

## Introduction

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the town that would become Dar es Salaam was a small fishing village named Mzizima. Located just below the curve of the East African littoral where the island of Zanzibar sits near the continent's coastline, the village and region were mostly populated by Shomvi and Zaramo people. But as trade transformed Zanzibar into a major cosmopolitan hub of the Indian Ocean, Mzizima transformed into Dar es Salaam, a modest Swahili trading post.<sup>1</sup> Zanzibar's Sultan Majid first designed, laid out, and built up the town and its harbor in the 1860s. It subsequently became home to a polyglot population of Arab, Persian, and Swahili merchants while remaining predominantly Uzaramo.<sup>2</sup> In the late nineteenth century when the Germans claimed the region as their colony of German East Africa, they made the small coastal port their capital.<sup>3</sup> The British then claimed it as their capital in the aftermath of the First World War. Since its very beginning, Dar es Salaam has been profoundly African *and* international. And ever since Dar swallowed up the village of Mzizima, its environment has reflected a persistent tension and collaboration between the “city” and the “village.”

While this interplay between city and village is a hallmark of African urbanism, it also has a particular history in Dar.<sup>4</sup> The lurking presence of the rural might have first developed as a product of the city's flat topography at its center which then attenuates into gentle hills that radiate into the hinterland. Reaching from the ocean into the valleys of these hills, a system of creeks spread across the city's landscape, waxing and waning in the rainy and dry seasons and changing the city's contours—sometimes dramatically—as a result. With these transient flows, the city's expansion has never been straightforward but rather punctuated by watery boundaries that disrupt any urban coherence.

The tension between city and village, though, is also a social artefact of a racist colonial history that frequently relegated Africans to the town's periphery, beyond its planned center. When first the Germans and later the British made it their colonial capital, both administrations entrenched racial-

ly segregated neighborhoods into urban planning law, frequently utilizing these creeks and hills as dividing cordons sanitaires.<sup>5</sup> Similar environmental boundaries mark the history of many colonial cities across the continent where authorities often mandated that Africans remain in peri-urban “villages” or unplanned areas off the official urban map. These measures were frequently entrenched in a rhetoric of public health, but administrators also aimed to avoid the costs of providing durable urban housing. Colonial officials worried, too, that “natives” who relocated permanently in cities would lose their moral bearings if unmoored from “tribe” and “village.”<sup>6</sup> For the modest population of Africans who did find access to planned urban neighborhoods by the late colonial period, they had to justify their presence with proof of employment or potentially face expulsion from the city.

But even after independence, when Tanzania’s first president, Julius Nyerere, decried the segregated legacy of the city, the ideological specter of the village still haunted urban development. No fan of Dar, Nyerere held up “the village” as a moral virtue, urging and sometimes forcing residents of Tanzania’s biggest city to leave for surrounding villages in order to enact a socialist rural future. Echoing policies of the late colonial period, regional government officials in the 1970s and early 1980s rounded up unemployed residents and dropped them off in Dar’s periphery to become part of newly forming villages. Nyerere’s colorful, blunt antiurban rhetoric plays a central role in many histories written about the postcolonial city. That Dar developed such a dynamic cultural life while state development policies valorized rural settlement offers a rich tension to these scholarly works.<sup>7</sup>

However, if we turn our attention to the city’s built environment rather than its political and cultural life, the supposed antipodes of city and country dissolve and begin to seem more colluding than contrarian. These landscapes are less distinguishable from one another by this period than perhaps ever before.<sup>8</sup> Despite generations of authorities drawing moral boundaries between the village and the city, residents of the region routinely traversed both worlds for their own purposes and projects. In the late 1950s, when the retired colonial officer J. A. K. Leslie was tasked with writing a book on the welfare of the city’s African population, he remarked, in passing, that locals exploited the opportunities of living somewhere between the village and the city. More specifically, Leslie noted that many Zaramo were leaving their villages in the coastal region in periods of drought and seeking economic opportunity in the city. But rather than an inexorable migration toward the center—or what scholarship on cities has tended to make synonymous with “urbanization”—Leslie observed that some Zaramo resisted or were not willing to “go completely urban by taking a job and relying on it exclusively for income.”<sup>9</sup> Instead, he noted, many would “hang on by ‘going to ground’” in the city’s rural periphery. A British colloquialism, to “go to ground” means to lie low or

hide out from authorities, and in fact the Zaramo were frequently seeking refuge from officials during periods of strikes, unemployment, or routine purges from the city. But beyond serving as a place of refuge, the periphery was also a place of temporary material relief, just as the city was at other times. Indeed, while many scholars of Leslie's generation saw this back-and-forth as a metaphor for Africans' alleged failure to modernize, it was precisely what becoming "urban" looked like in Dar es Salaam: an ongoing process of negotiating the opportunities and struggles of the city through seeking the relief of rural resources rather than a finite transition from the village.<sup>10</sup>

Struck by the evocative image of "going to ground," this book takes up Leslie's brief aside and reworks it as a conceptual approach to writing the environmental history of Dar's changing urban landscape in the 1970s and 1980s. I also use it to write against the popular and scholarly penchant to separate histories of the rural and the urban. In blurring these landscapes and categories, I seek to be part of a long tradition of pushing back against this distinction in environmental history.<sup>11</sup> I argue that it was during a period beginning roughly in 1973 that a new era in Tanzania's urban history began, as the city rapidly grew while also being gripped by an unfolding economic crisis and fracturing of urban infrastructures. In response to these circumstances, Dar's citizens coped much like the Zaramo in the 1950s; families increasingly made their lives in transit between the city and its periphery, sometimes also to evade the state. In doing so, they were quite literally turning to the ground to make life possible when they were either short on cash or other urban shortages broadly persisted. They exploited the coastal region's natural resources to shape their lives in Dar, relying on the city's outskirts to plant small *mashamba* (farms) or to seek out building materials for their houses, goods to sell at markets, or charcoal for cooking the evening meal.

In revealing how families and neighborhoods stitched together city and country, this book considers how Dar es Salaam's environments and infrastructures reflect the accumulation of everyday acts of provisioning for urban lives. It was through family labor as much as corporate or state labor that both the hinterland and the city were transformed. Environmental histories of cities tend to examine longer periods of time and narrate scaled, capitalist transformations of "nature" into urban infrastructures and space—the myth of the modern city is that it becomes a place where communities are insulated and ultimately alienated from direct relationships with nature. In framing the heart of this book around little more than a ten-year period and considering everyday struggles at a time of economic crisis, what instead comes into focus is how urban communities became not more cut off from "nature" but rather more entrenched in it, defying easy categorization.

But traversing between city and periphery is not the sole focus of this book. I also conceive of "going to ground" to include how urbanites made

their own plans and infrastructures for life in the city when municipal services, factories, public transportation, and institutions of planning were routinely, exasperatingly out of commission or grounded. In this period, urban infrastructures suffered from material shortages, lack of expertise, and infrequent maintenance, causing many to be frequently suspended. Facing these periods of disrepair, urbanites developed a diverse repertoire of ways to inhabit the city while also venting their frustrations publicly about the state of Dar's physical infrastructures. By tweaking ailing infrastructures and technologies or simply navigating around disrepair, urban communities reshaped their built environment in profound ways.

The state also struggled to provision for its citizens. Urban authorities similarly faced the necessity of developing new strategies for dealing with infrastructural failure and determining who was to blame. Likewise, when several of Dar's factories went offline during the 1980s due to dwindling foreign exchange funds, parastatal factory managers had to improvise new forms of production. These improvisations turned to local raw materials to avoid expensive imports and became new ways to conceive of "nation building," quite literally from the ground up. These solutions were practical and ideological, shaped by Tanzania's membership in the Third World and the state's desire to create a new global economic order, highlighting once again the city's position mediating between the local and the international.<sup>12</sup> Thus I also engage with one final definition of "going to ground" in this book: the emergent hope of a new, grounded path to development that accompanied the heady insecurity of life in Dar. This was the hope of creating a rooted, local, and self-sufficient city and nation from the intellectual and political collaborations of the Third World. In all these manifestations of "going to ground," Dar's residents and the state came to rely on the city's environment in new ways and in turn they shaped the city profoundly.

### **Urban Growth and Writing Histories of "Third World" Cities**

Many of the activities that constitute "going to ground" trouble the trajectory of prevailing narratives of urbanization. In the existing historiography, urbanization remains a process in which cities become more "citylike" over time. Predominantly through histories of the industrializing West, we have come to a loose consensus of what materially and environmentally makes up a city and demarcates it from its enduring scholarly foil, the country. African cities have long been sidelined in this history, in part because they have been measured against these notions of "cityness" that they do not reflect, particularly in their frequent construction out of "crude brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks, and scrap wood."<sup>13</sup> Their material presence has left them seemingly in a perpetual state of becoming. As a result, scholars have theorized with "First World" cities while viewing "Third World" cities

like Dar through the “lens of developmentalism.”<sup>14</sup> This literature tends to focus on “capacities of governance, service provision, and productivity” with an implicit understanding that these cities need to be fixed.<sup>15</sup> To explore how communities conjured their lives in Dar at a time when both materials and political will were in profoundly short supply is then also a call to think more broadly about what and who constitutes urban environments. How might the routines of families moving between the city and its periphery actually redefine what counts as the space of a city? And as the “expectations of modernity” in Tanzania fall short of the state’s original imaginings, how does the state also participate in rethinking what materials and infrastructures constitute a “modern” city?<sup>16</sup>

While there is an immense history still to be written on the environments of postcolonial cities, historians have nevertheless still been telling stories about these landscapes.<sup>17</sup> In the instances when places like Mumbai, Lagos, Dhaka, Dar es Salaam, and Cairo show up in environmental histories, they tend to get combined into peripatetic accounts of “global cities” rather than serving as the subjects of separate monographs.<sup>18</sup> In these accounts, such cities can stand in for the problems of the developing world writ large. This is particularly true with the emergence of “megacities” in the twenty-first century that have come to symbolize an archetypal environment of the Anthropocene. In this literature, the so-called Third World cities signal the perversions of urbanism and planetary well-being, even while aspects of them are celebrated.<sup>19</sup>

These confounding urban landscapes are frequently first introduced to readers through numbers. In the very term *megacities*, we are first drawn to the dramatic and rapid expansion of urban life in the Global South. Scholarly accounts of these cities begin by reciting the statistics of their unparalleled growth in the last fifty years. In this formulation, the numbers would tell us that Dar is no exception: between 1968 and 1982, a timeframe that this book sits roughly within, the surface area of the city multiplied by five.<sup>20</sup> This statistic, and an annual growth rate of 7.8 percent during this same period, were facts that I would routinely tell people when asked why I was writing an environmental history of the city.<sup>21</sup> After reciting these numbers enough, however, I became quite critical of my own recourse to growth as justification for Dar’s importance. Growth—the more dramatic the better—struck me as the predominant mode by which environmental historians and urban scholars justify their engagement with cities of the Third World, and this justification is prone, problematically, to confirming rather than challenging readers’ ideas about the Global South. In lieu of a richer introduction, a city’s “sprawling,” “teeming,” and “unremitting” expansion frequently exists on the page before the city itself does: lost in scale, there is no “there” there. The sordid extremes of Third World urbanism should not become its scholarly contribution.

I am certainly not the first to critique these approaches to urbanism in the Global South. In the last fifteen years an emerging scholarship has begun to rewrite the place of African cities in urban studies.<sup>22</sup> Anthropologists and geographers in particular have been at the forefront of this new work.<sup>23</sup> There is a lively sense of African cities as iconoclastic and hard to pin down captured even in the titles of these new theoretically oriented works.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, a collection of books by cultural and social historians have also enriched our understanding about sexuality, gender, pop culture, and race in the African city.<sup>25</sup> A history of Africa's built environment, however, is not foregrounded in this recent burst of historical work.<sup>26</sup>

With more than half the world living in urban areas, writing more expansive environmental histories of the Global South is vitally important. These histories could ground our understandings of a period "often categorized as unprecedented and therefore somewhat evasive of historicization."<sup>27</sup> Without highlighting other stories along with narratives of growth, we are left with an understanding of these cities as cautionary tales of overpopulation and underdevelopment. The very notion that we now live in the moment of the "great acceleration" can conjure a sense that these urban landscapes are the result of an unfolding algorithm rather than revealing of their histories and environments.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, just like in nineteenth-century London or Paris, rapid urban expansion today has led to the accompanying problems of pollution, waste, sanitation, and sprawl. While exploring some of these issues, this book suggests that there are other environmental stories to be told about how people build homes, provision their lives in the city, and connect the challenges of the urban environment to both personal and national aspirations.

In seeking to enrich our understanding of these urban environments and infrastructures, this book walks a fine line. On the one hand, the following thematic chapters represent my attempt to banish the "specter of comparison" that has haunted Third World cities and instead "world" Dar's changing landscape at a time of deep anxiety about global environments.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, these same chapters engage with the narratives of crisis that have come to exclude African cities from historical narratives other than as sites of economic, demographic, and environmental catastrophe.<sup>30</sup> The 1970s were rife with the pronouncement of crises both globally and particularly in East Africa: the oil crisis, the wood fuel crisis, and the urban crisis lurk in these chapters. By the 1980s Dar es Salaam's landscape was shaped most fundamentally by what residents remember as crippling economic austerity that left them planting their own food, disposing of their own waste, improvising transportation, fueling their own households, and building on unzoned plots of land. By placing these unfolding events as central to each chapter, this book is an environmental history of an economic crisis as well as a city. Indeed, many urbanites might most readily recall how they mitigated against

crisis through their engagements with Dar's swiftly changing urban ecologies and infrastructures.

As a result, *crisis* is not a word nor a sentiment that I can avoid but it also cannot go unexamined, as I will return to in the conclusion. Like narratives of uncontrolled growth, by engaging with crisis narratives I risk reinforcing a problematic and popular view of the African continent. This is distinctly not my goal. Rather, what I intend here is two-pronged. First, I argue that the quotidian types of interruption that the following chapters focus on might be augmented in Dar, but they are part of everyday life in all cities: we know this in the frustrating commute to work when the subway goes offline, when fuel costs spike, or when sewage lines back up and disrupt our daily routines.<sup>31</sup> Recent works on infrastructure by science, technology, and society (STS) scholars offer an important reevaluation of how we tell the history of cities. While environmental historians have narrated the construction of massive infrastructures such as dams, highways, electrical grids, and sewerage systems, STS scholars who draw attention to how these infrastructures are subsequently used, repaired, and reinvented offer a crucial second half of the story.<sup>32</sup> Postcolonial cities, with their skeletal budgets, had fewer official backup plans. When the bus broke down or the electricity went off, urban residents, workers, and state officials were more routinely forced to improvise. With enough repetition, these improvisations shaped urban landscapes in ways that are still unfolding. In this way, the crisis of municipal services that urban residents faced by the 1980s might be more dramatic than those faced in other cities, but they inform the history of all cities as ongoing places of repair and reinvention.

Second, to avoid the constantly lurking language of crisis that I encountered in my research would leave a key topic unexamined. How did the discursive construction of these crises shape how urban residents navigated the city? How did the perpetual threat of food or fuel shortages shape Dar's landscapes? As I draw out in my final chapter on the wood fuel crisis, sometimes a crisis foretold never actually arrived. And yet the pretense of disaster nevertheless shaped and facilitated international intervention in the lives of local communities. Long after a "crisis" is over, its aftereffects also continue to shape how outsiders see cities like Dar and who is blamed when problems arise.

African cities are not landscapes that have only emerged out of the failure of "proper" forms of urban life to take hold, or out of "informal" rather than "formal" urbanization. And yet, residents of these cities have historically been forced to deploy creative responses to the foreclosure of plans, infrastructures, and imagined futures. In examining such moments of recalibration, scholars should resist simply valorizing Africans as "resilient" subjects who can overcome all obstacles. Nevertheless, the ways in which urbanites

dealt with the difficulties of everyday life gives shape to much of this book.<sup>33</sup> As Gabrielle Hecht has warned historians of technology in Africa, “it’s important not to be seduced by the romance of creativity. We mustn’t overlook conditions of scarcity. Those conditions matter.” To the historical actors we study who were navigating scarcity, “inequality matters,” too: “It’s not that they prefer this state of affairs. It’s that they’re making do with what they have at hand. That’s a delicate interpretive balance, which both Africanists and STS scholars have to walk when they’re traveling down this path in conversation with each other.”<sup>34</sup> I have tried to walk this path carefully in the following chapters.

### **Environmental History with African Sources**

Because postcolonial cities have different histories than places like Chicago or London, they also leave behind a different palimpsest of sources. The following chapters thus take their shape from the sources and methodologies of African history as much as environmental history. The historian Luise White recently urged historians of postcolonial Africa who tend to gnash their teeth over the gaps in sources to instead take the “mess” of postcolonial archives as their “starting point.” Rather than trying to madly patch over the “hodgepodge” nature of the historical record, White argues, “the gaps and the fissures are not simply problems or absences in the archival record” but help us understand “states and policies and plans as a bricolage.”<sup>35</sup> This resonated with me and influenced what I have written in this book. It also resonates with how the Congolese author Sony Labou Tansi describes the continent’s cities. Invoking Tansi, Abdou Maliq Simone notes that urban Africa reflects the “African love affair with the ‘hodgepodge’—the tugs and pulls of life in all directions from which provisional orders are hastily assembled and demolished, which in turn attempt to ‘borrow’ all that is in sight.”<sup>36</sup> The following chapters wrestle with, and hopefully capture, both of these patchworks: the postcolonial archive and the postcolonial city.

In piecing together the story of the 1970s and 1980s, I was only able to uncover a very modest municipal archive.<sup>37</sup> The history of Dar es Salaam is not the history of an unplanned city, but it is one that must be written from beyond the planning archives. As I lay out in the first chapter, Tanzania’s president, Julius Nyerere, and the state’s municipal planning apparatus actively turned away from Dar es Salaam in the 1970s, leaving it to be developed predominantly by its residential communities. To confront the paucity of municipal records, I first conducted oral history interviews with residents of the peri-urban community of Mbagala. Mbagala is one of many neighborhoods that emerged in the 1970s as urban residents looked for cheap land and began moving to the outskirts of the city.<sup>38</sup> My interviews with these men and women helped me understand how residents settled and unsettled

repeatedly in the city, sometimes within and sometimes outside of official channels. These interviews disrupted the notion of urbanization as a one-way process and highlighted how urban residents shaped Dar's surrounding environment in the process of making their lives possible in the city. But rather than proving that Dar was a quintessentially "unplanned" city, these interviews showed me how central the state remained in orchestrating an ethos of "self-help urbanism." Despite the importance of these interviews in my own research process, they did not ultimately constitute a major source in most of the following chapters. I conducted them early on in my research and as a result, they informed me far more than they might show up in the following pages, where they are mostly used as illustrative.

Perhaps the most prolific source in this book is Dar's rich newspaper archives.<sup>39</sup> These newspapers became a crucial way to flesh out stories about urban infrastructures and the communities that shaped them. Tanzania's newspapers routinely chronicled when production at the cement factory stalled, where water pipes burst, or the ongoing frustrations of intermittent bus service. In some instances, newspapers also functioned as a prescriptive space, publishing how-to articles for navigating shortages or reappropriating overlooked materials. By publishing reader letters, the *Daily News* in particular provides a window into how urbanites reacted to their changing city. Those who wrote to newspapers were "performing a certain kind of public self" that revealed both the impatience and aspirations of urbanites regarding how their city should function.<sup>40</sup> There is an immediacy as well as poignant mundanity to these accounts that cannot be recaptured years later in oral histories.

The press also exerted its own pressures on the state to address certain urban problems and thus must be understood as an actor in their own right too, shaping a discourse about a "dirty" city. In one particular incident, editors from the *Tanganyikan Standard*, frustrated with an expanding pothole near their offices in the city center, decided to print comical photographs of the offending spot. First they printed a photograph of children playing in the pothole after it had filled up with fetid water. A few days later, they snapped a photo of small boats floating on the expanding pond and published it, appealing to the city to fix the pothole. Finally, and most absurdly, they staged a fisherman "complete with goggling gear and spear gun" holding up a large fish in one hand.<sup>41</sup> Shortly thereafter the city began repairing the road. These letters and photographs documenting the city give voice to the frequently banal environmental forces of water, mud, sand, and salty sea air that lay at the heart of debates between citizens and the state about the condition of the city.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, I have also assembled for this book a transnational archive of technocratic gray literature of development.<sup>43</sup> This literature includes in-

structional manuals on how to make burnt bricks; scientific studies on deforestation and charcoal use; urban master plans; project reports from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and United States Agency for International Development; transnational expert training programs; proposals for Third World technological transfer; and a wealth of studies run by students and faculty at the University of Dar es Salaam. These sources shape the story of Dar's built environment as fundamentally transnational, even when grounded in a relationship between the city and its surrounding resources. These documents also capture the 1970s as a moment when Tanzania, along with many decolonizing nations, were forced to recalibrate their vision of the future as conditions changed. Within the pages of these studies, this urgent need to rethink assumptions of modernity are captured in both practical and ideological terms. These attempts to reconsider the future were built on transnational economic, intellectual, and material connections. The Tanzanian state framed its own pursuit of economic and political sovereignty as part of a larger African and Third World struggle for decolonization and independence. Using this literature to look outward from Dar connects the dilemmas facing the city to the larger hopes and fears of the postcolonial world. When read together, these individual studies and pamphlets chart a trajectory from large-scale infrastructure projects and plans shaped by Western expertise to more modest plans and "appropriate technologies" that turned instead to other Third World countries, particularly India, for assistance. This shift evokes an evolving critique of the West as peddling an unsustainable model of development particularly as oil prices and commodity prices rose again in the early 1980s. The Tanzanian state continued to reassess their own use of environmental resources even as the conditionalities of lending agencies bore down on them. They sought a future grounded in their own resources as this became less and less possible due to crippling debt.

### Outline of the Book

In taking shape around a hodgepodge archive, this book is organized thematically to represent not institutions or epochs but the struggles and opportunities of the city in a way that might resonate with those who called Dar home during this period. By focusing on quotidian processes of city making, I have aimed to keep my own sensibilities grounded, not retreating too frequently to the bird's-eye view of a city that most residents inhabited by walking. The opening chapter, however, is an exception. I begin by locating Dar geographically and politically within the new nation and within President Nyerere's vision of Tanzanian socialist development known as *ujamaa*. I also place Dar temporally within a moment when cities globally are becoming seen as sites of crisis rather than paths to modernity. In this context Dar lost its status in the early 1970s as Tanzania's capital, to be replaced with the new planned capital

in Dodoma, in the heart of Tanzania. Considering this loss of official status as well as the plans for the new capital fleshes out how the state envisioned the future of its most populous city. And yet while the president in particular hoped to diminish Dar's symbolic and economic importance, Tanzanians nevertheless still moved there in near record numbers. These tensions—and ultimately contrasting aims—of the state and its citizens highlight not just the personal preference of families, but the material constraints placed on decolonization by the legacy of uneven development.

In chapter 2 I turn to how arriving families found land and material “belonging” in the city. As part of a much longer colonial history of precarity for rural migrants, finding a foothold in the city in the 1970s became increasingly about looking outward to the periphery. This was due to failures in housing provisioning as well as pervasive commodity shortages that prompted families to grow their own food. It was also due to state efforts to remove all “unemployed” people from the city to the surrounding countryside. But claiming space in the periphery also became the strategy for families who had made Dar home for much longer. As the city's outer edges emerged as a new center of activity, Dar's urban core also became a heterodox, ruralizing environment.

Chapter 3 looks at the politics and practices of building in Dar, focusing on the materials that constituted the average improved “Swahili-style” home in the city: mud bricks and concrete. At the center of this chapter is the story of the state's decision to build a cement plant outside of Dar to serve expanding construction needs and to signify the nation's arrival in a modern future. But as production at the plant faltered due to a variety of factors, the state was forced to consider the merits of alternative building materials and methods, resignifying mud bricks as part of an alternative Third World modernity and rejecting concrete as imperial. Regardless of state rhetoric, though, these materials still had to be taken up and made real by family builders. As a result, the materiality of Dar's houses reveals both state and family aspirational narratives about the future and how they were mitigated by the realities of the present.

Chapter 4 turns from materials to temporalities of the city. As many reading this book will know, traversing African cities can be punctuated by long bouts of waiting. But waiting shapes urban livelihoods in ways far beyond queueing for the bus or stalling in traffic. This chapter pairs a brief history of roads and transit in Dar es Salaam with an exploration of what is work (and what is loitering) in the city. How did infrastructures of transportation—expanded in the postcolonial period with the socialist urban worker explicitly in mind—shape definitions of labor in the city and shape urban landscapes in ways that unfolded daily, seasonally, and ultimately over decades? Waiting for the bus, waiting for a job, and waiting for “development” were all affective

states that shaped the conversations, ideologies, and environments that constituted urban life.

Chapter 5 looks at how the city's material flows of waste, food, and manufactured goods were dramatically reconfigured following a drought in 1974 and subsequent economic struggles in the early 1980s. As urban residents navigated an unfolding crisis, they had to find new channels for food staples. Urban authorities meanwhile struggled with sanitation services as trucks went unrepaired and petrol prices spiked. Cascading shortages of foreign exchange also forced factories to rethink their raw materials. These struggles sparked larger conversations about production and consumption under scarcity: what should Third World manufacturing look like, and where was the sometimes imperceptible line between citizens who conserved and citizens who hoarded?

The final chapter continues to consider the question of what a decolonized nature and economy would look like in Tanzania and how Dar's urban crisis provoked new practical and ideological visions of the future. This chapter chronicles the city's charcoal market within the broader global moment of the fuelwood crisis that emerged alongside the oil crisis. As environmentalists in the Global North began to worry about imminent deforestation from peasants in the "Third World" using trees for fuel, both the Tanzanian state and its urban citizens turned to charcoal as an alternative, autarkic fuel source. Mirroring the first chapter's turn to global planning narratives, this final chapter also pans out to place Dar within a global moment, this time the emerging environmental movement.

These chapters are not always orthodox or explicit in their focus on how nature shaped the city or how those in the city shaped nature. In reflecting the urgency of certain narratives that emerge in my sources, they are instead about how the city's built environment emerges as the result of other concerns of the postcolonial period. Due to other ideological and financial priorities, improving urban infrastructures was never foremost on the state's agenda. Urbanites thus had to give their own shape to Dar's environment while hoping to secure access to the relative advantage of the city. Walkers and hawkers shaped the city's streets and sidewalks in the absence of functioning public transportation; factory workers shaped its valleys and riverways by growing food on their weekends; university professors cut into its forests to sell charcoal and subsidize their salaries. In telling these stories, I hope this book pushes some of the boundaries of urban environmental history in service of bringing new cities and narratives into the fold.