Land for the Dead
Access to and Evolvement of Necral Land in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Pontus Eriksson
Abstract

This thesis is aiming to describe and understand the access to and evolvement of necral land (burial and crematory grounds) in Dar es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania and one of the most rapid growing cities in Africa. The study is based on field work conducted in Kinondoni District during the spring of 2010. It could partly be described as intensive research, because it is done like a pioneer study, trying to describe and understand a phenomena; not so much trying to find out how widespread the phenomena is. The data was primarily produced through interviews with persons representing different actors. The result from the field study is that even if there are differences in costs and needs for permits to access the land, it seems like there are ways for everyone to bury or cremate a dead body. One common way of manage costs is to collect financial contributions from friends, family and neighbours. The problem however is the evolvement, where centrally located burial grounds are considered full but still used and the cemetery established by the municipality outside the centre is not used by city dwellers, because of the lack of information and the transportation cost.

Key words
Burial, cremation, cemeteries, necral land, access to land, necrogeography, rapidly growing cities, Dar es Salaam.
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Astrid Lindgren
Preface

My greatest fear when doing this study was that I should produce a thesis about death that at the same time avoids the topic. Like when the Swedish author Astrid Lindgren (1907–2002) during her last years used to start the phone conversations with her sister by saying “death, death, death” [my translation]. With those words, she had already said everything she wanted to say about the topic and it could therefore be left out in the rest of the conversation. In the same way, this study could start out with the title Land of the Dead, and then just discuss dead bodies like objects that need to be disposed. To avoid that kind of scenario—where people’s beliefs, opinions and feelings risk to be disregarded—I have really tried to make the death present in all parts of the study. From the demographic tables to the moment I witnessed a cremation at the Hindu Crematory during my field study in Dar es Salaam. This has been a big challenge, and I have learnt a lot during the process.

There are many that have contributed to this thesis and I want to mention some of them. First I will give my thanks to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and the International Programme Office, for the financial support in the form of the scholarship Minor Field Studies (MFS) that made my field study in Dar es Salaam possible—but also for the showed interest in my study from the latter. I am also grateful for all of the help I got from the Department of Human Geography at Stockholm University, especially from my supervisors Dr. Jenny Cadstedt and Dr. Ilda Lourenço-Lindell.

I want as well mention Dr. Göran Gunner (Stockholm School of Theology) that gave me an overview of human rights and Dr. Hugo Strandberg (Department of Philosophy at Åbo Akademi University) who guided me among some ethical and philosophical issues regarding who the necral land is for.

During the time in Dar es Salaam, I was attached to the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ardhi University. I am very grateful for all the time Dr. John Lupala, Dr. Shaaban Sheuya and the other personal at the school spent helping me with my field study. Furthermore Mr. Makombe Swalehe and Ms. Zelea Ramadhani, students at Ardhi University, helped me during the field study with translations. Also a lot of thanks to all the persons I interviewed in Dar es Salaam, I hope to someday be able to visit your wonderful city again.

Practical help with the field study and consultation regarding language and layout have been obtained from my family, including my grandfather. I am very grateful also for that. The patience from my fiancée Ida has been outstanding. She have supported me during the time I have worked on this thesis, regardless if I woke her up in the middle of the night for linguistic consultation or if I took her with me at long walks in cemeteries of New York and Stockholm for general discussions about burials and cremations.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CWGC</td>
<td>Commonwealth War Grave Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCC</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam City Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>KMC</td>
<td>Kinondoni Municipality Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBS</td>
<td>National Bureau of Statistics (in Tanzania)</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity (now African Union)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>TZS</td>
<td>Tanzanian shilling *</td>
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<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
<td>General Assembly of the United Nations</td>
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<td>UN-Habitat</td>
<td>United Nations Human Settlements Programme</td>
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* The 11th of February 2010 it was possibly to buy 5.5 SEK, 0.55 EUR or 0.76 USD for 1000 TZS (Bank of Tanzania, 2010)
Introduction

Background

The urbanisation together with the growth of the population of the world has contributed to new challenges for humanity. Land-uses are changing rapidly; especially in the urban areas that now host more than half of the world population. (UNFPA, 2007)

In the 1970’s, the rapidly growing population became the starting point of a factoid saying that the living population was 75 percent of all people that ever had lived. In 1995, Carl Haub proved this wrong in the journal Population Today and 2002 he “guesstimated” in the same journal that the share of the now living population should be around 5.8 percent of the population that ever have lived. (Haub, 2002)

Even if 5.8 percent is far from 75 percent, it is still a large share. But the real large number is the more than one hundred billion people (16 times the living population 2002) that are estimated to be dead. This growing number of the dead population is seldom considered when discussing changing land-uses and urbanisation, even though many cultures have designated areas for disposal of dead bodies. Some attention to this is however devoted by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) which concluded in their Global Report on Human Settlements 2009 that:

Cultural mix [...] raises new demands on planners to mediate between conflicting lifestyles and expressions of culture. Conflicts around religious buildings, burial arrangements, ritual animal slaughter and building aesthetics are the new issues which planners have to increasingly tackle. (UN-Habitat, 2009, pp. 202–203)

The increasing need to handle, for example, conflicts about burial arrangements requires attention among urban researchers to be understood. Mbiba argue that there is a lack of this kind of attention among urban research scholars in East and Southern Africa:

Death is one of those universal parameters of life, yet very little attention is given to it in neither the work of planning practitioners nor that of urban research scholars in East and Southern Africa. For urban studies, this is despite the fact that graveyards and cemeteries are significant land uses in both urban and rural areas just like church buildings, sport fields, social services and other uses that students of planning are encouraged to understand and plan for in their land development plans. (Mbiba, 2006, p. 1)

Land for burying or cremating dead bodies is both a service and a question of access to land. This study concerns the understanding of these kinds of problems using the case of Dar es Salaam—a city that like many other rapid growing cities in Africa has a lot of informal settlements and troubles providing residents with services and access to land.

Disposition

This introduction contains some examples from necral land evolvement in growing cities; this is followed by a theoretical discussion about the issue, including previous geographical studies on the topic death. After the presentation of the aim, four pages explaining and discussing the method will follow. Before the result from my field study is presented and discussed in the chapter Necral Land in Kinondoni District, I also give a background to the case study area. The result is described separately for municipality owned cemeteries, family owned and informal cemeteries and the Hindu Crematory. The chapter also contain three cases of burial grounds. The chapter is ended with a box
focusing on burials of children. The thesis ends with a discussion and conclusions, where the findings are summarised and synthesised.

Necral Land in Growing Cities

During the nineteenth and twentieth century’s, many Western societies turned to cremation as a more sanitary, less costly and space saving way of human disposal (Howarth, 2007, pp. 226–227). From a Western perspective, it seems therefore natural to connect the shortage of land for cemeteries in African cities to the fact that the attitude towards cremation is negative on almost the entire continent (Davies & Mates, 2005, p. 288). This connection is for example done by UN-Habitat:

[...] Southern African cities often already face huge pressures for cemetery land arising from high death rates due to HIV/AIDS and related illnesses. The majority of people shun cremation, and burials are the culturally acceptable form of disposing dead bodies in the region. (UN-Habitat, 2008, p. 153)

And by Davies and Mates in their book Encyclopedia of cremation:

It remains to be seen whether, for example, cremation will come to be accepted in relatively non-cremation societies, such as Africa, in contexts of very high death rates due to the terminal effect of the [HIV] virus. (Davies & Mates, 2005, p. 4)

Besides cremation, a way of handling the shortage of land for burying the dead in cities, is to start to use peripheral land. An example on this is New York City (the United States), where the “‘Rural’ Cemetery Movement” started 1838 with Greenwood cemetery in Brooklyn (Bender, 1974, p. 199) and where the State Rural Cemeteries Act was passed in 1847. This act put an end to the establishment of new cemeteries in Manhattan after 1850 (the effect can be seen in figure 1). Cemetery owners were however encouraged to build in Brooklyn and Queens, something that resulted in a cluster of cemeteries (see figure 2), sometimes called the “Cemetery Belt” (Amon, undated).

![Figure 1. Number of active cemeteries in the boroughs of New York City. (Data from Inskeep [2000]. Compilation and diagram by author)](image)

*Note that the current administrative structure with the five boroughs of New York City was shaped by the consolidation in January 1898 (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009). However, in the figure this structure is used during the whole period of 1750–2000.
An interesting example is Najaf (Iraq, sometimes called al-Najaf, an-Najaf, or simply النجف) is a city considered holy by many Shi’a, since the shrine of Ali is located there. It is therefore a tradition among many Shi’a to bring their dead to Najaf and the shrine for bury the body near Ali. (Brockman, 1997, pp. 197–198)

The cemetery Wadi-us-Salaam (Valley of Peace) occupies a large share of the land next to the old city of Najaf and the shrine of Ali (see figure 3). It is sometimes considered the largest cemetery in the world because the area of 6 square km is believed to contain more than five million graves. (Kerrigan, 2007, p. 119)

The really remarkable, however, is not the size of the cemetery, but in what way the land is ordered. From the map in figure 3 it is possible to see that the cemetery is shaped as a sector of the city (the sector is drawn in the figure), meaning that the cemetery is allowed to grow in size also in the future.

* Alī ibn Abī Tālib was cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed; the first Shi’ite imam and lived during the fifth century.
**Previous Studies and Theoretical Framework**

Previously made geographical studies regarding death treat a wide range of disciplinary traditions. There have been spatial studies like Pattison’s (1955) study about the locations of cemeteries in Chicago. There are also contemporary spatial studies like van Steen & Pellenbarg’s (2006 a–b) series of maps, showing and discussing death related spatial patterns in the Netherlands. Studies focusing on the landscapes of death are probably one of the main streams of geographical studies about death and will be discussed below.

It would not be relevant trying to describe all geographical studies about death made until this date. However, some studies relevant for the theoretical discussion, together with some executed in urban Africa, will be presented later on in this introduction.

**Conceptualisations and definitions**

The term *necrogeography*† is sometimes used to address the field of geography, studying geographies of death. My study could be categorised as necrogeographical, and are to some extent built on traditions from the area. Kong (1999) who has by reviewing necrogeographical studies from the 1990’s found that the field to a large extent reflect and contribute to other disciplines of geography. She writes:

> In particular, necrogeographical research reveals the relevance of deathscapec to theoretical arguments about the social constructedness of race, class, gender, nation and nature; (Kong, 1999, p. 1)

Because of the strong connections to other geographical research fields in each study, instead of a strong connection to common concepts, I would say that necrogeography in itself cannot be a conceptual base for further studies. There is therefore a need to connect the discussion to other areas and concepts of human geography.

One way of describing areas associated with death in a geographical context is to bring in the concept of landscape—by using the term *deathscape*. The landscape concept is very diverse, but in the field of human geography, I would say it often treats the geographical expressions of culture and power and/or the relation between nature and society. Teather (1998) for example use the term deathscape when writing about the historical development of those kind of areas in urban Hong Kong (China) and the meaning of those places for the people living there.

Geographical studies not only use the expression *deathscape* for landscapes were dead bodies are cremated or buried, but also for landscapes where people have died and where this is expressed in the landscape. One example of this is an article by Hartig and Dunn (1998) studying roadside memorials in Australia.

Yeoh (1999) use Singapore as an example when discussing the changing landscapes of death in relation to influences from the nation-state. Also Tremlett (2007) discusses other influences than the local culture. He studies the cities Taipei (Taiwan) and Manila (the Philippines) and investigates deathscapes as a “postmodern” landscape, influenced

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*More information can be obtained from articles like Kniffen (1967) and Kong (1999) they are trying to present overviews of geographical studies about cemeteries, crematories and other places of death.

† "Necro-“ is a Greek prefix meaning death. The term “necrogeography” has for example been used in articles by Fred Kniffen (1967), Richard Francaviglia (1971), Lily Kong (1999) and Paul-François Tremlett (2007).
by for example political and economical factors. This perspective of cemeteries and crematories as not just an expression for the local culture, but also an arena for power at different scales, politics and economy is something I will use in my study about Dar es Salaam. However, the term deathscape will not be used—because my study focus more on issues discussed in previous studies about the concepts of land and space (those concepts will be discussed below) than in studies about landscape.

Studies about death related issues are not only found in the field of geography, and there is sometimes a diffuse border between geographical studies about the landscape of death and studies from other disciplines about the culture and symbolism in such landscapes. Examples of this can be found in journals like *Journal of the American Association for Gravestone Studies* and in handbooks like *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Keister, 2004). Rugg (2000) have, because of this, presented an interdisciplinary definition of cemeteries (in the interdisciplinary journal *Mortality*). Rugg writes that cemeteries, churchyards, burial grounds, mass graves, war cemeteries and pantheons are all different kinds of burial spaces (ibid., p. 260) and the four elements “physical characteristics, ownership and purpose, sacredness and the site’s ability to promote or protect the individuality of the deceased” (ibid., p. 259) are used to decide if the burial space is a cemetery or not. In the section *Categories of Necral Land* at page 19, this definition is presented more in detail when burial grounds in Dar es Salaam are categorised.

In this thesis the term burial space cannot be used as a description for all these types of places for disposal of death bodies, because the study also includes crematories. Instead the term necral space could be used for describing a “space related to the deceased, whether an individual grave, a tomb, a cemetery or a cremation ground” (Bhardwaj, 1987 referred in Park, 1994). But because this study will focus more on the concept of land than space—the term necral land is introduced for this study.

The geographical concepts of land and space are used in a wide range of ways in the discipline of geography. There is a long tradition to discuss geographical findings using the space/place-binary, were “space refers to location somewhere and place to the occupation of that location” (Agnew, 2005, p. 82).

Three different types of space are also sometimes mentioned together to explain the broadness of the concept. Those types are: absolute, relative and relational space (Elden, 2009, pp. 264–265). The absolute space can like a container hold objects and the location of these objects can then be described by a Euclidian coordinate system. The relative space could be said to challenge this way of thinking about space as absolute and the relational space is about relations and interaction. Massey (2005, p. 61) have described this relational space as “[i]f time unfolds as change then space unfolds as interaction”.

The question now is in what way it would be fruitful to use the term space in this study. A dead body is a physical object, and a shortage of absolute space to dispose this object can be very relevant for the study. But the dead body is not only a physical object, but also very much connected to cultural and personal feelings and ideas. These feelings and ideas about the body and the area where the body is placed shape a relational space. This space could contain ideas about how to respond to and how to use the area. This kind of space could be fruitful in order to understand things like access to burial spaces. In this study, space therefore will stand for both absolute and relational space. The concept of relative space will not be used.
Brown (2006, p. 32) writes that “land is permanent and improvements are generally long-term”. This is the distinction I will use for this study, that land-use is long-term in comparison to space-use. Also that the user experiences a security in that the land-use will be preserved until the user decides something else. This can be connected with the four main areas of property rights listed below (ibid.), where also access to land is brought up:

- **access** – the right to access and use of land;
- **management** – the right to determine how and when it is used;
- **exclusion** – the right to determine who has use and management rights, and
- **transfer** – the right to sell or lend land.

Nunan and Devas (2004, p. 184) conclude in their text *Access to Land and Services* that “[t]he poor, survive by being able to access land, shelter and services in a variety of ways, usually irregular and often illegal”. In this thesis, irregular (or informal) ways of accessing nercral space and land are brought up and compared with the formal ways that have been established by the municipality. It is mainly the permissions and the costs that are studied regarding the access.

This study is also aiming to describe and understand the evolvement of nercral land. Evolvement (or evolve) can mean different things, but in this case the word evolve means “[t]o be transformed from one form into another by a process of gradual modification” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2009). Evolvement in this meaning has not the same connotation as development, which is a form of evolvement that must involve some kind of advancement.

**Necral land in urban Africa**

Below are some examples of geographical studies regarding burial practices that have been executed in urban Africa.

Apartheid in South Africa has made a large impact on the land-use there. Christopher (1995) shows that in the case of Port Elizabeth, the racial segregation among cemeteries was established even long before the apartheid legislation was imposed.

Cairo (Egypt) has similarities to some cities in Central Java (Garr, 1996) where people using burial spaces as a shelter. This “cemetry squatting” involve in the Cairo case more than one million people, living and working in the cemetery called “the City of the Dead”. This is something that has been written about in Nedoroscik’s (1997) book with the same name (*The City of Death*).

It has sometimes been assumed that the colonial control in the black townships of cities in southern Africa restricted the possibility to express, for example, politics and religion. This is however tested in an article by Ranger (2004) who studied the burials in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) and found that during the colonial period the population could make the death dignified through burials according their belief and culture. Some even argue that it was better then and now, because “nowadays people shake hands at funerals; feast at funerals and attend them just for the food; don’t take funerals seriously. Now, it has become much more difficult to dignify death”. (ibid., p. 137)

In terms of research close to that intended in my study, there is a small collection of articles named *Death and The City in East and Southern Africa* (Mbiba, 2006). It consists of four articles regarding death in Kampala, Harare, Gaborone and Dar es Salaam.
The article about Dar es Salaam is written by Geho (2006) studying grave relocations that have taken place to make room for the building of a stadium and the construction of a road. Both the stadium and the road are located outside my case study area, but a study about burials in Kinondoni District (my case study area) was conducted by Mudogo (1996). In her diploma thesis from Ardhi Institute (in Dar es Salaam) she studies the planning and management of the cemeteries within the district. There is also a study, not yet published, by Makombe Swalehe—concerning the space-use and the management of the cemeteries. The study with the working name: Challenges and Opportunity in Managing Open Spaces in Dar es Salaam City: A Case Study on Cemeteries in Kinondoni Municipality, discusses issues taking place at the cemeteries; like housing encroachment, solid waste disposal, pickpocketing, drug abuse and prostitution. (Swalehe, unpublished)

Necral land— for whom?

When thinking about access to land and land rights, it is relevant to question whom the land is for. The title of this thesis, Land for the Dead, could give the impression that the necral land is for the dead, but is that really the case? My small study (presented below) of human rights documents, laws, ethics and religion give the impression that the dead have no direct rights—but friends and family of the deceased have the right to bury or cremate the dead. It seems like the family also have a religious and/or moral obligation to use this right to bury or cremate the body (therefore the dead can be said to have implicit rights). But it could also be discussed if terms like obligation and rights are the best description of how people handle the death of a friend or relative.

Article 3 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, decided by the General Assembly of the United Nations (UNGA, 1948), states that “[e]veryone has the right to life [...]”. This clearly shows that the declaration is not written considering the ones that already are dead, and implicitly that the dead do not have any human rights. But because of the often strong connection between how to handle the dead body and religion—the right to necral land could perhaps be protected by article 18:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. (UNGA, 1948)

The General Comment No. 22 is decided by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and gives more comprehensive details about the previous quoted article 18:

The observance and practice of religion or belief may include not only ceremonial acts but also [...] participation in rituals associated with certain stages of life, [...] (OHCHR, 1993)

The comment does not state whether death is considered a stage of life or not—but even if it is not, it is clear that family members and friends (that are alive) have the right to participate in rituals and ceremonial acts because of the death of a deceased. A possible interpretation would be that family and friends also have the right to land for disposal of the deceased (if that is a part of the ritual or a ceremonial act). But then it is again not the dead, but the persons alive that are given the right to necral land.

*Makombe Swalehe is a student at Ardhi University and he helped me translate interviews during my field study in Dar es Salaam.*
Perhaps it seems strange to talk about rights for people that is not amongst the living, however, this is for example done in the Brundtland report. It describes *sustainable development* as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UNGA, 1987, p. 54). Here the right to access, for example land, are said to be equal for the present and future generations—but the relation to the right to land for the past generations is not described.

A juridical perspective also shows that it is not the dead person that has the right to land. The term *crime against the peace of the tomb* indicates for example that it is not a crime against the dead person, but to the “peace of the tomb” if damaging a grave. And if a grave has to be moved, it is the relatives that will be compensated according to the Grave Removal Act (Government of The Republic of Tanzania, 1969 referred in Geho, 2006, p. 55).

Even if I have not found anything presenting rights to a dead person, there are articles in human rights documents that treat obligations towards the dead. That is at least my interpretation of the phrase “all times” in article 29 in the *African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights* that says:

> The individual shall also have the duty: 1. to preserve the harmonious development of the family and to work for the cohesion and respect of the family; to respect his parents at all times, to maintain them in case of need; [...] (OAU, 1981)

According to this and my interpretation of it, the children to the deceased are obligated to give their parents a respectful handling after their death. The obligation to give the body of the deceased a burial is an issue with a long history. The problems involved in this is, for example, central in Sophocles (circa 479–406 BC) antique Greece tragedy *Antigone*—were the gods’ punish Creon for denying Polyneices a funeral (Sophocles & Hugh, 2000). This obligation built on religious beliefs (like in Antigone) is one reason why people feel that they have a duty to handle the dead body with respect. But is there also a moral reason for this?

According to Strandberg (2010) it can be relevant to ask the question if a dead have the right to be buried, in the situation were the question could be found; because sometimes the situation in itself can give the answer. Situations were for example an economical issue stand against the right to bury and/or cremate—it is clear that the right exist. However, if the question was brought up in a cultural context where the question is not understood at all—the situation will probably not lead to an answer.

**Aim**

I would (in line with for example Mbiba) argue that there is a lack of knowledge and understanding of necral land among people involved in studying and planning urban areas in rapid growing cities. Therefore the aim of this study is to describe and understand the access to and evolvement of necral land in the context of the rapid growth of the city. This is done through the views of different actors that use, manage or in other ways have opinions about necral land in Dar es Salaam.
Methodological Considerations and Research Design

The Selection of the Case Study Area

The thesis treats the subject of access to and evolvement of necral land in the city Dar es Salaam. Probably there would be interesting findings about necral land, regardless of the city chosen for the study. However, the rapid growth of Dar es Salaam together with the problem regarding lack of space in public cemeteries (presented by news articles available online, see page 22) was a good starting point for planning the field study and develop the aim.

If I had done interviews and observations regarding necral land all over Dar es Salaam, I had, for example, been able to compare the three districts (managed by separate municipalities) that constitute the Dar es Salaam Region. But because of limitations in time and resources, I had to choose a smaller study area where I could make a more focused study. One third of a city hosting three million people is still a very large area to study. Despite this, I choose a whole district to be able to study a whole area managed by a municipality (the administrative level responsible for the cemeteries in Dar es Salaam).

Kinondoni District was chosen because it was hard to find information about the other municipalities (Ilala was more easy to find historical information about since it includes the city centre, but Kinondoni had more information about the contemporary situation). The information about burial grounds that I found before the field study that made me interested in Kinondoni District was that “[d]ifferent actors such as Municipal council, religious institutions and the community own burial grounds” (KMC, 2007, p. 82) and that “[o]fficials from the Kinondoni Municipality said Tegeta is the new place for burying the dead, but Dar es Salaam residents shy from it because of the distance […]” (Mukiza & Mwangu, 2007). This showed that there was a diversity of burial grounds that make the area interesting to study. The fact that the Municipality Council had responded to the lack of space, which I had read about in other news articles, was also something I found interesting to study.

Limitations in Space, Time and Theme

Dar es Salaam Region is the geographical area where the field study was conducted, and Kinondoni District the case study area where most of the interviews and observations took place. But the discussion could probably also be applied to other cities in Africa with a similar pattern of rapid growth, widespread informal settlements and colonial background. The evolvement of necral land in the city is described with the background of the colonial period and the time after the independence of Tanzania. But the time frame the study discusses is primarily from the end of the twentieth century until the time for the field study 2010. Thematic, the study is limited to the concept of land, meaning that the long-term access and evolvement are in focus. Not the temporary access to usage of the space or the cultural expressions of the landscape. The concept of space is however used to understand the access and evolvement of land. The operationalisation of the access to land in this study treats the possibility to overcome
the costs and the permits needed to access the land, and the evolvement is regarding the location and the possibility to use the land for more burials/cremations. Costs for coffins and other non-land related costs are not discussed, even though traditions and costs can be place-specific and relevant to discuss from a geographical perspective.

Research Method and the Production of Data

One way of categorising research methods is to divide them into intensive and extensive research. Where intensive research is used to answer questions like: “How does a process work in a particular case or small number of cases?” “What produces a certain change?” or “What did the agents actually do?” Extensive research on the other hand is used for research questions like: “What are the regularities, common patterns, and distinguishing features of a population?” or “How widely are certain characteristics or processes distributed or represented?” (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 128)

In this study, both these categories of research methods are used, depending if the aim is to describe or understand the evolvement of and access to necral land. Descriptions are in this study to a large extent made by extensive research methods while understanding is achieved through intensive research methods. The understanding is to some extent also built on the descriptions and methods from the two categories and is therefore sometimes used together.

Sampling

There are many ways to choose the samples used to produce the data. Different ways give different possibilities to make conclusions from the result. The limited time and amount of resources for the field study was decisive for how the sampling was made.

The reason to include the whole district in the case study area was that this made it possible to study all the cemeteries owned and managed by the Municipality Council and thus be able to understand the actions made by the Municipality Council. This was also the reason for not making a survey (studying a sample) of the municipality owned cemeteries, and instead making a census including all the cemeteries. All the informal and family owned burial grounds were however impossible to cover with the time and resources at hand for this study. There are about 80 of those in the district, according to Mudogo (1996, p. 24). There is also no need to study them all to understand one actor, because they are all managed by different actors acting independently of each other (as far as I know). The sampling method used for those burial grounds was instead something called opportunistic or emergent sampling, meaning an openness to follow the data wherever it lead (Patton, 2002, p. 240). This gives the possibility to take advantages of opportunities and also makes the field work more flexible—something that is very important when studying cases that are hard to find information about in advance (often the case in areas with a widespread informality).

Also the Ismaili Cemetery and Hindu Crematory was included in the study because they represented types of necral land not included in the categories of municipality owned cemeteries or the family owned and informal burial grounds. Unfortunately, the Ismaili

* The meaning of term census here is not a population count, but a "complete and individual enumeration of all cases of the type specified within defined boundaries at a single point in time" (Scott & Marshall, 2009)
Cemetery is to be considered as loss of data because my repeated attempts to get my questions answered by them failed.

The two areas for my interviews with residents were chosen because they were located in the central parts of the district and near municipality owned cemeteries that have been considered full. I used the person representing the local authority as a “random generator” for choosing respondents in these areas. We strolled around in the area and knocked on random doors to see if people were at home.

**Methods for data production**

Interviewing is the primary method of producing data during my field study. With few exceptions, the contacts with the respondents were done from the top to the bottom, starting with a letter of introduction from the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ardhi University addressed to the Director of Dar es Salaam City Council. From the City Council I was introduced to Kinondoni Municipality Council, where I received a letter for introduction to the local authorities and the cemetery managers in the District. The introduction to the residents in the wards Hananasif and Mwananyamala was done by local authorities.

In line with the *opportunistic or emergent sampling* mentioned at the previous page, data regarding family owned and informal burial grounds was produced by following the opportunities that arose during the field work and by using personal connections, trying to get in contact with someone that knew more about the burial grounds.

In the cases the interviews were in Swahili, I needed my translators for understanding the respondent. But some interviews were also made in English without presence of the translators. In the list of interviews in the chapter *References*, it is possible to find out which of the interviews that have been done with translators.

The interviews were done where the respondents worked or in front of their homes. I did not want to enter their homes because that could risk the privacy of the respondent. Due to the privacy of the respondent, I also avoided to use names of private persons in the thesis or take photographs of them. The introduction and the first questions aimed to make the respondent aware that she or he took part in an interview and that she or he had the authority to terminate it.

A typical method for intensive research is for example qualitative analysis, and for extensive research: standardized interviews and statistical analysis (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 128) are used. The interviews with the residents (the questions can be found in *appendix 2*) recalls to a greater extent to an interview that can be used for qualitative analysis, because some of the questions is open-ended. However, some questions are also for being able to triangulate the answers with other actors. In *appendix 4*, backgrounds of the nine interviewed residents are presented.

The interview questions in *appendix 3* have been used as a ground for the interviews with cemetery managers, but the questions have been changed during the interview when needed. The part of the study describing the evolvement of the municipality owned cemeteries was as mentioned before made as a census including all the cases in the district. Questions like the number of dead bodies buried per year could furthermore be viewed a part of a standardized interview, with the possibility of doing a statistical analysis.

Besides the interviews, some observations were done during the field study that are used as data in this thesis. Often those observations were originally made by the respondents.
and pointed out during the interview. Some of the observations are presented in this thesis as photographs, while other are described in the written text.

Also secondary sources have been made for the study. Official sources like documents from Kinondoni Municipality Council (KMC) and National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) have been made for presenting the context for my study. Tanzanian news articles are also used for understanding how the cemeteries in Dar es Salaam are viewed.

Edith Mudogo’s (1996) study has to a large extent been used as a background and to see if there have been any changes since 1996.

**Validity and Reliability**

This study is to a large extent based on primary sources; for example on interviews formulated to be able to achieve what the study is aiming to. Trying to get data from already existing studies, based on questions without the aim for this thesis in mind, would have resulted in less validity.

I would say that the reliability is satisfactory for the aim of the study. Data about the municipality owned cemeteries was produced like a census, including all the objects, something that give a very high reliability if the answers are reliable.

The family owned and informal burial grounds, on the other hand, did not involve many interviews in relation to the number of burial grounds in the case study area. This would have resulted in a low validity if the study had been seen as the same extensive type of research as for the municipality owned cemeteries. But the intensive research method used there made the conclusions valid (in those cases).

One way of strengthening the reliability of the study is to use triangulation. This means combining different data sources, researchers, theories or methods for answer the same question. If the different ways of answering the question give corresponding answers, the reliability become stronger, if not, it does not. (Patton, 2002, p. 247)

In this thesis, different data sources have been used for triangulation. However, informality made it harder to check data twice; the Municipality Council for example did not have much information about the situation at their cemeteries. Therefore data about how many people that were buried each year could not be double checked.

Except for the triangulation, the fact that my preconceived idea about that the lack of space (I had read about in the Tanzanian news papers) would make it very difficult for some groups to access the service of bury a dead body changed, when I started to interview people in Dar es Salaam—made my conclusions regarding the access more reliable. My conclusion is therefore based on the findings from the field study, not on my pre-assumptions.

The culture of bargain made it difficult to get reliable prices from the actor providing the service. Therefore the data from the actors using the service should be considered to be more trustworthy. But because there are no fix tariffs for things like digging a grave—there is no real answer to what it costs. It depends on how much money the digger think the buyer can pay.
Dar es Salaam and Kinondoni District

Along the East African coastline and 750 km south of the Equator is Dar es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania, located (see figure 4).

![Figure 4. Map showing the location of Dar es Salaam. (Map by author)](image)

The case study area for my study is the Kinondoni District. Together with the two districts Ilala and Temeke, Kinondoni constitute the Dar es Salaam Region (see figure 5). Kinondoni District has an area of 531 square km (KMC, 2010 b) and has 2010 an estimated population of 1,358,000 persons of the totally 3,118,000 in the three districts together (NBS, 2006 a, p. 84). Kinondoni District is divided into 27 wards; and those are divided into 127 sub-wards (also called Mtaa) (KMC, 2007).

![Figure 5. Map showing the three districts of Dar es Salaam Region. A dot represents a population of 5000 persons. (Map by author with population data from ILRI [2006], based on the NBS census 2002] and high data from SRTM (2010))](image)

Kinondoni District is managed by Kinondoni Municipality Council (KMC), established in the year 2000 as a part of the Local Government Reform Programme (KMC, 2010 b). Before 2000, Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) managed the whole region, but now the three municipalities are responsible for providing the districts with community services while DCC handle common issues.
History and the Evolvement of the City

The area that now is Tanzania has a long history of human activity. Archaeological findings suggest for example that the first modern humans lived in eastern and southern Africa around 90,000 BC (Ehret, 2002, p. 22). For a long period, the society was dominated by hunters and gatherers and later on by cultivation and herding (ibid., p. 119).

Approximately two thousand years ago there was trading along the coast by Arabs, Persians and Chinese. The Portuguese took control of the trade in the beginning of the sixteenth century* and was chased away two hundred years later by the Sultan of Oman; who established a base (and later on the capital) at Zanzibar for travel with gold, ivory and slaves from the African inland. (World Encyclopedia, 2008)

Sultan Majid founded Dar es Salaam† in 1862 but after his death 1870, the new Sultan abandoned the building projects of the city. (Brennan & Burton, 2007, pp. 16–18)

In the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of European countries took part in something that has been called the Scramble for Africa, where they divided the continent into colonies. The area that now is Tanzania was allocated to Germany at the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), after the results Peters‡ presented from his expedition to the area (Wessling, 1996, p. 142). The colony was named Deutsch-Ostafrika (German East Africa) and the partly neglected Dar es Salaam became the administrative and commercial centre for Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG). (Brennan & Burton, 2007, pp. 19–21)

* Vasco da Gama become 1498 the first European to arrive to the area that now are Tanzania. (World Encyclopedia, 2008)

† The etymological root of the name Dar es Salaam is often said to be the Persian-Arabic name Bandar-ul-Salaam (Harbour [or Haven] of Peace). But this is debated and records from the late 1860’s use the name Dar Salaam (the House of Peace), a root that some have found more likely. (Sutton, 1970, p. 1)

‡ Karl Peters (1856–1918) went 1884 to the East African coast via Zanzibar, together with three traveling companions, at their own expense and risk. After five weeks at the continent, they had made village chefs signing “deeds” giving him the sovereign rights to 142,000 square km. But this deeds was useless unless they become internationally (here meaning the British) recognized, something that was done at the Berlin Conference. (Wessling, 1996, pp. 140–142)
Figure 6 shows a city plan to the left and a photograph to the right, showing graves from the time DOAG ruled Dar es Salaam. The influence from the German colonial time has made a large impact on the land-uses and the architecture in the city centre (Kironde, 2007). The racial division in the area proposed by the German’s was later established by the British Administration that 1919 took over the area after the Germans loss in the First World War (ibid., p. 103). Figure 7 show the plan for residential areas 1940–1960 divided into European, Indian and African residential areas.

![Figure 7. Historical plan for 1940–1960. Kinondoni Cemetery I and the cemeteries along Ocean Road (east of the Golf Course) that were moved to Regent Estate in the 1960’s are marked with a "C". (Source: Lupala [2002, p. 47])](image-url)
Tanganyika, as the country was called, remained a British territory until 1961 when it became independent. In 1964 it became federated with newly independent Zanzibar, and the Republic of Tanzania was established.

The first master plan for the capital Dar es Salaam after independency was made in 1968. In that time the population had grown to 273,000. The master plan tried to propose how the vacant land in the different planning districts (see figure 8) should be used to give the future residents the services they need. (Master Plan, 1968)

Figure 8 shows my compilation of how much cemetery land that was found in each planning district compared with the amount of the vacant land that would be used for cemetery land in the districts, according to the master plan. For a “residential prototype community for 20,000 persons”, the following was decided for the cemeteries:

One Major area – of 5 acres, located to allow room for expansion. (Master Plan, 1968, p. 92)

Comparing with the current number of burial grounds in the area, it could be found that most of the planned land was never realised (except from the planning district Regent Estate). Something that could be explained by Lupala’s (2002) conclusion about the master plan:

Radical in approach but weak in strategies for its implementation, the 1968 Master Plan could not be realised much because of limited government capacity to fund capital works projects and general resistance from people due to threats to resettlement (Lupala, 2002, p. 48)

From the 1970’s, the population in Dar es Salaam started to grow faster with high migration from the countryside (see figure 9). The city continued to grow as Tanzania’s largest city, also after 1974, when the role as the capital was handled over to Dodoma located in the central part of the Republic.
The rapid growth led to a higher population density in residential areas, but also to a growth of informal settlements. Nowadays over 70 percent of the inhabitants in Dar es Salaam are estimated to live in informal areas. (Kombe, 2005, p. 115)

Especially in the peripheral areas of the city (peri-urban areas), there was a shortage of surveyed plots. The Tanzanian Government started therefore the 20,000 Plots Project in Dar es Salaam City in the financial year 2002/2003 (Ministry of Lands, undated, p. 1). All of the three municipalities in the region had areas involved in the project. In the case of Kinondoni Municipality, the areas were Mivumoni, Bunju, Mbweni Mpiji and Mbweni JKT (ibid., p. 5). In those areas there have been areas surveyed not only for residential houses, but also social services like markets and cemeteries (Rashidi, 2010 a).

However, there has not been any master plan for Dar es Salaam since 1979, and the 20,000 Plots Project in Dar es Salaam City have (even if it have been considered successful) not changed the situation of the more central parts of the city.

**Religion**

The largest cultural group origin in Kinondoni District is the Zaramo; a group that like most of the groups from the Tanzanian coast consists of mainly Muslims (Sutton, 1970, pp. 7–9). Today, there are also many Christians in the city, because people from for example the Chagga * tribe have moved to the area. In the whole of Tanzania, the distribution between the religions are sometimes said to be about: one third each of Islam, Christianity and traditional beliefs (World Encyclopedia, 2008). However the relation is more complicated than this because many in the area who, for example, believe in Islam also practice customs reflecting traditional beliefs (Topan, 2009, p. 59).

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* Chagga is a mainly Christian group from the Kilimanjaro Region. Chagga families has a strong tradition to return the dead to the village from where the family origin for burial.
Mortality Profile of Kinondoni District

The population in Kinondoni District is 2010 estimated to 1,358,000 (NBS, 2006 a, p. 85) and is distributed like the age structure shown in figure 10 below. The total number of deaths during 2010 is estimated to 11,400 (according to the estimation [ibid., p. 11] for the region distributed over the districts like the population [ibid., p. 85]).

Males have a life expectancy of 49 years and females 50 years (KMC, 2009, p. 42). The top cause of death for children less than 5 years is Severe Malaria while the top causes of death for persons 5 years and above are Severe Malaria and Clinical AIDS (KMC, 2010). To produce reliable statistical data regarding mortality is hard according to NBS, because of the following reasons:

- reluctance of respondents to talk about recent dead relatives;
- inability of respondents to remember dates of deaths;
- misinterpretation of the past one year to be the same as the previous calendar year; and
- break-up of a household as a result of the death of the head of household.

(NBS, 2006 a, p. 5)

The age specific death rates (deaths per 1000 persons in the age group) for Tanzania, calculated from the census 2002, are therefore not very precise; but give a clear indication that the infant mortality is high in the Tanzania.
Necral Land in Kinondoni District

In this chapter, the findings from my field study in Dar es Salaam are presented. The presentation is divided into the following three categories of necral land: *Municipality owned cemeteries, family owned and informal burial grounds* and *Hindu crematory*.

The chapter also include three blue boxes containing cases of the discussed categories of necral land. In the end of the chapter, there is a green box that put focus on the death of children.

**Categories of Necral Land**

As mentioned in the introduction, Rugg have presented a definition of a *cemetery* to distinguish it from other categories of burial grounds using four elements: The *physical characteristics* of a cemetery are a visible border and an internal layout that *promote or protect the individuality of the deceased*. Also the *ownership and purpose* should be in a way that serves the whole community. Depending on the culture, the *sacredness* of a cemetery can differ. (Rugg, 2000, pp. 261–262)

It could be discussed if all the burial grounds provided by the municipality can be seen as cemeteries according to this definition. Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa has for example no visible border and it is according to my observations hard to see an internal layout in all the areas except from Kinondoni Cemetery I. They are however owned by and intended for the whole community (both Muslims and Christians) and the intention is to protect the individuality of the deceased. Therefore I categorise them as cemeteries in this study.

According to Kinondoni Municipality Council (Lupandisha, 2010), there are also some cemeteries owned by wards and other local authorities that the municipality also take some care of. Those cemeteries are located in the following wards: Kawe, Kimara, Mbweni, Bunju, Kunduchi and Kibamba. All these are rather peripheral in the district and not included in this study.

According Kabojlca (2010) at Kinondoni Assemblies of God, there is no church having an own place to bury. The Ismaili Cemetery and the Hindu Crematory are therefore the only necral lands owned by religious communities in the district.

*Family owned and informal burial grounds* is the term used in this study to describe all those areas not owned by the municipality, local authority or a religious community where dead bodies are buried. Neither Dar es Salaam City Council nor Kinondoni Municipality Council could provide me with a list or a map showing the family owned and informal burial grounds. But the list Mudogo received 1996 from the City Council with burial grounds in Kinondoni District can be found in appendix 1.

One quests for the countries of the Commonwealth after the First World War was to make proper burial grounds for the remains from Commonwealth soldiers and personnel resting in burial grounds. Those were located in a hundred different countries around the world (Longworth, 2003, p. 107). One of those areas are Dar es Salaam War Cemetery (see figure 12), containing the remains of 1,844 persons died during the first and second
World Wars, moved there 1968 from a more central location* (CWGC, 2010). Dar es Salaam War Cemetery can clearly be categorised as a war cemetery, and because of the area is not used for others than the ones that died during the two World Wars, the area is not relevant for this study and therefore not included.

![War Cemetery](image)

* See the previous location marked with a "C" along Ocean Road in figure 7.

### Location of the Study Areas

The map at the next page shows the locations of the studied burial grounds, the Hindu Crematory, the wards where interviews were conducted and the church where an interview was done. Those areas and places are mainly located in the central part of Kinondoni District. The exception is Tegeta Kondo, a Municipality owned cemetery in the peri-urban part of the district.
Figure 13. Map showing Kinondoni District with the location of case study areas. (Map by author, based on geographical data from the Ministry of Land)
Cemeteries Owned by Kinondoni Municipality

According to Maolambo (2010) at Kinondoni Municipality Council, the Municipality Council owns six cemeteries* in Kinondoni District. They are listed in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the cemetery</th>
<th>Remarks from DCC 1996†</th>
<th>Remark from KMC 2010*</th>
<th>Year of establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinondoni FM (Cemetery I)</td>
<td>Nearly full</td>
<td>Considered full</td>
<td>1938‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinondoni Mwembejiji (Cemetery II)</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>Where unknown is buried</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>1940’s§</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mburahati Magomeni (City Cemetery)</td>
<td>Nearly full</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1967**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinza Makaburini</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Instead of Kinondoni Cem.</td>
<td>1982††</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegeta Kondo</td>
<td>Not yet started</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1998‡‡</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Kinondoni Municipality Council has according to Maolambo (2010), the responsibility to keep those areas clean and safe (for example through constructing fences around the cemeteries). The Municipality Council also have staff present at their cemeteries. Lupandisha (2010), also working at the Municipality Council, is of the opinion that all burial grounds in the district should be owned by the Municipality Council—instead of the current situation where some burial grounds are owned by communities and religious groups. Lupandisha’s reason for this is that he is of the opinion there is a low standard in areas that are not surveyed, compared with the cemeteries the municipality own. The biggest challenges, according to Lupandisha, to achieve a municipal monopoly when it comes to managing cemeteries is however the increase of population and the informal settlements. Today 70–75 percent of the population live in unplanned areas where the land is contested.

There have been some articles in Tanzanian news about the situation of the burial grounds in Dar es Salaam. A recurring theme is the shortage of space. In 1996 the newspaper Sunday Observer announced that:

[...] all the existing cemeteries in Kinondoni, Mwananyamala, Mburahati, Chang’ombe and Wailesi in Temeke District are full. (Joel, 1996)

In 2004, an article from the weekly newspaper The Express told that:

The Express investigation conducted this week in Kinondoni, Sinza, Mwananyamala, Chang’ombe, Upanga, Temeke and Ubungo revealed that official cemeteries designated to those areas are already full and congested. However, the residents of the respective places keep digging graves. (Makoye & Mazula, 2004)

Also in 2007 the issue was brought up in an article. Here the reporter also mentioned Tegeta, the municipality owned cemetery in the outskirts of the city:

This has been precipitated by a critical shortage of burial space in the city and its environs. Many cemeteries are full, creating room for the self accredited grave diggers to dictate where a grave should be dug and to what depth. [...] Officials from the Kinondoni Municipality said Tegeta is the new place for burying the dead, but Dar es Salaam residents shy from it because of the distance, [...] (Mukiza & Mwangu, 2007)

* Kinondoni Cemetery I and II share the same administrative office and are in this study often mentioned together as Kinondoni Cemetery.
Something interesting in table 1 and the quoted articles is that the same cemeteries are used year after year, although they are considered full. This recalls the situation in nineteenth century London (Great Britain), where for example the churchyard of St. Margaret (Westminster) was considered full in 1814, but still in use 1842. Other examples from London that give a picture of the situation with the shortage of land for burials where the Enon Chapel with a room (sized 18.3 \times 9 \times 2 \text{ meters}) beneath the floor contained the remains of 12,000 dead bodies and another where the ground level at a churchyard that became some meters higher than normal, because of all the buried bodies. (Curl, 2000, pp. 114–115)

In London, the situation evolved in a way that peripheral land was used for burials (like in the mentioned case of New York) and by starting to cremate the dead bodies (ibid.). But even if there are obvious similarities, the differences in time and cultural context between nineteenth century London and twenty-first century Dar es Salaam makes it unlikely that the solution for the Tanzanian case could be based on the Britain evolvement.

In figure 14, the number of dead bodies buried per year in the municipality owned cemeteries are presented. The number of persons buried at Kinondoni Cemetery is each year is 200–250 according to the manager Rashidi (2010 b), a decrease compared with the numbers presented by Mudogo (1996, p. 34), where 378 bodies was buried in 1988 and 401 in 1994.

![Diagram showing the distribution of burials between the cemeteries owned by Kinondoni Municipality. Light blue indicate the span between estimated lowest and highest number of burials each year according to the cemetery manager or local authority. (Diagram by author)](image)

The total number buried each year at the municipality owned cemeteries is 904–1150 according my interviews with cemetery managers and local authorities. I have not found any data about how many of those who are from the district, but the amount is 8–10 percent of the 11,400 persons that are estimated to die during 2010 in Kinondoni District.

According Mudogo (1996, p. 41), there are some standards set by the City Council telling the size of a grave and that the distance between the graves should be 76 centimetres. But according to her study, this standard was not followed in Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa, where the area also was encroached by houses.
The situation of the municipality owned cemeteries

Mwasongwe (2010) is a secretary at Mwananyamala Health Office and are of the opinion that Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa is full, and that they need to establish a new area. But they do not provide any information about the Tegeta Kondo to persons coming there for burying a relative.

According the workers at Sinza Makaburina (2010), there is now a lot of space for bury at the cemetery, because they increased the area in 2000 to an area previous used for farming. But in 3–4 years, they think it will be a problem again.

Mburahati City Cemetery (see figure 15) has according Tabatibu (2010) at the local Mitaa office no problem with land, something he motivates with the fact that people still bury there. Tongo (2010), the cemetery manager, agree with Tabatibu about the possibility to bury, but he adds that it is just a small area left.

Tegeta Kondo is not considered full by anyone I talked with during my field study. The cemetery also stand out in the data presented in figure 14, because only 2–4 percent of the burials at the municipality owned cemeteries in Kinondoni District are done at this cemetery; and those are according to the manager Micada mainly bodies from people who lived nearby. This corroborates what was written in the news article (Mukiza & Mwangu, 2007), that “Dar es Salaam residents shy from it because of the distance”.

Transportation of the remains to the municipality owned cemeteries

It is the transportation cost that many say are the reason for people not to bury in Tegeta Kondo (e.g. Rashidi [2010 b] & Kabojlca [2010]). A 35 years old female in Hananasif Ward (H2, 2010) is of the opinion that even if the transportation cost more, it is better if the municipality advertise about the new cemetery and stop operating the old ones—in order to make them shift from the old to the new one in Tegeta.

The usual ways of transporting the remains to the cemetery is, according to the interviewed cemetery managers and local authorities, by foot or using a smaller truck

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* Tegeta Kondo is presented as case 2 at page 28.
(owned or hired by the family of the diseased). Some use the transportation service provided by Corona funerals*

**Permits**

The following list was presented in Mudogo’s (1996) study and give a description of the procedures regarding burial permits at the cemeteries owned and managed by Dar es Salaam City Council (now owned by KMC).

1. You have to take a copy of death certificated announcement from the hospital or mortuary where the body is kept to the ward office. If the body is kept home you have to go to the ward office.
2. The Ward Officer will issue a letter to take to the Registrar of Births and Deaths in the District. [...] 
3. The District Registrar of Births and Deaths will issue a letter to take to the Cemetery Administration.
4. A fee of T. Shs. 1,500/= is paid to the Cemetery Administration. Then you are instructed what to do when the procedures of digging are ready, obtain a cross if necessary etc.
5. Records and details of a person to be buried are taken. (Mudogo, 1996, pp. 41–42)

Maolambo (2010) at Kinondoni Municipality Council explained the process in an easier way: Take letter (burial permit, see *figure 16*) from the hospital and go to the cemetery and tell if the dead were Muslim or Christian. This description seems valid according interviews† with cemetery managers and local authorities for the entire municipality owned cemeteries. The health office in Mwananyamala also provides relatives to persons that died at home with a burial permit after the relative had presented a letter from the local authority (Mwasongwe, 2010; Tongo, 2010).

![Figure 16. Photocopy of a burial permit (photo by author)](image)

The most important parts of the burial permit are translated below.

United Republic of Tanzania, Department of the Registrar of Births and Deaths, Burial permit

1. Name of deceased... 2. Date of death... 3. Male/Female... 4. Age... 6. Where living/Home... 9. Cause of death... 15. On... 16. Assistant registration...

   Permit issued by (name) [translation by author]

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* The founder of Corona funerals argues that they mainly handle transportation to other parts in Tanzania, but also some inside the city (Habiyaremye, 2010).
† The interviews referred to is: Kinondoni Cemetery (Rashidi, 2010 a), Sinza Makaburini (Kabori, 2010), Tegeta Kondo (Micada, 2010), Mburahati City Cemetery (Tongo, 2010) and Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa (Mwasongwe, 2010).
All municipality owned cemeteries (except for Kinondoni Cemetery I) have areas for Muslims and Christians. Kinondoni Cemetery I have areas for bury dead bodies of people from Christian branches and Bahá’í (Rashidi, 2010 a). It is possible to choose were to bury within the city, therefore do for example people from the other districts bury in Kinondoni Cemetery (ibid.).

**Costs**

To bury a dead body in one of the municipality owned cemeteries, there is (as explained at previous page) a need for a burial permit from the hospital or the local authority. To get a burial permit is not associated with any cost. The cost of 1,500 TZS for the cemetery administration Mudogo mentioned in her thesis (1996, pp. 41–42) have disappeared (except for Sinza Makaburini were 10,000 TZS have to be paid to get a grave). In Mburahati City Cemetery a cost of 15,000 TZS was taken away around year 2007 (Tongo, 2010).

Even if the access to the land itself is not associated with any cost in the municipality owned cemeteries except for one, there is a cost for digging the grave. That is often mandatory because, except from Tegeta Kondo and Mburahati City Cemetery, the workers at the cemetery have monopoly of digging the grave and build the tomb. If you are a member of the community in Tegeta, there is no cost because they help each other, otherwise it is possible to get someone to dig the grave for 30,000–50,000 TZS (Micada, 2010). The table below shows the costs told by the cemetery manager or local authority compared to what told by residents using the service and the estimated cost to dig according to the funeral service company Corona*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cemetery</th>
<th>Cost according to cemetery manager or local authority*</th>
<th>Cost according to residents in Kinondoni and Hananal†</th>
<th>Cost estimated by Habiyaremye (2010) at Corona funerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinondoni Cemetery</td>
<td>50,000–60,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>250,000–400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa</td>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mburahati City Cemetery</td>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinza Makaburini</td>
<td>100,000–150,000</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegeta Kondo</td>
<td>30,000–50,000</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The interviews referred to is: Kinondoni Cemetery (Rashidi, 2010 a), Sinza Makaburini (Kabori, 2010; Workers at Sinza Makaburini, 2010), Tegeta Kondo (Micada, 2010), Mburahati City Cemetery (Tongo, 2010) and Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa (Mwasongwe, 2010).
† The interviews referred to is: Kinondoni Cemetery (H3, 2010) and Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa (M3, 2010).

The differences between the columns for Kinondoni Cemetery reflect the culture of bargaining, were the person selling the service often tells a higher price than usually paid and where the wealthy persons (this time clients at Corona) have to spend more money for the same service.

The large cost at Sinza Makaburini has not been possible to compare with the cost according to residents that have paid for the service (like in the case of Kinondoni Cemetery). However the news article quoted at the next page (where a cost in the same range is mentioned) could give an explanation to this extraordinary high cost. The reason could be that the diggers need to make the business very lucrative to afford the illicit drugs many of the grave diggers at Sinza Makaburini are addicted to (according to the article).

* Corona funerals do not offer the service of digging the grave, but have an idea about how much their clients have to pay the grave diggers (Habiyaremye, 2010).
Sadicky, who also claimed of being a leader of the entire contingent there, explained that he and other group members dig one grave for the prices between 120,000/- to 150,000/- and this he said depended on the structure and design of the grave preferred by the customer.

They say the activities have enabled them to get lots of money, but they regretted that the big share of the money end up buying the illicit drugs.

They also claimed that such activities are not only lucrative but also being recognised and supported by the local authority there, “We were given permission to embark on these activities and that is why we are doing them without fear,” claimed Ally Sadicky.

(Stephen, 2010)

The permit and cost mentioned above is for the basic service of bury a dead body at a municipality owned cemetery. As discussed later on, it seems as everyone can access this service in one way or another. But because of the scarcity of land (also discussed later on) graves are located where there already are graves, by this means it exists a difference of bury a body and preserve the grave.

This difference is also connected with a cost, because the tomb is not only a sign were the grave are, but also a mean to prevent others to use the same area for a new grave (Tongo, 2010). The workers at Sinza Makaburini (2010) tells me that rich people cast a plate of concrete over the grave, this is for preventing other to use the same plot. If a grave without a plate became overgrown by grass, it happens that they start to dig there before that they realize there is a grave there. They point out something they call “a poor man’s grave” (see figure 17) that have started to disappear into the ground.

Figure 17. Photograph of “a poor man’s grave” in Sinza Makaburini. (Photo by author)

According to the cemetery manager (Rashidi, 2010 a), the cost for making a decoration at Kinondoni Cemetery is approximately 700,000 TZS (about 13 times the cost he told for the digging).

Relating this to the discussion about space-use and land-use, it seems like a grave without a decoration preventing other to be buried at the same place as the already existing grave, the preservation of the grave cannot be ensured and the grave is therefore not a land-use (according to the definition for land-use used in this study). However the act of burial the dead body is a space-use and more easily accessed.
Case 1: Kinondoni Cemetery I and II

The cemetery was established in 1938 (Rashidi, 2010 a) by a German man and the cemetery was later renamed to New European Cemetery by the British Administration (Mudogo, 1996, p. 26). According the cemetery manager Rashidi (2010 a) the cemetery was considered an upper-class cemetery in the 1960’s, but this have been changed and people from all classes of the society are buried there nowadays. But Habiyaremye (2010) from Corona funerals still consider it the most expensive cemetery in the city. The eastern part (see figure 18 left) is for Anglicans, Protestants, Catholics, Bahá’í while the western Kinondoni Cemetery II (see figure 18 right) is both for Christians and Muslims (Rashidi, 2010 a).

![Figure 18. Photograph of Kinondoni Cemetery I (left) and II with the Muslim graves in the front and Christian graves with white crosses in the background (right) (photos by author)](image)

When people want to bury a diseased family member in the cemetery, they come here from an hospital with a photocopy of the burial permit, Rashidi (2010 a) explains. According to him it costs 50,000–60,000 TZS just to dig the grave. And a tomb can cost 700,000 to build.

One 65 years old resident in Hananasif (H3, 2010) had experiences of burying a family member at Kinondoni Cemetery. The burial took place in October 2009 and it was his brother that had died. Because he and his brother are Muslims, the brother was buried at Kinondoni Cemetery II.

He found it easy to access land to bury his brother; it was just to take the burial certificate from the hospital to the people in the cemetery area and they show a place to dig the grave. The cost to dig was 25,000 TZS.

The reason for why this cemetery was chosen was because the brother lived in Kinondoni, and the transportation cost is therefore low. The transportation was done with a pick-up owned by a niece. The alternative was to go to the cemetery by foot.

He was of the opinion that Kinondoni Cemetery is full and they need to establish another place not too far from where people live.

When I asked the resident about if he had heard that there is an area in Tegeta were there is possible to bury, he told that there have been no information to people about that. And that it is not a good alternative because it is too expensive with the transport. But there would not be a problem if the government provided free transport to Tegeta. He concluded that “the best the city council can do is to provide free transport [for dead bodies to Tegeta Kondo], because the city centre is full”.
Case 2: Tegeta Kondo

Tegeta Kondo (sometimes called Bahari Beach Kondo Cemetery) has areas intended both for Muslims and Christians. The cemetery is located near the coast, 22 km north of the city centre. A news article from 2007 state that:

Officials from the Kinondoni Municipality said Tegeta is the new place for burying the dead, but Dar es Salaam residents shy from it because of the distance, [...] (Mukiza & Mwangu, 2007)

Micada (2010) has worked as a manager for the cemetery from the time when the area was established by the City Council 1998. He tells that the area has been a family owned burial ground since 1932 and the primary acts of trying to establish the area as a “formal” cemetery was done by the government in 1986–1988.

The area has been used for rebury (see figure 19, left) the remains from graves that was decided to be moved because, for example, road constructions (those grave relocations have been studied by Geho and are mentioned at page 7 in this study).

Besides those reburials, about 2–3 bodies are buried each mouth, mostly people from the neighbourhood. The manager explains that there is no cost for accessing the land, but people need a burial permit from the hospital. Members of the community do not have to pay to get the grave dug, because people here get help from family and friends with that. Those who are not member of this community can pay 30,000–50,000 TZS for the service.

Micada is of the opinion that the cemetery can be used by anyone, and comments the cemeteries in the city centre with: “If they close, people will come” [Translation by Swalehe].

Some problems have occurred for the large area intended for burials. Three people have encroached the area and have built a house there (see figure 19, right).

Also the fence surrounding the cemetery has been stolen and people take sand from the area, making the problem with water logging even harder. The manager has asked for help from the police and the municipality regarding these problems.

The cost for the fence was 30,000,000 TZS, according to the budget for projects that was planned to be implemented in the municipality during the fiscal year 2005/2006. (KMC, 2006, p. 98)
Family Owned and Informal Burial Grounds

A table in Mudogo’s (1996, pp. 21–23) study shows that according to the City Council in 1996, more the half of the about 80 “traditional” or “haphazardly” burial grounds in the district were considered full or nearly full, and only 10 of the other were pointed out as available (the complete list can be found in appendix I). In this thesis, three family owned and informal burial grounds are studied. Of these Mwinyi Tuma is only in use for infants while Tambaza Cemetery is in use for all ages. The third burial ground was found in Mburahati Ward, below some overhead power lines. I never get any name of the place, but in an interview with residents in Mburahati Ward (2010) I was told that the area is no longer used for burials (I observed graves from 1998 as latest).

The municipality owned cemeteries have in common that they all are owned by the same actor. The studied family owned and informal burial grounds were all owned by different actors and had very different physical layouts. Compare for example the burial ground below the overhead power lines (see figure 20) with Mwinyi Tuma, that has a surrounding wall (see case 3 with figure 21).

![Image](Figure 20. Photograph of some graves below overhead power lines (photo by author))

Permits and costs

The access to family owned burial grounds (also called “informal”) is not dependent on burial permits from the hospital or the local authority. Instead there is a need for approval from the owner of the land. The relation to the people owning the land, age and the religion of the dead are for example reasons why the owner admits or refuses permission to bury the body. This have been found according to interviews with Kijamvi (2010) and Tambaza (2010), managing family owned burial grounds and with a 40 years old female (M1, 2010) and a 30 years old female (M2, 2010), who have experiences of the family owned Mwinyi Tuma.

The cost to dig the grave for the father of the 30 years old female resident (M2, 2010) in 2007 was 30,000 TZS at Mwinyi Tuma. There was no cost to the family owning the burial ground (for using the land), because the deceased was a friend to the family. Another resident in Mwananyamala Ward (M1, 2010) tells me that the usual payment to the family owning Mwinyi Tuma for using the land is 10,000 TZS per grave. According to Kijamvi (2010) who works for the family, the area is full and has not been used for some time (see case 3).
The cost for digging a grave at Tambaza Cemetery is 25,000–30,000 TZS, and the cost for building a tomb that covers the whole body can be approximately 300,000 TZS according to the owner (Tambaza, 2010).

**Case 3: Mwinyi Tuma**

The family owned burial ground *Mwinyi Tuma* (figure 21 left) is surrounded by a stone wall and has a sign (figure 21 right) in both Arabic and Swahili. The whole text in Swahili are quoted below and also translated into English.

![Figure 21. Photograph of Mwinyi Tuma (left) and a part of a sign that states that the area is full (right). (Photos by author)](image)

KUTOKANA NA SEHEMU HII YA KUZIKIA HAPA PAMEJAA NA SIRUHUSA KWA MTU YOYOTE KUZIKA, KWA IDHINI YA WENYE ENEO HILI AHSANTE

This area for burial is full, permission to bury here is therefore not given to anyone, by consent from the holder of this land. Thank you [translation by author]

Through the Mtaa office (next to the burial ground) I was presented to a person working for the family owning the burial ground, and was able to do an interview with him (Kijamvi, 2010). He told that the burial ground was for Muslims and not in use since 2006, because is it full. But it is still used for burying the bodies of dead infants. People still asking for bury there, but they are told to go to Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa.

**Hindu Crematory**

The Shree Hindu Mandal Dar es Salaam Office own and manage the Hindu Crematory, located in Kinondoni District along Cemetery Road next to the Ismaili Cemetery.

The Hindu crematory was before located along Ocean Road. But the government decide in the 1960’s that the crematory should move and provided a plot where the crematory now are located. According to Suchak (2010) at the Shree Hindu Mandal office, almost all of the around 100 bodies cremated each year are from Dar es Salaam. They do not have land where the cremated remains are disposed, instead the ash is collected by the family when the fire has burned out and they decide what to do with it.
Permits and costs
It is possible to reach the office by phone 24 hours of the day. A death certificate from the hospital is needed before the office write a permission for the cremation. The body is then picked up by Suchak (working at the office) and three volunteers, only 2 hours after the death occurred (Suchak, 2010). The transportation (with vehicle from the Hindu Mandal Hospital) and the cremation are free for Hindus, but many give a donation (Suchak, 2010). Non-Hindus can also access the service of cremation, but then for a fixed cost (Shree Hindu Mandal, 2008).

Ways to Overcome Costs when Someone Dies
According to the findings in Dar es Salaam, everyone who dies will access the service of burial or cremation—indeed, independently of religion and social situation. Here below is four ways I have found during my field work mentioned.

Committee of family and friends
A committee is usually formed the same day a person die, and different things to do are divided between family members and friends; for example transportation, collection of contributions and speaking with the cemetery (Habiyaremye, 2010). The collection of contributions is done to cover the costs for the funeral (including food), transportation, coffin and/or sanda (Swahili winding-sheet) and the grave with decorations (H2, H5, M1 & M2, 2010). This tradition to help each other financially with funerals (and also weddings) makes it possible to pay the necessary costs even without large savings.

Help from religious communities
Kinondoni Assemblies of God is a church with 2000 persons in the assembly. Kabojlca (2010) work in the church and according to him, the church contributes to those who do not have relatives or enough money for buying clothes and coffins. Shree Hindu Mandal Dar es Salaam Office manage, like mentioned before, the cremations. Through contributions and voluntary workers, the cremation service and transportation of the dead body for the Hindus are without cost (Suchak, 2010).

Funeral insurance
One formalised way of get money to cover the expenses when a family member dies is to be a member in the Mfariji Club (Swahili Club of Confiders). It works like a funeral insurance (costs 5000 TZS each month) and has according to Corona funerals (that manage the club) about 500 persons (100 families) in the club. (Habiyaremye, 2010). The brochure says that:

> The Mfariji Club funeral policy ensures that you or your family will not have to wait for contributions from others or use your savings to help with funeral expenses. (Mfariji Club, undated)

Without any friends or relatives
When somebody without relatives dies, Nassibu Rashidi at Kinondoni Cemetery is the person that has the responsibility to contact the municipal owned cemetery, nearest to where the person came from for bury there. Many are buried at Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa because the municipal Hospital is located there. The transport and burial is paid the Municipality Council. (Tongo, 2010)
Focus: Children burials in Dar es Salaam

The age specific death rates presented at page 18 represents the whole of Tanzania in the year 2002, while the estimated age structure at the same page corresponds to the death tolls in the Kinondoni District in 2010. The combination of those two will therefore probably not give the exact numbers of deaths in respectively age group in Kinondoni District during 2010, but it can give a hint about which age groups that are prominent. From the figure below it is clear that the age group 0–4 years stands for a major share (about 40 percent) of the deaths in the Municipality.

Despite this large number, the deaths of children were not mentioned by the respondents during the interviews with residents in Hananasif and Mwananyamala when asked if they had taken part in the arrangements for a funeral.

The owner of Tambaza Cemetery presented the number of buried infants separately from burials of other ages (Tambaza, 2010). Approximately 120 infants and 10 adults each month (totally 1560 each year, to be compared with the 904–1150 bodies buried at KMC’s cemeteries each year). Together with the information from case 3: Mwinyi Tuma stating that only children are buried there nowadays, it seems possible to draw the conclusion that burials of infants and young children is to a large extent done informally at family owned burial grounds. But that is perhaps only true for Muslims, because they have a longer tradition of living along the Tanzanian coast and therefore the possibility to access burial grounds established when the area was mainly Muslim. The price for digging a grave for a child at Sinza Makaburini, a municipality owned cemetery, is 50,000 TZS compared with 100,000 TZS for an adult, according to the cemetery manager (Kabori, 2010).

According to Hindu beliefs, only the dead bodies from persons from the age of three and older are cremated. Younger children are buried in a burial ground at the crematory area. (Suchak, 2010)
Discussion

Summarise of the Framework of the Study

The population living in the world’s urban areas is growing rapidly. That is also the case for the number of people that have died in those areas. This study has like for example Mbiba identified the need for studies about land-uses associated with the disposal of dead bodies in urban Africa, since studies about this are rare. In this study, I discuss how this kind of land is evolving, but the main focus is to connect the evolvement with the access to the land. The case study area for the study is Kinondoni District in Dar es Salaam—the largest city in Tanzania and one of the most rapidly growing cities in Africa. The rapid growth of the city has been the background when describing and understanding the access and evolvement.

Previous necrogeographical studies (geographical studies related to death) have seldom developed their own conceptual framework. Instead the studies use and contribute to concepts from other parts of the geographical discipline. This study follows that tradition and focus on the geographical concept of land—but also the concept of space. Like other necrogeographical studies, the main contribution to the theoretical framework from this study is to bring death to the discussion. This is done by developing the concept of necral land and contributing to the already existing concept of necral space.

The study is based on field work conducted in Dar es Salaam during the time period February to April 2010. Parts of the study could be described as intensive research, because it is preformed as a pioneer study, trying to describe and understand a phenomena, and not so much trying to find out how widespread the phenomena is. The data was produced through interviews with persons representing Dar es Salaam City Council, Kinondoni Municipality Council, local authorities, cemetery managers, residents, people managing family owned cemeteries, a funeral service company and religious communities. Data was also produced through my own observations and by reading official documents and news articles. Triangulation between different data sources has been done were it is possible to validate the data.

Access to Necral Land

In Kinondoni District there is both cemeteries owned by the Municipality Council and informal or family owned burial grounds. There is also a burial ground owned by the Ismaili Community and a crematory owned by the Hindu community in the district. Even if there are differences in costs and the necessity to have permits to bury or cremate at different locations, I conclude in the study that it seems like there are ways for everyone to access necral space to bury or cremate a dead body. One common way of managing costs connected to the funeral is to collect financial contributions from friends, family and neighbours. Religious communities can also give financial help; and in situations where relatives are unknown, the Municipality Council can pay for the burial.
But in the same time, the necral spaces in the central parts of Kinondoni District (the ones people according to the finding has access to) was considered full already in the mid 1990’s—according to news articles and studies from that time. But were the areas actually full? The question is justified because each of the areas is still used for burying a couple of hundred dead bodies each year. The question could also been taken further, to questioning if a burial ground actually can be full in the sense that it is impossible to bury more dead bodies. By using examples from London (Great Britain) in the nineteenth century—were for example a churchyard was used so much that the ground level became some meters higher than before—I would argue that there is no such thing as a burial ground so full that no more dead bodies can be buried there. If that is true, the concept of absolute space becomes less important in the discussion and instead the relational space, with people’s relations and perceptions, becomes more important. Maybe the actual starting point for the discussion is to define the border between a cemetery * and a burial ground without internal layout (or even a mass grave).

One set of rules that define how a cemetery in Dar es Salaam should be designed have been presented by the City Council, describing the correct distances between the graves. But because of the amount of dead bodies buried at the areas, the rules have been impossible to follow. The master plan also states that it should be possible to extend the cemeteries when needed. This was done for Sinza Makaburini in 2000, but the persons working with grave digging there think there will be a problem with shortage of land again in three or four years. One problem of keeping unused land for expanding the cemetery when needed is that the areas often become encroached by other land-uses. This is for example the case in Mwananyamala Kwa Kopa and Tegeta Kondo, where people have built houses at land intended for burial.

To understand this lack of land is not very difficult (because the city grows rapidly and many people die all the time). It is the decision-making that I think is more interesting and it gives rise to questions like: Why did the City Council continue to give people permit to bury when they at the same time concluded that the areas were full? One reason could be the mentioned problem to define if a cemetery is full or not. It is a possibility that this problem could have been used among grave diggers, who have an economical incitement to find creative solutions to be able to bury more dead bodies at the already existing cemeteries. This theory is supported by the fact that all persons not working at the cemeteries told me the areas were full, but all persons working at the municipality owned cemeteries told me that there is still possible to bury there and therefore the area was not full.

The situation makes people build tombs covering the whole body of the buried to prevent other dead bodies to be buried at the same place in the future. This could be one sign that people do not feel sure that the grave of their relative will be preserved otherwise. This kind of tombs are however too expensive for some.

The situation could be summarised as people having access to necral space to bury or cremate, but access to long-term solutions that could be called necral land is reserved for the persons that can afford to prevent others from using the land, this because of the lack of available places to bury.

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* Rugg’s definition of a cemetery, that I use in this study, tells that a cemetery has to be “conducive both to families claiming control over the grave spaces, and to the conducting of what might be deemed by the community as appropriate funerary ritual”. (Rugg, 2000)
Evolvement of Necral Land

The evolvement found in this study of the cemeteries owned by the Kinondoni Municipality Council differs from the evolvement of the informal or family owned burial grounds. Therefore the areas will be discussed separately.

Municipality owned cemeteries: an attempt for a peri-urban cemetery movement

It seems like there is a widespread opinion in both media and among the interviewed residents in Kinondoni and Mwananyamala, that there is a shortage of land for burials and that it is a need to establish new areas. The Kinondoni Municipality Council tried to solve the problem 1998 with the establishment of the new municipality owned cemetery in Tegeta (located in the outskirts of the city). But the study shows that only 2–4 percent of the dead bodies buried at the municipality owned cemeteries in Kinondoni District are buried in Tegeta Kondo, and those are mainly from the area near the cemetery. In my study, I have tried to understand why this peri-urban cemetery movement have failed and have come across three possible explanations that could overlap:

Something that often came up during the interviews when discussing Tegeta Kondo was that it was too expensive to transport the dead body there. That is probably true in many cases, because the transportation of the dead body to the cemeteries is often done by foot, and therefore not associated with any costs. But many could also afford the transportation.

Lack of information is something that also can explain why people do not choose to bury their dead at Tegeta Kondo. Few of the residents I interviewed were aware of the possibility to bury there and it was not common among the cemetery managers at the other municipality owned cemeteries to tell people that come there for bury about the other possibility.

The last possible reason I will present here is that people do not use Tegeta Kondo because the central cemeteries is still in use. And people choose to bury there, rather than Tegeta, even if they are of the opinion that the area is full and the preservation of the grave cannot be certain. Like the cemetery manager at Tegeta Kondo expressed it: “If they close, people will come”.

Informal and family owned burial grounds: rural burials in urban areas

From the indeed limited data produced in this study (about family owned and informal burial grounds in the city) there is nothing that indicates that using those would be a part of the irregular ways of access land and services that Nunan and Devas (2004, p. 184) found in their study. In their case, the irregular (or informal) way was seen as an alternative for land or service not possible to access the formal way. Instead, the studied burial grounds were established when the area was rural. The burial grounds has been continued to be used until these days—or until they was considered full and people was referred to use the municipality owned cemeteries instead. Therefore my produced data actually indicate that among those with the rural tradition to have a family owned burial ground (in this nowadays urban area), the municipality owned cemeteries have become the alternative when the old burial grounds are becoming filled. Not the other way around.
From Evolvement to Development

In this study, the evolvements some Western cities experienced during their rapid growth of the nineteenth century have been used for discussing the evolvement of necral land in Dar es Salaam. The question if those examples really are relevant when discussing the case of Dar es Salaam is discussed below.

It could be concluded that as long as there will be humans, and those will be mortal, people will die. The need to respond to people’s deaths is therefore not time specific and therefore the same in the nineteenth century as it is today. However, the ways of responding to people’s death differ a lot between different times and places. And even though an evolvement like the one in Western cities would be possible and perhaps solve problems of land shortage, who would have the right to decide this? Take cremation for example: In Yeoh’s (1999, p. 253) study about Singapore, she concludes that the governmental efforts to transform the practice of burial to cremation have succeeded in the way that more and more cremate instead of bury. She also found that many do not only accept it, but also support the change. This governmental led change differs from for example Sweden, where Eldbegängelserörelsen (the cremation movement) was led by a social movement started in 1882 with the purpose of promoted cremation (NE, 2010).

The initiative of change how necral land is evolving was in those cases either from the top to the bottom or the other way around. But in both those examples, the change seems to have been supported by both the government and the people. I think this is the difference between evolvement and development. Regardless if the initiative is from the top or from the bottom; it has to be supported by the whole society to be called development. If we bring in the concept of sustainable development, not only the whole society has to be considered, but also the future societies. However, the importance regarding the development of necral land is not only sustainable development, but also something that I would like to name respectful development (if respectful development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of respect for the past generations*).

How the respect for past generations is manifested is a cultural and religious question, something that differs between times and places. In Najaf for example, the respect to past generations and the religion is given a large priority in the layout of the city. But neither the specific solution of Najaf nor the way many Western cities have developed is the general solution for cities worldwide. My statement is instead that in development discussions, also the past has to be reconsidered; and that this is something that is valid in all times and at all places.

* The sentence is based on the definition of sustainable development from the Brundtland report from 1987.
Conclusions

The conclusion possible to make from the conceptual framework used in this thesis together with the data produced during my field study, is that the data indicate that almost all of the Dar es Salaam residents have access to necral space; where the service of bury or cremate a dead body can be obtained. However, not all can afford to take the necessary measures for making a grave preserved in the cemeteries where the land is contested in the central parts of the city. Therefore it can be questioned if all people have access to necral land (land-use is here associated with a secure use of an area for a longer time, than in the case with space-use). If this conclusion is accurate, the contribution from this study to the concepts of land and space would be that space is more easily accessed than land in rapid growing cities with a widespread informality. But something more important that emerges in this case is that people’s access to space can stay in the way of the fact that they have no access to land. The consequence of this could, for example, be that because people in one way or another can found the space they need in life (or death); the lack of land—which results in insecurity—can be missed or ignored. One example on this that could be found in this study could be the case with the evolvement of necral land in Dar es Salaam, were the possibility to access necral space in the central parts of the city make people turn down the sometimes more expensive alternative to access necral land in the outskirts of the city, with dissatisfaction of the whole situation as a result.
References

List of Written Sources


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UNGA: General Assembly of the United Nations.


**List of Interviews**


- 40 years old female (H1)
- 35 years old female (H2)
- 65 years old male (H3)
- 40 years old female (H4)
- 45 years old male (H5)

Habiyaremye, R. (2010, March 17) *Interview with the founder of Corona Funerals.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer)

Kabojlca, M. M. (2010, March 29) *Interview with person working at Kinondoni Assemblies of God.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & M. Swalehe, Translator)

Kabori, A. (2010, February 17) *Interview with cemetery manager for Sinza Makaburini.* (P. Eriksson, & J. Olson, Interviewers)

Kijamvi. (2010, March 11) *Interview with person working for the family owning Mwinyi Tuma (Cemetery).* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, M. Swalehe, & Z. Ramadhani, Translators)

Lupandisha. (2010, March 5) *Interview: Environmental Health at Kinondoni Municipality Council.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer)

- 40 years old female (M1)
- 30 years old female (M2)
- 70 years old male (M3)
- 40 years old male (M4)

Maolambo. (2010, March 5) *Interview: Environmental Health at Kinondoni Municipality Council.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer)


Rashidi, N. (2010 a, March 5) *First interview with manager for Kinondoni Cemetery.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer)


Residents in Mburahati Ward (2010, March 29) *Interview with two persons living near the burial ground below overhead power lines in Mburahati Ward.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & M. Swalehe, Translator)

Suchak. (2010, March 30) *Interview at Shree Hindu Mandal Dar es Salaam Office.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer)

Tambaza, A. (2010, March 30) *Interview with family member from family owning Tambaza Cemetery.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & M. Swalehe, Translator)

Taratibu, E. B. (2010, March 29) *Interview with Mtendasi Mitaa Office about Mburahati City Cemetery.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & M. Swalehe, Translator)

Tongo, A. M. (2010, March 29) *Interview with cemetery manager for Mburahati City Cemetery.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & M. Swalehe, Translator)

Workers at Sinza Makaburini (2010, March 16) *Group interview with persons working at Sinza Makaburini.* (P. Eriksson, Interviewer, & Arnold, Translator)
List of Figure and Map Sources

The front page drawing (by author) pictures the western part of Kinondoni Cemetery I.

Figure 1: Data from Inskeep (2000). Compilation and diagram by author.

Figure 2: Map by author, based on aerial photos and data from Google Earth*.

Figure 3: Map by author, based on aerial photos from Google Earth*.

Figure 4: Map by author.

Figure 5: Map by author, with population data from ILRI (2006) and high data from SRTM† (2010).

Figure 6, left: Map from (Brennan & Burton, 2007, p. 20).

Figure 6, right: Photo by Walther Dobbertin, from Bundesarchiv (105-DOA0923), accessed through Wikimedia Commons‡.

Figure 7: Map from Lupala (2002).

Figure 8: Map by author, based on data and map from Master plan (1968).

Figure 9: Data from Sutton (1970, p. 19), Brennan & Burton (2007, p. 61), NBS (2006 b, p. 16) and NBS (2006 a, p. 69). Compilation and diagram by author.

Figure 10: Data from NBS (2006 a). Compilation and diagram by author.

Figure 11: Data from NBS (2006 b). Compilation and diagram by author.

Figure 12: Photo by author 2010.

Figure 13: Map by author, based on map from Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements Development (Tanzania).

Figure 14: Data from the following interviews: Rashidi (2010 b), Kabori (2010), Micada (2010), Tongo (2010) and Mwasongwe (2010). Compilation and diagram by author.

Figure 15–21: Photos by author 2010.

Figure 22: Calculation and diagram by author. Based on data from NBS (2006 a–b).

Figure 23: Photo by author 2010.

* Google Earth (2009). Downloaded from: http://earth.google.com


‡ Wikimedia Commons. http://commons.wikimedia.org
### Appendix 1: Cemeteries in Kinondoni District 1996

Table 3. List showing the cemeteries in Kinondoni District according to Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) referred to in Mudogo (1996, p. 21–23)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Owner/Type</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kinondoni</td>
<td>Kinondoni – Intern Cemetery</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>) Nearly full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinondoni Mdimuni</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>) Area is filth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinondoni Moscow</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Msasani</td>
<td>Msasani kwa Mamwinyi</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>All cemeteries are full. There is burial repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Msasani Mikoroshoni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Msasani STAMICO</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mikocheni CCM</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kawe</td>
<td>Kawe Mdimuni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kawe Jeshini</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kawe (Near Church)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kawe (Near Ocean)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mwananyamala</td>
<td>M’Nyamala City</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>All cemeteries are full. There is burial repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M’Nyamala kwa Maganga</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M’Nyamala Komakoma</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M’Nyamala Makurumla</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M’Nyamala Mwinjuma</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Makumbusho</td>
<td>Kijitonyama Commonwealth War Grave</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Not used for burial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kijitonyama Ismailia</td>
<td>Ismailia Community</td>
<td>Area is nearly full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kijitonyama Kwa Kimongonyole</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Area is full and there is burial repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kijitonyama Kwa Ally Maua</td>
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<td>Not used for burial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kijitonyama German Graves</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tandale</td>
<td>Tandale Kwa Tumbo</td>
<td>Haphazardly</td>
<td>All areas are full. There is burial repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tandale Mikoroshoni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Tandale Kwa Wasiwasi</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ubungo</td>
<td>Ubungo UFI</td>
<td>Haphazardly</td>
<td>No boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ubungo Jeshi</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>) The areas are full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ubungo Near University</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ubungo Maziwa</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>Kagera Mikoroshoni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>All areas are full and burials are taking place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Karume Primary School</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mdugumbi-Magomeni Makuti</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mzimuni</td>
<td>Mwinyimkuu Magomeni Mapipa</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Makuu Kionga</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Full</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magomeni Manda Street</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Full</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Mwenge</td>
<td>Mwenge kwa Bhoke</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The space is available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tegeta</td>
<td>Tegeta (New Plot)</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>Not yet started. ) The areas are nearly full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tegeta (Old Plot)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tegeta Mtongani</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Boko</td>
<td>Boko CCM</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Areas are nearly full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boko NAG’ Huku Kijjini</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ununio-Mjimkuu Boka Basi Haya</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kimara</td>
<td>Kimara Baruti</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Areas are full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kimara Matangini</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Mbweni</td>
<td>Mbweni JKT (Ndege Beach)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The space still used/ available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kibamba</td>
<td>Kibamba CCM</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The still used and available.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kibamba Njia ya Kwembe</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ward</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Owner/Type</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mbezi</td>
<td>Mbezi Uluguru</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>These areas are family based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kibanda cha Mkaa</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Kimara</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Dangeni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Kwa Kikwasa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Kwa Madebe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mbezi Kwa Mikoo</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Mbezi Luwisi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luwisi kwa Jumbe</td>
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<td>Luwisi kwa Magongo</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luwisi kwa Mindu</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temboni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temboni kwa Msuguri</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temboni kwa Madadi</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Temboni kwa Ndembo</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temboni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Makondeko</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kiluvya</td>
<td>Kiluvya</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The area is available/used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kwembe</td>
<td>Kwembe Kijijini</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The area is available and used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bunju</td>
<td>Bunju &quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The spaces are used/available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bunju &quot;B&quot;</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bunju Chalinze</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mburahati</td>
<td>Mburahati City Cemetery</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>The area [sic!] is nearly full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mburahati (NHC)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>) The areas are full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mburahati Motomoto</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>) but still used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mburahati kwa Jongo</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kigogo</td>
<td>Kigogo kwa Binti Kähenga</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>They are full and used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kigogo CCM</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kigogo Kintiku</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Manzese</td>
<td>Mpakani (TANESCO)</td>
<td>Haphazardly</td>
<td>They are full but still used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kwa Jabiri</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manzese Mnasi Moja</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manzese Tip Top</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manzese Uzuri</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mbibo</td>
<td>Mbibo Farasi</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The area is full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Goba</td>
<td>Goba Kungumo</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>The areas are used and available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goba Shuleni</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Interview Questions for Residents

My name is Pontus and I am a student from Sweden. I am writing a report about cemeteries in Dar es Salaam. I have spoken with some people that working with cemeteries, but I would also like to hear some experiences from people that live in the city.

I have some questions that usually take around 20 minutes to answer. It is voluntary to participate and I will not write your name in the report. You can stop the interview anytime you want.

1. Would you like to answer my questions?
2. What is your name?
3. How old are you?
4. Are you married?
5. Do you have any children? (How many?)
6. What are you working with?
7. What is your religion?
8. Do you belong to a cultural group?

9. Have you taken part in the arrangement for a burial here in Dar es Salaam? [If not, go to question 31]
10. Would it be OK if I asked some questions about that? [If not, go to question 31]

11. When did the person died? [If the respondent arranged more than one, chose the latest]
12. Was it a man or a woman?
13. What was your relation to the person?
14. Was the person married when he/she died?
15. Had the person children when he/she died? (How many?)
16. What did the person worked with?
17. How old was the person when he/she died?
18. Did the person believed in the same religion as you? (If not, what religion?)
19. Did the person belong to the same cultural group as you? (If not, what cultural group?)
20. Where did the person live?
21. Where is the person buried?
22. What was your role when arranging the burial?
23. Do you think it was easy or hard to get land for the grave?
24. Could you tell me about the procedure from when the person died until he/she get buried?

[Possible follow-up questions:]

24.1 Who made contact with whom?
24.2 How did you know how to do?
24.3 Was there any alternatives where to choose the place for the grave?
24.4 Why was that place chosen?
24.5 Who took the decisions about where to bury?
25. How was the dead body transported?
26. Between what places was it transported?
27. Who transported the body?
28. What was the cost for that?
29. Who decide how the body was transported?
30. Do you know if there was any alternative ways?
   (If there was, why was this alternative chosen?)

31. Do you use to visit some graves in Dar es Salaam?
32. How often?
33. What cemeteries do you use to visit?
34. What is your opinion about them?
35. Is the location of the cemeteries important for you when visiting a grave?

Do you have any more you would say about the cemeteries in Dar es Salaam?
Do you have any questions for me?

[If the person speaks English]
Do you want me to send you a mail or e-mail with the finished report when I have finished it?
Appendix 3: Interview Questions for Cemetery Managers

My name is Pontus and I am a student from Sweden. I am writing a report about cemeteries in Dar es Salaam.

I have some questions that usually take around 15 minutes to answer.

1. Would you like to answer my questions?
2. What is your name?
3. What is your work title?
4. For how long have you worked here?
5. When did people start to bury here?
6. Who decide that this should be a cemetery?
7. Who own this cemetery now?
8. What area is the cemetery serving?
9. What groups of people use to bury here? (Have this changed over time?)
10. Why do people choose to bury here?

11. How do people do to get a grave here?

   [Possible follow-up questions]
   11.1 Do they need any permits?
   11.2 Who contact you? (Is it family members, funeral service...?)
   11.3 How much is the cost for a grave? (Have this changed over time?)
   11.4 Does it happen that people cannot pay this?

12. How many are buried here (each year, month or week)
13. How is the dead bodies transported to the cemetery?
14. Who is it that transports the bodies?

15. Do you think there any problems with this cemetery? (regarding the access to the cemetery?)

16. Do you have any more you would say about the cemeteries in Dar es Salaam?
Do you have any questions for me?
Is it OK that I use your name as a source in my report?

[If the person speaks English]
Do you want me to send you an e-mail with the finished report when I have finished it?
Appendix 4: List of Interviewed Residents

Hananasif

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>H1</th>
<th>H2</th>
<th>H3</th>
<th>H4</th>
<th>H5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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Mwananyamala

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