

RE-AFRICANISED

A post-developmental approach to infrastructure and public space in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Franka van Marrewijk



Title Re-Africanised. A post-developmental approach to infrastructure and public space in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Author Franka van Marrewijk

Student Number 4343980

Contact f.vanmarrewijk@gmail.com

First supervisor Stephen Read

Second supervisor Luisa Calabrese

Education Delft University of Technology

Faculty of Architecture and The Built Environment

Msc. Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences

Department of Urbanism

Graduation lab Complex Cities

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Twende!

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Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family in Delft for supporting me with wise words, critical feedback and good food. They gave me inspiration and confidence through their cheering and optimism despite not knowing what exactly I was doing.

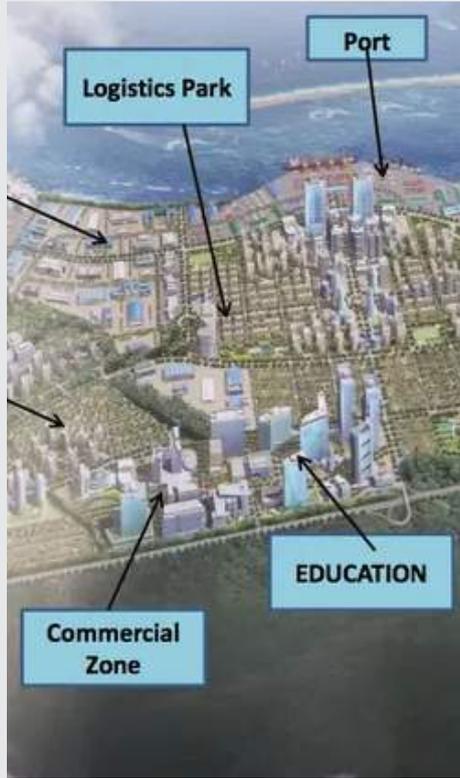
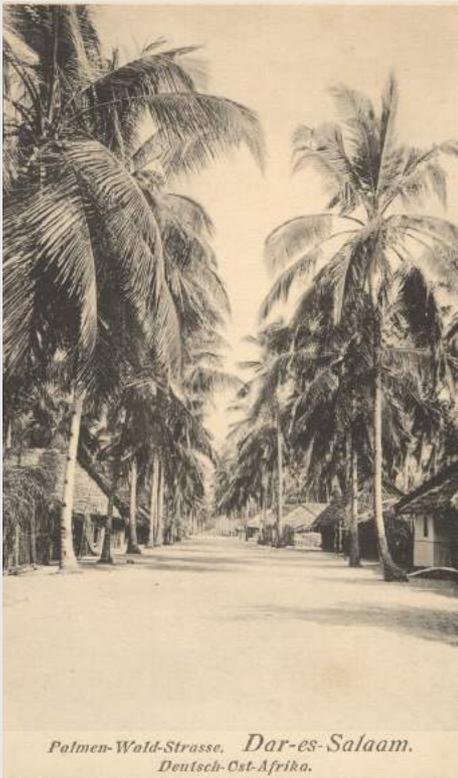


Figure 1 Three Africa's for Dar s Salaam

Preface

What makes it African?

One of the main controversial points with doing creative work related to Africa is the matter of 'making it African'. There is a very black and white idea about what makes a design, artwork or music piece stand out and typical. Who or what is represented ought to be visible in the work created. Especially the last couple of years with the screening of the Marvel Black Panther movie and with art and music scenes directed towards Afrofuturism, attention has sparked the interest of black people on to black culture. Many black artists and social media influencers now advocate for their own 'Africanism', which has revived and triggered positive notions of Africa outside of Africa. This has created an image of Africa as the land of liberation and is especially trending in those countries, where racism and discrimination have always been sensitive topics, such as the US, Brazil, South Africa and France.

On the other hand, in Urbanism practices, we are predominantly confronted with the negative sides of Africa pictured as a developing country. This entails issues and challenges of inadequate infrastructure, unsafety, inequality and environmental fragility as the sum total of experiences. Solving those issues ought to be the main aim of the urban planner and designer and positive notions are often ignored.

Working within this paradigm requires extra carefulness, but also makes one question the options. Should we A. Design for curvy roads and build with wood and clay again, because that aligns with our prospects of a developing Africa ? Or B. Support the international initiated design plots with New Town, out of context and placable everywhere? Or C. Follow what is currently happening? Yet this endless horizontal and spontaneous growth pattern is part of the causes of previously mentioned challenges.

What future developments will work in a city whose inhabitants are expected to quadruple over the coming ten years? What is that African part we are longing and looking for, but nowadays also fight for and attach so much value to?

This thesis is not about fighting the stigma's, but about mentally undoing yourself from those stigma's. It is about the contemporary African city and tapping into the knowledge already existing. About it's history and future, tracing it back to its present and about how African people and African culture are explicitly and expressively present. Yet throughout all remaining critical and developing a spatial strategy and plan that is not only in Africa, but that works for Africans.

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RANGI
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DHORA YA
MALI YA JUU

PART I Introduction



Figure 2 Dar es Salaam view City Centre and CBD

1. Motivation and relevance

Over the years, I have always been trying to tackle projects the extraordinary way. Hypothesizing on how subjects can be interpreted from a different perspective has become second nature to me and my imagination. This also relates to the topics I find of interest, attracting me to unknown cultures and lifestyles and communities so big, yet so unfamiliar, that even imagination cannot reach and in-depth research ought to be necessary.

In an era where, through technology and digitalisation, our ability to see exactly what is happening on the other side of the world is increasing per minute, it feels like we know everything about everybody. But seeing what is happening on the other side of the world does not directly mean understanding the how, what, whom and why.. and markedly a great deal of urbanisation is taking place without sense of control or awareness. Moreover, if there is one thing I've learnt within my Urbanism studies in Delft is that working with the built environment is multicultural, multi-functional, multidisciplinary, multilateral and multi-dialectal.

Researching a context that is not your own thus requires continuous critical thinking not to get trapped into bias and prejudgement. The hardest part however, is not providing that summary of what you have explored, but it is your interpretation of what is the good, the bad and the ugly and how to bring out the potentials. Tracing back to this thesis topic, we can all see that rapid urbanisation is taking a toll on resource low-, weak governance and legal systemed-, controversial African cities, but using the freedom of exploration and the acquired multidimensional knowledge could contribute a different storyline. The idealistic and perhaps utopian idea of inclusiveness and fair environments of every urbanist together with my interest for the unknown, led this thesis to focus on complex urbanisation in large scale cities to bring out the human-scale characteristics of underexplored contexts. The 50 percent of blackness in me, made me go (back) to Africa.



2. Problem field

Rapid urbanisation and its challenges

Rapid urban population growth is evident throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. African cities have suffered the effects of vigorous, continuous and seemingly limitless expansion of urban areas, which produced many of its unfolding urban fabric, transforming its typologies, urban form and their inherent limitations. Present-day cities have complex urban spaces which go beyond the urban, demographic or geographical boundaries and as Njoh (2003) emphasis, these metamorphoses have not only been in a spontaneous way, but are also related to the historical context of cities.

The current scenario of urbanisation growth is driven by overall population increase and by the upward shift in the percentage living in urban areas. Together, these two factors are projected to add 2.5 billion to the world's urban population by 2050, with almost 90% of this growth happening in Asia and Africa. (UNDESA, 2018). The rising number of people living in urban areas is not only resulting in the physical and economic growth of cities, but in many parts of the world, especially within the Global South, they are experiencing formidable challenges to social equity, environmental sustainability and governance (UN-Habitat, 2016). The reason for the expansion of urban centres all over the world is because of their capacity to generate income, contribute to national wealth, attract investments and create job. Throughout history, cities have been the main centres of learning, culture and innovation, which attracts many to migrate towards metropolitan areas. Large cities are associated with higher levels of productivity, income and technological complexity, stemming from agglomeration economies, which are the derived benefits of firms and businesses locating near to their customers and suppliers in order to reduce transport and communication costs. It also includes proximity to a large labour pool, competitors with the same industry and firms in other industries (UN-Habitat, 2016). In Africa, the transformative nature of urban areas provide significant opportunities for both formal and informal employment. Cities generate a sizeable share of jobs and among African countries, urban employment grew by an average of 6.8% over the last decade, which is twice more than the national rate of 3.3% (UN-Habitat, 2016). This is not only attracting people, but also (international) businesses to move to certain (business) districts within cities.

However, as mentioned before, as cities grow, they also have to cater growing demands and in many places governments are not keeping up. This causes problems of urban mobility and disparities in access to basic services and employment. Future human development prospects largely rely on how well growing cities are planned and managed. But, most of urban growth occurs out of traditional planning terms, which consists of combining existing inadequate infrastructure, polarised development, unsafety, inequality and environmental fragility. The history of urban planning is satiated with instances of powerful groups within societies who have used zoning and other planning instruments to keep out groups that they consider to be undesirable (UN-Habitat, 2016). In many parts of the world today, we see the conjunctions created by racial covenants, discriminatory lending practices,



Figure 3 Percentage urban and urban agglomeration by size class (WorldBank, 2018)

state-sponsored infrastructure and a host of other policies (UN-Habitat, 2016). These exclusionary mechanisms have cities distinctly divided into black and white neighbourhoods, poor and rich areas and deprived and affluent communities. Moreover, according to UN-Habitat, in many regions in the world, the positive effects of the redistribution of wealth and opportunities across diverse individual abilities and cultural backgrounds which historically characterises urban dynamics seem to have stalled due to concerns, norms, laws and interactions of interests are no longer working in favour of all urban residents (UN-Habitat, 2016). While these social productions of inclusion/exclusion within cities are not new, rapid urbanisation is widening the gaps at an unprecedented pace, which especially affects urban areas in the Global South (Africa, rural Asia and parts of the Middle East and Latin America). Here, poverty is generally stubbornly present, education and literacy levels are low, levels of inequality have risen, natural resources are being depleted, human rights abused and poor governance is widespread. It seems impossible to shape this rapid growth to a more sustainable and fairer economy in context of informality, scarcity and misgovernment.

Global cities and the formation of a global urban network

Simultaneously, the prospects of globalisation have the world shrinking into a 'global village', which is characterised by widespread integration and internationalisation of economic, socio-cultural and political processes and structures (Onyebueke, 2011). The forces shaping global economic power and innovation are in transition and the boundaries across wealth and consumerism are getting more and more vague. The system of cities is constantly in transition which directly impacts on the shifting fortunes of particular cities and citizens. 'Many Chinese cities are booming, with an economy predicted to overtake the USA as the largest in the world by 2050; India and Brazil are thriving, merging intense social inequality with expanding middle classes and expanding economies as well as innovations in welfare and social support. Some of the highest rates of economic growth are in Africa, and the benefits are most evident in the booming elite quarters of the big cities' (Oldfield & Parnell, 2014).

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This has opened up new interests in the city and tracking the last twenty years of development, reveals a global transformation which positions cities at the core of the development agenda(s) (UN-Habitat, 2016). Because of the intertwined dynamics of space and capital, this is transforming the architecture of cities and metropolitan areas everywhere and is motivating new patterns of inter-city relations and networks. The certain cities dominating in world affairs, linked to population size and political, economic, social and cultural infrastructure, are also known as 'Global Cities'. Corporate organisation and infrastructure are the two key empirical criteria for Global city status. And according to Lemanski (2007), this status is also reliant on networks, through which goods, information, people and money flow between different Global Cities, and in doing so, ultimately determine the nature of the world economy. Thus, entry onto the Global City stage provides access to significant prestige and resources for both the city and its national economy. More and more and more cities have the desire to take part within this Global Urban Network.

However, the global connectivity also carries with it concurrent risks, since the well-being of cities is greatly influenced by regional and global dynamics.



Figure 4 Construction of the main terminal building for Tanzania Airports Authority, facilitating 6 million annual passengers, including parking lots, access roads, platforms and taxiway



Figure 5 Some of Ilala Municipal Employees busy with vetiver grass planting preparations along Msimbazi river in Dar es Salaam to curb soil erosion and rehabilitate the environment 2015



Figure 6 Flooding in Dar es Salaam

The goal of urban regeneration is often not urban revival per se, but to undertake what is necessary to attract investment (Lemanski, 2007). Cities have become places of mass production, consumption and service provision, with a high density and diversity of social cultural and ethnic groups and urbanisation is taking place within the context of a weakened global economy. In addition, many cities within the Global South are currently planned and restructured according to Western ideologies and together with ongoing urbanisation patterns this may concede in the increase socio-spatial polarisation and enlargement of inequalities within cities. While according to many theorists and planners, more South-centric understandings of urban successes are arguably necessary, the international hierarchy of Global City dominance and well-known mimicking of richer countries by smaller/poorer states, ensures that city leaders in these regions continue to strive towards this Anglo-American standard, often to the detriment of vast sectors of their population (Lemanski, 2007; Robinson, 2006; A. Simone, 2001).

The contradictory role demanded

All in all, there is a contradictory role demanded of city governments as they seek to keep their cities competitive in a rising globalised world economy, while also having increasing responsibilities for addressing social problems, and making local economic development less exclusionary (Beall, 2002). Building inclusive, healthy, safe, connected, integrated and productive cities is perhaps the greatest challenge facing city leaders today. And there are no easy or one-size fits all solutions. The knowledge of indigenous and creative micro-systems found in cities is not only essential in addressing major urban problems, but also in the evaluation of the transformation possibilities and future upgrading of urban spaces (Njoh, 2003) and the starting point of this project.

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Infrastructure development as the answer?

As aforementioned, most sub-Saharan cities lack modern road infrastructure and mass public transit systems and rely on increasingly congested roads and informal transportation modes. Not only do commuters spend on average a high share of their disposable income on transport, they are also less connected to employment opportunities and more vulnerable to unsafe modes of transport. Improving transit infrastructure can support the movement of a large number of people between the places they live and work. It also increases places where groups of people pass by, meet and interact and stimulates diverse commercial activity at its nodes. From a planning perspective, transit access spurs the demand for new developments and enhances the marketability of transit-oriented locations. This mass upgrading is often seen as a powerful deed by decision-makers in the Global South as it has a direct visible impact in the city's structure. While public transport could be very valuable particularly in lower income neighbourhoods that otherwise lack market access, the upgrading of main corridors in the city is often aimed at locations of higher income and with relatively good connections already. In addition development of public transit systems is often accompanied by concepts of 'Transit Oriented Development' (TOD), which can be formally explained as the development of compact, walkable and mixed use communities around transit stations as a way of reducing automobile dependency and enhancing quality of life (ADEC, 2012). However concepts of TOD are rooted in North American and though elements have been



Figure 7 Informal settlements Dar es Salaam

integrated in Latin America and Asia, research and successes within African cities remains scarce. Moreover, spontaneous activities that develop around infrastructure and public transit nodes in particular are often not taken into account, leading to larger socio-economic inequalities between the rich and poor.

Furthermore, other planning projects that have no direct economic value are generally not taken into account, such as the development of public space. But cities are rapidly growing and open spaces are disappearing, which causes not only increased environmental risks, but also decreases the possibilities for interaction between people and their communities. This challenges social cohesiveness and reduces individuals' attachment to space and their sense of responsibility to the built environment.

All in all, technically one can indeed increase accessibility and mitigate congestion problems by improving infrastructure and promoting public transport, but attaining sustainable communities and promoting inclusive growth pattern requires a re-consideration of the African city and what it means to create spatial plans for 'the public'.



SURI FLASK

PART II Definition

1. Problem statement

Many cities in Africa are confronted with the challenges of a rapidly expanding population, urban geography and the service provision it requires (Msambichaka, Mwamba, & Mashindano, 2006). However, there is a contradictory role demanded by keeping cities competitive in an arising globalised economy, while also having increased responsibilities for addressing social problems and making local economic development less exclusionary (Beall, 2002). The general lack of resources and knowledge incapacities make many development plans dependent on the investment of foreign interests. Yet, these outsourced and often hidden agendas have proven not to be acquainted with local contexts and have found to be inadequate for cities' real needs and challenges (Beall, 2002). Consequently, there is a high risk for populations and activities that do not fit into the visions, to be excluded or hardly accounted for. This predominantly applies to the poorer, yet larger part of the population, which results in the growth of spontaneous settlements and alternative economies and thereupon widens already evident socio-spatial inequities between different livelihoods (Kessides, 2006).

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's main economic and cultural city, is with 4.5 million inhabitants and a growth rate around 4.5%, classified as one of the fastest growing cities in Africa (Sturgis, 2015). Consequently, livelihood activities are diversifying and expanding though spaces for doing so are hardly available or threatened to disappear. Meanwhile, the city is, as many other cities in Africa, confronted with a weak legal system, controversial land tenure system, corruption in investment decisions and resource allocation, weak urban governance and lack of political will (UN-Habitat & IHS-Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2018). Within this realm, proceeding urban plans merely focus on infrastructural improvements such as road upgrading, water provision and connecting prime (business) locations.

These 'development' schemes ought to answer to sprawling cities through increased accessibility and the premise of economic growth, but ignore local welfare and do not recognise the potentials around public space and infrastructure that shape socio-economic livelihoods. So to reach a less exclusionary post-developmental perspective of the African city, this issue requires a deeper understanding of the socio-spatial organisation around local livelihoods and a redefining of infrastructure and public space to support sustainable growth for the African city.

2. Research aims and objectives

This thesis argues that there is an urgent need to rethink the way rapidly urbanising cities in sub-Saharan Africa are evolving. It challenges existing urban ‘development’ schemes and addresses current and future issues related to spatial planning in Dar es Salaam. International and city-wide development strategies are acknowledged but believed to not fully capture what is happening on the ground and what is constructing, but also pressurising local livelihoods. Infrastructure and public space are considered to play a great part in the livelihoods of many urban citizens as they are in close conjunction with local socio-economic activities and thus require refinement and re-defining. The thesis argues for a different perspective for resilient African cities, one that is aiming for less exclusionary, adaptable and sustainable transformations building local capacity and resilient communities.

The thesis uses spatial analysis, mapping, literature reviews and design explorations to gain scientific knowledge about spatial settings and socio-political structures. It seeks to articulate and ground the nature of local livelihoods and their relation to infrastructure and public space. In addition, research is in close conjunction with fieldwork and case specific studies which will provide insight into the local framework. Moving through and between scales, the objective is not only to tie global trends to local structures, but also to explore opportunities to integrate and build communities with, for and by people. Furthermore, a strategic spatial design is developed, constructed from the attained analytical knowledge and consisting of a set of strategies, know-hows, spatial framework and actions to achieve the goals of the vision. Through working with instead the African context, this thesis hopes to contribute to the discussion of a more contextualised, African urbanism practise and discourse.

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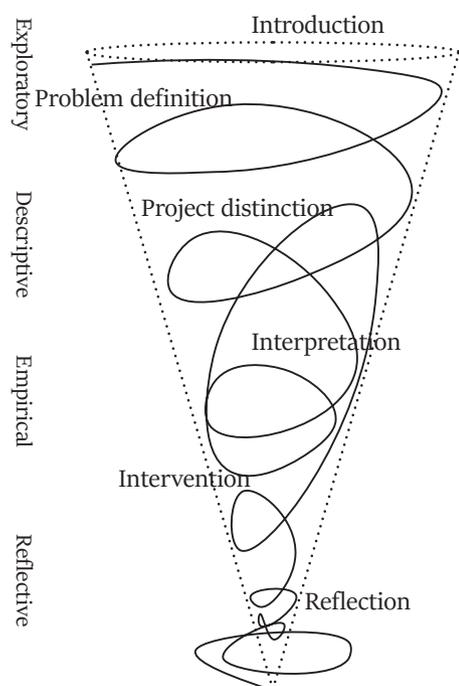
Hypothesis

The potential of utilizing public space and infrastructure to attain long-term, viable livelihoods in rapidly urbanising African Cities

3. Research questions

To attain the thesis' aims and objectives, a set of sub-research questions will support the methodology of the research and explore the posed hypothesis.

The main research question noted: *How can development in African cities be approached from a post-developmental perspective in a project considering infrastructure and public space?*



1. What is the relation between (global) contemporary trends and current urban planning practices in Dar es Salaam?
2. How does the socio-economic background of Dar es Salaam connect to its present-day structuring and spatial manifestations?
3. How do those spatial and non-spatial structures shape and pressurise the nature of local urban livelihoods and what determines their welfare?
4. How can the concepts of infrastructure and public space be interpreted for the African city and its local scaled communities?
5. Which spatial strategies and design principles can guide the tangible and intangible growth of local livelihoods and (re-)define the conditions for infrastructure and public space?
6. How can this post-developmental perspective, offering a co-productive, sustainable and capacity building framework, be translated to other cases and be reflected to a more resilient future African city?

4. Methodology

The methodology bridges the raised problem statement and subsequent research questions with the aim and intended output of the project. It answers to the 'how' question of the thesis' research and explains approach and methods used in order to answer the posed main research question. The distinctive elements of the research and the methods for gathering, analysing and interpreting data will be clarified in this chapter.

On the next page, the research process is depicted together with an overview of main aspects. The research process diagram acts as a guiding principle to orient the individual components of the research frameworks to be in alignment with one each other. The research consists of five stages that naturally flow into each other, starting from problem definition to design intervention and reflection. The narrative of each stage will be further elaborated within the report and their chapter introductions. Part III Distinction and part IV Interpretation were created to form the backbone of the research, aimed to synthesise in the project hypothesis and developed within the intervention stage. Furthermore, each research stage consists of multiple defined frameworks that were created in order to cover the scope of the thesis. For example, the distinction phase consists of the theoretical framework and the analytical framework. The objectives of each of those frameworks will be described in the following paragraphs.

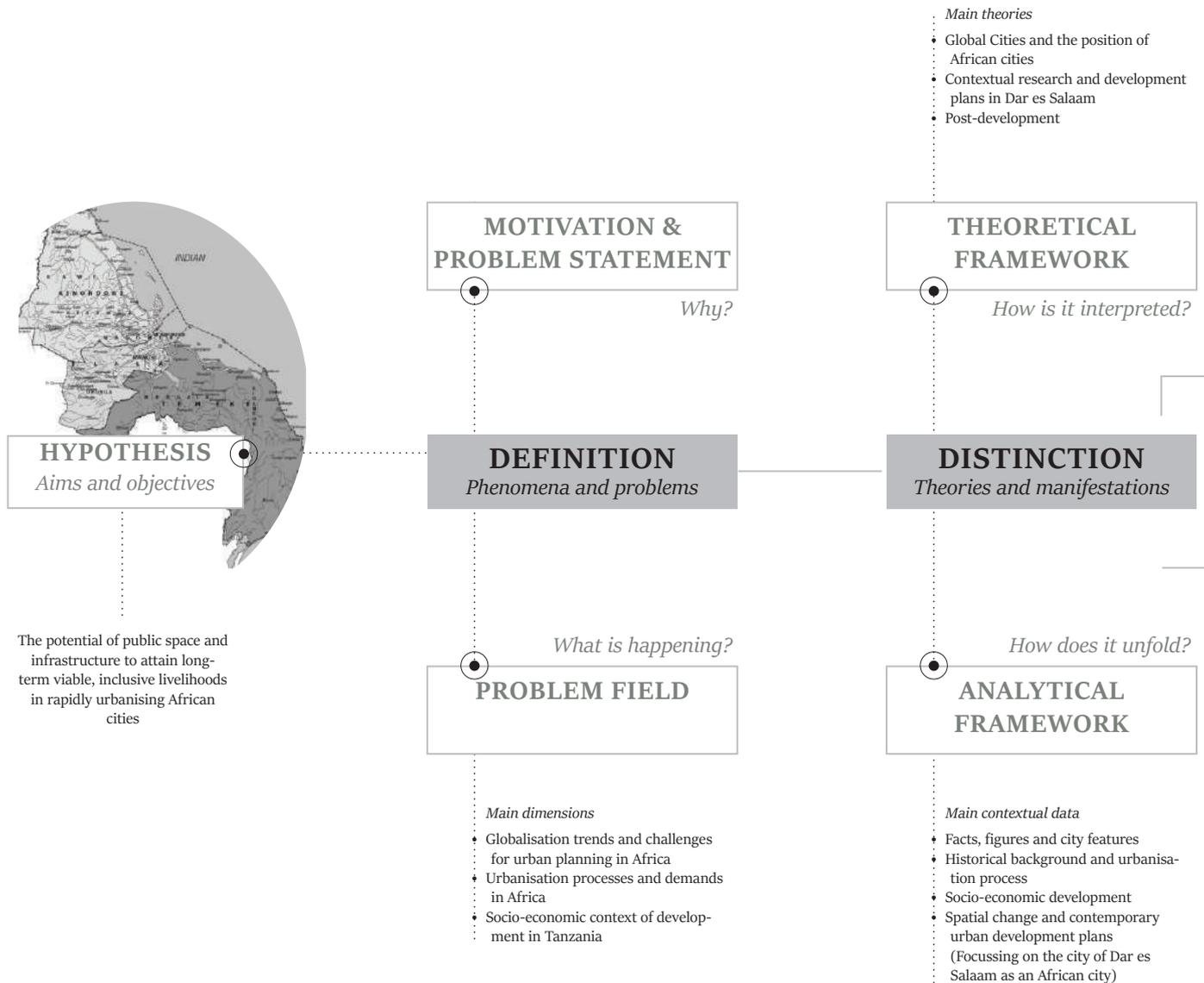


Figure 8 Research framework (by author)

- *Main concepts*
- Understanding space
- Appropriation of space
- Meeting of scales
- Hierarchy of space
- Tangible development

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

How can it be perceived?

INTERPRETATION
Principles and understanding

Under what conditions?

LOCAL FRAMEWORK

- *Non-negotiables*
- Pressures on urban space
- Climate change for Dar es Salaam
- Governance system

- *Aims and objectives*
- Sustainable communities
- Harmony between built environment, people and natural environment
- Incremental capacity of skills and knowledge
- A framework through design within legal, economic and organisational guidelines

STRATEGIC URGENCIES

How is it applied?

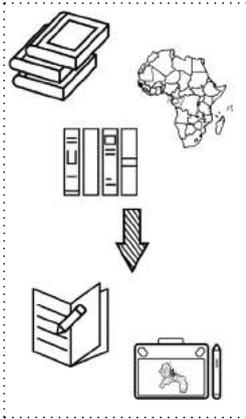
INTERVENTION
Systems and guidelines

What does it look like?

STRATEGIC PROJECTS

- *Infrastructure for-*
- Development (infrastructure)
- Environment
- Living
- Justice

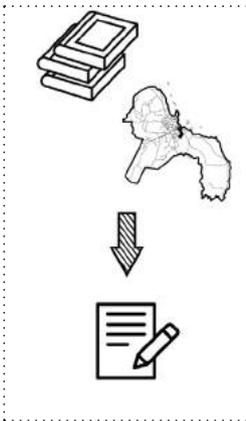
EVALUATION & REFLECTION
What can be learned?



Contextual background (Introduction and Definition)

The contextual background forms together with the theoretical framework the rationale for defining the problem. This section elaborates and identifies the theories and ideas from the perspective of a larger context. The outset is the gap in knowledge and research on the African continent and the need for decolonised and contextual research. The chapter aims its attention at general globalisation and urbanisation trends and challenges for African cities. It looks at recent governmental and non-governmental development agencies such as the UNDESA (2018) and UN-Habitat (2016), but also tries to integrate established African writers such as Onyebueke (2011), Pieterse (2017) and Simone (2001). In addition, this chapter acknowledges Dar es Salaam as a city in Tanzania and looks at the socio-economic context of the country. It considers the economic and political settings and confrontations that set the stage for development processes in Dar es Salaam.

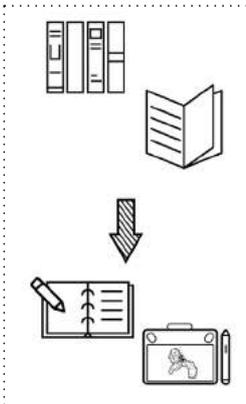
This chapter consists of literature reviews including (non-)governmental documents to clarify this thesis' direction of the problem.



Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consists of two parts. Firstly it reviews the position of African cities within the academic context starting from writers such as Friedman (1986), Sassen (2001) and Taylor (2004) who write about Global Cities within a Global Urban Network. The arising critique and advocates for overcoming Western bias and contextual research is then informed by urban theorist Robinson (2006) and writers such as Beall (2002) and Van der Merwe (2004) who inform their argument by case studies in Africa. These theories are then reflected and evaluated on urban development plans in Dar es Salaam to investigate whether or not these theories are justifiable. Secondly, this chapter will elaborate on the post-development theory as understood by writers such as Escobar (1992), Sachs (1992) and Ziai (2017b) and why this at the backbone of this thesis.

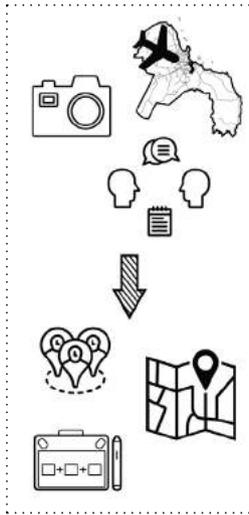
This chapter exclusively consists of literature and theory reviews to critically discuss the academic context. The first aspect of 'Planning Global Cities in Africa' will result in a theory paper, while the second part will be explained within the theoretical chapter of the thesis.



Analytical framework

The analytical framework puts the contextual background into the environment of Dar es Salaam as an African city. It can be seen as qualitative background research of socio-economic structures correlated with space and urban planning. The chapter is broken down into multiple aspects that focus on the contemporary state of the city of Dar es Salaam. It is there to clarify implicit assumptions and provides a starting point for the research zone of intervention. Vital spatial elements such as landform and infrastructure are discussed within their historical and contemporary context. It looks at present-day urban plans through (governmental) documents such as URT (2016), Moss, Group, AfriArch, and QConsult (2013) and historical literature on Dar es Salaam e.g. Armstrong (1987); Brennan, Burton, and Lawi (2007).

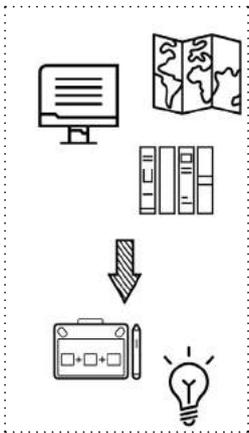
This chapter connects literature review with their spatial results in the form of texts and mapping.



Local framework

The local framework can be seen as part two of the qualitative and quantitative research before reaching the stage of intervention. The local framework places the broader and more general analytical and spatial framework into a local perspective by directing its analysis to a smaller scale. This chapter will gradually deconstruct the main trends and phenomena of the problem field and analytical framework into practicable elements. It will set spatial and contextual boundaries that further define the framework of Dar es Salaam as an African city. The defined, non-negotiable elements that will be discussed within this chapter are: the pressures on urban space, climate change and the governance system. With doing so, it defines the framework under what conditions the design intervention ought to be set up.

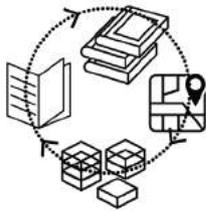
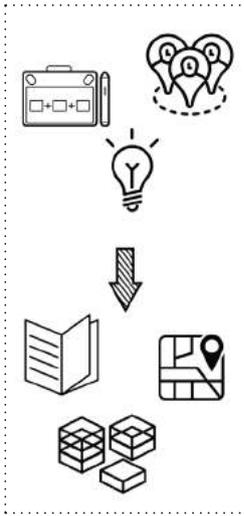
This chapter is informed by findings on the ground, which evolves around fact-finding and data-collection through literature reviews, mapping, interviews and photographing.



Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework elaborates on the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions that play a key role in this research. The conceptual framework consists of a network of interlinked concepts that provide a comprehensive understanding of trends and phenomena in the African city. Through articulating these assumptions and relating them to the African context, they can be utilised as a platform that helps guide and develop further research. Together with the local framework, the conceptual framework bridges the initial background research with the intervention phase. It aims to form a framework of the concepts and understand its potential for the strategic and spatial design framework. The defined notions used in the conceptual framework are based around space and the understanding of public space. The starting point of the chapter revolves around Hanna Arendt's 'Vita Activa' and her notion about the contribution of space to human existence and secondly, it discusses Lefebvre's conception around 'appropriation of space'. These bodies of knowledge will be placed next to the reality of (informal) usage of space in Africa and elaborate on the research' notions on hierarchy of space and meeting of scales. Lastly, the chapter will recapitulate the position of the concept of 'development' within the urbanism discourse.

The main methods used in the conceptual framework are based upon literature review in combination with case study research, field work observations and empirical analysis. This will be supported by the use of photographs, mapping and conceptual drawings.



Intended output

Intervention, the second part of the research concludes previous findings and combines the thesis’ vision in a final spatial strategy. It develops a spatial design proposal for a selected case study site. The site specific selection criteria will follow from the previous chapters. The spatial design will be complemented with certain planning strategies and notes on responsibilities, policies and future steps. A further analysis on the case study site will determine strategic projects aligned with the strategic urgencies of the thesis.

The methods for site analysis will be based upon fieldwork and additional mapping. A vision will be created considering critical aims and objectives. Strategic projects will be selected and further explained. With the use of the spatial strategy, a method would be created to extract lessons learned from the analytical, spatial and theoretical frameworks.

Evaluation and reflection

This part evaluates the proposed intervention and vision to the aimed goals and objectives and highlights its boundaries and constraints. And secondly this phase reflects the overall thesis approach and outcomes to the larger societal and scientific relevance.

Thesis scope and timeframe

The general time period for this thesis and the development of the project is shown in the diagram on the ground. The timeline provides an indication on what is possible to work on during the period available and how much time was taken to reach the end product. It addresses the necessity for intensive research in order to create a comprehensive strategic spatial design. Whilst it does lead to visuals of spatial change in the form of maps and images, it also focusses on creating an iterative framework for understanding how to deal with the nature of developments in African cities from a planning perspective. The thesis aims to exemplify how to contextualise urban planning in African cities by taking a case study location and doing field research. Doing in depth field research in order to recognise challenges and opportunities, but also to identify different stakeholders and actors, requires a large amount of time, as showcased in the. Furthermore, the timelines depicts how different chapters run parallel to each other. No exact dates when one chapter has ended are noted as doing research is a fluid and perpetual process, which requires reflection at different stages.

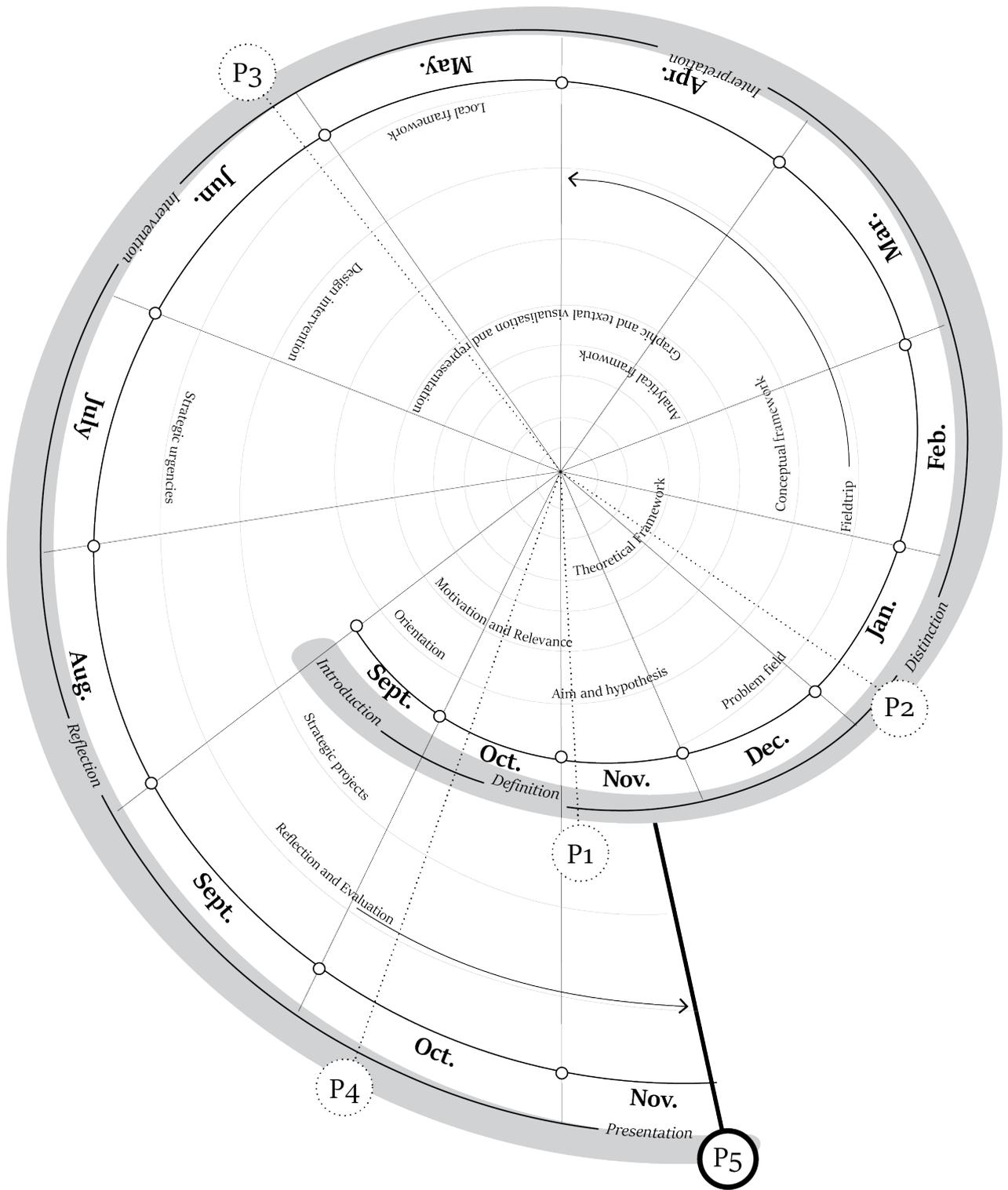


Figure 9 Thesis timeline (by author)



PART III Distinction

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is necessary to integrate the theoretical discourses into a research not only to gain background knowledge, but also to trace its relevance to others. A well written theoretical piece, critically debates its objectives and disseminates various angles of the topic. However, and this is the dangerous part of doing theoretical research, the only standpoints displayed are the ones found interesting enough to discuss. Especially with doing research in Africa, this poses challenges when there is a lack of research and an abundance of single sided knowledge. What 'we' want to know about cities in Africa might not be possible to find within the theoretical discourses. But does that mean it is also not important?



Figure 10 Global Cities of the world (by author via Kearney, 2018)

1. Planning Global Cities in Africa

Planning Global Cities in Africa

Exploring the controversy through the case of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Abstract (See Theory Paper attached in appendix)

The Global City status is believed to provide access to significant prestige and resources for both the city and the national economy and as a result many African cities are striving to compete within this Global Urban System (Lemanski, 2007). However, the debate regarding Global Cities contains many contested issues, which this paper will elaborate on. Firstly, there is a scant attention to African cities in particular and the Global City is conceived as inadequate for non-western contexts. Secondly, the global forces related to the Global City theory are driving local city planners to contradictory demands, which calls for the creation of city-wide criteria and broadening theoretical repertoires. This paper will explore and attempt to rectify previous scholarly concerns with Dar es Salaam's present-day development plans. As expected, African cities remain invisible, while these cities have undoubtedly more to offer than Global City criteria suggest, which can actually inspire theoretical constructs. In addition, global forces continue to cause unequal relations because of resource dependencies and knowledge incapacities. This results in bilateral ambitions of local city planners who try make local economic development less exclusionary while simultaneously satisfying the, contradictory, interests of investors. It is important to be explicit on what certain theoretical concepts mean for local contexts and whom these development plans are actually serving in order to work towards more inclusive developments.

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Keywords: Global Cities, contradictory demands, African development plans, Dar es Salaam, contextual research



Figure 11 Dar es Salaam view

2. Post-developmentalism

Post-developmentalism

'The 'lighthouse' of development was erected right after the Second World War. Following the breakdown of the European colonial powers, the United States found an opportunity to give worldwide dimensions to the mission their founding fathers had bequeathed to them: to be the 'beacon on the hill' (Sachs, 1992).

From the beginning of the nineties, several authors began to discuss the 'end of development era' as an innovative though controversial approach in development studies. These scholars, who felt and still feel the disillusionment with development, called to dismiss the Eurocentric and hegemonic development paradigm that was erected after WWII altogether and are collectively referred to as post-development theorists. Defined most simply, development can be understood as a process involving the unfolding of changes in the direction of reaching a higher or more mature state of being (Matthews, 2004). For example, a bud developing into a flower, a child into an adult, and a caterpillar into a butterfly. Thus, the concept 'development' is close in meaning to improvement, to amelioration, to desirable change. Surely, post-development theorists do not intend to reject the desirability of positive change when calling for an 'end to development' and positive social change is not perceived as impossible or undesirable as well (Matthews, 2004). Rather, post-development theorists reject all post-World War II attempts trying to engineer particular changes in the so-called 'Third World' in order to bring about a situation deemed by various development theorists (who more often than not, do not come from the 'Third World') to be more desirable than the current situation.

'The discourse of 'development', at least the one employed by most [contemporary] development agencies assumes that 'development' is something that benefits everyone and therefore that no one can object to, something removed from conflicts over political and economic questions, portraying positive social change as a technical matter related exclusively to the presence or absence of knowledge, technology and capital' (Ziai, 2017b). Post-development theorists do not believe that talk of 'sustainable development', a 'basic needs' approach or other 'improvements' of the Post-WWII development are a cause for hope (Matthews, 2004). Development in this way of wanting to help the poor without the rich, has characterised the policies toward the South and provided the fundamental frame of reference for a mixture of generosity, bribery and oppression (Sachs, 1992; Ziai, 2017b). In addition, Sachs (1992) highlights that doubts are mounting and uneasiness is widely felt, but the idea, or rather ruin of development still stands there and dominates both the intellectual landscape as well as the language of present-day grassroots movement. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work (Sachs, 1992). Post-development theorists therefore claim that the practice of development has done more harm than good and argue for alternatives to development (e.g. (Escobar, 1992; Sachs, 1992; Ziai, 2017b)). Therefore, this call for a new way of changing, of developing, of improving, to be constructed in the place of the ruin of the Post WWII development 'project'.

Escobar (1992) is referred to as one of the most important Post-Development authors and highlights the following characters that mark Post-Development literature:

- The interest in alternatives to development, not the interest of alternative development
- A fundamental rejection of the classical development paradigm
- An interest in local culture and local knowledge
- A critical perspective on established scientific discourses
- Solidarity for pluralistic grassroots movements



Figure 12 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
(Currently 'the Sustainable Development Goals' are gaining popularity)

Naturally, over the course of years, new discussions and critiques on post-development theory have arisen and these are characterised simultaneously by sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit rejection and integration. Critics express, for instance, that if post-development theorists completely wish to reject contemporary development initiatives, they ought to present a more detailed description of what is meant by 'alternatives to development' as the 'agenda for action' proposed by post-development theory is not immediately evident (Ziai, 2017a). Throughout this context of critique, Esteva (2017) reviews that, while there might be some inexplicitness and ambivalence in post-development theory, the variety and plurality of positions clearly illustrate that even within critical development studies there is no consensus regarding the patient 'development': is it alive and well, rotting away or already undead? And the problems often referred to under the heading of 'under-development' have not disappeared- misery and inequality, violence and hunger, to name but a few- even after the 'Millennium Development Goals' have been declared more or less successful (Esteva & Escobar, 2017).

Sachs (2017) has also come with the updated statement that finally, development within paradigmatic debates in the coming decades, just like monarchy and feudalism, is disappearing into the haze of history. Present-day publications agree that the global economic model can be considered old iron and many 'developers' search to repair them and thinking in fortress terms is popular (Sachs, 2017). They provide multilateral governance and politics generally with more space to manoeuvre than in neo-liberal times. In addition, they advocate cultural change at both the local and the global level, based in cooperative economics and politics for the common good. For the sake of fairness, it is about un-developing, about winding up the imperial lifestyle of the transnational middle class. Concludingly, Sachs (2017) states it is about time that someone declared the end of the Post-Development era, some 25 years after we declared the end of the Development era.

Development in Africa

The idea of development in Africa features prominently in academic work about the continent. Additionally, Africa's leaders frequently reference the need for development, often urging their people to endure hardship because it will ultimately bring about development in its broadest sense of social change and a better life (Matthews, 2004). However, though Africa's place in the world has been closely linked to the idea of development and post-development theory is very concerned with the ways in which 'development' has impacted upon the the countries of the Global South, very little has been written on post-development theory and alternatives to development in the context of Africa. Subsequently, none of the prominent thinkers of post-developmentalism, scholars such as Alvares, Escobar, Kothari and others, that are linked and come from the so-called 'Third World', have written about Africa. Matthews (2017) also notes that the African situation has not featured prominently in discussions by such theorists. Matthews (2004) also suggests that a consideration of the African experience can be very valuable for those who are keen to articulate alternatives. She states that it is Africa too, rather than Africa alone, being home to the values and worldviews that will allow for the construction of alternatives for those committed to the development project (Matthews, 2004).

Considering the relevance of exploring an African perspective, this thesis also starts from the belief that Africa remains markedly different from the West and can be a truly valuable source of insights. Post-development theory is considered a base in which contemporary and ingrained structures are acknowledged and with the networks and opportunities of African lives, careful and comprehensive propositions and recommendations can be made. In addition, it is necessary to emphasise that the purpose of this thesis is not to fully distillate and place post-development theory in relation to other rising development theories, nor to use it as a tool to evaluate or dismiss the efforts made in the name of development in Africa. It is rather to critically engage with post-development as a theory that explores livelihoods from multiple angles and in such manner reaches potentials and shortcomings. Conjointly, it looks at the at the implications of a post-developmental analysis for politics, the role of the state and the issues that arise when attempting to relate a post-developmental perspective and its conditions to current development in practice.

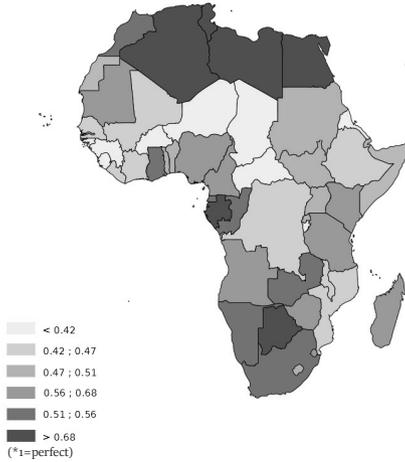


Figure 13 Human Development Index (UNDP, 2014)
Just one map of many, indicating the 'need' for development in Africa

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will direct and contextualise the problem field of rapidly urbanising cities in sub-Saharan Africa to the problem focus of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Firstly, this chapter will outline some of Dar es Salaam's present-day features before going into depth into the spatial changes throughout history. Secondly, the chapter will explore the main challenges which play a big part in many African cities and place them in their socio-economic context. These consist of political and economic implications, but also threats and demands caused by rapid urbanisation in the case of Dar es Salaam. Lastly, this chapter will focus on a few contemporary urban planning schemes, which illustrate in what ways the city government and city developers are attempting to shape the future of Dar es Salaam.

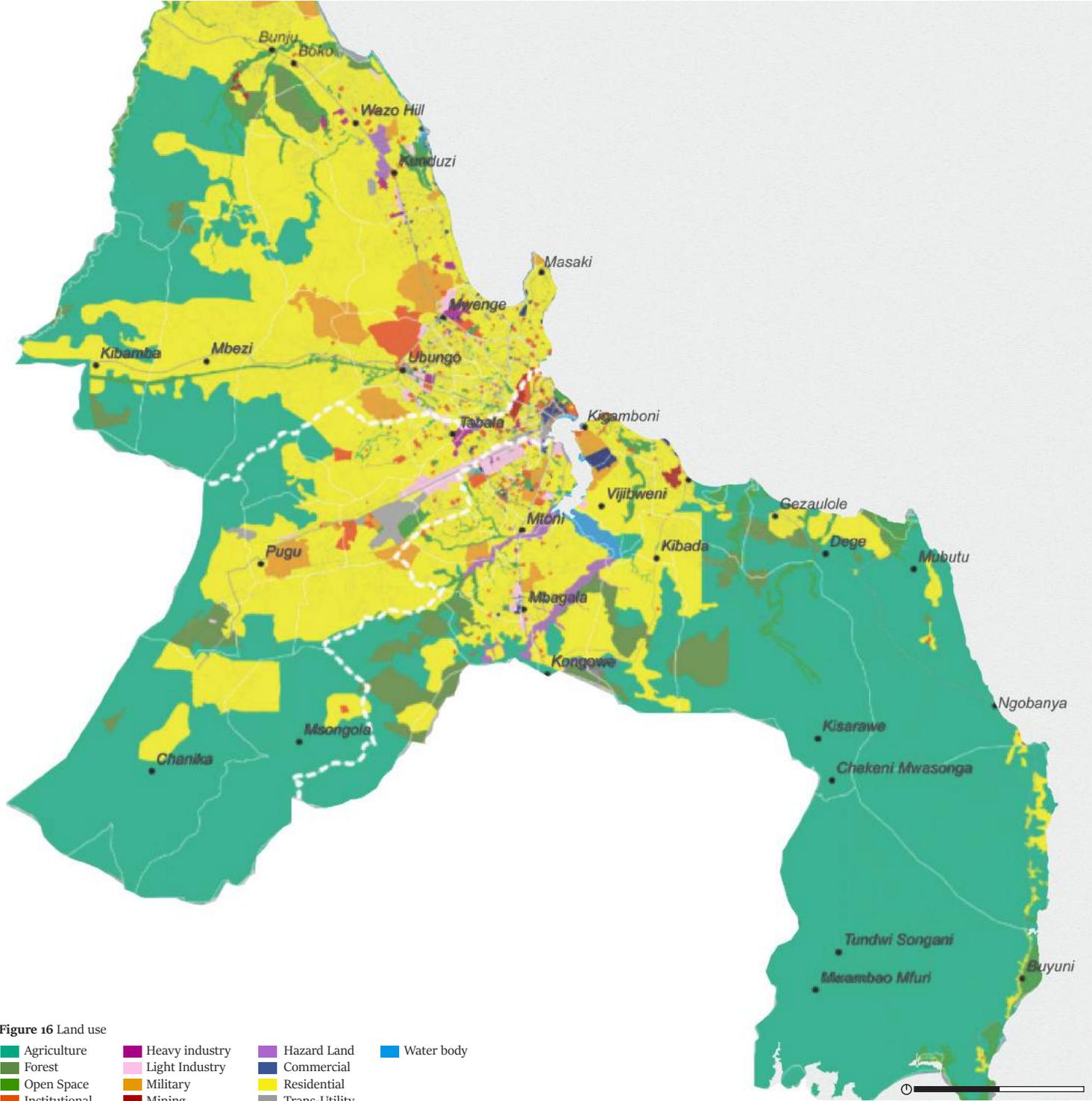


Figure 16 Land use

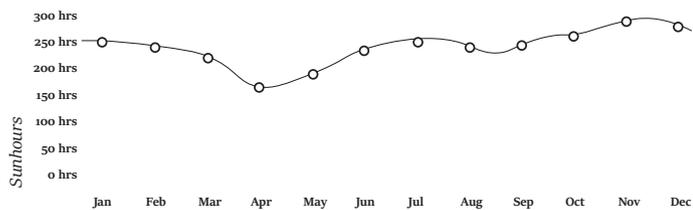


Figure 14 Average sunhours Dar es Salaam
<https://weather-and-climate.com/average-monthly-Rainfall-Temperature-Sunshine,-Dar-Es-Salaam,Tanzania>

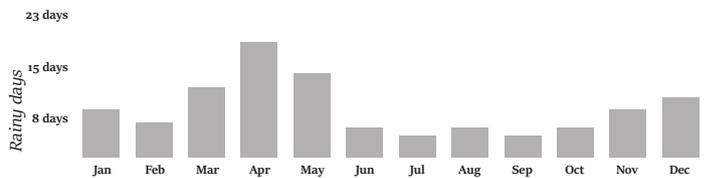


Figure 15 Average rainy days Dar es Salaam
<https://weather-and-climate.com/average-monthly-Rainfall-Temperature-Sunshine,-Dar-Es-Salaam,Tanzania>

1. Landform and city features

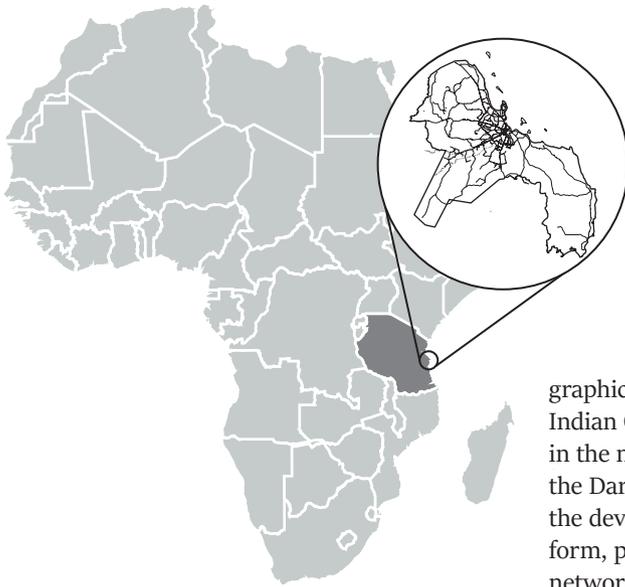


Figure 17 Dar es Salaam location (by author)

Though Dodoma is the true capital city, Dar es Salaam is Tanzania’s main economic and cultural capital. It is one of East Africa’s most populous cities with a continuously growing number of inhabitants of currently over 4.4 million and thus fast tracked to becoming one of the continent’s ‘megacities’ (Wolff, Kuch, & Chipman, 2018). As a port city, Dar es Salaam is used for the transshipment for both tourism as goods for landlocked and overseas countries and is a melting-pot of different cultures. Dar’s spacious, modern-colonial plan has, from its beginning reflected the social geography of East African littoral, where not only Westerns, but for more than a thousand years, Arabs and Indians have been settling and trading with people of the mainland (Armstrong, 1987).

The Dar es Salaam region is located on the east coast of Tanzania. Topographically, the city is divided into three main terrain units of lowlands around the Indian Ocean shores and river valleys, the middle plateau and the hilly areas found in the north and west of the city. Various rivers, streams, lakes and swamps drain the Dar es Salaam area. Some, like the Msimbazi river have significant effects on the development of Dar es Salaam and have in the past formed or still currently form, part of Dar es Salaam’s boundaries. The rivers provide the primary drainage network for Dar es Salaam and some have U shaped steep valleys and most have wide flood plains suitable for natural vegetation (Kironde, 1994). Unfortunately, a number of these rivers, particularly the Msimbazi river, have been subjected to uncontrolled and untreated discharges including industrial effluents, causing serious pollution. The valleys for these rivers, that traditionally have been the area for small agriculturists, are now also the target of residential and in some cases industrial development (Kironde, 1994). The expansion of uncontrolled settlements into these flood plain areas, and uncoordinated developments that block natural drainage patterns have made flooding a widespread problem in the city. Such a flooding can last for several weeks in the rainy season and makes especially those areas with low soil permeability and/or high groundwater very vulnerable for disruption and causes at least a dozen of deaths each year (Kironde, 1994).

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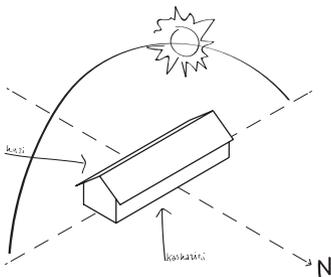


Figure 18 Ideal building angle on East African coastal areas (adapted from Folkers, 2010)
Oct. till May there are North Eastern trade winds, while the rest of the year wind is coming from South East. An elongated and shallow rectangular design with the long side on North east and front-wall on South West is most optimal.

Furthermore, Dar es Salaam is made up out of five districts: Kinondoni (which constitutes the city of Dar es Salaam), Ilala and Temeke. Ilala is commonly referred to as ‘downtown Dar es Salaam’ as it has the highest concentration of commercial activities, for the reason that the area covers the core city centre and central business district. Many of Tanzania’s banks, commercial and administrative offices are located here. Kinodoni on the other hand, has the largest population amongst the three municipalities and the majority of Dar es Salaam’s higher and middle-income population resides here. This is also reflected in higher traffic volumes; a larger amount of solid waste being generated and intensive socio-economic activities. Temeke includes the city harbour and the largest portion of open undeveloped land among the three municipalities and a very high potential for future development

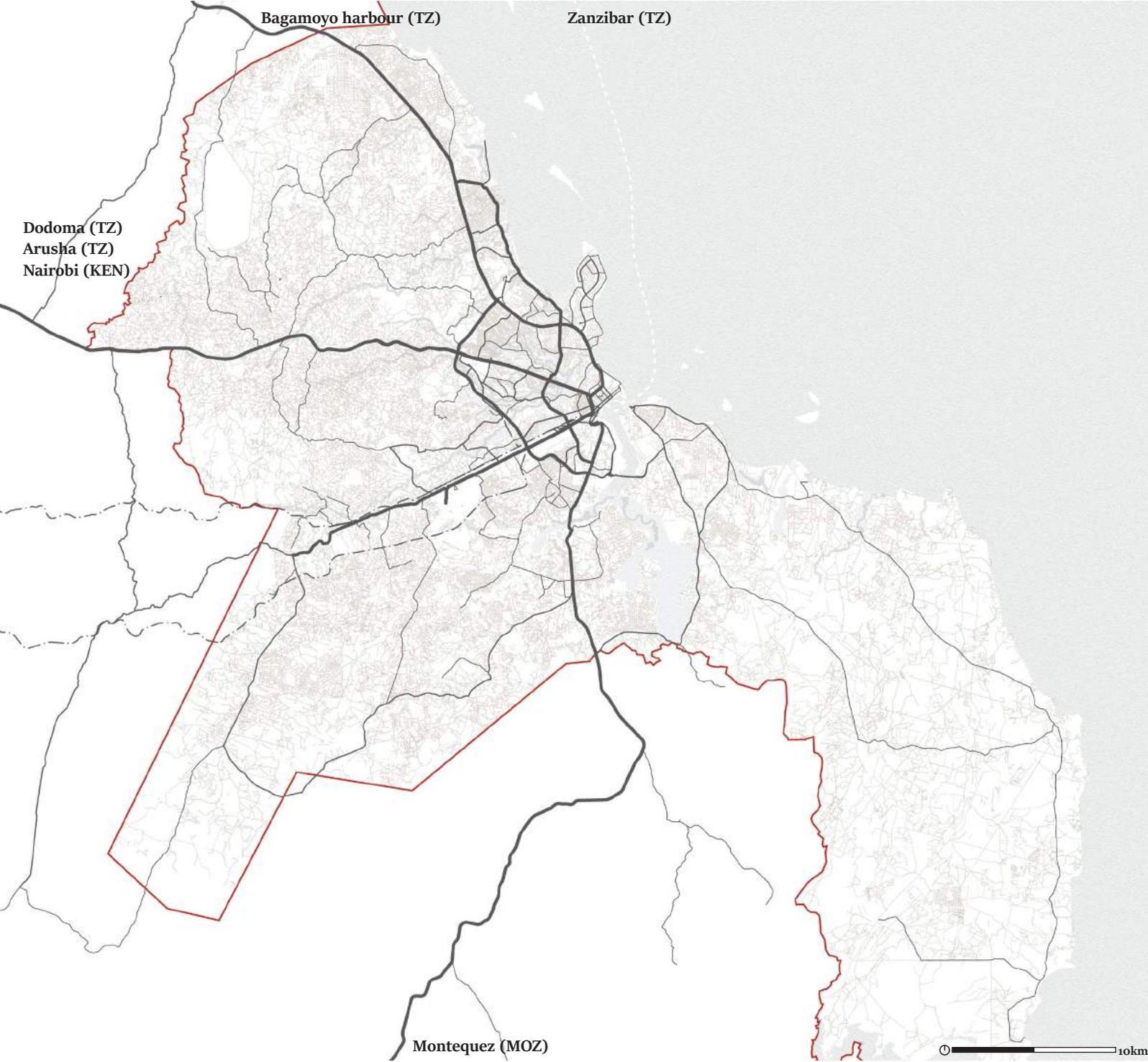


Figure 19 Dar es Salaam main infrastructure

- Border Dar es Salaam region
- Waterway
- Train
- Highway
- High road
- Main road
- Main Street
- Street
- ✈ Airport

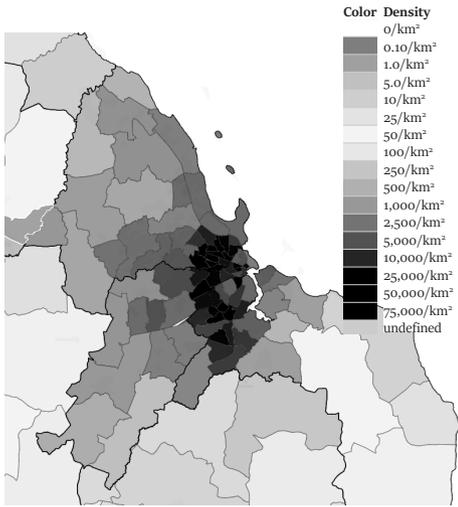


Figure 20 Population Density Dar es Salaam (Adapted from Citypopulation.de, 2012)

(Kimbisa, 2010). While this municipality is adjacent to the other two, it is topographically separated by the harbour inlet, with only one (fairly new) bridge and ferry connections. Hence this municipalities' remarkably low density of physical development and population. Quite recently, in 2016, the Kigamboni and Ubungu district have been added to the city for administrative purposes, these were formerly wards within Temeke and Kinodoni respectively. This adds up to five districts in total of which the effects are as to now hardly noticeable.

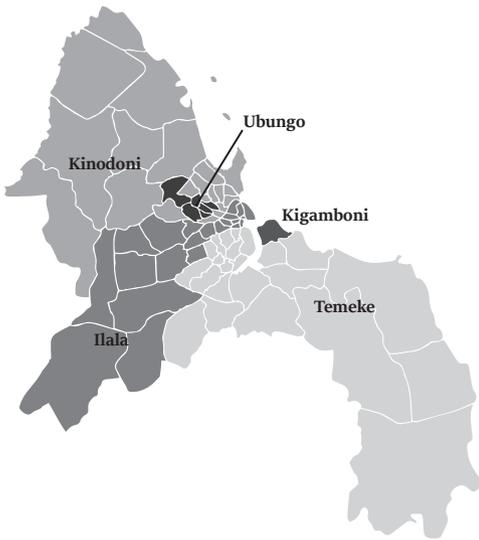


Figure 21 Dar es Salaam districts (by author)

Districts	Area (km ²)	Population	Wards	Streets
Ilala	208	1,220,611	26	101
Kinodoni	501	1,775,049	34	180
Temeke	684	1,368,881	30	171
Total	1393	4,364,541	90	452

Figure 22 Land Area, Administrative Units and population. (DSM Profile, 2014)
 Ubungo and Kigamboni district N/A

2. History and urbanisation processes



Figure 23 Sultan Majid bin Said of Zanzibar

Dar es Salaam is a relatively new city which emerged during the second half of the 19th century. It is not as old as other historic stone towns in Africa, but grew into an administrative and commercial centre during the German and British colonisation. Originally, Dar es Salaam was founded as a new town by the Sultan Majid bin Sayyid (1834-1870) of Zanzibar to secure and extent his power. The ‘city’ served as a port and trading centre on the mainland, but after the Sultan’s death, the city fell into decline (Brennan, Burton, & Lawi, 2007). Like other prominent African cities, Dar es Salaam has only emerged as an important economic centre in the colonial and post-colonial period and thus the urbanisation pattern can be viewed by two time-slots, which will be discussed respectively (UNCHS-Habitat, 1996).



Figure 24 German East Africa

Colonial period (1887-1961)

In 1891, the Germans took over Tanganyika and the fortunes of Dar es Salaam as a trading station were revived. As the colonial presence in East-Africa grew, the Germans relocated the capital from Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam and the city became the administrative and commercial centre of the colony. Dar es Salaam had thus far remained a small settlement with a population around 4,000 inhabitants, but then more migrants were attracted and the population increased to 10,000 by the year 1894 (Brennan et al., 2007). This was a result of the increased trade and importance through the establishment of port facilities and administrative and commercial activities. Unlike other 19th century East-African coastal towns where urban growth was led by private commerce, Dar es Salaam’s colonial urban expansion was marshalled by the state and heralded by imperial rule (Brennan et al., 2007).

The Germans gave shape to the urbanisation in the city by a number of legislative acts. They developed the city following the English Garden City movement* and administration had an active role in the selection of development sites for each social group (Armstrong, 1987). Consequently, there was a tripartite racial segregation of building standards among Africans, Asians (specifically Indians and Arabs) and Europeans (Armstrong, 1987). In addition, the Germans stretched out the radial road network, which still forms the city’s present structure and in 1900, Dar es Salaam became the eastern terminus of the Central Railway line that ran into the rest German East Africa. They also invested vigorously in urban development projects as to enhance the urban quality of life, though not in line with the housing demanded from the Africans (Brennan et al., 2007).

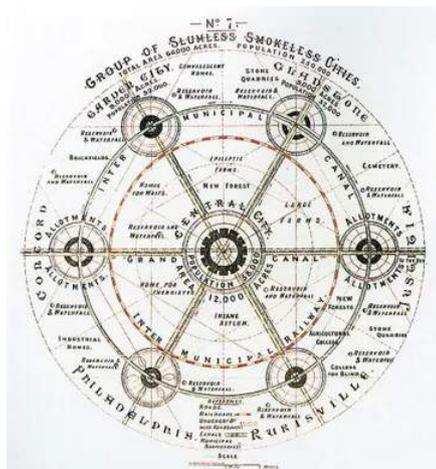


Figure 25 The garden city movement is a method of urban planning in which self-contained communities are surrounded by "greenbelts", containing proportionate areas of residences, industry, and agriculture. The idea was initiated in 1898 by Sir Ebenezer Howard in the United Kingdom.

During World War I, in 1916, German East Africa was captured by the British and became ‘Tanganyika’, though retained Dar es Salaam as the country’s capital. The British legalised the informal residential segregation of the city that began under the Germans. The town was clearly demarcated into three racially segregated zones: Zone I, embraced the earlier German quarter as a European section (Oyster Bay), Zone II was reserved mostly for Indians which occupied an area known for mixed use of commercial and residential activities and lastly Zone III hosted the Africans (Kariakoo and Ilala) (Abebe, 2011). The British further rein-

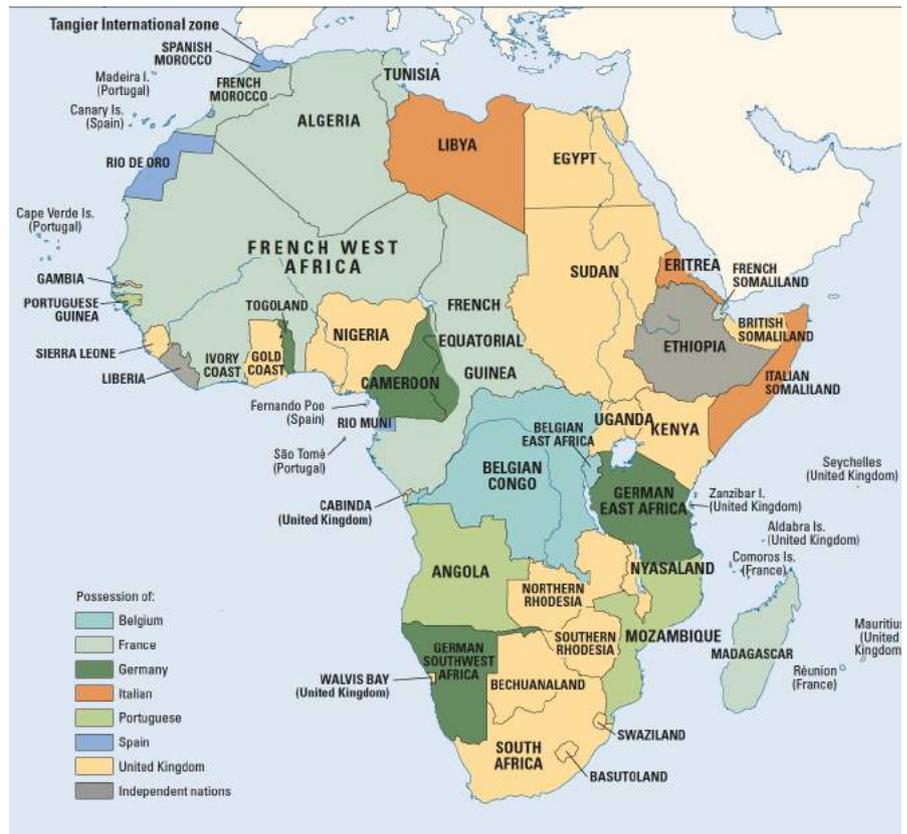


Figure 27 Colonial legacy <1916



Figure 26 Tanganyika 1950s

forced the segregation by creating an ‘Open Space’, so called neutral zone between the Africans and Zone I and II, prior to which the area was characterised by racially mixed housing. While there were significant disparities in livelihoods during the pre-WWII period, the population continued to increase dramatically within each respective racial group (Brennan et al., 2007).

WWII signalled a turning point for the persistent and accelerated urbanisation of the city (Abebe, 2011). The urban-rural migration continued to precede and was led by the perceived opportunity the city would offer. Whilst there were some efforts to enhance the economy; to accomplish planned housing developments; to provide public services and to stretch infrastructures across the city, there had been substantial appearance of informal settlements and even worsening urban living conditions and low wages (Abebe, 2011).

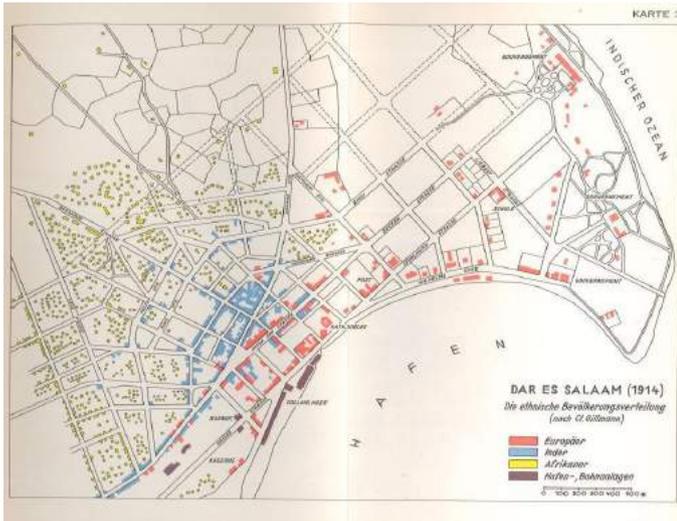


Figure 28 Dar es Salaam 1914 (Schneider, 1965)

The maps on this page showcase the spatial segregation during the colonial times of which many elements are still recognisable in today's plans. The racially divided city can be seen in the broad streets and large plots in the European and administrative quarters in the East and along the harbour front; the dense maze of the Asian commercial district in the middle; and rigidly arranged Kariakoo in the West, neatly separated from the rest of the city by the so-called *Cordon Sanitaire*. This *Gordon Sanitaire* was officially justified under German colonial times as a means of preventing disease or fire spreading from the African settlement of Kariakoo. However, this element was a typical feature of colonial town planning throughout the continent, applied to further segregate Africans from other town dwellers. Even though, Dar es Salaam is now independent and racial segregation officially does not non-exist anymore, the city still grows and develops along those precedent spatial guidelines, now closely linked to wealth and power.

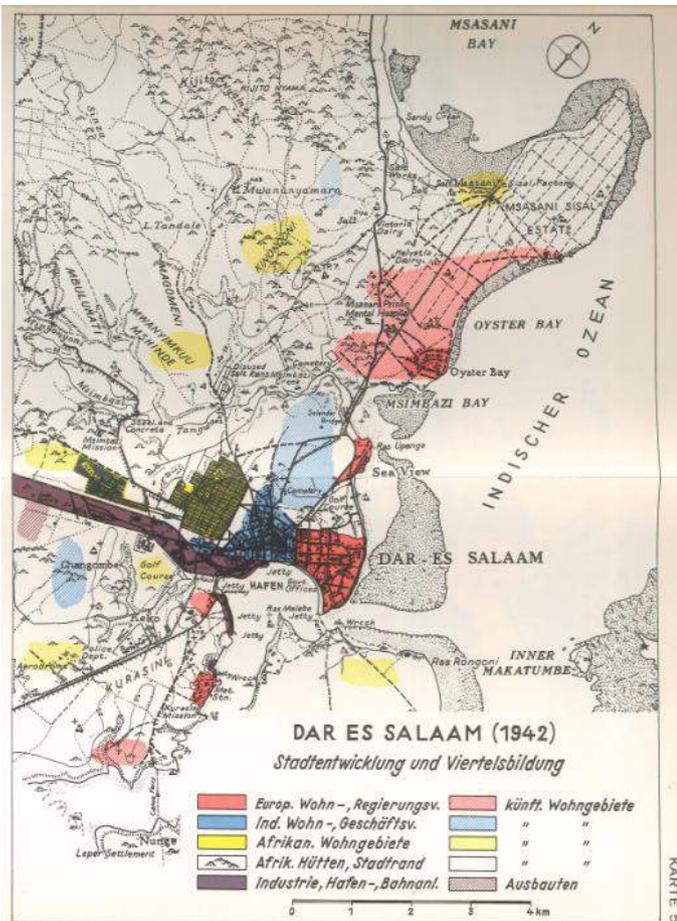


Figure 29 Dar es Salaam 1942 (Schneider, 1965)

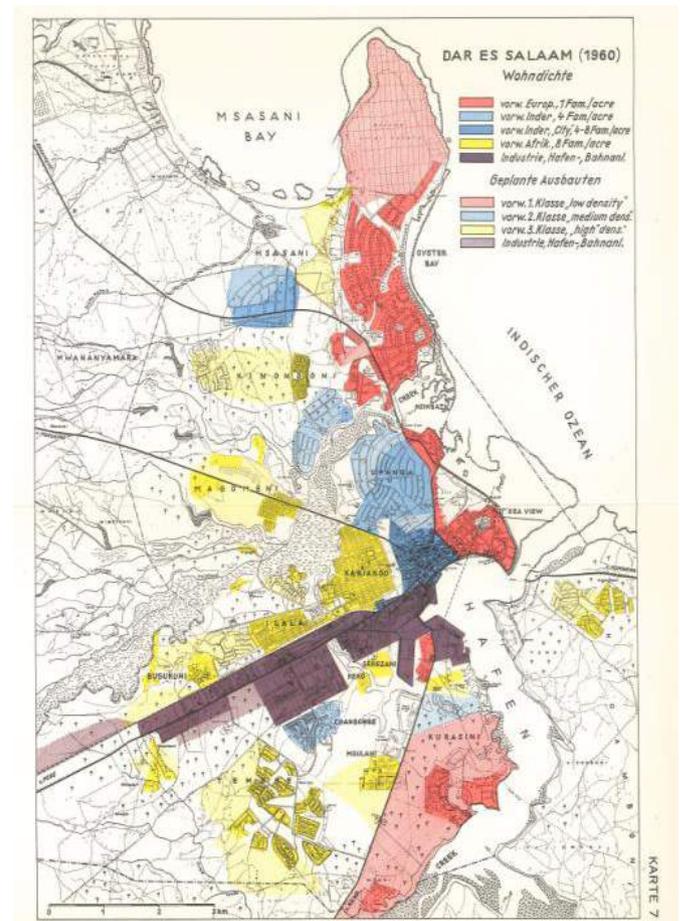


Figure 30 Dar es Salaam 1960 (Schneider, 1965)

Post-colonial period (1961-2018)

Further development was again propelled after the city gained independence in 1961. Racial informed urban governance was abolished, though eventual physical urban evolution of post-colonial time was highly influenced by, and reminiscent of late colonial urban development, both planned and unplanned (Brennan et al., 2007). Most development had gone along with or was defined by the major arterial routes already constructed in the 1950s (Bagamoyo Road to the north, Morogoro Road to the west, Pugu Road to the southwest and Kilwa Road to the south). After independence, there was again an extensive growth rate, of primarily the African population, which rose from 7.5 to 9.8 percentage per annum, Dar es Salaam hosting a population of 769,445 by 1978 (Brennan et al., 2007). The 1971 Acquisition of Buildings Act put the building boom of the 1960s to a halt through nationalisation of second homes, which resulted in acquisition of 3,000 buildings, of which 96 percent was owned by South Asians. This acquisition was aimed to de-segregate the urban business centre which was dominated by the Indians, nevertheless, the Indians remained dominant in amount of number and power across the years (Brennan et al., 2007).

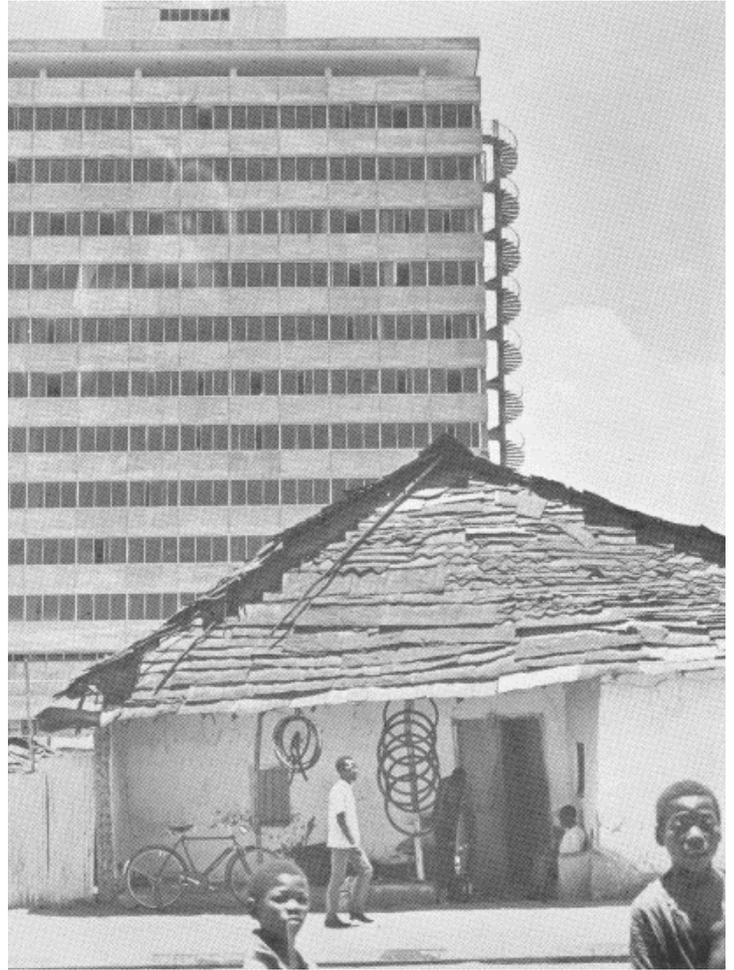
In 1974, the capital of Tanzania intentionally moved from Dar es Salaam to the significantly smaller Dodoma. This was to deviate the relentless population growth in Dar es Salaam and to revitalise the hinterland of Dodoma with urban development (Brennan et al., 2007). Revitalising Dodoma proved to be an unsuccessful mission due to financial and management problems, but Dar es Salaam continued to flourish, providing livelihood in both formal and informal sector. The proliferation of unplanned settlements and informal employment accelerated after independence. More than 50 percent of the urban population lived in unplanned settlements and the city could satisfy formal and registered employment only in the first decade after independence (Abebe, 2011).

Since the 1980s the introduction of a liberal economic system which also discarded the socialist dip in urbanisation, accompanied the rejuvenation of Dar es Salaam (Abebe, 2011). However, before the preparation of a masterplan, the population and pronounced informal settlements kept growing. This has changed the land-use at the periphery of the city and also since such an urban growth considered trunk roads available into and around the city to facilitate commercial and commuter transport. These types of projects have clearly moulded Dar es Salaam to the present-day, following the same ribbon-style urban development to the West and North (Abebe, 2011). Complimentary, the decade of the 1990s marks a relentless expansion of informal settlements and the city centre was preoccupied with intense and lavish building boom (Brennan et al., 2007).

Present-day Dar es Salaam has come to be one of the spots of emerging economic and is relatively politically stable. The city is also exceptional in East Africa for having a record of relatively little ethnic tension, and remaining tranquil and true to its name, the 'harbour of peace', despite its colonial pertaining spatial segregation (Bryceson, 2008). Presumably because it is a multi-ethnic city from origin and has a long socialist post-colonial history. However, both unprecedented economic and demographic growth put unparalleled burden on the limited infrastructure available and also resulted in sky-high land and property values (Abebe, 2011). Dar es Salaam has now become a burgeoning economy but remains confronted with environmental, infrastructural and equity issues that are presumably impending its blossoming, resulting in widening disparities between rich and poor (Brennan et al., 2007)

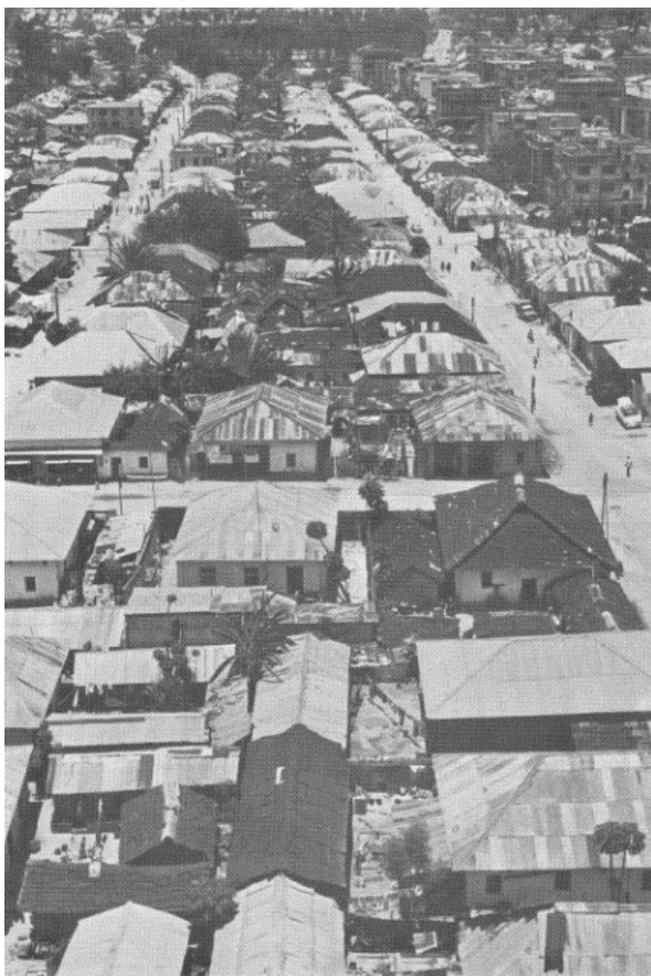


1900



1969

Figure 31 Building boom: 4 times Kariakoo
(characteristic neighbourhood in city centre of Dar es Salaam)



1969



2007

3. Socio-economic development

It is important to keep in mind the historical coexistence and uneven distribution of local, national and cosmopolitan forces, in order to understand the development of Dar es Salaam's social structure and popular culture. At the forefront of international cultural trends affecting African societies was a concentration of population of historically unprecedented socio-cultural heterogeneity. Simultaneously, it was the principal site where the political practice and ideology of the nation emerged: a society which was composed of people from the whole of Tanzania; and a city which remained politically, economically and culturally pre-eminent even after losing its status as territorial capital in 1974. However, as aforementioned, urban society has a history of relatively little ethnic tension, despite such powerful external and also spatially dividing influences. The next few paragraphs will explain some distinct political and socio-economic contexts around which development in Dar es Salaam, respectively Tanzania has evolved.



Figure 32 President Julius Nyerere 1962

Governance and corruption

'Freedom and Development are completely linked as are chicken and eggs. Without chickens you get no eggs and without eggs you soon have no chickens. Similarly, without freedom you get no Development, and without Development you very soon lose your freedom. For the truth is that development means the development of people: roads, buildings, increase in crops output etc. are not development; they are only tools for development.' Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1973), first president Tanzania 1964-1985

Nyerere's perception of development echoes the spirit of most of the official policy stands of Tanzania in the first decade of independence. Full independence of Tanzania came in December 1961 and Julius Nyerere** (1922-1999) was elected president, a socialist leader who led Tanganyika after colonial rule. In 1967, Tanzania adopted the Arusha declaration and the ideology of TANU* was a particular version of African socialism called Ujamaa. The declaration pronounced explicitly that development strategies, programmes and policies should focus on the improvement (through their capabilities) of the lives of the majority of people (Nyerere, 1967). Consequently, the first phase of president Nyerere's tenure was mainly concerned with creating national unity, building self-esteem, self-reliance and an egalitarian society, in which the state played a major role. While this approach was successful in achieving rapid improvements in social wellbeing, particularly education, health and water, it was not sustainable because of the lack of continued growth to support such public investments (UNDP & URT, 2015). However, although Nyerere's attempt to move from an attitude of mind to a political action agenda might not have worked, there have been major changes in both policy and the performance of sectors that still drive (human) development (UNDP & URT, 2015). Moreover, this African Socialist background can still be felt through the relatively big role of the government in the economy and among some Tanzanians, the status quo has incited nostalgia for a 'better past' (Schneider, 2015).

From independence in 1961 until the mid-1980s, Tanzania was a one-party state, but in the mid-1980s the government of Tanzania undertook a number of political and economic reforms and the government decided to adopt multi-party democracy. This is led by the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM*), which has been in power since 1996 and can be translated to the Revolutionary State Party. Though many observers, such as the U.S. State Department, have declared Tanzania an island of political stability in East Africa, the re-election of the CCM in the House of Representatives in Zanzibar has engendered considerable political violence (Throup, 2016). In October 2015, John Pombe Magufuli was elected the fifth president of the United Republic of Tanzania and is currently still leading. Magufuli's Fifth-Phase Government is aiming to take efforts to clampdown on corruption, improve public administration and manage public resources for improved social outcomes (URT, 2016). Despite the government's anti-corruption efforts, Tanzania continues to suffer from extensive corruption (Lindner, 2014). Corruption is cited as one of the major constraints for doing business in the country and affects many sectors in Tanzania, including procurement, tax administration, service-delivery, the police and the judiciary (World Economic Forum, 2013). Because of this prevalent corruption, fruits of the many are kept in hands of the few, which causes for low expectations among the current state rule and their development plans.

Politics and resource dependencies

'Given the recent developments in Tanzania threatening harassment and discrimination against the Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender (LGBT+) community, all visiting missions to Tanzania have been suspended with immediate effect until we are assured of the safety and security of all employees' (Kenya24News, November 16, 2018)

55

Recently, World Bank has joined the fray of international organisations condemning Tanzania over recent attack of homosexuals. The World Bank is withholding 700 billion Tanzanian shilling (\$300 million, €264 million), which is the majority share of the planned educational budget of 900 billion Tanzanian shillings. Makonda, governor of Dar es Salaam, called for the creation of a surveillance unit to hunt down homosexuals throughout the country: 'I have received reports that there are so many homosexuals in our city, and these homosexuals are advertising and selling their services on the internet,' Tanzanian law criminalizes consensual sexual conduct between adult males, with a penalty of 30 years to life in prison, one of the most severe punishments for same-sex intimacy in the world (Human Rights Watch, 2017). The Tanzanian government has since denied that the call by the governor represented its official policy and Makonda was arising his personal views and the State will continue to respect and uphold all human rights as provided for in the country's constitution. While many do not believe that international pressure will have an impact on President Magufuli, these decisions are very painful to the country's inhabitants. Inevitably, the effect this statement has on homosexuals is very disheartening and threatens the social balances of equity throughout Tanzania's livelihoods and governmental trust. In addition, this example illustrates how much Tanzania still depends on resources from other countries for development and affects Dar es Salaam, as the country's largest city, the most.

In Dar es Salaam, major urban planning projects largely rely on international, private and non-profit funding as well. One example of this is the ongoing Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project (DART), which main objective is to improve urban services and institutional capacity of the Metropolitan area (JICA, 2008). As funding withdraws or resources run out, work on the built environment and other development projects will often be postponed or even put to an end. The intrinsic and vulnerable relationship between politics and economy can be of critical influence on urban planning and designing and together with wisely budgeting needs to be carefully integrated in a project's phasing to increase its resilience and durability.

Economy and informal employment

Tanzania has experienced strong and rapid economic growth, with an annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaging around six to seven percent in the last decade (WorldBank, 2018). Dar es Salaam produces around 40% of the country's total GDP and the bulk of the country's employment in the service sector is also concentrated in Dar es Salaam (The Heritage Foundation, 2018). Tanzania's mineral and mining resources, it's largely untapped tourism sector together with its history of political stability make it a viable market for foreign investment. Despite the growing economic performance, Tanzania remains amongst the poorest countries in the world (Msambichaka, Mwamba, & Mashindano, 2006). Women, youth and those with less education are especially vulnerable in terms of unemployment and eventhough there has been an expansion and access to education, the quality of education has not always followed through (UNDP & URT, 2015). The country is largely dependent on agriculture for employment, accounting for about half of the employed workforce (Msambichaka et al., 2006). This strong dependence on agriculture, makes Tanzania's economy highly vulnerable to weather shocks and fluctuating commodity prices.

Urban agriculture is also of widespread occurrence in Dar es Salaam (Mkwela, 2013; Mlozi, 1997). Even though many households have diversified their economic development patterns away from agriculture, agriculture has still been used, especially by the poor, as a short-term strategy to cope with food shortages, economic, social, climatic and political instabilities that have occurred in different periods (Mkwela, 2013). Second to agricultural practice, the informal sector hosts much labour force where earnings and job security are low, despite the government's efforts to increase formal employment (URT, 2016). The majority of inhabitants is youth and these groups are locked in low productivity and informal jobs (URT, 2016). A part of the growing 'informalisation' of employment may be attributed to the globalisation process of the economy. This is because enterprises tend to respond to competitive pressure in resorting to mixed-mode labour arrangements, in which observance of labour regulations for some workers is combined with the use of non-standard, atypical, alternative, irregular, precarious, etc. types of labour or various forms of subcontracting. Informality has its own repercussions though many governments have left it of or neglected. It nevertheless is one of the concerns of international development and urban planning issues (Abebe, 2011).

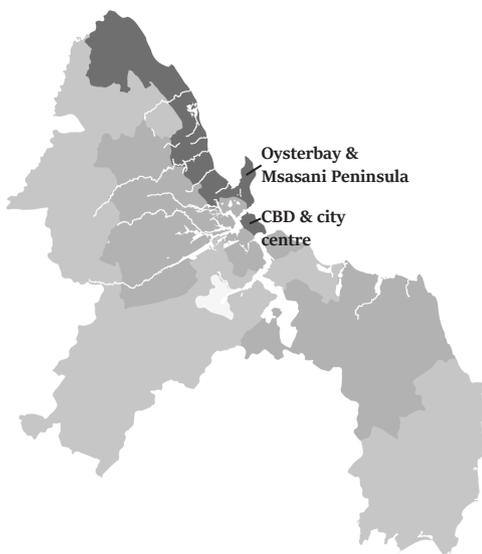


Figure 33 Income* disparities (by author)

- High
- Middle
- Middle and low
- Low

*Income is relative

It is important to clarify the understanding of informal employment within the context of this thesis because there are many conceptual and statistical definitions

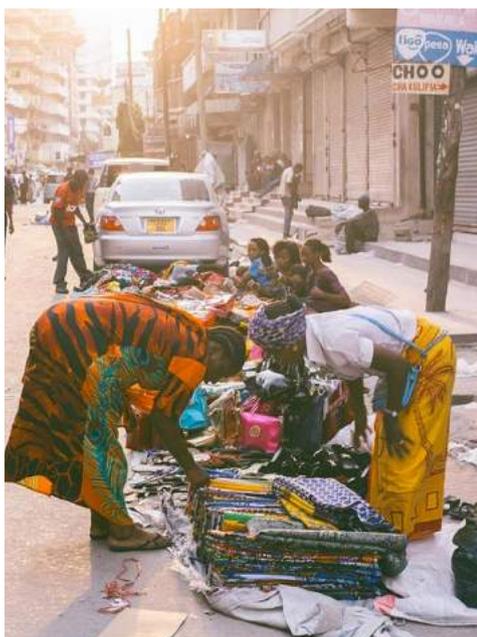


Figure 34 Streetvending Dar es Salaam

	Urban activities (primarily)	Rural activities (primarily)
Informal income opportunities: legitimate		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary and secondary activities • Tertiary enterprises with relatively large capital inputs • Small-scale distribution • Other services • Private transfer payments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building contractors and associated activities, self-employed artisans, shoemakers, tailors, manufacturers of beers and spirits • Housing, rentier activities, commodity speculation • Market operatives, petty traders, street hawkers, caterers in food and drink, bar attendants, commission, agents, dealers • Musicians, launderers, shoeshiners, barbers, vehicle repair • Begging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming/agricultural businesses, fishing • Transport, commodity speculation, • Street hawkers, carriers, market operatives • Vehicle repair and other maintenance workers, • Borrowing
Informal income opportunities: illegitimate		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services • Transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hustlers and spivs, receivers of stolen goods, usury, pawnbroking, drug-pushing, prostitution, smuggling, bribery, political corruption • Petty theft (e.g. pickpockets), gamblers, tricksters, burglary and robbery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug-pushing, smuggling, bribery • Gamblers

Figure 35 Types of informal employment (by author)

of formality and informality and it encompasses a huge diversity of situations and phenomena. The terms ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ were used in the anthropological arena in the 1960s, but they were not put into literature on development studies until the early 1970s (Abebe, 2011). The term was used to refer to an economic activity that is not regulated at all, and ‘formal’ incomes came from regulated economic activities and ‘informal’ incomes, both legal and illegal, lay beyond the scope of regulation. There are two prominent perspectives towards the analysis of informality when looking at economic activities. One approach considers the informal sector as a totally segregated activity to the formal sector, but with likely integration with it by legalisation process (De Soto, 2003), whereas the other treats informality as part and parcel of an ongoing economic activity and mode of urbanisation process (Bromley, 1978; Moser, 1978; Roy, 2005). Present-day informality is mostly understood as all jobs that are not recognised as normal income sources and on which taxes are not paid. It is also used to refer to only illegal activity. But there is a dual view in informality; on the one hand there are the presumably negative effects of informality in for instance the fact that informal workers often lack social protection, rights, representation and voice and are often in lowly productive work with poor working conditions. They are therefore also excluded from the benefits provided by states, markets and political processes. On the other hand; the informal economy is very much part of the daily livelihoods of many people in cities and the actuality that they are not recognised, but do provide much of the total income of the country, causes this indisputable contradiction. In Dar es Salaam, where for instance social organisation and cultural creativity are constituted by street vending, ‘informality’ cannot be ignored (Malefakis, 2015).

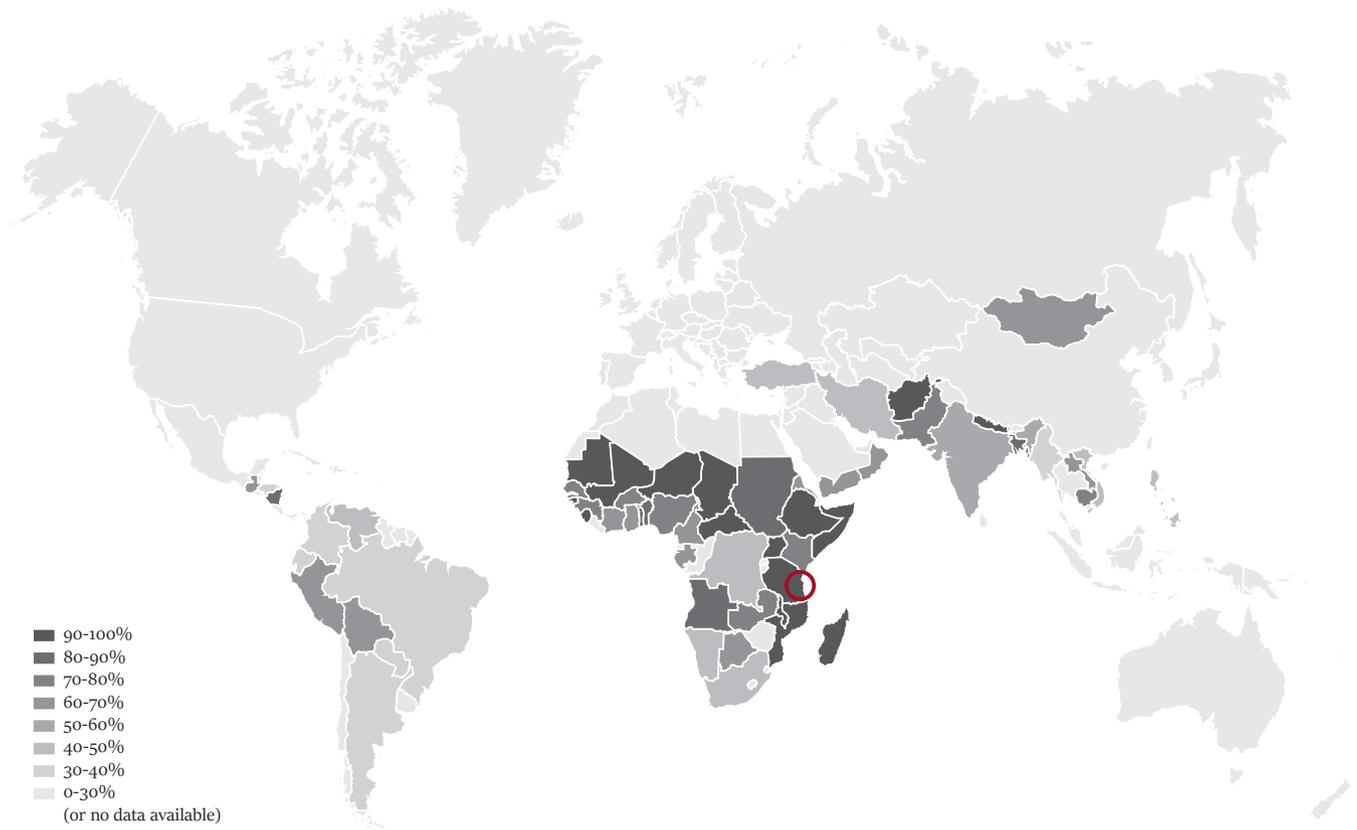


Figure 36 Percentage living in informal settlements (adapted from UN-habitat, 2014)

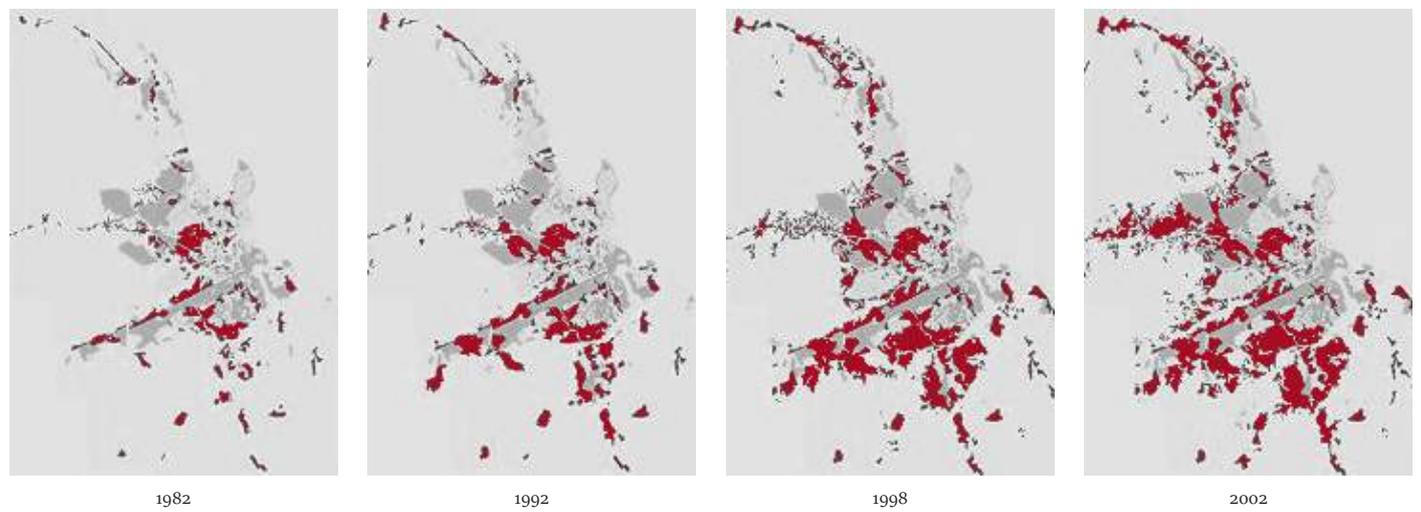


Figure 37 Informal settlements growth Dar es Salaam
 ■ Informal settlement

Madalali: Middlemen in land transfer occupy a widely acknowledged central place in Dar es Salaam. They operate as facilitators of contact between buyers, sellers, renters and landlords, connecting interested parties and thereby facilitating transaction (Wolff et al., 2018). With their key asset of highly localised knowledge, few middlemen are recognised or have official licenses.

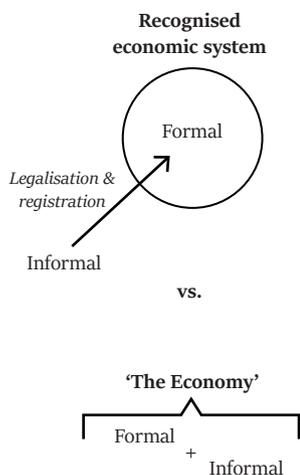


Figure 38 Two perceptions of the informal economy (by author)

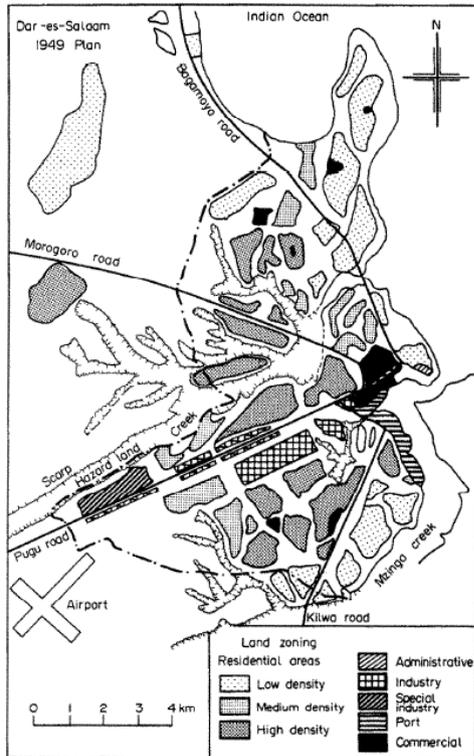
The 1999 Land Act was enacted specifically to translate and implement the National Land Policy (NLP) of 1995. The NLP is a comprehensive policy pronouncement regarding land tenure, management and administration. The overall objectives of the policy are among other things, to promote and ensure existence of a secure land tenure system in Tanzania and to sustainably foster optimal use of land. Ideally, the policy aims at promoting both equitable distribution of land and access to it by all its people.

Urban land governance and informal settlements

The current unplanned development in Dar es Salaam is a post-independence phenomenon. While spontaneous unplanned settlement development has been a feature of Dar es Salaam since the pre-1920 period, many such settlements were cleared or regularised by the colonial authorities. After 1948, unplanned settlements became a serious problem. Most of the developed areas, in which more than 70 per cent of the residents live, are irregularly developed with high densities, overcrowding and little or no land for roads, drains, schools, health centres or open spaces (Kimbisa, 2010). Access is a major problem, sprawling unplanned areas are exposed to frequent flooding, and waste is disposed of informally if at all (Kimbisa, 2010). In addition, access to safe drinking water is limited and sanitation mostly takes place through low quality pit latrines. In a study of three unplanned settlements in Dar es Salaam, it was found that 79 percent of respondents were born outside the city, 68 percent were tenants, 88 percent of those who had access to land were occupying land that had not been surveyed, and 46 percent considered themselves poor or very poor (WorldBank, 2002). The greatest concentration of poorly serviced unplanned settlements is located in Kinodoni district.

Forms of tenure, which are usually the products of land policy, have profound effects on physical urban patterns and affect the flexibility of adapting to pressures of rapid growth. For example, governments may deny certain sectors of their populations access to some types of tenure rights. On the other hand, systems of tenure affect the ease of land registration and land transfer and security of tenure of crucial importance in property investment and land management (Kironde, 1994). In the case of Tanzania, all land is publicly owned and vested in the President as trustee on behalf of citizens (URT, 1995). This implies that land cannot be owned by individuals and instead, statutory or customary rights are granted to occupancy. Land rights, citizens' ability to access and ascertain ownership over land, and effective land management are all topics which have been widely debated, criticised and contested in Tanzania, especially following the passing of the land acts in 1999 (Wolff et al., 2018).

As a consequence of the contested land governance in Dar es Salaam, the urban landscape is characterised by a high degree of diversity; according to types of ownership documentation, actors involved in land management, and activities on the ground at present (Wolff et al., 2018). Land transactions range from highly localised to highly centralised. For that reason, residents need highly localized knowledge to access land available for rent, but then all formalized land transactions need to pass through ministry of lands for finalization of title deeds. Thus, buyers and sellers need to successfully navigate several levels of authority in their effort to access and secure land ownership. In addition, there is an increasing financialisation of the land market in Dar es Salaam. According to Wolf et al. (2018) this is driven primarily by the private sector on a range of levels: private (often foreign) investors investing heavily in property development, private surveying companies buying land and doing urban planning, and, on the local level, Madalali being the middle-men between individual land owners and investors. Due to the public sector's inefficacy in the urban land market, privatisation (and often homogenisation) of the market thereby taking place on all levels and city planners are unable to adequately respond to the growth of informal settlements.



Year of publication 1949

Plan Period 1949-1969

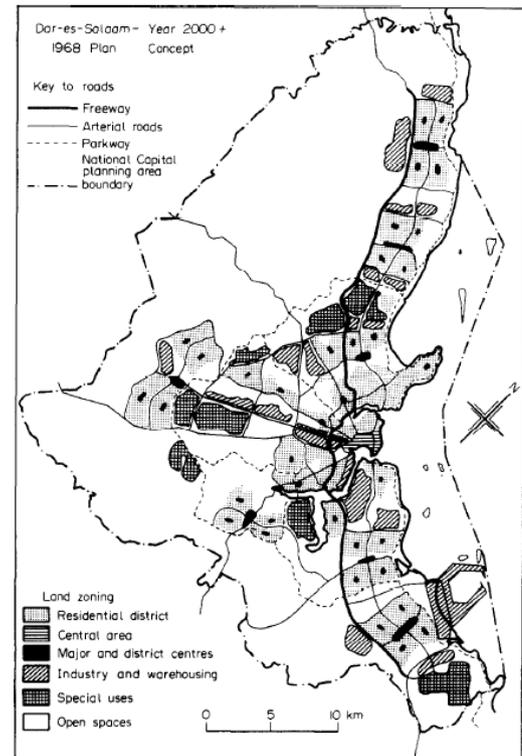
Funding Britain

Planning area 84 km²

Population 69,227 (200,000)*

Major planning concepts

Zoning of functions; zoning of residential areas according to density and races; neighbourhood units, Breeze lanes, open space provision; non-geometric street layouts, density and building standards



Year of publication 1968

Plan Period 1968-1989

Funding Canada

Planning area 404 km²

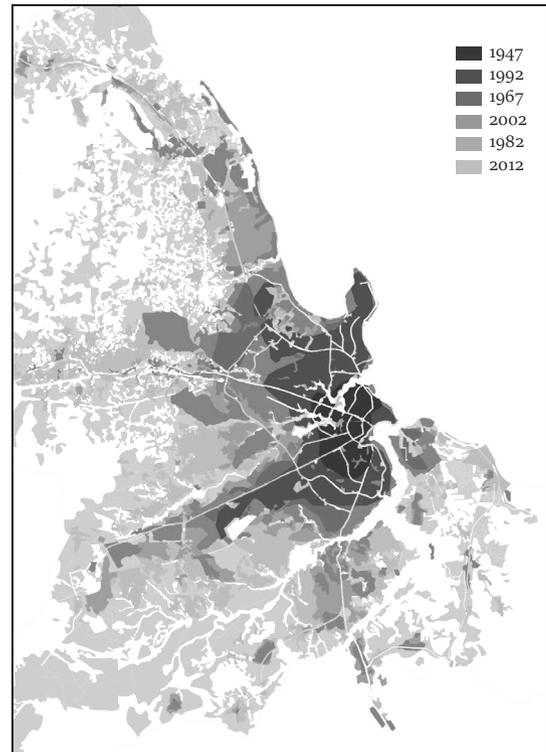
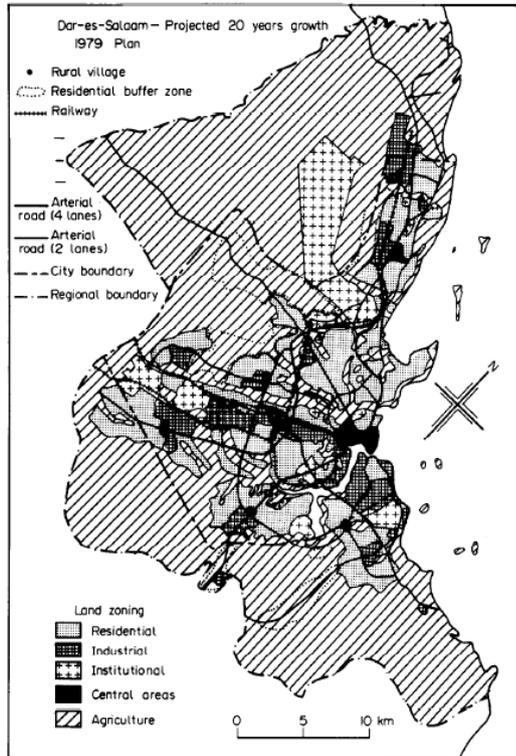
Population 272,515 (1,000,000)*

Major planning concepts

Plan 2000 (long range concept) systems approach; ecosystem of growth/hierarchical modular urban structure including neighbourhood units, satellite sub-cities city-region planning; green belt, parkways, landscape corridors, open space provision; sector strategies; five year capital works programme.

* Figure in brackets denote proposed/projected totals

Figure 39 Dar es Salaam masterplans (Historic maps and data adapted from Armstrong (1979))



Year of publication 1979
Plan Period 1979-1999
Funding Sweden
Planning area 448 km²
Population 849,000 (2,368,000)*

Major Planning concepts

Flexibility- population attained rather than target years; hierarchical urban structure based on planning module; sub-classification of residential areas/recognition of squatter areas; participation of implementing agencies; detailed implementation programme including 47 priority projects.

Year of publication 2018 (now)
Plan Period Short-term planning
Funding (private) foreign investment, international agencies
Planning area 565 km²
Population >4,300,000

Major Planning concepts

No masterplans. New Town and Central Business districts, Westernisation and homogenisation, Infrastructural development Flood and natural hazard protection

4. Masterplanning and spatial change

In addressing the role and influence of the series of post-war Master Plans (see previous page) on Dar es Salaam's development, the city's present malaise suggests that their impact has been relatively small and not wholly beneficial (Armstrong, 1987). The masterplans themselves have formed only one element in a wider policy response by government and local authorities aimed at alleviating the damaging consequences of Dar es Salaam's untrammelled growth. More or less direct urban policy measures including administrative and industrial decentralisation, transfer of the national capital and periodic influx control and repatriation campaigns for the city's unemployed, among others, have done little to curb concentration tendencies focussed on Dar es Salaam (Armstrong, 1987).

However, the master plans must carry some of the responsibility for their own impotence in improving city conditions. In preparation, approach and content, much of the master planning process has been misconceived, irrelevant and inappropriate to the real needs of the city and its residents and, at worst has contributed to creating some of the problems which current planners are addressing. These masterplans represent the impress of cultural colonialism. Ironically, not much has changed...

This chapter will elaborate on a couple of influential contemporary urban plans to identify present-day (spatial) development.

Tackling unplanned housing: 20.000 plot

In 2002, the ministry of Lands and Humans Settlements Development embarked on the implementation of a project to plan, survey and make available 20.000 plots in Dar es Salaam. Besides poverty reduction, the project was aimed at addressing the growing number of informal settlements in the city by the timely delivery of plots (Un-Habitat, 2010a). In addition, the project was meant to implement the anti-corruption strategy in the land sector by making a large number of surveyed and serviced plots of different densities available (Un-Habitat, 2010a). The project has generally been a success and was entirely locally financed and implemented. The original objective of completing the project could not be realised in one year, due to difficulties in attaining plots to resell (see image right page), but implementation continues today (Un-Habitat, 2010a). Over 40,000 plots were produced and sold; the invested billions of shillings were recouped several times over; and replication was enabled. However, it increased poverty among those whose land was acquired; and fuelled the growth of informal settlements (Mkenda, 2006). One drawback is that the land selected had to be peripheral in order to minimise compensation, which made the building standards and existing space serving higher income groups and not pro-poor (Mkenda, 2006). In addition, poverty was increased among those whose land was acquired as they (often) move into unplanned areas (Un-Habitat, 2010a).

This project remains the largest planned land development project that Tanzania has ever undertaken, but despite its success, the majority (more than 80

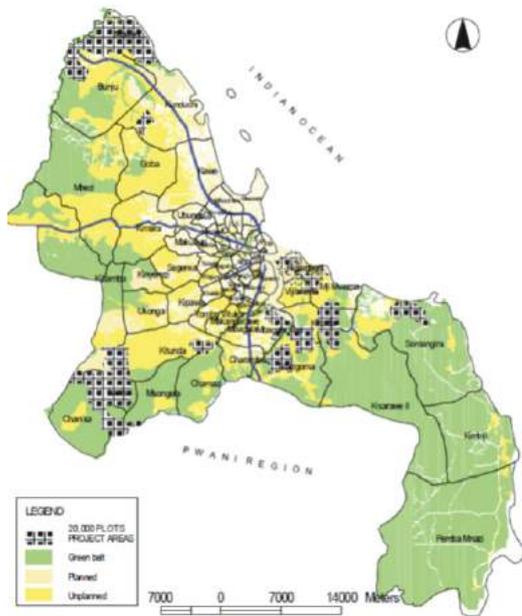


Figure 40 20,000 plots project (UN-Habitat, 2010b)

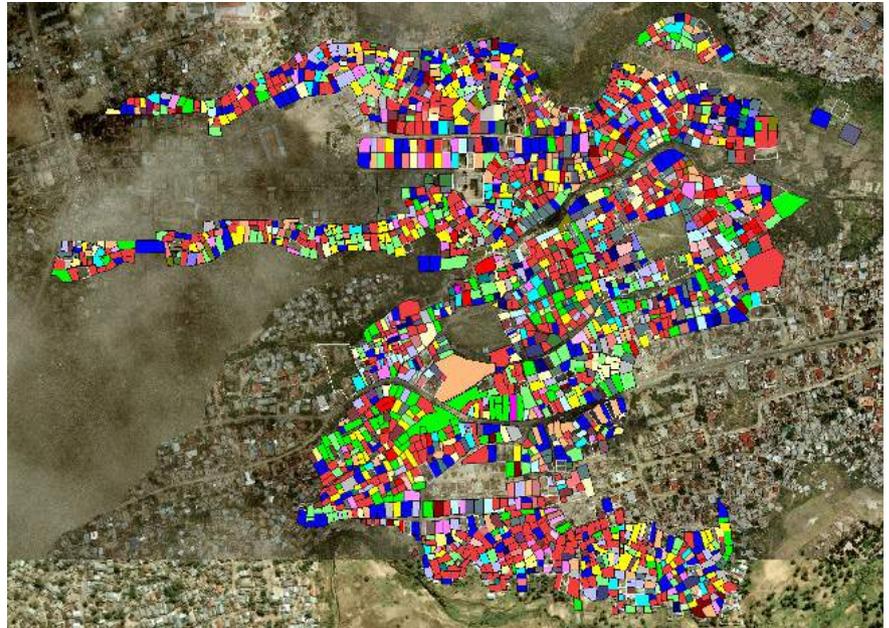


Figure 41 A diverse slum in Dar es Salaam: each colour represents a household from a different tribe

percent) of Dar es Salaam's inhabitants remain to live in unplanned and un-serviced settlements (UN-Habitat, 2010b). Unplanned areas continue to grow as the supply of planned and serviced land does not match in terms of quantity, price and location. Many landowners continue to subdivide their land informally and sell it to small-scale developers in an unplanned manner (UN-Habitat, 2010b). Existing unplanned areas continue to densify and some of the more accessible areas are undergoing gentrification. Thus, adequate supply of housing lingers to be an important, yet very demanding task.

Political ideologies: Kigamboni New City

The subject of building New City's has all but disappeared from architectural discourse. In Western Europe, the first and foremost condition for building new cities- economic growth- has disappeared and the extension and densification of existing cities has taken its place. The New Cities of the post-war era, attempting to solve the immediate and crunching housing shortage, have proven to be somewhat of a disappointment (Provoost, 2013). In addition, the megalomaniacal belief in the 'City of the Future' that reigned during the 1960s has vanished, diminishing the need for visionary urban utopias (Provoost, 2013). This questions whether it is even possible to create a city from scratch. However, New cities are still being built and emerging in an astonishing series of huge new metropolises underway in Asia and in relatively modest numbers in Latin America and Africa. Ironically, many of these cities are planned or designed by Western architecture firms, while paradoxically, 'their' schools theorise mostly about the inability to plan urbanisation (Provoost, 2013). Additionally, the circumstances of the West's twentieth century New Cities' boom are totally different and the body of knowledge concerning New City planning cannot be found adequate. Present-day New Cities are, by default of their mortgage prices, generally populated by the middle and upper classes, while the lower income groups live in the old city or in self-organised cities, slums and favelas (Provoost, 2013). The ideology of an inclusive target audience shifted to an increasingly exclusive and wealthy segment of society to provide shelter against the pressure and discomfort of the big city (Van Stiphout, 2013). Provoost also states that, for the first time in history, the city can be considered a commercial product, made possible by its reduced demographic program (2013).



Figure 42 Kigamboni New city location (= current Kigamboni district) (by author)

While Dar es Salaam hasn't had an extensive masterplan for decades, also here New Cities has taken up a prominent role in the urban planning of the city, one of the largest examples being the New Kigamboni City. The New City at Kigamboni area was initiated in early 2008, by the government of Tanzania through the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHSD). The most important being that the move would provide solutions to mitigate the urbanisation problems of Dar es Salaam (Hakiardhi, 2012). Implementation of the project was categorised into three phases from 2011 to 2020, 2021-2025 and 2026-2030 and expected to generate significant social and economic benefits to the people of Kigamboni and a potential site for urban expansion of Dar es Salaam city. Even though the project's initiation was in 2008, not much has actually happened since then, but development driven displacements and relocation of people. There is also some evidence that people who get displaced by such projects move into unplanned areas (Un-Habitat, 2010a). Over the course of time, in line (and even on the same location) other 'Western Style' development plans have been put to attention. The ideology of politics to build a 'new city' remains to be a persistent phenomenon.



Figure 43 Kigamboni New City 'advertising' images
 All of these images seem to be plucked out of a brochure and none of the African context is depicted. Again, Western ideologies and the pure purpose of making money, take over any realistic perception of the real challenges and demands of the city.



Figure 44 Public Transport Dar es Salaam

- Dala Dala* routes
- Dala Dala stops
- - - Railway
- ⊙ Railway stations
- BRT route
- BRT stops
- ✕ Airport
- - - Waterway (to Zanzibar and islands)

"DalaDala's are since the 80s, the most convenient mode of public transport, they are privately owned minivans which are usually overcrowded and have no specific timing schedule. With the influx of cheap imports of Indian manufactures, 2010 also saw the introduction of Bajaji, which serve as a safer option for bodaboda motorcycles or pikipiki. They are considered as the fastest, yet the most unsafe way to get around in the city.

Infrastructure and public transport as the solution Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project

The most recent and incremental development plan in Dar es Salaam is the Dar Metropolitan Development Project (DMDP). The DMDP was proposed as a Series of Projects in the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan region with the objective of 'improving urban services and institutional capacity in the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Area and facilitating potential emergency response'. It is aimed to directly benefit approximately 1,500,000 residents in the broader Dar es Salaam area through improvements in basic infrastructure services and low-income community upgrading. The planning and capacity strengthening interventions (improving metropolitan governance arrangements, integrated transport and land use planning, and modernising own source revenue and GIS systems) is aimed to have metropolitan-wide benefits. (JICA, 2008)



Figure 45 Dala Dala's in Dar es Salaam.

As aforementioned, one of the most pressing issues in Dar es Salaam is the congestion crisis on road networks and major mobility problems due to the combination of rapid growth, an underdeveloped road network, an increase in motorisation and port-through traffic, and the lack of efficient public transport. Nevertheless, several studies emphasize that over 85% of Dar es Salaam's residents walk, cycle or depend on public transport to secure their livelihoods (Chengulaa & Kombe, 2017; JICA, 2008; Kalugendo, 2010; WorldBank, 2017). Public transport is a critical means by which citizens can effectively access goods and services across the city, but it also indicates the amount of pressure directly being exerted on the transport demand in the city. In absence of good public transport services and with rising income per capital, more people have opted to travel with their own vehicles, alongside the very extensive network of unsafe and overcrowded Daladala's*.

To mitigate these public transport challenges, a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system was proposed. BRT is a relatively new mode of transport, which can be found in 195 cities around the world and is expected to be an effective and viable solution for urban mobility challenges (Chengulaa & Kombe, 2017). Unlike more traditional bus systems, the BRT system operates in exclusive designated lanes and has a greater capacity, a unique ticketing system and provides real-time information (Chengulaa & Kombe, 2017). The sustainable transport award-winning BRT system in Dar es Salaam, consists of multiple phases of which phase 1 began operating in 2016 and is now serving 200,000 passengers per day. The phase 1 BRT corridor is 21.1 kilometres long and developed along the Morogoro road, which connects the city centre to other neighbourhoods. The plan is to encourage major urban activities to concentrate along this corridor, aiming to establish a compact and efficient urban structure with the area between the additionally developed arterial roads designated as a special development zone to encourage intensive urban development (JICA, 2008). As shown in the image, the strategic corridor development will be extended to the South and followed with the east, with a long-term perspective of creating a more polycentric development pattern along with satellite centres (JICA, 2008). The Transit Oriented Development plan is additionally outsourced to a global architecture, urbanism and design office who are leading the 'international advisory team' in preparing the strategic framework for Dar es Salaam's proposed 137 km BRT network corridor as part of the DMDP (BroadwayMalyan, 2018).



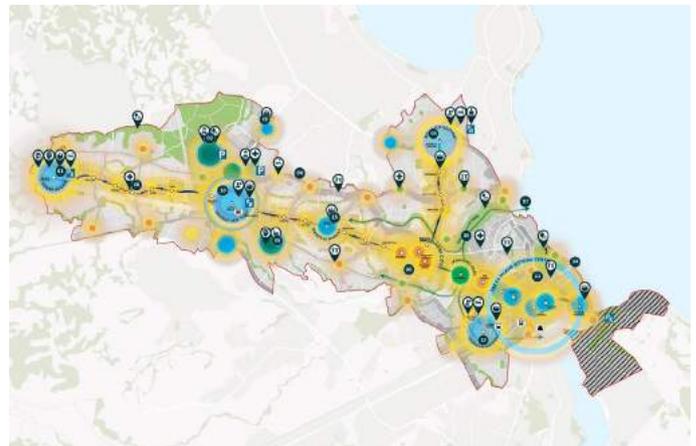
BRT station Kinondoni



Actual BRT stop Dar es Salaam



Image that is being associated with Ubungo pilot plan (which could be anywhere but in Dar es Salaam)



'Corridor development framework' (also, how thought through is this?)

Figure 46 BRT development plan (Broadway Malyan, 2018)

However, the development of such an extensive infrastructure network alongside the city's globalisation and rapid urbanisation trends, raises multiple questions. Initially, the BRT system, or any other public transport intervention, introduces technical controversy related to the workings of the BRT's exclusionary lanes space with existing infrastructure and the actual usages and evaluations of the aimed target groups. However and more importantly, it disputes the planning and development of urban space and socio-economic networks that are induced or interrupted by the system. As Transit Oriented Development promises increased accessibility, safety and economic growth with relatively low resources, it may well result in unexpected exclusionary effects and not answer to the problems of sprawling informality and widening spatial segregation. Without knowledge on how citizens evaluate such changes in their direct environment and their scope for action of future beings, it is difficult to gain a meaningful overview over the intricate workings on the current urban environments and to provide a sustainable and long-lasting, inclusive development.



Figure 47 BRT routes and phasing (via Broadway Malyan et al., 2019)

Phase 1	20.9km
Phase 1 Feeder line	
Phase 2	19.3km
Phase 2 Feeder line	
Phase 3	23.6 km
Phase 3 Feeder line	
Phase 4	16.1 km
Phase 5	22.8km
Phase 6	27.6km
○ ○ ○	BRT local station
● ● ●	BRT Interchange with feeder
○	BRT Terminal
—	Railway
○	Railway Station
—	Ferry
●	Ferry Station

130.3km of DART corridors
18 terminals
228 stations

CONCLUSIONS

PART III

Exploring Dar es Salaam as a post-developmental from multiple angles and dimensions revealed:

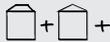
Trends > Challenges

Global forces and contradictory demands



- Risk of exclusion of population and activities that do not fit the visions (the poor and 'informal')
- Unexplored and disregarded local challenges and opportunities

Rapid urbanisation



- Expansion of spontaneous settlements
- Lack and disappearance of open, public spaces
- Unfamiliar and unrecognised appropriation of spaces

Growth of inhabitants and unvarying look-alike, 'informal' economies



- Ignored or abolished local livelihood activities
- Inadequate and low availability to grow skills and knowledge and to thus diversify

Poor quality, congested and unsafe infrastructure



- Development focus on road infrastructure and public transit systems
- Negligence and overlooked importance, qualities and potentials of (other) public urban infrastructure for local activities

Increasing environmental risks



- Lack of environmentally conscious infrastructure
- Undervalued potentials of sustainable spatial design



PART IV Interpretation

The main research question noted: *How can development in African cities be approached from a post-developmental perspective in a project considering infrastructure, commerce and public space?*

The previous chapter primarily provided background information on the context of urban planning and designing in Dar es Salaam as an African city. It introduced the city's spatial features, socio-economic context and spatial development processes in its historic and current condition informed by data and theory.

This section, on the other hand, will go deeper into the concepts posed within the research question and what distinguishes this thesis from other similar researches. Findings on the ground, informed by (philosophical) theory will gradually deconstruct the research question into practicable elements. It will set spatial and contextual boundaries to further define the framework. Placing theory into factual and empirical knowledge will bring in the 'African reality' of Dar es Salaam as such is implied with adopting a 'post-developmental perspective'.

LOCAL FRAMEWORK

‘Something that is non-negotiable cannot be changed by discussion’

It might seem strange to define non-negotiables in a city which is constantly growing and evolving as we speak. One of the prerequisites within this generation is that urban designs are flexible, test the political and spatial boundaries, are democratically constituted and so on. However, in terms of the physical appearance of the city, in specific ‘The African City’, is that there currently are certain (natural) conditions and (political) trends that are unlikely to change over the coming decades or be reversed by merely urbanism projects.

The city of Dar es Salaam entails many unfolding and ever-growing issues that cannot be ignored and are of significant importance within the city and its future state of being. Take into consideration elements related to the city’s rapid growth, education and health services and issues, climate change and water shortage, etcetera. This chapter will explain some of these ‘non-negotiable’ elements and in doing so, aims to de-

fine the framework in which research proposals may be set up.

Thus, even though the focus of this thesis finds itself within the realm of public space within urban networks in a man-made environment and undoubtedly has a limited scope, this chapter wishes to make clear that the following highly demanding themes are acknowledged and indispensable. In a thorough urban development plan, these non-negotiables should in no case be further dissipated or ignored, but rather a way to work 'with' them should be sought after. Some of the upcoming items have already been briefly mentioned from a general and broader perspective in the introduction, but they will now be pinpointed in Dar es Salaam and therefore better applicable for urban planning and designing projects.

1. Pressures on urban space



Tanzania's government has begun to demolish houses in an area of the main city of Dar es Salaam that is prone to flooding, leaving hundreds of people homeless



The National environment Management Council wants to clear the valley so water is able to pass through without getting blocked. About a dozen people died in flooding in the city last year [2015].



People are now living in makeshift shelter on the site of their old home. Some have lived there for many years and have title deed, which proves ownership- and want compensation.



Structures with title deeds cannot now be flattened, but as most do not have them, the demolition work has been continuing. About 15,000 houses have been earmarked in total. The court case is not over - and the government has yet to argue its case for a complete clearing of the area. People do not know how long they will have to wait for the money he says he is owed.

Figure 48 Who's right? (BBC, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35303212>)

Space is short in rapidly urbanising African cities. In the city, houses, industry, offices and infrastructure sprout wherever space is available, including on vegetated land, riverine areas and mangrove forests. The different approaches for examining changes in open, public space make it difficult to directly compare data and research results (Karutz, Berghöfer, Moore, & Van Wyk, 2018). However, the general trend is clear: Dar es Salaam is losing green, open and public space at a rapid pace. Several main pressures will be discussed below with the main question arising of: 'How can one maximise space in the city for the urban to use, but without further degrading natural habitats and ecosystems and for the social (economic) practice and space to co-evolve?'

Land conversion

Usually, there are differences between the pressure on open spaces outside cities and the open spaces inside urban areas. Karutz et al. (2018) describe the transformation of land Dar es Salaam, now mainly occurring on the urban fringe, as a two-step transformation. In the first step, natural vegetation such as wood or bushland is removed to create arable land. In this way, many benefits from natural areas are being lost, such as firewood, natural water regulation systems and the biodiversity which sustains life in the wider landscape (Karutz et al., 2018). Alternatively, agricultural practices on this land are generating other benefits, such as income to a large number of residents in Dar es Salaam and it serves fresh, local food to the city. In the second step, Karutz et al. (2018) explain, that some of this agricultural land on the urban fringe is being converted to the development of settlements and infrastructure. This entails a permanent loss of fertile land and permeable surfaces (Karutz et al., 2018). The settlements at the urban fringe are relatively green, but this changes as these densify.

Moreover, metropolises such as Dar es Salaam have an impact on ecosystems and land conversion that goes far beyond their administrative boundaries. Resources such as water, energy and building materials are almost entirely drawn from outside the city (Karutz et al., 2018). For example, forests around the city have been cut down for timber and charcoal to serve the city's large amount of inhabitants' demand for food and fuel, also spurring illegal activities. All kinds of resources, such as food or building materials (e.g. sand) are also transported into the city from its surrounding areas. As nearby resources are depleted, the impact distance grows.

Growth of citizens: land and settlements

As mentioned before, Dar es Salaam is suffering from high population growth and housing delivery is unable to keep up with the demand of the burgeoning population (BroadwayMalyan, 2019). This has resulted in an explosion of spontaneous and unplanned settlements developing as a ring around the formal city centre which transitions into low density suburban sprawl as the city grows outward from the centre (BroadwayMalyan, 2019). Most (residential) buildings are predominantly single storey and their density is much lower than would be expected for a city of millions.

Two types of urban settlement are officially recognised in Tanzania: 1) planned residential areas (central location or peripheral); 2) unplanned residential areas (high or lower density) (Moshi, Msuya, & Todd, 2018). These settlements types are linked to density and income: high-density (plot sizes of maximum 600 sqm), medium density (plot sizes 601-1,200 sqm), and low-density (plot sizes 2,000-2,500 sqm), and spontaneous housing runs across the settlement types. The 'planned residential land' is characterised as surveyed land in which infrastructure and services may be available following plot allocation with private developers taking lead. There remains, however, increasing pressure on the infrastructure and services provided. Although occupancy here is increasing, density remains low. Unplanned residential land on the other hand, is characterised by high occupancy and varying densities with increased demand. Infrastructure and service demand is high, but provision is led by Local Government Agencies and residents themselves (Moshi et al., 2018). The next pages also showcase the different types of settlements and their spatial typologies.

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Furthermore, there is a cultural association of wealth and ownership of land and property. Space becomes limited as dwellers have a preference to build their own home, on their own land. This is among the leading causes of the city's housing deficit and rooted in the National Human Settlements Development Policy (Moshi et al., 2018). One of the aims of this policy is that urban settlements should match with 'the culture and living habits of the occupants'. With having many migrants from rural areas, this is conflicting with the urban density growth the city is moving towards.

There have been attempts of building satellite cities, but impacts will be limited unless a) low-income groups are prioritised; b) infrastructure/utilities are invested in too; and c) there is a change in culture from land ownership to house ownership (e.g. apartments). Thus, when urban designs prioritise the allocation of open spaces for green and public space and wish to direct settlement growth into vertical directions, above mentioned points are important to keep in mind.



Figure 49 Neighbourhood typologies (adapted from Moshi, Msuya, & Todd (2018))

■ Unplanned settlement



1



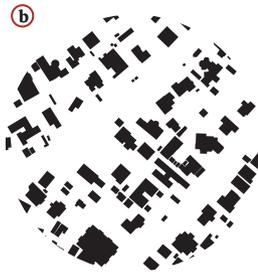
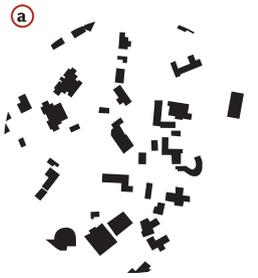
2



3



4



1. Formally planned neighbourhood

This neighbourhood typology is formally planned by the government. Meaning they provided basic infrastructure, such as roads, sewage and drainage systems. The buildings and building types built within this grid are, to some extent, controlled by the government. Neighbourhoods that fall within this definition are for example Oysterbay, Masaki and City Centre. The characteristics stem from Dar es Salaam's colonial times, when Westerns and Asians with higher incomes were (and still are) living in the city and building their houses.

2. Self-organised planned neighbourhood

This neighbourhood is characterised by structured and basic infrastructure. However, the buildings within this grid are mostly self-built by the plot owners. The building type and materials indicate the level of income. These, mostly residential one storey housing, grow in time whenever money is available. This has created a wide diversity of shapes and sizes and a variety of awkwardly combined building blocks. As sewage and drainage systems were poorly organised and are generally not working anymore, these neighbourhoods are first to be upgraded by city planners.

3. Self-organised unplanned neighbourhood

This type doesn't have any formally planned infrastructure, but the buildings are organised around a self-constructed system/grid and waste and water facilities are organised by owners or community. In some cases this type was a former village and with the city expanding, it naturally became part of city boundaries. There is a thin line between type 3 and 4. This type however, is more established and accepted by government officials because of this self-sufficient set-up and better living conditions.

4. Spontaneous unplanned settlement

This type is generally located along the fringes of planned neighbourhoods, along the river on mangrove swamps and at the edge of the city. There is no provision of basic infrastructure and sanitation, health and income levels are very low. Living conditions are found to be unsafe because of waste and water pollution.



Figure 50 Vegetable production in the Mbezi valley (Mlozi, 2011)



Figure 51 Chicken hut overhanging the fish pond at Kunduchi Campus, University of Dar-es-Salaam (COAF, 2018)



Figure 52 Vegetables and plantains growing in front/backyard of houses in Tabata Segerea (Mlozi, 2011)

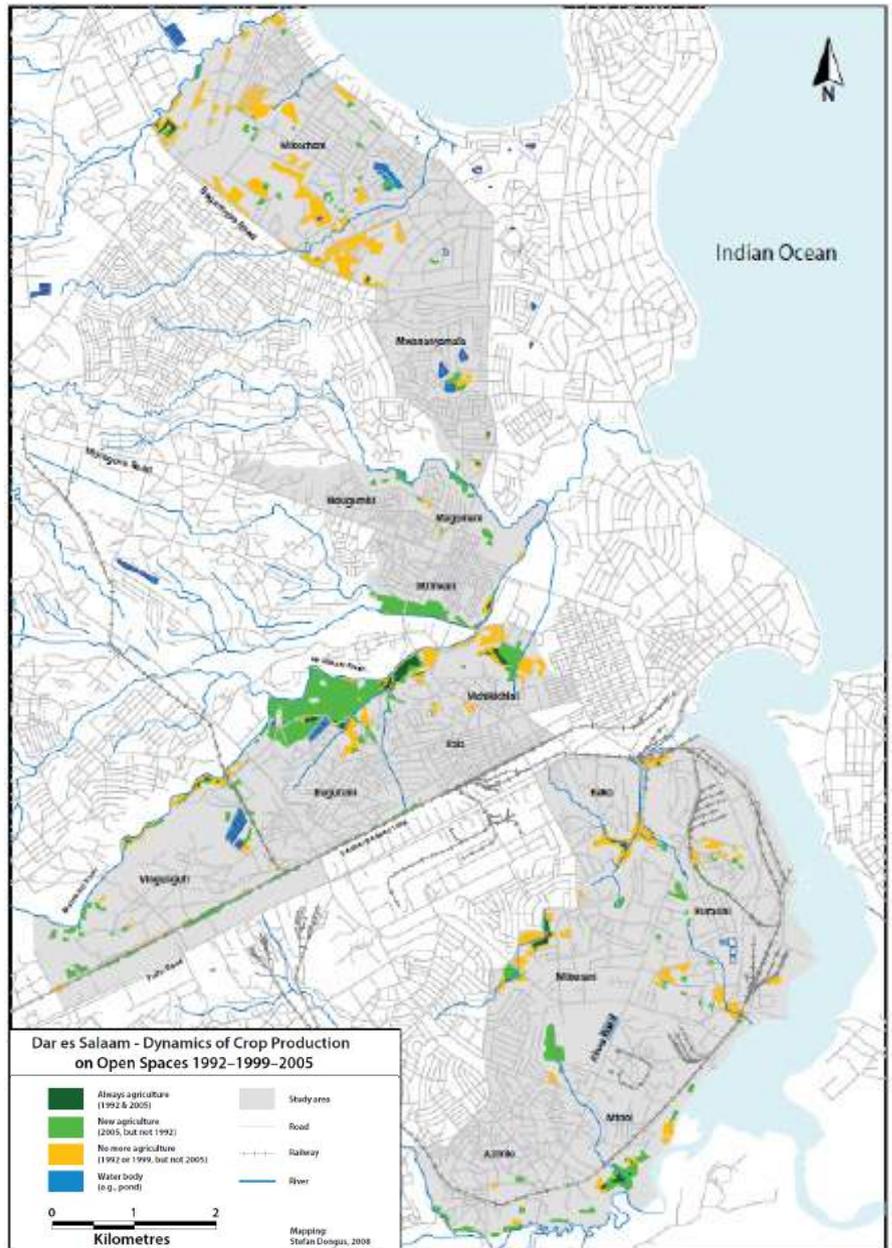


Figure 53 Spatio-temporal changes of cultivation of open spaces in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (1992-1999-2005) (Dreschel and Dongus, 2010)

Urban Agriculture

Rapid urbanisation has also led to serious concerns over household food security in urban areas. Urban agriculture, which includes both crop production and livestock raising, has been recognised to serve an important role in the economic, social and dietary life of many citizens. Agriculture in Dar es Salaam occurs in both urban and peri-urban land, both publicly and privately owned and in planned and unplanned high-density areas (Mlozi, Lupala, Chenyambuga, Liwenga, & Msogoya, 2014).

Open-space vegetable farming is a common form of agriculture in these high-density areas in the urban core and occurs on undeveloped land adjacent to roads or railways and on land unsuitable for construction, such as under power lines or in river valleys (see figure left)(Mlozi et al., 2014). This production is primarily carried out for commercial purposes and predominantly leafy greens. Livestock rearing features prominently on government-owned lands, including on land used for housing of government workers. Dairy cattle are kept within housing compounds or in temporary livestock sheds. Open spaces between houses, along roads and fences, on old golf courses, and along beaches, hedges and streams provide pasture for livestock. Food production in peri-urban areas is increasingly carried out by high-income groups who commute to farms on the city periphery or who have moved and reside there permanently. Food production in peri-urban areas is increasingly carried out by high-income groups who commute to farms on the city periphery or who have moved and reside there permanently.

There is a wide degree of risks for the city's Urban Agriculture farmers such as the influence by patterns of unplanned urban growth, competition for water with non-agricultural users and haphazard waste disposal and pollution (Mlozi et al., 2014). In the case of urban riverine areas, the production of open-space vegetables are influenced by the increased prevalence of flooding (Mlozi et al., 2014).

Moreover, despite its official recognition in policy frameworks, a proper institutional setting among actors is lacking and there is a lack of supportive policies and policy enforcement mechanisms. For example, in regards to vegetable production, the by laws state that fruit and vegetables should not obstruct the sight of roadways and growing crops is not permitted within 14 metres of roads. Furthermore, in river valleys, crop cultivation is not allowed within 15 metres of the riverbank, although farming is permissible, and even encouraged, within river valleys in general (Schmidt, 2012). However, the by-laws have never been amended or updated to reflect current conditions or issues such as water pollution and also other ambiguities remain. For example, it is unclear which animals are permitted. The spatial extent is also unclear – do the by-laws refer only to the urbanised areas of the city, or do they refer also to peri-urban areas? In addition, agricultural extension is organised at the municipal level (and further organised at the division, ward and mitaa (neighbourhood) levels (Schmidt, 2012).

Urban agriculture is a highly disputable form of using space in the city, but also lacks a lot of knowledge with regards to the penetrations of this 'informal' activity into the network of more formal market chains (Mlozi et al., 2014). The activity of small scale urban agriculture secures many livelihoods of citizens and though risk management and adaptive capacities should be investigated, it is here believed that urban agriculture is an important factor, within spatial designs of public spaces for the development of Dar es Salaam, to consider.

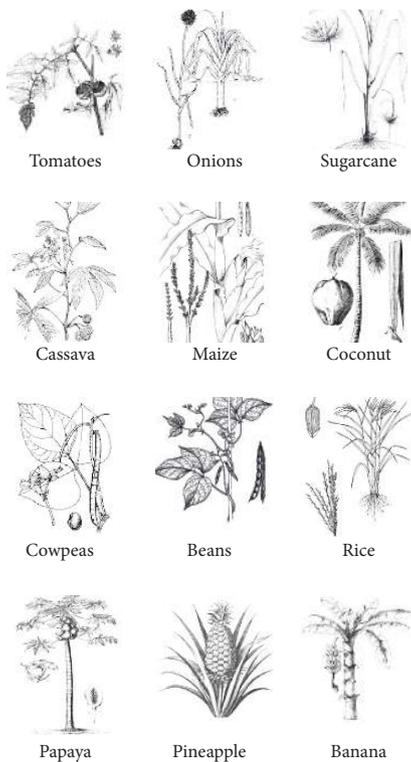


Figure 54 Other crops than leafy greens (Zum Felde, Beke, 2018)

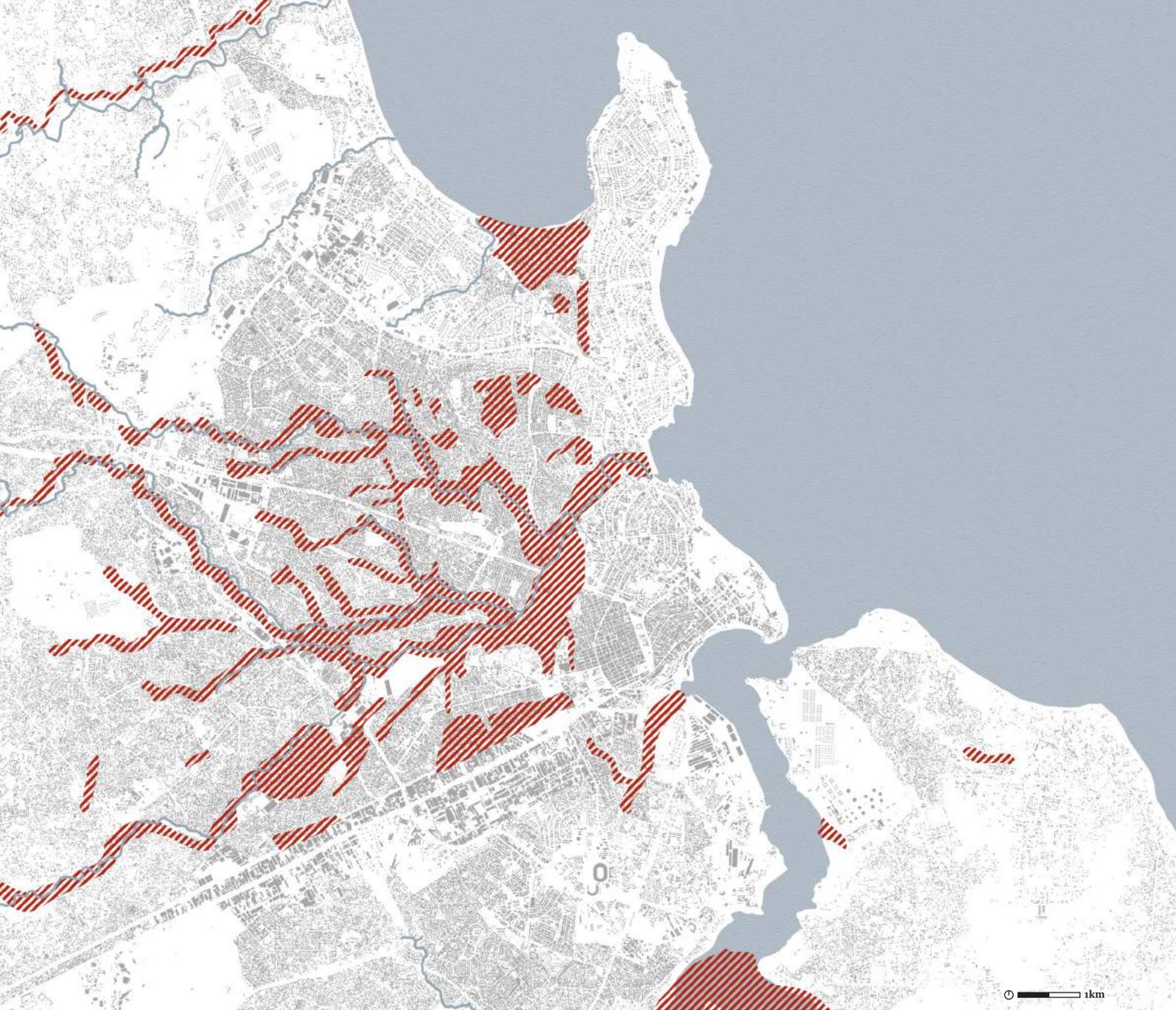


Figure 55 Flood risk

-  Flood risk
-  River/water stream
-  Spontaneous settlement

2. Climate change for Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam's water system

Current water stresses in African cities will likely intensify in the future due to given demographic, climatic and environmental trends. There will be an increased demand for water to cope with warmer conditions, including heatwaves, continued environmental degradation of water bodies and the growing risk of groundwater salinization (Mlozi, Lupala, Chenyambuga, Liwenga, & Msogoya, 2014). Dar es Salaam is partially situated upon a flood plain and under the combined pressure of climate change, rapid urbanisation and an insufficient water network, the risk of flooding is only increasing (World Bank Group, 2016). Because the artificial sewage and drainage network is not comprehensive and of low quality, the main drainage systems in large parts of the city are formed by the local rivers and creeks (TURP, 2018). But rivers and groundwater are being polluted by sewage discharge, waste and its quality is further compromised by saline intrusion from the coast. Even during dry season, the network is already at its capacity limits and during rainy season not nearly able to cope with storm water. Climate change and adverse natural events have the greatest impact on the poorest population who generally live in higher-risk areas and have a diminished capacity to recover from disaster (TURP, 2018). Due to the influx of people, unplanned settlements have started to form and are continuously growing around flood prone areas, putting their livelihoods at high risk. The government of Tanzania has taken some steps in responding to the threats of climate change, and some areas, such as Jangwani have been declared as non-residential by the ministry for Lands and Human Settlement Development due to their susceptibility to environment threats. But the government has difficulty of actions being filtered into government policies and plans and the rapid growth of unplanned settlements on river valleys has been found to be largely unstoppable.

In addition to the rivers and creeks in Dar es Salaam functioning as drainage system, they are also the structuring elements of green spaces that follow the water courses. This means in return that not only water and soil are being polluted by untreated sewage, but also the very limited green areas of the city strongly decrease in quality. This has a negative impact on the health of residents and the environmental services which are available.

With regards to spatial planning, it is not only important to recognise the disastrous effects of climate change, but more importantly it is to allocate hazardous areas and identify vulnerable citizens so that adequate measures can be taken to reduce risk. These measures concern conserving natural green and blue systems and in the case of Dar es Salaam, bringing back room for the river to increase capacity, but also creating open and green spaces to allow the ecological habitats to thrive.



Figure 56 Flooding Dar es Salaam 2019

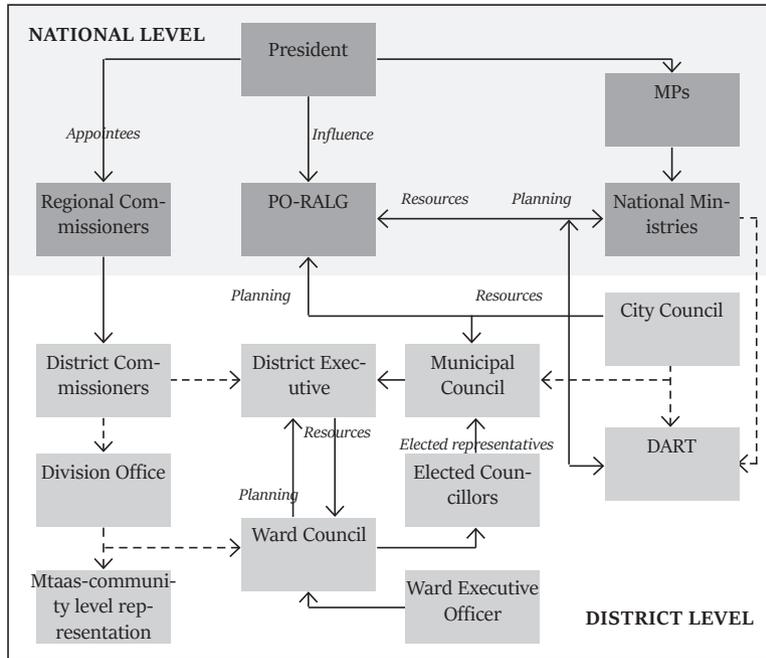


Figure 57 Dar es Salaam, relationships between central and local government (Adapted from BroadwayMalyan, 2019)

Institution	Influence	Role
The President's Office Regional Administration and Local Governance (PO-RALG)	●●●●●	Overall supervision on councils. Authority over all levels of planning and transport. Authority over special projects of national importance. Authority over budgets for lower tier agencies and departments.
Dar City Council (DCC)	●●○○○	Restructured in 2000. Mandate is to have cross-agency coordinating role to planning the city, but this is largely misunderstood and has resulted in its having minimal control over projects like BRT and Masterplan. Generally suffers from central government control, is under-funded and lacks human resources.
Municipal Council	●●●○○	Implementation of City Plan and preparation and implementation of Municipal level General Planning Schemes and Detailed Planning schemes by planning department. Tax levying, collection as well as processing, approval and enforcement of planning permits etc.. Responsible to provide and maintain parks and other open spaces.
Ward council	●●○○○	Safeguard welfare and well-being of administrative area within municipality. . Follow up planning schemes and building permits.
Mtaa committee	●○○○○	Street-level, or micro-community-level boards, consisting of elected member. Discuss community level issues, before forwarding them to the Ward Development Committee and on to urban councillor. Strengthen local governance and facilitate public participation. Advisory role and passing on information.

Figure 58 Government structures (adapted from: Broadway Malyan, 2019)

3. Governance system

It is important to understand the existing governmental structure of urban planning in Dar es Salaam as it will not only provide an overview of general decision-making, but moreover, hopefully, align the proposed development plan of this thesis with the contextual and legal possibilities on the ground. Reports established by the government, INGO's and NGOs together with personal experience of working with the government in a project considering public space will form the basis of analysis within this section.

Effectiveness of local government

Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam in particular, has a comprehensive system of laws, regulations and policies. The governmental structure as shown on the left diagram, is based on remains from the colonial era, and therefore displays many similarities to the legal systems in Great Britain and other European countries (Alexandersson & Ljung, 2014). Local government in Dar es Salaam is described by BroadwayMalyan (2019) as very much democratically accountable. Central government and agency are closely monitoring performance, service delivery and finance, which besides many admirable outcomes, it also adds to the complexity of local government and can result in slow-decision-making. In addition, due to weak integration and coordination, issues between and across levels of jurisdiction are poorly managed (World Bank Group, 2016). This lack of coordination has resulted in slow progress in the delivery of institutions, plans, regulations and guidance of regulations.

The diagrams on the left page indicate the structure and work stream of local government. President's Office Regional Administration and Local Governance (PO-RALG) consisting of several departments, has the main influence and responsibilities in developing the city. Most projects and decision-making pass through this head-office or their policies and public money flows generally start here, but manpower often falls short. Besides, local level agencies (ward or mtaa) have little power in urban planning and their main role is only following up and safeguarding of higher decision making and. While it is good to have a general vision and management of the city, it also causes gaps between local needs and top-down decision making. In addition, there is a lack in clarity regarding responsibilities for town planning as both local and central government have mandates and responsibilities (World Bank Group, 2016). It has been found difficult to prioritise or plan large projects or manage phasing to achieve more efficient use of resources and provide positive impacts.

City visioning and strategic planning

Strategic visions emerge distinctively in many cities, as it is believed that there is a need to stabilize finances and promote ongoing economic development; the desire to 'normalise' and order the city (Robinson, 2006). In Dar es Salaam, even though there is a wide range of policy documents and the system provides planning authorities with many instruments to improve the urban environments, there is a lack of

strategic visioning. There is a culture of short term orientation and institutions are very much protecting, mostly outdated, norms and values. A good example for this is the City Masterplan. Dar es Salaam is still relying on the 1979 Masterplan which can, at best, be described as a historical document. The current draft Masterplan has been stuck in the development process for several years. Recently (March, 2019) a new plan was announced to the public, but it still remains whether this to be a relevant or effective document.

Additionally, within any city vision of Dar es Salaam, there seems to be no serious urban design efforts and investments in urban space treatment or creation of new well designed and furnished public urban spaces like squares, plazas, pedestrianised shopping streets, paved walkways, treatment pavements, parks, etc. The necessity of some of those (Western) public elements can be debated, but the lack of interest and input of urban government in general is quite worrisome.

Public-private relationships and foreign influence

Where in a country as the Netherlands, there is a close relationship between municipal councils and private urban planning and design-firms, there are hardly if not none of Tanzanian firms purely focusing on urbanism. This is mainly due to the lack of interest of public institutions in urban design, as mentioned before, but also because a lack of educated (local) professionals in the country. It also entails that when the need for large scale development plans arise, they are taken up by Tanzanian architects who are found to be unfamiliar with the scale, urban planning departments in the government who already have their hands full, or, and this is most commonly done; foreign companies are attracted. Foreign influence on economy is not a new thing in Tanzania, since independence there have been different economic relationships between Tanzania and other countries (Moshi, Msuya, & Todd, 2018). The downside to contracting foreign agencies is not only the lack of knowledge about the local context, but also the complexities that arise with payment and capacity transactions. Because of the low availability resources in Tanzania, these services, whether it is in urban planning or other, generally run under lease or development contracts. These contracts however, bring in complicated and often arbitrary relationships between the public and private sector stakeholders. Care needs to be taken by both parties to ensure that monitoring and verifying meaningful indicators of coverage, afford-ability and service quality are sustained and not overshadowed by the pressing business of project implementation and the sheer interest of making money.

The figure on the left showcases the structure of public sector stakeholders. Also here, PO-RALG has the final and leading hand in decision-making in Dar es Salaam, which only further demonstrates the complications which are bound to arise.

Key institutional threats and challenges

1. Institutional fragmentation within and across government levels
2. Weak regulatory guidance, and lack of regulatory frameworks and tools, especially at the local level
3. Loose adherence to prescribed regulatory processes
4. Lack of current capacity, resources and technical expertise; and competing priorities for resource allocation

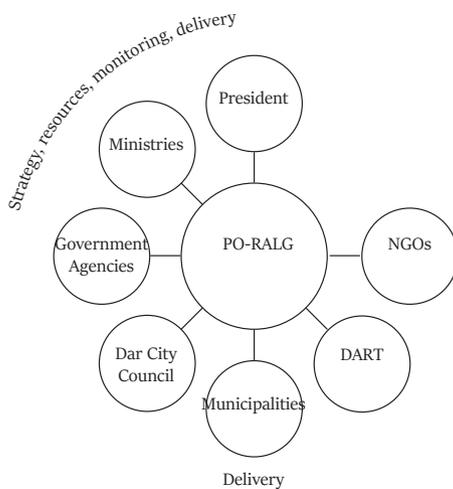


Figure 59 Public sector stakeholders Dar es Salaam (Adapted from BroadwayMalyan, 2019)



World Bank director project introduction



Students on site consultation with residents



The 'white' teacher and his students



Local municipal focal points reviewing students work

Figure 6o Representation of processes in development projects (World Bank Group DOSU project in collaboration with local government and local university)
The underlying question: who knows best and who decides what?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

One of the most important aspects of this thesis considers public space. Not only is the term public space volatile, there is much conversation around what constitutes public space, what role it plays and how design should approach and deal with it. Historically, public space in the West has acted as the ‘commons’ of the people; a political, social and cultural arena that is often linked with the emergence and development of democracy. This thesis is not here to serve you the Western idea of public space, but to deepen and enrich the discussion through Africa. This chapter takes a step back on how we can understand spaces, how spaces are appropriated in Africa and how development of ‘good’ public spaces is perceived in African cities and finally how this leads back to this thesis research question and the possibilities for urban design.



Figure 61 Public space as perceived by the government and international agencies

- Public green
(access and user appropriateness questionable)
- Mangrove swamp/river basins
(not suitable for use due to pollution)
- ▨ Semi-public green
(e.g. university, military, governmental grounds)
- ▨ Coastal 'green'

1. Understanding space

Vita Activa: public space creating common worlds

Political thinker, Hanna Arendt (1958) argues that the Vita Activa, or active life, is the fundamental condition of human existing. She lays out three fundamental categories of the term vita activa: labour, work and action. The first category, labour, refers to the activities or analogies that sustain biological life such as producing food and shelter. Work, the second category, refers to what humans do to transform their world to make it into an artificial realm through fabricating and designing things. The final category, action, describes activities among people without the intermediary of things or matter. Action is the only activity that corresponds to the human condition of plurality as distinct individuals and the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world. This lies in the ability of people to take initiative and starts something new that we can not expect from what has gone before and to perform what is infinitely improbable (Arendt, 1958).

One idea that considers this Vita Activa and the human condition is the distinction between the public and the private realm. Arendt (1958) observes that previously, the freedom to act (or action) took place in the political or public realm and the necessities of life (or labour) took place in the private realm of the household. This distinction, stemming from Greco-Roman theories, looks at the household and political realm as separate entities. But the way we understand the activities related to a common world and those related to the maintenance of life has become extraordinary difficult in modern society.

Translating Arendt's political and theoretical understanding of private and public realms to tangible urban space, the general understanding of public space within Western society is a place that is common, open and accessible to all people of which public squares, parks and beaches are some prominent examples. With modern development and the introduction of the social realm, as Arendt conscientiously puts it, the division between public and private has become blurred. Matters that formerly pertained to the private sphere of the family have become a 'collective' concern (e.g. within the ideologies of the Welfare State). Also, the privatisation of public buildings within the political realm, such as libraries and schools and on the other hand the communal uses of private households, have the two realms indeed constantly flow into each other. Within architecture and urban design practices, this has created additional definitions for space, such as semi-private, semi-public, collective and communal spaces. Front-yards for example can be seen as semi-private as access is controlled and they are only accessible to residents and associated people. Gardens and courtyards of religious and institutional buildings on the other hand can be seen as semi-public as anybody can enter, but there is some form of official control or it is understood to be used by representatives only.

In essence, the definition of public space in modern times is an infinite and quite ambiguous list. What is important however, and is here taken from Hannah Arendt's Vita Activa, is that 'no human life, not even the life of the hermit in nature's

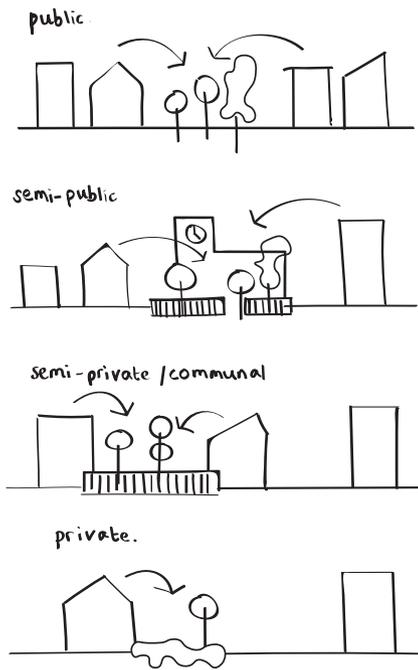


Figure 62 The levels of accessibility of space as commonly understood in Western urban design

Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) was a German-American philosopher and political theorist and one of the leading political thinkers of the twentieth century. Her works cover a broad range of topics from totalitarianism to epistemology, the nature of power and evil, the earth and the world and from property to wealth. In *The Human Condition*, published in 1958, Arendt defended the classical ideal of work, citizenship, and political action against what she considered a debased obsession with mere welfare. Through various distinctions, she provided a controversial way of challenging contemporary truisms.

wilderness, is possible without a world which directly or indirectly testifies to the presence of other human beings'. There is a given threat of extinction of any public space and thus the possibility of action to take place (Arendt, 1958). Because the task and potential greatness of human beings lie in their ability to produce things-works and deeds and words (Arendt, 1958), there is a need to re-focus on public space as a community of things which gathers men together and relates them to each other and have them taking action (Arendt, 1958).

Appropriation of space as opposition

However, Hannah Arendt is not an urban planner or designer and her Vita Activa theory might be a long stretch to tangible space and urban design. The map on the left indicates all green, public spaces in Dar es Salaam as this is how far the association of good public space design reaches in the African context, which is by no means related to Hannah Arendt's theory of 'action'. Thus, to start imagining what those type of public spaces of 'action' could look like and to broaden the perception of urban designing space for 'the public' in a non-Western society, we turn to Lefebvre's 'right to the city'. Lefebvre provocatively asserts to read space and the urban as a way to break open the limits of an economic approach and to involve inhabitants (re)appropriating space in the city (Lefebvre, 1996). The city should belong to those who inhabit it and they have to be able to make the space their own again. It is a way to rethink and radically transform our notion of rightful ownership and in Lefebvre's view closely connected to both de-alienation and 'autogestion' (1996). Autogestion, or self-management is understood as people managing collective decisions themselves rather than turn over responsibility to a managerial class (Lefebvre, 2003). This thus requires a great awakening on the part of the regular people. Lefebvre (2009), in this line of thought, states that 'each time a social group ... refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, of life, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring. As autogestion develops, it becomes generalised throughout society, people increasingly realise their own power. They come to see themselves as perfectly capable of managing their affairs on their own.'

Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) was a French neo-Marxist and existentialist philosopher, a sociologist of urban and rural life and a theorist of the state, of international flows of capital and of social space. Lefebvre is best known for pioneering the critique of everyday life, for introducing the concepts of the 'right to the city' and 'the production of social space' and for his work on dialectics, alienation and criticism of Stalinism, existentialism and structuralism. In his prolific career, Lefebvre wrote more than sixty books and three hundred articles.

To summarise some of Lefebvre's most relevant points, the right to the city is seen as an act of reorientation, reorienting the city away from its role as an engine of capital accumulation and toward its role as a constitutive element in the web of cooperative social relations among urban inhabitants (Lefebvre, 2003). The transformation of society presupposes a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the 'interested parties' with their multiple, varied and even contradictory interests. Lefebvre's vision is a deeply spatial understanding of politics that places urban space at the very centre of its vision (2009). He theorises actors beyond class actors, political sites beyond the work place and historical forces beyond economic production (2009). Meaning, it is important to design spaces that are open for encounter, connection, play, learning, difference, surprise and novelty.

Certainly anyone who is involved in the day-to-day practice of urban politics might object to Lefebvre's right to the city, arguing it is too radical, too impossibly utopian to be of use (Purcell, 2014). However, people are already doing it [autogestion], alongside the capitalist city, but their efforts are obstructed and

devalued as improper and informal . Here it is believed that those instances can actually teach us how to think beyond the status quo as the one and only power. The production, appropriation and management [gestion] of space within the current African city might guide our imagining such an utopia that Lefebvre was suggesting yet keenly attuned to and not limited by present conditions.

2. Appropriating space in Africa

Glorifying informality: street economy in Dar es Salaam

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the informal economy has seen a dramatic growth and is the main source of urban jobs for the burgeoning urban poor. In Tanzania, 70% of its population works in the informal economy (BroadwayMalyan, Aurecon, Chain, & CoLab, 2019). Rapid urbanisation accompanied by limited job creation for the poor has fuelled a rise in the take-up of informal activity, which is also being stimulated by prohibitive constraints on formal work such as burdensome legislation (Brown, Lyons, & Dankoco, 2010).

The concept of the ‘informal economy’ has many negative connotations, despite its widespread use in even very sensitive studies into ‘informal’ milieus. Most definitions render it in entirely negative terms: the informal economy is characterised by the violation of zoning codes, a lack of appropriate business permits, the failure to report tax liability, non-compliance with labour regulations, the use of illegal means to produce. But only when informality, which has no analytic value, is placed next to its opposite, formality, the rather descriptive term is meaningful. Malefakis (2015) describes that the notion of societal life as formal is a cultural ideal, which can be related to a Weberian idea of rationalisation of society in modernity and informality denotes ‘the absence of form’ and a ‘lack of established regularity’.

Street trading in Dar es Salaam is not informal at all in this sense. It is a highly demanding task that requires complex social and culturally creative organisation often linked to their spatial counterpart. Although fluid and hard for outsiders to uncover, the city has a rich historical tradition of trading associations and informal networks are a crucial coping strategy (Malefakis, 2015). Street traders have created their own spatial and non-spatial ‘agencies’ by which they orient their practices and these play a large role in their everyday livelihood. In order to get a slightly better understanding of ‘how it works’, this chapter will map, illustrate and categorise different types of spontaneous economic activities informed by empirical data.

The street economy mapped: capitalisation of space

Brown et al. (2010) uses the term street economy which is also adopted in this thesis to embrace ‘informal’ or spontaneous economic activity that depends for its existence on access to the street or other publicly accessible spaces, although in fluid urban contexts the definitions are inevitably blurred. It is used to describe small-business entrepreneurs, generally own-account or self-employed, involved in the manufacturing or sale of legal or socially acceptable goods or services who trade from the street, informal market or other publicly accessible space (whether publicly or privately owned). Their operation takes place at least in part outside the prevailing regulatory environment and thus flouts either business regulation, planning codes or other legal requirements (Brown et al., 2010). They are distinguished from market traders, who work from established premises in formal municipal or private markets. The term does also not encompass illegal or harmful practices such as the sale of drugs as those need to be avoided in any case of good urban development.

These types of traders can be found at strategic points with heavy human traffic, such as along main roads, streets, parks, pavements, within shopping centres and at prominent corners of streets and roads, where they are visible to pedestrians and motorists. The traders use different structures to display their goods, which includes mats, gunny bags, tables, racks, wheel barrows, and handcarts. Some traders simply carry their commodities on their hands, heads and shoulders, while others hang their commodities or have temporary structures for their goods. The spaces occupied by traders are often open and exposed to harsh environmental conditions and political conflicts. The next few pages indicate a categorisation of generic street economy in Dar es Salaam. The focus is on the effect this street economy has on the physical urban space they take up and their level of vulnerability. The question that arises is how far this construction of livelihoods conflicts with other cultural activities that could take place in public space.

Transportation of goods

It is difficult for traders to transport their commodities from their homes and markets to their trading site. This is due to the lack of transport systems in the areas where street traders live or the service is above their budget. In some cases, there are restrictions on what an individual can take on the bus, mini-bus or train. This forces vendors to carry their goods on their backs or to hire handcarts or human carriers to transport their goods. This is complicated further by lack of storage facilities, which makes the traders carry back to their homes unsold commodities.

Middle men

Middle men play a crucial and precarious part in the whole (food) business industry. Sellers or middle men arrange connections from farms (urban or rural) for transport and delivery. They control information and access to the market as farmers in some situations lack info and experience. This means an increase in price of goods in the city and loss of credit for farmers due to unreliable middle men.

Baraza

A good example of ambiguous use of ‘public’ space that differs from Western societies, are the baraza’s in front of residential houses. Many residential houses along the East African coast have derived from the traditional single-storey Swahili house and current typologies still largely follow this local prototype although not necessarily bound to the original Islamic tradition (images left). This housing typology marks a characteristic transition from public to private space by means of a baraza: a stone bench located either on both sides of the entrance, or within a deep recess beside it (AAMatters & DoURP Zanzibar, 2019). The baraza provides space for reflection, discursive focus and attention and intellectual exchange in familiar surroundings and a leisurely atmosphere (Kresse, 2009). After evening prayers, regular groups of neighbours and friends will assemble at their baraza to exchange the day’s news, comment on recent events, and generally to socialize and enjoy each other’s company (Kresse, 2009). These groups are small, consisting of eight persons or so. They are characterised by familiarity, and, along with gossip, joking and the exchange of news, serious discussions may emerge or be taken up again at any stage of the evening’s conversation (Kresse, 2009). This baraza is an important part in shaping livelihoods and is intertwined with many economic activities as a leisurely counterpart to hard work. In recent urban developments of infrastructure this gradual intermediary from public to private tends to be forgotten

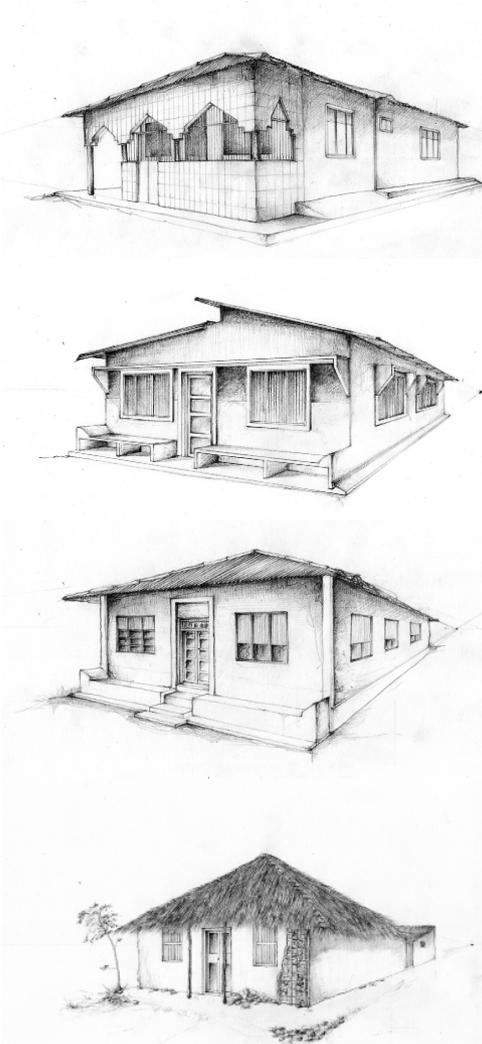
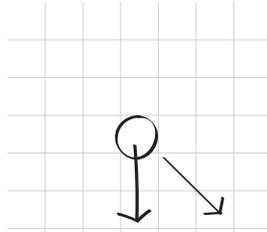


Figure 63 Single-storey Swahili: building styles – classic, modernism and postmodern (Ng-ambo atlas, 2019)



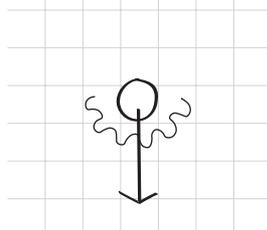
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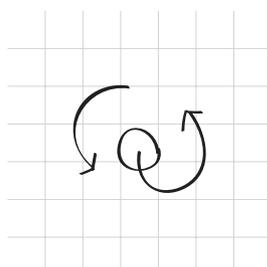
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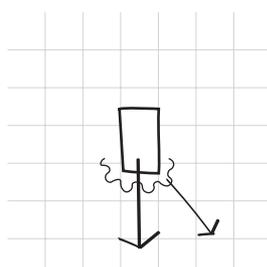
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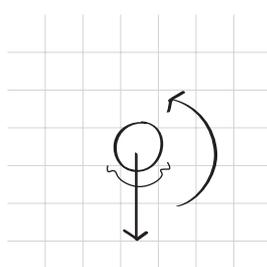
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Commerce as opportunity

As beforementioned, most livelihoods in Dar es Salaam's neighbourhoods are shaped around street economy, which has many negative connotations. Before going into detail into the formal rules and governmental interpretations, the following paragraphs try to generalise common activities and map the level of impact they have on space. This mapping is kept as objective as possible as also here opinions can be two-sided. On one hand, one could agree that they are using and 'taking' space that is meant to be public and in this way privatising common and public spaces. On the other hand, is the, oftentimes temporarily, appropriation of spaces not exactly the liveliness, activity and hustle what urban designers aim for when designing spaces meant for public use? Only here, shape and form are regarded as disgraceful and disreputable.. Judge yourself>

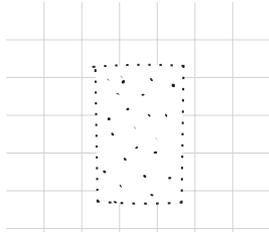
Type 1: Itinerant individual

This type is very typical when arriving in any large African city. Immediately surrounded by countless people selling their foods and goods, tourists have a hard time to get a grasp on what is going on. On the other hand, it is very common for Africans to buy handy items while on the road and in traffic jams. These street traders find themselves on busy infrastructure nodes and around bus-stops. Small items are sold such as fruits and water to ear-buds, magazines and CD's. All items that can be easily carried by one man.

- Vulnerability: Very insecure income. Small amount of stock and little opportunity to grow as they don't work in a set location.
- Sociality: tied to very competitive and busy locations, without friends in the business, sensitive for conflicts.
- Flexibility: Free in movements, but tied to certain peak-hours and peak locations which makes it less flexible as it seems. Small amount of stock makes it possible to change in items to sell 'that work'
- Spatiality: Hardly take any space and when moved, space is free for others to use. Makes the type of public space very flexible during the course of the day.



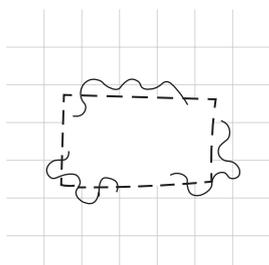
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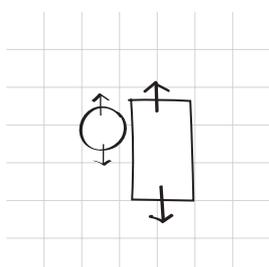
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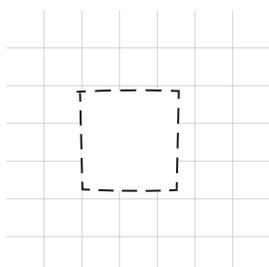
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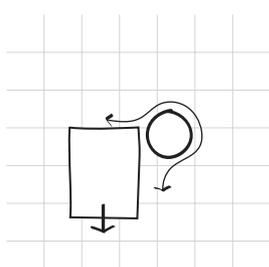
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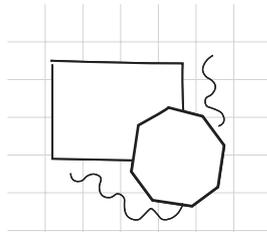
Type 2: Sensitive space takers

This type is characterised by the fact that only one type of items sold and it is generally a one-person business. They can be found on off-grid infrastructure nodes and next to roads. Commonly selling fruit or clothing items in large quantities, which can be easily bought by the customer.

- Vulnerability: Very vulnerable for police and 'formal' institutions to send them away. Also vulnerable to weather changes (rain season) and customers. Day to day income.
- Sociality: Ties with where products are coming from, but no complex informal relationships necessary to sell items.
- Flexibility: Relatively free to move to other places, yet quite bound to regular customers and it takes a lot of energy to move to a different space (large quantity of products)
- Spatiality: Don't take up much space and looks relatively flexible in where they are located.
- Spatiality: Don't take up much space, but tend to 'claim' the space as they are often located in the same space day after day, which prevents other activities to occur.



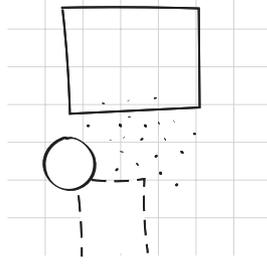
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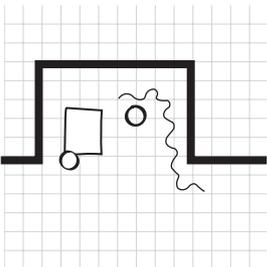
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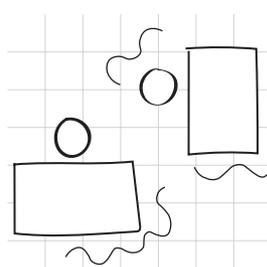
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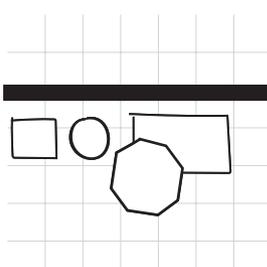
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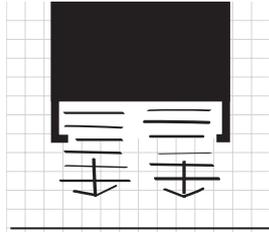
Type 3: Substantial all-rounder

This type can be characterised by the fact that they sell everything you can imagine (which can still be carried by the customer). From household items to clothing to food to eat on the way. This type is often located and backed up by a fence or wall for secure business.

- Vulnerability: economically quite stable, yet not many opportunities to grow this business as they are located in busy and competitive areas generally not accepted by the government. But as the construction of their set-up is quite stable, it means that in the form they are now, local officials have turned a blind eye on them.
- Sociality: They rely a lot on regular customers, but also in the type of business itself foster many forms of (positive) social interaction (e.g. places where you can eat and thus also meet friends)
- Flexibility: Physically not flexible at all, because of complicated constructions. Also not very flexible in the way they rely on regular customers, complex social network and large quantity of elements to sell.
- Spatiality: Takes up a considerable amount of space. Additional elements placed haphazardly around the main structure, make for a large 'dominated' area.



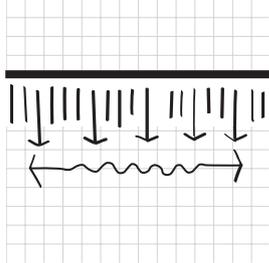
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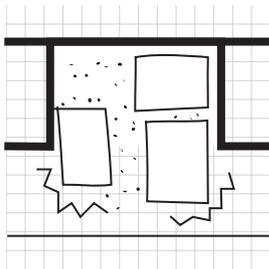
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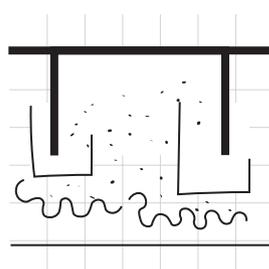
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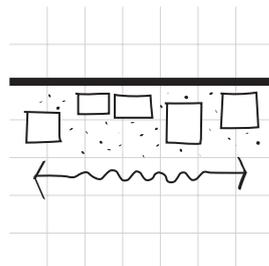
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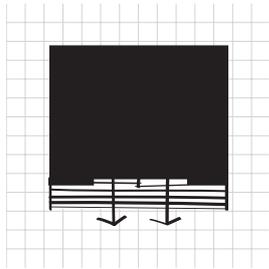
Type 4: Unconfined specialties

This type can be defined by the fact that it is taking unconfined amounts of space, depending on the quantity of stock available. This type of economic activity often takes place next to busy and large roads, as they need a lot of space for their large items and are dependent on passing people.

- Vulnerability: Income is relatively stable because of set location and selling building/space. But, there is a small target customer.
- Sociality: High need to build a base of customers in order to sell. Dependent on people to pass by and for that reason a lot of effort is taken in attracting people and displaying items in the open.
- Flexibility: Not flexible because the type of product is bound to a certain location or area to sell.
- Spatiality: This type takes up large amount of public spaces. There is a large inventory which needs to be shown in order to sell. When in open ground, space is often (illegally) taken for long periods of time.



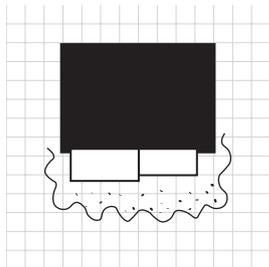
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 Sociality ● ● ● ● ○



Flexibility ● ○ ○ ○ ○
 Spatiality ● ● ● ● ○



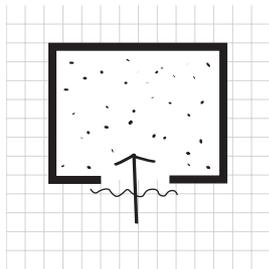
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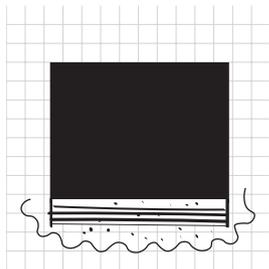
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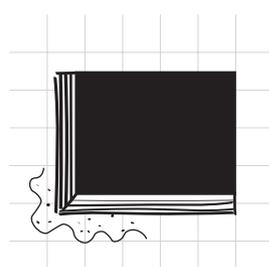
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Type 5: Modernity meets culture

The characteristics of this type comes closest to what we know in 'the West'. It can be described as a shop, boutique or repair centre in a building or on a small site, often located close to other similar small stores and adjacent to dense neighbourhoods. The shop is arranged within a building which would generally be residential, as seen in the stairs or veranda in front of it and also takes over some of its characteristic activity. The stairs are being used for sitting, chatting and resting, but also some of the shops items are displayed outside. It is a mixture of Swahili architecture and a more modern configuration of shopping.

- **Vulnerability:** This type is well established and thus economically very stable. They are generally licensed, pay tax for their business and are accepted by local officials. The reason for placing this type here is that the use of (outside) space showcases many cultural traits. This type is only vulnerable in the sense that when certain clothing or car repair is not needed any more or when a better, cheaper, or more efficient place takes over in the neighbourhood, the specialisation of the shop makes it difficult to instantly change into more fruitful business.
- **Sociality:** Relies on regular customers coming to their place as they offer the best service or product in that specific area.
- **Flexibility:** Not flexible at all. The elements are tied to this building and area in which it is located.
- **Spatiality:** Quite confined to the building itself. In some occasions outside space is also used. The structure of the building also fits within the context of residential housing.



Environment ● ● ● ○ ○
 Safety ● ● ● ● ○
 Inclusiveness ● ● ● ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ● ○



Environment ● ● ● ○ ○
 Safety ● ● ● ● ○
 Inclusiveness ● ● ● ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ● ○



Environment ● ● ● ● ●
 Safety ● ● ● ○ ○
 Inclusiveness ● ○ ○ ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ○ ○



Environment ● ● ○ ○ ○
 Safety ● ● ● ○ ○
 Inclusiveness ● ● ○ ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ● ○



Environment ● ○ ○ ○ ○
 Safety ● ● ● ● ●
 Inclusiveness ● ● ○ ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ● ○



Environment ● ○ ○ ○ ○
 Safety ● ● ○ ○ ○
 Inclusiveness ● ● ● ○ ○
 Public space ● ● ● ● ○

Threats

The images on the left show examples of negative effects which 'informal' activities may have or when taken to the extreme. This is often due to a lack of proper infrastructure to facilitate these activities. The bullets indicate the level of aspects it concerns. For example: four bullets on environment means that a certain aspect has a lot of influence on creating an unhealthy environment and green-blue networks.

Some points to consider on the threats of uncontrolled economic activities in public space:

- Shaggy/rudimentary/half-done constructions can degrade neighbourhood image. These semi-permanent shacks are controlling the public spaces and can create an create a sense of unwelcoming and unsafety.
- Old and unwanted stock is often dumped can take up space and turns public, open space into a dumping place
- Unavailability of waste collection has plastics and rubbish waste thrown away into the open. This pollutes streets and waterways, makes them unusable and creates an unhealthy living environment.
- The temporary storing of transportation vehicles on the streets takes up public space and can further congest them.
- The expansion of goods on streets in front of shops hinders customers and residents to pass by safely and clogs the network.
- One often brings more: when one type of business works on a certain location, it often attracts more of the same type of business to that place, congesting the area and causing a lack of variety and diversity.

Opportunities?

Previous texts might seem very negative towards informal economic activities, but they also offer possibilities for public spaces and further development, such as:

- The flexibility of commerce could create dynamic spaces in collaboration with existing users
- Diversification of products by offering locations to do such productions
- Professionalisation in certain type of businesses and attention to target customers may create higher payoff.
- Fostering local interaction and community



Figure 64 'Informal' activity and larger distribution markets (Babere (2016) adjusted by author)

- Large
- Medium
- Small
- ⊙ Distribution/whole sale markets
- ↗ Important import flows

Markets

Dar es Salaam has always been the city of trading because of its port along the Indian coast. Kariakoo (carry-and-go) is one of the oldest markets for the re-selling of goods. Many street traders buy up their goods in bulk and re-sell these on the streets further away from the centre. Because of recent decentralisation of markets and businesses, enforced by politics, more specialised markets can be found such as Buguruni, Stereo, Mabibo and Tandale market. However, even people from other regions come to shop in Kariakoo, which makes the city very dependent on this single area and puts high pressures on its mobility infrastructure.

Governance and the street economy

In many cities in the Global South, street traders are perceived as a nuisance, a symbol of chaos and disorder, which has led to limitation, eviction and relocation campaigns undertaken by city authorities to 'clean up' the city and to make it more 'attractive' (Forkuor, Akuoko, & Yeboah, 2017). Street traders are often subject to actions justified as necessary to restore and appropriately develop their cities (Forkuor et al., 2017). This may encompass street clearances, demolition of stalls and other facilities, confiscation of goods, fines and imprisonments, which has profound direct and indirect consequences- economic, social and personal (Lyons & Msoka, 2010). In Dar es Salaam, attitudes towards the informal economy have fluctuated and the government has made several attempts to either accommodate or deprecate traders (Brown et al., 2010). After independence, local bylaws in the 1960s and 1970s made petty trading illegal, but the 1980s economic crisis forced accommodation and innovation in urban management (Brown et al., 2010). It resulted into an effective 'right to work' *nguvu kazi*, itinerant trader licences and the definition of petty trading as a critical urban issue which desired to strengthen formal trader associations as a channel for dialogue with the authorities and Guidelines for Petty Traders. From the late 1990s, several landmark reports on the informal economy further sought and demonstrated to absorb informal enterprises into the mainstream and on legalising the informal economy.

Nonetheless, since 2003, the abandonment of the 'right to work' and this emphasis on legislation has progressively marginalised traders. The Finance Act of 2004, confirmed the requirement for all businesses to be registered and licenced and costs remained largely prohibitive (Brown et al., 2010). In exacerbation, in March 2006, the Prime Minister's office issued a letter to major municipalities ordering the eviction of informal traders from the streets and the traders associations, publicly and dramatically pronounced illegal, failed to provide any significant protection for traders. One of the latest impetus for clearance has come from the DART (Dar es Salaam Rapid Transit system), slicing through several market areas along the route causing various displacements (Brown, Msoka, & Dankoco, 2015). The emphasis on the provision of 'modern' infrastructure often sees traders as expendable rather than part of an emerging market economy (Brown et al., 2015). Only recently, ruling President Magufuli launched a massive nationwide drive to distribute 675,000 business IDs to entrepreneurs whose business capital does not exceed 4m (Meddy, 2018). This ID recognises and formalises petty traders by the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) and their operational centres and enables traders to conduct business without any problem of daily harassment. But seen the enormous percentage of citizens working in the informal economy, these IDs hardly have any impact.

Thus, even though the ruling party in Dar es Salaam showcased some form of acknowledgement, recent developments surely indicate that the street traders operate in a very uncertain environment. The fluctuation between tolerance and clearance makes for very few rights in urban planning and acceptance in the development of public space as general term.



Figure 66 Dar Open Spaces Upgrading project site locations

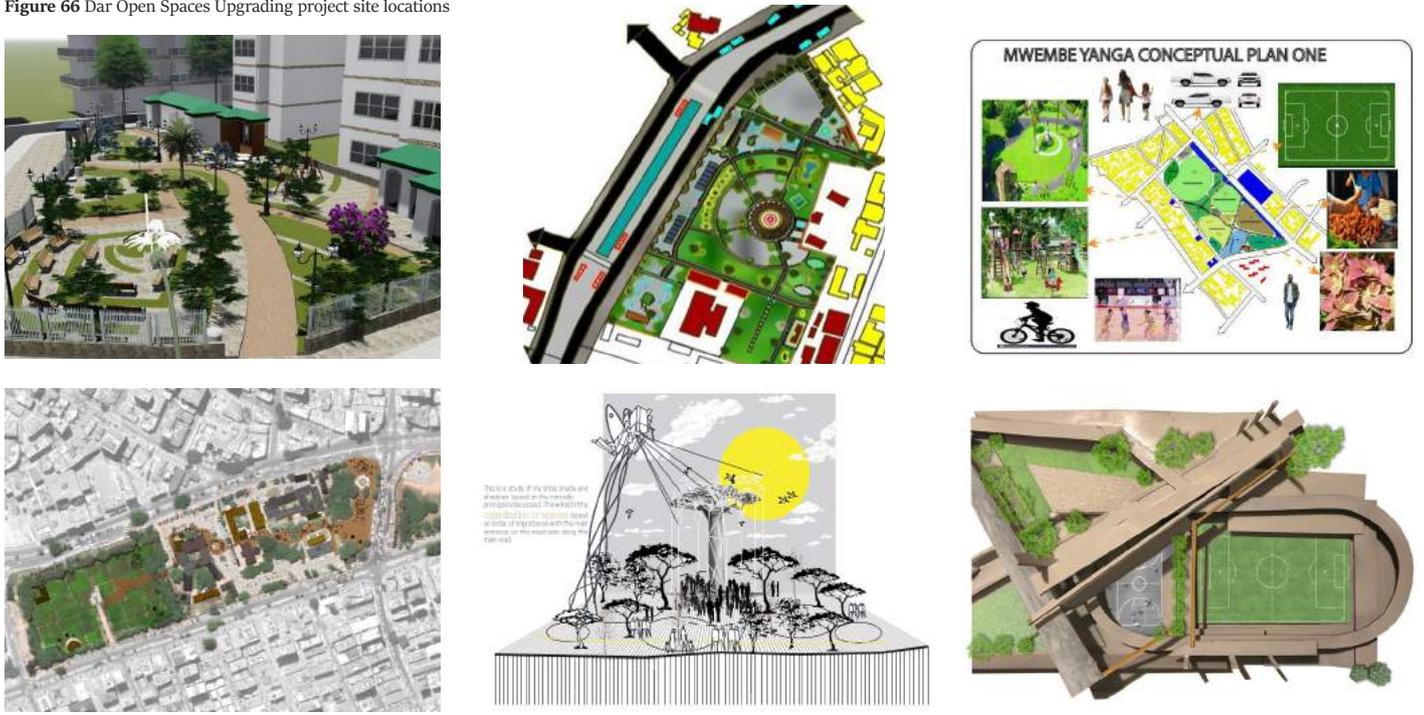


Figure 65 Student midterm proposals (Left to right: Mnazi Mmoja, Magomeni, Mwembe Yanga. Top ARU student, bottom UJ student)



Upgrading public spaces

Under the premise of helping Tanzania’s commercial capital a more liveable city, the World Bank through the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project, is supporting important investments in infrastructure, community upgrading, urban planning and capacity building. Among these initiatives is the Dar Open Spaces Upgrading, which aims to enhance a select number of open spaces for inclusive/ recreational use, while contributing to the strengthening of Dar es Salaam green infrastructure.

To enhance expertise and capacity among academics and professionals, 15 urban planning students from the Dar es Salaam based Ardhi University, and 14 architecture students from the University of Johannesburg and their respective lecturers, have been paired with urban planning counterparts in local government from three associated municipal councils, the national ministry responsible for urban development, and the World Bank as complementary support systems. Over the academic year, the student teams have been researching three open spaces in Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke municipalities, and proposing ways in which these can be upgraded. The aim is not only to upgrade the identified open spaces in Dar es Salaam, but to use them as an opportunity to create awareness on the value of public spaces in the urban development discourse.

I have personally been part of coordinating this project whilst working on my thesis. This has provided me the opportunity to evaluate and reflect my own research with the work of ‘international development agencies’. First of all, no matter how big the organisation might, every project is based and works with people. And people make mistakes; don’t follow appointments; are absent; have different mindsets etc. especially in working with project in a project with different cultures. There remain large disconnections between education and practice and with regards to public space there is an enormous knowledge gap in both fields. Thus even if this project was merely a small leg of all World Bank Group projects in Dar es Salaam, a little seed considering the relevance of spaces other than infrastructure and the value of designs without full economic returns, has been planted. An important side note remains that these spaces should be developed with the engagement of local actors and through the capacity and knowledge of local citizens.

Figure 67 Ardhi University and University of Johannesburg students visit public spaces in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam to propose ways they can be upgraded (<https://blogs.worldbank.org/nasikiliza/getting-tanzanias-public-spaces-spot-urban-agenda>)



Figure 68 Spontaneous street economic activity and larger distribution markets (Babere (2016) adjusted by author)

- Important/active bus terminal
- Public transport route
- BRT route (phase 1)
- Dala Dala Stop*
- ⊙ BRT terminal
- Railway

* The DalaDala busstops are not all-encompassing. About every 500 meter, buses generally stop at a new stop on the route

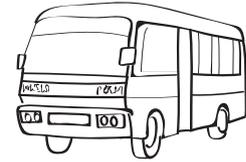
3. Meeting of scales

Every trendy urbanist nowadays wishes to create spaces where different type of people, varying in age, cultural background, income, religion and sex, would be able to interact. Fact is, cities naturally divide themselves into independent and sometimes even isolated districts, exactly because of those reasons. Neighbourhoods are areas where people find their own locality and feel at home because they can recognise themselves in others. However, in certain areas within cities those out of the ordinary encounters occur and diverse communities connect. This is at places where different scales meet, which generally is caused by mobility infrastructure. Here, the economy naturally takes place as it offers business opportunities for many. Examples for this are public bus-station or major roads and their crossroads. Not only do these areas engender the establishment of restaurants, offices and other central city functions, also spontaneous economic activity sprouts.

The improvement of road infrastructure and new public transport facilities can significantly change the livelihoods of certain neighbourhoods as there will be a new point where different scales meet. In the case of Dar es Salaam, one can see this in the addition of the new BRT-line which has introduced additional economic activity. For urbanists it's important to timely create a vision for these locations in order to steer development into a more inclusive and sustainable direction.



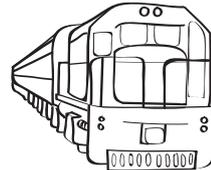
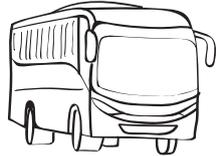
Figure 69 Examples of, mostly commerce, activities where different scales meet in Dar es Salaam (by author)



	Foot	BodaBoda	Bajaji	DalaDala
What	Walking	Motorcycles	3-wheel motorcycle/auto rickshaws	Minibus
User¹	Low income	Young and low income	Low income and middle income ²	Used by most low and middle income citizens
Where	Low to middle income areas. Low to high density.	Primarily used in areas where there is low availability of buses	Forbidden around city centre. Mostly around high density areas.	Low and middle income areas. High density neighbourhoods to areas further away from centre.
When	Doing groceries, meeting friends and family nearby	When distance is too far to walk. To closest bus-stop.	Shared Bajaji in lower income areas to reach In middle to higher income used when relatively short dist	Used for both short and long distances for daily activities s.a. Work and school.
Distance	<2km	<4km	<5Km	6-20Km
Connects	Local to local	Local to community	Local to community	Community to city
Challenges	Cars are often prioritised in behaviour on the streets. This can make the urban life unsafe for slow traffic.	BodaBodas are generally unsafe for its users, because of their high speed and ignorance of traffic rules by the drivers.	Bajaji's as a mode of (im-por-ted) transport is only since the last 15 years. More and more of these vehicles are intruding the city. Drivers tend to drive very haphazardly and are often unlicensed and together with their smaller size, bajaji's are very vulnerable to detrimental traffic incidents.	As of 2008, most Daladala's are publicly operating, becoming more noticeable and driving fixed routes. However, most problems occur during peak-hours when buses are over-crowded. In addition, bus-stops are unsigned and unmapped, making them inaccessible to foreign tourists.

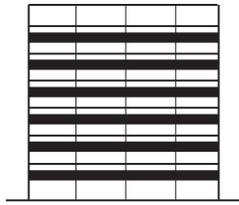
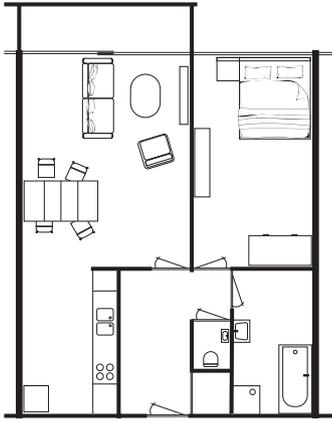
1. The descriptions low, middle and higher income express the levels of income in the context of Tanzania. Low income would generally be people working within the street economy and have day to day earnings. Middle income are families with stable income and availability to send children to school and higher income would mostly be non-Tanzanians living in Dar es Salaam (expats).

2. Uber Poa (Uber service which also uses Bajaji's as transportation method) has brought additional dynamics in users and user behaviour. The system factors in their cost, capacity and coverage and makes Bajaji's an attractive mode of transport in middle and higher income areas such as Masaki.



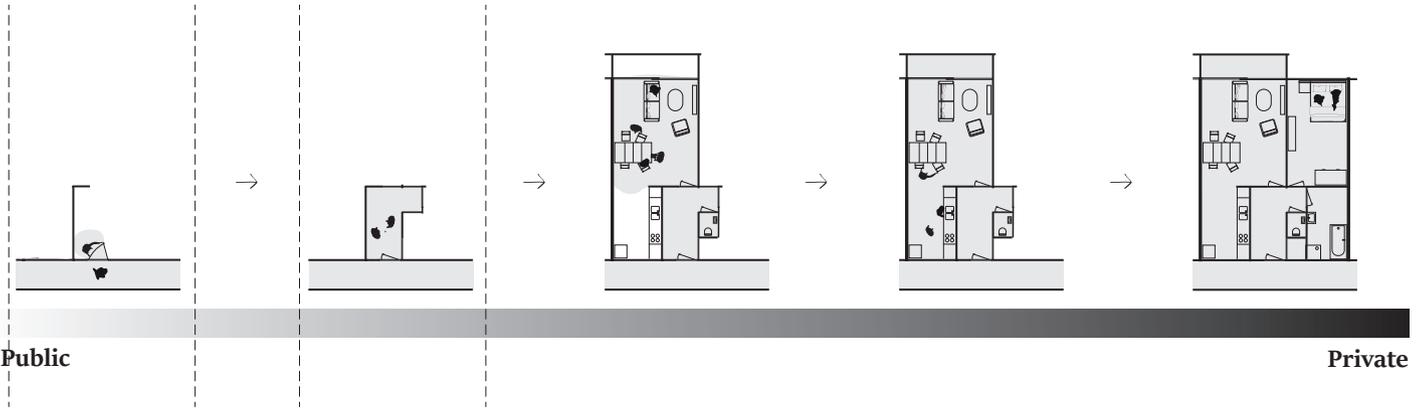
	BRT	Bus	Train
What	Large bus on designated buslane	Large, mostly secondhand, tourbuses	Dar commuting train, TAZARA (To Zambia), Central Railway (to Kigoma region)
User	Low and middle income	Middle income	Low income and middle income, more used for cargo nowadays
Where	Morogoro road, from medium density areas towards city centre. Other parts in progress	From and to the city at further distances in other regions	From and to the city at further distances in other regions.
When	For daily (business) activities. Travelling to centre for work and goods	When visiting relatives (tribe)	When visiting relatives
Distance	6-10Km ³	100-600Km	400-1000
Connects	Community to city	City to region	City to region/country
Challenges	Initialised because it were to avoid extreme traffic, but nowadays there is congestion and few buses. This causes long waiting times at the station and highly congested buses	Due to poorly managed roads, traffic rules and congestion it can take up to 3 hours for only a 100Km drive.	Low frequency, underused. Was previously used to transport many people when roads were not very accessible, now primarily used for cargo.

3. The shorter distance is mostly due to the fact that only one part of the entire proposed BRT system is currently in place and working. When fully functioning the total distance could resemble DalaDala's



The apartment building

Your apartment



Public

Private

The gallery (no space)

You open the door, because the package delivery guy is bringing the new cookbook you have been waiting for. He takes a sneaky look into your hallway.

The hallway (no space)

Your mother quickly drops by on her way to the supermarket to give you those garden peaches she's been raving about. She doesn't take off her jacket.

The living room

A group of friends from work comes by. You have cooked a three course dinner in an attempt to impress them. They sit on your couch and look at the picture of you and your cousins and wonder who they are. You burnt some of the vegetables while you were cooking and chatting from the kitchen.

The kitchen

Three of your closest friends come over, because it has been a while since you were all cooking at your place. They lay on your couch while watching your favourite tv-show. Two of them do the dishes after dinner.

The bedroom

This is your space only. The occasional guy that sleeps over knows nothing about the creative outfits you can pull out of your closet.

4. Hierarchy of space

*The package delivery man does not go into the kitchen.
You and your friends do not sit down to and chat in the hallway.
Your colleagues do not brush their teeth in the bathroom.*

That would be strange, or?

The apartment

Explaining the hierarchy of spaces and their usage is relatively easy to explain through the example of a regular apartment and its rooms. There are different rooms or rather spaces that are used in accordance to how familiar the people entering are to you. Unwritten rules about use of the type of space guide people's behaviour in certain situations. The more unfamiliar the person, the more public the room is that they are 'allowed' to use.

The bar pictured here indicates this level of publicity. Close friends may cook in your kitchen, but don't know what is inside your bedroom, colleagues or acquaintances would ask where the toilet is, etc.

One needs to keep in mind however, that this graphic is merely an example and levels of publicity can shift slightly per type of living and building, such as shared apartments, single residential houses, shared rooms etc. But it can also shift per culture and the environmental context the apartment is in.

There is controversiality in spaces such as a gallery or hallway as they are generally only used as transit spaces. To move from one room or space into the other. It is not a place where people would stay or sit down for a longer period of time. They are very public as they don't have any objects or elements that makes them unique. You could find a picture of a family member in somebody's hallway, but it does not show how that person lives their life and what their daily activities could look like. For this reason, this thesis does not see transit spaces as public spaces in the understanding of public spaces being spaces that are appropriated by their users. There will be a further explanation of this and its role of transit spaces, such as roads and highways within the next couple of paragraphs.

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Cities and neighbourhoods

As explained before, not all spaces in cities can be viewed as the same thing. One street does not act the same as the other and not all parks, plaza's and squares can be qualified as 'just' public space. This ordering and structuring of spaces according to their use, publicity, location and function is what here is called the hierarchy of space. It not only ranges from completely private to completely public, but there is a second layering which implicitly invites or discourages for people to appropriate those spaces that stem from external factors than how the street is designed and materialised. In an attempt to further explain this concept, the case of Magomeni is used and explained on the next pages.

Note: This is merely an example of how the hierarchy of spaces are looked at in this thesis. While this ordering is represented in many cities around the world, it remains a very subjective exercise. The further you would detail this order, the more controversy would arise.



Figure 70 Left BRT, street vendors in front



Figure 72 Main street close to market full of people and merchandise



Figure 71 Next to BRT some places to eat



Figure 73 Main street with many shops next to each other

1. The BRT node

City scale meets neighbourhood scale

The BRT stop is a place where two scales meet: city scale and neighbourhood scale. City scale stemming from the connectivity one has to other areas within the city through these arterial roads and the ability to meet people at this specific location. Naturally a lot of (commercial) activity finds place around these public transit nodes because of the constant influx of new people passing by and thus the ability to sell foodstuffs and other products. Alongside this same road also large home appliances, furniture and vehicle components are sold, but they require less direct and intensive contact with customers and don't connect people with people further away in the city in the same way as a public transit stop lets one travel and introduces people and activities.

1. Along the main street

City scale meets neighbourhood scale

Within the neighbourhood there is a comparable type of hierarchy existent that also allows for implicit and explicit activities taking place. In this case it is the difference between main roads with easy accessibility to important public buildings in the neighbourhood (such as religious buildings, hospital, police, school etc.) and local streets merely directed to dwellings. Spaces alongside the main road is where community meets neighbourhood scale. Here, many small shops can be found. The type of (commercial) activity that takes place here is mostly service based (local barber, car reparations, local bar or a beauty salon), but also focussed on other individual needs for products within the community (food, clothing and household items).



Figure 74 Random street in neighbourhood with duka next to other dwellings



Figure 76 The road is limiting the shops' ability to expand on the street



Figure 75 Random street with laundry hung in front of the house attached to the trees



Figure 77 The addition of cars takes over all street spaces

3. Surrounding the dwellings *City scale meets neighbourhood scale*

Further into the community and closer towards people's private dwellings there are more places for two 'scales' to meet. Namely on and alongside the roads and streets leading to residential buildings. Here the individual houses introduce activities. On the veranda's, front portals or on the mostly unpaved roads you can find people working on their sewing machine, hanging their laundry, cooking meals or just chatting with each other next to the shaded tree or in front of the occasional duka (small shop often selling fresh fruit and vegetables). Essentially, part of citizen's private world is exposed on the street in ways that cannot be found in present day Western cities. here, streets are taken over by cars, curtains are closed and nobody is at home during working hours.

x. Influence of transformations *Scales are met, yet place is limited*

As mentioned before, corridors or streets that are only used for transit can not be considered public space. Governments tend to focus on developing roads and infrastructure. While this new organisation of roads brings safety and drainage systems, it also determines the exact amount of space local citizens can appropriate. As depicted in the images below, there is no space for small shops to expand or to hang out your laundry as 'development' appears. It constraints and slowly takes away the community scaled connections and those common activities are at jeopardy, leaving citizens to withdraw into their individual (inside) spaces.

For this reason it is important to carefully consider and try to anticipate of what change it will bring to the natural organisation of spaces around the neighbourhood.



Figure 78 Education

- ⊙ Higher education
- Secondary school

5. Recapitulating tangible development

As mentioned in one of the first chapters, the contributors to ‘The post-development dictionary’ argue that the project of development has had a great impact on the balance of power and is set up in such a way that it has already destroyed diversity in both culture and nature and any form of ‘development’ (Parajuli, 1996). Moreover, all other attempts to make development still seem plausible by adding prefixes to it need to be de-mythified. This de-mythification concerns aptly deconstructed concepts such as ethno-development, participatory development and the newly invented discourse of sustainable development (W. Sachs, 1992). No sugar-coating of the bitter pill makes development feasible. Development, so they argue, is intrinsically anti-participatory, anti-dialogical and anti-empowering for the so-called underdeveloped people, because they share the same premises outlined by the original development discourse (Parajuli, 1996).

In Southern countries such as Tanzania, Governments, much too often, supported by their elites, have indulged in the expansion of their own consumer classes and have secured their own power base under the banner of poverty eradication as development pre-fix. In Dar es Salaam, development as such is still perceived as the ‘comeback’ and together with development agencies, such as the WorldBank Group and other privately owned companies, foreign wealth is invested in critical infrastructures. In important decisions made about infrastructures such as energy, transport, sewage and communication systems it is often preferred to build new systems rather than upgrading the aging ones. However, it is highly questionable whether the efforts to eliminate poverty should primarily consist of higher development assistance, increased grants or increased world market integration (Wolfgang Sachs, 2002). More importantly, since economic growth often fails to trickle down, there is no point to sacrifice people’s lives in the present for speculative gains in the future for what is good for government is not necessarily good for the poor. Instead it is crucial to empower them for a dignified life here and now (Wolfgang Sachs, 2002). Even though such a livelihood-centred perspective is at odds with the export-led poverty-reduction strategies, it is important to promote sustainable livelihoods (Wolfgang Sachs, 2002). Wolfgang Sachs (2002) explains Sustainable in both senses of the word: firstly, an activity that provides a decent income or sustenance and provides some status in society along with a meaningful life; and secondly, an activity which conserves and, if possible, regenerates the environment.

Concerning Dar es Salaam, the tangibility of this sustainable development could lie in education and knowledge building for ordinary people. But a map of the formal schools in the city, as such on the left, just does no justice to the broadness of education. Most knowledge in African cities is attained on the streets and in and around the households as opposed to in schools. Young people drop out of schools early, because there is a lack of money and hands are needed at home. But the skills and abilities taught from mouth to mouth and years of experience are not acknowledged in the eyes of powerful. There are no possibilities to take these ‘unusual’ types of

wisdom further or to grow from there in different, more secure, directions. With urban planning not recognising the spaces in which this happens, there is an extreme mismatch created between the development Governments are aiming for and the learning that is happening on the ground.

Peer to peer learning, community building and sparking young entrepreneurship do not need extravagant buildings or over-designed and over-exposed spaces. The ability and willingness to learn is already there, but the conditions under which this is happening are not sustainable in either sense of the word. There is of course no way to judge whether or not any other individual than thyself has a meaningful life, but it is evident that there is a lack of decent income or sustenance, low status in society and neglected and unusable environments in the many residential areas in Dar es Salaam. An answer to this may be spaces that maintain and develop the characteristics of the surrounding area and urban fabric, with minds on recovery and reuse techniques. But also, promoting occasions and spaces for direct contact between people and people, such as consumers and quality producers. Spaces that provoke new encounters and stimulate learning in different ways than the usual, such as specialising sustainable practices and training creative minds. In what shape and form this could be, is in the hands of the designer and also dependent on specific locations in the city.



CONCLUSIONS

PART IV

The African City of the Past

The formal history of the African city tells us how man and land were shaped in distinctive features through political and economic developments. No value can be placed in this unless the underlying socio-cultural typologies are recognised and integrated. In addition, the African city of the past describes traditions and concepts that have been the natural answer to demands and challenges for over centuries. Those, both spatial and non-spatial aspects, enable us to read the socio-economic structures of the city's current shape and suggest future processes.

Non-negotiable local conditions

- Rapid urbanisation and growth of inhabitants: the current continuous low density, homogenous and horizontal growth pattern does not answer to the demanded need for housing and is rapidly declining the promising benefits that the city ought to provide to urban livelihoods.
- Growing environmental risks: Too little attention is paid to the natural systems which are the basis and future of the African city. Green and blue structures are openly and often violently asking for more space, but in doing so could endanger all if they continue to be unacknowledged.
- Weak governments and low resources: Even though a governance system is not set in stone, in order for change to happen, one has to deal with its current condition. The governance system in combination with low resources is showcasing an inability to formulate a vision adequate enough to meet the needs and requirements of the city and its inhabitants.

The African City of the Future

While we might be against colonial and totalitarian Western and Asian influence in Africa, one cannot ignore the fact that African life is increasingly resembling the Western paradigm. Even without a foundation of appropriate infrastructure, the introduction of cars (and bajaji's), mobile phones and other technical advancements are affecting local livelihoods. The results are bilateral and both spatial as well as non-spatial. Breaking traditions and cultural habits of which some might have been outdated, but others have always been the basis for common life and distinguished relationships.

Infrastructure and public space

Infrastructure and public space are the driving forces of the past and future African city. They are the spatial equivalents of local socio-economic livelihoods as well as the instruments used to facilitate development under non-negotiable conditions. And, whilst there is no such thing as formal public space, public activities and public life do unquestionable exist. Life outside the private realm finds itself around houses, along the streets and in spaces in between according to hierarchies and structures subconsciously known to all.

VYOMBO

SAFARI BEG

SOFT TOY

HARD TOY

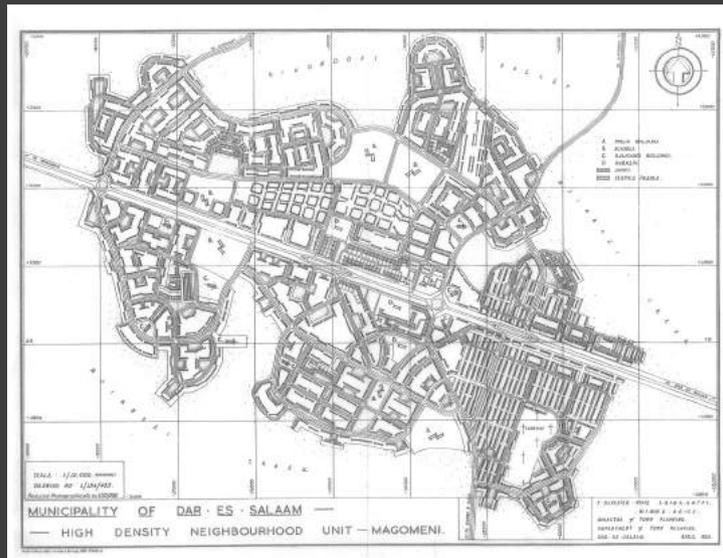
KOFIA

KWANDA



Part V Intervention

CASE STUDY: MAGOMENI



The previous part concluded the general analysis within this research in 4 main aspects: The African city of the past, - the future, non-negotiable local conditions and the meaning of infrastructure and public space within those aspects. The overall aim for this thesis is to explore a post-developmental perspective for sustainable and incremental livelihoods. This chapter will demonstrate what this alternative could look like in a case specific, local situation and how this alternative could be developed. Before reaching to a vision, this chapter will first elaborate on the site location and selection criteria, which will be followed by a strategic design that exemplifies the aims and objectives of the vision. The last section will conclude and evaluate results to highlight boundaries and limitations for transferability.



Figure 8o Location Magomeni in Dar es Salaam

-  Magomeni ward
-  BRT corridor development area
-  BRT busstops

1. Neighbourhood selection criteria

The neighbourhood Magomeni was selected as case study for several reasons that align with previous mentioned characteristics and conditions of the African city. This increases the transferability and relevance of the research proposed strategic design vision.



Figure 81 Magomeni (Google Earth, 2019)

Infrastructure and public space

The main criteria for case selection are related to the city's current development plans and the implementation plans of the Bus Rapid Transit System that initiated this thesis. The first phase of the BRT development corridor was executed in 2016 and can be found along the Morogoro Road as shown in the image. This infrastructural 'tool' for development already had and presumably will have impact on local socio-economic structures and the organisation of space around it and is therefore important to address.

In addition, there has been a slight increase in interest on the value of formal public spaces in Dar es Salaam with the World Bank Groups' Dar es Salaam Open Spaces Upgrading Project. As mentioned before, I was part of the organisation, which has provided more background and in-depth information on the neighbourhood of Magomeni.

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African city of the past

The African city of the past denoted history and socio-cultural structures. The site of Magomeni has a rich formal history of which elements are still visible in the spatial structure today. In addition, the neighbourhood also exemplifies typical Tanzanian socio-economic networks in functions and type of livelihood activities.

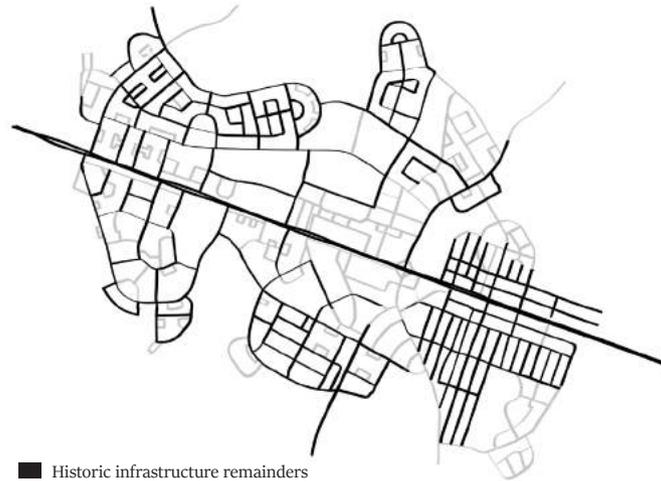
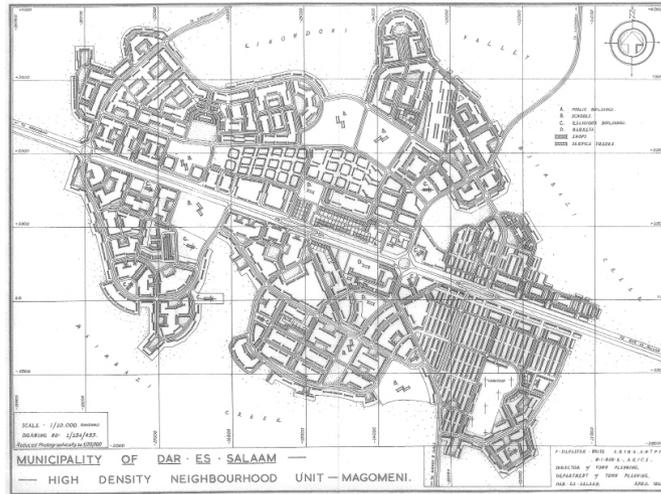
Non-negotiable local conditions

Magomeni can be regarded as a heterogeneous middle-income neighbourhood commonly found in Dar es Salaam. It finds itself rather in the middle of the city and has long reached its maximum horizontal growth level. It has both formally planned and informal housing typologies of which the typologies are very similar to other neighbourhoods. In addition, it is located between two arteries of the main river and experiences the consequences of seasonal flooding. Thus the non-negotiable local conditions are also very much present in Magomeni.

The African City of the future

Also in Magomeni, one can find the increasing usage of cars and electronic devices. This has impacted spaces and introduced all sorts of new-age activities. For example, the rise of social media such as Facebook and Instagram is also prominent with school kids.

The following pages will further describe the characteristics of Magomeni and highlight the important aspects for proposing the strategic design intervention.



2. Magomeni



s. Types of semi-detached 'Quarters'.

Figure 82 Magomeni 1957

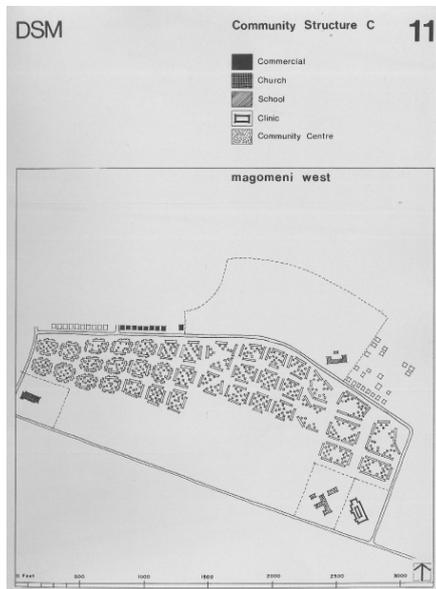


Figure 83 Planned area with houses for workers in Magomeni 1968

Historic and present day setting

Magomeni was designed and planned around 1955, under British ruling right before independence. It was an extension for the growing population of Dar es Salaam and meant to provide housing for middle income households. While most houses build during colonial times have disappeared, elements of the then popular 'garden city' style can still be traced back in certain road structures (see also images left).

After independence and the ruling of socialist Nyerere's, a couple of large scale governmental funded projects related to employment and housing all over Tanzania were planned. Dar es Salaam has always been the city where, predominantly male, men came in search for work and to build the city back up, thus together with large scale industries, housing projects were initiated. These types of housing could be regarded as 'social housing' because of the provided governmental subsidies. However, the type of social housing that familiar in the West that are proposed as a 'solution' for the poor(est) population, was not existent Africa and still does not apply today, mainly due to resource scarcity. With regards to Magomeni, one part of the neighbourhood was also planned for these types of, almost colonial-like, building blocks (see image). It was probably one of the first sites where this was applied, but the area has unfortunately turned into a high fenced construction site. Almost all buildings have now been abolished and even though plans are unknown at the time of this research, one can most surely assume some private foreign investor will develop the area without any of the past.

Moreover, present day Magomeni is not quite on the urban fringe anymore, but rather in the middle of urban activities. The neighbourhood is part of the Kinondoni district and tightly set between two river streams with one of the main aerial roads (Morogoro Road) of the city running through. The neighbourhood has grown to a medium to high density area with mainly single storey Swahili housing. Seeing the position of the neighbourhood and the large amount of inhabitants in the city, one would expect more high-rise buildings or multiple floor apartment blocks, but as mentioned before, this is the typical growth pattern. Magomeni displays many significant elements that are also seen within other areas of the city such as spontaneous settling around the river-basins, self-built houses within a previously planned grid. Most importantly however, it showcases the effect of new public infrastructure as since 2016, the new BRT system is in place and working, providing many livelihood opportunities through this additional transit connection and increase of people passing by.



Figure 84 Magomeni green-blue structure

- Green
- Open, sport-field
- Construction site (workers area)
- Mangrove/river-basin (floodplain)
- River-streams

Green blue network

Magomeni is surrounded by three of the Msimbazi river tributaries, Ngombe, China and Kibangu river. The soil is a mixture of clay and sand, resulting in a moderate drainage and almost all land around Magomeni has been completely transformed from its natural state (BroadwayMalyan et al., 2019). This means no significant natural resources or protected areas are existing.

With regards to green, there are not many formal green open spaces in Magomeni and the larger parts of 'green' are located along the river basins. The trees and plants are scattered around the area and are oftentimes indigenous or typical African trees. Though there are trees available, their ecological value is not sufficient. This ecological value also concerns the water structure. There are ongoing developments for water drainage systems in the neighbourhood, but their ecological network is undervalued or not considered. An example is the fact that there is no formally planned river inundation area to protect the built environment from flooding.



Figure 85 Magomeni restructuring roads for drainage system



Figure 86 Trees found within Magomeni area (Data: Ardhi University students, 2019; imagery Google)



Figure 87 Magomeni open space

S/N	Name	English Name	Benefits
1	Mkungu	Almond tree	Fruits, shading
2	Mzambarau	Plum tree	Fruits, shading
3	Mstafeli	Soursop tree	Fruits
4	Mkuyu	Wild fig tree	Shading
5	Mronge	Horse-radish tree	Local medicine (roots, seeds, leafs, bark), shading
6	Mkwaju	Tamarind tree	Fruits, shading
7	Christmas tree	Christmas tree	Shading
8	Mkole	Bunch	Shading
9	Mbirimbi	Cucumber tree	Shading
10	Muashoki	Ashoki tree	Shading
11	Mwarobaini (neem)	Neem tree	Herbal medicine, shading
12	Mchikichi	Acacia	Palmfruit



1. Characteristic single storey housing with occasional 4-5 storey high-rise



2. Middle income, higher quality housing with modern cars parked in front



3. House and shop on main streets



4. Smaller, low cost housing typologies in river basins

Figure 88 Magomeni housing typologies

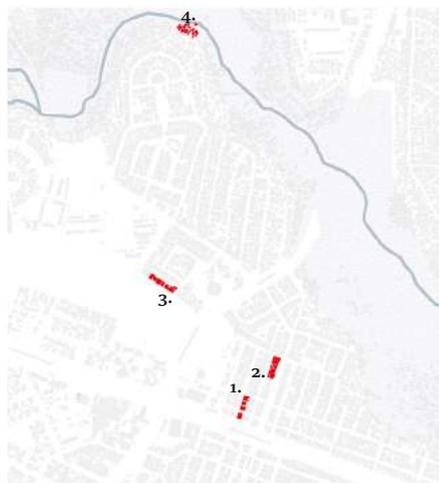


Figure 89 Magomeni locations of building typologies. High-rise towards main road, less quality structures alongside the river

Population and building typologies

The general population in Magomeni are middle income families. Unfortunately, there is no exact data on the population demographics. From the type of facilities (see maps next page) and empirical research, the main demographics are families with young children and teenagers, together with their elders and grandparents. The buildings are predominantly single storey dwellings with variations of the Swahili typology, depending on the economic capital of the resident(s). Most houses are made of brick with corrugated metal roofing as those are easy accessible materials in the area. Over time, houses are being expanded as families grow. There are a couple of multi-storey apartment buildings around the main street, but inhabitants prefer their own plot, hence the housing on the river basins.



Figure 90 Magomeni Flood risk

- Planned settlement, self-organised housing
- Unplanned, spontaneous settlement
- Mangrove/river-basin (floodplain)
- River
- Indicative flooding direction

Floodrisk and spontaneous settling

As in many places in Dar es Salaam, spontaneous settlements can be found on the fringe of the planned area and thus along the river streams. Even though the river-basins offer possibilities for agriculture, they are highly vulnerable to flooding. These areas are therefore not formally planned for residential housing, but because of the high influx of citizens, people have nevertheless built their houses in these areas. River-basins are used for the planting of rice and other vegetables, but the water is polluted and unsafe.



Figure 91 Magomeni river stream and self-built dike to combat dike in rain seasons

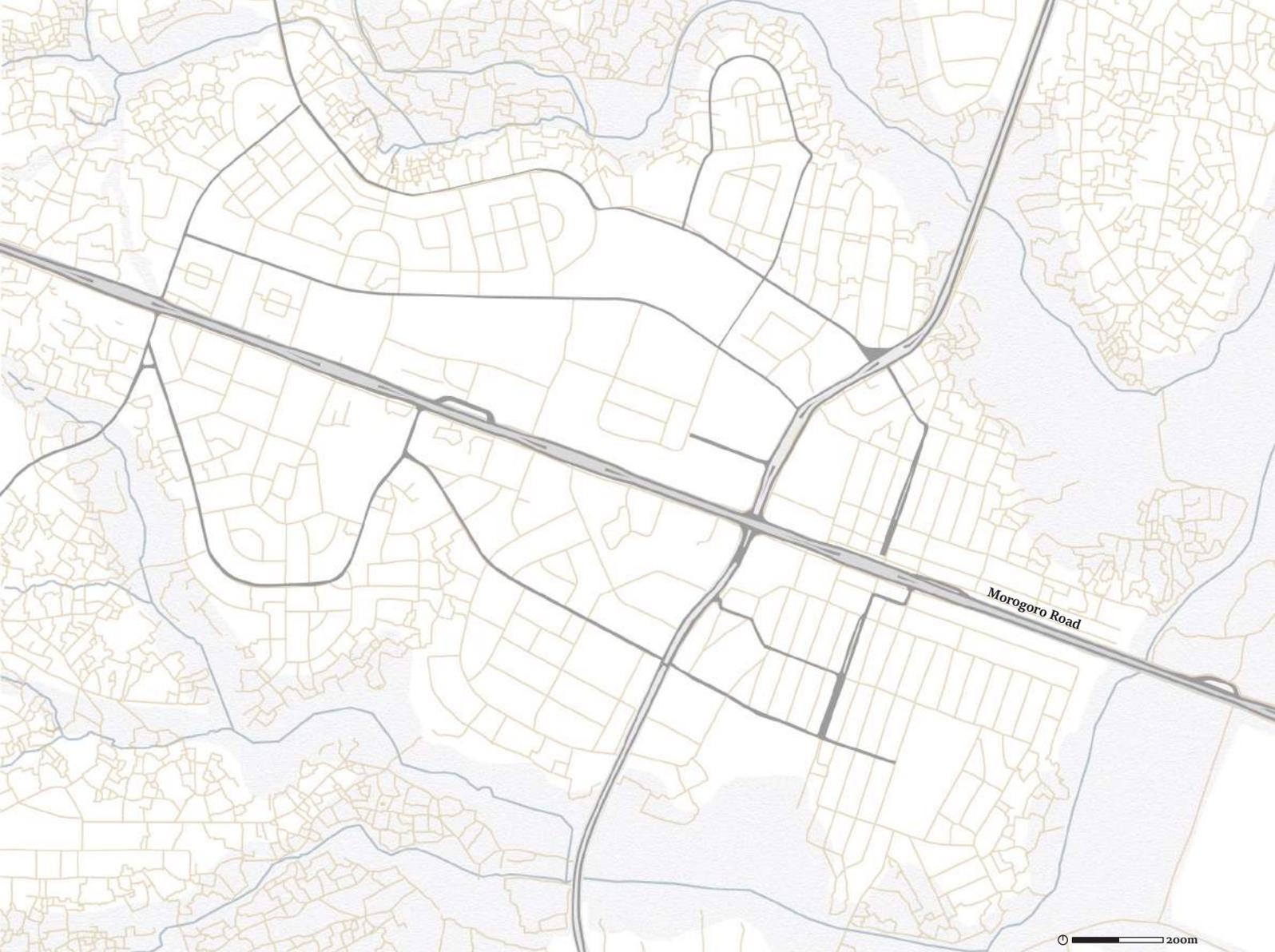


Figure 92 Infrastructure

- Main road two lane (asphalt)
- Main street (asphalt)
- Streets (sand)
- River

Infrastructure

Morogoro road, one of the main aerial roads of the city, is splitting Magomeni into two structurally and functionally similar parts. Most streets within the neighbourhood are just sand roads. The municipality is upgrading various roads within the neighbourhood with asphalt and stormwater drainage systems. Along the main streets, mostly also asphalted, commercial activities take place. The main structure of roads stems from the neighbourhoods historic plans. The unplanned and irregularly shaped roads can be found closer to the settlements alongside the river.



End of asphalt

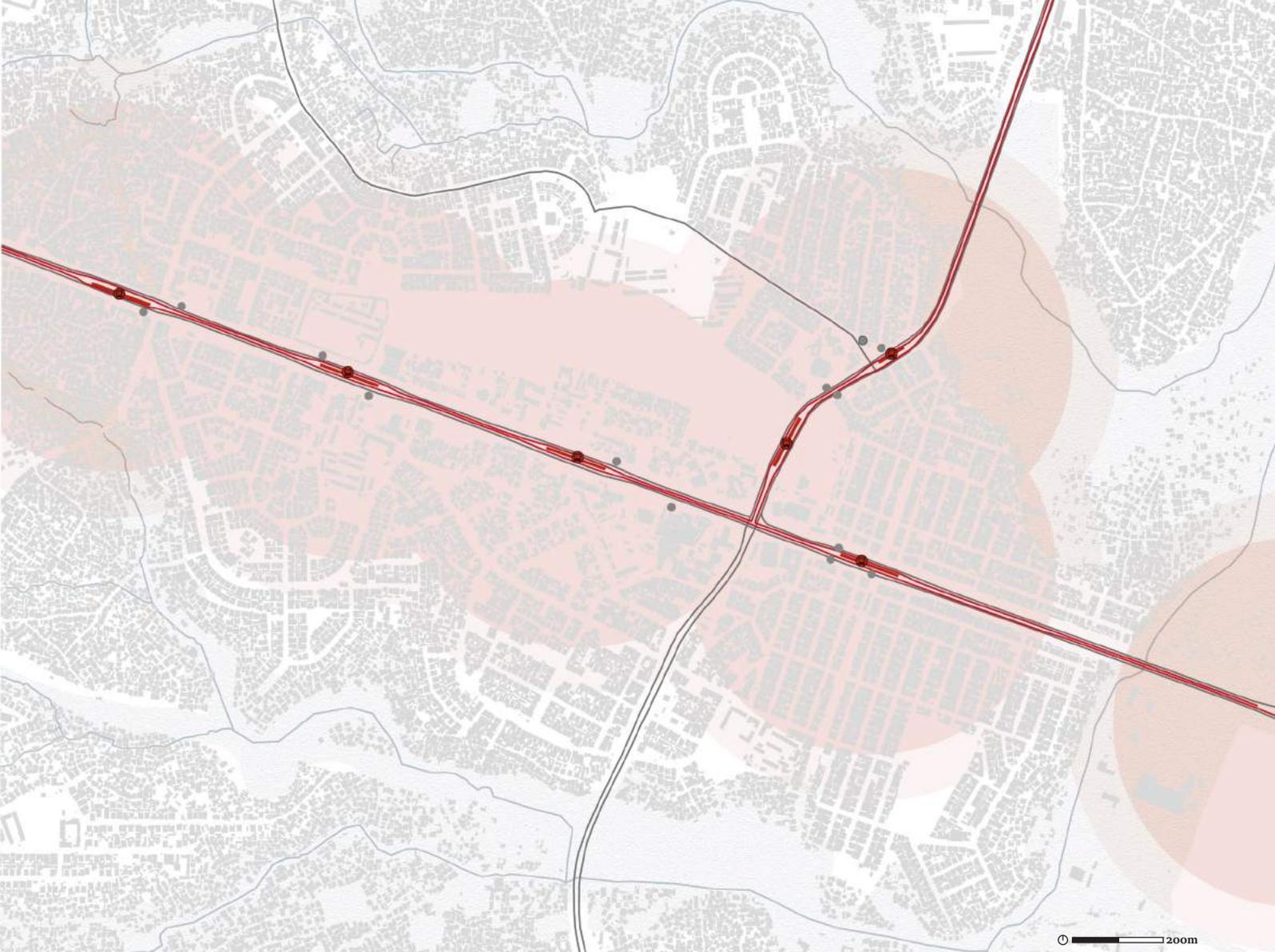


Figure 93 Public transport

- BRT route
- BRT stop
- City Bus/Dala Dala route
- City Bus/Dala Dala stop
- City Bus/Dala Dala stand
- Public transport catchment area 400-500m

Public transport

This map indicates the catchment area of the BRT system. The usage of other modes of transport than private vehicles can be fostered by improving accessibility of a public transport system itself as well as proximity and/or connectivity to other transit systems. A 400-500m walking distance to a public transport station is generally considered acceptable to walk, though climate, people characteristics (age, gender, income, culture, etc.), purpose of walking trip (leisure, systematic, shop etc.), characteristics of the environment and the mode of transport of the stop that has to be reached influences this distance (BroadwayMalyan et al., 2019). With the introduction of the BRT in Magomeni almost all residents are within reach of public transport. Those living further away tend to opt for informal motorcycles (Boda Boda’s), even though this can be very unsafe.



Left Dala Dala stop and right BRT stop in Magomeni



Figure 94 Activity

- BRT-stop
- Shop
- Amenity
- Office
- Area with high density of formal and informal activities

Livelihood activities

As in many neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam, local commercial activities characterise the neighbourhood. As displayed in the image, they are mostly located alongside the main roads and public transit stops, but also along main streets and large open places further inside the neighbourhoods. Beside some larger scaled food markets all and the same type of commercial activities can be found throughout Magomeni. For larger shopping sprees and cheaper bulk prices, the majority of residents travel to Kariakoo City Centre as explained in the Analytical framework. There is no indication of large industries or large scale public facilities such as health and education workplaces in and surrounding Magomeni. This indicates the necessity of accessible public transport to travel from home to other formal spaces of work and indicates a current high usage percentage.



Main street before entering local food market

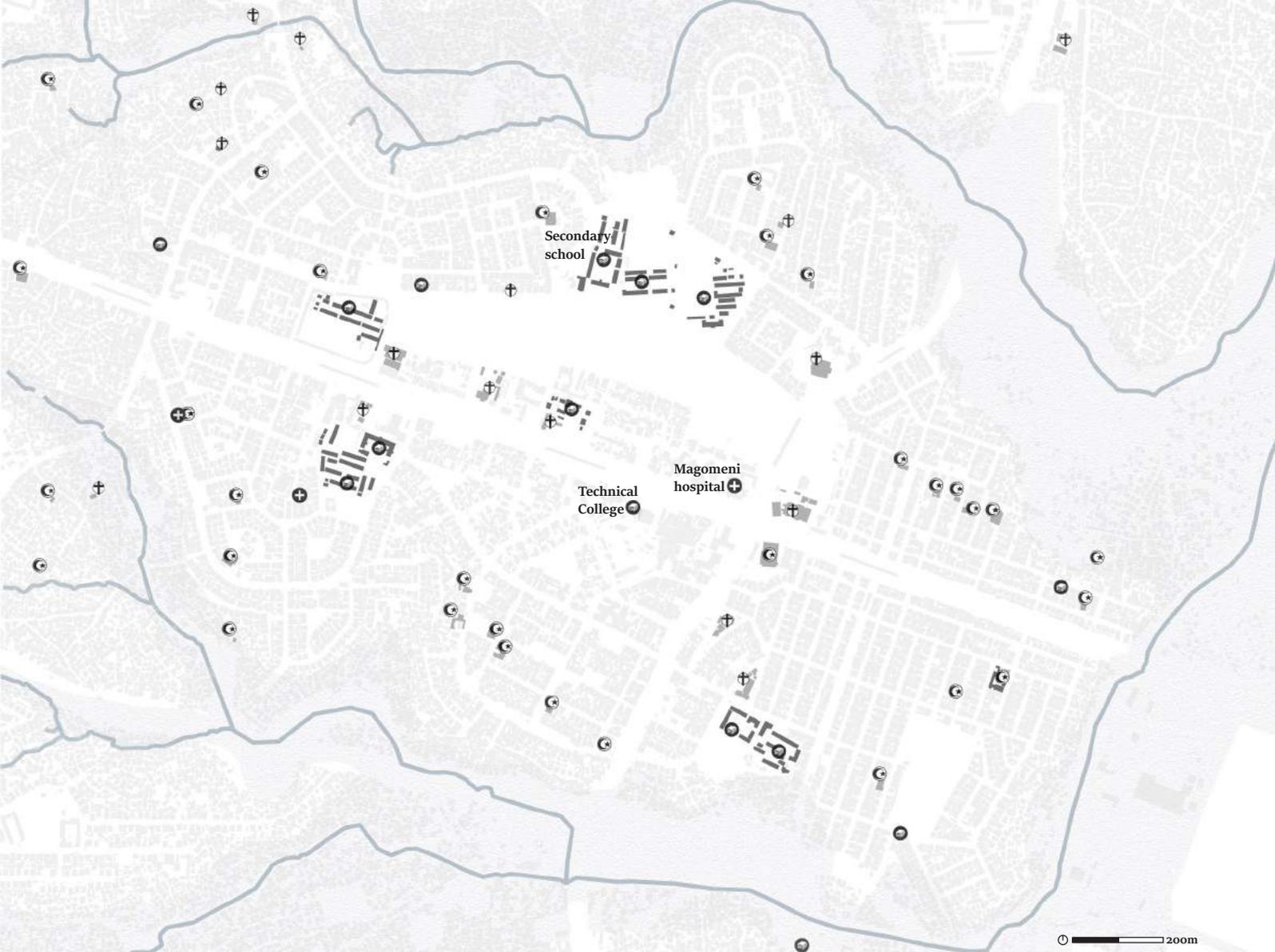


Figure 95 Public functions

- Health facility
- School
- Church
- Mosque

Public functions

Tanzanians are very religious, which explains the large amount of religious buildings in Magomeni. The main religions followed in Dar es Salaam are Christianity and Islam. You can find Muslims especially along the East coast as it stems from Zanzibar's Arabic history. In Magomeni, churches and mosques are placed within the same walking distance and it is very common to see Islamic men and women with religious wear on the streets.

In terms of educational facilities, mostly primary schools are existent in the area, except for one secondary school (serving the entire neighbourhood) and one small technical college. Many young adults do not attend higher education and even drop out of school before secondary school, mainly because of economic situations at home. There are no other ways to educate oneself, such as places for work and practice.

Furthermore, regarding health facilities, the neighbourhood has a central hospital and multiple small scale pharmaceutical facilities. They are easy accessible along the main roads.



Magomeni Catholic church, with typical large structure building typology

VISION

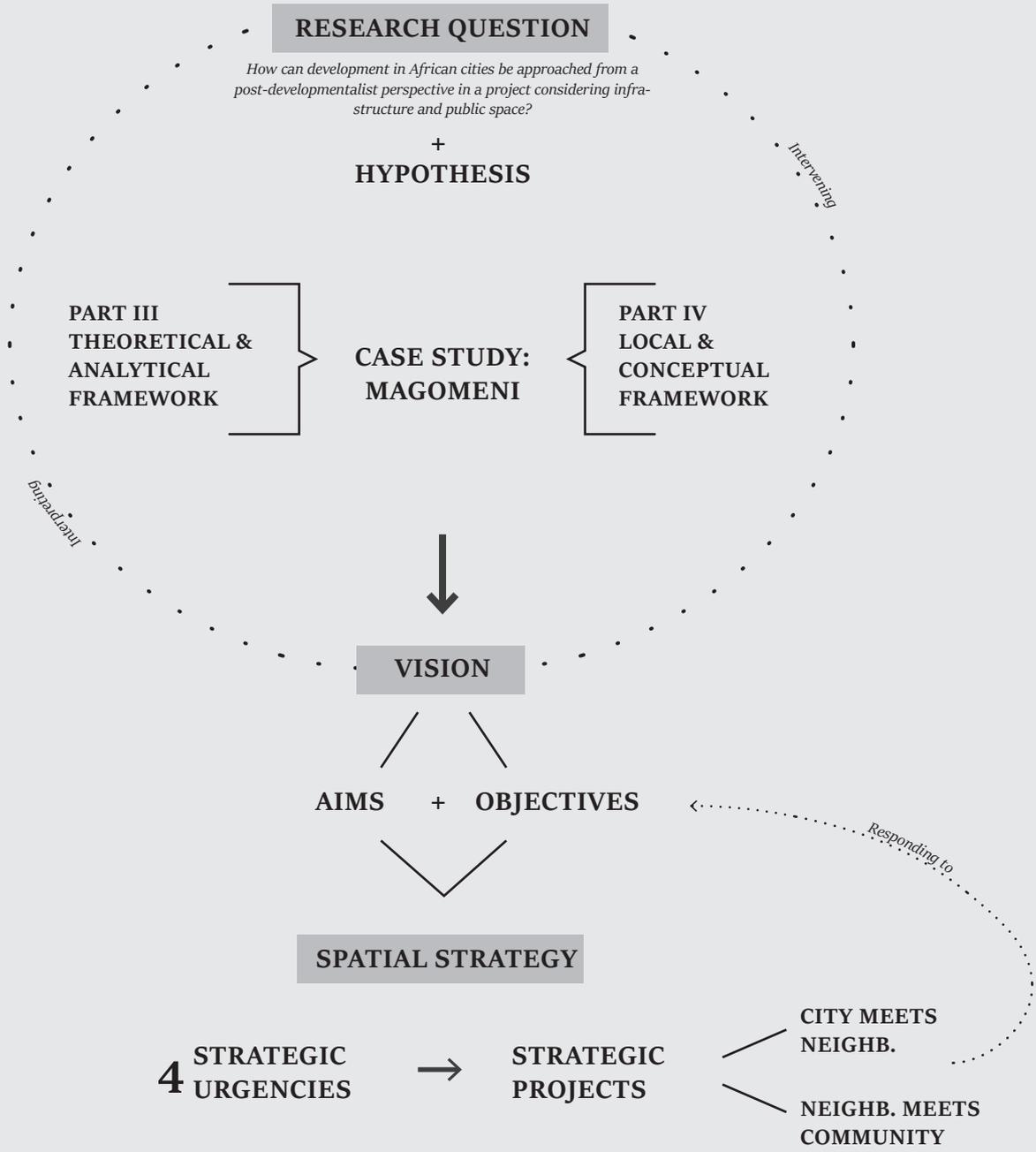


Figure 96 Vision process diagram

HYPOTHESIS

The potential of public space and infrastructure to attain long-term, viable livelihoods in rapidly urbanising African Cities

AIMS (what)



OBJECTIVES (how)



1. Sustainable communities



Make spaces into places



2. Harmony between built environment, people and natural environment



Make room (space for-) and connections



3. To increase the capacity of skills and knowledge



Support local livelihood activities through facilitating flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help



4. A framework through design within legal, economic, environmental and organisational guidelines
(for the past, present & future African City)



Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources

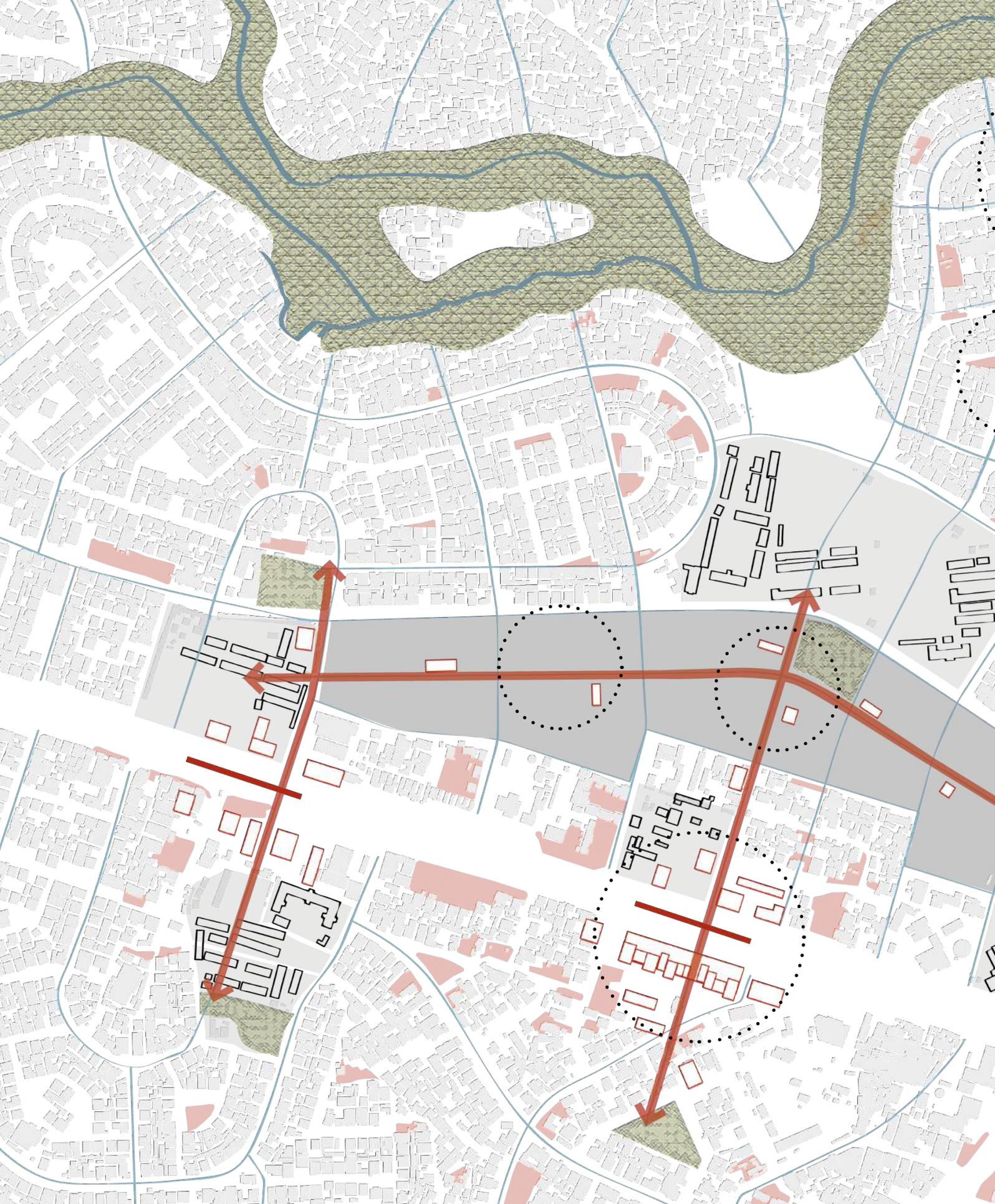
1. Vision introduction

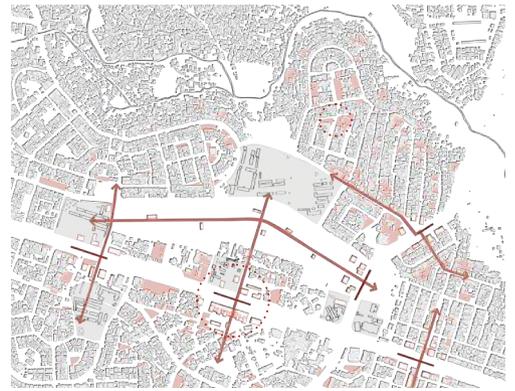
The research question of this thesis noted: How can development in African cities be approached from a post-developmental perspective in a project considering infrastructure and public space? The background and trends of African cities, Dar es Salaam in particular, have been researched in the previous parts and led to certain critical challenges and notions with local implications. In an attempt to answer the research question's pursuit for an alternative approach to development in African cities, a spatial design strategy will be formed. In order to provide a strategy that answers to the local scale requirements, Magomeni was selected as a case study site since it showcases many of the aspects that were concluded from the research parts. The challenges and notions in combination with the site specific findings lead to the vision for Magomeni. The following chapters will elaborate on the aims and objectives of this vision, the over-all strategy and the selected strategic project within that strategy. The vision process diagram on the previous page displays the stages that led to the vision and the elements it consists of.

Aims and Objectives

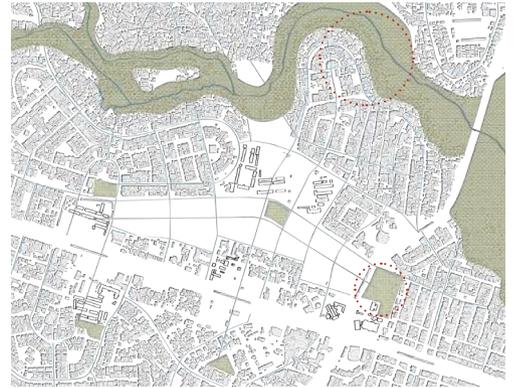
The vision consists of four aims that focus on community, harmony and capacity, see also diagram on left. To spatialise and strategize this vision, 4 respective objectives were created. These objectives can be considered as the 'how' of the aims. The aims and objectives followed from the combination of theoretical and analytical knowledge in order to answer to the research question.

On the next page, the overall strategy map is displayed of which the elements will be explained in the next paragraphs.





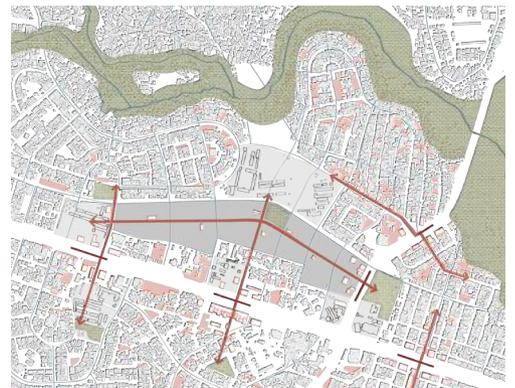
A. Development (infrastructure)



B. Environment



C. Living



D. Justice

Figure 97 Spatial strategy maps

STRATEGIC URGENCIES (infrastructure for-)

- A. Public development (infrastructure)
- B. Environment
- C. Living
- D. Justice



STRATEGIC PROJECTS

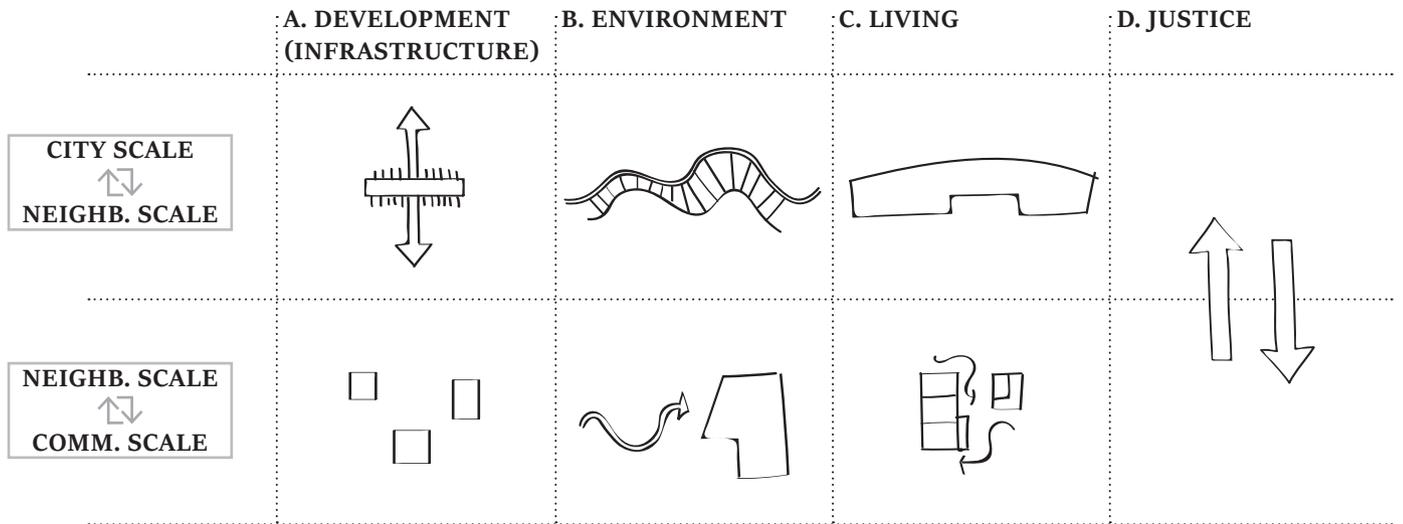


Figure 98 Spatial strategy scheme

From strategic urgencies to strategic projects

The spatial strategy for Magomeni argues to look at infrastructure from a broader perspective and proposes infrastructure not only as the institutional initiated road and public transport infrastructure, but also a need of infrastructure for the environment, living and justice. These 4 elements, as shown in the diagram, are proposed as strategic urgencies of which the first three are mainly addressing space, while the strategic urgency of justice is shaped as a textual and diagrammatic manifesto addressing responsibilities, ownership and time.

All four strategic urgencies are directed to two levels of scales; where city scale meets neighbourhood scale and where neighbourhood scale meets community scale. On each of these scales and within each strategic urgencies, the critical strategic project will be explained and elaborated upon. Each strategic project will be explained according to the four objectives stated before, to: 1. Make spaces into places; 2. Make room (space for-) and connections; 3. Support local livelihood activities through facilitating flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help; 4. Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources. These objectives will not only be explored and explained in text, but also through maps, images, diagrams and visuals. In addition there an indication on how the project could be implemented regarding the thesis aim of more inclusive development projects. These processes are depicted in the form of various time lines and the role each stakeholder takes is explained in text.



Figure 99 BRT Usalama

After integrating places and infrastructure for spontaneous commercial activities, the liveliness of the area around the BRT has increased tremendously. It is much safer to work and cars can easily make a quick stop to buy products. People with marketplaces elsewhere in the neighbourhood have moved their produce to the (food)market hall as it provides them with opportunities to expand and grow their business and eventually build their own shop according to their needs. On the other side of the road, the larger buildings allow for flexible workplaces and various types of sme's. Outdoor tables and walls make for great places to showcase your work and small cafes meet are excellent meeting places with investors. Overall, the BRT is used more frequently as it is well connected with the neighbourhood through an upgraded slow traffic street.

1. Development (infrastructure)

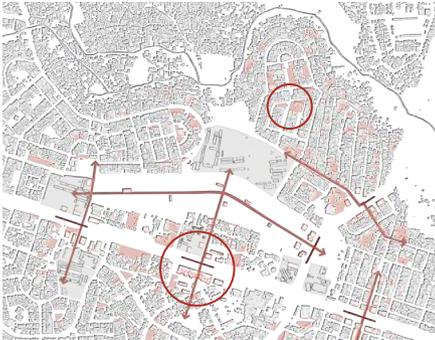


Figure 101 Development strategy map



Informal activities



Nothing



Eateries



Walled public facility (church, hospital etc.) empty front

Figure 100 Activities at BRT at present

The first layer of the strategic design considers the inevitable infrastructural developments planned by the city. It acknowledges the development of the BRT, but highlights the need for additional guidelines.

In order for development around the BRT to be sustainable for current and future livelihoods, the interventions around it need to be linked with what is happening within the neighbourhood. The BRT can merely provide an opportunity to express the work and knowledge which is occurring in the neighbourhood already. However, existing local activities are not very well supported and opportunities to grow are scarce. For that reason, the design proposal consists of multiple elements, which besides taking the development around the BRT nodes into account to expand and guide the expected transformation of the area surrounding the stop, also looks into ways to support and promote diversified activities inside the neighbourhood's communities.

1.1 City scale meets neighbourhood scale

The type of intervention proposed directly around the BRT node addresses the city scale activities which are focussed around work and commerce. It acknowledges the generally found street economies, but offers different ways to make them grow. It focusses on providing the basic infrastructure that is not aimed at one type of economic activity, but can be used freely and thus withstands time through its adaptability. On the next page different stages that can take place around the BRT node are described, taking account of lower and higher income businesses.

Summary of objectives

- Make spaces into places
Develop work and commerce around BRT node to facilitate not only city scale interventions, but also neighbourhood scaled activities.
- Make room (space for-) and connect
Connect BRT stop to main public facilities inside the neighbourhood (education and green) for easy accessibility both ways
- Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help
Consider multiple options to grow businesses through a sites and services system. Encourage and stimulate co-operation through flexible infrastructure.
- Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources
Promoting flexibility and organic growth relocates responsibility to the people. Private developer could benefit from rents, public functions s.a. parking etc. This requires low resources and effort from government: they only need to check if predefined rules are taken into consideration.
Elements provided (roof, infrastructure) take into account weather conditions and local context.



Figure 102 BRT Usalama impression of connection

CATALOGUE FOR GROWTH

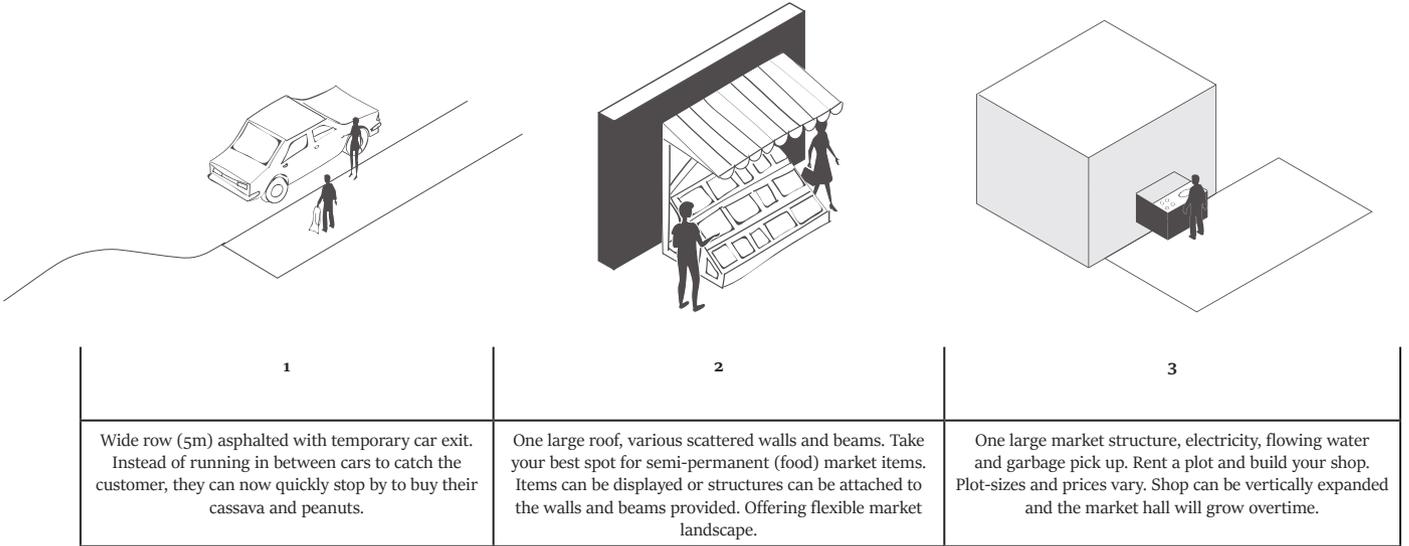


Figure 103 Stimulating growth options for commercial activities

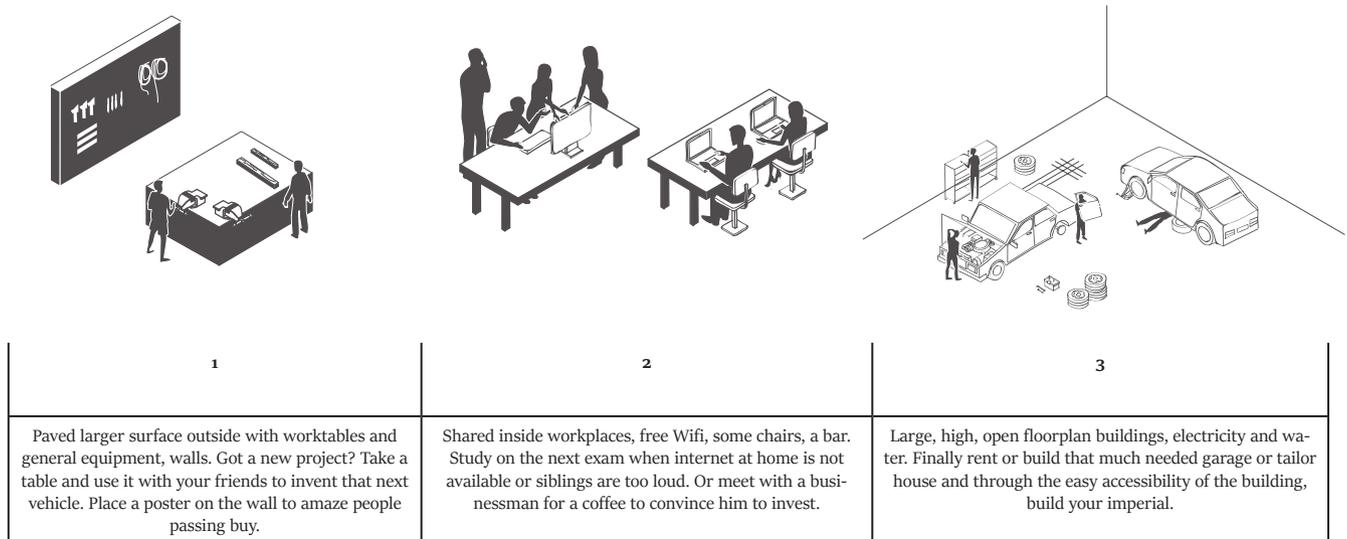


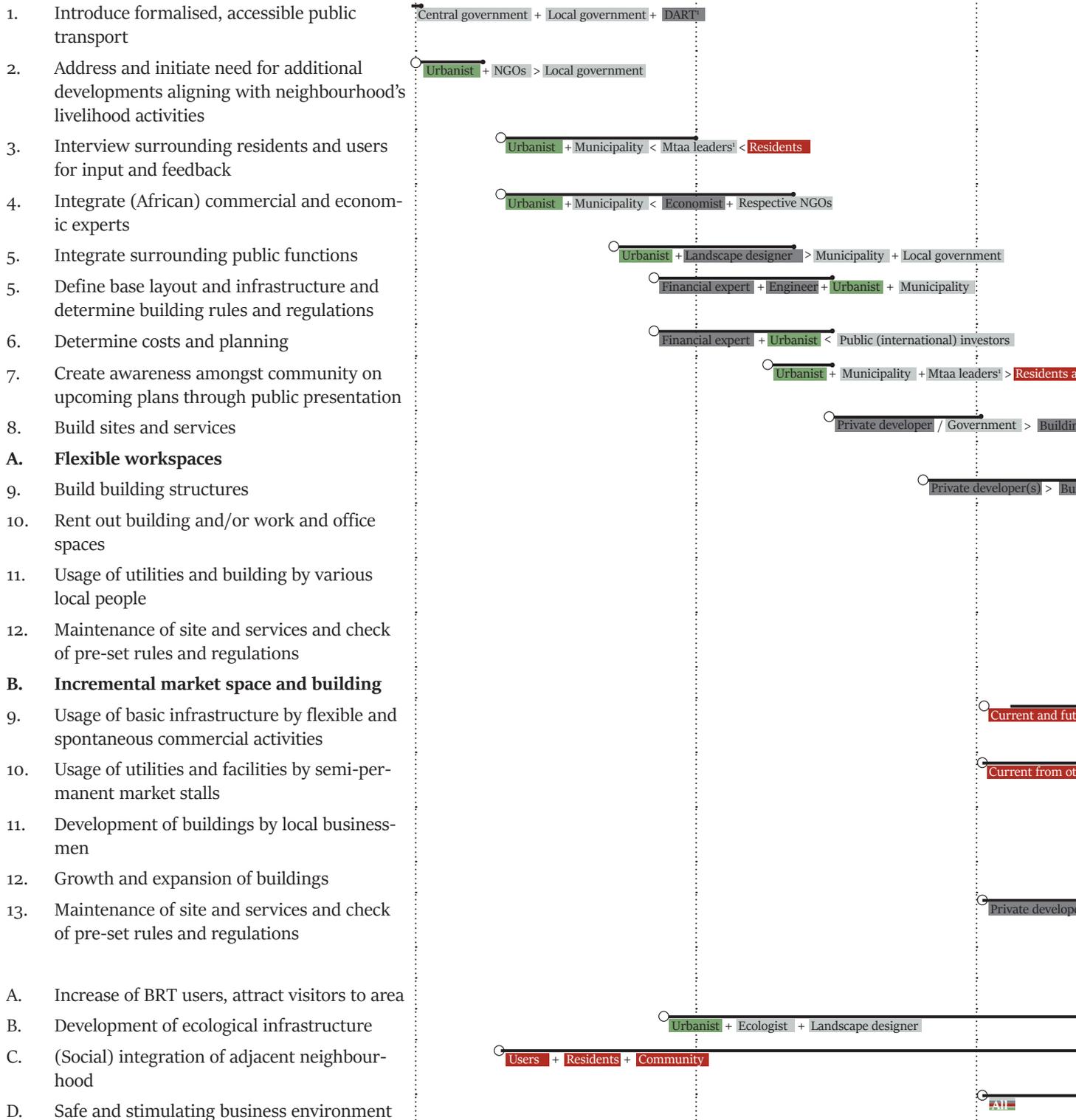
Figure 104 Stimulating growth options for work and production activities

Year

Existing

2022

2025

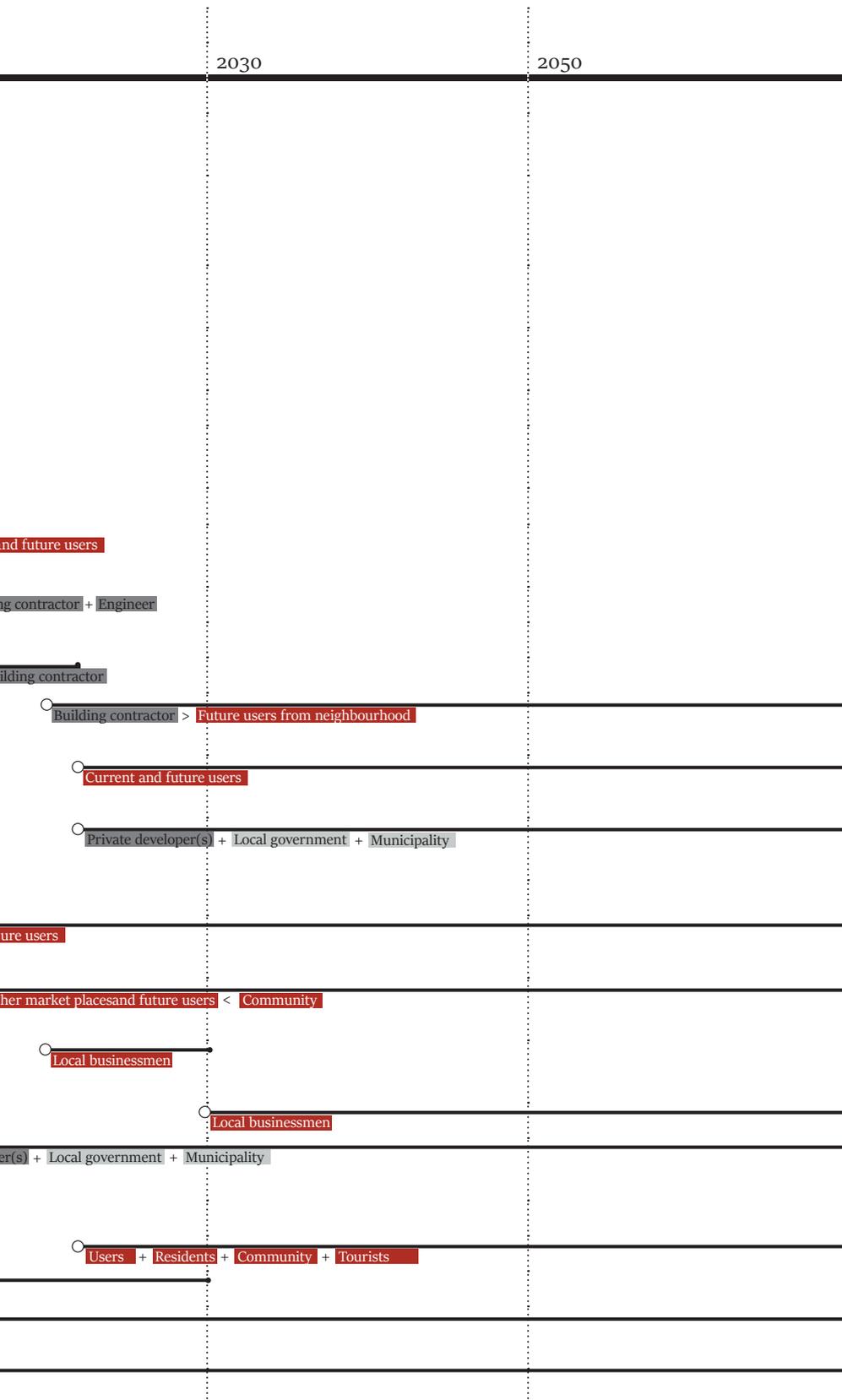


Public
 Private
 Citizens
 Urbanist

*DART: Dar Rapid Transit Agency have developed the Bus system in Dar es Salaam together with other private developers

Main spatial strategy

Additional developments



Spatial planning process

The urban planner has an important role in addressing additional benefits of implementing the Bus Rapid Transit system. Connecting these developments with the activities of the surrounding neighbourhood should go along with research and interviewing the current and future users for input and feedback to prevent failure. Integrating (local) commercial experts may suggest in what way(s) small scale street commerce can grow into small to medium scale shops and businesses and which items may be useful to thus integrate into the project. Before implementing small and large scale interventions, it is important to create awareness amongst the community and integrating local workers in the building process to create coherence and social sustainability.

The development project in this case consists of two phases that can run parallel. The flexible workspaces are located on one side of the road and the incremental market space on the other side (see design image previous pages). After the construction of the basic structure of these elements it is for the users to further expand and grow these buildings and businesses. This way the project will require less resources from a single developer (e.g. government). The integration of (local) users and a diversity of ownerships will also create dispersed responsibility and build capacity of the community.



Figure 105 Productive neighbourhood

The spaces inside the neighbourhood that once were unused or poorly used are now given attention. Activities that were already taking place are integrated into the new development project and supported through providing the appropriate infrastructure and brings together residents through community usages. The upgrading of small open spaces provides the possibility for experimentation and of local entrepreneurship. These businesses can expand and connect with the commerce and work area around the BRT. The addition of elements such as water taps and water ways have made the area much greener as dwellers can now grow their food and vegetables around their homes.



Figure 106 A PARK(ing) Day in Accra, Ghana
 This car park on a Saturday morning, before the cleanup. Children painting the tires for the pocket park. The pocket park is now gone, but the gardens remain for the families and community to use. By transforming local car spaces into a park for people,
 (Organised by Victoria Okoye in 2013 in Accra, Ghana: <http://africanurbanism.net/a-parking-day-in-accra-ghana-transforming-car-spaces-into-peoples-spaces-for-a-weekend/>)

1.2 Neighbourhood meets community scale

Many places inside the neighbourhood are unused, neglected and unknown with the occasional car park and vehicle repair spot. Those places in between buildings are the perfect places to expand your work and build community security. Creating safe spaces for children to play, ideal areas to grow some local vegetables or work on a little project. From the understanding that a lot is happening already, the unknown spaces in the neighbourhood can be supported through again, the provision of some basic infrastructure. The next pages indicate a catalogue of small, robust and flexible items that can spur creativity and create commonalities for viable livelihood activities.

Summary of objectives

- ① Make spaces into places
Upgrading or designating open spaces for everybody to use fuelling new connections, ideas and creativity
- ② Make room (space for-) and connect
Connecting spaces with communities through providing essential infrastructure that engages local community
- ⊗ Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help
Consider multiple options to grow businesses through a sites and services system. Encourage co-operation through flexible infrastructure and multiple options.
- ③ Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources
Intervene with close collaboration of the community. If an activity is already there (such as vehicle repairs), how can that be further facilitated (e.g. adding pavement). Through working with the residents, upgrading can also occur through the usage of material found in the surrounding environment. A designated area for plants, a pot of paint or a planted tree can do wondrous to upgrade and put attention to the prosperity already existent. Secondly, interventions ought to be economically and environmentally through

153

Contextual conditions determine intervention typologies

One needs to consider the socio-economic and environmental conditions before intervening in an area. For example, aspects such as hot and humid seasons, together with strong rain seasons, require the type of material for interventions to be robust and strong-built. Tracing the materials used in the neighbourhood provides an indication on what could potentially work such as concrete, wood, metal and re-usable (car) construction parts. In the same way, the conditions to guide interventions in Magomeni have been determined.

Interventions should be

1. Supportive and signify the heart of existing community
2. Flexible and multi-interpretable for future changing needs
3. Remain unbuilt and for common use
4. Relatively low cost and simple (aware of low resourceful context)
5. Inclusive in age and gender; and educational
6. Sturdy, use- and futureproof (aware of environmental conditions and socioeconomic context)



Meeting of larger groups



Car parking



Nothing



Old truck depot



Car reparations



Car parking



Car and bus reparations



Car parking



Entrance to dwellings



Games and leisure (for men)



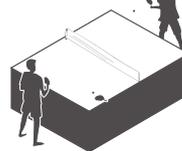
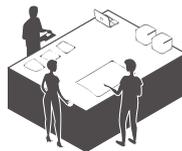
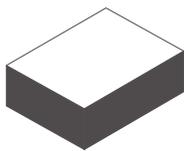
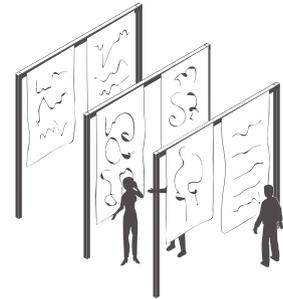
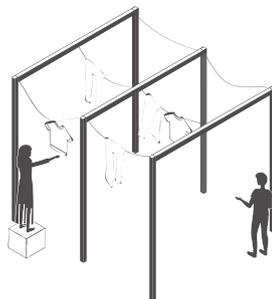
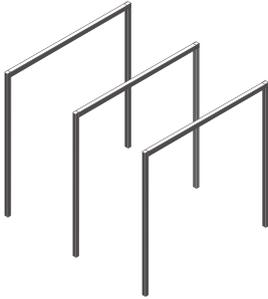
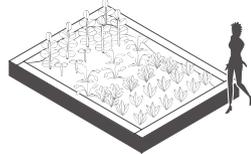
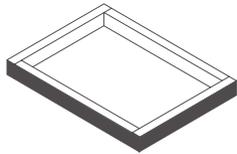
Surveillance (police)



Expansion of shop

Figure 107 Activities at spaces now deemed as insignificant

CATALOGUE FOR SPACES UNKNOWN



What	Component examples	Goal
1. Educational facility (built infrastructure)	Technical college Work-learn environment Skill focused	Improving skills and knowledge
2. Foundation (basic needs)	Paving for clean, common workspaces Electrical facility Wifi	Improving work environment
3. Equipment for common use (durable, theft proof, for multiple people at the same time)	Worktable Electrical equipment Books, equipment, machinery and work tools)	Promoting co-production, offering easy accessible opportunities
4. Display and attract	Wall to expose Beams to display/hang	Facilitating entrepreneurial interactions Attracting customers and tourism to raise economy

Year

Existing

2022

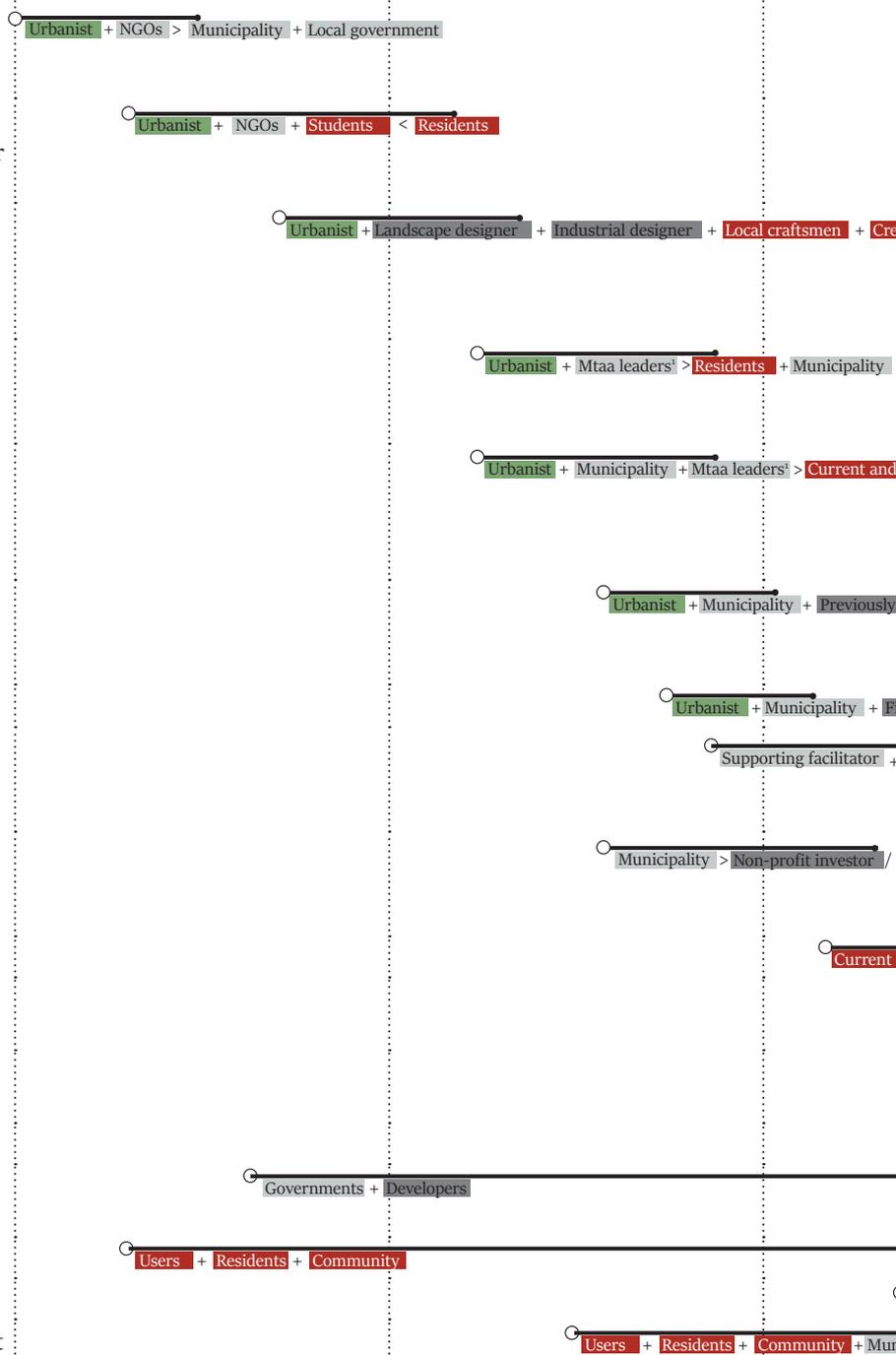
2025

Main spatial strategy

1. Highlight opportunities for developments aligning with- and for activities within neighbourhood
2. Documenting (mapping, photographing, interviewing) what residents do outside their homes to secure their livelihood
3. Integrate industrial designer, landscaper and other creative experts together with local craftsmen and artists to develop simple and structural ideas for intervention
4. Interview surrounding residents and users for input and feedback on this general catalogue
5. Make residents aware on the process and their (economic) input required if they wish to upgrade their surrounding build environment
6. Determine ecologically, functionally and economically prime places together with residents
7. Determine case specific costs and planning
8. Set up a collaborative of home owners surrounding the site willing to invest time and money
9. Invest in a (community) building where people can learn how to execute the type of intervention they wish for from experts.
11. Build base structures with collectives
12. Continue usage of now upgraded unknown places and utilities by various local people
13. Regular check-up on usage and upkeep of interventions

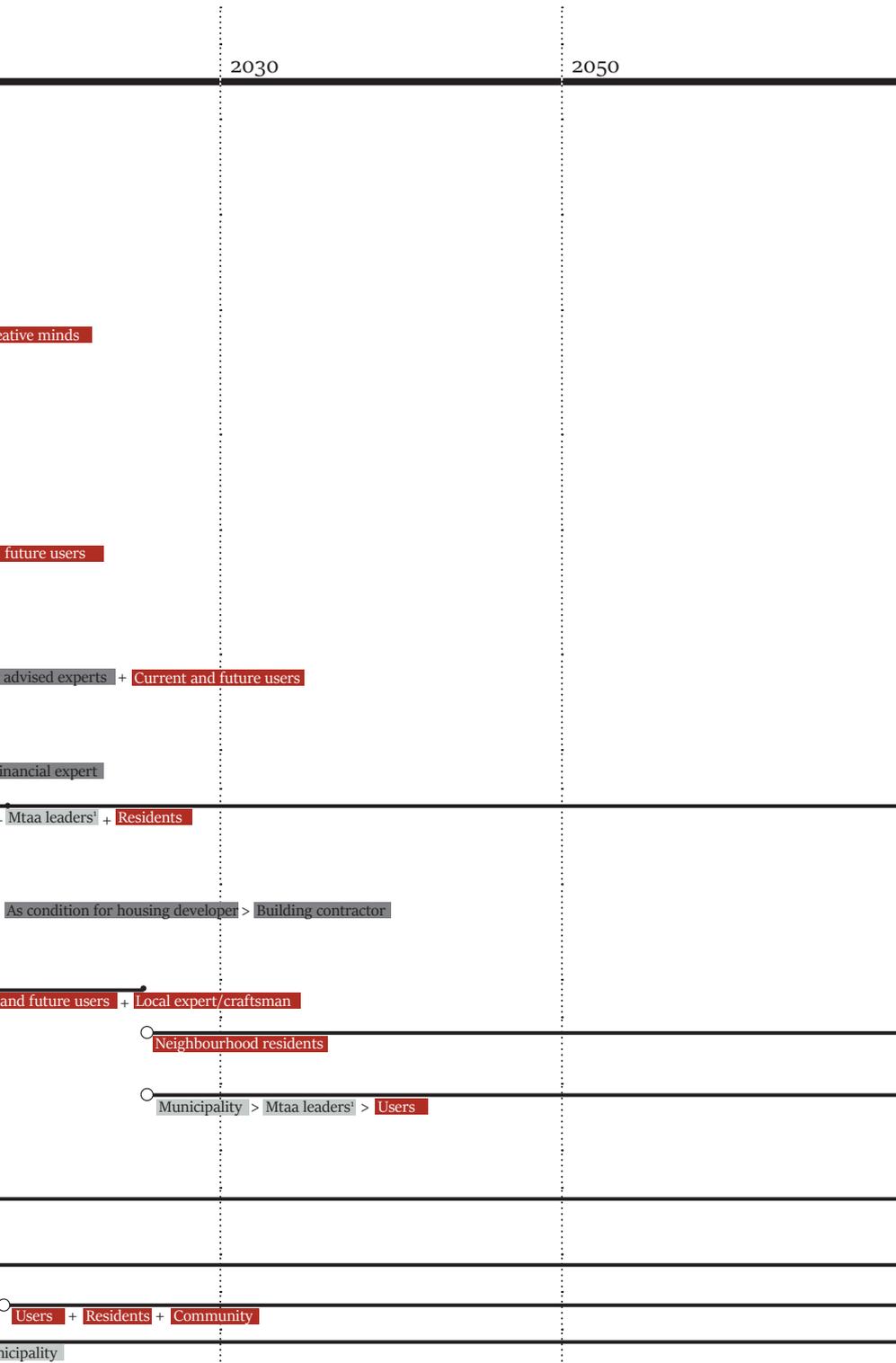
Additional developments

- A. Social awareness within bureaucratic, top-down institutions
- B. (Social) integration of adjacent communities
- C. Incremental growth of livelihood activities
- D. Sense of responsibility for build environment



Public
 Private
 Citizens
 Urbanist

*Mtaa leaders: Community leader appointed by residents



Process productive neighbourhood

Addressing the mismatch and opportunities for developments that align with the activities in the neighbourhood is a key task of the urban planner. Before suggesting interventions, in-depth documenting and researching is required. This should be in collaboration with local NGO's, students and interested residents. Constructing a collective of participants and future users around the site the place can be upgraded with local resources (money and materials). The urban planner and designer plays an important role in facilitating this process. Regular check-up and community meetings will ensure the project's sustainability.



Figure 108 Spontaneous settlements and agriculture around the river

2. Environment

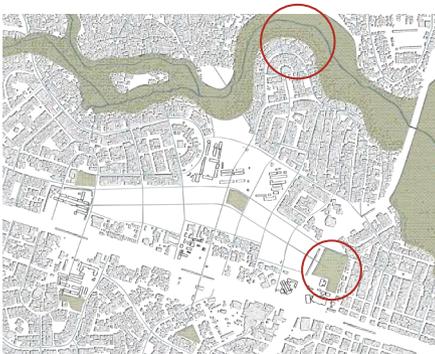


Figure 110 Environment strategy map



Figure 109 Example project of how the water streams and agriculture can work together. Alongside higher density, vertical living

The second element critical within the intervention is infrastructure for environment. Green and blue networks are considered to be the basis for health and well-being and should always be integrated in design concepts.

2.1 City scale meets neighbourhood scale

For the case of Magomeni, water and the river is critical in shaping the neighbourhood and thus worth-wile to support. In this case, room is made for the river to expand and land in between can be used for agriculture production creating a landscape that is reminiscent to the Dutch polders or ancient Egyptian Nile activities. This element brings up a sensitive debate surrounding spontaneous and informal settlements. Many citizens now reside along the river, placing themselves in higher risk for their health (lack of sanitation and hygiene) and natural hazards.

There is an urgent need to remove people from this area, but how?

There are two types of resettlement that are occurring in Dar es Salaam (not necessarily related to the river areas)

1. Government forces people to move. And because all land essentially is owned by the state and their houses are technically illegal, they just tear down all buildings. This leaves many people without a home and with their livelihood diminished. They often end up in other informal settlements in the city, which means that risk still remains.
2. Many NGOs and international organisations now believe in repaying and resettling the residents. However, there have been scenarios where people were paid to move, but they ended up not moving and investing their money elsewhere. Which created a high debt and no solution.

Then there is the issue of low resources and the inability for local government to build social housing. If social housing would ever be built in Dar es Salaam, it is inevitably far outside the city where ground is cheaper with a building typology that does not match with the citizens' cultural habits. This combination makes people not want to move as they are unable to benefit from the possibilities offered through the city scale agglomeration. In this case of this intervention, residents should be offered a place a. in higher density on site b. elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Both with the added possibility to use the agricultural land and use the sold products as produced on the plot to pay rent for their housing.

Furthermore, it will be difficult to market or lobby for the environment within the current governmental structure. They are focussed on direct economic benefits and not into long-term solutions. However, while some initial investment is necessary (perhaps international? Noted under: preservation of Dar es Salaam's important and beautiful mangrove system), it evens out when looking at the amount of money is spent on emergency help and health care. This does require a significant change of mindset and perhaps experimental and example projects to open their eyes.

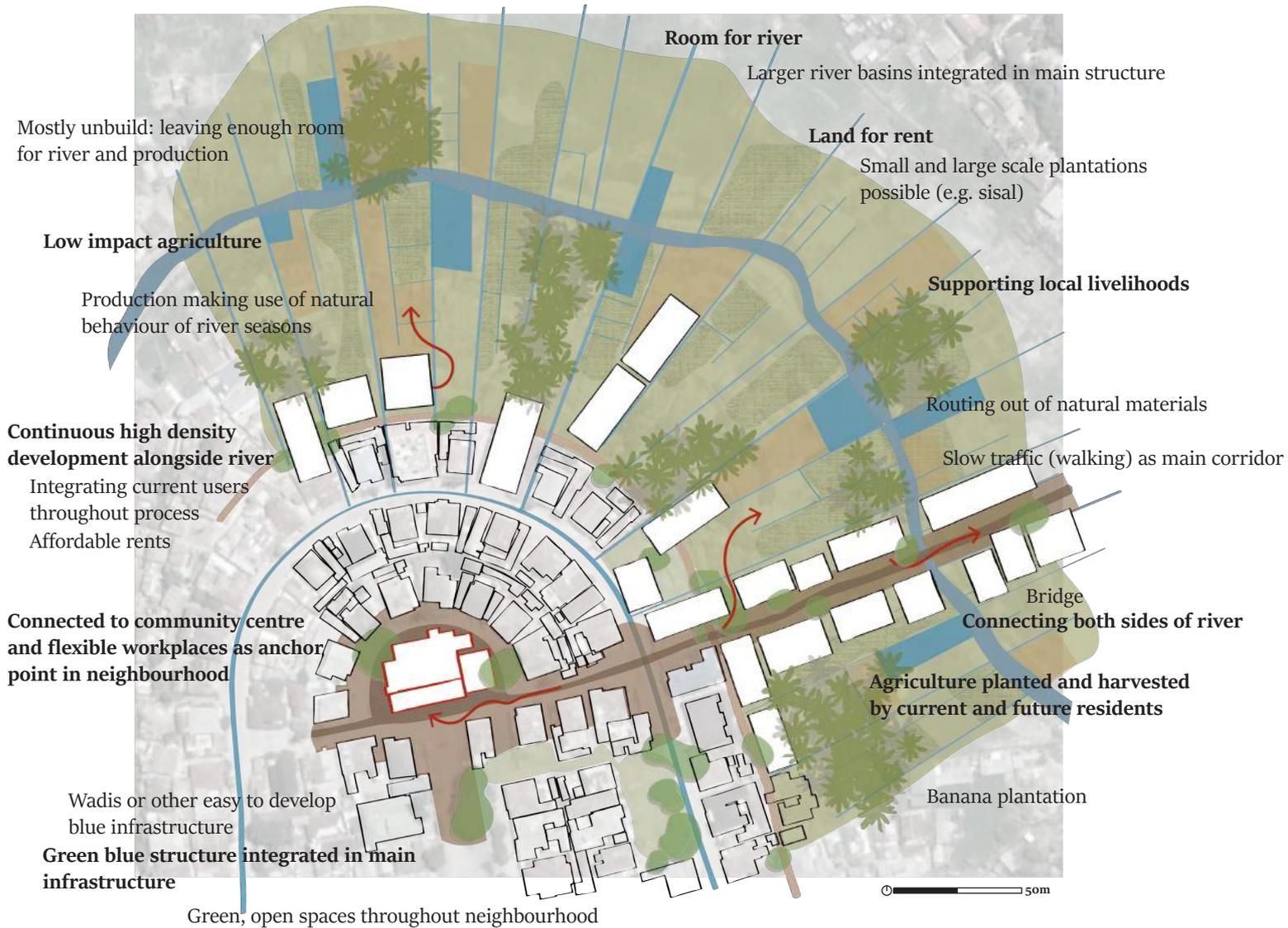
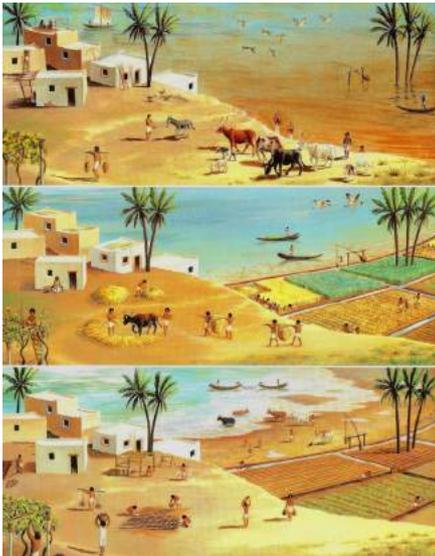


Figure 111 Magomeni productive landscape

There is enough space for the river to overflow during the rain season. Water can flow into designated basins that store excess water to be used for agriculture during the dry season. The landscape around the water has now become a productive area for the surrounding citizens to make use of. Land and new, higher density living blocks can now be rented for affordable prices. Both sides of the river are now connected through a small bridge, integrating and highlighting the community building. New developments are slowly increasing, while roads are being integrated with wadis and other low cost green-blue infrastructure attracting new residents. These buildings are multiple storey (3-5 floors) and higher in density, yet connected and integrated into the current structure allowing various residents to mix.



Lastly, the exact structure of how room can be made for the river goes beyond the scope of this thesis as I am not an expert on water or agriculture. But since the issue surrounding water is a city wide problem, it ought to be an important aspect for city government to further research.

Summary of objectives

- ④ Make spaces into places
Make room for the main river structure to give water a significant place in the neighbourhood and within the city
- ④ Make room (space for-) and connect
Create an ecological network throughout the neighbourhood. Meaning integrate water streams and green into basic road infrastructure
- ⊗ Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help
Develop the area around the river for crop and vegetable production for current residents. Assign various sizes of (low ecological impact) agriculture spots to sustain livelihoods
- ④ Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources
Being conscious of protecting natural landscape through making space. Dispersing responsibility through integrating local inhabitants into the process and making them end-users.

Figure 112 International and historic examples of structuring both land and water bringing out the best in both (Top to bottom: Egypt, Ancient Nile, Netherlands)

Year

Existing

2022

2025

1. Investigate and research the level and reasons of flooding together with current residents and environmental expert
2. Address urgency and need for change
3. Investigate current agricultural processes and identify potentials
4. Define base layout and infrastructure and determine building rules and regulations
5. Determine costs and planning, attract investor
6. Create awareness amongst community on upcoming plans through public presentation
- A. Site A**
7. Determine site with least risk and most potential
8. Develop ground designated for low impact agriculture together with current users
9. Build higher density, multiple level housing
10. Reintroduce previous and new residents under affordable renting conditions
- B. Site B**
11. Move current residents to higher buildings developed on site A
12. Develop ground designated for low impact agriculture together with current users
13. Build higher density, multiple level housing
14. Reintroduce previous and new residents under affordable renting conditions
- C. Site C: repeat process A & B**
15. Regular check of pre-set rules and regulations
- D. Green blue infrastructure**
1. Design green, blue infrastructure
2. Address environmental importance and socio-economic benefits
3. Release land under conditions to house current residents
4. Buy out resident, develop plots together with upgrading road infrastructure
- A. Additional developments**
1. Usage of river basins with low impact agriculture to support livelihood and pay rent
2. Residents may remain and thus feel responsible for living environment

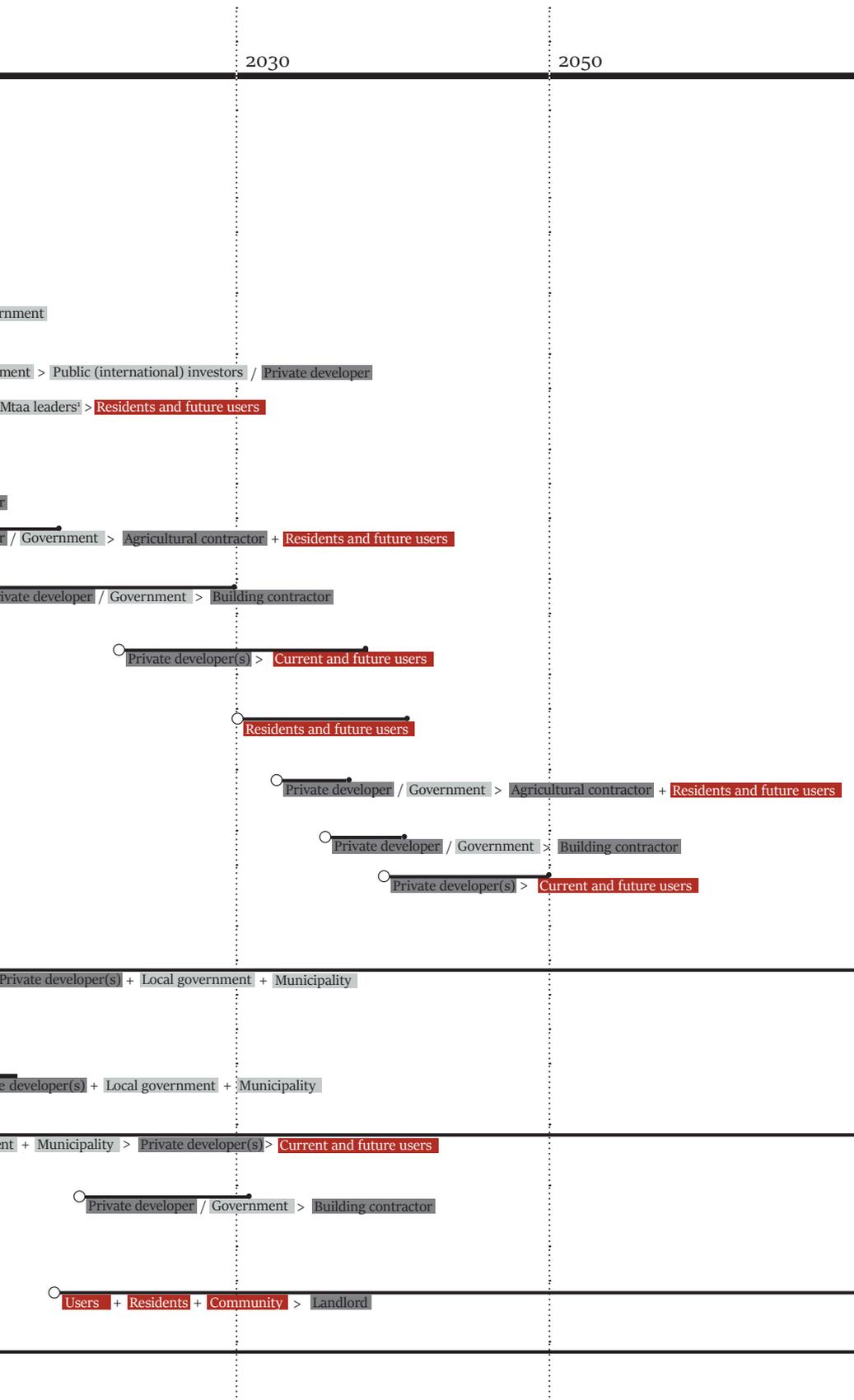


Main spatial strategy

Additional developments

Public
Private
Citizens
Urbanist

¹Mtaa leaders: Community leader appointed by residents



Spatial planning process

Agriculture is an essential part of the livelihood creation around the river, but is also creating a lot of risks for the surrounding residents. This urgency needs to be addressed and further investigated in detail together with the residents with the urban planner as leading figure. Intervening is a sensitive subject and can also be very costly without any direct economic benefits. Therefore it is important to create awareness amongst community and integrate current residents before, during and after the project.

The implementation can be done in multiple phases to decrease costs and risks. More importantly it will create the possibility to resettle dwellers within the same area. The condition that residents at present will be end-users may generate cooperation within the process. In addition it will constitute sense of belonging and responsibility for the site and its natural conditions.



Figure 113 Magomeni open space

Visitors can access and use the site freely. Bridges and pathways provide entrance to the site, but are made to conserve the natural state. Filtering plants and wetland plants are to be placed along the detention pond, for both educational as visual pleasure. The pond will not always be filled with water, only in rain seasons. The space is currently already planted with native species and ground cover that requires little upgrading or maintenance. The regenerative strategy will help vegetation get established and grow. The site becomes a leisurely place for community, attract tourists and serves as an educational opportunity which links back to the city's mangrove habitat and captures the scenic beauty of it.

* For developing the other side of the BRT reference can be made to BRT Usalama, where work and commercial activities now thrive.



Figure 114 Magomeni park encroachers
Open space inhabitants, ‘Garden breeze’ restaurant park, unidentifiable storage

The story of Magomeni

Magomeni public space was first declared as Botanical garden in 1969 with collection, cultivation, preservation and display of a wide range of plants. The garden had a coverage of 2Ha and later swimming pools and resting spaces were constructed within the site. After the failing of the botanic garden, community members wanted the area to construct a public secondary school, but they did not get permission from the municipal council. Later politicians who wished for a Health Centre for women, but the site did not meet its requirements.

In 2012, a political lead of the ruling party constructed a bar at the public space, without any restriction as he was the councilman of Magomeni ward. Currently, the area has a bar with temporary building materials, owned by the councilman. In addition, in 2015, 200m2 of the garden was given to construct the DMDP Offices in Kinondoni municipality due to shortage of land in the municipality. The current size of the public space is 17800m2. Next to being encroached by buildings, Masaai people inhabit the site and is used for storage of furniture, building materials and waste.

(Adapted from Ardhi students, DOSU Project, 2019)

2.2 Neighbourhood meets community scale

On a local scale the intervention is focussed on introducing the value of water and green networks and how they can help minimise local scale issues of flooding and the heating of the city. A couple of bigger open spaces are assigned in the neighbourhood that both preserve ecological value as well as improved public accessibility. The environmental value can be advanced by improving water flow and systems for water retention, which in combination with pathways, bbq places and community gardens (all low impact activities) can create value for the neighbourhood.

However, these park-like building blocks require upkeep and maintenance and a set of guidelines that preserve the natural state of the area. Some sites are now inhabited with Masaai people doing business, used as storage, loaded with trash and rubbish or street economies take place along the edges. All of these activities are generally perceived as unwanted in developing ‘good’ public spaces. However, Masaai people also ensure safety, storage is stemming from lack of space, trash because of a lack of maintained garbage bins and random street economies because a lack of guidance. Through working with the Masaai people, maintenance can be ensured, a quick community clean up and regularly collected trash bins can improve cleanliness and with developing the BRT and providing them with other opportunities gives them better places to go to. This example showcases that not much resources are required, but local stakeholders and actors need to be introduced in the process and organised so that responsibility can be decentralised and localised.

Furthermore, predetermining areas to be part of environmental infrastructure means that they need to remain unbuilt and upgraded according to ecological concepts. This does not align with the mostly wanted economic aim of governments and investors. Some economic value could be attained through developing the surrounding building blocks into multiple storey apartments with gardens attached to the park. Because who doesn’t want to live next to green and lively spaces?

The image on the left page displays Magomeni park, a former botanic garden located next to the initiated BRT stop, yet currently degrading per day and further encroached. Upgrading this site first can be used as an example project for other parks within the area. As it is located next to the BRT, it can become the visible face and symbol of the neighbourhood and attract various visitors.

Summary of objectives

1. *Make spaces into places*
The park is seen as a type of infrastructure that can be introduced in different parts of the neighbourhood making them places through public accessibility
2. *Make room (space for-) and connect*
Define and upgrade the spaces, connect them with local people through educational value
3. *Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help*
Offer places for leisurely and group activities through the park
4. *Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources*

Being conscious of protecting natural landscape through adapting the space to the ecological needs instead of putting peoples’ needs first. Work in collaboration with local communities to ensure maintenance and upkeep of the spaces.

Year

Existing

2022

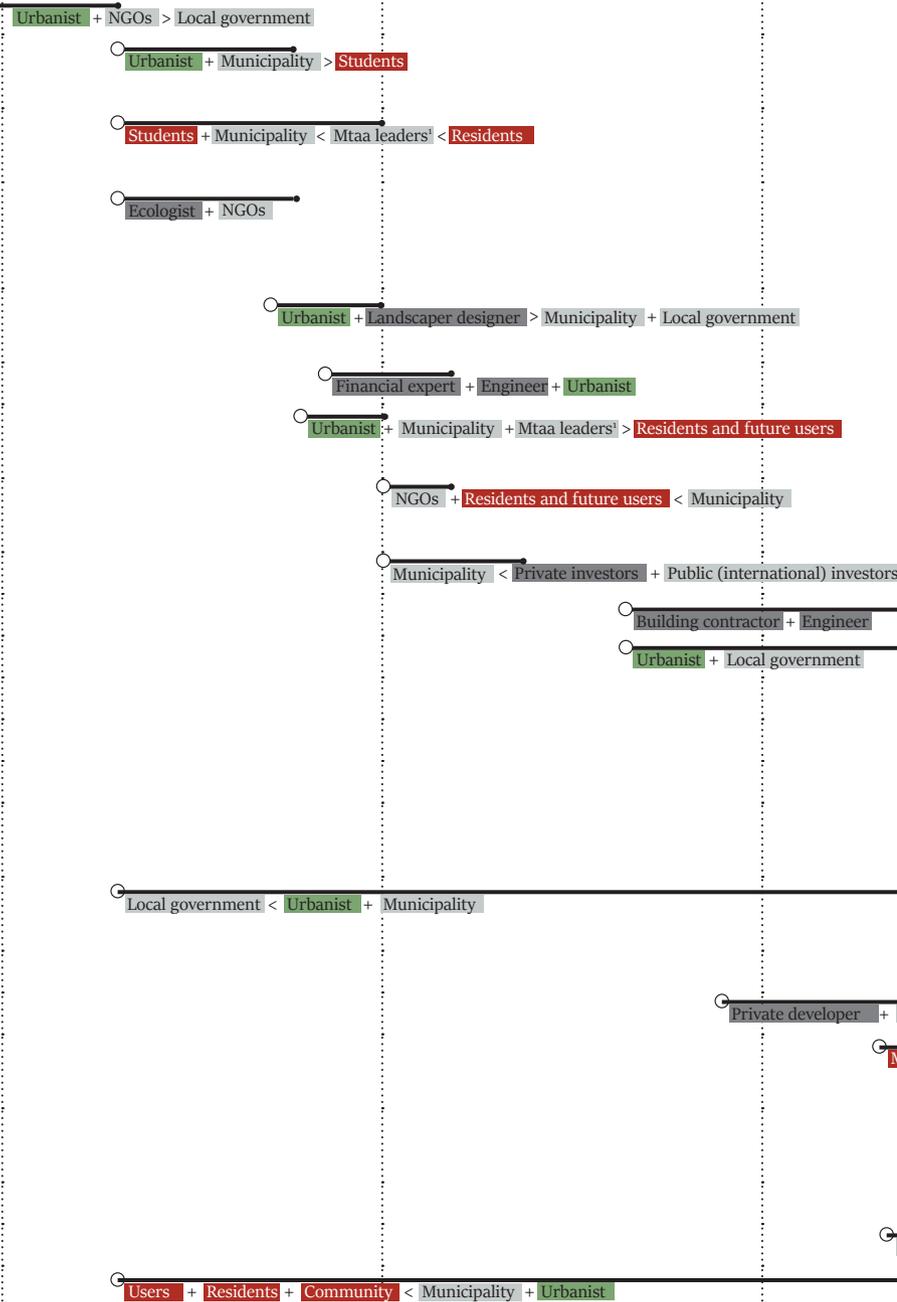
2025

Main spatial strategy

Additional developments

1. Address and initiate need for change
2. Integrate local knowledge and build capacity through educational facilities and university
3. Interview surrounding residents and users for input and feedback
4. Integrate environmental experts for design of ecological space (detention pond and water filtering plants)
5. Define final design of site based upon previous research
6. Determine costs and planning
7. Create awareness amongst community on upcoming plans through public presentation
8. Organise clean up day(s) and collect existing rubbish on site
9. Acquire permits and secure budget
10. Start site work
11. Check and inspect site during building
12. Official public opening
13. Maintenance of technological elements
14. Upkeep of soft landscape (botanic garden)
15. Ensure and secure safety through integrating users
16. Document and record process to use spatial plan as building block in other areas

- A. Development of surrounding housing
- B. (Social) integration of public functions in and around park
- C. Increase of BRT users, decrease of car transportation
- D. Growth of indigenous species
- E. Safe and educational playground for children
- F. Community cohesion



Public ¹Mtaa leaders: Community leader appointed by residents

Private ²Maasai: Current occupants of open space and renowned for their trustworthiness as guards and land defenders

Citizens

Urbanist

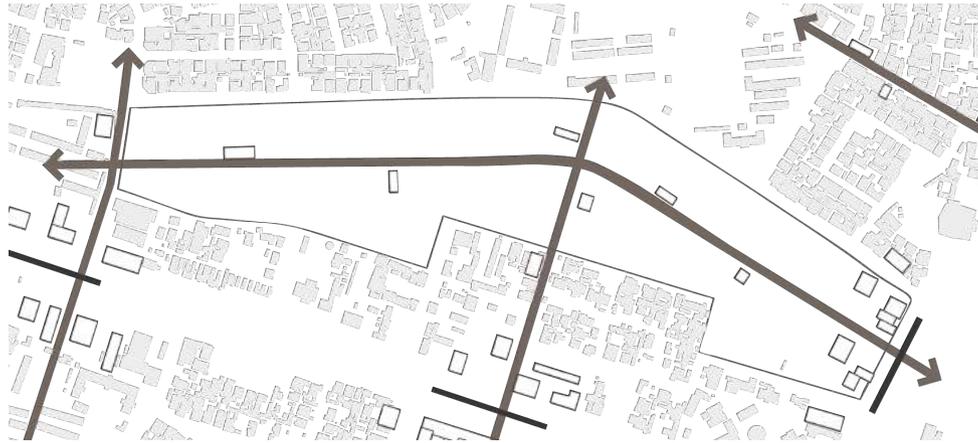


Spatial planning process

Again, the urban planner plays a key role in addressing and initiating the need for a change perspective on public spaces. Viewing the upgrading of public spaces from an ecological perspective can create innovative ideas and new partnerships. Present users are integrated in the process to receive feedback during the design process and input during the building stage. It is important to keep in mind the (economic) resources, but if necessary international agencies could be addressed as the project plays an important role as 'building block' for other spaces.

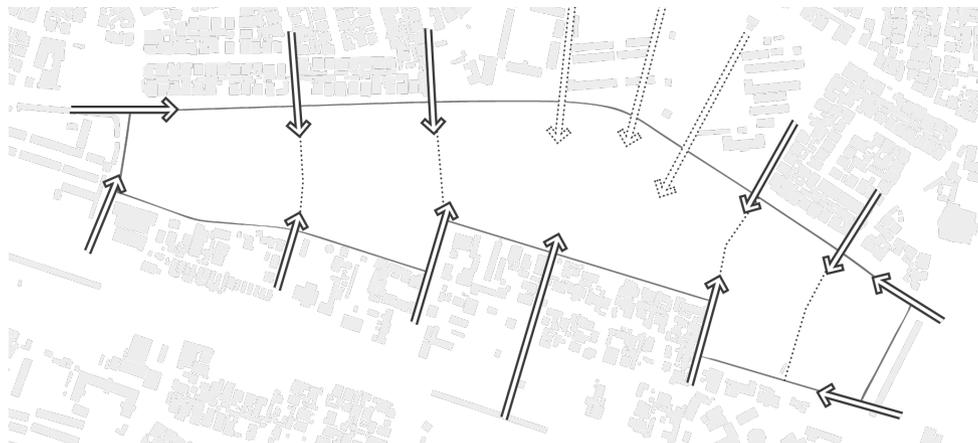
The urban planner and designer can assist during communication processes and integrating important actors. The upkeep and maintenance of the site can be safeguarded when users play part in appropriating the space (e.g. in the form of a botanic garden or places for local commerce). While no direct economic gains can be pinpointed it should be noted and addressed that well performing public spaces bring about additional opportunities for developments (e.g. housing, commerce).

HOW TO: BUILD A NEIGHBOURHOOD FROM SCRATCH



1. Public transport accessibility (BRT) determines the main corridor

This corridor is oriented towards slow and small traffic (walking, cycling, motorcycles and bajaji driving) and thus also arranged towards those people through adding benches, trees for shade, good walking and cycling lanes etc. In addition, public and commercial functions will naturally develop around the main corridors, thus it is important to provide space for those activities and in this way guide and take some control over the development.



2. Integrate surrounding infrastructure

Determine which roads around the site are important to connect with each other and if necessary add roads to link key locations in the neighbourhood. These roads configure main building zones and determine primary routes for fast traffic (cars, motorcycles, bajaji's etc.)

3. Living



Figure 116 Living strategy map



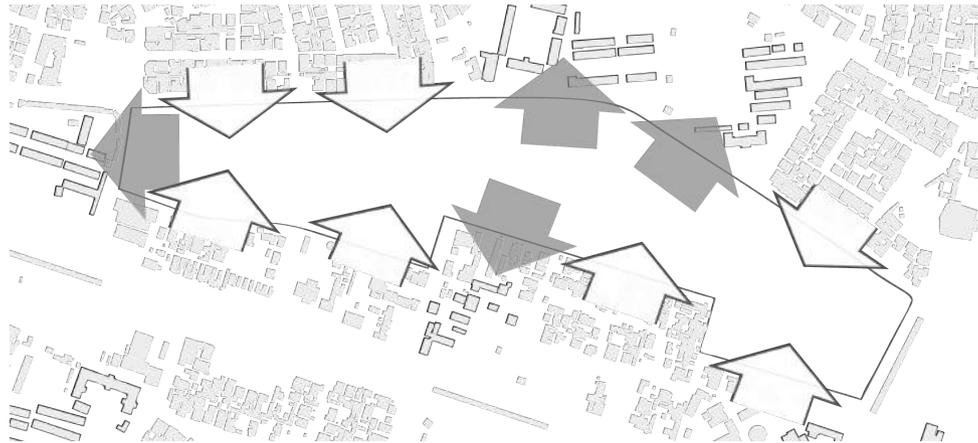
Figure 115 Construction area, fully fenced. Almost all buildings have been broken down. Some construction of new buildings visible, yet highly questionable

The third layer of the design intervention pertains infrastructure for living. A critical part of Magomeni is under reconstruction which provides the opportunity to showcase what living could look like and how the various types of infrastructure can be implemented when the context of the African city is taken into account. The method on implementing this is displayed in the schemes on the left and following pages.

3.1 City meets neighbourhood scale

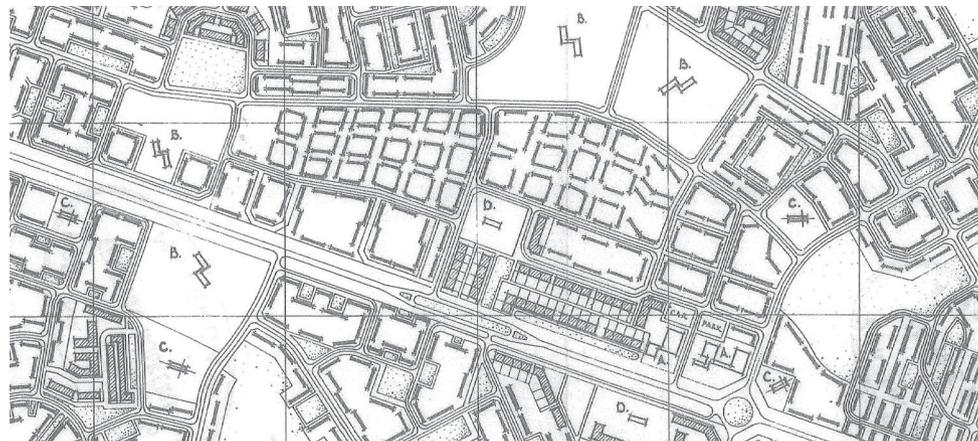
Summary of objectives

- ⑧ *Make spaces into places*
Make it a place where people want to stay and feel responsible for by integrating places that one can use freely to support daily activities. Link to surrounding communities and cultural habits.
- ⑧ *Make room (space for-) and connect*
Physically and functionally connect with context
- ⊗ *Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help*
Create accessibility to public functions and work possibilities surrounding the area. Integrate residents in building process.
- ⑧ *Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources*
Government sets the context and guidelines. Site can be developed together with future residents, which creates a sense of responsibility for surrounding environment. Integrate environmentally conscious elements in main structure.



3. Weave in surrounding functions and building typologies

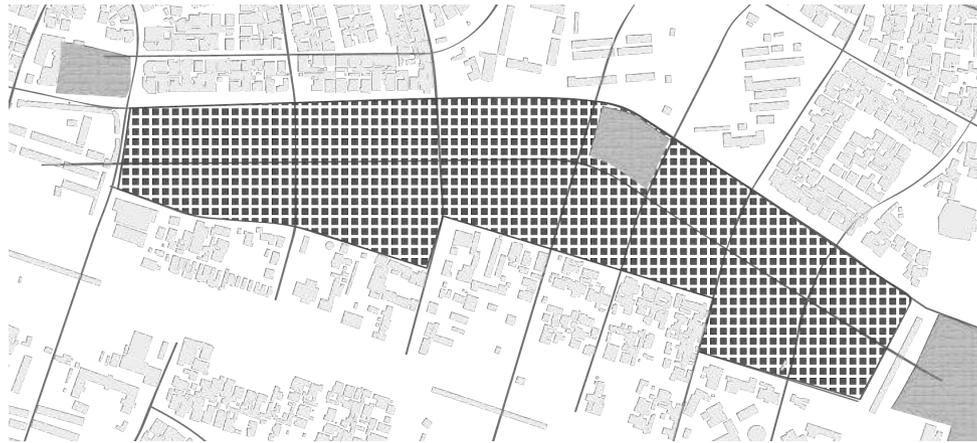
Accommodate public functions (e.g. schools) to use space within the area and add elements of building typologies that are characteristic to the neighbourhood (e.g. organisation of private and public spaces). This creates a sense of belonging and spaces to interact will generate relationships between the old and new community.



4. Reminiscing the African city of the past: genius loci

Trace and include historic elements of the site in the new design, when they are of characteristic value. Their reintegration can be in form, function or structure and does not need to follow the exact same pattern.

In the case of Magomeni, this historic aspect used to be social housing structured in a formal grid. In a future perspective, a new notion of the pragmatic grid can be applied and instead of formal social housing, a variety of housing types can accommodate the lower middle class.



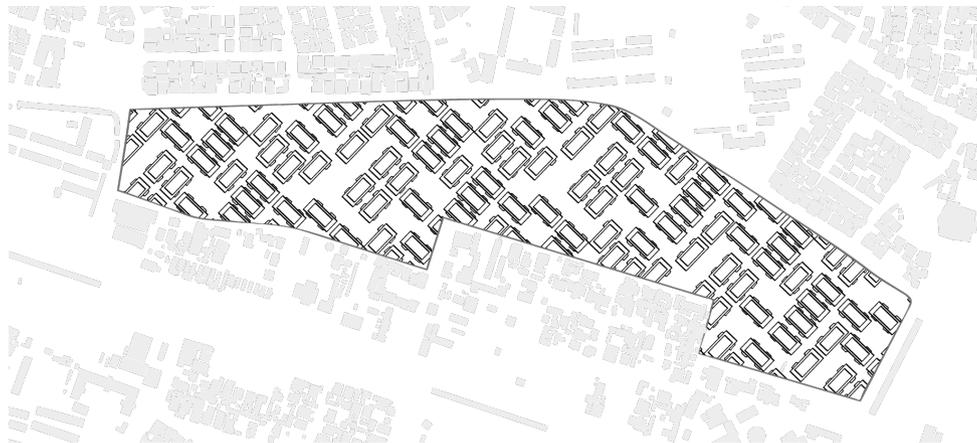
5. African conditions

Environment: integrate water and green as main infrastructure (see also intervention layer no. 2)

Rapid urbanisation and population growth: vertically densify, but leaving space open for livelihoods

Government system: relocate responsibilities through organic growth of neighbourhood

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6. Foreseeing the African city of the future

Whilst integrating parking spaces might seem as important. The African city of the future is rather related to the previous defined aims and objectives.



Figure 117 Current housing typologies

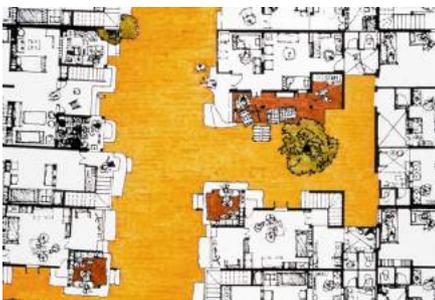


Figure 118 Balkrishna Doshi
Indian architect who designed low cost housing in India. He intentionally left spaces open for the community to fill in as they require.

3.2 Neighbourhood meets community

The neighbourhood focusses on places where people can meet, interact and work together. The development of housing revolves around the interrelationship between indoor and outdoor space and between private and public, where public is the key theme. Hierarchies are created through the main corridors and linked back to the BRT and the development of activity that they create in the neighbourhood. The buildings take an appropriate and honest approach to local materials and a proper climatic response through their configuration. In addition, dwellings are built in higher density structures and promote vertical growth.

Summary of objectives

- ① *Make spaces into places*
Community centred building typologies.
- ② *Make room (space for-) and connect*
Connect with socio-cultural habits through conscious transitions from private to public.
- ③ *Support local livelihood activities through flexible opportunities and encouraging co-operation, tolerance and self-help*
Sites and services system. Buildings should be constructed to be vertically expanded. Integrate open spaces to interact and work. Provide diversity of housing typologies
- ④ *Relocate responsibilities, integrate adaptability and be conscious of spatial and non-spatial resources*
Responsibility placed with residents after basic guidelines= new way of planning. How will this work?
Take into account future context through high density, small housing.

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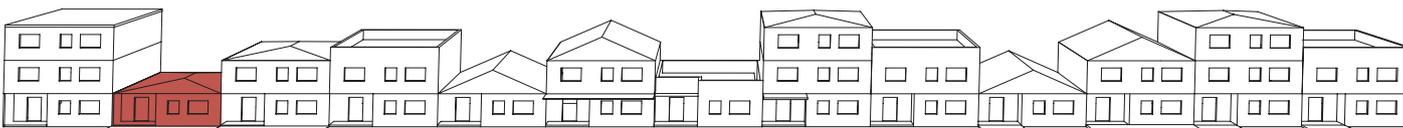
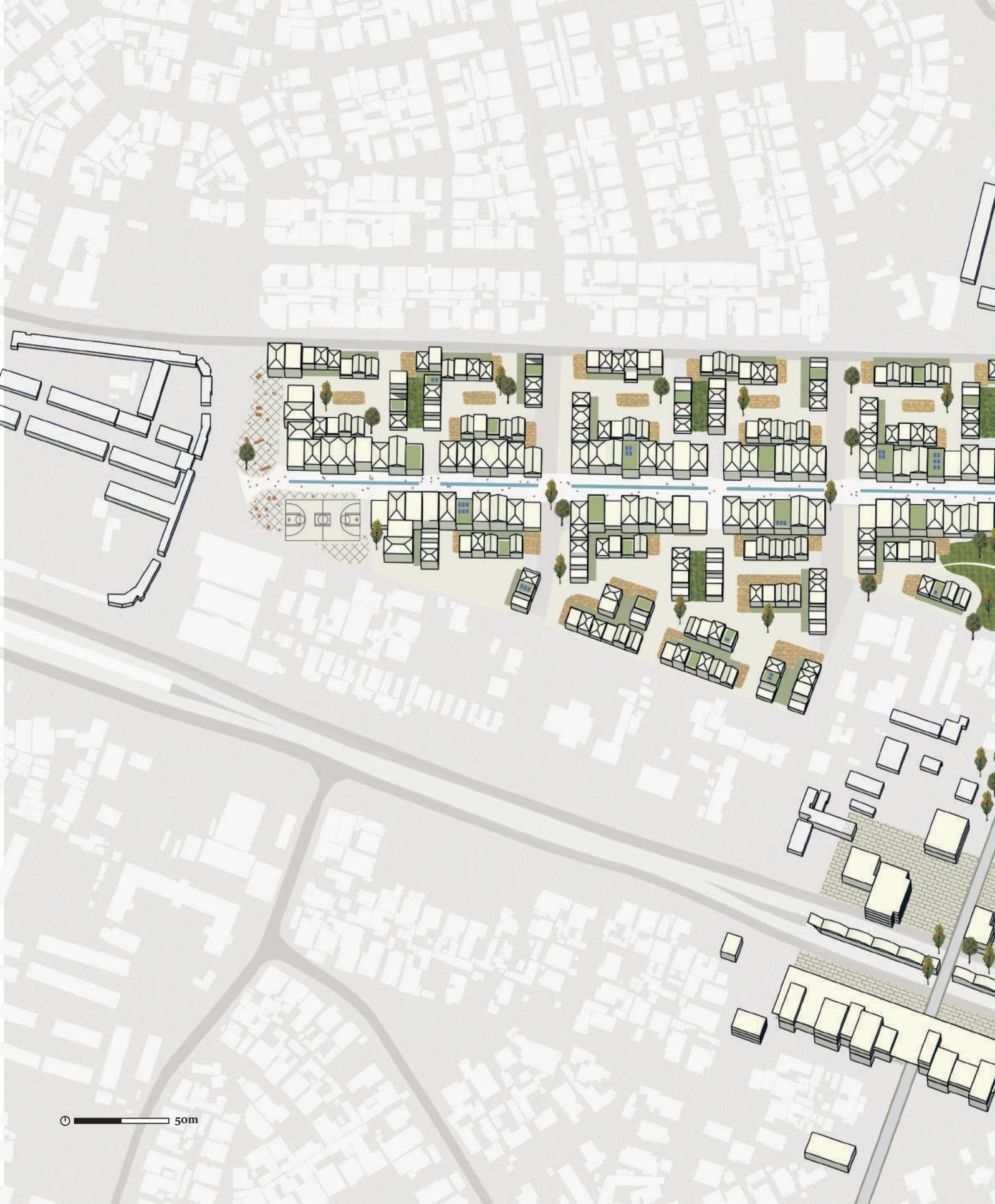


Figure 119 Incremental housing
One base block (providing 1 floor and staircase construction) leading to various housing vertical housing typologies.



50m





1. BRT



2. Housing



3. Park

Figure 120 Intermezzone: key elements of spatial design

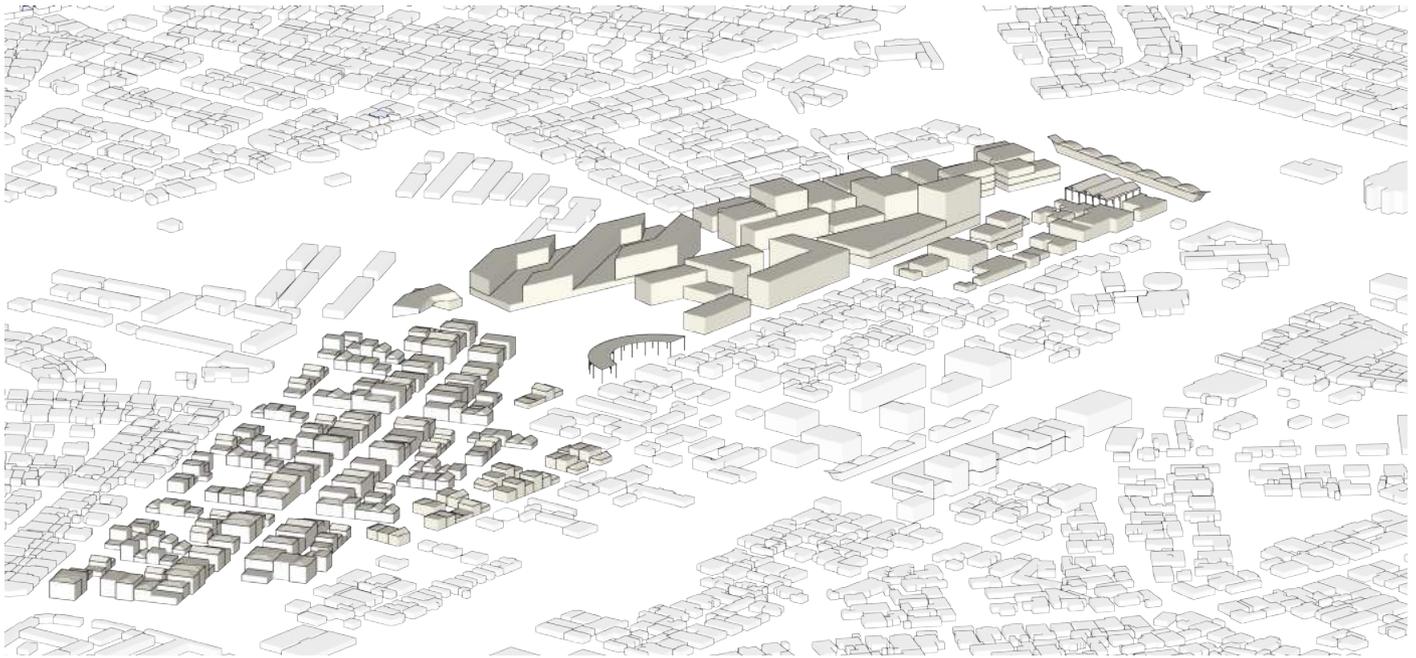


Figure 121 Intermezzone: 3D view of heights and density

Intermezzone

There are three key elements of the design that will be explained in further detail on the following pages. The elements that have been found important and followed from the previous two strategic projects.

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1. BRT

As the starting point of this thesis, the BRT incites, but now also accurately reacts on the activities in the neighbourhood. It provides a place to work and grow your business. Instead of focussing on high rise offices, it encourages the makers industry and allocates places for crafting, repairing and engineering. It aims at creating an environment that promotes working together and integrates places and buildings for interaction and cooperation. The site now advocates entrepreneurship through collectivity and openly displays and advertises the livelihood activities that were hidden inside the neighbourhood.

2. Housing

The largest part of this area reacts on housing and the evident consequences of rapid urbanisation. There is a need for new housing typologies and infrastructure to structure this development. Two main typologies are here considered to be relevant for further exploration. Both typologies integrate socio-cultural behaviour and contextual conditions, but innovate with their physical expressions. Parallel to this, the future needs to leave space open while densifying are regarded as relevant themes.

3. Park

A critical element within the thesis is the importance of nature and reliance on ecological systems to accurately work. Developing large public spaces should support these ecological systems, while exhibiting and educating its users. Water is a fundamental component and are the main anchor-points in the area, linking back to the BRT and its corridors.



Figure 122 BRT

Large building constructions allow to work on various crafts and production. The public space is paved as too provide clean and safe working environments. The direct link to the public transport system allows for a continuous change of people and opportunities.





Figure 123 Single family housing

Single family residential buildings with a small base structure as in a sites and services system. The building structure is made with strong, local material that is easy to prefabricate, replicate and attach to. Over time, this will create houses in various heights, depending on the size of the family or ones individual needs. Small housing base structure, with strong, prefab structures that are easy to replicate and expand. Instead of the prevalent row housing, buildings are placed in a grid that leaves places for residents to use for their own needs. From car parking to community gardens to a small playground for children. See for a suggestion of ideas the previous chapter on Infrastructure for development.



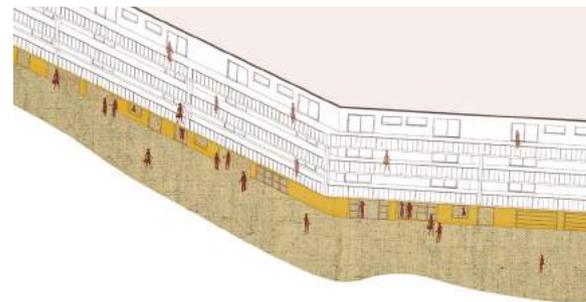
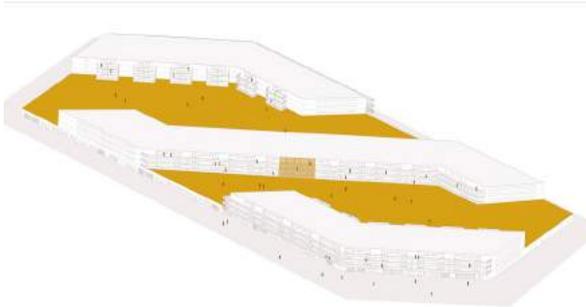
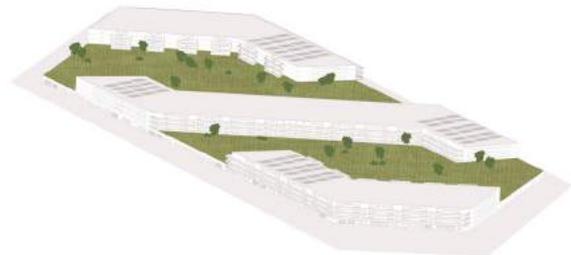
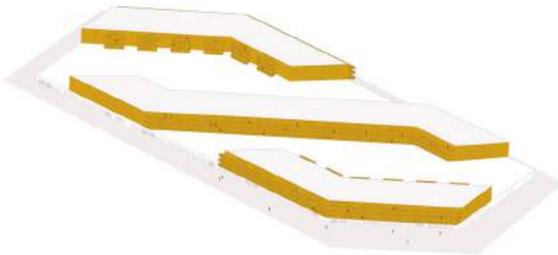
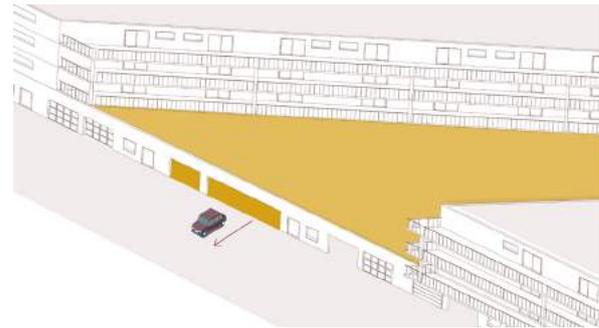
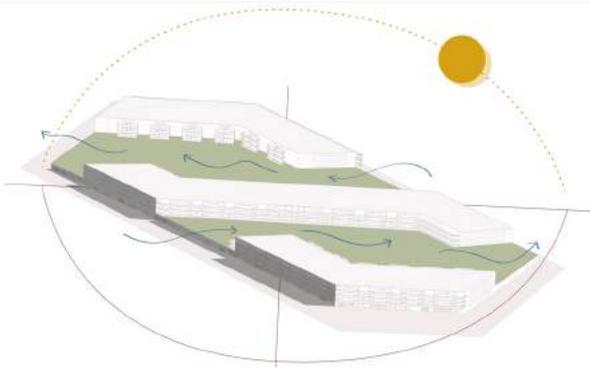


Figure 124 Low cost multiple family housing

As there is no possibility for government sponsored housing in Dar es Salaam, new typologies need to be designed to house lower income families. It also requires setting conditions for developers to include low cost housing in order to attract a wider range of citizens. Above schemes display what these housing typologies should consider to accommodate socio-cultural, but also environmental needs and provide the opportunity to build sustainable communities.

From left to right, top to bottom: orientation for less direct sunlight and opened towards wind direction, parking hidden in building, high density housing, green roof and solar energy for future proof living, community spaces for interaction, space for work and commerce creating lively plint



Figure 125 Park

Large building constructions allow to work on various crafts and production. The public space is paved as too provide clean and safe working environments. The direct link to the public transport system allows for a continuous change of people and opportunities.

4. Justice

Plea to decision makers

The overall spatial strategy showcases how to think about development on a local scale. It demonstrates what it could look like and designs methods for planning. However, generating these ideas must forgo stating a few critical notes related to developing the city that hands back power to its citizens. Hence, this chapter can be read as a plea to the prevailing, handful of, decision-makers in African cities and discloses the representative role of the urbanist.

Win-win situation: community building and the right to appropriate

The expressions such as 'sense of belonging', 'community building', and likewise terms have been repeatedly used throughout this thesis. It is important to shortly explain how these elements are interpreted and why they are regularly highlighted. The term community can be understood in two ways. The first of which is the territorial and geographical notion of community- such as neighbourhood, town, city. The second is 'relational' and concerned with the quality of character of human relationship. Both usages are not mutually exclusive and there is a positive relationship between sense of community and the ability to function competently in the community. Sense of community is often found to be an integral contributor to one's commitment to a neighbourhood and their satisfaction with it. Those who are most committed and satisfied, see their neighbourhood as a small community within the city and are more loyal to the neighbourhood than to the rest of the city. Elements of community that should be considered are the feeling of bondedness, extent of residential roots, use of local facilities and degree of social interaction with neighbours. The relational connection with the location can for example lead to people cleaning and maintaining the pathways in front of their homes or shops or keeping an eye on public places, securing their safety. This level of self-maintenance is particularly important in areas where resources are low and governments have little power and capacity to control the rapidly changing urban geographies of their cities. It is therefore important to accommodate places for interaction, spaces for community building and integrating local actors in development processes when spatially designing and planning in neighbourhoods such as Magomeni as a neighbourhood in an African city confronted with low resources.

Furthermore, factors that are important to establish a sense of belonging are for example neighbouring, length of residency, planned or anticipated length of residency, home ownership and satisfaction with the community. In addition, people are more attracted and committed to a community in which they feel that they are influential. This is also a key element within this thesis, for example through offering places to work and interact, but that are still free for interpretation, but also offering people the possibility to further build and develop their home or business creates this sense of ownership and belonging. It creates a long-term bond between the residents and their build environment and provides them the opportunity to build 'their African

city’.

Uncovering the urbanist

There are a couple of key objectives related to the role and skills of the urban planner and designer that can be taken from the three previously mentioned strategic projects.

1. The urban planner has an important role in addressing the need and initiating change in existing systems and planning processes.
2. The urban planner and/or designer is a facilitator between citizens, governmental and private parties and can be an important support for creating connections and smooth processes.
3. The urban designer visualises ideas that can bridge knowledge gaps and gain understanding between and for various stakeholders and actors.

These roles and skills, however, are not pertinent to one individual. In urban planning, structures for knowledge building, sharing and negotiation are rigidly bound. Knowledge building around urban questions takes place according to predefined, fixed rules regarding who is allowed to act, when and how. By thinking in terms of ‘fluidity’, such knowledge processes could become more in common and more adaptive to local circumstances.

Allowing creativity and experimental projects

Besides being open towards inclusive planning processes, the spatial design part of this thesis highlighted the need for more and new urban typologies that integrate African cultural habits. This process of creating, but also testing other designs, requires openness of decision-makers to inventions that are not Western centred. Urban designers can set the first step in showcasing what this could look like or how it works.

Additionally, the capacity or ability to establish, identify or propose problems is a necessary condition for creativity. After many years of independently developing the individual, isolated work of architecture, -landscape architecture, road engineering, and city planning-, we have logically come to an era of synthesis to try to solve urban design problems as one. However, most techniques are based on proposing strategies to solve problems, not posing them. Rather, we should see our urban environment as an opportunity to meet, comprehend, integrate and compose knowledge, theories and collaborations related to the city as a cultural, social and economic fact. It should be a platform to produce outcomes related to social life in the built environment in which it is allowed to fail and admit to this.

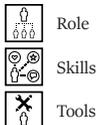
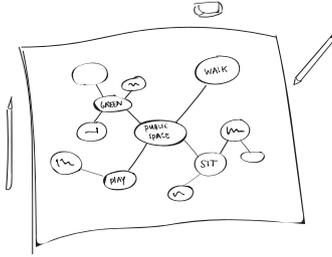


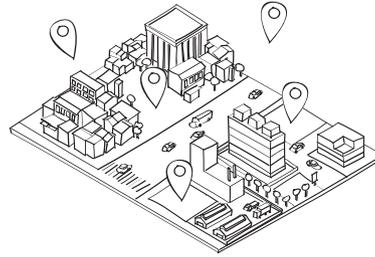
Figure 126 Uncovering the urbanist

DISCUSS

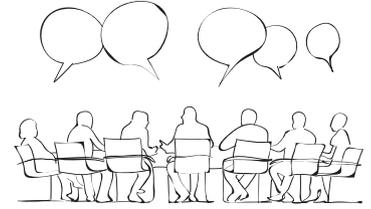
Methods that structure discussions to collect and associate ideas



Word cloud



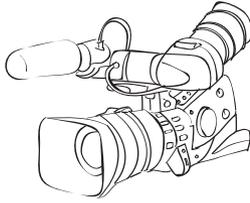
Discussion map/model



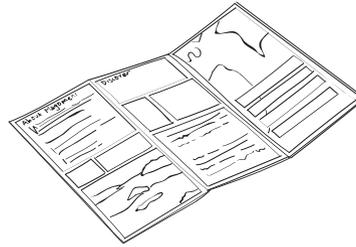
Round table discussion

INFORM

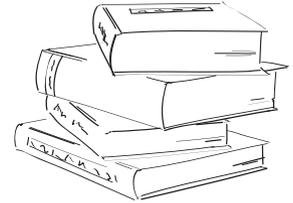
Methods and mechanisms that instruct research and explain concepts and ideas



User interview



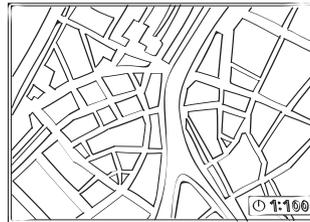
Leaflet



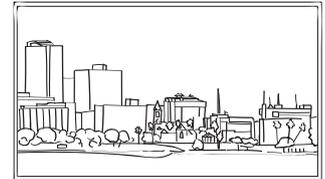
Books or internet



(exemplary) site or project visit



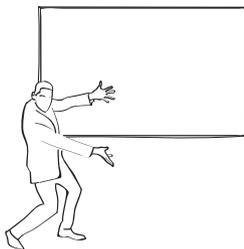
Existing model/map



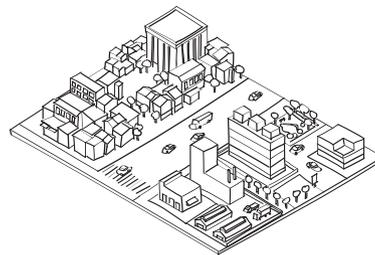
Picture of current state

IMPRESS

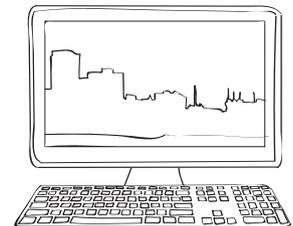
Methods that portray and summarise details to convince and persuade the viewer



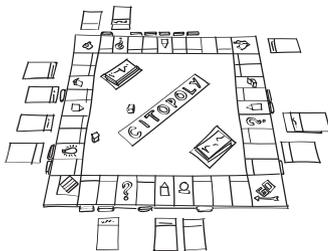
Final presentation



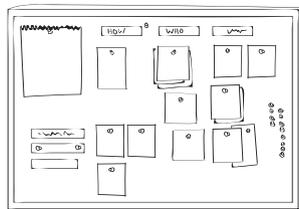
Proposal model



(digital) visualisation in image or drawing



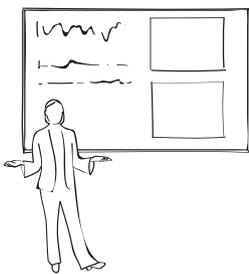
Game



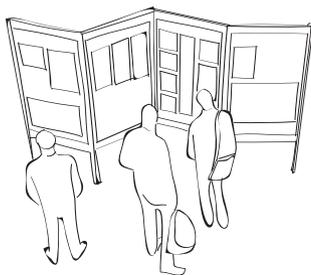
Bulletin board



Roleplay



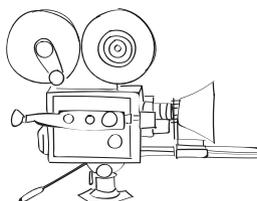
Presentation



Exhibition



3D visualisation



Video presentation



Title

No longer fighting for more participation, but for more adaptive knowledge production also means elaborating on tools that bridge the knowledge gap between various actors and gain mutual understanding at various stages of the process.

The main person carrying out these type of tools is generally the urbanist, but they are designed in such way that they allow for interactions between client, institutions and citizens making them all 'users'. As such it counters the 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' debate by moving the focus away from the distinction between knowledge produced either on or in the city, towards addressing knowledge production by the city: both types of knowledge but particularly the translations taking place between them.

In addition, unveiling the possible equipment, can inform unfamiliar parties with opportunities to open up rigid development systems. This also takes into account the urban designers who, for example in Dar es Salaam are generally confined to a single role at one stage within the process, while they could do much more.

The tools displayed on these pages can break down the too rigid actor categories: in contemporary cities, actors constantly change, mutate, disappear, while new actors, too, enter the urban stage. Adopting these techniques allow for the re-thinking of planning's rational, rigid knowledge production and it being opened up to more subjective concerns. They question how subjective, concerned knowledge production can be incorporated into the rational production of facts and how knowledge can be dispersed.

Actor/audience	Power		Objectives			Communication Medium			
	Now	After	Economic		Social	Personal			
			Now	After	Now	After	Now		After
Public									
1. Central government	●●●●●	●	●●●	●●●●	●	●●●●●	●	●●●	Sketch and image
2. Local government	●●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●●●	●	●●●●	Sketch and image
3. Municipality	●●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●●	●●●●	●●	Sketch and image
4. NGOs	●	●●●●●	●●	●●●●	●●●●●●	●●●●●●	●	●	Sketch and detailed
Private									
1. (External) expert	●●	●●●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●●●●●	●●	●●●●	Final
2. (Foreign) investor	●●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	●	●●●●	●●	●●●	Sketch and image
3. Private developer	●●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●	●●●●	●	●●●	Sketch and image
4. (Building) contractor	●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●	●●	●	●	Detailed
5. Landlord	●●●●●	●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●	●●●●●	●	●●●	Sketch and image
Citizens									
1. Mtaa/community spokesman	●●	●●●●●	●	●●●●●	●●●	●●●●●●	●●●●●	●●	Sketch and image
2. Residents & Users									
a. Collective	●●	●●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	Sketch and image
b. Individual	●	●●●●	●	●●●●	●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	Image
Urbanist									
1. The planner	●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	●●	Final
2. The designer	●	●●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●●●●●	●●●	●●●●	Image

Figure 127 Actor/audience intentions

The power and objectives of the audience provides an indication on how they are most likely to behave and how one can react upon this behaviour. The baseline level of (perceived) power is based upon the traditional system.

The main objectives are broken down into three aspects, namely:

- Economic: The level of importance of money that can be gained from the development.
- Social: the value of the development for overall livelihood of an area and a group of 'objective' people. The societal interest of the stakeholder.
- Personal: Level of personal interest, which can be in economic gains, raise in (social) status or the built environment surrounding their personal environment.

Addressing stakeholders and actors

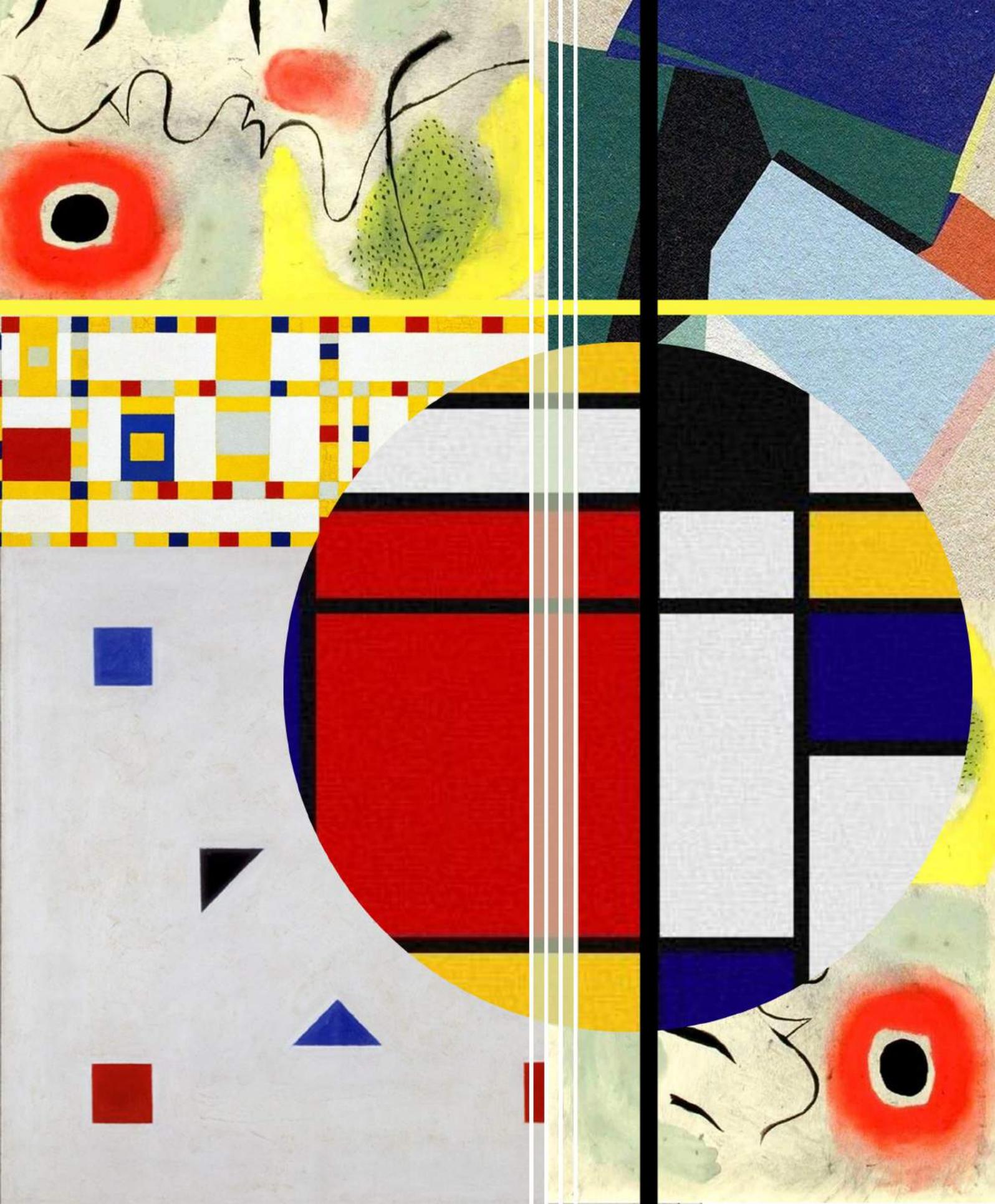
The diagram depicted on the left highlights some of the main actors ‘encountered’ while designing the planning processes of the proposed designs. This diagram provides an indication on their power and objectives that currently drives their behaviour. It also indicates where these need to change in order to reach a planning process that gives agency to the citizens.

For example, the central government (a.k.a. the president) has a lot of power in decision-making, but it is aimed on economic gains instead of developments addressing social issues. Another example is the Mtaa or community spokesman, who speaks in the name of the community, but has little power in developments. In addition however, their personal objectives sometimes takes over the dialogue, because they live in the same area or are personally affected. This may alternate the decisions meant to be made for the larger public.

Secondly, this diagram showcases how the type of communication medium, such as the ones on the previous pages can be addressed in a different way to guide the change in power and objectives of actors. Drawings can be made in a sketchy way that are open to multiple interpretations or they can be made in a final draft that building contractors may use for their work on site. This can also be explained for the use of ‘words’ as a communication medium: one can speak openly about their thoughts and design process or it can be in a final version where sentences such as ‘this is how it will be and this is the only way it will work’.

An example displayed in the diagram: private developers are now only addressed to with fancy, final renderings of perfect imagery, while they should be more open towards flexible processes and integration of users. This can be done in a more sketchy style of communication that opens up discussions. On the other hand, drawings that are too sketchy or idealistic may not convince decision-makers to initiate a new type of spatial development. There is a fine line between not only between in what way an actor should be addressed, but also at what stage of the project communication is occurring.

This diagram is by no means a full version of all actors for all projects, but showcases how opening up about objectives can make processes more democratic. The diagram can also be used as a tool for stakeholders and actors to fill in at various stages of the process to gain understanding of one each other and to see how their objectives might have changed.



PART VI Conclusion & Evaluation

The main research question of this thesis was: *How can development in African cities be approached from a post-developmental perspective in a project considering infrastructure and public space?*

In the main research question, the underlying problem that was highlighted is that many cities in Africa are experiencing the challenges of a rapidly expanding population and urban geography while accommodating for the required amount of service provisions. Many and often outsourced or hidden development agendas are not acquainted with the contextual issues and local livelihood activities, which leads to unsustainable and unfit plans which has a threat of further widening socio-spatial inequities. The development schemes of African cities is predominantly focussed on infrastructure improvement which has a premise of economic growth through increased accessibility, but as city scale intervention lacks connections to local welfare and well-being. The focus of this research was on Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's megacity, was also found to be subjected to the above mentioned trends and challenges and is repeatedly confronted with weak, low resourced and controversial (legal) systems. The problem field led to the hypothesis of utilizing public space and infrastructure as a potential to attain long-term and viable livelihoods in rapidly urbanising African Cities.

This hypothesis is taken from a post-developmental perspective, thus proposing a design strategy from a post-developmental perspective inevitably also meant researching 'like' a post-developmental. Instead of simply looking for comparisons and aiming to rectify presumptions, the research started from the belief that Africa remains markedly different from the West. The valuable source of insights can only be found when doing an in-depth and on the ground research which was the main focus within this research to identify and contribute to the existing knowledge gap on urban planning within and for African cities.

The first chapter presented many tangible and non-tangible layers of the African city. This exemplified that not just contemporary trends influenced the African city of today. There are many more political, cultural and economic factors that influenced present day norms and values which stemmed from a history of colonialism, socialism, modernism and so on. These only further highlighted the overlooked importance of local structures and challenges and the inadequacy and unexplored provision of opportunities. This confirms the assumption that current development schemes that offer single path solutions cannot answer to all the dimensions that have shaped the city in the past.

Furthermore moving from research to design and from global to local scale, required further defining the context for spatial planning. The contextual framework of the African city, highlighted non-negotiable conditions that should not be further dissipated and/or cannot be ignored. Local scale activities, city-wide decisions and global trends are interconnected and influence each other. This reciprocal paradigm indicates the need for multi-scalar actions.

The second part of the chapter on interpreting 'The African City' focussed on translating ill-defined and ambiguous concepts to spatial structures and non-spatial customs ingrained in the socio-economic networks of Dar es Salaam. Through applying a variety of methods, the concepts of public space and infrastructure displayed the unfiltered appropriation of spaces and their interconnectedness within the larger network. This exemplified that we need to not only engage with

the discourses produced by institutions, foreign investors and international NGOs, but to also recognise how they are materially embedded within the contemporary architecture of neoliberal development. This should be recognised instead of displacing or marginalising local activities and silencing their complex engagements with ideas of development.

The last part of the thesis focused on providing an alternative approach to development with the case of Magomeni. By using a specific location, the creation of the vision aims to test and to enable the proposed intervention schemes not only to be replicated and transferable, but can also promote further research. The proposed interventions displays how infrastructure and public space has the ability to bring together elements of the past and connect them to future perspectives. They can act as pillars for community life and inclusivity as they are closely linked to social life and economic activities. Four main aims were proposed to guide the spatial design interventions: 1. Sustainable communities; 2. Harmony between the built environment, people and natural environment; 3. To increase the capacity of skills and knowledge; 4. A framework through design within legal, economic, environmental and organisational guidelines. It is important to note that these aims cannot be entirely reached through design only, but can suggest ways to reach it and propose spaces that can lead to opportunities.

In addition, the designed intervention showcases that infrastructure and public space are more than the now proposed one-way solution, but can be considered from a broader perspective than solely road infrastructure. Additional infrastructure is required for the environment, living and justice, which as the elements already suggest, come in different shapes and forms. The strategic projects in Magomeni also demonstrated that interventions on both neighbourhood and community scale are required, as they are intrinsically connected to the city scale and its growth pattern.

To shortly conclude the design interventions:

Firstly, infrastructure for development requires the integration of accessible, but also diverse opportunities for knowledge and skill building around public infrastructural nodes. This can be in both small scale elements, such as worktables and equipment that can be used collectively. For example, this can be seen in in large scale formations, such as buildings that offer different ways to grow businesses or large paved areas for safer work and commerce.

Secondly, infrastructure for the environment involves upgrading and reintegrating existing ecological structures, which reduces its threats and simultaneously makes use of its possibilities. This can be in the form of a productive landscape around main water structures, which provides room to the river, while giving the surrounding residents the legal right to use. Within the neighbourhood, this is mainly the visible and publicly accessible water drainage systems and larger water detention areas. By making water publicly accessible and the infrastructure for environment serves educational, recreational and capacity building functions.

Thirdly, the infrastructure for living focussed on 'how to build a neighbourhood' and on the neighbourhood scale, the previously mentioned infrastructural elements should be integrated spatially and non-spatially to connect existing networks to new developments. In addition, the area of intervention highlights the need to search for a balance between the interests of property owners and social

needs of urban inhabitants and to create spaces and places of encounter to have different functional uses come together to play and interact. The intervention for living also displayed the need to explore additional housing typologies that align with the cultural habits of the citizens, while addressing the conditions of densification within a rapidly growing African city.

Lastly, all the above strategic projects aim for the appropriation of spaces by its local users which pertains to giving agency back to the people through spatial design proposals and planning processes. The final strategic project of infrastructure for justice can therefore be read as a plea to decision-makers on how returning power to its citizens and collectives can create a win-win situation through delegating responsibility with space. The urban planner and designer play important roles in initiating and guiding these processes and their type of skills and knowledge can be a key component in communicating and visualising ideas and opinions.

All in all, the case of Magomeni demonstrated that both city-wide as neighbourhood specific research is necessary to acquire the information needed to propose strategic sites of intervention. These have a higher likelihood to be picked up by local livelihood activities and processes that can be accommodated and challenged.



PART VII Reflection

This chapter will reflect upon and discuss critical aspects of the research process. The research process is closely linked to the research questions and the steps taken in order to reach the final part of the thesis as indicated in the figure on the right. This chapter will outline overall limitations on the methodology and data gathering but will also critically evaluate the strategic design intervention through outlining constraints and (ethical) considerations

Stages to reflect upon:

INTRODUCTION

1. The relationship between (global) contemporary trends and current urban planning practices in Dar es Salaam

PROBLEM FIELD

- Scientific and societal relevance

DEFINITION

METHODOLOGY

- Methods and data gathering: limitations and constraints

DISTINCTION

2. The connection of the socio-economic background of Dar es Salaam to its spatial manifestation and present-day structuring

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- Translating post-development

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

- Limitations of spatial analysis on societal change and the multidimensional city

INTERPRETATION

3. The shaping and pressurising of spatial and non-spatial structures on the nature of local urban livelihoods and their determination of their welfare

4. The interpretation of infrastructure, public space and development for the African city and its local scaled communities

LOCAL FRAMEWORK

- Generalising and determining pressing challenges and conditions

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Connecting ill-defined concepts to space

INTERVENTION

5. Spatial strategies and design principles to guide and tangible and intangible growth of local livelihoods and the (re-)definition of the conditions for infrastructure and public space

CASE STUDY MAGOMENI

- Identifying areas of intervention

SPATIAL DESIGN STRATEGY

- Solving non-spatial issues through spatial design
- Socio-political systems and proposing new conditions
- Ethical issues or dilemmas (right to the city)

EVALUATION

6. The translation of a post-developmental perspective, offering a co-productive, sustainable and capacity building framework to other cases and reflection upon 'The African City'

- Graduation studio and course
- Lessons learnt

Figure 128 Research process stages of reflection

1. On Introduction

PROBLEM FIELD

Societal and scientific relevance

Firstly, Africa's rapid urban growth is in line with trends and challenges observed in most emerging and developing countries in the Global South. This thesis positions itself at the intersection of these pressing issues that are being intensified by this rapid urbanisation and where research, especially within the Global South, is lacking. However, while knowledge and research on the African continent remains relatively limited, there has been an increasing interest in African cities by urban planners, designers and scholars. According to Avermaete and Logae (2010), the contemporary conditions of the African city are appealing because they invite a reconsideration of the existing western paradigms of understanding urban development. All too often, urban scholars and policy makers discuss African cities as a manifestation of the failure of development. Where, unlike cities in the West, the evolutionary process of development have stalled or been disrupted. But while African cities do experience those infrastructure, governance, financial and population challenges, these challenges are not the sum of the experiences of its citizens. This thesis tried to contribute to a greater understanding of African urban actors and their ingenuity. In addition, when doing research on Africa for Africa, it is important not to fall back to the assumptions of universal applicability and scientific superiority of Western theories (Pieterse, 2017). Through adopting a post-developmental approach, this thesis aimed to add to the body of science from a more holistic viewpoint.

Secondly, we are living in an era where substantive spatial issues regarding environmental sustainability (for example regarding energy and water) are often placed to the foreground of academic research. In contrast, this thesis placed a strong emphasis on normative values such as inclusiveness, liveability and wellbeing. Through addressing policies and regulatory planning mechanisms in combination with the cultural and historic background of the city, this thesis can deepen other fields of knowledge as well.

2. On Definition

METHODOLOGY

Methods and data gathering: limitations and constraints

This thesis had set out various methods for data collection and analysis such as literature review, mapping, photographing and fieldwork. Unfortunately, some of the methods were less used or had a lower impact than expected, which required an adaptation or limitation during the research process.

Firstly, the knowledge gap in Africa entails a lack of available data in both literature and online information systems such as GIS. For this reason, many maps were made with the help of OpenStreetMap and Google Earth as basis together with empirical knowledge. Certain common functions that are available in Europe such as street view, 3D or even more detailed zoom-ins were not available in this context. Maps and data that were accessible online were outdated, unreliable or did not fully capture the information needed. This required being sensitive and careful towards data sources and finding creative ways to collect data. While creating detailed and politically correct maps were beyond the scope of this research, the lack of data does exemplify the need for more research to be done in Africa and the importance of having access to open source data.

Secondly, fieldwork was an important part to shape the empirical knowledge of this thesis. However, the possibility of making photographs, recordings, videos posed great difficulties. People were very hesitant towards being photographed or filmed and bringing outside a proper camera was not even an option. Even when joined by Tanzanian urban planning students and explanation in Swahili of the project, we were often asked to delete photographs. Majority of the photographs used in this thesis were made with a cell-phone which resulted in lower quality images which were often skewed or entirely unusable. In addition, conversing with locals was difficult due to my foreign appearance and inability to speak the Swahili language. From whichever background the apprehensive and protective behaviour of locals in Dar es Salaam is coming from, there is an indication and clear lack of understanding about the value of urban planning and comprehensive data collection. It also showcases how important it is to firstly build distinct relationships to gain trust before diving and researching into personal livelihoods in an unfamiliar context. This unfortunately requires a substantial amount of time, which was not possible within the scope of this thesis. On the other hand, the four months stay in Dar es Salaam and working with both Tanzanian and South African students has greatly enlarged the empirical notions within this thesis. It posed an opportunity to meet like-minded people and (re-)consider knowledge that was previously collected.

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Figure 129 Group of men leisurely sitting next to the road in Dar es Salaam, apprehensive towards photographing

3. On Distinction

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Translating post-development

The theoretical discourse of post-development was the starting point and backbone of approaching the research on Dar es Salaam. The position adopted in this thesis takes the way people live seriously and does not view them as incomplete or in 'need for development'. Rather, through in-depth observations and field work experiences, it takes their lives as the standard and searches for methods in which spatial and planning practices can accommodate them. It is not only about different ways of organising life, but equally about alternative ways of understanding the world.

It is important to note that this thesis did not aim for an alternative development. As Ziai (2017a) states, if the goal of looking for alternative developments is defined by modern, industrial capitalist societies, then even alternative development remains firmly grounded in the West or, more precisely, hegemonic models of politics (nation state and liberal democracy), the economy (neoliberal, globalised capitalism) and knowledge (Western science). Thus, instead of assuming a single path forward to a good society, the potential of Western alternatives to these models to improve human well-being will remain untapped. In this thesis, this was translated to researching the individual motivation and inspirations of communities and creating approachable spatial design interventions.

Additionally, it meant recognising how development is materially embedded within the contemporary ideas of neoliberal development. Rather than displacing or marginalising local activities or dismissing people's desire for 'development' as the result of ideology and manipulation, based on privileged knowledge of their 'real' needs, it looks at their complex engagements with ideas of development while in search for ways to support them. If we want to take the post-developmental imperative of 'development pluralism' seriously, we need to consider non-Western alternatives as well to redefine development. This takes into account not only different paths to modernity, but also different ideas of a 'good life' altogether.

Furthermore, this thesis does not generally reject all elements of modernity or promotes cultural hybridisation. On the other hand, it follows the approach of sceptical post-developmentalism which is critical towards cultural traditions, abstains from articulating desirable models of society and employs a dynamic and constructivist concept of culture (Ziai, 2017b). Instead of using the best guidebook or searching for an optimum approach, this approach leads to a radical democratic position. And can thus be a potential contribution to a non-Eurocentric and more power-sensitive theory of positive social change, which follows up on the discourse of 'development' read as a discourse of rights.

Limitations of spatial analysis on societal change and the multidimensional city

For urban planners and designers, the main field of intervention is urban space. Space is a tangible discourse that has changed overtime and can thus be measure, quantified and submitted to various scientific hypothesis. However, a city consists of multiple dimensions and urban space is not synchronic with societal change. Kempen and Marcuse (1997) also stress that 'spatial change is both a consequence and a cause of changes in the lives of urban residents, but those changes cannot be adequately captured through examination of only spatial patterns'. The multi-layered nature of urban life cannot be derived from merely its physical aspects. While certain societal trends shaped physical structures within the city, this thesis did not attempt to link all societal changes to space. For this reason, not all results were concluded in maps, but also text, images and diagrams were created to reach an overview of the context of Dar es Salaam. It carefully connected various methods of researching and evaluating all of which related to urban planning. What should be noted is that also this can never encompass the entire 'African city'.

4. On Interpretation

LOCAL FRAMEWORK



Figure 130 Flooding Dar es Salaam 2019

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Generalising and determining pressing challenges and conditions

The local framework chapter further explored pressing issues and non-negotiable conditions related to spatial planning. It aimed to provide a general impression on how critical spatial and societal systems in the city work without comparing them to Western societies. Researching these critical items in detail, involved certain generalisations. For example, people and demographics were generalised in order to address and highlight vulnerable groups to environmental threats within the city. The exact effects of those threats might vary per area and individual.

Furthermore, the impression of the consequences of non-negotiable conditions on local networks mostly stems from empirical experience and working in practice in Dar es Salaam, which lessens validity.

Connecting ill-defined concepts to space

The conceptual framework chapter is framed around the intersection between theory and space. The modern definitions of public space and how space can affect its users have been discussed from the perspective of various bodies of knowledge. However, while research on human behaviour and well-being in the Global South is not new, relating those concepts to space is largely under researched. Through various methods, such as photographing, drawing, interviewing, mapping and personal experiences, the use of space in Dar es Salaam has been mapped. Parallel to this mapping, the concepts on how public space can be understood from a theoretical perspective has been reflected. While the methods used in this chapter to map the different types of appropriation of space, can be easily replicated the reflection on theory can never be fully objective and should be critically considered when translating this research to other areas.

5. On Intervention

CASE STUDY:
MAGOMENI

SPATIAL DESIGN
STRATEGY

Identifying areas of intervention

First, the case study location of Magomeni was taken to deepen the research and to address possible interventions. While the case study site is representative of other areas within the city, it does not encompass all types of livelihood activities, building typologies, household categories or any other 'generalised' idea of the city. For example, a large part of this research focusses on the effect of city scale development projects and their interconnection with local communities. However, not all areas within the city are considered within these governmental development projects. Areas further away from the city centre and far beyond the interest of governments might lead to different conclusions on how to guide and support local livelihoods.

Secondly, four strategic projects were determined to pose the urgency to develop other types of infrastructure besides road infrastructure. These areas were considered as they encompass all elements defined within the analytical and conceptual framework chapter. One part of Magomeni area was taken as empty site to pose design questions and display sample interventions. To take this area as empty site does not fully match with the current (unknown) developments and regulations. Intervening in existing and highly developed urbanised areas will definitely pose other challenges, which was beyond the scope of this thesis to fully cover.

Solving non-spatial issues through spatial design

The reviving interest in developing countries has brought the discussion on master planning back to the table. According to Watson (2009), this revival is oftentimes centred around that planning could play a role in promoting sustainable urbanisation and developing new approaches to planning. Despite these innovative aspects, elements of traditional master-planning can be evident and new approaches to spatial planning are shaped by older thinking and by the impact of traditional land use management systems (Todes, Karam, Klug, & Malaza, 2010). The desired integration between sectors, structures and socio-economic layers are rarely achieved by mere plans on paper. This all points to the need for greater attention to debating alternative forms of spatial planning and their appropriateness to various contexts, but also questions whether urban design plans as created now, in the form of one dimensional maps, is the form we should strive for.

In this thesis, the masterplan and design proposal are not a set in stone, they are a framework focussed on process and methodology. Areas of interest and importance are highlighted along with suggested ways to deal with the processes besides the map. And whilst the spatial framework addresses and stems from 'higher visions' of inclusiveness and justice, it does not attest to entirely solve these issues with the solutions proposed. It is geared towards public life and proposes ways on how space can be arranged to suggest social interactions and how it can lead to opportunities for socio-economic change. A starting point for urban designers is not to only see the map as end product, but to strive for those previous mentioned normative aims and acknowledging that more steps are required to implement a masterplan.

Socio-political systems and proposing new conditions

To propose a project that fits the African context, means letting go of the practical premise of realisation. Even while this project did not detail any costs or created specific timelines for realisation, there is a recurring recognition of limited resources and weak governmental institutions. Introducing urban plans that are beyond the prevalent templates in African cities thus requires a sense of inventiveness that might not be necessary in Western countries. This involved types of intervention that also poses great challenges in practices. The thesis called for governmental institutions to break tradition. Being open for to experimentation and acknowledging the power of citizens is a big step for governmental institutions to make in order to deal with their limitations. The proven ability of citizens to build houses, solve water issues and initiate community activities is much greater. Merely setting guidelines and acknowledging that not all needs to be controlled is a process of mind-set change. Urban planners and designers can be a key figure to lead these changes.

Ethical issues or dilemmas regarding the design proposal

What makes it African?

One of the most significant ethical considerations in this thesis is the attempt to design an 'African' spatial strategy. People often view Africa as one country which has the same issues everywhere. But Africa is not a country and as a continent and has as much cultural diversity as comparing Spain to the Netherlands. A second consideration is that it is not an authors' decision what is African or not. However, the term is specifically used to highlight the controversialities there are with the understanding of Africa and what is African.

This thesis is not meant to generalise Dar es Salaam, or the case study site in comparison to other areas in Africa. The spatial strategy proposed in this thesis is constructed to develop an 'Africa' together with its citizens and to create an build environment that they are surrounded and evolving with. The citizens are not just considered as African because they are locational wise in the continent of Africa, but their interactions and connections that have created certain socio-cultural behaviours is what together makes them 'Africans'.

Whose right is it?

This thesis tried to seek a balance with the interests of property owners and the social needs of urban inhabitants. It contradicts contemporary initiatives that remain mostly within a liberal-democratic framework and as a result, struggle to augment the rights of urban inhabitants against the property rights of owners. Currently, as Lefebvre (1996) states, in almost every city in the world, the property rights of owners outweigh the rights to use space, and the exchange value of property determines how it is used much more than its use value. Under capitalism, spaces in the city are carved up into isolated segments by the system of each private property. In order to manage these spaces, they are segregated into discrete zones by producing detailed plans for land uses. A separation which is parallel to the specialisation and compartmentalisation characteristics of the capitalist division of labour. This functional separation of uses, in addition to various forms of residential segregation is stored in sterilised spaces and prevents the coming together of spaces that encounter play and interaction (Purcell, 2014).

Altogether, this thesis approach on Lefebvre's 'appropriation of space' is a way to rethink the concept of rightful ownership and to transform our notions about who rightfully owns the city. It integrates tools and infrastructure that can be used in common and can potentially support surrounding livelihood activities. However, effort by civil society groups to experiment with and learn about the political utility of the right to the city idea is still required. One emphasises the importance of community members mobilising and taking direct control of their own neighbourhoods, but also focusses more on the inclusion of the mechanisms of the state through participatory policy initiatives. Secondly, the ideas proposed on infrastructural elements for public spaces could support local livelihoods in this thesis are by no means definitive or exclusionary. They open up the debate on possible outcomes and pose the urge to further test and investigate together with local users.

The dilemma between man and nature

This thesis demonstrated some instances where helping people and supporting nature can go hand in hand such as organic agriculture, sustainable public parks, resource efficient buildings and multipurpose infrastructure. Quoting Sachs et al. (2002): 'on macro-scale, the reconciliation of environment and development agendas remains light years away'. Sachs et al. (2002) explain how typical environmentalists are seen to be opposing deforestation, chemical agriculture or expansion of power plants, while developmentalists are pushing for marketing timber, expanding food supplies or electrifying villages. This thesis only showcased micro scale possibilities, but how to respond to the desire for growth, whether it be economic or social growth, without upsetting ecological systems is still a puzzle for the 21st century. The dilemma of either aggravating the threats caused by nature by pushing for development or aggravating the crisis of economic resources by insisting on the protection of nature is one to be further explored and did not fully attest to the scope of this research. As Sachs et al. (2002) also states, it is not that humanity faces a choice between human misery and natural catastrophe, but meeting this challenge requires revisiting the technologies, institutions and the world views that dominate the globe today.

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Designing diversity

Many items within this thesis consists of schematic drawings and a collection of ideas for intervening. This is firstly because the focus is on the process and integration of the citizens, giving them back agency to their environment. This means that the final decision making on what should happen at certain areas is a result of collaborative decision-making. Secondly, this stems from the belief that more diversity is needed to be introduced into the neighbourhood. However, diversity is something that is not pre-designed. One could design different sizes and shapes of buildings, but the same group of people (income, age, household etc.) could technically move in. It is ethically incorrect and not possible to force people to do something or live somewhere. What (spatial) design can do is offer opportunities and to do things outside of their comfort zone and initiate interactions that would otherwise not occur. What should be noted is that this requires placing trust in people as an urban designer, but also as the government, and that citizens should be able to appropriate space according to their livelihood and preferences.

6. Evaluation

On graduation course and studio

The research groups within the Urbanism department demonstrates how diverse the built and unbuilt environment is and the great part urban planning and designing can play in this. The multiplicity of our field is showcased in the diversities of scales, locations, topics and actuality, which also indicates how education and research (should) transform over time in order to keep up with developments. Markedly, a great deal of urbanisation is taking place without any sense of control or awareness. The learning, un-learning and deconstruction of historic planning and spatial narratives were crucial to the process of my project, but it also placed a strong emphasis on forward thinking and flexibility in an attempt to get a grip on future prospects.

Moreover, the Urbanism track at TU Delft places a strong emphasis on the promotion of resilient and sustainable urban development to ensure long-term growth. The understanding of resiliency and sustainability may vary per project and location. In retrospect, this thesis tried to take an integral, yet critical approach to the various aspects of not only environmental, but also social sustainability.

Furthermore, the Complex Cities studio aims to have a thorough understanding of diverse contexts from a focus on substantive issues (for instance energy, water, housing or economic structures), and normative values (environmental sustainability, social equality or economic competitiveness). This thesis is set within the sphere of global trends but tries to connect global issues to local cultures and livelihood activities to improve normative values on justice and resiliency. Here, a de-westernised, post-developmental approach to research and planning is believed to be crucial for a project to set ground in a multi-opinionated world. In addition, one of the main points of departure in the Complex Cities Studio is to critically question the role of the planner or designer in an increasingly complex spatial and social condition, which was also highlighted in this thesis through the integration of different fields on knowledge, appreciating plurality and linking institutional and spatial analysis. However, with a concluding note, we are never done learning.

Lessons learnt

Knowledge from practice

In total, I have spent 4 months working and living in Dar es Salaam. The knowledge gained from practice and being in the city was key in shaping my understanding about the context and further defining my research. It has also inspired me to do work in comparable environments in the future. Furthermore, doing research within a context which is largely unfamiliar and lack of available data has taught me to make assumptions based on empirical knowledge. Having an open mind was required in more subjective matters like social norms, traditions and receptiveness to alternate theories and ideas. Moreover, there is a thin line between proposing naïve interventions, while still trying to be visionary and push existing boundaries.



Figure 131 Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, July 2019
DOSU project's Tanzanian and South African participants on 1 week knowledge exchange to Johannesburg

This is especially a challenge with sensitive topics considering the Global South. Many people have never experienced those situations, but everybody seems to have an opinion about it. I tried to stay true to myself and the observations I did in Dar es Salaam and to integrate objective analysis in complex notions. However, no matter how much attention is paid to reduce any threats to the validity of results obtained or how great care is taken to remove bias, expectation and opinion from the matter in question, I never grew up Tanzanian or lived there for multiple years. Even when the research focusses only on what can empirically or theoretically be supported by facts, I am not an expert with Urban planning in Africa. But then again, when are you?

Urban designers

Urban designers are dreamers. They are visionaries who aim for inclusiveness, equality, justice and sustainability. And that all within the realm of space, spatial interventions and masterplans. But not all problems can be solved through space. I have learnt that space should instead be viewed as an element that can guide opportunities. A different way is to leave space to the capabilities and imagination of its users. This different way of thinking about space involves other ways of designing. Rather than purely creating maps, designing processes and other skills of the urban designer should be addressed. However, there are still great steps to be taken, not only from the side of the urban designer and researcher, but especially within practice where other roles of the urban designer and planner have not been recognised to full extent.



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