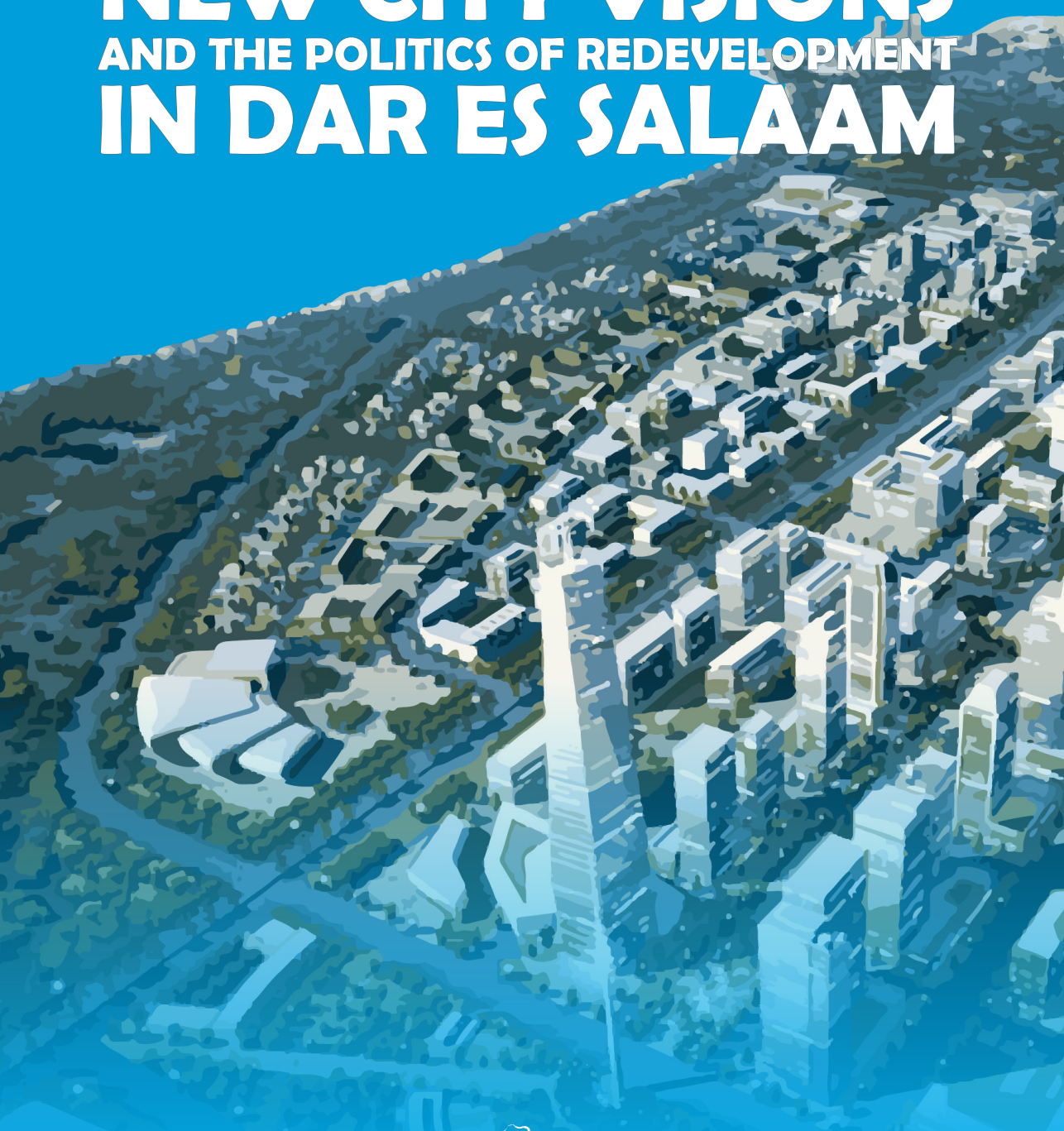


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# NEW CITY VISIONS AND THE POLITICS OF REDEVELOPMENT IN DAR ES SALAAM





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*Jennifer Norström designed the field study, collected and analysed the field data and wrote a lengthier report (Norström, 2013), on which this paper draws.*

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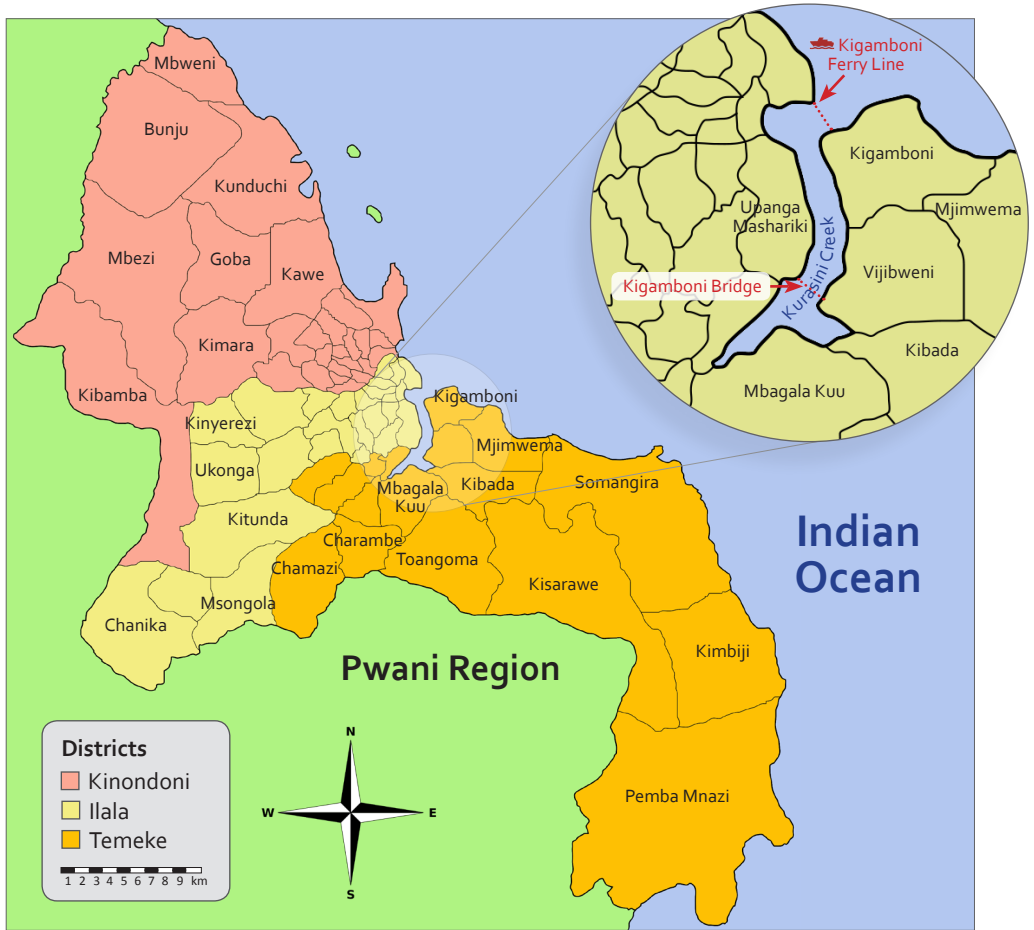
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# Contents

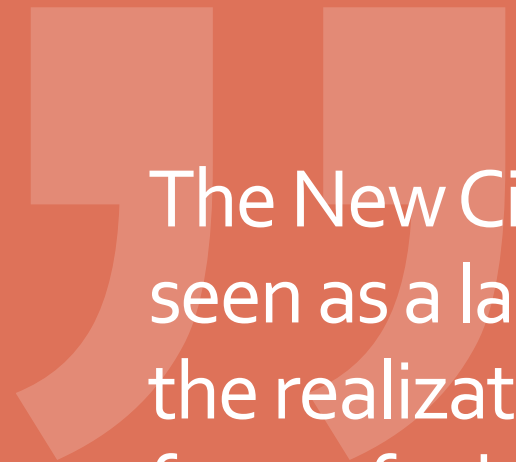
Abstract .....	5
Introduction .....	7
Global urban ideals and urban planning.....	9
Research methods.....	13
The Kigamboni redevelopment project in context .....	15
Rationalities of redevelopment in Kigamboni.....	19
The resettlement plans .....	25
The residents' perspectives .....	27
Organized responses.....	31
Conclusion .....	37
Bibliography.....	41
About the authors .....	45
Acknowledgements .....	46



**Figure 1.** Map of Dar es Salaam Region with its three districts and 70 wards, as they were in 2010. Source: UN-HABITAT / Baraba Novat, adapted from Citywide Action Plan for Upgrading Unplanned and Unserved Settlements in Dar es Salaam (2010, p.20).

## Abstract

In the midst of widespread urban deprivation, African governments increasingly give priority to large-scale ultra-modern urban projects, intended to increase national income and propel their urban settlements onto the global stage of 'world-class' cities. However, such projects are often in tension with the realities of local residents. This study explores one such initiative, a redevelopment project, the Kigamboni New City, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It discusses the vision and multiple rationalities underpinning the project, as well as the tensions that the plans gave rise to, as residents in the area were to be resettled or displaced to make way for the New City. It shows that the urban vision underlying the New City project took shape without taking the different realities and desires of the local residents of Kigamboni into consideration. The study discusses how residents perceived and acted upon the redevelopment plans. A local organisation claiming to represent the people of Kigamboni was mainly concerned with issues of compensation and the particular interests of landowners, and seemed to marginalise women and the concerns of tenants. The difficulties in implementing the futuristic plans finally brought them to a standstill, leaving the remaining residents in a state of uncertainty about the future. The paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork, including interviews with urban planners and local residents, as well as analysis of urban plans and other relevant documents.



The New City could be seen as a laboratory for the realization of a new form of urbanism that sought to redress past planning failures





Photo: Roland, Wikimedia Commons

**Figure 2.** Aerial view of central Dar es Salaam with Kigamboni on the other side of Kurasini creek (November 2010).

## Introduction

Some years ago, the Tanzanian government put forward an ambitious New City project for Dar es Salaam. This envisaged the redevelopment of a vast stretch of land in the attractive Kigamboni area into a modern eco-friendly satellite city. The new Kigamboni would offer city attractions, recreation parks, beach resorts, cultural facilities and international business centres equipped with modern technology. Intended to be brought to fruition through partnerships with private investors and real estate companies, the New City – also named the ‘blue diamond’ – was expected to propel Dar es Salaam to a ‘world-class city’ status. The architects of the plan sought inspiration from cities around the world, but they also aspired to position the New City as a global model to be replicated elsewhere. The New City could be seen as representing an experiment in the ‘art of being global’<sup>1</sup> as well as a laboratory for the realisation of a new form of urbanism that sought to redress past planning failures. The ambitions were thus lofty. The redevelopment project, it was argued, would both spearhead national economic growth and improve the quality of life of residents in Kigamboni. However, the implementation of the project would require control to be gained over space and land and would interfere with existing ways of life and dwelling. Among other things, the project would entail the relocation of local residents to a specific residential area. These intentions did not pass unnoticed: a number of residents banded together to demand a say in what could be described as a top-down, technocratic planning process. While the New City project in its comprehensive form would be continuously postponed,

1 Roy and Ong (2011).

the vision set in motion important processes and responses that might be of interest to similar urban-global experiments elsewhere.

This paper explores the contours of the New City vision and the multiple rationalities underlying it, as well as the way in which residents of the area perceived and acted on the redevelopment plans. In this way, the study sought to gain an insight into the politics of a planned urban redevelopment project in Dar es Salaam. The study relates to discussions in urban studies about mobile urbanism, redevelopment as global urban strategy and agency, and contemporary debates on urban planning. These relevant bodies of work are briefly discussed in the next section. Thereafter the paper describes the research methods and contextualises the project in relation to former large-scale schemes in Tanzania. This is followed by a presentation of the New City plans and of the controversies and anxieties they generated among local residents.



Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 3. A street scene from Kigamboni, 2013.

## Global urban ideals and urban planning

There is a constant transnational flow of ideas and visions about how cities should be developed and governed.<sup>2</sup> Many cities also strive to become global models to be emulated by cities elsewhere – what Roy and Ong call ‘worlding practices’.<sup>3</sup> Urban policies and strategies can thus be conceptualised in relation to their circulation in space, place and time.<sup>4</sup> In her discussion of global urban development strategies and urban policies in widely varying contexts, Robinson shows how such ideas circulate in multiple and even in indeterminate ways.<sup>5</sup> These global urban strategies and policies usually focus on envisioning the city’s future. Particular visions, including norms pertaining to physical order and architectural style, are borrowed from elsewhere and applied in specific contexts to achieve urban renewal and civic improvement.<sup>6</sup> As will be suggested, the

2 McCann and Ward (2012).

3 Roy and Ong (2011).

4 Hall and Barrett (2012); McCann and Ward (2012).

5 Robinson (2012).

6 Hall and Barrett (2012); Byerley (2013).

Kigamboni New City plans can be understood in relation to these ‘circulations’ and ‘worlding practices’ – along with other governmental schemes of modernisation and improvement, such as global policies of urban land formalisation adopted by the Tanzanian government.

Global urban strategies may inform contemporary local redevelopment and regeneration programmes, which have attracted much research attention in cities of the Global North. Such programmes are often understood in close relation to neoliberal urban policies and market-driven redevelopment, and associated processes of rising land values and gentrification. The forces shaping redevelopment and resettlement strategies should, however, be understood as multifaceted and not merely a product of neoliberal rationalities. Such strategies must also be understood in relation to competing conceptions of what constitutes the ‘good city’ and the ‘good citizen’.<sup>7</sup> The underlying factors and actors behind the adoption of such strategies are also context dependent and are often influenced by historical processes in specific geographical and political contexts.<sup>8</sup> There is thus a need to examine how these urban transformation processes ‘play themselves out in particular contexts’<sup>9</sup> – not least in African urban settings, where these processes have been less frequently investigated. This study is informed by such a context-sensitive approach.

Historically, urban planning has played a central role in efforts to control spatial and social order. Master Plans, particularly, have embodied particular visions of the city and have constituted important tools of power to materialise those visions. In many contexts, Master Plans have been used as an instrument by privileged groups to protect property values and to preclude invasion of their areas by disadvantaged groups.<sup>10</sup> In addition, when powerful actors shape the city according to their own visions and interests, they tend to rationalise their interpretations, focusing narrowly on urban remaking and neglecting how the context of the interventions is organised and constituted.<sup>11</sup> James Scott describes this as tunnel vision that focuses on ‘limited aspects of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality’.<sup>12</sup> Simplification, manipulation and standardisation become leading principles guiding the concretisation of ambitious modern visions. Such principles, it will be argued, also seemed to be at work in the making of the Kigamboni New City plans.

In this context, conventional modernistic planning has attracted considerable criticism from several directions – from critical planning theory, feminist scholarship and postmodern and postcolonial perspectives. Such forms of planning have been critiqued for presuming to operate in the public interest, for being technocratic, instrumental and rational, and for treating the city as a machine by breaking it down into different essential functions (such as work, housing, recreation, etc.). Modernist planning has

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7 Hall and Barrett (2012:151); Byerley (2013:2).

8 Hall and Barrett (2012:151); Fält (2016).

9 Doshi (2012:5).

10 Watson (2009:2260).

11 Flyvbjerg (1998:226).

12 Scott (1998:5–11).

been attacked for privileging particular forms of knowledge (scientific and technical) as truth, and for not being self-reflective about its own position of power.<sup>13</sup> It has been blamed for spatially dividing people by class, gender and ethnicity, reproducing power structures in society. In addition, it has tended to overlook the complex reality of social relations, how people understand their environments and the diversity of cultures and meanings at work.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast, critics argue for a need to uncover what is missing from privileged forms of knowledge underlying modernistic planning, to take account of a variety of ways of knowing that may be harnessed in order to shape the city.<sup>15</sup> In other words, they urge a deeper understanding of society and recommend that local knowledge be taken into account in the planning process. Instead of top-down forms of planning, they foreground an inclusive and participatory urban planning that relies on and fosters agonistic democratic processes.<sup>16</sup> The involvement of society is seen as a means of incorporating diverse local knowledge into the planning process, as well as of building a more just society by including marginalised groups.

In most African cities, the gap between planning intentions and urban realities has historically been wide. In authoritarian political contexts, the needs and capacities of the urban majorities have often been marginalised. Vanessa Watson explains how inherited colonial planning systems and regulations have been ill-suited to addressing the challenges facing these cities and their residents.<sup>17</sup> The widespread informality that characterises many of these cities is often regarded by planners and elites as indicating uncontrolled urban development and as representing ways of life that do not fit into what they consider to be 'urban'. Planning mindsets informed by a certain aesthetic, by efficiency and modernisation, tend to disregard and, not infrequently, to come into conflict with those ways of life that sustain large numbers of urban residents, leading to what Watson has called a 'clash of rationalities'.<sup>18</sup>

While varying in time and space, these tensions may potentially intensify in the context of contemporary ambitious redevelopment projects in cities of the Global South. In Africa, emerging new urban fantasies are inspiring the revival of modernistic urban visions,<sup>19</sup> of which the Kigamboni New City project is one example. While such projects are often discursively justified by reference to the need to improve living environments, there is a risk that they exclude populations and activities that do not fit those visions.<sup>20</sup> The ways in which affected populations perceive and respond to these developments in the urban African context is, however, under-researched.

Indeed, urban residents may exercise agency in relation to top-down urban trans-

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13 Sandercock (2003:30).

14 Healy in Campbell and Fainstein (2003:239); Sandercock (2003).

15 Sandercock (2003:60).

16 Sandercock (2003:34).

17 Watson (2009).

18 Watson (2003).

19 Watson (2013).

20 Watson (2009); Doshi (2012).

formation or modernist planning. Sometimes they create collectives that claim to represent affected communities. However, as studies of collective association in Africa have uncovered, such groups have their own hierarchies and are not always inclusive of different segments of society.<sup>21</sup> In addition, they are not necessarily antagonistic to the agendas of powerful elite groups – contrary to what the notion of a ‘clash of rationalities’ might suggest.

In this context, this study explores how residents in the Kigamboni area perceived and acted upon the New City plans. It examines a collective initiative – the Kigamboni Committee – which claimed to represent the concerns of residents in relation to the plans. In particular, the study looks at which interests the committee sought to protect and how it regarded the ambitious visions for the area.

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21 Lindell (2008, 2010).



Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 4. Construction site in Kigamboni, 2013.

## Research methods

This working paper is based on an exploratory field study from 2013, using a qualitative approach to obtain a contextual understanding of the government's plans for Kigamboni and of residents' sensibilities in relation to those plans. Semi-structured and open thematic interviews were conducted with several actors who had important roles in the planning process, in order to explore the rationalities behind the redevelopment project. These actors included the manager of the Kigamboni Development Agency, in charge of overseeing the redevelopment project; the manager of the Korea Land and Housing Corporation Consortium (LH Consortium), the main consultant firm commissioned with preparing the New City Master Plan; the director for Rural and Town Planning, in the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development; and a planner at Temeke Municipality council. Interviews were carried out with the member of parliament representing the Kigamboni constituency and with a journalist who has reported on the redevelopment project and worked for the local newspaper *Daima*.

Representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were interviewed. One such organisation was Haki Ardhi, a research and advocacy NGO focusing on land rights. This organisation supported the residents of Kigamboni with legal services

in relation to the redevelopment project. Two programme officers from the organisation were interviewed, as were two members residing in Kigamboni. Haki Ardhi also produced a report on the New City project concerning land and possible socio-economic impacts, as a means of raising awareness of the project.<sup>22</sup> The second organisation was the Kigamboni Committee, an organisation of residents in Kigamboni that was founded in 2009 in response to the redevelopment plans. The chairman and the secretary were interviewed, as were three other members of the committee. By attending several of the meetings regularly organised by the committee in Kigamboni, valuable insights were gained into issues of dispute among a segment of the residents. The meetings were organised in order to discuss the New City project and the work conducted by the committee. Two of the meetings were open to the public and were held outdoors, at a local café. They attracted between 60 and 80 participants – mainly men. A third meeting was arranged specifically for leaders of the Christian and Muslim communities in Kigamboni. These meetings provided opportunities for further contacts and interviews: seven participants were individually interviewed, either directly after the meetings or on a later occasion.

Semi-structured and thematic interviews were also held with other residents who were not linked to these organisations. These included a number of female street vendors selling fruit and vegetables in Kigamboni. Many more informal conversations occurred with a variety of people – such as with ferry operators, shop owners, small-scale farmers, house owners and tenants – as residing in Kigamboni during the fieldwork provided numerous opportunities for informal encounters with its residents, for hanging out with them and observing or taking part in their activities. Such immersion in the field and interactions with residents were invaluable for understanding the context, how the residents felt about the redevelopment project and its potential impacts on their everyday lives.

Both men and women were included in the study. An interpreter was used for any interviews or conversations held in Swahili. The residents interviewed are kept anonymous in this paper, as some openly voiced criticism of the government and the redevelopment project.

This study also involved accessing and analysing the New Kigamboni City Master Plan and other relevant documents connected to the redevelopment project. State officials also shared unofficial documents that provided a deeper understanding of the intentions behind the project. The content of important websites was studied (including documents posted on them). One such website was that of the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (henceforth referred to as the Ministry), the main authority responsible for the New City plans. As the redevelopment project gained much attention in the media, articles were collected from various established Internet-based newspapers, such as *The Guardian* and *The Daily News*.

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22 Haki Ardhi (2012).





**Figure 5.** Plan for the New Kigamboni City. Illustration adapted from a presentation of the Dar es Salaam Master Plan 2012-2032 by MLHSD (2013).

## The Kigamboni redevelopment project in context

The Kigamboni New City could be seen as one of several large-scale schemes that the Tanzanian state has launched to improve and modernise its populations. Between 1973 and 1976, the independent Tanzanian state carried out a large forced resettlement scheme, the well-known Ujamaa Villagisation programme. Drawing on international modernisation discourses on development and on support from the World Bank, the programme sought to settle the country's population permanently in villages. Both the physical design of these villages and their economy were largely centrally planned.<sup>23</sup> Adopting rational and scientific methods, this large-scale social engineering programme intended to improve 'unorganised' settlements and communities and bring them under state control. However, this modernisation experiment became a national disaster, as it disregarded the capacities of citizens and the local contexts.

After the country's independence, the pace of urbanisation accelerated. Accounting for a significant share of the national urban population, Dar es Salaam experien-

<sup>23</sup> Scott (1998:223–260); Moshi (2009).

ced a dramatic boom, with a rapid expansion of informal settlements, particularly in peri-urban areas.<sup>24</sup> After years of inadequate infrastructure provision and planning, the government of Tanzania has shown a renewed intention of steering urban growth, re-developing parts of the city and taking control of urban space.<sup>25</sup> In the mid-2000s, the government initiated a neoliberal land formalisation programme, intended to address insecure tenure in unplanned or informal settlements and to reduce poverty and underdevelopment.<sup>26</sup> These intentions gained form in the City-Wide Action Plan for Dar es Salaam, which aimed at upgrading unplanned and un-serviced settlements, as well as at preventing the establishment of new unplanned areas in the city.<sup>27</sup> Relying on technical cooperation between the central and local governments and UN-Habitat, this plan was expected to 'bring about vital improvements in the living conditions of residents of unplanned and poorly serviced neighbourhoods' and to provide 'a framework for local economic development and the overall sustainable development of the city'.<sup>28</sup> Formalisation policies also extended to the urban informal economy, through the Property and Business Formalisation Programme adopted in 2005, which aimed at transforming businesses and assets in the informal economy into legal entities, as a means of financing business expansion.

These state-driven formalisation policies in Tanzania have been severely criticised. Top-down approaches have tended to exclude citizens from dialogue and participation, and there has been excessive emphasis on foreign investment as a key agent for development.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, given that formalisation schemes tend to increase land values, poor urban households usually sell the land and move further out into the urban periphery, where access to social services and livelihood opportunities is worse. Formalisation, as a global policy direction promoting the restructuring of property relations, can thus contribute to a deepening marginalisation of the poor.<sup>30</sup> The Kigamboni New City project was officially described as part of the City-Wide Action Plan – that is, as part of the wider upgrading efforts and as a continuation of the property formalisation programme in Dar es Salaam.<sup>31</sup>

The complexity of land tenure in Tanzania further complicates the possible outcomes of interventions, and interferes with people's use of and access to land. The law recognises three forms of tenure – customary, statutory and informal (or quasi-customary).<sup>32</sup> However, these tenure forms are overlooked when the government wishes to

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24 Kombe and Kreibich (2006).

25 UN-Habitat (2008:130).

26 Kombe (2010).

27 UN Habitat (2010).

28 UN Habitat (2010:3).

29 Shivji (2002); Kombe and Kreibich (2006).

30 Porter (2011:118).

31 UN Habitat (2010:41).

32 In a nutshell, customary ownership is based on use rights and is common in rural and peri-urban areas; informal tenure forms, also called quasi-customary, are governed through unwritten norms; statutory rights over land are vested with the president and can be leased for varying periods of time. For a fuller presentation, see Kombe and Kreibich (2006).

redevelop areas that it considers to be of public interest.<sup>33</sup> The Land Acquisition Law gives the state the right to acquire land for the improvement of public infrastructure services, for urban expansion and for institutional use. This means that the state can, in practice, evict or resettle anyone. However, it is required to respect people's legal rights of information, compensation and resettlement. In Tanzania, the government has tended to disregard land occupiers' rights and to use coercion to access land.<sup>34</sup>

In state-driven land acquisition in Tanzania – as in upgrading and formalisation programmes – a controversial matter has pertained to the right to monetary compensation for lost land. First, the right to compensation covers only landowners not tenants; this is problematic, given that the majority of urban dwellers are tenants, residing in housing built in informal areas.<sup>35</sup> Women are also at a disadvantage, as women's land rights have been systematically marginalised in public debate and policy.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, the government has reportedly failed to provide alternative resettlement areas or to pay 'fair and prompt' compensation in earlier cases of displacement of urban dwellers.<sup>37</sup> When compensation has been paid, the value is often far below the real market value, while the subsequent sale prices of the surveyed land have been significantly higher – this tends to benefit better-off households in the land market and contributes to the gentrification processes mentioned above.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Wilbard Kombe explains, compensation values often do not take account of activities or of assets built on the land or plot. Many low-income households in urban Tanzania, including those in the peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam, use their housing plots to cultivate vegetables and fruits, for animal husbandry, etc., as a means of improving their diet and generating income. Land thus provides a safety net and an asset for poor households to mitigate economic hardship and crisis. In resettlement and compensation procedures, the failure of the government to acknowledge the critical role that land plays in enhancing the livelihood of disadvantaged urban groups has often led to the livelihood of many households being rendered more uncertain, Kombe argues. In a similar vein, Msani identifies a mismatch between current laws and the social and economic realities of households in Dar es Salaam, particularly the considerable dependence of many on land, food production, casual work and social networks within the neighbourhoods.<sup>39</sup> These insights are of great relevance in understanding processes and controversies surrounding the planned redevelopment, resettlement and compensation in Kigamboni, as will be shown.

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33 Kombe and Kreibich (2006).

34 Kombe (2010).

35 Cadstedt (2006:11).

36 Manji (1998).

37 Kombe (2010).

38 Msani (2011:133); Kombe (2010).

39 Msani (2011:143).

There was an overall ambition that the New City would propel Dar es Salaam into the global ranks of 'world cities'



Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 6. Arriving by ferry to Kigamboni. Central Dar es Salam in the background.

## Rationalities of redevelopment in Kigamboni

Dar es Salaam has undergone a significant transformation in recent years, through a number of large urban projects. Skyscrapers have changed the skyline of the central area and overshadow the historical buildings, giving the city a modern outlook. Located south east of Dar es Salaam, just across the Kurasini Creek, Kigamboni has presented a very different landscape from the city centre. During the short ferry trip across the creek, one could see the beautiful beaches of Kigamboni that were popular leisure sites. There were also a number of fishing boats along the coast. Once disembarked from the ferry, you found yourself in Kigamboni's commercial hub. Street vendors and shop owners offered a variety of products, ranging from food and drink to second-hand clothing and shoes. Such vending was common in open spaces and along the roads.<sup>40</sup> In fact, small-scale so-called informal activities reportedly constituted the main sources of livelihood for Kigamboni residents – particularly street vending, fishing, small-scale farming, service provision, etc.<sup>41</sup> However, the area also displayed considerable heterogeneity, with various types of housing ranging from hotel complexes and luxury villas

40 MLHSD (2010:28).

41 MLHSD (2010:28); Haki Ardhi (2012).

to small shacks or so-called Swahili houses. With a population estimated at around 83,000 in 2009,<sup>42</sup> Kigamboni was at the time of the fieldwork a popular and up-and-coming area.

While intentions to develop Kigamboni had existed for a long time, it was only in 2008 that the Tanzanian government formulated an ambitious project to develop a 'new city' in the Kigamboni area. Involving several national and international actors in its design, the project was supposed to be implemented through public-private partnerships and would occupy a vast area of the Kigamboni peninsula, capable of accommodating over 500,000 people.<sup>43</sup>

The Kigamboni New City project was underpinned by particular kinds of urban visions and rationalities. Official documents and interviews conducted with representatives of the agencies involved provide an insight into these visions, rationalities and the actors who played a part in these visionary processes.

The project's visions and origins clearly transcended the domain of local government authorities and local planning offices. The project represented high stakes among top-ranking political figures and central government agencies. It was launched under President Jakaya Kikwete, and the idea of having a New City came from the president himself, according to one of the high-ranking officials interviewed. The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development spearheaded the process. In January 2013, a new central government body – the Kigamboni Development Agency (KDA) – was created to oversee the development of the New City. The responsibilities of the agency included project management, planning, design and construction; land acquisition, sales, compensation and resettlement; land development with other stakeholders, marketing and promotion for investment; and Master Plan policy enforcement.<sup>44</sup> In the words of the minister of lands, housing and human settlements development, Anna Tibaijuka (also former executive director of UN-Habitat), the creation of the KDA was 'a means to realise the noble end'.<sup>45</sup> The director of KDA explained that the establishment of the KDA was also intended to reduce bureaucratic obstacles, since investors dislike complicated and extended processes. He further remarked that the KDA could be seen as following international practice, since similar agencies that oversee the creation of 'New Cities' are common across the globe. But the formation of the KDA also meant that responsibility and decision-making power was, in practice, transferred away from the local authorities – such as the Temeke Municipal Council – to the new government agency. This was also mentioned by the director of rural and town planning in interview.

The Ministry sought to attract the best proposals for the New City by launching a competition for local and international consultant firms and development agencies, and it provided a clear framework and objectives to be adhered to when developing the Master Plan. The consultant commissioned to prepare the New City Master Plan

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42 MLHSD (2010).

43 UN-Habitat (2010:41).

44 Interview, director of KDA.

45 *The African*, 28 January 2013.

was the Korea Land and Housing Corporation Consortium (LH Consortium), as the Ministry was reportedly impressed with the corporation's development projects in Korea.<sup>46</sup> The manager of LH Consortium explained that the intention was to test how Kigamboni New City could be developed according to new global planning methods. The idea was to examine how 'we could apply this modern town planning techniques to our own situation here' and 'how we could look at the new growth strategies of cities'.<sup>47</sup>

Government officials and the consultants undertook several field trips to cities in other parts of the world, in order to learn and gain inspiration and ideas for developing and creating Tanzania's own dream city. For example, during the process of designing the Kigamboni project, they visited cities in China, Korea, Dubai and Morocco.<sup>48</sup> As the manager of the LH Consortium explained it: 'It is a [source of] global inspiration ... We cannot stay isolated we have to be broader ... The way we are looking at Kigamboni, the way we are looking at new urban planning, is in line with what is happening all over the world.' Thus, the Kigamboni New City project was clearly inspired by international models and planning ideals. But the New City was also presented as a leading model for how to plan cities elsewhere in Africa and was seen as a concrete laboratory for global experimentation.<sup>49</sup>

The New Kigamboni City Master Plan expressed the new vision for the area, which was to be implemented over a period of 20 years. It covered a vast area stretching across the Kigamboni peninsula, encompassing international business areas, residential, recreational, commercial and industrial areas, 'eco parks' and areas set aside for educational and medical functions. It constituted an ambitious plan that expressed both local and national goals. The plan was a vision not only for the area of Kigamboni, but also for the future of the Tanzanian nation and of Dar es Salaam as a whole. The strategic national importance of the New City project is evident. The Master Plan states that the plan must, above all, 'meet the requirements, philosophies and aspirations of the nation at large, ... and future generations of Tanzanians, residents, visitors and tourists'.<sup>50</sup> The project was expected to 'spearhead economic development and increase the national income'.<sup>51</sup> With tourists, businessmen and the middle classes in mind, it envisaged the development of international and tourism zones in Kigamboni. The international zones would offer various high-end facilities and business functions, including 'free high-speed Internet service for businessmen and foreigners' in the parks. The plan also included international schools and universities, as well as 'diplomatic towns', a convention centre and luxury housing.<sup>52</sup> The tourism zones, drawing inspi-

46 Interview, director of KDA; interview, director of rural and town planning, MLHHSO.

47 Interview, manager of LH Consortium.

48 Interview, director of KDA; interview, manager of LH Consortium,

49 See promotional video on Kigamboni New City, at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jh2jQcnWcQo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jh2jQcnWcQo) Accessed 5 December 2016.

50 MLHHSO (2010:35), main report.

51 MLHHSO, Retrieved 2012-12-11 from [www.ardhi.go.tz/kigamboni-new-city.html](http://www.ardhi.go.tz/kigamboni-new-city.html)

52 MLHHSO (2010).

ration from cities like Cancun, Hong Kong and Cape Town, were to be developed as commercial and entertainment areas. They included a large-scale marine resort, with water leisure and sport facilities, as well as golf courses to service the diplomatic towns and the resort. These facilities would be mainly located on the surrounding islands and on the waterfront.

The redevelopment of Kigamboni was also intended to contribute to mitigation of the urbanisation problems of Dar es Salaam as a whole. The project was understood as a way of alleviating congestion in central Dar es Salaam and of addressing the rapid expansion of the city by contributing to planned land development.<sup>53</sup> Redeveloping central areas was considered too expensive and unviable.<sup>54</sup> Justifying the idea of a new city, the director of KDA explained: ‘You know, the city we have is so much congested. We cannot put new things [in it], like parks. There are a lot of things that we cannot put in the old city ... and making a renewal of the inner city would be much more expensive.’ Kigamboni presented itself as the perfect setting for the New City. Located near to the city centre, just across the Kurasini Creek, Kigamboni would be connected to central Dar es Salaam by a tunnel and two new bridges over the creek. The area was described as having ‘large tracts of good, unexploited land’ and as being ‘undeveloped’.<sup>55</sup> It was seen as a clean slate on which to build a *new* kind of city and was explicitly described in the Master Plan as an opportunity to break with the mistakes of previous planning, such as overcrowding and traffic congestion, that have plagued the wider Dar es Salaam. The beautiful natural features of Kigamboni – such as its ‘exotic beaches’ – were emphasised and a range of brilliant future possibilities was depicted in both the Master Plan and the promotional video for the New City.<sup>56</sup> There was an overall ambition that the New City would propel Dar es Salaam into the global ranks of ‘world cities’. As the director of rural and town planning at the Minsitry wrote in the foreword to the Master Plan, ‘It is my sincere hope that the implementation of the proposal contained in this document will contribute to the growth and prosperity of the city of Dar es Salaam towards a world-class city of excellence.’<sup>57</sup>

The Master Plan presented distinct intentions for housing and infrastructure. It intended to ‘create ultra-modern residential development opportunities for various categories of residents’.<sup>58</sup> It further stated that ‘The city shall demonstrate a high quality in its human settlements incorporating the highest environmental standards and should in effect be a pilot study demonstrating the best possible housing and urban living condition in Dar es Salaam.’<sup>59</sup> As mentioned, the New City plans were seen as being in line with the City-Wide Action Plan for upgrading unplanned and un-serviced settlements

53 UN-Habitat (2010)

54 Interview, manager of LH Consortium.

55 MLHSD (2012); MLHSD (2010); interview, director of KDA.

56 MLHSD (2010); See promotional video on Kigamboni New City, at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jh2jQcnWcQo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jh2jQcnWcQo)

Accessed 5 December 2016.

57 MLHSD (2010, foreword).

58 MLHSD (2010: 4).

59 MLHSD (2010: 4).




in Dar es Salaam, as the New City would contribute to reducing ‘the growth of existing unplanned settlements and prevent[ing] the formation of new ones’.<sup>60</sup> It was claimed that the New City would offer ‘a better quality of life’ and significant social and economic benefits to the people of Kigamboni.<sup>61</sup> However, the Master Plan did not recognise or discuss the pre-existing informal ways of life in Kigamboni (such as small-scale farming, animal keeping, trading, etc.). In fact, in interviews with leading persons, those pre-existing ways of life and so-called undesirable and uncontrolled development in the area were seen as a problem. The manager of LH Consortium, for example, expressed the view that people have a ‘rural way of living in town. You can’t do that! You can’t keep cattle in town! You can’t keep poverty in town. If you want to do that, then it has to be in specific areas where urban agriculture can be done.’ He referred to global health standards that must be followed. In other words, the LH Consortium manager condemned the existing ways of life in Kigamboni, and his understanding of what was ‘urban’ excluded the activities of many Kigamboni residents. He clearly saw ‘rural’ ways of life and ‘poverty’ as incompatible with the New City vision.

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60 UN-Habitat (2010:14).

61 MLHHS (2010); interview, manager of LH Consortium; interview, director of KDA.

The image features a large, semi-transparent, light orange quotation mark graphic in the background, positioned on the left side. The text is white and centered vertically relative to the graphic.

The potential challenges  
of the resettlement  
programme occupied  
only two of the 270  
pages of the Master  
Plan's report



Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 7. Street vendors in Kigamboni, 2013.

## The resettlement plans

The redevelopment of Kigamboni would require land acquisition and the resettlement of around 97,000 residents into apartments in a new residential area.<sup>62</sup> These new dwellings were to be built within the planning area but, according to the strict zoning delineated in the Master Plan, would be located far away from the coastline and the tourism zones. The resettled people would be offered 'fair' compensation (that is, supposedly equivalent to the value of their properties) and the new housing would be of various sizes, so that they would be affordable to different categories of residents.<sup>63</sup> The director of KDA – the agency in charge of land acquisition, compensation and resettlement – claimed that people prefer to stay in their 'low-cost housing' because of lack of education; people do not 'know better'. He considered their living standards to be poor and inadequate and argued that the resettlement programme would improve people's lives and housing conditions.

<sup>62</sup> According to the director of rural and town planning, MLHHS, the design and construction of this new housing was the responsibility of the Tanzanian National Housing Corporation, together with Chinese and Dubai real estate firms. See also MLHHS (2010:216).k

<sup>63</sup> MLHHS (2010:217).

The potential challenges of the resettlement programme were discussed only superficially in the Master Plan – they occupied only two of the 270 pages of the report. The discussion suggested that the main challenge lay in potential resistance by residents to being resettled.<sup>64</sup> However, this would be countered by involving them throughout the process, it was stated.

On the issue of participation, the minister of lands declared that the KDA ‘will ensure effective participation of stakeholders and the Kigamboni residents in particular’.<sup>65</sup> She also stressed: ‘I would like everyone to understand that KDA is a public organisation, working for the public interest ... in general and the Kigamboni residents in particular.’<sup>66</sup> She made it clear that the first step in the process of developing Kigamboni into a modern city involved educating the residents in the significance of developing the area.<sup>67</sup> The different state actors who were interviewed claimed that the people of Kigamboni had been involved in the planning process from the beginning, that several community meetings had been held, and that each and every person from the community had been invited. They referred to the various law and policy instruments in Tanzania that state the importance of community participation – such as the National Land Use Act, which requires public participation in the preparation and implementation of land use policies and plans; and the Tanzanian Urban Planning Act, which stipulates citizen participation in urban development. The director of rural and town planning claimed that the Kigamboni New City Master Plan was different from previous plans: ‘Kigamboni is not a blueprint’, she stated, meaning that the residents of Kigamboni have been consulted. The residents interviewed would, however, paint a very different picture.

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64 MLHSD (2010:216).

65 *The African*, 28 January 2013.

66 IPPmedia, 2 February 2013.

67 *The African*, 28 January 2013.



Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 8. Kigamboni bridge under construction, 2013.

## The residents' perspectives

Residents' feelings about the plans for Kigamboni were diverse. Some of those operating businesses near the ferry terminal voiced negative feelings about the project. Some women selling fruit there anticipated that they would lose their lucrative location and would face difficulties in maintaining their livelihood once the New City was built, and thus did not welcome the project. Other vendors stated that they had never heard about those plans.

Most of the interviewees alleged that the project had been developed without consulting them about their needs, demands or wishes for the future of Kigamboni. They claimed that only one community meeting had been arranged, merely to present the project to the residents – not to consult them. The media had been the primary source of information, and it was through the media that people had heard about the redevelopment plans for the first time.<sup>68</sup> Regular Kigamboni residents also had limited access to the Master Plan. It was possible to download parts of the Master Plan from the Ministry's website, but few residents of Kigamboni had access to Internet. The document was available only in English, and not in Kiswahili, the official language of

68 Interview, chairman of the Kigamboni Committee.

Tanzania. In addition, the process of obtaining the document was far too bureaucratic and the document itself too expensive.<sup>69</sup>

In fact, the absence of information and the lack of consultation of residents of Kigamboni was a major source of complaint. The residents interviewed, the leaders of local organisations and the Member of Parliament claimed that the government had withheld information about the project for a long time, almost treating it as top secret.<sup>70</sup> One particular government decision reportedly created much controversy and suspicion. Soon after the New City project had been announced and the land survey had been conducted, the Ministry declared a ‘stop order’ in the planning area that hindered the residents from developing their plots and houses – potentially impeding them from raising the value of their plots and of the compensation to be claimed. The government remained silent for two years, which generated many rumours among the residents.

An important source of uncertainty revolved around the issues of resettlement and compensation. The state actors interviewed claimed that the process of compensation had already been launched, and that the residents had been given clear information on when they would be relocated and how much they would receive. However, the residents interviewed complained about insufficient and contradictory or unclear information about resettlement and compensation and limited opportunities for taking part in the decision making. The residents required clearer statements about the timing of the resettlement and compensation, who was eligible and the amount of compensation.

One issue pertained to the fact that only landowners seemed to be entitled to compensation; thus most tenants, who constituted a large share of residents in Kigamboni, were not eligible.<sup>71</sup> Minister Anna Tibaijuka also announced that those who had settled ‘legally’ in the area would be compensated, and the compensation would be pegged to the land value, while those who had ‘illegally grabbed’ or settled on wetlands and protected lands would be evicted without compensation<sup>72</sup> – a statement that attracted much criticism in the media, leading to more tolerant formulations by the government on this matter.

A number of the residents interviewed lacked trust in the government’s promises of fair compensation.<sup>73</sup> One concern was that the resettlement from plot to apartment would be expensive and an economic burden for many. One woman had been informed that the price of an apartment would be between 60 and 90 million Tanzanian

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69 The price of the document was around EUR 80 at the time. First, you had to write a letter explaining what the Master Plan would be used for. This letter had then to be handed in at a different building, where you paid 200,000 TZS. Then, in order to get a hard copy, the receipt you were given had to be submitted at the first building visited in this procedure. See also Haki Ardhi (2012).

70 See also Haki Ardhi (2012:86).

71 MLHSD (2010). As an informal settler, you have the right to compensation as long as you can prove, in some way, that you have been living in the area for more than five years. However, this right does not cover informal tenants.

72 The East African, 12 July 2012.

73 See also Haki Ardhi (2012).

Shillings (TZS). She was worried that the compensation would not cover the price of an apartment, and that it would be necessary to take out a loan, either through the formal banking system or through personal contacts. She feared that, if unable to pay back the loan, the bank could confiscate her property: ‘And what are you left with? Nothing!’, she exclaimed.

For the residents, the resettlement signified the loss of land which they had used as a basis for diverse income-generating activities (gardening, small-scale business, etc.). One of those interviewed offered a concrete example: while one mango tree could generate 400,000 TZS per year, the compensation given for one tree was only 45,000 TZS. As the respondent owned six mango trees, the loss of income would be significant, and the compensation was thus not considered fair. She compared the loss of land with loss of freedom: the freedom to grow her own crops, which she could sell in public areas or to neighbours. Giving up one’s plot would potentially result in lost livelihoods. Thus, some were reportedly reluctant to sell their property, as they had invested in this land with the purpose of earning a living.<sup>74</sup>

Some feared that living in an apartment would bring additional costs (such as gas and generators). Some also anticipated that life in the future New City would be expensive, while income-generating activities (such as street vending) would be restricted, with negative effects for many residents. Another concern was that the resettlement would disrupt people’s social networks and cause fragmentation of the community. Indeed, previous studies in Tanzania have shown that relocation tends to have a negative effect on people’s ability to sustain their livelihoods and their supportive social networks.<sup>75</sup> According to the programme coordinator of Haki Ardhi, the potential effects of the resettlement or eviction in terms of loss of land, livelihoods and social networks might leave poor people in Kigamboni even poorer than before.<sup>76</sup>

Women in Kigamboni spent most of their time in domestic spaces and on activities related to the household and childcare. One woman interviewed explained that it would be difficult for women to perform their usual everyday activities in the apartments – for example, cooking in the open air in the event of power failure. She believed that the New City plan should have been better adapted to the pre-existing life in Kigamboni and more concerned with the basic needs of residents, such as developing the waste and sewerage system.

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74 Daily News, 2 March 2013.

75 Msani (2011).

76 See also Haki Ardhi (2012).

It was pointed out on several occasions that the residential areas were mainly planned for investment purposes





Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 9. A rural landscape in Kigamboni, 2013.

## Organised responses

In the context of the afore-mentioned lack of information and of opportunities to participate in the redevelopment plans, some non-state, resident-oriented organised initiatives emerged in Kigamboni. One such initiative came from the NGO Haki Ardhi, a local advocacy and research NGO that focuses on land issues. According to one of its programme coordinators, people from Kigamboni started to contact the NGO in connection with the announcement of the New City project, to express their apprehension about their future and to inquire about their rights. At the regular seminars that Haki Ardhi organised for residents from peri-urban areas, people from Kigamboni also shared their concerns about the project and, according to the programme coordinator, the atmosphere was hostile.<sup>77</sup> The NGO then decided to arrange three seminars specifically for the benefit of the people of Kigamboni. To the first, a number of different stakeholders were invited, including both leaders and ordinary citizens, with the purpose of clarifying issues related to the redevelopment project and providing

<sup>77</sup> Interview, programme coordinator, Haki Ardhi.

information about experience gained from other projects, how people had organised themselves and the outcomes. The second and third seminars were arranged at Kigamboni and sought to reach the so-called small producers and smallholders, who were thought to make up the majority of those who would be affected by implementation of the project. The NGO undertook to educate the residents about the project plans and relevant legal documents – such as the Urban Land Act and the Town Planning Act – as well as about their rights concerning participation and involvement. Furthermore, the programme coordinator explained, Haki Ardhi provided information about which government agencies to contact, depending on the questions that the residents had. He stated that the NGO also assisted the Kigamboni residents with legal papers and letters, and offered legal advice and services, for example around issues of relocation and compensation. In this work, it also enjoyed support from another NGO, the Legal and Human Rights Centre. However, he was quite clear about what he thought could be achieved. He declared that it was important to make people understand that ‘there is no point in being obstinate, no point in fighting against the project. You got to tell them that this project is going to take place... So instead of fighting the government, you have to fight to get your rights.’

On the basis of its activities in Kigamboni, Haki Ardhi wrote a report about the prospects and challenges of the New City project.<sup>78</sup> It discussed the report with different actors, including the Ministry and the municipal authorities; it conducted a press conference and publicised the findings through the media.

As the number of people approaching Haki Ardhi for help increased, the NGO advised Kigamboni residents to form a committee. The Kigamboni Committee was constituted in 2009, after which time most of the legal services and advice offered by the NGO were channelled through the committee. At the time of the fieldwork, the committee consisted of two representatives from each sub-ward (locally called Mtaa). According to those members of the committee interviewed, these representatives were ‘democratically elected by the people’. In total, there were 14 members: all of them landowners and only four of them women.<sup>79</sup> The elected representatives chose a chairman and a secretary, who were the main leaders of the committee. Around half of the members were former government employees who had retired.<sup>80</sup> The work and activities carried out by the members of the committee were reportedly voluntary and unremunerated.

According to the chairman and members of the committee interviewed, its main goals were to demand greater influence over and insight into the project, inform the residents about their rights and ensure that they would benefit from the New City project. The committee claimed to represent the residents of Kigamboni in matters relating to the project and to provide a link between the residents and the Ministry.

78 Haki Ardhi (2012).

79 The secretary explains that at the beginning the committee consisted of 12 members, but due to the fact that only men had been selected they decided to give two of those posts to women and add two other posts for women.

80 Interview, programme coordinator, Haki Ardhi.

The committee ran various media programmes on the radio and television, with the aim of raising awareness about the project among Tanzanian citizens.<sup>81</sup> The members of the committee claimed to have arranged various meetings with different officials from the Ministry and the municipal authorities. In addition, they had engaged with the affected community by arranging public meetings.

The committee seemed to be mainly concerned with the rights of landowners and their ability to influence the project. In particular, it wanted to ensure that landowners received compensation for their land and benefited from the project. In addition, resettled landowners should receive plots instead of apartments – given the importance of land for people’s livelihoods and lifestyles, as mentioned above. All those members of the committee interviewed seemed well aware of their rights and most referred to different laws and regulations meant to protect them. The chairman and the secretary had their own copies of relevant urban laws and, during the interviews, they elaborated on the paragraphs which they accused the government of violating: the obligation to give information concerning the project, the residents’ right to participate in the decision on whether the project should be implemented, and the right to influence the actual implementation. Furthermore, they claimed that landowners should be the main beneficiaries of the project. The chairman expressed concern about the people’s lack of knowledge of their rights. He considered this to be one of the main challenges facing the committee, which tried to raise awareness about the redevelopment project by organising community meetings.

Another major challenge mentioned pertained to the committee’s communication with the government. In fact, none of the government officials interviewed seemed to recognise the committee. The committee claimed to have been able to organise meetings with government representatives in the earlier years but, at the time of the fieldwork, committee members were expressing their concern about the difficulties of dialogue with the government. Members of the committee expressed their frustration over the silence of the government. The committee had written several letters to the government, but had had no response. Different government officials had been invited to participate in the community meetings, but they had not shown any interest in participating. Yet, the members interviewed seemed confident that the government would eventually listen to their demands. When asked about what their next strategy would be to change this situation, the leaders responded that they would try to agree on certain terms with the authorities. They explained that it is better to strive for dialogue with the government, than to oppose it or go to court.

During the observed community meetings arranged by the committee, some important insights were gained. One immediate such insight was that women were absent from all but one meeting; and at that meeting, of the approximately 70 participants only three were female. One of the male participants remarked that most women were responsible for domestic work and spent most of their time in the home, while men moved more in the public sphere. One of the committee leaders argued that attempts

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81 Interview, chairman, Kigamboni Committee.

had been made to involve women, but that patriarchal family structures prevented them from coming to the meetings and from actively taking part in public discussions.<sup>82</sup>

At the meetings, the committee was criticised for having failed to reach out to all segments of Kigamboni society. One participant argued that the committee should work harder to reach as many people as possible, for example by holding the meetings at different locations, in order to make them more accessible to all residents. The committee responded that such attempts had been made, but that government officials had created obstacles. A deeper issue, however, related to the fact that the committee was primarily concerned with the interests of landowners. As a well-informed, anonymous informant explained, while (better-off) landowners with legal title could expect compensation, which they could use to expand their choices or invest elsewhere, people with limited assets or lacking land titles were not assured of compensation. This division was apparently contributing to emerging tensions in and around the committee. Members of the committee were being accused of taking advantage of their membership and of not acting in the interests of the people. These controversies raised questions about the ability or interest of the committee in representing the interests of *all* residents.

This discontent among the residents towards the committee surfaced during several interviews and conversations. Among other things, there was dissatisfaction that there was one single committee claiming to represent all the residents. Government officials tapped into this discontent and planned a regulatory change that would result in the dismemberment of the existing committee into several committees at the subward level. However, the anonymous informant considered that this move was political manoeuvring grounded in political interest: the leaders of the ruling party ‘thought that this committee maybe was formed by the opposition just to oppose the government’. This matter seemed to cause irritation and anxiety within the committee, which accused the government of being interested in hampering its work. At one meeting, the government was charged with attempting to disrupt and control the committee, as it began to recognise its supposedly growing local influence. An informant claims that a typical strategy of the government consists of creating tensions and suspicion among the population towards the organisation.

At the community meetings, discussions were at times extremely heated about the redevelopment project, particularly concerning issues related to resettlement and compensation. There was considerable confusion among the participants about these matters. But many negative feelings and attitudes were conveyed at the meetings. Several participants said they would refuse to move from their houses and plots. One participant explained that if the government removed them by force, he would answer with violence – similar statements were made during the other meetings. Some people believed that the planned apartments in the resettlement area were not meant for Kigamboni residents and that the New City project would probably not benefit the


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82 See also Haki Ardhi (2012).

residents. It was pointed out on several occasions that the residential areas were mainly planned for investment purposes.

The interviews revealed a recurring critical tone against the government. Many interviewees expressed a lack of trust in Tanzanian politicians. Although existing laws were considered very good and protective of people's rights, councillors and politicians tended to ignore these laws and rights. Several argued that the government had a habit of breaking laws, that it was corrupt and interested in international business, to the detriment of the people. They were dissatisfied with how the process surrounding the Kigamboni project had developed. They suspected that state officials had allocated plots to themselves after the land surveys had been conducted, and had sold them at a profit. In addition, they accused the government of lying on a variety of points, including of deceiving people into signing documents that deprived them of the right to compensation. Several believed that the government was hiding something from the citizens.

The heated discussions, criticisms and allegations outlined above may give the impression that people in Kigamboni were generally entirely opposed to the New City project and its vision. However, this was not necessarily the case. The leaders of both the committee and Haki Ardhi believed that the general opinion in Kigamboni about the project was not negative – they seemed to disregard the scepticism that existed among a share of the residents towards the project as a whole. The committee itself did not oppose the project and the planned transformation of the area. In fact, the committee leaders welcomed it. They expressed a concern that Tanzania does not have a city that is attractive to international actors, such as tourists, investors and diplomats. One of them explained: 'If Kigamboni can be as what we are seeing on the proposal, then we think that it can attract investors ... and boost the economy.' In his understanding, most of the committee members believe that the project could be good for the Kigamboni economy. He continued: 'If that is the case, then it is better to talk with the government ... If they [the government] can listen to us, they can proceed without us disturbing the project.' However, he argued that they should be given the opportunity to influence what concerned them (as landowners) and be given clear and specific information permitting a full understanding of how they would benefit from the project. The committee's concern and effort was thus about ensuring that the interests of landowners were protected and that they would realise benefits from the redevelopment of Kigamboni.



The Master Plan is also reminiscent of the forced resettlements during Tanzania's villagization programme of the 1970s



Figure 10. Shop and restaurant in Kigamboni, 2013.

## Conclusion

This paper has explored the visions and rationalities behind the New City project in Dar es Salaam, as well as how residents understood and responded to the redevelopment plans.

The redevelopment plans for Kigamboni were prompted and justified by multiple logics and rationalities. It was hoped that the project would raise Dar es Salaam to the status of a world-class city. Its conception involved visits to cities far away and the engagement of international actors as a means of identifying the best international models and ideas. The New City was also to become a model for other cities on the continent. The re-invented Kigamboni could be seen as a ‘worlding’ experiment, that would appropriate as well as inspire urban models in global circulation.<sup>83</sup> Such models pertained not only to physical design but also to the adoption of new global planning methods and the creation of a development agency to oversee the implementation of the plans.

83 Roy and Ong (2011); McCann and Ward (2012).

The New City plans displayed some general features that are usually associated with neoliberal forms of urban development: an emphasis on economic growth and private investors; a focus on attracting wealthy groups and international businessmen, tourists and diplomats; a reliance on market-driven redevelopment; and the planned displacement of residents and their ways of life from prime areas. These features warrant a serious consideration of whom the New City was intended for. But there were also other kinds of rationalities at work. Political agendas and interests permeated the project. The plan embodied a vision for the Tanzanian nation and, given its strategic national importance, it was purposefully placed within the purview of central government agencies. Additional research would however be needed to uncover the political dynamics surrounding this and other similar projects.

Powerful conceptions of the ‘good city’ seemed to underpin the New City plans. The plans represented an experiment with new forms of urbanism intended to break with what was considered the evils of uncontrolled growth and bad planning that plagued Dar es Salaam. ‘Hegemonic representations of (re)development’ and the good city often define ‘what should and/or could exist in the city’.<sup>84</sup> In this case, too, influential actors involved in the project expressed clear visions both of the *new* urbanism to be brought about in Kigamboni and of what would have no place in the New City: namely unplanned housing, farming, animal-rearing, street income-generating activities – activities that sustained many residents in the area. This perceived incompatibility seems to resonate with Vanessa Watson’s description of a ‘conflict of rationalities’ between planning ambitions and the imperatives of survival<sup>85</sup> – although this separation was less clear-cut than one could expect, as clarified below. In this context, the redevelopment plans were dressed up in a language of urban and civic improvement – which is not uncommon in other contexts.<sup>86</sup> Redevelopment would enhance the quality of life and of human settlements by taking control over urban space and bringing order to the ‘urban chaos’.<sup>87</sup> The framing of the New City plans as part of the formalisation and upgrading programmes in Dar es Salaam may also have contributed to the justification of the project in terms of an improvement in living environments.

The Kigamboni New City Master Plan could be seen as a tool of power by which a new way of life could be planned. It carried the characteristics of high modernist planning, re-emerging in a postcolonial context.<sup>88</sup> According to Flyvbjerg, the plan could be seen as symbolising modern planning and modernity itself.<sup>89</sup> Proposing a strict zoning that separated spaces and functions, the Kigamboni Master Plan was a technocratic tool that would guide the rationalisation and standardisation of space and society. Its defenders expressed great faith in the potential of improved technical tools and ‘modern town planning techniques’ to break with past failures and build a new

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84 Byerley (2013:19).

85 Watson (2009).

86 Byerley (2013); Robinson (2012).

87 MLHHDE (2010).

88 Healy in Campbell and Fainstein, (2003:239); Sandercock (2003).

89 Flyvbjerg ((1998).



urban future. However, it could be argued that the Master Plan not only represented a manifestation of contemporary redevelopmentism, but also echoed strategies from the past aimed at controlling space and populations.<sup>90</sup> Early colonial planning in Dar es Salaam divided the city into zones, enforced spatial segregation on racial grounds and facilitated the acquisition of coastal land for government use.<sup>91</sup> In its intention to relocate and concentrate Kigamboni's residents into specific residential areas, the Master Plan is also reminiscent of the forced resettlements during Tanzania's villagisation programme of the 1970s. It should thus be understood as one of several large-scale schemes for human improvement in Tanzania's history.

In spite of progressive laws and claims that residents had been included in the planning process, opportunities for participation seem to have been very limited or non-existent. Interviews with local residents and organisations indicated that awareness of the project was low and dialogue with relevant authorities was difficult, if it ever existed. The independent findings from this study concur with assertions in Haki Ardhi's report<sup>92</sup> that the stories and experiences of the residents were given little consideration in the planning process. Their knowledges and practices were not valued when planning for the new city.

This lack of proper engagement with the local population was a source of discontent among the residents. Some seemed sceptical about the whole redevelopment project – for example, the street vendors interviewed suspected that their activities would not be welcome in the New City. Others did not oppose the redevelopment project per se, and were more narrowly concerned with matters pertaining to resettlement and compensation. The work of the Kigamboni Committee revolved mainly around these issues. Being the only residents' organisation at the time of the fieldwork that addressed matters related to the redevelopment project, the creation of the committee represented an opportunity for planning actors to gain a contextual understanding of the lived realities and desires of Kigamboni's residents. The committee was, for example, quite aware of the importance of land for the livelihood of residents – something that the resettlement plans were disregarding. But at the time, the committee's influence with the relevant authorities seemed limited.

While the committee claimed to represent all residents of Kigamboni, it appeared mainly concerned with issues of fair compensation, and thus with the interests of properly documented landowners. The concerns of tenants and those with informal tenure seemed to be secondary or marginal, and women's participation was very limited. So while the committee could be seen as a manifestation of residents' agency, hierarchies and exclusions also became apparent. In addition, in this case that agency was not always or necessarily in opposition to the redevelopment plan and its authors. These insights call for a proper consideration of the possible divisions and ambiguities of 'resistance' in associational life in general, and in relation to urban redevelopment

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90 Watson (2009); Sandercock (2003); Scott (1998); Byerley (2013).

91 Nguluma (2003).

92 Haki Ardhi (2012).

projects in particular.<sup>93</sup> In this regard, the notion of ‘conflicting rationalities’, while pointing to important tensions between formal planning and urban realities of survival, cannot capture these divisions and ambiguities.

It is worth mentioning that some local residents and organisations doubted that the project would ever materialise. And their suspicions were not without foundation. Financial difficulties and political scandals and manoeuvrings would indefinitely delay the construction of the New City as planned, leaving everyone uncertain about what was to become of the area and how to plan for their own future. At the same time, the unrealised plans did foster new expectations and imaginations about the future among Kigamboni’s residents. Significant transformations have also occurred in the area. Piecemeal construction has taken place and land prices have rocketed. The institutional landscape has also changed: for example, the Kigamboni Development Agency (whose main responsibility was to oversee implementation of the plans, including handling resettlement and compensation for residents) is being phased out and, in the context of a recent restructuring of the administrative map of Dar es Salaam, a new local authority has been created in Kigamboni.<sup>94</sup> At the time of writing, a new Master Plan for Dar es Salaam is about to be released. The short introduction to the plan available on the website of a Dutch architecture firm seems to reproduce the familiar ultra-modernistic visions and high-profile projects, such as a coastal park and a Formula One racing facility.<sup>95</sup> The plan has already generated considerable anxiety concerning a possible scaling up of evictions when the plan becomes operational, particularly among residents dwelling in unplanned areas.<sup>96</sup> In this context, the plans for Kigamboni are possibly being revised. These developments warrant continued research to investigate the changing visions and constellations of relations involved in what might turn out to be a new re-imagining of Kigamboni and Dar es Salaam, and the ways in which residents once again may try to (re)position themselves in relation to future transformations.

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93 Lindell (2010).

94 Personal communication, Irmelin Joelsson, November 2016.

95 CConcept Design BV (n.d).

96 Lugongo (2016).

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Figure 11. A tailor in Kigamboni, 2013. Photo: Jennifer Norström

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Photo: Jennifer Norström

Figure 12. Billboards in Kigamboni, 2013.





IN THE MIDST of widespread urban deprivation, African governments increasingly give priority to large-scale ultra-modern urban projects, intended to increase national income and propel their urban settlements onto the global stage of 'world-class' cities. However, such projects are often in tension with the realities of local residents.

This paper explores the ambitious plans for the creation of a New City in the Kigamboni area of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. These plans involved the resettlement of a large number of residents in the area. The paper discusses the vision and multiple rationalities behind the project, as well as how respondents perceived and acted upon these plans. The New City project took shape without taking the realities and desires of the local residents of Kigamboni into consideration. Contestation was limited and focused on issues of monetary compensation, and tended to marginalise women and the concerns of tenants.

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