this task.”³¹³ Unlike Dar es

³⁰⁹ Bestimmungen betreffend die Ausübung des Pfandleihgewerbes, April 27, 1904, TNA: G1/29: “Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906.”

³¹⁰ Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtman, Dar es Salaam, April 17, 1906, TNA: G1/29: “Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906.”

³¹¹ Commissioner of Police, Dar es Salaam, March 4, 1929, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³¹² Letter by The Pawnbrokers of Dar es Salaam, represented by W. Dharsee, Barrister-at-Law, Dar es Salaam, March 31, 1930, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³¹³ A petition by the pawnbrokers of Dar es Salaam to the Chief Secretary (undersigned Habib Kassam Keswani, A. Karim Alarakhia, H. J. Pirani, H. N. Kanji, Ismail Nanji, Mohamedali Ismail Rawji, H. P. Gulamhussein, H. R. Ibrahim, Mohamedali & Co., K. D. Gangji), January 27, 1930, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

Salaam shopkeepers, who went on a 54-day strike in 1923 because of the language issue, pawnbrokers accepted the new ordinance.

Meanwhile, Kariakoo residents had come to view pawnshop credit as an indispensable aspect of urban life. Pawnshops only existed in the city and having access to some sort of formal credit could be an indisputable advantage when it came to investing in a side-business, buying seeds for peri-urban gardens, helping a friend clear debts, and affording expenses for a wedding or a funeral. Kariakoo residents understood the access to credit as their right or an “urban entitlement.”³¹⁴ It allowed them to spend money more flexibly and more according to their wishes. As more cash was brought into circulation, borrowers could spend money more immediately and at higher levels. Traders used pawnshop services to raise capital, which allowed them to conduct larger commercial transactions. A small-scale fruit trader, for instance, pawned his coat to buy wholesale a large amount of fruits, which he transported and sold retail at a higher price per piece.³¹⁵ The comparatively high percentage of workers in the neighborhood used pawnshop services regularly to bridge periods of unemployment or underemployment as well as the period before paydays. Regular pawnshop users had their favorite pawnshops because “to be well known to the pawnbroker is half the battle.”³¹⁶ In that sense, the ready availability of pawnshop credit shaped the market neighborhood of Kariakoo and it helped to constitute Kariakoo as the economic center of Dar es Salaam.

As pawnshop credit was regulated by the colonial state, it did not assume the symbolic role of gift-giving or gift-receiving in ways selling/buying goods on credit and

³¹⁴ I have borrowed the term “urban entitlement” from James Brennan, whose use of the term does not include access to credit (Brennan, *Taifa*). See also Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 105–107.

³¹⁵ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 143.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

lending/borrowing money to and from members of the neighborhood community did.³¹⁷ A crucial aspect was that debts were written down rather than agreed on verbally.³¹⁸ Repayment periods and interest rates were clearly fixed so that the failure to repay debts involved tangible dangers for the debtor. Since the terms of borrowing and repaying could not be easily renegotiated as in verbal debt and credit arrangements, borrowers at times expressed their frustration of being unable to influence the credit arrangement. A pawnshop client complained “when one goes to pledge a shirt or a vest or a pair of trousers, they give the smallest amount, far less than they cost to buy. One is in their hands, they make on every transaction and one

³¹⁷ See chapter 1.

³¹⁸ In Mobali Muba’s play *Hukooo Darissalama*, the difference between borrowing money on a verbal basis displayed different characteristics from borrowing money on a written basis. Debtors perceived borrowing money on a verbal basis as receiving a gift. Teacher Mikaeli explained why he did not want to lend Baba Semeni money again: “When you borrow money, you think you were given it as a gift. You were not around at all, but not trouble has brought you back. (*He pauses*) Also, remember the paper where you wrote it down for me. I still have it.” Because Mikaeli did not trust Baba Semeni, he had insisted on writing down the Baba Semeni’s debt. Written credit agreements were mainly enforced when the two parties did not trust each other entirely. Another scene illustrates this: Baba Semeni went to the *pombe* or local beer club without money and he wanted to buy *pombe* on credit. Dina, the *pombe* vendor, did not initially agree to sell on credit, but then Baba Semeni convinced her by insisting on writing the debt down on paper: “Let’s write it down for each other. Mapombe [Baba Semeni’s friend’s name]! Bring her the debt register. (*Mapombe leaves*). A lot of drunkards are liars but not me. I don’t have financial problems.” – Dina: ... (*Mapombe gives Dina the register, Dina hands it to Baba Semeni*) Write it down here. If you don’t pay me tomorrow, I will take whatever you have written down for me. (*Baba Semeni writes down*)” In the final act, Baba Semeni is supposed to make the debt payments. He first assures his creditors: “A promise is like a debt [Ahadi ni deni]. Today, there will be no problem because everything will be resolved and everyone will be happy.” However, he is unable to pay, as Mpoka, one of his creditors, explains to the chief [mjumbe]: “We did not fight with each other but we make claims on each other. Baba Semeni borrowed my money a long time ago, I don’t even remember the day. He promised to pay me but when I arrived at his house, he didn’t have any money. He begged me to wait but I refused saying that if he wanted me to wait he had to write me a pawn ticket [hati ya rehani], which he did. After he had written the note for me I agreed to wait.” And the chief ruled: “Baba Semeni, because the creditors [wenye mali] are tired of waiting, I cannot force them [to wait longer]. Therefore, I have decided that everyone take the things written on his or her pawn ticket.” And the creditors happily leave Baba Semeni’s house with *kanga* cloths, bed sheets, kitchenware, and a chair (Muba, *Hukooo Darissalama*, 31, 39, 43–45, translation from Kiswahili by author).

loses.”³¹⁹ Losses experienced in pawnshop credit arrangements did not so much involve reputation as material wealth.

Pawnbrokers also risked incurring losses when their debtors failed to repay the money and when they were unable to sell pawned goods. Debating whether or not pawnbrokers in colonial Dar es Salaam were exploitative, a pawnbroker’s daughter in Vassanji’s *Uhuru Street* argued that pawnbrokers charged high interest rates because of the small value of the objects customers used as pledges.³²⁰ Pawnbrokers also vehemently refuted the colonial administration’s recurrent insinuation that pawnbrokers enabled questionable Africans to dispose stolen objects at their pawnshops. At a meeting of eighteen Zanzibari pawnbrokers in 1951, pawnbrokers put forward that “We help the poor by lending our sums of money to them and in fact they pawn with us unidentifiable pledges, how then could we know that such pledges were bona fide or stolen property.”³²¹ It is worth investigating these objects more closely in order to reflect on the pledged object as a material expression of credit and debt relations and to appreciate the gendered aspects of pawnshop credit.

THE PLEDGED OBJECT

The pledged object can be understood as a material expression of a credit and debt relation. The most common goods to be pawned were pieces of clothing such as shirts, pants, coats, and hats. In 1930, the Dar es Salaam pawnbrokers unequivocally stated that “clothes are the articles

³¹⁹ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 105–106.

³²⁰ Vassanji, *Uhuru Street*, 85.

³²¹ Pawn-broker meeting at Darajani in the house of Nanchand Deuchand, Hindoo, November 23, 1951, ZNA: AB 14/74: “The Pawnbrokers Decree.”

mostly pledged to secure small loans.”³²² The pawnshop allowed urban Africans to transform a shirt’s or a *kanga* cloth’s use value into exchange value when the piece of clothing was brought to the pawnshop in exchange for a small amount of money. The reverse transformation took place when the money plus interest was repaid and the shirt or *kanga* cloth returned to the original owner. A nice *kanga* cloth or a nice shirt in Kariakoo, therefore, oscillated between being a piece of clothing, collateral for a loan, and money.³²³ On the one hand, a shirt allowed a man to present a respectable public self in the city.³²⁴ On the other hand, a pawned shirt allowed him to make investments in social and economic relations. A nice piece of *kanga* cloth likewise allowed a woman to dress as a respectful urban woman. But *kanga* cloths were also a way to store wealth, they served as gifts, and could easily be converted to cash at the next pawnshop. The use of clothes and textiles as pawn goods resonated with the long-standing use of textiles in East Africa not only as pieces of clothing and social markers but also as a form of currency and a way to store wealth.³²⁵

³²² A petition by the pawnbrokers of Dar es Salaam to the Chief Secretary (undersigned Habib Kassam Keswani, A. Karim Alarakhia, H. J. Pirani, H. N. Kanji, Ismail Nanji, Mohamedali Ismail Rawji, H. P. Gulamhussein, H. R. Ibrahim, Mohamedali & Co., K. D. Gangji), January 27, 1930, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.” The same applied to Zanzibar, where “The most common articles that are being constantly pawned are coats, trousers, khanjus [kanzus], vikoi, bedsheets, primus stoves, wooden and iron bedsteads, mirrors, chairs, watches and etc.” ([Signed by 18 pawnbrokers] Zanzibar, September 20, 1941, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

³²³ Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*. A Zanzibari representative of the pawnbrokers used the term “the strict intrinsic value of the article to be pawned” to refer to the current exchange value (Letter by R. K. Khursedji, Secretary to the Pawnbroker’s Association, Zanzibar, December 31, 1943, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

³²⁴ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*.

³²⁵ See also chapter 3.

The most regularly pledged objects were *kanga* cloths, as numerous female interviewees assured me.³²⁶ Nuru Muki, a single mother of nine children, who made ends meet by selling *uji* porridge and beans from the verandah of her house in the Gerezani section of Kariakoo, vividly remembered how shopkeepers actively encouraged customers like her to buy *kanga* cloths from them, either for cash or on credit.³²⁷ Written evidence from Zanzibar confirms these observations. “If one would like to know the economic condition of the country he should visit pawnbrokers shops. There are many kinds of articles filled up in their cupboards and the most one could see in abundance are the Kangas.”³²⁸ *Kanga* cloths were properties owned by women, and to assemble a collection of *kanga* cloths constituted a gendered form of saving.³²⁹ Thanks to pawnshops, these savings could be turned into cash almost immediately, for instance in times of hunger. “Owing to the scarcity of employments nowadays one would find a man go out of his house early in the morning in search of a job leaving behind him a family. He will return back in the evening empty handed no job and no food for the poor family. Now then if this man is in good terms with his family, his wife would run to a Pawnbroker’s shop with her own kangas for pawning. This is the only means for ready money for this class of people and she will return

³²⁶ Numerous interviewees remembered how Kariakoo residents brought *kanga* cloths to the pawnshops to get small loans (Bibi Sipo, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, June 3, 2013; Bi Ashura, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, December 29, 2012).

³²⁷ Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

³²⁸ *Zanzibari* newspaper, March 1, 1949, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree.”

³²⁹ The Acting Senior Commissioner also used the example of “a poor woman who wishes to pawn a pair of khangas” (Letter by Ag. Senior Commissioner, March 28, 1949, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

home with food without any trouble.”³³⁰ A good pair of *kanga* cloths could be pawned for a loan of two shillings,³³¹ which was sufficient for a meal or other small everyday expenses.

The transformation from use value to exchange value and back did not always happen without trouble. Pawnshops users sometimes complained about loans that were too small because pawnbrokers undervalued the pledged objects. For pawnbrokers, pieces of clothing presented a challenge in terms of storage. They were liable to decay if stored for a long time under bad conditions. “Pledged clothing, on which from 10%-25% of its value is advanced, [is] stacked in open shelves, or in cupboards with badly fitting doors or broken glass panels,” described the Municipal Officer in Zanzibar, where a similar problem existed. “I have witnessed one of the quarrels [between pawner and pawnbroker] when 8 kang[a]s, almost new, which had been in pawn for 2 months were all eaten through by rats, [a]nd when the pawner, ignorant of Section 27A. of the [pawnbrokers] decree, complained, the pawnbroker stated that rats were ‘shauri la Mungu’ [God’s will]. The pawnbroker admitted there were rats in the premises but no attempt had been made to suppress them.”³³² Since pieces of clothing were pledges pawned for less than 15 shillings, pawners were given a period for redemption of up to twelve months. Pawnbrokers considered this period to be exceedingly long and in 1930, they suggested successfully to reduce it to six months.³³³

³³⁰ *Zanzibari* newspaper, March 1, 1949, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree.”

³³¹ Letter by Ag. Senior Commissioner, March 28, 1949, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree.”

³³² Comments on Pawnbrokers Decree by Municipal Officer, December 24, 1940, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree.”

³³³ A petition by the pawnbrokers of Dar es Salaam to the Chief Secretary, January 27, 1930, TNA: 12230/Vol. I: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.” Referring to the mainland legislation, Zanzibari pawnbrokers made a similar request ten years later. “We therefore earnestly request that the period should be reduced to six months for which act of kindness we shall ever remain grateful to you. ... We have been on several occasions put to trouble and expense by the persons who pawn their clothes with us. They purposely come after a considerable period and demand

The transformation from exchange value to use value did not always happen smoothly, either, for instance when the pawner was unable to raise money to redeem the pledged objects. In that case, pawnbrokers had the right to auction off the unredeemed items. While high-value items had to be auctioned off by an official auctioneer, low-value items such as shirts and *kanga* cloths were auctioned by the pawnbrokers themselves at their houses/shops. Pawners had to oblige to their loss, which at times resulted in hard feelings. Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, who had been a long-standing wholesale rice trader at the Kariakoo market hall, remembered how he was personally hurt when he found out that his younger brother had lost two nice shirts to a pawnbroker because he was unable to redeem the shirts in time. “In Kariakoo there were a lot of pawnshops like five or six or more. Many people lost their belongings there. ... They [the pawnshops] brought trouble. A relative of mine pawned two of his shirts for seven shillings but he was unable to redeem them. So the nice shirts were lost. He had bought them for 45 shillings. Very nice shirts. So I got very angry. Had he told me, I would have given him money [to redeem the shirts]. But he only told me when the time was up and they had been auctioned off.”³³⁴

The pledged object could also be an expression of the pawner’s conviction that keeping goods at pawnshops was safer than keeping them at the house. In that case, pawners drew relatively small loans for high-value items such as gold or jewelry so that at the time of

that the the [sic] shirt or some such similar article was given to us in very good condition and they could not understand the reason why the cloth was moth-eaten” (Letter by Kanji Shakerchand Patalia, Zanzibar, November 26, 1940, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

³³⁴ Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Mrisho Athman, a Zanzibari man who wrote to the newspaper *Afrika Kwetu* in 1949 at the occasion of a pawnbrokers’ strike, expressed similar feelings against pawnbroking. “I am not in favour of the Pawnbrokers shops. Many people have lost and still losing their belongings on account of the habit of pawn[ing]” (Letter by Mrisho Athman, in *Afrika Kwetu*, April 28, 1949, ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree”).

redemption, they could easily raise the required money.³³⁵ However, certain pledged objects were also prone to be tampered with and devalued purposefully by the pawnbroker. A Zanzibari letter writer suggested in 1933 that pawnbrokers were not to be trusted with long chains or bangles because “what this cunning thieves [sic] does is, if the pladge [sic] be neck chain, specially a long chain, or, particular kinds of bracelets then they removes [sic] a link or two from bracelet or small chain and two to four from long chain. Even from bangle they removes [sic] small piece of about quarter inch. It is most difficult for the owener [sic] to detect this unless before and after the pladge [sic] links are counted which none [sic] does.”³³⁶

Pawnshops also had the curious ability of stripping stolen goods off of their association with crime. Thieves could turn stolen goods into cash by taking them to a pawnshop, using them as pledges, and collecting pawn credit without having the intention of ever redeeming them again. Unaware of the pledged objects being stolen goods, pawnbrokers eventually auctioned off the objects, which had taken on the characteristic of “unredeemed pledges” rather than “stolen goods.” In that instance, the pledged object only appeared to represent a credit and debt relations while in reality it involved the sale of stolen goods at a considerably reduced price. The advantage for thieves was that pawnbrokers were generally willing and able to provide a small amount of money for these goods without knowing whose objects they were. The colonial governments were not happy about these circumstances. In Zanzibar, a Member of Council even suggested to run pawnshops under state control in order to control pawnshop dealing more tightly.³³⁷

³³⁵ The Pawnbroker’s Association, Zanzibar, November 22, 1950, ZNA: AB 14/72: “Pawnbrokers, moneychangers, Gold and silver smiths licences.”

³³⁶ January 1933: ZNA: AB 14/71: “The pawn brokers decree.”

³³⁷ Provincial Commissioner, Zanzibar, March 31, 1947, ZNA: AB 14/72: “Pawnbrokers, moneychangers, Gold and silver smiths licences.”

Once the pledged object – a material expression of a credit and debt relation – was stored away in the pawnshop, it was itself substituted with another material item. For every pledged item, pawnbrokers issued a pawn ticket, which the pawner kept until the day of redemption. Only upon presentation of the pawn ticket, a pledged object could be redeemed. An example of a pawn ticket from 1945 is displayed in figure 2.4. It was issued by the above-mentioned pawnbroker D. R. Gangji, who was a pawnbroker in postwar Kariakoo. The writing on the pawn ticket indicated that Mohammed bin Yusuf borrowed 1 shilling and 50 cents from pawnbroker D. R. Gangji on Kichwele Street while pledging one *kanga* cloth.³³⁸

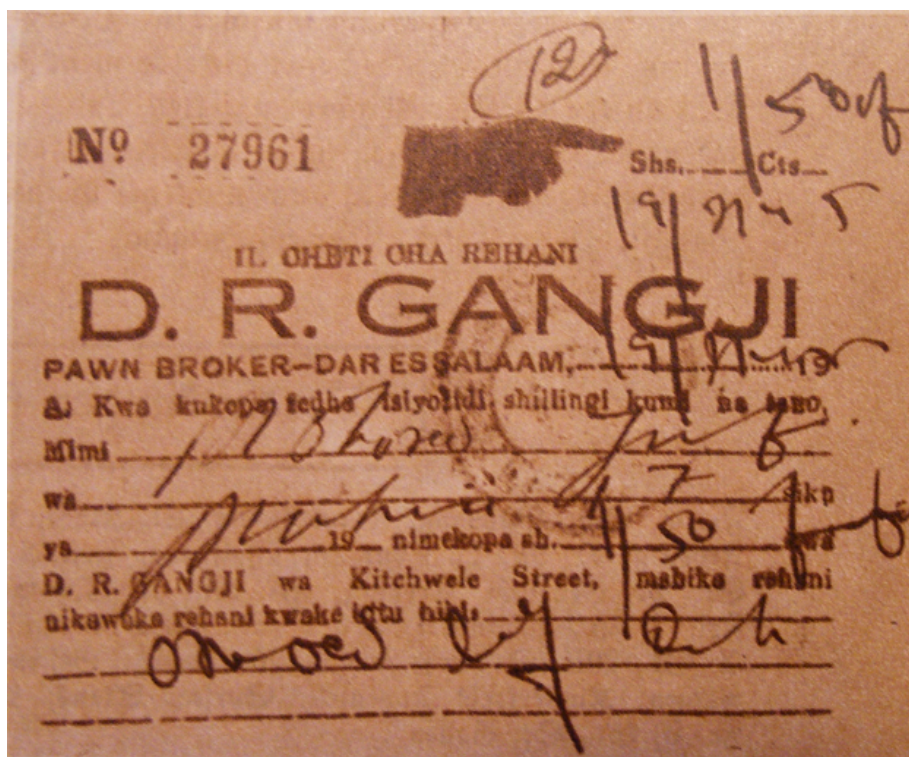


Figure 2.4: “*Originalpfandschein von Mr. Gangji*” – Pawn ticket issued by pawnshop owner D. R. Ganji.³³⁹

³³⁸ Translation based on Engelberger’s transcription in German provided in Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*, 3:44–45.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3:47.

Pawn tickets had their own materiality and they could be damaged, lost, or stolen, which either meant a dead loss to the pawner or a considerably long and bureaucratic way of recovery. Pawnors, who had lost their pawn tickets, had to submit a declaration to the District Commissioner. By 1945, up to six pawnors showed up at the District Commissioner's office per day to report the loss of a pawn ticket, prompting the Provincial Commissioner to empower the Liwali and Assistant Liwali of Dar es Salaam Township to attest pawnors' declarations in order to reduce the District Commissioner's workload.³⁴⁰ This number – six lost and reported pawn tickets per day, or roughly 1500 per year – again indicates the widespread use of pawnshop credit in postwar Dar es Salaam.

KUWEKA AKIBA VERSUS KUWEKA PONI

Creating a culture of fixed savings is one among the secrets of achieving success in the business market since savings is a foundation of wealth. Conserving money is simple only if you have financial strategies, which guide you towards your goals. Sometimes, we find it difficult, but having savings makes you less stressed and paranoid about everything, as well as living within your means.³⁴¹

Dealing with money cannot be located in an economic sphere separate from culture. In colonial Kariakoo as elsewhere, acts of borrowing, lending, and saving were cultural practices undergirded by powerful moral discourses and embodied practices. The ways money was raised for feasts or burials, for instance, were preconfigured by societal cultural understandings. Public commentators in Dar es Salaam have also drawn on the language of “culture” to promote desirable ways of handling money as the above extract from a recent issue of the *Tanzania Business Forum* suggests.

³⁴⁰ Letter by Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, May 24, 1945, TNA: 12230/Vol. II: “Pawnbrokers, Registration of.”

³⁴¹ Saumu Jumanne, “Saving Money and Building Wealth: Wealth Consciousness,” *Tanzania Business Focus*, no. 3 (May 2012): 44.

To present saving as morally superior to borrowing means to build on a motif that goes back to German and British colonial periods. Not only colonial officers and missionaries but also Asian pawnbrokers drew on and contributed to this discourse. As mentioned above, the most vocal critics of pawnbroking services were the missionaries, whose main concern was the perceived effects credit and indebtedness had on the character of the debtor. Father Engelberger viewed Africans customers as victims of pawnbrokers. Although he acknowledged that in rare cases, the pawning of goods might help urban residents to get through periods of unemployment and other hardship, he condemned the habit of borrowing money as morally corrupting. Rather than helping people to overcome obstacles, the practice of pawning entrapped people in increasing amounts of debt, which could not be paid back, thereby creating relations of dependency. Instead of pawning goods (*kuweka poni*), Engelberger suggested urban Africans save money (*kuweka akiba*) during prosperous times so they had savings to fall back on in hard times.³⁴²

Missionaries' attempts to reform urban Africans' behavior with regards to money and credit needs to be seen in the context of a larger project of creating specific cultural practices. Missionaries wanted to protect African Christians in Dar es Salaam from a host of activities including late-night dancing, conspicuous consumption, prostitution, alcoholic beverages, unhygienic living conditions, paganism, and Islam.³⁴³ Borrowing money was one of many temptations urban Africans faced. Lutheran missionaries were equally concerned with impressing the virtues of saving on urban Africans. Pastors were known for their outspoken attitude against the practice of lending and borrowing money even if they were willing to make

³⁴² Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*, 3:44–45.

³⁴³ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1/-6092, bmw 1/-6093, bmw 1/-6083, bmw 1/832. Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, EZA 5/2914, 5/2915 (Bd. 1 1887.12-1931.08).

exceptions for well-known and self-disciplined Africans. Pastor Klamroth described borrowing money as a way of corrupting a person's heart.³⁴⁴ Missionaries generally deplored the increasing importance of money in Africans' lives in general and tried to encourage people to value work, community, and religion instead.³⁴⁵ The Kiswahili-language monthly newspaper *Mambo Leo* echoed missionaries' concerns and promoted the advice "Always spend money according to your means" because being in debt meant to live an unhappy life. A Kiswahili poem on debts stated that "debts are a bad thing" and "debt is dangerous."³⁴⁶

In order to facilitate and encourage African saving, both Catholic and Lutheran missionaries in Dar es Salaam started to provide banking services for their African fellow believers in town. In addition to giving urban Africans the opportunity to deposit their money

³⁴⁴ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1.

³⁴⁵ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1/3567.

³⁴⁶ *Mambo Leo*, April 1954, 50; August 1954, 123. Christian missionaries' concern with inculcating the values of saving in Africans resonates with Max Weber's argument in *The Protestant Ethic* that the rise of modern or 'rational' capitalism was only made possible by the prior qualitative shifts in understandings of religion, work, and accumulation with the rise of Protestantism in general in Europe and America. Martin Luther's reformulation of the concept of the calling was a necessary first step in the development of the capitalist spirit. Where people in medieval Europe tended to see their labor occupations as largely inconsequential for their entry into heaven, Luther's Reformation attributed more importance to people's occupations. While monks and pastors were relegated to ordinary human beings, each person's occupation (*Beruf*) became equated with a pastor's or a monk's calling (*Berufung*). Thus, everybody was expected to lead a monk's life though not in a secluded monastery but in the 'real' world. Combined with Calvin's doctrine of predestination, which held that God had already chosen the ones who would enter heaven, Luther's concept of the calling led to the emergence of the 'capitalist spirit.' Although men and women could not do anything to change their destiny, many overcame the constant anxiety over their fate after death by viewing success in their economic activities as a sign of their being chosen. Thus, they worked longer and harder, saved their profits, and re-invested the savings from their hard work into their own businesses. Unlike earlier capitalists, their motivation for the accumulation of wealth was not grounded in greed but in honesty that was derived from a new religious understanding of their lives. Their business activities were no longer speculative but predictable, reliable, and 'rational,' which contributed to the rapid spread and acceptance of the new economic. Max Weber distinguished between 'traditional' capitalist practices, which had existed for millennia, and 'rational' or modern capitalism, which came into being in the eighteenth century system (Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*).

safely, the bank service also gave the mission a chance to establish closer contacts with Africans.³⁴⁷ The Berliner Missionswerk started their bank service as early as 1911.³⁴⁸ However, their small and underfunded mission station found itself in severe financial trouble in the 1937. As the mission was in desperate need of money, the missionaries could no longer follow their own rhetoric and they “borrowed” almost the entire savings entrusted to them – notably without informing the African depositors. In a letter from March 30, 1937, the Berlin missionaries in Dar es Salaam wrote to their brethren in Berlin asking for money and expressing a feeling of embarrassment and anxiety over African savers’ confidence.³⁴⁹ Already in the early 1930s, the German missionaries were concerned about the dealings of a certain minister Schmidt, who was able to buy goods on credit with an Asian company thanks to his status as a Berlin missionary but who never paid the dues.³⁵⁰ Therefore, missionaries started to worry about their credit rating in the local Asian business community, while at the same time preaching urban Africans about the evils of using credit and the virtues of saving.

Despite the incongruence of missionaries’ words and deeds, the general thrust of the colonizing mission when it came to money and finance was to create a culture of saving among Africans. Saving was to be a guiding principle in urban and rural people’s lives. Colonials and colonial institutions played an active role as inculcators of thrift in Africans by way of encouraging them to put money aside repeatedly and in regular intervals. For that purpose, the Post Office Savings Bank provided their customers with so-called “home safes” in the form of wooden or metal boxes with which bank customers were supposed save small amounts of money

³⁴⁷ Marita Haller-Dirr, *75 ... : 75 Years Baldegg Sisters, Capuchin Brothers in Tanzania* (Luzern, 1997), 40–41.

³⁴⁸ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1.

³⁴⁹ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1.

³⁵⁰ Berliner Missionswerk, bmw 1/-6109.

on a regular basis.³⁵¹ The POSB also made use of Kiswahili proverbs in their saving campaigns such as “akiba haiozi,” literally “a reserve does not decay” and the Kiswahili equivalent of “put something away for a rainy day.”³⁵² According to colonial rhetoric, thrift would make urban Africans’ lives less miserable, also because it would free them from monthly repayments of debt incurred at the Asian shops and pawnshops. According to Senior Commissioner F. W. Brett, “The struggle for existence would be less if the natives concerned could be imbued with some idea of thrift. ... The Indian and middleman of the market purchases the bulk of the country produce which he retails at 50 to 100% profit, and the consumer’s monthly pay is expended within a few hours of receipt in settlement of his past month’s account at the Indian shop.”³⁵³ The only acceptable alternative to saving money was to invest it in “productive” goods.³⁵⁴

One important aspect of creating a culture of saving money in personal bank accounts involved the building of trust in western banking institutions among the local population. When

³⁵¹ Letter by the Deputy Postmaster General to the Chief Secretary, June 20, 1933, TNA: 21390/Vol. III: “Post Office Savings Bank Regulations.” In postwar Zanzibar, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies stated “Lump sum savings are the least satisfactory form of thrift to recommend amongst people mainly dependent upon a regular salary or wage. The recurrent savings of small sums is the more valuable lesson to learn,” Registrar of Co-operative Societies, December 4, 1953, ZNA: AB 14/12: “Savings Campaign.”

³⁵² The Kiswahili version of the pamphlet for a savings campaign during WWII stated “USITUME mapesa ovyo, SAIDIA iktisadi ya Unguja, AKIBA haiozi, *WEKA pesa zako usizo zihitajia katika, BENKI YA POSTA*” and the English version stated “DO NOT spend money unnecessarily, HELP Zanzibar’s Economy, SAVE your money for a rainy day, *INVEST your spare cash in the POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK*” (ZNA: AB 14/4: “Zanzibar Post Office Savings Bank Campaign”).

³⁵³ Annual report on Dar-es-Salaam District for 1921 by F.W. Brett, Senior Commissioner, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

³⁵⁴ The aspect of investing in productive things became more prominent during and after World War Two. In Kenya, for instance, savings campaigns during that time envisioned returning soldiers as potential entrepreneurs. In a pamphlet for African soldiers, they portrayed “the foolish soldier wasting his accumulated pay on luxury articles in shops [and] the wise soldier drawing on demobilisation a substantial sum of money sufficient to start him off as a farmer, artisan or trader” (The Chief Secretary, East African Governors’ Conference, Rhodes House, Nairobi, January 10, 1944, ZNA: AB 14/4: “Zanzibar Post Office Savings Bank Campaign”).

the Post Office Savings Bank opened its doors in 1927 with the explicit goal to “encourage thrift and to provide a means by which comparatively poor people may save their money with perfect safety,”³⁵⁵ it quickly became clear that urban dwellers’ confidence in banks was lacking. One of the reasons was the people’s experiences during World War One. The Dar es Salaam Senior Commissioner observed in 1924 that “[t]he Post Office have a small number of depositors on their books ... but nothing like the number who should be putting a little away for the Rainy Day. No doubt the War experiences of many who trusted the German Banks and Post Office have discouraged adventure in this respect.”³⁵⁶ Dar es Salaam residents had sustained losses during the war when their money in the German *Sparkasse* was no longer available after Germany’s defeat, which naturally created a general mistrust of banking institutions in general. Vassanji poignantly sums it up in *The Gunny Sack*, “[t]hey are making fires out of it. It’s useless, this Deutsch Ost Afrika eine-rupee. The new Government and the banks will not honour it.”³⁵⁷

The Ismaili Khoja community in Dar es Salaam had particularly bad experiences with German financial institutions during World War One. The German colonial government regarded the Ismaili Khojas with general suspicion because the latter’s spiritual leader, the Aga Khan, had sided with the United Kingdom. As the Germans suspected members of the Ismaili Khoja community to raise money for the war against Germany, Ismaili Khojas were forced to deposit their savings with the local *Bezirksskasse*, the district bank, in order to disprove German allegations. In the coastal town of Kilwa, the district officer inspected the Ismaili Khoja community and had their safe opened to find 5000 rupees, which were deposited in the

³⁵⁵ *Mambo Leo*, 1927.

³⁵⁶ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1927 by Senior Commissioner, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930.”

³⁵⁷ Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 53.

Bezirksskasse.³⁵⁸ A colonial officer in Tabora, a town in west-central Tanganyika, stated that the best way for Ismaili Khojas to prove that their money would not be sent to the Aga Khan was to deposit it with the *Bezirksskasse* for the duration of the war.³⁵⁹ Similar actions were taken in the towns of Mwanza and Morogoro. The Germans used the bank as a way to monitor the financial transactions of the local Asian population.

After World War One, the British aimed at regaining the local population's trust in financial institutions by creating the Post Office Savings Banks. They acknowledged to a certain extent that people's trust in western financial institutions had to be regained after bad experiences in World War One. The Deputy Postmaster General in Dar es Salaam stated in 1933 that "Tanganyika depositors are chiefly Africans whose confidence in the bank was not easy to gain after their losses in German time."³⁶⁰ However, British colonialists usually legitimized the establishment of banks with the help of another argument. In their eyes, Africans did not know how to handle money and, thus, needed to be educated in matters of finance.³⁶¹ The assumption that Africans were "financially illiterate" served as a point of departure for various interventions including the establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank.³⁶² Particularly with respect to the

³⁵⁸ Letter by Kaiserlicher Bezirksamtman, Kilwa, February 19, 1915, TNA: G9/41: "[Angelegenheiten der] Indischen Khodja Aga Khan Gemeinde, Bd. 2, 1907-1915."

³⁵⁹ "Den besten Beweis dafür, dass sie keinen verbotenen Gebrauch von dem Gelde machen wollen, werden die Inder dadurch liefern können, dass sie den Betrag freiwillig während des Krieges auf der *Bezirksskasse* deponieren" (July 14, 1915, TNA: G9/41: "[Angelegenheiten der] Indischen Khodja Aga Khan Gemeinde, Bd. 2, 1907-1915").

³⁶⁰ Letter by the Deputy Postmaster General, December 12, 1933, TNA: 23465/Vol. I: "Post Office Savings Bank Ordinance – Amendment to."

³⁶¹ In Zanzibar in 1958, the manager of National Overseas and Grindlays Bank Limited suggested to educate the African community about deposit accounts by way of showing them films (Letter by Manager of National Overseas and Grindlays Bank Limited, to the Community Development Officer, Zanzibar, January 28, 1958, ZNA: AB 14/20. "Saving Schemes: Banks").

³⁶² Asian pawnbrokers in Zanzibar made use of this colonial discourse to achieve their own ends. The secretary of the Pawnbroker's Association Zanzibar, R. K. Khursedji, wrote in December 1943, "The native acts on the principle of "More the merrier" without thinking for the morrow,

issue of interest rates, colonialists were convinced that Africans did not really understand it and, thus, the actual rate was much less important to Africans than access to financial institutions. In December 1933, the Treasurer suggested that, although the object of the POSB was to encourage thrift, the interest rate for deposits of 3 per cent could be lowered without having any effect on African depositors' behavior. "The Treasury view is that a reduction in the rate of interest on Savings Bank deposits would not shake the confidence of the African depositors. The African is more concerned with the accessibility of his money than with the rate of interest."³⁶³ And indeed, the interest rate for deposits was brought down to 2.5 per cent in 1935. If some Dar es Salaam residents in the largely Muslim Kariakoo neighborhood were indeed not so concerned with the actual rate of interest, it was not because they did not understand the concept but because their religion did not allow them to gain interest on their money. A few Muslim bank customers in fact asked the management not be paid interest on their deposit accounts.³⁶⁴

and without caring whether he would be able to redeem the same. In all such cases, it is our bitterest experience that he would not be able to redeem the same and thus he becomes poorer day by day. This is the grimmest picture of the Native Economics and I humbly believe that it is as true" (R. K. Khursedji, Secretary to the Pawnbroker's Association, Zanzibar, December 31, 1943, ZNA: AB 14/71: "The pawn brokers decree").

³⁶³ Treasurer, Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, December 19, 1933, TNA: 23465/Vol. I: "Post Office Savings Bank Ordinance – Amendment to." In socialist Tanzania, this view was perpetuated. "But the problem of educating the masses in this country [Tanzania] to re-orient their saving habits towards using national saving institutions in preference to hoarding their money, whether under their pillows or in the ground is great. I feel we must soon mount a massive educational programme to that end ... this is the only way of mobilising rural savings" (The National Bank of Commerce, *Annals* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), 13).

³⁶⁴ During a savings campaign during World War Two in Zanzibar, the Postmaster was reported to confirm that "many cases arise in which deposits are made but in which the depositors refuse to receive the interest due to them when they withdraw money or close their accounts: they use the savings bank as a secure place only and do not regard it from an interest earning point of view" (Minutes, Information Officer, March 25, 1943, ZNA: AB 14/4: "Zanzibar Post Office Savings Bank Campaign"). The Director of Education noted that the "advice to 'lay up for a rainy day, and let your money earn interest' is directly contrary to Islamic ideas of what is permitted" (Minutes, Director of Education, March 25, 1943, ZNA: AB 14/4: "Zanzibar Post Office Savings Bank Campaign").

Contrary to colonialists' assertions, Kariakoo residents were not "financially illiterate" at all when it came to saving. In fact, they were engaged in various forms of saving other than putting cash into a personal bank account. One of these alternative forms of saving was to entrust money and goods to the shopkeeper at the nearby corner store, as described in the previous chapter. Another way of saving took the form of collective saving, as it was done on a communal rather than on an individual basis. Kariakoo residents saved money with the help of rotating savings groups, which had various names in Kiswahili including *upato*, *mchezo wa kupeana*, and *kibati*.³⁶⁵ Religious communities were among the first to organize savings groups. Members of the Ismaili Khoja community – a Shia religious group originally from South Asia – formed a savings and credit group in Dar es Salaam in the 1930s.³⁶⁶ A third way to save was to buy and keep goods such as *kanga* cloths, which could conveniently be converted into cash at a pawnshop at any time. "Any one who is familiar with the native way of life will agree that he is not habetuated [sic] to save in cash but whenever he can afford he buys all kinds of articles ... with the one thought of having something in reserve for a rainy day," Zanzibari pawnbrokers observed in 1941.³⁶⁷ Finally, even some colonial employers offered ways of saving by offering voluntary savings arrangements for their employees. At the end of the month, employers retained a share of the employees' salaries as their savings. The police in Dar es Salaam ran the most

³⁶⁵ Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Up to the present, a very effective way of mobilizing resources in Dar es Salaam is to raise money collectively for special occasions such as weddings rather than relying on individuals' saving.

³⁶⁶ See chapter 1. In the early 1960s, the Catholic Church started to promote savings and credit co-operatives (H. H. Binhammer, *The Development of a Financial Infrastructure in Tanzania* (Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), 80). In the 1970s, these cooperatives were outlawed as the socialist state aimed to abolish all non-state associations in the country. Nevertheless, informal rotating credit societies continued to exist throughout the socialist period. In the late 1980s, the government legally authorized savings and credit co-operatives again and they became known as SACCOs. But it was only in the 2000s that the government started to promote SACCOs activities as a form of poverty alleviation.

³⁶⁷ Zanzibar, September 20, 1941, ZNA: AB 14/71: "The pawn brokers decree".

successful saving scheme of this kind. Only when giving three months notice, police officers could withdraw their savings from their employer and even apply for loans.³⁶⁸ So from the perspective of Kariakoo residents, the *Sparkasse* in German colonial Dar es Salaam and the Post Office Savings Bank in British times merely added one more way of saving to an already existing myriad ways of saving. The success of established forms of saving may help explain why the *Sparkasse* and the Post Office Savings Bank initially attracted few customers in Kariakoo.³⁶⁹

Most obviously, the German *Sparkasse* and the British Post Office Savings Bank provided a financial service. Dar es Salaam residents could store their cash savings at a secure place while gaining interest over time. For both colonial governments, generating local savings was a way to bankroll governmental expenses. In addition to that, both financial institutions explicitly aimed at reforming colonial subjectivities by encouraging in Africans the spirit and practice of thrift. The *Sparkasse* regulations defined that the purpose of the Dar es Salaam savings bank was to “provide the colored inhabitants in particular with the opportunity to save securely and usefully in order to awaken and foster the natives’ economical sense,”³⁷⁰ and the Post Office Savings Bank had the goal to “encourage thrift and to provide a means by which comparatively poor people may save their money with perfect safety.” An article in the newspaper *Mambo Leo* aimed at promoting savings accounts at the Post Office Savings Bank

³⁶⁸ TNA: ACC 90: 1046/3 Vol. I: “Savings Bank System, Rank and File.”

³⁶⁹ Raimbault compares the success of African saving at Asian shops with the modest use of the *Sparkasse* in German colonial Dar es Salaam (Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 117).

³⁷⁰ “Zweck der Sparkasse: Die Sparkasse des Bezirks Daressalam hat den Zweck insbesondere der farbigen Bevölkerung Gelegenheit zu geben, Ersparnisse sicher und nutzbar anzulegen, um so den wirtschaftlichen Sinn des Eingeborenen zu wecken und zu fördern,” Statuten für die Sparkasse des Bezirks Daressalam, TNA: G3/92: “Verwaltung [bzw. Kreditvergabe aus dem zur Errichtung eines Leprakranken-Asyls geschaffenen] Bazarfonds [auch Stiftung des Inders Sewa Hadji für ein Lepra-Krankenhaus in Bagamoyo]. Bd. 2: 1906-1912.”

came to the conclusion that “[t]he thrifty man is the successful man.”³⁷¹ Similar to the *sociétés de prévoyances* in French West Africa examined by Gregory Mann and Jane Guyer, the *Sparkasse* and the Post Office Savings Bank were aimed at encouraging cash savings amongst African populations.³⁷²

Not many Dar es Salaam residents were convinced by the colonial financial rhetoric, which associated success with a person’s ability to put money into a personal savings account. In fact, very few urban residents initially used savings accounts, both in case of the *Sparkasse* in the German period and in case of the Post Office Savings Bank in the British period. According to colonialists, there were two main reasons for urban residents’ slow response to the new savings institution. On the one hand, the “financially illiterate” people had not yet realized the advantages of savings accounts so they continued to hide their savings in trees and burying them in the ground. On the other hand, colonialists resorted to the familiar bogeyman, the Asian shopkeeper, to account for the small number of African account holders in the early years of the POSB. Supposedly, Asian shopkeepers charged depositors a fee for the service of keeping their money rather than paying them interest on their deposits.³⁷³

Despite an unpromising start, people started to put their savings in Post Office Savings Bank accounts. The increase in customers was slow but steady. For the whole of Tanganyika, the number of African depositors grew from 402 to 1,400 in the first seven years after the bank was

³⁷¹ *Mambo Leo* newspaper, 1927, accessed in TNA: 20999: “Co-operative Society (Development Fund) – Proposal by Bukwimba Federation to establish.”

³⁷² Mann and Guyer, “Imposing a Guide on the Indigène: The Fifty Year Experience of the Sociétés de Prévoyance in French West and Equatorial Africa.” Contrary to the *Sparkasse* and the POSB, the *sociétés de prévoyances* also offered loans that were seen as an alternative to loans from the local informal sector, which were seen as usurious.

³⁷³ Postmaster in response to the above *Mambo Leo* newspaper article from August 1927, TNA: 20999: “Co-operative Society (Development Fund) – Proposal by Bukwimba Federation to establish.”

opened in January 1927.³⁷⁴ Depositors were mainly urban residents employed as personal servants, clerks, government employees such as policemen and soldiers, and commercial employees. Farmers did not feature prominently among POSB account holders, although “the primary object of the Savings Bank is to promote thrift among the native peasantry in the Territory,” as the Chief Secretary in Dar es Salaam wrote to the Postmaster General in 1927.³⁷⁵ An unproportionally large share of Tanganyika customers resided in urban area. Between 1927 and 1932, 36 to 56 per cent of all the Tanganyika POSB accounts were held at branches in Dar es Salaam,³⁷⁶ and a majority of those did not belong to “natives” but to residents of Asian origin. In 1927, the POSB in Dar es Salaam counted 145 accounts, 97 of which were “Asiatic” accounts, 35 “African” accounts holding an average amount of 27,361, and 11 “European” accounts. On average, each “Asiatic” account held 282 shillings, each “African” account only 136 shillings, and each “European” account 162 shillings. By 1932, the number of “Asiatic” accounts had risen to 380, each holding an average of 354 shillings, while each of the 245 African accounts held an average of 77 shillings (see chart 2.1). “European” accounts stood at a mere 59, holding an average of 489 shillings. While the number of both “Asiatic” and “African” accounts rose

³⁷⁴ Minutes, July 27, 1934, TNA: 23465/Vol. I: “Post Office Savings Bank Ordinance – Amendment to.”

³⁷⁵ Minutes, July 27, 1934, TNA: 23465/Vol. I: “Post Office Savings Bank Ordinance – Amendment to;” Letter by the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, to the Postmaster General, July 30, 1927, TNA: 10347/I: “Post Office Savings Bank.”

³⁷⁶ Minutes, July 27, 1934, TNA: 23465/Vol. I: “Post Office Savings Bank Ordinance – Amendment to.” Annual report on the post office 1927; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, March 1, 1929; Letter by the Chief Accountant, A. R. James, to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, March 21, 1930; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 25, 1931; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 24, 1932; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 21, 1933, TNA: 10347/I: “Post Office Savings Bank.”

steadily in these years, the average amount per account remained more or less steady in the former groups, while the average decreased considerably in the latter group.

Year	Number of “Asiatic” accounts	Total amount (in Shs.)	Average amount per account	Number of “African” accounts	Total amount (in Shs.)	Average amount per account
1927	97	27,361	282	35	4,749	136
1928	145	50,203	346	80	10,005	125
1929	271	78,167	288	122	17,020	140
1930	291	88,787	305	127	17,375	137
1931	339	110,916	327	182	16,504	91
1932	380	134,481	354	245	18,769	77

Table 2.1: Post Office Savings Bank accounts in Dar es Salaam, 1927-1933.³⁷⁷

The actual POSB account holders in Dar es Salaam did not fully conform to the section of the population envisioned by the colonial government. While the bank was to provide services mainly to the rural population, urban residents were the main users of the bank. While the African population was the bank’s main target population, the POSB also attracted many clients of Asian origin. In Dar es Salaam, middle-class Asian customers formed the majority of POSB customers, at least in the early years. Overall, the POSB developed into a savings bank popular with Dar es Salaam residents and the number of depositors increased steadily over the years.³⁷⁸ By the 1950s, the POSB had developed into an important mobilizer of deposits in Tanganyika.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Annual report on the post office 1927; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, March 1, 1929; Letter by the Chief Accountant, A. R. James, to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, March 21, 1930; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 25, 1931; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 24, 1932; Letter by the Chief Accountant to the Postmaster General, Dar es Salaam, February 21, 1933, TNA: 10347/I: “Post Office Savings Bank.”

³⁷⁸ Numbers for Dar es Salaam clients are hard to come by for the period after 1933. However, the total number of depositors in Tanganyika in 1940 was 10,130 of which 5,675 were identified as “African” (TNA library: “Report on Tanganyika Territory, 1940,” 106).

³⁷⁹ Kimei, “Tanzania’s Financial Experience in the Post-War Period,” 78-81. POSB deposits increased steadily in the first half of the 1950s and started to decline in the second half of the decade.

The issue of identification did not only involve bank account holders' categorization into racially-defined groups as "African," "Asiatic," or "European." In order to guarantee a safe way of depositing and withdrawing money, account holders also needed to be identified individually. In the absence of identification cards and passports, the POSB used the deposit book as a piece of identity and at times referred to it as "Pass Book."³⁸⁰ According to the Savings Bank Ordinance, "Every depositor, on making a first deposit on his own behalf, shall be required to specify his full name, occupation and full address, and in the case of natives of Africa or India his father's name with tribe or caste, and such further particulars as may be considered necessary for future identification."³⁸¹ In the postwar period, the POSB started to use account holders' photographs but there was only one camera available for the whole of Tanganyika so pass books without photographs continued to be accepted.³⁸² Still, the establishment of the POSB went hand in hand with new ways of identifying people. In addition to name, occupation, and address, new account holders in the 1920s and 1930s were required to indicate their "tribe" or their "caste." Already in the interwar period, the desire to make Africans "financially literate" and users of banking services was one of the most powerful drives behind identifying individuals unequivocally.

³⁸⁰ Provincial Commissioner, Mbeya, July 13, 1937, TNA: 21390/Vol. II: "Post Office Savings Bank Regulations."

³⁸¹ The Savings Bank Ordinance, 1936, TNA: 21390/Vol. III: "Post Office Savings Bank Regulations."

³⁸² Letter by the Postmaster to the Honorary Chief Secretary, January 3, 1958, ZNA: AB 14/4: "Zanzibar Post Office Savings Bank Campaign."

CREDIT FOR SOCIALISM

[T]here is no such thing as a 'neutral' financial system. ... [T]hings like interest rates and price structures are not neutral ... in their effects.³⁸³

After independence of Tanganyika in 1961 and the declaration of Tanzania as a socialist state in 1967, state actors introduced radically new understandings and systems of saving and borrowing. The break became most obvious in 1967 when president Julius Nyerere outlined his socialist vision for Tanzania in the Arusha Declaration.³⁸⁴ Immediately following the declaration, the seven privately operated commercial banks in Tanzania were nationalized and merged into the state-owned National Bank of Commerce (NBC).³⁸⁵ In addition, other state-owned financial institutions such as the Tanzania Rural Development Bank (TRDB) and the Bank of Tanzania (BoT) existed with the aim of creating and supporting an economic system based on socialism. "We expect Socialist Bankers to adopt a different attitude, and to tell us how these tasks can be done; to tell us how credit can be usefully and safely made available to our peasants and small scale producers throughout our large country," Nyerere explained.³⁸⁶ Credit planning became an annual bank exercise and credit allocation was seen as a central aspect of the creation of a socialist economy.³⁸⁷ Together with the much less publicized banning of pawnshops in 1965, the

³⁸³ Nyerere, *Inaugural Address by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere President of the United Republic of Tanzania*, 2.

³⁸⁴ Tanzania African National Union, *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

³⁸⁵ Ernst-Josef Pauw, *Das Bankwesen in Ostafrika* (München: Weltforum C. Hurst, 1969), 124–129.

³⁸⁶ Nyerere, *Inaugural Address by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere President of the United Republic of Tanzania*, 5.

³⁸⁷ Publicly-financed credit schemes that served the rich and the powerful were heavily criticized for not complying with the country's socialist ideology. The most publicly discussed credit scheme was a hire purchase plan provided by Karadha Company Limited, which was commissioned by the NBC. In 1969, Karadha started to provide hire purchase plans for government employees, including members of parliament, to buy private cars. The Bank of Tanzania, the country's central bank, criticized the NBC for providing public loans for private

state had almost completely monopolized the allocation of credit in Tanzania. NBC manager Nsekela explained in 1971, “In a planned socialist economy, the function of banks is to provide sufficient credit to enable a planned volume of physical activities to take place.”³⁸⁸

The nationalization of banks brought about a shift in terms of lending policies. While at the time of nationalization in 1967, 64 per cent of bank credit went into the private sector, eight years later in 1975, 82 per cent of bank credit went into the public sector.³⁸⁹ According to Finance Minister Jamal, one of the reasons for the nationalization of banks was to accelerate the extension of banking services in rural Tanzania. Likewise, Nyerere noted that every Tanzanian should have a bank account, thus embracing the idea of modern banking services as something potentially beneficial as long as they were provided by the right people (Tanzanians rather than foreigners).³⁹⁰ The NBC started its own savings campaigns by promoting the use of “money boxes” (see figure 2.5). NBC, TRDB, and BoT loans were allocated in the context of new political and moral discourses, which made it difficult for state actors to force borrowers such as

vehicles, but was unable to stop the NBC from doing so. The only BoT achievement was to lower the interest rates to about 10 per cent and less, which was considerably lower than the interest rates offered by private hire purchase dealers at the time (Bank of Tanzania, *Central Banking in Socialist Transformation of Tanzania: A Special Publication to Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Founding of the Bank of Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: The Bank of Tanzania, 1976), 30). Vice-president Rashidi Kawawa also criticized the Karadha loan scheme by stating that “The decision taken by the NBC to grant car loans to civil servants has no Government blessings and will not be carried out – but if it is done, it will be shortlived” (cit. in Ngila Mwase, *Decision-Making in Tanzania’s National Bank of Commerce (NBC): Controls and Participation Dichotomy* (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, Economic research Bureau, 1975), 40). Only in 1970, however, the Karadha scheme was scrapped after being termed “unsocialist” at a National Executive Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam (Ngila Mwase, *Decision-Making in Tanzania’s National Bank of Commerce (NBC): Controls and Participation Dichotomy* (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, Economic research Bureau, 1975), 40).

³⁸⁸ National Bank of Commerce, *The NBC Story: What It Is, What It Does, How It Works, What It Has Achieved* (Dar es Salaam: National Bank of Commerce, 1971), 17.

³⁸⁹ Bank of Tanzania, *Central Banking in Socialist Transformation of Tanzania*, 65.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3, 5.

ujamaa villages or parastatal organizations to make repayments. Receivers of state credit generally viewed the money as a gift. Repayment was not to be done in form of money and interest but in form of political allegiance.³⁹¹ Individuals trying to raise money for commercial or private purposes, however, found it very difficult to get loans from banks, just like in the decades prior to nationalization and independence.³⁹²



Figure 2.5: Saving money with the help of moneyboxes. Caption on the back side: “Ms Ruth Zakari, one of the customers, who uses the service of saving money by way of money boxes, counting the money that was put into this money box.”³⁹³

³⁹¹ By 1982, the NBC had accumulated irrecoverable debts from parastatals of over 3 billion shillings (Bank of Tanzania, *Major Issues in Domestic Banking in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Bank of Tanzania, 1982), 5–6). Clearly, parastatal such as the National Milling Corporation had not always made repayments on NBC loans.

³⁹² Pauw, *Das Bankwesen in Ostafrika*, 132; Binhammer, *The Development of a Financial Infrastructure in Tanzania*, 39–41; Walter Tessler Newlyn, *Money in an African Context* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967), 41–44; Kimei, “Tanzania’s Financial Experience in the Post-War Period,” 212.

³⁹³ “Bi Ruth Zakaria, mmojawapo wa wateja wanaotumia huduma za kuweka fedha kwa njia ya visanduku (money boxes) akihesabu fedha zilizokuwa ndani ya kisanduku hicho.” Photograph provided by the Ministry of Information, Dar es Salaam.

While the nationalization of banks in 1967 was a highly publicized political project understood to form a fundamental pillar of the socialist economy in Tanzania, the banning of pawnshops in March 1965 took place in almost complete silence. In their oral recollections of the past, however, Kariakoo residents clearly remembered the ban of pawnshops.³⁹⁴ In the eyes of postcolonial state actors, pawnshops were a means of exploiting poor people and thus needed to be outlawed. The Post Office Savings Bank, on the other hand, continued to exist after 1967 and, as a government institution, was little affected by the nationalization of commercial banks. Up until the 1970s and 1980s, many Kariakoo traders were holders of POSB accounts. Since POSB did not give out loans, traders mainly used their bank accounts as current and deposit accounts. However, the role of the POSB as an attractive savings bank declined somewhat after 1967. Although in 1980, there were more than twice as many POSB account holders in Tanzania than in 1966, the average amount of savings per account decreased.³⁹⁵ This might have been due to the fact that the NBC also started to offer savings accounts, as they considered “the problem of educating the masses in this country to re-orient their saving habits towards using national saving institutions in preference to hoarding their money, whether under their pillows or in the ground is great.”³⁹⁶ Similar to colonial attempts to educate people how to save, the socialist government aimed at teaching Tanzanians to take their money to the bank.

CONCLUSION

Forty-two years had passed by since the enactment of the Credit to Natives Ordinance when the postcolonial government banned pawnshops in 1965. Thereby, the postcolonial government

³⁹⁴ Mzee Salum, interviewed by the author in Kiswahili, Manzese, Dar es Salaam, May 27, 2013.

³⁹⁵ Kimei, “Tanzania’s Financial Experience in the Post-War Period,” 170–171.

³⁹⁶ The National Bank of Commerce, *Annals*, 13.

carried out what the British colonial government had wanted to do but had not dared do. However, postcolonial financial policies were more than simply a continuation of colonial policies. With the nationalization of banks in 1967, state actors gained a virtual monopoly on the allocation of credit, which they considered a formidable and indispensable tool to create an economic system based on socialist principles. These developments made it even harder for ordinary Kariakoo residents to get a loan from a financial institution. They also put a stop to the late-colonial government's cautious attempts in the postwar years to make bank loans available to enterprising Africans when government officials realized that the use of credit might help to create African entrepreneurs. By the mid-1960s, the conviction that ordinary urban residents could not be trusted with bank loans had won the day. Despite the hegemonic official discourse with regards to credit and saving in colonial and early postcolonial Dar es Salaam, urban residents' attitudes towards credit and savings were not entirely guided by this official discourse. Borrowing money was a common practice among residents of Kariakoo although the vast majority did not have access to the banking institutions in Dar es Salaam. Residents used the services of pawnshops, retail shops, traders, and friends to save and borrow money and to buy goods on credit. These forms of creditor-debtor relations were embedded in moral discourses, as will be shown in the next two chapters with respect to trade credit in particular.

Colonial and postcolonial government representatives also shared the belief that ordinary Africans did not have the ability to save money and therefore needed to be taught to save money in personal bank accounts. Both European missionaries and colonial officials regarded the use of credit as dangerous and morally corrupting and encouraged Kariakoo residents to save money so as not to become financially dependent on other people. The German *Sparkasse* as well as the British Post Office Savings Bank were created with the goal to encourage in Africans the spirit

and practice of thrift and planning ahead. After the socialist government had nationalized foreign banks, the state-owned NBC started their own savings campaigns, which resembled colonial campaigns to a considerable degree. Urban residents in colonial and postcolonial Kariakoo engaged in various ways of saving money and goods, both in collective and individualized form. Furthermore, many bank account holders lost their money in the First World War after the German defeat. For these reasons, the Post Office Savings Bank only gained in attractiveness over time, especially in the late colonial period. When the POSB was opened in the early 1920s, however, urban residents did not avidly embrace the notion of putting their savings on personal bank accounts.

CHAPTER 3—INTERWEAVING THREADS OF CREDIT: TEXTILES, TRADE, AND SHOPS IN COLONIAL DAR ES SALAAM AND SOCIALIST TANZANIA

In a cartoon from a textbook on how to start and run a cooperative shop in socialist Tanzania, a customer tells the salesperson “Sell me a bag of maize flour on credit.” The salesperson responds “No comrade, we don’t sell on credit” (see figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1: Cartoon in *Duka la Ujamaa na Ushirika*. “Sell me a bag of maize flour on credit.” – “No comrade, we don’t sell on credit.”³⁹⁷

The cartoon was accompanied by the following text:

To offer customers credit to buy goods is not allowed under any circumstances in Socialist/Co-operative shops [maduka ya Ujamaa/Ushirika]. The main reason restricting us from providing credit is that, if goods leave the shop without being paid in cash, it will result in a lack of money to buy new goods at the wholesalers, who do not sell on credit. The shelves will remain empty until the money of goods, which were sold on credit, is returned. Furthermore, it is not good for a

³⁹⁷ *Duka la Ujamaa na Ushirika, 1, Kuanzisha Duka*. Mafunzo kwa njia ya posta (Moshi, Tanzania: Chuo Cha Uelimu ya Ushirika, n.d.), accessed at MUCCoBS library.

person to buy on credit the goods he or she needs. He or she can be tempted to buy more than the appropriate amount he or she needs. A lot of people, who buy everyday needs [mahitaji] on credit, increase their expenses to such an extent that they fail to pay their debts later on. Therefore, the members who contributed money to start the shop will have lost their money because credit causes the death of the shop.³⁹⁸

Furthermore, the textbook explains the sale of goods on credit increases the overall workload of the salesperson and the shop manager and it increases the expenses for books and papers. Therefore, the following rule should be observed, “There is no credit for anyone.”³⁹⁹ This adumbrates the socialist state’s efforts to reform retail shops in the country, which culminated in *Operation Maduka* (“Operation Shops”) in the mid-1970s. Questions of credit and debt formed a crucial aspect of these reforms and their ultimate failure.

Shops, in Kiswahili *maduka*, had been at the center of economic policies since the late nineteenth century. They were the foil against which a supposedly better, more efficient, more just economic system could be created. Retail shops were the bone of contention that motivated the German colonial government to set up a “market hall system” rivaling the “*duka* system,” with limited success. In the interwar period, the British colonial government attempted to control shops in Dar es Salaam more tightly by forcing shop owners to use the English language for their ledgers, which prompted an

³⁹⁸ *Duka la Ujamaa na Ushirika, I, Kuanzisha Duka*. Mafunzo kwa njia ya posta (Moshi, Tanzania: Chuo Cha Uelimu ya Ushirika, n.d.), 81, accessed at MUCCoBS library. Translation from Kiswahili by the author.

³⁹⁹ *Duka la Ujamaa na Ushirika, I, Kuanzisha Duka*. Mafunzo kwa njia ya posta (Moshi, Tanzania: Chuo Cha Uelimu ya Ushirika, n.d.), 82, accessed at MUCCoBS library. Translation from Kiswahili by the author.

almost two month-long strike by Dar es Salaam shopkeepers in April and May 1923.⁴⁰⁰

The law was never enacted. After independence, the socialist government aimed to ban all the private retail shops and replace them with community-owned cooperative shops or *ujamaa* shops. At the height of these efforts in the mid-1970s, the socialist government launched the above-mentioned *Operation Maduka*. Once again, the success was infinitesimal.

For a long time and up to the late 1980s and early 1990s, colonial and postcolonial governments conceived shopkeepers as a problem or even a threat. Some colonial government officials suggested the entire *duka* system be eliminated because it was based on shopkeepers “bartering” textiles for agricultural produce. This resulted in African farmers having plenty of cloths but lacking cash to pay for taxes and supposedly without motivation to increase production. More optimistic government representatives in the late-colonial period asserted that the *duka* system and shopkeepers could be reformed. Once reformed, shopkeepers would act as a sort of catalyst and bring about desirable changes. For British government officials in the postwar period, shopkeepers had the potential of transforming rural Africans into consumers of capital goods and monied taxpayers. The supply and showcasing of consumer goods in shops was to create new desires for consumer goods among the rural population, who in turn would farm more cash crops to be able to buy the desired goods. For the colonial governments, this had the doubly positive effect of enabling the population to pay taxes and increasing cash crops

⁴⁰⁰ Report on the District of Dar-es-Salaam District for the year 1923 by Senior Commissioner, TNA library: “Provincial Commissioner’s Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930;” Brennan and Burton, “The Emerging Metropolis: A History of Dar es Salaam, circa 1862-2000.”

for export.⁴⁰¹ In the eyes of socialist government representatives, on the other hand, properly educated managers of consumer cooperatives would eradicate and substitute “exploitative” capitalist shopkeepers.

Thus, government campaigns to reform the retail sector run like a thread through the recent history of Dar es Salaam. The goal of this chapter, however, is not to explain these campaigns but to investigate what they were aimed at: the modus operandi of the trade at shops in Dar es Salaam. The advancement of goods on credit and the underlying credit and debt relations, which formed veritable chains of credits, were the defining feature of the *duka* system as well as the reason for its longevity and persistence. To illustrate the concrete trade and credit relationships, the chains of credit, the various types of debt relation as well as the scales of credit and interest rates available to shopkeepers, I follow one particular commodity – textiles – and describe how it was traded in Dar es Salaam shops from the late nineteenth century onwards. The textile trade was done at shops and not at markets, and it was not based on cash payments but on credit and debt relations between wholesale traders, retail traders, and customers. Rather than relying on cash payments, textile traders incurred and cleared debts and they advanced and called in credit. The bigger a trader’s business was, the larger the debts and loans were. To be indebted and to act as a creditor were constitutive elements of being a textile trader in Dar es Salaam.

⁴⁰¹ Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*.

TRADING (THROUGH) TEXTILES

KOPA, v. a. (ku kopa = ku vata, *old language*), (1) *to take goods on credit, to be returned at a certain period, to borrow; e.g., nimekópa mali kua Baniáni kua m'da wa miézi miwili, I have taken goods from the Banian on credit for two months. I intend to buy a piece of cloth worth 1½ dollar, but I cannot pay the money immediately; thus the Baniani says, "I will give you the cloth for 2 dollars, but I do not want the money now, I give you m'da (an appointed space of time) of four months." By this means he gains ½ dollar. The man who takes on credit must always pay more than the actual value is at present, but then he has not to pay immediately. Siku-nunúa ngúo hi, laken nime-i-kopa kua reáli mbili. [I did not buy this cloth but I borrowed it for two reals.] The merchant gains on account of the m'da. (2) To cheat, deceive, e.g., if the man who took money or goods on credit escapes to another country, which is frequently the case (mkópi).*⁴⁰²

Much has been written about the long history of production, trade, and consumption of textiles in East Africa and the Indian Ocean world. On the East African coast, textiles and clothes were intricately linked to status and power and they were crucial for establishing and maintaining patron-client relations.⁴⁰³ Scholars have also noted the cultural significance of textiles in East Africa, for instance with regards to *kanga* cloths and their varying fashion styles and rapidly changing consumer tastes.⁴⁰⁴ In late-colonial Dar es Salaam, "the donning of a *kanzu* is a simple but effective membership card enabling the country bumpkin to be accepted as a civilized man," observed J. A. K. Leslie in the late 1950s and added, "here in town clothes make the man."⁴⁰⁵ I contribute to this scholarship by focusing on the rather more dull-looking single-colored kinds of textiles called *kaniki* and how the multiple and variable uses of these cloths as currency, means to store wealth, collateral for shop credit, and clothing was at the heart of credit based trade in

⁴⁰² Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, 171.

⁴⁰³ Jonathon Glassman, "The Bondsman's New Clothes: The Contradictory Consciousness of Slave Resistance on the Swahili Coast," *Journal of African History* 32, no. 2 (1991): 277–312.

⁴⁰⁴ Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001).

⁴⁰⁵ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 11, 110.

and out of Kariakoo. The very fact that cloth was used as the main medium of exchange shaped the entire trade or system of trade.

Colonial officials occasionally misconstrued this credit-based trade as “barter trade.” They observed how Africans “barter cloth against wax, ghee, and native produce” in Kigoma and how “Natives selling standing crops to Indians almost invariably barter the crop for clothing” in Pangani.⁴⁰⁶ Colonial officials also noted that African farmers accepted cloths as a form of payment for their agricultural produce when selling it to Asian shopkeepers. The value of these cloths would be only half of the agreed-upon price in rupees.⁴⁰⁷ In the colonial imagination, this “barter trade” was a highly undesirable system of trade because it enabled Asian shopkeepers to take advantage of African farmers. Furthermore, it made African farmers less likely to pay taxes as farmers were not paid in an officially recognized currency but in cloth, which the colonial state could not easily expropriate. Barter trade thus constituted a nightmare for colonial officials. As shown in the next chapter, colonial governments attempted to eradicate this “barter trade” by forcing farmers to sell their produce for cash in officially recognized market halls.

However, exchanging goods was not really barter trade when it involved textiles. On the one hand, exchanging cloth for agricultural products displayed the qualities of a medium of exchange, which was more widely accepted among Africans than official currencies like the Indian silver Rupee and the Maria Theresa Dollar. Textiles could be used to buy other items and they could be stored. On the other hand, textiles could be turned into clothing, be used in social functions such as funerals, and given away to clients in order to acquire or maintain the status of

⁴⁰⁶ Kigoma, January 22, 1923, and Pangani, February 1, 1923, TNA: AB.1030: “Markets – Procedure regarding Dues etc.”

⁴⁰⁷ Der Kaiserliche Bezirksamtman, Pangani, February 20, 1903, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

a patron.⁴⁰⁸ Furthermore, textiles could be used as collateral in order to get credit from a shopkeeper. And they could also be given away to potential clients. The very convertibility of textiles contributed to their high demand,⁴⁰⁹ and their use as the main medium of exchange shaped the entire system of trade as one being based on credit and personal relations rather than based on cash transactions between anonymous market participants, as indicated in the quote at the beginning of this section. “[T]he *Baniani* says, ‘I will give you the cloth for 2 dollars, but I do not want the money now, I give you m’da’,” to which Krapf added “Siku-nunúa ngúo hi, laken nime-i-kopa kua reáli mbili.”⁴¹⁰ The Kiswahili sentence was not translated in the original. The literal translation is “I did not buy this cloth but I borrowed it for two reals” so “buying on credit” is in Kiswahili expressed simply with “borrowing” when it involved textiles.

The German and British colonial governments’ insistence on cash payments needs to be examined in the context of the dominance of credit-based trade transactions, which were highly personalized and relied on trust. Colonial efforts to monetize the economy were manifold. The supply of sufficient amounts of cash was a constant occupation of the German colonial administration. In order to make sure there was enough local cash in the colony, officials exchanged marks for rupees at the large trade companies such as Hansing & Co., O’Swald & Co., and the Deutsch-Ostafrika Gesellschaft (DOAG) based in Zanzibar. When the colonial officials realized that the exchange rate was better in Bombay, they started to transport shiploads of copper coins from India to German East Africa through the *Deutsch-Asiatische Bank*. In

⁴⁰⁸ Miller describes for southwest Africa during the period of the Atlantic slave trade how African rulers came to depend on foreign trade good such as cloths to sustain their clients and secure their status as patrons (Miller, *Way of Death*).

⁴⁰⁹ On the consumption of textiles in Mombasa, see Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World*. In a study from the mid-1950s on Nyasaland and Tanganyika, Fergus Wright noted that “the only industrially manufactured commodities regularly consumed by virtually all the African households are textile products” (Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*, 57).

⁴¹⁰ Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, 171.

regular intervals of about four months, up to 34 boxes containing up to 200,000 rupees were shipped from Bombay to Dar es Salaam at a time, where part of it was transferred to various regional administrative centers in the colony.⁴¹¹

Despite these efforts there were times when the available cash was not sufficient to pay colonial employees. During World War One, the salaries of 600 porters working on the battleship *Königsberg* could not be paid because of a lack of funds. This caused German soldier Freudenberger to act on his own initiative. He visited Asian shopkeepers in Dar es Salaam and forced them to hand over their silver money, all while falsely presenting himself as acting on behalf of the government. The Asian shopkeepers took Freudenberger to court but they lost the case although everything spoke in their favor. They were declared not to be sane so their statements were deemed not valid. Still, the incident was upsetting for the colonial administration as a whole because it undermined their policy of making Asians feel safe so they would take their silver money to the bank on a voluntary basis.⁴¹² These colonial efforts to monetize the colonial economy illustrate the hard work involved in creating a money economy, which did not naturally replace a barter economy.⁴¹³ First of all, the economy on the Swahili coast in the nineteenth century was not exclusively based on barter trade but also involved complex debt relations. And secondly, copper coins did not naturally become the basis of an advanced economic system during the colonial period. Rather, the colonial government engaged

⁴¹¹ Letter by the Kaiserliche Gouverneur, Dar es Salam, May 22, 1900, TNA: G3/67: “Beschaffung des laufenden Bargeldbedarfes [für die Gouvernements-Hauptkasse zu Dar-es-Salaam, insbes. von Bankhäusern in Indien], Bd. 1: 1891-1900.” TNA: G3/68: “Beschaffung des laufenden Bargeldbedarfes [für die Gouvernements-Hauptkasse zu Dar-es-Salaam, insbes. von Bankhäusern in Indien], Bd. 2: 1900-1903.” TNA: G3/69: “Beschaffung des laufenden Bargeldbedarfes [für die Gouvernements-Hauptkasse zu Dar-es-Salaam, insbes. von Bankhäusern in Indien], Bd. 3: 1903-1910.”

⁴¹² Letter written in Dar es Salaam, August 17, 1915 and transcript of court proceedings, Dar es Salaam, September 7, 1915, TNA: G1/162: “Jos. Freudenberger, 1915.”

⁴¹³ Graeber debunks this myth created by Adam Smith and others (Graeber, *Debt*).

in the laborious task of shipping entire bags full of coins across the Indian Ocean in order to make sure that their project of creating a cash economy would take off.

In reality, the monetization remained partial and uneven. To make things more complicated, a multitude of currencies were in circulation at any given time. The Maria Theresa Dollar lost its attraction some time in the mid-nineteenth century as traders from South Asia increasingly used the Indian silver rupee.⁴¹⁴ When the Deutsch-Ostafrika Gesellschaft was assigned the authority to issue copper and silver coinage in 1890, it decided to produce coins that corresponded to the Indian coins current in East Africa at the time.⁴¹⁵ Paper money was introduced in 1905 but the local population continued to prefer coins. During World War One, interim notes were issued to pay the salaries of soldiers and porters because the colonial government lacked silver currency. As the war wore on, the interim notes were devalued because of inflation. The Germans even suspected the British to have purposefully brought counterfeit paper currency into circulation in order to enhance inflation.⁴¹⁶ By the end of the war, the paper money had lost much of its value and people's faith in paper money had suffered a severe blow.⁴¹⁷ Shortly after World War One, German hellers, East African Florin cents, and the recently introduced Shilling cents were in circulation concurrently.⁴¹⁸ By the time of World War

⁴¹⁴ Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884-1914*, 51, footnote 205.

⁴¹⁵ Letter by R. W. Taylor, Currency Officer, Dar es Salaam, to the Secretary, East African Currency Board, London, June 2, 1922, TNA: AB.925: "German Currency."

⁴¹⁶ Report on the Origin and System of Paper Currency, Its Issue, Circulation and Redemption in German East African, From 1st January 1905 to 6th June 1916, TNA: AB.925: "German Currency."

⁴¹⁷ M. J. Borcawen, Chairman of The Planters Association, T.T., Tanga, to the Chief Secretary, April 2, 1925, TNA: "AB.203/Vol. II: Currency Board."

⁴¹⁸ Annual report on Dar-es-Salaam District for 1922 by F.W. Brett, Senior Commissioner, TNA library: "Provincial Commissioner's Reports Dar es Salaam District, 1921-1930." Letter by S. S. Davis, Currency Officer, Dar es Salaam, to the Secretary, East African Currency Board, London September 2, 1920, TNA: "AB.202/Vol. I: Currency Board."

Two, the quality of some genuine coins in circulation was so low that allegations of the use of counterfeit money were difficult to evaluate, which, in turn, gave rise to rumors that many coins in circulation were not genuine.⁴¹⁹ All the while, the practice of melting down silver and copper coins for bracelets and other ornaments was reported throughout the colony.⁴²⁰ By 1939, it had become so common the colonial government decided to outlaw it and imprison culprits for six months.⁴²¹

Meanwhile, local traders and farmers continued to rely on textiles as a universally acknowledged currency. What helped to perpetuate the use of textiles as the preferred medium of exchange was the lack of access local traders had to cash credit. In 1931, one observer made the link between buying with the help of cloth or “piece goods” and the unavailability to credit to local traders. “It was considered that the growing practice of transactions in kind between buyers and native producers had many drawbacks. Central Markets, in which transactions had been normally in cash, had been abolished. On the other hand, itinerant traders, owing to the lack of credit, were unable to obtain cash and so purchase with piece goods etc. in lieu.”⁴²² The same year, a colonial official in Lindi noted “The suggestion [by the Government] is that it be made illegal to deal in certain produce except for cash. I do not think such legislation would have the desired effect. ... Small traders are not using the cash medium because of the uncertain state of markets and the tightening up of credit. Small traders have not got cash and a simple direction to use cash which does not also ease the situation by striking at the underlying causes of the

⁴¹⁹ Letter by E. Bellevue, Secretary, East Africa Currency Board, January 10, 1941, TNA: 25775/Vol. II: “Impounding of Counterfeit Currency.”

⁴²⁰ Annual Report for the Kauli Sub-District 1925, and Annual Report for the Kigoma District 1925, TNA: AB.57: “Annual Report 1925, Kigoma District.”

⁴²¹ April 11, 1939, TNA: 25775/Vol. I: “Impounding of Counterfeit Currency.”

⁴²² Extract from a minute by H.E. the Governor, August 18, 1931, TNA: 10138: “Marketing of Produce, System of.”

scarcity appears incapable of successful operation.”⁴²³ A government directive on the marketing of produce stated “For some time past owing to the restricted credit extended to the small Indian traders who handle the crops in the outlying districts the system of barter has once again crept in on a large scale and the number of sales of produce against cash during the past season was almost negligible with, I am given to understand, a resultant increased difficulty in the way of collection of taxes. The restriction of credit mentioned above has resulted in a decrease in the amount of money in circulation upcountry and this, to a certain extent, is proved by an increase in the number of promissory notes which have been paid by consignments of produce instead of in cash.”⁴²⁴ So while farmers preferred to trade with the nearby shopkeepers-cum-traders, these shopkeepers-cum-traders purchased agricultural goods in exchange for forwarding cloths to farmers before harvest because shopkeepers did not have access to cash loans. When good harvests were anticipated, e.g. the groundnuts in Tabora in 1925, shopkeepers acquired large amounts of textiles.⁴²⁵

The availability of cloth was actually so important that it became a defining character of small traders. An example from the rice-producing Ulanga district around the town of Ifakara illustrates this point. In 1947, small traders in Ifakara protested against the Mr. Devjibhai Hindocha, whose company was afforded the monopoly in rice trading and milling. The company M/S D. K. Hindocha (Tanganyika) Ltd. was also involved in textile trade so they did not have to rely on smaller traders to trade textiles for rice. Smaller traders suggested they be appointed as

⁴²³ Letter by South Eastern, Lindi, December 30, 1931, to the Provincial Commissioner, TNA: 10138: “Marketing of Produce, System of.”

⁴²⁴ n. d. [1932?], TNA: 10138: “Marketing of Produce, System of.”

⁴²⁵ TNA: AB.46: “Annual Report, Tabora District, 1925.”

buying agents but Hindocha did not agree to that, which left many small traders in despair.⁴²⁶

“Whereas the traders are sitting melanchally [sic] in their shops watching the millers [large-scale traders] making huge profits out of the debris of the traders rights.” The way small traders expressed their grievances was to refer to the lack of access they had to textiles, the very basis of their business and livelihoods. They noted that “The poor [traders] are not getting piece goods enough even to keep their bodies and souls to-gether.”⁴²⁷

THE *DUKA* SYSTEM

Like in the colony’s various regions, small shopkeepers-cum-traders in Dar es Salaam largely relied on cloth as a medium of exchange. In German and British colonial periods, textiles were traded mostly on credit basis in Dar es Salaam shops. This so-called *duka* system of trade was a thorn in the flesh of colonial administrations. The *duka* system of trade relied on personal relations between buyer and seller, respectively creditor and debtor, and it did not rely on cash transactions. Thus, colonial administrators found it difficult to control and proposed to replace it with what the market hall system based on what the Germans called *Markthallenzwang*, or “the obligation to sell at market halls,” nota bene for cash. Reading the various colonial documents on the market hall system against and along the grain makes visible the workings of the *duka* system and the intimate relations on which it relied.

⁴²⁶ The United Ulanga Produce Buyers Groups, Ifakara, to the District Commissioner, Mahenge, April 30, 1947, TNA: ACC 461/WF 12/Vol. IV: “Control of Rice and Paddy.”

⁴²⁷ March 27, [1947?], Ulanga Merchant Association, to the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, TNA: ACC 461/WF 12/Vol. IV: “Control of Rice and Paddy.”

Colonial officers repeatedly, and as early as 1902, observed and complained about the common practice of using textiles as medium of exchange.⁴²⁸ The mere fact that the German market hall ordinance explicitly forbade trade deals on credit and only allowed transactions on cash basis indicates the prevalence of credit-based dealings in shops. As outlined above, transactions based on textiles had the characteristics of credit as well as cash dealings so the establishment of market halls was a way for the colonial administrations to fight credit-based trade relations between traders, consumers, and producers. The government imagined the new policy to help regulate trade and tighten the state's control over the economy, reduce the economic power and influence of Asian traders, protect the "natives" from the "exploitive" Asian traders, force local traders and producers to use cash for their market transactions and break up credit relations between farmers and shopkeepers, and incentivize people to use cash in general, which would make it easier for the government to collect taxes. This plan did not work out as intended as shown in the following chapter.

One reason for the partial failure of the market hall system to replace the *duka* system was that traders on all levels of the chain formed constitutive parts of the *duka* system. In German colonial times, for instance, German trading houses bought and sold goods on credit and with the help of textiles. Unsurprisingly, then, textiles were by far the most widely traded article, precisely because it acted as a medium of exchange as well as a basis for credit transactions. German traders carefully created and maintained relations of trust with Asian wholesalers and retailers, not always to the delight of the colonial administration. Occasionally, the large German trading houses O'Swald & Co. and Hansing & Co. were accused of supporting Asian traders at

⁴²⁸ E.g. Dar es Salam, November 27, 1902, TNA: G4/7: "Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906."

the expense of new entrants to the East African market from Germany.⁴²⁹ German traders, on the other hand, perceived the market hall ordinance as a threat.⁴³⁰ The *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG) lobbied against the implementation of the market hall ordinance. “Because of the obligation to sell at market halls, the farmer is driven to the cities, to the detriment of his economic situation, and in the urban market halls, there is the scrutiny and publicness of prices, credit, and clientele. Thus, with a few strokes of the pen, most massive interferences take place with existing pecuniary circumstances and with sensitive economic relations, which have been won through years of diligence, and in the end, the cautious trading world will turn away from German East Africa.”⁴³¹ These “sensitive economic relations” between DOAG traders and local traders and producers were based on goods forwarded on credit. In Kilwa, DOAG and Hansing & Co. were able to create a sort of monopoly on the trade of agricultural produce by regularly providing textiles to local traders on credit.⁴³² In Mahenge, DOAG engaged in similar practices and advanced goods to farmers and small traders on a regular basis and unsuccessfully asked the military station to help them collect debts.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ Excerpt from *Frankfurter Journal*, December 2, 1891, TNA: “G8/75: Westdeutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft. Bd. I: 1890-1900.” See also Lutz J. Schwidder, *Das Hamburger Kolonialhandelshaus Wm. O’Swald & Co. und die Einführung von “Techniken” in die Kolonien 1890 - 1914* (Hamburg: Diplomica, 2004).

⁴³⁰ Already during the times of the caravan trade, European traders had adopted local practices and gave porters cloths as advances of salaries. Carl Velten wrote “Ich ... gab den Trägern ihren Lohn, einem jeden 6 gora [Stück Zeug von 30 engl. Ellen] Zeug und 5 farbige Tücher. Sie fragten mich: ‘Wohin sollen wir dafür die Lasten tragen?’” (Velten, *Schilderungen der Suaheli*, 1).

⁴³¹ Geschäftsbericht der Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft zu Berlin über das Jahr 1900, TNA: G8/69: “Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, Bd. 4: 1897-1901.” Translated from German by the author.

⁴³² Letter signed by D. K. G., Dar es Salaam, July 3, 1900, TNA: G8/69: “Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, Bd. 4: 1897-1901.”

⁴³³ Lorne Erling Larson, “A History of the Mahenge (Ulanga) District, Ca. 1860-1957” (University of Dar es Salaam, 1976), 83.

German traders imported various kinds of textiles to Dar es Salaam, including shawls, black and blue kaniki, “Mascot goods,” kikoi, shuka, blankets, whites, and khakis. Nota bene, they were not the first to do so. Rather, they competed with Asian traders, who had had a long history of bringing a variety of textiles to the East African coast.⁴³⁴ With the onset of the colonial period, however, German businesspeople established themselves as the main importers of textiles. German traders located in Dar es Salaam regularly reported the commercial dealings of all the Dar es Salaam traders, gauged their creditworthiness, and set a maximum credit limit for each trader as the O’Swald & Co. papers held at the Staatsarchiv in Hamburg nicely illustrate. The detailed assessments of Dar es Salaam traders’ creditworthiness and payment morale could take up to 13 pages in one report. While some Dar es Salaam traders were considered “trustworthy” and “creditworthy,” others, like Ali Wali & Co., were “very easily offended and

⁴³⁴ Tharia Topan was the most successful of these traders in mid- to late-nineteenth century East Africa. Several European travellers including Henry Stanley reported how they bought goods to be used as gifts and trade in the interior from Tharia Topan. “Zanzibar possesses its ‘millionaires’ also, and one of the richest merchants in the town is Tarya Topan – a self-made man of Hindostan, singularly honest and just; a devout Muslim, yet liberal in his ideas; a sharp business man, yet charitable. I made Tarya’s acquaintance in 1871, and the righteous manner in which he then dealt by me caused me now to proceed to him again for the same purpose as formerly, viz. to sell me cloth, cottons, and kanikis, at reasonable prices, and accept my bills on Mr. Joseph M. Levy, of the *Daily Telegraph*. Honest Jetta, as formerly, was employed as my vakeel [agent] to purchase the various coloured cloths, fine and coarse, for chiefs and their wives, as well as a large assortment of beads of all sizes, forms, and colours, besides a large quantity of brass wire 1/8 inch in thickness” (Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent, Vol. 1* (Hamburg: Gradener, 1878), 63–64); see also Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 38–40). The nineteenth-century ivory and slave trade in East Africa were also often done through textiles and on the basis of credit, as several authors have noted (Edward Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing Pattern of International Trade in East Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East-African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987); Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914*, 35). Verney Cameron and Daniel Oliver noted that virtually every trader in the interior owed money to the Asian customs official in Zanzibar, a post Tharia Topan occupied the late 1870s (Cameron and Oliver, *Across Africa*, 24).

need[ed] to be treated accordingly.”⁴³⁵ A typical assessment of a trustworthy trader read as follows, “Nassur Rattonzi has been paying well, is now clear until the end of December. With rupee 60,000 his credit limit is by far not fully used. Unfortunately, he is very cautious with orders because he is ‘adamant’ about going to Mecca again. We are trying to discourage him from going because we absolutely need him for our trade in *kanga* cloths in these bad times. A credit limit should not be set for him. We can calmly risk even rupee 100,000 any time. His assets should be more than this sum.”⁴³⁶ Poperty Pirabey was a less creditworthy trader, according to O’swald & Co. “Poperty Pirabey once again paid dismally. He needs to remain at a credit limit of rupee 6,000-8,000. He trades with Tabora, Dodoma, and Lindi, where he has good agents, which carries weight when it comes to the assessment of his creditworthiness. He also has a considerably higher credit limit with Müller and DOAG. His assets are supposed to stand at rupee 20,000. We have constantly been dunning him.”⁴³⁷ O’Swald & Co. was also in competition with other German trading houses when it came to the provision of credit. O’Swald & Co. repeated complained about DOAG because they had a more expansive way of providing credit to customers, which made them more attractive in the eyes of local traders.⁴³⁸ Some traders were clearly able to take advantage of the competitive situation in which the German trading houses found themselves. Dar es Salaam trader Alibey Curji was estimated to owe rupee 50-55,000 to Müller, rupee 15,000 to DOAG, and rupee 15-20,000 to Hansing & Co. although he only had assets worth rupee 15-20,000. Still O’Swald & Co. were willing to provide him with a credit of

⁴³⁵ Bilanz-Brief, Dar es Salaam, December 31, 1909, Staatsarchiv Hamburg: 621-1/147, 18 Band 7: “O’swald & Co., Briefe von Dar es Salaam, 1910.”

⁴³⁶ January 31, 1914, Staatsarchiv Hamburg: 621-1/147, 18 Band 8: “O’swald & Co. 1914, Briefe von Dar es Salaam,” 18.

⁴³⁷ January 31, 1914, Staatsarchiv Hamburg: 621-1/147, 18 Band 8: “O’swald & Co. 1914, Briefe von Dar es Salaam,” 22.

⁴³⁸ January 31, 1914, Staatsarchiv Hamburg: 621-1/147, 18 Band 8: “O’swald & Co. 1914, Briefe von Dar es Salaam,” 4.

rupee 10,000.⁴³⁹ So Alibey Curji's volume of credit was 5 to 6 times higher than his assets. After World War One, Barclays and other banks partially took over the role as providers of credit to Dar es Salaam wholesalers and as assessors of their creditworthiness.⁴⁴⁰

The chains of credit interconnected importers, wholesalers, small shopkeepers, itinerant traders, and end consumers. Dar es Salaam wholesalers were a crucial link in the chain as they were forwarded goods on credit from importers and they forwarded goods to retailers on credit. For them, to be a successful trader meant to set up numerous relations of credit and debt with clients as well as suppliers. As files on bankruptcy cases and inheritance cases in the Tanzania national archives reveal, the bigger the traders were, the more outstanding loans they had and the more loans they had given to other people. This was again due to the fact that business was not done on a cash basis but on a credit basis. As will be shown below, these chains of credit were not only a particular characteristic of Dar es Salaam trade in the colonial period but they also continued to be the dominant characteristic of trade in the postcolonial period. The example of the above-mentioned Ali Wali helps to illustrate the above point. Upon his death on June 28, 1910, the list of creditors was almost three pages and the list of debtors four and a half pages long. His debts amounted to a total of rupee 88,179.32. He owed money to the German trading houses Hansing & Co. (rupee 13,229.14) and O'Swald & Co. (rupee 10,949.52) but the majority of his debts were the sum of smaller amounts owed to Asian individuals. His debts also included a deposit of 600 rupee, which the local mosque had made to his store. While his debts were considerable, he was owed even more money by other people, namely a total of rupee

⁴³⁹ January 29, 1914, Staatsarchiv Hamburg: 621-1/147, 18 Band 8: "O'Swald & Co. 1914, Briefe von Dar es Salaam."

⁴⁴⁰ See half-yearly reviews on Tanganyika branches in BGA.

139,325.63. Among his debtors were many Asian individuals but also a lot of Europeans,⁴⁴¹ and the amounts owed to him ranged from 1 to 798 rupees. The majority of the debtors were shopkeepers to whom Ali Wali forwarded goods like textiles on credit. His assets stood at rupee 86,181.88 but they were not in form of cash but in fixed assets such as houses.⁴⁴² Generally, the Dar es Salaam inheritance cases from the German colonial period indicate that traders did not run their businesses based on cash transactions but on the basis of debts and credit. Successful traders' goals were not to clear all the debts they had or to claim all the debt owed to them. On the contrary, owing to the suppliers and being owed to by customers was a permanent aspect of being a trader in Dar es Salaam.

⁴⁴¹ Colonial sources reveal a number of cases in which Asians acted as creditors for Europeans. Franck Raimbault notes that in the early 1890s, Khimji Jeram lent a Greek entrepreneur 5000 rupees. The goal was not so much to bring their European debtor in financial difficulty but to ensure access to their debtors' social network, which could potentially be included in their market network (Raimbault, "Dar-es-Salaam histoire d'une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)," 231 (3)). Europeans in Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, had access to a number of credit sources, some of which were highly questionable. One example was the so-called Bazar fund, which was mainly based on donations by the late Sewa Hadji, who intended the fund to be a welfare fund for the establishment of a leper station. The colonial administration turned the fund into a credit fund for businessmen such as German businessman von Burg, who borrowed money from the Bazar fund to invest in his ice factory. Von Burg subsequently went bankrupt and failed to repay the loans (TNA: G3/92: "Verwaltung [bzw. Kreditvergabe aus dem zur Errichtung eines Leprakranken-Asyls geschaffenen] Bazarfonds [auch Stiftung des Inders Sewa Hadji für ein Lepra-Krankenhaus in Bagamoyo]. Bd. 2: 1906-1912").

⁴⁴² TNA: G35/3: "[Verwaltung der] Nachlässe [verstorbener Nichteuropäer]. 1910-1912." Some people also owned slaves who were sometimes – but not always – manumitted at the occasion of the master's death. When Dar es Salaam resident Mkarafu binti Bakari died in October 1911, Amana and her child Gundumu claimed that they were promised to be manumitted when her master died (Dar es Salaam, October 26, 1911, TNA: G35/3: "[Verwaltung der] Nachlässe [verstorbener Nichteuropäer]. 1910-1912"). The manumission was not automatic as the German colonial administration never outlawed slavery (Deutsch, *Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa, c.1884-1914*).

This was also true for shopkeepers in colonial Dar es Salaam, who often ran their shops as family businesses with long opening hours.⁴⁴³ In the Kariakoo neighborhood, selling goods on credit was a way for Asian shopkeepers to establish and maintain their membership in neighborhood sub-communities, as shown in chapter 1. Furthermore, knowing how to sell on credit was an important skill in an environment like Kariakoo where customers generally had very little cash at their disposal.⁴⁴⁴ In addition, shopkeepers supplied hawkers with clothes for sale in urban neighborhoods.⁴⁴⁵ Long-standing Kariakoo residents vividly remembered these walking street traders and called them *wanguonguo*, “the clothes people.” They were typically of Arab origin and they walked through Kariakoo with clothes thrown over their shoulders selling them to urban households on credit. “Back in the days, these Arabs were called *wanguonguo*,” Mzee Salum, who had spent the majority of his long life living in Kariakoo and trading rice at the Kariakoo market hall, explained. “They walked around in the streets. He puts the clothes like

⁴⁴³ A government committee reported in 1937 that “a large number of businesses in Dar es Salaam are run by the owners themselves with the help of relatives and dependents” (Report of the Committee appointed by Government to enquire whether the Interests of Shop Assistants are sufficiently and adequately protected by the Shop Assistants (Employment) Ordinance, March 2, 1937, TNA: 25080: “Shop Assistants Employment Ordinance, Amendments to”).

⁴⁴⁴ For Dar es Salaam in the German colonial period, see Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” 128. For East Africa in the German and the British colonial periods, see Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 102–108. Even in upcountry towns like Mahenge, Asian shopkeepers supplied goods on credit to African traders during the interwar period (Larson, “A History of the Mahenge (Ulanga) District, Ca. 1860-1957,” 358–359). A Mahenge merchant named Abdulgan Gulamali made clear that a certain “Yusufu Mkumba works as a shopkeeper in his own name. He buys the goods on credit at my shop [“Mali anakopa kwangu”] so he is not my clerk” (Letter by Abdulgan Gulamali, to the District Officer Mahenge, August 22, 1930, TNA: ACC 461/5/4: “Market and Trading Correspondence,” translated from Kiswahili by the author). Like many other local traders, Yusuf Mkumba was not an employed agent selling things and goods on commission but an independent trader who bought his goods from his supplier on credit.

⁴⁴⁵ These credit arrangements between shopkeepers and hawkers also existed in upcountry Tanganyika, where “A small merchant carrying only a small stock in his shop may have a dozen hawkers touring the country with thousands of rupees worth” (Letter by the District Political Officer to the Secretary of the Administration, April 26, 1919, TNA: AB.121: “Hawkers”).

this and like that [he pretends to throw clothes over his left and right shoulder], and he's ready to walk. He goes to every house. He sells on credit. Back then, Arabs were not rich, they only had a little bit of money. And they themselves took the goods from the Indians on verbal promise."⁴⁴⁶

Once the hawkers collected the money from their customers, they paid the shopkeepers the agreed-upon price.⁴⁴⁷ These hawkers were the last chain of the textile trade, which interlinked importers, wholesalers, shopkeepers, hawkers, and customers in relations of credit.

Shopkeepers in Dar es Salaam themselves had little capital but they had the advantage of having access to various forms of loans. As mentioned above, European trading houses generally provided them with textiles on credit.⁴⁴⁸ Some Asian traders in Dar es Salaam also had access to loans available at their respective religious community. Despite the significant class differences within the Asian community, which separated poorer shopkeepers in Kariakoo from wealthy traders in the downtown area, religious events regularly brought together members of the same

⁴⁴⁶ Mzee Salum, interview with the author in Kiswahili. See also Philemon Mbagani, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, May 17, 2013.

⁴⁴⁷ *Wanguunguo* were an early form street trading, which has become much more widespread nowadays. Itinerant traders in Dar es Salaam are now referred to as *wamachinga*, which is a Kiswahili-ized version of the English "marching guy" (Colman Titus Msoka, "Informal Markets and Urban Development: A Study of Street Vending in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2005)). In present-day Kariakoo, *wamachinga* occupy a very prominent but contested place. At times, they are the victims of nasty attacks by the police units FFU (Field Force Unit, locally referred to as *Fanya Fujo Uone*, "commit nuisance and you will see") attempting to "clean up" the city. Nevertheless, *wamachinga* are omnipresent in Kariakoo and they are very audible as well. The cigarette and peanuts selling *wamachinga* use 5, 10, and 20 shilling coins, which have very little value, line them up in one hand, and move them back and forth in order to create a clinking sound. They usually come up with and repeat a particular rhythm while walking the streets of Kariakoo, which has the effect of adding the never-ending sound of clinking coins to the sounds of market pitchmen, hooting cars, and radios in Kariakoo. Furthermore, customers usually call *wamachinga* by the things they sell. It is normal for someone trying to buy a cigarette to call the guy selling the cigarette "*sigara!*" The same applies to "*chungwa!*" ("orange"), "*ndizi!*" ("banana"), "*kahawa!*" ("coffee"), etc. The most interesting product name is "Kariakoo," which refers to plastic bags with the brand name Kariakoo.

⁴⁴⁸ See also Raimbault, "Dar-es-Salaam histoire d'une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914)," 128–129.

religious groups. The Ismaili Khojas even founded the Tanganyika Ismailia Co-operative Society in 1937/38, which acted as a sort of credit society for members of the religious community.⁴⁴⁹ Shopkeepers often relied on rich merchants to borrow money to start their business.⁴⁵⁰ However, they were not always able to pay back the money in time. Novelist M. G. Vassanji's Ismaili Khoja family, for example, would not have been able to open their first shop in Kariakoo without the help of credit.⁴⁵¹ When his mother was unable to pay back the money in time, creditors made use of the social neighborhood world to challenge the family's reputation in the neighborhood and to pressure shopkeepers to pay back the money owed.⁴⁵²

Not all Dar es Salaam residents considered the relatively easy availability of credit for Asian shopkeepers desirable. Already in the 1930s, Mr. Chitale of the Tanganyika Merchants Conference, which mainly represented small traders, portrayed existing systems of credit as benefiting the lending institutions while impoverishing the growing number of small traders, thus exposing the rift between small shopkeepers and rich merchants. Chitale argued that rich Ismaili Khojas, by providing "easy credit" to small traders, were responsible for an unhealthy competition amongst small shopkeepers. The existing system of credit was devastating because it

⁴⁴⁹ Shirin Walji gives an example of a family that was able to expand a small shop in Kariakoo with the help of the Tanganyika Ismailia Co-operative Society (Walji, "A History of the Ismaili Community in Tanzania," 169). In 1951, the Ismailia credit society in Dar es Salaam had a membership of 1795 people and gave a total of pound 39,364 as loans to members, mainly for trading purposes (TNA library: "Report on Co-operative Development For the Year 1951"). In 1953, the renamed Diamond Jubilee Investment Fund was reported to have provided loans to Ismaili Khojas active in retail trade, and loans to members stood at pound 38,223 (TNA library: "Report on Co-operative Development For the Year 1953").

⁴⁵⁰ Africans' lack of access to these sources of credit is one of the reasons for the extremely low number of shopkeepers in colonial Dar es Salaam.

⁴⁵¹ M. G. Vassanji's novels *The Gunny Sack* and *Uhuru Street* describe the author's experiences growing up as a child of an Ismaili Khoja shopkeeper in late-colonial Kariakoo.

⁴⁵² Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 53.

allowed for the number of traders and shopkeepers to grow to such an extent that the competition among traders became unbearable.

And I must say very frankly that the real offenders in this respect were the indenting houses and the importers who in the hope of increasing their sales gave each credit to all and sundry with the result that there was too much manufacture in the market and too many merchants competing with each other to sell it with an eye on the due date of Hundi.⁴⁵³ In quite a number of cases merchants have been forced to sell their stock at below cost to keep their credit in tact by meeting the Hundi on due date. This state of things would never have happened if credit in the beginning has been given sparingly and with discrimination. But such discrimination can only be exercised by large indenting houses and wholesale businessmen. A small merchant can not be blamed for buying goods beyond his capacity if such goods are offered to him on easy credit. Such extention [sic] of credit leads to losses beyond the strength of the small merchant to bear with the result that as soon as credit is stopped or curtailed he is unable to survive. It is this pernicious system of extention of credit which I have to bring to your notice and I am convinced in my own mind that a great deal of our present trouble is due to this fact. If our merchants had done their business on strictly cash basis making credit as an exception and not a rule our merchants would have been much better off. Our credit system is the root cause of cut-throat competitions. Until we have this grave defect we shall never prosper as we should and deserve. It is my earnest request to the small traders, therefore, never to buy on credit and in any case never to sign a Hundi.⁴⁵⁴

In addition to making visible the frictions within the Asian community, Chitale's remarks point to the impact of competition on shopkeepers and the urban neighborhood community as it caused them to have an "unreasonable jealousy" towards their neighbors and family members. Instead of appreciating one's neighbor's commercial success, small-scale traders started to view their neighbor's success as being based on unjustified forms of doing business. He regarded jealousy, which had been exacerbated by the credit system and competition, as a danger for neighborhood communities and families.⁴⁵⁵ Chitale's allegations of economic exploitation point to the fact that

⁴⁵³ A *hundi* was a promissory note widely used among Asian traders.

⁴⁵⁴ BNA: Public Records Office, CO 691/133/9.

⁴⁵⁵ BNA: Public Records Office, CO 691/133/9. For a similar argument about the effects of microcredits in the el-Hirafiyen neighborhood in present-day Cairo, see Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*, 217.

the provision and utilization of credit was embedded in moral discourses at various societal levels. Therefore, discussions about the “proper” and “improper” use of credit expose the intricate links between shopkeepers’ business behavior and their claims to membership in the urban neighborhood, which was certainly more difficult for shopkeepers of Asian descent as they were entangled in long-standing discourses portraying them as bloodsuckers and exploiters.⁴⁵⁶

OPERATING SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS

After independence and the proclamation of Tanzania as a socialist state, the role of the state in the textile trade and production increased considerably. Newly established textile mills became a source of national pride and symbols of self-reliance. The parastatal National Textile Corporation (TEXCO) had a weekly radio program, which opened with the question “Who is responsible for clothing in our nation?” – “TEXCO!”⁴⁵⁷ A short story entitled *Pamba Yamrudia Mkulima* was completely devoted to teaching the reader the value of the Urafiki Textile Mill and how it contributed to Tanzania’s self-sufficiency.⁴⁵⁸ National and regional distributors, cooperative shops, and factory shops were supposed to completely take over textile retailing from private shops. While the German and British colonial government aimed at replacing the *duka* system with a market hall system, the socialist government sought to nationalize and reform the *duka* system. The nationalized bank NBC set aside loans for cooperatives and assessed their creditworthiness. The pinnacle of the government efforts to reform the *duka*

⁴⁵⁶ Already at the end of the late nineteenth century, the British described Asian shopkeepers in East Africa as bloodsucking shopkeepers (Richa Nagar, “The South Asian Diaspora in Tanzania: A History Retold,” *Comparative Studies of South Asian, Africa and the Middle East* xvi, no. 2 (1996): 65). Missionaries residing in colonial Dar es Salaam likewise contributed to these discourses and portrayed Asian retailers as defrauding usurers (Engelberger, *Der Missionsbote*).

⁴⁵⁷ *Daily News*, January 5, 1984.

⁴⁵⁸ Wafanyakazi wa Kiwanda cha Nguo cha Urafiki. *Pamba Yamrudia Mkulima* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Pub. House, 1976).

system was the so-called “Operation Maduka.” Prime Minister Rashidi Kawawa announced in mid-February 1976 that all private shops in *ujamaa* villages be closed by the end of the month. Kawawa’s launching of the operation followed his visit to the Kilombero Sugar Company estate, where he learned that two co-operative shops faced strong competition by private shops.⁴⁵⁹

The launching of the operation came as a surprise for many ordinary Tanzanians. However, Kawawa’s policy announcement did not completely appear out of the blue. Kawawa was frustrated with the mixed results of villagization and economic growth in Tanzania. He was also familiar with the problems of price hiking, black marketeering, smuggling, and hoarding. And he may have considered the establishment of co-operative shops and the scapegoating of private traders as solutions to all these problems. Therefore, depicting the launching of Operation Maduka merely as a spontaneous act of the prime minister would mean to overlook long-standing discourses and feelings antagonistic to shopkeepers.

The socialist rhetoric used during the implementation of Operation Maduka intersected with longer-standing discourses of exploitative behavior. Executors of Operation Maduka could draw on portrayals of shopkeepers as exploiters of ordinary people to legitimize the launching of the operation. When Operation Maduka was launched in February 1976, traders in general and Asian shopkeepers in particular had long become entangled in discourses portraying them as bloodsuckers and exploiters. Already at the end of the late nineteenth century, the British described Asian shopkeepers as bloodsucking *dukawallah*.⁴⁶⁰ As Asian shopkeepers – mainly Ismaili Khojas – successfully established a widespread network of shops reaching from the coast to the interior during the colonial period, these stereotypes were perpetuated by colonial state

⁴⁵⁹ *Daily News*, February 19, 1976. President Nyerere and government ministers did not seem to have been directly involved in the launching of the operation.

⁴⁶⁰ Nagar, “The South Asian Diaspora in Tanzania: A History Retold,” 65. *Dukawallah* is the Hindi word for “shopkeeper.”

actors and were carried over into the postcolonial period,⁴⁶¹ for instance when marketing co-operatives were established in the late-colonial and early-postcolonial periods, which were mainly aimed at breaking the Asian monopoly in the wholesale trade. In 1972, the *Daily News* described private shopkeepers as “capitalists and racketeers who hoarded commodities” and as exploiting “the toiling masses.”⁴⁶² Likewise in the months immediately before the launching of Operation Maduka, the *Daily News* newspaper was filled with stories about dishonest shopkeepers. Some shopkeepers were fined for over- or underweighting goods, others for hoarding goods and selling them for prices that were higher than the ones recommended by the government. Black marketeers as well as the growing number of street hawkers and owners of food kiosks were increasingly perceived as a problem. Many newspaper articles pertaining to traders continued to make recourse to the language of exploitation, which had become so intricately linked to private traders, even as the racial identification of shopkeepers as Asians was no longer made explicit.⁴⁶³

In an attempt to stop the exploitative and anti-socialist behavior of private traders, the Tanzanian state introduced price controls, nationalized the internal wholesale trade in 1971, and established the National Price Commission in 1973. The number of products under price control rose from three (rice, wheat flour, and bread) in 1965 to one thousand in 1973 to over three thousand in 1978.⁴⁶⁴ Therefore, Operation Maduka was only the last of a number of government initiatives to curtail the economic power of private entrepreneurs. In fact, even the idea of

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² *Daily News* April 27, 1972, cit. in Ibid., 69.

⁴⁶³ *Daily News*, October 3, October 10, October 14, October 17, November 11, December 12, 1975, February 2, 13, 1976. However, the language of exploitation could also be employed by people to criticize the conduct of co-operative shops (see *Daily News*, November 9, 1975).

⁴⁶⁴ T. L. Maliyamkono and Mboya S. D. Bagachwa, *The Second Economy in Tanzania* (London: James Currey, 1990), 84–86. The practice of price control dates back to the colonial period as the colonial state issued Special Price Control Ordinances in 1920 and 1951.

ujamaa or co-operative shops was not new in the 1970s. Karume's government in semi-autonomous Zanzibar had already nationalized the retail trade and established people's shops in 1967. On the mainland, there was a government campaign immediately after independence to replace private shops with communally-owned shops. The campaign was a failure as Nyerere himself acknowledged in 1967.⁴⁶⁵

Given the similarities with Operation Maduka in 1976, it is worth examining the early-1960s campaign on the mainland more closely. Like Operation Maduka fifteen years later, the government aimed at establishing communally-owned retail shops in order to make private shops redundant. Following Nyerere's ideology of *ujamaa* laid out in a speech in 1962, communally-owned shops would give people the control over the distribution of goods and get rid of the potentially exploitative middlemen. Already in November 1958, Nyerere and Kawawa in fact opened a "Workers Co-operative Retail Shop" at the intersection of Mchikichi Street and Livingstone Street in Kariakoo.⁴⁶⁶ However, the chances for success were small right from the outset. The government was familiar with a study published in 1962, which concluded that "the distribution system in Tanganyika is a low-cost distribution system" and even "one of the most competitive on price of any system in the world" because wage levels were low and traders managed to keep their overheads down to the very minimum. "[M]ost shopkeepers are prepared to carry on a small retail business in return for a very low level of income indeed."⁴⁶⁷ Most businesses were small family businesses, which tended to have none or few employees.

⁴⁶⁵ Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 154.

⁴⁶⁶ *Mwafrika* newspaper, November 8, 1958.

⁴⁶⁷ Economist Intelligence Unit (Great Britain), *A Survey of Wholesale and Retail Trade in Tanganyika* (London: Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, 1962), 170, 175; Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism*, 154. The Economist Intelligence Unit survey did, however, point to one area where shopkeepers' practices needed to be reformed. Instead of bargaining, they should introduce and stick to fixed prices.

Furthermore, family members often worked very long hours and spent little money and time on overhead costs such as paper work.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, the costs of retail trade would be very difficult to beat and consumer goods would not become cheaper even if the new co-operative shops were successful. Nevertheless, the government was not satisfied with the existence of private traders and decided to launch the campaign to establish consumer co-operative shops in towns and mainly in Dar es Salaam.⁴⁶⁹ To be sure, the campaign had strong racial overtones as the majority of retail traders in Tanganyika at the time were of Asian descent.⁴⁷⁰ Ultimately, it was a complete failure as shops were poorly managed and the salary expenses were too high.⁴⁷¹

Despite its failure, the campaign had situated the term *ujamaa* shops or co-operative shop within the socialist vocabulary. This language was upheld throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. In a presidential address in 1967, Nyerere proposed that “The best way to deal with this problem [of an exploitative distribution system] is for people to establish their own co-operative shops, controlled by them, where they can see the real cost of obtaining something at a convenient place” and that if “a village community, or the people in a group of streets, decided to start their own shop on an *ujamaa* basis; then it would really be their ‘own’ shop to which they had a loyalty. They could jointly decide what type of things they wanted to be available and they could arrange to share in the work, the expenses, and the profits of the shop they were using.”⁴⁷² Two years later, Nyerere stated that “locally-based co-operative retail shops will get every encouragement from the Government and after they have proved their ability to serve our people

⁴⁶⁸ Economist Intelligence Unit (Great Britain), *A Survey of Wholesale and Retail Trade in Tanganyika*, 171.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 193; Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism*, 154.

⁴⁷⁰ Issa G. Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 73–74.

⁴⁷¹ Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism*, 154.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 154–155.

so co-operatives will gradually take over the larger part of retail trading.”⁴⁷³ Therefore, the language of *ujamaa* shops could be readily employed by government officials, shopkeepers, and customers in 1976. A *Daily News* reader writing in October 1975, for example, suggested that people could draw on their experiences from the early 1960s to establish *ujamaa* shops now.⁴⁷⁴

The government continued to encourage the formation of consumer shops throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In November 1975, four months before the start of Operation Maduka, the Regional TANU Executive Committee in Mbeya decided that “all essential consumer commodities should be sold in all co-operative or *ujamaa* consumer shops in the villages. ... The committee also directed that copies of price lists should be distributed to all Party and Government offices and to all co-operative and *Ujamaa* consumer shops in the region.”⁴⁷⁵ Two months later, the Regional Party Executive Secretary in Rukwa called on leaders in *ujamaa* villages to wage war against individual businesses and support co-operative undertakings.⁴⁷⁶ Private shops were banned in Liwale District weeks before the launching of Operation Maduka in February 1976.⁴⁷⁷ And just one week before the operation started, a *Daily News* reader from Tanga set the stage for the operation by comparing in great detail his experiences of being a customer in a private shop and in a co-operative shop. The letter deserves a somewhat lengthy quote:

If one walks into a shop nowadays he very often stands there without anybody showing concern and when somebody finally does show any concern usually it is in a very unbecoming manner, sometimes giving the impression that one is

⁴⁷³ Julius K. Nyerere, *Kupanga ni Kuchagua = To Plan Is to Choose: Presidential Address to the National Conference of Tanganyika African National Union Dar es Salaam - 28th May, 1969* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1969), 31.

⁴⁷⁴ *Daily News* newspaper, October 28, 1975.

⁴⁷⁵ *Daily News* newspaper, November 27, 1975.

⁴⁷⁶ *Daily News* newspaper January 26, 1976.

⁴⁷⁷ *Daily News* newspaper February 18, 1976: “Liwale District banned privately owned shops several weeks ago.”

disturbing the shopkeeper. Very often, you are rudely confronted with the question “What do you want” should one want to buy an article then one had to keep requesting and begging as if they are not paying for it. The answer to the begging is usually a rude one and usually contains an answer like – “It’s so many shillings, do you have it?” I really get annoyed by the attitude of our shopkeepers.

Admittedly, I get some relief when I go to co-operative shops where there are two or three workers. The case here is a bit different because at least somebody asks politely. “What can I do for you” Again someone is usually concerned enough to tell you the situation of whatever you want and this shows people are caring for whatever they are doing. ... The prices in our co-operative shops are fixed although some articles are sold at prices a bit higher than in some shops. In this way the exploitation of man by man is kept at the lowest. ... in the co-operative shops ... people are served from a queue as they arrive.⁴⁷⁸

The timing and content of the letter cast doubt on whether the letter was actually written by an ordinary reader of the *Daily News* or rather formulated by a person who was familiar with the impending launching of Operation Maduka. After all, the *Daily News* was a government-owned newspaper. Certainly, these letters and articles helped to discursively set the stage for the launching of Operation Maduka.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ *Daily News* newspaper, February 12, 1976. In a study on the control of retail prices published in 1967, Helen Kimble and Ole Mølgård Andersen come to the surprising conclusion that contrary to the government’s view that price control was a means to prevent the bargaining shopkeeper from exploiting customers, the practice of bargaining in Tanzania actually works in favor of poor customers because “It may be that the lower of the two prices is “too low” (because if all items were sold at that price the trader could not cover his overheads), just as the higher price may be “too high”. In fact, it can be argued that the discrimination practised by traders often works to be positive advantage of the poorer consumers, and that it can be regarded as *a more effective means of equalisation than a system of fixed prices.*” Kimble and Anderson go as far as calling bargaining shopkeepers as “practising a simple form of socialism in the sale of their goods” (Helen Kimble and Ole Mølgård Andersen, *The Control of Retail Prices in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Economic Research Bureau, University College, 1967), 23, emphasis added). An earlier study comparing bargaining and fixed prices came to the conclusion that the system of bargaining created feelings of distrust between customers and shopkeepers, which helped to perpetuate the stereotype of the exploitative shopkeeper (Economist Intelligence Unit (Great Britain), *A Survey of Wholesale and Retail Trade in Tanganyika*, 177).

⁴⁷⁹ Political scientist Roger Yeager refutes the idea that policies initiated by Kawawa were arbitrary and spontaneous. Coining the term “Kawawa Formula” and contrasting it with the “Nyerere Formula,” which lays emphasis on democracy, equality, and socialism, Yeager argues that since the time of the struggle for independence and the immediate independence period, Kawawa and other members of the TANU establishment applied the tactic of setting impossible

After Kawawa's announcement of Operation Maduka, numerous articles were published about the successes and failures of the operation. While the initial articles talked about the operation exclusively in terms of a rural enterprise of establishing people's shops in *ujamaa* villages, the language quickly changed and the operation was to be applied to both rural and urban areas. A comparison of how shops located in urban areas such as Dar es Salaam and shops in rural areas were written about in *Daily News* articles in the context of Operation Maduka, is illustrative. In June 1976 a certain Jokati from Morogoro wrote the following letter to the editor of the government-owned *Daily News* newspaper:

Now, was the "Operation Maduka" for example, primarily meant for closing private shops and only secondary for opening effective cooperative shops? Who said we have to set fire to the lice-infected hair in order to remove all the lice and still remain alive? What is the rationale, the logic and integrity of closing down 90 private shops and only opening one cooperative shop instead? Such decisions, as made by our regional leaders in the areas where Operation Maduka has been a torture rather than a relief to the people, just emphasise the fact that proper practical decisions are rare if not absent.⁴⁸⁰

Jokati's scathing evaluation of Operation Maduka was published only four months after Prime Minister Rashidi Kawawa had launched it. The operation was presented as an integral part of *ujamaa*, which aimed at turning Tanzania and Tanzanians into a socialist society free of exploitation, inequality, and foreign dependency. Operation Maduka was designed to reform the

goals for achievement in a very short period of time. Although the full accomplishment of the stated goals is not expected to be reached, this tactic promised to bring about more progress towards the stated goal than implementing policies in a more bureaucratic and orderly way. Yeager calls Kawawa's tactic a rather typical expression of a new class of African elites, whose power rested on political power and an oligarchic conception of political organization (Rodger Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), 49–50, 70). Göran Hydén uses the example of Operation Maduka to show how civil servants were unable to act in a concerted manner to defend their class interests. Rather, they were "thrown out of gear" and overwhelmed by the bold policy initiatives put forward by politicians such as Kawawa. However, civil servants were still able to influence the shaping of policy programs, although not as a social class (Göran Hydén, "Administration and Public Policy," in *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania*, by Joel D. Barkan (New York: Praeger, 1984), 103–24).

⁴⁸⁰ *Daily News* newspaper, June 21, 1976.

retail trade by replacing private shops with communally-owned shops. Rather than evaluating the success or failure of Operation Maduka,⁴⁸¹ I suggest to examine the discussions about and around Operation Maduka as part of a larger discourse of Tanzanian socialism. In order to make sense of an environment increasingly marked by economic hardship, various state and non-state actors applied discursive tools within the hegemonic discourse of socialism to subvert and criticize the state and state programs. Over time, the hegemonic discourse of socialism was itself changing. Jokati's markedly critical comment on the implementation of a socialist campaign, for instance, would not have been possible before May 1976, when president Nyerere's public denounced local officers, who implemented the operation by simply closing down all private shops, as enemies of Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance. Nyerere's intervention changed the ways in which Operation Maduka was discussed in the newspapers and opened a discursive space for non-state actors to use the rhetoric of socialism to evaluate and criticize state actors and programs.⁴⁸²

Once it was started, Operation Maduka was to be applied to all corners of Tanzania. In reality, however, private shops continued to exist, and their existence could be more easily legitimized in some circumstances than others. There were considerable differences between the ways in which the operation was envisioned in the nation's commercial center of Dar es Salaam

⁴⁸¹ Various scholars of Tanzania have come to the unanimous conclusion that Operation Maduka was a failure. See for instance Deborah Fahy Bryceson, *Food Insecurity and the Social Division of Labour in Tanzania 1919-85* (London: Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, 1990), 211; Nagar, "The South Asian Diaspora in Tanzania: A History Retold," 71; Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, 94-95. The Tanzanian government did not consider Operation Maduka a failure at the time. It pointed to the fact that only six months after the start of the operation, at the end of August 1976, over 2,000 co-operative shops had been established throughout the country (*Daily News* newspaper, August 30 and September 22, 1976).

⁴⁸² Ivaska makes a similar argument in his analysis of Operation Vijana in the 1960s (Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011)).

and smaller towns and villages in other parts of the country. In December 1975, barely two months before the start of the operation, a new market complex was opened in the Kariakoo neighborhood of Dar es Salaam. The new structure replaced the market built at the end of the German period in 1914 and was meant to serve as the primary wholesale market in the city of Dar es Salaam and the nation as a whole. In its effort to control and regulate the wholesale trade, the state attempted to centralize all wholesale trades in one location.

The three-floor Kariakoo Market complex constructed at the height of the socialist era also provided commercial spaces for shops. At its inauguration in 1975, the new market complex was presented as a modern shopping center, which would make shopping easier for urban dwellers as all items necessary for everyday needs were located under one roof. Shop spaces were rented to various institutions, which sold goods like textiles, stationery, pharmaceuticals, and household appliances. In president Nyerere's view, the new market building symbolized socialist modernity and encapsulated an economic system free of exploitation and inequality.⁴⁸³ The modern socialist marketing system was most visible on the upper floor of the building where shoppers could stroll along shop windows and glance at shoes, clothes, textiles, stationery, pharmaceuticals, and household appliances. The majority of these shops were owned and run by cooperatives and parastatals such as the Urafiki Textile Mill and Ubungo Farming Implements. Private shopkeepers, on the other hand, were largely absent as they were to be replaced by publicly owned marketing entities, according to the new socialist economic policy.⁴⁸⁴ Only two

⁴⁸³ German and British colonial discourses demonizing South Asian traders and middlemen as exploiters of helpless African farmers were powerful in East Africa and considerably shaped colonial policies in Deutsch-Ostafrika and Tanganyika. In postcolonial Tanzania, the image of the Indian exploiter and petty bourgeois continued to influence policies, e.g. the acquisition of buildings in 1971 and the nationalization of companies (Oonk, *Settled Strangers*; Brennan, *Taifa*; Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*).

⁴⁸⁴ See chapter 3.

months after the opening of the new Kariakoo market hall, Operation Maduka was launched and underlined the socialist characteristics the new market hall in Kariakoo. A *Daily News* advertisement for shops in the Kariakoo market stated that public corporations, branches of parastatals, and co-operative societies would be given top priority.⁴⁸⁵ However, private shops were never banned in the main building,⁴⁸⁶ which points to the state's unwillingness to strictly enforce Operation Maduka in Dar es Salaam.⁴⁸⁷

Generally speaking, Operation Maduka in Dar es Salaam did not take the form of the enforced closure of private shops as happened in certain rural areas described below. Rather, the government merely encouraged the establishment of co-operative shops by providing the incentive of centrally located spaces.⁴⁸⁸ While state violence directed against private shopkeepers was more or less absent in Dar es Salaam during Operation Maduka in 1976, it had been all the more present five years earlier when a large number of houses were nationalized.⁴⁸⁹ The Buildings Acquisition Act of 1971 had a particular impact on shopkeepers in Dar es Salaam, who

⁴⁸⁵ *Daily News* newspaper, March 16, 1976.

⁴⁸⁶ Mzee Massawe, interview with the author in Kiswahili, at his shop in the Kariakoo Market hall, August 27, 2013. Mzee Mwaipungu, interview with the author in Kiswahili, at his stand in the Kariakoo market, April 24, 2013.

⁴⁸⁷ The retail market adjacent to the main building housed more than 160 concrete stalls, each of which was rented out to two people because of the large number of applications. The over 320 individual traders mainly sold vegetables and fruits (Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 80; *Daily News* newspaper, December 8 and December 14, 1975). The nature of these market stalls was also not called into question by Operation Maduka. *Daily News* newspaper reporters mentioned unselfconsciously how market stalls were hired out to individual vendors (*Daily News* newspaper, June 27, 1976). Indicative of the lack of an absolute equation of shopkeeper and exploiter is the fact that the *Daily News* attributed the socialist label “ndugu” (meaning “comrade”) to a Dar es Salaam shopkeeper in August 1976 (*Daily News* newspaper, August 26, 1976).

⁴⁸⁸ By the early 1980s, the main building housed various shops, which were co-operatives or branches of parastatals (Ibid).

⁴⁸⁹ In addition to the Building Acquisition Act of 1971, butcher shops were nationalized in Dar es Salaam and other main towns in 1974 (Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 179).

were mainly of Asian descent. “Although, this was not intended to be a racial move, it strongly affected the Asian community,” writes Sporrek. “Several of the buildings that were taken over contained shops of different types and when the ownership of buildings changed hands the shops were closed. They later reopened under new regimes and not infrequently as a Consumer Cooperative.”⁴⁹⁰ Bryceson has argued that Asian merchants were spared of the forced closure of their shops during Operation Maduka because the weaknesses of state trading firms in their handling of retail trade had become visible to both customers and politicians by 1976.⁴⁹¹

More controversial and more consequential was the implementation of Operation Maduka in the countryside and small towns. Regional commissioners interpreted Kawawa’s statement that all private shops should be closed within two weeks in various ways. Many took it as a call to provide more incentives for people to open co-operative shops. Others followed Kawawa’s example and closed down private shops where co-operative shops were already present. Yet others closed down large numbers of shops in areas where no co-operative shops existed.⁴⁹²

Operation Maduka had its strongest impact in the areas where private shops were closed down while co-operative shops had not been established. Both shopkeepers and consumers complained about this practice because everyday goods including textiles were no longer

⁴⁹⁰ Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 100. See also Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, 94–95. Nagar notes that in the wake of the 1971 exodus of Dar es Salaam’s Asian traders, Ithna Asheri and Hindu traders from up-country towns moved to the city and filled the void left in the commercial sector (Nagar, “The South Asian Diaspora in Tanzania: A History Retold,” 71). In 1973, Asians owned 12, Arabs 59, and Africans 29 per cent of the shops in Dar es Salaam (Sporrek, *Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam*, 100).

⁴⁹¹ Bryceson, *Food Insecurity and the Social Division of Labour in Tanzania 1919-85*, 143. For consumers’ attitudes in Dar es Salaam in 1988, see Deborah Fahy Bryceson, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public & Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy, 1939-1988* (London: UNRISD, 1993), 174: “The more favourable attitude towards traders voiced by Dar es Salaam householders during the survey reflects the stark realism that they do not trust the official marketing system to supply them adequately with staple foods and their own capability to self-provision is weak.”

⁴⁹² Hydén, “Administration and Public Policy,” 111.

available. In the border town of Kyela in Mbeya region, for example, the regional commissioner ordered the closure of some forty shops in order to protect three or four recently opened co-operative shops.⁴⁹³ This order came just days before president Nyerere publicly denounced regional commissioners for engaging in “anti-social” practices of haphazardly closing down shops without ensuring the establishment of an adequate number of co-operative shops.⁴⁹⁴ Crucial in the case of Kyela, and the reason why it became a publicly discussed case, was that Kyela was located right at Tanzania’s border with Malawi. Nyerere took an exceptional stance on shops close to the border and supported the closure of shops in border towns because smugglers could use them to store their goods.⁴⁹⁵ Therefore, the radical move to replace forty private shops with a handful of co-operative shops was not revoked.

Kyela residents and consumers were the ones most affected by the operation and they started to express their opinions in newspapers towards the end of the year 1976. A Kyela resident and *Sunday News* reader complained that the press and the radio did not portray the establishment of co-operative shops at the expense of 43 private shops in Kyela town in an objective light. While the press praised the event as a success of Operation Maduka, ordinary residents of Kyela suffered because necessary consumer items were not available any more. A *Daily News* reader complained that “Basic necessities are nowhere to be found. One has to travel to Tukuyu or Mbeya for things such as soap, sugar, bed-sheets and blankets. The four “cooperative shops” are ill-equipped and serve the people who matter rather than the common people. When people complain about these shortages and criticize the local leadership for closing the shops without strictly following the Party’s directive on Operation Maduka, they are

⁴⁹³ *Daily News* newspaper, May 19, 1976.

⁴⁹⁴ See below. *Daily News* newspaper, May 23, 1976.

⁴⁹⁵ *Sunday News* newspaper, May 23, 1976.

intimidated and in fact locked up in police cells.”⁴⁹⁶ Two weeks later, a Dar es Salaam-based reader supported the above criticism and drew attention to the language with which policies that worked against the interests of ordinary people were legitimized. “These two words ‘operation’ and ‘campaign’ should from now be handled with great care ... especially when such calls are made by our [political] heads. In most cases the words get misinterpreted and often are hurriedly handled in a competitive way.”⁴⁹⁷

Another point of criticism put forward by newspaper readers was the timing of Operation Maduka. Kawawa expected people to use their own savings to establish co-operative shops, rather than the government providing credit. A Mwanza-born man living in Tanga argued that February was a time of the year when farmers in the Lake region generally did not have any capital as the cotton harvest was in June and July. Therefore, people in Mwanza should be given time until at least the next harvest season so they would be able to start their own co-operative shops.⁴⁹⁸

As far as the running of co-operative shops was concerned, many people wondered how the mismanagement of *ujamaa* shops, which was a major problem of co-operative shops established in the early 1960s, could be avoided. The shopkeeper mentality was generally considered the epitome of the capitalist attitude of mind, which needed to be reformed. The government’s solution was an elaborate plan to train and “reform” present and future shopkeepers to become “shop managers” and “shop assistants.” While shopkeepers were often

⁴⁹⁶ *Sunday News* newspaper, October 24, 1976.

⁴⁹⁷ *Sunday News* newspaper, November 7, 1976.

⁴⁹⁸ *Daily News* newspaper, February 25, 1976. See also the letter in *Daily News* newspaper, March 25, 1976 in support of the former.

invoked in political talk to refer to a self-interested and deeply capitalist vision of politics,⁴⁹⁹ *ujamaa* shopkeepers were supposed to be socialist in their attitudes of mind. Therefore, the government organized seminars to teach instructors, who subsequently organized their own regional seminars for *ujamaa* shopkeepers.⁵⁰⁰ And the Cooperative College in Moshi ran courses on how to establish and run a consumer cooperative. Villagers could take these courses on a distant learning basis and course booklets were sent to them by mail.

The government's concern with shopkeepers' business behavior was not new in 1976. A report by the Economist Intelligence Unit published in 1962 suggested that shopkeepers adopt a new and friendlier attitude towards customers.⁵⁰¹ Neither was the view of shopkeepers as important agents in the production of new subjectivities a recent phenomenon. In his study of African consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika from the 1950s, Fergus Chalmers Wright

⁴⁹⁹ Two leading intellectuals of socialist Tanzania, Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu and Issa Shivji, made use of the shopkeeper's vision as an analogy to a capitalist outlook. Shivji states that "Politically and economically dependent on the metropolitan bourgeoisie, and with the political vision of a prosperous shopkeeper and a real estate speculator rather than that of an industrial captain, the Asian commercial bourgeoisie was not even capable of bourgeois liberalism" (Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, 69). Babu, on the other hand, described politicians promoting tourism in the following way: "Tourism is the quintessence of a shopkeeper's economic vision and such a vision is not about serious economic development" (Haroub Othman, *Babu: I Saw the Future and It Works: Essays Celebrating the Life of Comrade Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, 1924-1996* (Dar es Salaam: E & D Ltd, 2001), 30).

⁵⁰⁰ Mbeya residents interviewed by Bryceson in 1988 were still concerned with reforming traders. Some suggested that traders engage in farming so as to re-educate their minds (Bryceson, *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public & Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy, 1939-1988*, 169).

⁵⁰¹ The report stated "A new attitude is urgently needed whereby the customer is no longer considered as an opponent to be outwitted and, if possible, fleeced. A sound business, not only for the individual, but for the trading community as a whole, can only be built up on the basis of fair-dealing and trust between retailer and consumer. At present there are very few traders in Tanganyika who do not invariably choose the immediate quick profit in preference to a smaller profit, which, however, will build up goodwill and an expanding business in the future. ... In future if a trader is to build up a sound business, he will have to consider the wishes of his customers, he will have to realise that he is providing a service for them, not conducting a never-ending battle of wits against them" (Economist Intelligence Unit (Great Britain), *A Survey of Wholesale and Retail Trade in Tanganyika*, 178).

quoted an Overseas Economic Survey that stated that “without the incentive of consumer goods he wants the African will not exert himself unduly and remains content to do no more than is necessary to pay for his immediate needs.”⁵⁰² So, colonial officials acknowledged in the 1950s that rural shopkeepers had to play a role in shaping Africans’ tastes and desires of consumption and thereby turning them into better consumers, on which the capitalist system ultimately depended on. Likewise in 1976, the state attributed shopkeepers a crucial role in creating new subjects. This time, however, shopkeepers were supposed to help to create a truly socialist society.

To that end, so-called “managers” and “assistants” of co-operative shops needed to be properly trained. The state was especially anxious about shopkeepers who had owned private shops and now wanted to be involved in the management of a co-operative shop. In two-week seminars, trainers were instructed how to teach one-month seminars for shop managers and assistants.⁵⁰³ Besides teaching basic commercial arithmetic, book-keeping and shop management lessons, the seminars were particularly concerned with inculcating less tangible skills such as honest, good character, and conduct in participants.⁵⁰⁴ The new shop managers were supposed to be antithetical to the prevalent image of shopkeepers as exploiters and bloodsuckers.

In *ujamaa* discourse, rural shopkeepers were categorized as “kulaks” or “petty capitalists.” They often farmed, traded, and owned several small enterprises at the same time. The shop was only one of several ventures a shopkeeper was engaged in. Shops were typically kept small so the owner could oversee the daily transaction personally. As a result, the costs of running the shop were low compared to running a co-operative shop. Unsurprisingly, these petty

⁵⁰² Overseas Economic Surveys, cit. in Wright, *African Consumers in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*, 6.

⁵⁰³ *Daily News* newspaper, March 4, March 25, April 13, 1976.

⁵⁰⁴ *Daily News* newspaper, March 10, April 3, April 4, June 2, 1976.

capitalist shopkeepers were not interested in having communal shops springing up in their villages. As the pressure against private shops rose with Operation Maduka, some shopkeepers successfully subverted the socialist policies of the state by setting up shops under a communal label while running them as their own.⁵⁰⁵

The importance of rural shops and shopkeepers' attitude of minds in the creation of a socialist Tanzania are apparent in a study on *ujamaa* villages conducted by Michaela von Freyhold in the 1970s. On the one hand, villagers often expressed their complaints in shops because they did not have enough money to buy all the things necessary for everyday life. On the other hand, villagers' hopes and desires crystallized around consumer goods during their daily visits to the shop. They measured how well *ujamaa* worked for them in terms of whether they were able to buy the essential things for life at the shop. One villager stated that "The best propaganda for Ujamaa would be if one could go to the shop, buy two or three good pieces of cloth for the wife and good material for trousers, and say that the money was earned from the Ujamaa shamba."⁵⁰⁶ When in certain areas, the majority of shops disappeared or lacked the most basic commodities such as textiles, many villagers read this as a failure of *ujamaa*.

Daily News readers rarely called into question the legitimacy of Operation Maduka as whole during the first two months after Kawawa's announcement. This changed considerably when president Nyerere publicly spoke out against regional commissioners' arbitrary closure of private shops and thus enabled non-state actors to launch more vigorous criticisms against Operation Maduka and the shortages that accompanied it. Three months after the announcement of Operation Maduka, Nyerere intervened in the discussion. Applying the anti-socialist language

⁵⁰⁵ Michaela von Freyhold, *Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: Analysis of a Social Experiment* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 63, 78.

⁵⁰⁶ Cit. in Ibid., 140.

of exploitation and competition, Nyerere said that the party and the government have not announced “a competition of closing down private shops, and any leader who is ordering the closure of the shops resulting in the people not getting their necessary requirements is an enemy of Tanzania’s policy of socialism and self-reliance.”⁵⁰⁷ According to Nyerere, these politicians were more concerned with publicity on the radio and in the newspaper than with the socialist policy of *ujamaa*.⁵⁰⁸ Private shops should not be forcefully closed but – faced with the competition of superior co-operative shops – die a “natural death.”⁵⁰⁹ Thus, Nyerere cared more about the availability of necessary goods for ordinary people than with the rapid extinction of private shops.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ *Sunday News* newspaper, May 23, 1976. Already in his foundational “Ujamaa – The Basis of African Socialism” from 1962, Nyerere denounced acquisitive and competitive behavior as working socialist goals. “Acquisitiveness for the purpose of gaining power and prestige is unsocialist [because it] sets off the spiral of personal competition – which is then anti-social” (Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism*, 3).

⁵⁰⁸ The importance of competition among local official based on numbers reflects what James Scott describes as the “notional ujamaa village” which could be measured quantitatively with statistical methods. Likewise in the case of Operation Maduka, administrators were able to count the number of private shops that were closed down in a certain region and compare it to other regions. At least some regional commissioners seemed to have been involved in this kind of competition with other regional commissioners (James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 244).

⁵⁰⁹ Nyerere’s more gradual approach was in line with his “The Varied Paths to Socialism” address in 1967, in which he stated that “we have seriously to consider whether, and how far, we can dispense with the incentives of private profit at that time. ... public ownership may not necessarily and always be the correct answer for socialists at a particular time” (Nyerere, *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism*, 84). In 1969, a government-issued document addressed at the public at large stated “It is also the objective to stimulate development of consumers’ co-[o]peratives. When the consumers organise themselves and make their purchases in their own co-operative stores, this will gradually eliminate the private retailers” (Tanzania, *The People’s Plan for Progress: A Popular Version of the Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1969-1974* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, 1969), 53).

⁵¹⁰ David Leonard argues that Nyerere’s intervention might have been due to the fact that the announcement of Operation Maduka undercut the ability of Tanzanian manufacturers to sell their products as traders stopped buying stock due to the uncertainty created by the operation (David

Nyerere's intervention had a remarkable effect on the ways in which Operation Maduka was written about in the *Daily* and *Sunday News* in the following weeks and months. A notable effect was that, as the failure of Operation Maduka became more and more visible, the blame for the failure was shifted away from the central government to regional administrators.⁵¹¹ Similarly striking was the immediate adoption of Nyerere's language in almost all articles on Operation Maduka following his intervention. The issue, which featured Nyerere's announcement, included an opinion piece that stated "'Operation Maduka' is a process of putting the retail trade in the hands of the people, to serve the people. It cannot succeed if right from the beginning it is associated with hardship for the peasants and workers of this country."⁵¹² Various other articles published in the following weeks and months expressed a sudden concern with the hasty implementation of the operation, with the lack of confidence that existing co-operative shops were capable of serving the population satisfactorily, and with the fact that regional officers turned a deaf ear to Nyerere's call.⁵¹³ This shift in how government newspapers reported on Operation Maduka demonstrates how powerful Nyerere's intervention was, at least as far as the

Leonard, "Class Formation and Agricultural Development," in *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania*, by Joel D. Barkan (New York: Praeger, 1979), 154). Nyerere's attitude displayed by his intervention is also remarkably similar to Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu's, the former minister of trade. Retrospectively, Babu insisted that he had always resisted the nationalization of both wholesale and retail trade. Although he was aware that the private sector in Tanzania was mainly dominated by shopkeepers, he did not think it was wise to interrupt distributive trade by forcing private traders to close their businesses. He acknowledged the importance of the availability of well-stocked shops so peasants would produce cash-crops (Othman, *Babu*, 21, 44–46). In a similar way, Shivji argues that the portrayal of the dukawallah as the supreme exploiter only obscures more important aspects of exploitation linked to production rather than circulation (Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, 71–72). Both Babu and Shivji share Marx and Engels's point of view laid out in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" that the lower strata of the middle class, to which shopkeepers belonged, would eventually become part of the proletariat (Karl Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (New York: International Publishers, 1948)).

⁵¹¹ *Daily News* newspaper, June 21, 1976.

⁵¹² *Sunday News* newspaper, May 23, 1976.

⁵¹³ *Daily News* newspaper, May 25, July 26, 1976.

official political discourse was concerned. Nyerere's intervention in the debate and his branding of certain regional commissioners as enemies of Tanzania's socialism had the effect of undermining Kawawa's legitimacy as prime minister. Kawawa was relegated from the position of prime minister and second vice-president to the position of minister of defense and national service in 1977, largely as a result of the failed Operation Maduka.⁵¹⁴

Nyerere's intervention also gave rise to more outspoken criticisms by non-state actors in the newspapers. Some letters to the editor reveal that, as Operation Maduka caused or exacerbated the shortage of everyday goods, people faced material hardship as well as moral dilemmas. Examples mentioned above show how Kyela residents complained about the distances they had to travel to buy essential things for everyday use. Likewise, peasants lamented the high prices in co-operative shops.⁵¹⁵ One *Daily News* reader described how people had to revert to traditional forms of fire making because matchboxes were no longer available.⁵¹⁶ Other readers expressed their discomfort of having to bury the dead in undignified ways because Marekani cloth, in which the dead were supposed to be wrapped, was no longer sold.⁵¹⁷

Customers were also dissatisfied with the way in which co-operative shops dealt with the shortage of goods. A resident of Mwanza town described the frustrating and "pathetic" reality of having to stand in line for hours to buy a piece of cloth at a worker's co-operative shop. "Nowadays the residents of Mwanza urban in their hundreds parade in queues at Nyakato from morn to eve, but since the shop is too small to suffice many people, most of them return home

⁵¹⁴ Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment*, 75–76; *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents 1976-1977* (London: Rex Collings, 1977), B348–B350.

⁵¹⁵ *Africa Contemporary Record*, B348.

⁵¹⁶ *Daily News* newspaper, July 26, 1976.

⁵¹⁷ *Daily News* newspaper, July 26, 1976. Shortages of goods also collided with people's tastes. As the preferred kind of rice became rare in Dar es Salaam shops, residents refused to buy rice from certain part of Tanzania. As a result, shopkeepers did not accept the lower-quality rice from national distributors (*Daily News* newspaper, June 3, 1976).

with nothing. Priority is given to the workers.”⁵¹⁸ An obvious advantage of being a member of a co-operative shop was the privileged access to rare goods.⁵¹⁹ In the context of these shortages, which Operation Maduka exacerbated rather than mitigated, black market sales continued unabatedly. Various newspaper readers lamented the high prices on the black market and some suggested some kind of collaboration between the Tanzania Film Company and black marketeers to the detriment of consumers.⁵²⁰ A Dar es Salaam vendor of *kanga* cloth, who was charged with selling his goods above the fixed price, pointed to the fact that buyers themselves were “ready to be exploited” and tried to persuade him to sell his goods at any price he wished.⁵²¹

Finally, newspaper readers noted that capitalist businessmen gave their enterprises socialist-sounding names in order to appear legitimate. In Sumbawanga, for instance, a *Daily News* reader described how private traders use bogus and fictitious co-operative ventures to engage in capitalist practices. “Having carefully chosen suitable sugar coated and patriotic names for their fake co-operative enterprises, names such as “Mwananchi” [The Citizen] “Umoja” [Unity] “Muungano” [Union], quickly get themselves registered. After the initial registration process the issue of business licences becomes automatic. After this, these fake co-operatives have a free hand in looting uninterrupted. Their business will have “co-operative” protection –

⁵¹⁸ *Daily News* newspaper, August 4, 1976.

⁵¹⁹ Dummah, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, March 27, 2013. Dummah was employed as a salesperson at the cooperative shoe shop *Viatu Company*, located on the upper floor of the Kariakoo Market hall, from 1976 to 1988. The shop went bankrupt shortly thereafter and Dummah started his own business trading goods to Zambia and Botswana.

⁵²⁰ *Daily News* newspaper, May 28, June 9, 1976.

⁵²¹ *Daily News* newspaper, July 20, 1976.

the helmet that will render any opposition harmless.”⁵²² In Dar es Salaam managers of co-operative shops also had privileged access to textiles and other consumer goods.⁵²³

Various social actors in Tanzania used the rhetoric of socialism to make sense of the increasingly harsh economic realities of the 1970s. As Kawawa declared private shopkeepers as exploiters and Nyerere redefined certain regional politicians as enemies of socialism, they opened up discursive spaces within the hegemonic discourse of socialism. Shopkeepers and consumers themselves noted these gaps and applied the language of socialism to subvert or criticize state policies.

The ways in which Operation Maduka was implemented in specific locations varied considerably depending on how the respective regional commissioner interpreted Kawawa’s guidelines to the operation, whether shops were located in the capital city of Dar es Salaam, in smaller towns, or in villages, and whether the location was near an international border. While government officials in Dar es Salaam were not willing to strictly enforce Operation Maduka, rural areas close to the border such as Kyela experienced the closing of large numbers of private shops. The continued existence of private shops could be more easily legitimized in areas, where co-operative shops already existed and where ordinary citizens had few means to challenge the power of government officials.

Operation Maduka entailed more than the closure of private shops and the provision of co-operative shops. The central government was also concerned with reforming shopkeepers’ attitudes of mind. In seminars, co-operative shopkeepers were trained to become “shop managers” and “shop assistants,” who cared about the general welfare of the community rather

⁵²² *Daily News* newspaper, October 10, 1976.

⁵²³ Yusuph Abubakar Kaita, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Mabibo, Dar es Salaam, January 6, 2013.

than private profit. While the socialist state focused on the equal distribution of goods, ordinary citizens read state power and the success of *ujamaa* socialism in terms of consumption. Where co-operative shops were unable to provide essential consumer goods such as *marekani* cloth and matchboxes, people understood Operation Maduka as a sign of the failure of *ujamaa*.

BEYOND OPERATION MADUKA

Despite the increased role of state institutions and government campaigns such as Operation Maduka, long-standing trade and credit relations continued to be relevant in the textile trade. For people who had the necessary capital or business connections, doing business in the socialist period could be extremely profitable. In the textile sector, the government ran most of the industries but some private companies were also allowed. For local entrepreneurs like Sunderji Nanji, who had been involved in the textile business since colonial times, the socialist period was a great time. There was not much competition because imports were restricted and, due to the shortages, people bought whatever was available.⁵²⁴ Another businessman, who was one of the biggest textile merchants in Dar es Salaam in the 1970s and preferred to remain anonymous, confirmed this.⁵²⁵ The sales manager at Urafiki Textile Mill and private textile traders in Dar es Salaam knew each other well so when the State Trading Corporation and later the Regional Trade Corporations did not have the money to finance the textile trade, Dar es Salaam wholesale traders jumped in and provided the credit to finance the textile trade from the factory to their

⁵²⁴ Prem Ruparelia, son of Sunderji Nanji, interview with the author in English, Posta, Dar es Salaam, March 25, 2013.

⁵²⁵ Anonymous 1, interviews with the author in English, Dar es Salaam, August 24 and September 14, 2013.

own shops and urban retailers in Kariakoo and elsewhere.⁵²⁶ “There were lots of rules and conditions to obtain the commodity from the industries, like textile industries, nationalized by the government,” said another textile trader active in the late socialist period, who wanted to remain anonymous. “You bribe them; sometimes you lose the bribe, they don’t supply you; sometimes when they supply you, they don’t supply you the material that you want; they say when you want to buy kanga, ‘you must buy white cloth,’ and in my shop I don’t sell white cloth, what shall I do with that white cloth; I want kitenge and they say ‘you should buy khaki,’ I don’t sell khaki in my shop, what should I do with that khaki. So it was conditional purchases. But then, slowly slowly we got used to it, and later on, as I told you, after liberalization, sky was the limit. But during the nationalization, we bought from the subsidiaries of the textile mills.”⁵²⁷ Cooperative shops continued to play an important role in this trade because they had privileged access to textiles, and some cooperative shop managers were willing to sell this privilege at an extra cost.⁵²⁸

Relatively well-off Dar es Salaam businessmen continued to be able to get loans from financial institutions to favorable conditions throughout the socialist period as the case of Sadru Shariff illustrates. Sadru Shariff joined his father’s business in 1957. His father imported goods from India, China, Hong Kong, Germany, and England wholesale and sold it to retailers in Dar es Salaam on credit basis. “My connection with Kariakoo market is that we used to open the cases here [in the Asian section of town], usually containing a hundred dozens and then we would sell five dozens, ten dozens to retailers in Kariakoo. And I would go in the evening to

⁵²⁶ This dovetails with Robert Gregory’s observation that Asians in East Africa tended to loans more money to rural debtors during the colonial period. After independence, Asian lending generally diminished but was increasingly directed toward urban debtors (Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*, 110).

⁵²⁷ Anonymous 2, interview with the author in English, Ifakara, Morogoro, March 11, 2013.

⁵²⁸ Yusuph Abubakar Kaita, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

collect money. ... we could sell for cash but that was not the way that it was done. Even today it is not done that way. Somebody used to buy ten dozens and he would come here and take ten dozens and pay the money as he sells. ... those days, the system was that they buy goods from you, they sell it within a week.”

In 1962, the year after Tanganyika became independent, Sadru Shariff started his own business called Tanganyika Enamel. He joined up with the government and borrowed money from the recently-created Tanganyika Development Finance Company (TDFL). Over the years and up to 1980s, he continued to get loans from TDFL, banks, and the National Housing Corporations on several occasions. “Between 1964 and 1978, I made a few small small expansions and I borrowed money for that from banks and TDFL. But if you borrow from TDFL, there are fees and you don’t want to pay these fees for small loans so you don’t want to borrow just 100 or 1,000.” Until the late 1970s, borrowing money from financial institutions was relatively easy for Sadru Shariff. He used his own capital and added to that the capital of his Hong Kong-based partners and the capital provided by his family. Together, this was \$50,000, which was the equivalent of TSh. 1,000,000 at the time. “So there was 1,000,000 Shillings capital so that I could borrow up to 900[,000] from the long-term lenders, ... from the TDFL. So 1.9[00,000] became my base. So with that, I could borrow from the bank as a working capital of 3.8[00,000]. ... I applied to a loan on a 7-year basis. The first two years you don’t pay. Interest rate was 7 per cent.” Finally, the confirming houses provided trade credit to large importers as well. Sadru Shariff was able to use their 90-day-credit to his own advantage. “And you could borrow another 1 million from the confirming houses in London, which for whatever you import, you ask them to pay them and you pay them after 90 days. ... if you are smart enough, then this you could do: if your turnover is that big, you buy goods at 90 days, sell it within 20 days,

you've got four times more leverage." To conclude, he emphasized the credit nature of all these business transactions. "All these businesses is done on financing principles, no? Nobody has money in his pocket. Everybody is just extending papers."

In the late 1970s, the inflation rate rose to very high levels, which made borrowing and repaying more difficult, especially borrowing in "hard" currencies like dollars. This proved to be near-disastrous for Sadru Shariff. "So in '79, I borrow 1 million dollars. ...600,000 in dollars and 400,000 dollars in Shilling. So that was the first time I borrowed from the IBRD, the International Bank for Rural Development, which is the World Bank. ... when we borrowed in 1979, up to 1981 we did not pay anything but in 1981 we had to start repaying. So the balance sheet became lop-sided. Shillings here [on the left side], and dollars there [on the right side]. The shillings went down and the dollars were there. ... So in 1984, I was almost getting to be foreclosed." This also had effects on other aspects of his life. "In 1984, I was the Aga Khan's chairman [in Dar es Salaam] and I resigned from the chairmanship. Obviously, because the Aga Khan doesn't want a bankrupt chair." It also had psychological effects. "So that was a mad thing. Those years for me were a totally maddening existence. The amount of pressure that I had ... [Debt] can be a real burden. It can be the *only* burden, you know. You can't think of anything else."⁵²⁹

A new era in the textile trade started in the mid-1980s when trade restrictions with other countries were eased and large amounts of second-hand clothes, in Kiswahili *mitumba*, were imported.⁵³⁰ Kariakoo became the center of this trade, which not only took place in shops but

⁵²⁹ Sadru Shariff, interview with the author in English, Dar es Salaam, April 4, 2013.

⁵³⁰ Although the volume of trade in *mitumba* rose exponentially in the mid-1980s, the trade in second-hand clothes was not new in the 1980s. In colonial and socialist times, missionaries imported used clothes from Europe. Furthermore, Kariakoo petty traders collected used clothes from wealthy Dar es Salaam residents and sold them at the Kariakoo Auction Mart, commonly

also in markets and streets, most famously in Karume Market and Congo Street, allowing petty traders to assume new identities such as “businessmen” and to shake off derogatory attributes such as “hooligans.” The mode of financing the trade, however, continued to be based on credit relations.⁵³¹ The trade in textiles in general changed dramatically with the end of Nyerere’s economic policy of self-reliance. Traders started to buy textiles in Dubai, Thailand, Hong Kong, and, more recently, China. The first private traders to make use of the right to import textiles from abroad made exorbitant profits. An elderly man now resident in Ifakara, who requested to remain anonymous, was among those traders. He had a wholesale shop in central Dar es Salaam just across the street from the Kariakoo neighborhood from 1984 to 1989 and made about 30 business trips abroad during these years. “At the time whatever you brought to Tanganyika [sic] – rice, maize, textile both foreign and local one, foodstuff – just after one week or so you don’t have that material again.”⁵³² Still, trade relations continued to be based on personalized credit relations, which always involved the risk of the debtor’s absconding, as Ndala Kasheba reminds us in his popular song *Kesi ya Khanga* from 1990.

Mama nipe nauli nikamfuate Monika
 Amekimbilia Zambia na treni ya mizigo
 Kisa cha kukimbia madeni yamemzidi
 Doti kumi za khanga alizokopa hajalipa
 Anatafutwa na Polisi popote hapatikani
 Na mimi rafiki yake nipo nje kwa mdhamana
 Nililala rumande siku mbili kituoni
 Usumbu fu nilioupata kwa kweli sina raha
 Naona bora niende Zambia nikamtafute Monika
 Nimlete Daresalama apambane na kesi yake
 Monika uko wapi?
 Mahakamani wameshapanga siku ya kusikiliza kesi

referred to as *mnadani* (Hamis Kassim Ulele, interviews with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, January 15 and May 13, 2013).

⁵³¹ See also Sayaka Ogawa, “‘Earning among Friends:’ Business Practices and Creed among Petty Traders in Tanzania,” *African Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 1/2 (Fall 2006): 23–38.

⁵³² Anonymous 2, interview with the author in English, Ifakara, March 11, 2013.

Asipokuja nitapelekwa jela kutumikia kifungo
Monika uko wapi? Monika!⁵³³

Mama give me money to buy a ticket so I can follow Monika
She has run off to Zambia on the cargo train
The reason for running away is that she hasn't been able to handle the debts
She hasn't paid ten *doti*⁵³⁴ of *kanga* cloth she borrowed/bought on credit
The police are looking for her and she is not available anywhere
And I, as her friend, am out on bail
I was in custody at the police station for two nights
The trouble I have been in, I am not happy at all
I think it will be better for me to go to Zambia to look for Monika
So I can bring her back to Dar es Salaam and she can face her court case
Monika where are you?
At the court they have already set the date to hear the case
If she doesn't show up, I'll be brought to jail to serve the sentence
Monika, where are you? Monika!

In the past two decades, competition has become very stiff as today's textile traders assert.

Ibrahim Changula, a young textile trader working at his father's shop in Kariakoo, said that profit margins had become much smaller, mainly because Kariakoo traders rely on bank loans instead of the personalized credit arrangements with suppliers.⁵³⁵ This shift in credit arrangements is the topic of the next two chapters.

CONCLUSION

Shops – in Kiswahili *maduka* – were at the center of economic policies from the late nineteenth century onwards. They were the foil against which a supposedly better, more efficient, more just

⁵³³ Ndala Kasheba, "Kesi ya Khanga."

⁵³⁴ One *doti* is four yards so ten *doti* is 40 yards or roughly 36.5 meters.

⁵³⁵ Ibrahim Changula, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, August 22, 2013. Ibrahim Changula explained that Kariakoo traders used loans from banks and microcredit institutions for their business, also because the bank staff roamed around in Kariakoo trying to convince shopkeepers to take out loans. As traders take out loans when their business is in bad shape hoping to rescue their business, they sell their goods for a very cheap price and put pressure on other shopkeepers to lower their prices as well. In the end, everyone is hurt. The person who has taken out the loan eventually goes bankrupt and the bank sells his goods, while the other shopkeepers sell their goods at a very low rate.

economic system could be created. Government campaigns to reform the retail sector run like a thread through the history of Dar es Salaam. In this chapter, I have investigated what these campaigns were aimed at: the modus operandi of trade at shops in Dar es Salaam. The advancement of goods on credit and the underlying credit and debt relations were the defining feature of the duka system as well as the reason for its longevity and persistence. The organization of trade of one particular commodity – textiles – has helped to illustrate the concrete trade and credit relationships, the chains of credit, the various types of debt relation as well as the scales of credit and interest rates available to shopkeepers. The very convertibility of textiles not only contributed to their high demand and their use as the main medium of exchange; it also facilitated the creation of a system of trade based on credit and personal relations. After independence, state institutions started to play a considerably more important part in the textile trade and production. Newly established textile mills were a source of national pride and symbols of self-reliance. Regional and national distributors, cooperative shops, and factory shops were supposed to completely take over textile retailing from private shops. Despite the increased role of state institutions, however, long-standing trade and credit relations continued to be relevant in the textile trade. When regional distributors went bankrupt, Dar es Salaam wholesale traders provided the credit to finance the textile trade from the factory to their own shops and to urban retailers in Kariakoo.

CHAPTER 4—IN THE UNDERBELLY OF THE MARKET: RICE, *MALI KAULI*, AND *UAMINIFU* IN COLONIAL AND SOCIALIST KARIAKOO

*Ifakara nakwenda bila hela naenda na suruali yangu na sharti langu na bado napata biashara.*⁵³⁶

“I could go to Ifakara even without any money, with nothing but my pants and my shirt and I could still do business.”

In present-day Kariakoo rice is everywhere, and it comes in all shapes and sizes. *Vitumbua* – fried rice cakes – are a popular morning snack and they are sold at make-shift breakfast stalls on residents’ verandahs or on the street. Zanzibari-owned restaurants prepare *mkate wa kumimina* and *vibibi* – rice-bread and rice-chapatis. Women food vendors popularly referred to as *mama n’tilie* set up their stalls in the afternoon and evening and offer plates of *wali* – cooked rice – with vegetables, greens, meat, and beans to hungry customers. In Somali- and Arab-owned restaurants, patrons with a few thousand shillings to spare spoil themselves with a plate of *pilau*, *biryani*, or *mandi* – rice dishes prepared with a distinct mix of spices. At the Kariakoo market hall and at the numerous shops throughout Kariakoo, *mchele* – uncooked rice – is sold wholesale and retail, respectively. During rice harvest season in June and July, children delight in snacking on *pepeta* – pounded fresh, uncooked rice. And during Ramadan, Muslim residents break the fast with *vipoopoo* – a boiled side dish made with rice flour.

Rice is imbued with cultural meanings in Kariakoo due to its long history in the region.⁵³⁷

From the founding of Dar es Salaam in the mid-nineteenth century onwards, town residents grew, traded, and consumed rice. As the levels of production, importation, and consumption

⁵³⁶ Mzee Peni, Kariakoo wholesale rice trader, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Manzese, Dar es Salaam, May 25, 2013.

⁵³⁷ According to Mtoro Mwenyi Bakari, rice was a crucial ingredient for occasions such as the birth of a child and weddings. Furthermore, rice was sacrificed to accelerate the birth of a child when the woman was in labor. Bakari also described *kiapo cha mchele*, “the rice oath,” which was used to find thieves (Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli na Khabari za Desturi za Sheri’a za Wasuaheli*, 5, 8, 106, 274–275).

increased over the decades, rice changed its status from a “luxury staple food”⁵³⁸ eaten primarily at festive occasions, to a basic staple food affordable for a vast majority of people on a weekly or even daily basis. As an edible and perishable product, rice was not only sold in retail shops but also in bulk at the Kariakoo wholesale market hall. In this chapter, I follow rice and trace the ways it was traded in and out of Kariakoo from the late nineteenth century onwards. Traders’ long-standing strategies of organizing wholesale rice trade were as important as government efforts to control and regulate the trade. As African rice traders were legally prohibited from taking out bank loans during the colonial period, they relied on verbal credit arrangements referred to as *mali kauli*.

Even after independence and the socialist reorganization of the national economy – including the construction of a massive new market hall in Kariakoo –, *mali kauli* remained the dominant characteristic of the rice trade in and out of Kariakoo. *Mali kauli* was so pervasive that rice farmers in the Kilombero Valley around Ifakara at 300 miles west of Dar es Salaam, wholesale traders in the Kariakoo market, shop retailers in the neighborhood, and end consumers in Dar es Salaam were all linked up in chains of credit. *Uaminifu* was the central notion of a moral discourse undergirding *mali kauli* credit arrangements. It set out business rules and formed a framework of expectations, which shaped people’s behavior towards each other and towards themselves in significant ways. *Uaminifu* compelled wholesale traders in the Kariakoo market to cultivate their reputation as trustworthy and honest traders in the eyes of upcountry suppliers as well as other people in the market and in the neighborhood. Thus, traders’ conceptions of personhood and self-worth were constituted relationally. If a rice trader, like Mzee Peni quoted

⁵³⁸ The term is taken from Bryceson, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public & Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy, 1939-1988*, 135.

above, had the reputation of being honest and trustworthy, he could travel to Ifakara “with nothing but my pants and my shirt” and still return to Kariakoo with rice.

MARKTHALLENZWANG: COLONIAL POLICIES AND THE RICE MARKET

Rice was a defining feature of urban living in Dar es Salaam right from the beginning of the town’s existence. To satisfy the urban population’s demand for rice, Dar es Salaam residents engaged in work in paddy fields located within walking distance from town. Until the late colonial period, freshly-harvested paddy was put out to dry in front of many Kariakoo houses. J. A. K. Leslie noted during “a walk round the streets in July [that] almost every house in the more outlying parts, and a large proportion even in Kariakoo, has a mat spread out and newly harvested rice drying in the sun.”⁵³⁹ From early on, however, the growing urban population’s rising demand for rice could not be satisfied with supplies from the town’s immediate surroundings. Rice was brought to Dar es Salaam from rice-growing regions such as Morogoro and the Kilombero Valley. Urban residents relied on the sale of rice grown in their home districts to pay off debts so characteristic of their urban existence in Kariakoo.⁵⁴⁰ And already in the 1890s, rice was imported to Dar es Salaam from India, thus highlighting its characteristic as a truly Indian Ocean food that had been produced, traded, and consumed throughout the Indian Ocean world for a long time.⁵⁴¹ For German East Africa as a whole, the year 1894 marked the

⁵³⁹ Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 147.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 6: “The agricultural seasons are important even in town, and indebtedness is relieved for many by a capital sum accruing from the rice harvest in June/July, mainly from fields in their home districts.”

⁵⁴¹ Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” vols. 1, 397; vol. 2, 54–57. See also the literature on rice in the Atlantic world, e.g. Judith Carney, *Black Rice : The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Walter Hawthorne, “From ‘Black Rice’ to

date when rice imports for the first time surpassed rice exports.⁵⁴² Both Asian traders and German trading houses, particularly Hansing & Co. and D.O.A.G., were involved in the rice trade.⁵⁴³ Most of the rice available in Dar es Salaam, however, was from rice-growing areas in the region.

For Kariakoo residents, consuming rice – much like wearing a *kanzu* – was an expression of belonging to an urban society, which was informed by the long-standing urban Swahili culture on the East African coast.⁵⁴⁴ Dar es Salaam residents irrespective of their origin viewed the consumption of rice as an “urban entitlement.” When the distribution of rice was rationed according to race during the two world wars, the distribution and consumption of rice became a political issue and Dar es Salaam residents promptly voiced their discontent. Rice was allocated to Asians and not to Africans, whereupon Africans protested their complete exclusion from rice purchases while Asians considered their rations to be too small.⁵⁴⁵ Certainly for both Africans and Asians, eating rice had become a marker of their urban existence.

Food rations were only the tip of the iceberg with regards to colonial policies concerning the production, trade, and consumption of agricultural products. At a deeper level – and thus less visible, also in the historical literature – were policies rooted in the German period aimed at

‘Brown’: Rethinking the History of Rice Culture in the Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Atlantic,” *American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (2010): 151–63.

⁵⁴² K. Braun, *Der Reis in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 1908, 169. Braun relied on the statistics of the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*.

⁵⁴³ Raimbault, “Dar-es-Salaam histoire d’une société urbaine coloniale en Afrique orientale allemande (1891-1914),” vols. 1, 397; vol. 2, 54–57.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vols. 2, 55.

⁵⁴⁵ Brennan, *Taifa*, 94–103. “Urban entitlement” is Brennan’s term. The government’s concern to supply urban Tanzanians with sufficient amounts of rice has lasted into the present. During my research in Dar es Salaam in 2013, Dar es Salaam residents protested the high prices for rice. In response, the government decided to import 200 million tons of cheap rice from Vietnam to satisfy urban consumers, while blowing a resounding slap to the local rice farmers, who had to sell their rice at heavily discounted prices.

creating a new colonial trade system for agricultural products. The vision was to make an orderly, centralized, and easily controllable market, in both the concrete sense of actual marketplaces and in the abstract sense of the word “market” as a conceptual system of trade. The “market hall system” involved a central market hall in every town in the colony where “native” products including rice would be traded in a regulated and orderly manner. The tool to realize the vision of the “market hall system” was the “market hall act” (*Markthallenverordnung*) passed by the German colonial government in the 1890s. The underlying concept was the *Markthallenzwang*, literally “compulsory market halls” but better translated as the “obligation to trade at market halls.” According to the act, all agricultural products had to be sold and bought for cash in officially recognized market halls located in every town in the territory. Commercial transactions on credit and buying and selling outside of the market halls, for instance in shops, were explicitly prohibited.

The colonial government envisioned the trade system based on *Markthallenzwang* to have multiple desirable effects. It would facilitate an efficient trade, as caravan leaders would be able to buy necessary food items at centrally located markets. These markets would always be supplied to a sufficient degree with agricultural products because the *maakida*⁵⁴⁶ as local representatives of the colonial government were in charge of the market halls. Since *maakida* would receive half of the amount of market fees, they would urge farmers to bring as much produce to the market as possible.⁵⁴⁷ Furthermore, the market hall system – similar to the hut and

⁵⁴⁶ *Maakida* (singular: *akida*) were administrators of district sections in the German colonial hierarchy and they were mostly of African or Arab origin.

⁵⁴⁷ Bagamoyo, January 31, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

head tax – was to contribute to the larger goal of monetizing the colonial economy.⁵⁴⁸ Selling their goods for cash, African traders and farmers would be able to pay taxes and spend money on everyday consumer goods from local shops. This, in turn, would incentivize them to produce more agricultural products to be sold at the market.⁵⁴⁹ Finally, Africans' presence at the market hall was to have an educational effect in that they would get to know orderly market transactions as well as “the market” in the abstract sense of the word; it would help them learn how prices are determined by the laws of demand and supply.⁵⁵⁰

The German colonial authorities were aware that their policies might run against the wishes of German trading houses such as DOAG, Hansing & Co., and O'Swald & Co. In fact, these policies were intended to undercut credit relations between European trading houses and Asian customers.⁵⁵¹ In 1900, the DOAG lamented that the introduction of the market hall act in Lindi, a coastal town about 300 miles south of Dar es Salaam, had considerable negative effects on the amount of produce being traded in Lindi. Many traders avoided the market hall in Lindi because of the taxes payable there. In response, a government official explained that colonial policies aimed at making German East Africa a valuable part of the empire. If the market hall act prevented the exploitation of African farmers, this was a desirable outcome even the profits of

⁵⁴⁸ Compared to the literature on the role of colonial taxes, very little has been written about the *Markthallenzwang*, but see Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 186.

⁵⁴⁹ TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

⁵⁵⁰ “Das erzieherische Moment, das bei der Einrichtung der Markthallen jeweils als Hauptweck [sic] derselben von Seiten des Gouv. hervorgehoben wurde ... Der Markthallenzwang, und mit ihm die Angewöhnung an einen geordneten Kauf und Verkauf, die Voraugenführung der Preisbildung durch Angebot und Nachfrage und die Wirkung einer eigenen Wertschätzung der Waare seitens der Verkäufer auf die Preisbildung” (Letter by das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt, Mohorro, November 14, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906”).

⁵⁵¹ See chapter 3.

German firms were slightly smaller.⁵⁵² In a less patronizing tone with respect to African farmers, Governor Albert Freiherr von Rechenberg reminded government officials in 1906 that “one of the most important purposes of colonization is to gain products from colonies and to buy them in exchange for European trade commodities.” Constraints on European traders were only allowed when they were necessary to guarantee public peace.⁵⁵³

A moral discourse undergirded the *Markthallenzwang* and legitimized the creation of the market hall system. It derived its moral cogency primarily from negation. The “market hall system” for trade in agricultural products was set against an existing system of trade, the so-called “duka system,” which consisted of what the German administration conceived to be scattered, unaccountable, and unaccounted exchanges between Asian shopkeepers-cum-buyers and African farmers-cum-sellers.⁵⁵⁴ The *Markthallenzwang* was to prevent African farmers and traders from entering morally questionable and exploitative credit relationships with Asian shop owners.⁵⁵⁵ The goal was “the elimination of Indian traders’ light-shunning trading practices in their shops.”⁵⁵⁶ A colonial administrator praised the work of market halls in Bagamoyo where African farmers brought their produce to the market hall for public auction in order to escape the underhanded dealings of wily Asian traders.⁵⁵⁷ A similar observation was made in Lindi where local Africans had recognized “the blessing of the new market [hall] act” and voluntarily brought their products to the market hall for sale while saving the obtained cash for future payments of

⁵⁵² TNA: G8/69: “Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, Bd. 4: 1897-1901.”

⁵⁵³ TNA: G1/29: “Handel und Gewerbe im Allgemeinen, Bd. 2: 1901-1906.”

⁵⁵⁴ See chapter 3.

⁵⁵⁵ Das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt, Mohororo, November 14, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

⁵⁵⁶ Das Kaiserliche Bezirksamt, Mohororo, November 14, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

⁵⁵⁷ Bagamoyo, January 31, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

taxes.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, German authorities considered the creation of the new trade system also a moral cause against Asians' reprehensible use of credit to exploit Africans. The implementation of the *Markthallenzwang* in Dar es Salaam illustrates the interrelatedness of race, credit, and urban governance at the marketplace.

THE MARKET HALL IN DAR ES SALAAM

By the end of the 1890s, market halls had been set up in most coastal towns including Dar es Salaam. What the colonial government envisioned did not necessarily correspond to what happened on the ground. The example of the Dar es Salaam market hall illustrates how translating the market hall system into practice was marked by difficulties and unintended consequences. The problems started in the realm of finances. While the market hall was the *sine qua non* of the market hall policy, the funds for building and maintaining these halls were not available in Dar es Salaam. Thus, the imperial district office (*das Kaiserliche Bezirks-Amt*) invited tenders for the construction and running of a market hall in 1898. At least two people, the Soliman bin Nasr and Amji Mousaji, responded to the invitation to tender. Soliman bin Nasr, who was also the local *liwali*⁵⁵⁹ at the time, won the bid. He received the right to build and run a market hall for the public sale of fish, meat, fruits, vegetables, and other food products. In exchange, he was able to keep a share of the fees collected from the traders. Soliman bin Nasr's funds made the construction of the market hall possible even as the Dar es Salaam municipal funds were inadequate. When, a few years later, in 1904, the Dar es Salaam municipality [*Kommunalverband*] eventually bought the market hall, Soliman bin Nasr's role as helping to

⁵⁵⁸ Lindi, July 5, 1900, TNA: G3/55: "Zollverwaltung, Allgem. Bd. 7: 1900-1902."

⁵⁵⁹ *Wali* or *liwali* was the administrative title for a local representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar. A *wali* acted as a regional governor within the Sultan's empire.

“guide the market trade [*Marktverkehr*] into orderly channels that support public interests” was acknowledged.⁵⁶⁰



Figure 4.1: Market hall in Dar es Salaam, ca. 1906.⁵⁶¹

Shortly after Soliman bin Nasr built the market hall, the market hall act for Dar es Salaam was passed in 1901. It was modeled after acts already in use in the southern coastal towns of Kilwa and Lindi. As discussed above, the act established that all food products had to be brought to and sold at the market hall. No commercial transactions of agricultural products were allowed to take place outside of the market hall. Urban traders were explicitly prohibited from buying up food products on the access roads to the Dar es Salaam market. Even foods produced for one's

⁵⁶⁰ Der Kaiserliche Bezirksamtmann, Bagamoyo, June 27, 1904, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915;” G35/67: Bau-Angelegenheiten in der Stadt Daressalam. 1892-1906; G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906.”

⁵⁶¹ Winterton Collection of East African Photographs, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston. Object 32-3-3. Accessed August 27, 2014.

own household had to be brought to the market hall and be inspected by the market master before one could take it home. Exempted from the *Markthallenzwang* were non-food products and cooked foods as well as the dealings of European traders.⁵⁶² Market hall fees were charged for every sale in the market hall and a share of the market fees entered the town coffers directly. The total amount of market fees in the years 1902 to 1906 ranged between 12'000 and 13'800 rupees annually, which accounted for 15 to 17.5 per cent of the total income of the Dar es Salaam municipality in those years.⁵⁶³ In other words, tangible monetary interests were a convenient outcome of, if not an important motivation for, the establishment of a market hall in Dar es Salaam, albeit one colonial administrators, amidst their lofty rhetoric, rarely acknowledged.⁵⁶⁴

Similar to the financial dimensions of the market hall system, its racial dimensions only became clearly defined and visible with the practical implementation of the market hall act. One of the main goals of the new market hall was to replace an existing system of trade based on credit relations with a system of trade based on cash transactions. The principal target were credit-providing shopkeepers, who happened to be mostly of South Asian origin in Dar es Salaam. They had occupied a particular and racially tinted position in the colonial imagination of urban markets and trade. The market hall system aimed at dislodging them from the urban retail

⁵⁶² TNA: G4/50: "Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915;" TNA: G4/7: "Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906."

⁵⁶³ TNA: G4/51: "Wirtschaftspläne des Kommunal-Verbandes Dar-es-Salam. 1899-1906." More difficult to measure were the amounts of money that entered public coffers as an indirect result of the *Markthallenzwang*. After all, the idea was that the farmers would receive cash when selling their produce at the market hall, which would put money in their hands and enable them to pay taxes.

⁵⁶⁴ Winterfelds did, for example, acknowledge that "Die Markthalle ist keineswegs nur als pekuniäre Einnahmequelle für die Kommune oder deren Pächter zu betrachten" (Letter by Winterfeld, Dar-es-salam, May 6, 1901, TNA: G4/50: "Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915").

and wholesale market in agricultural products.⁵⁶⁵ However, the success of the market hall in Dar es Salaam towards that end was unclear. It turned out that forcing commercial transactions into market halls was more difficult than colonial administrators had imagined.

As an agricultural product, rice was on the list of products to be traded in market halls exclusively.⁵⁶⁶ However, African producers of rice and other agricultural products refrained from taking their produce to Dar es Salaam because they did not want to pay the market fees. Even a reduction of the fees charged in the market hall did not have the intended effect of luring more suppliers to the market hall. Instead, farmers sold their produce to smaller and not officially regulated markets, e.g. markets springing up along the railroad from Dar es Salaam to the west. There, middlemen bought the rice and other products, transported them to Dar es Salaam, and sold them at the market hall.⁵⁶⁷ Ultimately, the government was not able to break up the trade relations between rice producers and traders.⁵⁶⁸

Another racial aspect emerged with respect to the market master, who was to oversee the commercial practices in the market hall. As the market hall act pointed out, its aim was to ensure food security for the non-European urban population. European traders were not subject to the market hall act and they were exempted from paying market hall fees.⁵⁶⁹ Colonial officials legitimized these measures by drawing on a racially tinged language of hygiene and sanitation,

⁵⁶⁵ See chapter 3.

⁵⁶⁶ In 1913, rice was temporarily removed from the Markthallenzwang (*Angepasste Verordnung betreffend das Marktwesen für den Bezirk des Kommunalverbandes Daressalam*, March 12, 1913, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915”).

⁵⁶⁷ June 17, 1905, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915.”

⁵⁶⁸ Similar complications arose in other towns in German East Africa. In Lindi, the colonial administration complained that the obligation to pay for agricultural products such as rice for cash excluded a large number of small African and Asian traders from the trade in rice and other grains (*Der Kaiserliche Bezirksamtmann, Lindi*, September 19, 1902, TNA: G4/7: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände. Bd. 1: 1903-1906”).

⁵⁶⁹ TNA: G4/8: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände, 1907-1909.”

which was particularly strong when it came to the trade in food products.⁵⁷⁰ They argued that the sanitary conditions of market halls were not suitable for the sale of food products meant to be consumed by Europeans.⁵⁷¹ A European person's permanent presence in the market hall was thought to be harmful because of the repulsive odors that might endanger his or her health.⁵⁷² When Mr. Giloy and Mr. Machmuth, a German and a Turkish national, each expressed their desire to take the job as market master in Dar es Salaam in 1901, colonial officer Winterfels expressed his surprise at Giloy's application. The job had only been advertised in the non-European sections of town. Despite allegations of racial preference from some European residents, Machmuth was selected.⁵⁷³ This set a precedent and all the subsequent market masters in Dar es Salaam were non-Europeans as Europeans were considered to be unfit to do the job as market masters.

In 1913 the colonial administration deemed the existing market hall – located at the edge of the Asian section and a stone's throw from the African section – to be too congested and unsanitary. Sketches for a new and much bigger market hall were drawn up.⁵⁷⁴ Somewhat paradoxically, the location of the new market hall was to be in the heart of the “native quarter” of Dar es Salaam, which was planned as a residential area. With the completion of the new market hall (see figure 4.2) coinciding with the outbreak of World War I, the hall was first used not for

⁵⁷⁰ In colonial African contexts, sanitary regimes and urban planning were often intricately connected. An early influential text is Swanson, “The Sanitation Syndrome.” Waste and sanitation served as a powerful discourse to legitimate the racial segregation of Dar es Salaam with the help of a cordon sanitaire.

⁵⁷¹ TNA: G4/8: “Markthallen der Kommunalverbände, 1907-1909.”

⁵⁷² Letter by Winterfeld, Dar-es-salam, May 6, 1901, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915.”

⁵⁷³ Letter by Winterfeld, Dar-es-salam, May 6, 1901, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915.” The official reason for the selection of Machmuth was Giloy's aggressive and violent behavior towards the local population.

⁵⁷⁴ Skizze zu einer Markthalle in Daressalam, TNA: G4/50: “Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915.”

commercial but for military purposes.⁵⁷⁵ The presence of the Carrier Corps in the market hall inspired the neighborhood residents to use a Kiswahili-ized version of the name carrier corps – Kariakoo – for the entire neighborhood.⁵⁷⁶



Figure 4.2: Kariakoo Market Hall, February 28, 1971. Photograph of personal collection by author.

As the British took over the administration in former German East Africa, they left the pillars of urban trade policies planted by the Germans in place. The market hall system remained largely unchanged and the Kariakoo market hall was used as the only and central wholesale market for agricultural products. The market masters of the Kariakoo market hall continued to be of non-European origin because the market environment was deemed unsuitable for Europeans. Therefore, the colonial administration's oversight of the market was not nearly as strong as the *Markthallenverordnung* and subsequent regulations imagined. Traders had enough leeway to

⁵⁷⁵ Rabinow has pointed out the intimate relationship between markets and the army (Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989)).

⁵⁷⁶ Brennan and Burton, "The Emerging Metropolis: A History of Dar es Salaam, circa 1862-2000." TNA: G4/50: "Kommunalangelegenheiten Daressalam. Markthalle. 1898-1915."

interpret the numerous rules laid out in the market hall act according to their own needs and ideas. As a result, by the 1940s, but probably much earlier, instant cash transactions as prescribed by the market hall act were the exception rather than the rule at the Kariakoo market hall. Instead, *mali kauli*, a letter of credit based on verbal promises described below, was the commonly acknowledged *modus operandi* of trading rice and various other goods at the Kariakoo market hall.

Even after Tanzania's independence in 1961 and the adoption of socialist policies in 1967, regulations concerning urban marketing of agricultural products displayed striking parallels to the German *Markthallenverordnung*. According to official rhetoric, the socialist government aimed to create a new economic system free of exploitation and inequality. The single most important building in that respect was the new market hall in Kariakoo, a massive three-floor concrete building (see figure 4.3). It was built from 1971-1975 and replaced the German-built hall. In Nyerere's view, the new market building symbolized socialist modernity and encapsulated an economic system free of exploitation and inequality.⁵⁷⁷ The new Kariakoo market was not only a symbol of modern consumer culture but also a model for socialist wholesale and retail trade in urban Tanzania.

At its inauguration President Nyerere personally praised the new market building as a modern shopping complex, which enabled Dar es Salaam residents to fulfill all of their everyday needs in a comfortable and modern environment under one roof.⁵⁷⁸ The Daily News newspaper

⁵⁷⁷ German and British colonial discourses demonizing South Asian traders and middlemen as exploiters of helpless African farmers were powerful in East Africa and considerably shaped colonial policies in Deutsch-Ostafrika and Tanganyika. In postcolonial Tanzania, the image of the Asian exploiter and petty bourgeois continued to influence policies, e.g. the acquisition of buildings in 1971 and the nationalization of companies (Oonk, *Settled Strangers*; Brennan, *Taifa*; Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*).

⁵⁷⁸ *Daily News* newspaper, December 8, December 14, 1975.

echoed Nyerere's description of the Kariakoo market as a modern shopping mall. "With all the various items in one place one no longer needs to walk the whole city to fill his shopping list. ... Instead of wandering from street to street, Dar es Salaam residents now can visit Kariakoo Market for all their shopping requirements."⁵⁷⁹ The modern socialist marketing system was most visible on the upper floor of the building where shoppers could stroll along shop windows and glance at shoes, clothes, textiles, stationery, pharmaceuticals, and household appliances. The majority of these shops were owned and run by cooperatives and parastatals such as the Urafiki Textile Mill and Ubungo Farming Implements. Private shopkeepers, on the other hand, were largely absent as they were to be replaced by publicly-owned marketing entities, according to the new socialist economic policy.⁵⁸⁰



Figure 4.3: Kariakoo Market Hall, 2012.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁹ *Daily News* newspaper, June 27, 1976.

⁵⁸⁰ See chapter 3.

⁵⁸¹ Annika Seifert and Gunter Klix, *Hitzearchitektur Lernen von der afrikanischen Moderne* (Zürich: gta Verlag, 2012).

The wholesale market for agricultural products was located at the underground level of the market. It was the only wholesale market in town for rice and other agricultural products and, thus, it served the entire city of Dar es Salaam. All agricultural products had to be brought to the Kariakoo market hall, which amounted to a kind of modern *Markthallenzwang*. And also in many other respects, the trade in rice and other agricultural products continued to be organized in similar ways as during the colonial and early postcolonial period. In the following, I focus on how rice was traded from rice farmers in rural areas to the Kariakoo market and finally to end consumers in the city.

IN THE UNDERBELLY OF THE MARKET: *MALI KAULI*

Neither Tanzania's independence nor the opening of the new market constituted clear breaks with a long-lasting trading system. Relations between upcountry suppliers, Kariakoo traders, and urban retailers continued to be based on trading patterns and credit relations established in the colonial period when Africans had been legally prohibited from taking out loans unless they applied for a special permission.⁵⁸² As African traders found it difficult if not impossible to access loans from banks and other financial institutions, they created verbal credit arrangements such as *mali kauli*, which linked up rice farmers, rural traders, Kariakoo wholesalers, urban retailers, and end consumers in chains of credit. Even when private banks were nationalized in the early postcolonial period, these arrangements continued to be relevant.⁵⁸³ While wealthy and well-connected businessmen and businesswomen were able to get loans, Kariakoo traders usually did not qualify for those loans. Thus, from the perspective of urban African traders, the

⁵⁸² TNA: 10493; 26231; ACC 26/M5/2: Credit to Native Ordinance, 1931.

⁵⁸³ The Tanzanian government nationalized private banks in 1967. The newly nationalized banks gave out a large majority of their loans to parastatals in the public sector of the economy rather than to private entities (Kimei, "Tanzania's Financial Experience in the Post-War Period").

colonial period and the socialist period displayed more similarities than differences with regards to accessing bank loans.

Even in the modern Kariakoo wholesale market opened in 1975, the *mali kauli*-system continued to form the basis on which business transactions were conducted, just as had been the case in the German-built market hall. Personal relations between wholesalers and suppliers outlasted the temporary move of the market to the Ilala neighborhood while the new market hall was being constructed between 1971 and 1975. As most of the Kariakoo traders moved to Ilala, which was located just to the west of Kariakoo,⁵⁸⁴ upcountry suppliers followed their trusted Kariakoo middlemen to the interim wholesale market. Upon completion of the new market hall in 1975, a reverse movement set in as wholesale traders went back to Kariakoo and established themselves in the underground market. Again, suppliers followed wholesale traders and started to bring upcountry produce to Kariakoo.

Close personal relations between upcountry suppliers and wholesale traders formed the basis of the *mali kauli*-system. All the long-standing wholesale traders I interviewed confirmed the existence of *mali kauli* at the time and they were able to describe it with ease and in detail.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ A minority of traders preferred to go to the small retail market in the formerly Asian neighborhood or “Uhindini” to the east of Kariakoo.

⁵⁸⁵ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, March 23, 2013; Dummah, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Faraji Iddi Dibuma, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ukonga, Dar es Salaam, March 18, 2013; Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, May 12, 2013; Mzee Luanda, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Manzese, May 22, 2013; Kasoga, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Tandika, Dar es Salaam, April 16, 2013; Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, April 1, 2013; Mzee Gogo, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ifakara, Morogoro, October 12, 2013; Mzee Kagire, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, March 20, 2013; Mzee Kobelo, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Manzese, Dar es Salaam, May 27, 2013; Suleiman Majata, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Manzese, Dar es Salaam, May 25, 2013; Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, January 15, 2013; Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

In short, the system worked as follows. A supplier/farmer from upcountry handed over the produce to a particular wholesaler/middleman at the Kariakoo market and waited for the latter to sell the produce, which usually took a few days or a couple of weeks. Once the produce was sold, the supplier was paid his share and returned home.⁵⁸⁶ Alternatively, an upcountry supplier would hand over the produce to the wholesaler, return home, and collect the money during the next visit to Dar es Salaam.

Depending on the amount of goods available at the Kariakoo market, traders had two options. During harvest season when upcountry suppliers would bring large amounts of rice to Kariakoo, they would simply stay in Kariakoo, negotiate a price with the suppliers, sell the produce to local retailers, and then pay the upcountry suppliers their share. When there was not enough rice available at the Kariakoo market, Kariakoo traders would travel upcountry themselves or send their aids upcountry to buy produce there.⁵⁸⁷ Whether they stayed in

⁵⁸⁶ The use of the male gender is chosen here because men formed the overwhelming majority of the upcountry suppliers and Kariakoo traders at the time. Fideris Mwamsea from Mbingu near Ifakara in Morogoro Region farmed bananas and started to transport them to Dar es Salaam in the 1980s. His contact at the Kariakoo wholesale market was Mzee Kagire, who had specialized in the trade with unripe bananas. In Kariakoo, Fideris would talk to Mzee Kagire and they would agree on a price. Usually, Fideris would wait for up to one week before Mzee Kagire sold the bananas. After Mzee Kagire sold the bananas, Fideris would get his money (Fideris Mwamsea, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Mbingu, Morogoro, March 8, 2013; Mzee Kagire, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

⁵⁸⁷ Traders in other produce also relied on the *mali kauli* system. Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, who traded bananas at the Kariakoo market since 1958, would send his aids to the farmers with a letter requesting to get their bananas. They then collected the bananas and brought them to Kariakoo, where Habibu Mganda sold them and brought the money to the farmers. He knew the banana farmers very well and they considered him their agent in town (Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili). It was also common for shopkeepers located at the upper level of the Kariakoo market to establish *mali kauli*-like relationships with their suppliers. Both private shops and cooperative shops did business in that way although they did not call it *mali kauli* but business on a commission basis. Only the shops of the Regional Trading Corporation (RTC), the local representatives of the state distribution network, were doing business with the help of formal credit. RTC shops managers could apply for loans through a loan officer at the credit department (Mzee Urrio, who worked at the RTC shop in the Kariakoo

Kariakoo or traveled upcountry, Kariakoo traders did business within the *mali kauli*-system. They would only pay the suppliers once they had sold the produce.⁵⁸⁸

Wholesale rice traders in Kariakoo by and large operated according to the *mali kauli*-system. Immediate cash transactions were the exception, credit transactions the rule. Mzee Peni was one of the wholesale rice traders at the Kariakoo market.⁵⁸⁹ He started to work at the Kariakoo market in the early 1960s. He first traded potatoes, tomatoes, okra, and cassava leaves. He got into the rice trade when the new Kariakoo market building opened in 1975. He either waited at his market stall in the Kariakoo market building for upcountry traders, who handed their rice over to him on *mali kauli* basis, or he went to one of the rice-producing areas himself and bought rice from farmers and small-scale traders there when there was not enough rice being supplied to Kariakoo. In Mzee Peni's case, he went to Ifakara in Morogoro region, at about 300 miles south-west of Dar es Salaam on a partially non-tarmac road. From there, he transported the rice to Dar es Salaam on one of the Asian-owned buses or lorries, and sold it at the Kariakoo market. He bought one kilogram of hulled rice in Ifakara for 300 Shillings and sold it in Kariakoo for 500 Shillings. Transportation costs ate up most of the 200 Shilling difference in price. Furthermore, he had to pay a small government tax at the Kariakoo market. Initially, Mzee Peni only paid for part of the transportation costs and the tax, because he bought the rice in Ifakara on *mali kauli* basis. Once sold, he paid the rest of the transportation costs as well as the price for the rice in Ifakara. He boasted that "I could go to Ifakara even without any money at all,

market building in the late 1980s, interview with the author, at the UFI shop in the Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, April 19, 2013). RTC shops were the exception to the rule of doing business based on *mali kauli*.

⁵⁸⁸ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁵⁸⁹ Mzee Peni's name indicates that he was a prominent and active resident of the Kariakoo neighborhood. In fact, his name Mzee Peni was short for Mzee Panafrican. Mzee Peni was the leader of a football club named Panafrican, which was formed by a group of players, who used to play for the more widely-known club Yanga, also located in the Kariakoo neighborhood.

with nothing but my pants and my shirt and I could still do business. This is different now. Nowadays there are only cash-based transactions [*hela kwa hela*] and you would appear a conman [if you wanted to do business without money].”⁵⁹⁰

Other former rice traders at the Kariakoo wholesale market confirmed Mzee Peni’s emphasis on the continued importance of *mali kauli*. Jabu Ramadhani got involved in the rice trade when he moved back from the temporary market in Ilala to the newly-built Kariakoo market building in 1975. Ramadhani did, however, notice that the move into the modern Kariakoo building prompted a change in how amounts of rice were measured when rice was sold to retailers and end consumers. Before 1975, rice was sold with the help of so-called *vibaba*, containers holding about one pint of liquid or 700 grams of rice. In the new Kariakoo market, Jabu Ramadhani and his colleagues started to use scales.⁵⁹¹ While the move into the modern market building did bring about a change in how wholesalers sold rice to retailers and end consumers, the market relations between upcountry suppliers and wholesale traders continued to be marked by *mali kauli* transactions. Jabu Ramadhani explained “We didn’t buy [rice from upcountry vendors]. They give you the load, you wait for five days or a week and then you give him the money. ... He waits for his money [because] we didn’t have cash. ... We used to do business by trusting each other, [based on] *uaminifu*. ... First, you take him so he knows your home. ... He knows your family first and then you agree [on business matters] and sometimes he even sleeps at your house.”⁵⁹² From the perspective of Kariakoo wholesale rice traders, the *mali kauli* system of trade reduced the risk of trade and increased their working capital.

⁵⁹⁰ Mzee Peni, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁵⁹¹ Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁵⁹² Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

UAMINIFU

The personal relations characteristic of the *mali kauli*-system at the Kariakoo wholesale market were undergirded by the concept of *uaminifu*. *Uaminifu* can best be translated as “trustworthiness” or “honesty.” Semantically, *uaminifu* is related to two sets of meaning. On the one hand, the verb *ku-amini* means “to trust,” “to have faith in,” “to believe,” also in a religious way. *Amini* is related to *imani* (“faith”, “religious faith”). On the other hand, *ku-amini* is related to *amana*, which means “deposit” and “pledge.”⁵⁹³ *Uaminifu* was discursively closely related to *mali kauli* and long-standing traders always mentioned *uaminifu* when they talked about the *mali kauli* ways of doing business. Wholesale traders insisted that in order for the *mali kauli*-system of trade to work, upcountry suppliers and Kariakoo traders had to be honest and trust each other, which was expressed with the help of the reciprocal verb form *ku-aminiana*, “to trust each other.”⁵⁹⁴ It was usually with a sense of nostalgia that traders talked about what trade had been like in the past. But despite the nostalgia, it was striking how both Kariakoo traders and upcountry suppliers placed *mali kauli* and *uaminifu* in a common discursive space. “When a person gives you his goods on a *mali kauli* basis, you meet again on the agreed-upon day and you give him his money. He comes and he goes away and already you have built *uaminifu*. When he comes back, he must come see you again,” described Mzee Kobelo, one of the long-standing wholesale traders at the Kariakoo market.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹³ These translations are drawn from Krapf’s Kiswahili dictionary from 1882. They are surprisingly similar to the translations found in the most recent version of the Kiswahili -English dictionary published by the University of Dar es Salaam (Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Swahili Language*; Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam, *TUKI English-Swahili Dictionary = Kamusi Ya Kiingereza-Kiswahili*, ed. J. S. Mdee and David Phineas Bhukanda Massamba, 3rd ed (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Kiswahili Research, University of Dar es Salaam, 2006)).

⁵⁹⁴ In Kiswahili, the verb suffix *-ana* expresses the reciprocal form, e.g. *ku-amini*, “to trust;” *ku-aminiana*, “to trust each other.”

⁵⁹⁵ Mzee Kobelo, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

The powerful *uaminifu* discourse shaped people's behavior towards each other and their attitudes towards themselves in significant ways. The sense of trust on which personal long-term relations with upcountry suppliers were built often also survived in times of crisis.⁵⁹⁶ The *uaminifu* discourse compelled Kariakoo traders to cultivate their reputation as trustworthy and honest traders in the eyes of upcountry suppliers and, more generally, the people in the market and in the neighborhood.⁵⁹⁷ A good reputation could to a certain extent be inherited from a parent,⁵⁹⁸ but all the traders had to constantly work on maintaining and improving their reputation as *waaminifu*, i.e. honest and trustworthy people. Juma Lusunga, one of the wholesale traders at the Kariakoo market, described his reputation as *mwaminifu*, an honest trader, as being the equivalent of modern advertising. "Our business advertisement is to do business well" because mouth-to-mouth advertisement was extremely effective and would convince other upcountry suppliers to bring their fish to him.⁵⁹⁹ At times, various suppliers would insist he

⁵⁹⁶ Fideris Mwamsea took bananas to the Kariakoo market in the month following the month of Ramadan. Dar es Salaam residents – particularly the significant Muslim population – had spent much money to cover the extra expenses for festivities and food at the end of the holy month. As a result, the demand for foodstuff was low, Mzee Kagire was unable to sell the bananas, and the bananas went bad. Fideris Mwamsea experienced a heavy loss and he had to scrap his plans of buying a plot of land in Dar es Salaam. Despite this loss, his trust in Mzee Kagire was unshaken and they continued to do business with each other. In other cases, when upcountry suppliers felt like their trust in wholesale traders had been betrayed, they resorted to the Kariakoo market management. A supplier could take the wholesale trader to the managers of the Kariakoo market when the wholesaler was not able to sell the produce and pay the upcountry suppliers the agreed-upon price. However, this rarely happened (Fideris Mwamsea, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Mzee Kagire, interview with the author in Kiswahili; see also Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

⁵⁹⁷ Mzee Kalulu used the term *jina kubwa* or "great name," which can be translated as "good reputation" (Mzee Kalulu, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, January 19, 2013).

⁵⁹⁸ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁵⁹⁹ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

receive their produce even though he was not able to pay for it immediately. So it was common for him to have up to ten people waiting to be compensated for their supplies.⁶⁰⁰

A more tangible way Kariakoo traders used to build trust with upcountry suppliers was to show them their house and family in Dar es Salaam. Sometimes, suppliers even stayed at the Kariakoo traders' houses while waiting for the traders to sell their produce.⁶⁰¹ Wholesale traders would also agree to keep suppliers' share of profit for as long as the latter decided to stay in Dar es Salaam. Suppliers did not consider the option of putting money into a bank account because banks wanted to have a form of security from their clients or a guarantor who would vouch for a client. Workers and employees were more likely to have bank accounts at that time and small-scale traders from upcountry were not considered potential bank clients.⁶⁰² By keeping suppliers' money at their house, Kariakoo traders partially fulfilled the role of the banks to which suppliers did not have access.

The sense of trust among Kariakoo wholesale traders routinely crossed ethnic boundaries.⁶⁰³ And the notion of *uaminifu* and its accompanying expectations were also relevant

⁶⁰⁰ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰¹ Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰² Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Mabibo, Dar es Salaam, January 6, 2013; Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰³ The very fact that traders at the Kariakoo wholesale markets and upcountry suppliers represented a large number of ethnic groups was considered one of the reasons the *mali kauli*-system worked so well in Kariakoo. Jabu Ramadhani, who identified himself as a Rangi from the Kondo area in north-central Tanzania, would do business with anyone looking for a business partner. He preferred to build trust without relying on a common ethnic identity (Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili). Mzee Mdachi, a supplier from Lukozi near Lushoto in north-east Tanzania, who had made experiences with wholesale traders in both Kariakoo and in the main market in Tanga, 200 miles north of Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean coast, made a telling comparison between the markets in Dar es Salaam and in Tanga. He praised the *mali kauli*-system and the trustworthiness of traders in Kariakoo while lamenting the corrupt nature of the traders at the main market in Tanga, a coastal town in north-east Tanzania. The wholesale traders in Kariakoo were *wakweli* and *waamanifu*, i.e. honest and trustworthy people, who sold the produce and took their fair share. He blamed the corruptness of Tanga

to lorry and bus drivers, who were part of the network of trust and credit that facilitated the rice trade in the first place. Rather than having to travel to Dar es Salaam themselves, suppliers could simply put their loads onto a lorry going to Kariakoo. After selling the goods, Kariakoo traders put the money in an envelope, write the name of the supplier and the their own name on it, and give the envelope to a trusted driver going to the particular areas. Drivers carried up to twenty or thirty envelopes full of money with them and distributed the envelopes to the suppliers when arriving at the destination.⁶⁰⁴

In retrospect, several long-standing traders described the kind of honesty and trust *uaminifu* refers to as a form of credit or even a form of capital. At the time, however, they did not call it “credit” or “capital.” If a trader had the reputation of being honest and trustworthy, he could do business even when he did not have any capital at disposal.⁶⁰⁵ As long as the suppliers trusted a particular trader, they would supply goods without expecting immediate cash payments. “Here [in Kariakoo], capital is *uaminifu*, and *uaminifu* is capital,”⁶⁰⁶ Juma Lusunga stated, and *uaminifu* allowed traders like him to access goods without having to pay for them right away.⁶⁰⁷ A reputation as *mwaminifu* could help a trader back on his feet when he was bankrupt. And a good reputation could bring a trader a lot of business. Salum Elikeni described how upcountry

traders on the fact that most of the wholesale traders in Tanga as well as the upcountry suppliers such as himself were from the Sambaa ethnic group. At the Tanga market, the homoethnic environment did not have positive effect on the level of trust between upcountry suppliers and Tanga wholesalers (Mzee Mdachi, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Lukozi, Tanga, May 5, 2013). Compare this with West Africa where Cohen and Lovejoy provide examples of how Africans organized their trade on the basis of a shared ethnicity (Cohen, *Custom & Politics in Urban Africa*; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900* (Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980)).

⁶⁰⁴ Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰⁵ Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰⁶ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰⁷ Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

suppliers he had never met sent him goods, simply because they had heard about his good reputation and entrusted him their produce. He would then pay them their money once he had sold the produce.⁶⁰⁸ Neither wholesale traders nor suppliers at the time thought of these arrangements as a form of credit. “The one trusting you doesn’t have an idea that he is lending you and you, who are borrowing, don’t have any idea that you are borrowing from another person’s business; you don’t know that and you don’t use that kind of language,” contended Lusunga.⁶⁰⁹ Much more important was another kind of language, the language of mutual respect. In fact, it was common for both the supplier and wholesaler to call the other *tajiri*, i.e. “wealthy person,” even when one of them did not have any money.⁶¹⁰ Although they did not use the Kiswahili words for “credit” and “debt” when engaging in *mali kauli* practices, Kariakoo traders were very adept at using these arrangements to their advantage. The *mali kauli* arrangement with upcountry suppliers freed up cash capital traders were able to use productively on the sale side of their business.⁶¹¹ From the perspective of Kariakoo wholesale rice traders, the *mali kauli* system of trade reduced the risk of trade and increased their working capital.

From the perspective of the upcountry traders and farmers, the *mali kauli* system in Kariakoo had both positive and negative aspects. Upcountry traders often had no choice but to

⁶⁰⁸ Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁰⁹ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶¹⁰ Mtunga Mbande, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ifakara, Morogoro, March 10, 2013. See also Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶¹¹ An illuminating example provides Habibu Mganda, a banana trader who had been in business since the late 1950s. Even though he had a considerable amount of capital in cash at disposal, he would buy the produce on *mali kauli* basis. “The first thing I learned with regards to bananas is that when you buy cash, you can get a very bad loss” because some bananas do not ripen quickly enough and cannot be sold. The chances for suppliers to reimburse him for unsold bananas were slim. On *mali kauli* basis, on the other hand, he would only pay for the bananas he actually sold to retailers or end consumers. He would then use the money he had at disposal to sell his produce to large-scale buyers such as the university, the army, the hospital, or the prison on credit. These government institutions would regularly pay him at the end of the month (Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

enter into *mali kauli* agreements with wholesale traders in Kariakoo. Since they did not know the potential buyers of their produce, i.e. retailers and end consumers, they had to go through wholesale traders, who would not agree to buy produce in cash. Wholesale traders at times abused the trust endowed in them by upcountry traders. Upcountry traders complained that they had to agree to prices that were merely half of what wholesalers would charge their customers.⁶¹² When produce went bad as a result of lacking buyers, Kariakoo traders sometimes refused to cover any part of costs.⁶¹³ And there were also instances where wholesale traders disappeared before upcountry traders were given their share.⁶¹⁴ As the *mali kauli* system completely relied on *uaminifu*, there was always the risk of a trader abusing other people's trust. More importantly, a trader's dishonest practices often meant the end of his career as a trader. Mzee Peni insisted "we knew whether a person is honest and trustworthy [*mwaminifu*] because we do business the first day [the first time], so the second and the third day we know what kind of person he is and what his name and his father's name are. Also, they knew my number. At the stall in the market, we used to have numbers."⁶¹⁵ Traders, who had not established themselves and had not acquired a reputation as *mwaminifu*, had to rely on cash payments.⁶¹⁶ Overall, *mali kauli* was the system Kariakoo wholesalers relied on when they traded with rice from Ifakara.

The positive aspects of the *mali kauli* system dominated also for the upcountry traders. In Ifakara, rice farmers-cum-traders emphasized how the importance of knowing a trustworthy wholesale trader in Kariakoo. Otherwise, one was stranded with a load of rice in Dar es Salaam

⁶¹² Yusuf Mbwilo, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Chimala, Mbeya, November 9, 2013.

⁶¹³ Mzee Gogo, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶¹⁴ Michael Michoro Mbwana, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Chimala, Mbeya, November 9, 2013.

⁶¹⁵ Mzee Peni, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶¹⁶ Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, who was in the rice business in the early 1980s, was one of these traders. He made clear that nobody in Ifakara would give you rice on *mali kauli* basis when they did not know you (Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

without being able to sell it for a good price.⁶¹⁷ Upcountry rice traders insisted that Kariakoo wholesale traders were very trustworthy. Kariakoo traders would abide to an agreed-upon price and there was no need to write things down. Verbal agreements were honored. What is more, traders stationed in Ifakara used the same discourse of *uaminifu* to describe themselves and their ways of doing business. “*Uaminifu* is my capital,” as the long-standing rice trader Sebastian Mbilingi put it pointedly. “The main capital is *uaminifu*, especially for us poor people.”⁶¹⁸ Ifakara rice traders would draw on their reputation as *waaminifu* when wealthy traders from Dar es Salaam came to Ifakara to buy rice. These traders were referred to as *wapemba*, i.e. people from the island of Pemba (sg. *mpemba*). In fact, the *wapemba* were Dar es Salaam residents doing business in Kariakoo and they were used to doing business on the basis of *uaminifu*. Unlike other traders, however, they came to Ifakara with cash and they would give trusted Ifakara traders cash so they could go to the villages with their bicycles, buy rice from farmers, and bring it to Ifakara.⁶¹⁹ *Wapemba* would not blindly trust Ifakara traders. The person in charge of the rice milling machine would serve as the guarantor. *Wapemba* would also gauge the trustworthiness of an Ifakara trader by pretending to accidentally give him too much money, waiting whether the Ifakara trader would silently accept the extra money or be honest and tell the *mpemba* about the mistake. Once a *mpemba* and an Ifakara trader had established trade relations based on *uaminifu*, the *mpemba* would rely on this specific Ifakara trader during future visits.⁶²⁰

Kariakoo traders’ heavy reliance on verbal credit agreements might suggest that bank loans were not available to Dar es Salaam residents at the time. This is not entirely true. Even

⁶¹⁷ Mtunga Mbande, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶¹⁸ Sebastian Kilian Mbilingi, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ifakara, Morogoro, March 10, 2013.

⁶¹⁹ Mtunga Mbande, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶²⁰ Mzee Mgya, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ifakara, Morogoro, March 10, 2013; Mtunga Mbande, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

before the liberalization of the financial sector in the first half of the 1990s, it was not impossible for ordinary Dar es Salaam residents to get loans from banks. However, it was a challenge for ordinary traders to receive loans from the nationalized banking sector. After adopting a socialist policy framework laid out in the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the Nyerere government quickly moved to nationalize private banks. Barclays Bank, the South African Standard Bank, the Bank of India, and the Banque Belge du Congo were taken over by the government and became the National Bank of Commerce (NBC). Unlike the private banks before nationalization, NBC gave out loans to the public sector rather than the private sector. A majority of loans went to government parastatals. Within thirteen years of the formation of the National Bank of Commerce, the percentage of loans given out to the public sector rose from 13 per cent to about 90 per cent.⁶²¹ NBC remained the only bank to give out loans for commercial enterprises until 1991.⁶²²

Only two of the 48 Kariakoo traders I talked to were able to get bank loans before the late 1990s.⁶²³ Although they were aware of NBC giving out loans to businesspeople, most Kariakoo traders did not try to get bank loans because they were convinced the bank would not consider them creditworthy customers. In traders' own understanding, their businesses were too small, they did not have the necessary personal connections to influential people, and as Africans they did not have the right skin color to fulfill the requirement to get a loan. Several traders insisted

⁶²¹ Kimei, "Tanzania's Financial Experience in the Post-War Period," 141.

⁶²² Other state banks existed as well, such as the Tanzania Rural Development Bank (TRDB), the Tanzania Housing Bank (THB), and the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) (Binhammer, *The Development of a Financial Infrastructure in Tanzania*; Kimei, "Tanzania's Financial Experience in the Post-War Period"; Kami S. P. Rwegasira, *Financial Analysis and Institutional Lending Operations Management in a Developing Country: A Critical Perspective of Tanzania Banks and DFIs* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1991)).

⁶²³ Hamis Mohamed Zowange, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, March 25, 2013; Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

that it did not even cross their minds that they could get a loan from NBC or from any other bank. “We were not creditworthy [*tulikuwa hatuaminiwi*] and we didn’t even have thoughts of going to borrow money [from banks]” stated Habibu Mganda, a wholesale banana trader at the Kariakoo market hall.⁶²⁴ Jabu Ramadhani echoed this statement, “I have never [taken out a loan] and not even the thought of going to take out a loan existed.”⁶²⁵ The mere idea of trying to secure a bank loan was too far-fetched for these traders to even consider.⁶²⁶

It was not for a lack of experience with banking institutions that Kariakoo traders failed to consider taking out bank loans for their businesses.⁶²⁷ A few traders also had NBC accounts and they used these financial institutions for their business dealings. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the NBC account holder Juma Lusunga found that he could make good use of the checks the bank made available to him. On the one hand, paying suppliers via check helped him save time as he did not have to count money. On the other hand, handing out checks to suppliers made him look like an extraordinarily wealthy businessman in the eyes of other people so more and more suppliers came to trust him as their business partner in the Kariakoo market.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶²⁵ Jabu Ramadhani, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶²⁶ This provides insights into Kariakoo traders’ subjectivities. I discuss in chapter 5 how fundamentally the introduction of microcredits challenged existing subjectivities.

⁶²⁷ See chapter 2.

⁶²⁸ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Hamis Mohamed Zowange also had a bank account with NBC, which he only used as a deposit account. Although Kariakoo traders did not have access to formal loans, they had the option of resorting to informal loans from local moneylenders. Informal moneylenders charged interest rates that were significantly higher than the ones charged by banks. Twenty per cent interest per month was common and interest rates could be considerably higher as well. Informal moneylenders were Africans, Arabs, and Asians, and they had their own means of ensuring the repayment of loans, which included the use of force. Because of their high interest rates, these loans were attractive for quick and illegal business deals. Kariakoo traders rarely if ever made use of private informal moneylenders. They preferred to rely on the *mali kauli* system of doing business and they were also able to borrow money from each other when their starting capital was completely used up (Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

In order to get a bank loan from NBC, a trader needed to have at least two *wadhamini*, i.e. people serving as guarantors. Usually, *wadhamini* had to have NBC accounts with a sufficient amount of money to cover the trader's loan. In case of non-repayment of the loan, *wadhamini* were held responsible.⁶²⁹ This bank policy inadvertently gave Asian businessmen and businesswomen an advantage over African traders. It was much easier for a potential Asian borrower to find two *wadhamini* than for a potential African borrower because Asian communities in Dar es Salaam were tightly-knit and Asians were much more likely to have bank accounts.⁶³⁰ Although the colonial law restricting credit to Africans had long been repealed, African businesspeople still found it impossibly difficult to borrow money from banks. Furthermore, the bribes loan officers regularly demanded did not make taking out loans easier for ordinary traders.⁶³¹ The limited access to bank loans only underwrote the importance and longevity of the *mali kauli* system of trade in Kariakoo.

CONCLUSION

Focusing exclusively on bank and state policies means to overlook African traders' extensive use of verbal credit agreements to create trade networks and personal businesses. Rice traders at the Kariakoo market relied on and invested in *mali kauli* credit relations with their suppliers in order to trade relatively large amounts of produce with little cash at hand. *Mali kauli* remained the mode of trading rice throughout the colonial and socialist periods even after the socialist state

⁶²⁹ Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni was one of the few Kariakoo traders I interviewed, who was able to take out a loan from NBC in the form of an overdraft.

⁶³⁰ Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili. From his own experience, Mzee Urrio stated that "In the past, banks used to trust Asians more than Africans" (Mzee Urrio, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

⁶³¹ Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

increasingly took control of trade in the country via cooperative unions. Neither did the construction of a new market building at the height of the socialist period interrupt long-established trade relations and *mali kauli* arrangements. *Mali kauli* was also compatible with Muslim prescriptions with regards to commercial activities because interest was not visible in *mali kauli* arrangements.

Traders relied on the powerful *uaminifu* discourse to forge trade relations and respectable identities. The *uaminifu* discourse compelled Kariakoo traders to cultivate their reputation as trustworthy and honest traders in the eyes of upcountry suppliers and the people in the market and in the neighborhood. With the help of this rich and moral vocabulary, Kariakoo traders could assess other traders' activities and identify them as *waaminifu*, thus belonging to their community, while carefully making sure that other traders would identify them as *waaminifu*. If a trader had the reputation of being honest and trustworthy, he could do business even if he did not have any cash at disposal. Traders' conceptions of personhood and self-worth were constituted relationally. The morality underwriting these credit and debt relations became the focus of attention in the mid-1990s when microcredits and small bank loans became available for traders in Kariakoo. Microcredit proponents and state actors argued that the shift away from *mali kauli* and towards immediate cash payments was a step of modernizing market relations in Kariakoo. More importantly, loan officers deployed a different kind of morality when distinguishing between "good" and "bad" traders, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5—COMPETING MORALITIES: MICROCREDITS, CREDITWORTHINESS, AND *AIBU* IN POSTSOCIALIST KARIAKOO

In a speech broadcast on the evening news, Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner Said Meck Sadick addressed the city's female residents at the occasion of International Women's Day 2013. In a patronizing tone, he told them not to be afraid of approaching financial institutions and let cowardice and worries about high interest rates stand in their way of economic development. Instead of listening to stories about people who have failed to repay loans, they should make use of loans and bring about development. "You should dare [to take out a loan] so you can see its fruits, and don't listen to the words of the one who has failed," he pronounced.⁶³² According to Said Sadick, stories circulating in the urban public had generated irrational fears and worries, which prevented women in Dar es Salaam from taking out loans.

Dar es Salaam residents – irrespective of their gender – had good reasons to be skeptical of bank loans. For the past twenty years, banks and microfinance institutions had provided loans to small- and medium-scale businesswomen and businessmen in Dar es Salaam. Yet, many long-standing urban residents remained doubtful. People's skepticism did not only refer to the technical characteristics and technicalities of these loans such as high interest rates and short repayment periods.⁶³³ Bank credit was also constitutive of a new business culture, which challenged older ways of doing business and their attendant value systems.⁶³⁴ Late colonial and

⁶³² Newstar Rwechungura, "Wanawake Dar Acheni Woga, Kopeni Mitaji," *Mwananchi* newspaper, March 8, 2013.

⁶³³ Annual interest rates on formal loans usually ranged between 18 and 30 per cent, but could be as high as 240 per cent, while the annual inflation rate stood at about twelve per cent. Repayment periods were as short as one month and the first portion of the loan was expected to be repaid as early as one week after the loan was taken out (Staphord Kwanama, "Riba Kubwa Za Mikopo Zinavyowaliza Wakopaji," *Mwananchi* newspaper, October 26, 2012; Mwananchi, "Meghji Alia Riba Benki Zinaumiza Wakopaji," *Mwananchi* newspaper, June 6, 2013.

⁶³⁴ For an anthropological study of how microcredits changed the ways of doing business in a neighborhood in Cairo, see Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*.

postcolonial governments undertook repeated efforts to make urban residents more business-minded by impelling them to work on their creditworthiness and become “good debtors.” The morality at the center of these discourses and practices of debt acted as a fulcrum for reforming urban subjects. Moral discourses around credit and debt were productive spaces because they constituted a realm where local views of business practices and government visions of desirable business behavior intersected.

Still, the project of impelling borrowers to re-think themselves as independent, rational, and fiscally responsible entrepreneurs accountable only to loan officers did not unfold uncontestedly. Competing moralities allowed urban residents to critically evaluate new forms of credit and debt and their attending moral discourses. This was particularly true in the Kariakoo market environment, where communal and trade relations were heavily marked by aspects of credit and debt and shaped by moral discourses on debt. In an urban environment of competing moralities, Kariakoo borrowers perceived small and microcredits against the backdrop of a multi-layered history of borrowing and lending, histories of dispossession and wealth-creation, and systems of trade. The persistence of older forms of morality and relations of trust served as a way to evaluate and criticize bank loans.

A CULTURE OF (MICRO-)CREDIT

Kariakoo traders had access to microcredits and small and medium-size bank loans for the first time in the mid-1990s when Tanzania’s financial sector was deregulated. The Tanzanian government’s hotly debated acceptance of an IMF- and World Bank-sponsored structural adjustment program in 1986 was the formal start to deregulate the economy, including the banking sector. NBC’s monopoly position in the commercial banking sector ended in 1991 and

the doors were opened for private financial institutions to be set up. By 1999, a total of 31 financial institutions had been established.⁶³⁵ NBC itself underwent a thorough process of restructuring towards privatization.⁶³⁶ Some of the newly created financial institutions took the form of microfinance institutions. Among the first were FINCA, PRIDE, and the Presidential Trust Fund for Self-Reliance, all of which were established in the mid-1990s. These early non-bank microfinance institutions in Tanzania drew on ideas and experiences of microfinance institutions in other parts of the world, such as Grameen Bank and BRAC in Bangladesh. Banks in Tanzania drew their inspiration from microfinance institutions in order to reach larger segments of society. The formation of the National Microfinance Bank (NMB), an offshoot of NBC, was one example.

According to the rhetoric adopted by financial institutions and the Tanzanian government, microfinance was a means to enhance the desirable process of making banking services available to previously excluded segments of the Tanzanian public. Providers of small bank loans and microcredit loans actively promoted loans at the Kariakoo produce wholesale market and other markets in the neighborhood. Staff members of NMB and PRIDE reached out to Kariakoo traders and encourage them to take out loans.⁶³⁷ Hamis Ulele, who traded used car parts at a tiny stall in the Kariakoo Auction Mart, vividly remembered “They came in here and told the traders ‘Come and borrow money so you can do business!’”⁶³⁸ In these early days of microfinance in Kariakoo, banks and microcredit NGOs accepted a trader’s market stall as security for a small loan of 500’000 Tanzanian shillings. Upon repaying the initial loan, a trader

⁶³⁵ Tanzania Ministry of Finance, “National Micro-Finance Policy” (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 2000).

⁶³⁶ NBC was split into three different entities in 1997, including NBC (1997) Limited and the National Microfinance Bank.

⁶³⁷ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶³⁸ Hamis Kassim Ulele, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

could eventually qualify for loans of up to 3 million shillings. Of the 48 Kariakoo traders I interviewed, 42 took out their first loans from banking institutions in the late-1990s and early 2000s.

The provision of small loans to formerly “unbankable” people did not simply satisfy an already existing demand as the promoters of microcredits proclaimed. Initially, Kariakoo traders, who had been invested in the *mali kauli* system of trade, were not particularly eager to take out bank loans. Lenders undertook various activities to promote loans and “educate” urban dwellers and traders about the meaning of loans and the formalities involved. Winnie Terry, a former officer at the microcredit organization FINCA, remembered that people in Dar es Salaam wondered why she was interested in giving them money and why she wanted to trust them.⁶³⁹ A lot of effort was invested in shaping urban Tanzanians’ desires for bank and microcredit loans and persuading people, who had been excluded from banking services, to embrace the idea of borrowing money and making repayments with interest and within clearly defined time units. Loan providers’ mission was not only to lend money to people but also to educate “financially illiterate” people how to use credit. Much of this work aimed at the cultural ways of doing business in Kariakoo.⁶⁴⁰ Representatives of credit institutions often referred to the cultural aspect of their work when they used terms such as “credit mentality” or “culture of credit.”⁶⁴¹ Salie

⁶³⁹ Winnie Terry, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam, June 11, 2013.

⁶⁴⁰ Elyachar shows for the el-Hirafiyen neighborhood in Cairo how prospective managers of local microcredit services were instructed to use culture, such as the headman, the religious leader, community pressure, or the police, as ways to ensure the repayment of loans, and culture was turned into a cost-saving device (Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*, 194, 200, 211, 214–215).

⁶⁴¹ Winnie Terry, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Shafik Bhatia, interview with the author in English, Buguruni, Dar es Salaam, August 6, 2013; Salie Mlay, interview with the author in English, Posta, Dar es Salaam, November 23, 2013; Reginald Massawe, interview with the

Mlay, the NMB branch manager in Kariakoo in the early 2000s, went to the Kariakoo market hall every evening to spend time with the traders because he wanted to get to know their way of doing business. “You really need to know how these people work, from the bottom, their culture.”⁶⁴² Salie Mlay convinced the market manager to organize a meeting in the market building to inform the traders about the formalities of taking out loans.⁶⁴³

An explicit reference to “culture” was also made by Miguel Llenas, the General Director of Dun&Bradstreet Bureau Tanzania Limited, the national representative of the American company Dun&Bradstreet, when promoting the imminent creation of the first credit bureau in Tanzania in 2013.

Now we help the government of Tanzania, the banks, every stakeholders of the country to create a culture of repayment. If you have a loan, you will have to pay. If you have a credit card, you will have to pay. If you have a telephone line in your house, you will have to pay. If you are paying anything in any retail company, for example you go to a retailer store and you buy a fridge or a TV to be paid in one year, you will have to pay it. Because if you don’t do that, eventually nobody will lend you money because everybody will know that you don’t pay in time.⁶⁴⁴

Miguel Llenas made clear that the role of the credit bureau was to change borrowers’ mentality and introduce a new culture of doing business. Dun&Bradstreet would collect information about companies’ and individuals’ credit history in order to enable money-lending institutions to gauge people’s creditworthiness. The information database on potential borrowers should “create an

author in Kiswahili, Survey, Dar es Salaam, May 23, 2013; Tirunagari Srikanth, interview with the author in English, Posta, Dar es Salaam, July 15, 2013.

⁶⁴² Salie Mlay, interview with the author in English.

⁶⁴³ Salie Mlay claimed that he had 250 applications after the initial meeting. The applicants included wholesale traders from the underground level as well as shopkeepers from the upper level.

⁶⁴⁴ Miguel Llenas, General Director of Dun&Bradstreet Bureau Tanzania Limited, in an interview with Tanzanian media at the occasion of a workshop on the establishment of a credit bureau in Tanzania. The workshop took place on May 3, 2013, and representatives of 45 banks operating in Tanzania participated. Interview available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6mZTQiOcJeM>, transcribed by the author.

easily identifiable pool of credit-worthy customers,” Miguel Llenas was quoted in the Tanzanian daily newspaper *The Citizen*.⁶⁴⁵

A necessary prerequisite for the workings of a credit bureau was the identification of potential borrowers. Incidentally, the creation of Tanzania’s first credit bureau coincided with the launching of compulsory national identity cards. The first ID cards were issued just a few months after the Llenas’ statement cited above was made. Banks in Tanzania had struggled with the challenge of unambiguously identifying clients before. In the British colonial days bank clients were identified via an *akida* who in turn relied on a *jumbe*. Both *akida* and *jumbe* were local political representatives of the British colonial government. When cashing a check at the Post Office Savings Bank (POSB), for instance, an African bank client had to see an elder or *jumbe*, who confirmed the identity of the person. The bank client subsequently had to take the letter to the *akida*, present the POSB book and the tax receipt, and have it signed by the *akida*. Only then could the bank client finally go to the bank and cash the check. Despite this lengthy and thought-out process of identifying bank clients, there was at least one person in Tanga, who in 1939 managed to outsmart the system. He impersonated a person named Omari Sekoyo and cashed a check in the latter’s name.⁶⁴⁶

After independence, the Tanzanian government discussed the idea of introducing a national identity card several times, although it was never a pressing political issue. The idea was first introduced in 1968 at a regional meeting with government representatives from Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia. It took eighteen years before a resolution regarding the registration of

⁶⁴⁵ Frank Aman, “Defaulters’ Days Numbered after Credit Reference Bureau Launched,” *The Citizen* newspaper, May 6, 2013.

⁶⁴⁶ TNA 28657: “Payment of Savings Bank Deposit to Wrong Person: Petition from Omari Sekoyo.” Still in 2013, it was common practice to provide a letter from the ten-cell leader when a Tanzanian wanted to open a bank account.

citizens was formulated and implemented.⁶⁴⁷ No action was taken, however, due to financial constraints. Finally in 2006, the government arranged for a feasibility study and, shortly thereafter, it decided to implement and finance a national ID card program, which the National Identification Authority (NIDA) was to supervise. By 2015, every adult Tanzania was to own a national identification card.⁶⁴⁸ In 2013, the issuing of ID cards was officially launched and citizens started to apply for cards.

The government attached high hopes to the introduction of national ID cards. According to Tanzania's macroeconomic policy framework for the years 2013-2017, ID cards were expected to "enhance national peace and security" and NIDA's database information was to be used "for socio-economic development."⁶⁴⁹ With respect to financial matters, the policy framework stated:

IDs will not be merely identity documents just like passports, business cards or identity cards issued by one's employers. It will mean an increased social economic status because it may also serve as a one-stop document that will provide details of the economic status of the Tanzanian national that may be helpful for the banks to advance him/her credit in the event one is an applicant for a loan. Identifying potential borrowers will help lenders assess risks and costs on an individual basis and better determine the creditworthiness of each borrower, which will make loans more accessible to citizens.⁶⁵⁰

Peace and development were to be achieved, among other things, by assessing every citizen's creditworthiness. Citizens became defined as "borrowers" or "potential borrowers," who looked to financial institutions as potential lenders. The state came to occupy a subsidiary position as the issuer of ID cards and facilitator of information databases. In many ways, the citizen-state

⁶⁴⁷ The Registration and Identification of Persons Act, No.11/86 was enacted in 1986.

⁶⁴⁸ United Republic of Tanzania, *Macroeconomic Policy Framework for the Five Year Development Plan/Budget, 2013/2014-2016/17* (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Ministry of Finance, 2013), 42–44.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

relationship became redefined as borrower-lender relationship. Issuing national ID cards also had the effect of fixing citizen-borrowers in specific geographical locations.⁶⁵¹ “Saidi Mohamed from Kariakoo,” for instance, was not a sufficient way to unambiguously identify a person because most likely, several people called Saidi Mohamed may have resided in the Kariakoo neighborhood at any given time. At the same time, national ID cards were considered to help realize land as collateral for loans, along the lines Hernando de Soto suggested.⁶⁵² To be sure, the provision of ID cards had the potential to quantify and fix people in a system and create new kinds of knowledge that could be used for various purposes, including multiparty democratic governance, policing, and US anti-terrorism efforts. With regards to finance, however, national ID cards were expected to create new kinds of knowledge about individual people’s creditworthiness.

The creation of a credit bureau and the introduction of ID cards, both in 2013, were to support financial institutions in their efforts to gauge individuals’ creditworthiness. The goal was to identify users of financial services and to divide them into “good” and “bad” debtors. The statements above illustrate how collecting information about citizens, identifying people as potential borrowers, assessing individuals’ creditworthiness, and lending money to clients were all tied up in one discursive field, which started to take shape in urban Tanzania in the mid-1990s. Government agencies and financial institutions advised citizens and customers how to use money properly and productively. Furthermore, they defined with renewed vehemence who was eligible to have access to money in the form of loans in the first place. Taken together, the credit

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 27. For more on the entanglements of the citizen and borrower discourses, see chapter 4.

⁶⁵² Hernando de Soto and Francis Cheneval, *Realizing Property Rights* (Zürich: Rüffer&Rub, 2006).

bureau and the national ID amounted to a “technology of neoliberalism.”⁶⁵³ The credit bureau in combination with the national ID card constituted Tanzanians as citizens-borrowers. Together with credit histories collected by the credit bureau, financial institutions would be able to use national identity cards to unambiguously identify creditworthy citizens and their potential collateral.⁶⁵⁴ Borrowers-citizens, on the other hand, were expected to take stock of themselves and work on their creditworthiness in order to become “good debtors.”

FROM *UAMINIFU* TO CREDITWORTHINESS

A focus on the notion of *uaminifu* illustrates to what extent the processes described above translated to what happened on the ground in Kariakoo, i.e. how power relations and trader subjectivities in the Kariakoo market changed with the liberalization of the financial sector in the mid-1990s and the arrival of microcredit loans in the subsequent decade. The widespread availability of bank loans made it easier for Kariakoo traders to pay their suppliers immediately in cash instead of relying on *mali kauli* transactions. Immediate cash transactions had the advantage of shortening upcountry suppliers’ stay in Dar es Salaam. A Kariakoo trader with the disposable cash to pay upcountry suppliers immediately was able to lure suppliers away from other Kariakoo traders, who based their trade on the *mali kauli* system. To marginalize and replace *mali kauli* transactions was an explicit goal formulated by Salie Mlay, the NMB branch manager in Kariakoo from 2002 to 2008, when he started to advertise NMB loans to Kariakoo traders. “I told the [Kariakoo] market manager ‘If you want to make more money, we need to cooperate, me and you, and support these people [the wholesalers at the Kariakoo market] so

⁶⁵³ Keith Breckenridge, “Biometrics, Governance and Predictability” (VAD Congress: Future Africa, Bayreuth, Germany, 2014).

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

they can have cash and they can sell more, and collect more revenue, and you can renovate the market.’ ... We had a meeting and we agreed that we would give microcredit so they can support cash movements so they can pay on the spot instead of take it on credit.”⁶⁵⁵

When Kariakoo traders started to take out bank loans and pay suppliers in cash, the *mali kauli* system and the conceptions of self-worth and personhood described in chapter 4 were challenged. *Uaminifu* as a central term to describe a trader’s professional ability and personal identity was undermined while “creditworthiness” as assessed by loan officers became increasingly relevant. The definatory struggle over the meaning and relevance of *uaminifu* and creditworthiness provides an insight into processes of subject formation.⁶⁵⁶ Whether and how people and institutions considered a person trustworthy had an effect on the person’s understanding of himself or herself. How trustworthiness was defined and who was defined as trustworthy fundamentally shaped people’s identities and subjectivities. Notions of trustworthiness and honesty were particularly relevant in the Kariakoo market environment, where credit and debt were constitutive of social and communal relations.

Who had the power to define trustworthiness and trustworthy traders was critically important. The definatory power over who was and who was not a trustworthy trader in the Kariakoo market shifted from upcountry suppliers to loan officers. For loan officers, *uaminifu* was no longer a central term to describe a trader’s personality and his or her ability as a professional trader. A few Kariakoo traders also referred to *uaminifu* as something that had

⁶⁵⁵ Salie Mlay, interview with the author in English.

⁶⁵⁶ With Foucault, I consider subject formation as a continuous process taking place in an environment of power manifested in social relation. In this environment of power, human beings turn themselves into subjects and create certain subjectivities, see especially Foucault, “The Subject and Power.”

mattered in the past, but had become less important in the present.⁶⁵⁷ Rather than relying on traders' reputation as *waaminifu*, they gauged debtors' creditworthiness and separated "good" debtors from "bad" debtors. They employed a similar but narrower concept of trustworthiness, i.e. creditworthiness, expressed in Kiswahili with the verb *ku-kopesheka*, i.e. "to be creditworthy."⁶⁵⁸

The change from "trustworthiness" to "creditworthiness" was significant because creditworthiness was not synonymous with *uaminifu*. Certainly for Kariakoo traders, the shift from *uaminifu* to creditworthiness was substantial. What fundamentally changed were the people assessing Kariakoo traders. In the *mali kauli* system, upcountry suppliers ultimately had the power to define which Kariakoo trader was trustworthy. Suppliers expected a trustworthy Kariakoo trader to take care of produce and sell it to the agreed-upon price before it went bad. Suppliers relied on a trader's reputation and on their personal relations with the trader to gauge the trader's *uaminifu*. By agreeing to hand over their goods to a particular Kariakoo trader without insisting on immediate cash payments, they granted the trader a form of short-term credit. There were always several wholesale traders present for each kind of produce so suppliers could choose to entrust their goods to any other wholesale trader present at the market. As they built personal long-term relations a particular Kariakoo trader, suppliers helped him to establish a reputation as a trustworthy trader.⁶⁵⁹

With the emergence of a cash-based trading system as an alternative to the *mali kauli* system, bankers and microfinance officials replaced upcountry suppliers as assessors of Kariakoo

⁶⁵⁷ Suleiman Majata, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁵⁸ From the verb *ku-kopa* ("to borrow") and the derivative verb form *ku-kopesha* ("to make (someone) borrow", i.e. "to lend"). *Ku-kopesheka* is the stative form of *ku-kopesha*, so the literal translation of *ku-kopesheka* is "to be in a state of being made to borrow" or "to be lendable."

⁶⁵⁹ See chapter 4.

traders' trustworthiness, or rather creditworthiness. As bankers expected borrowing traders to be able to pay back loans with interest in regular installments, they required them to prove their creditworthiness by providing evidence that their businesses had been profitable for the duration of several months or years. Hardly any one of these traders had a credit history with financial institutions.⁶⁶⁰ According to Habibu Mganda, "Many of us traders, we don't have business records, which could give us the memory of how last year's business was compared to this year's business. ... That's why the banks are afraid of us and now the banks do lend us money but it's very little money and not a considerable amount."⁶⁶¹ Kariakoo traders had to prove that they were capable businessmen even when they had been in business for decades and had a long-standing reputation as *waaminifu*. As the definatory power of who was a capable and trustworthy businessman shifted away from fellow traders and suppliers to loan officers, the borrowing traders came to view themselves and their activities in a new light.

In their role as assessors of creditworthiness, loan officers wrote specific kinds of histories. As writers of credit histories, they did not trust oral sources and strongly believed in the value of written documents such as bank statements, business plans, title deeds, and proof of residence. With the help of these documents, they gauged traders' creditworthiness and separated creditworthy traders from not creditworthy ones. "In the process of giving loans, there is something called 'What is your capacity to hold money? How much money can you trade with?' And that should not come from your mouth, it has to come from a certain record, which can prove how much you can trade with," explained NMB branch manager Salie Mlay adding "If I give you, let's say, one million [shillings] this year, through putting the money to the account, taking out, put your sales, paying people, it will be enough to tell us how much money you have

⁶⁶⁰ Creditors and loan officers such as Salie Mlay lamented this to a great extent.

⁶⁶¹ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

traded within the year and whether you deserve to be given two million. But if you don't write your own history of how much money you can trade with, we may give you another one million or we may give you even less because we don't know how much you get.”⁶⁶² Kariakoo traders were encouraged to write their own histories as entrepreneurial and creditworthy businessmen with the help of written documents.

For Kariakoo traders, who had long relied on verbal promises (*kauli*), the shift to bank loans and written documents constituted a qualitative change.⁶⁶³ “You have to bring an analysis [of your business, a business plan], you can't just talk at the table. No, you have to talk with documents, in a written manner. ‘This is the business and this is the analysis [of my business], the business will have this many shillings and this will be the profit,’ and these things are in a file,” Yusuph Kaita described the change.⁶⁶⁴ Others confirmed how loan officers’ means of assessing creditworthiness were different from how *uaminifu* was assessed in the past. Loan officers required potential borrowers to present bank statements in order to see the history of the flow of money pertaining to a particular account. Many Kariakoo traders had not kept ledgers or entertained bank accounts.⁶⁶⁵

Bank loans relied on a legal framework in ways *mali kauli* arrangements had not. “A loan is a contract, and you have to pay according to what you agreed on, and it is a legal contract, not

⁶⁶² Salie Mlay, interview with the author in English. Mzee Urrio, a shopkeeper on the first floor of the Kariakoo market and one of Salie Mlay's clients at the time, lamented that banks asked for various documents, including two years' worth of written business records, which he was not able to produce. In the end, Mzee Urrio did not think it was worth the time and money to apply for a loan of only 500,000 shillings. To express his frustration, he moved all of his money to another bank (Mzee Urrio, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

⁶⁶³ Roberts and Mann show how provision of credit in the nineteenth century was increasingly undertaken by writing contracts and pledging property rather than establishing patron-client relationships or swearing oaths (Roberts and Mann, “Introduction: Law in Colonial Africa,” 9, 11, 29).

⁶⁶⁴ Yusuph Abubakar Kaita, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁶⁵ Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

a voluntary agreement [which] when you fail [to pay, you can say] ‘well, we’ll see next year.’ No, it is a legal contract. If you don’t pay, this and this step will be taken, and you sign there,” Juma Lusunga explained.⁶⁶⁶ Signed written documents meant that there was a legal obligation to make agreed-upon repayments, which brought about a new experience of time as well. Credit arrangements always create and rely on particular conceptions of time.⁶⁶⁷ The *mali kauli* system depended on flexible time promises. Whether Kariakoo traders were able to sell the produce on the spot or after two weeks did not matter. Whenever the produce was sold, Kariakoo traders reimbursed upcountry suppliers for the goods they were entrusted with.⁶⁶⁸ Bank loans, on the other hand, entailed fixed time units for repayment, which stripped bank loans off the Maussian gift-like character *mali kauli* loans displayed.⁶⁶⁹ Thus, the dissemination and widespread availability of bank loans challenged cultural notions of trust and honesty.

Credit providers understood bank loans to be a catalyst for the emergence of a new culture of doing business, which involved a change in people’s ways of handling money, their conception of time, their relations with other people, and their understanding of themselves. Instead of investing time and money into building personal and trust-based relations with upcountry suppliers, which was crucial in the *mali kauli*-system of trade, Kariakoo traders were now expected to be accountable primarily to loan officers and to engage with suppliers in impersonal and cash-based market transactions. The new way of trading at the Kariakoo based

⁶⁶⁶ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁶⁷ Nietzsche went as far as arguing that creditor-debtor relationships were responsible for humans’ sense of time in the first place (Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*).

⁶⁶⁸ Trade relations resembling *mali kauli* have a long history in the Indian Ocean world. As long as a supplier had a good host and was fed and accommodated properly, there was no need for immediate payment of goods (Abdul Sheriff, *Dhow Culture of the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)).

⁶⁶⁹ As David Graeber has argued, fixing the time units in which loans can be repaid changes the quality of loans from gift-like to credit-like (Graeber, *Debt*).

on bank loans and immediate cash payments de-emphasized traders' acknowledgment that their fate and business success depended on other traders' actions and expectations and it challenged long-standing cultural notions of trust and honesty. As loan officers measured and quantified "creditworthiness" with specific methods, some borrowing traders indeed came to see themselves and their relations to other people in a new light.

There was also a subtle difference between the ways long-standing Kariakoo traders talked about doing business before and after the introduction of bank loans. Traders tended to use reciprocal verb forms expressed with the suffix *-ana* when referring to the past, and they more often used reflexive verb forms expressed with the prefix *ji-* when describing business activities since the mid-1990s. Traders insisted on the importance of *ku-aminiana*, "to trust each other," when doing business on *mali kauli* basis. When describing more recent business activities, traders used reflexive verb forms expressed with the prefix *ji-*, such as in *ku-jikwamua* ("to extricate oneself"), *ku-jipanga* ("to put oneself in order"), or *ku-jipimisha* ("to evaluate oneself"). Hamis Zowange, a wealthy Kariakoo trader and businessman, was conscious of how taking out bank loans changed the way he did business, even as he struggled to find the right words. "[Loans] helped me get this... you know, when you borrow money, there is a little thing that gives you like a certain obligation to do what? To work, diligently, so you are able to repay and to be in... it contributes to a certain extent to the conduct of business. You evaluate yourself [*unajipimisha mwenyewe*]. Because when you take money or when you take a car [as a loan], then you have to put it to work in a way that you give back the share [of the lender] and you get your share."⁶⁷⁰ Mtunga Mbande, a rice trader from Ifakara, who had taken out loans from NMB, also acknowledged that taking out loans had an effect on how he did business. "It animates your

⁶⁷⁰ Hamis Mohamed Zowange, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

mind because, you know, there is this challenge that now, I mustn't sleep, I need to work. ... You know, when these loans came here, it was true that people thought that we would be able to do what? To extricate ourselves [*Tukajikwamua*].”⁶⁷¹ The shift towards an increasing occupation with oneself instead of one's reliance on others also became visible when Kariakoo traders lamented the decreasing importance of *uaminifu* and expressed that the sense of creditworthiness granted by banks and microfinance institutions was not an equivalent substitute for *uaminifu*. Salum Elikeni, for instance, contended that *umimi*, i.e. “selfishness,” had replaced *uaminifu*.⁶⁷²

The reflexive verb forms contrasted with the ways Kariakoo traders talked about the *mali kauli* system of trade as well as the rotating credit societies, which were a common form of collectively saving money among urban Tanzanians.⁶⁷³ These associations had various names in Kiswahili, including the name *mchango wa kupeana* and *mchezo wa kupeana*, literally “the contribution to give each other” and “the game to give each other.”⁶⁷⁴ These small-scale savings and credit schemes already carried the notion of doing something to each other in their names. Nuru Muki, who used to sell rice cakes and beans on her verandah in the Gerezani section of Kariakoo, described the rotating credit associations she was involved in. “It was like a *mchango wa kupeana* and we women used to do it a lot. When you do business, you bring your money, 500 [shillings], 500 [shillings], one person receives [all the money] and we even saved gold. We really got money, this was called *mchango*. ... We poor people did not borrow from banks, our

⁶⁷¹ Mtunga Mbande, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Mtunga Mbande then went on to say that due to the high interest rates, the extra work one put in only benefitted the banks and not the one taking out the loan. Rather than helping people to free themselves, banks loans actually entrap them.

⁶⁷² Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁷³ Tripp uses the Kiswahili term *upato* (Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, 117–121).

⁶⁷⁴ Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Zena Omari Shamti, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Mabibo, Dar es Salaam, January 13, 2013; Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Nizar Visram, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, January 22 and 30, 2013.

bank was to give each other, ourselves to ourselves.” With a noted change in tone, Nuru Muki talked about bank loans. “Workers used to get loans but in the old days, loans were not very common. It was there but not very much. Here and there, there was a person who was able to put himself/herself in order [*mwenye kujipanga*] would get a loan, my dear, but as a poor person like me, you can’t get a loan. How do you think I would be able to pay [it back]? I would be put in jail, I am scared.”⁶⁷⁵ Reflexive verb constructions such as *ku-jipanga* increasingly challenged reciprocal verb constructions such as *ku-peana*. To a certain extent, bank credit did indeed work as a catalyst for the emergence of a new culture of doing business. The introduction of bank loans had the effect of prompting borrowers to take stock of themselves and work on their selves in new ways. New trader subjectivities marked by a sense of individualism and self-reflection took shape, especially with traders who were able to expand their businesses with the help of bank loans.

COMPETING MORALITIES AND *AIBU* STORIES

Despite the multi-pronged attempts to create new borrowing and fiscally responsible subjects, former conceptions of self and personhood were not entirely undermined. Kariakoo traders were skeptical of bank loans and the new business culture bank loans were supposed to bring about as well as the new morality undergirding loan officers’ assessments of potential debtors. While users of bank loans were supposed to work on their creditworthiness by producing paper trails and making repayments on their loans in regular intervals, Kariakoo traders continued to build their reputation as *waaminifu* traders by building relations of trust with other traders and suppliers. Newly entitled receivers of bank and microcredit loans drew on these older forms of

⁶⁷⁵ Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

morality to critically engage with the emerging morality of creditworthiness, which constituted a competing morality of borrowing and lending and challenged older forms of morality and relations of trust between traders and upcountry suppliers.⁶⁷⁶

A large majority of traders did not uncritically embrace the new financial instruments.⁶⁷⁷ People framed their critique mainly in three different ways. One was to criticize the technicalities of loans available in urban Tanzania. A common assessment was that interest rates were excessively high⁶⁷⁸ and the time for repayment too short and not up for re-negotiation. Kariakoo traders often brought up the issue of time when describing how lenders seized borrowers' possessions such as houses and land due to non-repayment of loans. According to them, the fixed time units on which bank and microcredit loans relied were the reason so many people lost their possessions.⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, the conditions to even qualify for a loan were numerous and difficult to fulfill. For instance, ownership of a house was often not sufficient as a collateral, unless one also had the title deed, which was not easy to get in urban Tanzania. Various application fees further lowered the appeal of loans. Several people also articulated their annoyance with loan officers, who would not give out loans unless the clients allowed them to keep five to ten per cent of the loans for themselves as a bribe. Finally, lenders disliked the long application process and the wealth of papers and documents one had to submit and sign to get a loan.⁶⁸⁰ Since small

⁶⁷⁶ Julia Elyachar uses the term “entitlement debt” to describe a similar phenomenon in Cairo (Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession*).

⁶⁷⁷ 44 of the 48 Kariakoo traders I talked to were critical of formal loans.

⁶⁷⁸ In 2013, annual interest rates were usually between 30 and 40 per cent.

⁶⁷⁹ Mzee Abdallah, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, March 30, 2013.

⁶⁸⁰ Jabu Ramahani, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Mzee Urio, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Fabiola Lagali, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo Market hall, Dar es Salaam, March 19, 2013; Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili. While criticizing

traders knew that the unpredictability of their business would make it difficult for them to effect regular repayments, they had good reasons not to take out loans.⁶⁸¹

Religious beliefs provided the grounds for some Kariakoo traders not to use bank loans. Taking out an interest-bearing loan was problematic for Muslims traders, who accounted for the vast majority of traders in Kariakoo. According to the Qur'an, loans bearing interest or *riba* were forbidden or *haramu*. As long as no interest was charged, however, loans were not considered problematic⁶⁸² and Muslim traders often accepted interest-free loans from fellow traders or from wealthy Kariakoo patrons. Advancing goods on credit was not *haramu*, either, which was a distinct advantage of *mali kauli* arrangements. Many shopkeepers were only able to establish themselves because they received goods on credit.⁶⁸³ For most Muslim traders, however, religious identity did not prevent them from taking out interest-bearing loans and many were quite willing to talk about their experiences with credit. Even more orthodox Muslims acknowledged that when a person was in trouble and needed money, it was acceptable to take out interest-bearing loans.⁶⁸⁴

A third way of conveying dislike for bank loans took a different tone, one that belonged to the realm of affect. Fear was the most common feeling long-standing businesspeople, who had relied on *mali kauli* transaction for decades, expressed when evaluating bank loans. They

the technicalities of loans was common for most Kariakoo traders, traders of a younger generation tended to be the ones restricting themselves to this kind of critique.

⁶⁸¹ Hamis Kassim Ulele, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁸² A small minority of Muslim traders such as Alif Ndige, a shopkeeper in Kariakoo, even considered financial services offered in the form of Islamic banking problematic. Islamic banking had only been available in Dar es Salaam for a few years when I conducted interviews in 2013.

⁶⁸³ Mzee Abdallah, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁸⁴ Mzee Abdallah, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

articulated their fear of being put in jail⁶⁸⁵ or being dispossessed of their belongings when failing to repay loans according to the rigid time frame set by the lender. Traders used the verb *ku-taifisha*, “to nationalize,” to describe how banks seized the houses of borrowers, who had failed to make repayments in time.⁶⁸⁶ The use of the terminology of *ku-taifisha* illustrates how past events and experiences shaped Kariakoo residents’ perception of the newly-introduced ways of lending and borrowing. The banks in post-1991 Tanzania were private companies and the word “to nationalize” may not have been entirely accurate to describe a private company’s seizing debtors’ property. But *ku-taifisha* conjured up the memories and the ghosts of the socialist past, most strikingly the so-called “acquisition of buildings” in 1971 when privately-owned multi-story buildings were nationalized.⁶⁸⁷ Most of the nationalized houses were located in Dar es Salaam.

Long-standing Kariakoo traders articulated their fear of being dispossessed of their belongings by telling stories. These stories were about people whose possessions – household items, furniture, cars, or even houses – were taken away because of an outstanding loan. What tellers of these stories conveyed went beyond the material loss debtors incurred. More important were the shame and embarrassment people experienced when they were being dispossessed. A failing debtor’s greatest worry was to avoid being seen by neighbors and passers-by when creditors showed up to collect the possessions. Tellers of these stories used the Kiswahili word *aibu*, i.e. “embarrassment,” “humiliation,” or “shame,” to describe these situations.⁶⁸⁸ Zena Shamti provided a typical example of an *aibu* story. “I am scared [of taking out loans] because I

⁶⁸⁵ Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁸⁶ Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Mzee Mgaya, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁸⁷ The Acquisition of Buildings Act, 1971.

⁶⁸⁸ Moral neighborhood communities played a crucial role in ensuring the repayment of loans in colonial Kariakoo (see chapter 1).

don't have anything and then you end up having to sell the place you expected to build a house on and then you'll be distressed. The other day, a woman had all of her possessions taken away, all her things were taken to Magomeni [a neighborhood in Dar es Salaam] where they were sold. This is *aibu* for me when I think of it in my heart, you take another person's thing and you fail to give it back.”⁶⁸⁹ People told me and each other similar *aibu* stories about unnamed neighbors and acquaintances all the time and unsolicitedly. The debtors were never explicitly identified as tellers did not consider it appropriate to publicly mention debtors' names.⁶⁹⁰

The threat of putting debtors publicly to shame was a powerful means for creditors to ensure the repayment of loans.⁶⁹¹ However, creditors and representatives of lending institutions were not always able to repel the pressures on their reputation and their social conscience, either. Winnie Terry, who used to work at FINCA, one of the most important microcredit institutions in Tanzania, routinely participated in the seizure of failing debtors' possessions. She specifically remembered the expression on a woman's face when her belongings were collected and taken away. “A person, who has never taken out a loan, has a house, a bed, a mattress, sheets, couches, a fridge, a TV. She [then] takes out a loan and fails to pay, [and] all of these things go away. So, has the loan helped her or has it pushed her back? You know, these are questions you ask yourself a lot. As for me, they... sometimes, they haunt me.”⁶⁹²

⁶⁸⁹ Zena Omari Shanti, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁶⁹⁰ Faraji Iddi Dibuma, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Failing to pay debts was often described *aibu*, not only in oral accounts but also in newspaper reports and other written texts. In 2011 the newspaper *Mwananchi*, the most widely-read Kiswahili newspaper in Tanzania at the time, ran a story on Tanzania's public debt in which it contended that it was *aibu* for Tanzania to continue to have debts the coming generation would have to repay (*Mwananchi* newspaper, May 2, 2011, “Kwanini Nchi Imezidiwa Na Madeni Kiasi Hiki?”).

⁶⁹¹ See chapter 1.

⁶⁹² Winnie Terry, interview with the author in Kiswahili. She used the English word “to haunt.” “Maswali ... yananihaunt.”

The frequency with which Kariakoo traders and residents told me *aibu* stories and the similarity of these stories indicate how effectively they shaped people's opinions on bank and microcredit loans.⁶⁹³ Wholesale rice trader Temeck Sanga remembered that in the early days of microfinance in Dar es Salaam it was big news when there was a case of a bank selling a debtor's assets.⁶⁹⁴ Several microcredit officers complained that stories about failing debtors whose possessions were taken away were often blown out of proportion, a theme Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner Said Sadick alluded to in his speech recounted at the beginning of this chapter.⁶⁹⁵ These statements attest to the power of *aibu* stories in shaping potential borrowers' opinions and "structures of feeling"⁶⁹⁶ about bank and microcredit loans. Similar to vampire stories in colonial East Africa,⁶⁹⁷ *aibu* stories reflected people's anxieties, in this case anxieties with regards to the introduction of bank loans and new kinds of power relations they entailed.

Kariakoo traders mentioned psychological pressure, stress, and anger when talking about their experiences with bank loans and microcredits. Salum Elikeni remembered vividly how angry he got when he took out his first loan in the form of an overdraft, only to find out the excessively high interest rates.⁶⁹⁸ Mzee Massawe decided against taking out loans because he considered himself too old to be troubled by the process of taking out loans and repaying

⁶⁹³ I have been inspired here by Ellen Moodie's use of people's narratives and how telling these stories has the effect of shaping identities (Ellen Moodie, *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty, and the Transition to Democracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)).

⁶⁹⁴ Temeck Lenard Sanga, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, August 23, 2013.

⁶⁹⁵ "Wanawake Dar acheni woga, kopeni mitaji," *Mwananchi*, March 8, 2013.

⁶⁹⁶ "Structure of feeling" is a term coined by Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁶⁹⁷ Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

⁶⁹⁸ Unfortunately, Salum Elikeni could not specify how high the interest rate was (Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni, interview with the author in Kiswahili).

them.⁶⁹⁹ Kariakoo traders of the older generation were often not willing to submit to the psychological pressure that accompanied bank loans and the new culture of doing business they came with. Juma Lusunga, who had extensive experiences with *mali kauli* forms of credit as well as with bank loans, appreciated that *mali kauli* arrangements did not bring with them the stress and psychological pressure, which usually accompanied bank loans.⁷⁰⁰ Traders of a younger generation, on the other hand, found it somewhat easier to embrace the idea of bank loans even though they usually displayed a critical attitude as well. However, their critique often referred to the technicalities of these loans, for instance the high interest rates and the short repayment periods.⁷⁰¹

Working on their own selves and changing the ways of doing business were often experienced as painful and stressful. Habibu Mganda's description was representative of other traders' experiences. "The person, who takes out a bank loan wants to, I mean, he doesn't sleep. He doesn't sleep. He does business in a way that does not correspond to his capability and out of fear, so he can repay the money to the bank ... and when there are only three days left to make the repayments, and he doesn't have the money, well he isn't even able to go to sleep, he only worries."⁷⁰² Instead of working on how they were perceived by fellow traders, suppliers, and customers, who in times of need would serve as sponsors, borrowing traders were now urged to work on themselves and their ways of doing business.⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁹ Mzee Massawe, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁷⁰⁰ Juma Saidi Lusunga, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁷⁰¹ See Grace Augustino, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Ifakara, Morogoro, March 9, 2013; Kasoga, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Kiwango, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, April 18, 2013.

⁷⁰² Habibu Ramadhani Mganda, interview with the author in Kiswahili.

⁷⁰³ Not everyone was convinced by the effectiveness of formal loans. Said Nassor, an itinerant vendor of self-made wooden articles in Kariakoo, compared bank loans with informal loans from a wealthy sponsor. "Change [for the better] comes when you get a sponsor who wants to lend

CONCLUSION

The cultural and moral underpinnings of financial and trade relations at the Kariakoo market have stood at the center of this chapter. Broadly conceptualizing market relations as cultural rather than merely economic formations⁷⁰⁴ puts a new complexion on the advent of neoliberal capitalism in the 1990s. The deregulation of the financial sector and the provision of small and medium-size loans for larger segments of society including Kariakoo traders were accompanied by new discourses and changing subjectivities. The “liberalization” of the Tanzanian economy as spelled out in structural adjustment programs went beyond introducing the rationale of the market in both economic and non-economic spheres of the Tanzanian society. It also involved the emergence of a discourse of the responsible debtor and the re-making of traders as debtor-citizens accountable to financial institutions. Creditors’ mission was not only to lend money to small traders but also to change how borrowers handled money, conceived of time, viewed themselves, and related to other traders. Credit providers understood bank loans as a catalyst for the emergence of a new culture of doing business and for the transformation of borrowing

you money, a trustee who comes and sponsors you, and not from these poor credits [microcredits]” (Said Nassor, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, April 10, 2013). While generalized stories of other people’s problems to repay loans abounded in Kariakoo and considerably shaped people’s attitudes towards bank loans, a surprisingly large number of Kariakoo traders also recounted stories about their own experiences with bank loans. They very vividly remembered the first time they had taken out a loan. Particularly striking were the accounts of traders, who had found it difficult or impossible to repay bank loans in time (Hamis Mohamed Zowange, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Mohammed Hussen Nyoko, interview with the author in Kiswahili; Shuaid Aboud, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam, March 13, 2013; Mzee Luanda, interview with the author in Kiswahili; James Luanda, interview with the author in Kiswahili, Temeke market, Dar es Salaam, May 24, 2013; Yusuf Abubakar Kaita, interviews with the author in Kiswahili).

⁷⁰⁴ Max Weber formulated an early conceptualization of capitalism as a cultural formation in 1905. Weber asserted that the “Protestant ethic” was an important force behind the development of capitalism in Europe and the United States (Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*). For how “the economy” came to be conceptualized as a sphere separate from cultural, social, and political life and following its rules, see Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*.

traders' subjectivities towards more individualistic concepts of selfhood. Bank credit and the discourse of the responsible debtor provided the grounds on which borrowing traders were impelled to re-think and re-make themselves as independent, rational, and fiscally responsible entrepreneurs. Ultimately, the advent of neoliberal capitalism envisioned the re-making of Tanzanian citizens as market subjects.

The Kariakoo wholesale produce market in Dar es Salaam has served as a lens through which the processes of subject formation become visible. Traders' accounts of their experiences with bank loans provides insights into how the use of bank credit did and did not serve as a catalyst to transform borrowing traders' subjectivities. At the Kariakoo market, the past two decades were marked by the emergence of immediate cash payments financed by bank and microcredit loans as an alternative for transactions on *mali kauli* basis. The shift constituted a qualitative change in traders' relations amongst each other. Discursively, the concept of *uaminifu* was replaced by the more narrowly defined concept of "creditworthiness." Long-standing Kariakoo traders, who had relied on the *mali kauli*-system, were skeptical of bank loans. Bank loans were seen as constitutive of a new business culture, which challenged older ways of doing business and their attendant value systems. In other words, the provision of bank loans to people, who had previously not been considered creditworthy, did not simply satisfy an already existing demand as the promoters of microcredits proclaimed. Rather, much cultural work was required to shape urban Tanzanians' desires for bank loans.

As urban Tanzanians – especially those of the younger generation – started to make use of bank loans, credit served as a catalyst to transform borrowing traders' subjectivities. As impersonal cash transactions replaced *mali kauli* relations based on trust, the power to define a person's creditworthiness shifted from upcountry suppliers to loan officers. This definatory shift

was reinforced by the two-pronged policy of introducing national ID cards and establishing a credit bureau. As loan officers measured and quantified “creditworthiness” with specific methods, borrowing traders came to see themselves and their relations to other people in a new light. The use of bank credit induced citizens-borrowers to take stock of themselves and work on their selves. New trader subjectivities marked by a sense of individualism and self-reflection took shape.

While some traders came to define themselves as businessmen or businesswomen responsible for and in charge of their own lives even when their business careers were marked by hardship and failure, other traders were not willing to perform this work of self-transformation. Rather than shifting the burden of blame onto themselves, they continued to build and maintain relations of trust with producers, consumers, and other traders, and they continued to rely on their status as *waaminifu*. Forms of lending and borrowing – in Kariakoo as elsewhere – were embedded in particular histories of social and economic relations, and the introduction of bank loans was perceived and evaluated against the backdrop of a multi-layered history of borrowing and lending, histories of dispossession and wealth-creation, and systems of trade. Thus, in the Kariakoo market environment, where communal and trade relations were heavily marked by aspects of credit and debt and shaped by moral discourses on debt, the project of impelling borrowers to re-think themselves as independent, rational, and fiscally responsible entrepreneurs did not unfold uncontestedly.

CONCLUSION

Yusuph Kaita had spent the majority of his adulthood in Kariakoo and his life was shaped by the neighborhood in various ways. Born near Kondoa in rural central Tanganyika in 1948, he moved to Dar es Salaam after he finished secondary school. He found work as a stock keeper for the National Textile Company (NATEX). He first lived at Gogo Street, at a stone's throw from the Kariakoo market hall, and he then moved to Livingstone Street a bit further away. His workplace at NATEX was at Kamata, also located in the Kariakoo neighborhood. Later on, he opened a cooperative shop in Ilala, the neighborhood adjacent to Kariakoo in the west and in many ways an extension of the Kariakoo neighborhood. While residing in Kariakoo, he founded and ran a local football club, Gerezani United, and invested much of his time and money in the club. Eventually, he and his wife bought a plot in Mabibo, a neighborhood about 10 kilometers west of Kariakoo. Although they built a house and moved there, Yusuph Kaita's life continued to revolve around Kariakoo. Still in 2013, when I got to know him more closely, he went to Kariakoo almost every day to meet his friends and to make some money as a broker for houses and plots of land.

To navigate competing moralities of borrowing and lending in search for an urban living was an important part of Yusuph Kaita's life. His life story exemplifies the neighborhood's communal culture and it illustrates and connects the main arguments and themes put forward in the preceding pages. When Yusuph Kaita first moved to Kariakoo, he quickly became integrated in the neighborhood community. He was an adamant supporter of the Kariakoo football club Simba and he accompanied them wherever they played. Eventually, he founded and ran his own local football club, Gerezani United, in which he invested much of his time and money. Due to his active role as a community member and due to his investments into the local community, he

was a well-known personality and many neighborhood residents were indebted to him. Still in 2013, he was a member of the corner community at the Manyema Mosque on Mafia Street just off of Livingstone Street. Whenever I wanted to see him, I would find him there.

After moving to Kariakoo, Yusuph Kaita got married to Zaina. She viewed his investments into football clubs as a waste of money. In order to acquire an asset and to save money spent on rent, Zaina wanted them to buy a plot of land and build a house. Bank loans were not available at the time but Zaina was able to convince her husband to save some money. They eventually bought a plot of land at the city outskirts in Mabibo, built a house, and moved there with their four young children.

Yusuph Kaita worked for the parastatal company NATEX for a total of eleven years, from 1977 to 1988. During that time, he got to know the customers, who were in the textile business. Many of them were of South Asian origin and they had used to import textiles themselves and to sell it wholesale in their shops before the state nationalized much of the trade and production of textiles in the 1960s and 1970s. Now, they had to buy the goods from NATEX or from regional distributors. To get preferential treatment in times of general shortage of textiles, some of them paid bribes and provided the funds to buy the textiles from the state-owned textile mills because state distributors were short of money. While still being employed at NATEX, Yusuph Kaita and a group of friends started a cooperative shop in Ilala. Cooperative shops were the first to receive locally produced textiles from factories like Urafiki in Ubungu, Dar es Salaam, for sale at his shop to customers in the neighborhood. Yusuph Kaita used his contacts to private textile wholesalers and sold some of these textiles to them, at a premium.

In 1988, he decided to quit his job at NATEX and focus entirely on business. He became a trader in the import/export business, which was shortly after private persons and companies

were again allowed to engage in that business. With the help of a former co-worker and friend, he shipped low-quality beans from Tanzania to prisons in Zambia. He also exported prawns to Botswana by plane, where they were smuggled into South Africa. After the death of his friend, Yusuph Kaita decided to continue on his own and he started to export prawns and cardamom to Djibouti and Somalia, also by plane. The starting capital for this trade came in the form of a loan from the state-owned National Bank of Commerce. It was his first bank loan ever. With this money, he bought prawns and cardamom and shipped them to Djibouti, where he handed the goods over to his Somali partners on *mali kauli* basis. The first time, the Somali business partners sold the goods and gave Yusuph Kaita his share. The second time, they took the goods and disappeared without paying any money, thus leaving Yusuph Kaita in a difficult position. He had incurred a considerable loss and he was not able to repay the bank loan. The combination of bank loans on the Tanzanian side of his business and *mali kauli* on the Djibouti side turned out to be disastrous. Yusuph Kaita trusted his partners in Djibouti but they abused the trust on which the *mali kauli* system was based. On the Tanzanian side, the bank officers did not take any responsibility for the failed business deal even though Yusuph Kaita had informed them about all the details of the deal. The bank made sure he pay back the outstanding loan with interest.

Eventually, Yusuph Kaita was able to borrow enough money from his networks of friends and relatives to repay the loan with interest. The bank had extended the repayment period, but only after increasing interest rates considerably. On the original loan of 700'000 shillings, Yusuph Kaita paid back a total of two million shillings, so about 185 per cent interest. This bad business experience threw him off track as far as his career as a businessman was concerned. He was completely bankrupt. Psychologically, it was a turning point in his life. "My family was very unhappy at the time. There was a danger of losing the house but God helped us.

... I was very confused because I didn't have a shilling. I was stuck, I was bankrupt, I didn't have money to do business, I was stumped." Yusuph Kaita had to abandon his trading activities and he eventually started to work as a broker of houses and land. Thanks to his extensive communal network in Kariakoo, he was able to generate enough money to survive. As far as bank loans were concerned, however, Yusuph Kaita did not consider them anymore. "I have learned. I don't desire [loans], I don't want them. I don't want to get tension. I want to rest."⁷⁰⁵ Like other Kariakoo residents, who had made negative experiences with bank loans, Yusuph Kaita decided to make a living in the city by relying exclusively on his long-established credit and debt relations in the neighborhood. He continued to emphasize notions of *uaminifu* and conducted trade within the *mali kauli*-system even as he came to occupy an increasingly marginal space in the marketplace and in market discourses.

Yusuph Kaita's life illustrates the need to locate the myriad views and uses of credit and debt in one conceptual frame, and it shows the futility and danger of separating "traditional" or "informal" credit and debt relations from "modern" or "formal" financial institutions and instruments. Yusuph Kaita's life and this dissertation as a whole help to complicate and correct the prevailing picture of Africans and finance in twentieth-century urban Africa, namely that traditional forms of credit became inadequate in modern market economies, that Africans lacked access to financial institutions, and that Africans were excluded from the modern world of

⁷⁰⁵ Yusuph Abubakar Kaita, interview with the author in Kiswahili. Other people may have been able to bring together various forms of credit and debt and their competing moralities with more ease. In a newspaper article on how to increase business capital, the writer lists various forms of credit available in Tanzania. The list includes formal credits such as bank loans, overdrafts, factoring, and hire purchase, but it also mentions *mali kauli* as a way for a businessperson to increase capital. The basis for *mali kauli* credit would be to "build a good relationship with the supplier of the products" (*Mwananchi* newspaper, May 25, 2011: "Kukuza Mtaji Wa Biashara Na Fulsa Zilizopo Tanzania"). For many Kariakoo traders, however, the diverging moralities underlying debt relations were not always easy to combine.

finance. Instead, they show that credit and debt relations were constitutive of various aspects of urban life, including cosmopolitan neighborhood communities, respectable identities, urban membership and belonging, urban livelihoods and entrepreneurship, and urban planning and governance. In the Kariakoo neighborhood in Dar es Salaam, debt and credit have shaped work and business, social and communal life, and people's identities and subjectivities. Moral perceptions of credit and debt were central to these negotiations and for the workings of urban life and trade.

Examining the various forms of lending and borrowing and the multiple – at times competing, at times intersecting – moralities undergirding them, this dissertation has attempted to contribute to our understanding of the ways and meanings of borrowing, investing, and doing business in urban Africa in important ways. First of all, it has challenged histories of credit and finance in colonial and postcolonial Africa, which have focused exclusively on banking institutions to which few had access. Urban Africans made extensive use of informal, semi-formal, and formal credit to create urban communities, trade networks, and personal businesses. Wholesale traders at the Kariakoo market relied on the indigenous credit system known as *mali kauli* – verbal letters of credit based on reputations and social capital – to trade large amounts of agricultural products while having small amounts of cash at disposal. Kariakoo residents also turned pawnshop credit to their advantage and proved to be reliable borrowers.

Second of all, this dissertation has shown the significance of credit and debt well beyond the economic sphere of urban life in twentieth-century Africa. Credit and debt relations were central to cosmopolitan neighborhood communities Kariakoo residents formed across racial and class categories. For instance, shopkeepers, who were mostly of Asian descent, were able to assert membership in Kariakoo by selling goods to customers on credit. The availability of

small-scale shop credit and pawnshop credit was a constitutive element of the urban experience, urban living, and urban belonging.

Third of all, this dissertation has demonstrated how the morality at the center of discourses and practices of debt repeatedly acted as fulcrum for reforming urban subjects. Moral discourses around credit and debt were productive spaces because they provided a realm where local views of business practices and government visions of desirable business behavior intersected. Colonial and postcolonial governments undertook repeated efforts to make urban residents more business-minded by impelling them to work on their creditworthiness and become “good debtors.” The pervasiveness of credit and debt relations served as the discursive moral foil against which urban planning interventions were legitimated. Government officials chastised non-state or extra-institutional lenders and accused them of creating harmful debt relations. However, multiple moralities continued to exist in Kariakoo, which allowed urban residents to critically evaluate new forms of credit and debt and the attending moral discourses. Traders and residents in Kariakoo preferred older morally-grounded systems of trade to cash-based transactions facilitated by bank loans.

Finally, this dissertation has illustrated that the racial antagonisms between urban residents of Asian and African descent, which have dominated the literature on credit from the colonial era to the present one, have obscured the intimate and long-standing relations of credit and debt between Asians and Africans in various aspects of life. Following commodity trails and describing the workings of urban sub-communities, I show how Asians and Africans not only worked and lived together but also shared cultural notions of respectability, generosity, and shame.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ARCHIVES CONSULTED

Tanzania:	Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam (TNA) Zanzibar National Archives, Zanzibar (ZNA) The National Library, NBA Room, Dar es Salaam The Library at the University of Dar es Salaam, East Africana Room The Library at the University College in Moshi (MUCCoBS) Tanzania Gender Networking Programme Library San Damiano Franciscan Archive, Dar es Salaam
UK:	British National Archives at Kew, London (BNA) Barclays Group Archives, Manchester (BGA) School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London (SOAS) Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House
Germany:	Staatsarchiv, Hamburg (SAH) Zentralbibliothek für Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Kiel and Hamburg Bibliothek des Berliner Missionswerks, Berlin Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEWS

Abdallah Makame	DASICO, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Abdallah Mohamed Tambaza	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Abdulsalaam	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Adam Komba	Ifakara, Morogoro
Anonymous 1	Posta, Dar es Salaam
Anonymous 2	Ifakara, Morogoro
Ali Ngagesa	DASICO, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Alif Ndige	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Araf Sykes	Posta, Dar es Salaam
August Mullis	Ilala, Dar es Salaam
Bashiri	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Baton Nyingi	Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Biharilal Tanna	Upanga, Dar es Salaam
Bi Ashura	Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Bibi Sipo	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Briton	Ilala, Dar es Salaam
David Maluila	Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam
Donath Olomi	Ilala, Dar es Salaam
Dummah	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
Elyudi Ngoda	Chimala, Mbeya
Elly Duma	Mabibo, Dar es Salaam
Fabiola Lagali	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
Faraji Iddi Dibuma	Kichangani, Dar es Salaam
Fawzi Said	Gerezani, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Fideris Mwamsea	Mbingu, Morogoro
Grace Augustino	Ifakara, Morogoro
Gunendu Roy	Mbezi Beach, Dar es Salaam
Habibu Ramadhani Mganda	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
Habibu Mhezi	Ushirika Building, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Halidi K. Lugome	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
Hamis Kassim Ulele	Kariakoo Auction Mart, Dar es Salaam
Hamis Mohamed Zowange	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Hilda Mwendapole	Mabibo, Dar es Salaam
Ibrahim Changula	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Jabu Ramadhani	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
James Luanda	Temeke, Dar es Salaam
James Ngomuo	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Jayantilal Keshavji Chande	London, UK
Juma Mfaume	DASICO, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Juma Saidi Lusunga	Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
Kasoga	Tandika, Dar es Salaam
Kilipamwango	Chimala, Mbeya
Kiwango	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Majid Saleh	Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam

Mama John
 Manu Haridas
 Maneno Ngozi
 Michael Michoro Mbwana
 Mohammed Hussien Nyoko
 Moses Balagaju
 Moustafa Khataw
 Mr Masondole
 Mtunga Mbande
 Mzee Gogo
 Mzee Ibrahim
 Mzee Kagire
 Mzee Kajiru
 Mzee Kalulu
 Mzee Kibavu
 Mzee Kobelo
 Mzee Luanda
 Mzee Maliya
 Mzee Massawe
 Mzee Mdachi
 Mzee Mgaya
 Mzee Mustafa
 Mzee Mwaipungu
 Mzee Ngolongolo
 Mzee Nyoni
 Mzee Nyoro
 Mzee Peni
 Mzee Peter
 Mzee Salum
 Mzee Urrio
 Mzee wa Redio
 Mzee wa Gongo shop
 Navroz Lakhani
 Nizar Visram
 Ntimi Mwakinyuke
 Nuru Uwesohogwa Muki
 Olive Luena
 Oswald Kinunda
 P. Vic Missiaen
 Pedro Simon Salamba
 Peter Anase
 Philemon Mbagani
 Prem Ruparelia
 Ramadhani Rashidi Malekela
 Ramadhani Migogele
 Reginald Massawe

Kitumbini, Dar es Salaam
 Ifakara, Morogoro
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Chimala, Mbeya
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Keko, Dar es Salaam
 Posta, Dar es Salaam
 Machinga Complex, Ilala, Dar es Salaam
 Ifakara, Morogoro
 Ifakara, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Ifakara, Morogoro
 Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Manzese, Dar es Salaam
 Manzese, Dar es Salaam
 Buguruni, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Lukozi, Tanga
 Ifakara, Morogoro
 Sheikilango, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Dodoma
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Manzese, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Manzese, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo Market Hall, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Tandika, Dar es Salaam
 Oyster Bay, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Ifakara, Morogoro
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Posta, Dar es Salaam
 Upanga, Dar es Salaam
 Posta, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Posta, Dar es Salaam
 Mabibo, Dar es Salaam
 DASICO, Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
 Survey, Dar es Salaam

S. Shamo
Sadiki Mjuma
Sadru Shariff
Said Nassor
Salie Mlay
Salum Dilunga
Salum Ramadhani Kusa Elikeni
Sebastian Kilian Mbilingi
Shafik Bhatia
Shiraz Bhira
Shoto
Shuaid Aboud
Sophia
Suleiman Majata
Teddy
Temeck Lenard Sanga
Tirunagari Srikanth
Veronica Mgalawe
Viju Cherian
Winnie Terry
Yusuf Hassam
Yusuf Mbwilo
Yusuph Abubakar Kaita
Zena Omari Shamti

Posta, Dar es Salaam
Ifakara, Morogoro
Posta, Dar es Salaam
Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Posta, Dar es Salaam
Sheikilango, Dar es Salaam
Kigogo, Dar es Salaam
Ifakara, Morogoro
Buguruni, Dar es Salaam
Posta, Dar es Salaam
Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Manzese, Dar es Salaam
Ifakara, Dar es Salaam
Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Posta, Dar es Salaam
Kibaha, Dar es Salaam
Posta, Dar es Salaam
Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam
Gerezani section of Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam
Chimala, Mbeya
Mabibo, Dar es Salaam
Mabibo, Dar es Salaam

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