

A photograph of a man sitting on a wooden bench in front of a weathered building. The building has a corrugated metal roof and a poster on the wall. The man is wearing a grey tank top and dark shorts. The poster features a Coca-Cola bottle and the word 'Studio'. The title 'HERITAGE DISCONTINUED' is overlaid in large white letters.

HERITAGE DISCONTINUED

TRACING CULTURAL ECOLOGIES
WITHIN A CONTEXT OF URBAN
TRANSITION

CAROLINE SOHIE, MASTERS CANDIDATE

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HERITAGE DISCONTINUED

TRACING CULTURAL ECOLOGIES WITHIN A CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSITION

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Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
in Urban Infrastructure Design and Management

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July 2016

(Opposite) 493 Ocean Road, Bagamoyo. Old Merchant House entrance door. Arabic
carving with Indian influences. Re-occupied house by three families

Ocean Road, Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Overlooking the rooftops of Dar es Salaam at dawn, I was struck by a sudden awareness how one's personal cultural identity is not bound by one particular place. Rather it is the absorption of many places and multiple histories that collide and form one's alchemic reality, being as much about the past as it is about the envisioned future. Myths are born every day and lead to the imaginary of one's own being.

My presence and research in Tanzania is the continuation of a cultural trajectory I inherited from my parents, as they were in the same place, 50 years ago, and overlooked the same harbour and the same historic streets. This thesis is largely indebted to them as they were worldly residents in the early days of travel and my father instilled in me a profound interest to explore and engage with unknown territories. I devote this dissertation in their honour, as exposure to the world during my childhood, fundamentally shaped my personal and professional path in life.

This study could never be realised without the contributions of the people of Bagamoyo who, with interest in the research subject, invited me with warm hospitality into their domain, to share their customs and their concerns and hopes for a future Bagamoyo. I thank the Chairman of the hamlet of Dunda, Mwambao and Lamiya for enabling this exchange.

I thank all respondents who openly shared their personal and professional views during the interviews. They opened up new avenues of exploration throughout the entire research process, which I would not have discovered without their input. A particular thank you to Marie Shaba who shared her passion as a cultural activist throughout the process.

During my research, I was lucky to meet Kessy Mpwimbwi of the Bagamoyo District Council. Without his generous support this study would not have been feasible. I thank him for sharing his insightful and critical opinion on multiple facets of society and for enabling engagement with key individuals within the community.

I also thank Chris Mahona for being my local guide and bringing history alive through imparting his dense heritage knowledge, and for introducing me to Bagamoyo's vibrant rhythm of people and life.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the late teacher Mr Kassanga, who enabled a workshop with his students and provided an invaluable lens on the current thinking of the youth in Bagamoyo.

Furthermore, I am indebted to the support of the Bagamoyo District Council and the Antiquities Division in Dar es Salaam and the Antiquities Stations in Bagamoyo, for enabling access to archival material and knowledge.

Various other institutions contributed to my research at various points of the academic journey. I express my gratitude to the Swedish International Development Agency, UNESCO Dar es Salaam, the University College of Lands and Architecture Studies in Dar es Salaam, the National Mapping and Surveying Department, LSE and the African Institute of Mathematical Science in Bagamoyo.

My partner and kindred spirit, has been a moral support throughout the entire journey. No words can express my gratitude for his relentless encouragement and for being my companion in the moments of discovery as well as the moments of doubt. Thank you for exploring this new horizon with me.

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Lastly, I would like to thank my supervisor Edgar Pieterse for; stimulating my thought processes, the critical feedback, and for challenging me to discover unknown worlds of knowledge.

DECLARATION

I, Caroline Sohie, hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university. I authorise the University to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

Date: 16 July 2016

ABSTRACT

Heritage dis-continued?

Tracing cultural ecologies within a context of urban transition

Culture has been consistently underrepresented in the sustainability debate and often perceived as a constraining factor to modern-day advancement. However in recent years, the broadening development paradigm in the Global South is increasingly asserting culture's indispensable role in sustainable human development.

This dominant cultural paradigm mainstreamed by UNESCO is subscribed to by government and other role-players within the domain of culture and urban development. Despite its significant achievements, it however comes with a specific heritage conceptualisation, which is disconnected from local reality and perpetuates a problematic theoretical construct of cultural legacy, which is steeped in a Eurocentric conservation bias with colonial undertones.

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The thesis argues that this model will not lead to transformative interventions in urban areas that harness the power of culture if its interpretation remains decontextualised and perpetuates an instrumentalised view of culture and cultural conservation practice, inherited from the past.

The thesis explores how an alternative conceptualisation of culture, based on the concept of cultural ecologies, can be more meaningful and beneficial in contributing to the theoretical reassessment of the human settlements imaginary.

This is achieved through an interdisciplinary literature review and a case study of Bagamoyo, a small urban settlement in Tanzania. Through a systematic diagnosis of this small scale locality, cultural ecologies are foregrounded through the primary lens of the urban public-private interface and framed within a context that is shaped by the dynamics of globalisation. Additionally, the study takes place against the backdrop of a failed UNESCO World Heritage application, which allows me to discuss the undercurrents and invested interests associated with cultural heritage politics and the traumatic impact global conventions can have on local sustainability. It concludes in a proposed approach that repositions culture at the core of social exchange and argues that cultural sensitive development is an ongoing socio-cultural production process. Its potential lies in capturing the layered 'ordinariness' of place and in harnessing the imaginative responses arising from local idioms, practices and traditions as the shared imaginary of tomorrow.

Coca-Cola hizi ni za ukweli

Small Bottle
TSh
600/-
Chupa

500ml PET
TSh
800/-
Plastiki



Jinsi ya kutumia EPOD kupata Salio



Jinsi ya kutumia EPOD kupata Kifurushi



tigo



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(Opposite) Coca-cola advertisement, telecommunication poster, on metal hinged door to grocery store in late afternoon. Metal mesh customer security screen. Rice, cleaning products, toiletries, confectionery and batteries on shop display shelving

Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015

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HERITAGE DIS-CONTINUED

(Opposite) The German Cemetery entrance gatepiers of 1888. Meeting place for courting couples

Unnamed gardens to front of German Boma, Bagamoyo, 22 September 2015

I came across this small place in Africa through conversation; Bagamoyo was by some described as a forgotten gem of human civilisation, a mystical oasis of spirituality, a slow fishing village along an idyllic coast line, a celebration of Swahili culture and hospitality. The absence of information made the place evermore intriguing. My fascination for this unknown territory started to unfold around maps of ancient trade routes, accounts by descendants of slaves and turn of the century photographs illustrating the vibrancy of a cosmopolitan place and its distinct urban features, traced long before European colonial powers came into being.

A few years later I read in the international press¹, that Bagamoyo was earmarked to become the biggest port in East Africa. The project would cost an estimated \$11bn, predominantly financed by China and Oman. In 2015 President Jakaya Kikwete, laid the foundation stone of this prestigious government infrastructure project in his hometown Bagamoyo. The new port would handle 20 times more cargo than the port in Dar es Salaam, and become a transport hub² that could challenge the dominance of Mombasa in neighbouring Kenya. For China it marked the beginning of a strategic endeavour³; the development of an economic zone that embraces the key ports and maritime trade routes of the South China Sea and Indian Ocean, with Africa located as a strategic center within this framework.

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The press article came with one image; a tri-dimensional visualisation of the Bagamoyo Export Development Zone and a new industrial city, that in addition to port related infrastructure, includes a tourist hub and regional airport. The message came with a particular view of urbanism, prophesising an urban culture of streamlined living, infused by engineered efficiency, digital connectivity and moulded by the latest global trends in architecture and planning.

In addition to the increased employment opportunities, there was however no reference to the impact of this mega project on the life of the existing, largely traditional, community. What would happen when the worlds of the traditional and of modernity collide? What dynamics would emerge between two radically different world views? How would the cultural hegemonic space be negotiated? It was this selective silence, the acute obliviousness or disregard of the socio-cultural fabric that triggered my interest in the culture-sustainability paradigm. Against this backdrop of vulnerability an augmented change of small scale settlements at the rural-urban interface, the thesis seeks to explore how cultural capital can be adopted as a lens to reframe the concept of sustainable development within a context of urban transition.

Focus of the thesis

In current times, marked by transformation due to accelerated patterns of urbanisation, settlements in the global South⁴ are under unprecedented pressure to change. The local population see their physical environment transform, along with the tangible and intangible cultural attributes of society. Consequently, the notion of identity and traditional cultural values are under siege predominantly due to the homogenisation effects of globalisation. Within this context, the cultural impact is commonly neglected as local governments are too preoccupied with harnessing development opportunities or dealing with the increased demands that come with rapid urban growth.

Culture has been consistently underrepresented in the sustainability debate and often perceived as a constraining factor to modern-day advancement. However in recent years, the broadening development paradigm in the global South is increasingly asserting culture's indispensable role in sustainable human development. This shift has been spearheaded by international agencies such as UNESCO and has opened up diverse trajectories for culture within the development discourse.

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This dominant cultural paradigm mainstreamed by UNESCO systems is subscribed to by government and other role-players within the domain of culture and urban development. Despite its significant achievements, it however comes with a heritage conceptualisation, which in my view remains highly disconnected from local reality and perpetuates a problematic theoretical construct of valorising and handling cultural legacy; echoing a Eurocentric conservation bias with colonial undertones. My thesis argues that this model will not lead to transformative interventions that harness the power of culture if its interpretation remains decontextualised and perpetuates an instrumentalised view of culture and cultural conservation practice, inherited from the past.

The core proposition is to explore how an alternative conceptualisation of culture, based on the concept of cultural ecologies⁵, can be more meaningful and beneficial in contributing to the theoretical reassessment of the human settlements imaginary.

By means of a case study of Bagamoyo, a small urban settlement in Tanzania, the thesis seeks to understand what cultural ecologies signify within a situated context. Through a systematic diagnosis of this small scale locality, cultural ecologies are foregrounded

through the primary lens of the urban public-private interface and framed within a context that is shaped by the dynamics of glocalisation⁶. Additionally, the study takes place against the backdrop of a failed UNESCO World Heritage application, which allows me to discuss the undercurrents and invested interests associated with cultural heritage politics and the traumatic impact global conventions can have on local sustainability.

The outcome of this study leads to a recommendation that a deep understanding of local context and people needs to be foregrounded in the development of any form of planning framework, rather than a conventional and formulaic approach. From an academic perspective, the thesis critiques the global cultural heritage agenda as its theoretical construct is disconnected from local flows of meaning. In light of this, I seek to move the debate forward by proposing an alternative conceptual framework, focused around the concept of cultural ecologies⁷ that can concretise pathways to radically reposition culture at the heart of the sustainable development imperative. The proposed paradigm repositions culture at the core of social exchange and argues that cultural sensitive development is an ongoing socio-cultural production process. Its potential lies in capturing the layered 'ordinariness' of place and in harnessing the imaginative responses arising from local idioms, practices and traditions as the shared imaginary of tomorrow.

Research approach

The research endeavour is grounded in an in-depth review of contemporary debates in culture and cultural heritage conservation⁸, situated in the context of urban transition⁹. I structured the literature review according to four debates, namely;

- Firstly, how does one define cultural capital, its role and value within society?
- Secondly, how can cultural capital contribute to sustainable development?
- Thirdly, what is the relationship between culture capital and the people it belongs to?
- Lastly, how does the built environment express the cultural paradigm in society?

I compared the cultural paradigm as mainstreamed by world organisations of influence such as UN, UNESCO, HABITAT and World Bank with references of theoretical discourse derived from diverse academic fields; ranging from philosophy, anthropology, sociology, geography, cultural studies, history to the domains of economy, architecture and urban planning. The literature review reinforced the premise that the study needed to have an interdisciplinary focus, as the core proposition of the dissertation is located at the interface of multiple disciplinary areas.

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A working definition

Initially the reference to the term 'cultural heritage' appeared to be appropriate for the study as principally the idea of a cultural legacy echoed the core of sustainability, meaning that particular cultural resources are being handed over from one generation to another. However the literature review revealed the problematic nature of this terminology, primarily given its contested value proposition, due to a primary focus on the historic and a Eurocentric¹⁰ conservation bias.

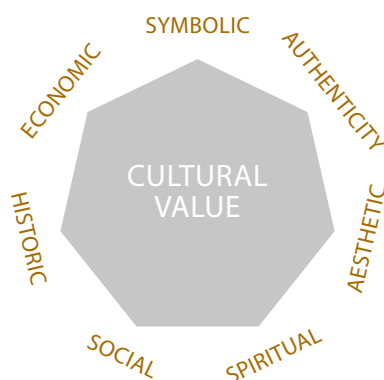
A reiterative process of interrogation made me land with the term 'cultural capital'. The reading of Bourdieu's¹¹ work about cultural capital, created a new theoretic avenue for exploration. He defines cultural capital as a social relation within a system of exchange (1986). Instead of focusing on the artefact, his conceptualisation integrates the relational aspect and is aligned with culture as one of the flows of meaning that partakes in the broader metabolism of the urban system.¹² Furthermore ecologies also refer to an expression resulting from a cultural flow, akin with the cultural capital definition articulated by Throsby¹³, which relates culture with asset development.

Based on both theoretical propositions, I developed the following working definitions for the dissertation, namely;

- ‘Cultural capital’ is defined as an asset, tangible or intangible, that contributes to cultural value and acts as a social relation within a system of exchange.
- ‘Cultural ecology’ is defined as the system of exchange that sets out the social relations contributing to cultural value.

A holistic value proposition

The thesis’ objective to apply a holistic approach to the cultural value proposition, led me to combine the values as articulated by sociological and philosophical discourse, combined with the insight of the economic domain. This approach resulted in a holistic value model as illustrated by the accompanying diagram. The model is based on Throsby’s (2001) dissection of the cultural construct and influenced by the economic value perspective proposed by Pearce et al (2002).



Cultural value model
Adopted from Throsby (2001)

The presented model, configures cultural value according to seven spheres of value, namely;

- Aesthetic value; refers to beauty harmony of form and colour, authenticity, visual relationship with surroundings and authorship
- Spiritual value; refers to aspects of religion, the numinous and the sublime
- Social value; refers to connections between people which reinforces a sense of unity and identity
- Historic value; refers to a unique relationship with the past, represents particular viewpoints of history, embodies a sense of its time, continuity between past and present, needs to be conserved for future generations to see and enjoy
- Symbolic value; refers to repositories of meaning
- Authenticity value; refers to being real, original, unique
- Economic value¹⁴; refers to the economic use and non-use value

Bagamoyo case study - primary research area

All on site contextual mapping undertaken by author, is limited to the geographic and spatial extent of the primary case study area



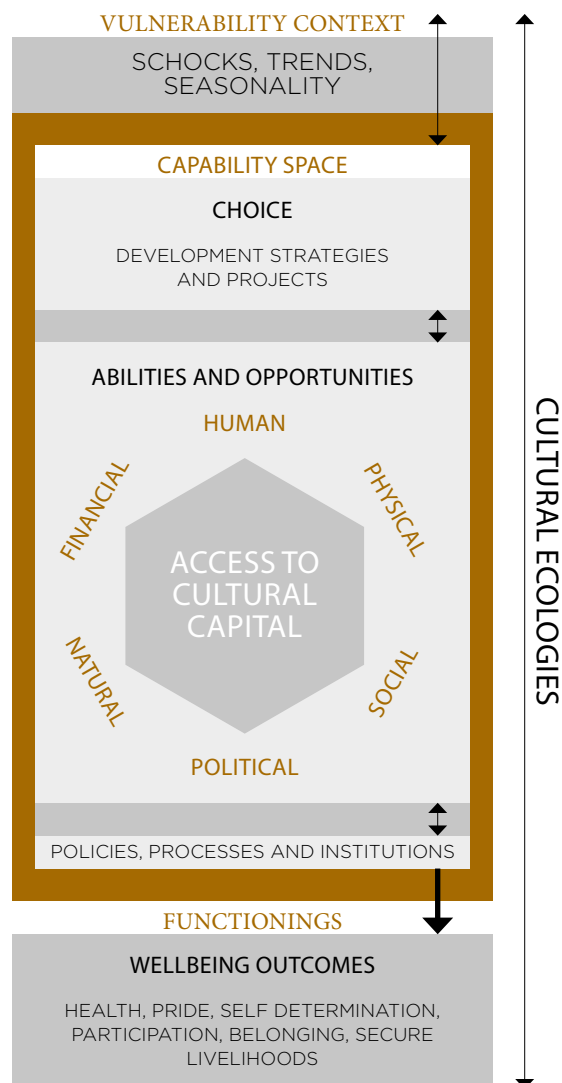
Theoretical model

The literature review highlighted how the contested value proposition of culture and cultural heritage led to conceptual tensions between the academic spheres of economy and humanities. This stimulated my interest in how the language and model of the 'opposing' economic domain, could provide a different entry point in tackling the culture paradigm in development. This led me to the discourse of the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (1985), who guided my thinking on valuing tangible and intangible cultural assets in society. This process made me intuitively apply the Capability Approach as the basis for my theoretic research model. His philosophy added the dimension of 'access to cultural capital' and the introduction of 'free agency of choice' to the study. Furthermore, I built upon Frediani's work (2013) that reconsidered the Capability Approach¹⁵ from a development perspective and that provided new inroads into the urban sustainability debate. On this basis the theoretical model for the study was developed, which took on board the following considerations, namely;

- Firstly, due to the complex nature and relationship of culture and development, there exists a tendency to adopt a reductive¹⁶ attitude towards defining the role and significance of cultural resources. Contrary to these models, the Capability Approach repositions people and their relations at the heart of the debate. I consider this a critical attribute as culture is intertwined with people's perceptions and experiences of life; moving beyond needs and capturing aspirations and value systems.
- Secondly, a holistic approach has the potential to provide the substantive and interpretive platform that can recognise and evaluate the complexities that characterise the life of cultural goods in its multiple forms and dimensions. The framework is focused on the process of making and realising choices, whilst incorporating its inherent diversity and multiplicity.
- The model further enables the analysis of a culture sensitive development model in a dynamic manner, considering culture as interacting flows of meaning. Sen's approach captures the changing relations between institutions and actors and further acknowledges issues of vulnerability and the power relations in society and people's lives.
- Additionally, the model has the capacity to reveal the multi-scalar dimensions of the cultural heritage debate by linking macro structural processes with the local micro context. The framework can demonstrate the relevance of inter-dependencies between the local and the global forces at play, which come with cultural ideologies and universal values.
- Furthermore, the framework builds on strengths as it provides a perspective on development that focusses on distribution and strengthening of the existing potential; the focus on capabilities refers to choice, ability and opportunities to pursue the things one has reason to value. Consequently it has the ability to adopt to any context and ultimately lead the way to proactive action.
- Finally, the selected approach locates sustainability at the core of the debate. The approach considers the role of culture within a context of sustained improvement of livelihood strategies and development, whilst improving resilience to stresses and

shocks, enhancing access to assets and protecting consented norms and values such as conserving the natural resource base (Frediani 2013).

The diagram below illustrates the Capability Approach¹⁷ model adapted for this study. Within the context of culture and development, the concept of cultural ecologies is incorporated as the system that enables exchange and transformation, which ultimately leads to the wellbeing outcomes.



Cultural ecologies - theoretical model
Adopted from Sen (1985)

Methodology

The case study method

The research aims to engage with a multifaceted social reality; it examines how cultural resources might be harnessed and contribute to a theoretical reassessment of the human settlements imaginary of the global South¹⁸. Due to the complex nature of the research¹⁹ environment, I chose to adopt the paradigmatic case study method as its metaphorical and prototypical value provides a generally accessible metaphor for understanding the complex intersection of discourse, action and context in society (Flyberg 2011).

The town of Bagamoyo, located 75 kms north from Dar es Salaam, was identified as the location for the case study. It is a small Tanzanian town which in recent years has been undergoing rapid transformation from a rural fishing village to becoming an urban centre with a recognised town council structure. Its urbanisation is accelerated as a result of the upgraded road infrastructure connecting to the expanding city of Dar es Salaam²⁰, the central commercial and business hub for Tanzania. Also the plans for the development of a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) and East Africa's biggest container port, about 12kms away from Bagamoyo's centre, is creating a surge in land speculation and urban development.

Bagamoyo has a culturally diverse society, embedded in Swahili identity; its ethnic mix emerged from various cultural influences coming from the regions bordering the Indian Ocean, combined with the Bantu culture of the slaves captured in the African hinterland brought to Bagamoyo with the trading caravans. The town's golden past as one of the central Arabic trading posts of slaves, its prominence as the capital for the German East African Colony and its role as a religious centre for the Islam and Catholic religion, is reflected in a layered historic environment, which is further described in chapter Three. Attempts to obtain the UNESCO World Heritage designation for the old town were however not successful and despite the significant financial support, the ambition to establish a culture-led development strategy for the town failed.

Historical factors combined with contemporary urbanisation dynamics, made Bagamoyo sufficiently unique to develop a layered analysis around a strong cultural narrative, whilst it also shared enough commonalities with other places, so that certain parallels could be drawn with other small localities in the Global South.

The primary study area of the research was selected to correspond with the *Mj Mkongwe* area, the central core of the 'Bagamoyo Conservation and Buffer zone areas'²¹. This part of the town was selected as it corresponds with the old core of Bagamoyo, where traces of long cultural lineages remain tangible. Additionally, the area falls under the jurisdiction of the Antiquities Division; studying this zone provide an insight in how conservation policy influence the contemporary built environment and development context. The primary study area represents the principal site for the research, where fine grain analysis was undertaken, including the profiling, visual inspection, mapping, photographic and sound scape documentary and interviews.

Furthermore, the study takes into account a secondary area of influence, including a threshold zone immediately outside the primary study area and the new areas of urban expansion, located southeast²² and southwest²³ of the town centre. The analysis of these sites remains high-level and provides a contextual reference, exemplifying the threshold areas between the old and new part of town and the recent growth areas of the town, representing the shifting urban edge.

Methodological approach

To develop the objectives of the thesis, four field studies²⁴ were undertaken at location between January and October 2015. During that period the protagonists were identified and interviewed, most of the empirical material was collected, archives were consulted, the area was documented and the mapping studies were undertaken.

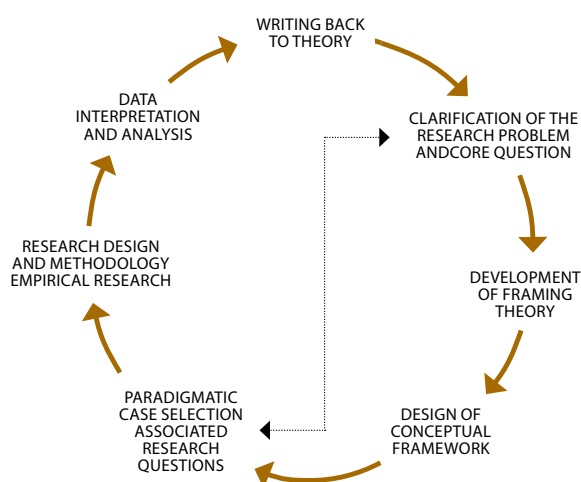
I selected a qualitative research method²⁵ (Kvale 1996) as the focus of the thesis required a deep understanding of people's thoughts described in their own words, embedded in their own understanding and experiences. It was vital for me to understand local residents' relationship with their cultural context, their thinking about the current changes occurring in their town, and the fears and aspirations for their environment in the future. Engagement with other actors such as decision makers, planning specialists, officials, local entrepreneurs, enabled me to gather diverse view points and gradually uncover important political²⁶ undercurrents, often invisible at the surface.

I acknowledged the issues associated with simplifying and generalising findings by applying western constructs (Chabal & Daloz 2006). I chose to counter this concern by expanding the selected research method with an ethnographic perspective²⁷ and undertake an approach²⁸, which involves a degree of sensitivity to the socio-economic and political factors, defining the context of the human cultural condition. This enabled the production of a more insightful understanding, with an emphasis on comparative insight, as opposed to an approach that is fundamentally dogmatic (Chabal & Daloz 2006). Despite the programmatic constraints of the study and time spent with the various respondents, the chosen method enabled me to immerse myself within local society, to the degree I could capture knowledge from within.

During the first two field trips, it was challenging to establish an appropriate method for me to access an unknown territory. The engagements remained distanced and formal. At the outset, I focused on interviews with planning specialists and officials, to gain an understanding of the broader contours of the issues at hand. During the second field trip, the first signs of trust started to manifest in conversations, predominantly due to the relationships that evolved with key individuals within the community. With a growing acceptance and interest in the research shown by the residents, the local network started to reveal itself. This formed the beginning of highly engaging and content-rich encounters with various members of the community. Through interviews, observations, informal discussions and visits of people's natural habitat, I was able to construct a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics at play.

The introduction of the context and objective of my research²⁹, by means of a formal introduction letter by the University of Cape Town, was critical to gain access. The written introduction to the District Officer of the Bagamoyo District Council and to the Director of Antiquities were also essential protocols to be observed. When that was in place, the Technical Manager of the District Council took it upon him to support me in establishing the relevant contacts. In parallel an informal network of contacts started to emerge, which provided me with access to other groups within society.

The semi-structured individual interview was the predominant form of interviews applied for this dissertation; questions and themes were prepared but the interview had the flexibility to adapt the questions to the situation and the informant. I prepared an interview guide³⁰ which enabled me to remain agile during the interview, and engage with the most critical viewpoints and observations coming from the respondent. In parallel with the semi-structured interviews, I continued the unstructured³¹ informal conversations with the many people that crossed my path. In case the informant requested to remain anonymous, fictitious names were introduced to protect the informants' integrity³².



Typical retroductive research process.
According to Yin (2009)

The classical approach to research as articulated by Yin (2009) foresees a well-developed theoretical framework, a supporting set of propositions, a critical or paradigmatic case to test the assumptions through empirical findings, which ultimately leads to evaluation and the writing back to theory.

Despite the intent to follow this research structure, the process was far less linear and predictable than the flow diagram alludes to, due to the tension between moments of divergence and convergence, the continual looping back between research stages, the reworking of assumptions and method, the dynamic relationship with protagonists and context and the refinement of the research focus.

The broad nature of the cultural research topic, led me to apply the theoretical research model in a rigorous and highly structured manner, by interviewing a broad contingency of local actors, map their access to cultural capital according to the domains of cultural capital and consequently converge all the finding and develop a synthetic understanding of the local cultural dynamics.

However, soon I came to realise that this approach was too instrumentalist by nature and that the understanding of cultural complexity could only be found in the invisible cracks of this conceptual structure. Another potential limitation was the absence of a tangible interpretative link to the cultural manifestation in the built environment.

I evaluated various trajectories to reposition the case study. In search for the appropriate vehicle to continue the research, I refocused the analysis on the in-situ context. By means of recurrent explorations of the study area during various times of the day, through mapping and photography, and heightened engagement with people in the street, I gradually built up an awareness of the private and public threshold in public space and the cultural code engrained in the ordinariness of daily life. This led me to entirely reposition the research and reconceptualise cultural ecologies as the relational system of exchange that ultimately leads to an intangible or tangible manifestation. On this basis, I realised that cultural ecologies could be foregrounded by revealing the changing urban public-interface, as it embodied socio-cultural relations translated into a spatial configuration. This conceptual approach led to a method that could interweave the theoretical and the empirical threads into 'a net fine enough to capture the discourse markers of the diverse rationalities and enable their coding so that trends, connections, continuities, discontinuities and contradictions can be collated, mapped and analysed' (De Satgé 2014: 86-86).

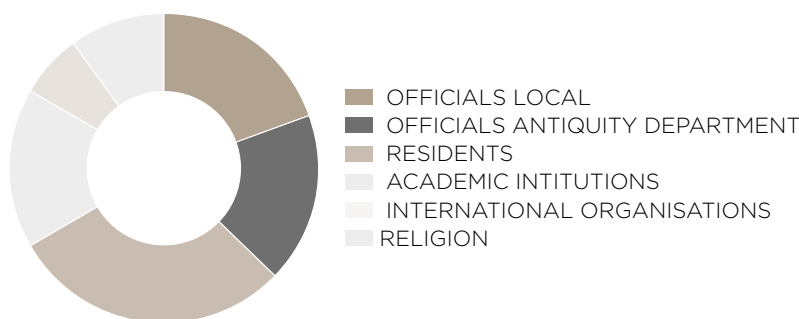
In summary, the following steps were undertaken as part of the overarching methodology, namely;

Firstly, at the onset of the research a desktop and literature study were undertaken to understand the status quo of the location and integrate the research into the broader sustainability discourse around Bagamoyo. The analysis was structured along the topics of land, environment and climate change, food systems, wellbeing, vulnerability, diversity,

education and mobility. This exploratory study was challenging as contemporary literature on Bagamoyo was limited and information on the internet close to non-existing. The material was mostly out of date and the available reports, predominantly developed by international agencies³³, were focused around very specific subjects and sometimes questionable in terms of their accuracy. My fieldwork at a later stage, led me to recalibrate many of the initial findings to correspond with the actual reality.

Secondly, primary research was undertaken on the basis of semi-structured interviews. Thirty interviews were conducted during four visits over an eight-month period, commencing in January 2015.³⁴ The interviews were undertaken on an individual basis, to establish a deep understanding of the various protagonists and underlying dynamics. An interview guide was adopted to structure the questions according to key themes, namely; the personal profiling to understand the specific background and context of the respondent, followed by questions related to culture and heritage, community and governance. The interview concluded with envisioning the future of Bagamoyo to reveal the personal hopes and fears, the imaginary of the place. Respondents were selected with the intent to capture highly diverse views about the research topic; they ranged from officials working for local government such as the Bagamoyo District Council, officials of the local and national Antiquities department, specialists from academic institutions such as the University of Dar es Salaam, religious leaders and local residents³⁵. 80% of all respondents were local inhabitants and a 23% female versus 77% male ratio applied.

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Overview diagram of semi-structured interviews

I note that the formal respondents are predominantly male, as positions of authority within the traditional structures of governance and religion are male dominated. I recognised this limitation during the field research and made conscious efforts to find modern female voices of authority to rebalance the data. This was further complimented by informal discussions with women during the spatial readings of their domestic environment. However, additional field research would be beneficial to overcome any form of potential gender bias.

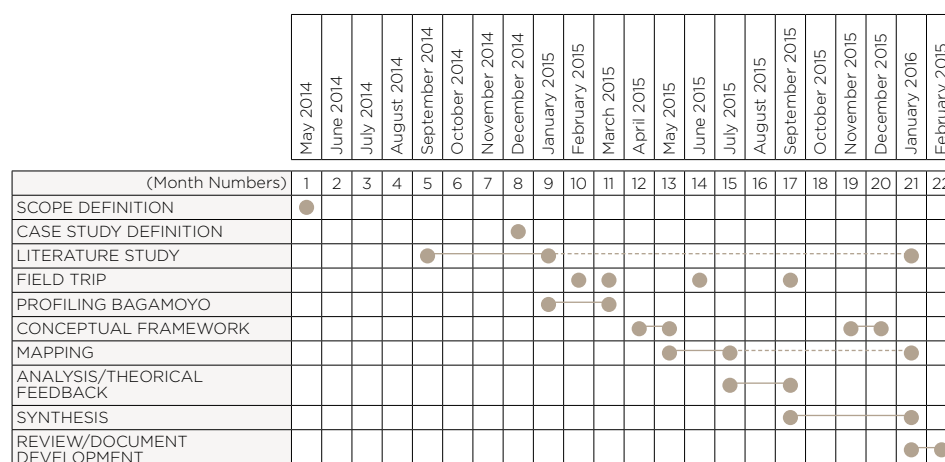
The semi-structured interviews were followed by a focus group workshop of half a day, with the last year students of High School of Marian Boys School at Kerege. The demographics of Bagamoyo show youth as the major constituent of the population. Consequently, I considered it essential to engage with 18 year olds to understand their

views and prospects related to culture in Bagamoyo, to triangulate³⁶ the findings from other sources.

A third step consisted of secondary research; the aim was to establish a broad contextual framework in which informant views and particular events could be located and compared. The secondary research comprised out of three components, namely; Firstly, a visual inspection and mapping³⁷ study of the selected area with the objective to methodologically observe, analyse and index the urban, architectural, socio-economic and cultural features. These findings provide a spatio – geographic narrative to the research; articulating particular areas of interest, patterns of use, production and significance within Bagamoyo's current urban environment.

Secondly, a high-level planning assessment of the existing and tentative masterplans and development frameworks. Their conceptual intent, the associated planning process and the implementation (or lack thereof) of the various initiatives revealed how cultural capital was framed by complex relations between actors.

Additionally, collateral material was drawn and studied from various sources and archives. I had access to records held by the Bagamoyo District Council and Sida, which were related to the UNESCO application, or the SUDPF planning process. Data related to the basic demographic and socio-economic profile were obtained from the



Overview schedule of research workstreams

National Bureau of Statistics and aerial photographs and GIS data from the National Mapping and Surveying Department at Dar es Salaam. Valuable cultural heritage survey documentation was made available by the Antiquities Department of *Mji Kongwe* and the collection at the Catholic Museum provided the background to Bagamoyo's historical evolution.

My research led to the position whereby the photographic medium became a central research device. Examining reality through the lens, created a level of distancing between author and subject that led to a state of receptiveness, which stimulated a

reiterative process of questioning and analysing the surrounding context. Photography was instrumental in exposing and communicating the deeper cultural narrative of the place. Berger and Mohr (1982) argue that narratives attach themselves to the inherent ambiguity that is contained within a photograph as it has the potential to provide 'a unique means of expression' and which may 'suggest another way of telling' (Berger & Mohr 1982: 92). I introduced this medium in combination with soundscape documentary in an attempt to apprehend elusive meanings related to the layered spatial qualities and cultural identity or in the words of Berger & Mohr; 'In themselves appearances are ambiguous, with multiple meanings. This is why the visual is astonishing and why memory, based upon the visual, is freer than reason' (1982: 133).

I understand the potential challenges with using photography as part of the research methodology, as the use of photographic methods must be grounded in the interactive context in which photographs acquire meaning. Within this dissertation, photography has been applied as part of the survey process, to elicit data about the informants' context and for articulation of the layered meaning of cultural ecologies and place. The focus of the photographs is the spatial reading of the built environment, not the personal narrative of subjects as they appear on the photograph.

Unless stated otherwise, all photographs in this dissertation have been taken by the author and subject names have been omitted to protect the subject's anonymity.

A final step undertaken in the research, was the analysis of the empirical data and theoretical feedback. The observed findings went through a process of careful screening to identify themes, establish connections and triangulate between sources of different origin. In line with Yin's thinking processes of pattern matching, explanation building and developing of a coherent logic, were deployed to ensure the internal validity (2009). Although it is acknowledged that a single case study does not provide a basis for generalisation, the analysis of the findings created a feedback loop to the dissertation's theoretical framework, providing added breadth and detail of understanding or led to suggestions on how to reframe the central research proposition. The main body of the study, the cultural readings of space, did not intend to provide a conclusive response to the problem statement. Its aim was to foreground the cultural layering of a place and show how cultural ecologies need to be positioned at the core of any form of planning policy, as without, the debate about human development cannot exist.

Organisation of the thesis

Chapter One provides an overview of the research journey. It spells out the relevance of the study and motivates why it is important to investigate the role of culture within a context of global urban transition.

The framing proposition sets out the key dilemmas that structure the research and leads to the alternative conceptualisation of ‘cultural ecologies’ within the context of urban sustainability. A theoretical framework is developed, based on the Capability Approach, and is applied as a conceptual guide throughout the study. The second part of the chapter sets out the overarching methodology and highlights the various steps that were undertaken to underpin the research proposition. The qualitative case study is described and qualifies how the processing of the findings ultimately leads to subsequent knowledge production. The chapter closes with an overview of the dissertation and highlights the contributions and limitations of the study from an academic perspective.

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Chapter Two accounts the story of a failed UNESCO World Heritage submission, adopted as a local prism to refract the underlying politics of cultural conservation, in a small town in the global South. The incident highlights the instrumentalised approach towards cultural heritage, and how its theoretical construct has no commonality with the local flows of meaning. This account of events, marks the entry point into the subject matter of the thesis as it provides the reader with an ‘insider’s view’ of the complex cultural dynamics whilst introducing the core critique of the overarching culture - sustainability paradigm. The chapter essentially questions how the value of cultural capital is quantified, why and for who the past is being preserved and how conservation relates to contemporary development practice.

Chapter Three, a brief long history of cultural encounters, provides an overview of early globalisation in Bagamoyo and reflects upon the long lineages that feed into the making of this place. The *fil rouge* that draws all historical events together, is the narrative of exchange and cultural hybridity, embodied in the multiplicity of belief systems and the emergence of a Swahili identity. Consequently, this longitudinal overview counters the dominant cultural heritage paradigm, aimed at fixing purist cultural values of the past, as the past is complicated, particularly in a postcolonial context in the global South, that has been located since its early beginnings at the intersection of diverse cultural encounters.

In order to locate culture and conservation practice within a broader paradigm of culture production, Chapter Four delves into the contemporary forces that impact on the formation of Bagamoyo's cultural identity. The first three parts of the chapter focus on the impact of a rapidly changing context, informed by accelerated urbanisation, a shifting economy and the heightened demands on rural governance structures. The second part brings to the surface, the complexity of identity formation in a contemporary African context and argues that a deep historical perspective is essential to reveal its intrinsic hybridity. In the light of heightened change, the chapter discusses the significance of the breakdown of the nation-state ideology, the emerging perspectives on global culture, the fall of classic social constructs, which create a liquid modernity, constantly refiguring Bagamoyo's contemporary sense of being.

The following chapter is set against the background delineated in the preceding chapters and represent the main body of the thesis. It consists out of four sections which capture the cultural readings of space, grounded in close encounters with people and place, undertaken with an open-minded sensibility. In this part of the study I combine theoretical reflections on context with my training³⁸, which is the architectural reading of the built environment. Cultural ecologies are foregrounded through the primary lens of the urban public-private interface and through the analysis of change, enforced by a transforming glocal reality. The spatial reading of shifting territories, is applied as a device to demonstrate the complexity and fluidity that any cultural heritage discourse has to confront.

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For all four sections, I have adopted an unconventional approach whereby the cultural theoretical review is dispersed across the empirical reading of space. The dissertation articulates empirical dynamics, through personal account and examination, which are made visible through theoretical references. Not to be normative in my contextual readings, I contributed my personal interpretation as distinct observation or provocation pieces. They are used as a device to complement the formalistic account of the study, and foreground the visceral texture and depth through the significance of detail. The sections can be interpreted as a polyptych, though intertwined, they visualise the anatomy of human cultural production; through reading, sharing, codifying and imagining.

The first section in the series introduces the concept of reading space; based on empirical data, the morphology of the Swahili town fabric is examined and intricate layers of territorial hierarchy revealed. The urban fabric of Bagamoyo is deconstructed according to cultural indicators; patterns, types and systems, proving a deeper understanding of the cultural genesis of the built form. The chapter closes with showing the connection between discerning the physical form and reading the meaning of place through decoding. This leads to an examination of proxemics spatial patterns as a direct expression of local cultural identity.

The following section, sharing the space, locates cultural production at the heart of social relations. At the core is the understanding that culture is an enacted process, always evolving, fluid in time.

The connection is made between culture and social cohesion; the concept is amplified through the analysis of the public-private interface and the formation of public space through enactment of shared meaning. The notion of a kinetic city is injected into the debate to evaluate the temporal condition of cultural relations, which leads to observations on Bagamoyo's shifting territorial boundaries as a result of identity changes taking place.

The codification of space, regards space as a system of codes, programmed with cultural significance, which need to be deciphered to obtain access to a cultural habitat. Central to this chapter is the understanding that the spatial construct represents a repository of meaning; through signs and symbols, the built environment influences cultural behaviour and the manifestation of identity. This leads to the discussion about the changing symbolic reality of space and, how increasingly deprived from modes of inscriptive memory, people resort to traditional memory environments or their own bodies as locales of cultural manifestation.

The last section in the series, explores how the changes of the signifying real, as analysed through spatial readings in Chapters Five to Seven, impacts the representational imaginary. Diverging worlds; of the rural and the urban, the space of tradition and the space of modernity, reveal the contemporary contestations of identity in space. History, temporality and memory are situated within a crisis of the self, as the postcolonial subject. The second part of the section, highlights the dissipation of chronotopic realities and the problematic nature of reproducing habitus, and consequently history, due to the fundamental fragmentation of collective memory. This leads to countercultures, which seek new way of imagining the memory space; new sites of memory enactment that become in their own way globalised spaces of self-actualisation. The following part, explores the phenomenon of synthetic nostalgia, based on a selective memory of the past, which leads to the creation of a mythological alter-ego; an imaginary reconstruction of an imaginary Africa. The debate highlights the importance of the concept of *mundus imaginalis*, whereby the intangible, mental landscape is considered as real as its physical counterpart. The mystical locale is introduced as the touch point between both worlds; the manifestation of spirit and place, where both spheres can fuse for a moment in time. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the manifestation of the imaginary and the otherness, in a contemporary African context. This leads to the notion of heterotopia, connecting the spatial dimension with the imaginary. Linked with the identity of a *terrain vague*, located outside modernity's crushing homogeneity, the concept is deemed emblematic for spaces where the imaginary is born, as it embodies the unrestrained encounter of past and present and accommodates the continuity of flows, the energies, the rhythms established by the passing of time.

The final chapter of the dissertation, reflects on the series of spatial readings produced in the study. It highlights the dissonance between the lived symbolic realities of places like Bagamoyo and the common conception of heritage; particularly the way heritage has been codified in policy and conservation frameworks and the nostalgia politics³⁹ and

practice it gives rise to.

To conclude, I seek to move the heritage debate forward by offering an alternative conceptual framework focused around the notion of cultural ecologies, to concretise pathways to radically reposition culture at the heart of the sustainable development imperative. I emphasise the importance of capturing the layered 'ordinariness' of place and of harnessing the imaginative responses to a changing reality, from the local idioms, practices and traditions as the shared imaginary of tomorrow.

Contribution of the research

In addition to new empirical case study research, a number of features of the study make it original. The thesis breaks away of the mainstream cultural heritage agenda and attempts to reconnect with local flows of cultural meaning by proposing an alternative conceptual framework⁴⁰ focused around cultural ecologies, set within a metabolic⁴¹ understanding of urban relations, that can concretise pathways to radically reposition culture at the heart of the sustainable development imperative. Secondly, from an academic perspective the dissertation adopts Sen's Capability Approach as the theoretical setting to recontextualise culture by locating cultural capital at the heart of dynamic socio-cultural relations and production processes. Lastly, cultural capital is used as a lens to reframe the concept of urban sustainability and repositions small scale settlements at the rural-urban interface as the context of action⁴², in the pursuit of sustainable urban transition.

Limitations

As a contextual study the research is not conclusive. Given the exploratory nature of the case study, the analysis related to the broader socio-economic dynamics and intrinsic politics of the place, remain at high level despite of being concretised empirically. It is also acknowledged that the study represents a snapshot in time, and it is therefore impossible to be definitive about the cultural evolution in the long term. Furthermore, as a context specific case study the thesis does not seek to make claims about culture conservation in postcolonial towns everywhere in Africa. Instead the study offers an account of a very specific place and the broader global and regional dynamics that inform its cultural existence. While the findings are interpretative of a very specific time and place, the research may nevertheless provide a conceptual platform for further investigation of the broader cultural dynamics that impact on sustainable urban transition in the Global South.

Another aspect that needs to be highlighted, is that the study is marked by tensions between distant 'strangeness'⁴³ and the need for 'closeness', on a number of levels. The research required continued alertness⁴⁴ to the complex interactions of race, class, gender, age, voice and language, relative power, authority and meaning. As a researcher I came into this cultural microtope without preconceptions as I approached this field of research with an 'outsider's eye'. On the other hand, I was well aware that as much as I immersed myself in the local context, I would never be in a position to fully decode the cultural habitat of this locality. As a white, female researcher I was further alert to my own cultural filters and was highly attentive not to be normative in my readings of the place. In response to this consideration, I separated my personal interpretation as delineated observational pieces that 'encounter' and sometimes provoke the formalistic description of the site.

To conclude, it is clear that the intent of the thesis is to establish a set of readings which I deem needed when confronting heritage with a non-essentialist reading. The technique behind the cultural readings of space is based on an open-minded exploration of the local setting, combining observation with my professional training, which is the architectural analysis of the built environment and its spatial formation. I am however aware that the interpretative devices are also grounded in global knowledge production and as such also a cultural product in their own right.





CONSERVATION POLITICS OR THE ACCOUNT OF A CULTURAL INCIDENT

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(Opposite) Central courtyard with well to German Boma, with children playing on grass. Building disassembled and striped awaiting refurbishment
Ocean Road, Bagamoyo, 25 September 2015

Tanzania central slave and ivory distribution network
Illustration of UNESCO World Heritage site application 'Central slave and ivory route' (2006)



Account of a cultural incident

In 2002 the 'International Conference on Bagamoyo: A World Heritage Site'⁴⁵ was organised by scholars and conservationists who were proponents of a growing collective vision that Bagamoyo should be declared a World Heritage Site. The goal of the conference was to establish a platform for key stakeholders to exchange experiences, share knowledge and agree the commitments required to expedite the Government's application to UNESCO.

At the end of the 1970's efforts had already been made by national and international experts to facilitate Bagamoyo's designation as UNESCO World Heritage⁴⁶ and as early as 1987 Bagamoyo featured on the Government's list of tentative World Heritage sites (Junior 2005). No noticeable progress had however been made until 2002 when a coalition of diverse interests reignited the appeal to protect and harness the town's patrimony. The conference led to the unanimous support of the Government of Tanzania's aspiration to secure the World Heritage status for Bagamoyo, which ultimately translated into a more substantive submission encompassing the entire central slave route.

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Mr Kigadye of the Antiquities Division, the Project Manager for the UNESCO submission, described how the scope of the submission evolved: 'Initially we had a plan to designate Bagamoyo as a World Heritage site. It wasn't accepted by UNESCO as there was too much competition from other towns such as Stone town of Zanzibar and Mombasa. The old town of Bagamoyo was very small and didn't fully adhere to the selection criteria; the approach had to be adapted and the designated area became the central slave route from Bagamoyo to Ujiji. This was accepted in principle by UNESCO' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015).

The World Heritage application would be titled the 'Central Slave and Ivory Route' with the aim not only to preserve the cultural heritage but also to stimulate tourism to the benefit of the local authorities and communities along the route. As such a serial nomination was preferred for the submission, which required the clustering of various heritage centres. Bagamoyo featured as one of the historic centres along the route, together with Mamboya, Mpwapa, Kilimatinde, Kwihara and Ujiji. The conceptual *fil rouge* threaded together various tangible and intangible heritage themes⁴⁷ related to; the slave trade, the migration of religions, and the spread of the Kiswahili language and culture (WHP 2003).



Post Office, Ocean Road and Merchant House, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918

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Millenium Hotel, Ocean Road and ruin, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Market stalls, street lighting, dirt road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Corner Dunda Street and Old Market Street
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0642

Warehouses, dirt road and electricity distribution post, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015
 Corner Dunda Street and Old Market Street

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Bagamoyo was earmarked as the ‘place of memory’ for human suffering and humiliation as a result of slavery, slave trade and European colonialism. The town was further acknowledged as an ethnic ‘melting pot’ due to the fusion of different ethnic groups such as the Wanyamwezi and Wamanyema from the hinterland and the Wazaramo, Wadoe, Wakwere and Wazigua from the coastal areas. Bagamoyo’s history as the endpoint of the caravan route, was deemed a key asset underpinning the submission. Historic references marked the town’s urban core with buildings such as the Caravan Serai, the von Wissmann tower, the Old Market, Customs House and the Old Fort; further strengthened by the remnants of the freed village at the Roman Catholic Mission and its Museum.⁴⁸ The collective appeal for World Heritage status couldn’t have fallen at a more opportune moment in time. From the early 1990’s, the Swedish Government had supported various development activities in Bagamoyo, predominantly in the cultural and historical domains, including support of the Bagamoyo College of Arts, the Annual cultural festival, archaeological projects and the facilitation of Swedish architectural student visits, through financial, organisational support and capacity building.

The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) became the patrons of the World Heritage Nomination File and directed the steering committee consisting, out of the District Commissioner (DC) and District Executive Director (DED) of the local authorities along the route, UNESCO, and selected representatives of local Non-Governmental Organisations, Community Based Organisations and the private sector (World Heritage Project 2003).

As the nomination included the entire 1200 km caravan route between Ujiji and Bagamoyo, the preparation of the submission became a highly complicated undertaking. Mr Kigadye highlighted the complexity of the process, specifically in terms of the engagement with numerous stakeholders along the route; ‘We had to involve in the process all six regions; the coastal region, the Morogoro region and the regions of Dodoma, Singida, Tabora and Kigoma. The route was also traversing twelve different districts. All agreed about the process and the whole route from Ujiji to Bagamoyo was listed as a national monument; this was one of the conditions that needed to be fulfilled to be nominated as UNESCO World Heritage’ (Kigadye, 29 May 2015).

Despite this account of well-structured consultation, other respondents were highly critical of the process, particularly concerning the grass-roots involvement during the preparation of the application.⁴⁹ The local youth were noticeably absent despite their eager contributions during the International kick-off conference. There was a notion that their involvement, as for other grass root groups, had been event-orientated and their continued participation actively discouraged.⁵⁰

In 1999 a change in Swedish development policy resulted in a new phase of Swedish collaboration whereby the development agenda broadened from predominantly conservation related matters to supporting Bagamoyo in a more holistic manner as a living urban habitat.

Central to this initiative was the introduction of the Strategic Urban Development Planning (SUDP) approach in Bagamoyo with as overarching objective ‘to support pro-poor growth activities in order to create employment opportunities and economic growth and facilitate the protection and conservation of the unique historical and cultural value of Bagamoyo Town’ (BDC 2006:11).

Ms. Matafu, who managed the programme for Sida at the time, described the context of the initiative; ‘Sida had a policy for culture and media development which provided a platform for engagement and enabled us to work with towns and cities to promote cultural development in a comprehensive manner. The ambition was to strategically support Bagamoyo to conserve its cultural sites and simultaneously assist the town with the creation of a sustainable development plan that could deal with a contemporary reality’. She further added; ‘we were mostly interested in the township because that is where the cultural heritage was located and where there was potential for strategic urban planning’ (Matafu, 2 June 2015).

The underpinning objectives of the SUDP for Bagamoyo were summarised as follows (BDC 2006: 11);

- Firstly, to ‘conserve and develop Bagamoyo’s unique history such as buildings, which are connected with the East African caravan and slave trade and thereby exploit its potential for cultural tourism and a world heritage site’;
- Secondly, ‘to develop resources to enable people to take an active part in the future planning and development of the town and capitalize on job and other opportunities in the conservation and tourism sectors’; and
- Ultimately, ‘to capitalise on Bagamoyo’s unique historical and cultural values’.

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In terms of deliverables, the objective of the SUDP was to establish; a development vision, a participatory consultation process, a resource plan for the urban management unit, a capacity building programme, a township profile and development strategy, launch a centre of culture and communications and a comprehensive plan for heritage conservation activities (BDC 2006).

During the SUDP process a local Heritage Development Strategy was developed, which was to be implemented by the newly established Bagamoyo Township Authority (BTA). The strategy was based on consultations⁵¹ with residents and officials with the aim to establish the historic town as a liveable place for its inhabitants within a sustainable environment (WSP 2005). The project was conducted through the Bagamoyo District Council (BDC). Matafu highlighted the significance of involving local stakeholders; ‘There were Vikundikazi or small committees⁵², covering economics, culture, environment, cleaning [...] Everyone felt suddenly alive and was contributing, attending meetings, taking minutes and so forth’. She concluded; ‘This was the whole idea behind the strategic plan; to have different committees contributing and not only bring the physical but also the social and economic aspect. The contributions of these committees were compiled with the ambition to present to the National Ministry of Land and translate this into a master plan’ (Matafu, 2 June 2015).

The SUDP process engendered a momentum of focused activity in Bagamoyo. Many construction projects were implemented such as; the new bus station, the conversion of the Arab Tea House into the Bagamoyo Township Authority Office and the renovation of India Street. Other SUDP activities included; planning related studies, diverse training and capacity building programs and technical knowledge transfer between the BDC and SUDP team.

Despite the various achievements, it became evident that there was a growing disconnect between the SUDP project team and the BDC. This had a far-reaching impact on the ultimate success of the SUDP; it was not possible to channel and consolidate the concerted efforts into a shared development vision nor derive an integrated conservation masterplan.⁵³ Additionally, the team responsible for the World Heritage submission, worked in isolation from the local Heritage Development Strategy activities, which led to competing priorities in developing the heritage strategy.

Matafu noted in the interview that when the engagement with the Vikundikazi came to an end, there was no transparency on how the contributions of local stakeholders ultimately informed the planning of their town as the development plans were not completed. She noted the significant impact this had on local engagement; 'Of course people would have lost faith in government, there was so much interest and energy and people were enthusiastic for changes and then the Government let them down' (Matafu, 2 June 2015). Finally, civic morale plummeted when cases of fund misappropriation came to light.⁵⁴

In 2006 the World Heritage application for the Central Slave and Ivory Route was submitted to UNESCO. The application was reviewed and returned with a request for further detailing of the proposition. There were particular concerns about conflicting land issues along the route and the land possession that would be required to formalise a continuous, accessible trail. Prof. Lowassa, who contributed to the submission as a planning consultant, commented on the failure of the submission⁵⁵: 'So why did the project not come to its intended goal? Firstly we needed the government to show its interest, that it was an absolute priority. The other problem was more of an operational nature; we were supposed to identify the route, map the route, delineate and acquire it. This means you need money for compensation, you need to negotiate with the farmers and the life stock keepers who didn't know they were residing in the middle of the slave route as they settled in this location ages ago. So the rights to the land need to be negotiated and compensation needs to be agreed' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015). He emphasised that the mapping and planning of the entire route as well as the associated land appropriation process, required vast investment. To avoid this, it would have been better to identify centres for which specific programs could be allocated to create visitor destinations along the route; such as a museum of religion, a museum of Swahili and a museum of trade.

At this stage the responsibility to address the UNESCO comments and resubmit, rests with the national Antiquities Division.

There is however no funding nor resource available to finalise the required UNESCO

amplification as Mr Kigadye commented: 'To prepare the nomination file we had support from the Swedish International Development Corporation from the Government of Sweden. When the project ended, the nomination file was not yet completed. Since then we are struggling to complete as culture is not a priority in developing countries so budget is very, very slow' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015). He further highlighted that the Antiquities Division had motivated for additional funds but successful applications only provided limited grants, enabling only intermittent progress. Although there is currently no team in charge of the revised nomination file, he emphasised that the submission remains a priority within the Division despite the technical and financial constraints. No clear target date for the new submission could be established due to the 'dormant' situation.⁵⁶

The account describing the coalition of interests and the resulting development trajectory of the World Heritage Nomination file, offers a different lens, through which the subject of heritage politics is amplified. In the following section I highlights arising issues which affect the local cultural heritage – sustainability paradigm.

Relics, protected objects and monuments

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The conceptualisation of cultural heritage is deeply rooted in colonial history and as such adopts implicitly colonial identity structures. It represents a legacy of a colonial period when the legislation to protect and preserve historical moments was enacted by the British Colonial Government (MNRT 2015). As early as 1958, the Governor declared some artefacts in Bagamoyo 'monuments' under the colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance of 1937. For example, several carved doors along India Street, including the doorframes and doorposts were to be protected under the Ordinance (Lindström 2002).

Soon after independence, President Nyerere introduced a New Cultural Policy (1962) which positioned the cultural agenda at the heart of its nation building. A Ministry of National Culture and Youth was established specifically to handle matters related to the Cultural Sector, which also included the Antiquities Division. Despite this radical move, the legislation to 'protect and preserve' cultural heritage remained until 1964 the Monuments Preservation Ordinance of 1937, which left legal powers in the hands of the Colonial Governor in the Councils (MNRT 2015). In 1964, the Antiquities Act⁵⁷ of Tanzania (Act No. 10) was conceded by the National Assembly (MNRT 2015). It represents to date the primary legislation⁵⁸ for the management, protection, and

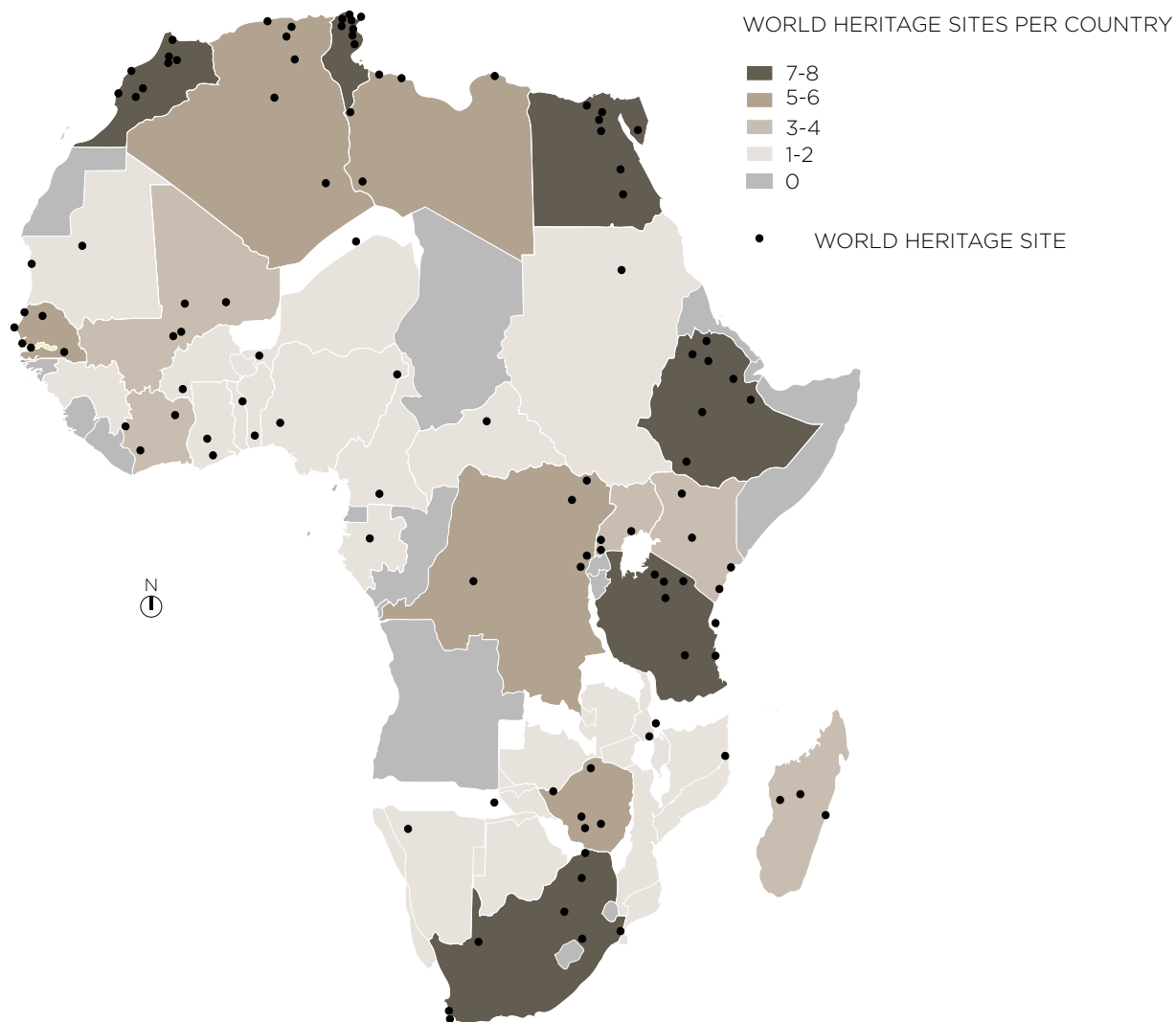
preservation of movable and immovable tangible cultural heritage resources. The Act protects all ‘relics created, shaped, carved, inscribed, produced, or modified by human agency before 1863’. The act also protects all ‘monuments (buildings, structures, paintings, carvings, and earthworks) made by humans before 1863’. Additionally, the act provides protection to all objects such as wooden doors or doorframes that were created before 1940.

The legislation shows a lot of similarities with other cultural laws in Africa South of the Sahara as they were inherited from colonial authorities. The protection and conservation of cultural heritage is achieved through gazetting restrictions on the use or development of cultural properties and their setting. The law protects immovable and movable cultural heritage, comprising monuments, groups of buildings, sites and objects. The definition and as such the evaluation of cultural heritage according to legislation, is directly related to age, durability and tangibility. It tends to neglect beliefs, cultural traditions, customs, popular memory and indigenous knowledge systems (Kamamba 2009).

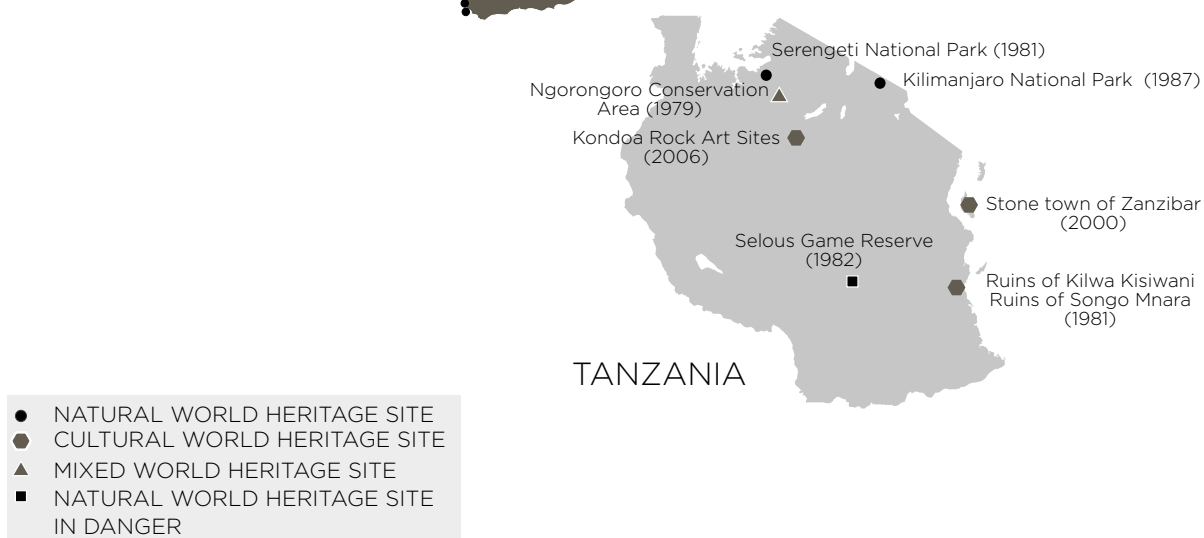
The identification of seven national cultural asset categories illustrates how this philosophical construct of cultural heritage percolates through all scale of conservation practice, adopted and promoted by the national Antiquities Department. This is despite the recognition that it does not provide an adequate entry point for a more inclusive understanding of cultural heritage, incorporating the diverse social or cultural processes inherent to the local African condition.

CULTURAL ASSET CATEGORY	EXAMPLE
Archaeological or Paleontological sites	Olduvai Gorge, Laetoli Footprint, Isimila Stone Age site, Engaruka Ruins
Historical sites	Kaole Ruins, Kunduchi Ruins, Kilwa Kisiwani Ruins, Songo Mnara Ruins
Historical towns	Bagamoyo, Kilwa Kivinje, Mikindani
Traditional Settlements	Kalenga in Iringa and Bweranyange in Kagera
Historic Buildings	Colonial Administrative Buildings (Bomas) in many Districts
Sites associated with special memories	Colonialists Cemetery, Cemeteries World War I and II and Defensive Walls
Natural Features and Structures	Mbozi Meteorite, Amboni Caves, Kondoa Rock Art Shelters

The Antiquities Division – 7 cultural asset categories
Source: MNRT 2015.



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Disconnect between conservation and development

During interviews with the Antiquities Division, it was highlighted that conflicting interests emerge within the sphere of heritage conservation, as a result of the various Acts that govern the domain of urban development, namely; the Antiquities Act (1964), the Town and Country Planning Act (2007) and the Local Government Act (1982). The Local Government Act bestows the local government authority with the mandate to be the overall manager of urban development within its area of designation, including heritage. Also the Town and Country Planning Act considers heritage to fall under local government as the land manager of urban development.

56 However according to one of the respondents⁵⁹, local government doesn't have the capacity to undertake this role; nor in terms of numbers of technical staff, nor in terms of having the necessary awareness to assess the importance of built heritage within the area. The conundrum lies in the fact that, under the Antiquities Act (1964), the Antiquities Division is given the mandate to be the overarching guardian of built heritage nationwide. However in reality local governments are not concerned about heritage structures and do not consider it a priority in developing their master plans.

Similarly in Bagamoyo, conflicting policies impact at local governance level as it causes frictions between the Antiquities Division and the Bagamoyo District Council. One of the respondents notes; 'The District Council sometimes argues that conservation should be done by the Antiquities Division but according to legislation it is an issue of sharing resources; it is the responsibility of local government to look after their heritage resources as part of urban development management. Law does not provide the Antiquities Department a mandate to become the sole manager of urban development' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015). The interviews further highlighted that the District Council employs civil engineers and town planners but no architect nor someone trained in built heritage management. According to the respondents this skills gap creates a natural bias towards new development with insufficient consideration of conservation issues. The lack of a holistic planning vision and strategy, integrating development with heritage conservation practice, is acutely noticeable when visiting the historic core of Bagamoyo.

In 1983 the Minister for Information and Culture, to which the Department of Antiquities then belonged, listed⁶⁰ specific historic parts of Bagamoyo township as conservation areas, as the areas comprised of 'buildings, structures, and other forms of human settlements which are valuable national heritage because of their historic,



German Boma administrative building, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0393

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Unoccupied undergoing refurbishment, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Liku House, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0396

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Antiquities Division, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Arab Tea House, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0595

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Bagamoyo Township office, Ocean road, Bagamoyo
 13 June 2015



architectural and cultural value⁶¹ (Lindström 2002:23). The Notice defines four core conservation areas (Lindström 2002) namely;

- The Dunda area, representing the historic core of the township (Approximately 30 hectares);
- The Mgonera area and the Block House amounting (Approximately 85 square meters);
- The Caravan Serai area (Approximately 1,800 square meters); and,
- The grounds of the Roman Catholic Church (approximately 7,800 square meters) and the shrine (Approximately 43 square meters).

Despite the fact that two Antiquities stations⁶² are dedicated to the preservation of heritage in the old town of Bagamoyo, the historic core has deteriorated dramatically since the 90's, and is now a fraction of its original extent. A handful designated monuments are proactively maintained, are being restored and some of them rehabilitated for new use. The other remaining historic structures are in total decay and are left without care.

Various interviews articulated that the original Conservation plan⁶³ (1991) which formalised the conservation area in Bagamoyo and the Antiquities Director Kamamba's Heritage Conservation plan (1997) are deemed the leading policy instruments. A more recent Draft Conservation and Development plan⁶⁴ (2000) was never formalised and as such has no official status.

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It became clear through various interviews that the mandate of the local Antiquities stations does not lie in the proactive management of cultural heritage within a developing context; it is predominantly a monitoring and facilitation role to ensure that the heritage legislation is being adopted appropriately; 'The local staff follows the original map which defines the Bagamoyo conservation area; they know the actual boundary and the cultural resources which exist in the area. They are aware of the procedures if someone wants to build or rehabilitate a historical building and how to get the development or restoration permit. There is also a technician that can supervise when someone is restoring the building, to ensure that the quality of construction is maintained' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015).

Of the seven staff representing the Antiquities Division in Bagamoyo, all were archaeologists with the exception of two technicians. No specialists had a planning or architectural background. It is considered a remnant of the educational system in Tanzania and highlights that the concept of heritage is very much viewed through the lens of archaeological conservation rather than of urban integration.

Furthermore, one of the conservation specialists at the Antiquities Division highlighted the vast divide between conservation policy and the reality on the ground. In his view this was central to the crisis of the historic core in Bagamoyo. The current reality is the result of complex dynamics, affected by numerous factors such as issues related to ownership and available funds. He explained how historically the stone buildings were

predominantly owned by the Arabs and wealthy Indian families.

After independence, most of them fled. Their property was taken over by poor Swahili families, who until this day live in the building for free and have no money for upkeep nor restoration. The original owners left the property to their descendants, who mainly reside in Dar es Salaam. They see it as a land asset for future development that increases value in the long term and are not interested in the cultural or historic value of the property. According to the respondents the BDC does not have the funds to counter this trend and invest in rehabilitation. The same applies for the Antiquities Division, which only managed to support the restoration of two buildings in Bagamoyo in the last few years.

It is clear that external factors also play an ever more dominant role in how cultural conservation is being approached and prioritised or not. The urbanisation dynamics and the increase in economic land value have recently become an important factor in local decision making. One of the respondents highlights the personal conundrum that current property owners are faced with as it is relatively easy nowadays to sell a piece of land for a good sum of money and guarantees for many a comfortable retirement. He further highlights the extent of this trend; 'This is happening in other places such as Zanzibar and Tanga as land value in these areas are rising phenomenally; the temptation to sell and demolish the structure and build something new is just too much' (Chami, 2 June 2015).

Culture is not a priority

The UNESCO World Heritage list illustrates an unfavourable imbalance⁶⁵ against the developing world. Fewer than 80 of the 500 identified sites⁶⁶ are designated World Heritage Sites. The rest are without international recognition and have limited to no support (GHF 2010).⁶⁷ Despite the broadening of the development paradigm and the growing awareness of the unique socio-economic benefits that come with cultural assets, it is evident that this understanding has not sufficiently permeated the mainstream urban sustainability discourse to be embraced as a core component of developing economies. It is clear that the preservation and activation of cultural heritage is not considered a priority. Funding remains anaemic and the support received from major foundations and corporations is only a fraction of what is needed to rebalance the efforts in the developing world (GHF 2010).⁶⁸ This manifests itself in numerous ways such as the lack of coordinated management, insufficiently skilled professionals, inadequate resources for maintenance, monitoring or enforcement to emerging corruption, particularly in locations where the rewards for ignoring or countering conservation objectives are greater than the rewards for supporting them (GHF 2010).

Similarly in Tanzania, the protection and regeneration of cultural heritage does not appear a priority on the National Government's agenda, despite its comprehensive conservation policy. During the interviews, one of the local planning specialists forecasted a bleak future for cultural heritage in Tanzania as currently nobody makes a stand against its loss and there are no pertinent signs that this would change in the near future; 'In the country there is a lot of noise about the improvement of education, there is also a lot of noise about health, security, political participation of the poor, gender and human rights. However heritage is never mentioned. Within this context I don't see much of a future, particularly in the towns as cultural heritage gets absorbed by tragedy of the commons. In the rural parts, where there is less tension and individual ownership prevails, the idea of heritage might be retained' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).



Merchant and traders buildings, traders and customers, Old Market road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0701

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Residential buildings, Old Market road, Bagamoyo 2015
 22 September 2015





German Memorial, Ocean Road, Bagamoyo and Indian Ocean
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0677

64

Grass and dirt levelled platform, Ocean Road, Bagamoyo and Indian Ocean
 22 September 2015





The Ibadi Gogoni Mosque, mid 19th century, palm trees, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0676

65

The Ibadi Gogoni Mosque , building extensions, palm trees, Bagamoyo
 13 June 2015





From Post Office, merchants warehouse, Dunda street, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0654

66

From Millenium hotel, ruin, Dunda street, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Serena blue well, palm trees lined dirt avenue and street lighting, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0628

Renovated Serena blue well, palm tree, tar road and telecommunications mast,
 Mangesani road, Bagamoyo
 14 June 2015

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- CONSERVATION AREA
● HISTORIC FEATURES

- 1 THE MISSIONARY CROSS AT THE BEACH (1868)
- 2 THE MANGO TREE DRIVE (1870)
- 3 THE LIVINGSTONE TOWER (1872)
- 4 ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (1909-1914)
- 5 THE BAOBAB TREE (1868)
- 6 THE OLD FATHERS' HOUSE (1873-1903)
- 7 THE SISTERS' HOUSE
(CURRENT CATHOLIC MUSEUM) (1876)
- 8 THE CATHOLIC CEMETERY (1880)
- 9 THE GROTTA (1876)
- 10 MASJID RAHMAN
- 11 THE SEWA HAJI (BAGAMOYO DISTRICT)
HOSPITAL (1891)
- 12 LA SERENA BLUE WELL
- 13 JAMA'AT KHANA MOSQUE (1870 APPROX)
- 14 ISMAILI CEMETARY
- 15 SHIA ITHNA ASHERI MOSQUE BAGAMOYO (1889)
- 16 MASJID BALOOCH
- 17 MWAMBAAO PRIMARY SCHOOL (1896)
- 18 THE NASSER VIRJI HOUSE (1880'S)
- 19 OLD POST OFFICE (1896)
- 20 THE USAGARA (GERMAN STORE) HOUSE (1888)
- 21 CUSTOMS HOUSE (1895)
- 22 THE HOUSE OF SHEIKH RAMIYA
- 23 MASJID (NAME UNKNOWN)
- 24 TANU MONUMENT
- 25 THE VON WISSMANN BLOCK HOUSE/
DUNDA TOWER (1889)
- 26 THE OLD MARKET (1898)
- 27 THE IBADI GOGONI MOSQUE (1850 APPROX.)
- 28 OLD BAGAMOYO TEA HOUSE (1860)
- 29 THE GERMAN BOMA (1897)
30. THE WISSMAN MONUMENT
(PARTLY DEMOLISHED) (1897)
- 31 THE UHURU MONUMENT (1961)
- 32 LIKU HOUSE (1885)
- 33 GATE TO THE CARAVAN SERAI
- 34 CARAVAN SERAI (1860)
- 35 PRESIDENT KIKWETE FAMILY HOUSE
- 36 THE OLD FORT (1877)
- 37 THE HANGING PLACE
- 38 THE GERMAN CEMETARY (1889-1894)
- 39 MWANA MAKUKA CEMETARY (1793)
- 40 TASUBA COLLEGE OF ARTS
- 41 KAOLE RUINS (13THC)
- 42 MUSLIM CEMETERY



Bagamoyo conservation area

Illustration of: The Antiquities (Declaration of Conservation areas) (Bagamoyo Township) Notice.
Section 3(2). G.N. No. 93 of 1983.



The invisibility of the cultural heritage agenda, is also noticeable in the way the portfolio is structured at a national level; culture falls under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). This statutory body is in charge of both, the management and conservation of Tanzania's natural as well as cultural heritage resources (MNRT 2015) and the Division of Antiquities⁶⁹ also falls under its authority.

Due to the importance of wildlife tourism for the national economy, the conservation of cultural assets is overshadowed by the protection and management of natural resources.⁷⁰ Given its ability to generate foreign exchange and employment, tourism is in the last decade emerging as a new impetus for economic growth⁷¹ in Tanzania. About 60 to 70 percent of tourism is originated by wildlife attractions (Mabulla et al 2010).⁷² The tourism industry is a significant contributor to the economy, which accounted in 2010 for nearly 10 percent of the national output (GDP) and representing 40 percent of total foreign exchange earnings from the export of goods and services.

NATURAL RESOURCES: DIVISION OF FORESTRY, BEEKEEPING AND WILDLIFE

The Director of Wildlife is responsible for the Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA).	
Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA)	Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA)
Manages and regulates the use of areas designated as National Parks towards preserving the country's heritage which encompasses both, the natural and cultural resources, of both tangible and intangible resource values (TANAPA 2015).	Conserve and develops the natural resources of the Conservation Area. The authority has also the legal mandate to protect, the cultural and archaeological assets for the global community as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area is a Mixed World Heritage site.

CULTURAL RESOURCES: DIVISION OF ANTIQUITIES

The Director of Antiquities is responsible for the protection, conservation and management of immovable and movable tangible cultural heritage. The Director General of the National Museum and House of Culture takes on the responsibility for movable cultural heritage located in museums.

Organisational structure of the Ministry of Natural Resources
Source: MNRT 2015.

Data and interviews clarify the current state of the cultural heritage portfolio. Research indicates that of the 1500 estimated heritage sites in Tanzania only 128 areas are legally protected by being gazetted and only 16 sites⁷³ are directly managed and controlled by Central Government under the Antiquities Division (Kamamba 2014) with 4 of the sites designated as UNESCO World Heritage.⁷⁴ An interview with the national Antiquities Division highlighted that just over 70 members of staff are currently employed by the Antiquities Division nationally whilst the heritage portfolio consists of more than 500 sites which are nationally protected; 'We don't know if the heritage sites are still there as many were registered and documented about thirty years ago. Those sites are supposed to be conserved by local government. Unfortunately they are often neglected and abandoned. The Department of Antiquities does not have the staffing levels to compensate for this' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015).

There exists however an implicit understanding that cultural heritage is not only protected by Antiquities or by local government. Because of the vast extent of wildlife conservation areas, a significant amount of the nation's cultural heritage is also deemed protected as it is located within them. Being situated in those areas assumes that the cultural heritage resources are relatively undisturbed and safe.



Palm trees, dirt track and Slave House (Caravan Serai) Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0657

Trees, traded lined dirt track, Slave House (Caravan Serai) museum, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015
 Lumumba Street





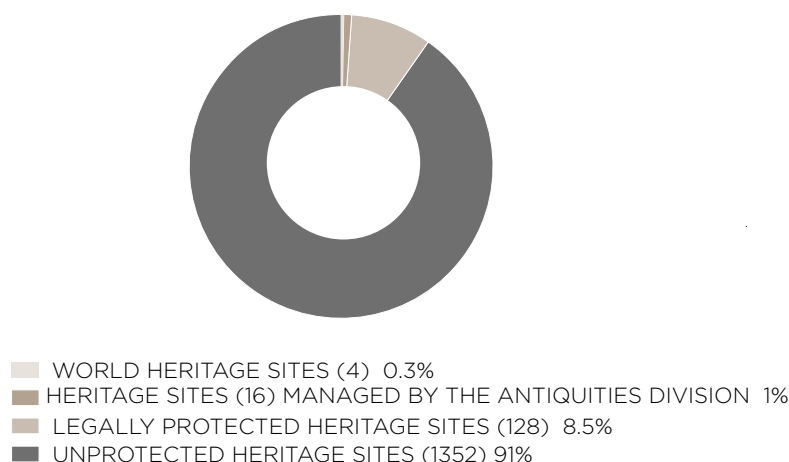
Residences with Makuti roofs, 19th century well, Palm trees, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0670

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Toyota Hilux C500 1997, residences with corrugated metal sheet roofs, tree, well in front of
 Wissmann Block House, Dunda Street, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015



Total number (1500) of cultural heritage sites in Tanzania,
estimated by the Antiquities Division
Based on Interviews by author



However, Mabulla & Bower refute this assumption as they observe that cultural heritage resources are seriously threatened⁷⁵; ‘Cultural Heritage Management challenges in protected areas, such as certain parks and nature reserves, are largely rooted in the fact that preservation is primarily concerned with natural, rather than cultural, resources [...] saving animals is given precedence over saving archaeological remains, and rampant development of tourist facilities (roads, lodges, viewing areas, etc.) intensifies the destruction of cultural heritage material’ (2010:2).

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Despite this defying context, there has been a noticeable trend in the last 10 years indicating a growing interest in Tanzania’s cultural heritage. According to the latest figures of the Antiquities Division the number of tourists visiting cultural heritage sites increased fivefold between 2005/06 and 2012/13 and revenue increased accordingly from USD 119,595 (Tshs.208,095,895.89) to USD 759,443 (Tshs.1,321,430,797.00) (Kamamba 2014). A local planning and heritage consultant framed Government’s position in relation to cultural heritage tourism ‘All that relates to tourism, such as cultural tourism, heritage tourism, is something which is driven by the tourist stakeholders, local and not local. The government does not necessarily get involved. A very simple explanation is that government is busy with the basics, the schooling, provision of water, poverty. Culture is treated as a luxury, it is something for the *Mzungu*⁷⁶’ (Lowassa, 6 February 2015). He further highlights that there is an urgent need for the development of a heritage focused business case that can compare the government efforts with the actual benefits generated for citizens, as is done for other type of investments; ‘If one would understand the rationale and see the benefits increase due to cultural tourism, then the people would realise this is better than cultivating maize or cassava’ (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).



Post Office and merchants house, Ocean Road, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0660

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Millenium Hotel and ruin, Ocean Road, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Indian Ocean, palm trees, German soldier cemetery, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0656

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Fishing dhows, Indian Ocean, trees, German soldier cemetery, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015





Forest glade, dirt track, gate posts, German soldier cemetery, Bagamoyo
 Author: Dobbertin, Walther
 Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bagamoyo, 1906-1918
 Bundesarchiv, bild 105-DOA0666

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Forest glade, dirt track, gate posts, German soldier cemetery, Bagamoyo
 22 September 2015



Heritage out of context

Despite the failed attempt to qualify the 'Central Slave and Ivory route' for World Heritage status, the belief in the UNESCO system remains untainted in the eyes of the national Antiquities Division. During an interview, a respondent who was central to the previous submission, clarified why the status was of such importance; 'When a site becomes World Heritage it means it will be known globally; the number of visitors increases and the income will also increase. The management will no longer rest solely with the Antiquities Department or Government. It will be a responsibility shared with UNESCO and other development partners. This will help us with the conservation of the site, being in terms of technical or financial support. We are desperate to have more collaboration. There would be more strictness about conservation in Bagamoyo as it would become an international issue, leading to better protection' (Kigadye, 29 May 2015). The interview highlights a two-fold message. On one hand the respondent emphasises the significant authority of UNESCO at a global scale and how government subscribes to the process and best practice mainstreamed by UNESCO. On the other hand it highlights an alarming level of dependency on a 'global system' which comes with a cultural heritage conceptualisation which remains highly decontextualized and perpetuates a theoretical construct of valorising and handling cultural legacy, which has potentially no direct affinity at the local grassroot level.

Also in the interview with UNESCO, this debate surfaced. A respondent of UNESCO Tanzania articulated the critical importance of aligning the different interpretations of culture and cultural heritage at a national policy level; 'UNESCO comes with its own definitions but it doesn't mean that the host country has adopted these at a policy level. Despite of signing the convention, it is unclear if policy has been translated for everybody, if it has been acknowledged through policy, or if it is also being applied' (Amijee, 28 May 2015).

The interview further highlighted the importance of understanding the local undercurrents and politics at play. When considering the conservation of sites such as Bagamoyo, it remains questionable why, despite existing policy, the heritage conservation has not been taken care of or why the deeper issues have not been addressed to provide a fundamental solution for its current crisis; 'Could the situation be caused by political bias? The built heritage in Bagamoyo is recognised however the deeper questions remain: whose is it? Is it Tanzania's? Is it colonial? Is it the legacy of slave owner? Should one want to conserve this and why?' (Amijee, 28 May 2015).

The UNESCO respondent argues that the answers to these type of fundamental questions are not being addressed; 'At policy level a document affirms that it is categorised as cultural heritage and that we should be working towards conservation, but when it actually comes to doing things on the ground, the priorities nor the focus are as clear' (Amijee, 28 May 2015). He pointed out that the host country is ultimately responsible for conservation on the ground.

Despite UNESCO's subservient position⁷⁷ to national government, it cannot go unnoticed that Worldwide the dominant cultural paradigm is mainstreamed by UNESCO's thought leadership. In reality best practice is frequently rearticulated to maximise the economic benefits and its intent often differs from the community's interests. In analysing the application process for the Central Slave and Ivory route for example, it is evident that the economic potential of tourism was leading the conceptual development of the trajectory. The need to reconceptualise and re-evaluate the heritage concept in the light of a local, non-Eurocentric development paradigm didn't feature, nor the need for socially sustainable perspectives towards a more democratic and multicultural understanding. The concept of cultural heritage was developed to attract 'the outsider' but ignored the local flows of meaning, the processes of cultural production and the consolidation of communities' cultural identity.





A BRIEF LONG HISTORY OF CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

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(Opposite) Fishing dhows near shore, trading and negotiations of marine harvest on beach, sand bags for coastal protection
Harbor, Bagamoyo, 5 June 2015

The UNESCO incident in Bagamoyo reveals how heritage conservation is a contested domain; involving multiple actors, different spheres of influence and contrasting views about the relevance of tangible and intangible cultural attributes within a contemporary context. It also raises essential questions on how the value of cultural capital is quantified, why and for whom the past is being preserved, and how culture is being approached within a development context in the Global South.

Fundamentally cultural heritage aims to preserve certain value symbols of the past. However when applying this purist thinking to a local reality, such as Bagamoyo, it is clear that it is inherently impossible to fix those cultural values as the past is complicated, particularly in a postcolonial context in the Global South, that has since its beginning been at the intersection of diverse cultural encounters. To understand the complex nature of cultural heritage in Bagamoyo, it is essential to place this locality in its longer history and reveal what these encounters are. The following section reflects upon the long lineages that feed into the making of this place and the constant evolution of its identity through constant absorption of cultural exchange.

06h30, fishing dhow, fisherman, low tide Indian Ocean, Bagamoyo
31 March 2015



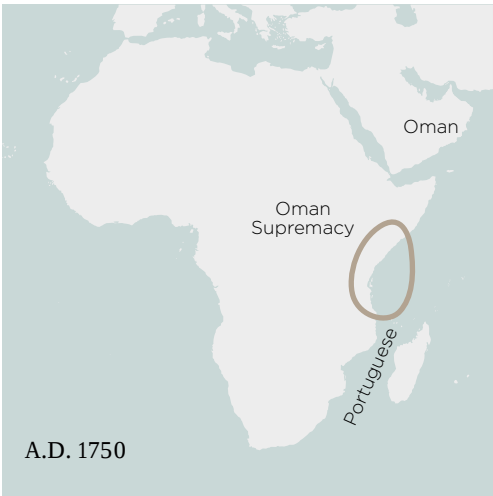
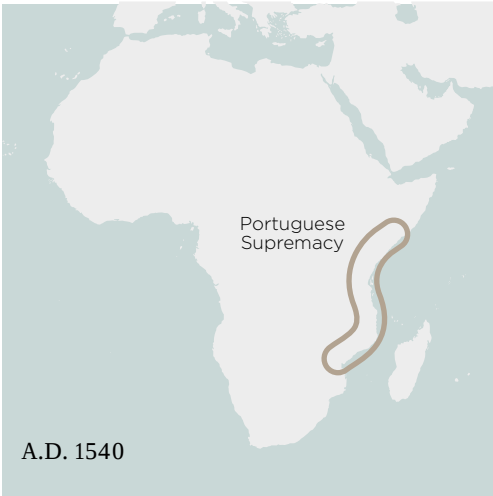


Encounters at the intersection of land and sea

Bagamoyo is situated along the Swahili East African coast, which extends nearly 5000 kilometres from the country of Somalia in the north to Mozambique in the south.⁷⁸ At an average altitude of approximately 150 meters, the coastal belt is typified by a hot⁷⁹ and humid⁸⁰ climate. Vegetation⁸¹ is highly diverse and the hinterland fertile. The geographical and climatic context of the Swahili region has been central to the cultural evolution of local civilisation and the development of Swahili urban settlements (Mutonga 2014). Bagamoyo was founded on the intersection between land and sea, as it transformed into a strategic link, connecting the sea and land trading routes, it became the fulcrum of exchange along the East African coast and a global meeting point throughout history.

The historic overview of Bagamoyo has been conceptualised through two approaches in order to illustrate the inherent complexity of the history of place; firstly, through a historic analysis, organised in a conventional chronological order; and secondly, by repositioning the findings in a broader temporal continuum, that intends to break the conventional representation of cultural history; providing a dynamic understanding of historic constellations, multi-scalar perspectives and the role of influential actors. The underlying theme of built heritage is offset against notions of evolving worldviews and the conception of culture emerges from the layering of meaning, inscribed by both; the local and the global.

Ethnic migration and settlement patterns, 800bc - 1890
Illustration based on source of Mission church archive, Bagamoyo.



The first settlements

2000 years ago the coast between Kismayu and the Zambezi River was under influence of various cultures⁸² originating from manifold regions bordering the Indian Ocean. The monsoon winds brought seafarers in from afar. Trade, a fertile hinterland and sheltered harbour attracted Muslim traders to settle in small villages along the coast, in search for wealth and prosperity (Areskough & Persson 1999).

It is not clear when the Bagamoyo area was first inhabited. The oldest reference can be found at the ancient cemetery, the Makaburini Mwana Makuka, where the oldest grave indicates 1793 AD (Henschell 2009). There are however signs of earlier settlements in the salt production area⁸³ around Nunge and Mkadini⁸⁴, located a few kilometres from present Bagamoyo (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

In the 13th Century Arabs and Persians began trading⁸⁵ with Southeast Africa, resulting in settlements along the coast. The village of Kaole⁸⁶, located along the bay six kilometres south of Bagamoyo, originated at that time⁸⁷. Commerce flourished and the trading settlements grew wealthier with some evolving into powerful city-states. The Arab Shirazi era gave birth to the Swahili culture. The emerging trade routes led to cultural exchange between civilisations; a fusion between the settlers' ethnicity and religion combined with the local roots of the African Bantu. This prosperous period came to an end when in the 16th century the Portuguese raided the Swahili coast and used the coastal towns as strategic supply stations for the ships on route to India. The trade at Kaole declined and the mangroves overtook the shallow natural harbour (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

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At the end of the 18th Century the powerful *Shomvi-Diwans*⁸⁸ moved gradually from Kaole to Bagamoyo and made the town the centre of their trading network. In order to settle the Shomvi Shirazi chieftans required permission from the Wazaramo – *pazis*, the tribal leaders of the Wazaramo, who were the indigenous land owners. The Wazaramos conceded on the basis of a commercial transaction, whereby they would receive one third of the regular income of the *Diwans* resulting from the trading of ivory, slaves or other commodities. This led to the expansion of the slave trade; it is estimated that between 1801 and 1849, 164,000 slaves were exported from the East African mainland of which a large proportion passed through Bagamoyo (Henschell 2009).

The geopolitical context of the Indian Ocean totally changed when the British Empire gained power⁸⁹ in India and started to dominate the northern Indian Ocean. To circumvent the British, the Omani Sultans directed their focus towards East Africa and made Zanzibar into the main trading centre (Henschell 2009). Sultan Seyyid Said bin Sultan (1806-1856) transferred his courts from Muscat in Oman to Zanzibar and Zanzibar became the centre of the Oman empire in 1840.

Arabic times

The rule of Sultan Seyyid Said marked the beginning of a new era⁹⁰ for East Africa. In 1832 the monarch transformed Zanzibar into the capital of his empire (Watson 1979). More Omani Arabs gradually settled in Zanzibar and along the East African coast. The Shirazi-Shomvi *diwans* lost their powerful position; once independent rulers, they had now become subjects of the Omani Sultan of Zanzibar (Henschell 2009).

The rise of Bagamoyo coincided with the decline of Kaole. Bagamoyo was favoured as a trading centre, due to its central position along the bay which offered good anchorage for sailing vessels. Availability of water, fertile hinterland and close proximity to the rice producing Ruvu River region added to the attractiveness of the town (Watson 1979).

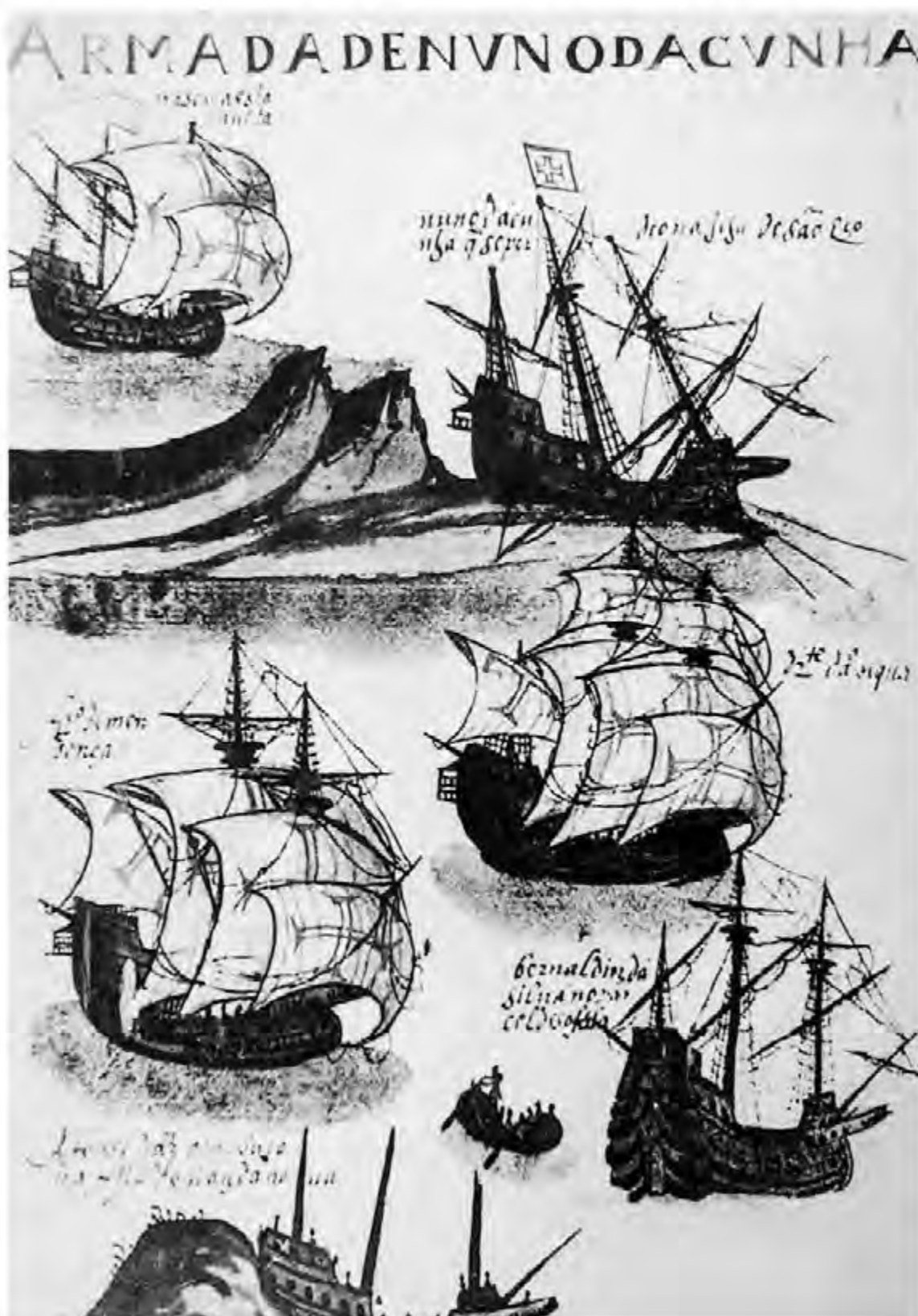
During the 19th Century Bagamoyo emerged as one of the principal caravan entrepôts on the east coast of Africa (Watson 1979). The town gained its prominence due to the formation of the slave route. The route started at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika and connected to Bagamoyo, where the slaves were loaded on ships to be traded on the slave market in Zanzibar. Popular lore has it that the name Bagamoyo was originated during that time; after a long and hazardous journey through the African hinterland the caravan porters praised the town and called it *Bwagamoyo*⁹¹, which means 'lay down your heart' as the heart could rejoice and rest after arriving safely at the end destination. As the town was also the terminus for thousands of slaves another meaning emerged, which referred to *Bagamoyo*⁹² and located 'put down your heart' in a very different context of misfortune and despair as the slaves lost all hope to escape and return to their family and the place they came from (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

During that time the flourishing economy attracted a large Indian population to Bagamoyo. Sultan Sayyid Said encouraged their presence and entrusted them with key positions in finance and customs. An estimated 7,000 to 8,000 Indians⁹³ were living in East Africa in the 1870's, with the philanthropist and businessman Sewa Haji as one of the most prominent figures in Bagamoyo's history. The wealth of the merchants was reflected in the development of a Stone town; in the intricacy of Arabic and Indian door carvings in the historic core of Bagamoyo (Henschell 2009).

Sultan Sayyid Said's successor, his son Sultan Majid of Zanzibar (1856-70) strengthened the development of commerce in his mainland territories. By then Bagamoyo had built up its reputation as an export centre, using its network to the interior to trade dried fish, copal, salt and other agricultural products, combined with trading of ivory and slaves (Watson 1979). In the 1800's Bagamoyo's trade activities boomed and attracted businessmen, shopkeepers, craftsmen and labourers from afar (Watson 1979).

At the same time, the town was chosen as the location to establish the first Roman Catholic mission on the mainland of East Africa. The Holy Ghost Fathers, under the leadership of Fr. Antoine Horner, were the first to arrive in Zanzibar in 1863 and crossed to Bagamoyo in 1868 where, under the protection and with the effective help of Sultan

Portuguese ships, East African Coast between 15th-19th C.w, hand painted illustration
Source: National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam.



Export products and trading places during the middle ages 1000 - 1300 AD
Illustration based on source of National museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam



Long distance trader routes between Africa and Asia
Illustration based on source of National museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam



Majid bin Said, the Fathers founded a Christian Freedom village (Watson 1979) Despite being Muslim, the Sultan had welcomed the Spiritan missionaries because of their charitable, social and educational work. In Bagamoyo he granted the Mission a plot of land north of the town in order to support the Church in establishing a village where ransomed slaves (Henschell 2009) would be protected and could reintegrate in society.

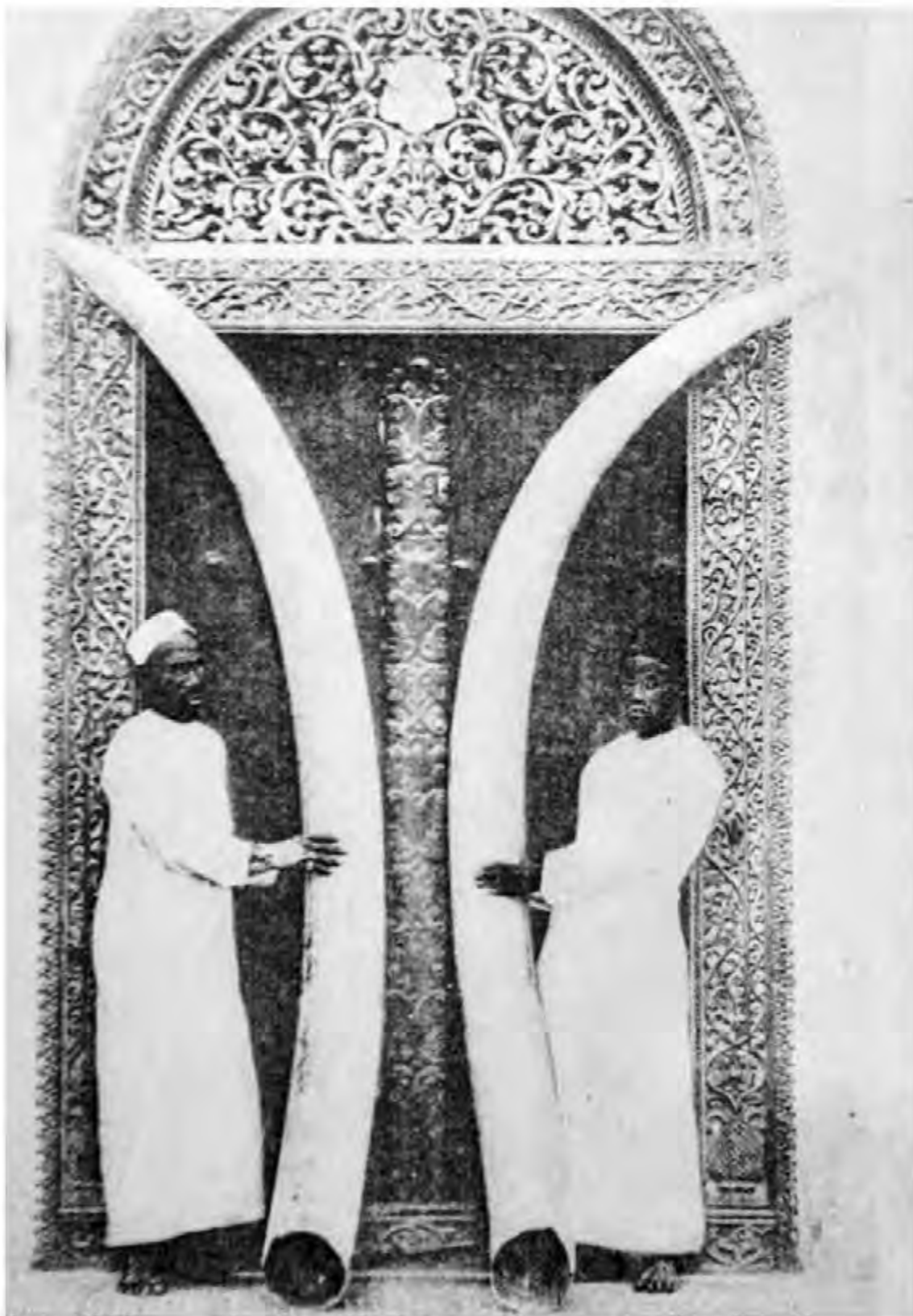
In 1807 the British, at the time a powerful European nation on the Indian Ocean, had declared by Act of Parliament⁹⁴ the slave trade as illegal. Sultan Majid bin Said was in 1868 under pressure of the British to halt slavery and in 1873 Britain forced Sultan Barghash bin Said of Zanzibar to relinquish the slave market in Zanzibar. The anti-slavery movement culminated in 1880, when the European governments assembled in Brussels for the Anti-Slavery Conference⁹⁵ (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

During the second part of the 19th century there was a growing European interest in Africa, inspired by the writings of explorers such as Livingstone, Burton, Speke and Stanley. For many expeditions, Zanzibar was the official starting point, however Bagamoyo was used as the location to recruit porters and buy provision for the caravans before departing to the African interior (Watson 1979). The death of Dr David Livingstone⁹⁶, a pioneer Anglican missionary and considered a British national hero, marked the history of Bagamoyo. After his death in May 1873 in Ilala, the local Mission Church records that his corpse was brought by his servants⁹⁷ to the Spiritan Missionaries in Bagamoyo, where he was honoured by a nightly vigil attended by hundreds of people before a dhow brought his coffin to Zanzibar, on route to Britain.

Due to dynamic cultural influxes, Bagamoyo became a meltingpot of many different ethnicities such as the Nyamwezi, Sukuma and Manyema originally from the interior and Arabs, Indians, Moslems, Parsees⁹⁸, Goans and Europeans coming from overseas (Watson 1979). It is estimated that about 4-6000 people lived in Bagamoyo around 1880, with about 100,000 caravan porters travelling along the central trade route between the interior and Bagamoyo. The local resident population increased to 15,000 around 1890 (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

In 1870 political frictions arose between the Sultan's representative, the *liwali*, and the local hereditary *diwans*. Despite the tensions, Bagamoyo's economic prosperity was safeguarded (Watson 1979). During that time Bagamoyo experienced various setbacks; in 1870 an epidemic outbreak of Cholera killed more than 1,500 inhabitants and in 1872 Bagamoyo suffered significant destruction as a result of hurricane Kimbungu⁹⁹, destroying most of the fishing fleet, local houses and buildings, including a large part of the Mission. New facilities were built soon after.¹⁰⁰

Zanzibari carved door with Arabic motifs, 2 merchants, Bagamoyo
Source: Mission church archive, Bagamoyo



German times

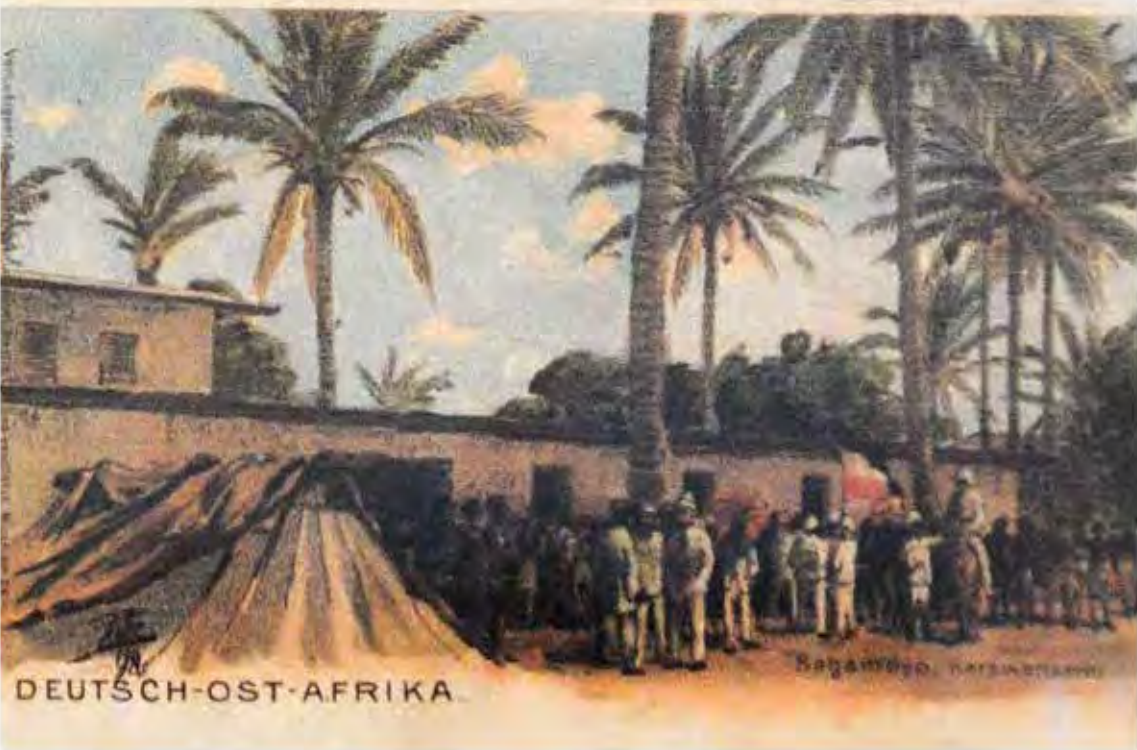
The 'Scramble for Africa'¹⁰¹ marked the next stages¹⁰² of Bagamoyo's development. In 1884 German Chancellor von Bismarck invited the European countries to attend the Africa Conference in Berlin with the aim to sub-divide Africa according to the existing European powers. Tanganyika was designated as a German colony (Joelsson & Winqvist 2000). In 1885 the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*¹⁰³ had started to acquire vast land concessions in the African interior by treaties with local chiefs, which were recognised by the German Emperor Wilhelm I in his Deed of Protection of *Kaiserlicher Schutzbrief* (Henschell 2009). Sultan Barghash was forced to sign a British-French-German treaty¹⁰⁴, which fixed the playing field of British and German colonialism in East Africa (Henschell 2009); the Sultan was left only a 16km coastal strip, the British controlled predominantly Zanzibar and Pemba, with the Germans controlling the mainland.

A few years later in 1888, Sultan Khalifa bin Said (1888-1890), the successor of Sultan Barghash, signed a treaty with the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* granting the latter a 50 years concession to administer and collect customs duties, controlling the East African trade, on the coast opposite to Zanzibar, which included Bagamoyo (Henschell 2009).

Political tensions soon arose due to enforcement of strict regulations by the German administration, such as the introduction of a land and property ordinance requiring ownership to be proved and property values to be registered. This combined with the fact that German trade agents were now venturing into the interior to collect commodities and procure their own ivory independently, engendered a fear among the local Arab leaders of losing their economic empire. This ultimately led in 1888 to the Abushiri uprising (Watson 1979), a revolt led by Abushiri bin Salim al-Harthi, who gained support by both the Arabs of the area and the local Swahili tribes. The rebellion spread along the coast and the representatives of the *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* were expelled or killed. Attacks destroyed the northern and western part of the town of Bagamoyo and approximately 5,000 residents fled to the Mission compound for protection. Germany negotiated a cease-fire agreement with Abushiri¹⁰⁵ (Henschell 2009). In January 1889 the German Government appointed Major Hermann von Wissmann as the military commander to defend¹⁰⁶ Bagamoyo against the local rebellion, supported by infantry troops of Sudanese and Zulu origin. Abushiri fled but internal conflicts among rebellion leaders marked the end of Abushiri who was captured and hanged in his hometown Pangani¹⁰⁷ (1889). His supporters were hanged in Bagamoyo¹⁰⁸ some days later (Henschell 2009).

The German defeat of Bushiri marked the end of the resistance movement and led to the consolidation of German colonial rule, the rebuilding of the town and recommencement of business activities (Watson 1979). On 17 October 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar sold¹⁰⁹ the coast of present-day Tanzania to the German Government, which made German East Africa officially a Crown colony (Watson 1979).

Postcards of Bagamoyo from German East Africa; illustrating Caravan Serai, Government offices, The Boma and Swahili street life, 20th century
Source: Mission church archive, Bagamoyo



Main trade routes late 19th C.
Illustration based on source of the Mission Church archive, Bagamoyo



Colonial exploration routes of Livingstone; Burton and Speke, Speke and Grant, and Stanley
Illustration based on source of Mission church archive, Bagamoyo.



Bagamoyo became the designated capital but a few months later, in 1891 it was decided to relocate the Capital to Dar-es-Salaam, at the time a small town further south which displayed suitable conditions as a harbour for deep-water shipping (Watson 1979). Despite this change Bagamoyo continued to prosper and the last decade of the 19th century was marked by the construction of various administrative buildings, including the fortification of the fort, the building of the new Customs House (1895), rehabilitation of the first German Headquarters, the Liku House, and the building of the Boma as the residence of the German colonial administration (Henschell 2009). In order to accommodate the influx of immigrants fine private houses were built (Watson 1979).

During those years, Bagamoyo was also regarded the centre of Missionary activities. Important pastoral conferences took place in Bagamoyo as well as linguistic research and studies in African Culture by Fr. Le Roy (Henschell 2009). The anti-slavery Conference in Brussels (1890) marked the end of slavery and the Christian Freedom villages were gradually dissolved (Henschell 2009).

In 1905 the German Empire decided to build a railway from Dar es Salaam into the interior in 1905 without connecting Bagamoyo. Since then the town's importance as an administrative and central trading post began to decline and the official interest in developing the area of Bagamoyo gradually vanished (Sosofole 2010).

The period of 1914-1918 was marked by the First World War, which involved countries in Europe as well as Asia and Africa, including Tanganyika. In 1916 British troops attacked Bagamoyo from the north. After an air-raid and a bombardment from a British warship¹¹⁰ the decisive attack took place on 15 August as forces from four British ships landed while Bagamoyo was under heavy fire¹¹¹. The battle was won by the British and Bagamoyo was immediately subsumed by a new colonial rule. The German administration was allowed to stay till 1918. On 18 January 1919 the Peace Conference of Versailles designated Tanganyika as a protectorate to the British, under the newly founded League of Nations (Henschell 2009).

Colonial territories at the end of the 19th century
Illustration based on source of Mission church archive, Bagamoyo.



British times

The Treaty of Versailles provided Britain a mandate to administer¹¹² the former German East Africa¹¹³ under the League of Nations. The country was renamed Tanganyika Territory and was governed by the Colonial Office with General Sir H.A. Byatt as first Administrator General. In 1926 a Legislative Council was founded, which was to advise the Governor¹¹⁴. British policy was to rule indirectly through African leaders.

The official abolishment of the slave trade was finally enacted in Tanganyika in 1922 (Joelsson & Winqvist 2000). This had far reaching social and economic consequences for Bagamoyo and turbulent times began; former slaves left the former slaveholders, refused to undertake further labour and certain slaveholders were killed out of revenge by former slaves (Henschell 2009).

Meanwhile, it was only in 1926 that effective British rule was established in Tanganyika. The British presence in Bagamoyo was mainly visible in the establishment of institutions, such as schooling to provide a British type of education and the court of law reinforcing law and order (Joelsson & Winqvist 2000).

After World War II, Tanganyika became a Trust Territory under the United Nations with Britain designated to lead the country towards independence (Mhughuni 1974); self-government was the central aim. This led to tensions between various population groups as they politically repositioned themselves. Initially the Arab elite, which represented less than 1 % of the Bagamoyo population at the time, intended to hold on to their supremacy and influential position in society by monopolising the Local Council¹¹⁵ established under German rule (Henschell 2009). This situation changed when in 1939 the British introduced the 'Township Authority' to assist the administration in Bagamoyo. In 1948 Sheikh Muhammed Ramiya, a former slave, was the first African to be appointed to join the authority, because of his contributions to the Muslim community (Henschell 2009). In 1951 the African Ward council was introduced by the British, with 10 African members under the leadership of Mzee Ramadhani bin Diwani (Bagamoyo Mission Museum). Despite these institutional changes, there remained a deep sense of inequality; although slavery was abolished, the former slaves still didn't consider themselves accepted as legally equal citizens (Lodhi 1994). Concurrently also the Muslim community considered themselves being alienated as their influence was limited due to a European colonial rule that came with Christian values (Lodhi & Westerlund 1997).

The first African political formation, the Tanganyika African Association TAA, was established in Dar es Salaam in 1929; with a branch in Bagamoyo in 1939.¹¹⁶ When the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1954, under leadership of Mwalimu K. Nyerere, coastal Moslems played an important role as they could hold strategic positions within the organisation (Lodhi & Westerlund 1997). In the same year the TAA¹¹⁷ joined TANU. During Nyerere's political campaign, he paid various official visits to the Islam foothold of Bagamoyo to promote the equality of all Africans and *Uhuru*, independence from British rule.¹¹⁸

Bagamoyo's economic prosperity started to decline when the decision was made not to link the town to the national rail network; the trading caravans which strategically linked Bagamoyo to the hinterland were made absolute once the railways were in operation. (Watson 1979). Indian merchants left and built their new commercial premises in Dar es Salaam, large plantations had lost most of their labour since the abolishment of slavery and the transport of products was severely hampered by a poor road network. In 1944 only 4,162 people still resided in Bagamoyo compared to 10,000 inhabitants in 1890 (Henschell 2009). Gradually its economy collapsed as Dar es Salaam gained impetus as a commercial business hub.

In 1958 TANU won the legislative Council elections and the last Governor, Richard Turnbull introduced the Party into the mainstream of political life. In 1960 TANU formed the first local government. Nyerere was appointed Tanganyika's first Prime Minister, a role he resigned from in 1962.

Queen Victoria with two African lions and warrior spears on postage stamp of British East Africa protectorate

Source: <http://www.thingspostal.org.uk/eastafrica>



Independence

Bagamoyo's evolution played out against a backdrop of vast political reform at a national level.

In December 1962, Tanganyika became a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations, and Nyerere was made president. On 26 April 1964, the Republic of Zanzibar and the Republic of Tanganyika formed a union known as the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 represented the Nation's central policy statement; advocating egalitarianism, socialism, and self-reliance. A decentralised government structure was introduced and a program of rural development called *ujamaa*, meaning 'pulling together', that involved the development of cooperative farm villages. Factories and plantations were nationalised and significant investments were made in education and health care. In Bagamoyo the Tanzanian government began to claim the ownership of properties such as buildings owned by the Mission (Henschel & Versteijen 2011). TANU had become the mainland's sole legal political party, firmly controlled by Nyerere. In 1977, TANU and Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) merged to form the Party of the Revolution (CCM). A new constitution was adopted the same year (Chambi & Cassama 2010).

104 By the 1980s, it was clear that the economic policies set out by the Arusha Declaration had failed. The economy's continued decline, partially due to cycles of alternating floods and droughts, reduced significantly agricultural production and exports. After Nyerere resigned in 1985, an economic recovery program was initiated, involving reductions in government spending, decontrol of prices, encouragement of foreign investment, modest growth resumed. In 1992 the sole party system was dissolved and the constitution was amended to allow opposition parties (Chambi & Cassama 2010).

In Bagamoyo, the differences between the descendants former slaves and slaveholders started to diminish. The town continued to be a religious centre for Islam and the Catholic Church. The Muslims had become the majority (85.5%) among the inhabitants of Bagamoyo. Former slaves found a new home in the Muslim Qaderiyya Tarija where they were deemed equal and became Muslim. In parallel, on the grounds of the Mission church an orphanage was built for the children of former slaves and teachers for Catholic schools received their formation here. Thus, the descendants of former slaves also contributed to the expansion of the Catholic Church in East Africa (Henschell 2009).

Bagamoyo had been a District Administrative centre since colonial times. The decentralisation programme established by the new national government, increased the political power at a district and regional level. The independent Tanganyika marked its authority through the erection of new buildings or the reuse of colonial structures, to house its institutions¹¹⁹ (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

Ostrich feathers ceremonial helmet, British Governor General Turnbull, President Nyerere
6 February 2015
Source: National museum of Tanzania



Mheshimiwa Richard Turnbull na Waziri Mkuu Mwal. J.K. Nyerere wakikuji katika jukwaa mazuri baada ya kupandisha bendani katika uwanja wa Taifa usiku wa tarehe 9 Desemba 1961.

Mr Richard Turnbull and Prime Minister Mwal. J.K. Nyerere return to the royal stand after Friday midnight flag raising ceremony at the National Stadium on 9th December 1961.

During decades the town's proximity to Dar es Salaam deferred its development; it remained the supporting hinterland for Tanzania's largest commercial city, financial and industrial centre, as a supplier of agricultural commodities (Sosovele 2010). In the late 1960's there were initial signs of revival, characterised by population growth; the population of the town rose from 5,112 in 1967 to 18,468 in the year 1968 (Henschel & Versteijen 2011).

Around 2000¹²⁰ development interest in Bagamoyo slowly regained impetus, mainly due to emergent tourism¹²¹ in the area and as a desired conference destination rivalling Arusha. The population grew, partially as a result of a growing hospitality workforce. However this expansion has not been accompanied by orderly land use planning and Bagamoyo's expansion has occurred in an ad hoc manner (Kabudi n.d.).

Based on its legacy as a Muslim and Catholic learning centre, Bagamoyo reinvigorated its status as national centre of excellence for education. Initially nationally government established three institutions¹²² at university level, which attract hundreds of students every year (Henschel 2009). This was followed in later years by other institutions of national reputation.

At the turn of the millennium, the regained interest in Bagamoyo was harnessed by the development of a Strategic Urban Development Framework (SUDF) , with the support funding of Sida¹²³. Various rehabilitation projects were implemented between 2002 and 2010 as part this initiative, such as the conversion of the Arab Tea House into Council offices, the rehabilitation of the old market and the construction of the new busstation.

Bagamoyo became a Township Authority in 2005 and has since started the process to become a Town Council to fully engage with its envisioned future. In recent years Bagamoyo's population¹²⁴ has been expanding exponentially. The upgraded road network and the plans for new infrastructure such as the new port and development of the Special Economic Zone¹²⁵, are attracting local and international investment and is repositioning Bagamoyo at the fulcrum of global trade.

Flower wreath, sign, Nyerere, 1961
Source: <http://wewrite.or.tz>



From exchange to a Swahili identity

Prior to the birth of Prophet Muhammad¹²⁶, sailors and traders from India, the Arabian Peninsula, China and South East Asia took advantage of the seasonal monsoon winds to navigate the Indian Ocean and reach East African shores. The coastal strip and the offshore islands from the southern coast of Somalia to the north of Mozambique, formed an integral component of the far-reaching network of trade, providing in addition to Indian and Middle Eastern products; ivory, gold, spices and slaves. The trading of material goods came with the exchange of cultural practices and beliefs (Askew 2010), which led to the formation of a collective cultural identity, referred to as Swahili identity.

The term Swahili is derived from the Arab word *sawahil*, meaning ‘people of the East African Coast’. It refers to the culture of diverse ethnic groups of people along the East African littoral which resulted from the interaction between communities and those of the wider Indian Ocean Society (Mutonga 2014). *Kiswahili*¹²⁷, the Swahili language in its many varied dialects, constitutes a binding force combined with a shared value system, common cultural practices¹²⁸, and belief in the Islam (Askew 2010). The cultural identity of the *waswahili* is infused by the concepts of *ustaarabu* civilisation, the Arab way of living, *utamdauni* urban life and *uungwana* civility (Mutonga 2014).

A characteristic trait of Swahili society is the assimilation of newcomers. The international encounter across the Ocean created a cosmopolitan belt of urban maritime trading centres, some of which developed into city-states.¹²⁹ For some these coastal cities became safe havens, such as groups immigrating from the Arabian Peninsula or from inland African regions. For others, these represented points of no return and constituted the final African soil before being sent abroad as slaves. Irrespective of the journey and impetus that brought them there, every group of newcomers contributed to the development of the Swahili town vibrancy and the impression of unity was born out of a deep sense of diversity (Askew 2010).

The convergence of a pluralistic society and economic prosperity saw the rise of a sophisticated culture, which prescribed distinct civil behaviours and etiquette¹³⁰ and provided a fertile ground for the arts to flourish. The Waswahili excelled in woodcarving, weaving, stone carving and decorative arts. Traditionally the Swahili community also placed great value on musical performance as a form of cultural expression. It was considered an essential element in public and private celebration such as weddings,

female initiation rites, male circumcision rituals, spirit possession ceremonies (Askew 2010). The expression of the self or group identity were embodied in the *ngoma*¹³¹ and the Arabic influenced *Taarab*¹³² music.

Despite the openness and permeability of this coastal identity; ethnicity, status and class became important devices to distinguish the many groups within society. Classification as Arabs (*Waarabu*) versus Africans (*Waafrika*), people of the coast (*watu wa pwani*) versus people from inland regions (*watu wa bara*), freeborn (*waungwana*) versus those affiliated with slave or servile ancestry (*watumwa/washenzi*), represented ways in local discourse to distinguish between established residents, recent settlers and new immigrants (Eastman 1984).

Emergence of the Swahili identity arising from Arabic and Bantu influences
Illustration based on source of Mission Church archive, Bagamoyo



Scarf and dress
Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015





This societal hierarchy was encapsulated in the early Swahili settlements; according to De Vere (2010) the *wa-ungwana* were deemed the civilised urban dwellers who lived in stone houses. By contrast the rural dwellers, the *washenzi*, were considered savages and lived in partly stoned houses or dwellings made of mud and thatch. The Swahilis considered themselves culturally as an urban society, although economically the society was based on an urban –rural continuum.

The Swahili identity emerged from dynamic influences of both, Bantu and Arabic origin. According to various scholars its dichotomous nature has a strongly gendered dimension, reflected in two contrasting ideologies which underpin Swahili society; defined by gender but also other identity constructs such as ethnic and religious attributes as well as the status within society. Eastman (1984) elaborates this concept and relates the fusion of African and Arab influences directly to the male and female attributes of society, equating female to nature and male to culture.

WAUNGWANA 'FREEBORN [MALES]'	WANAWAKA '[SLAVE] WOMEN'
Male	Female
Arabised	Bantuised
Literate tradition	Oral tradition
Dependant on religion (and wives)	Dependant on eachother
Urban	Rural

Identity and gender in Swahili society according to Eastman (1984)

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Children, women walking along dirt road
Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



Throughout history the nature of engendered spaces shifted according to the rise of separate gender –specific subcultures on the Swahili coast. There is evidence¹³³ that the Swahili Society was not always patriarchal¹³⁴, exemplified by powerful female leaders such as Mwanamakuka, an influential trader in Bagamoyo during the 18th Century. Askew (2010) argues that changes in gender relations¹³⁵ took place over several centuries and that the separation was a relatively recent phenomenon, dating back to the last century, whereby economic changes underpinned the demise of female autonomy.¹³⁶ Consequently, during the era of slavery, Bantu females were conveyed from the interior to the coast to become the wives and concubines of the slave-trading elite (Eastman 1988). Initially, the elite was commonly of Arab or Omani origin. The male offspring of these unions, were considered free and assumed the ethnicity of the father whilst they adopted an Afro-Arab identity. Conversely, the females were retained in slavery and continued their roles as wives, concubines and mothers to the free males. This process led over a period of time to the complete Africanisation of the Swahili elite in terms of complexion, behaviour and culture (Njubi 2009).

Throughout history the coastal areas have always been the subject of conquest, negotiation or contestation, which is reflected in the complex racial and class dimensions of its Swahili identity. The layered hybridity and social order was constantly reconfigured and reinvented according to new cultural influxes and its response to varying social pressures, belief systems and imperial politics.

Creamed kale, bean stew, coconut rice, grilled chicken; Swahili dish at 13h50
Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015



Lace decorations, stacking chairs, Bagamoyo Pentecostal church worshippers and celebrants
Bagamoyo, 29 March 2015





Multiplicity of beliefs

In Bagamoyo the expression 'The family goes to church, the mosque and the witch doctor' highlights how hybridity can also be traced in the evolution of the Swahili belief systems and how it enables a harmonious coexistence. An informant articulates how the various religious groups respects each other's celebrations; 'All people would respect Ramadan. You would not find people selling things during the day and everybody would eat inside. Likewise Christmas or Easter would be supported by the Muslim community. In one family you have Christians and Muslims. For African this is no big deal as they have their own religion as well. That has not been forfeited, even if it is not openly practiced' (Shaba, 4 February 2016). This accord between both religions is also tangible in institutional arrangements. The interview with Father Kisete in charge of the Bagamoyo Catholic Mission parish reveals how intercultural exchange and social cohesion is actively promoted at leadership level; 'A collaboration group between Christians and Muslims exists to enable constant dialogue and bring us together. [...] The Chairman and the Secretary is Muslim. The Vice-chairman is a Lutheran and the Treasurer is a Catholic' (Kisete, 3 June 2015). He emphasises the importance of this collaboration to counter radicalised voices that try to penetrate society by targeting young people.

Middleton¹³⁷(1992) argues that Swahili religion is Islam and custom rolled into one. He refers to *Dini*, religion, as the orthodox Islam rituals with as counterpoint, *mila*, traditional customs, including local knowledge and rites. Middleton asserts that among the Waswahilis the concept of Islam is captured in the expression *Uislamu na mila aghalabu haupingani*, meaning 'Islam and customs as a rule are not incompatible' (Middleton 1992: 162). Consequently, the core of the Waswahili is not solely reserved for Islam but for a distinct 'Swahili religion' which reveals itself in a dynamic spirituality vis-à-vis reality. This union between religion and customary belief systems supports the theory of Mugambi (1996), who advocates that religion cannot be practiced in isolation from culture or according to Mbiti (1969), another Kenyan scholar, religion permeates all aspects of life and as such cannot be isolated.

The convergence of Islam and Swahili custom are particularly evident in the ceremonies related to marriages, initiation rituals and the ideology behind society and social class systems. Whilst Islam advocates equality of man-kind, the Swahili culture is structured according to class; the *wangwana* or noblemen represent the higher class and are deemed civilised and urban. The *watumwa*, are considered the lower class and, referred

to as the non-urban people of the bush (Hassan 2014).

Consequently civilisation, including religious and intellectual life, is equated with an urban environment, 'the town' in contrast with the wilderness of 'the bush' (Hassan 2014).

Islam was brought across to the East African coast by Persian and Arab migrants, fleeing from religious persecution following the Islamic sectarian conflict¹³⁸ (Hassan 2014). In 700 AD Omani Muslims from Southern Arabia, arrived at Coastal Kenya and settled at Pate Island, along the Kenyan Coast. This was followed by a larger group of Shirazi¹³⁹ Muslims from Southern Persia who founded their settlement at different locations, including Mombasa, Malindi, Kilwa and Comoro. The settlers married local Bantu women and their children became the forebears of the Waswahili (Hassan 2014). The interview with a local *Shelhe, Iman, Mwalimu*¹⁴⁰ confirms the ancient religious lineages¹⁴¹ between Islam in Bagamoyo and the Middle East. The 7th Century Mosque in Kaole refers to the early times of Islamisation, during the time of Prophet Mohammed. Interracial marriages systematically introduced Islam among the local population as children were educated according to Islamic custom. Mosques and Madrasses, Islamic schools became the religious centre for every settlement, which institutionalised the Muslim fundamentals within the Swahili community (Hassan 2014). The practice of Islam was however influenced by the African women in the upper caste of Swahili society, as they introduced aspects of their own traditions such as spirit worship (Njubi 2009).

Bible storage rack, Bagamoyo protestant church entrance, religious minister, sign stating 'through this door Dr. David Livingstone passed'
Bagamoyo, 31 May 2015



In addition to intermarriages, Islam was introduced by means of trade contacts between the Muslim Arabs and the local Bantu population, exchanging imported products for local produce. Trade transactions led to cooperation and trust relations and eventually to conversion of locals to Islam (Hassan 2014). Unlike other Muslim cultures around the world, not Arabic but Kiswahili became the language of proselytization in the coastal region. Ironically, this led to a Swahili elite which developed a strong Arab identity without adopting the Arabic language (Njubi 2009). Religious practices got Africanised, thereby developing Islam as an indigenous African religion (Lodhi 1994).

Although the Waswahili are considered devout followers of Islam, they also share commonalities with tribal African beliefs. The Swahili believe in *Mizimu*, the ancestral spirit, who they call upon; they make vows, offer sacrifice and seek their protection or help in life, often in acquiring wealth or cure of diseases (Hassan 2014). There exists also a strong belief in jinns or spirits, considered a source of wealth and protection. (Hassan 2014). There are various kinds of spirits but the *Ruhani*¹⁴² are deemed the highest in hierarchy, the most powerful and honourable. They form part of the Arab-Islamic tradition and demand that the people they partner with live an exemplary religious life. Despite their inherent goodness, it is believed that they mercilessly inflict their host with misfortune, if they are neglected or discontented (Lebling 2010).



Since the early beginnings the political, medical and spiritual landscape was intertwined. Within traditional African society, the witch doctor signified the medicine-man, herbalist, diviner or magician. The traditional healer¹⁴³ had a powerful role in society due to his ability to influence village life. His multifaceted role within the community embraced every aspect of society (Junior 2005), ranging from social, physiological to psychological matters. He restored harmony in village life by resolving frictions between community members, administering botanical treatments and conducting rituals that enabled access and could appease the spiritual world (Mesaki 2004).

Traditional African medicine was considered the sum of total practices, measures, ingredients and procedures, material or not, which enabled the African to be guarded against or be cured of disease. The African witchdoctor had no counterpart within European society profession and its significance was repeatedly challenged by its association with magic, superstitions, antiquated beliefs and taboos (Junior 2005). Throughout history the positive association with community health was eroded through contact with European culture and language¹⁴⁴ and underlying social change. Witchcraft became a synonym for traditional medicine and withdoctor became a common and negatively charged word for an African traditional healer, fuelled by Western sensationalism calling upon visions of exotic stereotypes of Africa (Peter

Corner of Makarani Street and Kauzeni Street, mosque built at rajab (new moon) 1900, renovated at rajab (new moon) 2009, electrical distribution post Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



2005). During the last 100 years, indigenous practice related to healing and spirituality diluted as missionaries carried Islam and Christianity throughout the African continent. Indigenous African beliefs did not disappear, but were gradually assimilated by Islam and Christianity (Pew Forum 2012).

Christianity in Tanzania came with the arrival of the Roman Catholic Franciscans who founded a mission at the coastal city of Kilwa during the Portuguese occupation¹⁴⁵ in the 16th Century. It was however only at the end of the 18th Century that significant missionary expansion of the Christian Church¹⁴⁶ occurred, as a result of increased Western commercial penetration and political power in Africa.

The Catholic Mission movement got a new impetus when congregations were founded in France with Africa as their central focus, including the Mission of the Holy Ghost Fathers¹⁴⁷ which introduced Christianity in Bagamoyo. As the Catholics had been in Africa during the Portuguese period, there existed a notion they had been there before and regarded their African enterprise as a 'reprise'.

The new European missionary wave into Africa formed part of a growing conception of Christian responsibility for the regeneration of African peoples, set in a reactive anti-slavery context and the emergence of a humanitarian consciousness. The opening up of Africa by forces of change; by Christianity, commerce¹⁴⁸, civilisation and ultimately colonialism; was deemed by most at the time as the only remedy. Leading Africans on the path of civilisation by expanding moral and religious education and by converting

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Coral rock, incense burner, herbs and ashes
Kaole, 24 September 2015



Trees, graves, electrical post, cattle hide
Kaole, 24 September 2015



the pagans to religion, fell on the newly founded mission societies (Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2007).

When the Omani-Arab sphere of dominance relinquished control to European rule, the Muslim communities lost their political and economic authority in the coastal region. Gradually, their privileged position within society was overtaken by newly converted Christians from settlements of freed slaves and other tribal areas; they became increasingly excluded from administration and political life. Under British rule, Muslim communities deemed themselves ostracised by the European colonial administration, the growing Christian missionary activity and the advancement of educational and health services in the non-Muslim dominated areas. This sense of inequality became one of the seeds in supporting the movement against colonial rule in later days (Lodhi 1994).

Despite resilient efforts, the Christian expansion remained predominantly confined to the coast, due to the harsh circumstances the missions were faced with. This trend was however reversed when in most sub-Saharan regions, Africans were being introduced to written literature through Christian propaganda; as the very first books in their own African language were produced to advance the Christian cause. Missions of all denominations propagated education in their attempts to win converts and to train African Catechists and 'transform Africa by the Africans'.¹⁴⁹ Early mission schools emerged out of the desire to spread the gospel; conversion and education or training went hand in hand. Missionaries, who were themselves products of Western civilisation, came with their own cultural values and had little doubt about the superiority of their culture. They transferred cultural attributes on their converts, by building churches and schools in European style, encapsulating the imposed habits and ethos of western Christian civilisation.

For Africa the missionaries embodied the first and most important facet of western contact; Christianity provided access to a civilisation and culture pattern which was bound to master African societies. With Christianity came Westernisation as the adoption of the religious belief system also meant acculturation into the world of Western civilisation, ideas and technology. However, the African population at that time couldn't be considered passive recipients; the process of Westernisation and cultural exchange was moulded by their choices and needs at the time. By deflecting or selectively absorbing foreign influences, Africans themselves were instrumental in the shaping of a new cultural synthesis. In the longer term, a new African elite educated in the mission schools and churches eventually started to challenge the missionary dominance and the continued European supremacy (Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2007).

African tree, wild grasses, crosses
Bagamoyo Catholic Mission, 2 Februaryw 2015







A CONTEMPORARY NOTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

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(Opposite) Mango tree in open bush landscape. Concrete boundary fence to last
domestic residence of suburb
Block P, Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015

Cultural manifestations are as much a product of global flows of ideas, people and capital as they are distinct hybridised products of local actors and meanings. The previous chapter described how these manifestations are not shaped by uniform forces, nor are they homogeneous or deterritorialised. The cultural, geographical and historical specificity of these processes are fundamental for the meanings that local subjects attach to cultural phenomena. This chapter intends to highlight some of the dominant forces and prevailing trends that impact and shape the contemporary identity of Bagamoyo.

SEZ proposed masterplan for Bagamoya. Artist impression of proposed; tourist park, container port, breakwater, residential areas, commercial zones, communications park, airport, buildings, roads, landscaping and infrastructure
Source: www.ansafor.tz



The vulnerable rural-urban interface

Small urban centres are vulnerable to the unpredictable path of urbanisation¹⁵⁰ and undergo the same tensions as experienced by megacities, however aggravated by the fact that their growth is unmanaged and responses are reactive and improvised. This results in an unencumbered market for the private sector, often with uncoordinated urban sprawl and land grab as a result. This phenomenon leads to increased inequality which in turn fragments the cultural cohesion of the community, evident in the stratification of the social landscape and a degraded liveability of the new urban context. This also applies to Bagamoyo which finds itself at the cusp of a new wave of urbanisation. Bagamoyo is one of the fastest growing districts¹⁵¹ in Tanzania. The 2002 census¹⁵² indicated a population of 228,967 residents in the Bagamoyo District. The population according to the 2010 District Social Survey increased to 280,007 in 2007; which results in a projected population of 334,634 in 2016, arising from an annual average growth rate of 2%.¹⁵³

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With the upgraded road access to Dar es Salaam and the arrival of unprecedented development ventures such as new port infrastructure, the development of a SEZ and the EcoEnergy¹⁵⁴ cane production enterprise, the competing interest in land is becoming ever more topical. The accelerated increase of urban areas dramatically alters the traditional spatial and livelihood structures. Lack of effective governance and policy lead to uncoordinated urbanisation and promote unregulated practice in terms of land speculation and acquisition. The natural environment is rapidly deteriorating as a result of urbanisation and the inadequacy of enforcing existing regulations¹⁵⁵ to control activities and deal with the impact of an expanding population. The proliferation of unplanned settlements, combined with deforestation, the lack of waste water and solid waste management, the contamination of water are factors that have a devastating effect on public health as well as agriculture and biodiversity resources.

In 2014 there was a phase-change in land development dynamics, introduced with the signing of the MOU¹⁵⁶ to transform Bagamoyo into an East African hub for Indian Ocean shipments. Within a contemporary context of global trading, Bagamoyo has been recast as a highly desirable proposition due to its proximity to Dar es Salaam, its access to the trunk road network¹⁵⁷, proximity to railway¹⁵⁸, access to the sea¹⁵⁹ and airport¹⁶⁰ facilities, combined with availability of land¹⁶¹ (COWI 2013).

It is anticipated that the construction of a Chinese-funded mega port and SEZ¹⁶² will take about 30 years to construct to reach its full potential, at an estimated cost of

US\$11bn.¹⁶³The SEZ¹⁶⁴ aims to stimulate rapid economic development and employment generation through export and through local and foreign direct investments. This new industrial city is conceived as a satellite town, at Mbegani located 50 km north of Dar es Salaam and about 12 km south of the town of Bagamoyo, and will be equipped with all necessary infrastructural and technological support facilities. The Masterplan envisions the development of industrial parks, trade parks, technological parks, a tourism hub, real estate, logistics centres, a financial quarter as well as the construction of a regional airport (Tanzania Consulate Dubai 2015).

During my visit of the designated SEZ area and associated interviews, it was acknowledged that stakeholder consultations had commenced at a strategic level and that a land compensation process had been initiated, including negotiations with small local landholders. The exact scope of the plans and timeframe of the works, remained however shrouded in secrecy. Currently the majority of informants claim that the SEZ plans are too ambitious and will never be implemented. Conversely, the projected vision of this anticipated future and the national publicity and rumours surrounding the project, have created such a strong reality, that it is taking its own course and has unleashed manifold dynamics, such as the surge in land speculation in the area. In my interview with Prof Lowassa, a planning specialist in rural and urban development in Tanzania, this phenomenon was foregrounded; 'It's happening, it's not that it will not happen. Already now Bagamoyo's land values are going up. The same applies to other villages such as Zinga or Kiromo. There are a lot of young people getting into this for speculating purposes. It's mainly for personal investment, some sell after two years when the land price has gone up. Older people like myself see this as an opportunity to reserve some land for my children' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).

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Roadside indigenous overgrowth along Mrisho Kikwete Drive. Abandoned residential structure. The road is named after the President of Tanzania
Ukuni, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2016



Palm and mango trees close to Mrisho Kikwete Drive. Residential dwellings under construction.
Cleared tropical bush to foreground
Ukuni, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015





Prof. Chami¹⁶⁵, specialised in Urban land Management in Tanzania, highlights the significant impact of the SEZ on the current residents of Bagamoyo. He forewarns that when the SEZ becomes a reality, that the urbanisation effects will be radical and occur rapidly. Chami argues that the signs are already present; illustrated through an influx of investors, predominantly from Dar es Salaam, ranging from medium to major companies as well as individuals fervently acquiring land in Bagamoyo's periphery for speculation purposes. The general public opinion deems Bagamoyo a booming town as the SEZ and the new port will generate demand and the investment market will flourish. Chami raises a concern that these new developments will cause further displacement of indigenous people; 'you'll find just a few Zaramos, like what is happening in Dar es Salaam today. Now you have to go to the periphery to encounter the Zaramo because they have been pushed away from the city' (Chami, 2 June 2015). In Chami's eyes the urban shift will have such a dramatic impact on local culture to the extent that the native origins ultimately will be phased out.

Prof. Lowassa points out that the land pressure is further exacerbated by the rapidly expanding footprint of the emerging metropolis of Dar es Salaam. He explains how unaffordable it has become to buy a property within the immediate periphery of Dar es Salaam due to land scarcity. Consequently less affluent groups are investing further north, resulting in urban sprawl that gradually conquers the countryside. It absorbs the rural villages on its trajectory and it is anticipated that in the near future it will also

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2 year old indigenous sapling, amongst locally produced concrete construction blocks
Residential dwelling with portico under construction
Ukuni, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



reach Bagamoyo. He expands on the future land dynamics in Bagamoyo and the impact it might have on its cultural legacy; 'When the harbour commences in Bagamoyo and the airport is introduced, then you will have even more pressure. It is going to be a tiny Bagamoyo which is left whilst the rest will expand. If the government continues with the current attitude towards heritage, then I think we are just left with the *Salambani*¹⁶⁶, the Catholic Museum, and the tourist hotels along the beach' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).

The proliferation of urban sprawl is not only caused by the growing interest of venture capitalists, the growth has been partly due to ordinary people seeing a low-risk and accessible investment opportunity. Prof. Lowassa illustrates this trend by sharing a personal experience during the interview; 'I also recently bought some land in one of the villages, located about 40 kms from Fukayosi¹⁶⁷. Like so many other parishes in Dar es Salaam, my church congregation was interested in the idea of investing in land. A small group went out to Bagamoyo, identified plots and came back to the congregation saying 'there is land in Bagamoyo for so many Shillings, so if you are interested, you can list your name and we will organise the deed for you' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015). Further to the purchase, Prof Lowassa went to visit the locality and realised the scale and impact this type of practice had on the community. The land of this small village was subdivided into plots and increasingly acquired by a Christian congregation, external to the village. The demographics as well as the cultural context altered overnight due to the influx of Christian buyers in this traditionally Muslim community. Lowassa reflected on the cultural complexity of this new situation; 'Where is the village now? Why is the community selling all its land? As Christians we are coming in softly, taking over the land but as a result we displace the local Muslim community. I even see churches are now being built. How is this possible?' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).

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Chami clarifies the broader dynamics underpinning this trend. He explains how the local population is incentivised to sell their land. They always lived of small scale subsistence farming accommodating three to five workers at most on a few acres of land and consider the sale of land as a direct ticket to prosperity and an easier lifestyle. External buyers consolidate the small 2 to 5 acre plots into vast sites of 50 acres and above, earmarked for redevelopment. He argues that this pattern breaks down the entire socio-economic structure of the local population and will result in a radically different cultural environment in the near future.

As the land value surges, there is a growing pressure on government to formalise ownership deeds to minimise future land¹⁶⁸ conflicts. Particularly in areas of urban growth rural tenure is considered insecure. Migration of people in search of new livelihoods and alterations in land use that encroaches on existing residents, is considered a significant threat as most residents live in informal settlements without land certificates or registered land rights¹⁶⁹ (USAID 2011).

The most common approaches to securing formal or informal land rights are through inheritance, gifts, borrowing from family members, land allocations from village councils, informal land transactions in urban areas, allocation from municipality, land

purchase and squatting. Where land is available, such as in Bagamoyo, an occupier can take possession of a site, by clearing and cultivating the land. Livestock owners can acquire land for grazing under customary law. Migrants and non-villagers can lease village land with consent from the village council (USAID 2011).

Within this framework Prof. Chami highlights three types of land acquisition practice, currently dominating the Bagamoyo context, and accelerating urbanisation dynamics;

- Firstly, there is the land which is controlled by the District Council; the land is surveyed, a landuse plan is prepared and bulk services and roads are implemented to support the development. Afterwards the District Council sells off the plot,
- A second common practice is based on private initiative; being private parties, ranging from companies to individuals, buying small parcels of land from private individuals to consolidate into a substantial areas, predominantly located on the outskirts of the urban centre. The survey and development layout is undertaken privately and afterwards approval is sought from the local authority, to build and sell on the developed land,
- The third form of land acquisition, is informal whereby people buy a small parcel of land and build a house without any formal consent. This leads to the establishment of informal settlements without piped water, sanitation or other support infrastructure with damaging effect on the natural environment.

Chami argues that these acquisition dynamics are at the core of the fragmented and piecemeal development patterns of Bagamoyo today. The focus is on peripheral development, with little initiative in terms of urban renewal within the historic core of the town. Furthermore, Chami contends that also land policy contributes to this trend. He supports his statement with two arguments, namely;

Firstly, Chami highlights the tension between policy related to rural land and township policy. When urban growth is tangible, an area may be declared a formal planning area by the local authority. The land loses its value as farming land and obtains the status of urban land. The local authority pays compensation to the affected individuals to acquire the land or private owners prepare a plan and submit to the council for approval. The law prescribes a compensation payment according to market value. In reality however, the valuation is mostly based on the land price at that moment in time and does not consider its forecast development value; 'One acre of land can sell for two, three or even five million but Government will only pay one point five or two million shillings' (Chami, 2 June 2015). Hence, people are keen to sell their land as soon as they know plans are being prepared for the area, out of fear that their land will be annexed by government without proper compensation. This fuels the speculation dynamics governing the area, as Chami highlights; 'people run away from planning because the plan does not benefit the landowners but benefits those who acquire the land and can sell it off, whether it is Government or private individuals' (Chami, 2 June 2015).

Secondly, Chami articulates that national policy has put government in a strong position; with the legal power to survey, plan and direct how the land is developed and can apply the compensation process as an enabler of those plans. This way government is enabled to structure and manage urban development appropriately and allocate provision for public amenity such as the provision of schooling, markets, and open areas. Reality however demonstrates that local governments are not focused on safeguarding the public good, as Chami explains; 'They see this as a hot cake for money making. They buy land at a price of two million per hectare, then they prepare layout plans and start selling per square meter. In Bagamoyo, the same plot of about one thousand five hundred square meters would be selling for a premium of ten to fifteen million' (Chami, 2 June 2015). Chami reinforces his statement by explicating the capital powers at play; 'this is the easiest money you can ever make; they don't put in infrastructure, don't put in water supply, they only pay low compensation for the land and because farmers are scared that their land will be taken away, they sell it' (Chami, 2 June 2015).

Thus far the traditional village land was considered less threatened by development encroachment as the customary rights come with specific laws and permissions, strengthened by local taboos, norms and values. However in an interview with the District Council, an official highlighted that in this specific context there was visible change. Land lease transactions can only be authorised by the village council. As it is

Entrance to Bagamoyo from Dar-es-Salaam. Welcome to Bagamoyo road sign, 6 metres by 2.5 metres in size. CCM political candidates announcement for national elections 2015
Bagamoyo Road, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015

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the custom that 10% of the transaction value goes to the village council for reinvestment in the village community, councils are less likely to reject requests as it provides a significant income stream for its people.

It is evident that the absence of a comprehensive development Master Plan for the Bagamoyo Township precipitates uncoordinated building and selling of the land, which impacts on the natural and physical assets that Bagamoyo's residents rely on. The impact on cultural heritage is acute, as the heritage conservation practice falls ultimately under the responsibility of Local Government. Various respondents raised during the interview the acute need for a holistic approach towards development, which anticipates the future growth of Bagamoyo and provides a clear vision on how heritage will be embedded in future development strategies. A cultural activist highlights; 'Embracing all faculties of life, means holistic integrated planning, monitoring and evaluation because of the interdependency of the sectors. A cultural heritage strategy is thus necessary as one is not dealing with disintegrated projects. [...] It integrates our political, social, economic needs, wants, aspirations, all in one' (Shaba, 4 February 2015). Chami reinforces this sentiment and articulates the urgency; 'And my worry is that with the coming of the port [...] the pressure lies on Bagamoyo especially because of circulation of external capital [...] I think we are going to see radical changes in the town at least in the long run. And I think it is unfortunate that we don't have as yet a clear vision of how the heritage can be protected against this pressure' (Chami, 2 June 2015).

In-between village and municipality

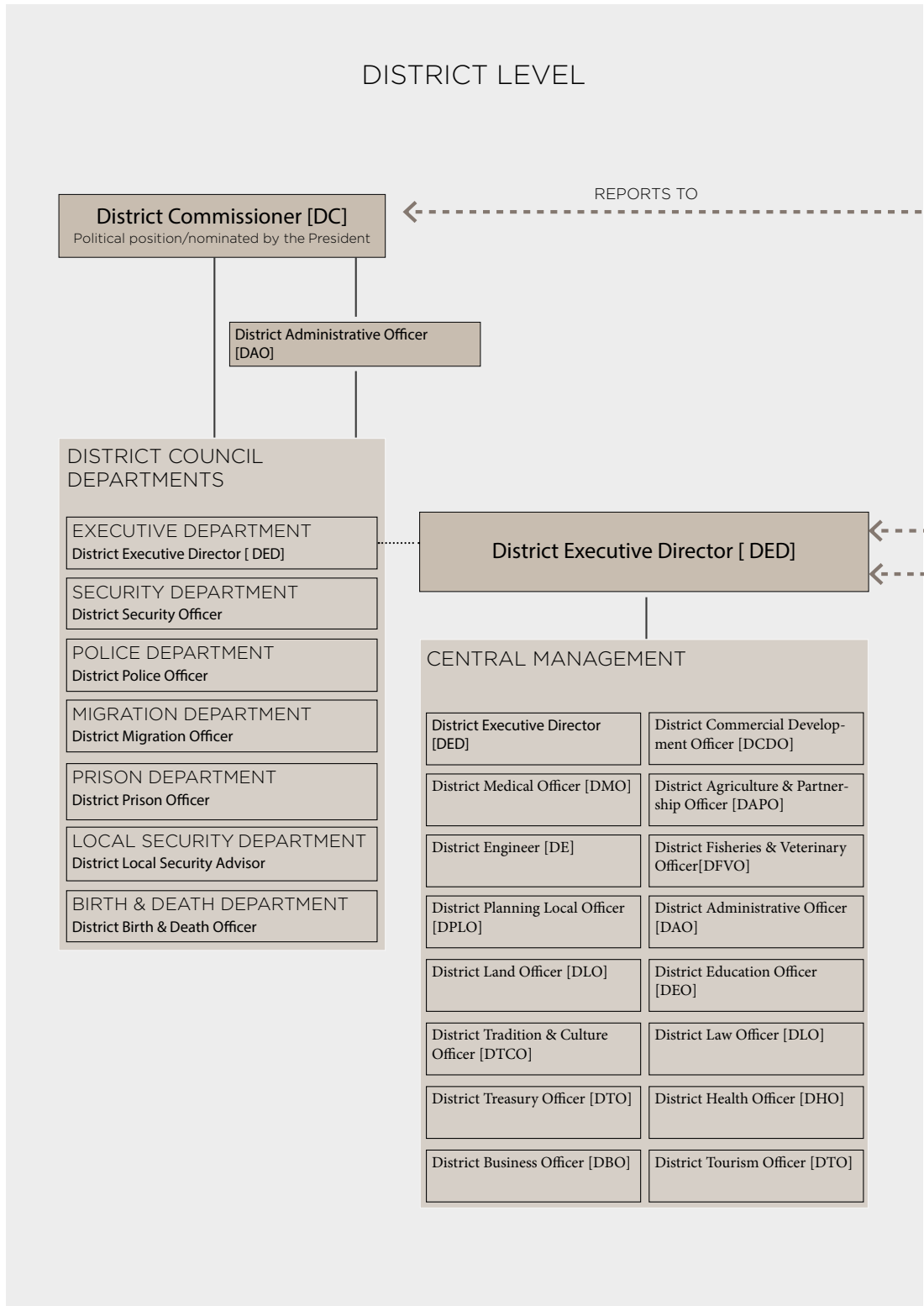
The previous section underscores the acute urbanisation pressures that small urban centres like Bagamoyo are faced with, and the highly tangible impact on their physical and cultural attributes. Changes that took generations in the past, are now occurring in a few decades. It highlights how urbanisation is significantly altering settlements which lack the institutional and administrative support structures of urban areas. The question arises on how, in the absence of an institutional framework of a municipality, standard issues related to urban infrastructure are dealt with (Ghosh 2012). Small localities are in most cases captured unaware of the weight and depth of the transformation they will go through and thus inadequately prepared to proactively deal with the increasing demands of a growing population and the vulnerabilities that come with it. As a rural entity, going through an urban transition, the governance structures and policy framework are insufficiently geared up to handle the accelerated speed of change and monitor and guide the developments taking place.

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In the case of Bagamoyo, the need for a township authority was pre-empted and the Bagamoyo Township Authority (BTA) was formally established¹⁷⁰ on 15 June 2005¹⁷¹ with external support of Sida¹⁷². The BTA consists of four villages, namely Dunda and Kaole as part of the Dunda Ward¹⁷³ and Magomeni and Makurunge belonging to the Magomeni Ward¹⁷⁴ (BDC 2006). In the absence of an institutional framework of a Municipality, the BTA is governed by the Bagamoyo District Council (BDC); a Rural Authority¹⁷⁵ responsible for the broader District¹⁷⁶, and the coordinating body for the activities of all township authorities and village councils within its territory. The village and township councils carry however the responsibility for formulating plans for their areas (Shadrack 2010). Its functioning relies on the traditional structures at village level to look after local matters.

When the BTA became a legal entity, it was anticipated to fulfil the functions as outlined in the Local Government Act¹⁷⁷. For example bye-laws can be generated and revenues can be collected. Literature and interviews suggest that there is a degree of ambiguity in terms of legal provisions and mechanisms to regulate the mandate and responsibilities between the BDC and the BTA. The Township Executive Officer (TEO) is appointed by the District Council without a specific mandate nor financial resources to discharge associated functions, let alone to make preparations to grow into a Municipality. The TEO position ranks below the position of Head of Department, which appears to be inconsistent with the performance required from the role (BDC 2011).

Diagram of Bagamoyo governance structure
Based on interviews undertaken by author



DIVISION LEVEL

Division Officer [DO]

DIVISION SECRETARY

DIVISION EXECUTIVE

SECURITY DIVISION
Security Divisions Officer

HEALTH DIVISION
Health Division Officer

VETERINARY DIVISION
Veterinary Division Officer

AGRICULTURE DIVISION
Agricultural Division Officer

TOWNSHIP LEVEL

BAGAMOYO
TOWNSHIP
DIRECTION

VILLAGE LEVEL

District Executive
Officer [DEO]

THE WARD EXECUTIVE
Technical advisory body to the DEO

Ward Executive Officer [WEO]

Education Officer

Health Officer

Agriculture Officer

Pastoralist Officer

Diversity Officer

Economic Officer [In progress]

District Business Officer

Village Chairman
Political position in large villages

VILLAGE
EXECUTIVE
OFFICER [VEO]
Appointed by the DED
Reports to DED and WEO

VILLAGE COUNCIL

Prof. Chami reinforces this statement; 'the Executive Director has no vote in the District Council who administers the town. He doesn't have a vote of his own, meaning that he does not have a budget of his own. He relies on the goodwill of the Council to get support' (Chami, 2 June 2015).

The accompanying organogram illustrates the government structure and decision making processes that govern Bagamoyo; constituted on the basis of various interviews¹⁷⁸ with officials and planning specialists. It shows the possible divergence between the institutional framework of the Township Authority, categorised under the urban local authorities, whilst it reports to the BDC, which is considered a local rural authority. Furthermore, various informants pointed out that the BTA does not govern its own funds, and is dependent on the District Council to get access to financial support. This interdependency represents an obstacle in engaging proactively with growing development pressures. This structural constraint is exemplified by the absence of a township masterplan; after Sida's support came to an end, no adequate funding was made available for planning activities, to conclude and formalise the developed planning framework. Consequently, the planning coordination occurs in a piece-meal fashion, and operates in a reactive mode in response to an increasing number of development proposals. The same concern applies to heritage conservation; the lack of a comprehensive development plan that includes a heritage strategy, leads to unregulated land use development and represents a significant threat to the town's historical and cultural attributes (BDC 2011).

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Road reserve along Bagamoyo road from Dar-es-Salaam. Signs for; Msafiri lodge, Kabada adventure & safaris, Parking, Low land view resort, Inoga Bagamoya lodge
Bagamoyo Road, Nianjema, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



An informant centrally involved with the Sida programme, emphasised how fundamental it had been to establish a Township Authority¹⁷⁹, as it represented the first steppingstone to becoming a Town Council that could legally empower the Bagamoyo citizens to have their own planning mechanism instead of depending on the District Council. The interview highlighted the next institutional step to be undertaken by the District Council; 'To be further elevated to a Town Council, the District Council had to put a budget together. This had to be done internally so we couldn't assist. Nothing happened. It was surprising that the District Director didn't push for it or couldn't push for it. We tried lobbying with the District MP to accelerate things as we were aware our funding was coming to an end. [...] The last step was never fulfilled and ultimately halted the entire strategic plan' (Matafu, 2 June 2015).

The Prime Ministers Office and the regional Administration and Local Government (PMO – RALG) prescribe that any initiative to elevate a Township Authority to a Town Council has to be brought forward by the residents, a group of community members or their local councillor(s) after consultations with the residents. This is followed by a three stage consultation process¹⁸⁰, which culminates in a submission¹⁸¹ to the Minister. If the evaluation¹⁸² of the findings is deemed positive, the Prime Minister will be advised to take the necessary steps to declare the Township a Town Council (BDC 2011).

Interviews with officials and planning specialists highlighted the unreserved commitment of the local residents, the District Commissioner and the local Member of Parliament. There was however no clarity why the process took so long and nobody could confirm if the application had been submitted for endorsement to the Full Council. Back in 2011, initial concerns were raised related to the delay in operationalization of the Town Council. The BDC Report emphasised the increased demoralisation of local stakeholders due to the slow response by the relevant authorities and the prolonged and unanticipated delays, despite the popular desire to become a Town Council (BDC 2011). From various conversations, it is evident that this sense of disempowerment and frustration has become even more pronounced in recent years, leading to a heightened distrust between residents and authority. The BDC Report (2011) further states that no institutional mechanisms exists to monitor the activities undertaken by District Councils to nurture and operationalise the transition process to becoming a Town Council. The BTA does not have the requisite resources to strengthen its position, or as a BDC official noted in a 2010 interview; '[...] how does one expect a Township to take over and become a Town Council if they are starved of financial resources and institutional/administrative structures for decision-making' (BDC 2011:42-43).

My interviews with local BDC officials and local stakeholders, did not provide clarity on what is upholding the transformation of the BTA into a Town Council; conflicting views ranged from the need to attain the population quota, lack of political will at Ministry level, the need for technical support to complete the application process, to the personal invested interest of officials in keeping control of the land development in Bagamoyo.

Prof. Chami refers in our discussion to additional tensions that exist between the priorities at local level and those at the level of National Government, where the application to become a Town Council needs to be officially endorsed; ‘if you talk to the Township Director and the Counselors from within Bagamoyo town you can see they have a very strong will and commitment to become a Town Council [...] but the political will at high level has been weak [...] It is not that they don’t want to support, but they simply don’t give it the priority, because the population of Bagamoyo town is in their eyes very small’ (Chami, 2 June 2015).

Passenger and goods ferry from Bagamoyo to Zanzibar, awaiting loading during low tide
Bagamoyo harbour, 6 June 2015



Socio-economic transformation

Heightened tensions between the forces of urbanisation and the demand for natural resources characterise the contemporary socio-economic context of Bagamoyo. Located on the rural-urban interface, the majority of the population in and around Bagamoyo, still rely on natural resources to sustain their livelihood, being predominantly engaged in small-scale subsistence farming and fishing. At present the ecosystems are the main source of food, energy en cash (Semesi et al 2009). The socio-economic profile is defined by seasonal activities, such as harvest or specific fishing activities, which attract a large migrant population.¹⁸³

However, in recent years a parallel world, based on very different economic principles, has emerged and is totally changing the scale and nature of economic exchange; in terms of goods, resource and services. Against the background of traditional living, the idea of modernity is gaining a strong foothold. With the upgrade of physical infrastructure, there is a tangible increase in internationalisation of capital, labour migration, technological transformations, and tourism; some of the structural characteristics identified for the so-called global city (King 2004).

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This dualistic narrative of 'tradition versus modernity' comes with an uneven distribution of power (King 2004) and opportunity, which is increasingly reflected in the social and spatial fabric of the town. New economic concepts, epitomised by the SEZ port development, come with far-reaching societal implications and raises significant questions about equity and the ultimate distribution of additional opportunity, resource and capital gain.

This section intends to provide a high-level overview of the socio-economic relations which are currently shifting and will ultimately have a significant impact on Bagamoyo's cultural identity. Notwithstanding the upward trend of outsourcing agricultural land to investors and large private companies and the growing presence of plantation industries, the majority of the farmers in Bagamoyo remain at present small-scale farmers, producing predominantly for subsistence rather than the broader market (Ericksen 2009 in Haapanen 2011). Subsistence farming¹⁸⁴, cash crops¹⁸⁵ and livestock¹⁸⁶ tenure continue to be a major source of livelihood although their role has declined remarkably due to the growing scarcity of arable lands in the vicinity of villages, declining productivity of land and livestock losses (Haapanen 2011).

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Food Crops							
Maize	32,266	13,502	14,606	40,470	25,077	18,676	1,475
Paddy	10,280	3,904	4,830	3,080	1,566	1,856	256
Sorghum	2,985	1,819	1,615	2,737	1,847	1,642	2,667
Cassava	24,141	13,700	2,934	22,419	21,888	30,131	34,950
Sweet Potatoes	1,653	815	72	1,080	560	2,151	866
Peas	1,267	714	53	3,614	2,980	3,605	2,667
TOTAL	72,592	34,454	24,110	73,400	53,918	58,061	42,881
Cash Crops							
Cotton	75	130	200	62	254	45	432
Cashewnuts	1,800	160	220	2,609	1,936	2,010	3,907
Simsim	597	310	180	1,568	1,820	941	5,198
Coconuts	7,710	7,015	6,800	4,423	8,538	2,135	3,384
Fruits	21,600	22,300	22,460	67,250	65,300	67,250	68,940
TOTAL	31,782	29,915	29,860	75,912	77,848	72,381	81,861
GRAND TOTAL	104,374	64,369	53,970	149,312	131,766	130,442	124,742

Food and Cash Crop production statistics 2002 – 2008
Source: Bagamoyo District Council, Bagamoyo Formalisation Plan.

The district is receiving a large influx of livestock keepers due to the increasing scarcity of pasture and water in upcountry pastoral regions. Competing interests between farmers and livestock keepers represents a major source of land conflict (MKama et al 2013). According to the Town Planning Department of the BDC, these shifts generate ongoing tensions between the different indigenous groups and come sometimes with unforeseeable consequences. For example, water has always been considered a shared resource by the pastoralists such as the Masai tribe. However in areas of agricultural cultivation, the farmers anticipate creating infrastructure to channel the water to the land of their farm. These conflicting realities become very tangible when the Masai tribe destroy the infrastructure as the idea of privatising a natural resource is culturally not understood.

The livelihood of the farmers' community is very sensitive to impacts as a result of crop failure, loss of livestock, death or illness of a household member, increase in food prices, or other shocks. The most common means to get over insecure periods includes seeking additional sources of income such as charcoal production¹⁸⁷, agricultural wage labour, or other casual work. Borrowing is another common strategy and many families have become indebted to shopkeepers (Haapanen 2011) to gain access to cash. The general decline in farming and the shift of labour to non-farm related sectors, has also had far-reaching implications on the commodification of goods.

For example in terms of the food system, the national 2011/12 Household Budget Survey indicates that more than half of the average annual household consumption expenditure was spent on food. The role of traditional institutions in production and exchange has weakened. Non-monetary and in-kind exchange of food and labour have become less common, generally due to the lack of surplus foods that can be exchanged as well as the growing need for cash in a contemporary market(Haapanen 2011).¹⁸⁸



The other fundamental pillar of Bagamoyo's economy is marine fishery; approximately 90% of coastal people in the Bagamoyo District depend on this sector as the source of daily income and food for their families (BDC 2014). There are an estimated 1,780 fishermen (2014) in the District. Bagamoyo is regarded an important centre for the fishing industry; people come from over the entire country to study at the Mbegani Fisheries Institute, an acclaimed national training centre in all aspects of the fishing industry¹⁸⁹. The upscaling of fishing efforts¹⁹⁰ in the last decade, has however led to unsustainable exploitation; symptoms of over-fishing are starting to impact on livelihoods (Torell et al 2006). Mariculture¹⁹¹ has been introduced to compensate for loss of income; it provides some communities the opportunity to supplement their traditional income sources (MKama et al 2013).

Until recently, the ancient activity of seasonal salt production¹⁹² was considered a significant contributor to the local economy. This has changed since the introduction of trade liberalisation, as locally produced salt has faced stiff competition from less expensive imported salt and a growing number of salt works halted production due to a reclining market (Semesi et al 2000).

A new type of economic activity started to gain traction around the year 2000, being the service industry. In parallel with traditional economic activities, Bagamoyo became an important conference and tourism centre for Tanzania; drawing in visitors, investors and a workforce from the outside.¹⁹³ The upgraded road connection with Dar es Salaam

Convenience store selling food and household goods late at night, Slave gathering site at Carvanseraï located along same road.
Subject is not named to protect anonymity. This proviso will not be repeated in future captions.
Magomeni, Bagamoyo, 8 June 2015





made it possible for city dwellers to make Bagamoyo a weekend destination and enable workforce to commute. The town's picturesque location along the beach, its well-known historic sites and cultural heritage, the nearby Saadani Game Reserve and the increasing tourism infrastructure, made Bagamoyo into an attractive destination for tourism. As the UNESCO World Heritage application failed, there was not the boost in international tourism that was hoped for. However in recent years there has been a noticeable increase of cultural tourism¹⁹⁴, with visitors predominantly of domestic and East African origin. In addition to leisure activities, they further visit the historical sites for religious and educational purposes.

The creative industry also contributes to tourism. Bagamoyo is often described as the arts

YEAR	DOMESTIC VISITORS	FOREIGN VISITORS	TOTAL VISITORS
2010	28,775	28,775	28,775
2011	32,851	32,851	32,851
2012	56,334	56,334	56,334

Annual tourism visitor statistics

Source: Bagamoyo District Council Tourism Office 2015.

capital of Tanzania, known for its long tradition in woodcarving¹⁹⁵ and in performance arts, epitomised by the Arts Institute TaSUBa¹⁹⁶ and its annual Festival of Arts and Culture¹⁹⁷ that draws thousands of spectators and performance groups from all over East Africa to the town. After completing their studies, many artists stay behind and try to set up a local performance group or arts studio. Despite the creative and entrepreneurial vibrancy of Bagamoyo, many find it challenging to earn a sustainable income as their livelihood is dependent on the capricious nature of the international tourist market. In 2010 an attempt was made, as part of the Bagamoyo Strategic urban Development Plan (SUDP), to leverage local cultural capital to create employment opportunities. This was exemplified in educational programmes, grants and the conversion of the Old market into a central arts hub. The main promoter¹⁹⁸ of the programme, reflected on the current fragmented situation from a strategic development perspective; 'In Tanzania there doesn't appear to be any policy focus on integrating the local culture and contemporary urban development. During the development of the SUDP we wanted to use Bagamoyo as a pilot to show how cultural policy could be leveraged. Hence there was a lot of investment in creating connections between cultural heritage sites but also in transforming Bagamoyo into the African think tank of culture through education and encouragement of local artisans, sculptors, painters, performers by showing their work on a national platform' (Matafu, 2 June 2015). When the programme ended, the initiative was not succeeded by further governmental support. During various interviews, local artists confirmed how they supplement their subsistence by setting up an alternative business, by teaching or by taking on part-time employment in the fishing industry.

Bagamoyo's current economic horizon looks very different from few years back. Bagamoyo is earmarked as a location of global economic potential due to its three-prong proposition; close proximity to a commercial and industrial centre, regional and global

Old Bagamoyo market at crossroads of School Street, Fruit Market Street and Makarani Street. Refurbished in 2000. Sponsored by Swedish government. Renovated market selling art to international and Tanzanian tourists
Dunda, Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



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access, combined with the availability of land. In recent years many foreign investors have ignited catalytic projects in the region in cooperation with national government. The most iconic venture is however the construction of a container port and SEZ, 12 kilometres south of Bagamoyo town, in line with the Tanzania Development Vision 2025¹⁹⁹; which envisions the development of the east African seaboard into a major trading zone. Supplemented by other large scale projects such as the introduction of an EcoEnergy sugarcane production plant, it is anticipated that Bagamoyo will become a critical export and economic processing zone for the entire African continent (Axelsson & Blomquist 2014).

In an interview with the Town Planning Department of the BDC, the chief Town Planner shared his positive views on these recent developments; 'UNESCO heritage is good promotion for Bagamoyo. However in terms of economic prosperity it doesn't achieve much more than attracting a few more tourists or students interested in history. In order to have a well-functioning city we need major investments. That is why Bagamoyo cannot only be residential, it needs an engine to establish an urban economy' (Mubian, 31 March 2015).

Within a context of a growing economic opportunity, education is critical in obtaining an adequate living standard. Prosperity is intertwined with employment, and opportunities are reserved for those who have education on a higher level. Getting onto the employment ladder is one of the major challenges the youth in Bagamoyo face.

Motivating parents who struggle to secure a livelihood, to encourage their children to attain education and to prioritise school costs, remains a major challenge within the district. Without job opportunities, people are driven towards informal employment and risk behaviour, such as prostitution to meet the basic needs (Kagaruki 2011).

Ironically, Bagamoyo has a historic reputation as an education centre, spearheaded by the Marian Girls' High School, run by the Roman Catholic Church and one of the top performing girl schools in the country. Other significant institutions include the Agency for the Development of Education Management (ADEM), the Bagamoyo College of Art (TaSUBa), Mbegani fisheries and the School of Library Achives and Documentation Study (SLADS). Bagamoyo is further strengthening its status as a national hub of education, with ground-breaking initiatives such as the Marian University College²⁰⁰ and the African Institute of Mathematical Sciences (AIMS)²⁰¹ established in the town of Bagamoyo earlier this year. Within a context of national economic growth²⁰², these developments intend to respond to a critical demand for a generation of youth that can apply skills and knowledge to boost economic development. Also Sida emphasised the criticality of providing access to education across society; 'It is important to foresee how young people will tie into the economic opportunities so they themselves can become the beneficiaries. They need to be trained so they can participate in the evolving economy. For example the hotel business is an untapped market as most of the staff comes from outside Bagamoyo' (Matafu, 2 June 2015).

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Multiple retail units trading during evening hours
Bagamoyo, 23 September 2015



Bagamoyo town and development areas
 Source base map: *In the heart of Bagamoyo* (1999) Mapping by author



- 1 THE CATHOLIC MISSION
- 2 HOTEL DEVELOPMENT
- 3 THE NEW CATHOLIC MISSION UNIVERSITY
- 4 THE BAGAMOYO DISTRICT HOSPITAL
- 5 AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE
- 6 THE OLD PORT & FISH MARKET
- 7 THE OLD ARTS MARKET
- 8 THE TASUBA ARTS INSTITUTE
- 9 THE NEW MARKET
- 10 THE NEW BUS STATION
- 11 THE MONDAY MARKET
- 12 THE MAGOMENI MARKET

A hybrid cultural identity

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon in Bagamoyo. The place emerged from the encounter between populations, migrating from different locations around the world to write their histories across the Ocean. It echoes Nederveen Pieterse's (2004) view on globalisation as 'a long term historical process involving ancient population movements, long distance cross-cultural trade, the spread of world religions and the diffusion and development of technologies due to inter-cultural contact' (Pieterse 2004:24-5). Processes of globalisation are also processes of cultural hybridisation, leading to something new; an alchemic synthesis.

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Mangatown informal settlement area, along Mangesani Road. Abandoned dwelling
Mangesani Road, Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015



Global culture

The concept of globalisation is confined by many scholars to the narrow timeframe of modernity; Conversely Nederveen Pieterse (2009) regards globalisation as a much wider and deeper human encounter. He argues that a deep historical perspective on globalisation, a perspective of *longue durée*²⁰³, is essential to reveal what hybridity means overtime and in different cultures.

Globalisation represents a contested concept as different disciplines widely differ in their view on the fundamentals. The concept is complex and multifaceted; on the one hand there exists a tendency towards homogeneity, synchronicity, integration and universalism. On the other hand it is susceptible to localisation, differentiation and diversity (Bornman 2003). When entering globalisation in the cultural debate, Nederveen Pieterse (2004) identifies three distinct paradigms of cultural difference, namely; clash of civilisations, with cultural difference prevailing and generating rivalry and conflict; homogenisation, as a result of cultural convergence; and lastly, hybridisation, mixing across location and identities, generating new differences during the process. He interprets globalisation as cultural hybridisation, the mixing of Asian, African, American, European cultures in the making of global culture as translocal *mélange* cultures. The notion of 'global culture' forms part of this contemporary globalisation debate (King 2004). Much of the current academic discussion refers to the future of the nation state ideology; how globalisation is informing the cultural integration or disintegration processes which transcend the state-society unit.²⁰⁴

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Similarly in Bagamoyo, the notion of a nation-state has been dominant in cultural formation. The fall of a strong national socialist ideology and the rapid changes that come with globalisation, are now challenging principle values and are eroding the basis on which people used to build their identity. During colonial times the nation state held territorial sovereignty, which inferred that pride of place was primarily invested in the colonial state (Bauman 1998). During colonial regimes in Africa the master narrative of European imperial expansion, places the state at the centre of the story. The colonial state was as much the leading protagonist as the mastermind of its epic history (Comaroff 2002). Comaroff further argues that colonial history in its modernist form, as a record of public events and heroic actions, is re-presentation; the authoritative self-representation of the nation-state. The Modernist state extended into the very construction of its subjects, into their bodily routines and the essence of their selfhood. By instilling a deeply interiorised, distinct sense of self-regulation, the state imposed order; in the sense of 'regularity and regulation, convention and command, civility and servility' (Comaroff 2002:114).

Post-independence, the ideology of the nation state remained at the core of personal identity formation, with shared nationhood playing a critical legitimising role as a common national identity in the political unification of the state. The invocation of common roots and character was one of the major tools for producing patriotic loyalty and obedience; the main principle for ideological mobilisation. During his inaugural

Traditional Tanzanian ceremonial clothing, ceremonial bowl, African bowl with symbolical mixing of Zanizibar and Tanzanian soil. Inauguration of union 1964. Start of united republic of Tanzania
 26th April 1964
 Source: Soko - Tanzania.com



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address on 10 December 1962, President Nyerere, addressed the National Assembly of the then Tanganyika²⁰⁵, introducing the concept of culture as a fundamental contributor to the sense of unity as a nation.

The President's address²⁰⁶ provided the backbone of Tanzanian cultural policy²⁰⁷ and underscored the desire to create a national identity founded in more than 123 tribes, each with their own sub-culture. Culture was deemed the fundamental element in bringing the nation together as one. The post-colonial 'state nation' established under the tight control of President Nyerere 'the father of the nation', consequently became one of the major sources in which the Tanzanian citizens found a sense of community and collective identity (Borman 2003). The socio-culturally constructed identity or 'imagined community' (McCarthy 1999:176) of the Socialist state emerged; the new national plan assimilated²⁰⁸ the multiplicity of cultural forms under the state's jurisdiction (Borman 2003). A strategy of nation-building consequently became one of the major tools in the pursuit of the 'one state, one nation' ideal in combining heterogeneous states (Bauman 1998).

In an interview, Prof. Bakari, a scholar in Arts and previously Dean of TaSUBa, reflected on the role of culture in the liberation from colonial dogma; 'We became independent in ninety sixty one. The Government established the Ministry of Culture one year after

Front stage of Bagamoyo Festival of Arts and Culture, with performance by Masai group with traditional cow hide drums and horn. Traditional clothing
TaSUBa central theatre, Bagamoyo, 21 September 2015



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becoming independent, to counter the effects of colonialism[...] The philosophy of colonialism was vested in the creation of an environment where the colonised feel they don't have their own culture; so the culture of the coloniser becomes the superior culture and the culture of the colonised is the inferior culture' (Bakari, 8 June 2015). This statement foregrounds issues related to agency, and especially, the representation of cultures under asymmetrical political and social conditions. It is acknowledged that culture itself is a particular and powerful construct that accompanies imperial expansion (King 2004).

During the interview Bakari reinforces his argument by referring to the book *Decolonising the Mind* of Kenyan post-colonial theorist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986); 'The author says that, if you want to colonise people, the most powerful bond of all bonds is the cultural bond. So this Ministry was established in order to revive, preserve and to promote indigenous cultures but more importantly, to make Tanzanians feel proud of their own nation' (Bakari, 8 June 2015).

Bakari sketches the historical background to the proliferation of arts initiatives during the early 1960's. The new cultural policy led to various art reformations, including the institutionalization of National Art Groups. The aim was to fulfil Nyerere's quest for the 'renaissance of Africanness' in the arts and culture (Bakari & Materego 2008). Bakari recalls: 'The Ministry established the National Performing Arts company, including a National Dance Group (1963), a National Acrobatics Group (1969) and a National Drama

Group (1973) .These troupes created performances and toured the whole country as a way of promoting indigenous cultures, native arts but also making Tanzanians feel proud of their own culture, so that they also start practicing in these cultures' (Bakari, 8 June 2015).

Bakari highlights how the new policy influenced the cultural trajectory of Bagamoyo. He explains that after a few years of operation the Ministry re-examined the purpose of the National Performing Arts Company and concluded that the best way forward was to discontinue the national troupes and establish training institutions instead. The ambition was for people to learn and venture to various areas of the country as arts promoters. The National Performing Company was disbanded in 1979 and a year later the Bagamoyo College of Arts (TaSUBa²⁰⁹) was established. This formed the beginning of the TaSUBa Performance Festival as Bakari describes; 'When referring to Bagamoyo, you are basically talking of an Islamic town. In Islam such kind of institution that trains dancers and musicians would obviously be looked at negatively from a religious point of view. So it was not so positively received when it started. Because of this, the Principal plus tutors at the time thought of a way of telling the public what we were doing [...] that was the establishment of the Bagamoyo Festival of Arts. It started in 1982 and because of this it changed the attitude completely; people understood what was taking place and they became part of the activities. So you are talking of the oldest, most sustainable festival in Tanzania' (Bakari, 8 June 2015).

Hand painted street advertising along Uhuru street. CRBD commercial bank building Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



Bakari's account highlights how conceptualisations of culture and the relation with the notion of national culture needs to acknowledge the historical and contextual nature of its production.²¹⁰ When relating this thinking to the context of globalisation, Bakari sees the current changes taking place in the name of globalisation, akin to a new colonialist imperative. He argues that certain cultures are more dominant than others; they utilise global media as a tool to colonise by replacing native cultural bonds; 'Because the Western media are powerful, they can bring in all sorts of influences in very fast. A good example is football, you have more fans of Barcelona or Manchester United here than fans of local teams. This happens the world over' (Bakari, 8 June 2015). He further locates this argument in a context whereby indigenous cultures are gradually dying out which raises significant consequences for identity formation as; 'there will be a time when we have no longer a trace of where we came from' (Bakari, 8 June 2015).

When the notion of 'a' global culture was born, it inferred to processes of cultural homogenisation at a global scale. Scholars such as Stuart Hall argue that it is a one way cultural homogenisation process, led by powerful transnational flows, cultural industries of the developed world and new digital communication media (Hall 2010). As such the industrial homogenisation at a world scale represents a threat to cultural diversity as the vitality of local cultures is challenged throughout the varying stages of development (Bornman 2012).

The contemporary debate has however progressed from the idea of 'the global village' (Mc Luhan 1962). A new school of thought conceives globalisation as the new global framework for processes of hybridisation. This is strengthened by the emergence of the networked society, typified by the proliferation of information networks built upon a global system of interconnected and diversified media. Homi Bhabha (1994) supports this discourse and positions hybridity as a new form of cultural agency²¹¹, which focuses on the inbetweenness and fluidity as a platform to reframe cultural practice and meaning. Rooted in the fundamental impurity of culture, this proposition recognises that every culture is ultimately a hybrid and a product of interactions. The concept of hybridisation is not a substitute for fusion without contradictions, it represents cultural agency that engages with the tension created by intercultural dynamics (García Canclini 1990).

This is aligned with Nederveen Pieterse's discourse on hybridisation; he acknowledges the existence of a wide spectrum of hybridities, as their multiplicity differs according to the components in the *mélange* and functions as part of a 'power relationship between centre and margin, hegemony and minority, and indicates a blurring, destabilising or subversion of that hierarchical relationship' (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 78). Nederveen Pieterse (2004) distinguishes two distinct cultural concepts, which produce divergent perspectives on cultural relations and globalisation. On one hand, the territorial, which is inward focused and assumes that culture stems from a localised learning process; and on the other hand, translocal culture, with an outward looking sense of place, whereby culture is considered a general human software.²¹² In a period of accelerated globalisation and cultural mixing, there is a tendency to shift toward a translocal culture. This

Local taverna in modern part of town, serving beer and grilled chicken. International football match being screened in late afternoon
Soko Jipya new market, Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015





GLOBALISATION/HOMOGENISATION	GLOBALISATION/ DIVERSIFICATION
Cultural imperialism	Cultural planetarisation
Cultural dependence	Cultural interdependence
Cultural hegemony	Cultural interpenetration
Autonomy	Syncretism, synthesis, hybridity
Modernity	Modernities
Westernisation	Global mélange
Cultural convergence	Creolisation, crossover
World civilisation	Global ecumene

Homogenisation vs diversification according to Nederveen Pieterse (2004)

transition unleashes intense and dramatic nostalgia politics²¹³, including ethnic conflict, ethnicization of nations and religious revivalism.

Pieterse contrasts globalisation-as-homogenisation versus globalisation-as-hybridisation, as despite their shared territorial view of culture, the latter is focused on the diversification of cultural relations.

Furthermore King (2004) typifies the construction of global culture as transcending national, ethnic, racial and class boundaries. He argues that the cross-cultural and implicit geographical context embedded in global culture, requires an understanding of the globalisation process over time. He integrates this principle in the analysis of global culture, viewed from a spatial perspective and considers the process of cultural formation resulting from centripetal²¹⁴ or centrifugal²¹⁵ flows of cultural meaning.

162 Nurse (1999) points out that most of the literature on cultural globalisation tends to focus on the centrifugal process, with the centre firmly located in the West, resuscitating the long standing process of Westernisation and imperialism. The emphasis lies on the accelerated flow of technology, people and resources in a 'North to South or centre to periphery direction' (Nurse 1999:4).

In a similar vein Prof. Shepherd²¹⁶ articulates how the heritage discourse is principally a story between the local and the global, rather than a discussion about contemporary culture or identity, as heritage conservation has become one of the discourses through which the global interest navigate the local. He argues that localities are impacted by global designs in manifold ways as the practice is located at the fulcrum of the discourse on modernisation, heritage and development. As a subject these global currents are complicated to engage with. Shepherd sees how the language of heritage might create for localities an entry point, a strategy of survival, to mitigate the most damaging effects of global capitalisation; 'The performance of cultural identity in the eyes of a global gaze then puts local communities in line for various forms of recognition [...], some kind of preferential access to resources which offset the sharp edge of those global discourses' (Shepherd, 10 February 2015). Shepherd emphasises the challenges that come with a cultural debate as it occurs against a background of global capital interest; it is

intermeshed with the discourse about tourism and global flows of consumption; 'I can only think in terms of a kind of counter heritage; something which is radically different [...]. It is the default that global heritage discourse is catastrophic for local ways of life, in the same way that forms of aggressive global development are' (Shepherd, 10 February 2015).

King (2004) counters the notion of a one-way flow and articulates his discourse by acknowledging architecture and space-making as significant players in the script and discourse of globalisation. There is an understanding that modes of production and ideologies, global in their scope, like capitalist consumerism, or socialism, have replaced the nation-state as a major influence on architectural identity (Smith 1990); these are evident in the noticeable change in for example standardisation, the proliferation of architectural styles and global access to materials and construction systems.

Increased mobility²¹⁷ and telecommunications modify the experience of time and space and consequently also affects the conceptualisation of architecture²¹⁸ and urban planning. Despite certain forces of homogenisation, King (2004) argues that every product at any particular location in the world, will be de-coded and re-coded and invested with countless different interpretations. Through indigenisation it might obtain a new meaning and represent 'imagined discourses of 'modernity' civic and national pride, community vitality, and ethnic identity, the triumph of the market or the paternalism of the state' (King 2004:43).

Local street vendors requesting for photograph in front of German Boma administrative building refurbishment sign.
Under renovation since the late 1990's
Ocean Road, Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015



Families on beach. Preparing for family photograph during Idd festival
Bagamoyo shore in front of Boma, Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015





A hybrid identity

Since the start of the millennium many societies around the world have been captivated by open-ended processes of social transformation and confronted with an increasing sense of insecurity about their identity²¹⁹, searching to 'fit in' or belonging (Puttergill & Leilde 2006).

Puttergill & Leilde (2006) describe that in traditional, pre-modern societies, identity was unproblematic as it was perceived as undifferentiated, socially derived and linked to a position. This condition of certitude, founded on feudal forms of social and economic organisation, culture and thought, radically shifted to a condition marked by autonomy, openness and inquiry. Bauman (1996:50-51) refers to the stage of transition as post-modernity as it is the moment at which 'modern untying of tied identities reaches its completion'. Many factors such as globalising markets and media, ideas and values, ethnic revival and the recasting of political frontiers, have a direct impact on the question of identity (Driessen & Otto 2000) and consequently at this present day it has become easy to choose an identity but not to maintain it (Bauman 1996).

Contrary to the past, postmodern formation of identity is framed around the notion of subjectivity; rejecting grand theories that attempt to encompass the totality of the social construct (Prinsloo & De la Rey 1999). Giddens (1991) articulates how individual



agency²²⁰ is at the core of identity formation, characterised by loosening social ties, fluidity of social relations, individualisation, narcissism and the opportunity of choice between lifestyles. It is now deemed common that individuals construct and maintain multiple identities. They belong to different identity communities and assert their belonging to one or the other depending on the situation. Through social relations, identities are managed as each assertion not only identifies who one is but also simultaneously who one is not; it refers both to the individual and to the collective (Gervais-Lambony 2006). In Berger's words, identity is 'socially bestowed, socially sustained and socially transformed' (Berger 1963:116). Identity is considered a process, always in the making (Castells 1997) and cannot transcend space and time; it needs to be situated historically and relationally.

According to Puttergill & Leilde (2006) the views on agency, subjectivity and multiplicity in identity formation, remain highly contested within African scholarship; the postmodern scholars consider the Pan-Africanist²²¹ idea as the substitution of one hegemonic discourse, that of Euro-centrism, with another hegemonic discourse of Afro-centrism, which perpetuates modernism's binary classifications (Sewpaul 2004). This approach fails to recognise the vast differences within Africa which allows for hybridity, the multiplicity of identities that Africans create for themselves (Puttergill & Leilde 2006).

The changing processes of identity formation at both, a personal as well as at a collective level are tangible within the Bagamoyo society. In the past the situated relations were undisputed and provided a robust cultural foundation in which people could anchor their personal lives. Today community life plays out at the interface of tradition and the considered 'modern'. The collapse of a strong national ideology and the rapid changes that come with globalisation, are challenging fundamental values and are eroding the basis on which people used to build their identity.

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Bauman (2001) asserts this notion and argues that the arising disruption in individual identity formation at an individual level can be attributed to the effects of globalisation on the one hand, combined with new, liberal ideas and extreme forms of individualism arising in the modern age on the other. This tension between the old and the new world, came to the surface during an interview with an acclaimed local Muslim historian Mr. Kejeri. I visited him at the von Wissmann Tower monument, which is used as an office by the *Uwaba*, the committee of the old people, consisting of 60 members of the age of fifty and above. He explains the vision of the committee; 'Our aim is to teach people not to do bad things, good manners and to teach about all what happened because some of them are forgetting the past. We aim to instil custom and tradition' (Kejeri, 3 June 2015). He refers in particular to providing guidance in relation to sexual education, circumcision and marriage. For many years the *Uwaba* nurtured the dream to start their own radio to reach a broader audience and transfer knowledge to the younger generation. He emphasises the need to discuss modern issues such as HIV to do away with rumours and false information and ensure young people take the necessary precautions. He argues the focus is not on caring for the aged but the training of the younger generation as they will

one day take charge of society.

In the traditional society of Bagamoyo, the individuals' identity was largely based on their position within the social hierarchy that, to a large extent had been determined by birth. At present the principle of equality of all people is widely accepted and the stigma²²² related to the past of slavery, has gradually vanished. The individual has thus emancipated from the ascribed, inherited and, or inborn nature of identity (Bauman 2001; Taylor 1991). Although this context of emancipation provides great opportunity for personal growth, it is also a fertile ground for budding forms of individualism, which come in from the global city of Dar es Salaam and are fuelled by advertising and social media. The fulfilment and authenticity of the individual becomes the primary objective. Moreover, the 'notion of individual freedom emphasises that all humans are free to self-create, to realise their own authenticity and to fulfil their potential. Self-constitution, self-assertion and self-transformation have thus become the slogans of the time' (Borman 2003:30). The dogma of social standing is being replaced by a growing compulsive and obligatory self-determination (Bauman 2001). Consequently, the consumption and commodities that accompany a 'modern lifestyle' have become signifiers in Bagamoyo's society as they are the medium through which individuals acquire and express their identity. Consequently the consumer culture is more than just consumption of goods (Hattori 1997).



While globalisation has multiplied the options for identification on a personal and collective level, Individuals that intend to engage with the new global reality, generate friction as they break out of the common socio-cultural convention of their local context. For instance, the emancipation of women remains contested as it is situated within a context where the roles in society remain largely gender specific and reinforced by particular religious value systems. During an interview with a female professional, she articulated the fragmented identity of many modern Tanzanian women; 'It is hard to be a modern woman whilst abiding various customs and traditions. We modern woman, we like to live a mixed life style. Firstly, we want to be educated, we want to appear modern, we want modern comfort and live in a modern house. As a Christian, I want to take good care of the children, I believe in marriage and follow the Bible's prescription of being 'a good and wise woman'. As a woman married to a fellow Tanzanian, you also want to include some traditional elements such as the love and care for the extended family' (Kapela, 1 April 2015).

The forces associated with identity formation are no longer restricted to local space but originate in different worlds, varying from the local to the global (Borman 2003) Individual identities consequently become a complex mixture of different intertwined realities and reinforce the fragmentation of identity. The notion of an identity crisis has become a common condition as the individual has lost grip on the present and the self-confidence to direct his or her own destiny. An invigorating sense of sameness and continuity (Erikson 1968) has become a rare experience for a postmodern society (Borman 2003).

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Liquid modernity

From an ethnographic perspective, modernity denotes the condition of human life within a contemporary world and is thus coupled with a number of social constructs (Mooney 2011). The modern condition relates to processes of social change and particular conceptualisations of place, locality and identity or in Rofel's evocative words: 'modernity persists as an imaginary and continuously shifting site of global and local claims, commitments, and knowledge. Forged within uneven dialogues about the place of those who move in and out of categories of otherness' (1999:3). Being modern represents a disorienting and disjointed experience whereby personal and social life are experienced 'as a maelstrom, to find one's world and oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction' (Berman 1988:345).

Metaphors from the physical sciences have been applied by social theorists to characterise this status of contemporary change, such as Baumann's concept of liquid modernity²²³ which intends to capture the current state of mind and response to our critical times. It implies 'mercurial, social changes within particular communities as they are exposed to, incorporate, manipulate, and create and become embedded in diverse localised forms of modernity' (Mooney 2011:49). This paradigm is based on the hypothesis that the solidity and structure of classic social constructs²²⁴, the territoriality

Dirt road in new suburb, Block P.
BSA Hotel & Apartments, established 2014. 32 apartments, catering for business travelers
Jakaya Street, Block P, Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015





of a culturally cohesive nation-state, and the distinction between high and popular culture has been blurred, conceding the emergence of a modern social reality where interactions are fluid and unstable (IFACCA 2014).

The current age fundamentally differs from solid modernity in two key aspects; Firstly, the collapse of the belief that history has a final state of perfection, typified by the end of conflict and dissolution of all contradictions. Consequently, an unquestionable purpose for the individual and the collective is absent and the fall of utopias has lowered the expectations of gratification. Secondly, there has been a deregulation and privatisation of the tasks and duties of society. The responsibilities previously looked after by the collective, typically the welfare state, have now turned into individual responsibilities. The personal accountability is much higher and the liquidity of these changing social frameworks now rests with the individual (IFACCA 2014).

According to Mooney (2011) the global deployment of modernity is inherently implicated in colonialism and thus embedded within a particular Western historical, political, economic, and military framework. Although modernity aspires to free 'human reason [...] from particular traditions' (Mitchell 2000: xi) and 'technological power [...] from the constraints of the natural world' (Mitchell 2000: xi), the concept of modernity is mainstreamed throughout the world, involving particular forms and technologies of power, governance, domination, and hegemony which impose the interests of Western capital and exclude other modes of living. Therefore modernity's eminence as a teleological, universalising grand narrative comes under question (Mooney 2011). Modernity does not represent a verifiable object nor a rational condition free of discrepancies, rather it is a totalising project that intends to introduce Western sensibilities and ideals (Asad 2003:12).

Latour (1991) challenges²²⁵ the overriding notion of modernity as founded on the Enlightenment principles of scientific rationality; it depends on a dualistic framework, which he argues is untenable in its decoupling of humanity from non-human elements of the world, or in anthropological terms, of culture from nature. Historically a binary traditionality versus modernity discourse developed dialectically, and was shaped by an uneven distribution of power. This dualistic narrative had been intermeshed into much of social and cultural theory for most of the 20th century (Roy 2001) and reinforced in the late 19th and early 20th Century in various parts of the colonial world. According to King (2004) the political, social, spatial, and cultural phenomenon of the 'modern city' was introduced from Europe, as a device of colonial control. At that time the modern city was epitomised by the automobile, the railroad, the planned streets and street lighting and in some locations the airport such as in Pretoria and New Delhi. The development of a centred urban authority meant that the original indigenous settlement was reconceptualised as 'the traditional city' (King 2004).

In Bagamoyo, the segregation between 'Stone town' and the African areas existed since Arabic times. During the colonial era the urban edge would be symbolically recast to represent the dichotomy between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'; the colonial public functions such as the German administrative offices would be erected in Stone town and thus built on the foundations of the previous empire. The building of modernity provided ways of materialising, as well as visualising the distinction in real, tangible terms (King 2004). Industrial capitalism and its social and cultural context provide the bias for notions of the 'modern' and epitomised European progression (King 2004). This polar ideological construct had a traumatic impact on the post-colonial identity. It left the subjects with an insatiable yearning for modernity, combined with a reliance on traditional practices and worldviews as a way of accessing that modernity, epitomised by power, status and networks, also reflected in the evolution of the contemporary urban environment. Shepherd²²⁶ articulates Africa's problematic relationship with modernity as he sees it as a disguise for the continuation of a colonial logic, the logic of global capital; 'Modernity in Africa is a big conversation; it is a conversation about coloniality, colonial modernity and the notion of transmodernity, as a decolonial discourse' (Shepherd, 10 February 2015).

The Mini Super Market, shop façade, with closed sign
Windsor Street, Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



Mutating forms and representations echo the condition of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities and global economies within contemporary society. King (2004) points out that in this context²²⁷, competing modes of production such as global capitalism, local state socialism, and new forms of feudalism, create on the one hand corporate office towers, luxury apartments and hotels, alongside a diversity of local vernaculars and shantytowns. This trend manifests deep economic dissonance and contradiction but also cultural and regional heterogeneity. This metamorphosing cityscape is highly pronounced in the growing periphery of Dar es Salaam as a hybrid product of global cultural flows; engendered by the 'common adoption of ideas, techniques, standards, design ideologies and the worldwide diffusions of information, images, professional cultures and sub-cultures (of architecture, city planning, urban design, conservation) and supported by international capital flows' (King 1991:32).

The notion of a cultural centre and a subordinate periphery has dissolved (Lash & Urry 1994), a deterritorialised urban language of deceptive disorder is procreated as urbanisation progresses. The creolisation of the built environment is particularly noticeable along Bagamoyo Road, the artery route between Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo, with the mixing of scales, the juxtaposition of functional programme, the complex layering of permanent and temporary structures, the over-determined codes spaces, the exuberant presence of sign and image. Traces of this hybrid language are now also emerging in Bagamoyo, through the reiterative adaptations of the built form, the recoding of spaces through new symbolic idioms, the morphing of the modern and the traditional.

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These emerging phenomena challenge the future role and perceived value of Bagamoyo's heritage, including colonial heritage, within a changing context of African Hybridity. King (2004) locates the debate about the role of heritage spaces within the context of 'real spaces within the city', whether regarded 'primarily as representative of social relations of power or as the lived everyday space of socially, racially and ethnically differentiated populations' (King 2004:57). He argues that they are essentially dynamic as they continue to mutate overtime, they signify transformations or reaffirmations in the social distribution of power and resources.

'Heritage is like a Mango Tree. The mango tree is in your garden, how did it get there? Our ancestors planted the tree so we would have fruits to survive and enjoy' (Shaba, 4 February 2015); this statement of Marie Shaba, a local cultural activist, highlights the culturally embedded notion of intergenerational patronage. Professor Lowassa reinforces this thought as he argues that even in situations of poverty, the respect for heritage pervades as there are 'things which must be kept, there are things which you cannot do and things which you can do' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015). For instance, Lowassa articulates that the custom of 'handing down to the next generation' is particularly prominent during family celebrations, for example during the 'send-off celebration', whereby the future bride is being prepared for the wedding and the mother offers her presents of cultural significance. He makes a strong point that heritage conservation is not a mere imported concept, derived from western ideals. Lowassa

however highlights a deeper problematic misconception in reconciling what cultural heritage is, as the inherited understanding equates cultural heritage solely with historical monuments. He emphasises the need to reposition the conceptualisation of heritage from within a local contemporary African context; 'Of course I understand the Boma is interesting heritage for the Germans, the British, but it's their construction and their architecture. However for me, heritage relates to the traditional Chagga²²⁸ house, where I grew up and which is disappearing as we speak' (Lowassa, 6 February 2015).

The statement foregrounds the existence of multiple parallel identities, which produce a multiplicity of specificities; a concept that resonates with the heritage discourse of architect Mehrotra. Based on his studies of contemporary Indian cities, he uncovers deeper issues that come with conservation in post-colonial situations. In these locations there exists not always an aspiration to preserve historic references, as for an entire generation of citizens, the historic core of the city might represent repression and exclusion, with the buildings echoing symbols of a colonial past. He advocates for an approach that can transcend iconographic or symbolic content, and reintegrate historic buildings in the many worlds that inhabit the same city. Supported by local agency, symbolism can be overcome, and recycled architecture can be reconnected with contemporary life and realities. He argues that the focus should not be on object-centric projects; the notions of cultural significance needs to be broadened to respond to a pluralistic society where cultural memory is an enacted process (Mehrotra 2004).

Bagamoyo Classic, shop façade, closing time
Bagamoyo, 23 September 2015



This approach echoes Yeoh's (2001) discourse as he ascertains how the distinctive social, ethnic and racial attributes of postcolonial cities offer opportunities for newly emergent practices and social identities. Whilst acknowledging the resistance to historical colonial representations, the imagined pluralism is drawn upon to position the postcolonial nation as a cosmopolitan society and create new avenues for contemporary identity formation. The African philosopher Achille Mbembe (2008) evocatively reflects on the 'work of memory'; 'Meditation on that absence, and on ways of symbolically restoring what has been destroyed, here in large part consists in giving the theme of the sepulchre its full subversive force. But the sepulchre is not so much the celebration of death as the reference to the extra bit of life that's needed to raise the dead which lies at the heart of a new culture that promises never to forget the vanquished' (Mbembe 2008:10).

The psychology of local engagement with modernity is complex, for modern and global processes enforce compromises, conditions as well as promise. Central to this, is the notion of agency (Mooney 2011). Appadurai (1996) indicates that globalisation makes people cognisant of possible, imaginable lives beyond their everyday reality. Hannerz considers the construction of identities as 'fantasy amid diverse strands of cosmopolitanism and consumption' (1999:326). Both scholars however recognise that agency is restricted by comparative economics and power disparities: the presumption of equality in global economies within the present context of gross imbalances in capital and power makes collective notions of modern identity elitist. Global possibilities are within the scope of post-colonial peoples, but not all are positioned to act upon them (Mooney 2011).

The continued trajectory of modernity represents an ongoing debate.²²⁹ Scientific positivism, grand historical narratives and Western development trajectories have been discredited, and many of the official, national and governmental discourses of modernity are acknowledged as deeply problematic. Post-modernism²³⁰ does however not represent a quick-fix antidote to modernity either. Furthermore, the postmodern condition is elusive and its effects is hard to measure in locations, whilst still undergoing the radical transformations of modernity. Thus 'the hegemony of the modern over what it displaces as 'traditional' is never complete' (Mitchell 2000: xviii) or as a respondent evocatively commented; '[...] we talk about our ancestors, but tomorrow we are going to be the ancestors. What are we going to leave behind? What legacy are we going to have? Are we going to spoil everything? Are we going to disappear as a race? Are we going to make any scientific, artistic, technological contribution? Or have we become too impoverished?' (Shaba, 4 February 2016).

Ice cream and new hairstyles
Bagamoyo, 23 September 2015





MOAZB LODGE
I DEAL FOR:
EXCELLENCE FOOD & LODGING
Box 35 Bafra, Mo: 074-681014
moyloja @ yahoo.com



CULTURAL READING OF SPACE

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*(Opposite) Moazb Lodge. Signage stating; I deal for: excellence, food and lodging.
Bagged charcoal for sale. Pitched tin roof constructions, Swahili walled dwellings
Rumumbe Road, Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015*

This section intends to converge the findings and accumulated cultural knowledge through the reading of Bagamoyo's built environment. Cultural ecologies are foregrounded through the primary lens of the urban public versus private interface and the analysis of the changes resulting from the development pressures enforced by a changing local and global reality. The cultural readings are thematically structured, namely;

The reading of the space, focuses on uncovering the cultural indicators embedded in the built environment;

Secondly, the sharing of space, locates the debate in the ritual and the cultural enactment of space;

Further, the codification of space, concentrates on meaning-making processes and cultural symbols that frame the spatial experience; and,

To conclude, the section refers to the space of the imaginary, which elevates the cultural discourse from the tangible to the non-tangible domain of the imaginary.

Reading of space

Cultural coherence

Observation

Lamiya, June 2015

Eyes follow me from the small outdoor verandas on Kauzeni Street; in the late morning the elders and women rest outside their *baraza*²³¹, watching life go by, or dealing with domestic duties, looking after young children or selecting vegetables in preparation for lunch when the men return from work.

The street forms the southern edge of the oldest hamlet of the town, Lamiya. When referring to this area people reveal mystical undertones; as the oldest house, the house of the first Sheikh of Bagamoyo or Sheikh Ramiya is located here.

He was a legendary personality in Bagamoyo's history still honoured and celebrated today. Kauzeni Street is predominantly residential, interspersed with small convenience or tailor shops located in the veranda of the house. The streetscape is defined by recurring African houses²³², constructed in traditional adobe and wattle, covered by corrugated iron, echoing the silhouette of the replaced *makuti*²³³ roofs. The houses appear at regular intervals and the sandy soft edged road links into the small alleys in between, which creep into the shadowy grounds behind the dwellings as long tentacles of an invisible creature.

Certain alleys disclose glimpses of a different materiality, bushes intertwined with grey concrete blocks create an alien layer between the public eye and the courtyard life. An open plot of land widens the view towards a clearing in the midst of arising concrete structures. A gigantic tree towers above it all. Some of its large branches are cut by newcomers. Its mutilated silhouette emphasises the continued belief in its auspicious existence as the new residents didn't endeavour to cut the entire tree down but reduced it in size to build around it.

The next day I retrace my walk along Ramiya Street. I overcome my hesitation and decide to leave the public territory of the main sandy street and continue the journey along one of the alleyways, leading me on an unknown path behind the houses.

Am I entering someone's private courtyard? What are the norms for entry? Would this be acceptable for an outsider or are these hidden grounds? The view along the narrow lane is obscured by its many turns, *makuti* screening appears on both sides until I encounter chickens on my path, roaming freely. They belong to the adjacent courtyard, where a mother is plaiting her daughter's hair whilst watching me attentively from behind the low level screens.

The end of the courtyard is open ended, only marked by a free standing pit latrine. The dense layering of concealed narrow pathways opens up to a central clearing surrounded by sizeable houses under construction. Skeletons of modernity articulate future terraces and balconies, replacing the traditional *barazas*. Some of the houses are partly occupied. Colourful washing hangs uneasily between the concrete framework and a woman cooks outside, as she has always done, seemingly oblivious to the changes happening around her. I suddenly recognise the giant tree I discovered the day before. I realise I crossed the entire neighbourhood from within, though the capillary network of interconnected lanes. A young lady in a tracksuit greets me from one of the adobe houses. After some time I realise I met her on Kauzeni Street the day before. She was wearing an orange traditional dress, seated on the veranda. I greet her mother cleaning the plates from lunch in the courtyard, whilst moving through the maze of interconnected yard spaces. I suddenly realise I am standing on the outside again, on the public street where we met the day before.

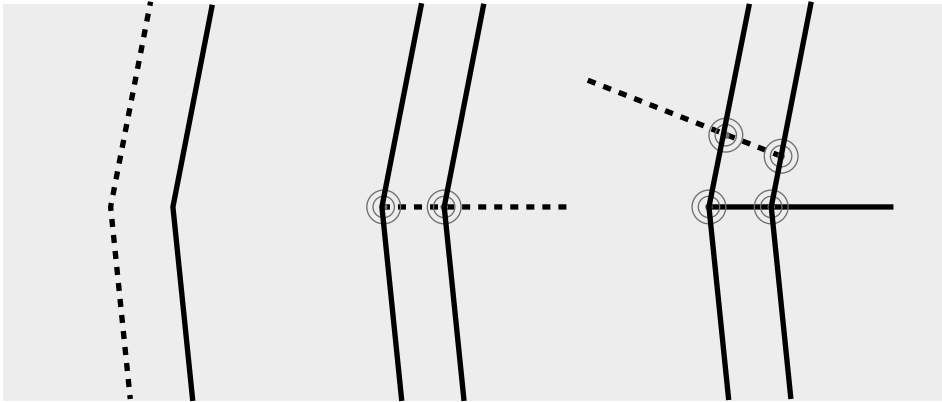
Unrendered block construction, bare ground shared common area, ancient tree being felled for development
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015



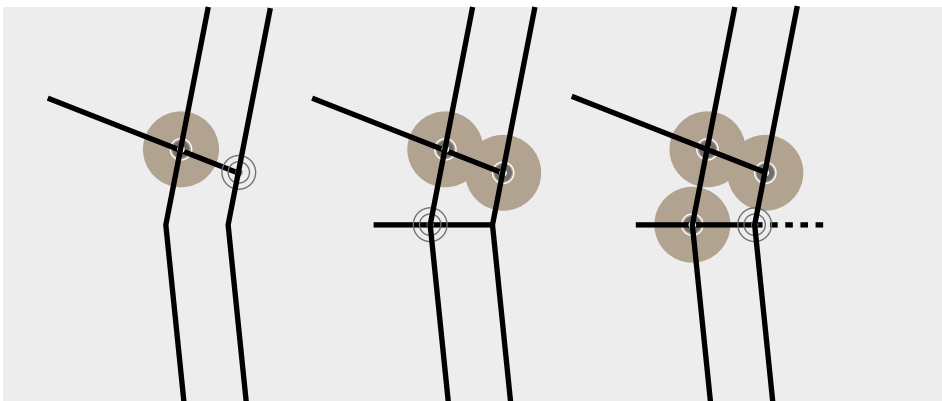
Aerial photograph of Bagamoyo, dated June 1973
Source: *National Mapping and Surveying Department, Dar es Salaam*



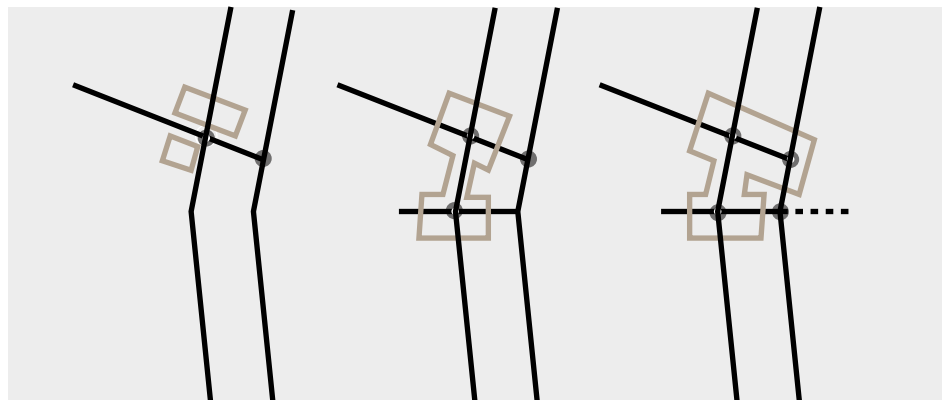




Trace



Encounter



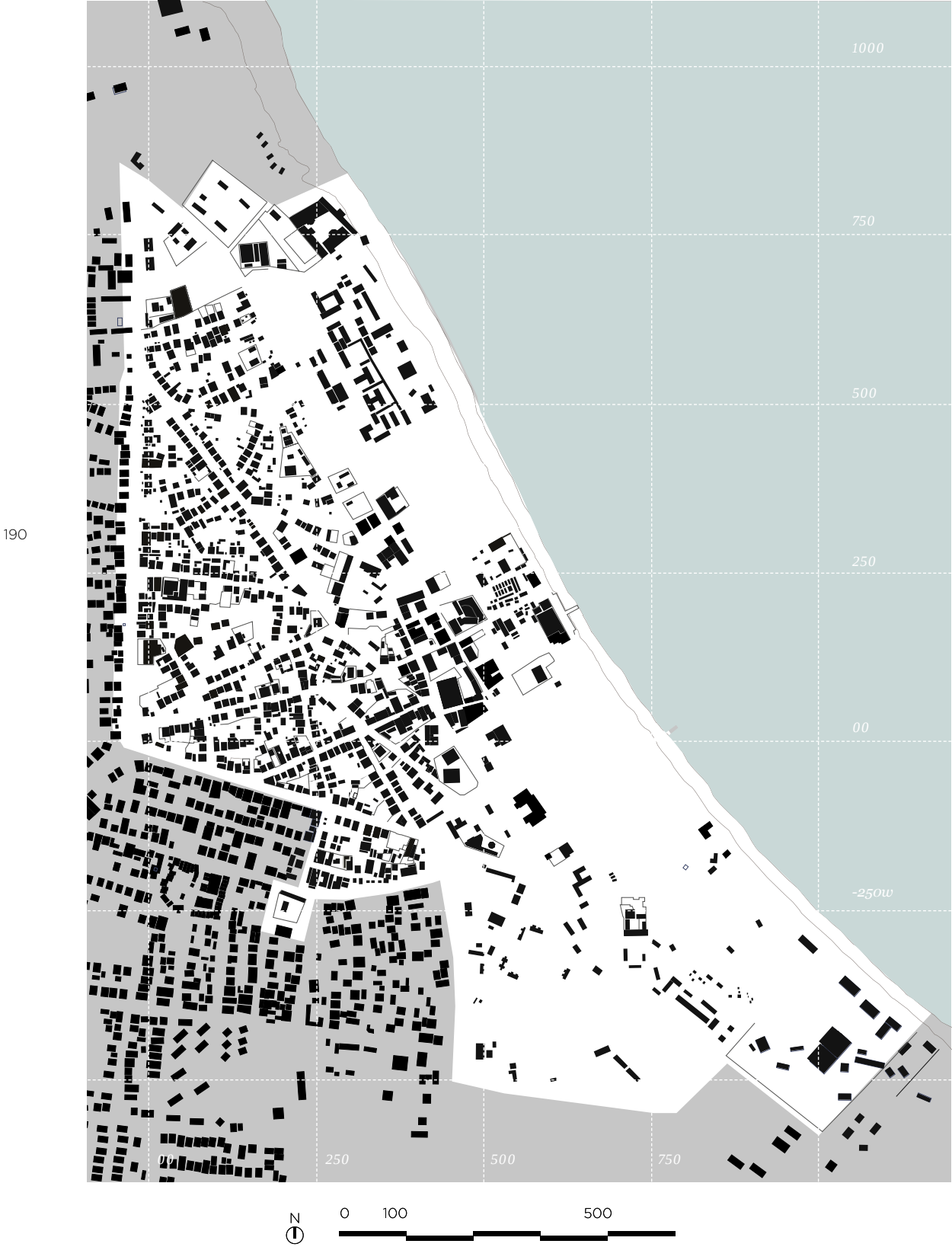
Form

The Survey map of 1954 reveals the first settlement pattern which remains prevalent today; the town historically developed along two long streets parallel to the coast line, currently known as Ocean Road²³⁴ and Old Market Street, and a triangulated street grid beyond. In the last two decades the town has expanded to the south, planned according to a formal street grid and accommodating key functions such as the new market and the bus terminal. In recent years urban growth has proliferated, which is evident in the uncoordinated development of the Mangesani area, west of the town centre.

Throughout history Bagamoyo represented the lifeline between the Indian Ocean trade routes and the inland caravan routes, which led to Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and other parts of Central Africa (Karlsson 1964). Villages grew along a coastal travellers trail connecting into the small fishing port of Bagamoyo. This trail developed overtime into the main street of activity, traversed by perpendicular paths, stretching between land and water²³⁵. Two of those perpendicular streets tailored Bagamoyo's urban form; the Fruit Market Street leading to the Old Market and Dunda Road and Customs Road connecting directly to the old port. At the intersections the market and commercial centre originated and became the seed of the settlement. During the Bushiri uprising in the late 1880's, German defence lines were created, which consolidated the strict triangular shape of the old town, delineated by Mangesani Street to the West and Uhuru Street to the south (Areskough & Persson 1999).

The old town's footprint echoes its existence as a place of encounter, arrival and departure of various routes; connecting land and sea. The south west corner of the towncentre connects into the Road to Msata, leading into the hinterland network. Mangesani Road demarcates the western edge of the old town and connects into Ocean Road, leading to the salt works North of the town. Caravan Road defines the edge on the south side and follows the old slave route leading to the *Caravan Serai*²³⁶. It further connects into a four way junction, intersecting with the Bagamoyo Dar Road, the artery connecting Bagamoyo with Dar es Salaam. The southern apex of the triangle feeds into the old road along the shore, leading to the 13th Century Kaole village, once the principal harbour prior to Bagamoyo's existence.

Ichnographic map of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author



Street map of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author
Street names based on Bagamoyo Tourist Map (2014), Bagamoyo Tourist Office



The old town of Bagamoyo exists out of a 'Stone town' and an area historically referred to as the 'african area'²³⁷. The form and structure of the old town reveals a territorial hierarchy²³⁸ inherited from the past, whereby defined parts of the town are differentiated according to political, social or cultural importance. Historically Stone town expanded along India Street and School Street; the most prominent stone buildings, public and trading spaces were located along this north-south spine and structured the activities within the town. At present the building fabric in this zone is still typified by the old stone buildings or remnants thereof. Additionally, contemporary civic functions such as the District Municipality, the outdoor District Court House and other administrative functions remain located in this area of historic prominence. The land along the shore, bordering Stone town, was historically was highly strategic as a control post of the sea; its spatial demarcation was defined by the military sightlines from the Old Fort. Today it acts as a wild public garden.

The African area is located further inland. The morphology of its Swahili town fabric is shaped by diverse cultural influences which led to a distinct hybridity identity, defined by heightened cultural sensitivity for negotiating and filtering the private from the public domain. From the urban macro structures to the scale of the living unit, the enactment of daily life defined and continues defining the spatial configurations; the notions of proximity, permeability and territorial layering have been guiding the settlement's conurbations since its inception as a man-made connection to the sea.

Double storey stone merchant buildings, entrance porticos with baraza
Old Market Street, Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015



By contrast, the urban fabric of Stone town is more compact, than the structure of the African Area. The boundaries between public and private are expressed by means of walls, hedges, gates, level differences and stairs (Areskough, Persson 1999). Entrances are not located at all streets surrounding the block but are mostly oriented towards two parallel streets. The Arabic tradition of keeping family life private, commonly translated in Arabic traditional buildings which are introvert and self-sufficient, is within a Swahili context blended with Indian and African extrovert features, resulting in a sensitive model of carefully negotiated and deeply encoded public and private realms. The filter between various domains is epitomised by the decorated Zanzibari door. This highly adorned entrance portal marks the formal entry to the private sphere and discloses the descentance, the economic status and ethnic background of the residing family by means of layered Arabic and Indian symbology, such as flowers, pineapples, fish scales and geometric patterns or verses from the Quran, intricately sculpted into the doorframe; warding off the evil spirits from trying to enter the residence.

The residence is built around the concept of the extended family, which is reflected in a highly permeable configuration of the houses and in their combined urban clustering. At ground level each room is dissected by a central circulation spine that connects the entrance with the courtyard located at the back of the house. Walls separate the courtyard from the neighbouring dwelling, however certain houses share a courtyard

Double storey stone house ruin, open carved Zanzibari door, timber shutters, coral and limestone building construction, tree growing in upper level
Ocean Road, Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015



which enables occupants to walk in on one side and walk out through the house on the opposite side. Stone town's historically dense structure emerged as an arrangement of interior rooms, clustered to form dwellings, in turn assembled in blocks that create the urban rooms of the town's fabric (Areskough & Persson 1999).

The adopted conservation policy aims to ensure that new developments in the area respect the historic character and scale. The development height is constrained up to 3 storeys and the external appearance must respect the historical landscape. Currently the town maintains its horizontal skyline, with the exception of the more recent Millennium La Renaissance hotel²³⁹, which with its six storeys towers above the old town. By contravening the conservation principles, the structure reproduces unknowingly the social hierarchy of the past as the stone houses were historically also a direct reflection of social status and financial success. Due to the overall decay and the conservation-led constraints on new development, the sense of an urban core is gradually dissipating. At present there is no longer a strongly defined edge to Stone town; the stone structures transition into a more organic pattern of smaller scale dwellings, typical for the African Area.

This area has maintained its fine grained fabric; a great sense of cultural coherence prevails due to its intrinsic system of overlapping territories²⁴⁰ that binds all together. The African area can be considered as a giant capillary system of filtered access. The sandy



Hamlet boundaries and overlay of historic identity areas of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author



roads represent the direct imprint of many generations of the past as the movement desire lines are etched onto the natural landscape. The blurred street edges reflect the natural transition from the public into the private realm of the dwelling and its overlapping dimension. The secondary streets are considered public space in the true sense; the overriding purpose is not on reaching the end-destination, but rather to meet people enroute, exchange the latest news and socialise.

The houses are located close to the street edge. The *baraza*, the veranda in front of the house, forms a key attribute in transitioning from the street to the domestic sphere as it functions as an external living room, where people relax and meet. It is as much part of the public street life as it is of private family life. Most of the time the front door is left open. The central corridor of the house connects the sheltered entrance, along the parallel family rooms, directly into the domestic courtyard behind the house, where soft structures made of *makuti* and timber shelter the washing and cooking areas. The courtyards are interlinked and sometimes shared between the neighbouring houses. A network of semi-public alleyways creates a secondary circulation network, connecting the yards with the street. The urban fabric is highly resilient to change, as more living units are added in the backyard by expanding family requirements. To accommodate higher levels of population growth, the fabric naturally densifies as more houses are connected into the secondary circulation network behind the initial tier of development. This densification is comparable with an organic process; the dynamic multiplication of sub-dividing cells whereby a fractal structure expands from within and the individual cells keep their intrinsic characteristics intact.

Rhizoid cellular structure as a metaphor for the spatial fabric of Bagamoyo
Source: *Rhizoid.org*, TomTom 1992-2015

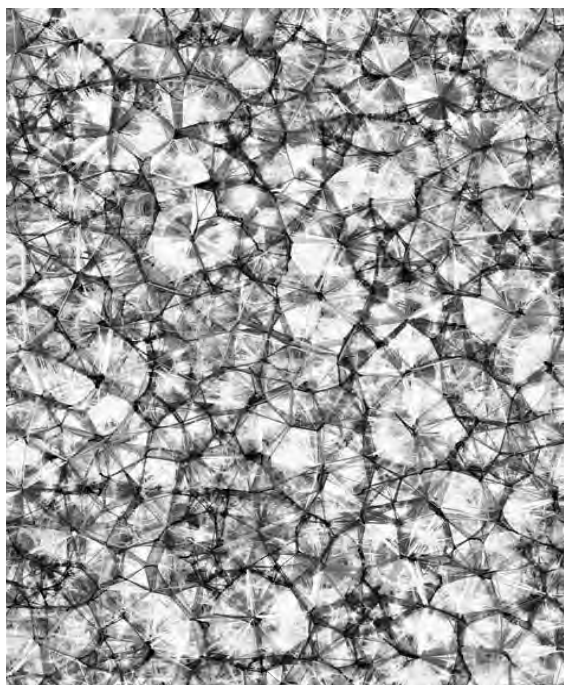
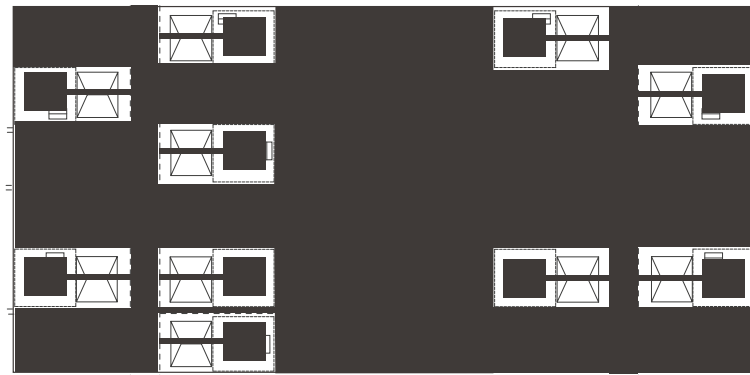
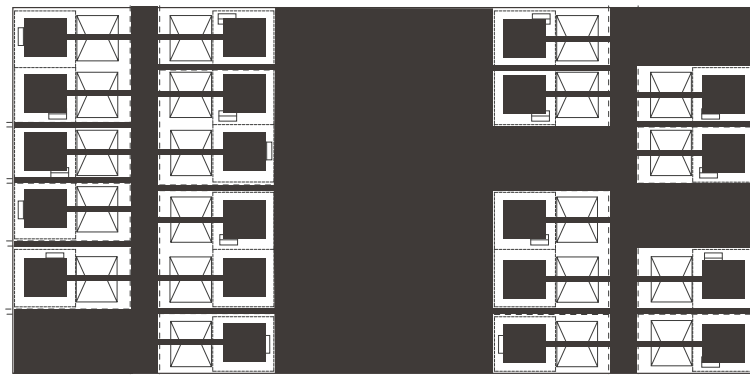


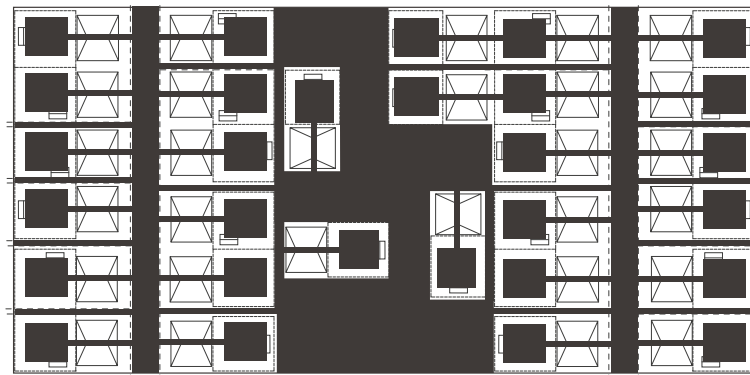
Diagram illustrating growth and densification of Swahili urban fabric



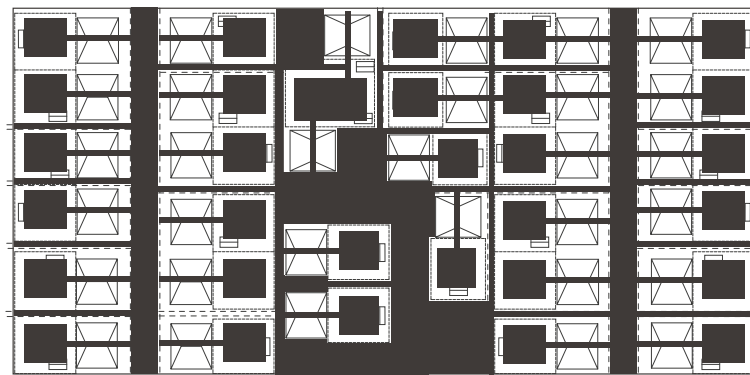
Stage 1



Stage 2



Stage 3



Stage 4

Range of structures defining alleyway morphology
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015





Although the *makuti* roofs have been replaced by corrugated iron sheeting, most houses still reflect the customary plan and architectural appearance of the traditional house; the sheltered threshold area marking the entrance sequence, the *baraza* where the indoor house life meets the outdoor life, the carved Zanzibari wooden doors, the pitched roofs and the limited openings-versus-wall ratio. The traditional structures of wattle²⁴¹ and adobe²⁴² are constrained in their load bearing capacity and as such a horizontal street profile is maintained throughout most of the area.

The growth pattern inherent to the built environment, in both Stone town and the African area, demonstrates cultural coherence at all scales, creating a unique urban pattern of territorial sequences which implicitly exposes the underlying social configuration. The *raison d'être* is cultural, not a strictly urban or spatial objective that is being reduced to a simple *opus moderandi* of territorial control (Scheerlinck 2010).

Recently this notion of cultural coherence has been challenged by the infiltration of residential models imported from other parts of the world. This trend is particularly noticeable at the outer edges of the old town, where new developments are inward focused and mimic certain decorative features of vernacular architecture, yet they have no tangible, conceptual or physical, interface with the surrounding urban fabric.

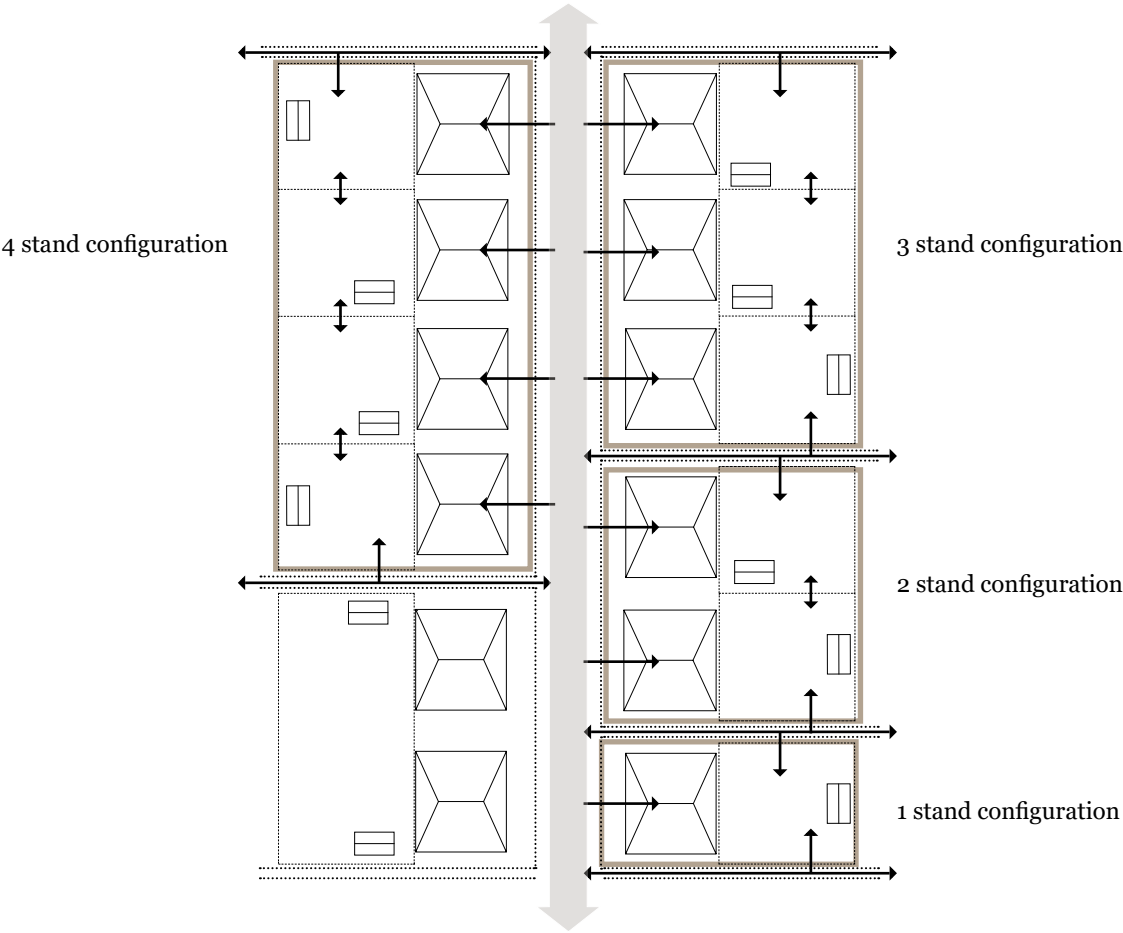


Independent baraza of palm leaf with timber pole construction, providing shelter, along public path with entrance to Shia Ithna Asheri Mosque
Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



Contemporary developments such as the new areas located south of Uhuru Street, have been formally planned and are set out according to a regular grid allocating a street for every two rows of houses with the entrance of every house facing a main road. The courtyards are more formalised and segregated compared with the configurations in the old part of town, by means of walls and gates. They are destined for private family life only and have lost their integrative collective function. The interconnecting lanes in between the houses function primarily as short cuts to the next street. The typology of the house is based on the customary African house²⁴³; however proportions and scale have permutated and the front portion of the house has become in many instances a representation of a ceremonial threshold rather than a place for social interaction.

Diagram illustrating typical Swahili urban fabric configurations
Based on site inspection



Typical female alleyway territory, washing, cooking utensils, block construction residential structures
Bagamoyo, 10 June 2015



Cultural Indicators

In *The structure of the Ordinary*, the architectural theorist Habraken (1998) approaches the analysis of the built environment from a territorial understanding, whereby he considers space as a result of acts of occupation. He argues that the built environment is structured according to three orders²⁴⁴; the order of form, place and of understanding. He ascertains cultural indicators which enable different ways of discerning cultural form, namely by identifying 'patterns, types and systems' embedded in the built environment.

A pattern can be considered a cultural indicator as it consistently repeats and relates parts of the built environment in a consistent manner. Habraken considers patterns to be more than a mere physical artefact but refers to live configurations which incorporate intervening agents and other informing external factors. Within the Bagamoyo context, the use of the *baraza* threshold as a mediator of the individual - collective interface, can be considered 'a pattern'. It works in a singular form but when repeated it becomes an urban pattern that generates similar characteristics informing the broader urban fabric, by means of continuity, variety and rhythm. The pattern emanates from a situated cultural dimension as it is bound to this particular place and emerges from local cultural references.

The system indicator is an ordering device, defining the cultural level of territorial organisation. According to Habraken (1998), a system is defined by two aspects; firstly by a certain configuration with similar or varied ways of construction or assembly and secondly by a structure directed by clear rules of distribution. The relation of its parts is of importance and not the particular configuration in itself. The system that permeates all aspects of the old town of Bagamoyo, is the territorial permeability; rooted in a strong cultural awareness of the collective. This is reflected in the structural use of alleyways and courtyards that define a highly permeable and mutable urban cluster; and at the level of the dwelling, the integration of the central spine of the house as a mediator between the collective and private space. The homogeneous appearance of the streetscape emerges from its systemic growth whereby the residential 'cells' are multiplied and self-organised around courtyards and shared domains of urban life. The replication of the housing typology, creates a coherent system of sequential in-between spaces; the connecting lanes in between the houses, the transition space between street and entrance, the threshold between one courtyard and the next. The enclosed territory of domestic life functions as an integrated component of the overarching network as it defines the behaviour patterns related to the domestic ritual without excluding the collective realm.

The third cultural indicator Habraken identifies is the environmental type. He defines this as a combination of observed patterns and systems, set within a context of particular constraints. Within a typology structural and systematic characteristics can be recognised. The typical stone house and Swahili house configuration can be considered typologies as they represent a structure of interrelations and continuities, action and control.

Typical stone residential typology, columns framing entrance and carved Zanzibari door,
Makarani Street and Pumbuji Street intersection
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



The Swahili stone house typology²⁴⁵ is defined by rooms of a long and narrow proportion dictated by the size of the mangrove beams used as support structure²⁴⁶. Three to five room modules are arranged as a sequence of parallel spaces. The central circulation spine of the house dissects all rooms; the rooms are accessed from the corridor or merge with the circulation to become one permeable space. When extra space is required a room module is added to the base structure of the house or in the back yard. This results in a relatively dark internal environment as daylight can only penetrate through the windows facing the street or the yard. The central rooms have no natural light nor visual contact with the exterior.

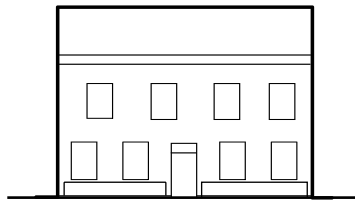
The structure of the stone house is typified by a hip roof, with the ridge pole parallel or perpendicular to the front elevation, and generally extends to two floors with habitually the provision of an open balcony, which captures the cooling breeze of the sea. The organisation of the upper floors is more flexible than the ground level; the circulation is no longer linear as the staircase is located in one of the middle room modules. Some houses feature a slight variant, being an external staircase connecting the upper floor with the courtyard. Historically in dense areas the houses were configured as intertwined structures, with upper floors corresponding to a neighbouring house, creating intricate complexed relations between levels. The housing typology forms an integral part of the dynamic metabolism of the place. A process of constant change is embedded within its morphology²⁴⁷ as room modules are added according to the size of the residing family; it represents a continuous process of urban expansion or contraction as more or less space is relinquished in the courtyard (Areskough & Persson 1999).

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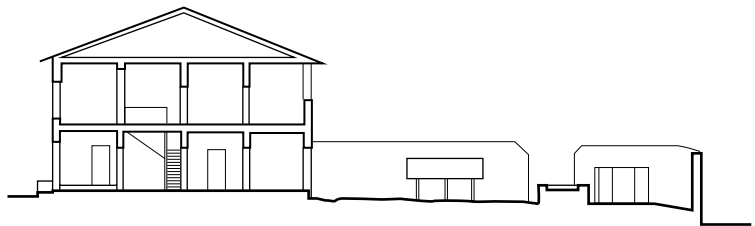
Fou Ra merchant store, Old Market Street
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



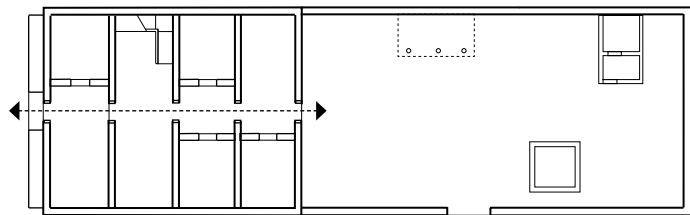
Bagamoyo stone house architectural typology and functional programme in plan
Based on site inspection and Tanzania Bagamoyo Township Survey 1968 by Karlsson



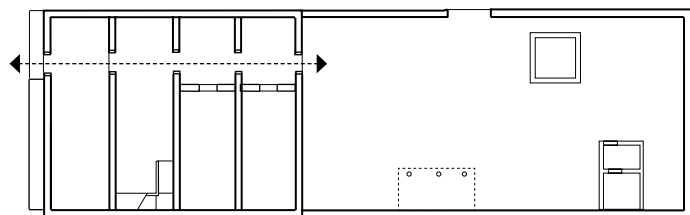
Typical elevation



Typical longitudinal section



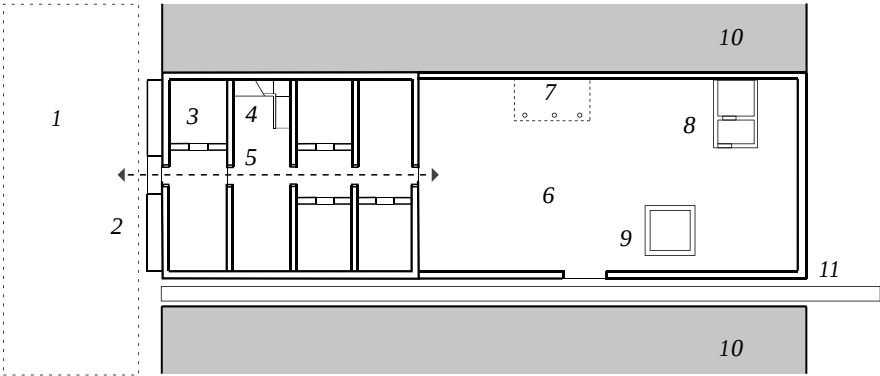
Symmetrical plan configuration



Asymmetrical plan configuration

Bagamoyo stone house typical functional programme in plan
Based on site inspection and Tanzania Bagamoyo Township Survey 1968 by Karlsson

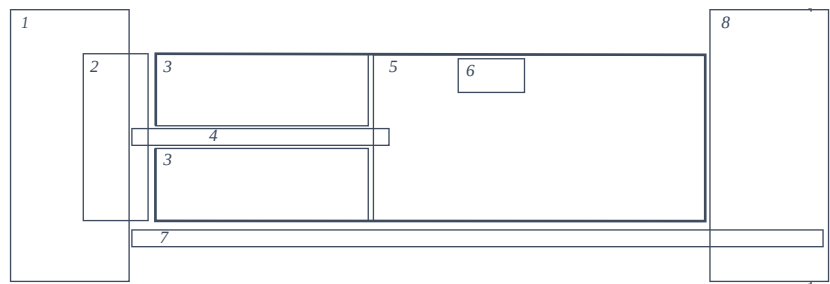
- 1 THE COMMONS
- 2 THE BARAZA MEETING PLACE
- 3 HABITABLE ROOMS
- 4 VERTICAL CIRCULATION
- 5 CENTRAL CONNECTOR
- 6 WALLED FAMILY COURTYARD
- 7 COOKING AREA
- 8 ABLUTIONS
- 9 FAMILY WATER WELL
- 10 NEIGHBOURING PROPERTY
- 11 ALLEYWAY



Functional Programme

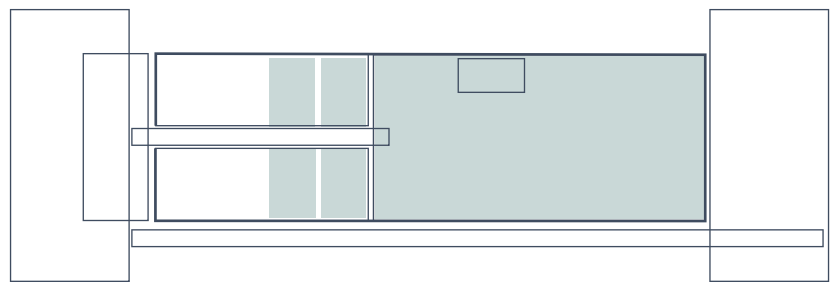
Diagrams illustrating public and private spatial transition in stone house typology and territorial arrangements according to gender
Based on site inspection

- 1 PUBLIC SPACE : STREET
- 2 SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE : TRANSITIONARY AREA BETWEEN STREET AND PRIVATE ROOMS
- 3 PRIVATE SPACE : FAMILY LIVING QUARTERS
- 4 SEMI-PRIVATE SPACE : CONNECTING STREET WITH FAMILY COURTYARD
- 5 SEMI-PRIVATE SPACE : CONNECTING ALLEYWAY WITH FAMILY DWELLING
- 6 PRIVATE SPACE : FAMILY COOKING AREA
- 7 SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE : ALLEYWAY CONNECTING STREET WITH FAMILY COURTYARD AND HINTERLAND
- 8 PUBLIC SPACE : HINTERLAND

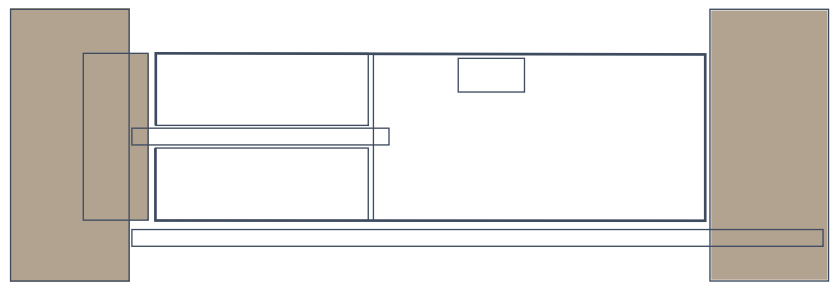


Public-Private spatial relationships

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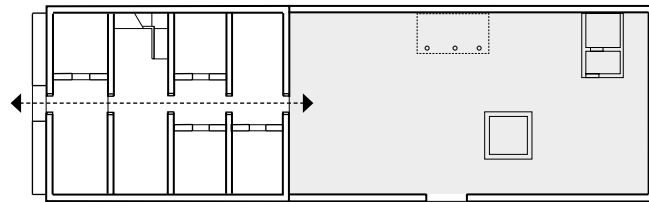


Female spatial territory

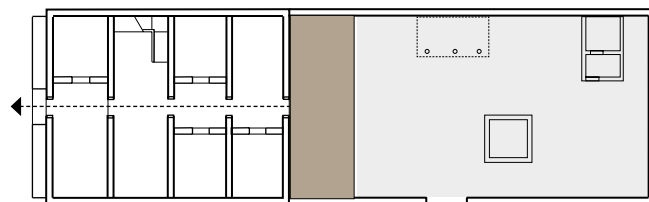


Male spatial territory

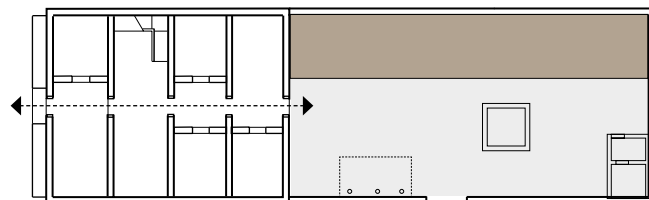
Diagram illustrating typical expansion configurations of Bagamoyo stone house typology
Based on site inspection



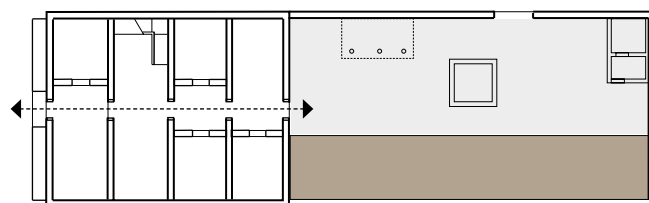
Expansion house



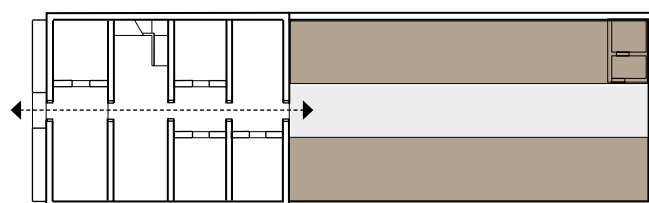
Expansion house module



Expansion back wall



Expansion side wall



Expansion both side walls

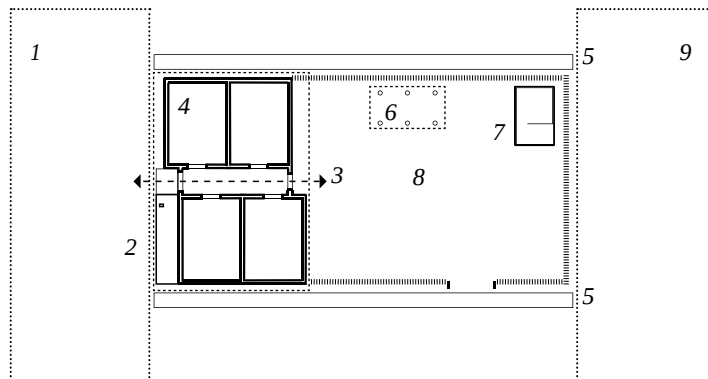
The customary African house typology²⁴⁸ is smaller in size and is limited to one floor as the adobe walls cannot bear the load of an additional floor above. The units have a hip roof or an open gable roof, with the ridge pole typically located perpendicular to the entrance wall. According to interviews, the small house or *banda*, exists in various permutations, ranging from a two cell arrangement to the more common four cell configuration. Occasionally structures expand and have a layout composed of six cells; a succession of three cellular rooms located on both sides of a central corridor. The rooms of the house are similar in dimensions and layout. The rooms are organised along a central corridor which functions as the core of the home accommodating family life activities. It connects to public street life at the front of the house with more intimate courtyard life at the back. The corridor is used as a versatile space, where the family can have a meal, watch television, relax on a low level bed or tend to chickens freely roaming in the yard. Life within the house is centred on the extended family; it is common that a family unit consists of more than one wife or that more than one family or various generations are living in the same house. The interior of the dwelling and the courtyard is traditionally the domain of the woman. The backyard has a sheltered area to cook over an open hearth. It has commonly a private well and a pit latrine block located in the back. The courtyard is being used for most of the household functions ranging from washing, drying the linen, keep chickens and add additional accommodation as the family expands. Customarily the climatic environment of the house is regulated by the veranda in the front and back of the house as it tempers the transition from the harsh sunlight into the dark, cooler interiors and provides a dry threshold area during the rainy season. The central corridor introduces a cooling air cross flow and the limited openings reduce the impact of the intense sun.

Typical Swahili residential typology, central timber door with view of rear yard, entrance porch, raised front veranda, modular tin sheet roof double hipped pitch, 2 symmetrical windows and frames; Maputo style
Bagamoyo, 16 June 2015

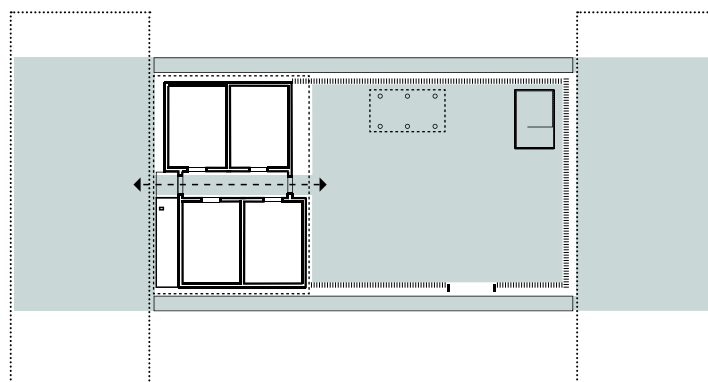


Swahili house architectural typology and functional programme in plan
Based on site inspection

- 1 THE COMMONS
- 2 BARAZA MEETING AREA
- 3 CENTRAL CONNECTOR
- 4 HABITABLE ROOMS
- 5 ALLEYWAY
- 6 COOKING AREA
- 7 ABLUTIONS
- 8 SCREENED FAMILY COURTYARD
- 9 COMMON HINTERLAND



Functional Programme



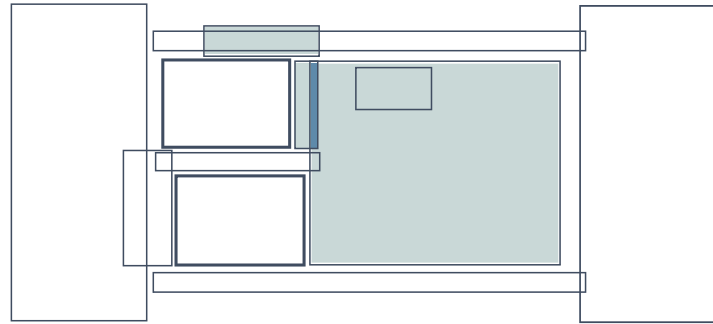
The spaces in-between

Central family courtyard, wattle and daub construction, cooking utensils, clothes washing line, livestock
Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015

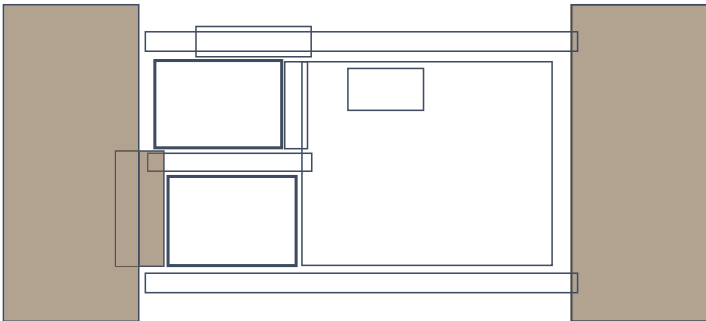


Diagrams illustrating public and private spatial transition in Swahili house typology and territorial arrangements according to gender
Based on site inspection

- 1. PUBLIC SPACE : STREET
- 2. SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE : BARAZA CONNECTING STREET LIFE WITH FAMILY DWELLING
- 3. SEMI-PRIVATE SPACE : CONNECTING STREET WITH FAMILY COURTYARD
- 4. PRIVATE SPACE : FAMILY LIVING QUARTERS
- 5. SEMI-PRIVATE : FAMILY GATHERING AREA CONNECTING FAMILY COURTYARD WITH FAMILY DWELLING
- 6. PRIVATE SPACE : FAMILY COOKING AREA
- 7. SEMI-PRIVATE SPACE : CONNECTED TO ALLEYWAY AND FAMILY DWELLING
- 8. SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE : ALLEYWAY CONNECTING STREET WITH FAMILY COURTYARD AND HINTERLAND
- 9. SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE : ALLEYWAY WITH TEMPORARY FAMILY OCCUPATION CONNECTING WITH FAMILY COURTYARD
- 10. PUBLIC SPACE : HINTERLAND

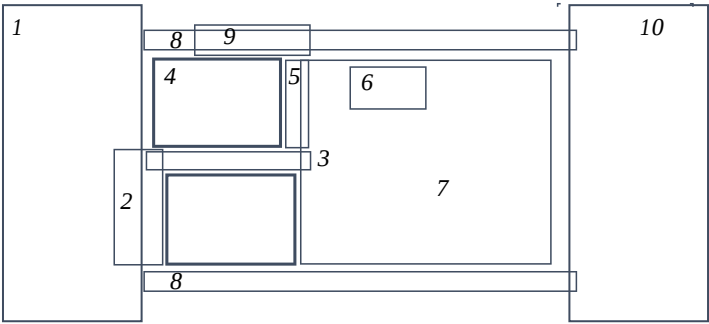
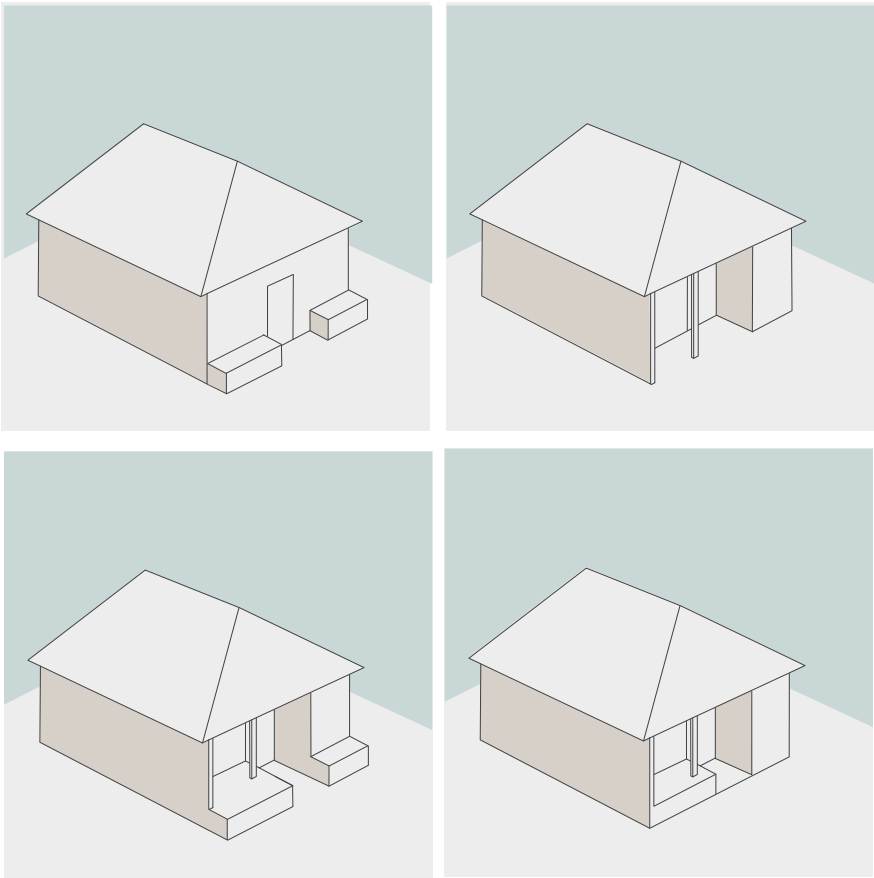


Female spatial territory



Male spatial territory

Diagrams illustrating the interface of the Swahili house typology with the street
Based on site inspection



Public-Private spatial relationships

Between 1968 and 1970 a dwelling typology embodying modern²⁴⁹ ideals was introduced, locally referred to as the 'Maputo style house'. This typology, consists out of two or four cells, based on a concrete block construction with two roofs falling towards the side walls. Natural ventilation is introduced by lifting one roof higher than the other and creating a natural air stack along the spine of the dwelling. The veranda in front of the house is refashioned as a decorative threshold, a stylistic attribute to unify the entrance, terrace and roof within the façade composition. The *baraza* transformed into a raised sheltered terrace. The territorial overlap between the street and the dwelling is substantially reduced in this typology. In many instances however this physical segregation is countered by its functional mix; the terrace area to sometimes half of the house are temporarily or permanently reconfigured to accommodate retail, commonly run by the residing family. Activities range from selling bags or buckets of charcoal, ice cream or drinks to the provision of more formal outlets such as a tailor, a pharmacy or convenience shop.

Typical Maputo residential typology. Blue fascia decoration above ochre painted entrance facade, raised front veranda, modular tin sheet roof double pitch, 2 symmetrical light blue framed windows
Bagamoyo, 15 June 2015



Occidental residential typology, new construction, bespoke tiled roof, double storey with balcony with decorative metal railings, mirrored glass windows, roller shutters to ground level
Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



To conclude, the 'occidental hybrid typology' promises both added comfort and convenience whilst it also responds to the insatiable desire, of particularly the younger generations, to 'become part of the global world'. In recent years with the introduction of the internet and improved road infrastructure connecting to Dar es Salaam, the streetscape has undergone significant change. The influx of imported materials, fashions and new ways of living has meant that the occidental layout and housing styles are becoming popular and typologies echoing this 'new world' are becoming the dominant model in contemporary residential developments. The layout of the houses are diverse and the scale and layout of the rooms are shaped to accommodate any chosen style; global style examples are mostly collected from the internet or seen during travels.

The entrance sequence configured around a central access spine has been replaced by an occidental approach of clustering and planning rooms according to their dedicated function. The front access has a reduced depth sequence as one enters directly through the door of the living room area. The new layouts still display a connection with the courtyard, however cooking facilities have moved indoors and are located in a kitchen arrangement, separated and as such hidden from the living room. The dwelling does not seek engagement with public street life due to its inward focus. Walls, fence or other barriers are introduced to reinforce the segregation. Non-residential activities are removed from the plan, to maximise the living and leisure area. The growing emphasis of the façade of the building accompanies this cultural shift. The front elevation of the house becomes a conscious personal statement as it intends to portray the worldliness of its inhabitants by its distinct character, the size and proportions of the house and the selection of contemporary materials. The emerging hybrid forms and structures reflect the search for a new architectural language that can bring to expression individuality and status of the home owner within a newly found world.

Cultural meaning

Observation

In front of the Boma, June 2015

‘...I have said before elsewhere that we, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate and dignity where before there was only humiliation. We pray the people of Britain, we sincerely pray the people of Britain and our neighbours of all races to look upon us, to look upon Tanganyika and what we are trying to do not as an embarrassment but as a ray of hope. We cannot, unlike other countries, send rockets to the moon, but we can send rockets of love and hope to all our fellow men wherever they may be...’

Nyerere, 35th Session, 22 October 1959

The rumours that spread a few days earlier, are confirmed by the local radio and loud messages are bellowed into the streets by a back-of-car megaphone; the national symbol of freedom, the *Uhuru*²⁵⁰ torch or *Mwenge* would pass through Bagamoyo tomorrow.

Leading up to the event, the general opinion about this national emblem is much divided. On one hand people are reminiscent of the old *Ujamaa*²⁵¹ times when the torch had true symbolic meaning as it represented the idealistic principles of a new socialist nation of the people. In the past the population travelled long distances from the remote villages to observe a glimpse of the torch passing by. Today, against the backdrop of upcoming national presidential elections combined with the preparations of the referendum on the proposed constitution, voices of criticism²⁵² state that the *Uhuru* event has become a wasteful media platform merely conserved, to promote the leading party.

A white marquee and a tall stack of white plastic chairs have been deposited in the middle of the large ground in front of the Boma, anticipating a celebration of significance. It is unclear if the ground has been chosen out of convenience to host the crowds or if it is because the presence of the majestic historic Boma endows the location with a sense of power and fortune. Could it be that this colonial structure of German times has transcended its significance of colonial suppression and has been

adopted in the new world as a symbol of Bagamoyo's or Africa's renaissance?
Ironically the official *Uhuru* Monument erected to celebrate Tanganyika's independence in 1961 is concealed in the Boma's backyard. Situated within a circle of white painted cbbble stones, it demarcates a forgotten territory where once a pole must have hosted the flag of the new nation state, symbol of democracy.

Tanzanian national flag, Boy Scout leaders, ceremonial torch, military, Boma ground
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



Uhuru Freedom monument to rear of German Boma, circular parade ground with concrete edging, 1961 remembrance plaque on concrete block, modular brass component flagpoles manufactured in Great Britain without flags, bandstand and café to rear
Bagamoyo, 14 June 2015





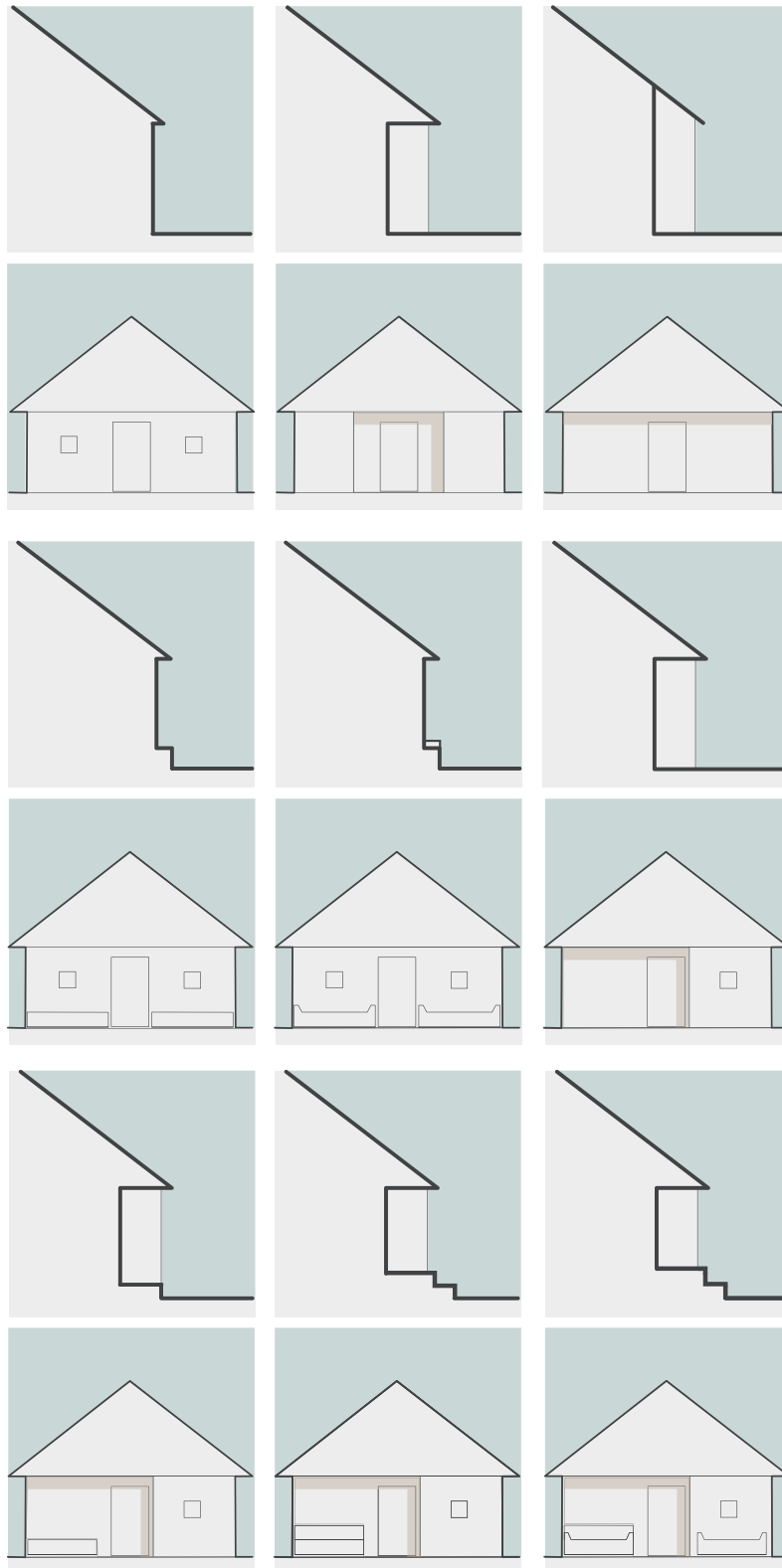
Reading the cultural ecologies of Bagamoyo does not only refer to observing the tangible physical aspects; it leads to an inquiry about the deeper meaning of its built environment.

According to Rapoport (1982:15) 'Physical elements not only make visible and stable cultural categories, they also have meaning that can be decoded if and when they match people's schemata'.²⁵³ From environmental behaviour studies, he distils four factors determining meaning: the proper activity, the specific way of undertaking it, the associated activities that form part of the system and the meaning of that activity. The scholar's discourse focuses on proving the direct connection between meaning and activity as one concept does not exist without the other. He notes that people respond to the environment affectively before they analyse or evaluate it; this affective reaction produces meaning.

The author further clarifies the difference between perceptual and associational aspects of the environment. Whereas the perceptual aspects relate to the intent of the creation, a singular underlying concept of the design, the associational aspect relates to how the environment is interpreted by the users. In his view physical elements contain encrypted information that people decode on a perceptual and an associational level. He positions the users at the heart of the debate; what meaning does the built environment have for the inhabitants, the various publics, since meanings, like the environments that communicate them, are culture specific and hence culturally variable.



Diagrammatic illustration of traditional baraza typologies in elevational section and elevation
 Based on site inspection and Tanzania Bagamoyo Township Survey 1968 by Karlsson







Parallels can be drawn with the work of the theorist Norberg-Schulz (1980) who introduced the notion of *Genius Loci*²⁵⁴, which represents the sense people have of a specific context. It is understood as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment. He asserts how sense of place, authenticity and character are critical to the *Genius Loci* concept as expressions of society's cultural interpretation of place.

From a territorial perspective, Rapoport (1982:24) argues that the meaning of the built environment is generated through personalisation - though taking possession, completing it, changing it. He sees that 'changes in expression by personalisation may be more important than changes made for practical or instrumental functions'. Scheerlinck (2010) applies this thinking to territorial boundaries. He argues that meaning is only established when the notion of boundaries is challenged within society. He sees how the personalisation of boundaries often produces an increase of meaning even if the territorial value doesn't differ, by changing for example the size, colour, addition of decorative elements.

The personalisation of boundaries is pronounced in the current mutating cultural landscape of Bagamoyo. The urban systems of the old town are traditionally encoded with the associational values of the collective and as such the personalisation of territory; such as the embellishment of the façade, the shape of the *baraza*, and the colours of the walls, being of secondary importance. The contemporary expansion of the town reflects a radically different trajectory informed by a growing individualism in society and a plurality in terms of the inhabitants. The influx of people from the broader region, Dar es Salaam, and international visitors combined with access to global media, leads to an urban vocabulary where adaptation of territory plays a significant role and where the language of 'the sign' takes central stage; hostels attract visitors by redecorating the facade with a collage of contemporary cladding materials and tempered glazing imported from Dar es Salaam, the entrance of convenience shops are coated in their entirety with hand painted global brands such as Coca-Cola and Fanta and *barazas* are now tiled and concealed behind decorative metalwork, screening entrances from the gaze of passers-by.

Scheerlinck (2010) highlights that the changing notion of cultural meaning is evident when, in a different context, a territorial construct is re-interpreted. This is very pertinent in how customary features of the built environment, are being reinterpreted within a contemporary cultural setting. A parallel can be drawn with the *baraza* benches that have been a focal point of community life in Bagamoyo for centuries. The solid benches are built into the walls and flank the heavy doors of the Arab style stone houses. The traditional Swahili house often have *barazas* on the outside veranda or have a *makuti* shelter edged with wooden seats.

This architectural element evolved historically as a way for Islamic men to receive visitors in their homes without compromising the privacy of the women in the house. Coffee and sweetmeats would be served on the *baraza* to anyone who arrived.²⁵⁵ Today it still serves as a meeting point for all sections of society and the custom dictates that when the family is eating any visitor can join in. The smooth long benches are used for relaxing, gossiping, playing cards, drinking sweet thick Arabic coffee or having a sleep. Women sort out the vegetables, play with the children or plait each other's hair. The function of the *baraza* is ever changing; ranging from an outdoor entertainment area, a retail stall for displaying pyramids of oranges, tomatoes and mangoes to additional shelter for pedestrians during the rainy season. As an architectural feature the long solid *baraza* bench is most common but its shape varies in size, height and proportions according to its context.

In the new part of town however, this architectural feature shows differences in meaning. It is no longer understood or used as a shared overlapping space, nor a gathering space. It has become utilised as a spacing mechanism to distance the public realm from private property. In other instances it has become an indication of a ceremonial entrance, a contemporary display cabinet of the resident's prosperity, and has been decorated with coloured tiles to stand out from the others and mark the entrance. In other cases the *baraza* has become a terrace or has been subsumed as a functional feature for rain protection and lost all type of deeper meaning. Even if the physical application appears similar, the territorial or cultural meaning has shifted entirely.

Street with retail units, shade of baraza, palm trees in back yard
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



Proxemic patterns and cultural identity

The anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1966) analysed the nature, degree and effect of the spatial separation that individuals naturally retain. He reviewed the spatial dimension from a cultural, behavioural and sociological perspective. He identified three proxemic²⁵⁶ levels within culture; the infra-cultural²⁵⁷, the pre-cultural²⁵⁸ and the micro-cultural²⁵⁹. Hall argues that proxemic patterns have an important role to play as they can consolidate a group whilst isolating it from others by reinforcing intra-group identity and making intergroup communication more difficult.

The cultural readings of Bagamoyo expose a distinct proxemic pattern that constitutes the town, as it defines territorial access and differentiation of a local identity. It is formed by pedestrian desire lines, which intersect and engender points of human encounter. A network configuration emerges, connecting these focal points²⁶⁰ of human and spatial convergence. Navigation is not structured around landmarks, or streets hierarchy but by developing a mental map, by tracing virtual lines between the nodal points. The proximity and relations between the touch points create a sense of networked legibility of the historic town.

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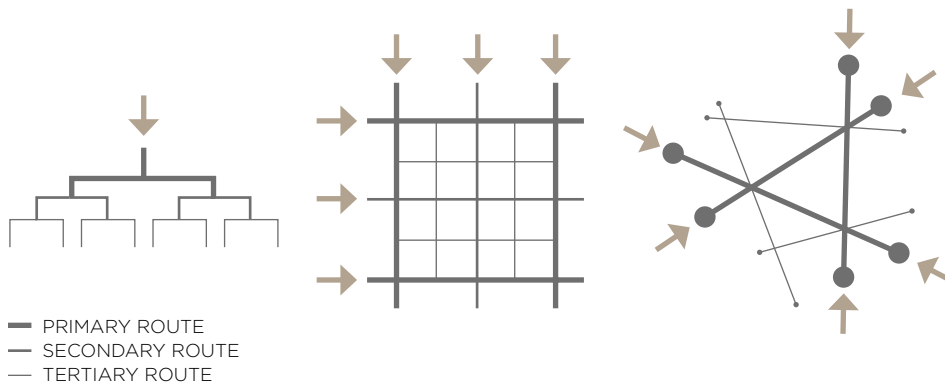


Diagram of the comparison between the levels of urban complexity in movement distribution typologies; hierarchical, grid and diffused

At the intersection of various routes, a triangular land patch emerges, historically often used as location for the street lantern, and at present usually unoccupied and at times inaccessible; containing trees, unkept grass, roaming chickens, grazing goats or litter. The island has blurred sandy edges which move over time, as the place of encounter is not formalised or territorialised as a hard-edge public space.

The configuration of the node can be compared with that of a wheel, with the core as axle and the streets as spokes, leading to a highly dynamic experience of space. When one moves around the node, the eye undertakes a 360 degrees scan of the context and is captured by the long tangential vistas along the streets and dissolves in a spiralling dynamic; the framing of the view propels one to continue the journey to the next meeting point; the bodily space of encounter is based on awareness through relations.

Movement desire lines map of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author, based on aerial photography (2008)



Conceptual diagram of primary and secondary distribution network of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author



Conceptual diagram of nodal network of Bagamoyo
Mapping of case study area by author



Node 1



Node 3



Node 6



Node 11



Node 14





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Diagram illustrating view corridors from principal distribution nodes in Bagamoyo
Mapping of viewcorridors by author



0 100



Overview of view corridors from principal distribution nodes in Bagamoyo
Mapping of viewcorridors by author



The space occupation in Bagamoyo embeds characteristics of the Arab culture, which emphasise the collective in the conception and use of public space. Hall (1966) highlights these attributes in his work *The Hidden Dimension* as he describes how in Arab culture the body and ego are dissociated, which enables a more physical contact in public spaces and a lesser need for privacy. The Arabic spatial requirements require unobstructed space to move, open views and thus counter clearly delineated territories. In the author's eyes this cultural preference explains traditional urban growth processes which are based on soft indications of property limits, combined with a high proportion of overlapping scenarios, as is the case in Bagamoyo.

Nodes of urban activity are born out of encounter. Their presence is further strengthened by distinct social habitus²⁶¹ such as sharing coffee and sweetmeat on the street corner, resting in the shade of the tree, collecting water from the public well, buying groceries at a nearby food stall; all takes place around the static edges of this sociopetal space.

Currently the continuing erosion of this proxemic pattern is ever more noticeable. For example, the modern upgrade of Caravan Road resulted in a loss of blurred edges and the notion of collective space that previously connected into the lives of the bordering households. The configuration of the newly planned areas is based on an orthogonal grid, whereby the intersection of streets has become a crossing of movement, rather than a focal point of community activity. Whereas the street's main function historically was for connecting people, it has gradually evolved into a functional thoroughfare.

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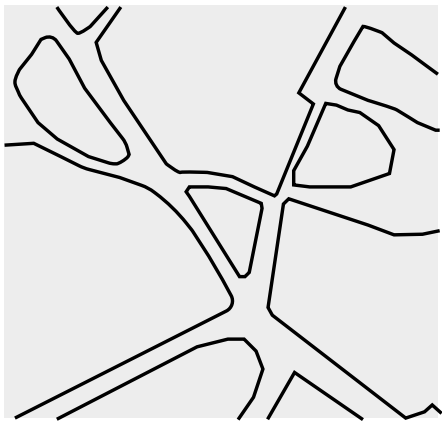
Path, timber structure, prospective retail unit
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



Nodal anatomy exemplified by node 6
Mapping of case study area by author



Node 6 Aerial photograph
Source: TomTom 1992-2015



Network



Built edge condition

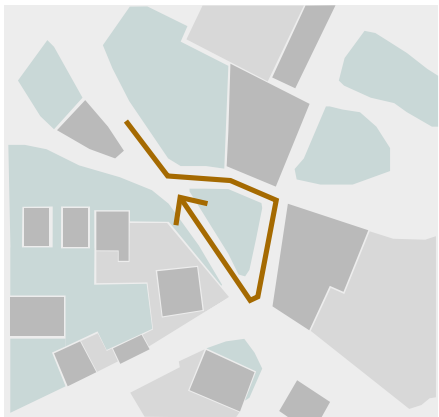


Public space armature



Activity

- Well
- Tree
- Informal retail
- Meeting place



Circulation

Sharing of space

Shared meaning

Observation

Boma, June 2015

Four men and a lady are assembled around a heap of colours on the ground, as they try to untangle the long fabric garlands which will create the setting for the Uhuru event. One by one, more people join in. With very little instruction, tall palm fronds which have been purposely woven into tri-dimensional patterns, are carried in. The leaves are impaled into the sand and the garlands in between mark the ceremonial entry sequence into the main grounds of celebration. A remote generator fuels massive amplifiers marking the band's improvised stage set under the main tree, whilst a white canvas marquee creates a block of shade reserved for Government officials. Plastic chairs, fabric decorations, shading and music equipment create a series of ephemeral territories, defined by protocol, ritual and anticipation.

The dynamics of place totally transform, when the loud chanting of the procession approaches and draw in the reins at the virtual entrance to the site. One by one, each sports group crosses the threshold, starting to chant their club's slogans, singing louder and louder, jogging and jumping at location faster and faster, till the entrancing rhythms burst and release their actors. The head boy or girl, just like a tribal chief, marks the tempo, gives instructions and clears the way for the youngsters, the women and men to follow in all their kudos. Their vivid coloured Nike and Adidas track suits glisten in the sun and heighten the sense of identity, of untameable power and hope for the future. Hundreds of young people jog in a circle around the ground, creating a whirlpool of energy around the empty centre where the torch of freedom will be located. Whilst awaiting its arrival, the groups reassemble and enter in rivalry dances, competing against each other. The pearly sweat on the athletes' faces accompanies the unstoppable motion of modern warriors in their contemporary tribal dance, creating a spontaneous continuum between their past and future, across societal frontiers of gender, age or descent. Glimpses of an African utopia have become embedded in the space through bodily chemistry, enactment and collective ritual.

A few hours later, after the political rally and the torch left for its next destination, the last garland is collected and with it the last traces of public celebration.

The young boy selling cooled fresh water in plastic bags departs on his bicycle and the fishermen resurface the grounds to repair their gigantic blue nets.

Shoreline, joggers celebrating Uhuru with shadows
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



Public urban space has a fundamental role in creating a platform for performing the cultural ritual of the everyday, to reproduce shared meaning and pass on the customs and values to a younger generation as through enactment culture can evolve and assimilate contemporary influences to remain relevant for society today.

In *Public and Private Spaces of the City* Mandanipour (2003) argues that our spatial behaviour is defined by and defines one's surrounding space and thus forms an integral part of one's social existence. To understand the underlying social dimension of urban space, Madanipour reflects on the concept of multiplicity. He refers to John Searle (1995) who distinguishes two categories of facts shaping a social reality; institutional facts which exist on the basis of mutual agreement such as property, governments and secondly, and 'brute facts'²⁶², which are independent of human institutions. The combination of those creates a multi-layered space and defines a different social reality. The social fact about cities is that relationships have been created between people and objects by human agreement which bear particular significance and meaning. Roads, schools and houses are lifted beyond their basic presence and make them intrinsic to a social reality (Mandanipour 2003).

Mandanipour (2003: 165) refers to this social complexity as 'the meeting of different subjectivities (that) results in a social world, in which meaning is constructed through inter-subjective relationships'. The author further emphasises the fact that multiplicity is more than a space for intersubjective presence where space allows for simultaneity, but relates to diverse operating actors with a different albeit concurrent reading of the space within a changing time frame. They make sense of each other and know how they relate to one another. Public space means sharing space, similar to how the boy selling water along the Bagamoyo beach, the politician in public political debate, the fisherman mending his nets and the athlete going through his fitness routine, relate to one another whilst sharing the grounds in front of the Boma, inscribed by the shared meanings in time.

The author argues that the articulation of public and private spheres entirely depends on the boundaries that keep them apart. Defining spaces equates with defining boundaries²⁶³ which enable relations to take form as part of a constantly changing social phenomenon. Within this context public space is framed as a 'space of co-presence and simultaneity, where different actors can be present in the same place at the same time, where different individuals develop freely within a plurality of possibilities that are negotiated' (Mandanipour 2003: 181).

Public space is often contested as in many societies, certain groups or individuals are excluded from participation. It highlights the critical importance of public space in articulating social life. Benhabib (1996:210) mentions that 'if there is equal access for all groups within civil society to re-present themselves in public, the threats of being different can be diffused, rather than turning into resentment'. There exists a need for self-representation and articulation in public.

Social cohesion

Mandanipour's (2003:192) discourse considers public space as an integral part of the commons²⁶⁴ whereby the resource is accessible to all members of society; 'Public sphere [...] is the integrated material and institutional common arena that relate individuals to one another, allowing them to regulate their relations partly through controlling exposure and concealment. It allows them to express their differences and identities, test their own reality [...]']'.

But what does this mean for space production and the role of cultural identity within a rapidly evolving town in a contemporary globalised setting?

Madanipour (2003:215) alerts us to the current trends whereby the critical overlap scenarios with the public sphere are being despatialised; 'As space is stripped of its emotional and cultural value, which is only developed through people's use through time, it is treated as a mere commodity'. The resulting social segregation is very pertinent as the fear of crime and the political or economic opportunistic use take the overhand. In the writer's view this trend can only be countered by reinforcing the importance of public spaces as realms of 'togetherness', a common ground for functional and ritual activities that can unite a community, a space for peaceful co-existence among one self and with the other.

Shoreline, celebrational gathering, music band beneath tree with shadows
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



3 people watching television, paid seats outside shop edging road
Bagamoyo, 9 June 2015



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Allied to this discourse, the architect Mehrota (2004) identifies two different worlds occupying the same physical space; the static and the world of the kinetic. Mehrota developed the concept of two intertwined urban entities. He sees the static city as the long-lasting consolidated structures, such as architecture and monuments, built in permanent materials. By contrast, the kinetic city is built of temporary materials and often occupies the interstitial spaces in the city. Its expression is not founded in permanent surfaces but is ephemeral in nature. Consequently it is not considered as architecture but as spaces holding associative values and are responding to patterns of activity. Kinetic urbanism is a temporal articulation and occupation of space. It reveals a rich sensibility and agility as it suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include diverse situations or events in an urban condition and the changing relation between people and space.

Notwithstanding the early signs of segregation, the domains of formal modernity and the informality of life's fluidity, remain very much interlaced in Bagamoyo's reality. The notion of the kinetic city is not considered a form of 'pirate urbanism' encountered on the margins of contemporary society; rather in Bagamoyo it forms part of mainstream culture and overrules any semblance to static form and boundary. This dynamic nature forms part of the situated logic that echoes the seasons, the climate, moments of celebration and worship; the contemporary pulse of local life.

However the increasing pressure of urbanisation leads to growth patterns, which reinforce a static model of development. This is visible in the growing spatial division of social class, and in the emergent compartmentalisation of the town, such as the introduction of mono-functional zones, new programme types such as car parking areas and commercial centres, hard-edged landscaping and increased in tarmac surfacing, which support the segregation of movement and gradually make the pedestrian subservient to vehicular flow. As is evident in the recent evolution of many other small villages and towns in the Dar es Salaam hinterland, the image of 'the modernist city' gradually creeps into the veins of the town, causing subtle changes to socio-cultural behaviours, influencing the local expectations of what it is to become a modern citizen. The new lifestyle finds its expression through a built environment of linearity and structure, engendering new ways of living, new ways of behaving and replacing the local ritual of life by the anticipated ritual of global being.

Shoreline, music band preparing for TaSUBa performance beneath tree with shadows, drum, amplifiers, speakers, German Boma to rear
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



Observation

Dunda, June 2015

During an early morning in the old neighbourhood of Makarani, my eye is caught by dancing colours in one of the streets behind a 19th century stone well. A young man leaves the shade under the trees and proudly leads me to the Madrasat Kisra Islamiya, the local school of Islam, which is the focus of religious festivities that day. My feet walk on fluttering shadow patterns on the sand, cast by the colourful serpentine decoration which stitch the houses, one by one, together in one ceremonial fabric. A sense of energy and excitement fills the street, as the entire neighbourhood is contributing to the ritual of preparation, under the watching eyes of a young man wearing a traditional *kofia*²⁶⁵, the leading teacher at the local *madrasa*²⁶⁶.

A temporary marquee is set up next to the school with a team of seven people concentrating on the draping of fabrics in colourful formations, to mark the central stage for the events. The alley next to the house has been transformed into a collective kitchen and buckets of cleaned and cut vegetables are awaiting to be cooked. Women in colourful *kangas*²⁶⁷ are briefly catching up on the *baraza* in front of their home, as they have been working with the other women in the street on preparing the celebrational meal. They look onto an ancient tree in the middle of the small courtyard that has transformed into a central spine of all the spiralling blue and white bunting decorations, connecting all surrounding houses and structures into one point. Banners with yellow Quran verses colour the elevations. The emergent decor subverted the notion of indoor and outdoor; the external *baraza* where the women are resting, is absorbed into an ephemeral living room for community assembly.

Two days later, I trace back my path to the well and the street. The public living room has evaporated in the hustle and bustle of the everyday.

Old tree, with decorated garlands for festivity at Madras, marquee with open sides, Quran verses to green banners to front face of house
Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015

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Coloured fabrics for draping in foreground, young man assisting adult to hang background decorations,
red plastic chair, courtyard to rear
Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015





Contrary to the branding instilled by the tourism industry, current Bagamoyo is not about the historic spectacle of the town, nor does it represent any other essentialist image inherited of the past; by contrast, its core lies in its dynamic hybrid identity, epitomised by the ephemeral qualities of ordinary life and can be as subtle as the layered soundscape in the early morning of; church bells, mosques calling for prayer, chatting children on route to school and the fading beat of modern *Taarab* singers entertaining the remaining guests of last-nights engagement party.

The dynamic identity of the town permeates every pore of the urban fabric, and the signs are very acute; for example, a road is suddenly closed off for vehicular traffic, a canvas tent structure is erected in front of a house and carpets are spread across the road surface. The movement system intuitively adjusts and redirects its flow without any sign of distress. The personal occupation of the 'public space' on the road signals to society that someone died within the family. The family mourns outside the house, under the marquis and the surrounding community come to pay their respect. Also other family celebrations create temporary settings in the public domain, such as the 'send-off party', marking the preparation of the bride for the wedding, is an important event in people's lives and is often celebrated outdoors. The event is organised by the women in the family and local community. A fantastical temporary setting is created, with colourful decorations, lights and fabric around a central stage, and the display cabinet showcasing the gifts from the guests.

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New market neighborhood, street vendor of Chinese plastic toys, new bus station to rear
Bagamoyo, 8 June 2015



In addition to the rituals related to family life, the town's public life is defined by the cycle of religious celebration. As a prominent Islamic centre many religious events are organised around the local *Madrassa*. The annual festivals of *Idd-ul-Fitr*²⁶⁸, *Idd-ul-Adha*²⁶⁹ and *Lild-ul Nabi* or *Maulidi*²⁷⁰ are of a totally different scale and attract thousands of international and domestic visitors every year, and transform temporarily the social and spatial dynamics of the entire town. During the *Idd* celebrations the Islamic rites are strictly observed. The Muslim community gathers in a central place close to the mosque, such as the Mosque of Ramiya, or in outdoor open areas, such as the Boma grounds, for days of prayer and sermon; symbolising *Ummah* or togetherness. It represents a time of joy and happiness as the faithful visit their extended family, exchange gifts and help the most vulnerable in society (Hassan 2014).

The Christian religion doesn't use the public areas as extensively to observe rites or for ritual ceremony, except for the Ecumenico Prayer Day whereby the Christian community of all churches gather and conduct the prayer. Most of the other activities take place within the church grounds.²⁷¹

Community gathering on shoreline at end of Idd celebrations
Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015



New strip retail typology, abating new tenants, currently open cleaning product retailer
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015





Household washing and drying in the public commons shared with Mwambao School
Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015





White canvas marquees in Stella Maris Hotel grounds, celebration marking the opening of Marian University
Bagamoyo, 31 May 2015





Space of recollection

Memory is commonly associated with a 're-collective' notion, as a conscious and deliberate process of recalling the past, in part individually, in part collectively. Despite the presence of inscribed monuments and memorials, the materiality of the place is not deemed to be critical: the crucial issue is the historic event, a gone past, and the will to remember, recast or rewrite through site embodiments (O'Keeffe 2007). In cultural and social studies significant attention has been dedicated to how memory crystallizes into sites or places of memory, locales of collective remembering (Assman 1992). Memory is here associated with a re-collective conception, in other words, with memory as a conscious and wilful human process of recalling the past. The materiality of the place is not considered to be decisive (despite the presence of monuments and memorials); the critical issue is the historic event and the will to remember it through site embodiments (Ruin Memories 2010).

Mehrota (2004) contributes to this thinking as he argues that the memory of the town is an enacted process, a temporal moment opposed to a permanent entity formalised through fixed buildings structures that contain public memory. Within a kinetic landscape, he considers how the meanings are in constant flux, spaces get consumed, reinterpreted and recycled. Merleau-Ponty's (2005) reinforces this point of view as he links the concept of place with recollection. He argues that the notion of place is more than a sole scientific perspective on the environment, but is a product of human experience, defined by human involvement. At the same time, he acknowledges that the sites we attach ourselves to, are themselves spatially extended into the world and unfold against a background of diverse influences. This existential significance of place makes that it becomes an expression of our human being-in-the-world as organic relations emerge between subject and territory. Merleau-Ponty makes a strong argument for the relation between a human's experience of place and the values, memories, dreams, disquiets and other such affective states that sculpt that experience. Places are defined in their relationship with the particular subject who experiences them. The body is the vehicle of expression for a relation with the world, thus the life of the city fundamentally manifests in the nuances of the bodily self (Trigg 2012). This intimacy between embodiment and memory is also very tangible in Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (1969). He writes evocatively about the holding power of space and the essential relationship between body and memory; 'Place and body form a hybrid, each glancing toward the other for their identity and animation' (Trigg 2012:12).

Within the context of transformative ability Mehrota (2004) queries the notion of the preservation of the static city, when cultural memory is primarily an enacted process. He sees this tension as more complicated in post-colonial conditions whereby the custodians of the historic monuments are often different cultures from those that created them. Mehrota argues that within this dynamic context the notion of cultural significance²⁷² gains importance as a concept where culture, place and aspirations can converge. The contemporary habitat needs to engage with both, the

Local traditional African dance and music group practicing in private rear garden for tourist focused performances
Bagamoyo, 28 March 2015



kinetic and the static components on equal terms. This approach provides a new entry point into conservation practice and a platform for dynamic and pluralist processes toward creating new typologies, also relevant for the contemporary African urban landscape. The kinetic and static qualities can be intertwined beyond the physical and thus engage with both; the past and contemporary realities of the local residents.

As certain scholars consider memory the terrain for establishing selfhood and identity, the other school of thought asserts the importance of inscription and counter-inscription of habitual practice in further practice. De Boeck (2004) reinforces the importance of memory enactment, albeit from a different perspective. He refers to the embodied discourse of memory and argues that often deprived from modes of inscriptive memory, people resort to their own bodies as locales of culture, as sites of remembering or production of meaning. Through clothing, through dance, martial arts or jogging the juvenile body can be considered as a corporeal locus of reflection. Achille Mbembe (2001:229) positions this locale of memory within the context of postcolonial theory; '[...] to convert is to locate oneself in a particular temporality and duration. This duration is that of the inexhaustible future constituted by the infinite, the time of eternity, the time that inaugurates divine existence and its extension in the redemption of the body; thus its final point of completion—if there is one—is the parousia.'



De Boeck's (2004) discourse indicates the significance of this practice on a level of collective imaginary, within a context where the production of social memory and meaningful habitus is being threatened. He acknowledges that traditional memory environments are rapidly dissolving whereby diviners and ritual healers are seen as the channels to restore relationships and heal the body, by reintegration within generative relationships with the social body, the cosmos and nature; thereby enacting the praxis of world making. The act of divination doesn't make reference to a linear history and genealogy, but conjures the awakening of a regenerative flow. According to De Boeck (2004) the intrinsic link between memory and identity is the underlying reason why new, global and more all-encompassing national identities emerge in response to space/time compression and globalisation. Resulting from a revolution in communication and travel technologies, globalisation effects rapid social change in terms of dissipating familiar social milieus and chronotopic realities.

Gunner's (2002) paper *Dislocation, memory and modernity* balances this view by highlighting how memory, in a variety of expressions, can both reconcile and shape the experience of a community²⁷³ as it engages with modernity. He articulates how the constitution of a new 'memory-scape'²⁷⁴ (Mitchell 1998:86) can lead to a wider field of collective²⁷⁵ memory formation, subvert hegemonic discourse and realise alternative ones (Terdiman 1993). Gunner (2002) points out that the introduction of alternative sites of physical and metaphorical memory can become crucial weapons in the negotiation²⁷⁶ of an alienating modern age.

Two markers, beach landscape, Bagamoyo
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



Territorial values

Recent mutations in the built environment, such as the despatialisation of public and semi-public space, accentuate the changing nature of social relations within the Bagamoyo community. Mandanipour (2003) locates this shift in public-private territories within a social context and sets out a double mechanism to define the production of space; firstly, the personal space which does not have physical boundaries but relies on gestures, language and behaviour to define a territory, and secondly, the private space, which refers to exclusive access of space for selected individuals. The territoriality defined by the interaction of both creates a set of boundaries, distances and a spatial location on which social coherence depends as it regulates aggression constructively, clarifies relations of power and reduces tensions and conflicts. The author further acknowledges that public space is located outside the control of individuals or small groups. It performs a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes and is the mediator between private spaces, delineated exclusive territories of households and individuals (Mandanipour 2013). It can be argued that the strict development constraints²⁷⁷ within the Bagamoyo Conservation area has, in a tangential manner, safeguarded the green area along the beach as a central public space to exchange experiences. With reference to Mandanipour's discourse, it provides a place of simultaneity where diverse

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Old Swahili residence, open corridor to rear courtyard, silhouetted figure
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015



groups of society mingle, explore their difference, celebrate their identity and test their tolerance. The area has not succumbed to the touristic expectation of aesthetic display or place of sale. It has kept its authenticity as a space of sociability, embedding a deep rooted sense of cultural existence being a temporal and spatial extension of a familiar community place.

According to Habraken (1998) all space is governed by selective access and unrestricted exit, marked by gates.²⁷⁸ Operating agents negotiate territorial control as it is defined by which individual or group can have access to an area, a district or building and the conditions associated with this point of entry. It raises the question about the value system that informs the selection process and how this is being communicated to the broader community. As territorial boundaries constrain or engender specific social relations, Rapoport (1982) emphasises the significance of articulating boundaries by means of noticeable differences to delimit social groups and domains in order to express entry or exclusion. Recognisable and effective reminders reduce the risk for conflict, whether about appropriation or code of conduct.

According to Scheerlinck (2010) the systematic crossing of territorial boundaries, which Habraken (1998) defines as ‘territorial depth’²⁷⁹, has to be placed within a social framework. The social connotations are very different for scenarios defining a strict division of territories versus scenarios based on a soft separation with a more

Path, residential units, sheltered baraza, 2 women in Swahili kangas
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



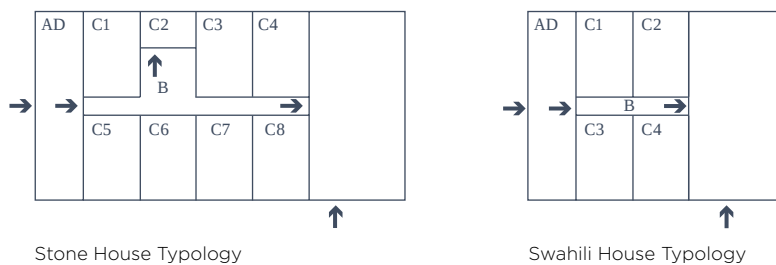
Nyerere concrete bust atop the Tanu (Tanganyika African National Union) monument dated 1954, foodstalls and public water well located in informal public space, aside road
Mangesani Road, Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015





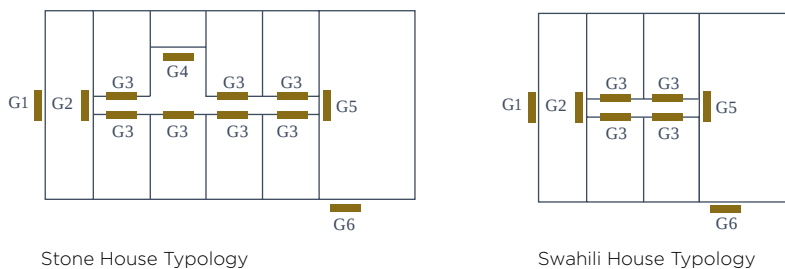
ambiguous boundary definition. Instead of focusing on the manner how constraints are defined, he argues the importance of analysing the crossing of boundaries on the basis of a triple reading, namely physical depth as the measurable distance, the visual depth, defining visual access and territorial depth which conditions access control. The overall depth value frames a socio-cultural perspective of space production in a particular location. It reveals the creation of specific signs, the reading and behaviour patterns that accompany the demarcation of territories. It however does not reveal the unwritten code that people embody to sense and understand those territorial boundaries nor the cultural ecologies that direct the

Diagrams illustrating territorial spatial hierarchy
Source: Based upon the model as developed by Habraken (1998)



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Diagrams illustrating territorial gates
Source: Based upon the model as developed by Habraken (1998)



production of these realms of meaning. The underlying question remains about the fundamental cultural understanding that defines the value of exchange and trade-off, particularly when those conditions are negotiated within a context of rapid urbanisation.

Change is visible in shifting territories and how they are being expressed in the built environment. The depth analysis²⁸⁰ foregrounds the fluctuating public-private relations, which typify the transformations that small-scale town are currently undergoing. The territorial configuration of the historic core of Bagamoyo is based on a short territorial depth sequence²⁸¹, whereby the private-public division is limited. The town emerges around interconnecting crossroads, complemented with a cellular fabric embedding the dwelling and courtyard within a network of pedestrian desire lines. When examining the visual depth, it is very evident that the short

Territorial gates in elevation
Dunda Street, Bagamoyo, 23 July 2015



Contextual mapping of the built form of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author

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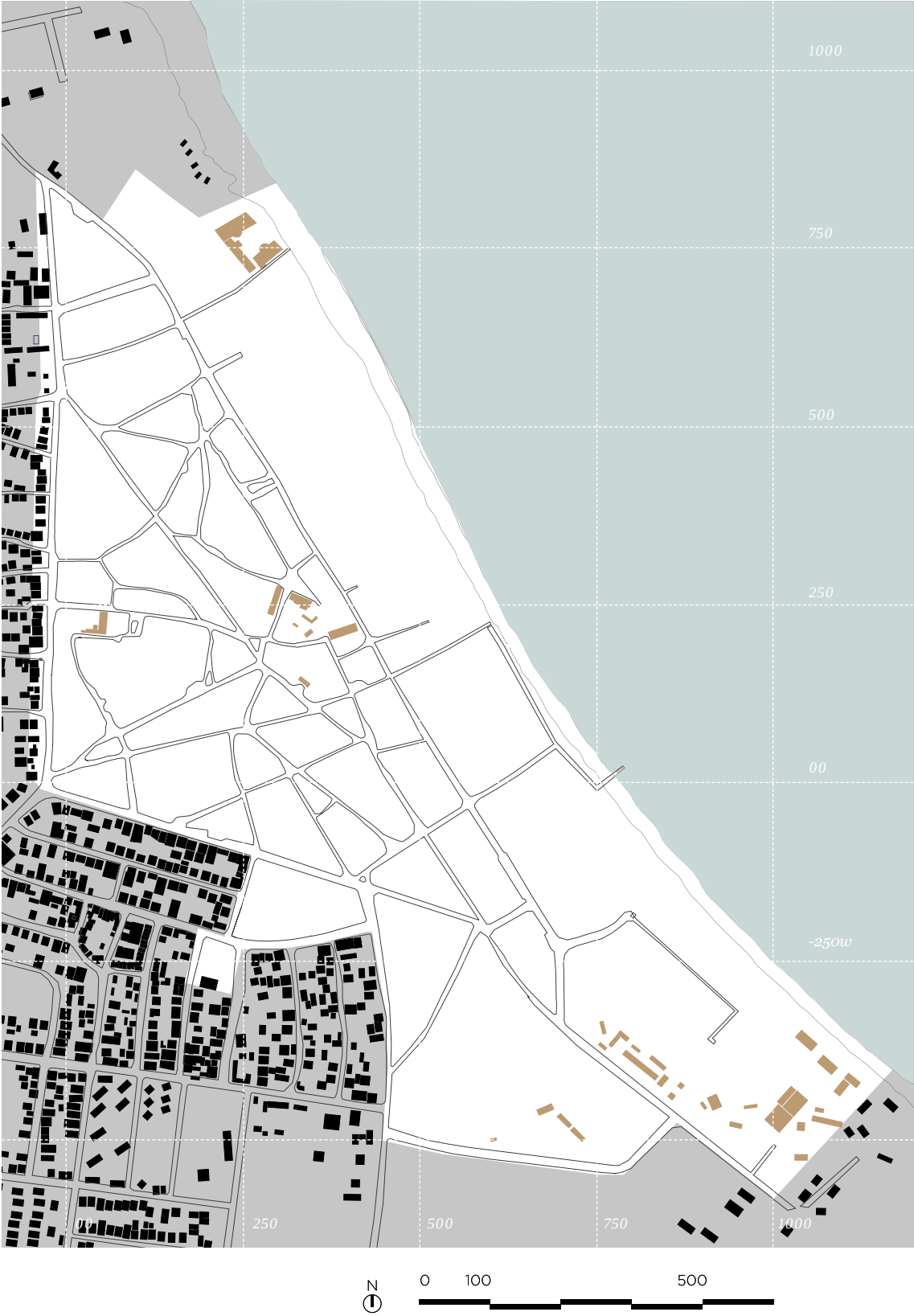
Contextual mapping of the residential programme of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author



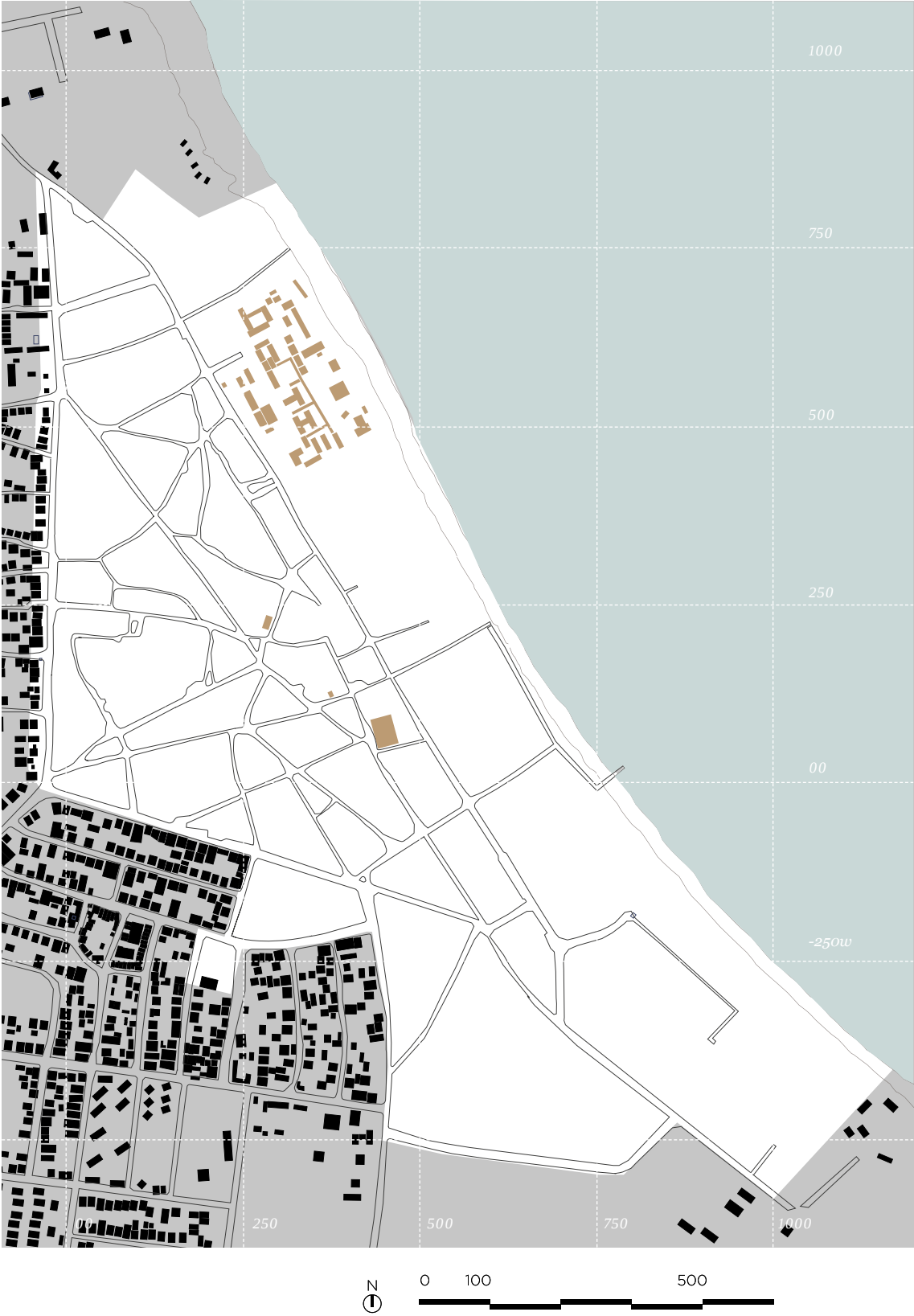


Contextual mapping of the religious programme of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author





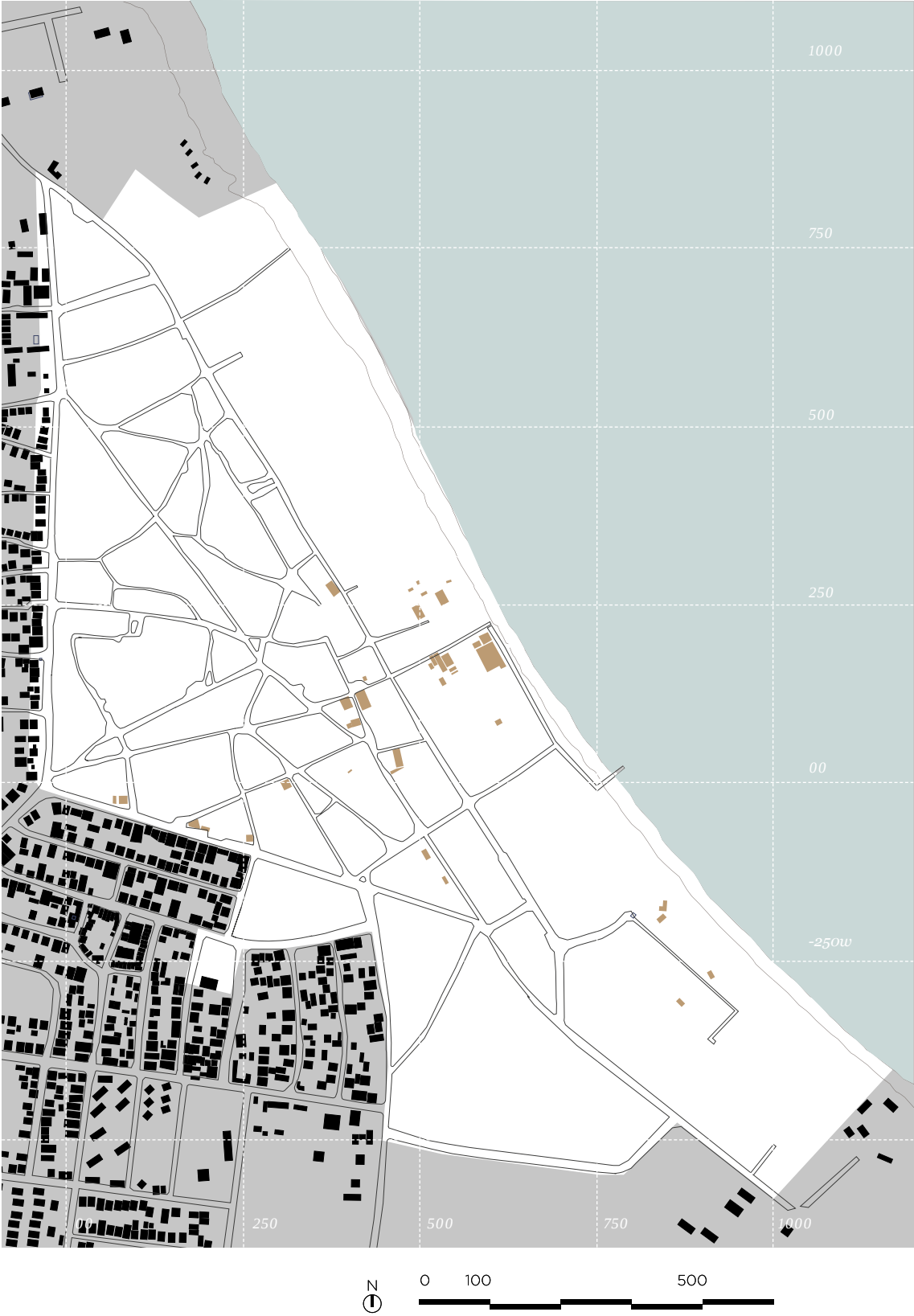
Contextual mapping of the social programme of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author

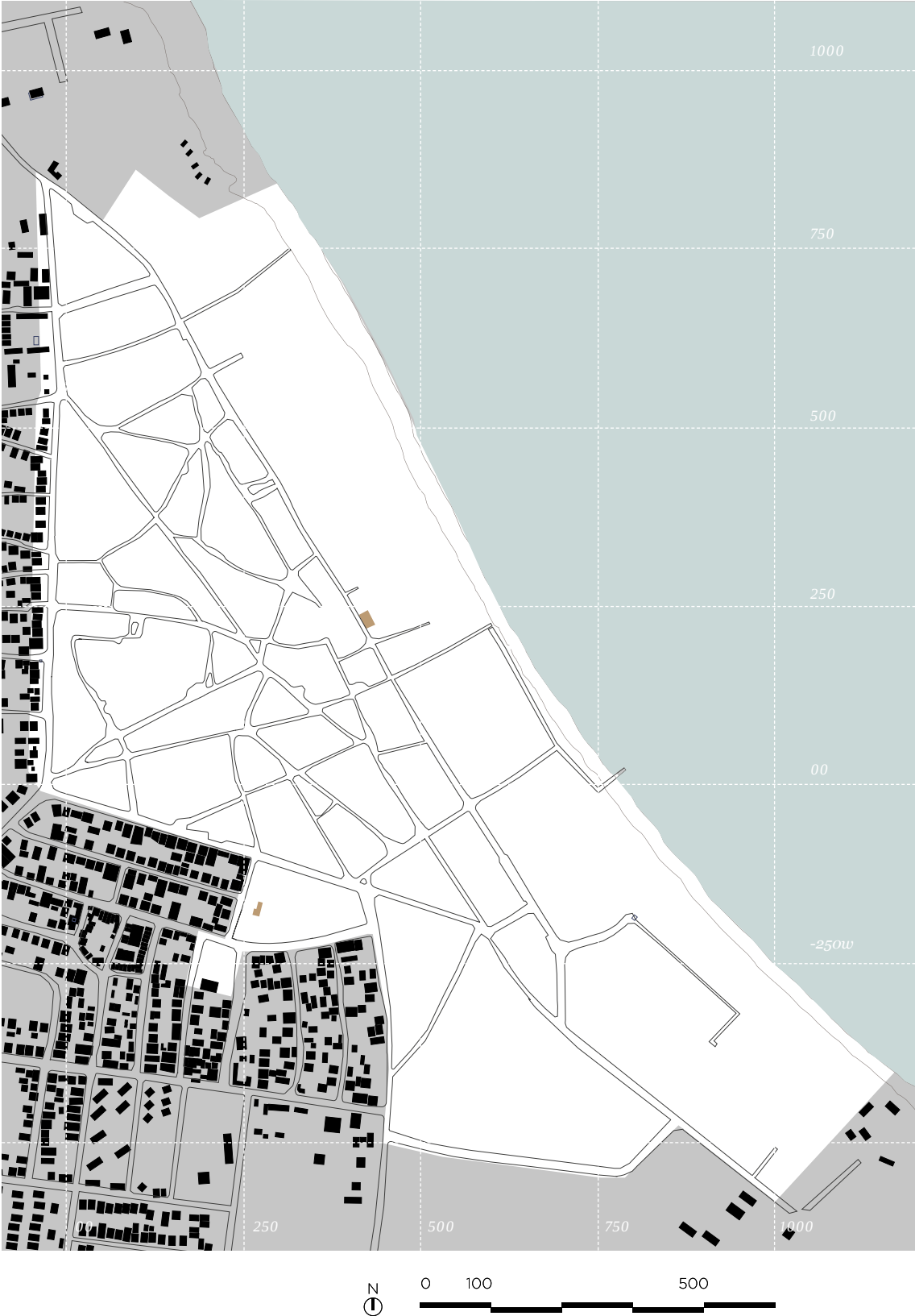




Contextual mapping of the retail programme of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author





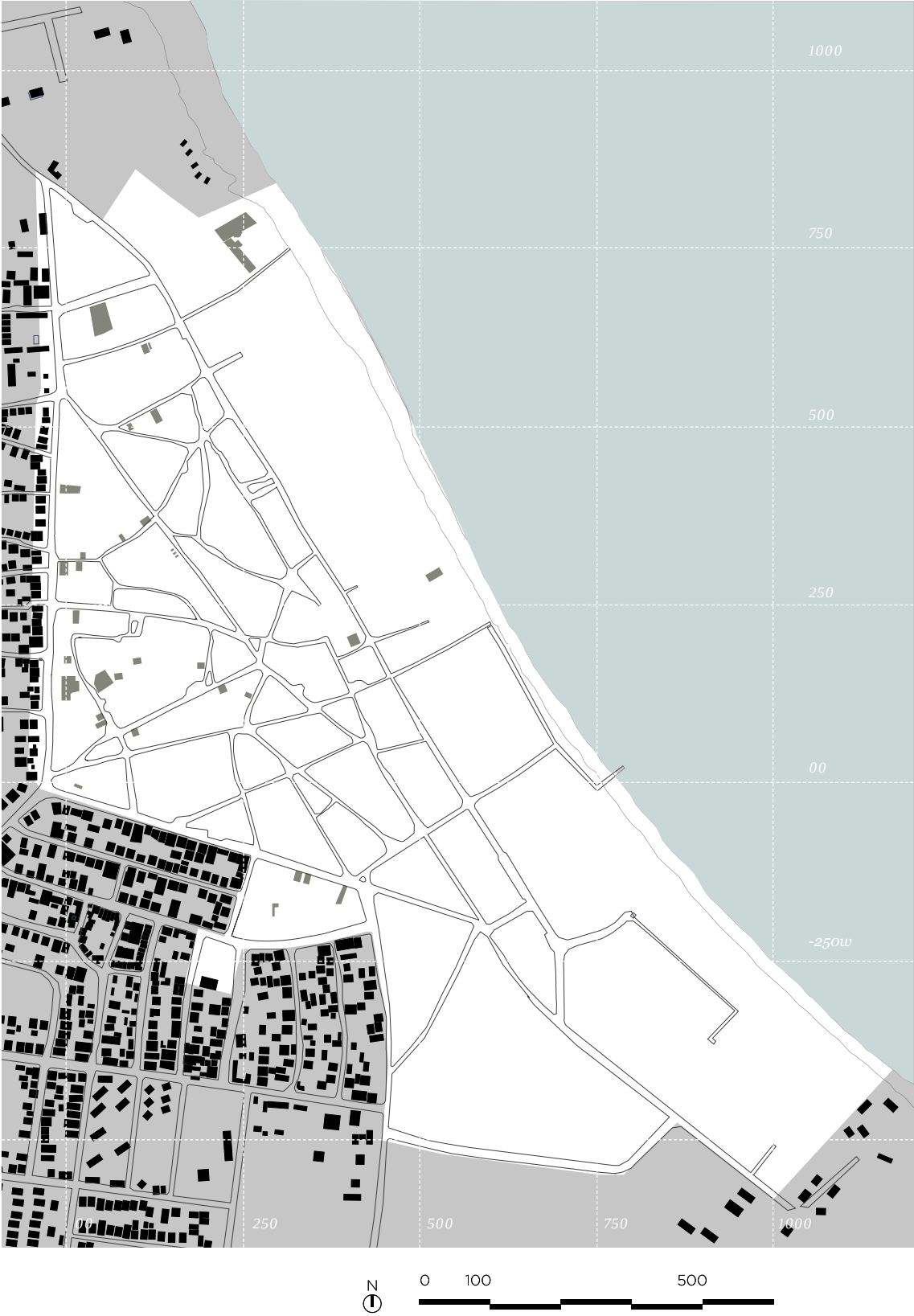


Contextual mapping of the parastatal programme of old Bagamoyo town
Mapping of case study area by author

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Security screens, mesh, secondhand rubber tyres, sheltered outdoor area, defining territory
Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015





depth sequence between public and private areas is a highly defining factor in the experience of the town. The entrance to the house is habitually left open and guides the eye via the central corridor directly from the street, along the central corridor, into the backyard located behind the house. Additionally, there exists no further threshold between the location of the private family rooms and the street; there is no territorial separation. Traditionally this short depth sequence is complimented by the sheltered *baraza* veranda in front of the house which represents the mediating interface between public and family life. To increase privacy, some houses have an additional *baraza* structure, located at a distance from the house, close to the public street. This architectural device creates a temporal territorial overlap with the public realm and ensures that visitors can be received without disturbing the activities of the family. The short depth sequence typifies the character of the traditional neighbourhood structure as overlapping scenarios create a strong engagement between the local residents and public life. Proximity is based on contact; in Bagamoyo visual depth coincides with territorial depth as all that is visible is also accessible. The heterogeneous distribution of activities, such as convenience shops, tailors, food stalls, *madradas*, adds territorial layering as access gets more complex.

The comparison between the traditional structure of the historic core with the structure of recent developments, highlights significant changes in territorial build-up. New development patterns are based on increased separation, which leads to territorially poorer configurations. The spontaneous and flexible appropriations of sidewalks and streets disappear and are being replaced by a harder demarcation of boundaries. Increasingly *barazas* are making place for ornamental and secluded terraces, iron fences are being installed in front of entrances and windows and the former access to the pathway leading to the courtyard has been substituted by a door or roller shutter. The neighbourhood streets are no longer about the shared notion of 'the collective' but are resurfaced in support of the singular purpose of circulation. As the neighbourhood's social status rises, intersecting scenarios, linked with the street and sidewalk, are avoided. Territorial depth is totally restructured, the visual and physical depth is reinforced as the new inhabitants do not want passers-by to look into their home and do not want to share part of their property with the neighbours.

The contemporary private developments on the outskirts of town are taking territorial segregation a step further. Social stratification is redrawing the geography of Bagamoyo as the wealthy move away from the town centre. The concept of the neighbourhood is dispelled and makes place for a subaltern suburban approach of large insular residences, protected by high walls and gates, not dissimilar to suburban living in occidental economies. There is a growing perception that associates short territorial sequences with economically and socially lower classes. Interiorisation of overlap scenarios is deemed more prestigious as it requires a bigger house or larger building plot to accommodate. Despite their contribution to the rich texture of urban street life, the overlap scenarios do not increase the social status and are avoided when one moves up the social ladder.

These contemporary patterns of territorial change resonate with Sorkin's (1992) discourse about the appearance of the 'non-place urban realm'. Whilst the physical city is structured according to proximity, he views the contemporary city as 'a-geographical' and segregated, structured according to society's stratification. In the author's view three attributes define the contemporary city, namely;

Firstly, the dilution of the connections with the local, physical and cultural geography. The intimate, undisciplined differentiation makes place for globalised capital, electronic production and uniform mass culture.

Secondly, an increased obsession with security. Sorkin sees a surge in surveillance and manipulation of citizens which leads to new models of segregation. The rich escape to the enclaved communities whilst the old city centres are dedicated to tourism or left to the poor.

Lastly, the dominance of the image whereby urban branding replaces the real city and '*simulacra*'²⁸² of reality replaced reality itself.

Although Sorkin's views are extreme and relate to an epoch that dates back prior to the discussion on sustainability and city metabolism was established, they echo the signs of change in present day Bagamoyo and raise a red flag to the potential risks if current developments are not proactively managed. Sorkin advocates a return to authentic urbanity, based on physical proximity, free movement and the collective. He argues against the privatised city which only simulates connections and ultimately disempowers its citizens.

Codification of space

Cultural codification

Observation

Caravan Road, February 2015

The streets are quiet. It is early in the morning on a Saturday. People rest indoors after their early morning prayers; one by one the verandas reveal signs of life as the women commence the preparation of the breakfast fire in front of the house. Caravan Road is one coloured mosaic as the metal shutters of the numerous shops remain shut and their sculptural geometric patterns are revealed by the early morning sun. The silence is broken abruptly when the ground starts vibrating, and a swelling rhythm of trumpets, chanting and a deep rumble of movement fast approaches and conquers the streets. A mass of blue colour accompanies the sound and grows as it fills the view towards the *Caravan Serai*. A loud plastic *vuvuzela*²⁸³ trumpet announces the arrival of a large group of joggers all dressed up in immaculate blue and yellow lined tracksuits. Small children lead the pack, followed by teenage girls and adult women. The group closes with the teenage boys and men in their thirties and forties, shouting slogans of their jogging club. For a moment the streets are theirs, a territory claimed by the presence of sound, rhythm and fierce strength, epitomising the promise of a new generation.

Running is becoming a real social phenomenon in Bagamoyo. According to the Bagamoyo News²⁸⁴ the number of members of the Bagamoyo Joggers and Sport Club keeps increasing with a total number of 141 people training every weekend.

After passing through the streets of Bagamoyo, the joggers congregate on the beach. The fitness trainers guide them through physical exercises for half an hour. After the intense work out, the group packs up, the sounds dissipate. Only a few markings are left in the sand after this convergence of bodies in time and space, whilst the entire town is dotted with coloured track-suits returning to their respective homes.

Head boy of jogging club in green and ochre sports outfit, military salutes at Uhuru event
Bagamoyo, 4 June 2015



From a cultural sociologist perspective, culture is produced by shared meaning-making processes and thus fully embedded in social interactions (Crane 1994). The underlying conception that not one coherent culture exists in a society but a diversity of cultures flow from a diversity of meaning-making processes. Culture is considered a social construction rather than an objective reality (Crane 1994).

Rapoport (1982) makes the link between the built environment and the production of meaning. In his discourse he discerns the non-verbal communication approach²⁸⁵, the methodology I intend to elaborate as it foregrounds how the built environment conveys meaning through analogies and metaphors and thus expresses significance through non-verbal behaviour.²⁸⁶

Rapoport (1982) notes that the environment exerts a direct and indirect influence on behaviour; 'The subject reads the cues, identifies the situation and the context, and acts accordingly' (1982:56). He argues that the social reality informs people's behaviour, but that the cues are relinquished by the physical environment; 'If the code is not shared or understood, the environment does not communicate' (1982:57). The author clarifies that people need to be perceived as behaving in environments that have meaning for them, that articulate situations in terms of who does what, where, when, how, including or excluding who. He defines this reading of the environment as symbolic interactionism. Within this context, cues are framed as psychological and cultural filters that people apply to sift information and alternatives towards the calibration and selection of interpretations; 'People must be able to interpret the code embodied in the built environment' (1982:63). This is similar to the existence of the front lawn to define private property in suburban areas or in the context of Bagamoyo, the traditional *baraza* that represents an invitation to socialise. The built environment comprises encoded information that requires to be decoded. Material and non-material culture can be considered embedded information. If different systems convey similar messages, the more probable that information is recognised and understood. There are parallels with Habraken's (1998) systematic approach, culture and systems, where consistency of use leads to coherence and collective understanding. When space organisation, building form, sign systems and visible activities correspond, meaning is clearer and the urban form more legible and memorable.

Rapoport points out that current environments are ceasing to communicate clearly as '[...] they do not set the scene or elicit clear consequences of cultural and subcultural specificity and variability' (1982:63). He further motivates that human behaviour patterns, including interaction and communication, are informed by roles, contents and situations.²⁸⁷ In our contemporary reality these are increasingly liquid and their mutations are imparted by cues in the setting, whereby they reformulate the environment.

In the built environment cues to the code are expressed as physical elements which impact on the sensory experience - vision, sound and smell, such as the form, size, scale, enclosing elements, greenery, age, type of order, density, topography or location. Other complimentary cues are communicated through social elements such as the intensity of use, type of activity, related with people, activities, and objects. Rapoport (1982) argues that the theory of un-coding is intrinsically related to the context as it is in the awareness and perception of differences that meaning is being disclosed. He illustrates this by comparing traditional versus contemporary culture. In traditional cultures, akin to customary living in Bagamoyo and surrounding villages, the cues can be subtle as they are recognised by everyone in an intimate community and only act as mnemonic devices. For example the division between the individual land plots is traditionally marked by distinct indigenous grasses, recognised by the community albeit hardly noticeable for others. Because of the consistency and coherence of the shared customs of living, the traditional community is less reliant on the physical cues of their environment.

In a contemporary society cues have to be more explicit. The more complex and pluralistic communities become, more physical indicators are needed and the more important the sequencing of cues become. Consequently over-communication is required to introduce a particular message such as colourful shops, advertising billboards, signs and density of activity, which indicate arrival at the new market

Residential development beyond with red clay roof tiles, Oriental metal gate structure, with concrete supporting structure under construction
Bagamoyo, 27 September 2015



Pharmaceutical and Photographic retail units, gravel road, contemporary commercial construction project to rear, palm trees
Dar es Salaam, 02 June 2015



area of Bagamoyo. These cues reinforce one another, and ultimately the resulting indicators should be clear to all users.

Rapoport's discourse makes a strong case that the perceptual level, defined by noticing differences and contrast, combined with associational aspects, being decoding, defines local context; '[...] if cues in settings are notices and understood, the social situation appropriate to that setting is identified, and appropriate behaviour is brought to attention' (Rapoport 1982:119). This cultural setting incorporates mnemonic functions that activate subroutines for culturally appropriate behaviour and enable the inclusion in social space, similar to how joggers 'initiated' in their respective sports club share the same behaviour patterns.

The need to make physical boundaries more or less explicit, depends on cultural and social factors; the well-functioning of space codification, is based on coherent and systematic application of filter technics. Mehaffy (2004) highlights the criticality of space codification as in modern city making a reductive engineering-led approach often dominates the urban agenda, resulting in the elimination of critical thresholds of connectivity and iterative complexity, leading to urban dysfunction.

Kevin Lynch in 1960 intended to frame the de-coding of the environment by introducing the syncretic concept of the 'environmental image', combining the environment's identity, structure and meaning. His aim was to characterise the imageability of the built environment by defining key elements which, namely; the path²⁸⁸, the edge²⁸⁹, the barrier²⁹⁰, the district²⁹¹, the node²⁹² and the landmark²⁹³. Lynch deemed the visible structuring and legibility of an environment as a precondition to establish meaning and relations. Scheerlinck (2010) challenges this discourse as the approach could lead to a visual radicalisation of urban space. It denies the qualities of visual ambiguity and discourages a more subtle spatio-visual approach to urban development. It fundamentally ignores that visibility and privacy levels are ultimately rooted in social, cultural and economic territories.

The village and the city

Observation

Ocean Road, July 2015

White cement pavers trace a hard edged line through the old town of Bagamoyo. Ocean Road was historically named Kaiser Strasse under German rule. It was later changed to India Street. Despite its renaming, locals still refer to the old name. India Street echoes the ethnic origin of the majority of the residents living in the urban centre around the turn of the century and alludes to the scents of spices and overripe mangoes, feverish activity of buying and selling, the lyrical movement of colourful silk saris merging with the darkness of the shaded verandas. Most of the Indian population have emigrated. I was told by one of the residents in Stone town that only three Indian families remain. As family properties were expropriated during Tanzania's nationalisation, many departed in search for their fortunes in the US or world cities such as London.

The brand new pavement appears totally oblivious of the historic footsteps that traced the town's origin. It extends throughout the old town, from the town's oldest mosque located next to Alfa Zulu village²⁹⁴ to the Old Fort. The street occupies territory as an artefact rather than a supporting part of urban infrastructure; its clearly demarcated beginning and end do not merge with other streets. The paved surface is located higher than the surrounding sandy roads and its contours delineate a geometry totally alien to the organic nature of the historic streetscape.

India Street received its facelift²⁹⁵ during the millennium year, when it was paved as a symbolic marker to announce to the world and more particularly to the UNESCO assessment committee, that Bagamoyo Stone town was worthy of being considered a World Heritage site.

By borrowing the name of a famous road of the present day capital, this urban marker embodies both, the idea of modernity combined with a nostalgic reminder of the town's bygone glory as government headquarters. Other than the German Boma, Ocean road houses many other significant remnants of early 'urban civilisation' such as the Mwambao Primary School, the first multiracial school in East Africa, the Arab Tea house, the Bagamoyo District hospital and references to turn-of-the-century street lights representing the height of urban sophistication at the time.

A six storey structure of the Millennium hotel towers high above the historic harbour, at the crossing with Dunda Street, which marks the direct connection between land and sea. The hotel resort creates an exclusive enclave within the old town. It conceals the historic structure of the first post and telegraph office in East Africa of which the antique post-boxes can now be admired from behind the soft

drinks fridge of a coffee shop. The impermeable nature of the development and heightened references to a global life style, turn the hotel into a symbolic marker, seizing the past and grasping the uncomfortable promise of modernity.

The well trained local tourist guides keep the legendary history of Stone town alive by touring along the street, a transit zone for foreign tourists and day-visitors. At night history is washed away by a laser beam launched from the Millennium hotel. As it scans the skies above the dark old town, it attracts the newcomers to its underground hotel disco to dance the night away to the urban beats of the world.

Signage of former Bandeco beach hotel. Bagamoyo street map on rusting frame, trees covering both sides of road, cyclist at start of Ocean Road with Old Fort to background
Bagamoyo, 22 September 2015

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It is the rural hinterland that constitutes the city's demographic make-up. De Boeck (2004) describes how the city defines itself beyond the constraints of tradition as a marker of difference in opposition to the village, as it places itself outside of the normative order of a rural and a more traditional world that was and often is considered backward and primitive.

Bagamoyo's Stone town or *Mji Mkongwe*, emerged historically along two parallel coastal roads, India Street and Old Market Street. Commonly the nineteenth-century Swahili-Islamic buildings were two storeys high and the walls were constructed of coral-rag²⁹⁶ in lime mortar, rendered with lime plaster and finished with lime wash (Watson 1979). The materiality of the structures reinforced the contrast with the traditional one story African dwellings, made of traditional adobe and wattle, which were located inland.

The division between the urban and the non-urban was reinforced by the German colonial regime by appropriating the local stone-building techniques in formulating a new language²⁹⁷ for their new official headquarters. The image of urbanity was further strengthened by the provision of infrastructure, such as the introduction of neighbourhood wells²⁹⁸ and public street lighting²⁹⁹ around the turn of the 19th century.

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During European colonial times a modernist *Weltbild*³⁰⁰ introduced a concept of disparity between the modern and the traditional. De Boeck (2004) reiterates that the view of the world was marked by a polarizing framework which created a contextual understanding founded on contrasting realities such as modernity and countryside, centre and periphery, culture in contrast with nature, male and female which can be conceptually extended to how the relational condition of liberal capitalism manifests itself in urban space, in contrast with an 'economy of affection' in the rural area.

Stoler (1995) contextualises the current impact of this acute notion of opposite worlds, by highlighting how colonialism has been inextricably linked with the making of European modernity and consequently in the evolution of its sovereign states (Cooper & Stoler 1997). Colonialism came with the vision of secular modern citizenship, leading towards nationhood. However in reality, it translated into a world of ethnic subjection whereby natives remained always a 'citizen-in-the-making'. The nation state directed its focus towards the reformulation of identities, the 'being-in-the-world' of the subjects it governed (Comaroff 2002).

Comaroff (2002) reinforces his argument by articulating how colonial power was reproduced in an organic, rather than instrumental, manner; 'it stretches, autonomically and unseen, into the very construction of its subjects, into their bodily routines and the essence of their selfhood' (Comaroff 2002:114). The author argues that the entire space-time dimension that comes with colonialism is impregnated in the mundane practices of the citizen and consequently the state's modes of control

Ganzala soft drinks retail unit post Monday market, plastic chairs and table, young woman on smartphone
Bagamoyo, 8 June 2015



remain invisible in their very enactment.

The legacy of the colonial state, in its mission to bring civilisation, is the 'black man's burden' (Davidson 1993). According to Comaroff it represents the core challenge for Africa, as the era of global capitalism dawns and spreads new shadows over old horizons (Comaroff 2002). Werbner (2002) reinforces the notion of predicament that Africa is confronted with at the start of the twenty-first century. He illuminates how post-colonies are unsettled by state decline and growing exploitation, deprivation and marginalisation. Against this background the author acknowledges the critical role of modern subjectivism in contemporary struggles for control of identity as the making of subjectivities is both political, moral and ultimately realised existentially.

Currently the distinction between the modern and the traditional world, the urban and rural realities, or between what is local or global, is no longer as clear-cut. De Boeck emphasises the need to change focus and look at the fringes, the periphery, whether situated in the rural area or within the city, 'where 'modernity' has not solidified but is a fluid and negotiable reality, an unfinished hegemony' (2004: 41). In Bagamoyo, there is no longer a defined limit to the conceptual nor spatial framework of modernity. The urban periphery projects its particles further into the 'wilderness'³⁰¹, in the past predominantly through cultivation of land but in recent times through individual settlements on unclaimed land, by the wealthy or the very poor. The fluidity of the urban form has been reinforced by conservation policy as it constrains development within the old town of Bagamoyo. Despite the presence of Government offices and other institutions, the decay of the old core exacerbates and adds to the significant decrease in density and loss of urbanity in its very heart, a mere chimera of a vibrant past.

Millennium (La Renaissance) Hotel, swimming pool, boundary fence
Bagamoyo, 1 February 2015



New Jane Fashion and Dressing Salon, t-shirts, dressers, Masai tribesmen to foreground
Bagamoyo, 8 June 2015





Identity and self representation

Observation

Old Harbour, July 2015

The origin and pulse of life in the old town can still be found at the old harbour. The fishermen live the life and rhythm of the many generations before them as they set off in their wooden Dhows around 5am to return at lunchtime with their harvest. The fish auctions take place on the beach accompanied with a lot of noise and commotion. The colourful spectacle of haggling Swahili women takes place under the calm gaze of fishermen who undertake the nightshift, and assess the weather conditions before they set off. They use a focal light source on the boat to attract and catch the fish, as their fathers and grandfathers have done before them. Small lightweight timber tables are stabilised in the sand to cut and remove the entrails of the fish. Other fish is oil fried in giant metal cooking bowls. The women carve by hand the shape of the bowl in the sand, in which they burn the wood for the fire. Rows of women are crouched behind the sizzling frying oil pans, whilst the damping fires impregnate their shelters and the white sea sand with a deep black soot, marking a hard to penetrate territory for the 'alien eye'; being the delineation of their heterotopia³⁰².

Sand, dhow, fisherman with football shirt, Bagamoyo district hospital and garden to background
Bagamoyo, 5 June 2015



Multiple retail units trading during evening hours
Bagamoyo, 23 September 2015





Observation

Jipemoyo, July 2015

In the labyrinthine twilight of Jipemoyo's mutated street grid, I follow the lines of tomatoes, peppers and onions, with military perfection stacked in little pyramids in anticipation of the last customers of the day. Since this morning, the crouched silhouettes have been flaunting their small crops, whilst hiding from the hot sun under colourful parasols and fabrics. As the last rays of the sun disappear, the Monday market reawakens as a night creature, combining the last transactions of buying and selling with the nervous commotion of people packing up their goods and the trolley pushers moving tirelessly through the system. This streetscape of movement and merchandise breathes an otherworldly atmosphere of suspended reality as LED lights are switched on and cast a sharp white light on the surreal landscape of stacks of aluminium pans, woven baskets, rows of suitcases, colourful soaps and bling accessories. People gather around a central table covered with DVD's. The young trader holds his mobile at high level to illuminate the faces of soap series stars and the large collection of Kung Fu heroes and other martial arts Masters. These Chinese movies are easy and relatively inexpensive to obtain and represent his best-selling product. The growing buzz and shouting brings me to the central market, at the heart of the urban maze. Traders stand upon their highly piled clothing pyramids promoting discounted items to their sisters and brothers 'Ten Shillings for one'. Others are stuffing giant white plastic bags with dozens of unsold 'made in China' t-shirts, trousers, skirts to return to Dar es Salaam by truck tonight. In the early morning from people from the entire region travelled into town and now the exodus commences; the streets gradually return to their daily existence, illuminated by the late night mobile shop stall on the corner.

Chinese woven plastic mesh bags, recycled western clothing with vendors posing prior to travelling to Dar es Salaam market
Bagamoyo, 26 September 2015



Mentally and materially the old town finds itself in an unstable space between the past and future. The plural meanings and social significations³⁰³ of today need to be constantly negotiated with the 'significant other', which is the town's historic significance for humanity. It creates an internal struggle in generating its own identity and meaning. The real contestations exist in how to negotiate a contemporary identity on the fault line between the local and global flows of meaning.

According to Gervais-Lambony (2006) identity represents a geography as the articulation of territory is a form of identity construction. He argues that identity discourses have a spatial dimension; they refer to an ordered interpretation of the world, situated in time and space. In his studies of space and identity formation, Gervais-Lambony asserts the hypothesis that territorial identities represent, beyond political constructs, the result of individual and collective processes which converge and engender an essence of place. The construction of identity is complex and unordered and transcends the simple opposites such as the individual-collective, spatial-time-bound, past-present and social - cultural.

Roncayolo (2002) argues that territorial identities are similar to personal identities, in the sense that they are not chronologically layered but represent a mixture of memories. He refers to the manner whereby the city can be considered a prism



Monday market, clothing traders from Dar es Salaam
Bagamoyo, 8 June 2015



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through which its residents view the world and the way the residents are by return influenced by their urban environment. The author articulates that territorial identity relates to the relations formed by the past; of individuals, society, and of space. The gravitas of the past is what makes the identity of place possible. Berque (1993) brings a similar, albeit different take on the role of the past in identity formation. He introduces the concept of the *arché-paysage*³⁰⁴ which plays a double role of both; myth and identity narrative of the city. It is composed from the aspirations of the city and therefore unites urban space and those who inhabit it. It illustrates how territorial identity is constructed by fusing memories, nostalgia and present ideals embedded in shared urban space.

Gervais-Lambony (2006) makes an attempt to summarise the various factors that define the space-identity relationship, namely;

- Identity is informed by time, refers to the human need to look back, which informs a sense of the self; 'I am more than what the thin present defines' (Tuan 1977:186);
- Identity is informed by choice, as people make choices to assert one-self; and,
- Identity is informed by politics, political power comes with identity narratives which influence the identities of individuals.

According to his discourse, space informs identity as time, choice, and politics are 'spatialised'. Conversely, identity choices, are also influenced by space; 'by places known or imagined, by places where one has lived, which one has visited, or even dreamt of' (Gervais-Lambony 2006:66).

De Boeck (2014) positions the question of personal and territorial identity within an African post-colonial context and recognises how much of cultural and political struggle today is related to commanding the politics of identity and self-representation, which is self-constructed. To a large extent contemporary contestations of identity are centred on the question of who represents whom, and similarly to and for whom? Who is subject of representation? Whose cultural heritage is conserved and ultimately to who's pleasure or benefit?

The local creation of modernity reveals what image the town formulates of itself, how the city reflects upon itself, and what signals it sends out and as such manifests itself. The self-image of Bagamoyo is currently undergoing a dramatic change whereby the focus of society is shifting from the shared achievements of the past to the celebration of personal success in the future. At the heart of this transition, exist deep existential questions about collective and individual aspiration; What does success mean for Bagamoyo's residents? How does one define 'good life'?

Aspirations are largely influenced by television and social media which construct, not unlike other localities on the African continent; 'a social imaginary of the West, rich in fairy tale images that conjure up the wonderland of modernity and the luxurious almost paradisiacal lifestyle of the West' (De Boeck 2004:46). The deeply rooted desire to partake in this imaginary world and be recognised as being part of this global, transnational entity, has deeply affected the relationship between subjectivity and inter-subjectivity within the town. Social networks are being restructured, from the moral and ethical norms of the family to the relations between kin or ethnic reciprocity.

Muslim youth, Christian upbringing, NBA (National Basketball Association of the United States)
Pittsburgh Steelers no. 17 shirt, Hip-hop posed stance
Bagamoyo, 30 May 2015



As increasingly 'outsiders' from the 'big city' of Dar es Salaam are building their mansion villas in the Bagamoyo countryside, and at the other end of the spectrum, people immigrate from an impoverished African hinterland to create a new beginning in Bagamoyo, the town becomes the *locus* of contestation between the perceived modern egocentric pursuit of consumer-happiness and the efforts to reinforce or recreate an all-inclusive inter-subjectivity moral model as was provided by the village in the past.

People are challenged to shape and convey a meaningful reality from the social, political and economic paradoxes in which they find themselves caught (De Boeck 2014); for example, for the inhabitants the ancestral land is an absolute and yet it is being seized by outsiders who are considered to be the rich and the powerful, often associated with government.

De Boeck (2004) argues that this destabilisation of the local reality represents a threat to the continuity and the very existence of local historico-cultural systems. The consequences affect the notion of historicity itself; 'the 'natural' economy of habitus and the cultural identities that result from it' (De Boeck 2004:80). How the Bagamoyo residents will handle the fundamental ruptures in their identities is a critical question; How will the current generation make sense of a world that is losing its 'taken-for-grantedness' and is confronted with the end of history?

De Boeck (2004) opens this discussion by referring to the way history, temporality and memory are being addressed and the crisis of the self as postcolonial subjects. The personal experience of crisis and loss is elevated to a more collective awareness of alienation, caused by a general political and economic context. The space of tradition often remains a faint echo of a past long gone. By contrast the space of modernity proliferates, initially projected by colonialism and later on by the often luxurious lifestyles of expatriates and indigenous urban elites, procreating their way of life in wealthy neighbourhoods. These dynamics are characteristic of a global African impasse. The author questions how a creative synthesis can be attained between two stances, modernist on the one hand, and communitarianist or traditionalist on the other, whilst both are being perceived, to varying degrees, paralysing and marginalising.

The same polarity is heightened in contemporary visions for new cities³⁰⁵ which have conquered, in the last 10 years, the African continent; infused by a pronounced utopian ideology³⁰⁶, promising a lifestyle of streamlined living which encapsulates the image of ultimate personal happiness. In some cases there is a noticeable intent to bring an Afro-high-tech aesthetic, however under the skin of these aspirational spaces to live, work and play, there is no recognition of an African cultural context; the models reflect past urbanism trends imported from Europe³⁰⁷. These visions indicate a collective desire to break with past traditions and patterns of life or as Pieterse describes; '[t]he existential core of urbanism is the desire for radical change to bring all the good implied in the original utopian association of 'the city' (2008:6).

The contextual disconnect of these urban models, challenges the idea of 'Africanness', in its notion of hybridity or as an overarching identity construct. Contemporary debate in this field is led by postmodern scholars (Robins 1994), who argue against the notion of an overarching unproblematicised African identity. Leildé articulates a contemporary context in which an African identity is deemed 'an 'empty myth' initiated by post-independence elites in their search for a unified approach to struggle against colonialism and for African development' (2006: 207). Her discourse highlights how an all-encompassing identity fails to represent the multiplicity and hybridity of identities embodied by those who live on the continent.

Outdoor advertising hoarding for Miranda fruit flavoured soft drinks, fruit and vegetable market to rear Bagamaoyo, 14 June 2015



Space of the imaginary

Locales of Memory

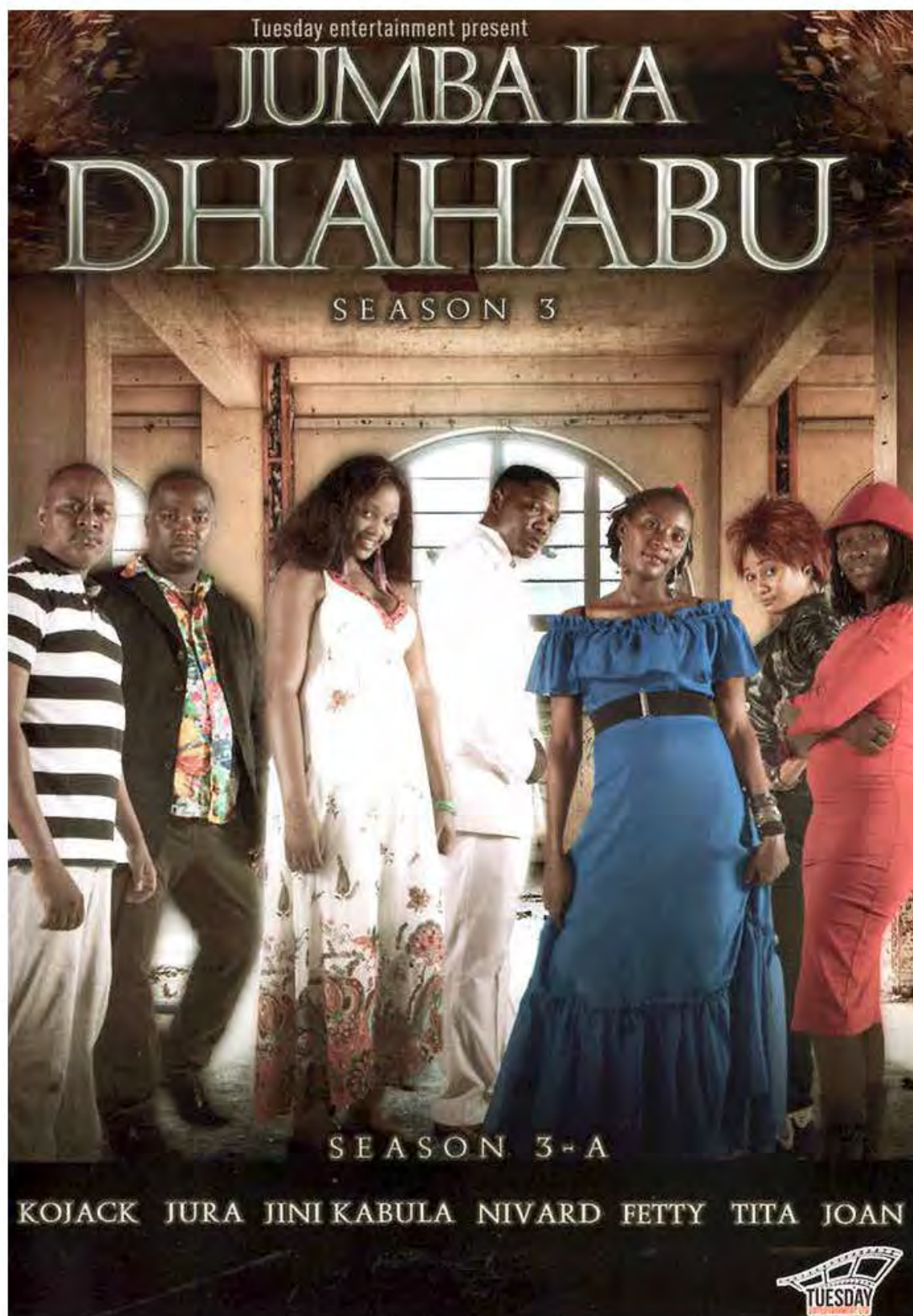
Provocation

Jumba la Dhahaby television series, July 2015

Jumba La Dhahabu or the Golden House has been an iconic soap series in Tanzania, religiously followed by the nation who shares the personal commotions of their favourite actors every night. The Old Fort in Bagamoyo is used as the setting for the scenes and creates an undercurrent narrative linking the riches of the past with the golden promise of modernity. The drama and intrigues of the soap unravel when a genie confuses mankind in their pursuit of happiness and prosperity. Can it be a metaphor for the current collective psyche? Does it embody the angst for change, the tensions between traditional community values and contemporary desires of the individual?

The soap series unravels through intrigue and melodrama, mankind at a crossroads, confronted by rapidly changing circumstances; one needs to make choices, differentiate the right from the wrong, what belongs to the past and what can contribute to the 'promised land' of opportunity. Along the journey events and people can be treacherous as they may appear different from their real intentions. The journey is riddled with temptation and challenge, a cathartic experience, a rite of initiation in what is called modernity. Complex characters battle with decisions about what to do with their lives. Many find the courage to take a stand and decide not to be victims of the events. They ultimately are and formulate their future.

Advertising of 3rd season of Jumba La Dhahabu (The Golden House) television series, filmed at the Old Fort, Bagamoyo
Source: Tuesday Entertainment



Architect Pallasmaa emphasises that a human being does not only exist in a spatial and material reality, but simultaneously inhabits cultural, mental and temporal realities. Landscapes and building 'constitute the externalisation of human memory as they articulate our experiences of duration and time between the polarities of past and future' (Pallasmaa 2007:189). We understand and remember who we are through our constructions, both material and mental. Beyond the practical purpose they make endless time tolerable by giving duration its human measure and structure our understanding of the world (Pallasmaa 2007).

An intrinsic relationship between architecture and memory exists as architectural images and metaphors act as mnemonic devices; they materialise the course of time, concretise remembrance by projecting memories and incite us to reminisce and imagine; 'Memory is the soil of self-identity; we are what we remember' (Pallasmaa 2007:190). Our recollections are situational and spatialised, memories are linked to places and events. I am what is around me 'I am the space, where I am' establishes the poet Noel Arnaud (Bachelard 1969:156). The world and the self are intertwined as well as the externalisation of remembrance and identity through the formation of space (Pallasmaa 2007).

Pallasmaa argues that we live in a mental world in which the material and spiritual as well as the experienced, remembered and imagined merge into one lived reality. This lived existential space is formed by meaning, intentions and experience of the individual. Collective groups share experiences of existential space that define their collective identities and share a sense of togetherness. Landscapes and architectural structures embody the potential to articulate this existential dimension in a physical environment. This psychic state is reflected as they amplify existing emotions and reinforce sensations such as belonging, hostility, invitation or rejection (Pallasmaa 2007).

Pallasmaa's discourse raises the debate about existential space in contemporary society. He sees, within the context of today's accelerated life, the existential dimension being threatened as the built environment is fashioned in response to a 'society of the spectacle'. He views in a globalised world, the fascination for newness as a strategic component of the world of consumption, inherent to materialist culture. In response to this, he considers human constructions to fulfil an important role in preserving the past as they enable us to grasp the continuum of culture and tradition by evoking remembrance and emotion. This is the only way to guard authenticity and independence of human experience as it '[...] makes us understand and remember who we are' (Pallasmaa 2007:197).

De Boeck (2004) also discerns a growing existential *angst* as a result of modernist amnesia. It comes with a notion of heightened nostalgia for 'the lost worlds' whereby memory evolves into a site of death, a distant monumentalism that no longer evokes the living. In his view memory is no longer engendered from experience, nor does it embody the force to recast or inform habitus; 'Memory has become an alienated memorial'

product of history and induce individual and collective practises, conform to the schemes engendered by history. The habitus is embodied, internalised history. He understands that in both, the colonial and the postcolonial periods it was and it is no longer possible to unproblematically (re-)produce habitus and consequently history (2004).

Also in Bagamoyo signs of similar patterns start to manifest themselves.

The authoritative historical master narrative of the Tanzanian State, constructed during Nyerere's *umjamaa*, was deeply rooted in ideological and symbolic references from the precolonial past. The splintering of the nation-state provides avenues for diverse and innovative processes of memory production. De Boeck (2004) views how the absence of a canonised history, opens up the collective social memory to include more of the cultural space and develop non-linear, heterogeneous dynamics. History has become plural. Simultaneously, the fundamental fragmentation of the collective memory and of the shared consensus in terms of the representation of 'historical truth' is an indication of the deconstruction of the social fabric as a harmonious memory environment, which is tangible in the inconsistent and often negligent approach towards heritage conservation and re-appropriation in contemporary Tanzania.

Observation

Bagamoyo Pentecostal Church, July 2015

The small sign hanging from a hook of the timber beam catches my attention, *Sin simu*, 'no mobile phone'. The perforated airbricks of the modest church structure allow filtered sunlight to penetrate. The end wall is covered with ribbons, draped harmoniously according to a yellow, green and blue pattern and converge in a decorative rosette. There are no statues, no other signs except for a simple steel cross fronting an acrylic rostrum on stage. On the left hand side a full band increases the tempo; electronic piano, two guitars and a 6 year old musical protégé behind the drums. Whilst the faithful trickle into the space, two young men take it in turns to lead in the foreground and move swiftly between song, oration and tongues. Young girls to mature ladies are lined up behind them, their Sunday clothes swaying faster and faster to the mesmerising rhythm of voice and beat, connecting to another world. The church elders are seated in the heavy sofas in the front line, when the Bishop³⁰⁸ appears on stage, immaculately dressed in a purple shirt and grey pen-striped suit. His gaze pierces through the church when he preaches and touches with his words worlds of past and future. He refers to the electronic version of the Bible as the work of Satan. He warns his constituency that the Word of God concealed in mobile phones or digital tablets is a mere representation, the simulacra of the real version. When people walk with the book in its physical form, it is a public testimony of their belief and advocates the Word of God to the wider society. He elaborates further that electronic versions make the sacred into an invisible commodity and as such obscures the Christian faith. The digital image veils the Word of God, influenced by Satan's temptation.

Bagamoyo Pentecostal church post service on Sunday of congregation
Bagamoyo, 29 March 2015



Modernity as personified by the city is contested and incomplete. This applies as much to the rural urban fringes as to the very core of the *polis* as one tests the boundaries and trade-offs of one's own moralities and ethics, the value and consequence of accumulation, expenditure and redistribution towards defining one's own pathway of self-realisation.

In Bagamoyo, these searching questions are particularly pertinent to the youth. What model do they appropriate for self-identification? What is their benchmark for success and eminence? Their context is a dense multi-cultural micro cosmos, one of the few localities which still epitomises the essence of Swahili cultural lineage, defined by continuous assimilation of global and local cultural influences³⁰⁹. An elder at the Bagamoyo Pentecostal Church described this very pertinently 'We cannot halt change, we can only adapt. Ultimately we have been born out of these external influences, as they formed the heart of our [Swahili] culture' (Kassanga, 29 March 2015).

Society remains strongly embedded in a patriarchal culture led by ancestral values, reflected in the day to day habitus of religious practice as well as local governance.³¹⁰ Religion exists at the core of Bagamoyo's society and is a defining factor in the interrelations of its population. Muslim community life appears to be clustered around the workings of the local *madrassa*, in addition to the activities of the Mosque. Also the social network of the Christian churches is very active; besides of creating a context of

Advertising poster for martial art fighters, corrugated cardboard, open window frame
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015



stability and shared values, the church community collects funds³¹¹ of the congregation, to support the community in various activities and look after the most vulnerable in society. Despite the strength of local ideologies, philosophical cracks are forged by access to social media platforms³¹² and increased exposure to external ideas of the world through various channels such as television, advertising, access to global consumer products. The urban youth in Bagamoyo taps into new sources and routes of identity formation, thereby negotiating and formulating a different concept of urban place making, defined by social networks and the ephemeral nature of temporal occupation. De Boeck highlights how in an African context the past can become a source for 'active engagement with the present, in ways that give shape both to very creative and outgoing forms of collective imagination and to a constant invention of a future for tradition' (2004: 44). Other than the re-imagination of tribal affiliation, for example through jogging as highlighted in previous chapters, there are many other signs of similar cultural under-currents which reimagine the memory space. For example, musicians heighten in their video clips the sense of nostalgia, as the fleeting image of wealth and beauty or the melancholy related to a long lost love are embodied in the textured background of Bagamoyo's ruins. The town has also become frequently the stage for filming soaps, often following the daily experiences of a family in all its ups and downs, its pursuit of happiness, its gain and loss of wealth. It reveals the bigger societal debates about gender stereotypes, the relationship with the elders, consumerism versus traditional values, HIV, the influence of the spirits, right and wrong, good and evil.

Another example of creative mutation is the rise of Martial Arts in Bagamoyo, strongly influenced by kungfu or karate movies, imported en masse from China. A Bagamoyo based community of Martial Artists produces films³¹³ and adopt Bagamoyo in their scenes as a mythical battleground. The power and defeat of the iconic martial arts hero personifies the battle between good and evil, the physical and mental fight of mankind against the demons and uses a magical realism that echoes an apocalyptic world of zombies and spirits set in a context somewhere in between urban and rural. In parallel the more 'traditional' forms of creative expression such as tribal dances or the coastal *Taarab* music, for which Bagamoyo is widely recognised, are continuously reinterpreted within a contemporary urban soundscape.

These local sites of spontaneous memory enactment have in their own way become globalised spaces, as a result of economic and cultural networks which embed micro-localities such as Bagamoyo within the wider workings of the world. If these practices belong to a perceived formal or informal urban existence doesn't really matter. They are as much a sign of self-actualisation as they stand for a democratised development, survival and sometimes revival that enables everyone to be 'part of the world'.

Nostalgia

Provocation

Bagamoyo Stone town Mji Mkongwe, July 2015

‘Tanzania excursion tour Bagamoyo day tour

A day tour to Bagamoyo Town, 50km out of Dar, would cost \$100 USD per person whole day excursion, history and beach.

From Zanzibar Explorers such as Livingstone started out and they all passed through Bagamoyo, his body was brought back to Bagamoyo before being shipped back to England, Westminster Cathedral in London where his body lays to this day.

BAGAMOYO DAY TRIP (Bagamoyo is the former Capital of Tanganyika).

Clients will visit the following places:

Ruins of coral Mosque at Kaole, graves and other things dated 13th.Century, Old Ferry on the mighty Wami River, Reminders of the Slave Trade: Shackle rings, Stone pens, etc., The town itself with its college of Arts, The Mother of all Cathedrals in East and Central Africa, Crocodile Farm, Fish Market, Colonial Graveyards, buildings of interest, The Snake Dance upon previous arrangements. (An extra charge will apply)’.

Tanzania Safaris Zanzibar Travel Holidays³¹⁴

Sign at upper right corner of central entrance stating Caravan Serai, statue of slave with ivory tusk, government official in courtyard shade
Bagamoyo, 4 February 2015



De Boeck (2004) argues that the dissipation of collective remembering of the past within the construct of the nation state, combined with the religious translation of daily reality and the crumbling collective consensus concerning historical truth and its representation, are signs of the weakening social interweave as a harmonious environment.

This phenomenon is complimented with 'synthetic nostalgia', which the author describes as a term which is consciously selective in terms of forgetting as of remembering. It omits certain facts such as the issue of power, whilst bringing other aspects to the fore and based on this approach, actively craft an imagined representation of the past.

Various trajectories of breach or denial of the present are supporting this, in response to an inherent desire to escape the contradictions of postcolonial times and the communitarianism versus modernity debate. De Boeck (2004) distinguishes two schools of thought. On one hand spiritual communalism aims to break away from colonial and post-colonial frames of reference to return to ancestral authenticity. In the second instance, both the precolonial and the colonial are considered traditionalising and backwards; an emancipatory evolutionist response comes with the globalising project of modernity. Mbembe (2008:8) reinforces this discourse as he considers the struggle against an inhuman order of things cannot do without the poetic productivity of the sacred; '[...] what would Africa be without the sacred? Here the sacred represents the imaginative resource par excellence. The sacred is to be understood not only in relation to the divine, but also as the 'power of therapy' and of hope in a historical context in which violence has touched not only material infrastructures but psychological infrastructures too, through the denigration of the Other'.

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The contextualisation of history in Bagamoyo is largely influenced by the reference framework endorsed by the various belief systems. The majority of the population makes reference to the Quran which devised society long before the arrival of European colonial hegemony. History is partially rooted outside of the country and as such the notions of longing and nostalgia refer to a mythical past located outside of local space and time. The Catholic and Anglican sense of existence is intertwined with European history whilst the new churches such as the Pentecostal community partake in a modernist dynamic as part of a globalised ecumene. A growing community considers the Bible as a symbol of recommencement and intends to revisit history, induce a new past and thereby recreate memory. These value systems are overlaid with dynamic socio-economic patterns induced by a growing emphasis on capitalism. The emerging middle class and the wealthy urban elite, intend to break with the past as they project their future outside of their current context, and see their aspiration in the largely inaccessible West.

Notwithstanding the diverse belief systems, Bagamoyo's ancestral spirituality binds all convictions as it remains deeply engrained within the psyche of the people. Mysticism remains the umbilical cord connecting the current reality with the world of the forefathers and as such any radical move towards a disconnected modernity is resisted.

Filming of music video in front of Poa Poa restaurant, Old Market street
Bagamoyo, 6 June 2015



In current times of change and global citizenship, a sense of meaning is often diffused and gets lost in the tumultuous noise of counter-interpretations and of a multiplicity of plotlines. One is challenged with mentally and practically re-imagining and consequently intends to institute society anew (De Boeck 2004).

The imaginary construct induced by colonial orientalism engenders a near mythological alter-ego for Bagamoyo as the ancestral origin of the nation. The mixture of fact and fiction, related to slavery, the Indian-Arabic traders, the early Africa explorers, fusion of religion and spirituality, the local presence of Nyerere at the advent of his presidency, form a fertile ground to create an 'imaginary reconstruction of an equally imaginary traditional Africa' (De Boeck 2004:21). The numbers of domestic visitors increase every year, with many schools from across the country visiting the historic remnants and undertake a fantastical journey in time whilst projecting their own lives within a future context of 'Africa's renaissance'. A respondent reinforced the aspirational aspect; 'Bagamoyo is about the whole nation, the whole continent, the globe because this is the place where cultures meet' (Shaba, 4 February 2015).

Meanwhile the decaying, ruinous context exudes an exotic attraction towards predominantly foreign visitors as its landscape evokes a nostalgic atmosphere of ancient times. As a *memento mori* it awakens a metaphorical space, reflecting the transient nature of earthly pleasures. When peering inside the empty shells or labyrinthian stone walls, one recognises one's own reflection in time. The old Stone town seated on the shore, facing the sea is a *Wunderkammer*³¹⁵ of manmade traces, monuments, structures and trails; which reflect cosmic relations of time and space, the tides, the cycles of nature.

A mainstream guided visit of the town is carefully curated to tie into these existentialist explorations whilst timed to maximise the commercial return by diversifying its destinations; a mini-bus brings visitors to the Kaole ruins, the Old Fort, Stone town, including the sites of the German Boma and the Arabic tea house as the main photogenic features. After a buffet at one of the resort hotels, the programme continues with a brief visit of the *Caravan Serai*, the German cemetery and an afternoon walk along the beach or a traditional dance or snake whisperer performance.

To avoid contestation and unsettling this palimpsest of layered meaning, the town reinvents itself outside of the old centre, outside of the colonial footprint, outside of the physical and symbolic forms of past power structures and social inhibitions. The substantial expansion of the town in recent years creates an urban counterweight where new concepts of space, time, causality, production and accumulation (De Boeck 2004) can be tested and consumed. The informal sprawl of growing popular neighbourhoods to the west, seizes more and more of the rural land and creates a type of agrarian urbanity. The boundaries as well as the attributes between town and rural village cannot longer be taken for granted. In contemporary times the classification of centre and periphery are often states of mind rather than objective qualities of space (De Boeck 2004). For example, the land value in the historic core of Bagamoyo remains much higher than the value of the fully serviced, easily accessible stands on the periphery, where modernity is

reinventing itself.

Historic towncentres around the world often succumb to a spectacularisation logic as 'creative city'³¹⁶ initiatives are inclined to transform 'public spaces into stage sets, disembodied spaces, facades without bodies: pure publicity images' (Berenstein Jacques 2004:1). These scenographic places are increasingly standardised and uniform; they are pacified spaces, apparently destitute of inherent conflicts, of discord and misunderstandings; they are apolitical spaces. According to this logic, spaces are re-ordered, sterilised and gentrified by urban 'projects of revitalisation' so that they become part of the larger urban spectacle.

This begs the question if Bagamoyo's heritage should avoid the spotlights of urban spectacularisation and become, as per Milton Santos' terminology, opaque urban zones as 'spaces of closeness and creativity, contrary to the luminous zones and spaces of exactitude' (Santos 1996: 261). Following this line of thought, to profane sites of cultural heritage would imply removing them from the sphere of the sacred as well as from the space of consumption and spectacular exhibition but restituting them to the common use of the inhabitants, passers-by and other users and return heritage to the bodily experience of location. Consequently, the day to day users actualise cultural spaces through routine practice and commonplace experience of the urban setting, thereby reimagining, subverting or profaning them. Those who actualise them are those who experience them in everyday life (Paola Berenstein 2011). In other words, could cultural sites return to the 'free use by all men' and make the *locus* of remembrance part of the commons³¹⁷ shared by all?

Local mental landscape

Observation

Chunguni, June 10, 2015

Traditional red patterned fabric lies on the grass, bundled with a small wicker basket and a small gourd containing herbal medicine. In the background the brisk, agile movements of a young man dominate the scene. His fluo-yellow sports shirt and red cap with white stars are flashing across an undeveloped plot of land in the middle of the residential Chuguni area, in the old town of Bagamoyo. His agile choreography is bound by a continuous concrete wall which dissipates into the greyness of a small new style house. The stage is a bewildering plot of land, with high grass, low bushes intermeshed with litter from the surrounding houses. Only a singular tree remains as a remnant of the past. It is a haven for the local children as the land is ideal to play hide-and-seek.

Passers-by join the line of spectators, predominantly local residents, who remain a metre removed from the edge of the grass, as if an invisible fence is holding them back. A professional snake hunter has been called by a local resident as a black snake had been reported. He applied herbal medicine to his body and with a ceremonial whisk in his right hand he started the hunt.

Suddenly the hunter pauses and the scene fills with silence. He takes a mouthful of herbs, chews and mixes them with half a cup of water. He sprays the liquid over the bushes and with a lightening move he thrusts his hand into the bushes, to return a fraction later and raise his trophy to the spectators, a black shining cobra, clamped between his fingers.

He brings the highly poisonous snake to the informal audience that observes him with full anticipation. The snake hunter hands his catch over to his master, whose skin reveals the scars from years of experience. He inherited the practice from his grandfather when he was twelve, now it is the time to teach his eighteen year old nephew.

Snake whisper, supporters football shirt, black cobra snake, residences to rear, open land
Bagamoyo, 10 June 2015



De Boeck's (2004) discourse introduces the concept of *mundus imaginalis* which considers the urban scape, its site, its activities and praxis not only as a geographical, visible and tangible reality but also as the intangible, local mental landscape; a topography of the local imagination that is as real as its physical counterpart.

As a diviner opens up another spatial dimension in time and makes visible the world of the ancestors, the built environment operates a simultaneous multiplicity of worlds. The tension between the visible and the invisible, the reality and its double, 'the fourth dimension' impacts on the daily life of the residents (De Boeck 2004:69). A comparison can be made with Baudrillard (1983:1) as he identified this phenomenon as the 'precession of simulacra', highlighting the changing relations between the signifying 'real' and the representational 'imaginary'.

Behrend (2002) makes the conceptual link between the mystical locale and the medium of photography³¹⁸. He describes how in popular culture, photography was considered suitable for the production of illusions, particularly in the post-colonial era. It highlights that modernity in Africa did not produce a disenchantment, but on the contrary how modernity produces its own enchantment, its own magic (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993). Behrend's study of the Likoni photographers and their customers demonstrate how photographs are used to exercise sorcery, attempting to empower themselves in a modern world that is often out of their control; the images 'which are worked on until they bleed and become alive, can be interpreted as a critique of modernity, expressing its other side and the often high price which has to be paid for being modern' (Behrend 2002: 105).

Furthermore, historic structures are frequently re-appropriated as a mystical locale where the contemporary and ancestral worlds fuse for a moment in time. These sites become the vessel of an in-between reality, for an interstitial experience which is translated in mythical and prophetic terms. For example, popular lore has it that the old wells, such as the well *la Serena blue*³¹⁹, built by Sewa Haji at the end of the 19th Century, have magical powers. The 'other' world can be opened for a moment in time, through the mirroring surface of the immovable water in the deep well.

Customary *muti*³²⁰ and ingredients required for ritual practice are commonly found in the local neighbourhood shop. 'The old man' or diviner can perform the ritual, by contacting the ancestors to favour his client in terms of love, health or professional success. Although officially forbidden by many Christian churches and vetoed as superstition by those voting for a modern society, spiritualism remains embedded in the psyche of Bagamoyo society; a popular local expression states that 'after the church service, one goes to visit the diviner'. Divination is devised to order a disjointed reality and provide clarity in a future trajectory of many.

Visitors come from far to Bagamoyo as it is deemed the centre of divinery practice for East Africa. The background and origin to its reputation is difficult to ascertain but folklore suggests that Bagamoyo is an auspicious location, as it is here where the

Ruins of Customs House, cyclist on beach
Bagamoyo, 1 February 2015



Nation was born. Legends make reference to a precolonial past but also to the heroic stories of Nyerere walking for days along the coastline and land in Bagamoyo to visit the auspicious sites of Kaole³²¹ which led to his destined future, as the first democratically elected President of Tanzania.

Prominent figures in society regularly travel to the town for spiritual assistance. The German Boma, currently an empty shell awaiting rehabilitation, has been adopted as a symbol of African fortune and prowess, despite its reference to colonial repression. Hearsay has it that besides of being a well visited historic monument, it is acknowledged as the location where aspiring African Politicians undertake in secrecy a ritual ceremony and turn to the supernatural in return for a seat in parliament or presidency. The seat of colonial power has mutated into the hope and ambition of future political strength.

De Boeck (2004) argues that divination is a natural extension of an unaltered world *build* of continuity of cultural order within the natural and social world, such as the organisation of labour, gender relations or the inter-generational relationships. Against this reference framework the changes in society are measured as they occur in everyday life. He argues that these long-standing, deeply-rooted, culturally and symbolically rich practices still exist but are dissipating from society or replaced by newer, hybrid forms of divination. The traditional healer locates their client in a social and cosmological environment, 'in unison with the rhythms of the world, with an ancestral beginning, and with a long, shared sociocultural history' (De Boeck 2004:117).

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Magomeni Jogging Club sign of clubhouse in ruin, Ocean Road
Bagamoyo, 11 June 2015



Double storey stone building for sale, telephone contact details, retail unit attached, Makarani Street
Bagamoyo, 23 September 2015



Mambo photo studio
Bagamoyo, 13 June 2015





Heterotopia

Provocation

Catholic museum Bagamoyo, February 2015

*Be happy my soul, let all worries go;
Soon the place of your yearnings is reached:
Bagamoyo, the town of palms.
Far away, how my heart was aching,
When I was thinking of you, my pearl,
You place of happiness: Bagamoyo.*

*There the women wear their hairs parted;
In the gardens of love: in Bagamoyo.
The dhows arrive with streaming sails and take away
The treasures of Africa; in the harbour of Bagamoyo.*

*Oh, what delight to see the ngomas, where the lovely
Girls are swaying in dance, at night: in Bagamoyo.
Be quiet, my heart, all worries are gone!
We are reaching Bagamoyo!*

Source: Catholic Museum in Bagamoyo³²²

*My heart is bleeding; bleed my heart!
On the fields at home we worked joking and singing.
Cruel men surrounded us, caught us like animals;
Chaining us, one to one, like animals!
My heart is bleeding; bleed my heart.*

*My heart is bleeding; bleed my heart.
Where are you, my father; my mother?
Where are you, my brothers, my sisters?
Are you caught like me? I am so lonely!
My heart is bleeding, bleed, my heart!*

*My heart is bleeding; bleed, my heart!
They forced us to march, miles and miles.
Not knowing, where they take us!
No hope anymore in my life!
My heart is bleeding, bleed, my heart!*

*My heart is shivering; shaven my heart!
I see water which I never saw!
Water, water up to the horizon!
They push us into the water; on the Dhows!
I crush down my heart - no hope anymore!*

Source: Song in the Bagamoyo-Musical about the slave girl Siwema³²³

Couple and child, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 22 September 2015



Between the historic song of the caravan porters and the much later musical reinterpretation, echoing the deep emotions of the caravan and the slaves arriving in Bagamoyo, unfolds a space which is as much about utopian longing as it is about apocalyptic mirages of past and future. This space was called by some *Bwagamoyo*, 'to throw off melancholy', the safe haven the porters had reached at the end of a four to six month journey from the African interior. For many it was the place of reunion, an oasis of worldly pleasures and promise; a trade centre for ivory and copra became a symbol of wealth and prosperous living. For others *Bagamoyo* meant 'here I throw down my heart' reflecting the despair of the captives whose voyage into the unknown began here; the place where they lost all ties with family, their homeland and ancestors.

Between those extreme poles, as much the real space as the imaginary dimension of the town is continuously reborn, constructed upon the layers of personal and world histories which fuse at points in time. The seashore is a symbol of civilisation as it has been reinvented, moulded and inscribed by man through the centuries. The coastal bay was the central contact point with the mercantile network stretching to Arabia and China whilst it kept its umbilical cord with the lifestyle, philosophies and power structures of mighty Zanzibar³²⁴. The shore became the battle ground of many; here the Bushiri uprising³²⁵ took place with historic remnants marking the contemporary landscape such as the German Cemetery with tombs of German soldiers killed during conflict and the Hanging-place, a national monument remembering the hanging of the Bushiri supporters.³²⁶ In the twentieth century it became the landing ground for the British forces in 1916 during the East African battle³²⁷ against the Germans. It was further the entry point for new philosophies and religions with the spreading of the Islam in the thirteenth Century, the arrival of the Catholic Mission Church³²⁸ and the coming of European explorers³²⁹ pursuing the discovery of African inner-lakes and the source of the River Nile. The open views towards the sea were critical to monitor and control this strategic entry and departure point.

The trees and bushes have now overgrown the grounds and obscure the legibility of the area. The current day serenity of this wild coastal garden 'without a name' challenges the reimagination of its turbulent past. At dawn, the life on the beach goes through the same daily routine as it did many generations before. The night-time fishermen have left the seas and the beach re-awakens with people engaged in the launching of the dhows, the fishermen's traditional sailing vessels. At low tide they are dragged through the sand and out into the water, at high tide, the silhouettes of men with equipment bundled on the shoulders move along the far horizon to reunite with the boat at water, ready for the duties of the day.

Twice a week, depending of the sea breeze and tide, a large Dhow normally leaves for Zanzibar. Its anticipated departure comes with bustling colours of people and goods waiting on the beach for the right moment to set off.

One by one the dhows leave the shore behind, unfold their sails like butterfly wings and sail accompanied by the morning breeze. The voices fade and merge with the ocean.

Fishermen mending nets, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 31 January 2015



Idd festival celebrations on beach, Fish boat construction yard, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 24 September 2015

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When the boats return in the afternoon, a different type of activity takes over the shore; the fish is transferred to land and animated noises accompany commercial deals and the beach auctions of the fresh harvest. The sizzling and smells of the oil fried fish spread from the fish market. For the fishermen it is time to return home and one by one change clothes in the bushes, load the equipment on shoulders and follow their usual trail home where the family awaits them for lunch. Only some stay behind to mend the nets or prepare the boats for the next day. The shoreline constantly changes as the tidal movements are large; during low tide the beach stretches out and becomes a vast sandy playing ground, whilst at high tide it is only few meters as the sea touches directly the town.

Against this backdrop of a timeless ritual, the shore knows many incarnations as it functions as a public space, integral to the town's workings. It can be considered as the social artery connecting the outer extents of the town; people passing by on bicycles, men in suits on route to work, women carrying goods to the market, joggers on their early morning fitness routine, tourists on a historical circuit or families on a stroll. The shore and its gardens embody apparent oppositions, between memory of hardship and idyllic beauty, the private and the public space for socialising, the cultural space and the site for daily use, the local ways of life and the global gaze. This interstitial land, sited between the urban and the sea is loaded with actual qualities and what once was a battleground is now for many a site of hopes and projected dreams. The 'liberation of minds', diasporas and of memory in conditions of captivity; are being reflected in religion, music and the performing arts such as the slave songs (Mbembe 2008:7).

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Declaring the majority of the old town as conservation area, combined with the effort of local stakeholders, has meant that the shore in front of the historic core has been lifted from the pressures of beach privatisation by hotels or other development endeavours. The trees and bushes have overgrown the land and obscure the legibility of the once highly controlled mercantile and military grounds. The area has become a *terrain vague* (de Solà-Morales 1995:118), or as (Foucault 1967:17) would name a 'counter emplacement' or 'counter-site' a realised utopia in which all other sites are simultaneously represented, contested and to a certain extent inverted. Foucault introduces this concept of heterotopia for places that perform different functions in relation to the dominant order. He distinguishes heterotopias of crisis, deviance, illusion and compensation and sees how they serve as steam-releasing sites, deflecting the forces of change by locating them outside of society. The Bagamoyo shore embodies Foucault's (1973: 375) 'absolute otherness' as it is distinctly disconnected from the dominant spatial order and its obscured undefined existence bounds any subversive quality one would like to assign to it.

Foucault (1967) articulates that one doesn't live in a void but in a context set by relations that delineate emplacements that cannot be equated or superimposed. Spaces like the shore have the unique characteristic of being in relation with all other sites of the town, but simultaneously can suspend, neutralise or even invert the set of relations designated by them. The author distinguishes two categories which perform this way.

Female vendors of salted eggs, Male taxi drivers with motorcycles, boat under construction, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 31 January 2015



Firstly, the utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces but they have a direct analogy with reality as they refer to a society perfected or a society turned upside down. The second category are the heterotopias. He describes them as effective places inscribed within the institution of society itself, in which the emplacements that can be found within culture are simultaneously represented, contested or inverted. Even though they are localisable, they are other than the emplacements they reflect.

In reading these spaces of otherness, Foucault identifies different types of heterotopias, located within a simultaneously mythic and real contestation of space. He names the 'heterotopias of crisis' (Foucault 1967:18) which are privileged, forbidden, sometimes sacred places; which are exclusive to individuals who are, in relation to their societal or broader human context, in a state of crisis. This phenomenon remains very tangible within the villages around Bagamoyo where traditionally the home becomes the heterotopia of crisis when a young girl reaches puberty age and is ready to get married. She is kept in the house for an entire year and undergoes a series of initiation rites led by the mother and other women in the village, from education about leading a family to dedicated beauty treatments to soften and pale the skin. A year later she is released of her confinement accompanied by a village celebration during which she is united with her future husband.

Heterotopias of crisis are gradually being replaced by 'heterotopias of deviation' (Foucault 1967:18), which locates individuals whose behaviour is deviant to the generally accepted norm. Similarly, Bagamoyo society foresees specific roles for women and men, which are highly informed by belief systems, ethnic background and collective Swahili values as a community. The strength of collective identity makes it challenging to counter the norm or escape the public eye. The terrain vague of the shore, temporarily lifts the pressure of peers and creates a spatial dimension where the normal relations and restrictions can be tested and occasionally be escaped from; the shore and its gardens become the hideaway for early courtship, the idyllic set for wild DJ³³⁰ beach parties for youngsters of Dar es Salaam, the stage where TaSUBa acrobats can try out their latest performance acts on an unknown audience, the training ground for athletes where the sexes unite under the same sports uniform. The shore is also the site of more illicit practice, particularly at night, when the coast becomes the den of smugglers awaiting illegal or untaxed goods, from electronic equipment to heroin, to arrive by Dhow from Zanzibar or the seas beyond.

Another heterotopian characteristic that Foucault identifies is the power to juxtapose within a single real place several spaces, with different emplacements which are at the surface deemed incompatible. The arrogant assumptions about what is considered to be 'primitive', 'of the past' versus what is perceived as part of being 'modern and contemporary', meld away when the heterogeneous nature of this heterotopia is considered the norm. The shipbuilders work for months on their next vessel, using the local timber, techniques and craft transferred from father to son whilst the foreign tourist has a swim in the sea facing them, a family from outside town poses for an iPhone selfie in front of the fishermen mending their nets, a young Bagamoyo couple has a picnic

Monument of the hanging tree, regional Tanzanian family visiting site, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 15 January 2015



between the graves of the German Cemetery whilst listening to their portable radio and the Zanzibar Ferryboat lands on the shore as an outer-space whale, as high as the tallest building within the town. Scale, time, status, origin become blurred dimensions within this 'other' continuum of space.

In a similar manner as the heterotopia challenges the conventions of space, it engenders in Foucault's (1967:20) view an absolute break with traditional time. He identifies 'heterotopias of time', in which time accumulates indefinitely such as the typology of the museum and the library. The shore and its gardens form part of a similar sort of archive for mankind³³¹. In this site, all times are encapsulated, all epochs, all forms, all fashions, traces of power, whilst this place of all times is itself removed from time. Foucault notes that this need for perpetual accumulation of time in a place of preservation, also belongs to the age of modernity. Although the cultural landscape makes reference to dark periods of repression, this palimpsest of accumulated markings through history reinforces, rather than a sense of conflict or contestation, a sense of contextual belonging, of being part of one cosmological continuum.

The signs of current times filter through contemporary habits, fashions, latest forms of communication, the contemporary ritual of the everyday. In this respect, Foucault (1967) highlights another characteristic of the 'time heterotopia', which is the celebration of a place in its most transitory aspect, the festive mode, exemplified by the fairground that settles temporarily at the outskirts of town. The shore heterotopia emerges from the unique condition whereby it combines its eternitary nature with the chronic. The site responds to the annual cycle of celebrations and events, such as the *Mwenge Uhuru* torch ceremony, the Dhow race or Bagamoyo marathon and more significantly the numerous religious festivals such as the Islamic *Idd al-Fitr* whereby thousands of people travel from far to Bagamoyo for the Feast of Fast-Breaking, celebrating the end of *Ramadan*. The grounds are densely coloured by large crowds of people that touch down temporarily on the land. During the entire night the families pray, sing and share food. In the early morning the next day they all depart and the exodus returns the grounds to its timelessness.

In all of these conditions, Foucault (1967) recognises a constant, which is the system of opening and closing that simultaneously isolates heterotopias and makes them penetrable. Sometimes the system is defined by clear physical constraints, other times one has to submit to prescribed rites or practices, to gain access. Although the access to the shore grounds appears to be simple and open to all, it often only provides the perception that one has entered. However, on most occasions one remains only an outsider removed from the numerous cultural microcosms located within.

The role of the heterotopia is to be a space of illusion, and because of its illusionary nature it manages to expose the real space. At the other end of the spectrum, the heterotopia can fulfil the role of compensation, with the focus on creating a world that is more perfect than the one one lives in (Foucault 1967). The shore is defined by absence;

Boat carcass, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 15 January 2015



abandoned areas, obsolete and unproductive buildings, decaying ruins, mostly undefined and without specific physical limits. The general tendency in urban planning terms would be to reincorporate this land within the productive logic of a growing town by adaptation and reconstruction of the entire site. However if this approach would be promoted, it would no longer be in a position to fulfil a role of compensation as it becomes an integral part of the overarching dynamics of the town and has to adhere to the same constraints and norms as other urban locations. This thinking is supported by the discourse of architect-urbanist de Solà-Morales' (1995) about the nature of the *terrain vague*. He argues the value of the state of ruin and lack of productivity. He sees that these places of *estrangement* manifest themselves as spaces of freedom that represent an alternative to the lucrative reality governing the capitalist city. They epitomise an anonymous reality.

The shore shares the same innate duality that de Solà-Morales recognises in these spaces; due to its marginalisation, it embodies a notion of externality to the order and security of the city, making the siting alluring as it escapes the typical city making processes and opts out of the increasingly homogenised urban realm. This duality is 'both a physical expression of our fear and insecurity and our expectation of the other, the alternative, the utopian, the future' (de Solà-Morales 1995:121).

At present the District Council is considering to redevelop the area between the Boma and the sea into formal gardens with allocation of food stalls and other potential attractions for tourists. Despite the good intentions, these type of initiatives could badly erode the infinite possibility inherent to the shore as a heterotopia, as it is in places outside of modernity's crushing homogeneity, that the imaginary is born.

Sola Morales in 1996 raises the need for a new approach to urban interventions and questions how architecture can sensitively act in a *terrain vague* and not become a destructive instrument of power and abstract reason. He proposes an approach in line with the current discourse in urban metabolism not only reflecting the significance of material flows through space but also in time; 'through attention to continuity: not the continuity of the planned, efficient, and legitimized city, but of the flows, the energies, the rhythms established by the passing of time and the loss of limits [...] we should treat the residual city with a contradictory complicity that will not shatter the elements that maintain its continuity in time and space' (de Solà-Morales 1995: 123).

It begs the question if this conceptual repositioning of the urban as dynamic flows, could be considered a new entry point for Africa, to emancipate from colonial think patterns, reconnect with a deeper cosmological existence to formulate a situated response towards contemporary urban transition.

Couple courting in German Cemetery, stone wall, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 31 January 2015





KWANA LIPU
ZAIKI?

Lipu
Taka
100/-

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Maisha

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FORTIFIED HOME
BAKING FLOUR

M.T.L.

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TRACING CULTURAL ECOLOGIES WITHIN A CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSITION

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*(Opposite) Coca-Cola and Charcoal store in Dunda Street opened after prayers in late afternoon
Dunda Street, Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015*

This chapter serves to draw together the empirical findings in relation to the framing inquiry set out in the Focus of the thesis.

The first section of the dissertation represents an overview of Bagamoyo and delves into both, the historical and contemporary conditions linked to urban transitions and cultural identities and practices.

The section provides a chronological overview of Bagamoyo's history and refers to the long lineages that feed into the evolution of a vibrant, hybrid identity through constant absorption of cultural exchange. I demonstrate the complexity of a historical narrative, particularly in a postcolonial context in the Global South and counter the dominant cultural heritage paradigm, aimed at fixing purist cultural values of the past.

This understanding is offset by the exploration of Bagamoyo's contemporary condition, informed by accelerated urbanisation, a shifting economy, land value dynamics and an increasing strain on rural governance structures. I expose the underlying forces that have an impact on cultural cohesion and reinforce the growing disjuncture between traditional beliefs and identity formation and the aspirational values that come with the notion of modernity.

The analysis of contemporary heritage management practice highlights the discord between conservation, urban integration and development. I reveal the disconnect between the focus of heritage management and the situated cultural production processes, due to its colonial underpinnings, lack of local grassroots engagement and instrumentalist approach.

Also, the implications of a failed World Heritage Application are explored, which emphasise how the UNESCO Conventions, despite their best intentions, not always land in predictable ways. I expose the political undercurrents and economic invested interests associated with cultural heritage practice and the traumatic impact global conventions can have on local sustainability, as they come with a specific heritage conceptualisation which is disconnected from local reality.

The second section of the study explores different cultural methods of reading space, reflecting on architectural typologies as well as spatial practice. Cultural ecologies are foregrounded through the primary lens of the urban public-private interface and through the analysis of change, enforced by a transforming glocal reality. I use the spatial reading of shifting territories as a device to demonstrate the complexity and fluidity that any cultural heritage discourse must confront. I emphasise the dissonance between the lived symbolic realities of places like Bagamoyo and the mainstream conception of heritage; particularly the way heritage has been codified in policy and conservation frameworks and the nostalgia politics and practice it gives rise to.

On the foundation of this exploration, it is now possible to return to the original proposition of the thesis, and reflect on its significance.

At the outset of the study, the following proposition set the course of the research inquiry:

An alternative conceptualisation of culture, based on the concept of cultural ecologies, can be more beneficial and meaningful than the inherited body of thought and practice, in contributing to the theoretical reassessment of the urban settlement imaginary.

The proposition has been borne out by the findings of this study. The dissertation critiques the global cultural heritage agenda as the research findings demonstrate that its theoretical construct is disconnected from local flows of meaning and can result in the alienation of the people the culture belongs to.

The diagnosis of the examined locality, situated at the rural-urban interface, highlights how life's structures are embedded in long lineages of cultural knowledge. This awareness implies that is not bureaucratic instruments but rather a deep understanding of context and people that needs to be foregrounded in the development of any form of sustainable planning framework. It requires an intellectual constellation which counters systematic syncretism but rather, advocates creative synthesis, hybridity and a profound respect for pluralism.

I seek to move the heritage debate forward by offering an alternative conceptual framework focused around the notion of cultural ecologies. This framework can rise above the need of an essentialist taxonomy. Contrary to the search for absolutes, it engages with a polis that is ethnically diverse (Mbembe 2008) and can concretise pathways to radically reposition culture at the heart of the sustainable development imperative. I argue that this proposition is defined by three core features, namely;

- The fulcrum of the cultural discourse is the system of exchange that sets out the social relations contributing to cultural value. Culture is conceptualised as networked flows of meaning which form part of the dynamic metabolism of an urban system.
- A culturally sensitive development approach is embedded in a fundamental reconceptualisation of urbanism, which emerges from local socio-cultural production processes instead of adopting static theoretical planning typologies, commonly borrowed from foreign exemplars around the world.
- Cultural systems thinking opens up a democratic space within the sustainable transition debate as it exposes multi-scalar interdependencies and systemic drivers informing the local cultural politics. It creates an engagement platform for citizens in negotiating trade-offs or identifying pathways towards a transformative and structurally inclusive agenda for their locality.

Reconnecting the past with the future, may contribute to the emancipation from the broken dreams of colonialism. Capturing the layered 'ordinariness' of place, silhouetted against the light of a global horizon, can harness the imaginative responses arising from local idioms, practices and traditions as the shared imaginary of tomorrow.

German soldiers grave, German Cemetery, high tide, Spiderman t-shirt, garden without name
Bagamoyo, 22 September 2015







NOTES

- 1 On 27 October 2014 Reuters Africa stated that the construction of a Chinese funded port was to commence in 2015. See <http://af.reuters.com/article/investingNews/idAFKBN0IGoYM20141027>. [Accessed on 3 February 2015].
- 2 The project includes connecting the port to the Central Corridor Railway and the TAZARA Railway and the construction of a parallel highway, linking Bagamoyo to the Uhuru Highway, which links to Zambia.
- 3 On 1 December 2015, *The Diplomat* relays that the Port of Bagamoyo is deemed to be a testing ground for China's bigger ambition to develop a 21st Century maritime Silk Road in Africa. See <http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/the-port-of-bagamoyo-a-test-for-chinas-new-maritime-silk-road-in-africa/>. [Accessed on 3 February 2015].
- 4 Refers to the global north–south divide in terms of development and wealth. The concept was originally introduced in a report by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by Willy Brandt (former Chancellor of West Germany) in 1980 - widely referred to as the 'Brandt Report'. See: <http://www.stwr.org/information-centre/reports/brandt-report-summary#sthash.2OD4SEdu.dpuf>. [Accessed on 15 August 2015].
- 5 The author defines cultural ecologies as 'a relational system of exchange that ultimately leads to an intangible or tangible manifestation'. This is further explained in the Methodological Approach of this thesis.
- 6 Discourse Robertson (1994).
- 7 The author identified 'cultural ecology' as 'the system of exchange that sets out the social relations contributing to cultural value'.
- 8 For a debate about the nature and value proposition of culture, see: Forero & Hong 2012, Querol 2010, Choay 2007, Claval 2007, Ahmad 2006, Holden 2006, Ballart & Tresseras 2005, Appadura 2004, Klammer 2004, Rao & Walton 2004, Pearce et al 2002, Throsby 1999, 2001, 2003, Jackson 1996, Morin 1962, Bourdieu 1986.
For a developmental perspective, see: Guzman, Roders & Colenbrander 2014, WCF 2013, Hoelscher 2012, Hosagrahar 2012, Bandarin et al 2011, Duxbury & Jeanotte 2010, Allen 2009, Colantonio 2009, Shmelev & Ashmeleva 2009, Runals 2007, Tweed & Sutherland 2007, Arizipe 2004, Sen 2004, Brundtland 1987.
For a debate related to empowerment, see: Forero & Hong 2012, Simpson 2007, Op de Camp 2006, Sen 2004, Jamieson 2001, Grimwade & Carter 2000, Tagore 1928.
For the relationship with the built environment, see: Trigg 2012, Vickery 2011, Hahn 2010, Reckwith 2009, Landry 2008, O'Keefe 2007, Palasmaa 2007, Merleau-Ponty 2005, Clark 2004, Paola Berenstein 2004, Jiv'n & Larkham 2003, Florida 2002, Nora 1998, Schein 1997, 2010, Santos 1996, Assman 1992, Cromley 1987, Norerg-Shultz 1980.
- 9 The literature highlights how the debates on cultural capital were informed by the emergence of sustainable thinking.
- 10 The heritage concept, as we know it today, is primarily a twentieth century European social construction although it can be traced back to the fifteenth century and the emergence of 'high culture'. Before the terminology was born, the monuments and works of art which transcended the life of the ordinary people, became the objects of study, collection, valuable exchange and hence preservation (Forero & Hong 2012). The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) introduced new conceptions about historical monuments and their preservation. The geographic reach of these new principles was limited as the participants of this forum were only European countries (Choay, 2007). Consequently, the Eurocentric perspective permeated the mainstream historic evolution of the cultural heritage concept and until recently it did not include for any other social or cultural processes besides of the European ones (Forero & Hong 2012).
- 11 Bourdieu's (1986) discourse considers how cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status.
- 12 The discourse of urban metabolism focuses on the material flows through cities that are made possible by specific configurations of networked infrastructures. Different configurations of networked infrastructures and their sociometabolic flows influence and shape, in a non-deterministic way, the nature, mobilities, cultures and subjectivities of everyday urban living (Swilling 2011).
- 13 'Cultural capital' is defined as an asset, tangible or intangible, that contributes to cultural value or as the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset (Throsby 1999).
- 14 Refers to the Total Economic Value Model introduced by Pearce et al (2002).
- 15 The Capability Approach (Sen 1985) is an economic theory conceived as an alternative approach to welfare economics whereby Sen introduces the moral significance of the individual's capability of achieving the kind of lives they aspire to : iep.utm.edu.
- 16 This is exemplified by the emergence of indicator suites for the evaluation and classification of culture, such as the UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators (CDIS 2014).
- 17 The model comprises the core components of Sen's Capability Approach (2004) namely;
Firstly, the Capability Space, includes the choice, ability and opportunity that people have to transform cultural resources or assets into achieved 'Functionings'. The assets can be tangible such as facilities or infrastructure or intangible such as policies. They are organised in six categories, namely;
 - Human assets, which relates to the quantity and quality of people such as levels of education, health,

- nutrition;
- Financial assets; which refers to the financial resources such as income, savings and credit facilities;
- Natural assets; these are the resources provided by the natural environment such as land, access to water;
- Physical assets; defined as the man-made capital, equipment and infrastructure;
- Social assets; representing the social relations within a specific context such as rules, norms, trust, reciprocity;
- Political assets; these represent the political avenues to claim access to services and goods such as political forums and organisations.

The transformation of assets is affected by a range of conversion factors which are inter-connected and vary according to the specific context and individual involved. These include factors associated to individual capacities (e.g. physical condition, skills), local factors (e.g. collective norms) and structural factors (e.g. market mechanisms, political structure).

The capability space also includes the 'Policies, Processes and Institutions', representing the power relations between different actors; the space where policies and norms are elaborated and implemented and where negotiation, decision-making and trade-offs are established.

Secondly, the 'Vulnerability Context' represents the external negative influences that exposes the cultural assets of an individual, household, group or community to risk. The vulnerability is typified by shocks, trends and seasonality.

Thirdly, the 'Functionings' stand for the ultimate objective or well-being outcomes resulting from the process of transformation and comprise health, pride, self-determination, participation belonging and secure livelihoods.

18 The conceptualisation and planning of the case study has taken into account the critical debate about the relevance of case study research within a context of African urbanisation and planning processes (Duminy, Watson and Odendaal 2014).

19 The case study method is considered an influential methodological approach applied for the 'purposes of understanding and intervening in complex environments and processes' (Duminy et al 2014: 21).

20 It is the largest city in eastern Africa by population (UNData 715,925 in 1988) and located approximately 75kms south of Bagamoyo.

21 The *Mji Mkongwe* or 'Bagamoyo Conservation and Buffer zone areas' were established by the Ministry of Land Housing and Human Settlements Development – Physical Planning Division, dated 30/05/2008, Plan drawing No 52/B6/01/0308.

22 For example, the new development area Block P.

23 For example, the new development at Ukuni, located along Bagamoyo Road that connects Bagamoyo with Dar es Salaam.

24 Field study trips to Tanzania were undertaken during the following periods; 30 January - 6 February, 25 March - 2 April, 26 May - 14 June 2015 and 19 - 29 September 2015. A total of 48 days were spent in Tanzania for research purposes.

25 This method implies that the researcher gets to know the informants by listening to their dreams, hopes and fears combined with information about their work and life situations. In applying the qualitative method, the field study represents an appropriate technique to obtain an understanding of the current context on the ground as different types of materials can be collected through interviews and observations (Yin 2009).

26 Refers to the power relations between various actors, located locally or external to the community.

27 An ethnographic methodology infers that the researcher enters a specific setting and gets to know the local people from within. Commonly the researcher participates in the daily activities and documents the experience (Lindeborg 2012).

28 This involves the widening of the scope of research to establish the relevant links between a large number of reputed variables (Chabal & Daloz 2006).

29 A trustworthy relationship with the respondents meant that the purpose of my visit was clear at all times. This approach corresponds with the methodology advocated by Holstein & Gubrium (2003). See: *Inside interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*.

30 Kvale (1996) outlines the interview guide; the interviewer creates rough topics with suggested questions to underpin the interview. The themes are followed and adapted to the topic of the informant during the moment of the interview.

31 Fife (2005:101) notes that 'unstructured interviewing occurs every time a researcher participates in a conversation and, upon hearing a subject come up that interests her/him, decides to try to keep that particular conversation alive for a period of time'.

32 Refers to methodology by Kvale & Brinkmann (2014).

33 For example, UN Habitat.

34 Field study research and interviews were undertaken during the following periods; 30 January - 6 February, 25 March - 2 April, 26 May - 14 June 2015 and 19 - 29 September 2015.

35 The diagram illustrates the number of residents which do not appear under another designation.

36 The objective was to pursue this process further with a parallel workshop at the Marian Girls School to
 balance the young male views with a female perspective of the same age group. Due to logistical challenges
 this was however not feasible within the time constraints.

37 The aim of the maps was to illustrate human life without showing the people (Dennis Wood 2010).

38 The author is a qualified architect, who has been active in major global infrastructure projects with a focus
 on harnessing the potential of network patterns, socio-economic attributes and spatial characteristics to
 enable regeneration.

39 Natali (2004). See chapter 'A contemporary notion of cultural identity' of this dissertation.

40 The cultural discourse relocates its focus from isolated value systems inherited from the past to a system
 of exchange that sets out the social relations contributing to cultural value. If culture is
 conceptualised as networked flows of meaning which form part of the dynamic metabolism of an urban
 system, the power of culture can be understood and harnessed in a holistic manner.

41 A culture-sensitive development approach is embedded in a fundamental reconceptualization of urbanism,
 which emerges from local socio-cultural production processes instead of adopting static
 theoretical planning typologies, commonly borrowed from foreign exemplars around the world.

42 This counters the predominant academic discourse, which singles out cities as the principal contexts for
 action; the metropolis is deemed the leading testing ground for strategic reorientation of
 socio-technical infrastructures driven by protection and increased autonomy, set within changing global
 networks.

43 Enguix (2014:81) and Diaz de Rada (1997) observe how 'strangeness' is the 'black box' of research and
 indicates how the 'stranged' position of the researcher is a key asset as it allows for a granular
 appreciation of diversity and difference. On the other hand, in-depth analysis requires the researcher to
 get close to their data and when working with individuals or communities this closeness requires the
 development of trust, enabling the researcher to collect the information as an 'insider' (Duminy, Andreasen,
 Lowassa, Odendaal & Watson 2014).

44 This resonates with De Satgé's (2014) reflections; that the social setting for the research study, in which
 an 'outsider' engages with diverse groups of 'insiders' amplifies the need for reflexive practices
 and critical perspectives on the role of the researcher.

45 The conference, chaired by Prof. Wilbard Chami of the University College of Lands and Architectural
 Studies in Tanzania, took place from 9-12 September 2002, in Bagamoyo.

46 *Conservation of Bagamoyo* was a study prepared by UNESCO in 1979, which highlighted the significance of
 Bagamoyo's cultural heritage.

47 Central to the proposal was the protection of the remaining heritage features and the advancement of
 research and documentation of the history and cultural traditions of the communities in the selected area.
 It was presented as an opportunity for neighbouring countries like Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo,
 Uganda, Kenya and Mozambique; who also carried remnants of the slave trade, to support the nomination.

48 For more information on the UNESCO World Heritage Application 'The Central Slave and Ivory Trade
 Route', see: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/2095/>. [Accessed on 1 January 2015].

49 Tanzania's cultural policy (2008) encourages stakeholder's participation and involvement. According to
 the Antiquities Department there is an involvement of local communities, private organisations and NGOs
 which are deemed important for the management, conservation and development of cultural heritage
 resources. It is acknowledged that sustainable uses of cultural heritage resources require exchange with
 stakeholders to foreground their cultural significance and possible future use (Kamamba 2014).

50 A local cultural activist and one of the key proponents of the submission, attempted to activate and harness
 the local grass roots movement to support the application, but pressures from local government impeded
 progress. All respondents interviewed reiterated how the process had failed to recognise the importance of
 local expertise and of translating in indigenous terms the cultural, the social, the economic and the historic
 value of heritage.

51 To manage the implementation of the SUDP seven focus groups were established, namely; a SUDP
 Implementation Team, five Issue Specific Working Groups incorporating stakeholders, and the Bagamoyo
 SUDP Stakeholder Consultation Group.

52 Also referred to as Focused Working Groups (FWG).

53 Since the end of the SUDP initiative, there have been various failed attempts to finalise the development
 vision and consolidate a masterplan. The reactive and fragmented approach towards urbanisation highlights
 the town's need for a politically endorsed development strategy, which embeds mechanisms of heritage
 conservation. Various respondents within the public sector anticipate that once the Bagamoyo Township
 Authority is elevated to a Municipality Council, the management, conservation and renewal within the
 historic core will improve (BDC 2011).

54 In various conversations with respondents that participated in the initiative, it was noted that part of the
 funding was 'mismanaged' by Government Officials. No further details were provided.

55 The World Heritage Draft Nomination File was not made available for review.

56 Since 2006 the Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route has been on the UNESCO Tentative List. There are no
 prospects that the application will be elevated to the next level in the foreseeable future.

57 The Antiquities Act of Tanzania was enacted in 1964 and amended in 1979 and 1985.

58 The Minister of Antiquities is empowered to declare protected status for any object, structure, or area of cultural value and the Department of Antiquities is entrusted with the ownership of the tangible cultural heritage resources. The management and use of tangible cultural heritage resources are governed and authorised by the national Director of Antiquities. The act prohibits activities which might damage or destroy cultural heritage resources and imposes sanctions for offenders in the form of fines, imprisonment or both. Furthermore, the sale, exchange and export of cultural heritage resources is not admitted without a permit (Mabulla et al 2010, MNRT 2015).

60 The Bagamoyo conservation area falls under the Tanzanian Antiquities Act of 1964. Section 3(1) of this Act empowers the Minister responsible for Antiquities by an order published in the Gazette to declare any place, site or structure of historical interest to be a monument. The Act also specifies that a monument also includes such adjoining land as may be required for the purpose of fencing, covering or otherwise preserving the monument from injury (Lindström 2002).

61 The Antiquities (Declaration of Conservation areas) (Bagamoyo Township) Notice. Section 3(2). G.N. No. 93 of 1983.

62 Each conservation area or station is led by a Station Director and supported by a local specialist team. The local Director reports directly to the Director of Antiquities at a national level. The mandate of the local team is limited, being; focused around managing restoration or development applications, limited research studies, day to day management, and the cleaning and protection of historic sites. Critical decisions such as the assessment of development proposals, sign off of funding or staffing are taken centrally at the national Antiquities Division in Dar es Salaam. The National headquarters provides the local stations with monthly funds to cover the conservation related work, administrative and operational costs. The Mission Church grounds fall under the same conservation policy but are managed and financed separately by the Church.

63 The Notice was gazetted and outlined the boundaries of the conservation area on the basis of beacons.

64 A Conservation Plan contains according to policy, the following components: the boundary of the designated area, a description of the tangible or intangible heritage, a conditions survey of the tangible heritage, an analysis of the stakeholders and a plan to manage the heritage (Kigadye, 29 May 2015).

65 As a comparison, European countries such as Italy and Spain, have 44 and 41 cultural UNESCO World Heritage designations, respectively, whilst Peru that has 4,000 years of history and hundreds of important cultural sites, has only 9 (GHF 2010).

66 According to the Global Heritage Fund (GHF 2010) approximately 500 global heritage sites are located in 100 of the lowest-income countries of the world; places where the per capita income is less than \$3 to \$5 a day. Over 200 of those sites are facing irreversible loss and damage today.

67 The GHF (2010) is an international conservancy with as mission to protect, preserve, and sustain the most significant and endangered cultural heritage sites in the developing world.

68 The annual operating budget for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre is less than \$5 million as of 2009; this is not enough to adequately oversee the protection and conservation of the 911 natural and cultural heritage properties as per the World Heritage Convention regulations (GHF 2010).

69 The Division of Antiquities is responsible for conservation, preservation, protection and management of cultural heritage resources and has the following roles (Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008):

1. Collecting, documenting, conserving and developing Tanzania's architectural and cultural heritage resources, including traditional architectural heritage;
2. Co-ordination and undertaking of archaeological research and related activities, issuing permits (licenses) to local and foreign researchers for excavation, collection, export and film production;
3. Advising the Government on research and conservation issues relating to cultural heritage as stipulated in the Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 and its amendment No.22 of 1979. See: <http://www.mnrt.go.tz/sectors/category/antiquities>. [Accessed on 15 January 2015].

70 Tanzania has an extraordinary variety in physical and cultural landscapes. To safeguard its natural resources, a protected area network was created which covers about 28 percent of the total land area of the country (Mabulla et al 2010). The network comprises the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, 12 national parks, 31 game reserves, and 38 game controlled areas. Of the protected areas, 19 percent is under wildlife protection, whereby no permanent human settlement is allowed, while in the remaining areas wild life coexists with human presence (Mabulla & Bower 2010).

71 As a result of increasing investments in the tourism sector and government policy initiatives in support of tourism, there has been a significant increase in tourist arrivals; from 295,312 in 1995 to 528,807 in 2004. See: Census 2012.

72 Tourism is largely concentrated in the northern wildlife circuit, where the richness and diversity of wildlife, ecology, and landscape, combined with relatively well-developed infrastructure, have led to the formation of world renowned wildlife parks such as the Serengeti National Park (SENAPA) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCAA) (Mabulla et al 2010).

73 These sites are: Mbozi Meteorite in Mbeya, Mkwawa Museum in Kalenga, Isimila Stone Age Site in Iringa, Kolo Rock Art in Kondoa, Mwalimu Nyerere Museum at Magomeni, Kunduchi Ruins in Dar es Salaam, the Kaole Ruins and Bagamoyo Historic Town in Bagamoyo; Tongoni Ruins and Amboni Caves in Tanga; Engaruka Irrigation Canals and Olduvai Gorge in Arusha; Ujiji Memorial Museum in Kigoma;

Kwihara Livingstone Museum in Tabora; Kilwa Ruins in Kilwa and the Dar es Salaam Historic Area.

⁷⁴ The United Republic of Tanzania, including mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar, Joined UNESCO on 6 March 1962. As a member state Tanzania underwrites the UNESCO Heritage conventions. Tanzania has four UNESCO World Heritage sites namely: the Kondo Rock Art site, the Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwan and Songo Mnara, Zanzibar Stone town and Olduvai Gorge of the Ngorongoro.

⁷⁵ Mabulla & Bower (2010) refer to examples as the Serengeti National Park (SENAPA) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA).

⁷⁶ Mzungu is a commonly used expression for 'white person' among the Bantu peoples in Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia, dating back to the 18th century.

⁷⁷ UNESCO is a coordinating body, whilst the state parties are deemed the decision makers. For instance, they define what heritage sites are under their jurisdiction. UNESCO oversees the system of periodic reviews and monitors the condition of World Heritage sites within the country. The national UNESCO office is present on the invitation of national government to assist the country to fulfil its duties under the UNESCO mandate whilst in parallel it undertakes programs to assist government with improving its policy frame work. The aim is to; show examples of innovation, how things could work better and transfer this knowledge to government (Interview UNESCO Tanzania).

⁷⁸ Including the Comoro islands.

⁷⁹ Both day and night temperatures are high, with an annual mean maximum temperature of about 33.3°C to a mean minimum temperature of about 20.3°C (Mutonga 2014).

⁸⁰ The rainfall is higher during the South-East Monsoon (April-October) when the air is moist after crossing the Indian Ocean. From April to June, days are cooler but nights are humid. Humidity ranges from 64% up to a high of 93%. The north-East Monsoon (December – February) brings in drier air after passing across the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa (Mutonga 2014).

⁸¹ Vegetation ranges from mangrove swamps to coconut palms and mango trees along the intensely cultivated coastal strip and wooded bush and forests dominating the coastal plains (Mutonga 2014).

⁸² The 'First settlements period' from the 9th to the 18th Century.

⁸³ Salt production is known as one of the oldest activities of man.

⁸⁴ In the proximity of Mkadini, pottery was found dating back from the 9th Century (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

⁸⁵ Prior to the caravans, trade consisted predominantly of fish, gum copal and salt (Areskough & Persson 1999).

⁸⁶ There are various hypothesis about the origin of the name Kaole; one theory traces the name back to the sentence *Kalole Muarabu vino at ndile with Kalole* referring to 'see' and *vino ate ndile* meaning 'how they do'. Another theory sees the name being originated from the Kwele tribe (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

⁸⁷ The ruins of two mosques, tombs and houses, constructed from coral stone, date back from the 13th Century.

⁸⁸ Shomvi refers to Arab origin, located in the Middle East, Yemen, and Persia. Diwan refers to a status of high nobility.

⁸⁹ In 1761.

⁹⁰ The Arabic Times is defined as the period between 1830 and 1880.

⁹¹ In Swahili.

⁹² In Swahili.

⁹³ Henschell (2009) cites Koponen's (1988) book *People and Production in the late precolonial Tanzania*.

⁹⁴ The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (1807).

⁹⁵ In 1922 the legislation for the abolition of slavery was finally enacted under British rule in Tanganyika (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

⁹⁶ Livingstone (1813-1873) was considered a national hero of late 19th century Britain; he acquired a mythical status as protestant missionary martyr, scientific explorer, and advocate against slavery. He worked in Africa from 1840 to 1873 and was buried in Westminster Abbey in London on 18 April 1874.

⁹⁷ His loyal servants Susi and Chums carried the corpse of their 'master' along an approximately 2000km long route, via Lake Tanganyika to Bagamoyo. The old tower of the first church on the Mission Church grounds still exists and is called the Livingstone Tower (Henschell 2009).

⁹⁸ Persians.

⁹⁹ W.T. Brown, Bagamoyo. *An Historical Introduction* (1970) as cited by Henschell (2009).

¹⁰⁰ Building of the First Church (1872), the Fathers House (1873), the Sisters Convent and Grotto Chapel (1876).

¹⁰¹ The 'Scramble for Africa' refers to the period of New Imperialism (1881-1914) whereby the African territory was invaded, occupied and colonised by European powers.

¹⁰² The German times are defined as the period between 1880 and 1891.

¹⁰³ The German East Africa Company was a chartered colonial organisation responsible for establishing German East Africa, a territory which comprised the areas of modern Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda (Encyclopedia Britannica 1911).

¹⁰⁴ It assured the Sultan the sovereignty of the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, Lamu and a 10 mile strip

along the East African coast from Tungi in the south to Kipini in the north (Henschell 2009).

105 Bushiri demanded the appointment as Governor of the region from Panagani to Dar es Salaam, 4,000
rupees per month and the permission to keep his personal army (Henschell 2009).

106 He ordered the construction of blockhouses to defend the town, including the remaining Von Wissmann
Tower.

107 Bushiri was hanged on 15 December 1889.

108 The 'Place of the Hanging Tree' in Bagamoyo is allegedly the location where Bushiri's supporters were
hanged in public.

109 In 1890 the German Empire reinforced their presence by acquiring the East African Coast from the sultan
for 4 million marks (Joelsson & Winquist 2000).

110 The attack occurred on 1 August 1916.

111 The Mission Church archives refer to 2000 people being safely sheltered in the Mission compound, as it was
respected as neutral ground.

112 The British times are defined as the period between 1919 and 1961.

113 With the exception of Rwanda and Burundi, which were under Belgian administration.

114 For more info, see: ntz.info. [Accessed on 15 August 2015].

115 Introduced by German Colonial Administration to institute self-government.

116 Refer archives of the Bagamoyo Mission Museum.

117 The first political party founded in Dar es Salaam in 1929 which was later also established in Bagamoyo;
the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) (Henschell 2009). Their political motto was *Uhuru na Umoja*
being 'Freedom and Unity'.

118 Refer to the archives of the Bagamoyo Mission Museum.

119 At present most official buildings are still situated in the Old Town of Bagamoyo such as the District
Council, the CCM headquarters, the Antiquities Department and Local Government.

120 In 2000 the demand for development plots already started to outgrow the population, predominantly as a
result of growing investor interest from outside of the town (Joelsson & Wynquist 2000).

121 In 1992 Bagamoyo had two international hotels which increased to 10 in 2006. The tourism industry has
now diversified and offers; international hotels, standard African guest-houses, and short to long stay
apartments (Kabudi n.d.).

122 The Centre for Fishing in Mbegani, Bagamoyo College Arts (later named TaSUBa) and ADEM (Agency for
Development of Educational Management, former MANTEP).

123 The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

124 Bagamoyo District currently has an estimated population of 334,634 (2016). See Census 2012.

125 A Special Economic Zone (SEZ) refers to designated areas in countries that possess special economic
regulations that are different from other areas in the same country. These regulations tend to contain
measures that are conducive to foreign direct investment, for instance a company will receive tax incentives
and the opportunity to pay lower tariffs when conducting business in an SEZ. For more info,
see: <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/sez.asp#ixzz48fir8oxL>. [Accessed on 5 August 2015].

126 Born approximately in 570 AD.

127 The *Kiswahili* language has the longest literary history in East Africa (Momanyi 2007). The language
comprises of numerous dialects varying according to the geographical location. The Waswahili apply *shairi*,
poetry, *methali* proverbs and *vitendawili* riddles as ways to express ideology and ways of life
(Mutonga 2014). Arabic as the main form of communicating the Quran has heavily influenced the Swahili
language. It is estimated that more than 50 % of the language is sourced from Arabic, particularly in
domains related to administration, religion, law and education (Hassan 2014).

128 For example, shared forms of expressive culture such as *Taarab* music.

129 Such as Lamu, Pate, Malindi, Mombasa in Kenya and Tongoni, Kilwa, Lindi and Mtwara on the Tanzanian
coast and the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia.

130 Fusion cuisine was influenced by flavours coming from India and the Persian Gulf and the distinct refined
garments, influenced by Islamic dress code (Mutonga 2014).

131 *Ngoma* literally translates as 'drum' and is a bantu term used to encompass all local traditional forms of
dancing, drumming and singing. Local African musical and dance events (Oxford Dictionary).

132 *Taarab* is a popular genre of music descended from Islamic roots, using instruments from Africa
(percussion), Europe (guitar), Arab Middle East (oud and *qanun*) and East Asia (*taishokoto*). This form of
sung poetry originated around 1870 when the Sultan of Zanzibar aimed to develop a new court culture and
sent a musician to Cairo for musical training. It is habitually adopted in wedding music. The music is
associated with the coastal areas of east Africa.

133 References have been found in oral tradition and historical documents to titled females along the Swahili
Coast. The title *Mwana* referred to 'madam', 'queen' or 'child' (Askew 2010). For example, *Mwanamakuka*
was an acclaimed female trader in the history of *Bagamoyo*.

134 Until 1886 women rulers existed along the coast (Askew 2010).

135 Askew (2010) argues that in the move from a trade-based to an agriculture-based economy, women lost
their political authority in society.

136 This ideological position is however totally opposite to conservative Muslims who strictly follow the
orthodox dogma in isolation of their Swahili cultural roots. The *Mutaquun*, 'true faithfuls' or *Mu'umin*, 'true
137 believers' live solely according to the Quran and prophetic traditions, the *Sunnah* (Hassan 2014).
Cited by Hassan (2014).

138 The long-standing dispute erupted after the murder of the third Muslim successor of the Prophet,
Khalifa uthman bin Affan, in 632 AD, triggering the schism between the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam
(Hassan 2014).

139 The fleet was allegedly commanded by a Persian Prince, Hassan bin Ali, the son of the Sultan of Shirazi.
Hassan came with his five sons, accompanied by their families and other settlers. He argues that each son
landed at a different destination along the East African Coast (Quraishi 1987) where settlements were
initiated.

140 *Shelhe* refers to educated teacher of the *Madrasa*; *Iman* refers to Islam representative, who stands in front
at the time of prayer to God; *Mwalimu* refers to teacher of Islamic religion (Abdalrahman Swaleih Mezza,
27 September 2015).

141 The first emigration of Muslims to Ethiopia occurred circa 615 AD.

142 Consequently the *Ruhani* need to be appeased with offerings, such as sweet smelling incense sticks or rose
water, and ultimately exorcised (Lebling 2010).

143 Traditional medicine is commonly understood as all knowledge and practice, whether explicable or not,
applied in diagnosis, prevention, and elimination of physical, mental or social imbalance. It is handed down
from generation to generation, verbally or in writing, and its praxis is rooted in experience and observation
(Peter 2005).

144 Good (1986) cited in [Peter 2005] refers to 17th century English occult words entering the popular idiom
such as witch, wizard, witchcraft, sorcerer and witch doctor, which was used indiscriminately in relation to
traditional medicine men and women on the continent.

145 In the period between 1505 and 1513.

146 Protestant initiatives took place at the end of the 18th century and Anglican and Roman Catholic missions
joined decades later.

147 Founded in 1868 in Paris.

148 It was believed that legitimate commerce would provide a general civilising impulse and would deprive the
slave trade from its stronghold, to the benefit of both Europe and Africa.

149 Formula advocated by Cardinal Lavigerie (1825–1892) in his instructions to the catholic order of the
White Fathers.

150 Since the world has become more than half urban, the debate about urban sustainability has gravitated
towards the emergence of mega-cities. However, the reality is that half of the world's urban dwellers still
reside in smaller settlements of less than 500,000 inhabitants. 28.1 percent of the world's population lives
in urban areas (500,000 or more inhabitants) and more than 70 percent lives outside urban areas
(*Demographia* 2015). Growth is taking place mainly in developing economies; the implicit challenge lies in
smaller settlements, which see a radical shift from the rural to the urban (Ghosh 2012).

151 *Bagamoyo* is one of the 6 districts of the Pwani Region of Tanzania. It is bordered to the north by the
Tanga Region, to the west by the *Morogoro* Region, to the east by the Indian Ocean and to the south by the
Kibaha District. The district capital is located at *Bagamoyo*.

152 Refer to 2002 National Population and Housing Census (Village Statistics). See: http://ihi.eprints.org/2169/1/Age_Sex_Distribution.pdf. [Accessed on 15 October 2015].

153 Refer to Bagamoyo District Council. (n.d.). *Bagamoyo Formalisation Plan*.

154 The overarching objectives of the *EcoEnergy* sugar project in *Bagamoyo* is to address food insecurity,
productive agriculture, smallholder farmer development and social inclusion for sustainable livelihood
development in rural Tanzania. Agro EcoEnergy is working in partnership with the *Bagamoyo* District,
villages and other stakeholders to break the ground for domestic sugar production and generate inclusive
growth, contributing to increased wealth, rural development and sustainable livelihoods in the surrounding
local communities. See: <http://www.ecoenergy.co.tz/get-to-know-us/rationale/>. [Accessed on 15 November
2015].

155 For example, the Environmental Management Act, Cap. 191 (EMA) was enacted in October 2004 and
provides for the legal and institutional framework for dealing with environmental issues. It also stipulates
environmental management instruments including Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA).

156 The project is the result of a Memorandum of Understanding, signed in 2014 between the Tanzanian
Government, the Sultanate of Oman through the State General Reserve Fund (SGRF) and China Merchants
Holding International (CMHI), a Hong Kong based company involved with port operations, general and
bulk cargo transportation.

157 The trunk road network includes the Bagamoyo-Msata road (64km), The Bagamoyo-Daadani-Tanga road
(178km), the Tanga-Horohoro Road (65km) and the Dar es Salaam- Bagamoyo Road (178km) (COWI 2013).

158 Bagamoyo connected with the Tanga-Moshi railway at Kikoka, at 27km from Bagamoyo (COWI 2013).

159 Bagamoyo is located along the Indian Ocean. In addition to the historic port, the construction of a new
harbour is planned under the auspices of the Tanzania Ports Authority (COWI 2013).

160 Bagamoyo's proximity to Dar es Salaam provides easy access to the Julius Nyerere International Airport.
 Furthermore, an international airport is proposed as part of the Bagamoyo SEZ (COWI 2013).
 161 Large tracts of virgin land are still available despite the recent increase in development (COWI 2013).
 162 The planned \$11 billion Bagamoyo deep sea port will be larger than the Dar es Salaam and Mombasa ports.
 It is anticipated to have capacity to handle 20 million containers a year, compared with Mombasa's installed
 capacity of 600,000 and Dar es Salaam's 500,000. See: [http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania-](http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania-plan-for--11bn-port-threat-to-Mombasa/-/2558/1849536/-/14pu3bd/-/index.html)
[plan-for--11bn-port-threat-to-Mombasa/-/2558/1849536/-/14pu3bd/-/index.html](http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania-plan-for--11bn-port-threat-to-Mombasa/-/2558/1849536/-/14pu3bd/-/index.html). [Accessed on 3
 February 2015].
 163 US\$11bn new Bagamoyo port project in Tanzania to kick off this year, Construction Review Online, by Africa
 for Africa Online: [http://constructionreviewonline.com/2014/08/us11bn-new-bagamoyo-port-project-](http://constructionreviewonline.com/2014/08/us11bn-new-bagamoyo-port-project-tanzania-kick-year/)
[tanzania-kick-year/](http://constructionreviewonline.com/2014/08/us11bn-new-bagamoyo-port-project-tanzania-kick-year/). [Accessed on 15 August 2015].
 164 The Government of Tanzania in 2006 adopted a SEZ programme to develop 14 SEZ areas strategically
 located throughout the country. Bagamoyo SEZ (9,800ha) is the first one to be implemented. The objective
 is to attract investment by providing quality infrastructure complemented by an attractive fiscal package,
 business support services, cluster formation and minimal regulations (COWI 2013).
 165 A Professor of Urban Land Management, and Director of the Institute of Human Settlements Studies; Ardhi
 University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. His current research and projects focus include; land management,
 governance of informal urbanization; governance of water and sanitation in peri-urban areas; measuring
 service delivery versus the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Environmental Planning and
 Management.
 166 Refers to the Monument of the Cross, located along the shore on Mission Church grounds.
 167 Located 30kms west from Bagamoyo, along Msata Road.
 168 Tanzanian law recognizes three types of land namely;
 • General land is land that has been surveyed and usually located in urban and peri-urban centres.
 • Village land is usually located in villages. Some village land has been surveyed but the majority of the
 land is un-surveyed. Village land cannot be used for investment until it is transferred into general land.
 • Reserved land includes lands reserved for forestry, national parks, public recreation grounds etc.
 See: <http://www.tic.co.tz/menu/274?l=en>. [Accessed on 3 August 2015].
 169 In terms of tenure, all land in Tanzania is deemed public land, which the President holds as a trustee for the
 people. Four tenure types are identified (USAID 2011), namely;
 • Firstly, village land is property held collectively by the village residents under customary law. This
 includes communal land as well as individualised land. Under The Village Land Act villages have
 the rights to the land that the residents have traditionally used and is considered part of the village
 territory under customary principles; including grazing, fallow and unoccupied land. Village land can
 be demarcated, registered and certified;
 • Secondly, a customary right of occupancy represents a right of occupancy of village land that the
 villagers hold under customary law or have been allocated from the village council. These rights held
 individually or jointly, are perpetual and heritable, and may be transferred within the village or to
 outsiders with permission of the village council;
 • Thirdly, granted rights of occupancy exist for general and reserved land. Grants are available for
 periods up to 99 years. Granted land must be surveyed and registered under the Land Registration
 Ordinance and is subject to annual rent;
 • Furthermore, leaseholds are derivative rights as holders of registered granted or customary rights
 of occupancy can lease the right of occupancy to any person for a definite period of time. Leases are
 written end registered;
 • Lastly, a residential licence is a derivative right granted by the state on general or reserved land,
 granted for urban and peri-urban land, including land reserved for public utilities and development.
 170 In 1993 the one-party political system was replaced by a multipartite system of government, which was
 followed by a Local Government Decentralisation Process (LGRP). The Bagamoyo Township Authority
 (BTA) was formally established, in line with this process (BDC 2011). The programme covered four areas:
 political decentralisation, financial decentralisation, administrative decentralisation and modified
 central-local relations with the mainland government, having overriding powers under Constitutional Law.
 The aim was to establish democratic, accountable and autonomous government authorities with wide
 discretionary powers and a solid financial base by 2011 (Jaba Shadrack 2010).
 171 Government Gazette No. 353.
 172 The external support focused on three key areas, namely; the alignment with the Local Government Reform
 Programme through institutional integration within the existing government financial systems and
 structures; secondly, capacity building of the BDC in order to become eligible for Capital Development
 Grants and plan, budget and implement physical infrastructure in accordance with the Bagamoyo Strategic
 Urban Development Plan (SUDP) and finally, the establishment of the Township (BDC 2011).
 173 Dunda ward has a total area of 3,704 ha (37km²) with an estimated population of 16,931 in 2009 and
 density of 436 pers/ km² (National Bureau of Statistics – Bagamoyo District 2007).
 174 Magomeni ward has a total area of 64,802 ha (648 km²) with an estimated population of 21,931 in 2009
 and density of 34 pers/km² (National Bureau of Statistics – Bagamoyo District 2007).

175 In Tanzania, Local Government Authorities are structured according to two main categories, namely;

- Firstly, Urban Authorities; responsible for the administration and development of urban areas, ranging from townships, municipalities and cities. The Township Council comprises of members elected from the wards within the town and members of parliament representing constituents within the town. The predominant functions are the maintenance of peace, order and good governance, enabling social welfare and economic well-being of the local community (Shadrack 2010).
- Secondly, Rural Authorities or the District Councils; responsible for coordinating the activities of the township authorities and village councils and accountable to the district for all revenues. The village and township councils have the responsibility for formulating plans for their areas.

176 Bagamoyo district covers an area of about 9,842km². The district has 6 divisions, 16 wards, and 91 villages.

177 Local Government Act, No. 7 of 1982 Section 13-21; and 113-140.

178 Despite various requests, a formalised organogram was not available depicting the local government structures located under the Bagamoyo District Council. The structure included in the thesis summarises the author's understanding built up on the basis of interviews, but is not deemed conclusive.

179 This formed part of the Bagamoyo Strategic Urban Development Plan (BSUDP) supported by the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida).

180 This is presented to the District Council for deliberation. Further to endorsement by the Full Council, the proposal is forwarded to the District Council Committee (DCC) and later to the Regional Consultative Committee (RCC) for final deliberation. Once both bodies have endorsed the proposition, the District Executive Director (DED) will prepare and submit a dossier to the Prime Minister's Office (BDC 2011).

181 The dossier pulls together the deliberations and recommendations of the three consulted levels, supported by a report on the socio-economic profile of the Township, the income and expenditure, the population and the level of key public services provided, such as hospitals, secondary schools, police station. A minimum population quota of 30,000 is required (BDC 2011).

182 Upon receipt of the application, an independent expert team is sent out for auditing purposes.

183 21 Percent of the population are born in regions outside the Pwani region where Bagamoyo is located (MKama et al 2013).

184 Livestock mainly includes indigenous cattle (short horned *zebu*), cultivated cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens and dogs (BDC 2014).

185 Common cash crops are coconut, fruits, cashew nuts, sesame and cotton while important food crops include maize, sorghum, paddy, cassava, legumes and sweet potatoes (BDC 2009).

186 About 80% of the population is engaged in agriculture which is predominantly subsistence farming (BDC 2014).

187 Charcoal production remains an important activity in supplementing the base subsistence despite its massive impact on the natural environment; people cut mangroves for fuel wood and charcoal production. Fuel wood is consumed locally and satisfies the great demand from Zanzibar. Even though export of wood and charcoal is illegal, there exists a profitable underground trade (Torell et al 2006).

188 The declining tradition of subsistence cultivation increases the need for money for buying marketed foods. As domestic food production has fallen behind population growth, more foods are being imported which accelerates the commodification process of the food system.

189 The courses are all-encompassing from traditional boat building, marine engineering to fishing techniques, processing, marketing and quality control (Interview Mbegani Fishing Institute, 3 February 2015).

190 The average annual fish production is 300 tons (BDC 2014).

191 Such as prawn farming, crab fattening and seaweed farming.

192 Salt production is seasonal with the period of August to March being the best period for salt production. During the long rains (April to June) salt operations halt and crystallisation ponds may be used for fishing (Semesi et al 1998).

193 Predominantly from other regions in Tanzania and Kenya.

194 Refer; interview District Council Tourist Office, interview Mission Church Museum and interview Antiquities Division.

195 The *Makonde* people, situated in south-east Tanzania, traditionally carved household objects, figures and masks. Further to contact with Western culture, a classical European influence was introduced into the traditional *Makonde* style. Since the 1950s the so called 'Modern Makonde Art' has developed.

196 The Bagamoyo arts and cultural Institute (*Taasisi ya Sanaa na Utamaduni Bagamoyo*, TaSUBa), formerly called 'Bagamoyo College of Arts', is a semi-autonomous governmental organisation for training, research and consultancy services in art and culture.

197 The 'Bagamoyo Festival of Arts and Culture' dates back to the early days of the 'Bagamoyo College of Arts'. The event was established to showcase the works of the students and teachers at the college. Since its inception in 1982, the festival developed into an annual 6-day event of performances. The Festival focuses on Tanzanian and East African music, dance and theatre. Music includes *ngoma*, afro jazz, bongo flava, reggae, African fusion and *taarab*. See: <http://bagamoyofestival.weebly.com/about-the-festival.html>. [Accessed on 15 August 2015].

198 Leading the initiative for Sida.

199 See: www.mof.go.tz/mofdocs/overarch/Vision2025.pdf. [Accessed on 15 November 2015].

200 The Marian University College (MARUCO) is currently under construction with a first intake of students in
September 2015.

201 The African Institute for Mathematical Sciences (AIMS) is a pan-African network of centres of excellence
for postgraduate education, research and outreach in mathematical sciences. See: <http://www.aims-tanzania.org/Default?Page=P9IwlRBXBnfvOl4>. [Accessed on 18 August 2015].

202 The expansion is timely as Tanzania is experiencing rapid economic growth. Its economy at \$31.9 billion
(USD) grew 7.0 per cent in 2013. Tanzania's economy is projected to grow by 7.2 per cent to \$34.9 billion
(USD) in 2014 See: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201406030542.html>. [Accessed on 20 December 2015].

203 An approach to the study of history, which gives priority to long-term historical structures over events.

204 Featherstone (1990) cited in Hall (2004).

205 Before the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

206 After many years of Western educational cultural and political domination, he appealed to the people to
focus on the future rather than on a 'lost golden age' and revive the best elements of the cultural legacy of
the past for the purpose of creating a vibrant national culture. He articulated that cultural revival could not
take place in isolation but also alerted to the fact that influences should be borrowed selectively from other
nations as the focus was the strengthening of the national culture of the new republic (Mbughuni 1974).

207 The President articulated six key themes (Mbughuni 1974), namely;

- A selective revival of traditions and customs;
- Promotion and preservation of cultural heritage;
- Culture as an instrument of national development and unity;
- The development of tribal cultures into one national culture;
- The contribution of culture towards the development of mankind and the contribution of the various
cultures to development;
- The necessity of overhauling the educational systems inherited from former colonial powers and the
need for all Tanzanians to detach themselves from the influence of the colonial mentality.

208 Kiswahili became the national language and the traditions and habits of diverse groups were covered by one
overarching historical narrative.

209 Bakari describes that in 2010 TaSUBa became a designated centre of excellence for performing arts training
for the East African community, including Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi (Bakari, 8 June 2016).

210 Refer to Anderson (1983), cited in Hall (2004).

211 New cultural subjects and agents, recognise local roots whilst having a global horizon. They create new
circuits of cultural practice that challenge the hegemonic north to south cultural flows (IFACCA 2014).

212 Banuri (1990) cited in Nederveen Pieterse (2004).

213 Natali (2004) highlights how Marx's particular understanding of historical development allowed him to
transform the conflict between, on the one hand, peasants, artisans, and the lower middle class and, on
the other, the bourgeoisie, into a struggle between the past and the future. This was later reflected in other
liberal ideologies as the past was precisely what needed to be overcome to come social justice, as there was
an assumed connection between nostalgia and the preservation of inherited privilege.

214 Centripetal flows of cultural forms and practices derived from diverse parts of the globe. These are
transformed, indigenised and adapted to the locality and manifest themselves in one or more places, or
among a particular place-related population; a process defined as 'glocalisation' (King 2004).

215 Centrifugal flows of cultural meaning refer to cultural influences or practices originated historically from
one location or region and are now embedded in various indigenised or 'translated' forms, in many locations
around the world.

216 Refer interview 10 February 2015. Nick Shepherd is Associate Professor of African Studies and Archaeology
at the University of Cape Town.

217 Newly conscious of time, moderns have at their disposal transportation and communication technologies
that condense both time and 'scape' (Baumann 2000, Harvey 1990).

218 For example, the emergence of non-places or places of transience which lack meaning in the classic
anthropological sense (Augé 1995) such as airports, hotels, supermarkets, shopping malls.

219 An identity is a social construct, 'the function of which is to make normal, logical, necessary, and
unavoidable the feeling of belonging to a group' (Martin 1994:23 cited in Gervais-Lambony 2006).

220 At the same time, society becomes increasingly individualised - as well as purportedly secularised- in
modern contexts, so that both relationships and identities become fragmented, if not autonomous (Berman
1970), and also subject to reflexive self-creation (Giddens 1991).

221 Marxisms and nationalism practiced in Africa during the 20th century, gave rise to Nativism and
Afro-radicalism (Mbembe 2002).

222 Fouéré & Hughes (2015) argue that the past history of slavery still inhabits hierarchies of power and
prestige, as well as identity categories and conceptions of citizenship.

223 'Liquid modernity' (Bauman 2004) is the condition of constant mobility and change in relationships,
identities and global economies within contemporary society; the transition from solid modernity to a more
liquid form of social life, which refers modernity through a metaphor of fluidity.

224 Such as industrial and Fordist capitalism.

225 Latour (1993:47) emphasises the continuity of social, religious, political, economic and other discursive
 elements in 'modern' science and argues that from this perspective 'No one has ever been modern.
 226 Modernity has never begun. There has never been a modern world'.
 Nick Shepherd is Associate Professor of African Studies and Archaeology at the University of Cape Town.
 227 King (2004) argues that the disparity between the cities of the supposed most advanced urban economies
 and the once called 'third world' cities is gradually dissolving, in terms of their economic, social and spatial
 polarisation, the hybridity of ethnic, social and racial mixes, and the professional structures of their
 industrialised or non-industrialised inhabitants.

228 On the southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, in northern Tanzania, live the Chagga people. The traditional
 Chagga house was cone-shaped, with a roof thatched with dried grass.

229 Giddens (1990) counters the notion of a post-modern era and emphasises that society is entering a time in
 which the consequences of modernity will be more radicalised and universalised.

230 Modernist scholars argue that modernity has the capacity for perpetual self-critique and self-renewal,
 whilst hyper-relativist post-modern theory derides all collective hopes for moral and social progress, for
 personal freedom and public happiness; the principles inherited from the modernists of the 18th century
 Enlightenment (Berman 1988:9).

231 *Baraza* is the Swahili word for public meeting place. Within the context of the built environment it refers
 to a sitting area provided for meeting and conversation, habitually in the veranda area in front of the house.
 In a broader context Baraza refers to a gathering held to raise awareness and share collective wisdom. It
 represents a social affair where current events are discussed, knowledge is built and relationships forged.

232 The African house typology was defined by Karlsson (1968) as the 'Swahili houses' and 'houses of African
 origin', in contrast with the 'stone houses', predominantly of Arab origin.

233 Makuti is a Swahili word that refers to the palm leaves of the coconut palm *Cocos nucifera*. The dried leaves
 are traditionally used to thatch roofs.

234 India Street has been renamed Ocean Road.

235 Bagamoyo has a linear settlement pattern as described by Ghaidan (1975) in Lamu a study of the Swahili
 Town (Areskough, Persson 1999).

236 The principal caravan entrepot, used as the main slave camp during the slave period.

237 The area which consisted predominantly out of Swahili houses and houses of African origin (Karlsson 1968).

238 The architectural theorist Habraken (1998) identifies three types of order that structure the built
 environment; the 'Order of Form', the 'Order of Place' and 'Order of Understanding'.

239 The hotel resort creates an exclusive enclave within the old town; due to its strategic location in the old
 harbour, its imposing height, the impermeable nature of the development and the absorption of the historic
 Old Post Office building into the complex.

240 Conditions whereby different territories cover entirely or partially the same area.

241 Acacia, genus of plants and shrubs commonly known as wattle, in Australia and South Africa. The timber is
 often utilised in vernacular construction.

242 A type of clay used as a building material.

243 The African House Typology is explained in the next chapter on 'Cultural Indicators'.

244 The architectural theorist Habraken (1998) identifies three types of order that structure the built
 environment; the 'Order of Form', the physical order; the 'Order of Place', the territorial order and the
 'Order of Understanding', the cultural order.

245 A historical housing type that originated approximately 100 years ago.

246 Material constraints dictate scale and structure as the size of a room module is governed by the use of
 mangrove beams as a support structure with spans of up to 3 metres (Areskough & Persson 1999).

247 Morphology refers to the study of form and structure.

248 A historical housing type that originated approximately 100 years ago which is converted through the years,
 by applying new materials.

249 In terms of the built form 'Modernism is considered the single most important new style or philosophy
 of architecture and design of the 20th century, associated with an analytical approach to the function of
 buildings, a strictly rational use of (often new) materials, an openness to structural innovation and the
 elimination of ornament' (RIBA). It was characterised by a deliberate rejection of the styles of the past and
 sought a new architectural language to better reflect modern society. See: [https://www.architecture.com/
 Explore/ArchitecturalStyles/Modernism.aspx](https://www.architecture.com/Explore/ArchitecturalStyles/Modernism.aspx). [Accessed on 3 March 2016].

250 *Uhuru* is the Swahili word for freedom. It is further associated with socialist pan-African ideology.

251 *Ujamaa* is a socialist system of village cooperatives based on equality of opportunity and self-help,
 established in the 1960's. See: <http://www.ntz.info/gen/no1559.html>. [Accessed on 2 February 2015].

252 These concerns were discussed in the press. The Continent Observer published an online article A Candle on
 Kilimanjaro: The Case for Keeping 'Mwenge'- Tanzania's Freedom Torch!
 See: <http://thecontinentobserver.com/tag/tanzania/page/3/>. [Accessed on 24th August 2013].

253 Rapoport (1982).

254 The spirit of place.

255 The custom still exists that passers-by can join in for food. Only the closest friends or family members are
 invited into the house.

265 Traditional Muslim hat.
 266 *Madrasa* is an Arab word for an educational institution.
 267 The *kanga* is derived from the old Bantu (*Kiswahili*) verb *ku-kanga*, 'to wrap or close'. It is a colourful
 traditional garment predominantly worn by women throughout the African Great Lakes region.
 268 Muslim 'Festival of Breaking the Fast'.
 269 Muslim 'Festival of Sacrifice'.
 270 Muslim celebration of the birthday of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. *Maulidi* is the alternative Swahili
 name used in Bagamoyo.
 271 Such as the grounds of the Stella Maris Hotel.
 272 The notion of cultural significance arose as a more holistic concept during the Burra Charter conservation
 debate in the late 1970's; the Charter pioneered the understanding of cultural heritage as transcending the
 mere preservation of the built environment. Cultural significance is defined as the sum of the qualities or
 values that a place has, including the five values - aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual
 (ICOMOS Australia). Mehrotra (2004) asserts that the definition remains static and questions its validity
 within a highly pluralist society where cultural memory is an enacted process.
 273 The memory crisis, induced by radical dislocation of modernity, was the enigma the Independent Church
 known as the AmaNazaretha was challenged with. Rhetoric, remembering, and cultural reshaping became
 ultimately the components that ensured survival and growth. Gunner (2002) argues that the founder of the
 church linked memory to place in a very specific way; he gave a shape and prominence to testimony as an
 integral part of memory and place.
 274 Gunner (2002) refers to the creation of 'theatres of memory'. For example, the village of Ekuphakameni (the
 exalted space) is deemed the epicentre of the new community, a metaphor of collective life; which beyond its
 mere physical existence provides an entry point to earlier history. It represents the centre for worship and
 healing and has become the core of a newly constituted social space.
 275 Connerton (1989:36) reinforces this view; it is through the memory of a social group, with particularly
 kinship, religious and class affiliations, that individuals are able to attain, localise and recall their memories.
 'Our memories are located within the mental and material spaces of the group (Connerton 1989:37).
 276 Gunner accentuates the importance of ceremony, which accompanies the cyclical passage of time; and
 'created access to the memory of a different passage of time from that of the modern age with its relentless
 linearity' (Gunner 2002: 70). A symbolic community emerged, grounded in linked localities of meaning
 (Mitchell 1998). Additionally, narrative and memory became redeeming features within Shembe's wider
 structure of healing and prophetic evangelism, as a traumatic past and discordant present were assimilated
 within new narratives, which reframed the imaginative lives of the church members (Gunner 2002).
 277 The Antiquities Division monitors the development within the Conservation area.
 278 Habraken (1998: 182) defines the gate as follows; 'the gate simultaneously engages form and territory. It
 encloses and connects physically defined spaces'.
 279 'Territorial depth is measured by the number of boundary crossings [...] needed to move from the outer
 space to the innermost territory' (Habraken 1998: 137).
 280 The thesis focused the depth analysis on the African area of the selected study area, as this enabled a capture
 of the residential parts of the historic core, which remain active today.
 281 The parameter of territorial depth refers to the process of increasing the number of public to private
 boundaries within a territory (Chastain & Chow 1999).
 282 Baudrillard (1983).
 283 A plastic stadium horn, mostly used at football matches in South Africa, inspired by the traditional kudu
 horn.
 284 Bagamoyo News, Sunday, 3 May 2015.
 285 In addition to the non-verbal communication approach, Rapoport (1982) discerns the semiotic approach,
 which is derived from linguistics and undertakes the study of signs, according to the sign vehicle, the
 designation, and the interpretant; and the symbolic approach, which differentiates discursive (lexical) and
 non-discursive 'Idiosyncratic' symbols. This method is traditionally applied in the study of high-style
 architecture and vernacular contexts.
 286 Rapoport's discourse (1982) distinguishes three different positions on the non-verbal communication
 approach, namely; a culture-specified system approach, a pan-cultural species-specific system approach
 and to conclude, a system that combines both. Coding differs according to its universal versus cultural
 specific nature. The author identifies three types of coding which range from an integrated code and visual
 expression, secondly the culture intrinsic code to codes with no visual resemblance to what they signify,
 namely the extrinsic and arbitrary codes.
 287 The relationship among all these are learned as part of the enculturation or accumulation processes.
 288 A sequence, relating to a particular movement with a directional quality and gradient, connecting
 destinations with origins. The path is governed by proximity to special features, visual exposure and relative
 scale references.
 289 The linear element which marks boundaries between different types of areas. It relates to varying levels of
 access; the boundaries can be continuous or fragmentary.
 290 An obstacle with isolating or seaming characteristics with a directional quality.

291 Areas with a depth sequence, defined because of similar qualities, social connotations, with an introvert or
extrovert character.

292 Strategic focus, junction or point of bifurcation or thematic concentrations.

293 Illustrates the uniqueness of a singular element within a serial vision.

294 The Beach Villa Complex is located along Ocean Road, neighbouring the Bagamoyo District Hospital.

295 The road upgrade in 2006 was one of the many projects financed by the Swedish Government.

296 Coral rag is a rubbly limestone composed of ancient coral reef material, historically used as a local building
material along the coast of East Africa.

297 An innovative and sophisticated version of the Swahili-Islamic type structures combined with some
recognizable teutonic elements.

298 Built by the philanthropist Sewa Haji Paroo (1851-1897). See: <https://ismailmail.wordpress.com/2015/01/26/muhimbili-and-bagamoyo-hospitals-mwambao-school-the-legacy-of-sewa-haji-paroo-in-tanzania/> [Accessed 19 December 2015].

299 *Mji Mkongwe* of Bagamoyo was the first town within East Africa to have public street lighting, which
reinforced the urban progressive character of the place.

300 A philosophical understanding of the world and how it operates.

301 Wilderness Act of 1964 defines wilderness as 'an area where the earth and its community of life are
untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain'.

302 Places that function in non-hegemonic conditions. These are spaces of 'otherness', which are neither here
nor there, simultaneously physical and mental (Foucault 1971).

303 Significations within the context of the representation or conveying of meaning.

304 French term for 'arch-landscape'.

305 For example, Kenzo Techno City and Tatu city in Kenya, Hope City in Ghana, Eko Atlantic in Nigeria.

306 In his paper *The Good City: In Defence of Utopian Thinking*, Friedman (2000:462) defines utopian thinking
as 'the capacity to imagine a future that departs significantly from what we know to be a general condition in
the present'.

307 For example, the urban typology of the 'Garden City'. The Garden City movement is an urban planning
method initiated in 1898 by Sir Ebenezer Howard in the United Kingdom. Garden cities were
conceptualised as planned, self-contained communities surrounded by greenbelts containing proportionate
areas of residences, industry, and agriculture.

308 Leader of the Bagamoyo Pentacostal Church.

309 Global influences existed before the 8th century, through the contact with Arabia, Persia and China.

310 Every ten houses assemble their own committee and elect a representative, without reference to origin or
religious orientation. The committee handles neighbourhood matters ranging from cleanliness to dealing
with local disputes. If a conflict cannot be resolved and is deemed sufficiently severe, then the representative
formally defers the matter to the police.

311 In some churches it is expected that ten percent of one's monthly salary is gifted to church related activities.
Hence many churches also operate an informal banking system which provides their congregation access to
loans.

312 For example, Whatsapp, Facebook applications of social media.

313 The film productions started as an amateur initiative, they have now obtained a significant following, partly
due to social media which regularly tips off the destination where the next scene gets filmed, to which fol
lowers get invited. The film productions are now exported to Dar es Salaam and the product gradually trans
forms into a more professional endeavour.

314 Extract of tourism advertisement. See: <http://tanzaniasafarisanzibartravel.org/?s=Bagamoyo#sthash.32Pt8OFm.dpuf> [Accessed on 18 August 2015].

315 'Cabinet of curiosities or wonder' refers to cabinets were small collections of extraordinary objects which,
during the European Renaissance, like today's museums, attempted to categorise and tell stories about the
wonders and oddities of the natural world.

316 Refer to Landry (2000, 2006).

317 Urban Commons, as 'a medium through which highly differentiated ways of doing things are kept near, able
to witness and learn from each other' (Simone 2014).

318 His enquiry illuminates that photos are sometimes integrated into practices of magic and witchcraft. For
example, healers and diviners in Mombasa used technically reproduced images for healing and harming.
The photographs become in this context, more than technically reproduced objects, but are active,
empowered pawns in power struggles.

319 For example, local legends suggest that the well La Serena Blue, currently located on Mangesani Road, was
used during Arab times, by ladies of the upper-caste in society. Once a week they came to the well, to wash
and colour their hair with a blue dye. When people saw a shimmer of these beautiful blue beings between
the trees, they took it as being genies and were afraid to be jinxed. To this day the well is bestowed with
magical stories related to hope and fortune and is recently refurbished and painted a symbolic blue.

320 African traditional medicine.

321 The Kaole Ruins, 5 kms south of Bagamoyo town, are considered auspicious. Allegedly Muslim political
leaders seeking blessings are known to wash their hands, legs and mouths at the ancient fresh water well.

People pay homage, burn incense and give a cash donation at the shrine. The 'lovers' grave, of a couple that died at sea and were washed ashore holding hands is frequented in pursuit for love. Muslim pilgrims usually offer burnt offerings at the tomb of the child- soothsayer Mariamu or the grave of Sheikh Ali bin Juma, an imam at one of the mosques and various other graves, for blessings and forgiveness of their sins (Mahona, 5 February 2015), (Siyawezi, 6 June 2015).

322 Henschel (2011).

323 Henschel (2011).

324 Island located 25 miles east of the Zanzibar Channel.

325 The Bushiri uprising took place from 1899 to 1890.

326 Public hanging of Bushiri bin Salem al Harthi by the Germans, on 16 December, 1889. See: <http://www.omanisilver.com/contents/en-us/d447.html>. [Accessed 10 December 2015].

327 The East African Campaign consisted out of a series of German battles which started in German East Africa and spread to portions of Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, British East Africa, Uganda and the Belgian Congo. The campaign was effectively ended in November 1917.

328 In 1868, under the leadership of Fr. Anthony Horner.

329 Including Richard Francis Burton, John Hanning Speke, Henry Morton Stanley and James Augustus Grant.

330 Guest disc jockeys come from Dar es Salaam.

331 This corresponds with the ambition of the UNESCO World Heritage application. Since 1983 the shore and its gardens form part of the core conservation area.



INTERVIEWS

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*(Opposite) Talking amongst the ruins, Customs House
Bagamoyo, 12 June 2015*

NAME	ROLE/ ORGANISATION	PLACE	DATE
Mr. Amijee, Tamim	Representative of UNESCO Office in Dar es-Salaam	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	28 May 2015
Dr. Bakari, Juma A.	Doctor in Arts, and previous Vice-Dean of TaSUBa	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	8 June 2015
Mr. Hasani, Ali	Chairman of the hamlet of Dunda	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	8 June 2015
Mr. Issa, Ally	Chairman of hamlet of Mwambao	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	8 June 2015
Mr. Ishaka, H.	Chairman of hamlet of Lamiya	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	8 June 2015
Mr. Kejeri, Samahani	Bagamoyo Town Historian	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	3 June 2015
Fr. Henschel, John	Father of the Order of the Spiritans (retired)	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	3 February 2015
Mr. Jagadi, Benedicto M.	Head Conservator at the Old Fort (<i>Mji Mkongwe</i>)	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	3 June 2015
Ms. Kapela, Reinfrida	Manager Department of Antiquities at Caravan Serai	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	1 April 2015
Mr. Kawamba, John	Director of Business Development of Fisheries, Education and Training Agency at Mbegani	Mbegani, Tanzania	3 February 2015
Mr. Kasanga, Paul	Teacher at Marian Boys High School at Kerege	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	29 March 2015
Mr. Kigadye, Fabian	Project Manager of UNESCO Submission, National Department of Antiquities, Dar es Salaam	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	29 May 2015
Pr. Kiseti, Kyara	Roman Catholic Pastor at the Mission Church in Bagamoyo	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	3 June 2015
Dr. Chami, John T.	Professor of Univeristy College of Lands and Architectural studies, Dar es Salaam	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	2 June 2015
Dr. Lowassa, Edward	Senior Lecturer at Department of Urban and Rural Planning, University College of Lands and Architecture Studies, Dar es Salaam	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	6 February 2015
Prof. Mabulla, Audax Z. P.	Director General National Museum Tanzania and Associated Professor at University of Dar es Salaam, Archaeology Unit	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	6 February 2015
Mr. Mahona, Chris	Director and Senior Tour Guide of Kalole Travels	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	4 February 2015, 5 February 2015
Ms. Matafu, Jennifer	Lead Local Governance for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)	Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	28 May 2015, 2 June 2015
Mr. Mezza, Abdal Rahman Swaleih	Shelhe, teacher of Islam religion in Bagamoyo	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	27 September 2015

NAME	ROLE/ ORGANISATION	PLACE	DATE
Ms. Mgusi, Mariam	Manager Department of Antiquities at Carvan Serai	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	1 April 2015
Dr. Mpwimbwi, Kessy A.	Technical Manager for Bagamoyo District Council	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	31 March 2015
Mr. Msiro, Mzem	Traditional healer in Bagamoyo	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	6 June 2015
Ms. Mtobesya, Julliery	Chief Townplanner for Bagamoyo District Council (retired)	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	4 February 2015
Mr. Mubian	Planning Officer at the Bagamoyo District Council	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	31 March 2015
Prof. Roberts, Mark	Rector for AIMS In Tanzania	London, UK	20 May 2015
Assoc. Prof. Shepherd, Nick	Associate Professor African Studies & Archaeology at University of Cape Town, Head of the African Studies Unit	Cape Town, South Africa	10 February 2015
Mr. Sabo	Land Officer at the Bagamoyo District Council	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	12 June 2015
Ms. Shaba, Marie	Broadcaster, Cultural Activist	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	4 February 2015
Ms. Siyawezi, Hungo	Manager Department of Antiquities at Kaole Ruins	Kaole, Tanzania	5 June 2015
Ms. Turner, Joanna	Owner of Fire Fly guesthouse	Bagamoyo, Tanzania	2 February 2015

As per the Interview Consents methodology; the interviewees were given the opportunity to remain anonymous and in these cases a fictitious name has been used. This applies to under ten percent of the total amount of interviews undertaken by the author.



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(Opposite) Mwanamakuka cemetery within Mwanamakkuka School grounds,
coral rock construction, grass
Kaole Road, Bagamoyo, 1 February 2015

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APPENDIX

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics In Research Projects (Rev2)

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee; submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za; Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791). NB: A copy of this signed form must be included with the thesis/dissertation/report when it is submitted for examination.

This form must only be completed once the most recent revision EBE EIR Handbook has been read.

Name of Principal Researcher/Student: *CAROLINE SOMIE* Department:

Preferred email address of the applicant: *SOMIEC@YMAIL.COM*

If a Student: Degree: *MPHIL* Supervisor: *PROF. EDGAR PIETERSE*

If a Research Contract Indicate source of funding/sponsorship: *N/A*

Research Project Title: *HERITAGE DIS-CONTINUED?
TRACING CULTURAL ECOLOGIES WITHIN A CONTEXT
OF URBAN TRANSITION.*

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)?	YES	☒ NO
Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2.	☒ YES	NO
Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3.	☒ YES	NO
Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4.	YES	☒ NO

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate. Ensure that you refer to the EIR Handbook to assist you in completing the documentation requirements for this form.

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

Signed by:

Principal Researcher/Student:

This application is approved by:

Supervisor (if applicable):

HOD (or delegated nominee):

Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.

Chair: Faculty EIR Committee

For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.

ADDENDUM 1:

Please append a copy of the research proposal here, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires:

HERITAGE DIS-CONTINUED?

TRACING CULTURAL ECOLOGIES WITHIN A CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSITION

CAROLINE SOHIE



BAGAMOYO 2014 SOURCE: [HTTP://TOBYANDPAIGETANZANIA.WORDPRESS.COM/PAGE/3/](http://TOBYANDPAIGETANZANIA.WORDPRESS.COM/PAGE/3/)



BAGAMOYO 2017? SOURCE: [HTTP://MPOVERELLO.COM/TAG/BAGAMOYO-PORT/](http://MPOVERELLO.COM/TAG/BAGAMOYO-PORT/)

CASE STUDY - BAGAMOYO

Aim

Within a context of an increasingly urbanised world, developing countries are undergoing growing pressures of change which dramatically alter their physical environment as well as the tangible and intangible cultural attributes of society.

Within this context the case study aims to examine the sub-Saharan African condition through the lens of Bagamoyo, a small scale Tanzanian settlement with a deep rooted cultural heritage core which is faced with the acute demands of infrastructure development of a global scale.

Context

There is a growing critical debate within international organisations such as UNESCO and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture about the importance of culture and cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) in sustainable development as they provide stability and resilience within a context driven by uncontrollable and imposed change.

International best practice recognises cultural heritage as an important contributor to sustainable development, creating economic opportunity as well as a social identity. There exists a growing awareness that cultural heritage sites, often located in deprived areas of the Global South, need to be reimagined as part of its future. On one hand this means that the residents and general public needs to be sensitised about their pluralistic cultural legacy and on the other hand the principle needs to be introduced that cultural heritage –led developments can underpin economic prosperity, resilience and wellbeing.

Within this context, the study focuses on a smaller scale town which is worldwide acclaimed for its cultural heritage value but concurrently battles with the dynamics and challenges which come with urbanisation as faced by most settlements in the coastal regions of Africa. The selected town of Bagamoyo is a small coastal town with a natural harbour, 70 kilometres north of Dar es Salaam, just opposite the Island of Zanzibar. The relation to Zanzibar was very strong in history, because most of the slave trade, ivory trade and expeditions of traders and explorers from and into the interior of East Africa were organised through Bagamoyo. The town was founded at the end of the 18th century and became the most important city of mainland Tanganyika and the most important harbour in East Africa. When the colony of German East Africa was established in 1888, Bagamoyo was chosen as the capital. In 1891 the capital was transferred to Dar es Salaam, due to better harbour facilities.

Due to its layered history and rich cultural heritage, Bagamoyo is currently being considered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site; the built heritage consists of a unique mixture of German colonial buildings, Islamic structures, facilities related to the slave trade and buildings of the merchants and financiers of Indian origin. Because of its varied background and proximity to Dar es Salaam, contemporary Bagamoyo still has a highly diverse culture and is home to many ethnic groups.

The historic town is however under serious threat of modernisation as there are plans for a new fourth generation port. According to the latest news releases China is providing the financing to develop Bagamoyo into the biggest port in Africa. The global port hub will be supported by a new road and rail network and significant mixed use development.

In parallel there are other dynamics at play which have a direct relationship with the resident community and which were identified by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in their most recent report: "the entire heritage of Bagamoyo is threatened. Many owners of the residential buildings, mostly of Tanzanian-Indian origin, are absent and have lost interest in their property, leaving poor tenants, often without water and electricity and with leaking roofs. Until it is understood that the buildings have a cultural and commercial value, especially with on-going tourism development, it will be too late for many buildings unless emergency repair is undertaken soon." From a heritage conservation perspective, it has been widely recognised that Bagamoyo requires urgent attention to avoid its unique historic legacy to be washed away by the forces of exponential urbanisation.

The case study aims to unpick the complex factors controlling Bagamoyo's destiny and investigate the possible best practice models it can adopt that can safeguard and celebrate its heritage whilst transitioning into a sustainable city in the long term.

Method

Literature review

Secondary data will be examined using a range of information sources. Research topics will include:

- Analyse the drivers of change within a sub-Saharan African context;
 - Literature review, analysis of data and statistics, academic journals, media articles
 - Articulate the informants which are applicable to Bagamoyo.
- Analyse the current predominant heritage conservation situation and approaches in sub-Saharan Africa.
 - Literature review, analysis of data and statistics, academic journals, media articles
 - Create a map of the various actors within this domain and link to the Bagamoyo situation.
 - Identify specific aspects relevant for Bagamoyo, including policy.
 - Make a high level comparison with another sub-Saharan site to articulate the distinctive factors for the case study site e.g. Mapungubwe, South Africa.
- Map out the current status quo of Bagamoyo
 - Mapping of its physical context including heritage structures
 - Identify its social, economic, cultural, political, environmental key characteristics.
 - Review its role within a local and global context.

Fieldwork

- Visual documentary of the built environment; applying the photographic medium to underpin visual inspection and analysis
- Mapping of the physical and non-physical relations between heritage sites and the surrounding town
- Check the assumptions of the Literature Review and map out the local critical tensions and key actors
- Planning related research of data from diverse sources such as plans, policies, reports, maps, surveys, meeting minutes, archives, and historic photos
- Identify appropriate representatives for the various actor groups

Interviews

- In depth interviews with subjects who are representative of the key actors at play
- Identify a questionnaire for the interview
- Interview the relevant actor groups at a local scale such as residents within the historic town, local heritage groups, the local museum authority, the guides, local commerce and industry, tourism authority, local environment agency, local government, provincial government, University, specialist based at location
- Interview the relevant actors at a global scale such as ICOMOS, Chinese investors, development bank, UNESCO, Center for Heritage Development in Africa, International specialists within the heritage and development domain
- Create a summary profile of the various actors
- Create a systems diagram indicating the multi-scalar tensions and interrelationships between actors at Bagamoyo

Benchmarking

- Identify best practice processes, tools or models relevant to Bagamoyo

Scenario planning

- Map out four possible future scenarios for Bagamoyo by articulating extreme conditions and events based on current trends, interests and tensions currently at play
- Compare those scenarios with best practice benchmarks to test the prerequisites to unlock an opportunity for sustainable transition

RELEVANCE TO THE MPHIL

The research aims to analyse cultural heritage as the intersection between urban renewal and community development within a broader sustainability framework.

QUESTIONNAIRE
Bagamoyo Case study. Heritage dis-continued?
Tracing cultural ecologies within a context of urban transition.

STAKEHOLDER CATEGORIES	ORGANISATION	QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
HERITAGE CONSERVATION	e.g. UNESCO Dar es Salaam, ICOMOS Tanzania	1 What is the current status of the UNESCO World Heritage Nomination of Bagamoyo? 2 Which party led the UNESCO world heritage application? 3 What other parties were contributing? 4 Where there any opponents to the proposal? 5 What where the positive/ negative attributes to the proposal? 6 What criteria does it need to fulfill to become world heritage? 7 Where there any further steps undertaken after the original submission? 8 If the nomination is still under consideration, what needs to be put in place to be awarded the world heritage title? 9 Is the state of the Bagamoyo heritage being monitored? 10 What are the base requirements for being successful in a World Heritage Nomination? 11 What are the financial implications of a world heritage submission? Is theretechnical/ financial support provided? 12 If awarded, what would be the benefits for Bagamoyo? 13 14 If awarded World Heritage, what would the governance arrangements be for Bagamoyo and the other sites selected as part of the heritage trail? 15 Are there other heritage sites being considered for World Heritage? 16 What is your organisation's mandate in Tanzania? 17 How is your organisation's mandate reconciliated with local authorities responsible for managing heritage resources such as Urban Development Dpt (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development), the Antiquities Division (Ministry of National resources and Tourism), Serengeti National Park (SENAPA), Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA)? In terms of Policy? In terms of Practice? 18 In terms of policy and practice, the (Historic Urban Landscapes) Framework has been applied as a best practice bench mark for the Swahili Coast. What was the objective? Has this informed the heriatge conservation approach along the entire coastline? 19 UNESCO held Historic Urban Landscape Workshops and Field Activities on the Swahili Coast in East Africa 2011-2012. What were the lessons learned?What was the impact? 20 What are the key challenges and opportunities of heritage in Tanzania? 21 How many people visit the heritage sites annually? 22 What is the domestic vs international proportion? 23 What are the exiting or projected return related to heritage tourism? 24 How does your organisation view the development plans (Bagamoyo Port, the SEZ, masterplan?) 25 Does UNESCO have a watching brief within this development context? Can UNESCO inform the development criteria? 26 Does your organisation have other activities in the region? Do they have similar challenges? 27 Are there parallels to be made to other coastal Swahili heritage i.e. Lamu? Are there models that one could learn form? 28 What models of local and international cooperation are applied in Tanzania within the sustainable/ heritage management context? 29 What commitment has Tanzania made in terms of heritage conservation (ref. 2011 statement of Tanzania tourism minister calling 'UNESCO World Heritage Committee an insignificant entity'?	

		30	What is the role of local empowerment within Tanzania's heritage management/ sustainable development arena?	
		31	If you could change 3 key issues, what would the priorities be and why?	
GOVERNMENTAL	e.g. Urban Development Dpt (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development), the Antiquities Division (Ministry of National resources and Tourism), Bagamoyo District Council, Serengeti National Park (SENAPA), Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA)	1	Bagamoyo Stone Town is under the Antiquities Division's mandate - what is the delineation of the heritage site?	
		2	Why is it considered noteworthy heritage? What is its classification?	
		3	What are the Antiquities Division's responsibilities and activities in relation to Bagamoyo Stone Town? What is the mission statement?	
		4	Bagamoyo Stone Town Conservation development Plan ; when was it created, has it been revised since then, who were the stakeholders, what is the ambition, how does it relate to other planning initiatives in the area, is it only a spatial plan or does it come with guidelines?	
		5	Bagamoyo masterplan(1980); have there been revisions, who are the stakeholders, what is the ambition, how is the interface managed with the Bagamoyo Stone Town Conservation Plan?	
		6	Can you clarify the governance framework in relation to conservation and development in Tanzania on a national, regional, local level? E.g. organisational structure?	
		7	How does the Bagamoyo Stone Town Conservation Plan interface with the 1980 Bagamoyo masterplan and subsequent revisions (if the case)?	
		8	Is there any cooperation with other Government divisions such as the Tourism Division (MNRT)?	
		9	Is there cooperation with the Master Plan Section of the Urban Development Department?	
		10	Is there cooperation with international organisations?	
		11	Is there collaboration with heritage organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS?	
		12	Can you clarify the National Cultural Policy?	
		13	Can you clarify the Antiquities Act of 1964. Are there any other policies that apply? How does this relate or differ from the objectives of the Town and Country Planning ordinance?	
		14	Can you clarify the Town and Country Planning ordinance? How does this relate or differ from the objectives of Antiquities Act?	
		15	What is the function of the various monuments? Are they being serviced?	
		16	Has there been any recent development? Are there projected development plans?	
		17	Is the local community involved? Is there any form of local empowerment? Education? Entrepreneurship?	
		18	How much staff and what disciplines does the Antiquities division provide for Bagamoyo?	
		19	What are its biggest opportunities/ biggest threats?	
		20	How many people visit annually?	
		21	What is the visitor profile - domestic vs international?	
		22	What is the annual cost for maintenance, management, etc?	
		23	Are there any co-funding parties i.e. governmental agency, private investors, international parties?	
		24	How does the heritage site interface with modern development? How does it relate with the Bagamoyo Masterplan?	
		25	How is the coordination/ collaboration enabled between the Antiquities Division and the Planning division?	
		26	What represents the biggest threat/ opportunity for Bagamoyo Stone town? For Bagamoyo heritage in general?	
		27	What was the Antiquities Division's role in the nomination of Bagamoyo as a world heritage site?	
		28	What is the current status of the UNESCO World Heritage Nomination of Bagamoyo?	
		29	What parties were contributing?	
		30	Were there any opponents to the proposal?	
		31	What were the positive/ negative attributes to the proposal?	
		32	What criteria does it need to fulfill to become world heritage?	
		33	Were there any further steps undertaken after the original submission?	
		34	If the nomination is still under consideration, what needs to be put in place to be awarded the world heritage title?	

		35 Are there other sites in Bagamoyo that are recognised as heritage sites? 36 What governance is in place? In terms of conservation, development, management, upkeep, conservation, reception, funding? 37 How many people are employed all together? 38 Is there any form of local empowerment as promoted in your National Policy? Education? 39 How is Bagamoyo performing in relation to the Millennium Development Goals ref Habitat Urban Sector Profile (2009) of needs - have any projects been implemented? 40 To what extent does the Bagamoyo situation mirror the situation of heritage in development - in Tanzania? In Eastern African Coast? E.g. Lamu 41 What is your opinion about the new development plans for the Bagamoyo port and SEZ? How will it affect the local tangible and intangible heritage? 42 Is your organisation contributing to the SEZ development planning? What is the scope, employment categories, where is the labour coming from and how much influx is anticipated, local job opportunities, how will it address current development needs refer HABITAT? 43 Is there any funding of SEZ that goes towards Bagamoyo development needs/ Heritage conservation? 44 General demographic info for Stone town and Bagamoyo: Population/ area/ density/ gender/ age/ ethnicity/ languages/ employment status/ religion/ number hotels/ number tourist related facilities/ life expectancy/monthly income categories?	
COMMUNITY	Category 1: Local Bagamoyo Residents of different age groups, ethnic and religious backgrounds, different socio-economic backgrounds	1 How long have you lived in Bagamoyo? If you weren't born here, where do you originally come from? Why did you decide to come to Bagamoyo? If you were born here, for how many generations have your ancestors been living in Bagamoyo? 2 General information: Your age group, size of your family, profession, where do you live, where do you work? 3 How would you describe the cultural identity of Bagamoyo? Is it different from other locations around i.e. DAR, Zanzibar, etc. How do you relate to this personally? 4 What are the places that have cultural meaning for the community, where does one gather i.e. play music, celebrations, debates, commemorations, dance festivals 5 What would you describe as being built cultural heritage of importance of your community, in your town Bagamoyo? Can you provide examples and illustrate 6 Does it have importance to you personally? 7 How do you relate to it? Is it valuable to you i.e. symbolically, link to ancestry, assists in livelihood, provides infrastructure, other meanings? 8 Are you aware of any stories that relate to the historic site? 9 Do you know of the Bagamoyo Stone Town Heritage Site? Have you been? When? Have your family members been to the site? Would you go back? 10 What does it represent to you? Is it of any value to you? 11 How do you see it contribute, if at all, to your town? 12 In your opinion, is it important to conserve the historic structures? 13 In your opinion, what should one do with the old structures i.e. conserve as it is, re-use, redevelop, develop into a tourist destination, make into community facilities, etc. 14 Have you seen any changes of the site in the last years? i.e. visitors, physical context 15 In your opinion, is it often visited? 16 Have you heard of the Slave Trade Trail that connects into Bagamoyo? 17 Are you aware that Bagamoyo stone town, as part of the Trail, has been considered to become World Heritage (UNESCO)? Do you think this would be important? What changes would it bring, if any? 18 Are there other heritage structures you see as important that should be preserved in Bagamoyo? Why? Have you visited them? 19 Have you visited heritage sites in other locations? 20 Are you aware of the port development plans for Bagamoyo? Do you have an opinion about the plans?	

		21 Do you think it will change the town? In your eyes, will it change the cultural identity? If so, is there something that needs to be done or does it form part of natural evolution? 22 Bagamoyo as a place to live, work - what are the biggest challenges/ needs in your view? What would you change if you would have Bagamoyo's destiny in your hands? What type of place would you like to see in the future?	
	Category 2: Staff team at heritage locations, ranging from manager, guide, cleaner, repair team, shop owner	Questions as per category 1. Supplemented by questions noted below. 1 What is the status of your heritage site? Why is it considered important enough to conserve? 2 What is your role at the heritage site? How long have you been working here? 3 How big is the team, can you name the different roles involved? What is the organisational structure of your team? Has the team changed in size over the years? Are you with enough people to handle the work? 4 What entity do you report to? Do you have a level of autonomy? 5 Can you provide an overview of the management strategy. 6 Do you have a mission statement? Target/ objectives? Performance indicators? 7 Is the local community involved? i.e. governance, livelihood, skills development 8 Do you communicate with other heritage organisations? Is there a shared forum of expertise? 9 Do you get professional training? 10 How many visitors do you have on average? When are the busiest vs slowest periods for visitors? 11 Are they mainly domestic or international visitors? Has there been a change in volumes in recent years? Predominant age group? Which countries come to visit? No Tourists vs researchers vs others 12 How do they know about this place? 13 What is their motivation to come here? Do they come back? 14 How do they come here? Mainly individuals or groups? 15 What service do you offer to visitors? 16 Are visitors satisfied with their visit? What was for them the most interesting part? 17 Have you undertaken a visitor survey? 18 How do you get funding? What are your funding streams? 19 Where does the income of the ticket go to? 20 Have you cooperated with other agencies/organisations for promotion, funding, etc? i.e. tourist office 21 What is the state of your visitor facilities? Do you have everything you need? Are there any upgrade plans envisaged in the future i.e. expansion, refurbishment, different type of facilities? 22 Is there any ancillary activity e.g. economic activity, community activity, educational functions? 23 Do you succeed in protecting the heritage structures? What are the particular challenges? Needs? 24 Are they being used for any other purpose? 25 In your view, what does it mean for Bagamoyo and its residents? In terms of economic benefits, symbolic meaning, etc? 26 Are there any rituals that still take place at this location? 27 Has there been any modern intervention/ development undertaken in proximity of the site?	
SPECIALISTS - ACADEMIC AND TECHNICAL	Specialists including Planning, Sustainable development, archaeology, Built environment, Environmental	1 How high does heritage conservation rank in terms of government priority scales in Africa? In Tanzania? 2 Is there African / Tanzanian best practice that illustrates how heritage management feeds into sustainable development e.g. create job opportunities and uplift underdeveloped areas linked to heritage conservation? 3 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight any forms of national and international financing applied to support Heritage conservation related projects in Africa/ Tanzania? Examples? 4 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight any Pan-african governmental agencies supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure?	

		5 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight any International Professional bodies supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 6 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight any forms of of International Professional bodies supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 7 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight the role of the education and professional sector in supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 8 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight the role of private organisations in supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 9 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight the role of the NGO's in supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 10 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight the role of the Civil society in supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 11 In terms of cooperation, can you highlight the role of the traditional ustodians in supporting the sustainability/ heritage conservation agenda in Africa/ Tanzania? Remit? Contribution? Governance structure? Examples? 12 What does the concept of cultural heritage and cultural heritage conservation mean for a contemporary African identity? How is this translated spatially in current African urbanisation? In development practice? In Theoretical African discourse? In empowerment? 13 In the current context of urbanisation in Africa; what are the most critical informants, pressures informing cultural heriatge management in Tanzania/ Africa? 14 Hoe do you see the relationship between cultural heritage and sustainable development in cureent Tanzania/ Africa? Hoe do you see it evolving in the future? Trends? Data to support this view?	

ADDENDUM 2: To be completed if you answered YES to Question 2:

It is assumed that you have read the UCT Code for Research involving Human Subjects (available at <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/educate/download/uctcodeforresearchinvolvinghumansubjects.pdf>) in order to be able to answer the questions in this addendum.

2.1 Does the research discriminate against participation by individuals, or differentiate between participants, on the grounds of gender, race or ethnic group, age range, religion, income, handicap, illness or any similar classification?	YES	☒ NO
2.2 Does the research require the participation of socially or physically vulnerable people (children, aged, disabled, etc) or legally restricted groups?	YES	☒ NO
2.3 Will you not be able to secure the informed consent of all participants in the research? (In the case of children, will you not be able to obtain the consent of their guardians or parents?)	YES	☒ NO
2.4 Will any confidential data be collected or will identifiable records of individuals be kept?	YES	☒ NO
2.5 In reporting on this research is there any possibility that you will not be able to keep the identities of the individuals involved anonymous?	YES	☒ NO
2.6 Are there any foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might occur in the course of the research?	YES	☒ NO
2.7 Does the research include making payments or giving gifts to any participants?	YES	☒ NO

If you have answered YES to any of these questions, please describe below how you plan to address these issues:

ADDENDUM 3: To be completed if you answered YES to Question 3:

3.1 Is the community expected to make decisions for, during or based on the research?	YES	☒ NO
3.2 At the end of the research will any economic or social process be terminated or left unsupported, or equipment or facilities used in the research be recovered from the participants or community?	YES	☒ NO
3.3 Will any service be provided at a level below the generally accepted standards?	YES	☒ NO

If you have answered YES to any of these questions, please describe below how you plan to address these issues:

ADDENDUM 4: To be completed if you answered YES to Question 4

4.1 Is there any existing or potential conflict of interest between a research sponsor, academic supervisor, other researchers or participants?	YES	NO
4.2 Will information that reveals the identity of participants be supplied to a research sponsor, other than with the permission of the individuals?	YES	NO
4.3 Does the proposed research potentially conflict with the research of any other individual or group within the University?	YES	NO

If you have answered YES to any of these questions, please describe below how you plan to address these issues:

N/A

