

SINO
AFRICAN
COUNTERPOINTS

ABSTRACT

This project presents an alternative to the copy-paste deployment of China financed **Special Economic Zones (SEZs)** in **Africa**. The darling of Africa's political elite and favoured apparatus of China's ambitious **One Belt One Road (OBOR)** initiative the SEZ operates as an isomorphic territory from which endemic modes of existence are excluded.

The development of the **Bagamoyo Mega Project** in Tanzania, co-funded by China Merchant Holdings International (CMHI) and the General State Reserve Fund (GSRF) of Oman will see the **enforced resettlement** of 11 600 villagers. The majority of these villagers reside in the traditional Swahili house.

Characterised by a rectangular floor plan cleaved in two by a central corridor leading from a veranda to a courtyard the Swahili house has structured hegemonic definitions of domestic and productive life across three key moments: **Colonialism, Ujamaa (Socialism)** and **Liberalisation**. It has also been transformed and appropriated by its inhabitants against such definitions.

In response to the SEZ as a homogenous and exclusionary urban form this project asserts the most fundamental of rights: **to stay home**. In doing so it engages the emancipatory potential of the Swahili house to **collectively occupy** and claim **ownership** of place - proposing a conditioning (rather than condition) of the SEZ master plan.

SINO-AFRICAN COUNTERPOINTS

TU DELFT 2018
ARCHITECTURE TRACK

DESIGN AS POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

China's increasing investment and opaque diplomatic engagement across the African continent is the stuff of myth and speculation: theories of neo-colonialism contrast tales of ideological camaraderie. Investigation into Sino-African relations has thus been divided along partisan lines; suffering a preoccupation with separating fact from fiction. Rather than debate the virtues of Sino-African engagement it is perhaps more productive to situate it within a broader anticolonial revolution that has seen peoples coerced into a European-dominated world society seek to restructure their own, independent relationship to it.¹

Keith Hart argues that in the case of Asia, and specifically China, this anticolonial revolution has largely been completed. Abandoning Mao's socialist economy in favour of Deng Xiaoping's 'Capitalism with Chinese characteristics' China has observed a period of economic reform of spectacular success. In contrast, Africa's emancipation has been slow: crippled by the growing pains of independence, austerity measures and the imposition of liberalization programs under structural adjustment.

A strategic partnership based on 'win-win cooperation', Chinese aid and economic cooperation presents to Africa an alternative to what many would argue has been the continued structuring of colonial dependency. Importantly, it is a relationship founded on optimism which escapes the exhausted rhetoric of 'African victimhood' and acknowledges the potential rather than the ills of Africa.

Sino-African relations work across varied scales and through an equally diverse array of actors and mechanisms. State led engagement should not be conflated with the pursuits of private enterprise or the ambitions of Chinese migrants following goods and capital to Africa. China's engagement across the African continent far from being a coordinated, univocal process is thus best understood as a calibrated response to the unique political situation of each aid recipient.

This strategy can be traced back to Premier Zhou Enlai's 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence adopted at the inception of diplomatic relations with Africa in the 1950's. Despite a shift from ideological to economic foundations² these principles continue to guide Sino-African relations.

Much has been written about the intent of China's engagement across the African continent.³ It is widely held that for China access to African markets and natural resources presents the opportunity to maintain economic growth that can no longer be sustained domestically. Africa is a surrogate of sorts.

In return Africa is presented with the promise of rapid industrialisation through access to commodity-backed loans, construction expertise and the development of large-scale infrastructure projects. Instrumental to this process are State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) which, by exploiting the diplomatic groundwork between China and Africa in addition

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

to extensive state subsidies, drive ambitious megaprojects such as China's One Belt One Road initiative⁴ and the development of China-financed New Towns or Special Economic Zones (SEZs).

Of interest to this research is how these instruments land on the ground. How are foreign policies, commodity backed loans and SOE activity 'building' African cities and territories? And perhaps more importantly, how is Africa figured in this phenomenon? What potential does the Sino-African Development Paradigm present and how, through critical spatial intervention can this potential be secured?

1 Comaroff, J., in conversation with Hart, K., 'Rise of the South', Copenhagen 2014.

2 The embrace of socialism during independence by numerous African leaders saw them looking to the East for ideological solidarity

3 See Brautigam (2009), Alden (2007), Mohan (2014).

4 An ambitious transcontinental megaproject which seeks to revive and extend the ancient Silk Road.

PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

Infrastructure development and the construction of prestige projects have long been the staples of Sino-African engagement. However, with President Hu Jintao's opening address at the 2006 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) another spatial product⁵ was added to this repertoire. In keeping with its Going-out or Zou Chuqu strategy China committed to establishing up to five special economic zones (SEZs) in Africa over a three-year period.⁶ Since its introduction, the SEZ has become the darling of African political elites who in its 'world-city template' see the possibility of attaining global competitiveness (through rapid industrialisation) and western modernity.

The zone has undergone significant mutations following its debut in the 1970's as the preferred economic instrument of the United Nations and World Bank. Once the domain of logistics, the zone has 'evolved from a fenced-off enclave for warehousing and manufacturing'⁷ to an efficient conurbation of port, Export Processing Zone (EPZ), resort city and residential development. The Zone's evolution from economic instrument to urban form at the scale of city or city-state is attributed to China's largely successful experimentation with the SEZ as an apparatus for market liberalisation and foreign investment. In 1979 it set up four zones: Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen as 'incubators' for structural transformation.⁸ Shenzhen's evolution from fishing village to industrialised metropolis in a single generation is the blueprint for Sino-African SEZs that African leaders aspire to emulate.

It is an uncompromising development tool. In the business of creating urbanity ex nihilo the zone requires the emptying of context, of contingency in favour of uniformity. In contrast to the inception of city form as the accretion of spatial practices across multiple histories the SEZ is realised in one magnificent moment – a speedy conception that sanitises it from history and thus irregularity.

Borrowing from Steve Lerner, I argue that concomitant to the establishment of the Special Economic Zone is the Sacrifice Zone⁹: a geography of exclusion, of (rural) violence and enforced resettlement quickly erased by the efficiency of policy and market logics. The Sacrifice Zone is a liminal, messy state that precedes the master plan. It observes the confrontation between context and the abstract stuff of finance and policy. A confrontation most real in the domestic space of those 'planned out' of the SEZ – those whose existence is deemed incongruous with that of industrial society.

This research presents an alternative to the copy-paste deployment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in Africa. It holds that the SEZ is an isomorphic territory from which endemic modes of existence are intentionally excluded; an existence constructed, embodied and performed by domestic space.

PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

The development of the Bagamoyo Mega Project in Tanzania will see the enforced resettlement of 11 600 villagers. The majority of these villagers reside in the traditional Swahili house: a rectangular floor plan defined by a central corridor leading from a veranda to a backyard with private rooms on each side. As a governmental apparatus the Swahili house has defined specific racial, gender and social roles across three key moments: **Colonialism, Ujamaa (Socialism) and Liberalisation**. The Sino-African development paradigm presents a fourth such moment.

Could the Swahili house be subverted and deployed as an emancipatory apparatus?

For, in as much as Swahili domestic space has structured hegemonic definitions of domestic and productive life it has been transformed and

appropriated by its inhabitants against such definitions. Its materialisation makes visible the lives of its inhabitants and their claim to the provisions of state.

In response to the SEZ as a homogenous urban form which observes the valorisation of one type of existence above the other by means of violent exclusion this research-project asserts the most fundamental of rights: **to stay home**. In doing so it engages the transformative potential of the Swahili house to **collectively occupy and claim ownership of place** - proposing a conditioning (rather than condition) of the SEZ master plan. This transformation seeks to open up the possibility for new readings of kinship and collectivity by actively negotiating distinctions between **community, family and the individual**.

5 K., Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*, London, Verso, 2014, p.p 39.

6 To date seven SEZs have been established under the FOCAC framework: Chambishi Multi-Facility Economic Zone (Zambia), Zambia China Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone, Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone (Egypt), Ethiopia Oriental Industrial Park, Mauritius JinFei Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone, Lekki Free Trade Zone (Nigeria) and Ogun-Guangdong Free Trade Zone (Nigeria).

7 K., Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*, London, Verso, 2014, p.p 39.

8 Brautigam, D., *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.p 12

9 S. Lerner, *Sacrifice Zones: The Front Lines of Toxic Chemical Exposure in the United States*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2010.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this research are twofold.

The first objective is to establish an understanding of the Sino-African Development Paradigm as a force of geo-political reterritorialisation. This understanding in conjunction with fieldwork observations should provide a framework through which the impact of the proposed Bagamoyo Mega Project can be anticipated.

The second objective follows the outcomes of the first: the elaboration of a response that seeks to articulate and ground the territorial negotiation between the village of Mlingotini and the SEZ master plan. This *nomos*, or site of political action, entails the development of three 'footholds' (buildings) each an exploration in collective occupation and an exercise in typological transformation. The proposed 'footholds' are intended as catalysts for affect – intentional and idiosyncratic interventions that set in motion a possibility of outcomes. They act as a scaffold: reinforcing existing modes of occupation whilst providing an appropriable structure for development.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Which planning principles, evident in China's numerous SEZs, will be adopted in the development of the Bagamoyo Mega Project and how will they land on the ground?

How can Swahili domestic architecture be engaged as a means to collectively occupy and condition the isomorphic territory of the Bagamoyo Mega Project?

METHODOLOGY

In developing a research method I have sought to exercise what Walter D. Mignolo refers to as the Decolonial Option: a conscious process of epistemic and political delinking. For Mignolo this requires the acknowledgement that the knower 'is always implicated, geo and body politically in the known'.¹⁰ It is about questioning how the methodologies we employ, situated within identifiable epistemes and most often the constructs of Western, Euro-centric thought, configure our conception and resolution of the built environment.

A 'decolonised' research approach explores the possibility of engaging research methods in a manner that departs from or 'bends' the historical-theoretical context in which they have developed.

It has proved a valuable heuristic when reflecting upon the use of ethnographic and typological methods in this research and how I re-present my findings.¹¹

In a broad sense my research considers the triptych of typology, legislation and politics and the interrelation thereof. It is structured by four moments of inquiry which, although engaged sequentially, overlap, are revisited and continue to inform my methodology. I have attempted to conclude each moment with a synthesis (graphic or textual) which presents the most salient and instrumental findings.

¹⁰ W., D. Mignolo, 'Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Colonial Freedom', *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol 26, no. 7-8, 2009, pp. 1-23.

¹¹ I elaborate further on this in the Methodology Literature Review.

METHODOLOGY

1 The first moment sought to identify and understand the mechanisms of Chinese urbanism in Africa. In understanding how the Sino-African development paradigm 'worked' on a continental scale I was able to conclude with the selection of a specific territorial condition - the Bagamoyo Mega Project - for further investigation.

literature review, morphological analysis, cartographic analysis

Synthesis

-speculative redrawing of the territory as produced by political and economic mechanisms
-comparative morphological analysis of four Chinese SEZs

2 A second moment focused on understanding how the Bagamoyo Mega Project would be developed and the impacts thereof. This moment is defined by my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. During this time I sought to develop a rudimentary understanding of the resettlement process and local dwelling practices.

fieldwork, empirical analysis, policy analysis, interviews, counter-mapping

Synthesis

-counter-cartography of fieldwork
-analysis of resettlement
-Swahili house typology (considered in terms of implantation, form, configuration)

3 Having identified Swahili domestic space as the site of confrontation between the SEZ masterplan and endemic modes of existence a third moment investigates the typological transformations of Swahili domestic space. Here I have sought to understand the interrelation between Swahili domestic architecture and the policies and planning principles of changing political ideologies.

literature review, archival research, typological analysis

Synthesis

-a catalogue of the swahili house type across three moments: Colonialism, Ujamaa and Liberalisation

4 A most recent period of research has seen me align the process of design development with the values and/or concepts espoused in the design proposal. In advocating for an open and active architectural response that negotiates an array of possibilities in both time and scale I have foregrounded the power of collaboration and collective action. By inviting into my project the work of colleagues Floortje van Sandick and Michelle Bettman, the influence of James Stirling's proposal for the experimental housing project PREVI (1968) and the beauty of Aldo Van Eyck's Sonsbeek Pavilion (1966) I hope to write these same values into my practice.

Synthesis

-A graphic illustration and brief motivation as to why each collaboration was pursued and its impact on the development of my design proposal

'Speak from where you are, account for your situated position. Don't do the 'God trick' – don't speak from nowhere. Don't amalgamate all the misery of the world, borrowing left, right and centre so that you can erect yourself in the position of some sovereign, revolutionary subject.'¹²

From the outset I have struggled with where to position myself in relation to this research. As an African, the subject is intimate, familiar – close to home. But then there is my whiteness, me being South African—there's a lot of history there—and my complicity, as a recruit of Western education, in a history of knowing and re-search as a means of control, subjugation and othering. Suddenly I am less confident.

This is not to say that only Africans may theorise on Africa but rather that there is a need to cultivate an intellectual sensitivity to the locus of our knowledge. It is about questioning how the methodologies we employ, situated within identifiable epistemes and thus the constructs of Western, Euro-centric thought, configure our conception and resolution of the built

environment. For this matter, I have engaged literature that advocates for a decolonised research ethic and a shift in the control of knowledge from the 'knower' to the 'known'.¹³ I do not presume the development of such an ethic to be immediate or complete – for myself, this is a nascent pursuit. Thus, the research methodology detailed in this section is presented as an evolving strategy developed in response to the surfacing of my individual architectural position.

As a prelude I wish to note three observations that have been formative in my research approach. The first being the methodological tradition of the chair Design As Politics which I believe favours the problematisation of observed phenomena.

A DECOLONISED METHODOLOGY

A second observation is the proliferation of literature, often of Western origin, which demonises China's role in Africa. This contrasts an absence of Chinese literature that provides a candid account of its actions in Africa untainted by propaganda. Finally, accompanying such mythologies is the continued portrayal of Africans as victims fated to a minimal existence without the means or agency to affect resistance. Informed by these observations I have sought to adopt research methods that depart from essentialist pursuits of 'the truth' in favour of multiple meaning(s) related to context and the discursive practices operating therein.¹⁴

In seeking out such methods I continue to be influenced by a small body of feminist and postcolonial literature that explores the interrelation of research strategies and tactics and the impact thereof. In a paper titled 'Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Colonial Freedom' Walter D. Mignolo contests 'the hubris of the zero point' a false position of neutrality from which 'the knowing subject maps the world and its problems, classifies people and projects into what is good for them'.¹⁵ Advocating the departure from notions of situated knowledge Mignolo calls for a conscious process of epistemic and political delinking defined as the Decolonial Option. For Mignolo this requires the acknowledgement that the knower is always implicated - never neutral.

This position is corroborated by Fortier who, in a paper titled 'Unsettling Methodologies/Decolonizing Movements' describes how research (here Fortier refers to the social sciences in particular) continues to be figured by Western ontologies that serve to 'deligitimize indigeous ways of being and knowing'.¹⁶

For Fortier, the realisation that ethnographic and qualitative research exists as an inductive process from which it is impossible to extricate perspective demands a continued dismantling of pervasive power relationships and unlearning of presenting indigenous peoples as an 'essentialized Other'.¹⁷

Mignolo and Fortier ask of the researcher to 'relinquish the epistemic privilege of the first world'¹⁸ and thus consider herself outside of a system of belief in order to question it.

Both Mignolo and Fortier cite the work of Maori anthropologist Linda Tuhiwai Smith as influential. In 'Decolonising Methodologies' Smith employs a subtle but significant deconstruction of research: re-search. In doing so she underscores re-search as a construct of power; an undressing of a subject or object in which far too often 'understanding is viewed as being akin to measuring'.¹⁹ For Mignolo, Smith's work is significant in her practice of anthropology as a Maori rather than attempting to studying the Maori as an anthropologist. This powerful subversion, the subservience of methodology to self, affects 'a shifting of the geography of reason - unveiling and enacting a geopolitics and body-politics of knowledge'.²⁰

A DECOLONISED METHODOLOGY

Smith's work resonates with the methodological approach of critical cartography which begins from the premise that maps are embodiments of power. As a praxis, critical cartography involves both theoretical critique (linking knowledge to power) and the exploration of alternative mapping techniques. Its genealogy can be traced back to Situationist map-making and the 'Radical Cartographies' of William Bunge and the Detroit Geographical Expedition of the late 1960's. Counter cartographies are not limited to graphic representation. For critical theorist and feminist Rosi Braidotti the cartography presents

'[...] a theoretically-based and politically-informed reading of the present which fulfills the function of providing both analytic and exegetical tools for critical thought and also creative theoretical alternatives.'²¹

In the same manner as Smith puts anthropology at her service, radical-, counter- and critical cartographies exploit the emancipatory potential of (spatial) apparatuses historically used to delimit and exclude. As Crampton and Krygier state

'[...] if the map is a specific set of power-knowledge claims, then not only the state but others could make equally powerful claims.'²²

The practice of counter-cartography reveals the possibility of engaging research methods in a manner that departs from or 'bends' the historical-theoretical context in which they have developed. It has proved a valuable heuristic when reflecting upon the use of ethnographic and typological methods in this research and continues to inform my methodological approach.

Ethnography

The selection of an ethnographic approach can be traced to the theme of this graduation studio: A City of Comings And Goings – Designing for and with Migration. Implicit in this is the specific focus on a human phenomenon. From the outset this implies an emphasis on in-depth engagement with site-specific settings in a manner that dissolves any distance between researcher and subject embracing the 'emic or insider's perspective'.²³ The ethnographer's tools (fieldwork, participant observation and interviews) developed in the early 20th century as a means to ascertain 'the 'natives' point of view, within the context of their own culture'.²⁴ Thus, much academic work, especially within the social sciences, has been devoted to delinking contemporary ethnographic research from its undesirable past. Within this body of work the ethnographic practice and writings of Jean and John Comaroff²⁵ are identified as formative and will be elaborated upon as this research progresses.

A DECOLONISED METHODOLOGY

Typology

Typological research necessitates an understanding of the distinction between type and typology. Often conflated or treated as interchangeable, Jacoby and Lee distinguish typology as 'the discourse, treatise (method) or science of type'.²⁶ Lathouri identifies two specific functions of the concept of type in architecture: (1) accounts of type are informed by 'the different ways of seeing, thinking and producing the work of architecture' and (2) interpretations of type have played 'a critical role in the confrontations between architecture and the city'.²⁷

Typological research presents a means of locating and activating architecture on the scale of the SEZ master plan. An analysis of typological transformation provides a lens by which to unpack the constructed and embodied politics of architectural form. It is also a powerful instrument for conceiving of the new. Here I wish to better understand the work of Sven Olaf Wallenstein who foregrounds the structural and biopolitical capacity of architectural form above that of the expression and symbolisation of political power.

12 Rosi Braidotti: 'Thinking as a Nomadic Subject', ICI Berlin on 7 October 2014 as part of the lecture series ERRANS

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18 C., Fortier, *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, pp. 23

19 W., D. Mignolo, *Theory, Culture & Society* pp. 20

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23 L. M., Given, *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, pp. 290

24 L. Groat & D. Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, pp. 220

25 J., Comaroff & J., Comaroff, 'Ethnography on an awkward scale: Postcolonial anthropology and the violence of abstraction', *Ethnography*, vol 4, no. 2, 2003, pp. 147-179. Available from: SAGE Journals Online (accessed 15 November 2017)

26 S., Jacoby & C., Lee, 'Typological Urbanism and the Idea of the City', *Architectural Design: Typological Urbanism*, vol 81, no. 1, 2011, pp. 14-18.

27 M., Lathouri, 'The City as a Project: Types, typical objects and typologies', *Architectural Design: Typological Urbanism*, vol 81, no. 1, 2011, pp. 24-28.

RELEVANCE

Under globalization and neoliberalism we have witnessed the intensification of processes of transformation across space such that actions in 'developed' countries have direct impacts on 'less developed' countries.²⁸ Europe's recent refugee 'crisis' has proved that the converse holds true too. An interrogation of migration asks of us to consider with equal rigor both the here and there. This research considers the there. The Sino-Africa development paradigm is a phenomenon that is shaping and will continue to shape the African and global geopolitical landscape. The need to reimagine The Zone in Africa, as a ubiquitous and readily deployed urban form, is thus a shared urgency.

When presented with the possibility of a non-moralistic mode of politics with regards to immigration and specifically the migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe Chantal Mouffe states

'The way to treat this question is not to combat limitations on immigration, or to simply open our borders, but to transform the conditions in those countries to allow them to develop sustainable forms of domestic economy.'²⁹

If we consider the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) a mechanism that integrates spaces existing under older forms of production into the dominant accumulation model – a model proved untenable by the global financial crisis of 2008 – its viability as a vehicle for sustainable economic development is brought into question. The SEZ displaces extant means of production and living with the promise of employment and foreign investment. Its incarnation as city form renders it a planned and regulated territory of 'comings and goings'; that sets in

motion the movement of people and the changing linkages between places over time. This research is concerned with the impact of the Sino-Africa development paradigm within a broader definition of migration.

One that includes the migration of urban development protocols such as the SEZ and its impact on the ground: 'the sticky materiality of practical encounters'; the friction between local and global, rural and urban, those welcomed and those rejected.

Whilst the Sino-African development paradigm presents a promising and hitherto unexplored partnership it can nonetheless be contextualised within an extended history of the Global South. Preceded by western imperialism in the 19th century, the anti-colonial revolution of the 20th century and liberalization at the turn of the century the Sino-African development paradigm finds itself in a moment of 'Africa Rising': a period of strong economic performance despite deepening inequality and increased corruption. For John Comaroff this moment is significant in that

'[...] it has become a harbinger of the history of capital at large. If we think about the current moment in that history as "neoliberal" – again, the scare quotes, the admission of uncertainty about what we may mean by this, beyond an emphasis on the market, on the retraction of the state in favour of the private sector, on the displacement of risk and responsibility from government to citizen, and so on – Africa only fits in part. But what it does point to is that, as an economic ideology-in-formation, "neoliberalism" requires negations, exceptions, non-neoliberal spaces in its midst in order to realize itself.'³⁰

RELEVANCE

In Africa, the abstract constructs of capital and politics become real. For myself, reflecting on 'China in Africa' is a heuristic that brings afore questions of development, agency and the socio-spatial conditions determining of a new presencing of the African metropolis. I hold that thinking about 'China in Africa' is as much about unravelling Sino-African engagement as it is about reconsidering Africa's place within the global geopolitical landscape.

This reconsideration is extended to myself. In exploring the oppositions of Sino-African engagement questions of my own position as a South African and my intentions as an African architectural student in Europe continue to surface. A definition of the political intention of this project demands I confront my own politics and ethics. Similarly, when speculating on the future of African urban development I am compelled to consider my contribution (if any) in shaping it.

More specifically, this research, being both intellectually and personally motivated, has the following main objectives:

- to present a contextualised reading of the impact of the Sino-African development paradigm, specifically the Bagamoyo Mega Project or Special Economic Zone (SEZ), on the Tanzanian
- to contest the SEZ as homogenous urban form from which endemic forms of existence are excluded and present an alternative development protocol
- to expand on the role of Swahili domestic space in developing such a protocol through both a historical and theoretical lens
- to explore alternative modes of representation and methodology that engender a decolonised reading of territory and domestic space.

28 I make use of this term reluctantly and acknowledge the structuring of a hierarchy between countries implicit in its use

29 Mouffe, C. in Hirsch, N & Miessen, M. (eds), *The Space of Agonism: Markus Miessen in Conversation with Chantal Mouffe*; Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2012, p.9

30 Comaroff, J., in conversation with Hart, K., 'Rise of the South', Copenhagen 2014

THE SINO-AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

1

It would be a mistake to consider the Sino-African development paradigm as something new. The staples of Sino-African engagement: infrastructure development, prestige projects and Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are rather the recent indices of a mature and nuanced relationship. Relations between China and Africa have been at once the impetus for and the result of dramatic socio-economic and political transformations experienced by both. As noted in the introduction, the notion of a 'singular, mammoth China'³¹ and a unified African reception there to must be avoided. Whilst Beijing's diplomacy and foreign policy may prepare the groundwork - it is the relationships between individual African countries (and their specific agendas) and the specialization of Chinese provinces that defines Sino-African engagement.

Whilst a detailed history of the Sino-African development paradigm falls beyond the scope of this research it remains necessary to contextualise the development of the Bagamoyo Mega Project and its spatial contemporaries. Thus, the timeline provided presents a perhaps simplified but valuable overview of Sino-African relations. The progression of a relationship founded on ideology and camaraderie to that of one contoured by concessional loans and trade deals. It indicates how initial political relations in the mid 1940's occurred at the intersection of the formation of the People's Republic of China (1949) and colonial Africa's pursuit of independence.

As independence movements in Africa gained traction China's involvement in Africa shifted from ideological solidarity to the provision of military training and infrastructure works such as the construction of the TAZARA railway linking Dar es Salaam with Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia. For China the allegiance of Tanzania, Zambia and other newly independent African countries hedged against the threat of the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War.

The late 1970's present a pivotal point in the development of Sino-African relations. Under the leadership of Den Xiaoping China adopted a series of economic reforms that saw her open up to foreign trade in order to fuel domestic economic growth. In recent years, the need to maintain this growth has led China to look elsewhere for new markets and natural resources. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) initiated in 2000 marks this change. It is emblematic of contemporary Sino-African relations founded on trade deals for development assistance.

31 *Understanding China-Africa Relations* [website], 2016, <https://thediomat.com/2016/06/understanding-china-africa-relations/>, (accessed 20 January 2018)

HISTORY

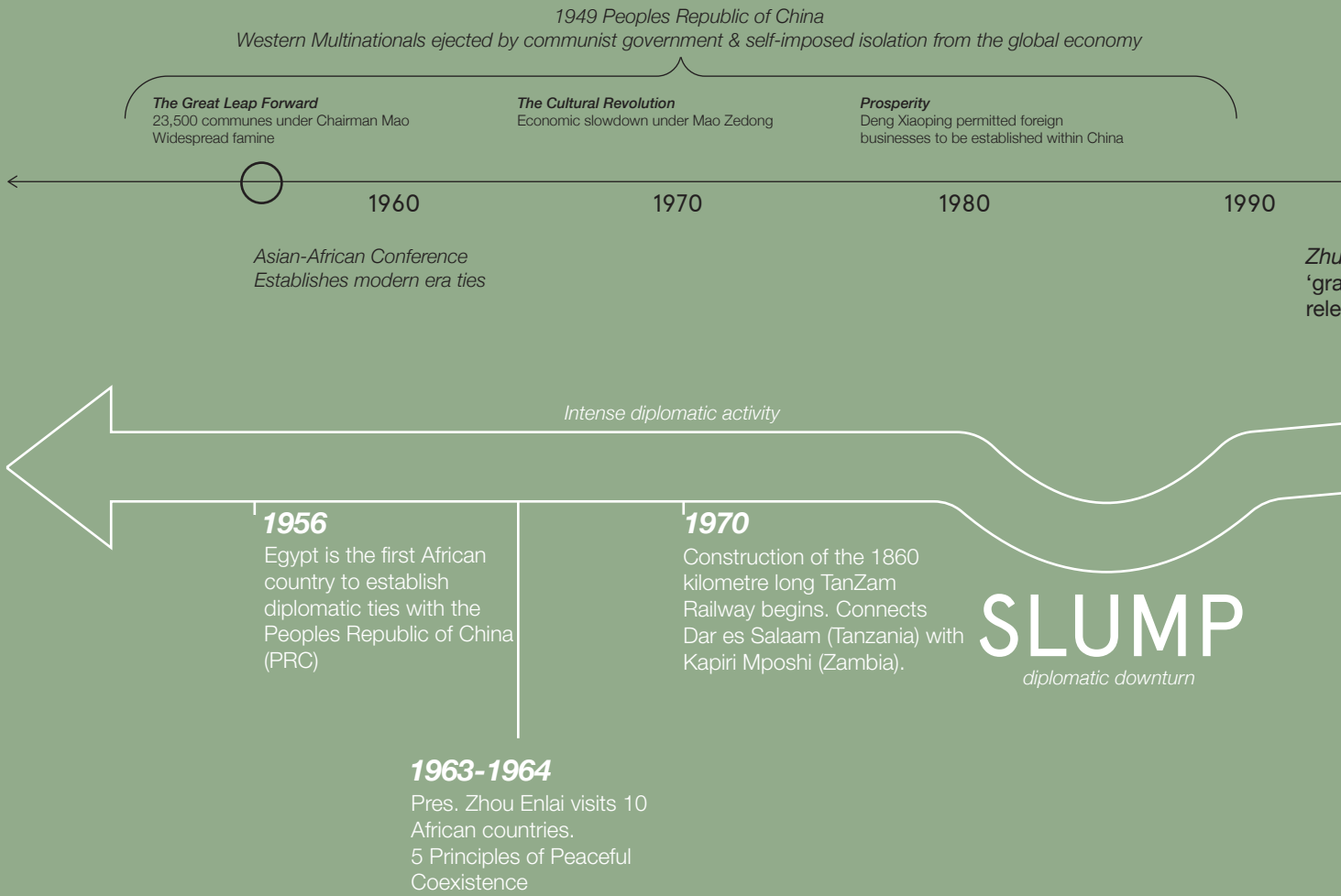
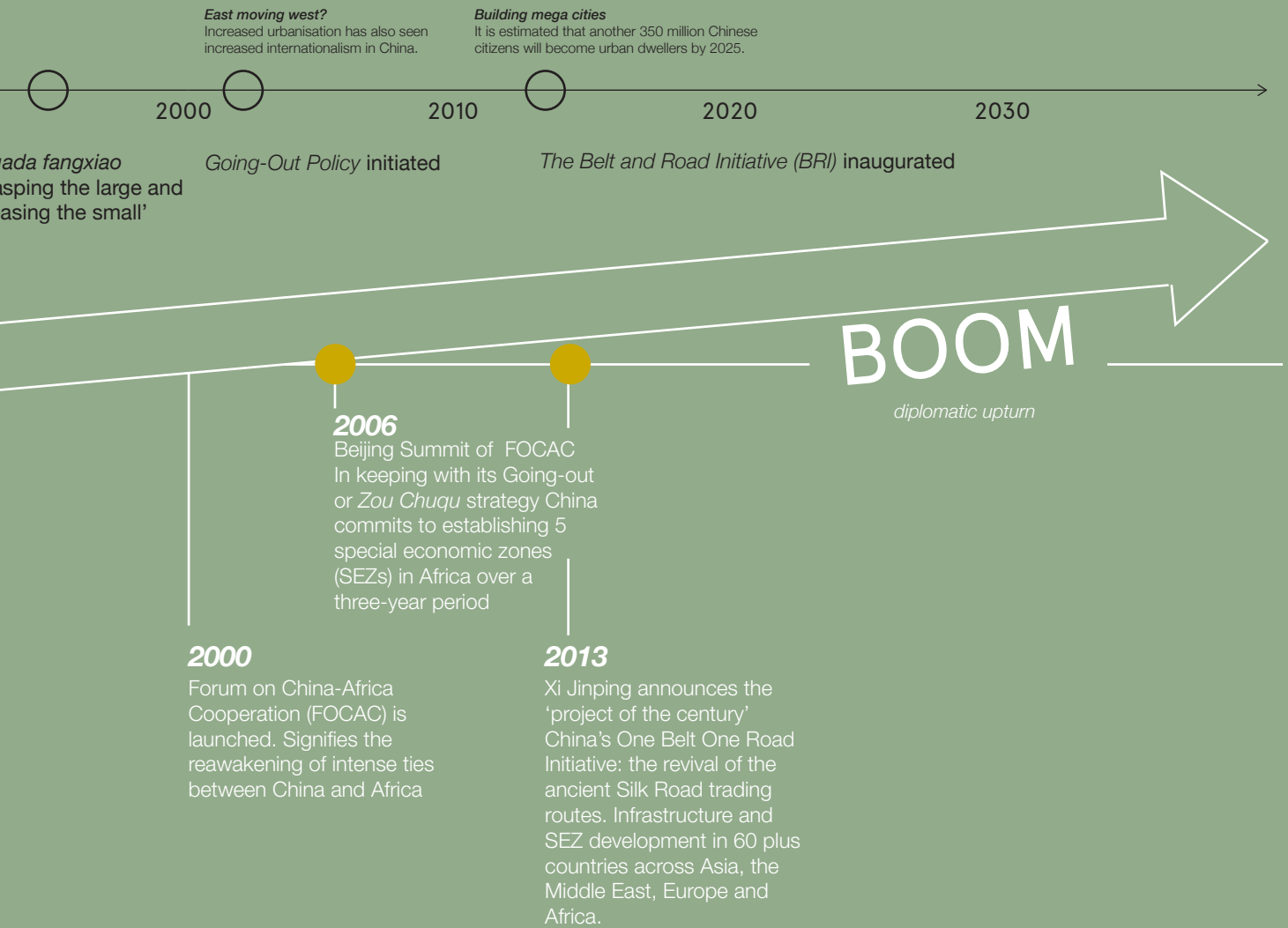


Figure 1. Overview of Sino-African development paradigm, Author, 2017

HISTORY



RETERRITORIALISATION

In order to conceptualise the Sino-African development paradigm as a reterritorializing force it is necessary to begin with a definition of what, in this research, is understood as **territory** and the associated concepts of **de-** and **re-territorialization** that build upon such a definition.

Stuart Elden calls for a departure from 'problematic definitions of territory as a **bounded space**.'³² Rather, Elden urges us to consider territory as a 'a socio-spatial morphology that can be leveraged – that is actively produced – by a diverse set of actors and groups for a variety of political objectives.'³³ The philosopher and political theorist Achille Mbembe adds to this understanding of territory as a '(political) technology'³⁴ an appreciation for the temporal and enacted nature of territory that is aligned with the theme of migration. For Mbembe territory 'is fundamentally an intersection of moving bodies' articulated 'by the set of movements that take place within it.'³⁵ Importantly, and in contrast to Elden, Mbembe acknowledges that whilst territory may indeed be a mechanism of politics it is also 'a set of possibilities that historically situated actors resist or realize.'³⁶ Mbembe's reading of territory as a socio-spatial formation in flux, constantly made and unmade, allows for a nuanced reading of the fluid and dialectical processes of **de-** and **reterritorialisation**.

Originally employed in the work of French theorists Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, deterritorialization is here understood as the loss of spatial references and framings for socio-economic and political interaction whilst reterritorialization denotes the 'reclaiming of those spaces' by communities or external actors. Implicit in the consideration of processes of deterritorialization and its corollary reterritorialization is an investigation of the interaction of capitalism, power, identity and space.

The transformation and evolution of the Sino-African development paradigm is not confined to the abstract realm of policy and foreign affairs. As the logic of extraction and the mobility of goods, capital and labour have come to dominate Sino-African relations its affects have left an indelible mark on the African geopolitical landscape. Contemporary Sino-African relations have taken on the form of what Mbembe defines as **private indirect government**.³⁷ For Mbembe, forms of private indirect government 'which have as their function the constitution of new systems of property and new bases of social stratification'³⁸ are giving way to territorial configurations defined simultaneously by spaces hypermobility and spaces of enclosure. For Pier Vittoria Aureli 'the proliferation of enclaves, walls and apparatuses of control and closure' are established to ensure 'the smoothness of global economic trade.'³⁹

RETERRITORIALISATION

For Aureli, 'integration and closure are not the consequence of each other, but are two simultaneous phenomena meant to reinforce one another.'⁴⁰ Thus, as major infrastructure projects and the allure of 'world-class cities' draw Africa closer to the world she is experiencing the deconstruction and redrawing of domestic territorial frameworks. The dynamics and relationships between African nation states are no longer being driven by geographic proximity or shared histories but rather by a grander narrative which sees such countries coupled together or placed in opposition based upon that which they may offer to global markets and hungry investors. The diagrams that follow are an attempt to redraw the African geopolitical landscape along these lines.

With a specific focus on the Sino-African development paradigm - in particular the impact of China's One Belt One Road initiative³⁹ and the concomitant development of China-financed New Towns or Special Economic Zones (SEZs) - the drawings trace the formation of new relationalities based on the overlay of existing infrastructures (road and rail) with proposed projects. They make obvious the importance of 'outward' facing and peripherally located strategic nodes along the African coastline. These nodes are increasingly being absorbed into the Sino-African development paradigm through the strategic provision of loans for upgrades and/or expansion of facilities and infrastructures. In some instances, as is the case with the Lamu Port in Kenya or the Bagamoyo Mega Project, entirely new nodes, often in the form of SEZs, are initiated to secure access to vital transport routes and resources.

32 S., Elden, 'Land, terrain, territory', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol 34, no. 6, 2010, pp. 799-817. Available from SAGE Journals Online (accessed 20 January 2018)

33 T., Ballvé, 'Spatiality & Power', *Territorial Masquerades*, [website], 2011, <http://territorialmasquerades.net/spatiality-power/>. (accessed 20 January 2018)

34 Elden, *Progress in Human Geography*, p. 799

35 A., Mbembe, 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa', *Public Culture*, vol 12, no. 1, 2000, pp. 259-284. Available from Project Muse (accessed 6 February 2018)

36 Mbembe, *Public Culture*, p. 261

37 Mbembe, *Public Culture*, p. 270

38 Mbembe, *Public Culture*, p. 274

39 P.V., Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, London, The MIT Press, 2011, p. xi.

40 Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, p. xi.

RETERRITORIALISATION



Figure 2. Current and future infrastructure projects underway in Africa, Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION

Trans African Highways

N-S Routes

1. Algiers-Tamanrasset-Lagos
2. Tripoli-N'Djamena-Brazzaville-Kinshasa-Windhoek-Cape Town
3. Cairo-Khartoum-Addis Ababa-Nairobi-Dodoma-Lusaka-Gaborone-Cape Town

E-W Routes

4. Cairo-Tripoli-Tunis-Algiers-Rabat-Dakar
5. Dakar-Bamako-Niamey-N'Djamena
6. N'Djamena-Djibouti
7. Dakar-Freetown-Abidjan-Lagos
8. Lagos-Yaounde-Bangui-Kisangani-Kampala-Nairobi-Mombasa
9. Lobito-Lubumbashi-Lusaka-Harare-Beira

Major Infrastructure Projects

Construction, renovation or widening of roads, motorways, railways and major water transfer systems

- a. Tangiers-Casablanca-Marrakesh high-speed rail link
- b. East-West high-speed rail link and motorway
- c. Major artificial river
- d. In-Shalah-Tamanrasset water transfer system
- e. Addis-Ababa-Nairobi-Mombasa corridor (motorway)
- f. LAPSET Corridor: South Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya (roads, motorways, railways)
- g. Central African corridor: Matadi-Dar es Salaam and Kisangani-Kampala-Mombasa (railways, roads, electric power lines)
- h. Major water transfer project Lesotho-Johannesburg

Source
'Useful Africa', Le Monde diplomatique
Philippe Rekacewicz, February 2011

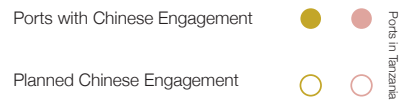
'Infrastructure Interconnections', ICA Annual Report, 2012

RETERRITORIALISATION



Figure 3. Ports & SEZs of the One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR), Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



African Ports of the One Belt One Road Initiative

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Nouakchott | 12. Maputo |
| 2. Dakar | 13. Beira |
| 3. Abidjan | 14. Mtwara |
| 4. Tema | 15. Dar es Salaam |
| 5. Lome | 16. Bagamoyo |
| 6. Lagos | 17. Mombasa |
| 7. Kribi | 18. Lamu |
| 8. Libreville | 19. Mogadishu |
| 9. Sao Tome & Principe | 20. Djibouti |
| 10. Luanda | 21. Massawa |
| 11. Walvis bay | 22. Suez |

Source
 'One Belt One Road Initiative: With the Silk Road Initiative China Aims to Build a Global Infrastructure Network', Mercator China Studies Institute, 2015

RETERRITORIALISATION

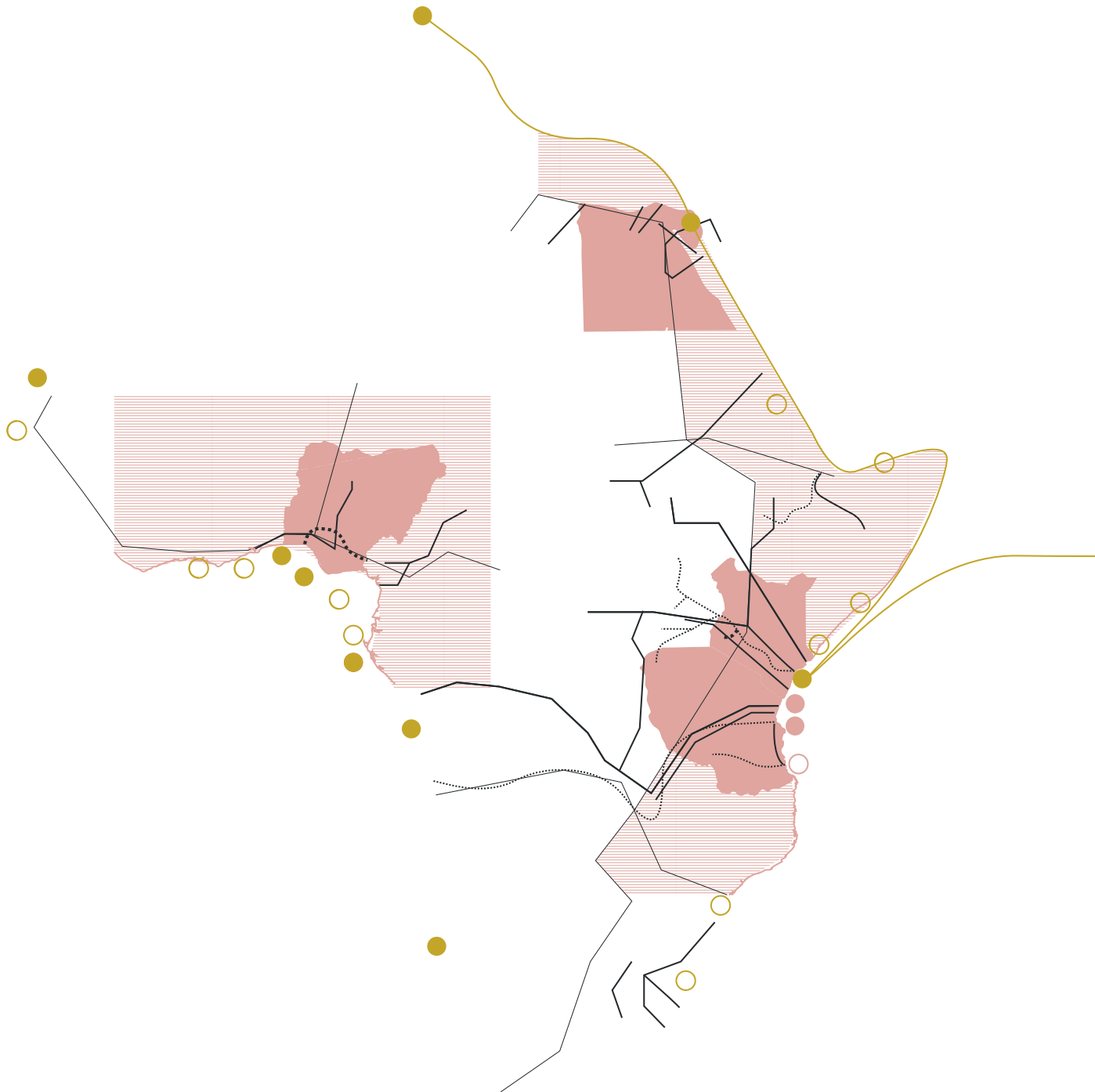
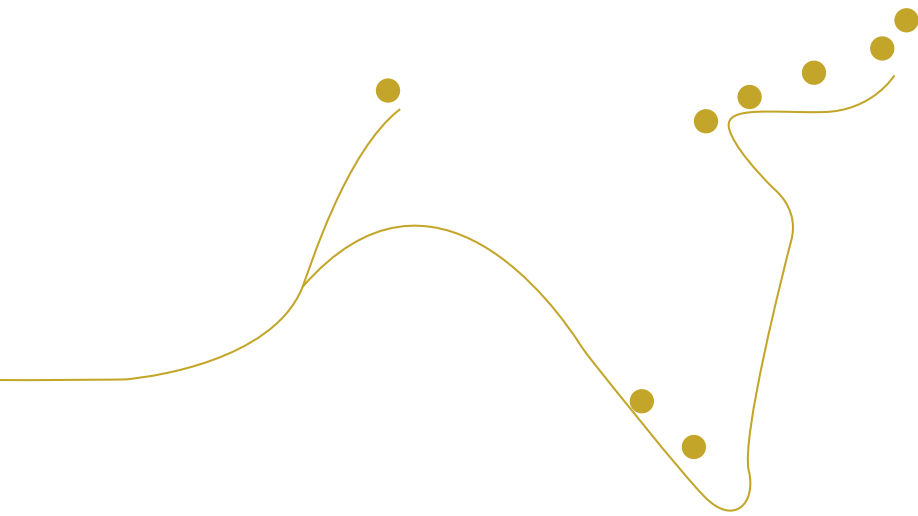


Figure 4. Reterritorialisation of the east and west coasts of Africa as a result of the OBOR, Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



Reterritorialisation of the East & West Coast

Chinese FDI in Ports and Infrastructure investment writes into the African landscape new relationships of power, capital and labour.

RETERRITORIALISATION

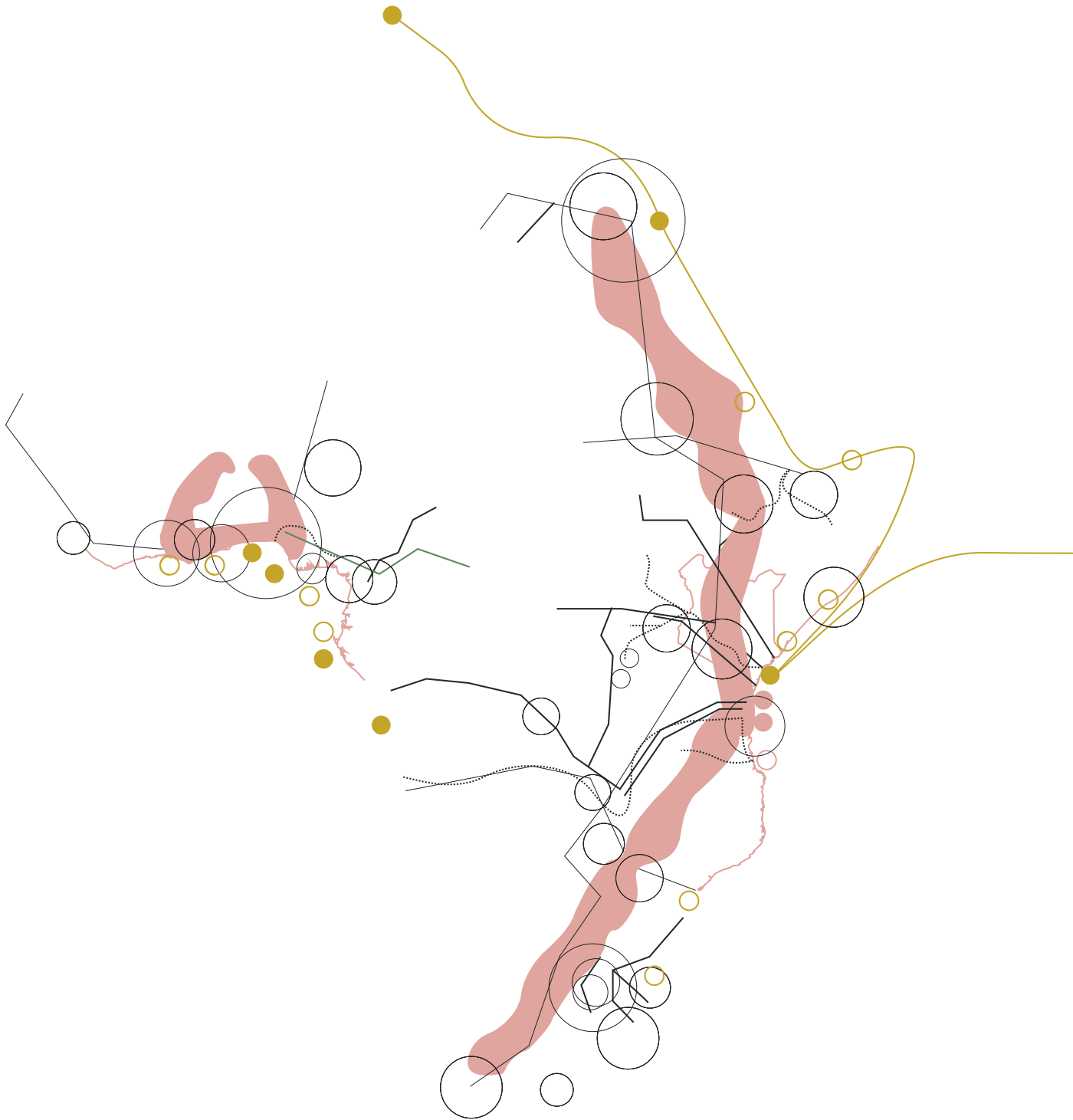
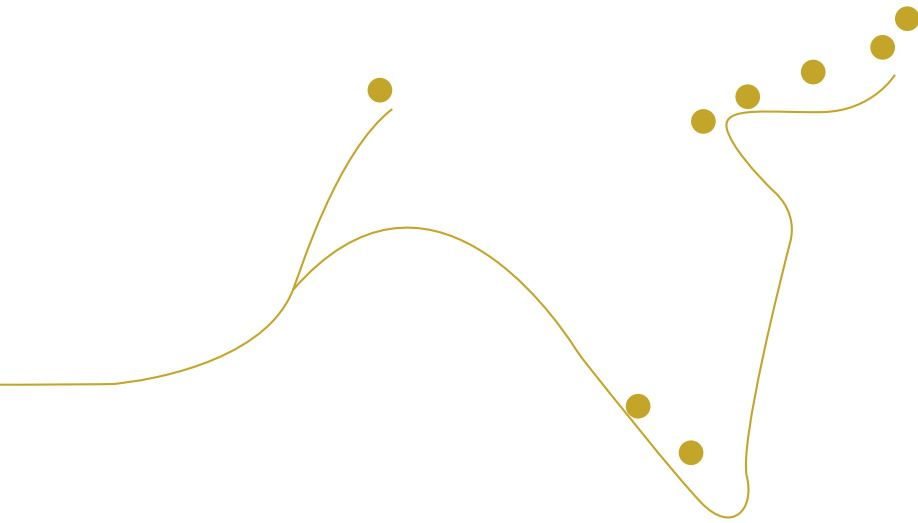


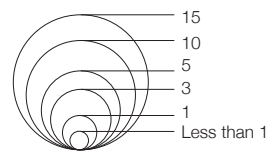
Figure 5. The OBOR in relation to current development trends on the African continent, Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



New infrastructure projects as well as Chinese FDI in Ports and Infrastructure investment parallels, compliments or works against the development of Mega Corridors geared towards industrialisation, and agricultural stimulus.

Number of people in agglomeration in millions



Source
 'Africa: From a Continent of States to a Continent of Cities',
 Africa 2012, The African Studies Centre (ASC), 2012

Mega Corridors 2025

The Greater Ibadan Lagos Accra (GILA) Corridor
 Population > 18 million
 GDP > US \$ 127.6 million

North-South Corridor
 Freed trade area population > 533.0 million
 GDP > US \$ 833.0 billion

Kampala Nairobi Mombasa Corridor

Northern Delta Region
 Population > 22 million

Source
 'Mega Corridors', The State of African Cities 2010:
 Governance, Inequality and Urban Land Markets, UN Habitat,
 2010

RETERRITORIALISATION

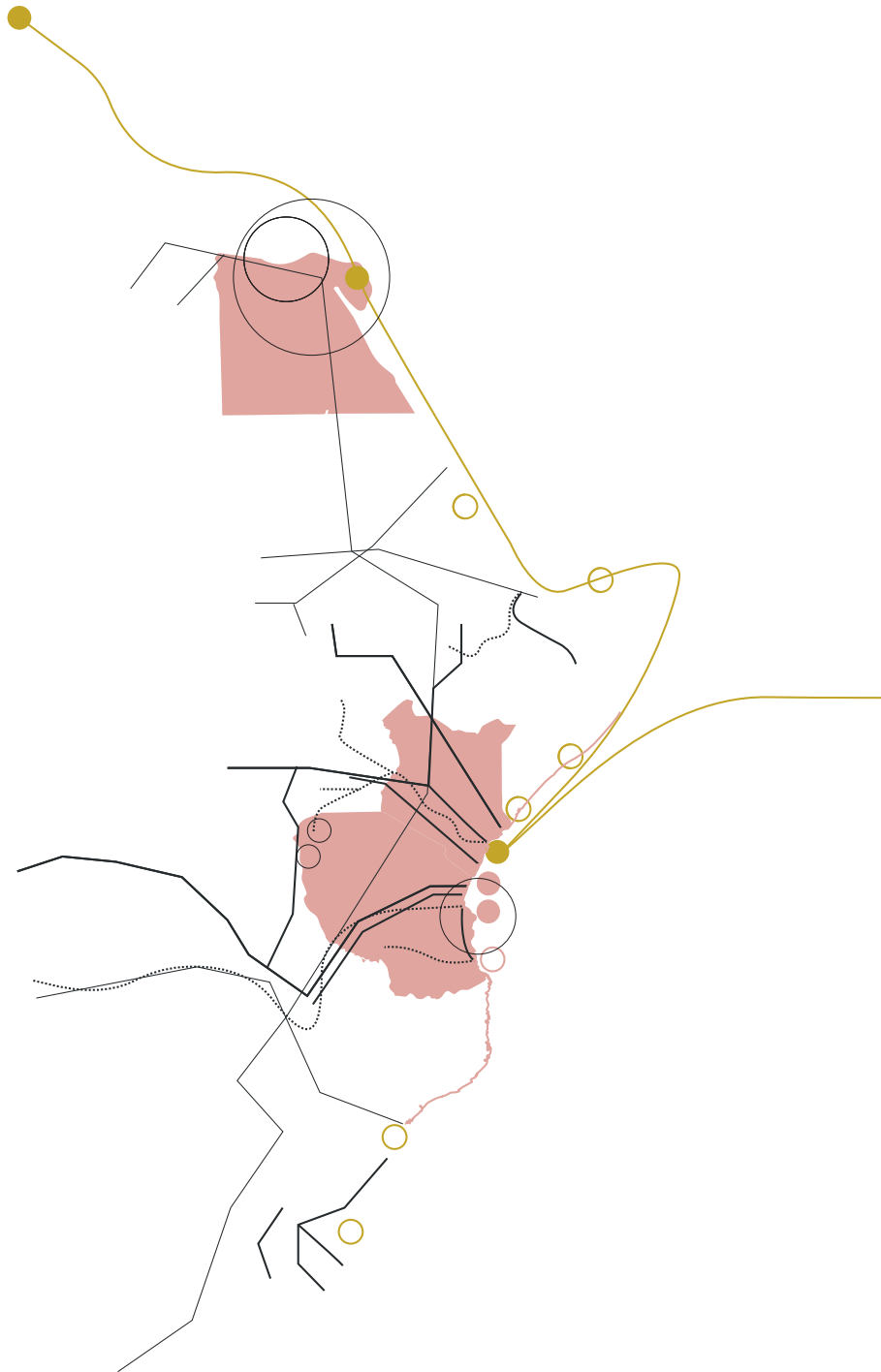
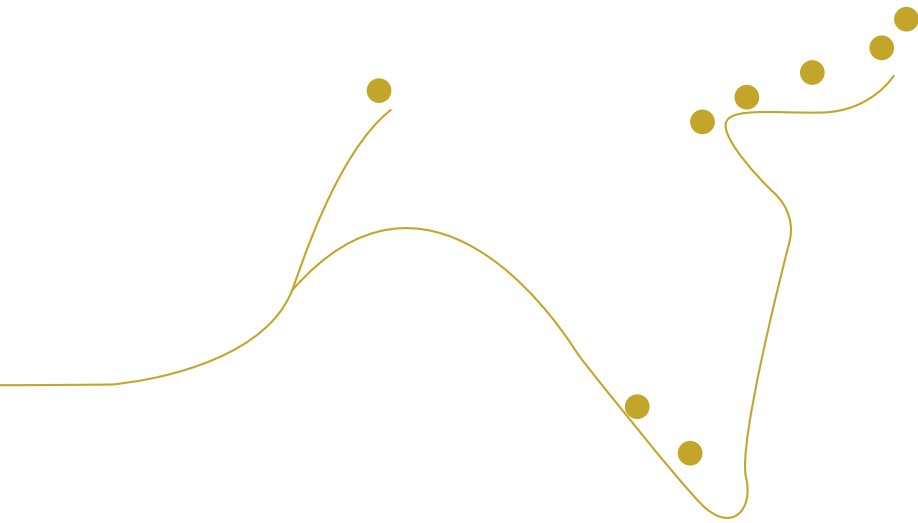


Figure 6. The east African coast in relation to the OBOR,
Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



Dominance of the East Coast

Chinese FDI in Ports and Infrastructure investment is significant on the East Coast of Africa. Examination of SEZs in this region follows.

RETERRITORIALISATION

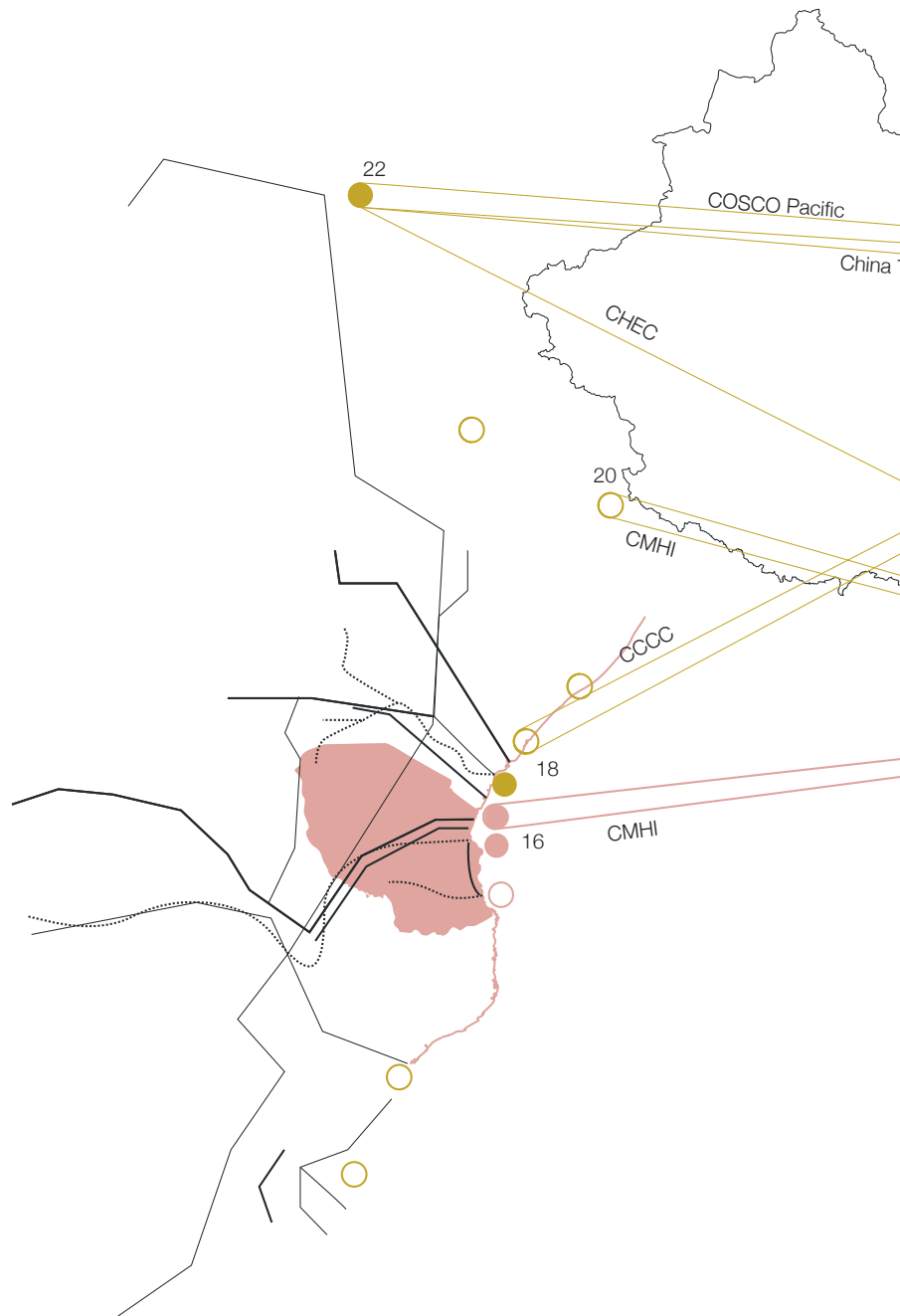


Figure 7. Ports being developed under the OBOR and their ties to China, Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



Tranlocated Romance

- 16. Bagamoyo Mega Project
- 18. Lamu Port (LAPSSET)
- 20. Port of Djibouti
- 22. Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone)
Ain Sokhna Special Economic Zone (SEZ)

A Global/Abstract Space of policy, planning protocols, trade agreements and TEUs

RETERRITORIALISATION

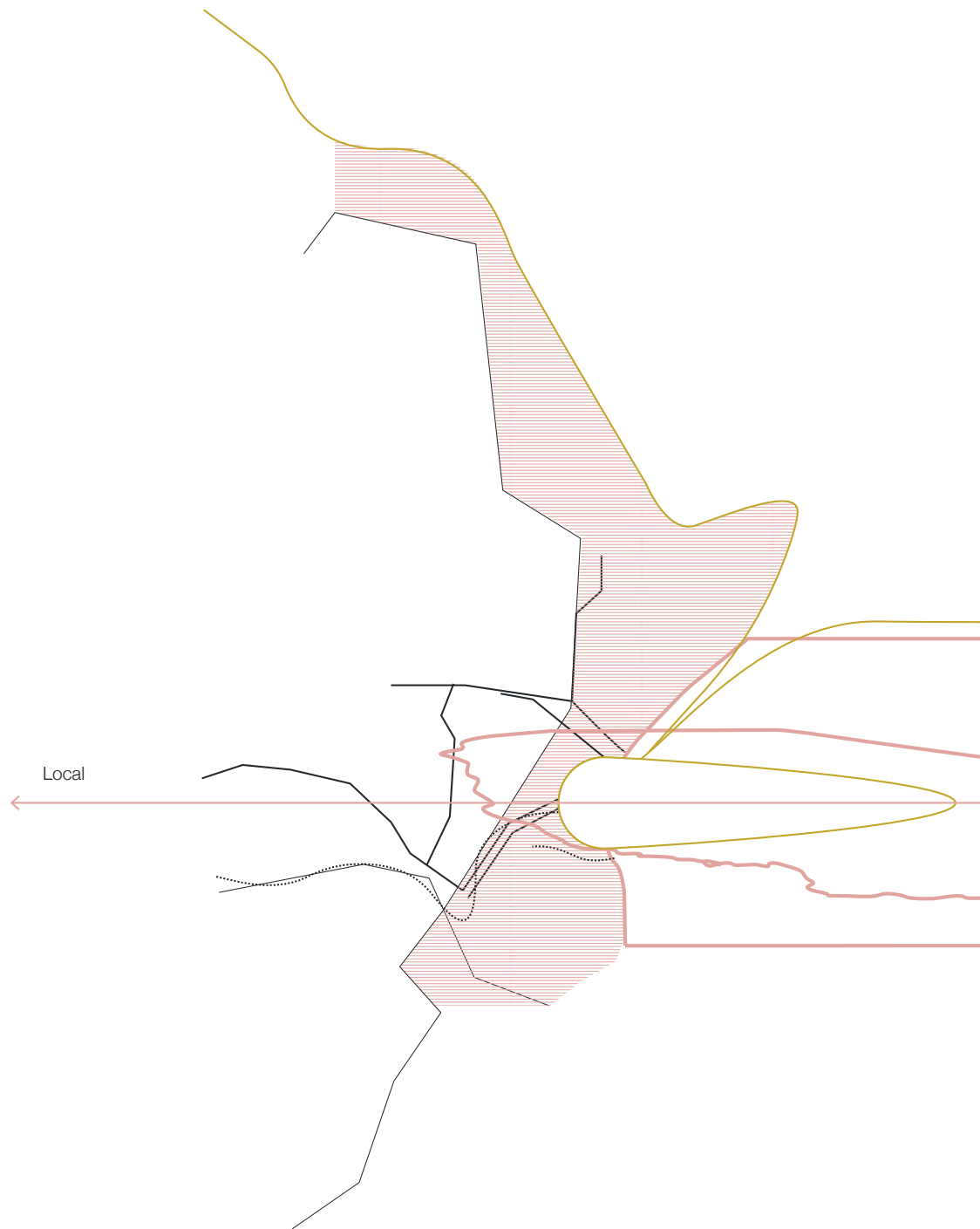
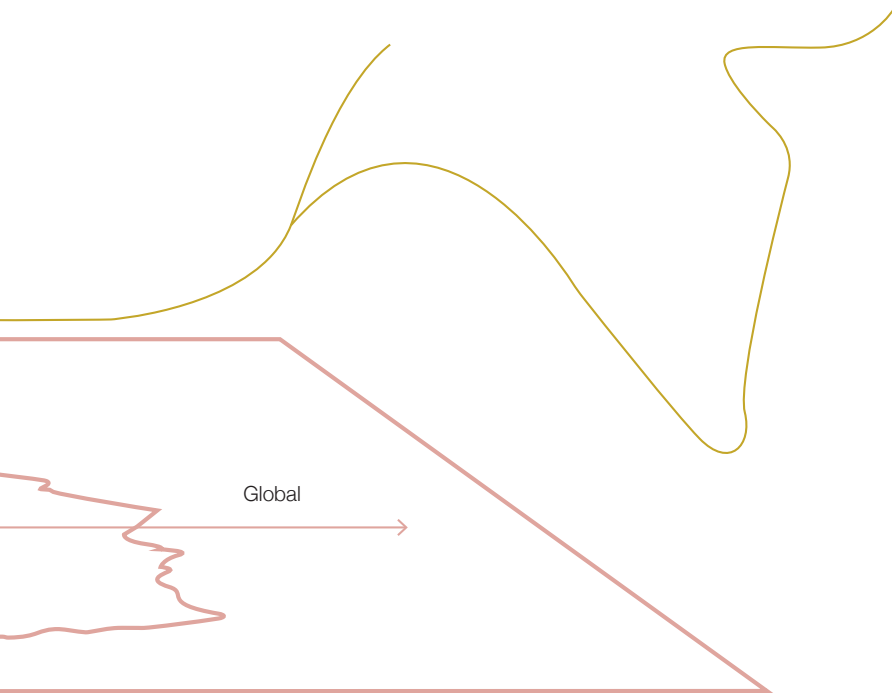


Figure 8. Ports and SEZs as the stuff of global space,
Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



A Global/Abstract Space of policy, planning protocols, trade agreements and TEUs

RETERRITORIALISATION

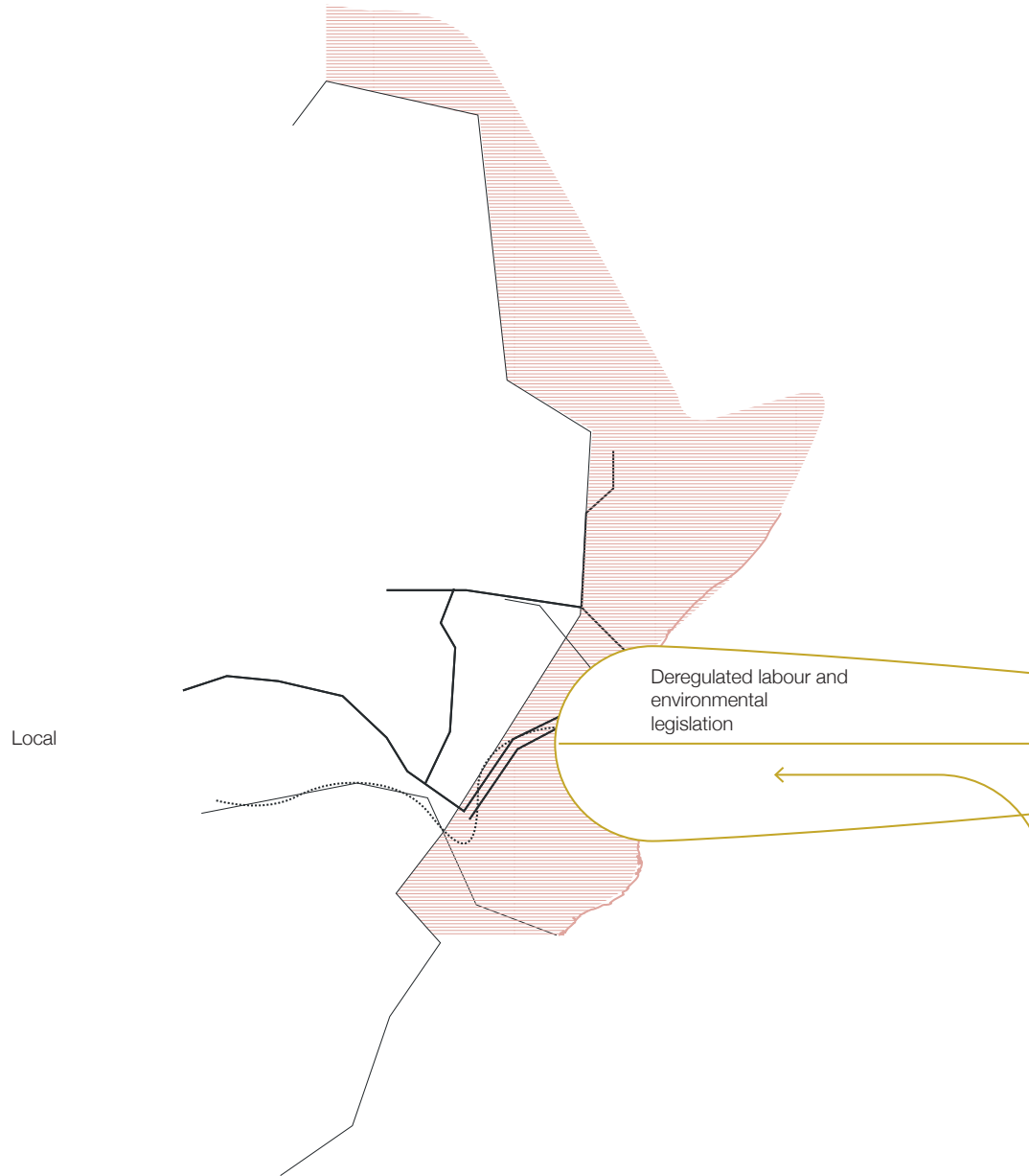


Figure 9. The SEZ as apparatus of extraction and deregulation, Author, 2017

RETERRITORIALISATION



THE SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE AS SPATIAL PRODUCT

The previous section made evident the implications of China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative on the African geopolitical landscape. A definitive characteristic of the OBOR is the proliferation of China-financed New Towns or Special Economic Zones (SEZs) – exemplars of Aureli's **apparatuses of control and closure**.

The Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is best understood as a morphological type crafted by legislation yet characterised by the distinct absence thereof. For Keller Easterling the SEZ forms part of a larger family of 'spatial products':

'These products – resorts, information technology campuses, retail chains, golf courses, ports and other enclave formations – are familiar commercial formulas that index the world by marketing or scheduling protocols, thus presumably avoiding the political inconveniences of location.'⁴¹

SEZs are considered powerful vehicles for global economic trade. In the absence of labour and environmental laws they make the business of turning profits universal and fungible. The SEZ is held by governments of the developing world as the ideal apparatus for market liberalisation and the attraction of foreign investment.

The evolution of the SEZ from mere economic instrument to an efficient conurbation of port, Export Processing Zone (EPZ) and resort city – a 'world-city' template – was perfected by China during the early 1980's when it set up four zones: Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen as 'incubators' for structural transformation.⁴²

The perceived success of Chinese SEZs has led African leaders to seek out

similar models of enclave urbanism. In the trusted recipe of manufacturing, logistics and leisure being exported to countries such as Egypt, Djibouti, Kenya and Tanzania African leaders see the possibility of attaining global competitiveness.

Easterling urges us to look beyond the immediate allure of the SEZ and consider its less desirable characteristics. She argues that

'the architecture of warfare evident in detention camps, military bases, and border crossings is eerily similar to our own familiar offshore real-estate cocktails, with their devices for security and territorial conquest'⁴³

Easterling evokes Giorgio Agamben's reference to the camp as 'a place of legal exception or lawlessness.'⁴⁴ The danger, Easterling argues, is when the condition of the camp is 'naturalized or stabilized as a political paradigm.'⁴⁵ Evidence of our acceptance and, more alarmingly, embrace of geographies of exception can be found in the 'zone d'attentes of our airports'⁴⁶, the Calais Jungle and undoubtedly the shiny, crafted enclosures of the SEZ.

The comparative analysis that follows of SEZ's developed or under construction in Egypt, Djibouti, Kenya and Tanzania reveals the 'copy-paste' principle of developing African ports as replicas of Chinese SEZs.

41 K., Easterling, *Enduring Innocence: Global Architecture and Its Political Masquerades*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2005, p.20

42 D., Brautigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 12

43 Easterling, *Enduring Innocence: Global Architecture and Its Political Masquerades*, p.1

44 K., Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*, London, Verso, 2014, p. 56

45 Easterling, *Enduring Innocence: Global Architecture and Its Political Masquerades*, p.20

46 G., Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Redwood, Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 96-102

THE SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE AS SPATIAL PRODUCT



Figure 10. 'The African Manhattan', Modderfontein New City, Johannesburg, South Africa, by Geographical Magazine, 2015, <http://geographical.co.uk/places/cities/item/1049-the-african-manhattan>

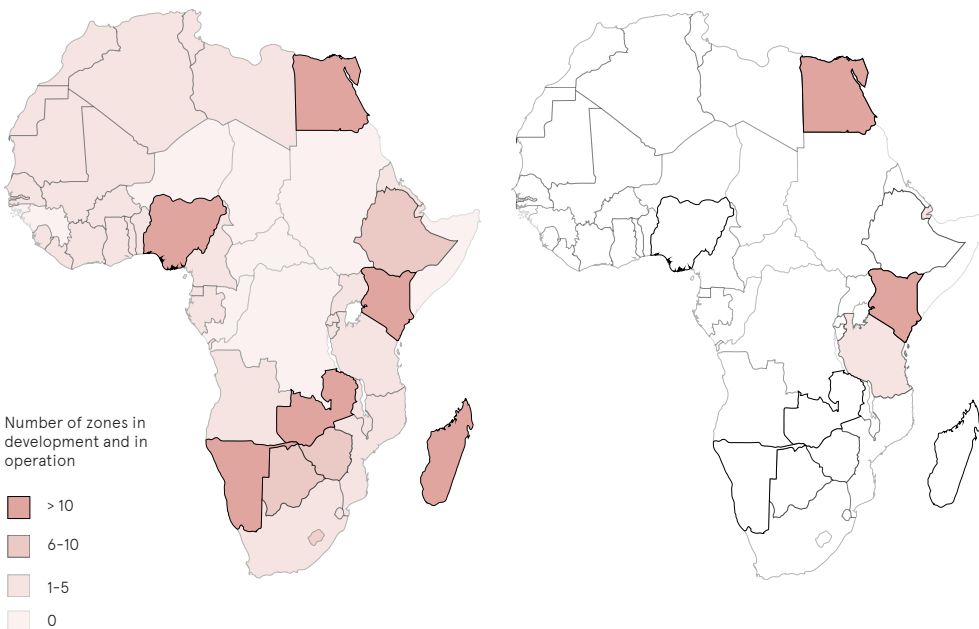
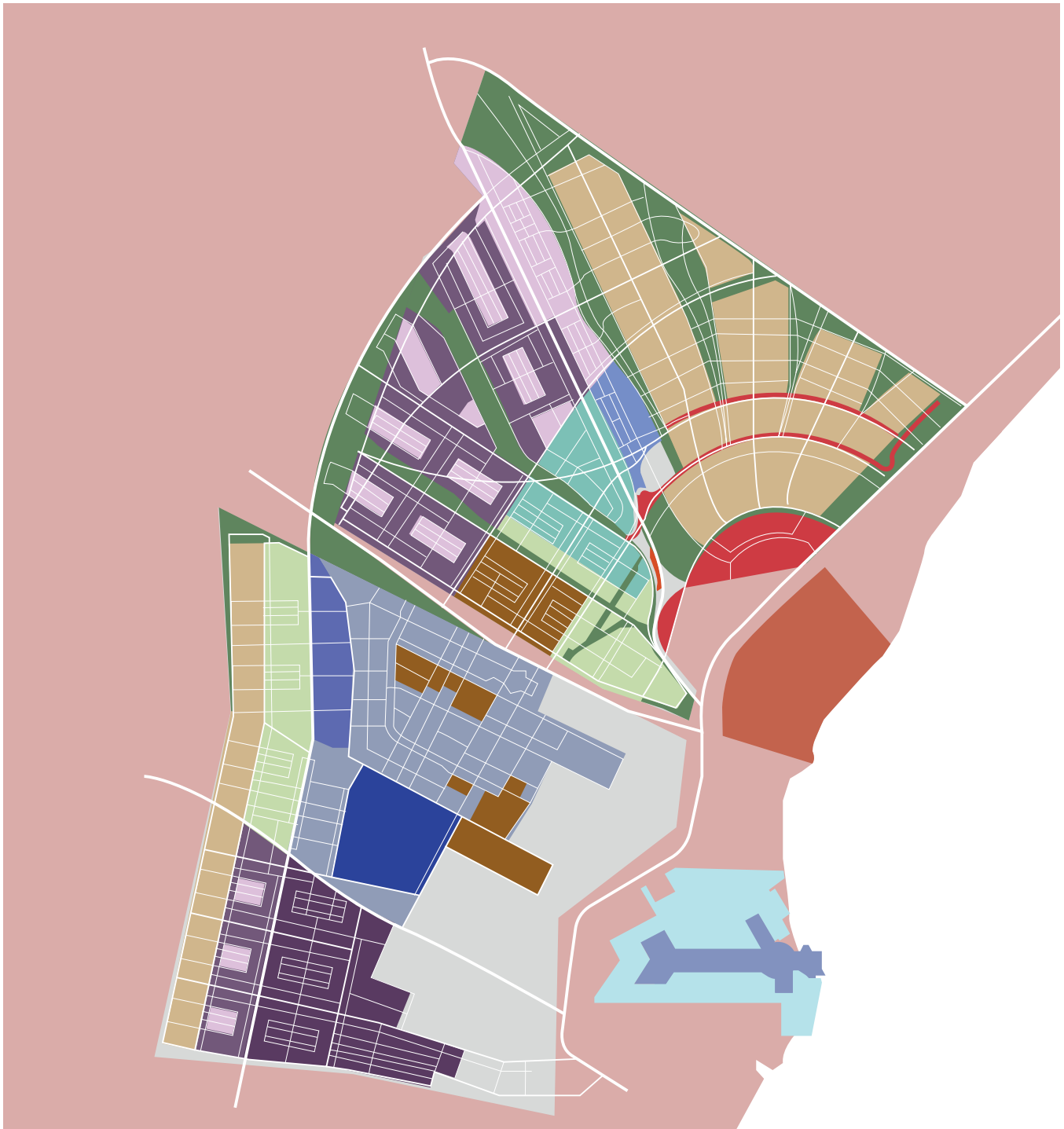


Figure 11. Special Economic Zones in Africa. Redrawn from 'If Africa Builds nests will the birds come? Comparative study on Special Economic Zones in Africa and China', by United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2015



Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone)
 Ain Sokhna Special Economic Zone (SEZ)

Actor(s)
 COSCO Pacific China's largest State Owned Enterprise (SOE)
 China Harbor Engineering Company (CHEC)
 TEDA Group China's oldest Industrial Developer

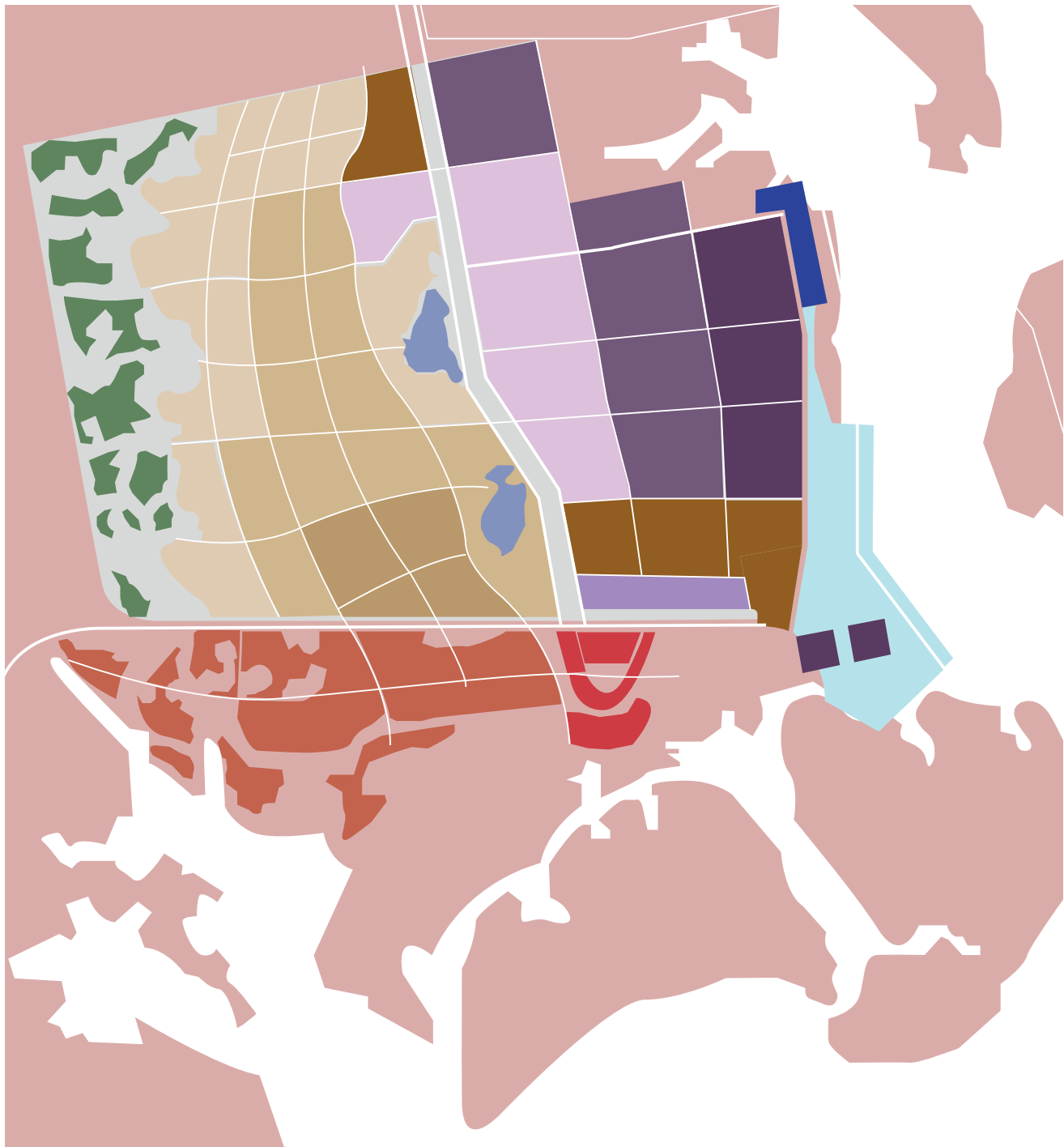
Scale
 An Industrial Zone of 460m² comprising two integrated areas, two development areas and four ports.

Translation
 The idea of this behemoth Economic Zone emerged in 1998 following a fortuitous amendment to foreign investment and land usufruct laws*.

* See Egyptian Law for Economic Zones of a Special Nature - Law No. 83 for 2002 and its amendment of 2015.

5000m 1000m

- Heavy Industry
- Intermediate Industry
- Light Industry
- Logistics & maintenance
- Residential (High, Med., Low Density)
- Resort City & Tourism Zone
- Port
- Urban Centre
- (Petro) Chemical Processing
- Oil Refinery
- Manufacturing



Lamu Port (LAPSSET)

Actor(s)

China Communication Construction Company (CCCC)
 Power Construction Corporation of China (PCCC)
 Industrial Commercial Bank of China

Scale

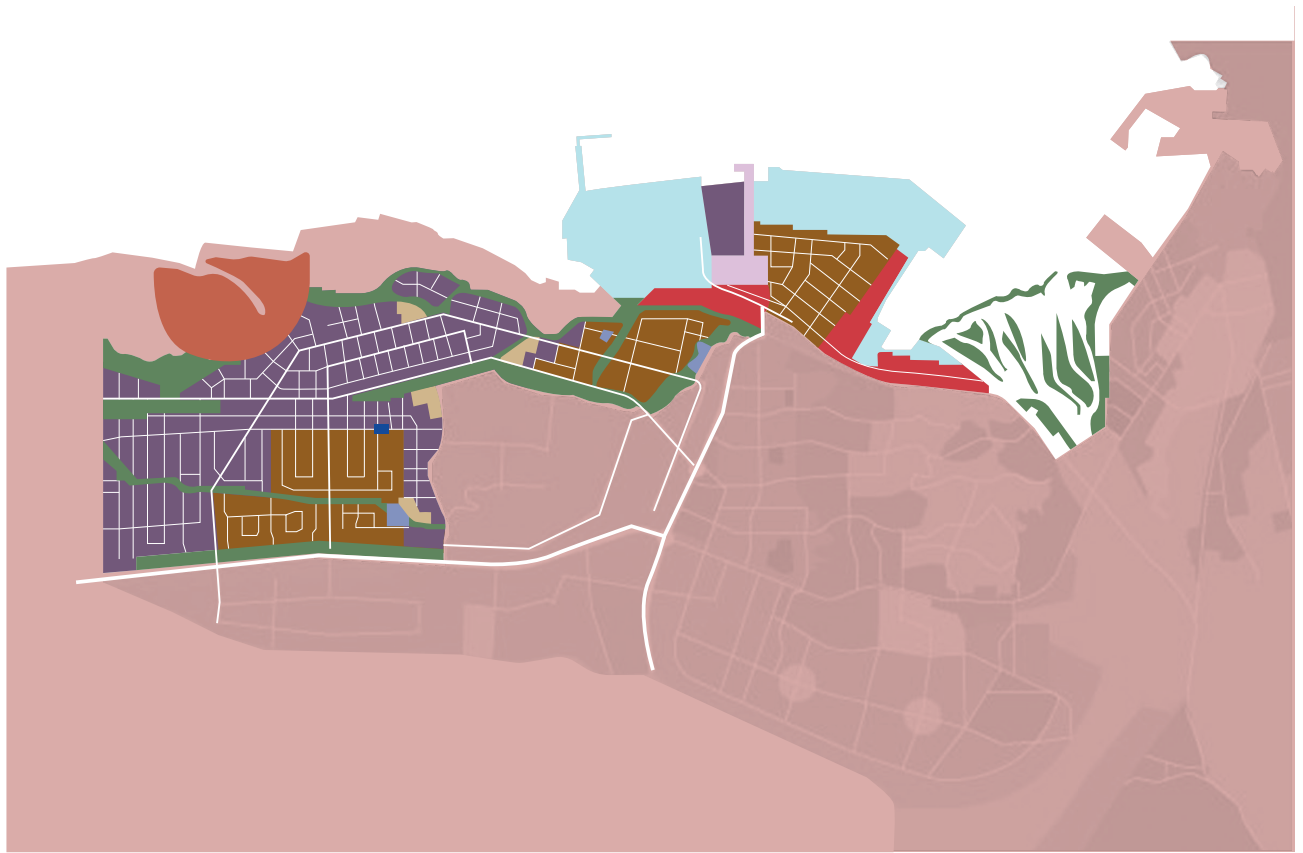
CCCC is expected to complete the construction of three berths at Lamu Port by 2020. The PCCC is set to begin construction on the 981.5 megawatt Amu Coal Power Plant pending an environmental impact assessment.

Translation

The plans for Lamu Port were based on a 1977 feasibility study. A second feasibility study, financed by China was conducted in 2010. In response to outrage at the absence of an EIA the state responded by employing the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) to conduct the EIA study on their behalf. Unsurprisingly the EIA was approved and a planning license readily awarded.



- Heavy Industry
- Intermediate Industry
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- Oil Refinery
- Manufacturing



Port of Djibouti

Actor(s)

China Merchants Holdings International (subsidiary of China Merchants Group)

Scale

In addition to the Port upgrades China Merchant Holdings has invested in the development of a 48 km² Free Trade Zone (FTZ) comprising a trade logistics park and an Export Processing Zone (EPZ)

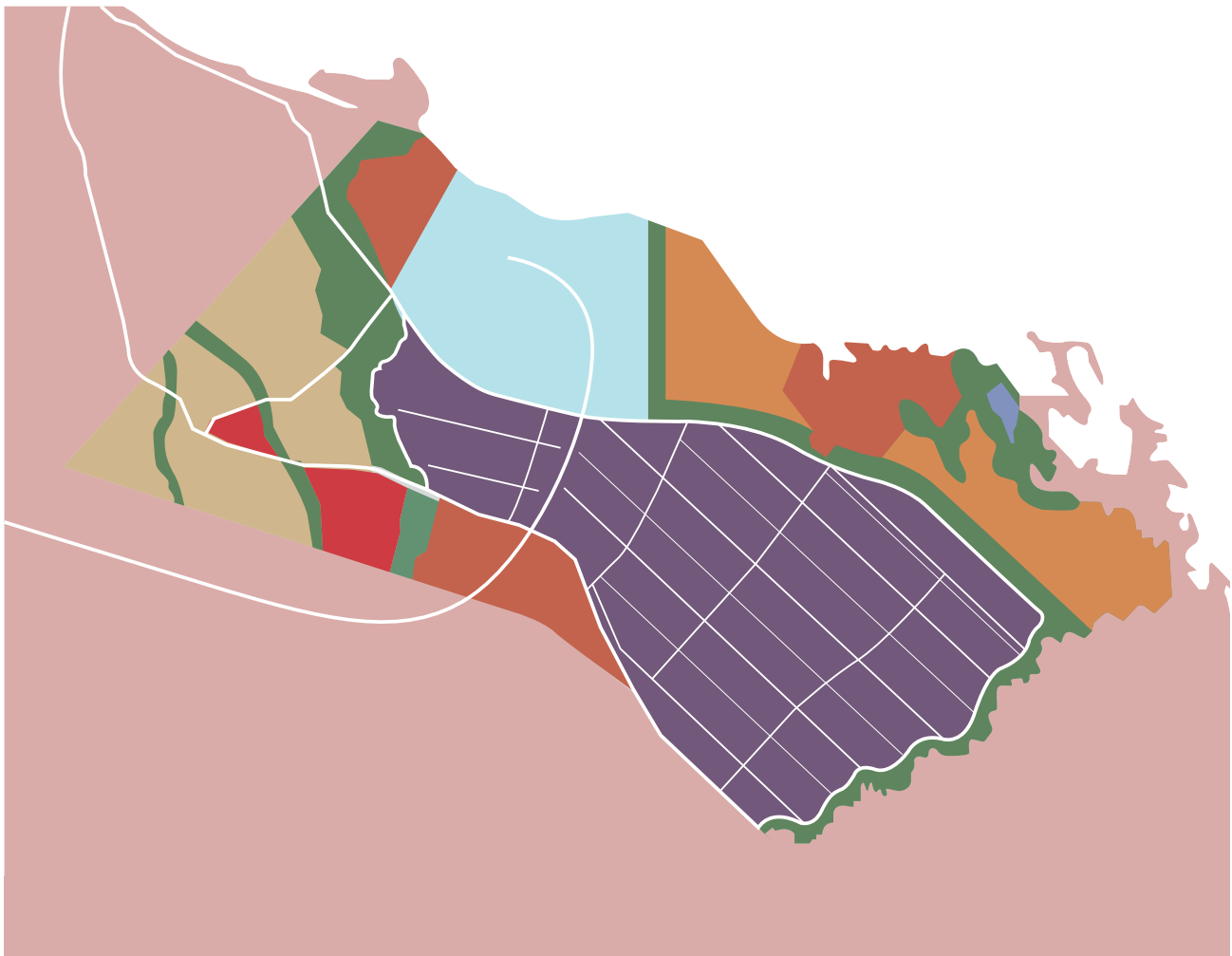
Translation

Sold to eager tenants as the 'Shekou of East Africa' the Port of Djibouti and associated FTZ will be developed along the 'Port-Park-City' or 'PPC' template first pioneered in the development of it's twin city. This model sees the development of an industrial and logistics hub followed by a city to 'supplement the development of a port'¹.

5000m 1000m

- Heavy Industry
- Intermediate Industry
- Light Industry
- Logistics & maintenance
- Residential (High, Med.,Low Density)
- Resort City & Tourism Zone
- Port
- Urban Centre
- (Petro) Chemical Processing
- Oil Refinery
- Manufacturing

1. <?> http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2017-03/07/content_28455386.htm



Bagamoyo Mega Project

Actor(s)

China Merchants Holdings International (subsidiary of China Merchants Group)
 The Sultanate of Oman, represented by the State General Reserve Fund (GSRF)

Scale

CMHI is set to build and manage the Bagamoyo Port upon completion. The port, expected to become the biggest port in Africa, will suture together the central corridor railway and TAZARA railway by means of an extended link.

Translation

The Bagamoyo Mega Project has from the outset been mired in controversy. Deemed a white elephant by sceptics the Port is the poster-child of ex-president Jakaya Kikwete – a native of Bagamoyo. The state, having failed to raise the funds necessary for land compensation claims, has lost its stake in the port. Bagamoyo Port is an enclave in the truest sense.



- Heavy Industry
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- (Petro) Chemical Processing
- Oil Refinery
- Manufacturing

THE SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE AS SPATIAL PRODUCT



THE BAGAMOYO MEGA PROJECT



March 2013, Tanzania signs Bagamoyo Port Deal with CMHI

The Port of Bagamoyo: A Test for China's New Maritime Silk Road in ...
<https://thediplomat.com/.../the-port-of-bagamoyo-a-test-for-chinas-new-maritime-silk-...>
 Dec 1, 2015 - The project will link **Bagamoyo port** to the central corridor railway and ... of essence as port construction is supposed to be completed by 2017.

Construction of \$10b Bagamoyo port in Tanzania to ... - Construct Africa
www.constructafrica.com/.../construction-10b-bagamoyo-port-tanzania-start-july-year
 Construction of the **Bagamoyo port** in Tanzania will start in July this year (2016). ... The \$10 billion (Sh22 trillion) **Bagamoyo port** project will occupy 800 hectares, with another ... South African construction prices forecast to rise by 7.4% in 2017.

The race to become East Africa's biggest port - BBC News - BBC.com
www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36458946
 Jun 7, 2016 - Kenya's planned **Lamu port** is expected to be just as big. ... **Lamu** and **Bagamoyo** have been little used as ports for about a century but at one ...

Tanzania suspends construction of \$10bn Bagamoyo port - The East ...
www.theeastafrican.co.ke News
 Jan 8, 2016 - The construction of the \$10 billion **Bagamoyo port**, which would be the ... Prof Makame Mbarawa, said the **government** will upgrade berths 1 to ...

China's Bagamoyo port developer: 'We're still waiting for govt decision'
www.azaniapost.com/.../chinas-bagamoyo-port-developer-we-re-still-waiting-for-govt...
 Aug 19, 2017 - 'We are waiting for Tanzanian Government say on this project but it has not canceled' China Merchants Holding International official told ...

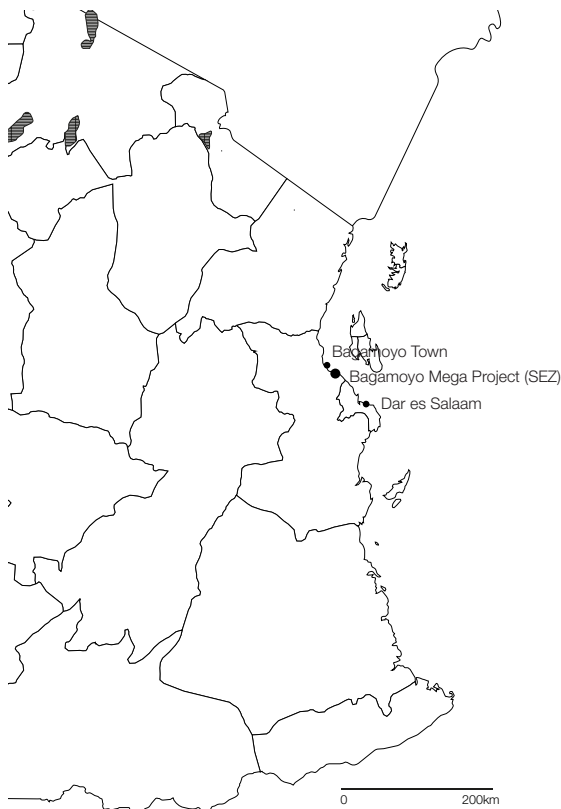
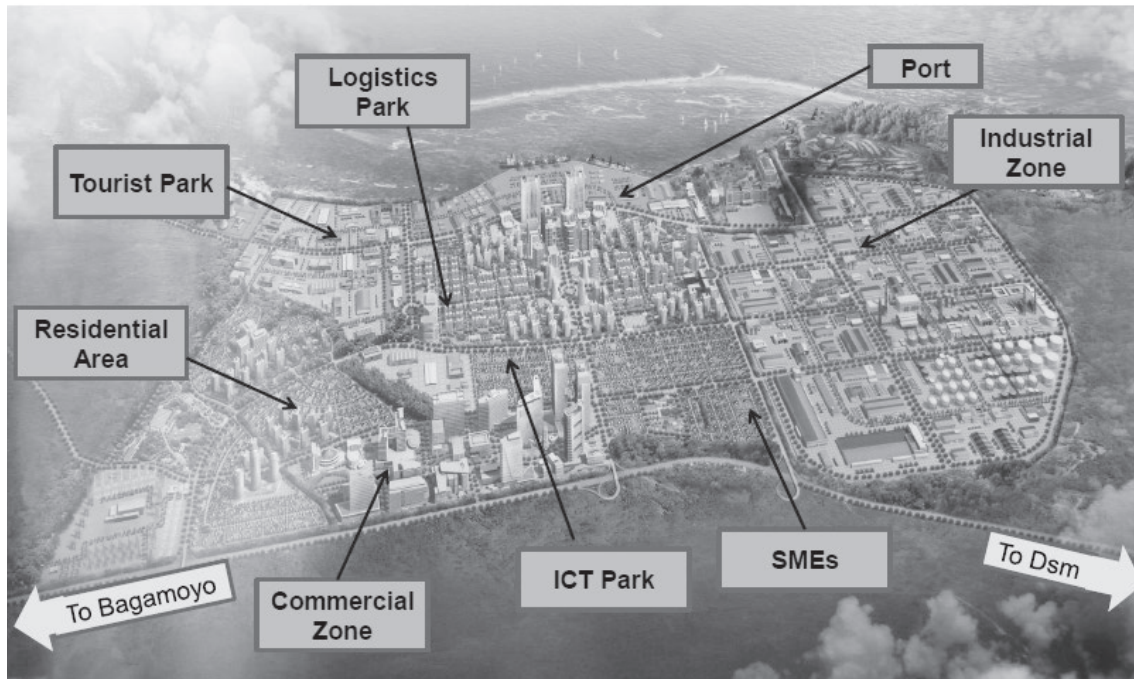
Dar surrenders Bagamoyo port project to Chinese - The East African
www.theeastafrican.co.ke Business
 6 days ago - The **Bagamoyo port** and its affiliate industrial zone is meant to address ... With investors anxious of **losing** the business opportunities envisaged from ... In turn, the **government** will forego an equity stake in the project and only ...

The selection of the Bagamoyo Mega Project as the focus of this research was made - not because it presented itself differently from the Port of Djibouti, or the Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone) - the SEZ succeeds as a spatial product because it is indistinctive - but rather because of its turbulent history.

Following its colourful inauguration in October 2015 the implementation of the \$ 11 billion Bagamoyo Mega Project has been marred by funding hitches and a lukewarm reception by incumbent President Jakaya Kikwete. Revived in mid 2017, the construction of the port and free zone, referred to as the 'Shenzhen of East Africa', provides the opportunity to speculate on an alternative to the copy-paste deployment of Chinese urban development protocols rather than merely respond to an existing SEZ.

THE BAGAMOYO MEGA PROJECT

BAGAMOYO SEZ MASTER PLAN



The project, located 10 km south from the former slave post of Bagamoyo, is set to supplant the nearby port of Dar es Salaam as Tanzania's largest regional trade and transport hub. Jointly funded by China Merchant Holdings International (CMHI) and the General State Reserve Fund (GSRF) of Oman the project forms part of the One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR). Information made available by the Tanzanian Ports Authority (TPA) and Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA) as well as a preliminary master plan completed in 2013 by COWI consultants indicates that the project's development will be formulaic: a free trade zone and port coupled with science and technology parks, industry, a resort or tourist city and residential accommodation.

Promotional material of Sino-African Special Economic Zones (SEZs) depicting smiling families walking along majestic boulevards towards their shiny SUVs belies a reality that is far messier. Masked by the neatly spaced grids of master plans and the brightly coloured fields of zoning schemes we are encouraged to believe in the economic promise of the SEZ without considering the violence of its realisation.

My fieldwork in Tanzania, and in particular my analysis of the proposed project site, revealed to me aspects of SEZ development that are often left untold: environmental destruction and the disenfranchisement of existing populations. It is this moment or state that, borrowing from Steve Lerner, I have defined as the (Special) Sacrifice Zone⁴⁷: a geography of exclusion, of (rural) violence and enforced resettlement quickly erased by the efficiency of policy and market logics.

The Special Sacrifice Zone is that which lies beneath the brightly coloured fields of zoning schemes - that which is carved up and divided by arbitrarily drawn grids. It is the liminal, messy state that precedes the master plan - observing the confrontation between context and the abstract stuff of finance and policy.

The Special Sacrifice Zone can be likened to Agamben's camp in that it operates in the absence of the rule of law. In the Special Sacrifice Zone regulations and policy are exercised only in as much as they suspend and restrict the rights of inhabitants. It is a spatial arrangement defined by 'bare life' - conceived by Agamben as a state in which the biological fact of life (**zoe**) supersedes the way a life is lived (**bios**).⁴⁸

In the section that follows the process of (violent) resettlement associated with the development of the Bagamoyo Mega Project - evidence of **bare life** - is documented. Figs. 12-14 are photographs taken of different dwellings in the project site. The photographs reveal the markings of resettlement: abandoned dwellings left to livestock, numbered dwellings awaiting evaluation and a bright red tick indicating the completion of the evaluation process. The extent of resettlement and the villages affected are indicated in figs. 15,16. The documents provided and the overview of the resettlement process illustrated in fig. 17 are attributed to my discussions with Ally Bedford, a specialist in Resettlement Action Plans (RAPs) and resident of Bagamoyo.

47 S., Lerner, *Sacrifice Zones: The Front Lines of Toxic Chemical Exposure in the United States*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2010, p. 10

48 I., Buchanan, *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 53

MARKINGS OF RESETTLEMENT



Figure 12. Abandoned resettlement site, Bagamoyo SEZ, Tanzania, Author, 2017



Figure 13. Simu's house marked for evaluation, Bagamoyo SEZ, Tanzania, Author, 2017

MARKINGS OF RESETTLEMENT



Figure 14. A local 'Spaza' store marked for evaluation and approval, Bagamoyo SEZ, Tanzania, Author, 2017

SACRIFICE IN ACTION



SACRIFICE IN ACTION

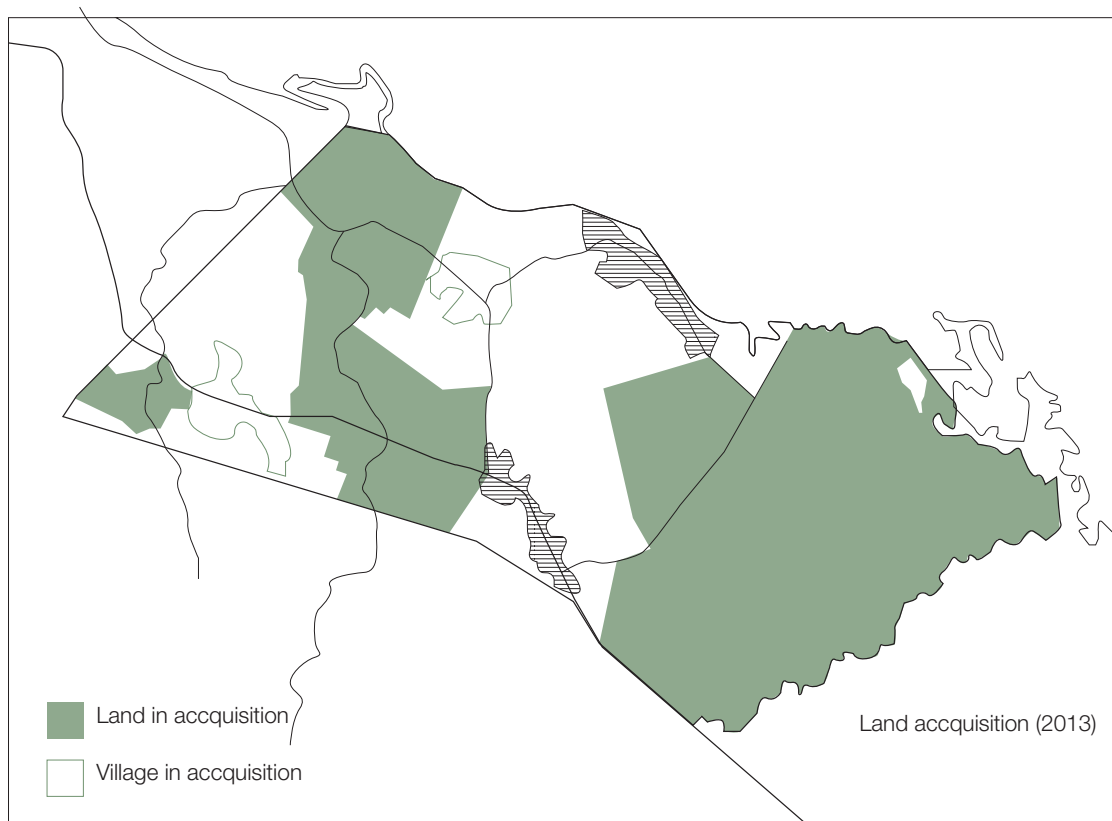
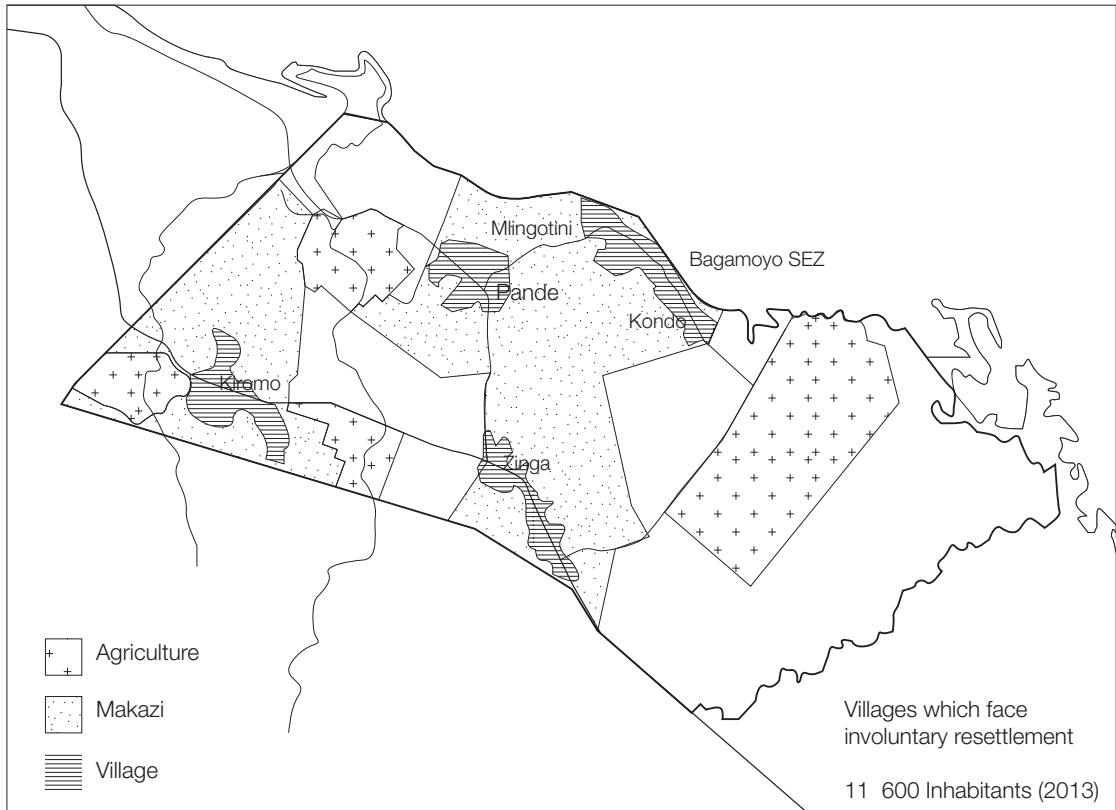
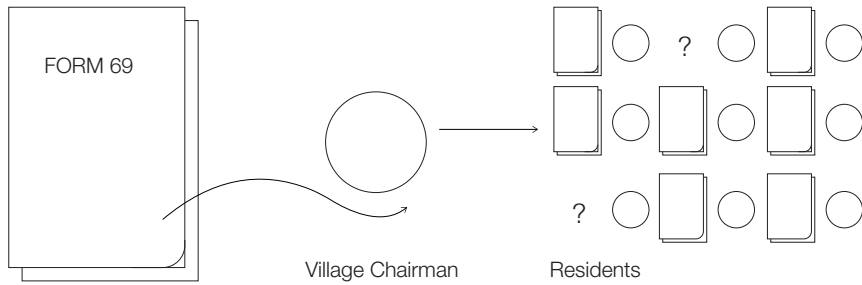


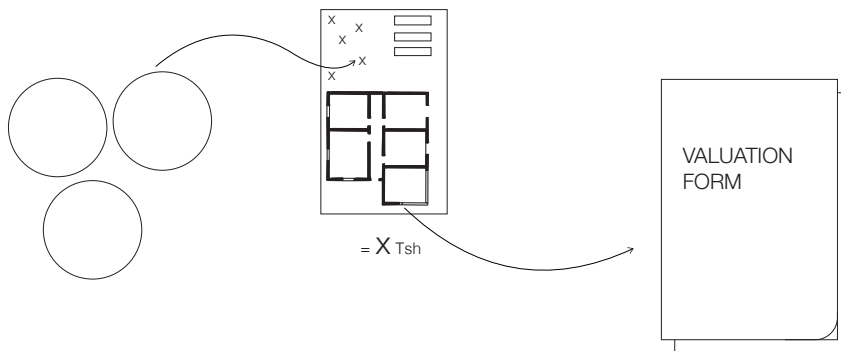
Figure 16. Land use & Land Acquisition, Bagamoyo Mega Project, Tanzania, redrawn from 'Bagamoyo SEZ Masterplan Final Report' by COWI Consultants, 2013

RESETTLEMENT PROCESS



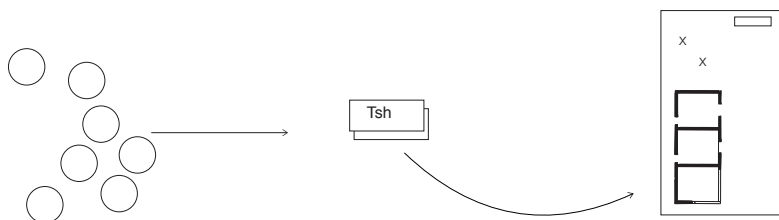
Sensitization

Prior to actual evaluation officials enter the community and discuss the fact that resettlement will occur – very much a declaration (why they are taking the land and when the land will be taken). A statement of fact – no questions.



Evaluation

Evaluators, usually from the local district council, are tasked with evaluation. After dividing the specific area up the evaluators assess properties based on an evaluation form. Compensation is awarded in a rate per/m² for crops, land etc.



(Cash) Compensation

Cash compensation within 6 months if not there is, theoretically, a percentage appreciation added. Compensation distributed to predominantly unbanked recipients by the district council

RESETTLEMENT PROCESS

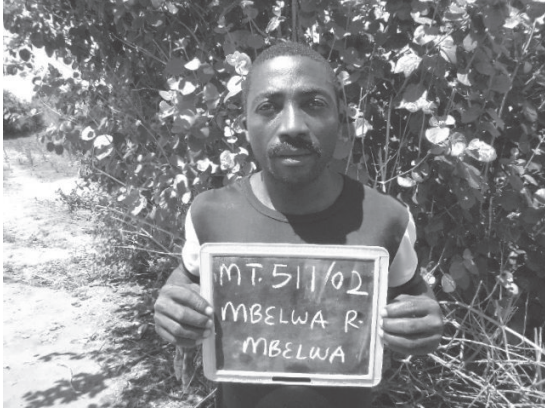


Figure 17. Land owners from Magwiza village during the evaluation process, from Ally Bedford, IDC, 2017

RESETTLEMENT PROCESS

Fomu ya Ardhi Na. 69

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
SHERIA YA ARDHI, 1999 (Na. 4 ya Mwaka 1999)

TAARIFA KWA MKAZI WA ARDHI KUDAI FIDIA
Chini ya Kanuni ya 6 ya Madai ya Fidia ya Ardhi ya Mwaka 2001

Kwa: _____ Kumb. Na. _____
Namba ya simu _____ GPS N _____
Sanduku la Barua au Barua pepe: _____ GPS E _____

Mimi, _____ Kamishna wa Ardhi/Afisa Ardhi Mteule NINATOA ILANI/TAARIFA kwamba unayo haki ya kudai fidia chini ya Kifungu cha 3 (1) (g) cha sheria ya ardhi Na. 4 ya Mwaka 1999 ya ardhi yako na maendelezo yaliyomo pale ambapo ardhi yako itachukuliwa na Serikali kwa mpango wa maendelezo na kuthibitika kama ni mmiliki halali wa ardhi husika.

Matumizi ya sasa ya Ardhi: _____ Idadi ya Wana familia _____

Miliki ya ardhi inayofidiwa _____

1) Hati ya kumiliki ardhi 2) Hati miliki ya kimila 3) Mtumiaji 4) Ya urithi 5) Ya kununua _____

Maendelezo yasiyohamishika (Zungushia)

Nyumba _____ Kibanda _____ Banda la mifugo _____ Duka _____ Kaburi _____
Mazao _____ Miti ya matunda _____ Vingine (orodhesha) _____

Utapewa taarifa ya tarehe ambayo Mali zako zitakaguliwa Na Mthamini akishirikiana Na Kiongozi wako wa mtaa, pia wewe mwenyewe unatakiwa kuwepo siku hiyo bila kukosa.

Imetolewa hapa Siku ya tarehe Mwezi....., 2014.

AFISA ARDHI MTEULE: Jina _____ Sahihi _____

Imepokelewa Na:

MMILIKI WA ARDHI Jina: _____ S a h i h i

Dole Gumba:

RESETTLEMENT PROCESS

VAL. FORM 1

WIZARA YA ARDHI NA MAENDELEO YA MAKAZI
SHERIA YA ARDHI NA 4 (1999) KIFUNGU 179 NA KANUNI ZA UKADIRIAJI FIDIA GN78 (2001)
UKAGUZI KWA AJILI YA UTHAMINI WA FIDIA

Kumb Na. 002/01 Tarehe: 17/10/2011

MAJALI RAZABA (BOZI)

1. Miliki:

*Miliki SAIDI HASSANI SALUM KITAMBI

*Anuani BAA Moyo

2. Maelezo ya jumla ya mali:

Nyumba ya Kazi (mda)
+ Ardhi

3. Maelezo kuhusu jengo:

*Paa nyasi

*Kuta —

*Dari —

*Madirisha —

*Milango —

*Sakafu Udongo

Vyumba: —

Nyumba ndogo: —

Maelezo mengine (pamoja na hali ya jengo, huduma na maendeleo mengine)

—

Matumizi: Makazi/biashara, — Kadirio la pango —

4. Mazao

(a) Mazao:

Aina ya zao	Idadi/Ukubwa	% ya ukuaji
1	_____	_____
2	_____	_____
3	_____	_____
4	_____	_____
5	_____	_____
6	_____	_____
7	_____	_____
8	_____	_____
9	_____	_____
10	_____	_____
11	_____	_____
12	_____	_____
13	_____	_____
14	_____	_____

(b) Ukubwa wa shamba (kadirio) ekari _____

Ushahidi:

Jina la mmiliki na saina: SAIDI HASSAN

Jina la kiongozi wa eneo na saina: HASSANI Juma A. Juma

Jina la mthamini na saina yake: IZINA

Figure 18. Form 69, from Ally Bedford, IDC, 2017

Figure 19. Evaluation Form, from Ally Bedford, IDC, 2017

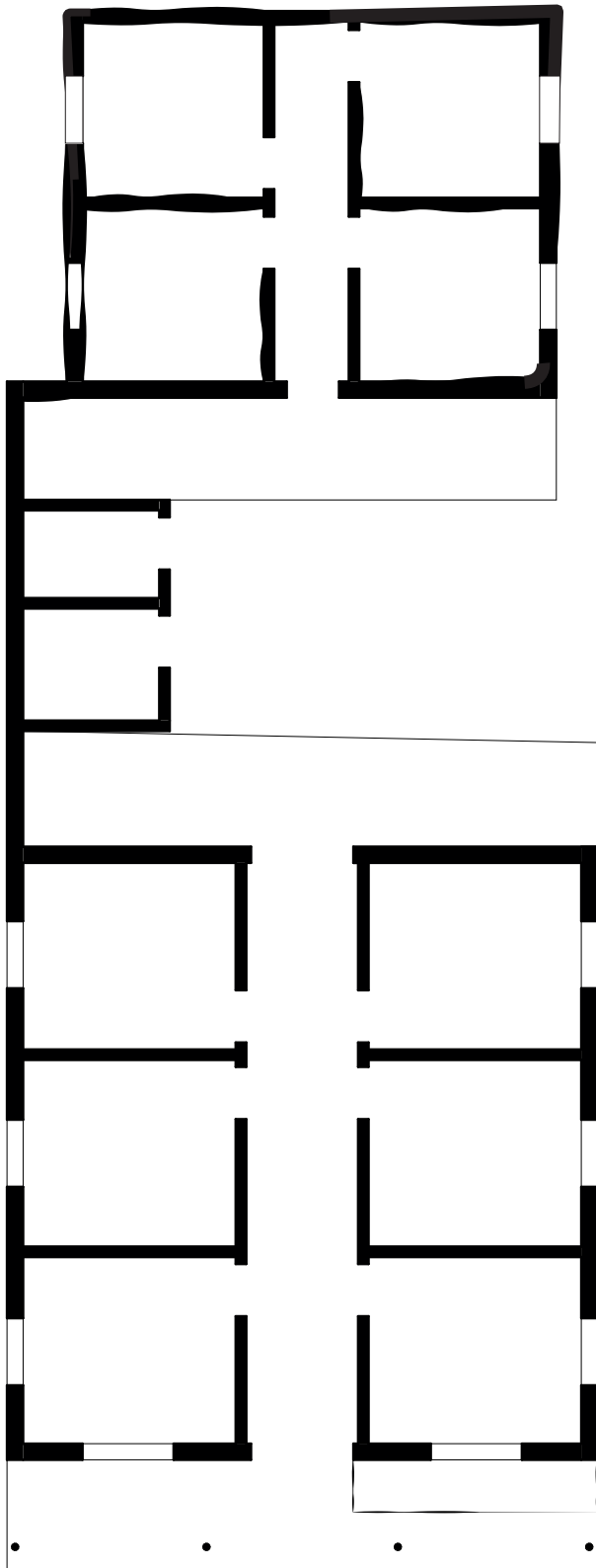
If the Special Sacrifice Zone observes the confrontation of context and imported planning protocols the home is the site of this confrontation. It was in the homes of those 'planned out' of the Bagamoyo Mega Project whose existence was deemed incongruous with that of the master plan that I came to truly understand the implications of the Sino-African development paradigm.

My experiences prompted me to construct a counter-cartography – a reading of the site that acknowledged its value, history and significance beyond the abstractions of grid, colour field or diagram. Figs. 20 –23 represent three meaningful dialogues and interactions from my fieldwork and the spaces in which they unfolded. Working through (and with) these experiences marked a significant turning point in my research and design approach: a shift in focus from the Special Economic Zone to that of the **Special Sacrifice Zone**.

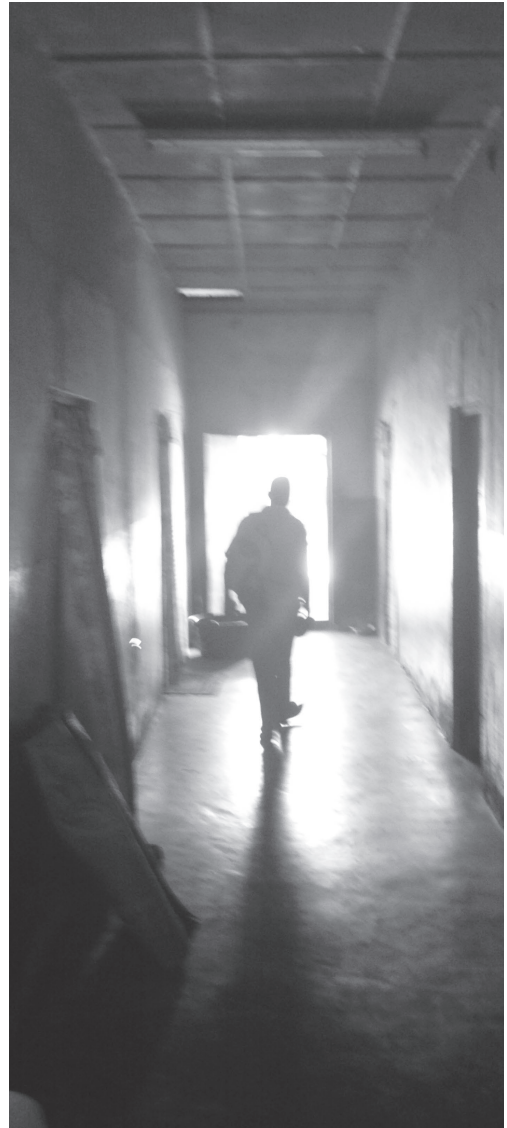
This shift **dislodged** the master plan from its position of power – requiring of me to develop a thorough knowledge of that which was there (context), the material practices of the territory (culture), rather than merely focus on that which was to come (master plan).

The morphological analysis depicted in fig. 24 of the village of **Mlingotini** is evidence of this shift in approach. One of three villages including Zinga and Pande yet to be resettled, the analysis revealed variations in the Swahili house – a type unique to the east coast of Africa.

Considering aspects of implantation, configuration and form the analysis that follows evaluates the role of the Swahili house type in Swahili life. Whether constructed of wattle and daub or concrete blocks the Swahili house type articulates and structures the relationship of its inhabitants to both territory and community.



1:100



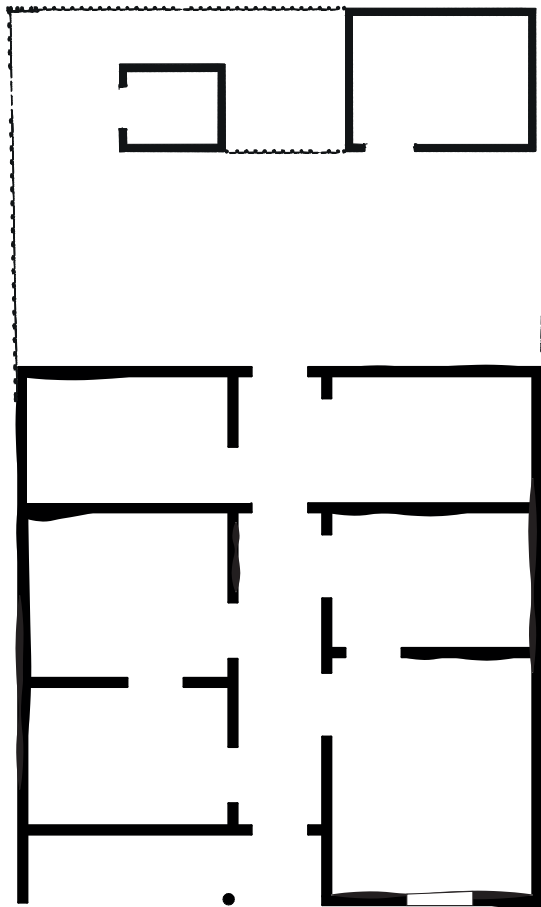
View from corridor to main street of Chuki's Bagamoyo Town Swahili house, 2017 (Author)

CHUKI JUMA MWINYI GOA, BAGAMOYO TOWN

I met Chuki through Doto, a Bagamoyo tour guide who, as time progressed, would become a friend. Chuki was 75 years old. He had spent most of his life in Mlingotini as a farmer and fishermen. In 2014 representatives of the District Council approached him and notified him of the plans to develop the Bagamoyo Mega Project and the resettlement process that would ensue. Chuki was fortunate – he had bought land in Bagamoyo Town long before speculation had driven up land costs. He received compensation from both the Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA) and the Tanzania Port Authority (TPA). He first inhabited a four-roomed mud and daub Swahili house at the rear of his property. Having saved up sufficient funds he proceeded to build a six-roomed concrete block Swahili house facing the busy main road. Chuki became a landlord. As we sat in the cool, wide corridor students and small children passed by slipping behind colourful curtains into the rooms they occupied. Washing was hung out to dry in the courtyard and someone was cooking. As we left we greeted an elderly woman passing time by on the front veranda.



Doto and Simu ya Mdomo in discussion, Mlingotini, Bagamoyo 2017. (Author)



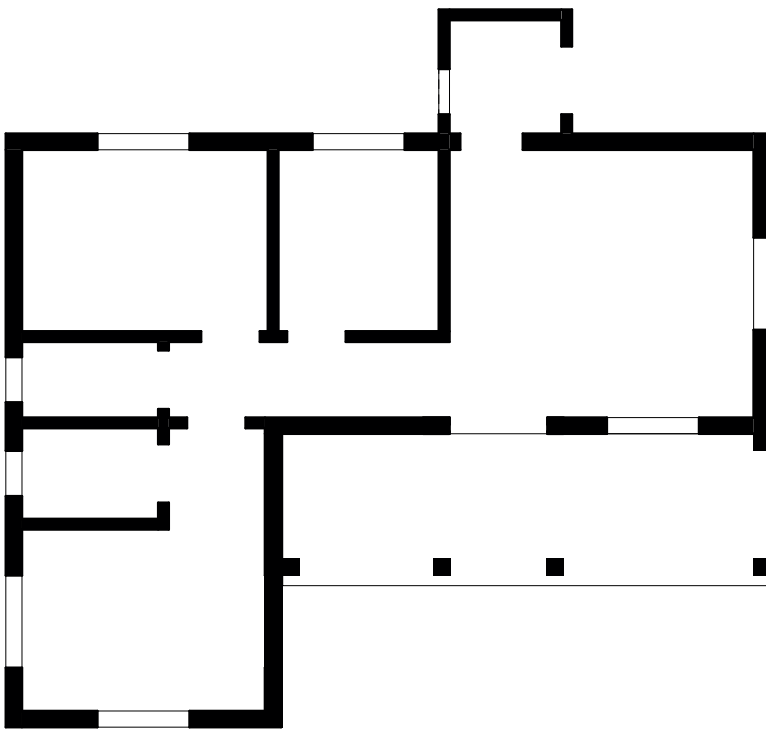
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SIMU YA MDOMO , MLINGOTINI

Doto and I came across Simu after a flat tyre had compelled us to walk to the nearby Mbegani Fisheries Institute. The clumsy '456' on the front door signified that his house had been evaluated. Inside his mother sat weaving coconut leaves into roof mats that would be used to counter, what she claimed, were the many holes in the aging roof. We sat down on an old car seat repurposed as a bench and Simu proceeded to recount the resettlement process he had endured. In 2009 the evaluation of his four-acre plot had been completed. He believed the compensation to be inadequate and so appealed evaluation. Simu was advised to cease any farming until his appeal had been processed – diligently he did so. It had been four years since his appeal and Simu had not heard from the District Council until a week prior to our conversation: he had been handed an eviction notice. As we left, Simu spoke of how his land had been passed down from one generation to the next and of how it saddened him to think that his son would be severed from this legacy.



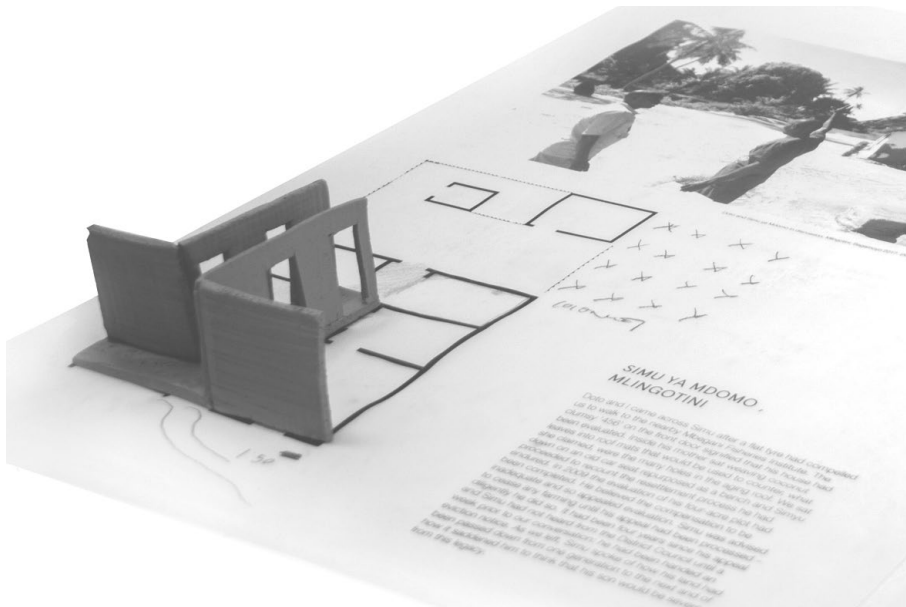
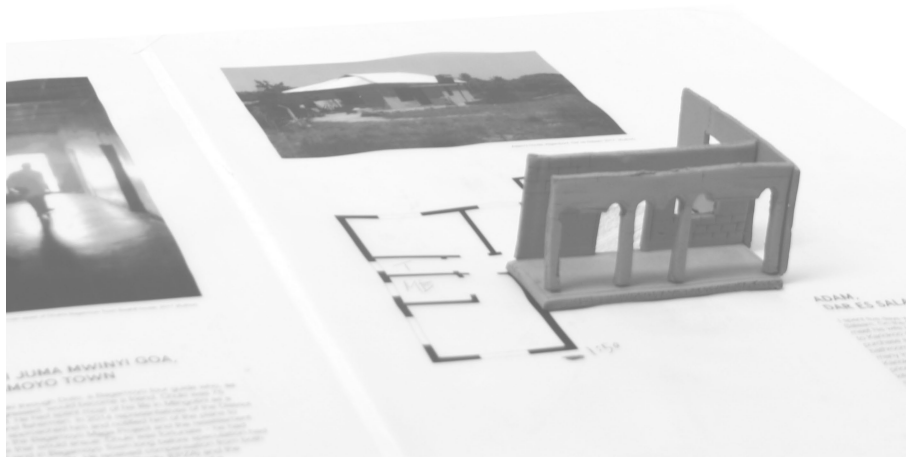
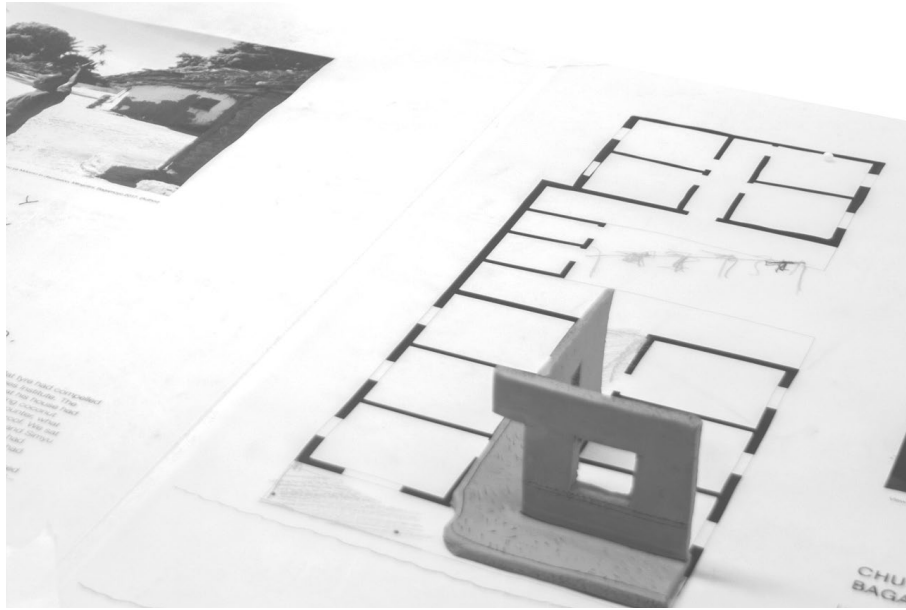
Adam's house, Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam
2017. (Author)



1:100

ADAM, DAR ES SALAAM

I spent five days with Adam during my time in Dar es Salaam. On the final day Adam invited me to his home to meet his wife and young baby. The day before during a visit to Kariokoo market Adam had told me of his intention to purchase a mzungu (white person) toilet for his master bathroom. We proceeded to inspect the toilets on offer in the many Indian and Chinese-owned construction stores of the Kariokoo district. Adam said he'd wait until he got 'the right price'. He described his home as modern. It had an interior kitchen and television. Adam was most proud of his living room and the lounge suite he had recently acquired. He had plans to build a small shop at the front of his property from which his wife could sell chapati and chicken.



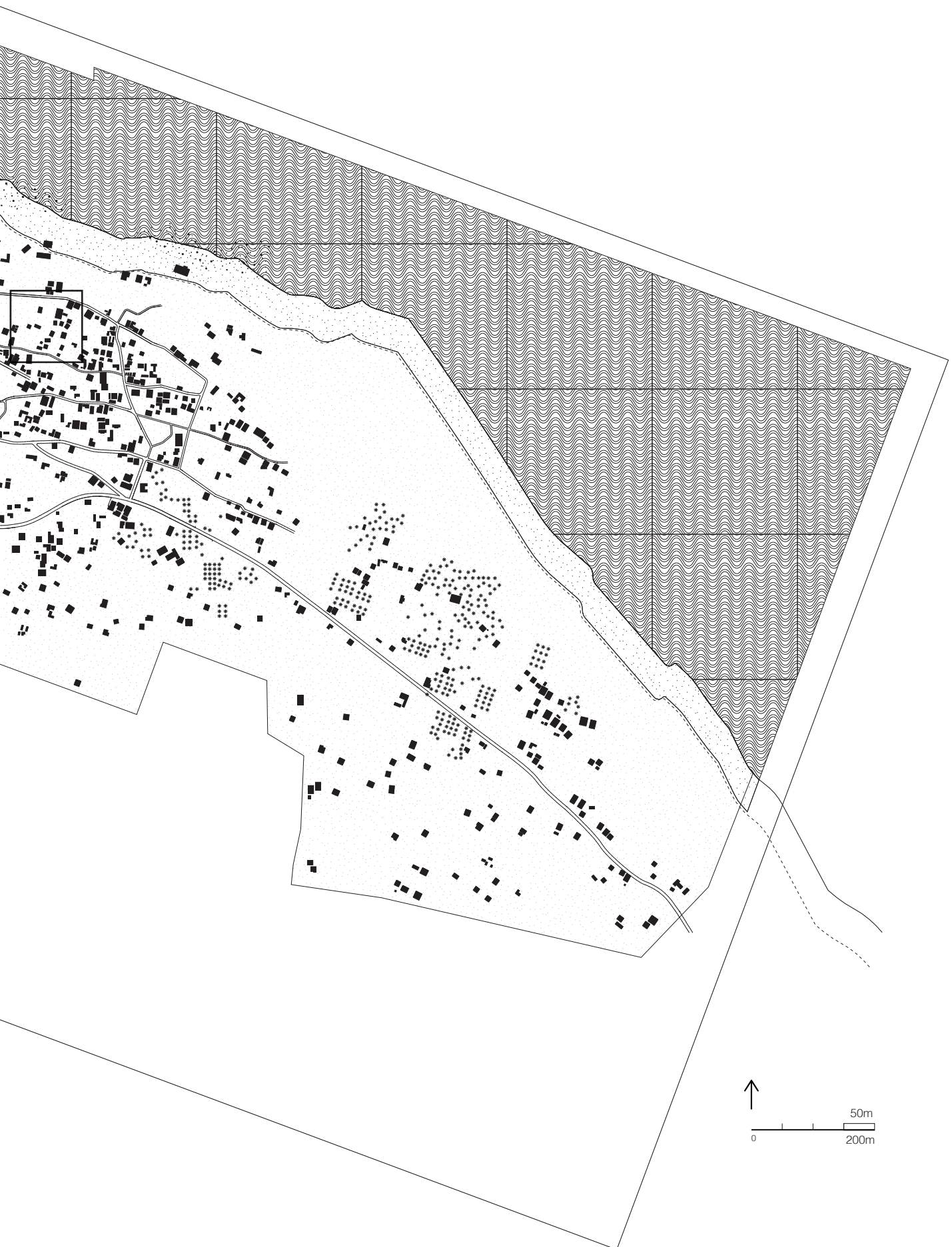
Figures 20-23. Counter Cartography of interviews as presented at P2 presentation, Author, 2017

MORPHOLOGY



Figure 24. Morphology of Mlingotini village, Bagamoyo, Author, 2017

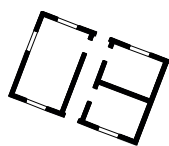
MORPHOLOGY



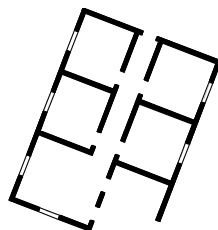
VARIATIONS IN TYPE



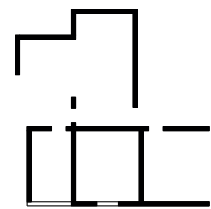
Variations in type



Wattle & Daub

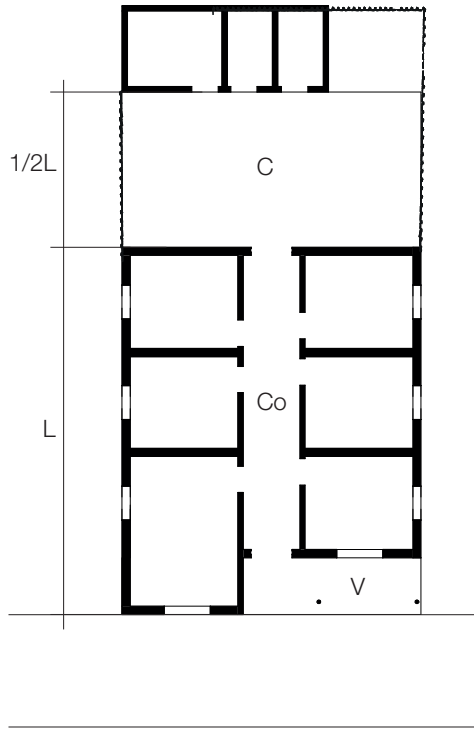


Concrete Block



Partially Built

THE SWAHILI HOUSE



- ☾ The Swahili type of house is built very much to a single design. There is the main house itself, divided by a central corridor off which are three rooms each side. There is a single front door, opened and shut first and last thing by the landlord or owner. Once inside one looks straight through to a courtyard, half as big as the house, where all laundering, dishwashing and general chores go on. At the back of the courtyard are usually three rooms, which are latrine, kitchen and store.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Horton, M., 'Swahili Architecture, Space and Social Structure' in Pearson, M.P. & Richards, C. (eds), *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, London, Routledge, 1994.

Figure 25. Identification and variations of the Swahili house type, Author, 2017

Figure 26. The Swahili house type, Author, 2017

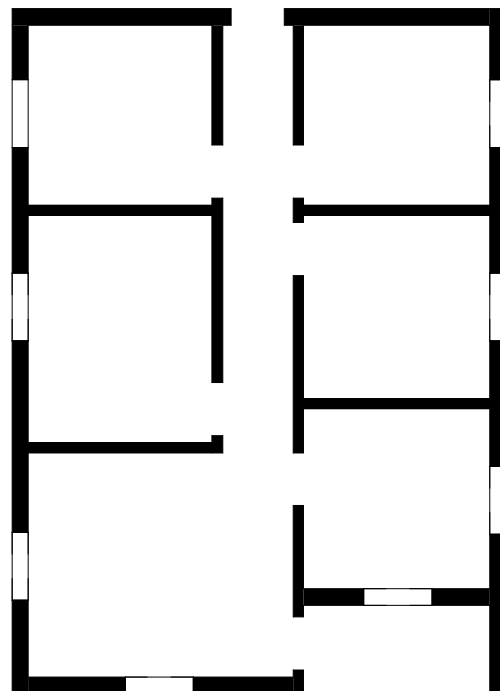
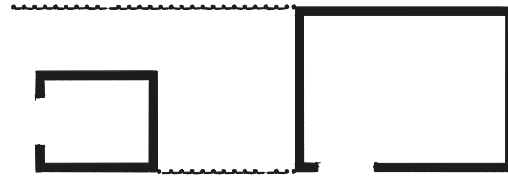
TRANSFORMATIONS: CONTROL, POWER AND EMANCIPATION?

4

Having identified the Swahili house type as intrinsic to Swahili life – an existence deemed incongruous with that of the master plan – the analysis that follows seeks to explore its transformative potential across three periods:

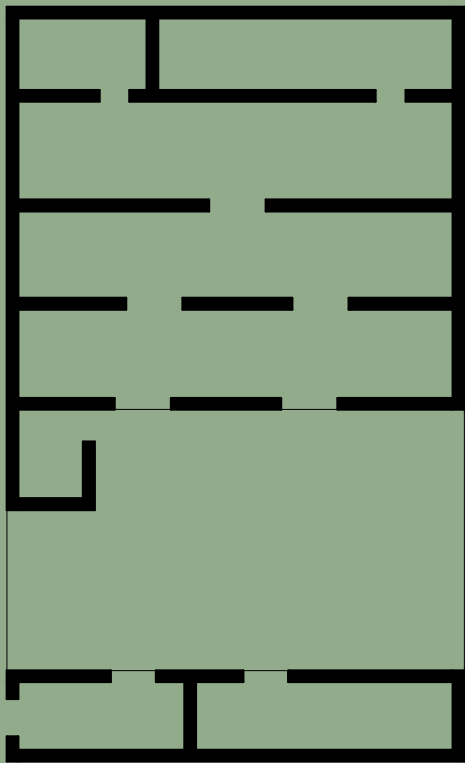
Colonialism (1890–1961), Ujamaa (1967–1985) and Liberalisation (late 1990’s onwards). It considers how the Swahili house type has been integral to the ideological ambitions of these moments in history and how, in combination with various policies and settlement programmes, it has defined specific racial, gender and social roles. In as much as the Swahili house type has been exploited as an apparatus of control – to structure and define an idea of Swahili life – its inhabitants have used it against such definitions. It is this dualism that the analysis seeks to highlight with the understanding that the Sino-African paradigm presents a fourth such confrontation.

The analysis is structured chronologically considering for each period the triad of **ideology, policy** and **action**. It considers in particular the Swahili house type in **rural environments** understanding its divergent transformations in urban areas.

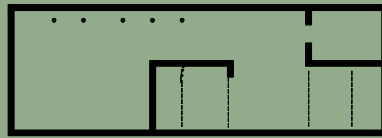
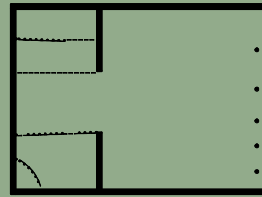


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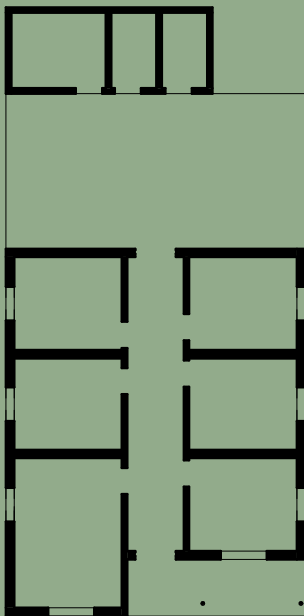
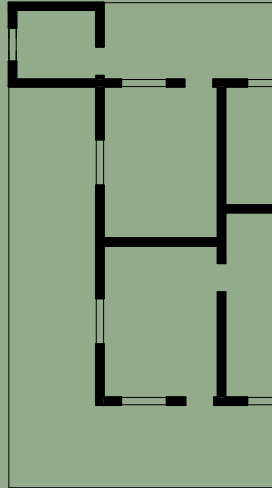
Figure 27. Swahili house in Mlingotini documented during fieldwork, Author, 2017



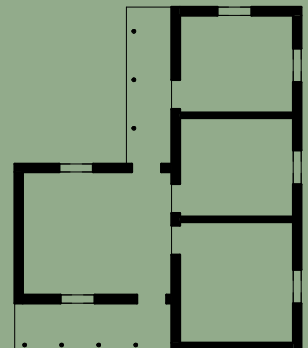
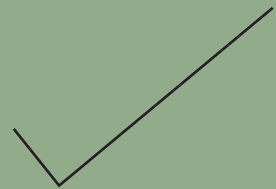
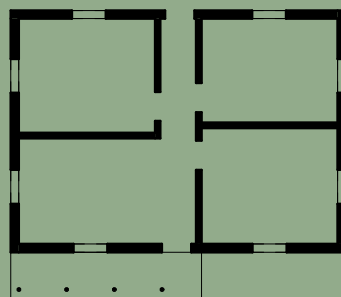
Fifteenth Century Swahili Stone House



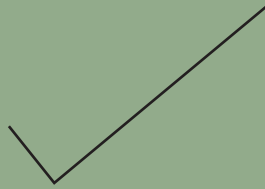
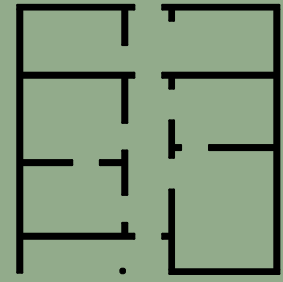
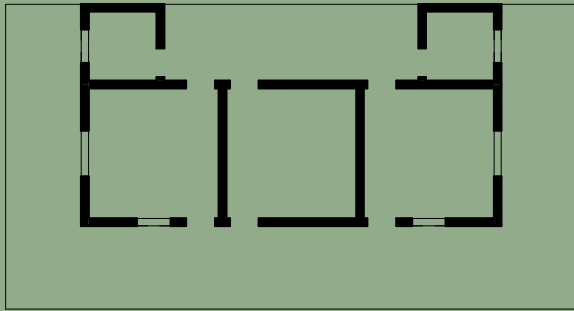
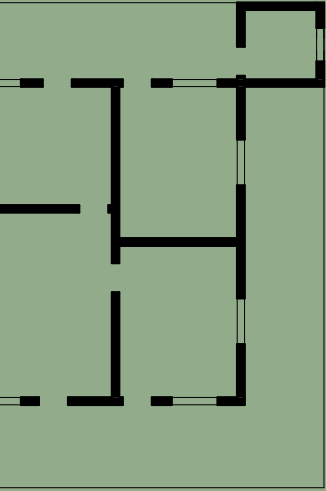
Tembe of the Baraguyu tribe



Swahili House

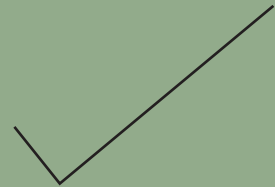
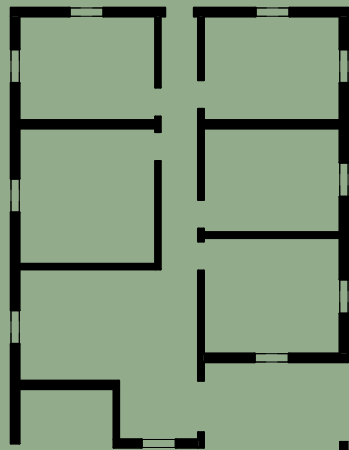
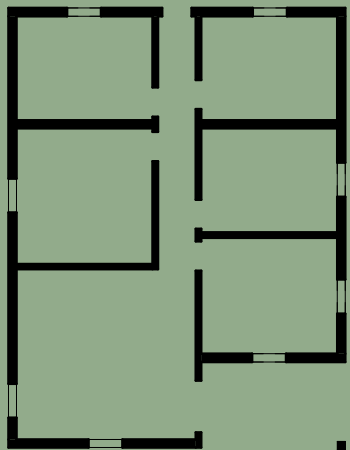


Ujamaa Swahili House



The Bungalow

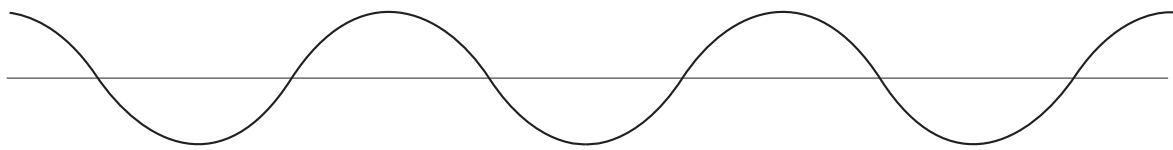
Rural Swahili House



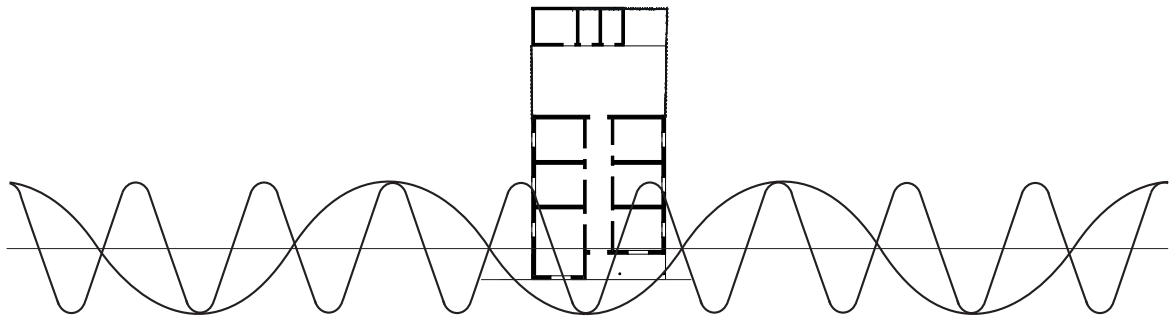
Post-Liberalisation Swahili House

METHODOLOGY

Tanzania



Colonialism, Ujamaa, Liberalisation
and
China?



IDEOLOGY POLICY ACTION

THE PRIMORDIAL SWAHILI HOUSE

The Swahili house has a central corridor with two rooms on either side. The corridor runs the length of its rectangular footprint leading from a veranda to a backyard with a latrine and additional out buildings for livestock or storage. Its origins can be traced back to the domestic architecture of Arab and Indian traders during the 19th century and the adaption of traditional rectangular typologies such as the tembe. The former - associated with wealth and prestige - became a source of knowledge and ideas which in turn were absorbed in the built environment of littoral settlements.

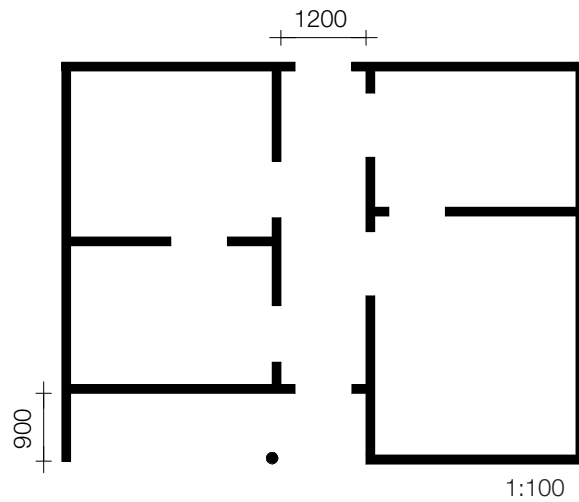
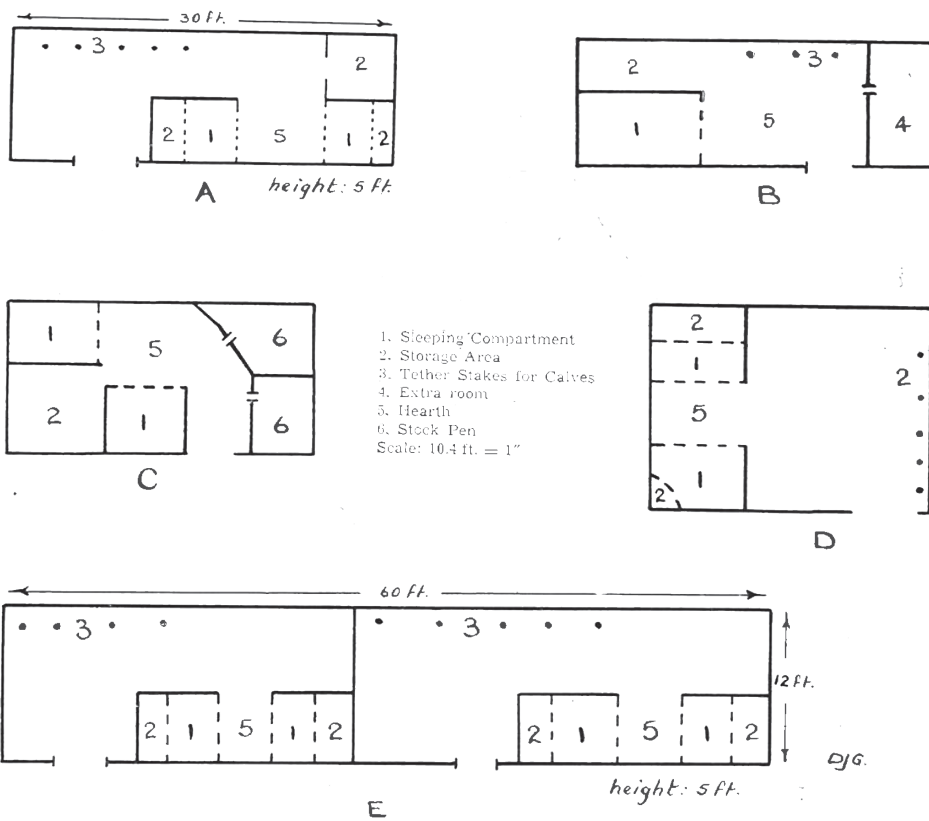
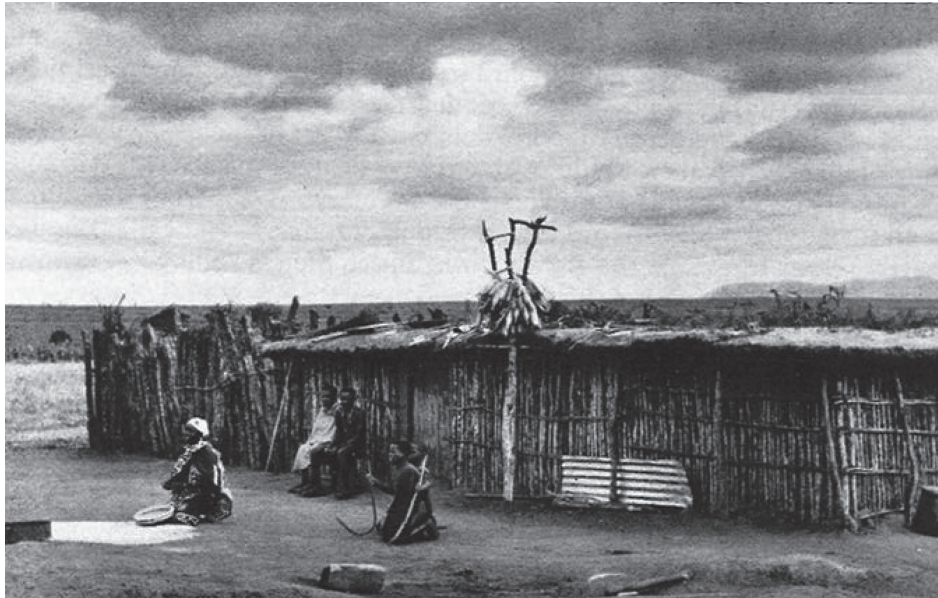


Figure 28. A Swahili house. Reprinted from *'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam'*, by H.M Nguluma, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003.

Figure 29. A Swahili house type plan. Redrawn from *'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam'*, by H.M Nguluma, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003.

ORIGINS



ORIGINS

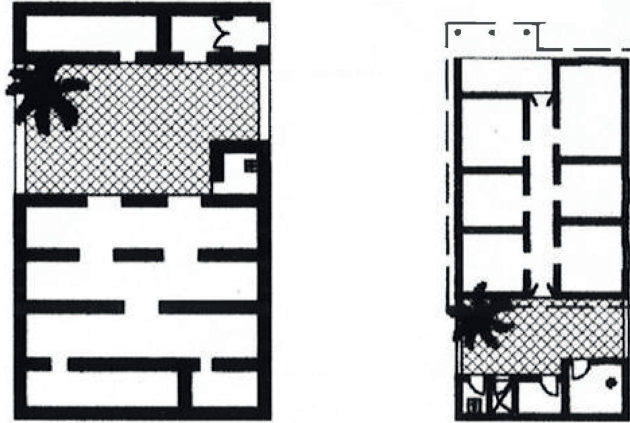
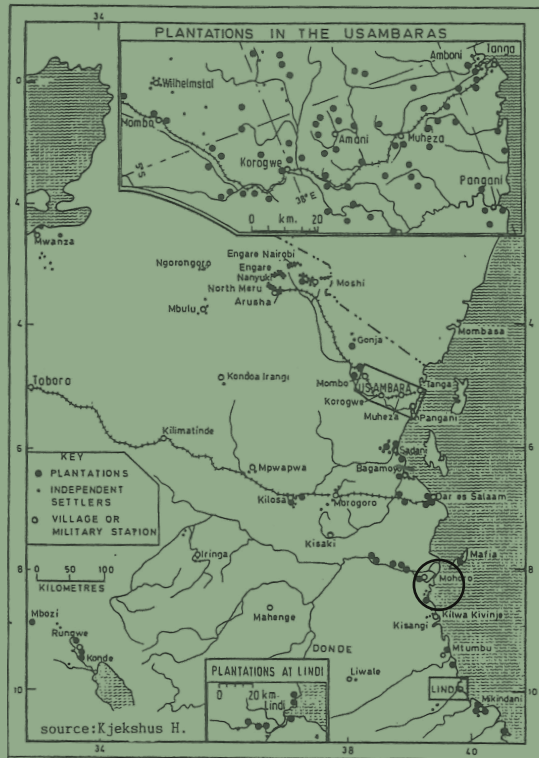


Figure 31. A comparison of an early Swahili stone house and the Swahili House Type,' by G. Steyn, *Africa Insight*, vol 32, no.2, 2002, pp. 25-31

COLONIALISM



IDEOLOGY

Tanzania endured two periods of colonial rule: the German period from 1884 -1917 and, following Germany's defeat in WWI, a British period from 1917-1961. Colonial rule observed the dissolution of a society based on the extended kin or descent group and the transformation of Tanzania from a peasant to capitalist society. Furthermore it saw the introduction of private ownership and the development of a market in land. The expansion of the empire required a cheap and malleable labour force to work land alienated for plantation farming and construct public projects. In order to do so colonial powers adopted a model of planned settlements – integral to which was the use of domestic space as an apparatus of control. Colonial rule observed the wholesale abandonment of traditional house typologies in favour of the Swahili House type as considered by this study. The Swahili house type took upon some of the characteristics of the then ubiquitous colonial bungalow.

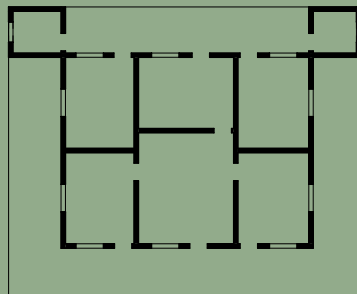
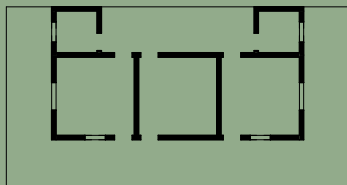
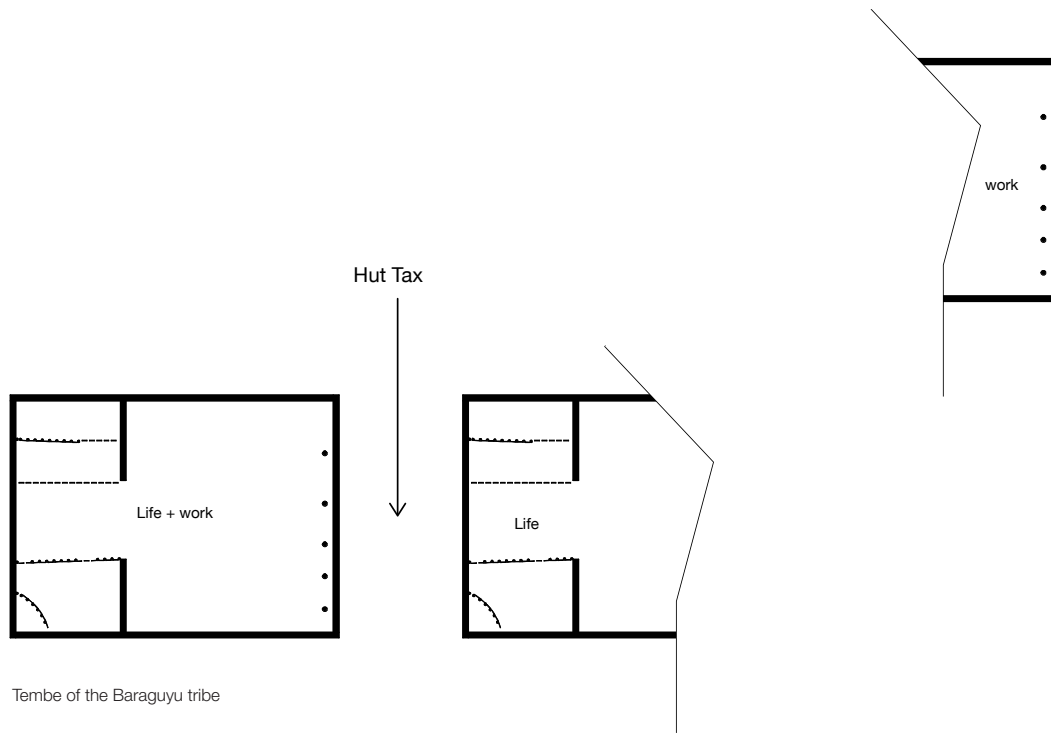


Figure 32. German Plantations and settlements ca 1908. Reprinted from 'The Rural Built environment in Tanzania: A study of Rural Settlements and Housing conditions with a Critical Review of Past Policies and Programmes, and a Proposal for an Alternative Approach based on Case studies in Uchagga', by P.K. Lyamuya, Doctoral Thesis, KU Leuven, 1990.

COLONIALISM



POLICY

German Hut tax ordinance 1897

A taxation policy introduced on a per hut or household basis. Paid either in cash or in labour the Hut tax was a means by which to compel Tanzanians to labour in the colonial economy.

ACTION

The house, formerly the site of life and work, becomes a means of exploitation and the apparatus by which labour is extracted. Work is thus divorced from domestic life. Colonial domestic space defined a biological entity tasked with reproducing itself in order to provide labour

COLONIALISM



POLICY

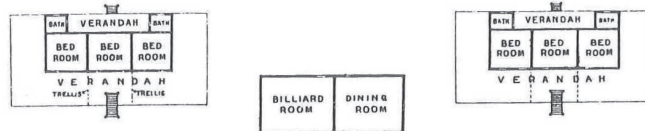
Resettlement Policy

Pursued aggressively during German rule this policy saw the formation of (1) Compact Village Settlements: controlled villages from where export crops were produced and (2) Satellite Settlements or labour camps inhabited by a predominantly male labour force who worked in adjacent plantation estates.

COLONIALISM

EUROPEAN BUNGALOWS. SAPELE.

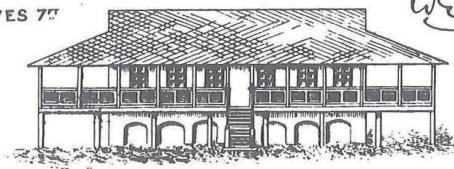
SCALE 40 FT TO 1 INCH.



(C.3) EUROPEAN BUNGALOW, SAPELE.

ABOUT THREE YEARS OLD, ONE OF THE FIRST TYPE OF PERMANENT BRICK HOUSES. THE SIDE VERANDAHS HAVE BEEN ADDED LATER - THE ENDS OF THE HOUSE BEING WITHOUT PROTECTION RENDERED SOME ROOMS ALMOST UNINHABITABLE AT CERTAIN HOURS OF THE DAY. THE VERANDAHS ARE OF THE CORRECT OPEN TYPE BUT THE ROOMS ARE TOO SMALL; IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER TO HAVE HAD LARGER ROOMS AND TO HAVE REDUCED THE SIZE OF THE VERANDAHS PROPORTIONATELY. HAD THE BASEMENT BEEN RAISED 3 FT MORE THE ACCOMMODATION WOULD HAVE BEEN DOUBLED FOR ALMOST THE SAME SUM OF MONEY. THE BASEMENT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EITHER LOWER OR HIGHER TO GIVE MORE SPACE, EVEN AS IT IS BASEMENT PROVIDES FOR BOX AND STORE ROOMS.

HEIGHT OF EAVES 7 FT



SCALE 20 FT TO 1 INCH.



EUROPEAN BUNGALOWS. WARRI, 1906.

C.4.



(C.4) EUROPEAN BUNGALOW, WARRI. HAD IT BEEN POSSIBLE TO BUILD THESE HOUSES FOR £570 EACH THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN VERY SATISFACTORY BUT THE COST HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY MORE; THEY ARE OF BRICK, BUT OF VERY LIGHT CONSTRUCTION, THEY PROVIDE COMFORTABLE QUARTERS, BUT HAVE THE DISADVANTAGE OF BEING ALMOST ON THE GROUND AND ARE NOT SUITABLE FOR FLAT AND DAMP PLACES. THE ACTUAL COST HAS BEEN ABOUT £750 IN LIEU OF £500.



SCALE 20 FT TO 1 IN.

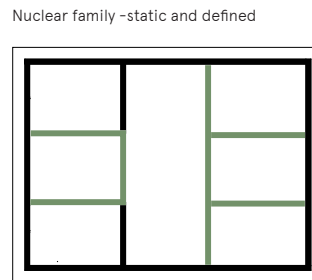
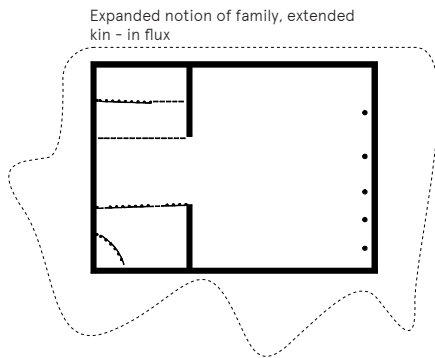
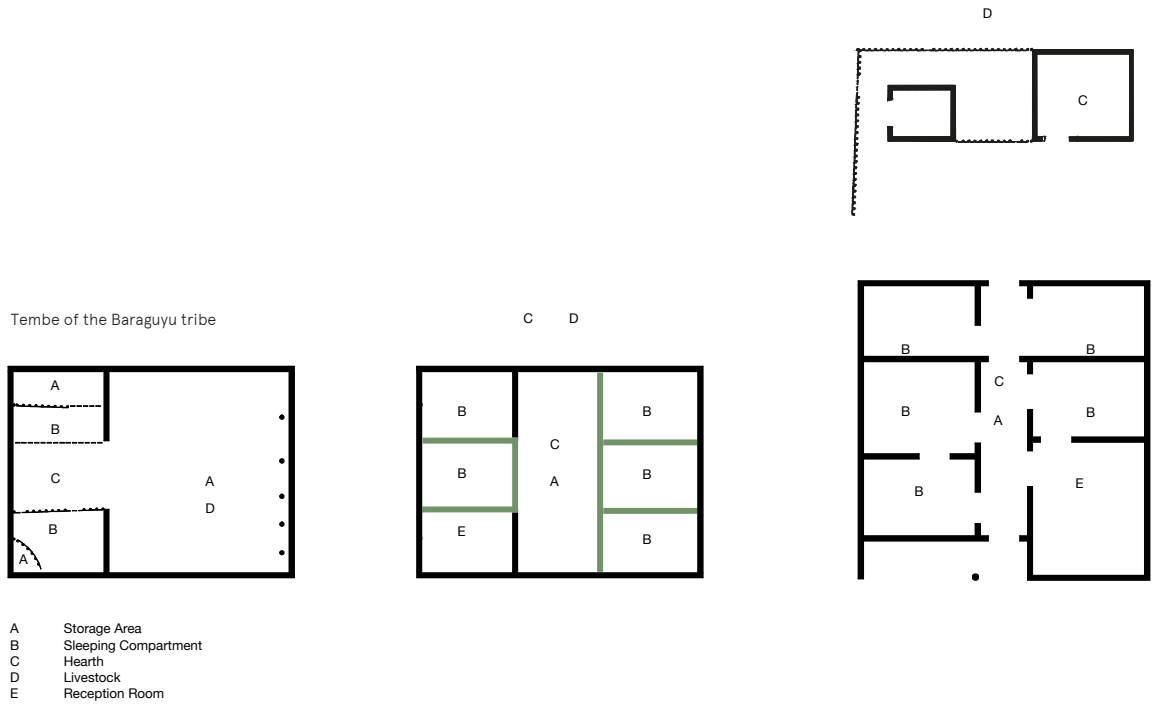
ESTIMATED COST £500.

HEIGHT TO EAVES 7 FT

Figure 33. Transition from 'company-provided dwellings' following traditional forms to 'new bungalow type homes' for senior-skilled employees. Reprinted from 'The Bungalow: The Production of a global culture', by A.D. King, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

Figure 34. The bungalow transferred: official colonial housing in West Africa, 1906. (original caption) Reprinted from 'The Bungalow: The Production of a global culture', by A.D. King, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

COLONIALISM

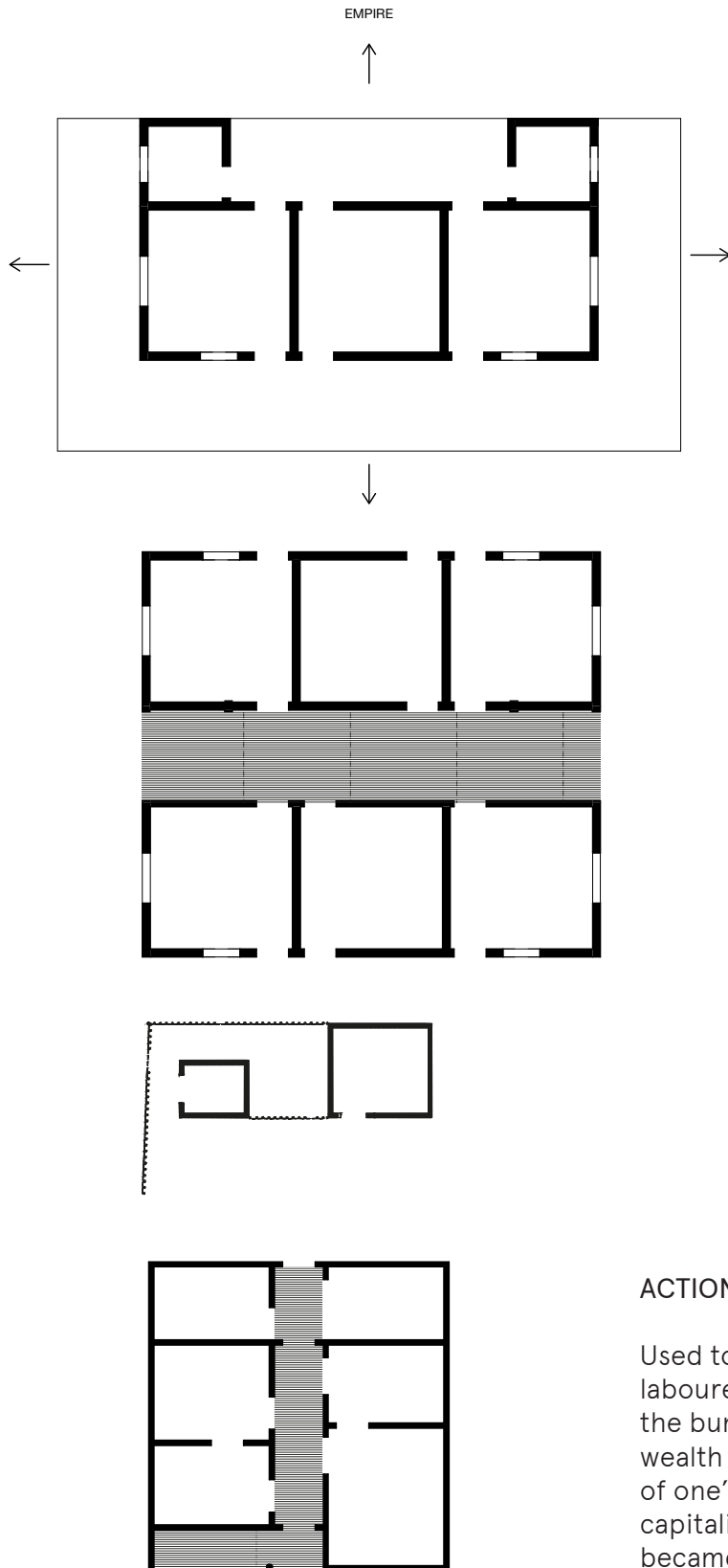


ACTION

The spatial division into separate rooms encouraged new waged workers to acquire goods to fill it - the introduction of conspicuous consumption.

The accommodation of only men dissolved traditional family ties and engendered a generation of migrant labourers. Where families were accommodated the bungalow house type did not allow for the co-inhabitation of two or more families. It separated newly formed nuclear families from their kin.

COLONIALISM



COLONIALISM

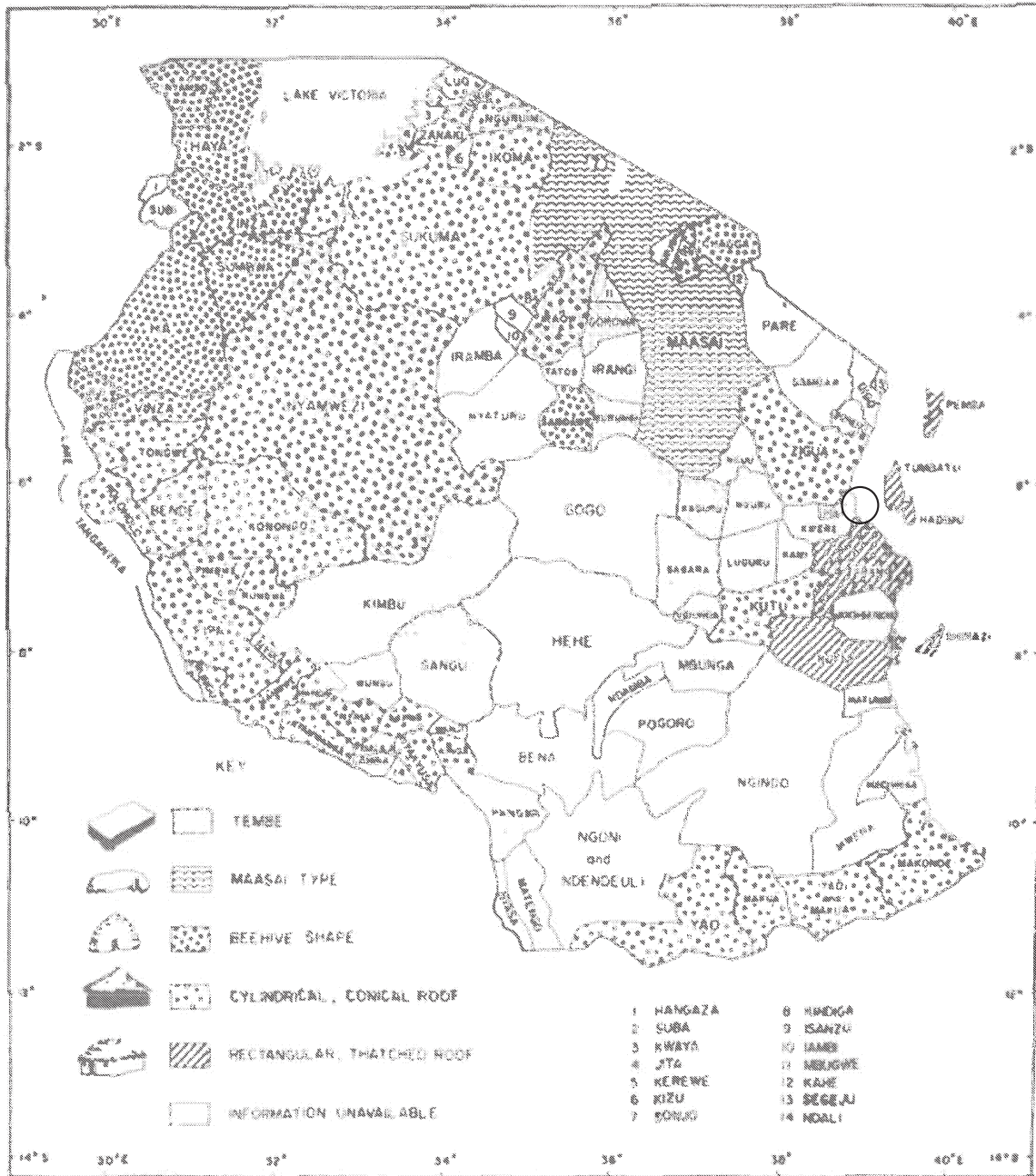


Figure 35. 1860-1890 House types by tribe. Reprinted from 'House Types in Tanzania: A Century of Change,' by W. McKim, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol 1, no.1, 1985, pp. 51-77

COLONIALISM

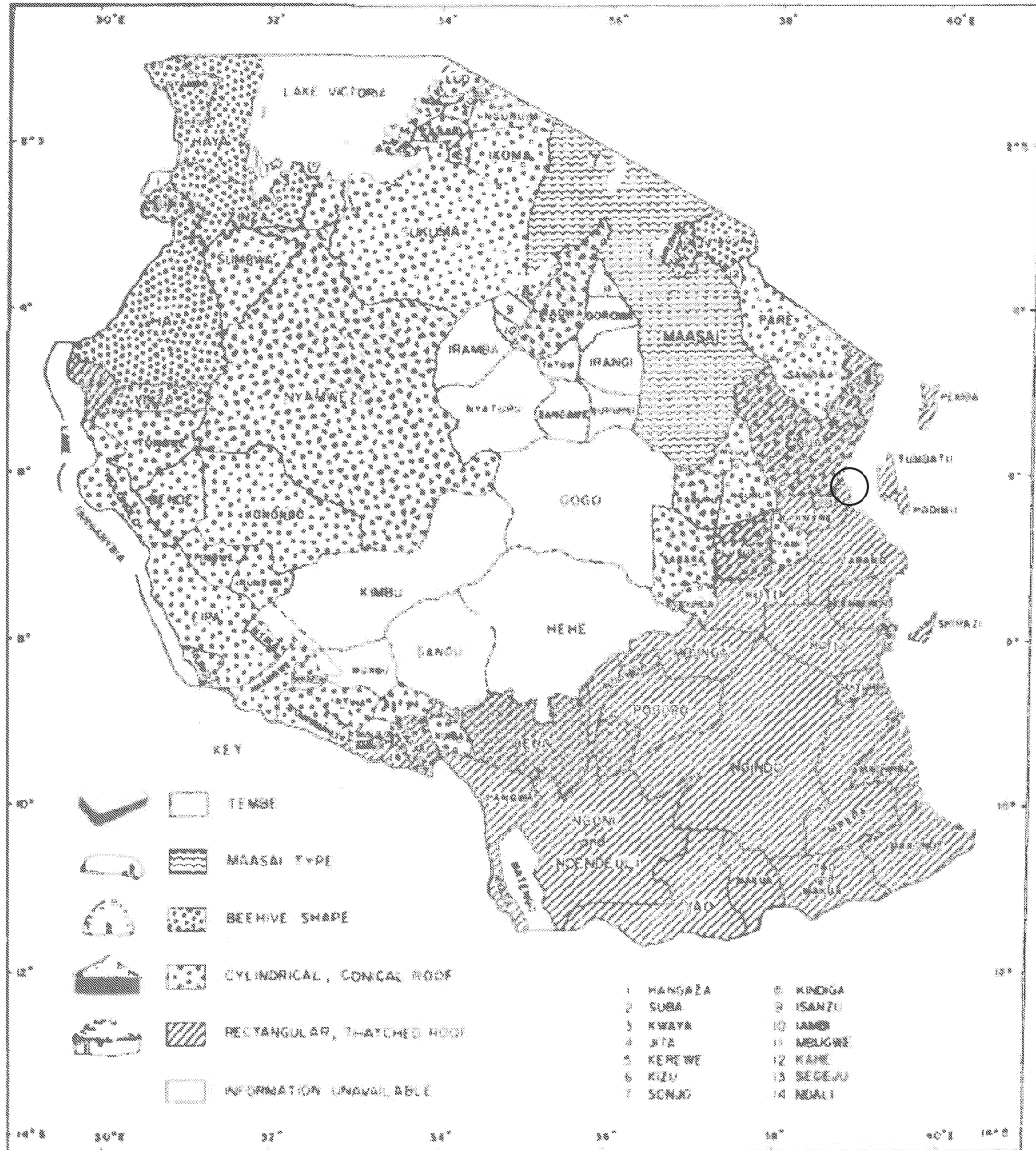


Figure 36. 1910-1920 House types by tribe. Reprinted from 'House Types in Tanzania: A Century of Change,' by W. McKim, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol 1, no.1, 1985, pp. 51-77

COLONIALISM

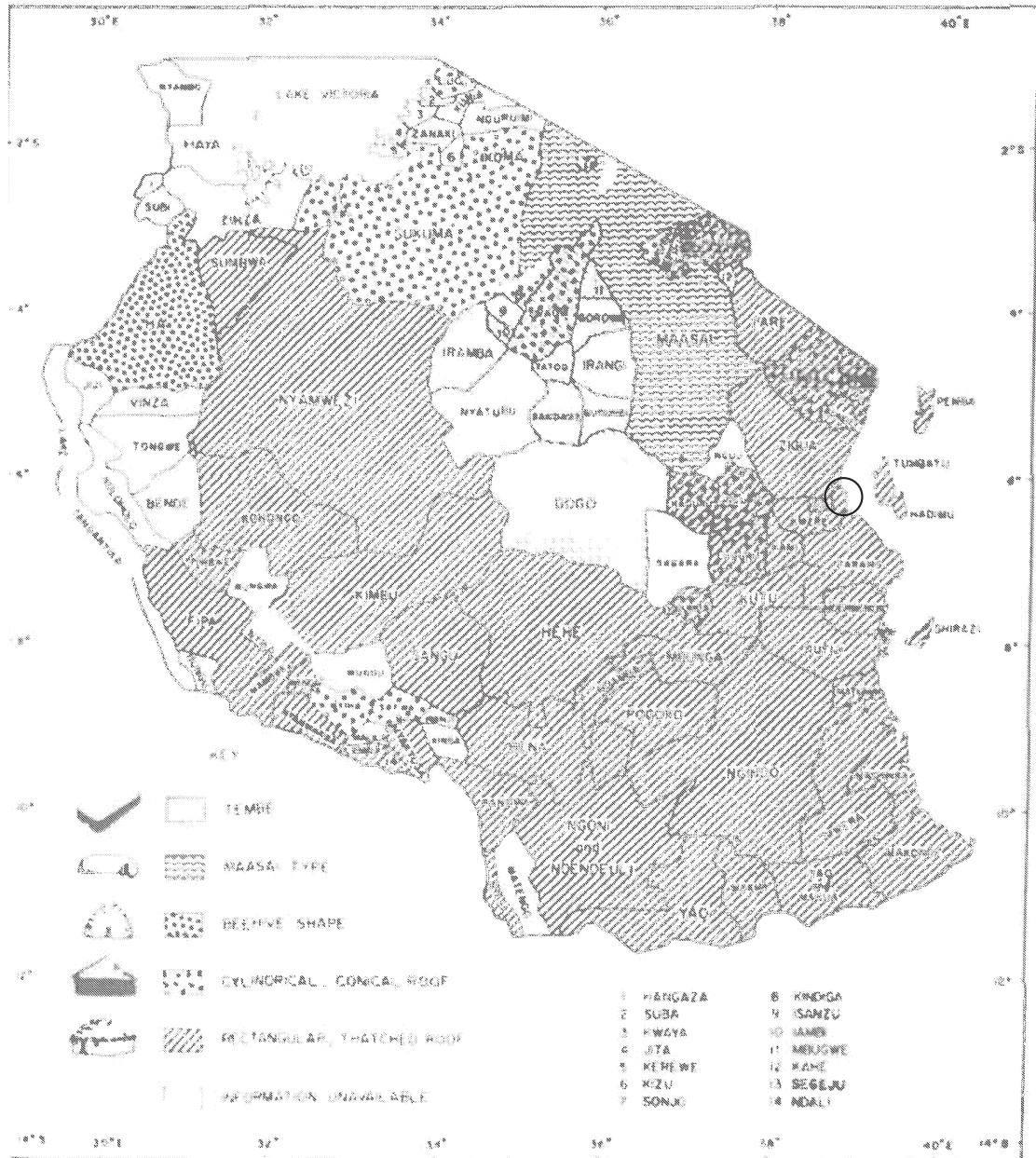


Figure 37. 1950-1960 House types by tribe. Reprinted from 'House Types in Tanzania: A Century of Change,' by W. McKim, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol 1, no.1, 1985, pp. 51-77

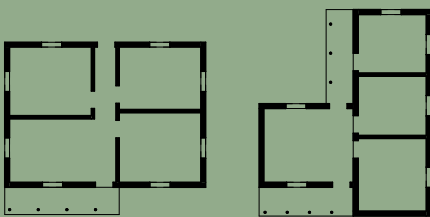
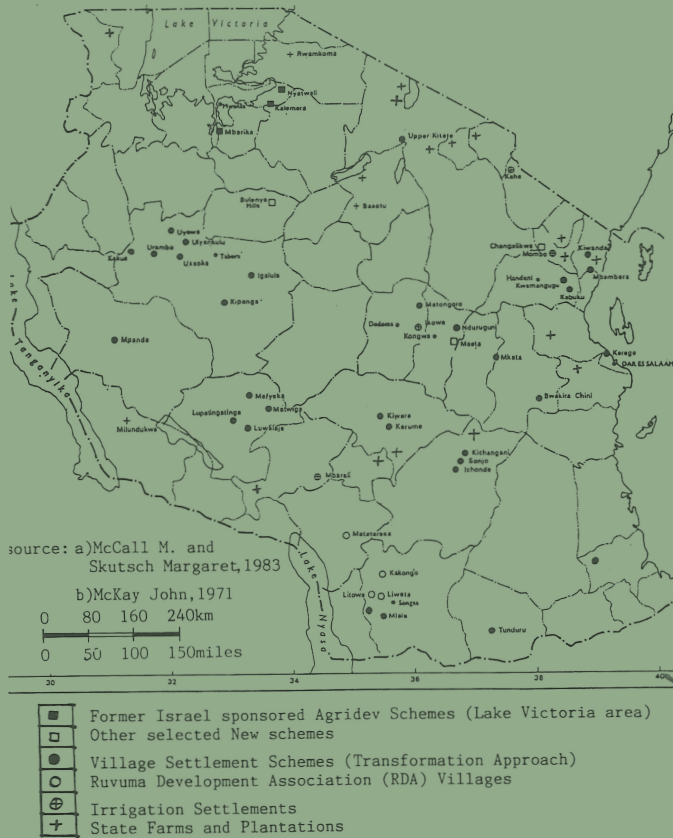


Figure 38. Rural settlement schemes of the early sixties prior to the official adoption of Ujamaa. Reprinted from 'The Rural Built environment in Tanzania: A study of Rural Settlements and Housing conditions with a Critical Review of Past Policies and Programmes, and a Proposal for an Alternative Approach based on Case studies in Uchagga', by P.K. Lyamuya, Doctoral Thesis, KU Leuven, 1990.

IDEOLOGY

In 1967 President Julius Nyerere presented the Arusha Declaration: a blueprint for socialist development of the newly independent Tanzania. Ujamaa (family hood) should be understood as both a restorative and transformative ideology that occurred over an 18 year period from 1967-1985. It sought to undo the incipient class formation of colonial occupation and return Tanzania to a set of values supposedly inherited in the precolonial institution of the extended family. In this manner Lyamuya⁵⁰ suggests that Ujamaa presented 'an attempt to universalize the unwritten rules of rural life and apply them to larger social and economic forms of organisation with modern objectives'. Ujamaa policy mythologised the traditional Swahili village and the family as a metaphor and basis for political community. It advocated self-reliance through the use of local labour and resources. Nyerere, who saw urban life as a remnant of colonial rule, proposed a process of intensive agricultural development to which the establishment of Ujamaa Villages (communal production units) was integral. During Ujamaa the Swahili house became the locus of collective economic production.

⁵⁰ Lyamuya, P.K., *The Rural Built Environment in Tanzania: A study of Rural Settlements and Housing conditions with a Critical Review of Past Policies and Programmes, and a Proposal for an Alternative Approach based on Case Studies in Uchagga*, Doctoral Thesis, KU Leuven, 1990.

UJAMAA

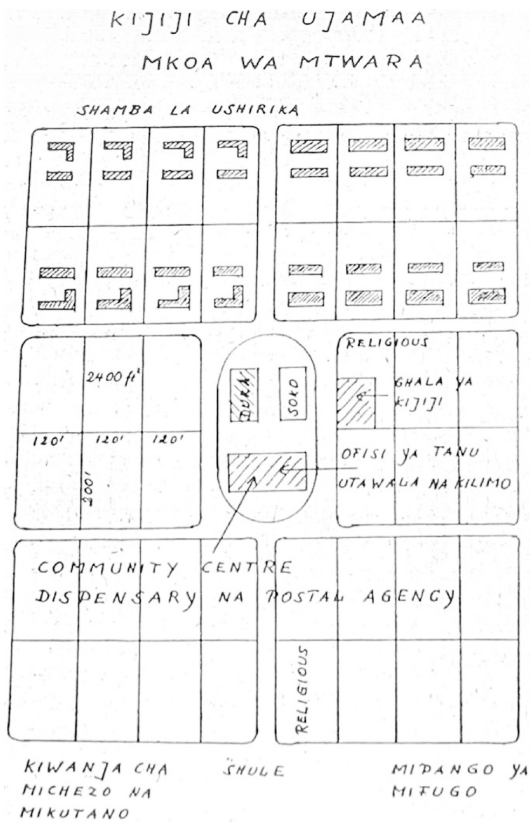


Figure 39. Plan for Ujamaa Village, Mtwara region, 1968. Reprinted from 'African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania: Between the Village and the World', by P. Lal, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

POLICY

Compulsory Villagization (completed 1976)

Under Operation Vijiji state officials oversaw the resettlement of rural inhabitants to Ujamaa Villages consisting of a minimum of 250 kaya (households). The kaya were organised in ten-cell units (basic unit for grassroot organisation), each comprising ten families. The ten-cell units were organised according to a symmetrical grid. Representatives from each unit were to tend the village's communal farm.

AND

Handbook of Model Village Plans

Published by the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development the handbook provided (ideal) guidelines for settlement development. The guidelines were influenced by social theory (Christaller) or planning principles derived from other socialist states (Chinese Agricultural Production Brigades).

UJAMAA

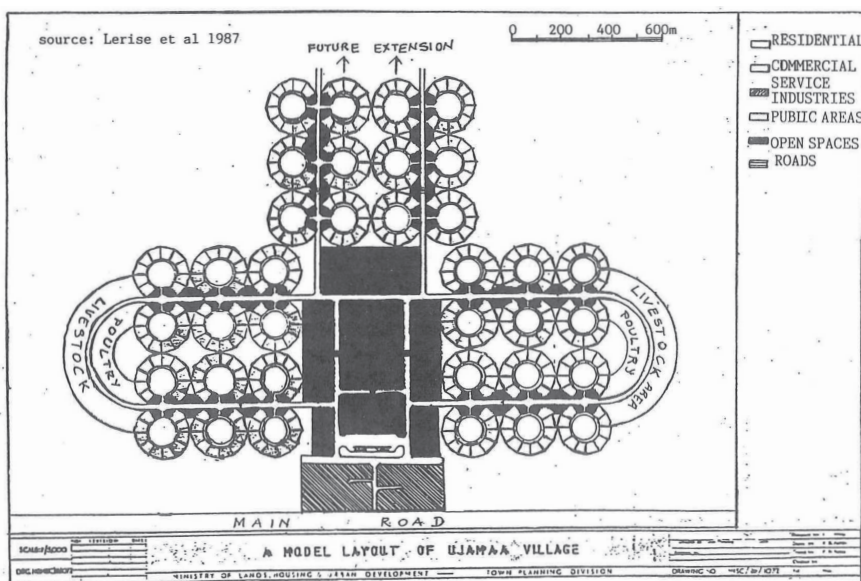
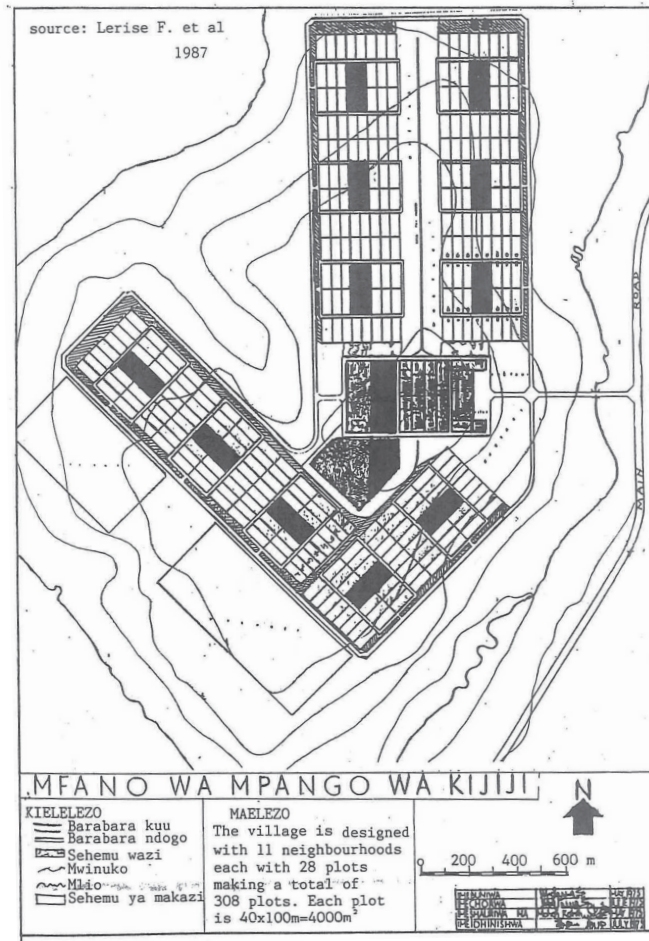
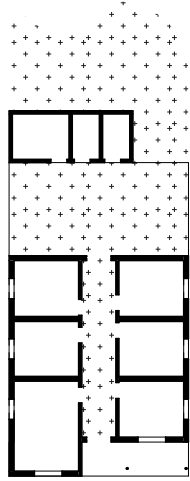
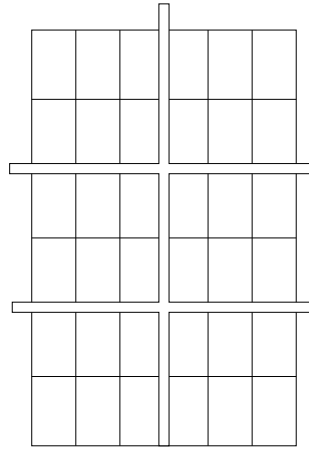


Figure 40. Proposed Ujamaa Village layout plans in 1975. Reprinted from 'The Rural Built environment in Tanzania: A study of Rural Settlements and Housing conditions with a Critical Review of Past Policies and Programmes, and a Proposal for an Alternative Approach based on Case studies in Uchagga', by P.K. Lyamuya, Doctoral Thesis, KU Leuven, 1990.

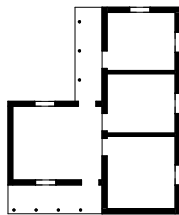
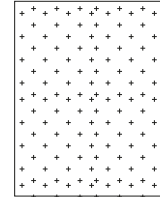
UJAMAA



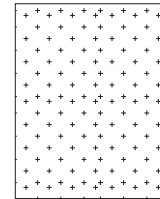
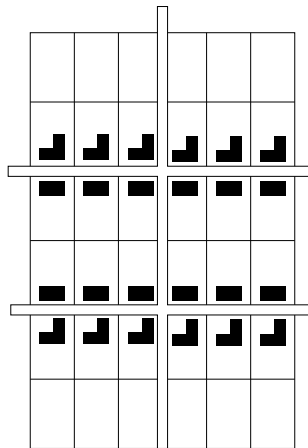
Delineates production space
-configuration important



Ujamaa grid and plot structure -
production (livestock, agriculture) separated from domestic space



Form transformation -
configuration not vital



ACTION

Despite the valorisation of rural existence Ujamaa policy departed from local settlement practice. Areas for farming and animal husbandry were often located outside the village.

The residential area became a dormitory for collective work conducted off site. In the absence of production the house altered in form and configuration. Standard plots mean standard household sizes.

UJAMAA

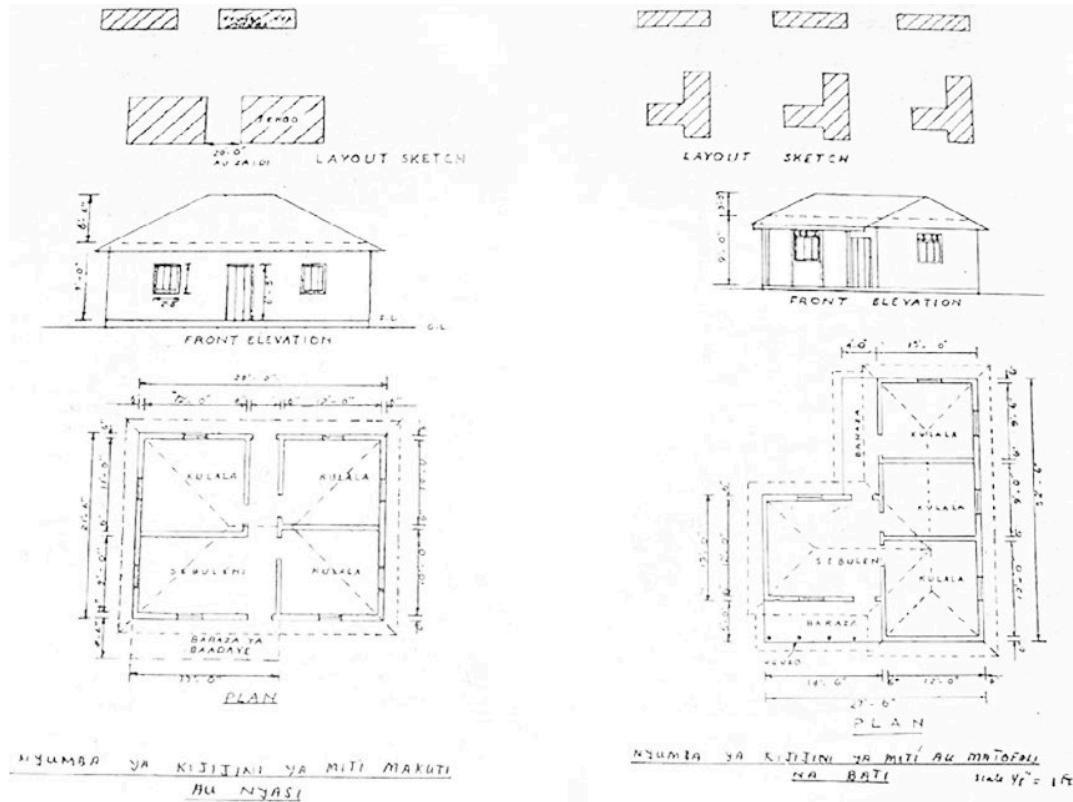


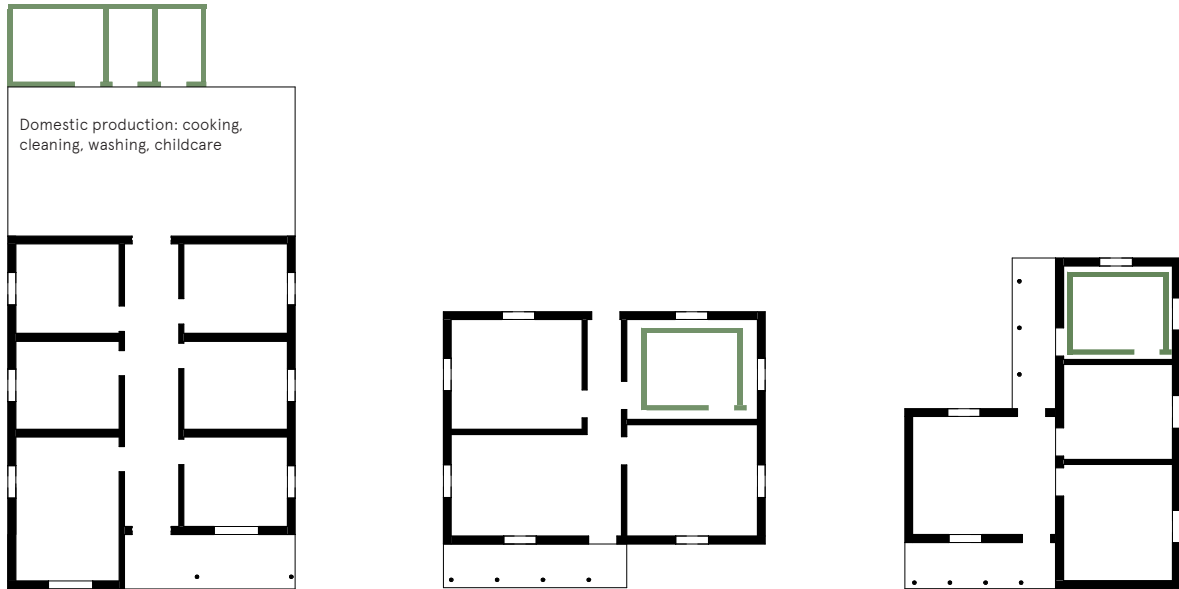
Figure 41. Plan two house types: one with thatched roof and the other corrugated metal, Mtwara region, 1968. Reprinted from 'African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania: Between the Village and the World', by P. Lal, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

POLICY

Nyumba Bora (Improved/Better Housing) Campaign

Integral to Operation Vijiji was the promise of modern houses. Residents, after being provided with plans and materials, were to construct their own houses. Implicit to the campaign was the belief that the modern household was anchored by women's domestic labor.

UJAMAA



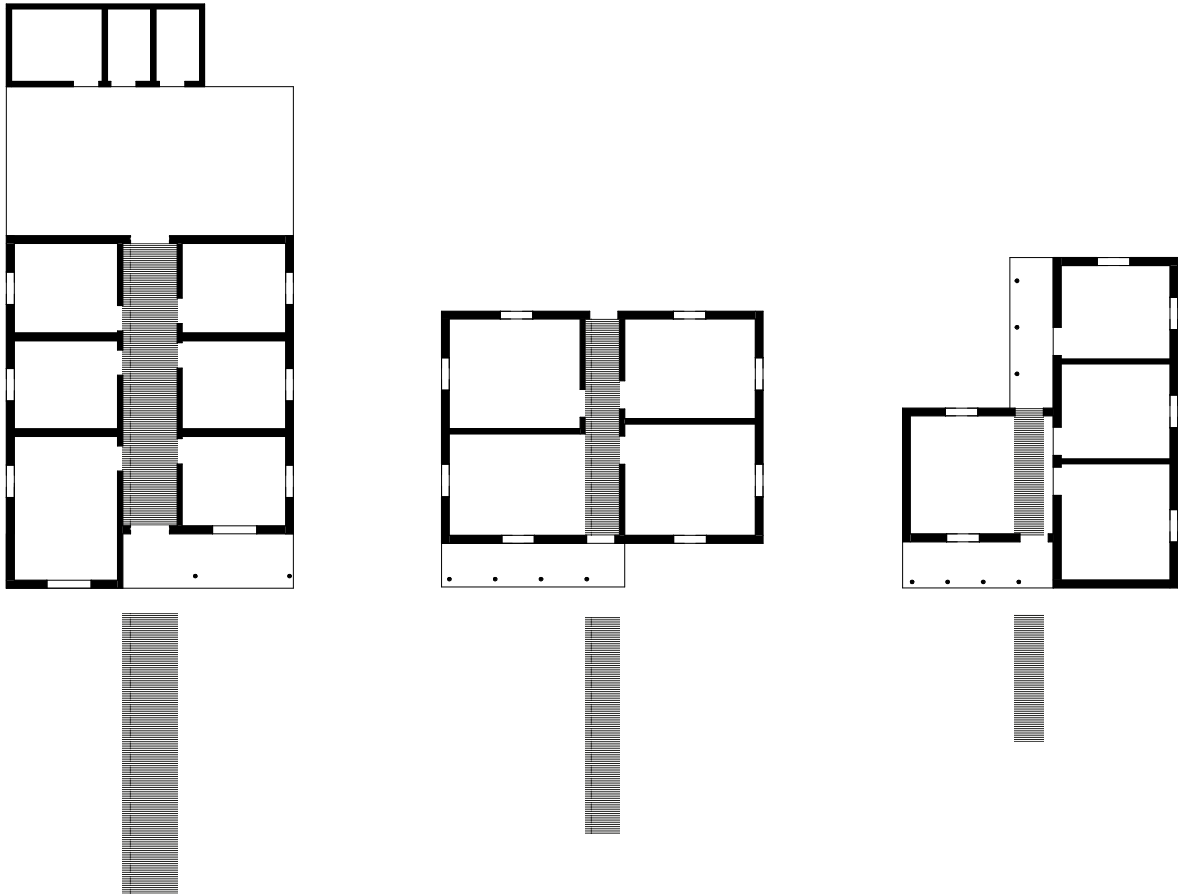
Ujamaa Swahili house type

ACTION

Domestic labour, which in traditional dwellings had occurred outside, was absorbed into the floor plan rendering it invisible.

The kitchen was built first and occupied with the idea that upon further financial assistance the remainder of the home would be built. In the absence of further financial support the kitchen became the accepted dwelling size (Kitumbi Tibili 1968).

UJAMAA



ACTION

The divorce of production from domestic space meant that the house was no longer a space of labour (agricultural). The corridor narrows and shortens.

LIBERALISATION

IDEOLOGY

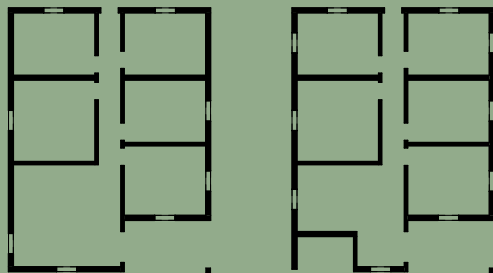
If Ujamaa had been an attempt to return to an idealised rural existence the late 1990's saw Tanzania look outwards and adopt a globally derived set of domestic practices. Under structural adjustment, Tanzanians were able to escape the restrictions of Ujamaa's socialist doctrine. Despite the possibility of freedom of labour and income – the privatisation of state enterprises and currency devaluation meant that Tanzanians looked to other means to supplement their income. As the focus of the state shifted from controlling social and cultural practice to economic and political freedom Tanzanians embraced property ownership and the ability to derive income therefrom. Access to new markets and a growing middle class saw the Swahili house become a locus of consumption.

POLICY?

This section of analysis is not supported by definitive policies that have impacted on the Swahili house type. It is in fact a period marked by the absence thereof and thus one in which the Swahili house has mostly been transformed in response to colonial and socialist legacies. The 'actions' presented in this section are derived from the work of Lewinson⁵¹ and Nguluma⁵² which occurred in urban contexts but which were observed to some extent in the rural environs of Bagamoyo during my fieldwork.

51 Lewinson, S. 'Domestic Realms, Social Bonds, and Class: Indigenizing Modernity in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 462-495

52 Nguluma, H.M., 'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003



LIBERALISATION

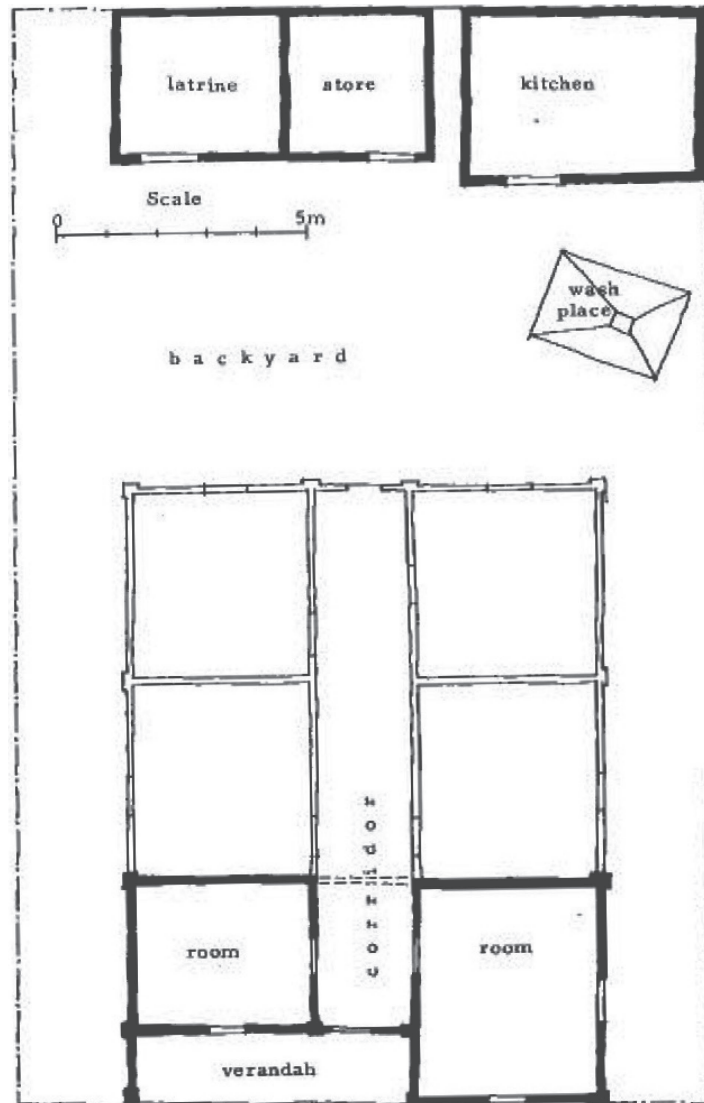
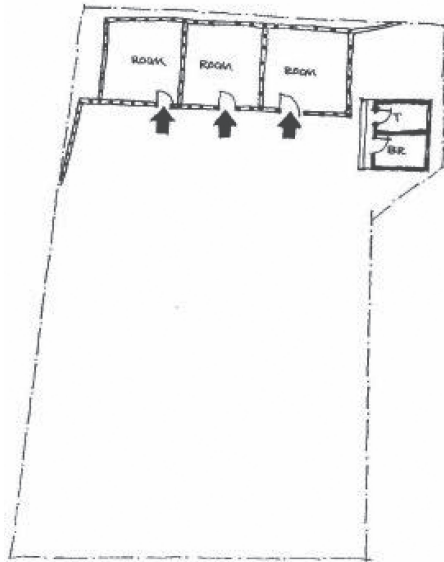



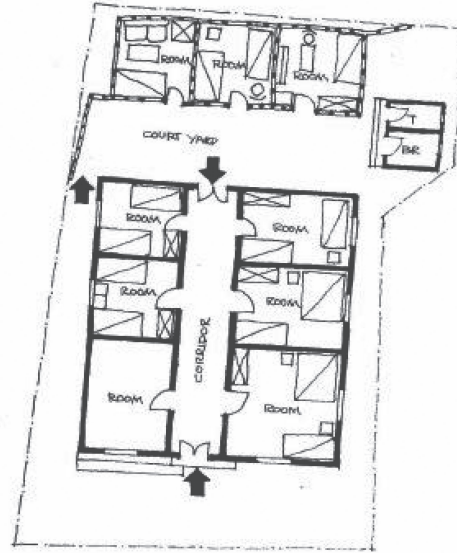
Figure 43. Addition to existing Swahili house. Reprinted from 'Domestic Realms, Social Bonds, and Class: Indigenizing Modernity in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', by S. Lewinson, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 462-495.

LIBERALISATION



PHASE I

- YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION 1973
- PLOT SIZE 212 sqm
- BUILT UP AREA 310sqm, FAR=0.2
- NO. OF PEOPLE 



PHASE II

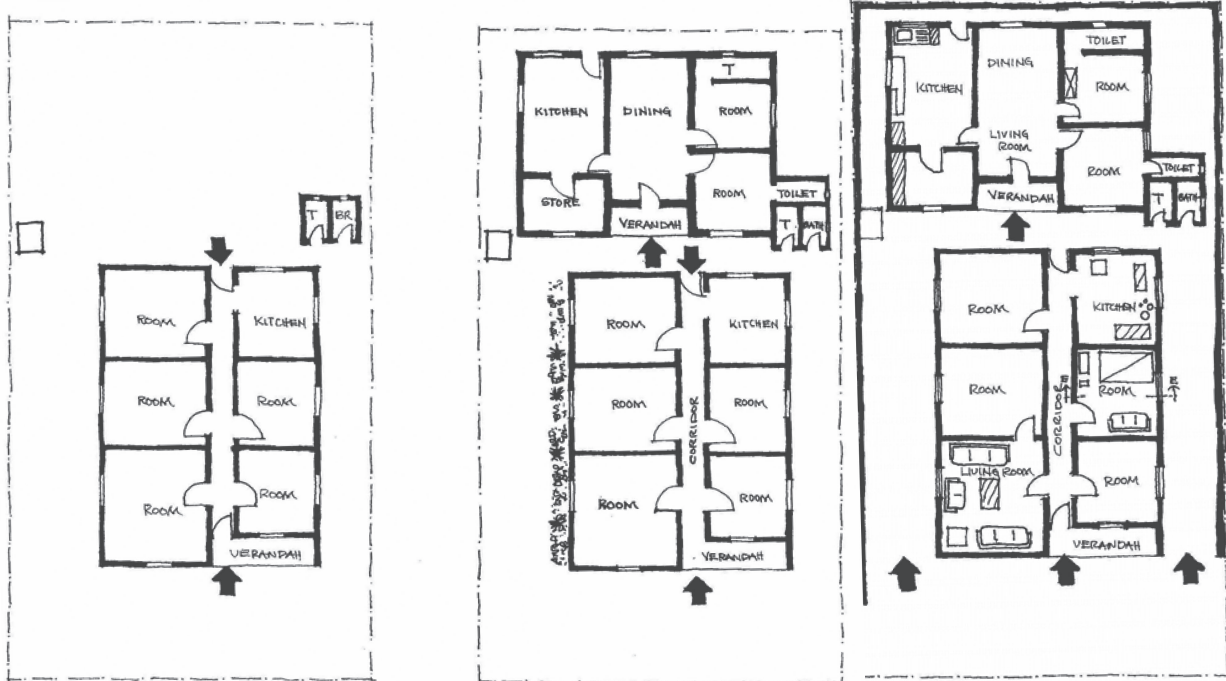
- YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION 1978
- PLOT SIZE 212 sqm
- BUILT UP AREA 147 sqm, FAR=0.7
- NO. OF PEOPLE 

LEGEND


- PLOT BOUNDARY
 - SAND CEMENT BLOCK WALL
 - MUD AND POLE WALL
 - T TOILET
 - BR BATH ROOM
- 0 1 2 3 4 M
- 

Figure 44. Addition of Swahili house to existing property. Reprinted from 'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam', by H.M Nguluma, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003.


LIBERALISATION



PHASE I

- YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION 1975-1982
- PLOT SIZE 324 sqm
- BUILT UP AREA 93 sqm, FAR = 0.3
- No. OF PEOPLE 

PHASE II

- YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION 1990
- PLOT SIZE 324 sqm
- BUILT UP AREA 160 sqm, FAR = 0.5
- No. OF PEOPLE 

PHASE III

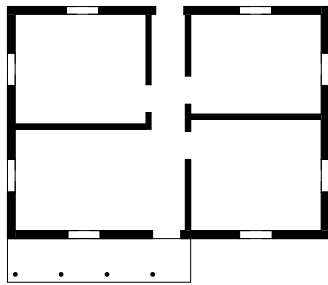
- FENCING WALL BUILT IN 1992

LEGEND

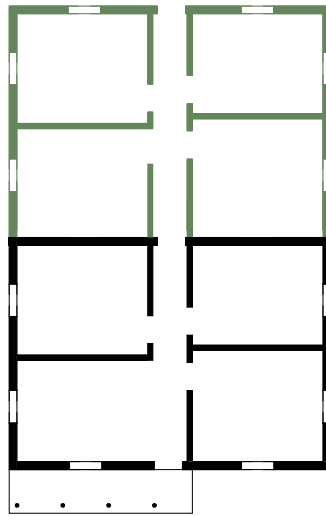
- PLOT BOUNDARY
- SAND CEMENT BLOCK WALL
- T TOILET
- BR BATH ROOM

Figure 45. Addition of Swahili house to existing property and presence of living room in Swahili house plan. Reprinted from 'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam', by H.M Nguluma, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003.

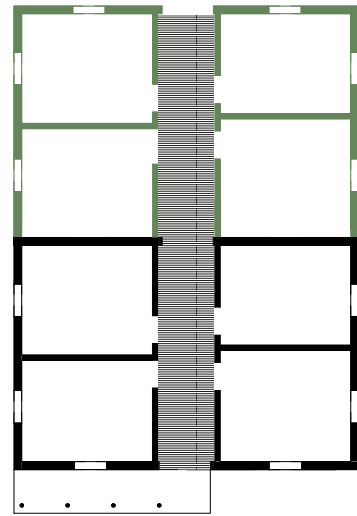
LIBERALISATION



Ujamaa Swahili House



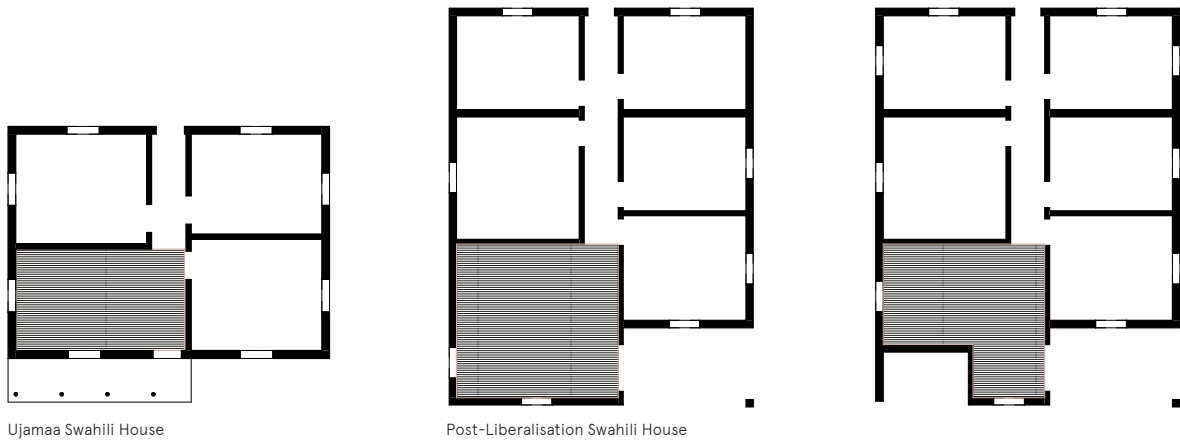
Post-Liberalisation Swahili House



ACTION

The Swahili house type was adapted to tenancy. Additional rooms were added to an existing house in order to accommodate additional tenants. Where the Swahili house had accommodated the nuclear family during colonialism and Ujamaa it now accommodated several family units each occupying a separate room. The house itself became a means by which to exact a livelihood rather than that of agricultural production.

LIBERALISATION



ACTION

The 'living room' as a distinct room became common post Ujamaa. This could be interpreted as inhabitant's freedom to conspicuous consumption and the house as the locus of leisure rather than production.

The transformation of the Swahili House type across the periods of Colonialism (1890-1961), Ujamaa (1967 -1985) and Liberalisation (late 1990's onwards) reveal the changing relationship of its inhabitants to the territory. The policies, planning protocols and settlement programmes exercised across these periods and the typological transformations enacted by inhabitants themselves make evident the atomisation of Swahili society. It is this atomisation that has left the inhabitants of Mlingotini vulnerable to resettlement. In response, this section speculates on the possibility of engaging the transformative potential of the Swahili house to collectively occupy and claim ownership of space.

This occupation is conceptualised as the redrawing of a nomos for the confrontation of the proposed **Bagamoyo Mega Project** and the village of **Mlingotini**. The term nomos derives from **nemein**, which means to distribute, to possess what has been distributed, and to dwell.

The work of German jurist Carl Schmitt and philosopher and political theorist Hannah Arendt reference the term to different effects both of which have been influential on this study. For Arendt the nomos constitutes an 'enclosing boundary'⁵³ that, whilst delimiting the polis and securing its realm is not constitutive of it. In contrast Schmitt asserts that nomos is 'a constitutive historical event'⁵⁴ it is 'the relationship between the concreteness of 'ground' and the construction of political order.'⁵⁵

Acknowledging the ethical implications⁵⁶ of referencing Schmitt's work and its contrast with that of Arendt this research adopts a reading of nomos put forth by Pier Aureli Vittoria 'as a concrete event' which constitutes 'a measure against the unmeasurable' or open ended territory – here understood as the smooth space of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ). For Aureli the nomos is that which connects 'juridical and political order with the form of a place.'⁵⁷

Redrawing a nomos for the confrontation of the proposed Bagamoyo Mega Project and the village of Mlingotini is thus understood as the grounding of political action through the provision of framework for agonistic conflict.

Here the reference to agonism is intentional and references the work of the political theorist **Chantal Mouffe**.⁵⁸ In her work Mouffe advocates against the debilitating consequences of consensus (synonymous with contemporary liberal democracy) in favour of a politics that embraces agnostic confrontation as the very condition of its existence. Mouffe's appreciation for the necessity of conflict and the friend- adversary (not enemy) dynamic has been influential in the development of my own politics and reading of the Sino-African development paradigm.

The framework that follows entails the articulation of an edge or limit to the SEZ and Mlingotini – a space for negotiation that observes the confrontation of imported planning protocols (embodied by the master plan) with that of a proposed collective Swahili existence.

The nomos is developed in response to the identification of existing modes of occupation as illustrated. It is articulated by electing to strengthen and take care of those practices vital to the inhabitants of Mlingotini. Rather than defensive, the articulation of the nomos opens the possibility for the negotiation and conditioning (rather than condition) of the SEZ master plan.

53 H., Arendt, *Che cos' e' la politica? [What Is Politics?]*, in U. Ludz (ed.), trans. M., Bistolfi, Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 2006, pp. 63

54 C., Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europeum*, trans. G.L., Ulmen, New York, Telos, 2003, p.p 47

55 Aureli, 'The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture', p.5

56 Carl Schmitt was a supporter and advisor to the National Socialist German Workers' Party. See S., Elden, Reading Schmitt geopolitically Nomos, territory and Großraum, *Radical Philosophy*, vol.161, no. 6,2010

57 Aureli, 'The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture', p.7

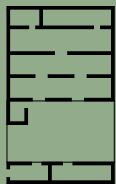
58 See *The Democratic Paradox*, London, Verso, 2000 and *On the Political*, London, Routledge, 2005

Figure 46. Transformations of the Swahili house type and its changing relationship to the territory, Author, 2017

ATOMISATION

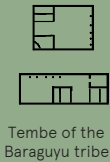


15 CE. Swahili Stone House

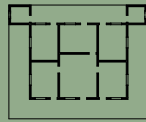


X

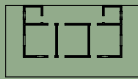
The Bungalow



X



X (SURVEILLANCE)



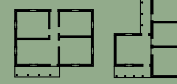
Rural Swahili House

X

Swahili House



X



Ujamaa Swahili House

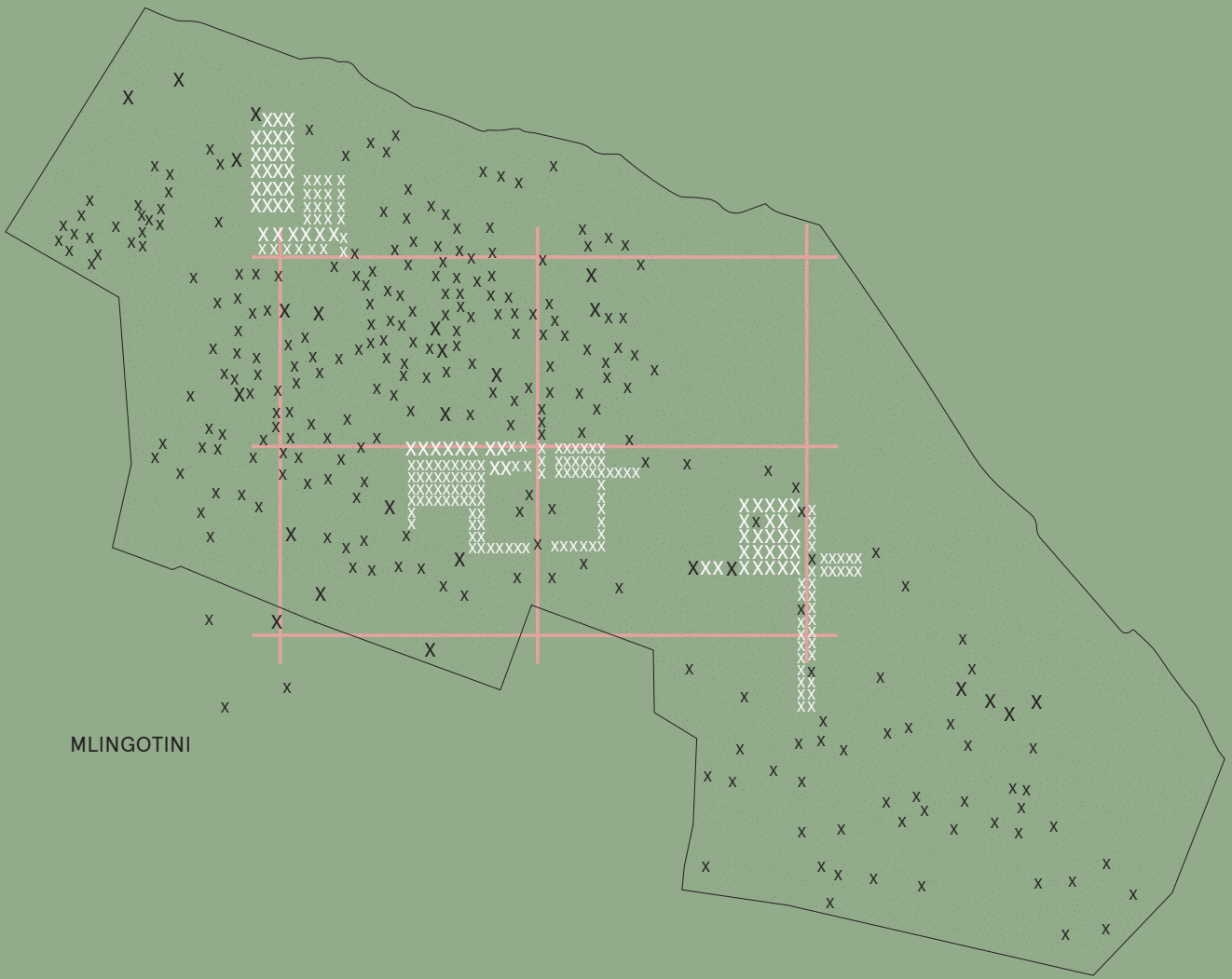
X



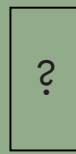
Post-Liberalisation Swahili House

RELATIONSHIP TO TERRITORY

COLLECTIVISATION

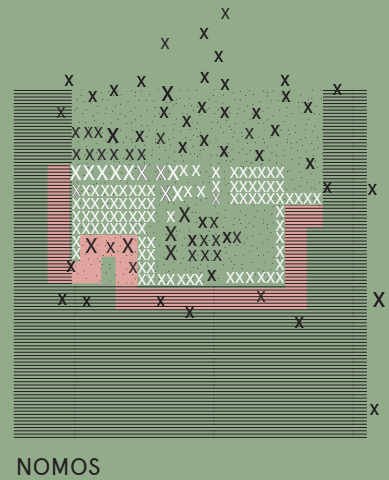
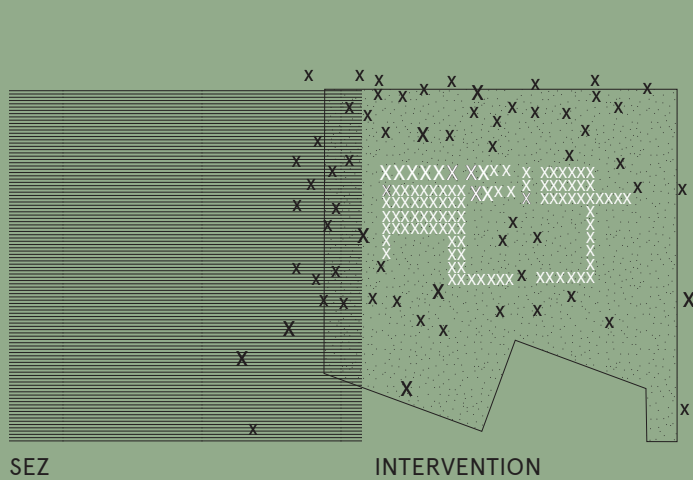
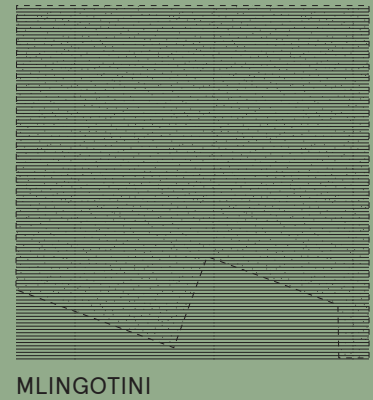
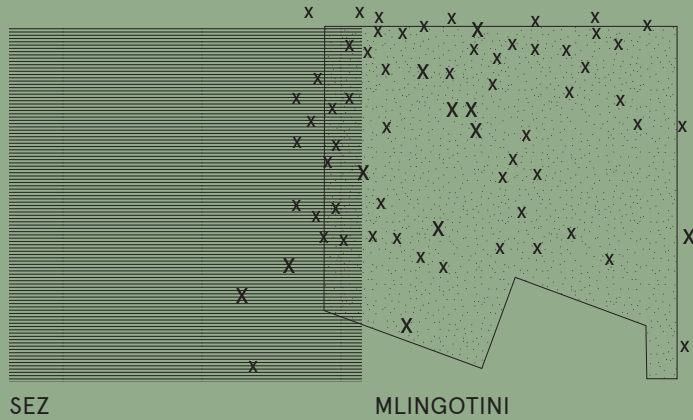


Typological Transformation



RELATIONSHIP TO TERRITORY

NOMOS



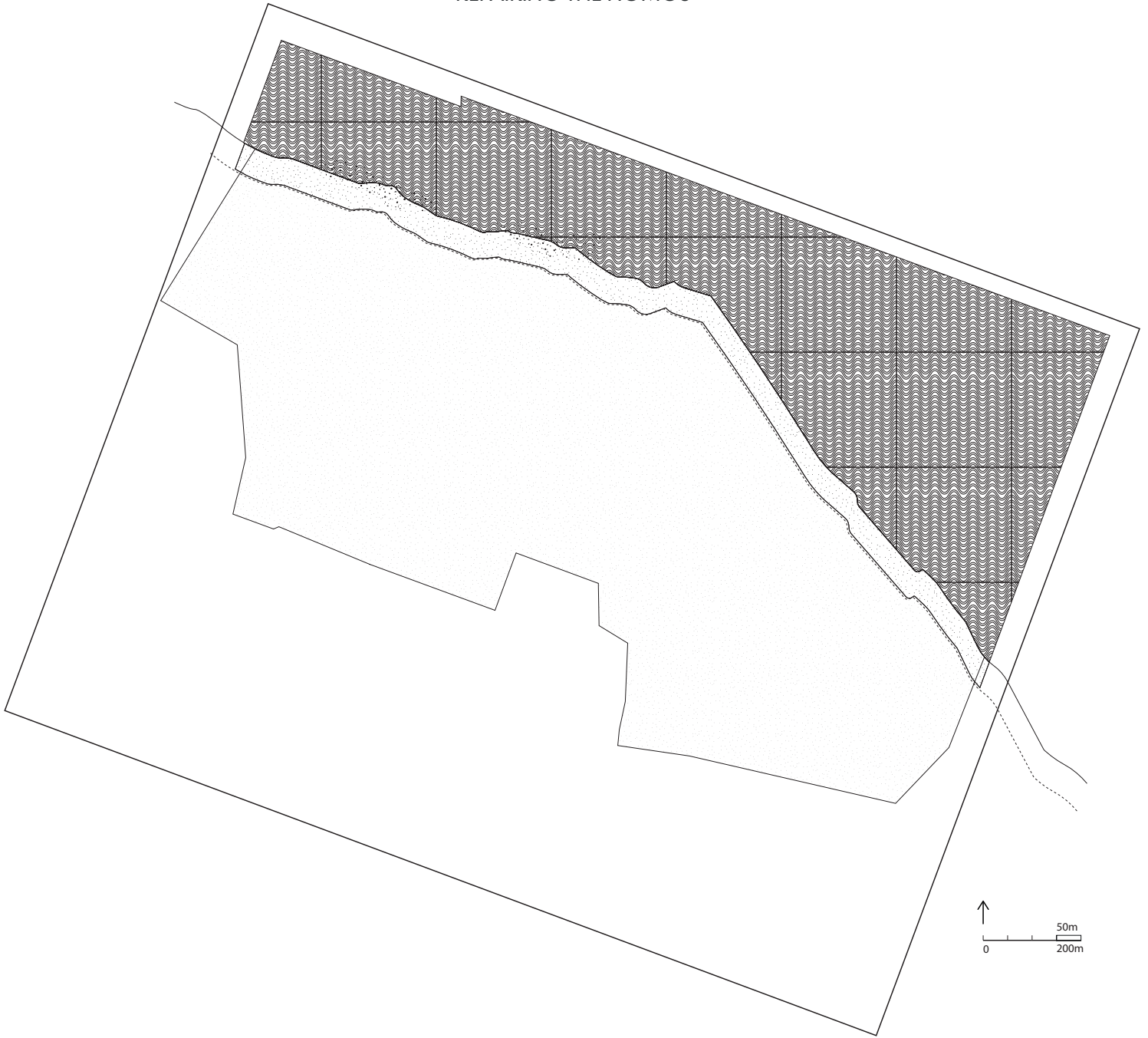
NOMOS: SITE OF AGNOSTIC CONFLICT

Grounding political action - a framework for agonistic conflict. Introducing an 'architecture of the territory' which articulates its negotiation

Figure 47. Collective occupation as a means to occupy the territory, Author, 2017

Figure 48. Redrawing the Nomos, Author, 2017

REPAIRING THE NOMOS

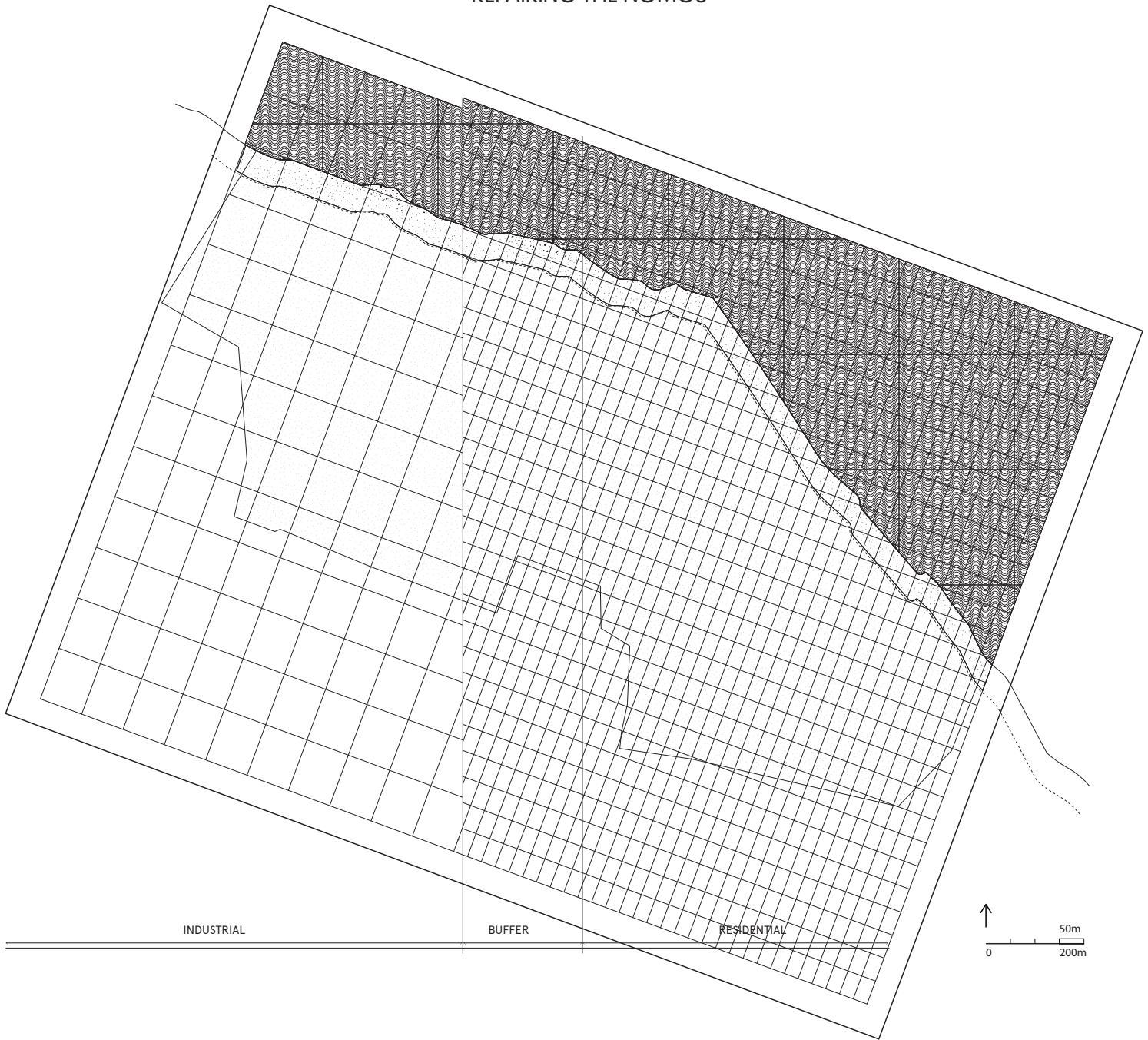


TERRITORY

Notional boundary of Mlingotini village,
Bagamoyo Tanzania

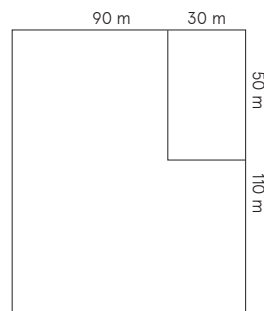


REPAIRING THE NOMOS

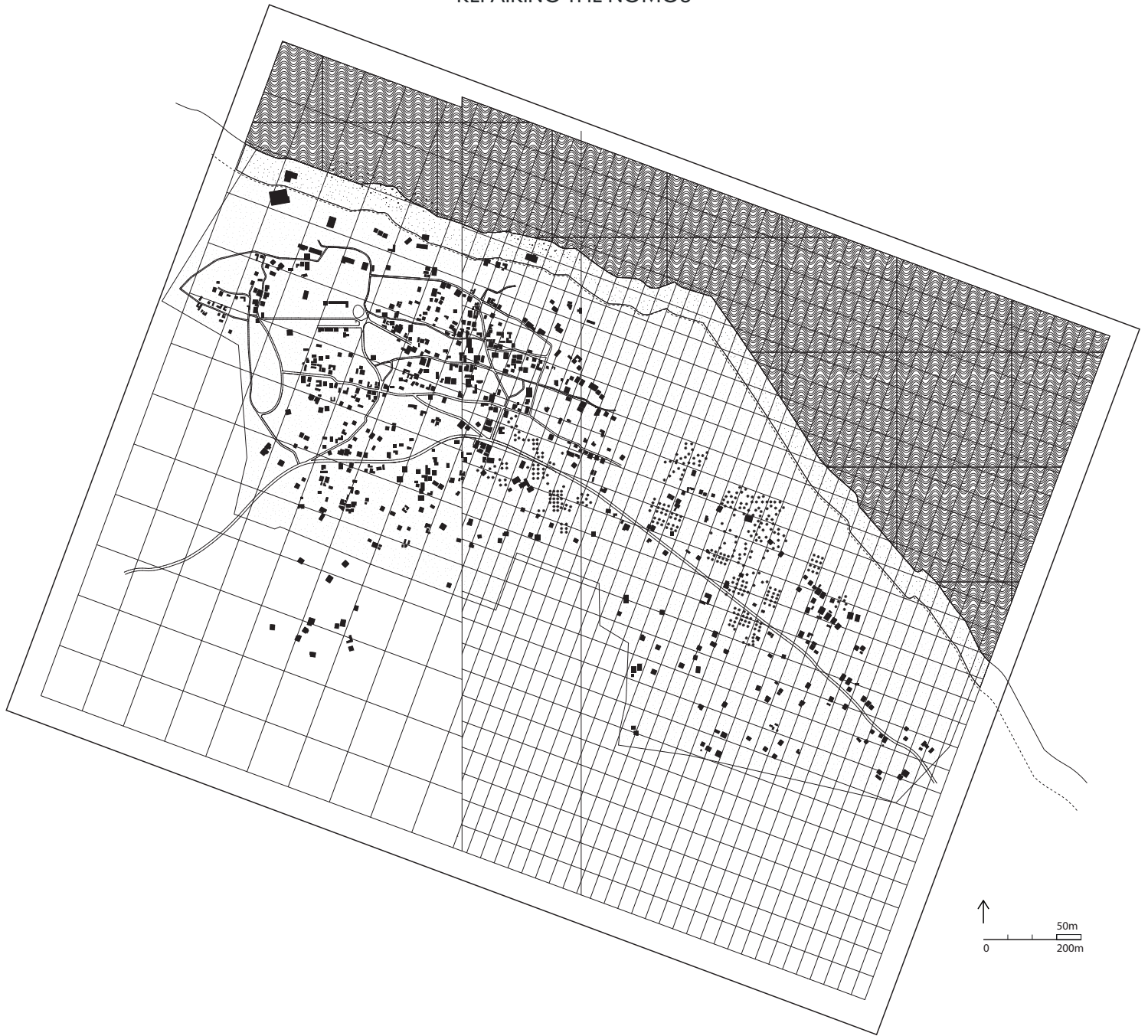


PROPOSED SEZ GRID

According to the COWI 2013 Master Plan the Port will be structured into 10 000 m² plots (110 m x 90 m) and the Low-Density residential zone into 1600 m² plots (50 m x 32 m).



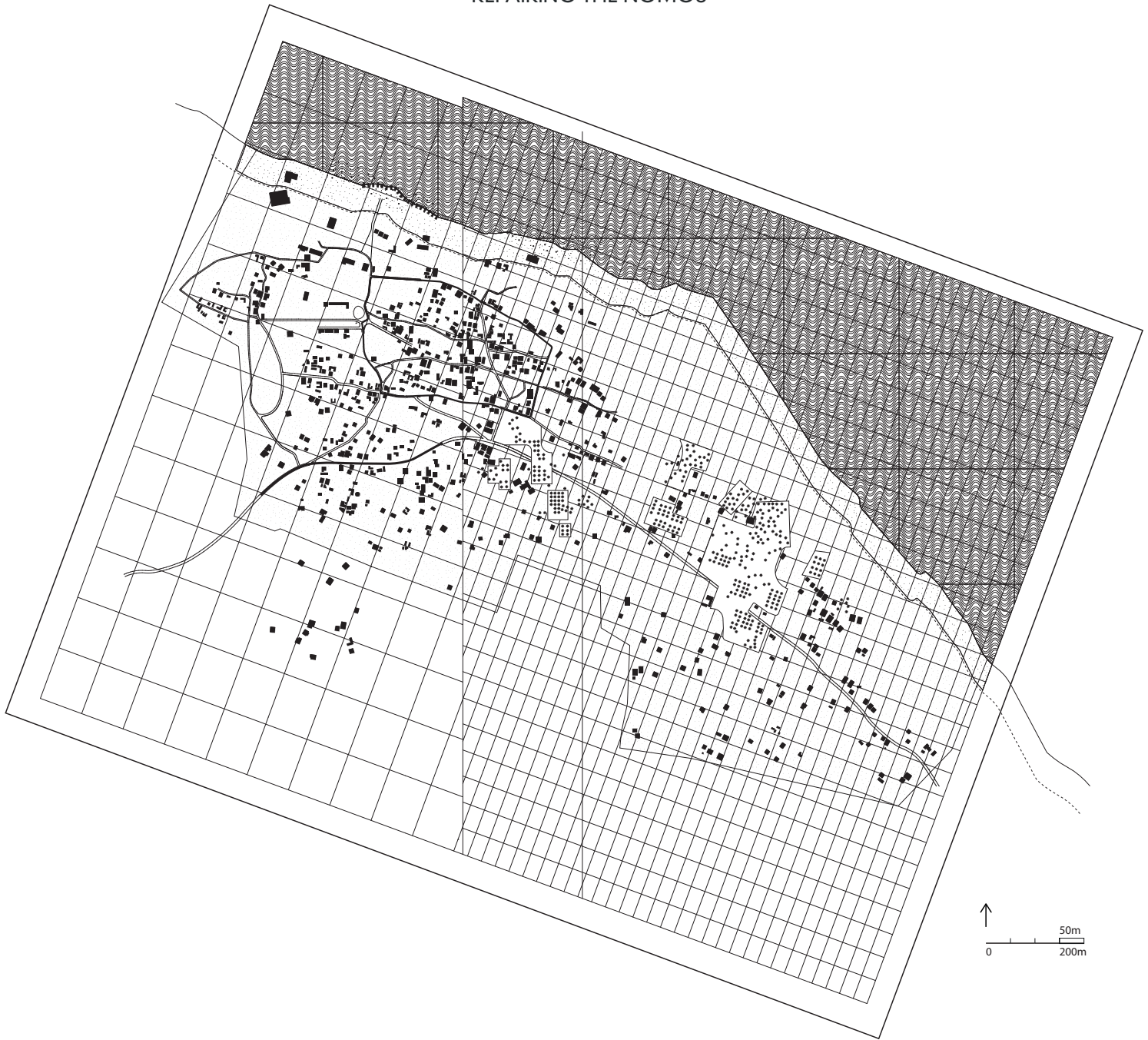
REPAIRING THE NOMOS



CURRENT OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY

Current modes of existence leave inhabitants of Mlingotini vulnerable as evident in the ease at which resettlement is occurring.

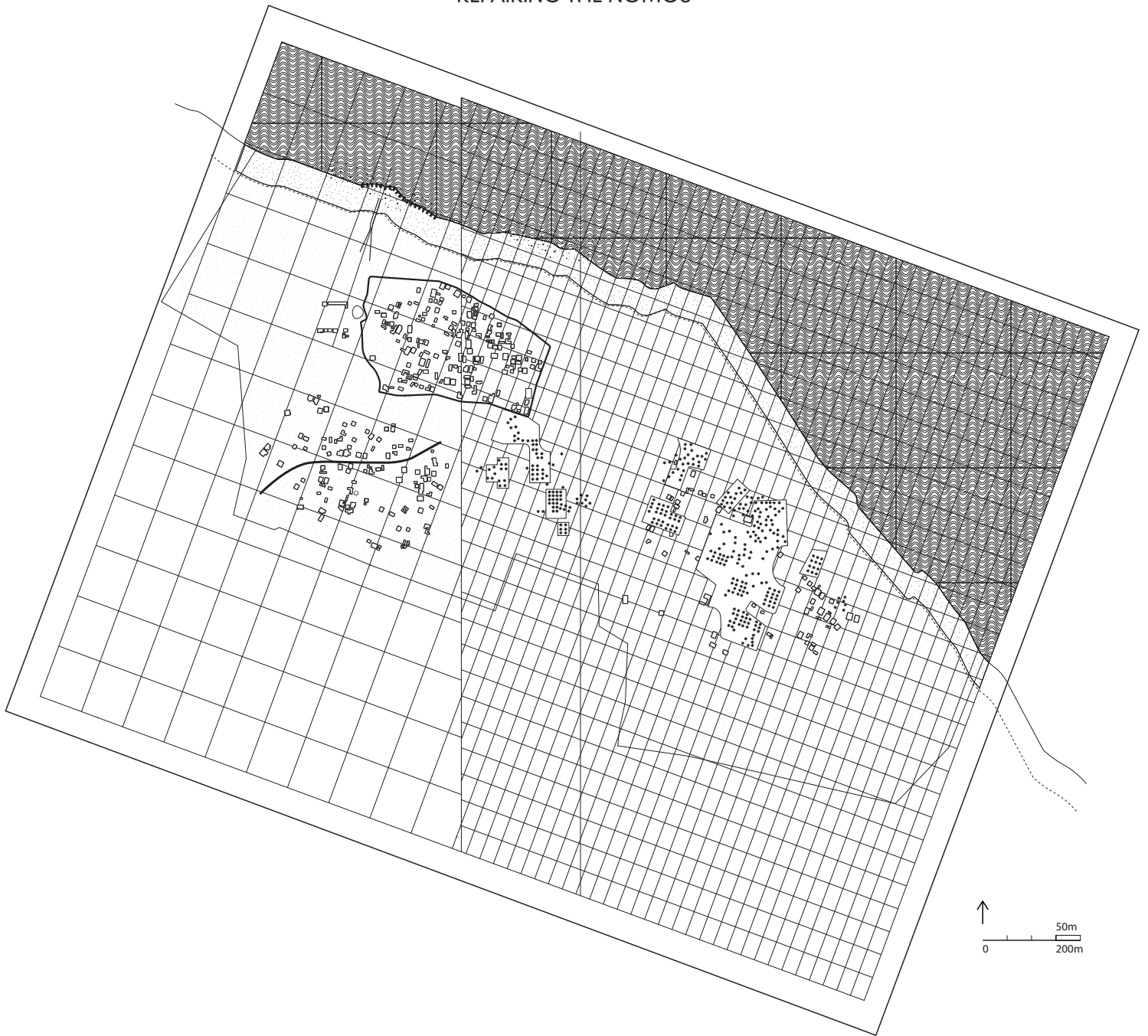
REPAIRING THE NOMOS



EXISTING FOOTHOLDS

Footholds are evident. The territory is occupied in four distinct patterns made legible in its morphology.

REPAIRING THE NOMOS



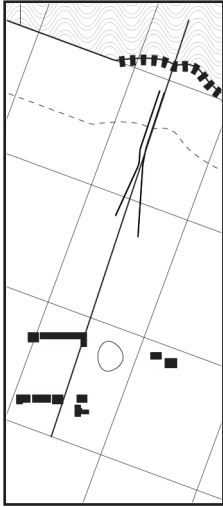
ENGENDERING LEGIBILITY

Articulating four footholds/practices of occupation: programmatic, infrastructural, historic and agricultural. These practices highlight aspects of the territory that should be reified, strengthened and taken care of.

Figure 49-53 Identification of practices of occupation, Author, 2017

Figure 54-57 (C.W, L.R) Boat builders at work in Mlingotini bay, Bagamoyo SEZ, Tanzania, Main road of Mlingotini leading to mosque and school, Spaza shops along the Bagamoyo trunk road, Houses in the main farming area of Mlingotini, Author, 2017

PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION



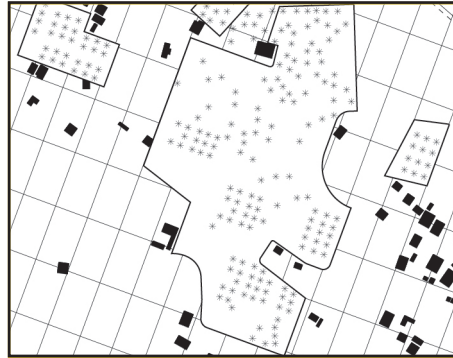
PROGRAMMATIC OCCUPATION



HISTORIC OCCUPATION



INFRASTRUCTURAL OCCUPATION



AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION

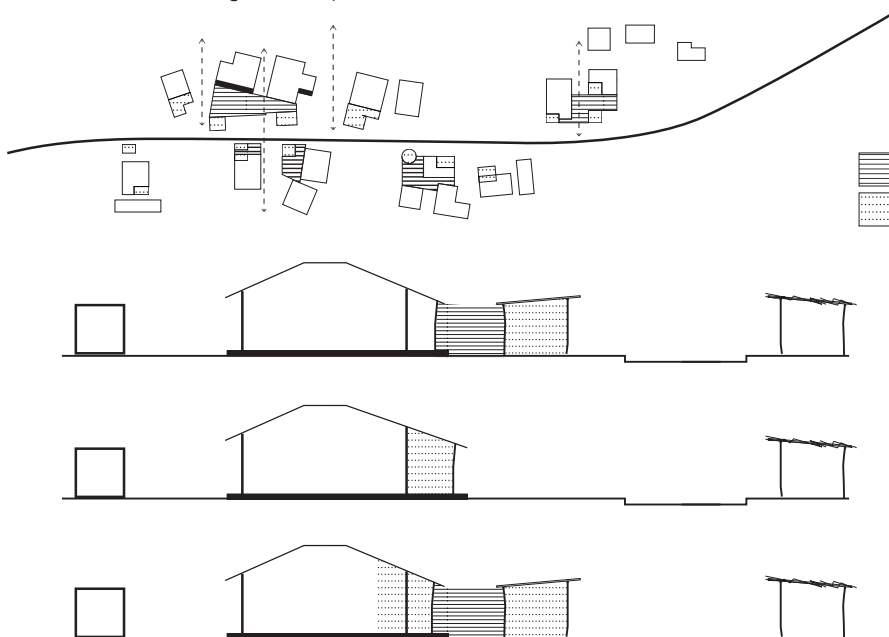


PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION

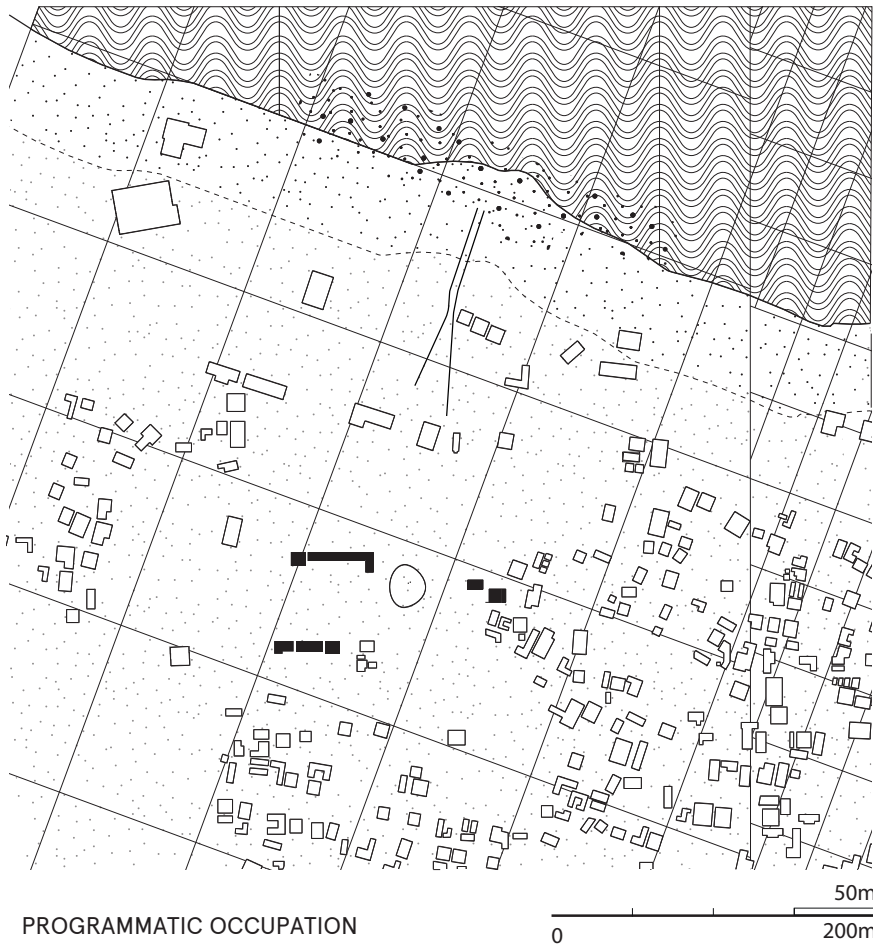


INFRASTRUCTURAL OCCUPATION

The trunk road that runs from Dar es Salaam to Bagamoyo is populated with small spaza shops, restaurants and vendors selling building materials etc. Almost every shop/stall is matched by a home just behind -in many instances dwelling and shop are one.



PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION



PROGRAMMATIC OCCUPATION

An occupation in response to programmatic drivers. An axis running north to south which links the small harbour to the baobab tree and an east-west axis which intersects the school, clinic and mosque.

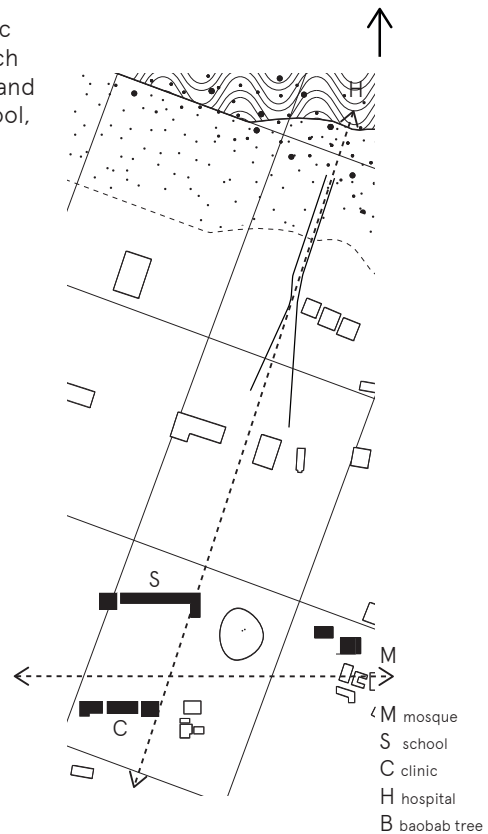
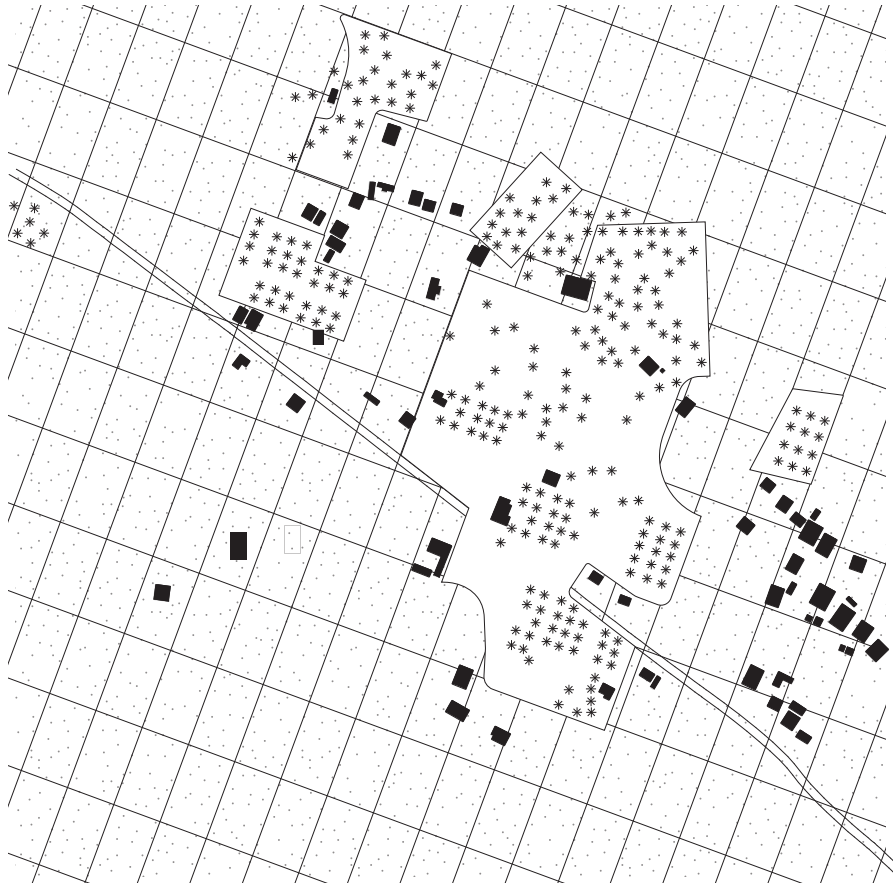


Figure 58 Infrastructural occupation and its implications on the Swahili house type, Author, 2017

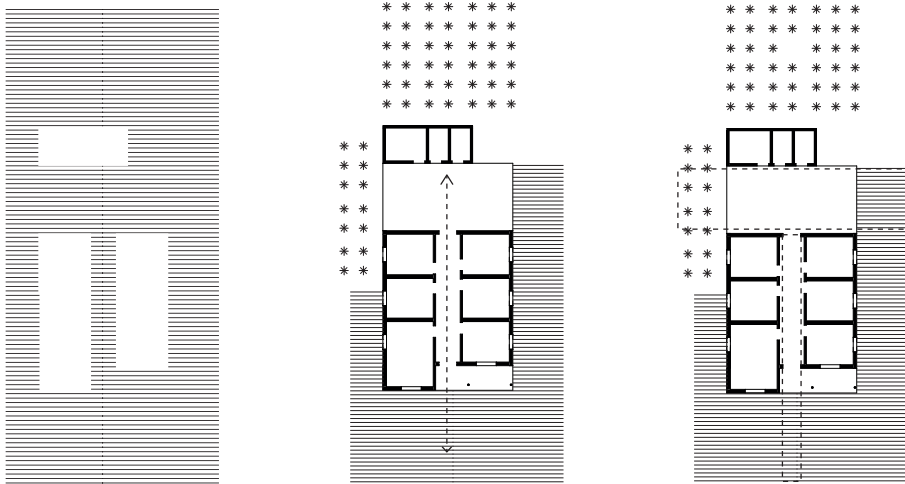
Figure 59 Programmatic occupation and its constitutive relationships, Author, 2017

PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION

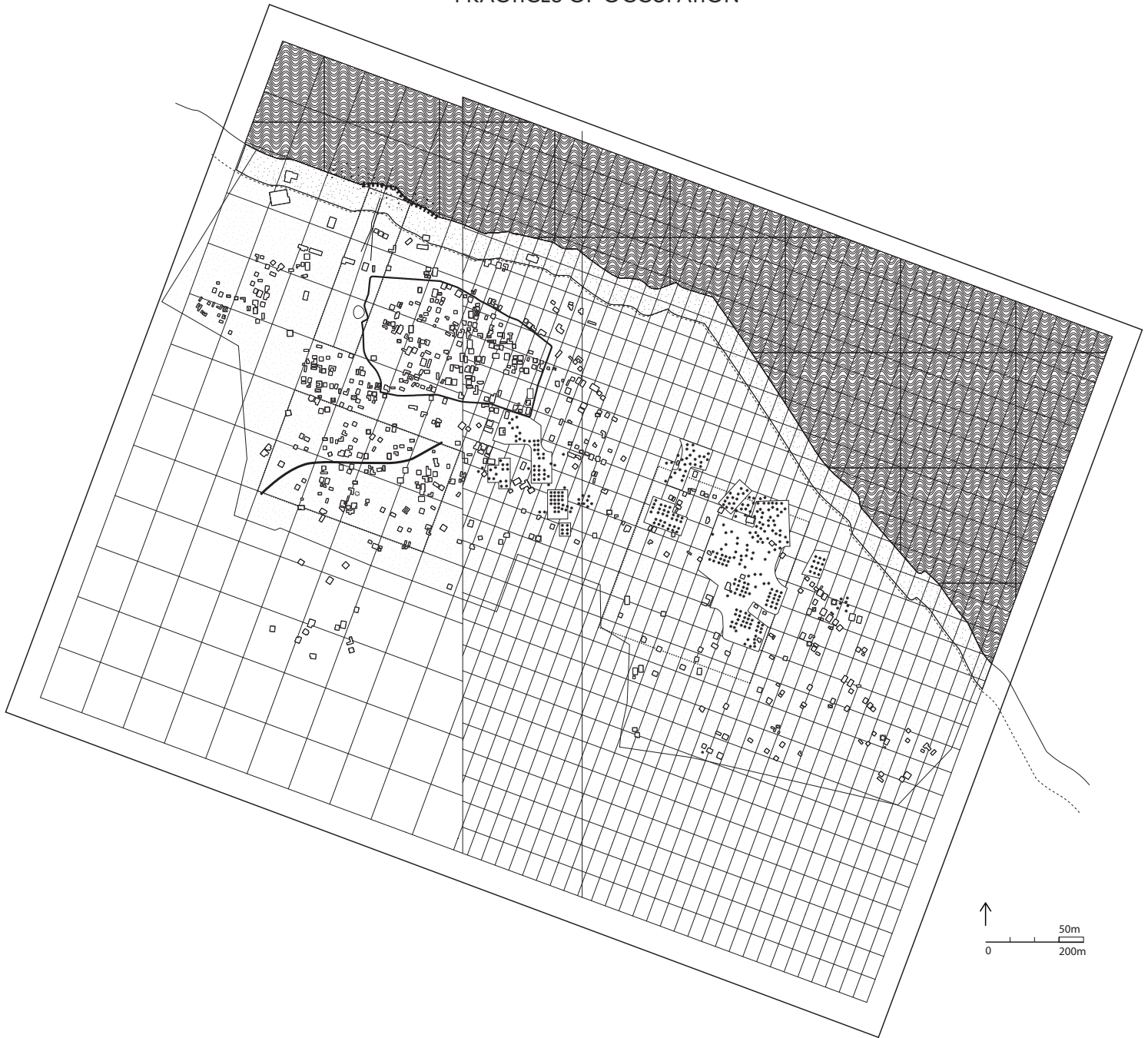


AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION

Whilst many of Mlingotini's inhabitants practice subsistence farming or animal husbandry, the area to the south eastern section of the territory is marked by isolated dwellings framed by framland.



PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION



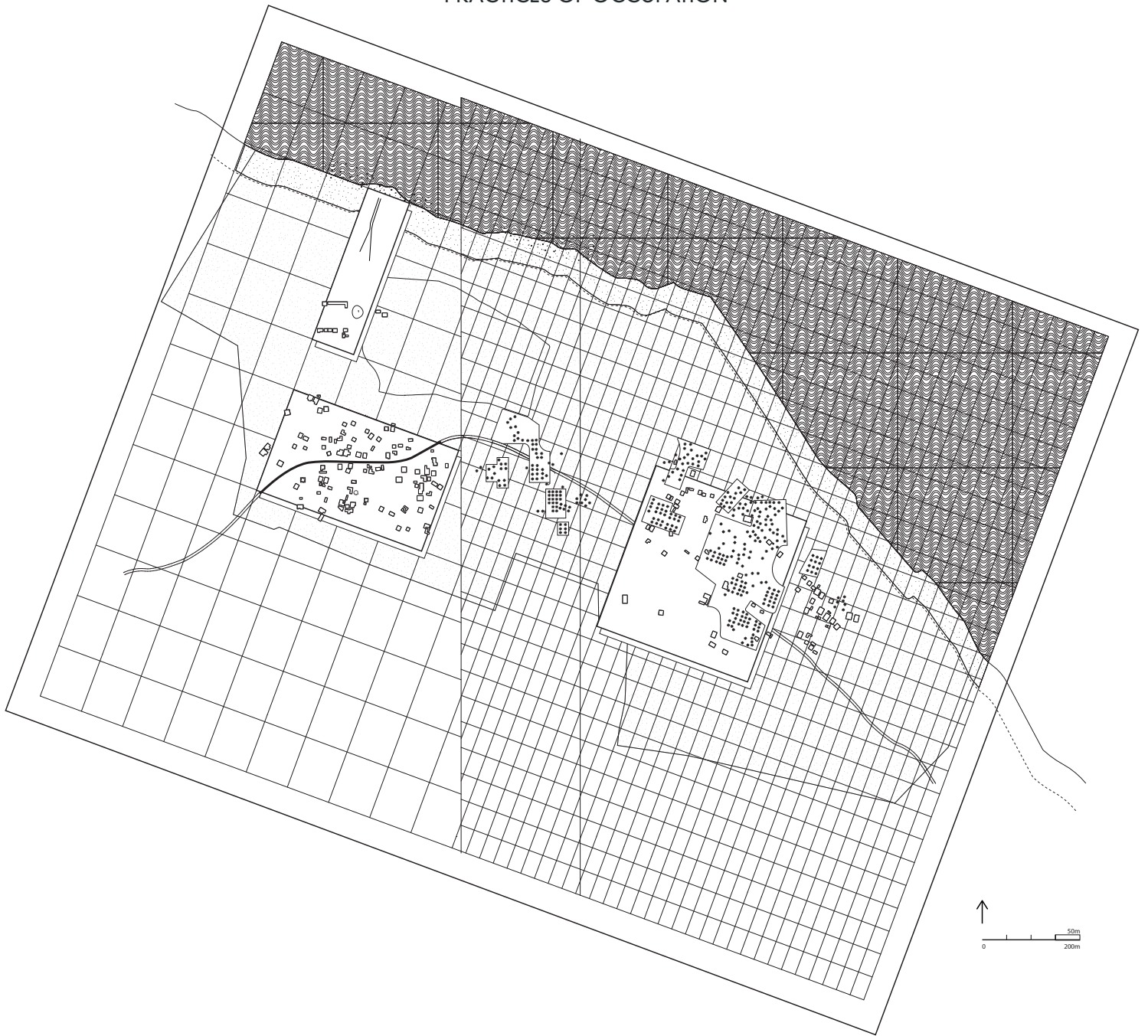
MLINGOTINI MEETS SEZ GRID

By isolating practices of occupation/
footholds we begin to perforate/
puncture the smooth, managed
protocol that is the SEZ

Figure 60. Agricultural occupation and its implications on the Swahili house type, Author, 2017

Figure 61. Practices of occupation in relation to the proposed SEZ grid, Author, 2017

PRACTICES OF OCCUPATION



TAKING CARE OF WHAT'S THERE

A response to the ubiquitous 'super' grid of the SEZ is to be specific - idiosyncratic even. The project becomes about articulating/ framing/ re-framing and strengthening these practices whilst (always) negotiating with the SEZ.

Figure 62. Practices of occupation isolated in relation to the proposed SEZ grid, Author, 2017

The section that follows documents the development of a nomos for Sino-African agonism based on three key concepts: **collaboration**, **confrontation** and **negotiation**. These concepts, rather than considered independently, are explored in a reciprocal manner both in the development of an architectural response and in the manner in which this response is developed.

The decision to welcome into the development of my proposal another architect (fellow student Floortje van Sandick), another architectural concept (James Stirling's proposal for Previ Lima -1967) and another architecture (Aldo van Eyck's Sonsbeek Pavilion -1963) was driven by the desire to embrace a decentred design development methodology. This methodology contests the notion of the 'architect as single author' and allowed for the development of a response that contrasted that of the SEZ master plan. The collaborations revealed to me opportunities and alternatives to my proposal that would otherwise have been unexplored.

The design response explores the concepts of collaboration, confrontation and negotiation across three scales: territorial, community and dwelling and in three actions: implantation, configuration and form. On the scale of the territory the confrontation of the SEZ and Mlingotini is addressed through the implantation of three footholds for collective occupation. The implantation of each foothold is a direct response to the practices of programmatic, infrastructural and agricultural occupation identified in the previous section.

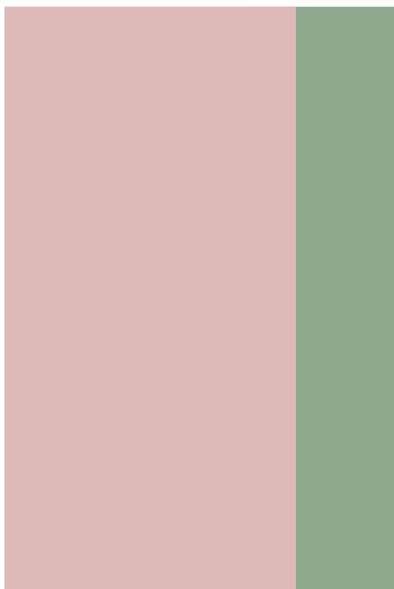
Together these footholds act as a scaffold or infrastructure for occupation as illustrated by fig 66. They define the nomos.

Following this the configuration of the infrastructural and agricultural footholds is elaborated further. The configuration of each foothold is informed by deductions drawn from the typological analysis as detailed in chapter four and illustrated in fig. 67.

Each foothold explores the negotiation of my authorship in two manners: (1) in the provision of an initial architectural response which welcomes appropriation by its inhabitants and (2) through the inclusion of another architecture as in the case of the infrastructural foothold and the design input of another architect as evident in the agricultural foothold. Furthermore, the footholds explore the negotiation of traditional Swahili existence with that of collective occupation. This is achieved through the provision of shared spaces of production (infrastructural foothold) and collective agricultural production (agricultural foothold).

Intrinsic to the configuration of each foothold is the proposed Mlingotini house: a domestic type for collective occupation. The Mlingotini house is flexible welcoming appropriation whilst articulating the relationship of the family and/or individual to the collective. Its construction in time allows for adaptations in configuration whilst its materiality and the building practices it embraces embed it within the territory.

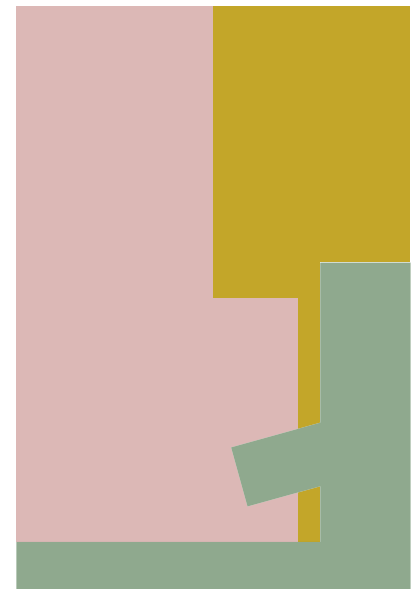
KEY CONCEPTS



COLLABORATION



CONFRONTATION



NEGOTIATION

Collaboration requires of us to take a position that has consequences. A position may contrast or align with that of others – it leads to confrontation. It is this moment of confrontation that must again and again be negotiated. Thus the concepts collaboration, confrontation and negotiation cannot be neatly separated or pinned down – they inform and catalyse one another in a reciprocal manner.

Collaboration-Confrontation-Negotiation

DESIGN METHODOLOGY

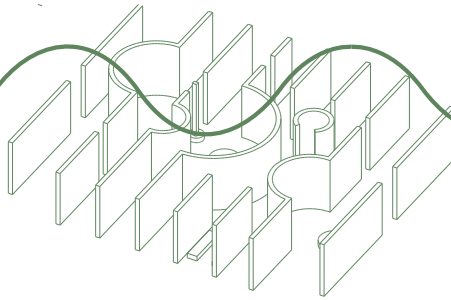
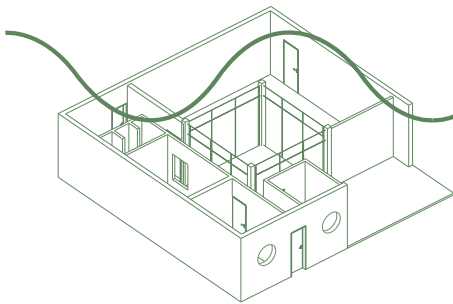
'the architect as single author'



VS

decentered methodology

'the architect as collaborator'



-another architectural concept

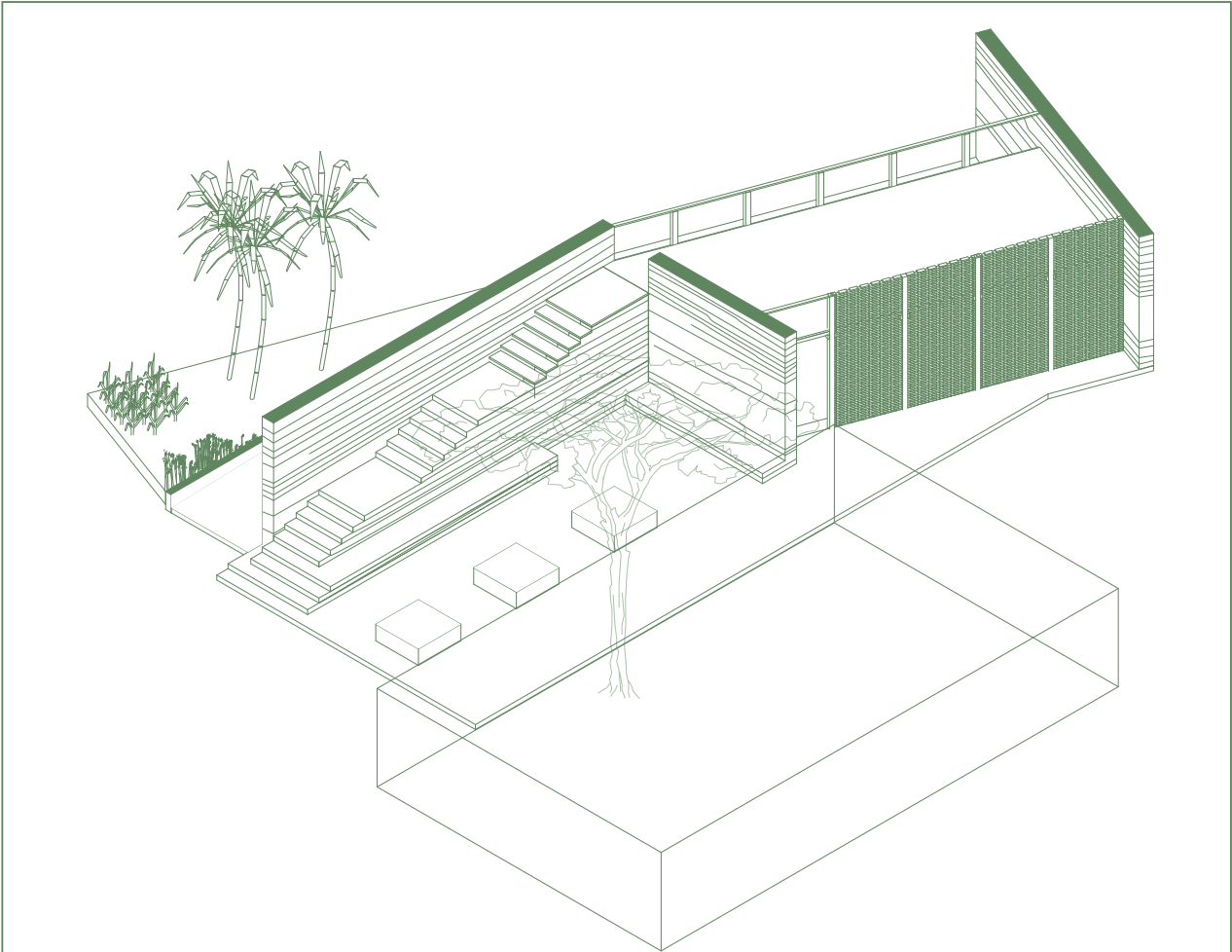
James Stirling's proposal for
the experimental housing
project PREVI (1968)

-another architecture

Aldo Van Eyck's Sonsbeek Pavilion (1966)

-another architect

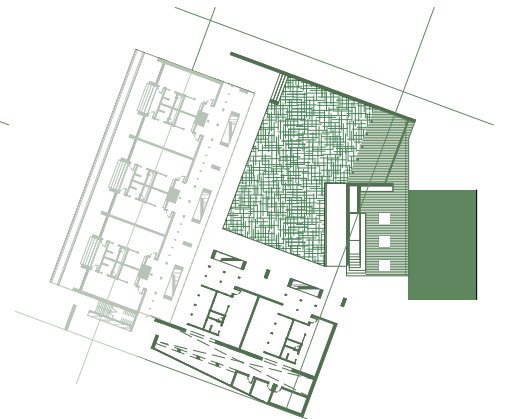
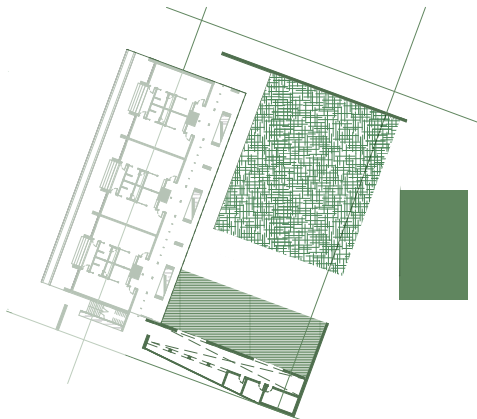
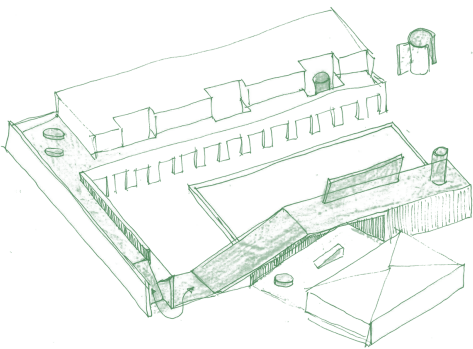
work of colleague Floortje van Sandick

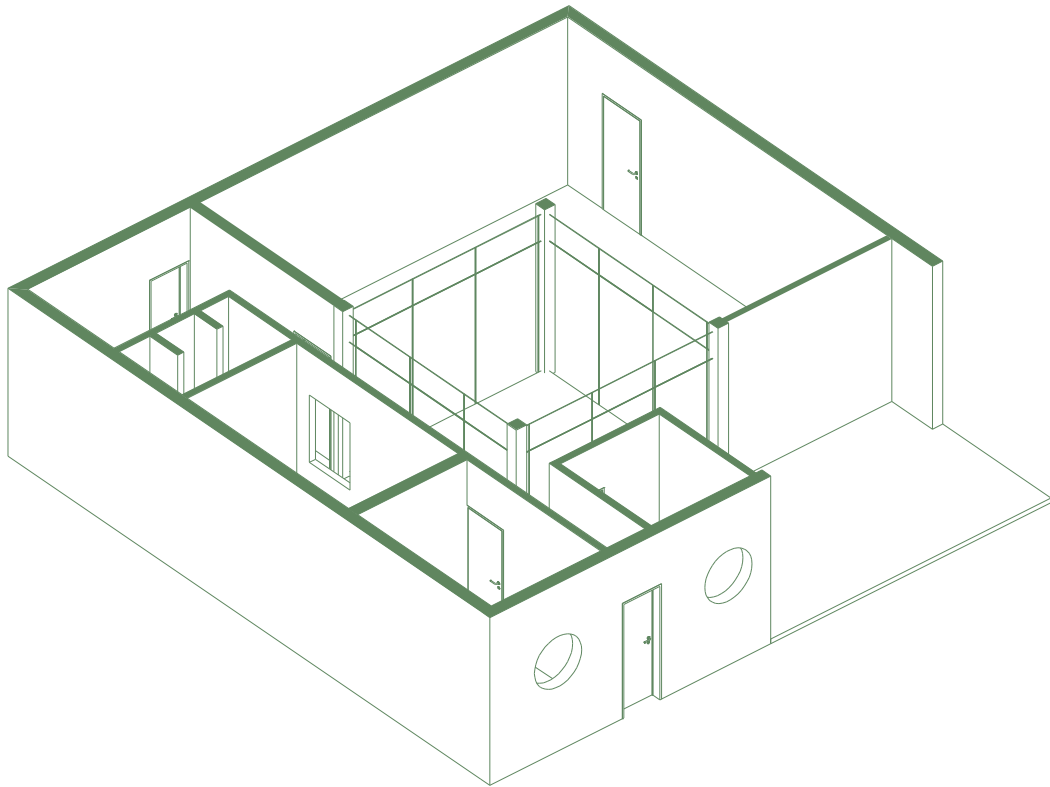


ANOTHER ARCHITECT

FLOORTJE VAN SANDICK - 2018

Floortje van Sandick, a fellow student was invited to collaborate on the development of the agricultural foothold. Floortje identified the opportunity to respond to an adjacent structure and the potential of this space in the formation of a market place. The identification of this potential opened up the possibility for additional Mlingotini houses and a more dynamic response to the existing context.



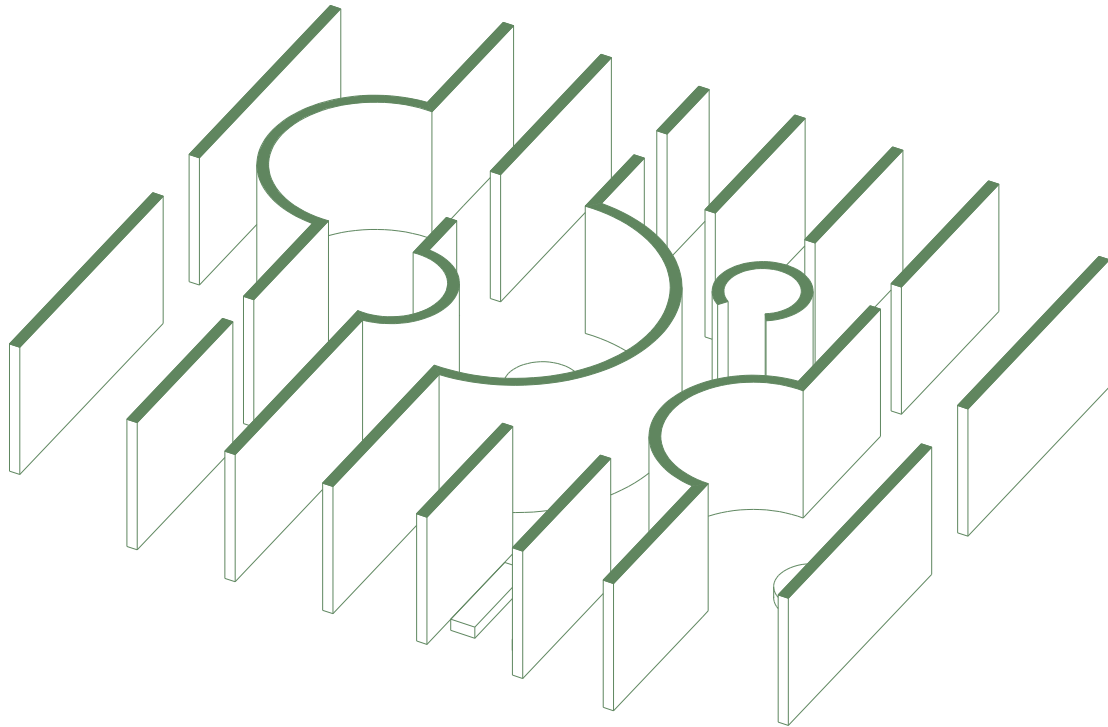


ANOTHER ARCHITECTURAL CONCEPT

JAMES STRILING'S PROPOSAL FOR PREVI LIMA -1978

James Stirling's proposal for Previ Lima completed in 1978 is considered an exercise in the courtyard or patio. The proposal which saw four dwelling units grouped around service patios which in turn formed a larger cluster structured around an entrance patio revealed the organisational power of the courtyard on both the scale of the dwelling and that of the community. The programmatic foothold is conceived of as series of such clusters orientated around larger collective courtyards relating to the axial distribution of programmes observed.

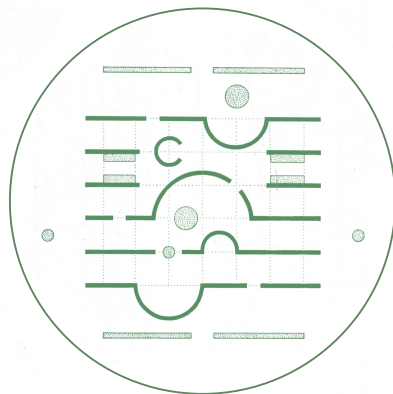
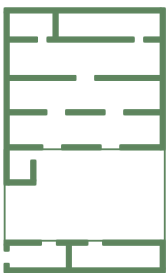




ANOTHER ARCHITECTURE

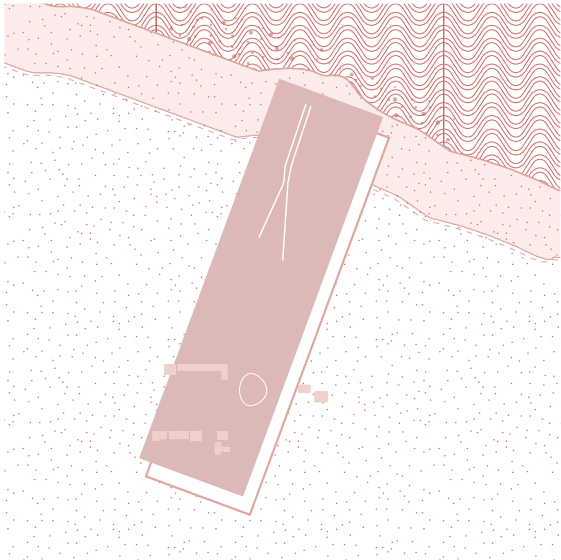
ALDO VAN EYCK'S SONSBEEK PAVILION - 1963

The Sonsbeek pavilion consists of six parallel walls almost 4m high placed at a distance of 2.5m from each other. The generous curves of the walls and sudden cuts transform what appears to be a simple exercise in plan into a complex spatial device. The plan of the Sonsbeek pavilion draws parallels to that of the 15 CE. Swahili Stone House which structured the use of domestic space through a series of parallel walls and the processional experience or movement through space. It is this layering of space that was written into the configuration of the infrastructural foothold with parallel walls delineating liminal spaces for domestic and productive functions.

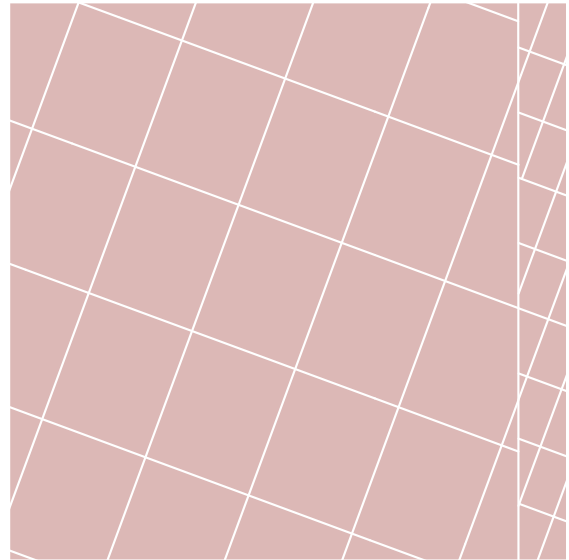


Figures 63-65. Collaborations in design development, Author, 2017

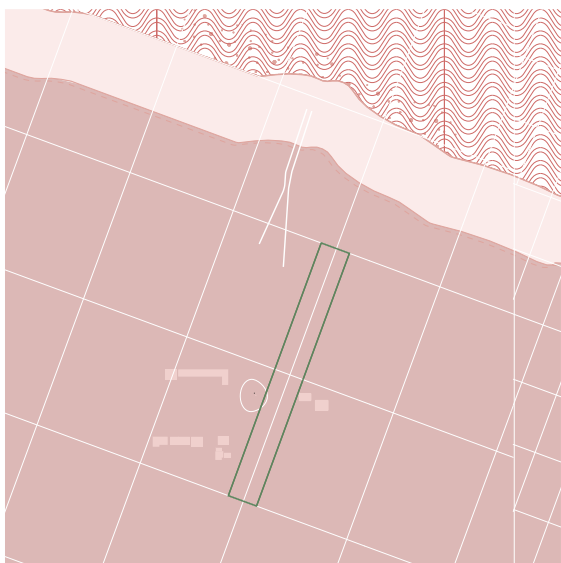
TERRITORIAL NEGOTIATION



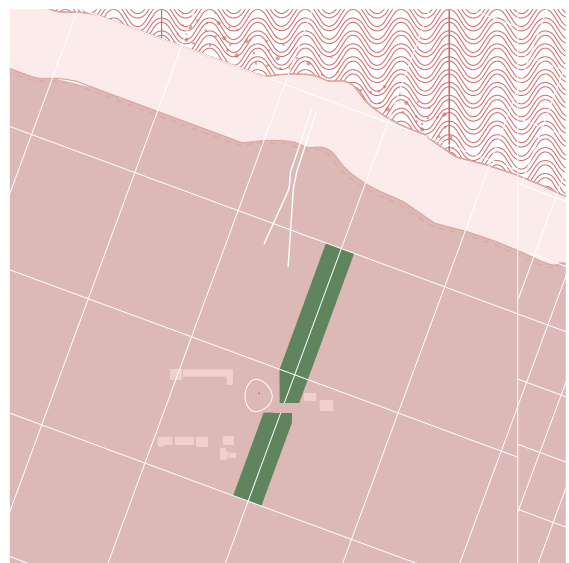
OCCUPATION



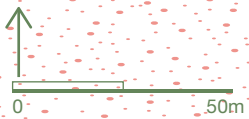
CORRESPONDING GRID



OCCUPYING THE GRID

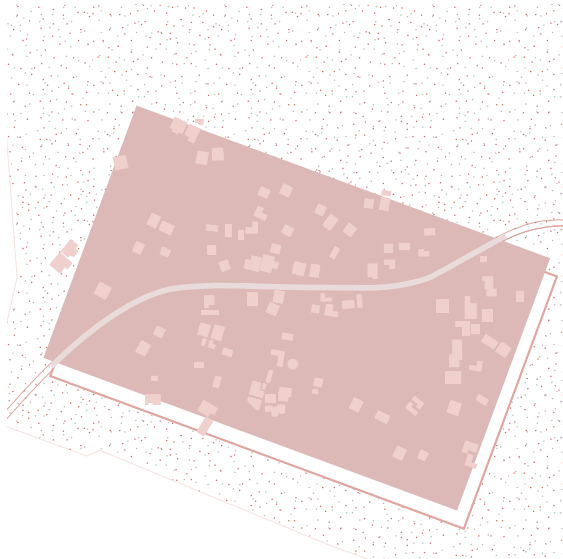


RESPONDING TO MLINGOTINI

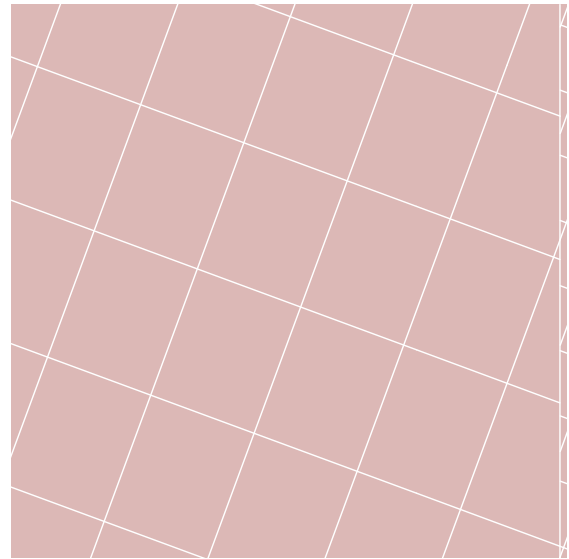


PROGRAMMATIC FOOHOLD

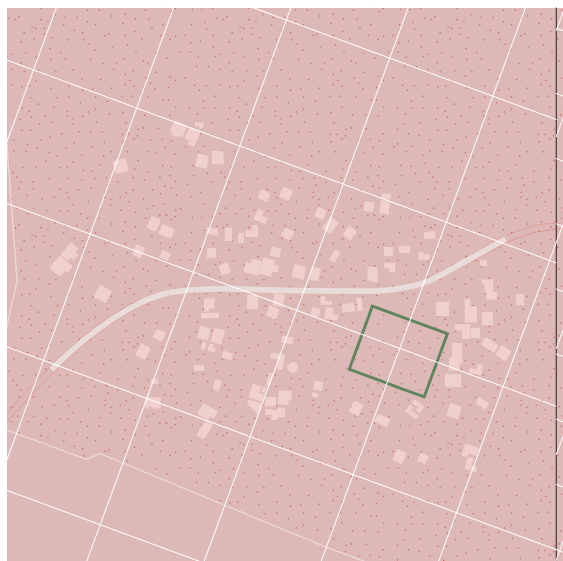
TERRITORIAL NEGOTIATION



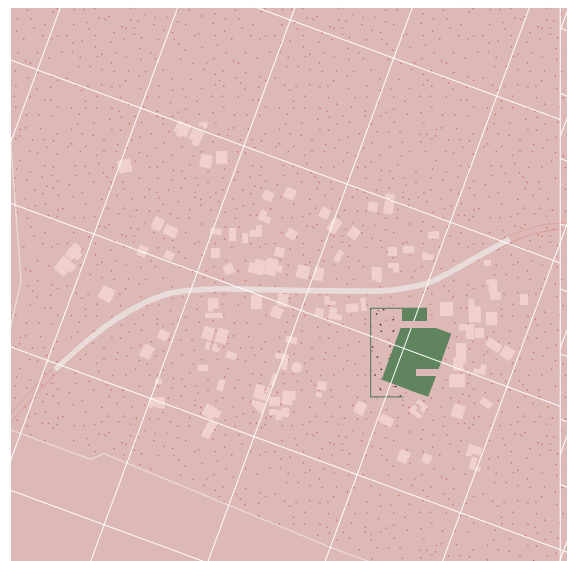
OCCUPATION



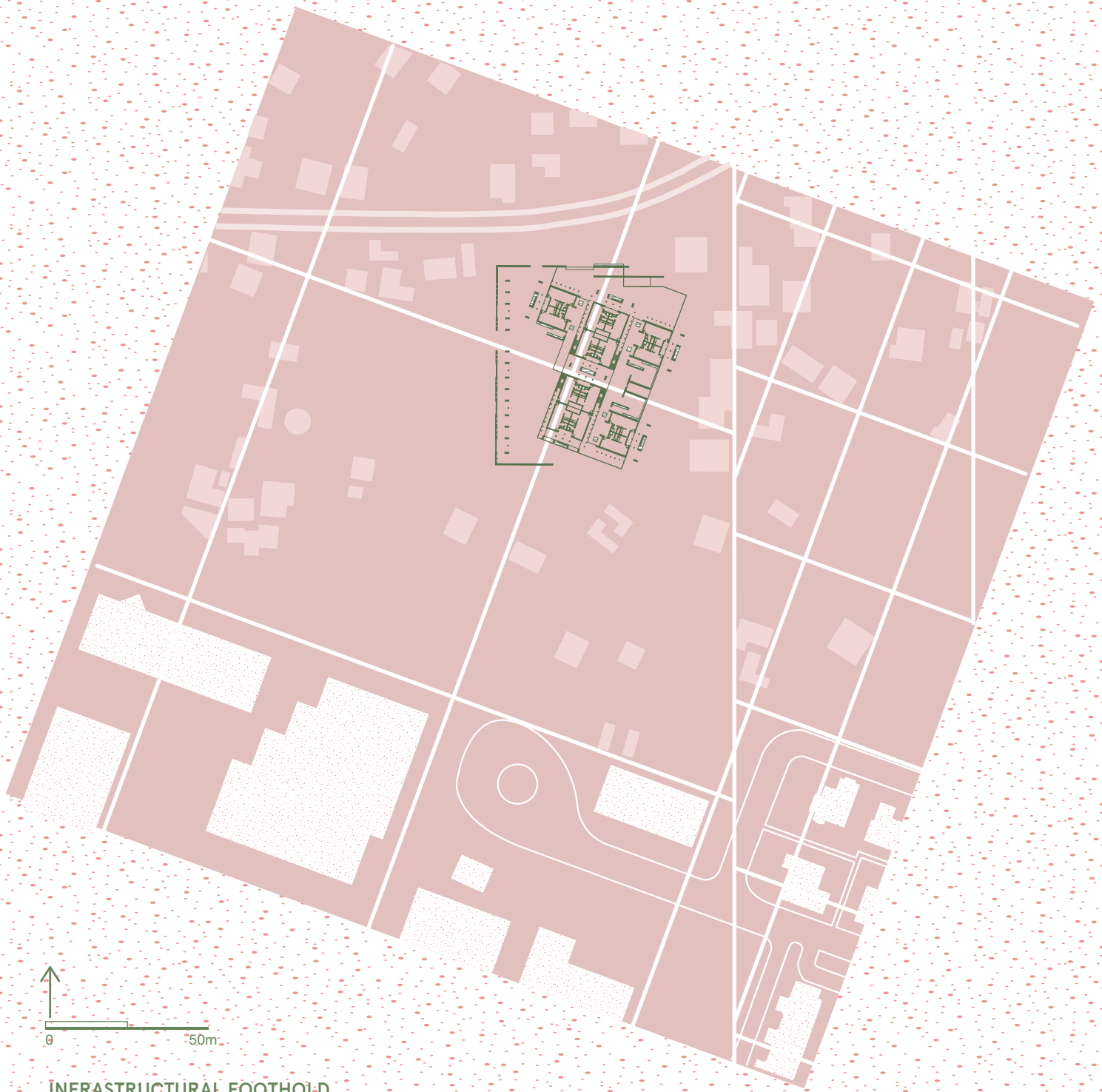
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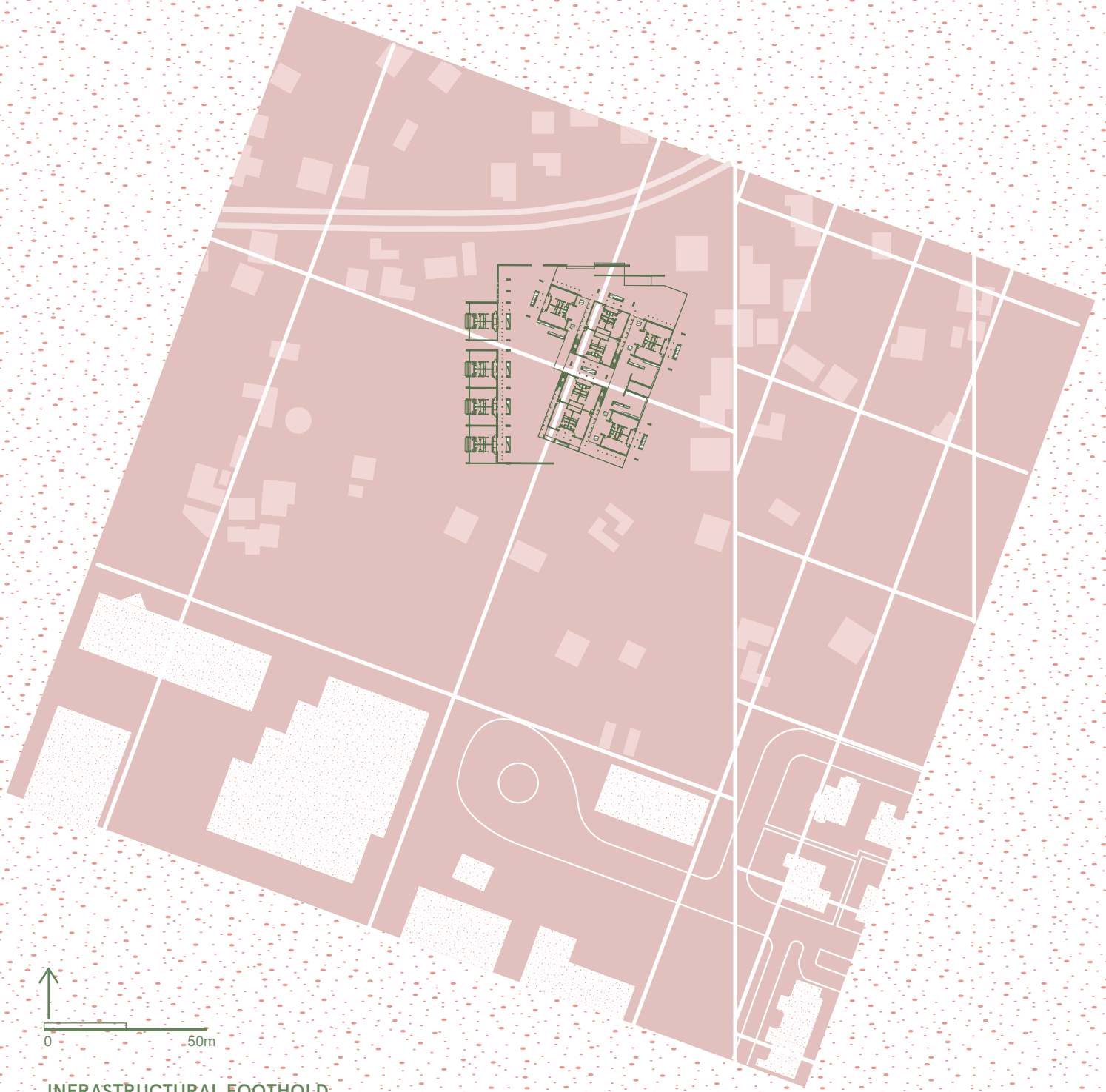
OCCUPYING THE GRID



RESPONDING TO MLINGOTINI

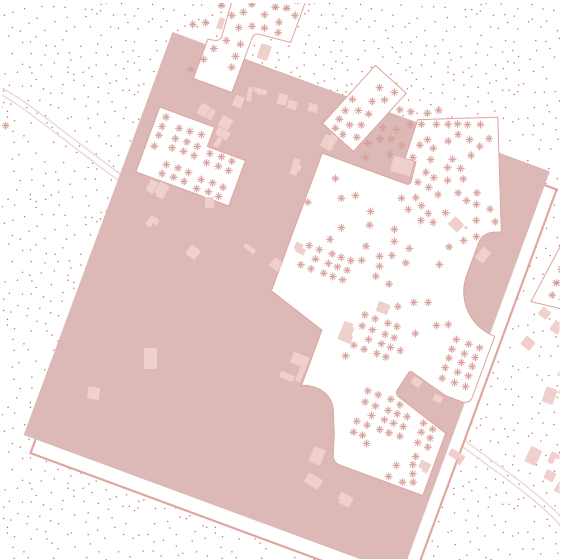


INFRASTRUCTURAL FOOTHOLD

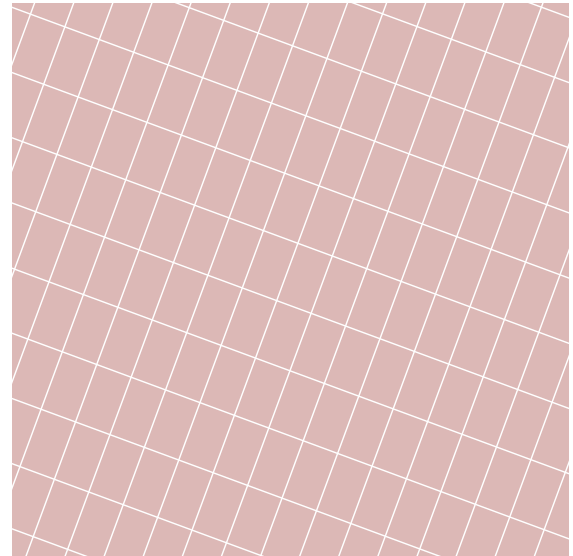


**INFRASTRUCTURAL Foothold
POTENTIAL**

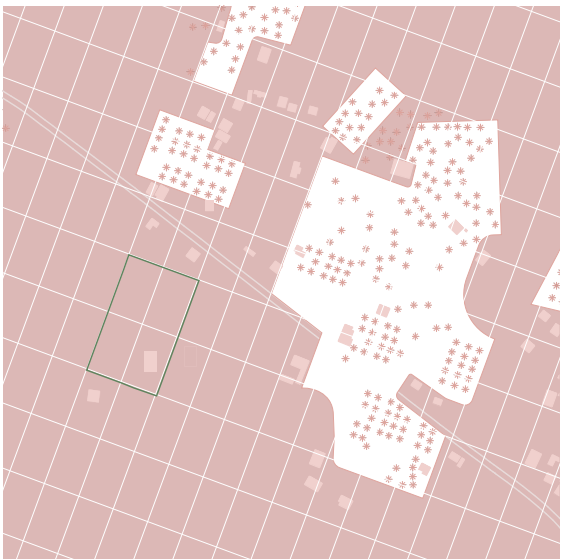
TERRITORIAL NEGOTIATION



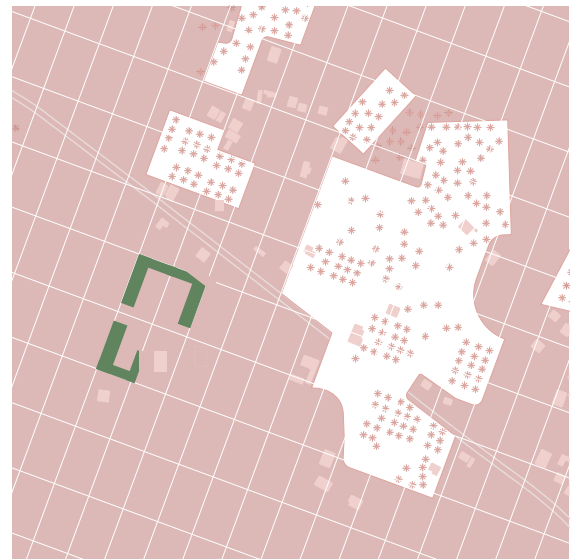
OCCUPATION



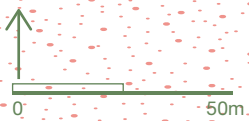
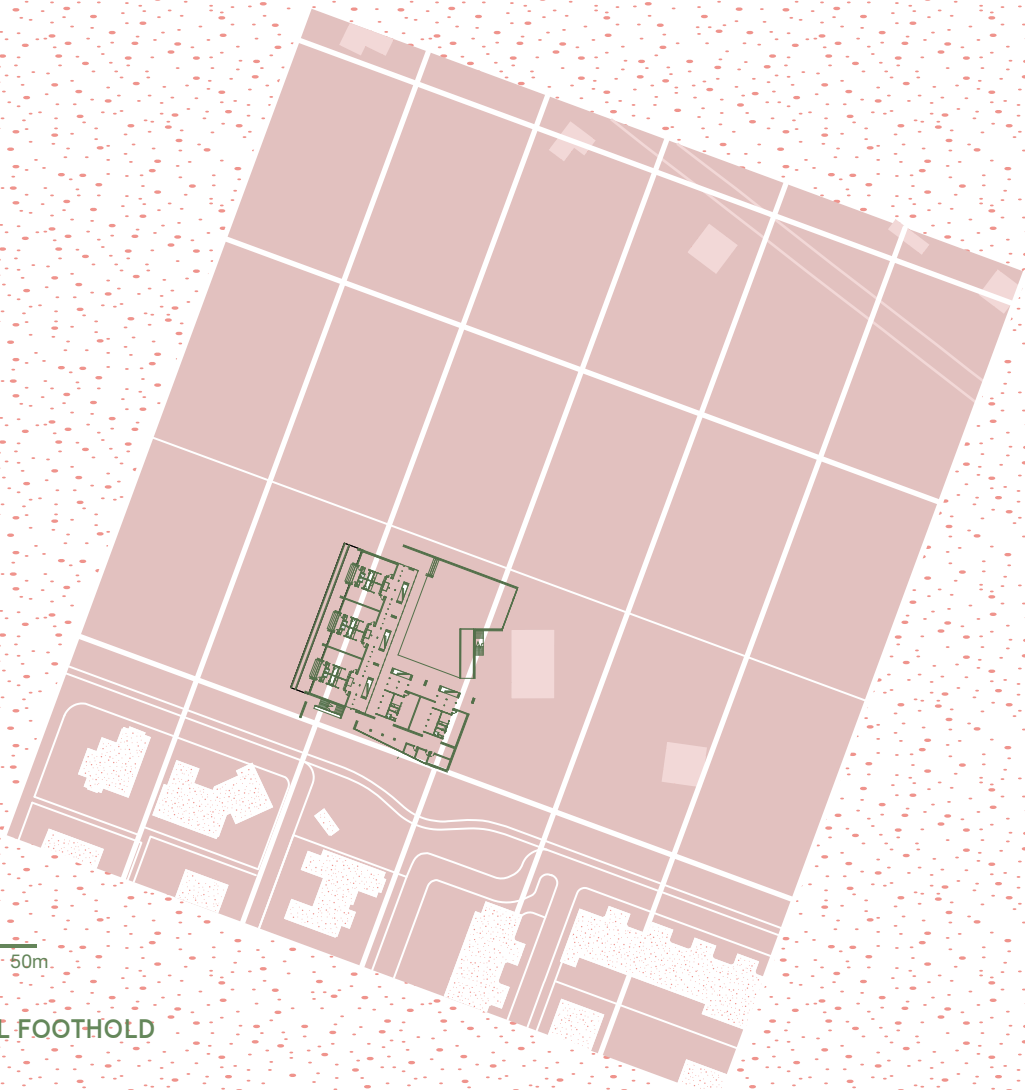
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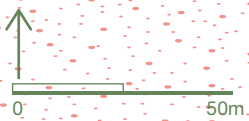
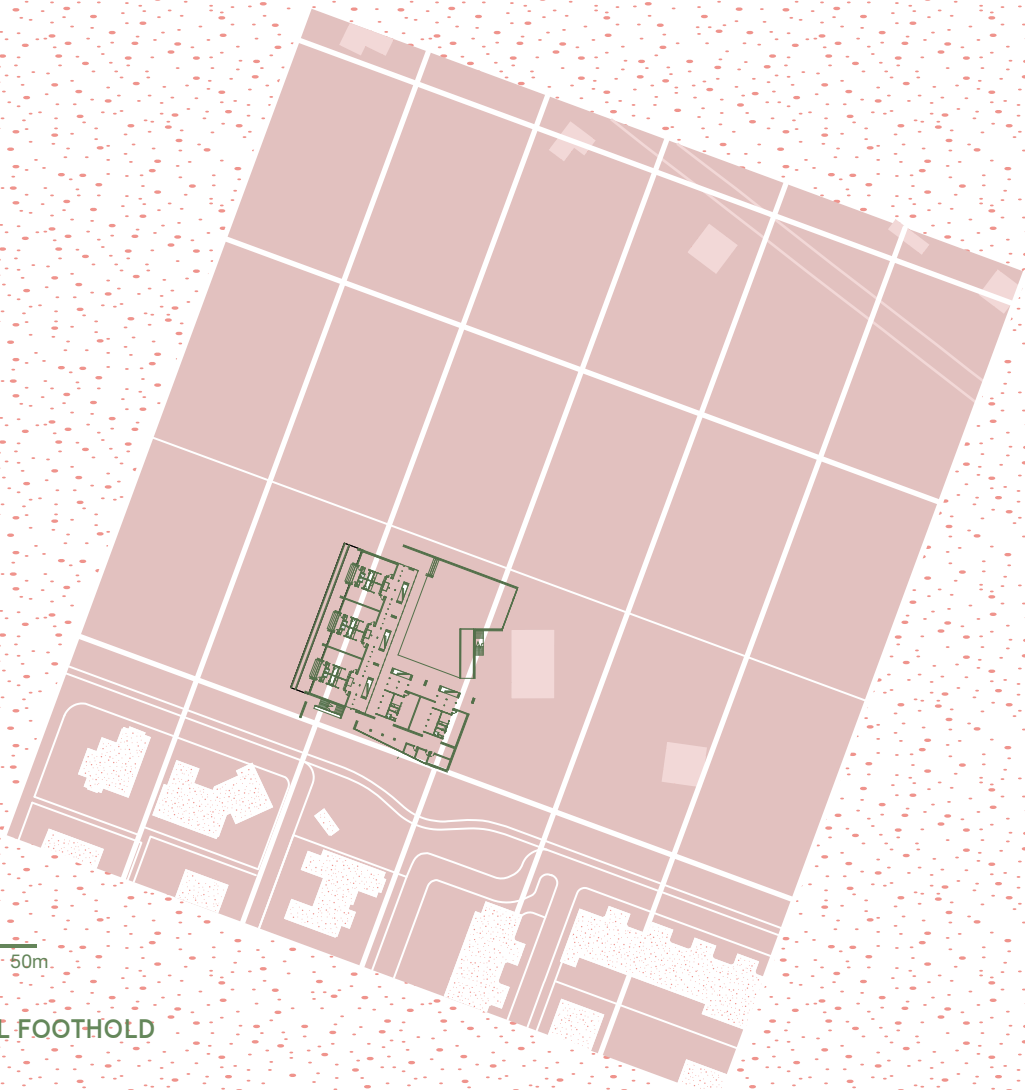
OCCUPYING THE GRID



RESPONDING TO MLINGOTINI



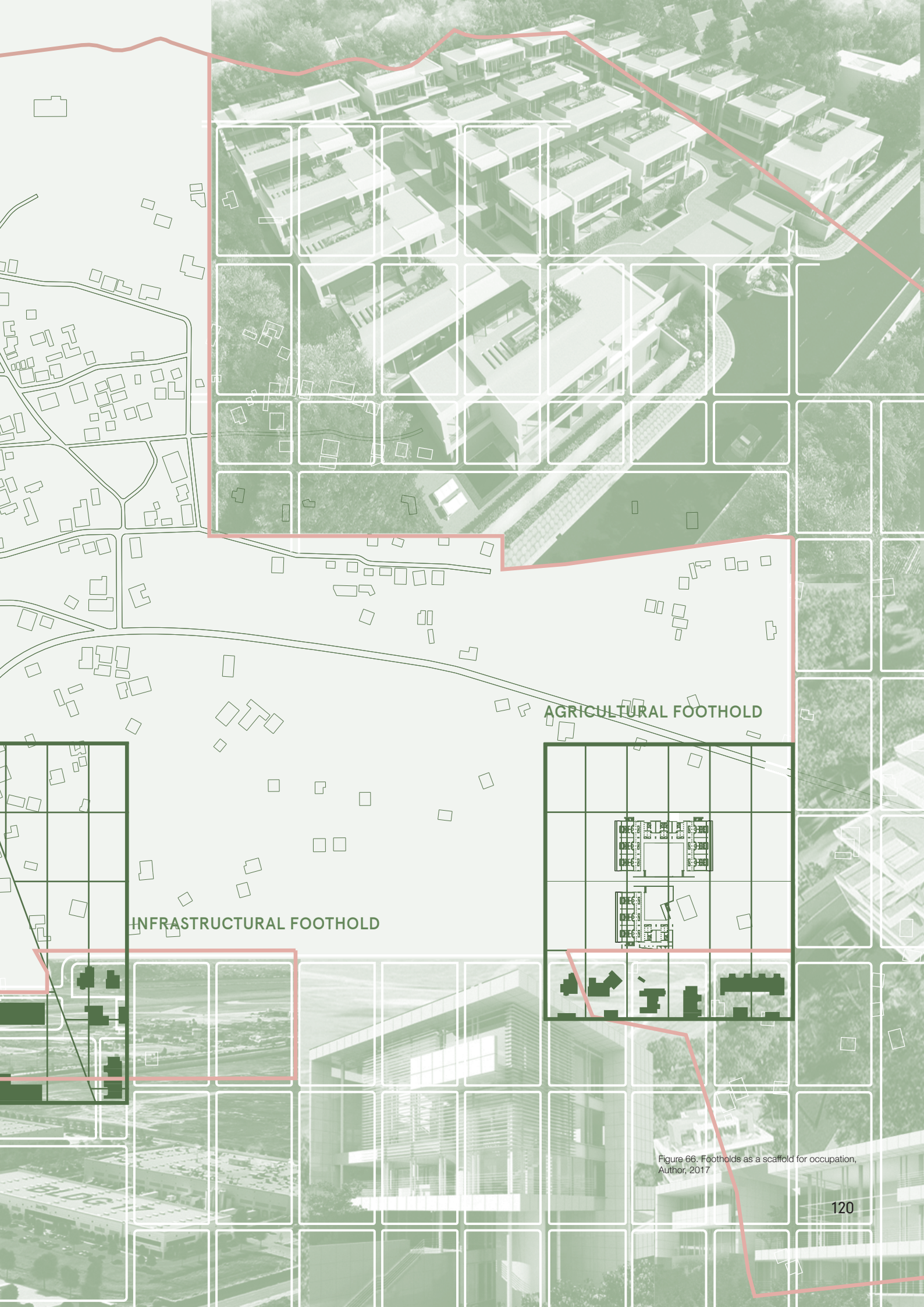
AGRICULTURAL Foothold



**AGRICULTURAL FOOTHOLD
POTENTIAL**

PROGRAMMATIC FOOTHOLD



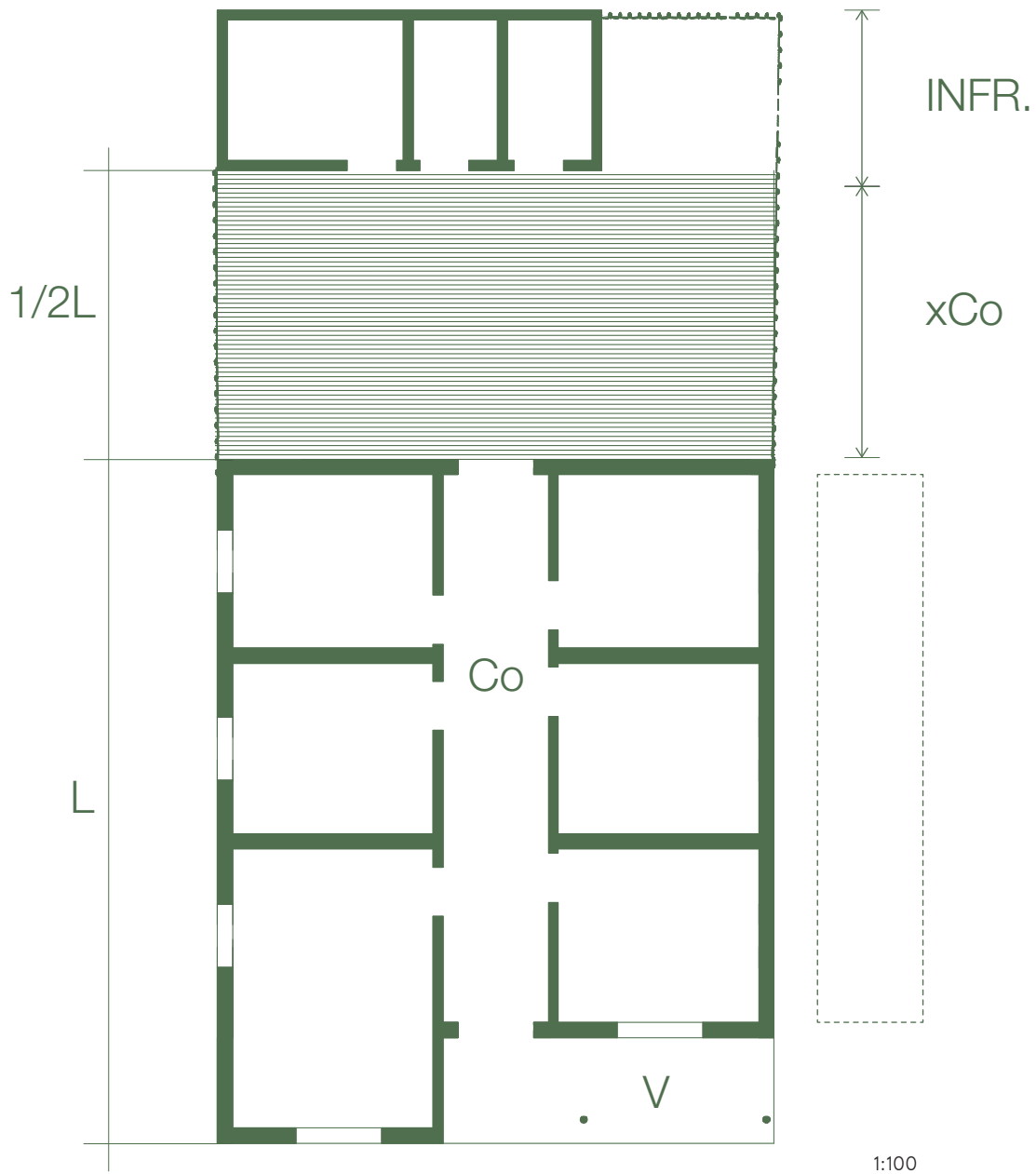


AGRICULTURAL FOOTHOLD

INFRASTRUCTURAL FOOTHOLD

Figure 66. Footholds as a scaffold for occupation, Author, 2017

OBSERVATIONS



CONCLUSIONS FROM TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

1. The corridor (Co) structures the relationship between interior and exterior. Swahili life has made of it a space/room.

2. The courtyard (C) exists as an interiorisation of the territory - it is demarcated and defined by the home

3. The free standing swahili house with its insular relationship to the land leaves its inhabitants vulnerable.

APPROACH



TYPOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

CORRIDOR

Exacted on the territorial scale. Structures and catalyses relationship between collective and the territory. A space for production, socialisation.

COURTYARD

Exacted on the territorial scale. An articulated space of occupation.

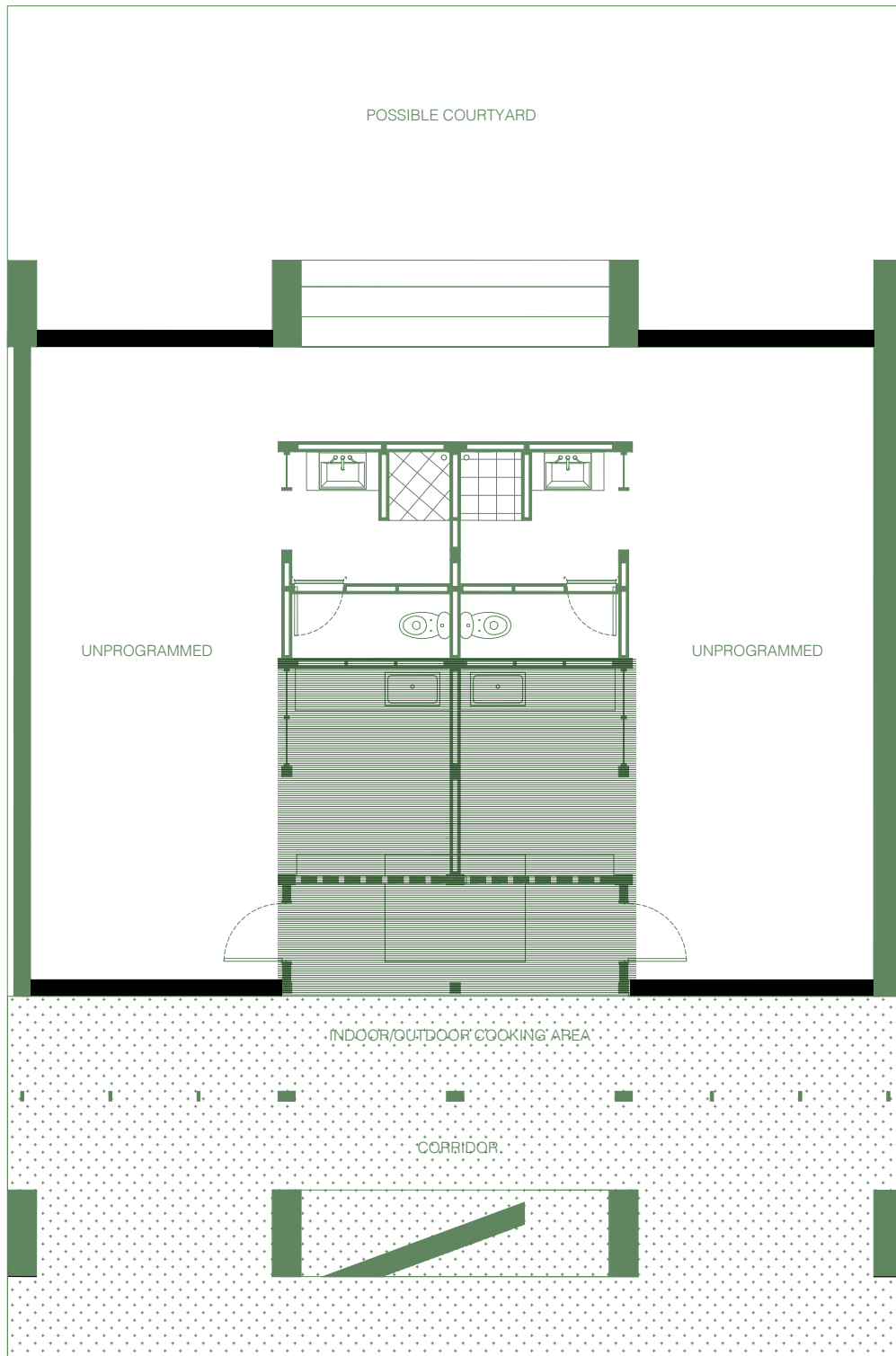
DWELLING

Domestic space is transformed and coded back into the territory through the corridor and courtyard.

Figure 67. Observations from typological analysis, Author, 2017

Figure 68. Typological transformations engaged in project development, Author, 2017

A MLINGOTINI HOUSE



TWO MLINGOTINI HOUSES
NTS.

A MLINGOTINI HOUSE

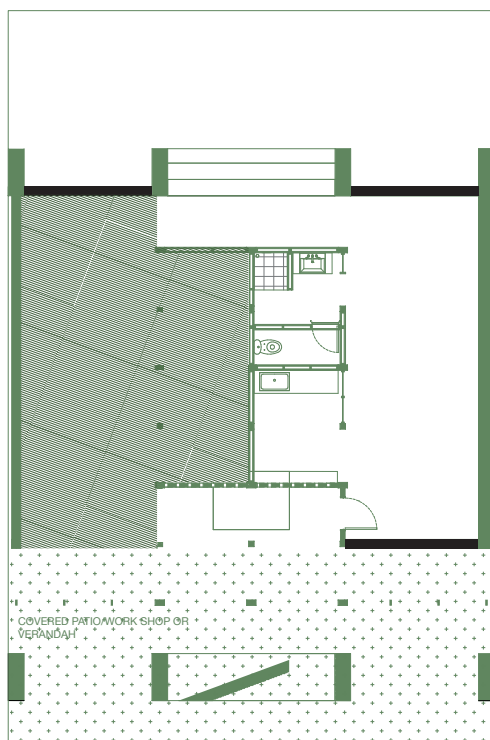
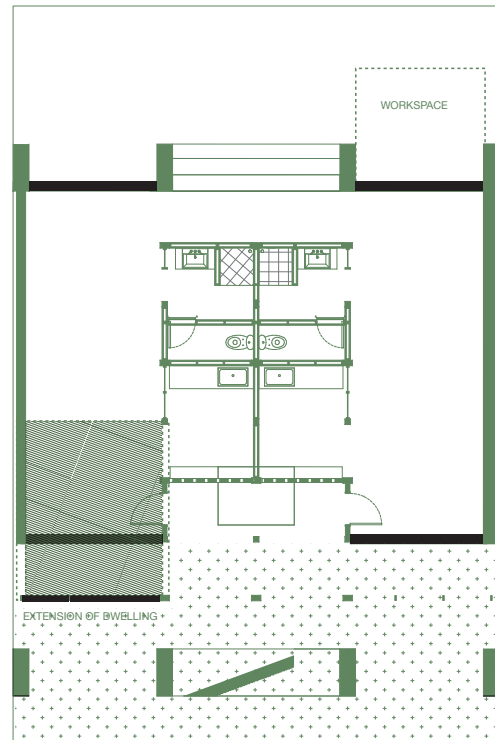
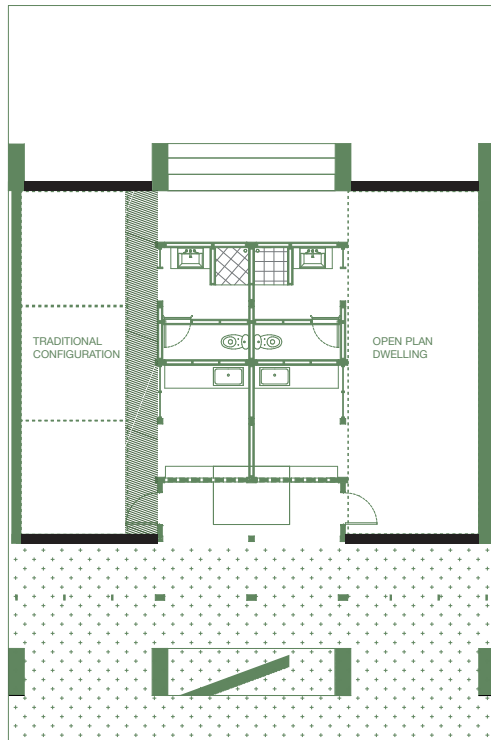
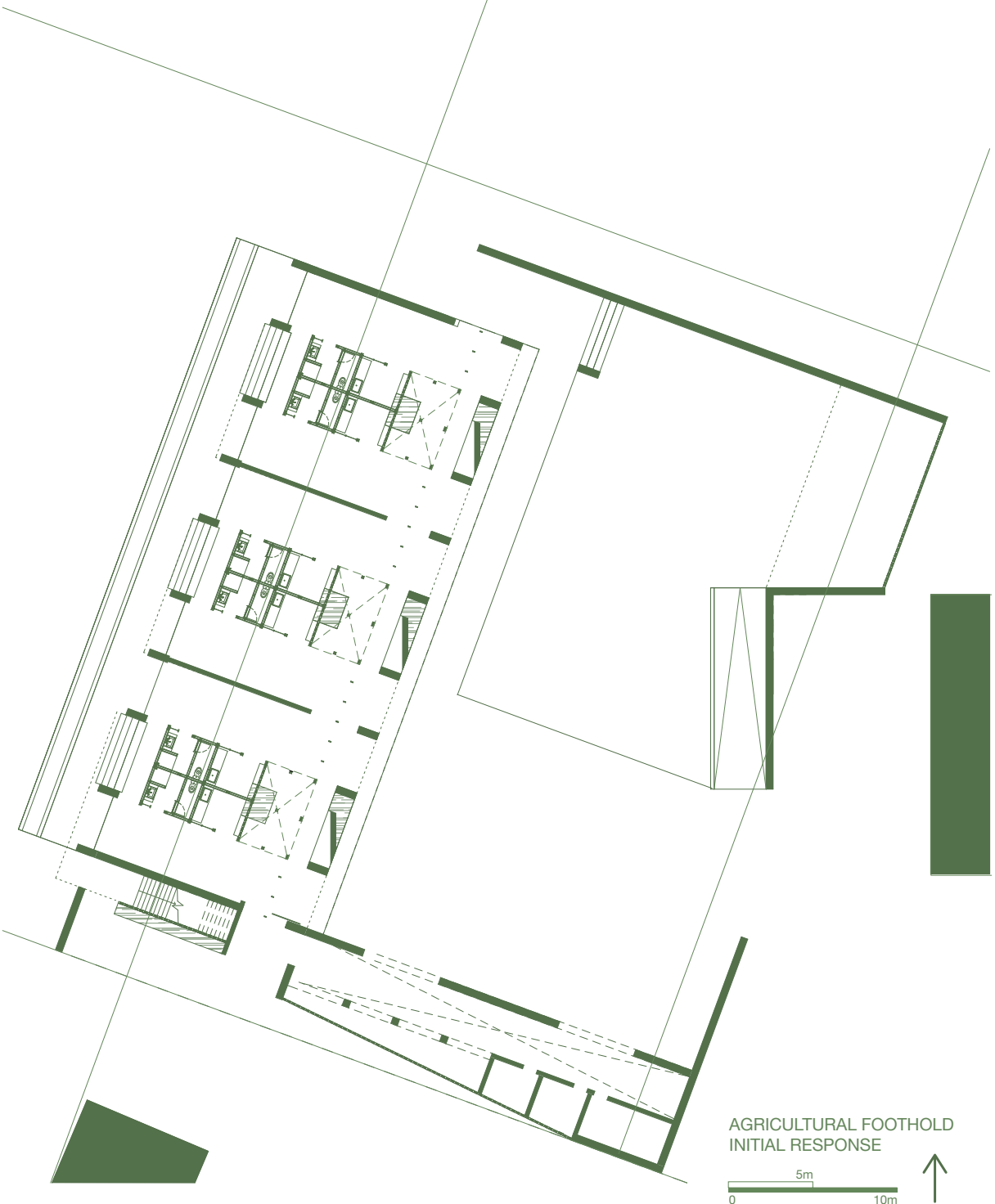


Figure 69. A Mlingotini House, Author, 2017

Figure 70. Transformations & adaptations of a Mlingotini House, Author, 2017

CONFIGURATIONS



AGRICULTURAL FOOTHOLD
INITIAL RESPONSE



CONFIGURATIONS



CONFIGURATIONS



COURTYARDS & CORRIDORS



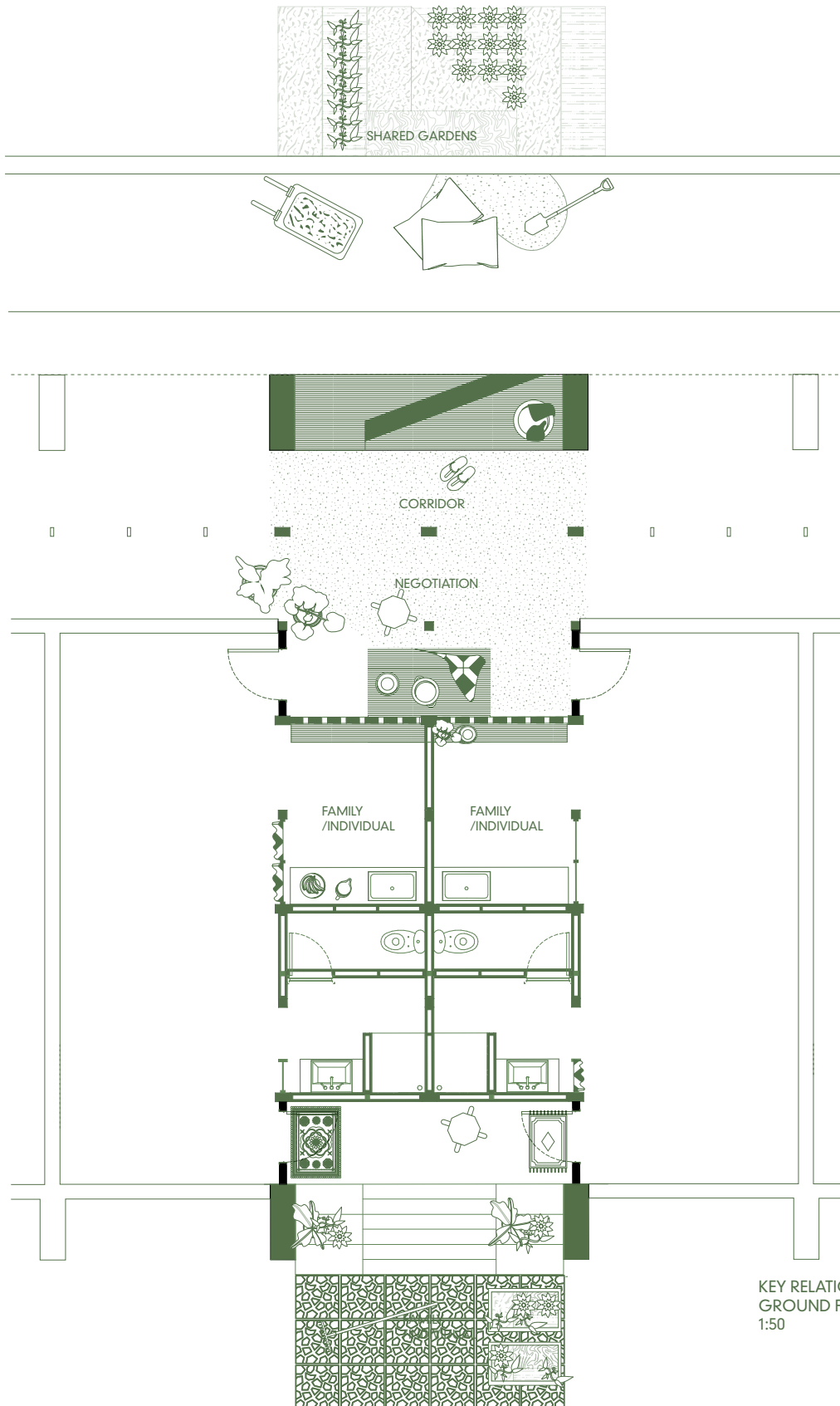
AGRICULTURAL FOOTHOLD
GROUND FLOOR



SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP COURTYARD CORRIDOR



SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP

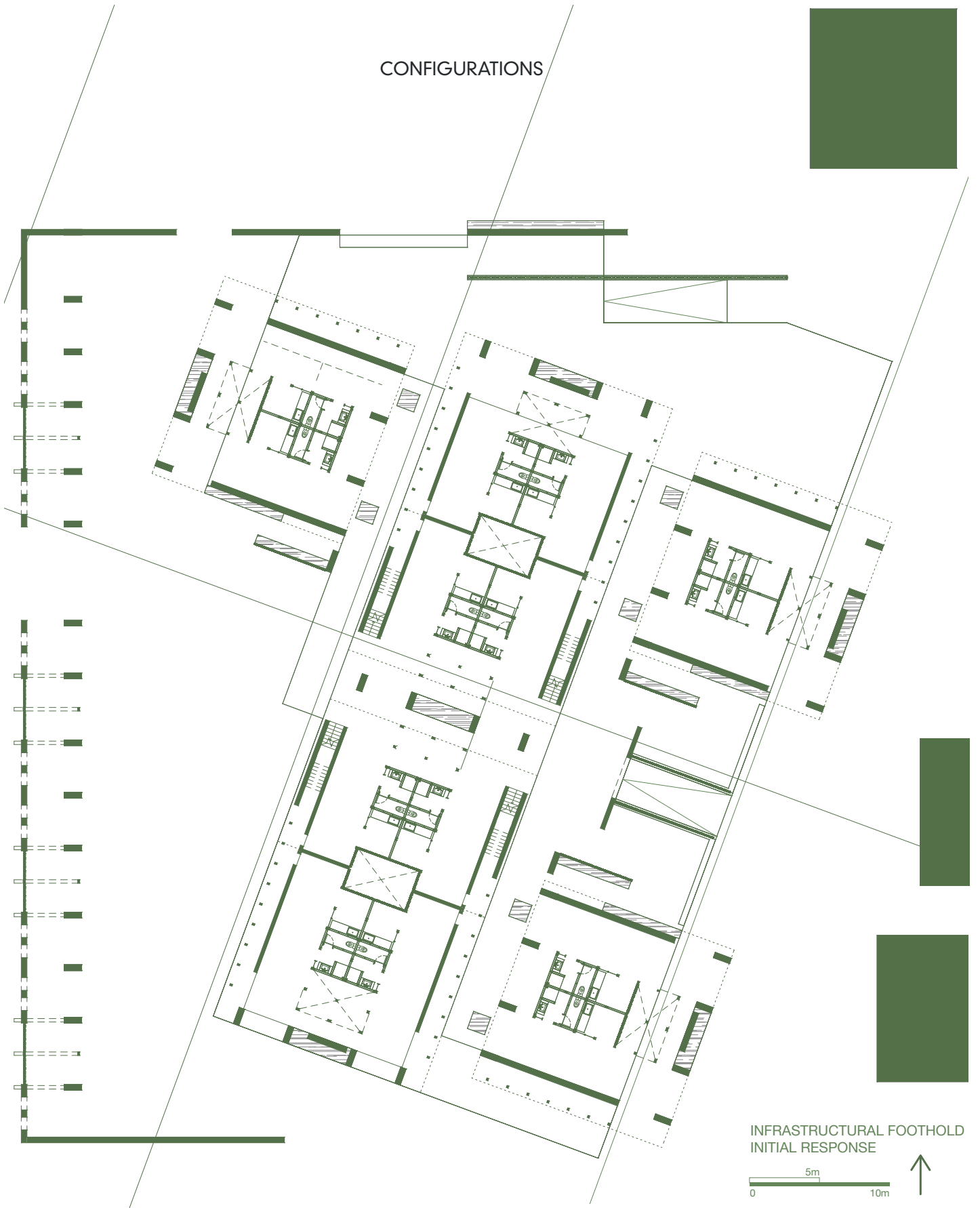


KEY RELATIONSHIP
GROUND FLOOR
1:50



Figure 71-72. Perspective views of the market place and collective agricultural courtyard of the agricultural foothold , Author, 2017

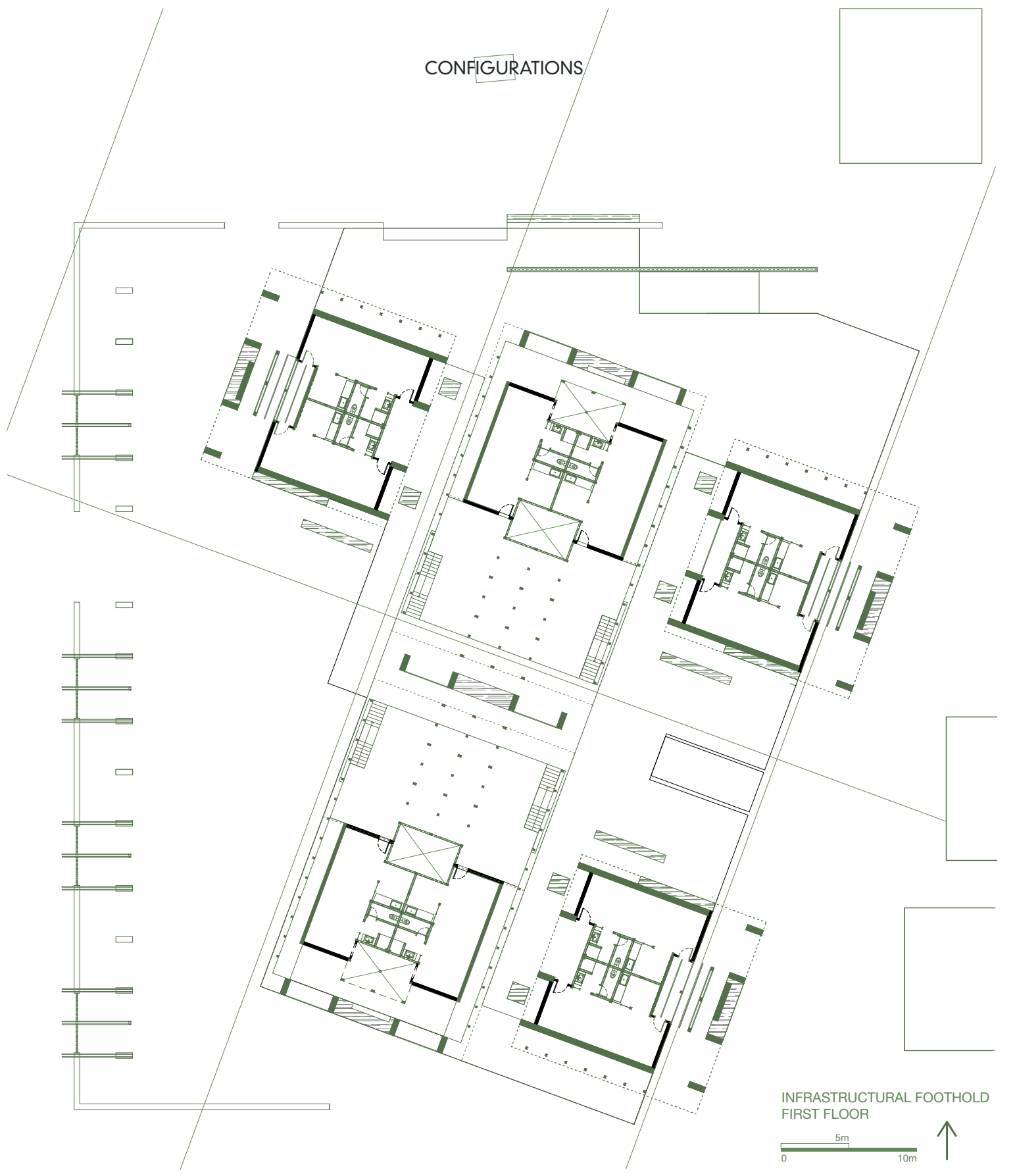
CONFIGURATIONS



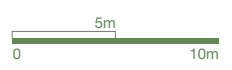
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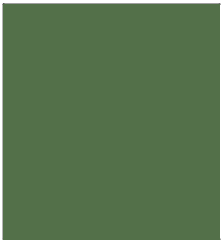
CONFIGURATIONS



INFRASTRUCTURAL FOOTHOLD
FIRST FLOOR



COURTYARDS & CORRIDORS



INFRASTRUCTURAL FOOTHOLD
INITIAL RESPONSE



SIGNIFICANT
RELATIONSHIP COURTYARD CORRIDOR



SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP

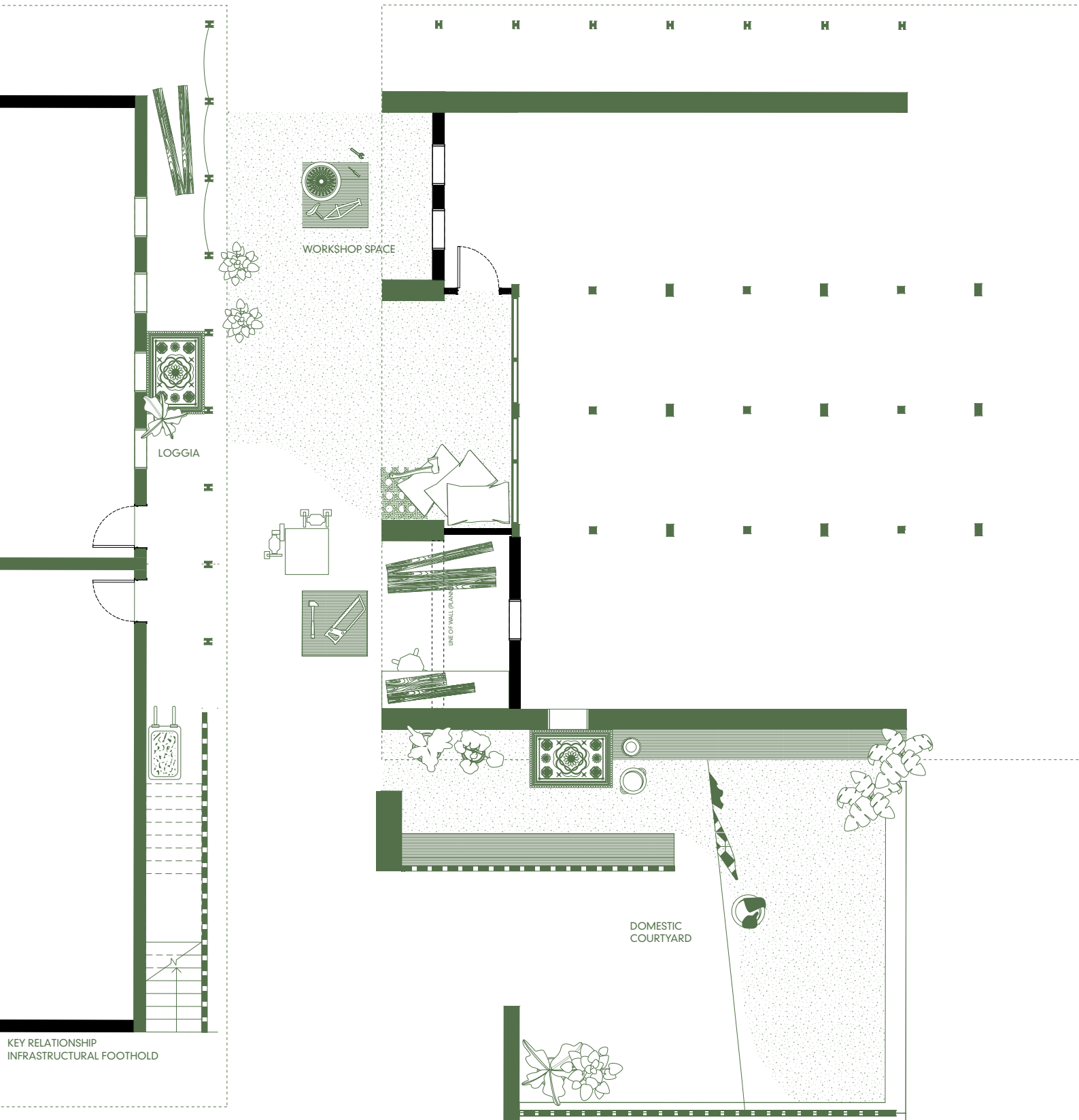
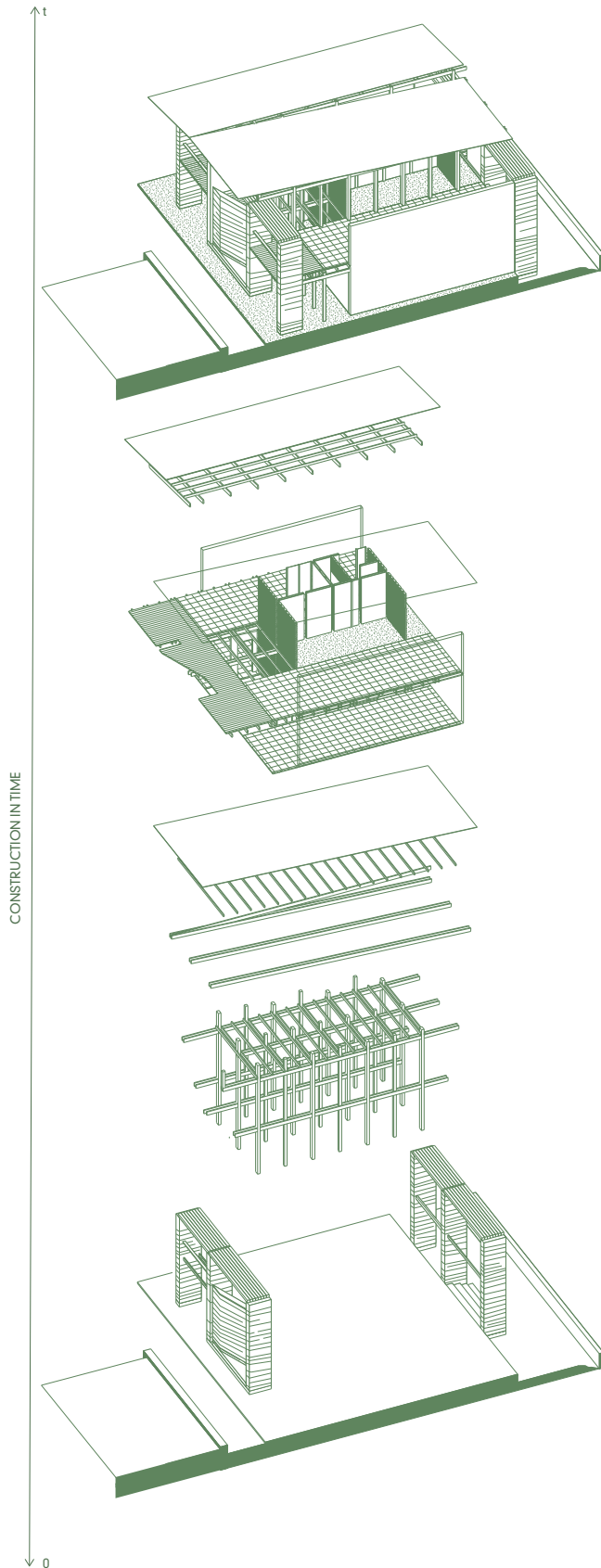




Figure 73-74. Perspective views of the approach to and shared work spaces /corridor of the infrastructural foothold , Author, 2017

CONSTRUCTION



Building a Mlingotini House

A Collective Action

Six 400 mm x 1200 mm rammed earth piers are erected delineating the extent of the corridor (collective) and the dwelling

A Timber frame

A structural timber frame consisting of 200 x 50 mm beams bolted to 240 x 140 mm & 140 mm x 140 mm columns is erected. The frame is tied into the rammed earth piers. the frame acts as structural and organisational core.

Raising the Roof

The timber frame allows for the first pitched roof to be erected. The raising of the roof is an act of generosity. it articulates the transition from collective to individual/ family zones whilst providing respite from sun and rain - welcoming activity.

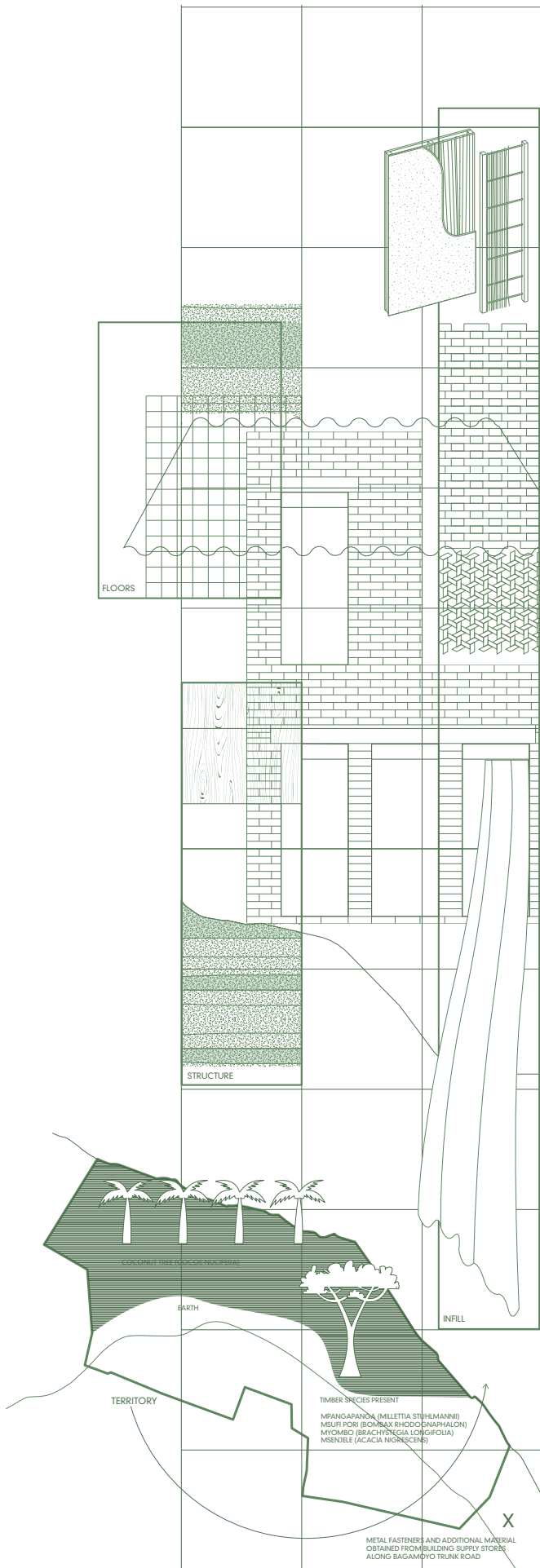
Infill

With the main structure established occupants configure the interior (individual/ family zone). Three wall types are introduced: (A) a mud plaster wall referencing traditional wattle and daub construction, (B) perforated/ 'soft' skins of woven coconut mats, cypress screens and curtains and (C) solid or perforated Compressed earth block (CEB) walls

floors

three floor types are introduced: one comprised of compacted mud & cow Dung, a second of 300 x 300 baked clay tiles and a third of reclaimed timber

MATERIALITY



MATERIAL PRACTICE

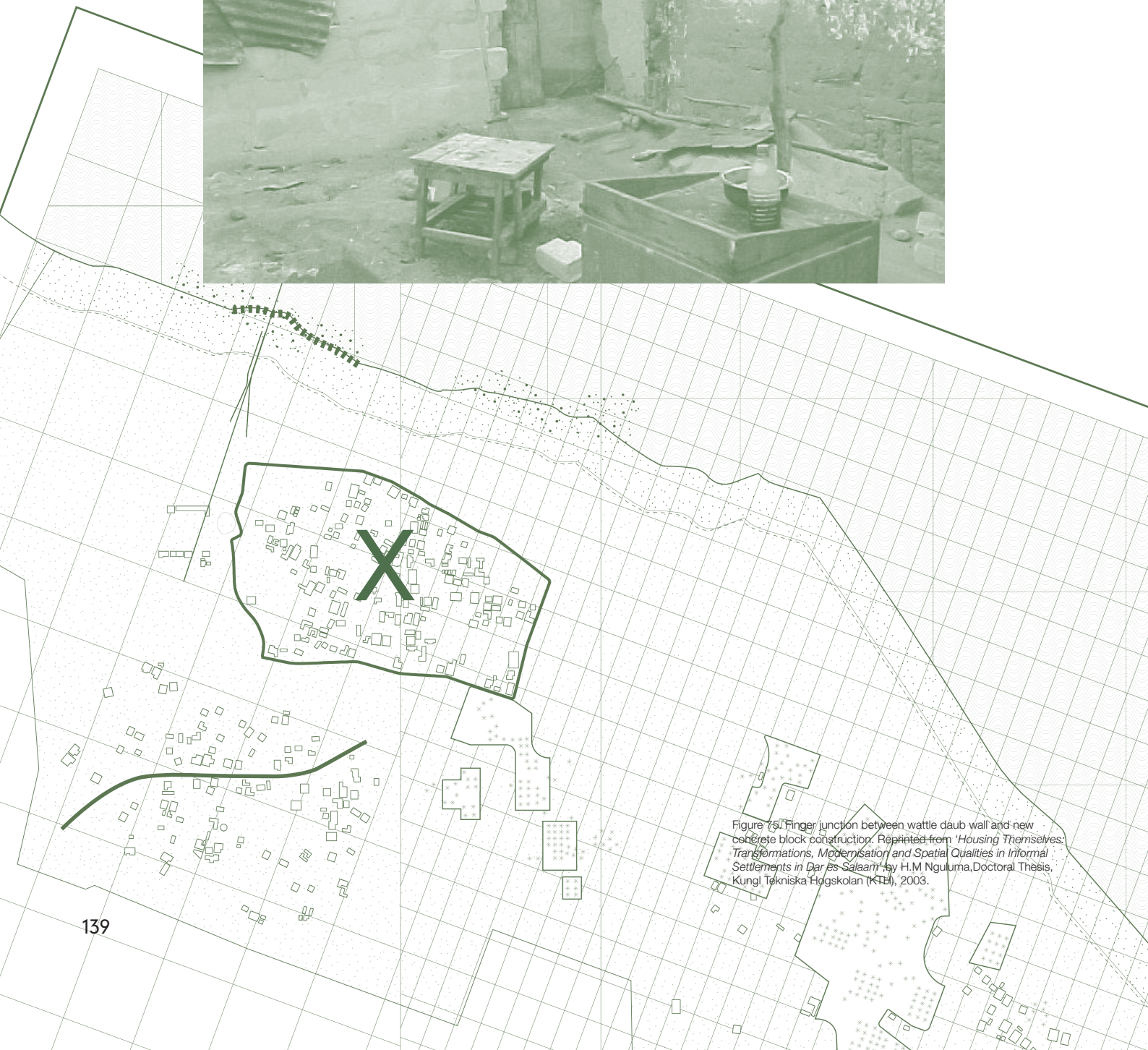
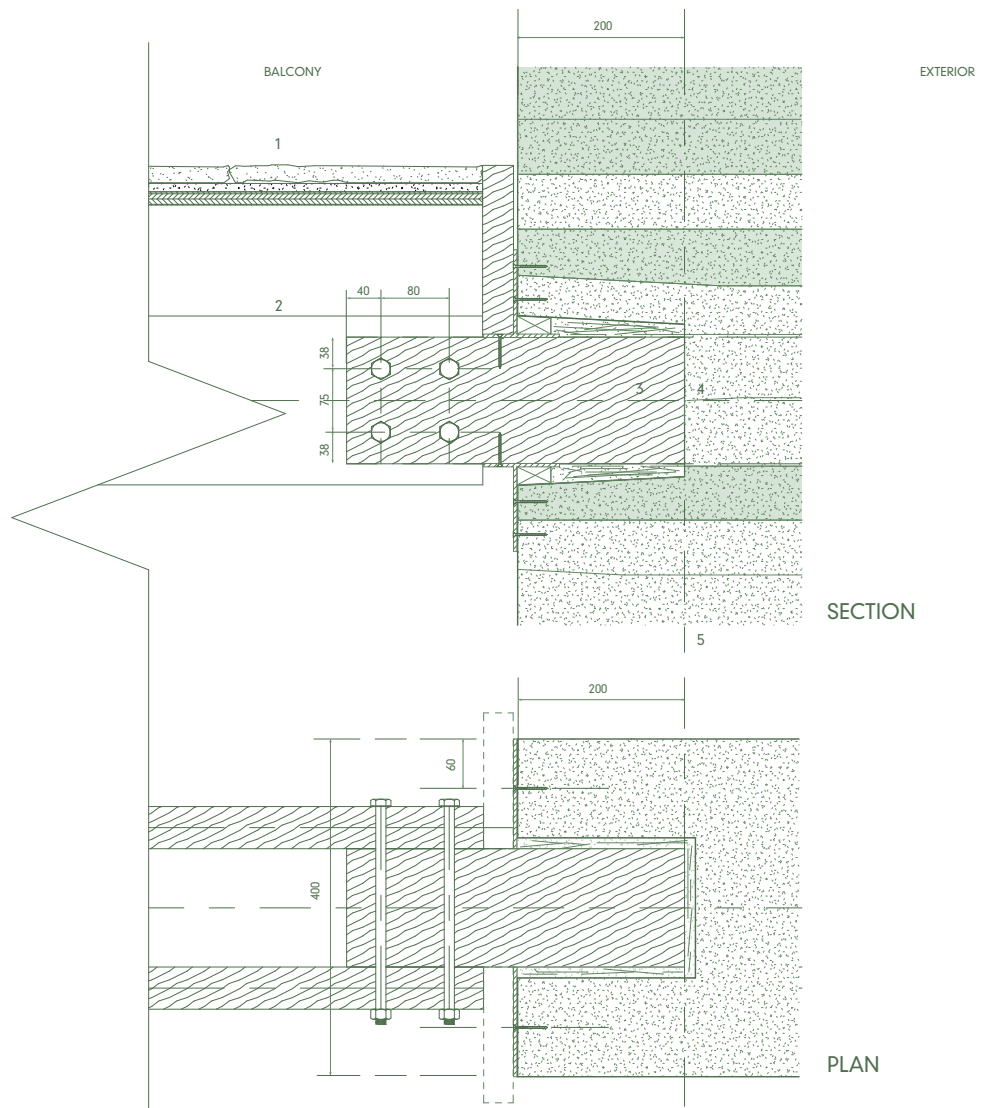


Figure 75. Finger junction between wattle daub wall and new concrete block construction. Reprinted from 'Housing Themselves: Transformations, Modernisation and Spatial Qualities in Informal Settlements in Dar es Salaam' by H.M Nguluma, Doctoral Thesis, Kungl. Tekniska Hogskolan (KTH), 2003.

DETAIL



TIMBER FRAME TO RAMMED
EARTH PIER CONNECTION
1:5

MATERIAL PRACTICE

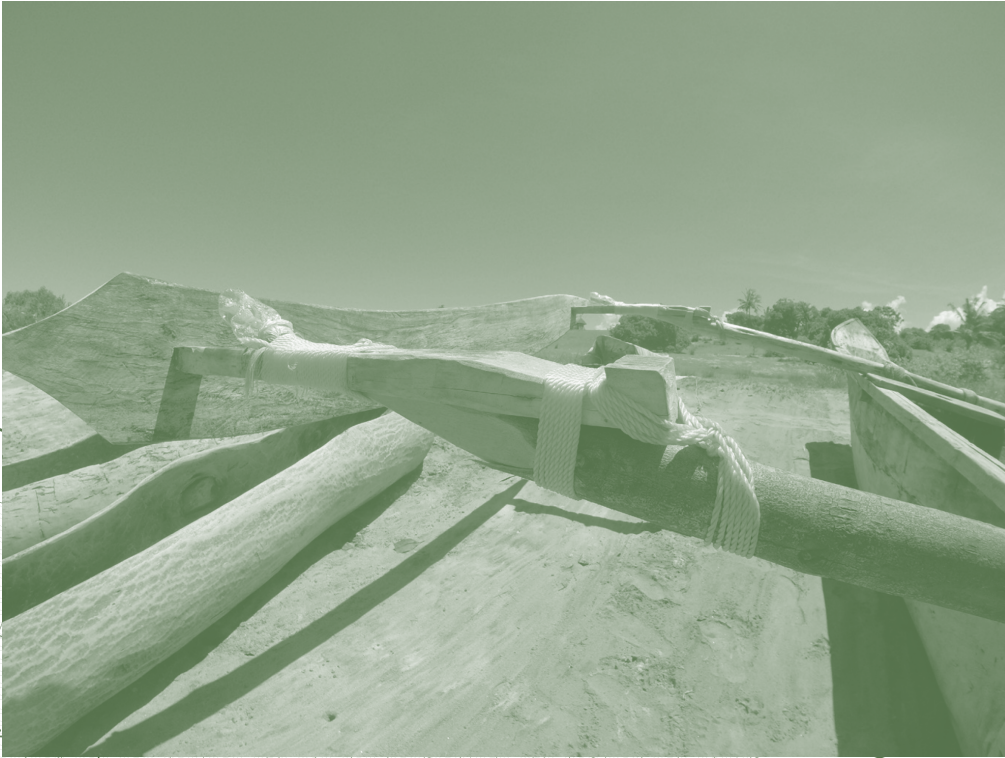
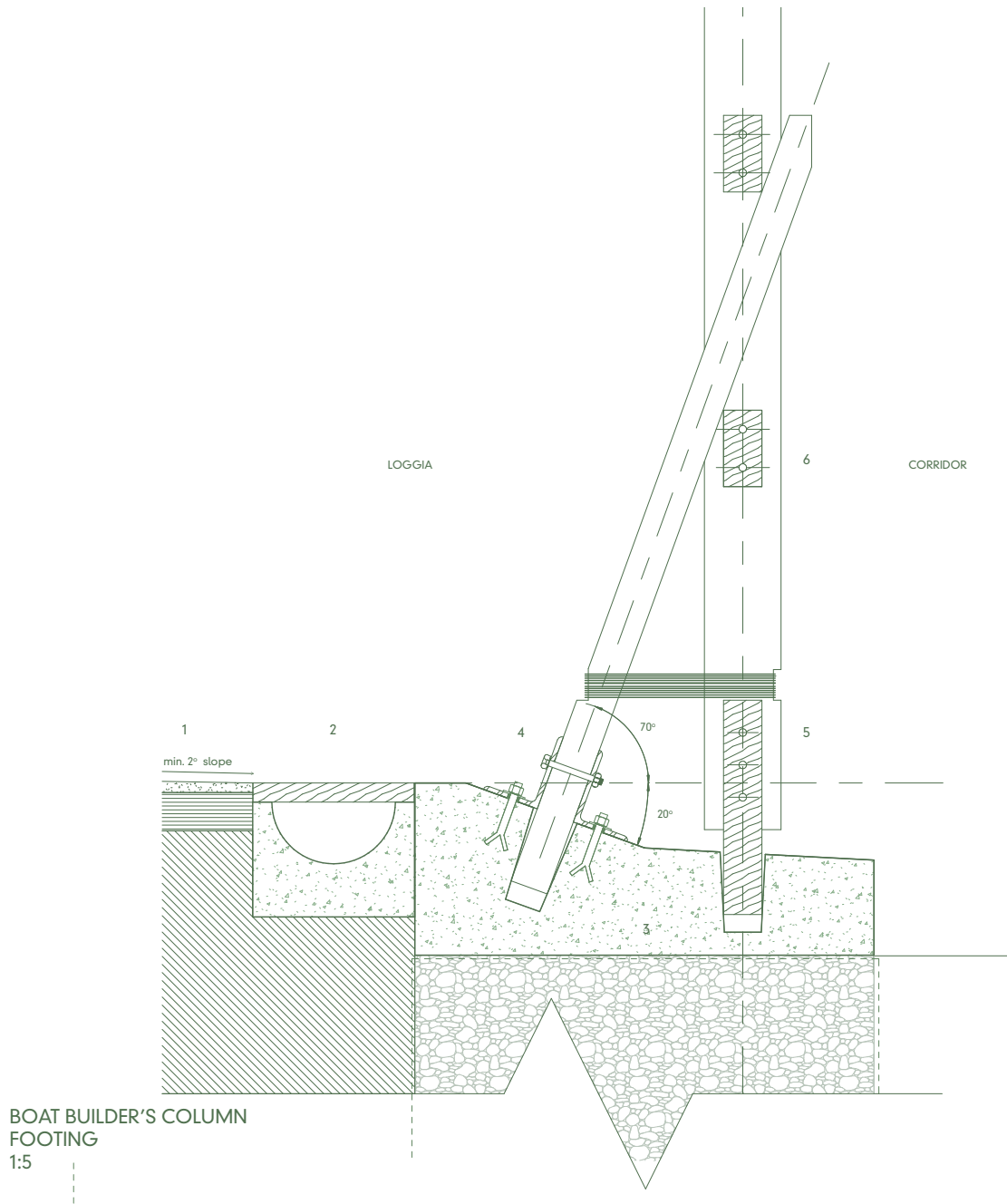


Figure 76. Boat construction in Mingotini fishing harbour, Bagamoyo, Tanzania. Author, 2017

DETAIL



'[...] the self or subject is always an outcome of a community or a collective, and the construction of subjectivity is always undertaken in the process of that doing. Becoming an individual, a specific subject, is a project too, and one that cannot ever be considered completed.'⁵⁹

In a manner similar to the development of my design proposal I have elected to structure this reflection as a series of negotiations in research methodology, architectonic and social relevance. Certain negotiations are matched by a 'confession'. Confessions made not in unproductive self-criticism but rather to acknowledge and celebrate the modest steps I have made towards a situated and Critical Spatial Practice. The term Critical Spatial Practice is attributed to the feminist architectural historian and cultural critic Jane Rendell. It attempts to understand how creators of space can act as active political agents, and how space can facilitate political agency itself. It is a practice explored in a book series of the same name edited by Nikolaus

Hirsch and Markus Miessen which reflects on the question of 'what, today, can be understood as a critical modality of spatial practice.'⁶⁰ It is these writings in addition to Helene Frichot's 'How to make yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool' and the generous input of my mentors: Rachel Keeton, Gilbert Koskamp and Jorge Mejía Hernández that have catalysed the negotiations detailed below.

Relationship between research and design

I have seldom considered research as anything more than a precursor to design: information curated and edited in order to substantiate a defined outcome. The dogma of 'research-

REFLECTION

concept-implementation'⁶¹ common in architectural education rejects the potential of contingency and contradiction for the convenience of clarity. I began my graduation year in a similar manner: with an idea of the project I wished to develop and the narrative required to embellish it with meaning. I was focused on knowing and presupposing (that which aligned with my desired outcome) rather than learning and questioning.

The short time I spent in Tanzania changed everything.

The abstract diagrams and schemes of my initial research, which had kept the Sino-African Development Paradigm at a distance, became real. Despite my critique of the generic, copy-paste protocol of the Special Economic Zone I too had been seduced by the idea of a tabula rasa. No longer a line on paper, I was compelled to confront the realities of the SEZ: clumsily scrawled numbers and hastily drawn ticks on the walls and doors of those resettled. What was revealed to me was not the slick, streamlined coordination of a master plan but rather a territory layered with the strata of the past and busy with vital activities. It was this reality that I elected to respond to.

I allowed myself to become part of composition, complicit - a 'modest witness (of the deeply interested, and not the disinterested kind)'⁶² who understood the limitations of her knowledge and skills and the necessity of opening up her research method to a variety of actors and environments. I elected to 'follow the material'⁶³: to

allow for an iterative and reciprocal relationship between research and design to unfold.

Thus the **research-project** completed cannot be neatly divided into a period of investigation that in turn elicited a (design) response. It should rather be considered as a dialogue, a perpetual negotiation and renegotiation of the objective(s) and values of the project in relation to an environment in flux.

Relationship between the graduation topic, Design as Politics and 'A City of Comings and Goings'

When Gregory Bateson claims that, 'We are not outside the ecology for which we plan - we are always inevitably part of it'⁶⁴ he dislodges the researcher from a neutral position of privilege. Bateson urges us to reconsider research as always intimate to a subject or object of enquiry. Rather than consider **Design as Politics** (which implies that certain practices are more political than others) is it perhaps not more productive to, from the outset, accept that **Design is Politics** and in doing so assume responsibility for acting (or not acting) in and with any environment?

Critical spatial practice entails judgement, the responsibility of taking up of a position that has consequences.⁶⁵ Being cognisant of these consequences, rather than result in paralysed inaction, should engender a critical vigilance and awareness of the repercussions of our practice. For Miessen assuming a position is productive.

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It articulates a border, 'a clearly distinguishable field of operation'⁶⁶ that may be altered, transgressed and even abandoned.

This research-project has required of me to take up a position. A position which, enthused with new information and insights, I have revisited and continue to re-evaluate.

My initial reading of the Sino-African development paradigm was limited to that of crude caricatures: helpless Africa and a menacing, neo-imperialist China. Further research and my fieldwork led me to reconsider the Sino-African dynamic as an unavoidable and necessary phenomenon. Rather than succumb to binary oppositions I elected to focus on the **potential** of the Sino-African Development Paradigm. I believe this potential lies not in consensus or naïve win-win proposals but in the provision of a site of productive confrontation (and thus political action) between the village of Mlingotini and the proposed Bagamoyo Mega Project.

Influenced by the work of political theorist Chantal Mouffe on agnostic pluralism I have come to assume a position (and politics) that values dissensus and difference. This revised position has required a reorientation of the objectives of the project from the pursuit of clearly defined solutions to the identification and cultivation of moments of possibility and potential. It is a position aligned with the ethos of the graduation studio 'A City of Comings and Goings' which views migration (in this instance the migration of urban development protocols such as the Special Economic Zone)

as an unavoidable and productive force that should be nurtured rather than curtailed.

Elaboration on research method and approach

Engaging a practice that advocates for an appraisal of context above the a priori imposition of predetermined ideas and a critical and continued repositioning of the researcher has proved challenging when developing a research approach and method. Frichot states that

'as the material we deal with and the local worlds of sense we engage with on an everyday basis are composed of a mix of predictable and wildly contingent events, things end up getting rather messy and methods need to adapt to situations of sensory-worldly flux.'⁶⁷

This is not intended to bring the usefulness and relevance of scientific methodology into dispute but rather to highlight the value of an adaptive methodology that is responsive rather than prescriptive. When we place an array of tools in dialogue with local histories and stories we allow for the possibility of diverse readings of a given context. This flexibility should be met with equal parts discipline and vigilance: an awareness of the relevance of a tool or method and its socio-political legacy. It is only through such knowledge that we are able to subvert a tool deploying it to new and generative means.

During my fieldwork the most valuable experiences were often unplanned. The series of interviews I conducted during my visit to the village of

REFLECTION

Mlingotini present a turning point in the development of my research-project. I approached each interview with the understanding that concomitant to the power of being heard there exists the danger of being counted. How would I engage the information offered to me differently? I sought to avoid constructing a narrative of my own design – taking time to listen to rather than speak for a community and to value the pre-existing and emergent qualities thereof.

I have extended these first tentative attempts at establishing an ethics of care and respect into the development of a design proposal that seeks to build upon existing material and social practices. The implantation of three footholds that correspond to present modes of occupation are embedded in both their materiality and construction within an anticipated Sino-African territory.

In a similar manner I have sought to welcome others into the development of my design proposal. By inviting into my project the work of colleagues Floortje van Sandick and Michelle Bettman, the influence of James Stirling's proposal for the experimental housing project PREVI (1968) and the beauty of Aldo Van Eyck's Sonsbeek Pavilion (1966) I have sought to deviate from a lineage of architectural production, 'which persistently returns to the architect as single author'⁶⁸ whilst acknowledging the value (and shortcomings) of my own situated-knowledge.

In doing so I have exposed my practice to other worlds and subjectivities and have been compelled to negotiate the normative values of traditional architecture – in particular issues of authorship, aesthetics, control and agency.

This practice is neither novel nor original but part of a growing community of far more accomplished spatial practitioners who are colonizing the margins left open by generic spatial development.

Elaboration on the relationship of the the graduation project to a wider social, professional and scientific framework – addressing the transferability of the project results

I wish to conclude by reflecting on the transferability of the 'project results'. In doing so I believe it necessary to make a momentary distinction between process/practice and design outcome. If by transferal of 'project results' it is meant a finite and determined set of design principles then I must protest! Implicit in actions of transferral, translation or transposal is the violence of stripping a context or territory of its specificity. If anything I hope that my project has revealed the failures of generalised planning principles (as embodied by the copy-paste planning protocol of the SEZ) advocating rather for a localised and idiosyncratic response to a given context.

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This is not to say that I wish for this research-project to remain speculative. I agree with Miessen when he claims that theory

'does not float above everyday life in a detached way: it comes from some place, and it is the responsibility of analysis to return it there'⁶⁹

And so, if by the transferability of 'project results', it is meant a means of spatial practice – in this instance a way of thinking through the Sino-African Development Paradigm in a critical and spatial manner then this is precisely the objective of this research-project. It is my intention that the work I have completed be passed on from hand to hand not as something complete but rather as a set of ideas and values that should be built upon (by myself and future collaborators), taken apart, interrogated – even appropriated becoming part of other practices, sites and collaborations.

59 H., Frichot, *'How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool'*, Baunach, AADR, 2016, p.p. 9.

60 <http://www.studiomiessen.com/critical-spatial-practice/> (accessed 20 February 2018)

61 M., Miessen, 'Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice', Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2016, p.p. 58.

62 H., Frichot, *'How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool'*, Baunach, AADR, 2016, p.p. 26.

63 H., Frichot, *'How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool'*, p.p. 44.

64 H., Frichot, *'How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool'*, p.p. 40

65 M., Miessen, 'Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice', p.p. 50.

66 M., Miessen, 'Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice', Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2016, p.p. 62.

67 H., Frichot, *'How to Make Yourself a Feminist Design Power Tool'*, p.p. 21.

68 Mouffe, C. in Hirsch, N & Miessen, M. (eds), *'The Space of Agonism: Markus Miessen in Conversation with Chantal Mouffe'*, Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2012, p.9

69 M., Miessen, 'Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice', p.p. 31.

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