

Research Article

The Paradox of Colonial Labour Migration: Colonial State Responses and Management to the Nyamwezi Migrant Labourers in Nzega and Zanzibar 1890s-1950s

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Abstract

This paper aims at examining colonial state responses and management to the Nyamwezi Migrant Labourers in Nzega and Zanzibar, 1890s-1950s. The research was carried out in Nzega and Zanzibar, and it used a qualitative technique to analyze data under the direction of predetermined objective and themes. The most common method was qualitative, with a focus on the subject matter that was interpretive and realistic. The research also included archival materials. The author used both primary and secondary sources to present and discuss findings. The findings in the paper examines how the colonial government dealt with the laborers in Nzega and Zanzibar, focusing on how labor recruits were treated, and labor agents were informed about illnesses, finally the paper provide an insight on how the colonial state managed grievances regarding low wages, erratic work schedules, holidays, and employer segregation from the laborers. It was concluded that labor migration among the Nyamwezi was a result of the introduction and consolidation of capitalist relations in the Nyamwezi area. This was a result of the region's capitalist transformation.

Keywords

Nyamwezi, Migration, Labour, Migrant Labour, Capitalism

1. Introduction

Beginning in the middle of the 18th century, the rise of capitalism brought about a change in the use of slave labor [6]. During this period, industrial capitalism replaced mercantilism. This first happened in England in the 1750s and 1840s. Around this time, campaigns were launched to stop the slave trade in Africa. The development of labor was more significantly impacted by this historical era [10].

Furthermore, the industrial revolution in England and other parts of Europe aligned the African economy with the principles of capitalism. Thus, through their labor, Africans were

able to supply raw materials and consume completed items from their established European industries [10]. This effort continued until the colonial era, when numerous colonial structures were constructed. Wages were more essential and promoted in colonial projects like building railroads, sisal plantations, and clove plantations in Pemba and Zanzibar. At that time, the Nyamwezi and other tribes began migrating from Tanganyika and the surrounding territories to Zanzibar and other coastal areas [10].

The statistics varied, with some focusing on migration from

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Nzega to Zanzibar and others on migration from other nations and Tanganyika in general. For instance, a 1958 census revealed that more over 51,000 individuals migrated from nations including Tanganyika, Mozambique, Kenya, Nyasaland, and Uganda to Pemba and Zanzibar. It is estimated that over 8,000 Nyamwezi have moved to Zanzibar and Pemba. It was believed that the Nyamwezi's labor movement during the colonial era was closely linked to the region's economic development. The growth and fortification of capitalist connections in the Nyamwezi area were major contributors to the events outlined above [10].

Colonial states were responsible for labor concerns since labor was a part of the colonies' resource utilization. The colonial states had a variety of policies and mechanisms in place to guarantee a constant supply of labor. These include labor recruitment, labor policies, labor working conditions, and supporting migrant labor. Based on the stated requirements, the author observed that previous historians had only partially examined the colonial response to migrant labor, namely the Nyamwezi, who had a long history of migration and whose system of labor was integrated into the capitalist economic system. The Nyamwezi social formation and the colonial governments of Nzega and Zanzibar put in place a variety of labor recruitment and working conditions programs. As a result, the author of this paper has investigated how the colonial state responded to the Nyamwezi labor migration process and how the Nyamwezi managed to survive in Zanzibar between the 1890s and the 1950s.

Theoretical underpinnings

The Wealth of Nations, written by Adam Smith in 1776, is considered by many to be the founding text of political economy theory. William Stanley Jevons later expanded it. His work, *The Theory of Political Economy*, was published in 1871. He was an economist and logician. Political economy theory is the multidisciplinary investigation of the relationship between politics and the economy [8]. It is an important field of study as well as a research methodology that intersects with a number of other fields. Political economy study focuses on broad macro-historical tendencies such as state creation, economic transformation, democratization, and social movements, in addition to the structural conditions in which these processes occur [3]. These perspectives allow the researchers to examine important topics, including the causes and consequences of various developmental barriers, including poor public service delivery, insufficient infrastructure, and political and economic mismanagement. In addition to the political ideologies, historical occurrences, and material concessions that conceal or legitimize systemic exploitation and produce fleeting periods of stability, they examine the ongoing crises, conflicts, and forms of resistance brought about by capitalist structures and restructuring [6].

The social contract between capital and labor is influenced by various power dynamics, and political economies are in varying phases of development. These trends include the state,

labor market reform, macroeconomic competitiveness strategies, production relations, urban development, climate change, technological innovation, colonialism, financialization, the changing public-private sector relationship, fiscal austerity and monetary activism, and economic transformation through policy and activism [4].

This theory is pertinent to the investigation of the colonial state's reactions to the labor migratory movement of the Nyamwezi people. The colonial responses in Nzega, where labor recruiters were subject to labor conditions such as a contract that included paid rates, allowances, and transportation, were clearly the earliest examples of this theory in action. The colonial authorities also warned labor agents about the prevalence of ailments including sleeping sickness and Tuberculosis (TB). Before leaving, they were also instructed to clean their employees and test for these diseases. It was the same in Zanzibar when they got there. When the laborers complained about low pay, irregular work schedules, holidays, and humiliation and segregation from their employers, the colonial government took action. As a result, the author has modified the theory to better suit the current study. The theory's limitation is that it encompasses a lot of different domains.

2. Methods

Introduction

A qualitative research design was used in the paper. The focus of qualitative technique is multimethod. It approaches its subject matter in a naturalistic, interpretive manner. Accordingly, qualitative research aims to understand or interpret events in terms of the meanings that individuals assign to them while also investigating things in their natural environments. A range of empirical materials, including case studies, personal experiences, introspection, life stories, interviews, observational, historical, interactive, and visual texts that depict ordinary and troublesome moments and meanings in people's lives, are studied in qualitative research [Lincoln, 1994]. These methods have examined complex social phenomena, understood perspectives and interpretations of the Nyamwezi labor change, and examined various colonial government reactions in the study locations. By changing the questions anytime the researcher wished to gain a deeper understanding of the issue in accordance with the predetermined goal, it allowed for flexibility, in-depth comprehension, and customization to the study subject.

Study Area

The research was conducted in Zanzibar and Tabora. In Zanzibar, the study was carried out in Magharibi B District, where streets like Kiembe Samaki, Buyu, Shakani, and Mbweni were visited, while in Tabora, it was carried out in Nzega district (Karitu, Mwakarundi, and Ussongo). Because it was the birthplace of the Nyamwezi migrants and appeared to have a sizable emigrant population, the former was chosen.

¹The latter was the final destination, where the migrants were assimilated into the capitalist system, changed their lifestyles

and customs, and developed survival tactics as they adapted to the new economic structures.

3. Methods of Data Collection

Archival Materials

These facts provide proof of earlier occurrences. They serve as memory aids that enable their users to remember and experience past events or to re-communicate information about those events at a later time. They also hold a record of information about past activities (Archival Materials, 2007). The writers' attempt to comprehend the problems with colonial procedures in guaranteeing a steady supply of labor among the Nyamwezi and their migration process was supported by a variety of documented historical records. The author has interpreted these evidence elements as complimentary because none of them can stand alone, despite the fact that they can be produced by several social actors.

The ability to read and compare these pieces of evidence is made possible by their interpretation as complementary evidence, which reflects the subjectivities or viewpoints of those who created and produced them. Recognizing that the social actors who created them, such as government officials who penned historical papers or notable elders whose memories the researcher would unearth through their descendants, did not live in a vacuum is another benefit of reading them as supplementary evidence. Instead, they engaged, impacted, and molded one another within the constraints set by the state. Through these social interactions, we were able to learn about the agreements and connections among the various parties that created these items (Archival items, op cit). The Tanzanian National Archives in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Tabora, and Zanzibar were the sources of all archive material. These are Tanzania's biggest historical document depositories.

The author has collected these sources to include human biographies, reports, and letters. The Nyamwezi migration, labor restriction issues, and other colonial labor and recruitment activities are among the statistical data they provide. These sources provided the author with trustworthy and well-documented reviews, which helped him to augment some of the data he had partially obtained from interview sources.

Written Documents

The information accessed related to tax collection, labor-related matters, labor recruiters, labor wages, letter correspondences, labor committees, the number of Nyamwezi who migrated to Zanzibar, directives from the labor office, and colonial state comments on labor concerns. These provided a significant evidentiary basis for this paper. Published books, journal articles, and unpublished theses and dissertations from the Open University of Tanzania Library and University of Dar es Salaam Library were critically reviewed and used to cement the ideas and the information presented from the primary sources.

Oral Recollections

This constituted an important evidence basis for this research paper in which biographical and unstructured interviews were sensibly used. The collection and study of a detailed account of a life or a portion of a life, typically through an in-depth, unstructured interview, is known as a biographical interview. Personal records or semi-structured interviews could support the story. Instead of focusing on "snapshot" of a person's current circumstances, the biographical approach highlights how the person is situated within a network of historical events, social ties, and life experiences (Lincoln, 1994).

Biographical and unstructured interviews were utilized in this research paper because they offer freedom to both the authors and the respondents, which make them superior to questionnaires and documentary reviews. Additionally, by modifying questions as needed and formulating new ones in response to informants' responses, these two interview formats gave the author additional control over the research process. In this sense, an open-ended inquiry is intended to elicit a thorough, insightful response based on the subject's personal experiences and/or expertise. It is the reverse of a closed-ended inquiry, which promotes a succinct or one-word response. Additionally, compared to closed-ended questions, open-ended questions are typically less biased and more objective (ibid). In view of this paper, open-ended questions were mostly used in oral interviews in order to accord a wide chance of giving more information about the study theme. To confirm the validity of this approach, additional techniques such as archival and documentary reviews were incorporated. Interviewees who were the leaders and those involved in political affairs, as well as members of various social groups, were among the local leaders in various communities in Nzega (Tabora) and Zanzibar regarding Nyamwezi who were thought to have pertinent information.

Elders, adults in leadership roles, and people with varying levels of knowledge on the Nyamwezi migration were interviewed by the author. The majority of the interviewees have either heard about the Nyamwezi migration from their parents or grandparents, or they have personally observed Nyamwezi history and their own development as small boys, girls, or youths. The Wanangwa's role, the causes of labor migration, the organization of labor before migration to Zanzibar, and the survival strategies used by the Nyamwezi in Zanzibar were all covered by the author using this source. Respondents' inability to precisely recall the dates and locations of some occurrences was the tool's main weakness. The author added information from secondary sources and archival documents to solve this shortcoming.

Data analysis and Presentation

In historical research, data analysis begins with theme analysis, which is the process of organizing data from documents, files, field notes, and other visual data. Interviews that were recorded were transcribed. The next step is to examine the qualitative data, which entailed creating codes and taking notes on preliminary findings. The researcher was able to classify the data into themes by assigning codes, words, phrases,

or even sentences, to segments of qualitative data. Following data analysis, the researcher coded the data by going over the unprocessed data (interviews and field notes) and giving codes to a specific section of the text. Then, codes were manipulated to create themes. The mentioned interview guide questions served as a guide for data analysis. A primary theme or part was formed by expanding each question. Using primary and secondary data, the author developed an analytical framework for every presentation question. The information was then synthesized, which ultimately contributed to the creation of an accurate augment. The researcher used qualitative analysis to find patterns in the similarities and differences between concepts, mechanisms within the evidence, and overall meaning among the vast amount of data collected.

Findings and Discussion

Introduction

During the Nyamwezi migration and upon their arrival in Zanzibar, the colonial state began to respond to the Nyamwezi. In light of this paper the author began his discussion by evaluating the colonial state's responses and management to the Nyamwezi people's first stage in their homeland. The author then has evaluated the colonial state reaction and management upon the Nyamwezi's arrival in Zanzibar before its conclusion.

The Colonial state's Response and Management to the Nyamwezi laborers during the Migration Process in their Homeland

It should be noted that the colonial administration employed a number of strategies throughout that era to govern, control, and regulate the influx of migrant labor, usually prioritizing the interests of European settlers and labor agents. These measures, which included taxes, land alienation, mandatory labor laws, and the creation of reserves, aimed to ensure a steady and reasonably priced labor supply. Even if some migration was voluntary, the colonial authorities regularly utilized coercion to meet labor demands [10].

It should be highlighted that some the Nyamwezi in Nzega traveled independently, while others did so through labor organizations, prior to the colonial state's responses to the Nyamwezi. For the Nyamwezi laborers who traveled on their own initiative, the District Commissioner used Mwanangwa wa kitabu (Mwanangwa of the Book) to request information from the chiefdom. These Mwanangwas were assistants to the chiefs. Their chiefdom's records and consent were meticulously maintained.²

The colonial administration in Nzega district gave great importance to the laborers employed by labor agencies, probably because the colonial authority was in charge of managing the colony's economy. The colonial government forbade certain agents from employing laborers as part of its response to food shortages and security concerns, especially as farmers were setting up their "shambas." Medical personnel also talked about their concerns regarding an outbreak of sleeping sickness. The Provisional Commissioner's letter to the Nzega District Commissioner titled "Nzega District Quota of Labour" clarified this. Here is a lengthy quotation from the letter:

Please refer to your letter Ho. /2/111 of the 23rd April, addressed to the District Commission for Nzega, who has transmitted to me your application an increase this year in the quota of 400 allotted on Private Recruiters Licence No. 1/1949. I am in sympathy with the known needs and its value to the Territory, but this year conditions of food stocks in the Nzega areas render it imperative that we retain as many men as possible in the District so that adequate clearing preparations of "shambas" can be undertaken from October onwards. Any additional recruits allotted to your 1949 quota would be attested for nine working cards and thereby would be absent almost a year. In addition, the Medical Authorities are not happy at the Sleeping Sickness position in certain areas of the District and have in fact made the request that any persons now being recruited should have a blood slide taken before leaving their areas. In the circumstances, I regret it will not be possible to authorize the addition to your quota, which you seek. Provincial Commissioner Western Province.³

Additionally, the colonial authorities took action against the employment of young people and women as laborers. The labor bureau warned employers and labor recruiters to hire women and young men. This was made explicit in the labor office's letter headed "The Employment of Women and Young Persons Ordinance Chapter 82 of the Laws":

I have the honour to draw your attention to section 6(2) of the above ordinance; I consider that the kind of labour upon which young persons is employed in your establishment is unsuitable. In pursuance of the provisions of section 6(2) of chapter 82 of the laws, you are hereby notified that no young persons are to be employed.⁴

According to the chiefdoms, some married women and young men had left their marriages and been recruited by the agents to work outside the chiefdom.⁵

Similar to this, a significant situation was reported in Kenya when the inability to resolve the minimum age disagreement caused considerable problems for the entire colony. First, most business managers ignored age and utilized height as a recruitment criterion. Eastern Produce & Estates Manager K. Archer wrote to the DC in Kakamega to ask him to allow his company's recruiters to work there. "Permitted to recruit juveniles over 4'11 high" was what he requested [2].

Based on their height, Archer probably thought that tall boys were physically ready for manual labor, even if they were still young. Second, because they did not want to go through the time-consuming process of obtaining for recruitment permits for their recruiters, some corporate managers kidnapped children and had their labor on their estates. In 1952, the Mombasa branch of the Kikuyu General Union (KGU) wrote to Fenner Brockway, a British Member of Parliament and member of the League against Imperialism, to complain that a European farmer in Limuru, Major C. E. V. Buxton, had kidnapped fourteen juveniles and taken them to Vipingoni Estates in Kilifi District, some 346 miles away [2].

In a similar vein, the 1923 statute defined a kid as one who was younger than sixteen and prohibited youngsters from

working for money. In 1930, the Labour Committee recommended lowering the age of a kid to twelve and adding the "young person" category to the list of those who might work for compensation.⁶

In reaction to another observation, the colonial state restricted the frequent hiring of laborers. This was made evident in a letter from the Nzega District Commissioner to the Chiefs of Nzega, in which he sent out a Swahili announcement called "Tangazo No. 58 la 1951" warning them about labor permits and giving them the following guidelines and cautions from the Dar es Salaam labor office about labor recruiters:

Nimefahamishwa na bwana Labour Office wa Dar es salaam ya kuwa siku hizi wapo watu wengi wanaofika kwako kwa kutaka vyeti vya njia kwenda Zanzibar kwa kazi ya kuchuma karafuu, na wapo watu wanaotembea tembea kutafuta na kuwashawishi watu wa kwenda Zanzibar kwa kazi ya karaafuu, na hivyo wanapata watu wa kazi kwa kisiri siri bila ya kuwa na cheti cha serikali cha kuandika watu (manamba) wa kazi, jambo hili namtaka kila mmoja wenu apeleleze sana nchini mwake na akionekana hata mmoja wao amefanya hivyo ni lazima kumshika na aletwe hapa mara moja.⁷



Figure 1. Sample of Identify Document for Africans.

Translation:

These days, a lot of people come to you asking for travel certificates to Zanzibar to work as clove pickers, and some people go around convincing people to go to Zanzibar to work as clove pickers. As a result, they covertly hire workers without the necessary government permits, according to the Dar es Salaam Labour Office. I implore everyone to look into this subject thoroughly in their own chiefdom; if even one of them is discovered to have done so, they should be taken into custody and brought here right away.

In the 1950s, however, the colonial governments of Tanganyika and Zanzibar placed restrictions on migrants by requiring Africans to possess an identity card. "Cheti cha Safari kwa Waafrika" (African exit permission) in Zanzibar and "Cheti cha Njia (on transit identity card)" in Tanganyika are the names given to these documents. Along with identifying a person's destination, these records confirmed whether they had a permanent residence.⁸ This scenario is illustrated graphically in Figure 1.

TANGANYIKA
Cheti cha Njia B N° 98095
(This is not a Passport or Travel Document; it is a Document of Identity only)
District: DAR ES SALAAM Reg. No.
Name: Mr. Athumani Mohammed T. Mndange-
Chief: vpon Mudiri of Zanzibar
Headman: Sheha Sudi & Kijangwani Zanzibar
Anakwenda: * Zanzibar ndiwa Kwake
Pamoja na: Bi-Fahima Ato Simba i. Mwa
Cheti cha kodi mwaka: Ato Mtololo Maneno Athumani
Bure: 7th March 1956
District Officer or Commissioner
DAR ES SALAAM DISTRICT

Source: TNA, 202 Acc No. 192 Labour Recruitment and Agents

Figure 2. Identity Document for Tanganyikans.

Even after gaining independence, the regions continued to impose immigration restrictions. For instance, Zanzibar began issuing passports, particularly in the 1960s. A person's nationality, gender, occupation, date and place of birth, and information about their children were among the many details included in these new passports.⁹

Similarly, the Dar es Salaam labor office acknowledged the labor migration to Zanzibar. In October 1951 alone, more than 400 persons applied for passports to travel to Zanzibar. The issue is clarified using copies of two labor office letters, No. 202/11/490 and Dar/154/94.¹⁰ Figure 3: Letter from Labor Office.

LABOUR OFFICE,
DAR ES SALAAM.
Ref. No. DAR/154/94. 23rd October, 1951
To The District Commissioner, Kahama.
The District Commissioner, Nsaga.
The District Commissioner, Morogoro.
The District Commissioner, Shinyanga.
The District Commissioner, Tabora.
EXODUS OF LABOUR TO ZANZIBAR.
Recently there has been a heavy exodus of Africans from this country to Zanzibar for the clove picking season; between 6.10.51 and 16.10.51 over 400 persons applied for passports to go to Zanzibar.
This movement of labour occurs annually and enquiries made so far indicate that all these people are going of their own free will but I suspect that in some cases there is illegal recruitment by agents from Zanzibar. Of the 400 people mentioned above considerable number have come from your district and I shall be obliged if you would make enquiries of your Native Authority as to whether they have heard of any agents from Zanzibar recruiting in their areas.
The particulars of the applicants for passports are, unfortunately, scant but the following native authorities appear frequently in my list
Mtemi Igulu - Kahama
Mtemi Mabinga - Kahama
Liwali of Morogoro.
In other cases the Native Authority is not mentioned by name.
Any information you can give me will be appreciated.
LABOUR OFFICER, DAR ES SALAAM.
py to:- The District Commissioner, Dar es Salaam. Can the Liwali Dar es Salaam (who appears frequently on list) give any information.
" The District Commissioner, Kilwa for information.
" The District Commissioner, Kisarawe for information.
" The District Commissioner, Bagamoyo for information.
" The Honourable The Labour Commissioner, Dar es Salaam.

Figure 3. Copy of Letter from Labor Office.

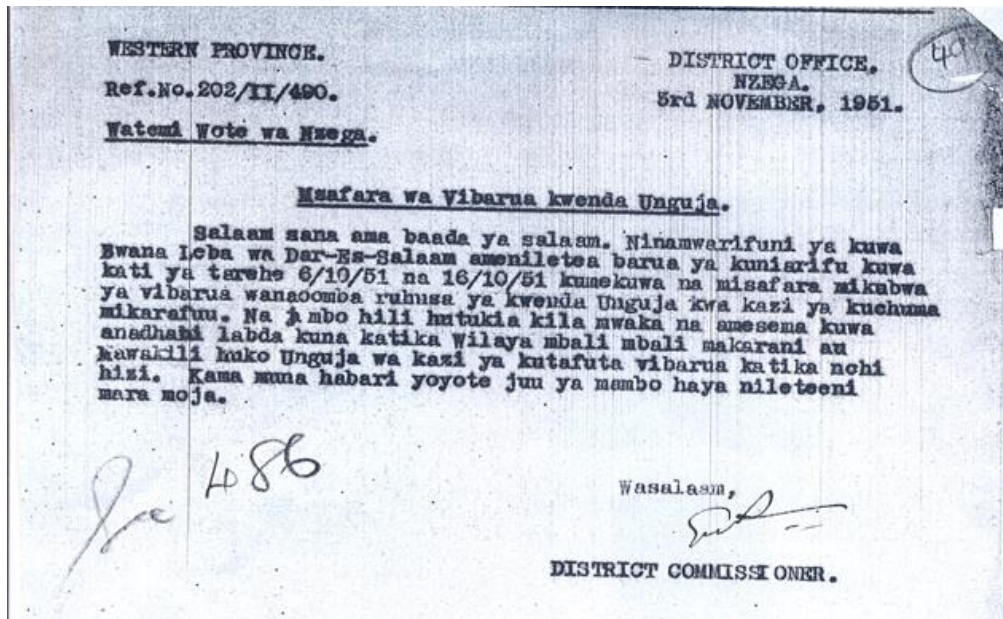


Figure 4. Copy of Letter from Nzega District Office.

Figure 4: Letters to the Chiefdoms.

Translation:

To all Chiefs,

Re: A convoy of labourers to Unguja.

Following salutations or well wishes. I would like to inform you that various labor convoys requested permission to travel to Unguja to collect cloves between October 6, 1951, and October 16, 1951, according to a letter from the Dar es Salaam labor officer. This happens every year, and he has expressed his belief that there might be clerks or agents in Unguja who are tasked with finding laborers in various districts of these countries. If you know anything about these problems, please let me know immediately.¹¹

The aforementioned letter exemplifies the government's recruitment and labor migration interventions. The colonial state's labor office in Tanganyika informed the District Commissioner of Nzega about the issue. The District Commissioner gave the Nzega Chiefs instructions to notify him as soon as they became aware of labor convoys that were traveling to Unguja. The decree and its ramifications imply indirect authority in the Nzega district, where the chiefs were involved in labor disputes and colonial responses. In addition to the recruitment procedure, precaution was provided, especially with regard to sleeping sickness. The Nzega District Commissioner was directed by the Senior Medical Officer to take the following steps with relation to recruits:

The Senior Medical Officer has sent the following letter about the aforementioned subject:-(15.5.48, No. 8/2/182) No recruit may leave the Nzega or Kahama labor camps as of the date of this letter unless he has finished his fourteen-day quarantine and been deemed fit to go by the officer in command of the medical staff at the government stations in those two locations. Nzega and Kahama, the Sub-Assistant Surgeons, will take note of this directive in paragraph 4 and carefully adhere

to it.¹²

Regarding the aforementioned subject, the Senior Medical Officer has sent the following letter:

No. 8/2/182 of 15.5.48 Since the date of this letter's receipt, no recruit may leave the Nzega or Kahama labor camps unless he has finished his fourteen-day quarantine and been deemed well enough to leave by the officer in command of the medical staff at the government stations in those two locations. This directive is to be noted by Sub-Assistant Surgeons 1/c Nzega and "Kahama" at paragraph 4, and they will rigorously adhere to it.¹³

Similarly, the British Commonwealth's rules regarding required medical examinations are generally less strict than those in some of the other Colonial Powers' territories, according to the 1935 International Labour Conference Report [7]. Although workers hired for jobs abroad must receive a certificate of medical fitness, some jurisdictions require all hired laborers to obtain this certificate. For instance, no labor agent may hire a native in Northern Rhodesia or Kenya without the approval of the appropriate official until the native has been deemed physically capable of performing the work in issue by a government medical officer.

According to a recent amendment to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands' Labour Regulation (No. 1 of 1932), no contract for a duration longer than one month may be ratified unless the intended worker, his spouse, and any accompanying family members have received certification from a qualified medical professional that they are physically fit for the job in question and free from infectious or contagious diseases. Before the native begins work, the recruiter must take him to a medical officer or medical assistant in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea to determine his suitability for the task [9].

The colonial state's response was also visible in the laborers' contracts; it seems that some agents hired workers without

giving them any additional information about the contracts, just telling them that they would be given explanation once they arrived at their locations. The Nzega district commissioner then followed up on this by addressing the matter in a letter to the labor officer, in which he was cited as saying:

I have been asked to sign contracts of service as an attesting officer while the labor officer is on safari. I choose to do this for the reasons listed below. 1. Without being informed of the contents of the contracts, the laborers were forced to sign them. 2. The SILABU clerk, whose name I think is Paulo Joseph informed them that they will be given information on their pay once they arrived at their destination. None of the workers are satisfied with receiving such a low wage, which is stated on the contract form. 3. They were forced to sign a 4/= advance for the trip before they had even received it. Until I am certain that a worker is aware of what he is doing and has not been duped into signing a contract that requires him to labor under unspecified conditions, I am not willing to testify him. I provide her back the attention forms for your contents.¹⁴

Additionally, it appears that some of the recruits lacked literacy skills. The terms of the contract were so difficult to comprehend. The Tanzanian National Archives document reveals the following situation to the subject:

"Unless a written contract of service bears an attestation or certificate by a magistrate or administrative officer to the effect that he read over and explained the contract to the servant and that he is liable to criminal prosecution for breach of the contract, and that the servant voluntarily assented to the contract with full understanding of its meaning," no written contract of service may be enforced against any worker who is unable to read and understand writing.¹⁵

In addition to the conditions and government reactions to the contracts that the workers' representatives and businesses signed, the colonial state stepped in on their behalf by walking several kilometers. The following quotation from one of the responders makes this quite evident:

Following their recruitment by the agents, our grandfathers informed us that they had to endure a lack of foot space, travel a considerable distance, and spend days traveling to the working areas without receiving additional funding or reimbursement from the agents for any disruptions or travel expenses.¹⁶

Addressing the Legislative Council in August 1928, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia made the following statement in light of the previously cited one:

If the time and energy lost by the worker walking hundreds of miles to his place of employment could be prevented, the potential value of the labor supply might rise by around 50%. The Native inhabitants of the Tanganyika Plateau now travel 300 miles or more to obtain work at 6d. per day, instead of settling for 2d. closer to home. He rarely comes and works in a state of half-starvation and emaciation to which he is entirely unaccustomed because his journey takes three weeks or more and there is a limited and uncertain supply of food along the way.¹⁷

As a result, the colonial state placed a greater focus on the

safety precautions that must be taken while traveling, as did the larger recruiting firms. Frequently, clauses stipulate that workers should be transported by rail, ferry, or motor vehicle whenever possible and that every attempt should be made to protect their welfare throughout the journey to work.¹⁸

This has been implemented with experience in the Belgian Congo. The Belgian Congo's Ordinance of June 18, 1930, which specifies the following travel schedules for employed personnel, clarified this. Each native who was recruited was given a blanket that weighed at least 1,400 grams and was composed of half cotton or half wool, along with a loincloth or similar garment. If his wife was accompanying him, he also gave her a loincloth; if she was pregnant or had a child who was not yet an adult, he provided her a regular blanket. The provincial governor may require that workers wear jackets weighing at least 300 grams in certain locations or at particular times.¹⁹

Recruits would only be required to take their personal belongings and food to each station on the way to work, walk no more than thirty kilometers a day, and refrain from performing any forced labor that would not benefit them. In March, they are entitled to a full day of relaxation after every six-day gap. The employee is entitled to payment as of the second day following the day he would normally arrive at work if the trip takes longer than anticipated.²⁰

The Colonial state's Response and Management to the Nyamwezi in Zanzibar

Most Nyamwezi and other laborers depended on their labor to make ends meet, as was previously mentioned. On various occasions, workers voiced their requests on wage rises and living expenses through their organs. Though some of the replies were unpleasant, the government did respond to the matter. On November 5, 1951, they wrote a reminder letter to the Labour Council, making this plain. The letter cited the following:

With your permission, sir, we would like to send you this letter in reference to our letter from November 5, 1951, regarding the issue of expenses and the challenges we are facing during this difficult period of high costs. We regret that we have not yet received a response to our letter. Although we are happy with the news, we can admit that this was not one of our requests for that day, even though we received the response of "ten percent." We would like our superiors to give this topic careful thought because, according to a government regulation, a government employee is only permitted to perform government-related job. If a man makes Shs. 2 or Shs. 3 a day, how can he make ends meet during this difficult time? Furthermore, as individuals with such long service have repeatedly requested salary increases, we ask that semi-skilled workers who have worked for five to fifteen years receive an annual raise. Regarding skilled laborers drawing 3/-, 4/-, and 5/-, please refer to secretariat circular no. 6 of 1950. We also remind you of our memo regarding 15 days of full salary for 30 days, free steamship trip, and arrangements. These are all in the circular from 1949. We are therefore entitled to all of these rights since they are exclusive to Indians, who enjoy

them due to their privilege, while Africans have the same rights.²¹

In response to the aforementioned worries, the government wrote the Director of Agriculture the following letter:

Following a thorough review of all the letters and supporting documentation presented to the Cost of Living Committee, the committee offered recommendations to the government that increased the Cost of Living Allowance for daily paid labor from 10% to 20%, effective January 1951. The workers' letter to the Cost of Living Committee is not anticipated to receive a response. However, the government is looking at some of the issues brought up by workers during their oral testimony before the Cost of Living Committee. These issues include lodging on the job site and transportation of workers who are employed outside the township. Daily paid employees are not debarred by Government from earning extra money by part-time employment after completing their working day.

Only unskilled workers with more than 15 years of service are eligible for the 50 cent daily bonus; skilled or semi-skilled workers who receive more than the minimum daily salary are not. By improving their skills and qualifying for a higher-paying position, semi-skilled workers can raise their pay. Government has already refused the old claims for arrears of pay, free passages on Government steamers, etc. and has no intention to re-open the matter now.

The arguments made in the petition's third paragraph are unfounded and absurd. Regarding leave and other terms of employment, all daily paid laborers, Arab, Indian, and African, are treated equally.

Setting up the requested interview with the Chief Secretary would be pointless unless it is intended to bring up new issues not addressed in the petitions previously submitted to the government, as all points have been addressed in the government's responses.²²

Historical records of labor battles were provided by Antony, who also showed that workers occasionally succeeded in securing certain rights. However, the colonial government's outright denial of several demands was what sparked the riots in Zanzibar. In this, he was quoted as saying:

In an effort to organize, mainlanders established the African Association for Immigrant Workers in 1934, although it was largely ineffective. In the 1940s, prejudice against mainlanders only grew worse. The shifting post-World War II atmosphere of nationalism and anti-colonial sentiment, which overshadowed the struggles of mainlanders, contributed to this. Furthermore, despite a sharp rise in the cost of living for workers, incomes have remained unchanged since 1945. The island had a severe economic collapse in 1947 as a result of a poor clove harvest. These factors effectively fueled the 1947 dockworkers' strike in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, as well as the 1948 General Strike in Zanzibar City [1]. The African Wharfage Company (AWC), which was owned by the British, dominated the port of Zanzibar City and had a monopoly on cargo handling. The AWC relied on two primary groups: its porters

and its hamali, or cart men. Realizing their significance, the Hamali formed a loose organization in 1945. In July 1948, the AWC began negotiations with its workers, and as a result, the colonial government granted the workers a number of advantages, such as paid overtime and annual pay raises.²³

The aforementioned quotations make clear how the colonial rulers handled the grievances of the Nyamwezi and other Zanzibar laborers. It shows that although some issues were fixed, others stayed the same. An additional observation corroborated the claims made by Zanzibar labor leaders about the accountable corporation. The Whiteman in charge was charged with mistreating and taking advantage of the employees. They also urged the government to raise pay and improve living conditions for workers in their letter. The letter, which was sent to the Labour Council in Swahili, said the following:

Bwana, Tumefurahika sana kwa kupata barua yako ya meeting ya siku ya 27. 1. 1953, na tutakuwa tayari kuitika wito wako kama ulivyotaka tufanye. Katika siku hiyo ya meeting mameno yetu ni kama haya:- 1. Kwanza vibarua wanasikitika sana kwa ajili ya kuvunjiwa heshima, kutukaniwa mama zao, na heya yote hutokea bila ya sababu fulani. Hasa wanasi-kitika kwa kuwa si charia ya Serikali mtu yeyote akiwa na makosa kutukanwa, ila ni kushtakiwa kwa Mkubwa wake, na hapo itakuwa ndio kuhukumiwa nakujulikana kuwa anayo makosa ao sio. Mambo kame haya hayawapendezi vibaruwa. 2. Vibaruwa wako wanalia sana kwa mshahara amabao wanapata na kuwa siku hizi ni siku za shida na mshahara hawwatoshi hata kama ingalikuwa kuwa killa kibarua apate Shs. 10/-. Basi kwa hivyo wanakuomba sana illi uwafanye killa jitahada ya kuweza kuwaongezea mishahara yao. Hakika vibarua wame-sikitika kwa ajili ya mambo mawili aliyoyafanya Bwana Fawcett, kwanza kule getini na la pili Saateni kwa kuwapiga vibaruwa bure na kuwakaba roho. Lakini hatuwezi kusema mengi katika haya, maana yote unayajua illa hatuna budi kusema neno moja kuwa tunaomba Bwana umkataze sana bwana Fawcett kwa jambo kama hili, maana siku ya pili ikiwa yeye anafanya hivyo, basi vibaruwa ni tayari kwa kila njia ya kumvunjia heshima yake kwa kweli na wakati huo atajua kama leo nimevunjiwa heshima yangu kiukweli. Basi ikiwa anazidi kuendelea, litakalomfika ni hiyari yake, na anayataka mwenyewe. Kama ingalikuwa kila jambo ni la kuhukumiwa nje kwa nje, isingalikuwa na haja ya kuwa na Wakubwa zaidi. Haya ndio maneno yetu na tutasema zaidi siku hiyo ya meeting na kuzidi kueleza. Sisi hapa wakubwa wa vibaruwa.²⁴

Translation:

We appreciate your letter on the meeting on January 27, 1953, sir, and we will be prepared to answer your call as you requested. Our demands on the day of the meeting are as follows: First of all, the rudeness and insults to their mothers, which occur for no apparent reason, have greatly offended the workers. They are particularly displeased since it is against government policy to disparage a guilty person; instead, it is the policy to accuse his superior, after which the matter will be adjudicated and the guilt or innocence of the accused will be determined. These dry things do not please the workers. 2.

Your employees are complaining a lot about their pay, saying that even though they each receive Shs. 10/-, they are struggling financially and that their pay is insufficient. As a result, they are pleading with you to do all in your power to raise their pay. The two actions that Mr. Fawcett did, first at the gate and then at Saketeni, where he beat and strangled the workers for no reason, have saddened the workers. We can't say much about this because you already know everything, but we must ask the Lord to forbid Mr. Fawcett from doing this because if he does, the workers will be prepared to dishonor him in every way the following day, and he will realize that I have truly been dishonored today. He can choose what will happen to him if he keeps on, and he wants it that way. There would be no need for more bosses if everything were evaluated from the outside. These are our statements; we will elaborate on them on the day of the meeting. Here, we are in charge of the employees.²⁵

The colonial government responded to the letter by expressing concern over the matter and giving the appropriate authorities instructions to look into the workers' issues as stated in the letter:

Submitted along with a notice of agenda from two unofficial F. W. D. Labour Council members. They complain about how their managers, I believe, have treated them. They claimed that their daily 10% was insufficient and believed that even ten shillings would not be enough. They requested that the D. P. W. exert every effort to raise the pay. They said that Mr. Fawcett had beaten them and caught their throats, and they asked D. P. W. to stop him from doing so, saying that if he didn't, the workers might do him something really nasty. Before taking any further action, I believe we should ask Mr. Fawcett to clarify this claim. For other matters, we might have to wait for the minutes of the meeting scheduled for January 27, 1953, Assistant Secretary.²⁶

The aforementioned quote indicates that the colonial rulers in Zanzibar had a positive attitude toward the Nyamwezi and other laborers. This was also stated by one of the Nyamwezi respondents, who added that any incidents of humiliation or discrimination by employers were reported to the authorities. The response was overwhelmingly positive.²⁷

Similarly, the colonial government of Zanzibar complied with the demands of the Nyamwezi and other laborers. Workers, for example, desired holidays, especially on days and during prayer hours. They also requested payment on public holidays so they could enjoy themselves with their families. The colonial government's reaction to the assertions made was as follows, taken from the minutes of the 25th meeting with the heads of departments, reply "Terms of Reference No. (v) on (16)."²⁸

It was suggested that in any month when there were multiple public holidays, a worker should be paid for the second one, provided he had worked at least five days in the month, or for the third, provided he had worked at least ten days, and so on, regardless of whether he had actually worked on the holiday. This was done in light of the fact that Zanzibar has a

lot more public holidays than other territories, and that workers have frequently complained that not being able to work on these days causes hardship, especially in a short month.

As a result, workers who worked every day regardless of the circumstances (such as those at the Health Office) would receive double pay for each additional holiday. Public holiday work would still only be allowed for necessary tasks, though, and workers would not be paid twice for work done without permission. Every month, there would be one unpaid holiday. According to the ZNA AB-Labor Report provided to the labor committee files, 1937–1942, no claim to paid holidays could be carried forward from a month with few holidays to a month with many.²⁹

It was no accident that the colonial authorities responded in these ways. It was the outcome of laborers' protracted efforts with the problem. Therefore, rather than being the product of a natural occurrence or a government favor, this was a historical process and response. According to the stated articulation, one of the respondents went one step further and described these holiday rights as "a social control" for workers, which led to a different view. His understanding is that a number of the holidays have British and Arab origins. The laborers were also affected by the Zanzibar people's feeling of spiritual obligation, as they had previously blended in with these other cultures. This viewpoint led to the response being viewed as "a social control." Regarding the topic in this interpretative articulation, the respondent said:

In order to effectively control labor and adhere to British conventions, the British colonial administration in Zanzibar granted public holidays to its workers. Certain holidays, like Christmas and New Year's Day, were introduced to the Zanzibar workers for administrative and social control purposes, in addition to influencing their work schedules and potentially fostering a sense of inclusion.³⁰

Regarding this quote, it is important to clarify that giving employees holidays entailed binding them together and exerting social control over them, but there were also financial repercussions. This suggests that without accompanying political and economic goals, no social objective can be fully realized.³¹ On behalf of the laborers who were working in Zanzibar far from their homes, a claim was also filed. They asked for further remuneration in connection with their claim. The colonial government replied by sending the following directives about the payment specification to the relevant department heads:

Employees who are required to work far away from their normal places of residence would be paid with the authority of the Head of Departments concerned a shamba allowance at the following rates for so long as they remain away from their homes-employees earning.

Table 1. *Terms of Reference for Payment schedule.*

Up to 5/ a day	.1/-a night
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More than 5/- and up to 7/5 0day	1/50 a night
7/50	10/- 2/- a night
10/-	12/50 2/50 a night
12/50	15/- 3/- a night
15/-	17/50 3/50 a night
17/50	20/- 4/- a night
20/-	22/50 4/50 a night
22/50	25/- 5/- a night
25/-	27/50 5/50 a night

No employee with less than five effective years' service would be discharged for any reason other than misconduct except at the end of the month in which the engagement took place unless he was clearly informed at the time of his engagement of the number of days on which there could be work for him. In this order "end of the month" means the closing date muster rolls and did not necessarily mean the last day of the month.³²

An employee with less than five years of service should not be fired for any reason other than misconduct, according to the previously specified list of payments. According to another observation, some Zanzibar businesses and all employers seemed to make their workers work long hours.³³ The employees who experienced workplace accidents were not even acknowledged. Even those who died while employed by a particular business. These were all exhibited by the Wharfage Company. It was sent to the Labour Reconciliation Community in front of Sir John Grey, where the company and all other Zanzibar businesses were given terms and conditions of service. The announcement in Swahili declared the following:

Imebainika kuwa wafanyakazi wa African wharfage company hawajafahamu mipango na shuruti za kazi hii kampuni namna ilivyoelezwa na committee hii na kukubaliwa na wale wakubwa wa vibarua mbele ya Sir. John Grey. Mpango na shuruti za kazi basi ni hizi.

Mtu yoyote atakayefika kwenye geti la African Wharfage Company kabla ya saa moja atapewa kazi kwa ujira huu:

a) Senti 25 kwa kila saa kwa kufanya kazi muda wa saa 9 kutwa na kuanza kazi muda wa saa moja asubuhi. Hiyo siku ya saa tisa huanza saa moja saa 1 asubuhi na huisha saa 11 Alasiri. Adhuhuri hutolewa saa 1 wakati wa kula; mwanzo wa Jumatatu hadi Ijumaa. Ama Jumamosi siku zake za kazi ni kuanzia saa moja asubuhi hadi saa 6 mchana yaani muda wa saa 5 tu. Jumamosi Alasiri mpaka Jumapili ni siku za mapumziko. Hazihesabiwi kama siku za kazi. Kwahivyo mtu atakae anza kazi saa 1 asubuhi siku ya Jumatatu, Jumanne, Jumatano, Alhamisi, Ijumaa na kumaliza kazi saa 11 alasiri na mwenye kuanza saa 1 siku ya Jumamosi na kumaliza saa 6 mchana atapewa atapewa kwa hesabu ya senti 25 kwa kila saa atakayofanya kazi.

b) Overtime italiwa kwa hesabu ya senti 30 kwa kila saa

kwa yule mwenye kupenda kufanya kazi kwa wakati huo na pindi ipo kazi ya kufanywa. Overtime ni kazi ifanywayo baada ya saa 11 Alasiri siku za Jumatatu mpaka Ijumaa na Jummosi baada ya saa sita mchana mapaka asubuhi ya Jumatatu kabla ya saa 1 asubuhi, na vile vile siku za Sikuku (Public Holidays). Hapana dhamana ya kupata kazi kwa muda maalumu katika saa za overtime hata ikiwa kazi ipo.

c) Wafanyakazi kazi wote watapata chakula cha adhuhuri na ikiwa ipo kazi ya overtime itayoendelea mpaka baada ya saa 1 usiku wafanyaji kazi watapewa chakula saa hiyo watapata senti 20 kila moja badala ya chakula, kama wanavyohiyari wao.

d) Ikiwa mtu kafika kutaka kazi baada ya saa 1 asubuhi, na ikiwa ipo hiyo kazi, basi mtu huyo atapewa kazi na kulipwa senti 25 kwa saa, na senti 30 kwa saa ya kazi ya overtime, kwa mujibu wa idadi ya saa za kazi alizofanya. Maana ya haya ni kwamba kama mtu amekuja kutaka kazi saa 4 ya Asubuhi na akapewa kazi, akaifanya kazi mpaka saa za jioni, basi atapata senti 25 kwa kila saa kwa muda wa zile kazi alizofanya.

e) Pindi mtu akiumia katika kazi yake, na kuumia huko sio kwa makosa yake basi atakaa nyumbani kwa ugonjwa huo, atalipwa 2/25 kwa kila siku atakayokaa nyumbani kwa ugonjwa huo, lakini mtu lazima apate karatasi ya daktari wa serikali kusema kuwa mtu huyo mgonjwa hata hawezi kuhudhuria kazini. Malipo haya yataendelea si zaidi ya siku hamsini, na baada ya siku hamsini mtu huyo hatalipwa pesa hizo. Ikiwa yapo maliyo yoyote baada ya siku hamsini, basi shauri hiyo itepelekwa kwa Bwana Senior Commissioner, au afisa mwingine wa serikali anayeangalia mambo kama haya. Maana yake ni kuwa kampuni itatoa pesa kwa siku zile mfanayakazi amekaa nyumbani kwa sababu ya kuumia na kuwa kuumia huko hakukutokea kwa makosa yake.

f) Ikiwa mtu amepata ajali akafa katika kufanya kazi yake kwa kufikwa na 'accident', wakat huo kitetazamwa kile cha kupewa kwa kupeleka shauri hili kwa Bwana Senior Commissioner au afisa mwingine atayewakilishwa kufanya kazi hii, ayatazame hayo mambo yaliyotokea na atoe ushauri wake. Shuruti hizi zilikubaliwa na wajumbe wenu hawa:- Abbas Athman (Kinyatto), Rashid Boy, Ameri Bakari, Ahmed Serenge na Mwinyi Mkuu Yusuf.³⁴

Translation

It has been discovered that the African Wharfage Company's employees are not familiar with the company's plans and working conditions, as declared by this committee and approved by the foremen in front of Sir John Grey. The following are the work plans and conditions: The following pay will be paid to everyone who gets at the African Wharfage Company's gate before one o'clock: a) 25 cents per hour for working nine hours a day, beginning at one o'clock in the morning. At one in the morning, the nine-hour day starts, and it concludes at eleven in the afternoon. Lunch is served at noon, which is 1 p.m., Monday through Friday. Regarding Saturday, its working hours are limited to five hours, from one in the morning to six in the afternoon. Rest days are Saturday afternoon through Sunday. They are not included in the number of

working days. As a result, workers who begin work at 1 am on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday and finish at 11 pm, as well as those who begin work at 1 am on Saturday and finish at 6 pm, will be paid 25 cents per hour. For individuals who are willing to labor at that time and when there is work to be done, overtime will be paid at the rate of 30 cents per hour. On Mondays through Fridays, work completed after 11:00 PM, on Saturdays after 1:00 PM, and on public holidays before 1:00 AM is considered overtime. Even if there is work available during overtime hours, there is no guarantee that it will be done at a certain time.

a) Every employee is entitled to a midday lunch, and staff members who work overtime until after 1:00 AM are entitled to a meal at that time as well as 20 cents each in lieu of a meal, if they so choose.

b) Every employee is entitled to a midday meal, and if overtime labor is required past 1:00 p.m., employees will be served a meal at that time and given 20 cents apiece in lieu of food, if they so choose.

c) If someone shows up for work after 1:00 a.m. and there is work available, they will be given it and paid 25 cents per hour, plus 30 cents for overtime, depending on how many hours they put in. This means that if someone shows up for work at 4:00 a.m. and is assigned a task, he will be paid 25 cents for each hour of labor completed until 1:00 p.m.

d) A person who sustains an injury at work that is not his fault is entitled to stay at home and receive payment of 2/25 per day for the illness. However, a government doctor's letter certifying that the individual is ill and unable to work must be obtained. This payment will last for a maximum of fifty days, after which the recipient will not get the money. The Senior Commissioner or another government official who handles such situations will be consulted if there is still money after fifty days. This implies that the business will cover the cost of the employee's time spent at home as a result of an injury that did not happen as a result of his fault.

e) If someone shows up for work after 1:00 a.m. and there is work available, they will be assigned to it and paid 25 cents per hour plus an additional 30 cents per hour for overtime, depending on how many hours they have worked. This means that if someone shows up for work at 4:00 a.m. and is assigned a task to do until the evening, he will be paid 25 cents for each hour of labor.

f) If an employee is hurt at work and it is not his fault, he will be compensated 2/25 for each day he remains at home because of his illness; however, he must have a government-issued doctor's letter certifying that he is unwell and unable to work. This payment will last for a maximum of fifty days, after which the recipient will not get the money. The Senior Commissioner or another government official in charge of handling such matters will be consulted if there is still no compensation after fifty days. This implies that the business will cover the days the worker misses from work because of an injury that was not his fault.

g) The matter will be sent to the Senior Commissioner or

another officer in charge of this matter if an accident claims the life of an employee. The Senior Commissioner will review the circumstances and offer his advice. Your delegates, Abbas Athman (Kinyatto), Rashid Boy, Ameri Bakari, Ahmed Serenge, and Mwinyi Mkuu Yusuf, agreed to these terms.³⁵

The colonial governments of Zanzibar's answers to the labor question are reflected in the circumstances mentioned above. Following the exhibition of this notification, Zanzibar laborers, including the Nyamwezi, were awarded health and death rights in terms of pay and compensation. Over time, colonial officers took exquisite notes on payments. On weekends, employees were given leave till workdays. Similar to this, Manderson claimed that public health initiatives in the twentieth century grew to guarantee labor force maintenance and reproduction while still concentrating on medical issues that had a direct impact on the colonial economy [5]. Manderson went farther in colonial interference and its response, stating that Western treatment was extended to workers in these export businesses as well as to individuals whose poor health would endanger the colonists' well-being.

Medical care was mostly provided to the colonial elite and those directly employed when infectious diseases connected the health of the native and immigrant populations to that of the expatriate community. As colonial power expanded from commercial centers into the hinterland and to the mining and agricultural sectors, Western medicine was introduced to workers in these export industries as well as to others whose poor health would jeopardize the well-being of the colonists [7].

Public health programs were expanded in the twentieth century to ensure the survival and procreation of the labor force, while continuing to focus on medical concerns that had a direct impact on the colonial economy. The shift from curative to preventative health care was a final stage in all areas of social life. This essay develops the concept of a legitimization vacuum and explains how the state's provision of social services, like healthcare, serves to legitimize colonial presence and control.³⁶

According to another observation made in Zanzibar, the senior commissioner instructed and monitored private companies on how to impose new laborer living conditions and wages by sending a message to the district commissioners. It was decided that the minimum wage should be two shillings per day after the panel conferred with several departments. The senior commissioner also talked about the happiness of workers who receive a wage of 2/- per day, claiming that there is competition among temporary workers and that this is a good wage. According to the senior Commissioner, the majority of daily wage workers, especially young mainlanders, have come to work and save money and are happy with a salary that doesn't help them with their accommodation, food, or clothing. The senior Commissioner proposed that hiring the best employees would still be preferable even if the rate were lowered to 2/-30 per day. The Senior Commissioner cautioned, however, that paying 2/-30 per day might upset the labor market and economic conditions, possibly causing Wanyamwezi

shamba workers to abandon field work, promoting more lucrative casual employment, and causing more mainland Africans to immigrate, increasing the casual population. Additionally, this might make non-government employers in transportation, agriculture, and industry feel ashamed, which would raise living expenses.³⁷

According to the aforementioned quotation, the senior commissioner in Zanzibar sent a note to the district commissioners ordering and monitoring private enterprises on how they implement new laborer living standards and compensation. It was decided that the minimum wage should be two dollars per day after the panel conferred with several departments. He was concerned that although the Nyamwezi were very skilled in shamba agriculture, they may now demand higher wages and transfer to private firms as a result of this circumstance.

Several employees voiced discontent with the cards being used at work, according to another observation. They also objected to the terms of service in their contracts about years of employment. Long-term workers looking for permanent contracts were supposed to be given preference. They ascribed this to Asian and Arab workers being exploited at work. Based on the claims presented, the colonial authorities in Zanzibar, acting through the labor office and committee, responded to the workers' requests by making the following declarations:

Hours of work should be restricted to prevent Arab and Indian contractors from exploiting workers; Indian contractors should be required to hire a certain percentage of Swahili-speaking workers; it was deemed unwise to formally announce the scheme to workers, but to let it end without comment; the card system should be discontinued because it disturbs workers in their current state of unease; and each department should produce a census that lists the number of workers they employ, categorized by effective years of service.³⁸

Archival data supports the interview's assertion that workers in colonial periods complained about having to carry labor registration cards.³⁹ These cards, also known as "kipande," were a source of animosity and resistance among Tanganyika's African labor force and a weapon employed by the colonial government to keep an eye on and control them. This explanation illustrates how the government responded to the demands of the laborers in Zanzibar. The colonial state in Zanzibar looked into the labor situation and the accusations. Private firms were found to have exploited the laborers by exposing them to an undesirable environment. The government mandated that clear conditions of service be included in daily laborer contracts and agreements.

4. Conclusion

The introduction and consolidation of capitalist relations in the Nyamwezi area led to labour migration among the Nyamwezi, which was a consequence of capitalist transformation in the region. However, the Nyamwezi were not compelled to migrate on their own; capitalism had acted upon the internal structures of the social formation to cause dislocations and

weaknesses in the economic base, such as the inability of the Nyamwezi ruling class to control labor utilization in a way that suited the interests of the colonial masters. However, in order to meet the demands of the economic transition and to administer the new colonial orders (tax collection), these rulers were employed. These faults in the economic base were what led to the recruitment of migrant labourers. When it came to the Nyamwezi, they were a group that was economically marginalized. Through a number of transformative stages, the Nyamwezi society consolidated the capitalist system in both Nzega and Zanzibar.

Abbreviations

ZNA	Zanzibar National Archives
AWC	African Wharfage Company
D. P. W.	Director of Public Works
F. W. D.	Field/Factory Works Department (Unofficial Labour Council Members)
sh. / Shs.	Shillings (Currency)
AM	Ante Meridiem (Morning)
PM	Post Meridiem (Afternoon)
op. cit	Opere Citato – "In the Work Cited"
BA	British Administration (File Designation in ZNA)
AU	Agricultural Department (ZNA File Designation)
HR	Human Resources
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CBO	Community-Based Organization
LMC	Labour Management Committee
MW	Mainland Worker
CIP	Cost of Living and Incentive Payment (Contextual, from Cost of Living Committee)
DOB	Date of Birth (if Used in Archival References)

Author Contributions

Mikidadi Hamisi Alawi is the sole author. The author read and approved the final manuscript.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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- ²⁵ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ²⁶ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ²⁷ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ²⁸ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AU: Agricultural Department Files 1937-1978.
- ²⁹ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AU: Agricultural Department Files 1937-1978.
- ³⁰ Hussein Seif Mbweni, Zanzibar, June, 2025.
- ³¹ Jema Daudi, Mbweni-Zanzibar June, 2025.
- ³² Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ³³ Tanzania National Archives (TNA), 202 Acc No. 192 Labour Recruitment and Agents.
- ³⁴ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ³⁵ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AU: Agricultural Department Files 1937-1978.
- ³⁶ Tanzania National Archives (TNA), 202 Acc No. 192 Labour Recruitment and Agents.
- ³⁷ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ³⁸ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.
- ³⁹ Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA) AB4/38: 2 Labour in the colonies, some current Problems.