INVISIBLE BORDER

INVESTIGATING THE TWO SIDES OF ZANZIBAR CITY

TOVE HELLERSTRÖM

INVISIBLE BORDER
INVESTIGATING THE TWO SIDES OF ZANZIBAR CITY

Swedish title: Osynlig gräns: en undersökning av Zanzibar Citys två sidor

Author: Tove Hellerström
Examiner: Gunnar Sandin
Supervisor: Paulina Prieto de la Fuente

ABSTRACT

Architecture is always intrinsically tied to place. Regardless of how architects choose to interact with and study it, the context our buildings are meant to inhabit is an important piece of the puzzle. As the world is getting more interconnected and geographical constraints are getting less important to the architectural profession, I am interested in how the creative process changes when assumptions about place can't be made and one's own experiences are lacking.

In my thesis I have studied this through investigating Zanzibar City, the capital of the Zanzibar archipelago off the coast of Tanzania. It's a city with rich culture and a complex history of both colonialism, slavery, and suppression as well as independence, prosperity, and beauty. It remains a city with a townscape containing buildings that reflect its history and particular culture, bringing together disparate elements of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe.

My project zooms in on two areas of Zanzibar City: Stone Town and Ng'ambo. The first is today a World Heritage Site and was formerly home to the colonial elite, while the latter was established to house the native Africans. I have researched how this division of the city is present in various structures throughout history up to this day and what consequences it might have. How can someone completely from the outside, with no personal experience of this city, take on an architectural project that aims to speak to both sides of the story?

My project includes an observation tower placed on the border between the two sides of the city, which is meant to lead the visitors to question the layout of their surroundings and view Zanzibar from a new perspective, literally. My hope is also to start a conversation regarding architecture and place, and our role as architects in a globalized world.

SAMMANFATTNING

Arkitektur är alltid starkt kopplat till plats. Oavsett hur arkitekter väljer att studera den, så är kontexten byggnader ska befinna sig på en viktig pusselbit. Nu när världen blir allt mer sammankopplad och geografiska gränser och begränsningar blir mindre viktiga för arkitektyrket så är jag intresserad av hur den kreativa processen förändras när man inte kan göra några antaganden om plats och ens egna erfarenheter inte räcker till.

I mitt examensarbete har jag försökt studera detta genom att undersöka Zanzibar City, huvudstaden i öriket Zanzibar utanför Tanzanias kust. Det är en stad med rik kultur och komplex historia som präglas både av kolonialism, slavhandel, och undertryckande, såväl som självständighet, framgång, och skönhet. Det är en stad med en stadsbild som speglar dess historia och specifika kultur, och för samman element från Afrika, Arabvärlden, Indien, och Europa.

Mitt projekt zoomar in på två stadsdelar av Zanzibar City: Zanzibars stenstad och Ng'ambo. Den förstnämnda är upptagen på UNESCOs Världsarvslista och var hemvist för den koloniala eliten, medan den sistnämnda etablerades för att husera de infödda Afrikanerna. Jag har undersökt hur denna uppdelning av staden syns än idag och vad konsekvenserna av detta kan vara. Hur kan någon, från en annan kontinent, utan egna erfarenheter av staden ta sig an ett arkitektoniskt projekt som ämnar att säga något om båda sidor av staden?

Mitt projekt är ett observationstorn placerat på gränsen mellan de två stadsdelarna, som vill uppmana besökarna att ifrågasätta sin omgivning och se Zanzibar från ett nytt perspektiv, bokstavligen. Jag hoppas också att det kan starta en konversation kring arkitektur och plats, och rollen som arkitekt i en globaliserad värld.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

0.1 *Zanzibari children swimming.*

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE **INTRODUCTION**

1.1 INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Architecture is intrinsically tied to place, whether it be through material availability, topography, climate, culture, or building tradition. Regardless of how architects choose to interact with and study it, the place their buildings are meant to inhabit is an important piece of the puzzle. Architecture is in constant dialogue with its context.

The world has never been more interconnected than now, eographical constraints are no longer the barriers they used to be. At the same time, we live in a very particular time in history in which not even people in the same city can meet physically, as the COVID-19 pandemic changes how we interact with the places and people around us. Architects are affected by this development, too, and their borders are extending as they work increasingly in contexts unfamiliar to them. In this thesis I seek to question how architects can get to know a place, and how the creative process changes when the context is unfamiliar, and assumptions about place can't be made.

According to the United Nations (UN), half of the projected population growth in the world from 2017 to 2050 will be concentrated to nine countries, five of which are African. None are European (United Nations, 2017). Africa's population is projected to double by 2050, at which point the African population will almost equal that of the current population of China and India combined. The infrastructure needed to accommodate for this rapid population growth is unprecedented in the history of humankind (Benimana, 2018).

Considering the incredible amount of infrastructure and buildings needed for this population boom – and the fact that it is not mirrored in Europe – it is likely that European architects will have more opportunities to work in African countries in the near future, and the effects of globalization will make it easier for them to do so.

The vast majority of Africa's 54 sovereign states have at some point in history been subject to European colonialism. One of the reason's many African countries lack infrastructure today is due to structures put in place during the time of colonialism that still echo to this day. As Europeans will likely have the chance to work in former colonized regions, we must confront our colonial heritage. For this reason, I have chosen to place my project in an African context, hoping that I can take one step in trying to tackle these difficult questions.

My research into the subject led me to Zanzibar, an insular autonomous region of Tanzania off the east coast of Africa. Zanzibar has a long history of colonialism and subjugation to foreign entities. It's been a Portuguese colony, part of the Oman Empire, and a British Protectorate before gaining its independence in 1963 and forming the People's Republic of Tanzania in 1964, in union with the newly independent mainland Republic of Tanganyika (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

The capital of the Zanzibar archipelago Zanzibar City is a cosmopolitan city with a townscape containing buildings that reflect its history and particular culture, bringing together disparate elements of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe.

My project zooms in on two areas of Zanzibar City: Stone Town and Ng'ambo. The first is today a World Heritage Site and was formerly home to the colonial elite, while the latter was established to house the native Africans. I have researched how this division of the city is present in various structures throughout history up to this day and what consequences it has had.

In my exploration of my questions, I have designed an observation tower placed on the border between the two sides of the city, which is meant to lead the visitors to question the layout of their surroundings and view Zanzibar from a new perspective, literally. My hope is also to start a conversation regarding architecture and place, and the role of the architect in a globalized world.

WHAT IS THE STARTING POINT FOR AN ARCHITECT WORKING IN AN UNFAMILIAR CONTEXT, AND HOW IS IT AFFECTED BY THE FACT THAT THE CONTEXT IS A FORMER COLONY AND THE ARCHITECT IS FROM A WESTERN COUNTRY?

HOW HAVE COLONIAL STRUCTURES AFFECTED THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT IN ZANZIBAR CITY'S STONE TOWN AND NG'AMBO, AND WHAT CONSEQUENCES DO THEY HAVE?

HOW CAN I DESIGN A STRUCTURE IN ZANZIBAR CITY THAT LEVERAGES AND TRANSFORMS THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES TO UNIFY SPACES WHILE MAINTAINING IDENTITY, DIVERSITY, AND A SENSE OF PLACE?

METHOD AND DATA COLLECTION

As I set up the structure of this project, I established a three-part strategy. Firstly, the majority of my project is based in theoretical research. Secondly, I intended to carry out several interviews with people from, or familiar with, Zanzibar City. Thirdly, I was to apply my findings in a practical architecture project. All three steps would be presented in this report, concluding with a discussion and analysis of my own process and work, and whether or not I accomplished what I set out to do.

Unsurprisingly, my actual method for this project has not been as linear. I have gone back and forth between all three steps, I have not been able to carry out as many or as extensive interviews as I would have liked due to the availability of interview subjects.

I have spent a lot of time trying to understand the context of my project. There are two measures of distance that have hindered my understanding of Zanzibar: geographical and historic. I have not been able to travel to Zanzibar, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This has led me to explore new avenues of trying to understand a place. I have read articles and books, and looked at photographs and drawings, as I would have done in any other project. Things I would have been able to learn form a site visit, or that I might have already known (or believed myself to know) if I were more familiar with the place, I have had to try and figure out using new methods; I have watched videos on YouTube filmed by tourists and locals in Zanzibar, and I have read Google Reviews for parks, beaches, hotels, and institutions, to attempt to understand the context.

The historical distance has been both easier and harder to bridge. I have found more written sources on the history of Zanzibar than I have found contemporary articles about the city in the twenty-first century, but few of those sources are first-hand experiences from native Zanzibaris.

In terms of maps and geo-data I have mainly used the open-source tool Open Street Map (www.openstreetmap. org), a free and editable world map. However, not all of Zanzibar City's built structure is available through Open Street Map, and to fill in the gaps I have used publicly licensed unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) imagery of Zanzibar, found through Open Aerial Map (www.openaerialmap.org). The footage I have based my maps and research on is collected by Zanzibar Mapping Initiative (ZMI) (www.zanzibarmapping.org), which is a cooperative project between the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (RGoZ) with the goal of updating the aerial imagery of Zanzibar, improving the Open Street Map data of Zanzibar, supporting geospatial learning, and enhancing programs of the Zanzibar Commission for Lands (COLA).

Lastly, my main source of information on Zanzibar has come from the book *Ng'ambo Atlas: historic urban landscape of Zanzibar Town's 'other side'* researched and written by the Department of Urban and Rural Planning in Zanzibar and Dutch NGO African Architecture Matters. They have shared the book publicly online, hoping to contribute to the general knowledge on sustainable urban development.

In the beginning of this project, I thought I would design a culture center or library, a building typology I had decided on before I had carried out any research. As I learned more about my context, and my interest shifted so did my project. I was also questioned along the way by friends, interviewees, and critics on what I wished to accomplish with my project, and how good of a result I could expect without actually spending time in Zanzibar and speaking to the people there.

In many ways, my project got harder the more I learned, more frustrating the more I couldn't understand, and more intimidating the deeper I went. It is possible that I will get the opportunity to design a project in a context unknown to me in the future, and because of this project I might approach it with a bit more confidence. I hope that my design proposal will encourage other people to join me in the discussion of how one should take on projects in unknown contexts, especially when the history of that place is complex and important, and forces us to confront our own responsibilities and short-comings in the process.

At the same time I want my design to say something about Zanzibar City, and my understanding of the city, and not let the local aspects get lost in my bigger questions. My hope is that this project will serve as the first line of a dialogue, not a monologue.

THEORECTICAL RESEARCH

INTERVIEWS

DESIGN PROPOSAL

CHAPTER TWO **BACKGROUND**

2.1 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

ARCHITECTURE IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

Since my chosen context is entirely unknown to be I started with very broad subjects in my research to understand place, to be able to zoom in later with a better knowledge of the larger structures informing the identity of a place, and how we view and approach place has changed throughout history.

The first of these large subjects is *globalization*. It describes the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of peoples and countries. Two inter-related elements that are generally understood to comprise globalization are the opening of international borders, and the changes in institutions and policies. The opening of borders allows for increasingly fast flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas. The changes made to institutions and policies in turn facilitate or promote these flows (WHO, n.d.).

Globalization is often used in relation to economics and the increase of international trade, but also includes political, social, cultural and technological aspects of society. Globalization has not only let businesses work on an international scale but has also led to a new level of integration and interaction of people and cultures. It is progressively easier to travel overseas and communicate with people with lives and experiences completely different to one's own (Nationalencyklopedin, globalisering, n.d.).

Although geographical movement, especially of dominant and colonizing empires, has been under way for centuries and enabled exchange of trade, finance, and culture, globalization as discussed here mainly pertains to the rapid increase of these phenomena over the last hundred years or so. The globalization of the last century is in many ways reliant on innovation. New industrial and technological advances contribute to the accessibility of far-off places, allowing for information, money and people to easily move across borders, faster and freer than ever.

Globalization has also had an effect on architecture and urban planning. Increased mobility, communications and the rise of new media alter our perception of time and space. The emergence of worldwide networks, many based on the relatively new and ever-developing cyberspace, has undoubtedly changed our perception of the world, and thus how best to build in it and for it (Ibelings, 1998).

Many people claim globalization leads to a more homogeneous world, while others see more heterogeneity as a result. A third opinion states that the homogenizing effects of globalization only serve to emphasize that which is unique and authentic to the local context, a so called "glocalization" (Ibid.).

However, the majority seems to favor the homogenization viewpoint. "Wherever one looks there seems to be high-rise downtowns, low-rise suburbs, urban peripheries with motorway cultures and business parks and so on. And everywhere the accompanying architecture has assumed a certain expressionlessness," Hans Iberling states in his book *Supermodernism: Architecture in the Age of Globalization* (1998, p. 67). Regardless of continent one can look out the window in many of the world's large cities and be met with familiar logos and store fronts: Starbucks, Samsung and 7-Eleven staring right back (Anderson, 2020).

Cities around the world have undergone similar changes and taken on similar shapes. A "sameness" permeates today's cities, a sea of non-descript buildings show up despite their locations' differences in climate, culture, local building traditions, material availability, and more; a phenomenon Roger K. Lewis describes as the "McDonaldization of architecture". Lewis argues that, despite our inherent interest in historical buildings and traditional architecture that is locally distinct, this is not evident in the architecture from the last century. Instead, these "global cities" brandish the same steel, glass and concrete skylines and become almost indistinguishable from one another. Lewis asks: "Is architecture becoming increasingly globalized, standardized, sanitized?" (Lewis, 2002).

Of course, this sameness in architectural expression is due to many factors, it would be remiss to claim that it is only because of globalization. Industrialization and mass production help facilitate it, as well as new regulations and policies forcing cities to differ from old historic quarters; roads are widened to make way for fire trucks, stairs are complemented with elevators and ramps, and whole sections of land are flattened to decrease steep inclines to ensure that everyone can move freely about the city. The latter are obviously positive changes making our urban spaces safer and more accessible (Chakrabarti, 2018).

Due to globalization, it is also easier than ever for architects around the world to be inspired by one another. Ideas are exported and imported like any other goods. Wide-lens photographs in magazines or a filtered Instagram post give architects access to buildings they might never have had the chance to see – if they can't afford the plane ticket. Trend-conscious designers can share high quality renders across the globe of buildings in fashionable materials – it doesn't matter which ones, if they're not locally available, they can be imported (Lewis, 2002).

Architects themselves work increasingly outside of their own home countries, and their buildings, with a few site-specific adjustments, seem to be able to stand anywhere (Ibelings, 1998). It is not strange that this is the type of architecture that pops up regardless of context, as stated by N.J. Habraken in his book *Palladio's Children:* "A building conceived in dialogue with the land does not travel as easily as a building whose parts relate only to one another" (2005, p. 11).

One can quite clearly see how planning and design have been affected by new global forces, and the question I pose is not so much in regards to whether the result is good or bad. It is however important in my own research as I now embark on a project in which I don the cap of a foreign architect coming to an unknown place to make big decisions regarding the urban development, and the reason I can do so in the first place are the innovations and phenomena that facilitate globalization.

I have to ask myself how I can design a building in an unknown context that takes advantage of the positive effects of globalization without losing touch with the local idiosyncrasies. Humans have been building longer than globalization has been an established phenomena and architecture has historically been very influenced by its local conditions. Several aspects relate to local context: physical conditions such as topography, climate, and existing nearby buildings, but also less concrete factors such as history, culture and traditions. Historically, buildings were of course largely shaped by the local availability of materials and craftsmanship. Now that we are no longer constrained solely to the local, the question is how much we should be injecting the global.

The sameness of modern cities around the world.
2.1 New York   2.2 Singapore   2.3 Frankfurt   2.4 Dar es Salaam

THE QUESTION OF CONTEXT AND IDENTITY OF PLACE

The physical conditions of a place are often easy to define. There is data on weather and climate, urban planning offices often have neighborhood plans and topographical maps, and there are usually building codes and regulations dictating the framework of the project. Less easy to define are the cultural conditions of a place. For many people, an idealized notion of what a certain place should look like exists, inhabited by a coherent and homogeneous community. This is however a very simplified version of reality, especially in the age of globalization. It is hard to retain this sense of a local place in the face of global movement and intermixing of cultures and customs (Massey, 1994).

In her essay *A Global Sense of Place* Doreen Massey wonders: "How, in the context of all these socially varied time-space changes do we think about 'places'? In an era when, it is argued, 'local communities' seem to be increasingly broken up, when you can go abroad and find the same shops, the same music as at home, or eat your favourite foreign-holiday food at a restaurant down the road – and when everyone has a different experience of all this – do we think about 'locality'?" (1994, p. 151). This is an important question, because if we are to discuss how much architecture should relate to "the local" then we need to discuss what "the local" is. Perhaps this is why many modern buildings seems to promote an architecture that relates to nothing outside of itself, when what is outside seems to be an ever-changing, heterogeneous community that evades definition or categorization.

Place is not only physical, as stated by Harold Prohansky in his essay *The City and Self-Identity* "there is no physical setting that is not also a social, cultural, and psychological setting" (1978, p. 150). Before widespread globalization those social, cultural an psychological settings were more likely informed by people who lived geographically close, who shared the same culture, language and beliefs. Today people who live geographically close to one another don't have to share any of these aspects, and even if they do they are likely also influenced by media from all over the world, exposing them to completely foreign cultures and concepts. How they then view their local place will be informed by different aspects of the world and might thus change how they experience that place. Seen through this lens, context is never static in a globalized world. Place changes as the people in it changes.

Doreen Massey further discusses the difficulty in defining a place, and the mistake of using 'community' as a synonym for it. Communities can exist without being in the same place – from major religious, ethnic or political communities to groups of friends or fans who share the same special interest. Massey argues that the notion that a place houses a single coherent community is rarely true. She talks of taking a walk down her local shopping center and being met with IRA posters, a shop with saris in the window, and a Muslim newsagent, all the while a plane flies low overhead on its way to Heathrow airport. A place can contain several communities, and a community can inhabit several places (Massey, 1994).

Establishing what the local context of a place is, relating to culture, religion, social settings and customs is no easy feat. Massey advocates for a progressive concept of place. The social interactions tying together a place are not static, nor are people, so place can't be either. Furthermore, the boundaries created to contain certain places or regions – while perhaps necessary for political or administrative reasons – are not what define a place and different communities will not adhere to them. As stated before, places have no clear, unique "identities" but are full of internal conflict. None of this means that place is not important or unique, but to understand its character we must allow it to be dynamic and contradictory (Ibid.).

Designing a building that responds to its physical context is paramount. Architecture is in its purest form shelter. But we should also aim to understand the less easily defined characteristics of a place. Even if place is elusive and dynamic, one should strive to understand it. N.J. Habraken suggests that it is often the architect's instinct to try to defy time and produce a monumental building that is immune to its steadily changing context: "a stone in running waters". He claims that architecture often ignores the autonomy of place, and its inevitable change, something we must learn to respect. Often, Habraken argues, architects are inspired by buildings, and not by place. Precisely because place is always distinct and unique it has to be the foundation for architecture. No place is the same, so architecture shouldn't be either. Habraken says, "local spirit of place can neither be globalized nor personalized. And it is the local that the contemporary practitioner is expected to enhance, precisely because it is irreplaceable and unique" (2005, p. 169).

2.2 THE COLONIAL HERITAGE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COLONIALISM

Having established what globalization is and how it has come to influence architecture, I move on to the next important concept for the foundation of my thesis: *colonialism*. Colonialism has a long and complicated history and continues to be a broad and heterogeneous field of research, what I present of it here is a very brief overview.

Colonialism is a term which refers to controlling and/ or exploiting regions outside of the colonizers' primary territory. It is sometimes used to describe Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire but principally refers to European nation states' conquests outside of Europe (Nationalencyklopedin, kolonialism, n.d.).

The colonization of Africa didn't reach its peak until the latter half of the nineteenth century and is the section of colonial history most important to this thesis. Before the so called "scramble for Africa" European rule in Africa had been limited to trade centers along the Western coast from where slaves were brought to the Americas (Ibid.).

In 1870, 10 % of Africa was under European colonial rule, in 1914 it had grown to 90 %. This fast colonization of Africa by European powers is usually called the "scramble for Africa" and was largely driven by the internal European power struggle, mainly between France and the United Kingdom. France established colonial rule over Northern Africa and part of West Africa, while the United Kingdom seized the remaining regions in West Africa and East Africa. The Germans had interests in East Africa, Belgium ruled over Congo, Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, and Italy on the Horn of Africa. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, in which the European powers gathered to establish principles for control of their African conquests, has come to represent colonialism in its most gruesome form (Ibid.).

Colonialism was largely a question of economic exploitation of natural resources, raw materials, and labor. The colonial exploitation resulted in extensive structural and social changes, reinforced by changes in infrastructure, education, and administration. Colonialism has, through forcibly establishing an economic division of labor, laid the foundation for the inequality in world today (Ibid.).
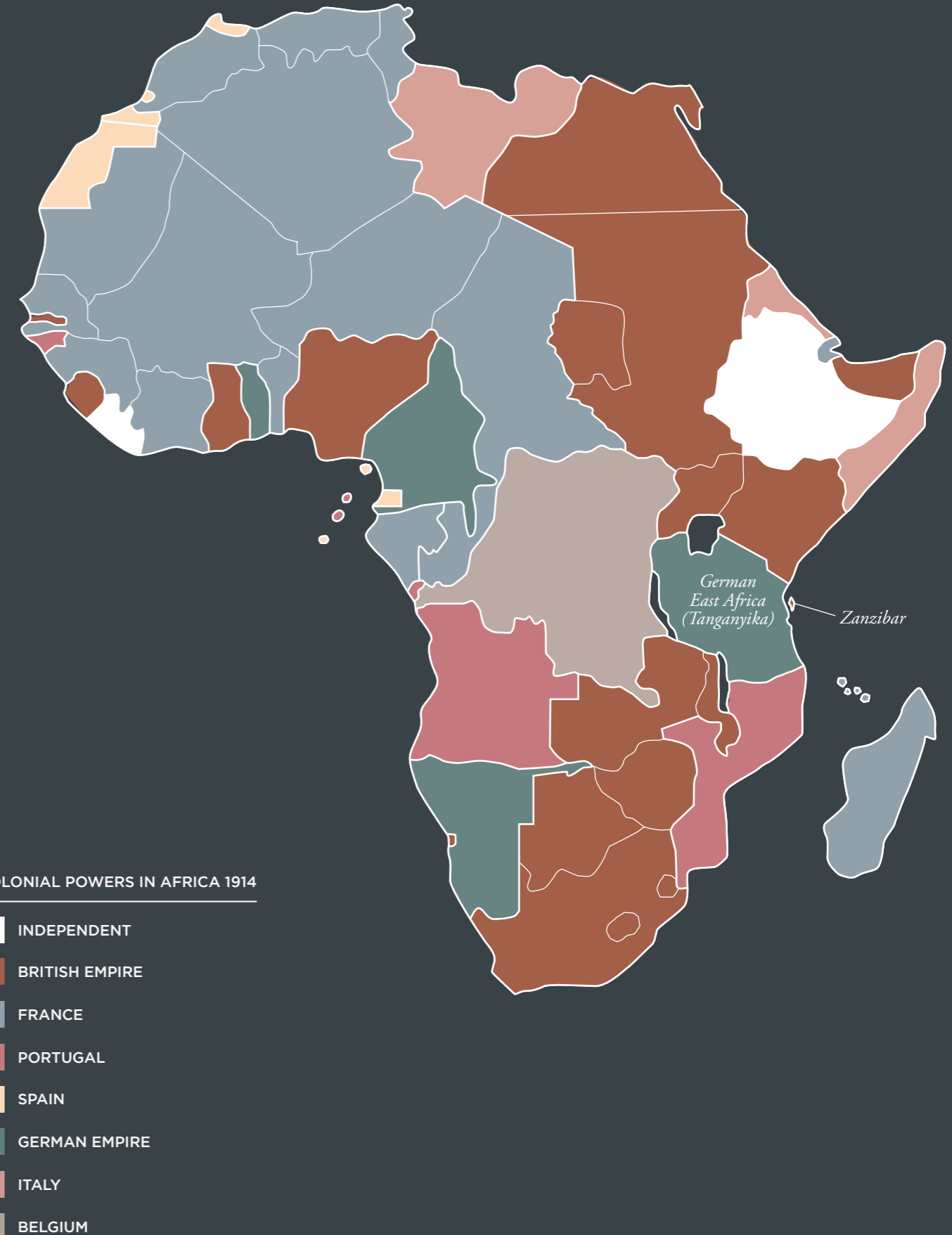
Decolonization is a term that first started being used in the 1950s and 60s, referring to the liberation process from colonial rule by colonized regions. As a distinct historical process, it usually refers to the period following World War II when African and Asian colonies went from colonial rule to political independence. The first country in Africa to gain independence was Ghana in 1957. Following Ghana many other colonies gained independence in rapid succession during the 60s and 70s, 17 nations alone in 1960. The last country to gain independence during this period was Zimbabwe, in 1980 (Ibid., Boddy-Evans, 2020).

By 1980, most areas around the world had been liberated from European rule, but often at great cost. Weak infrastructure was left further damaged by the struggles for independence, and nations were left with systems meant only to facilitate the extraction of resources, not the improvement of communities. Building entirely new infrastructure would prove costly and difficult and continues to be a struggle for impoverished post-colonial nations to this day (Green, 2020).

Despite the colonies having gained independence there were still structures in place that allowed former colonizers to benefit off their former colonies. New governments needed to borrow money and sought experience from advisors to build new infrastructure and elements of statehood, such as schools, hospitals and roads. Europeans and U.S. financiers had enormous control of these endeavors and often manipulated development to benefit their own interests and ongoing dependence. Although this is not inherently colonial it gave rise to a new phenomenon *neo-colonialism* (Ibid.). The term has been attributed to Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, and points to the fact that many nations gained formal independence and outwardly displayed all the attributes of sovereignty, but their economic systems, and thus political development, were governed by people outside the country (Nationalencyklopedin, nykolonialism, n.d.).

This might make it seem as if the communities were somehow "better off" while under colonial rule, but the data does not support this. Average life expectancy in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1953 was under 40, by 1980 it was over 50. Rates of malnutrition declined, literacy has gone up and more children attended school, and stayed for longer (Green, 2020).

German East Africa (Tanganyika) — *Zanzibar*

COLONIAL POWERS IN AFRICA 1914

- INDEPENDENT
- BRITISH EMPIRE
- FRANCE
- PORTUGAL
- SPAIN
- GERMAN EMPIRE
- ITALY
- BELGIUM

COLONIALISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Architecture as expression of power has been utilized for centuries. The ancient Romans were among the first to establish architectural hegemony, spreading their ideas and building tradition across the empire, as well as a way to demonstrate their power and reach (Lewis, 2002). Through colonialism European building traditions and styles were spread over the globe. Architecture was employed to establish a cultural environment to show off the empire's grandeur, to police social and racial borders, and preserve the identity of the European settler population. Sometimes the traditional, European style was combined with elements of the local tradition. This could be in order to better adapt the building to the climate or material availability, but as suggested by the French colonial architect Joseph Marrast it was also important to incorporate some elements of indigenous aesthetics in the design of public buildings in order to quell local resistance and, as Marrast put it, "conquer the hearts of the natives and win their affection, as is our duty as colonizers" (Demissie, 2012, p. 1).

Architecture and urban planning are in many ways critical in colonialism. When first establishing themselves in a region they wished to control, colonizers would build garrisons to carry out conflicts with the indigenous people. Architecture and urban planning was organized to facilitate the organization of forced labor in the colonies and in many colonial cities the native population was forcibly removed to areas outside of the city and established racialized and highly policed zones. These "native locations" or "native towns" were often sites of congestion, poverty and exploitation (Ibid.).

Architecture can be used both as a symbol of cultural superiority and as a means of socio-political control. The same way Christianity was taught by colonizers and missionaries as a means to impart civilization, the colonizers also impose their own living standards through architecture by offering buildings which were implicitly better than the primitive huts the natives lived in. This in combination with an urban planning strategy modeled for efficiency for the colonizer makes architecture part of the "civilizing mission" (Hernàndez, 2010).

Other analyses point to how the colonies also could be used as "laboratories of modernity" where Western architects could carry out experiments of social engineering without adhering to the rigidities or confronting the resistance of European society (Demissie, 2012).

Much of colonial architecture has thus been used as a means to establish power and superiority, suppress or control native populations, and maintaining colonial rule. "The ordering principles of colonial cities, as designed and built by the colonizer, correspond with the creation of a hierarchical society in which Europeans rule," argues Felipe Hernàndez in his book *Bhabha for Architects*. The colonial city, according to him, needs to be seen as an affirmation of colonial power, in which pre-colonial settlements are considered backwards (2010, pp. 117-118).

Colonial architecture and urbanism created a built environment that served the administrative apparatus of the empire: it sought to project and protect the authority of the European powers and stabilize its fragile identity in the colonized region. The reactions from the native people to the new architectural order were of course varied. Fassil Dessimie writes: "Subversion, accommodation, appropriation, neglect and destruction were hidden transcripts to contest the hegemony of colonial architecture and urban planning schemes" (2012, p. 5).

This phenomena of imposing European ideals of education, media and architecture and declaring European culture as superior to other regions' indigenous cultures is referred to as *cultural imperialism* (Nationalencyklopedin, kulturimperialism, n.d.). It has led to buildings all over the world that look out of place and might not respond properly to the climate.

Parallels can be drawn between colonial architecture and architecture of globalization. Although they differ in many ways, they have in common the goal of displaying power on the world stage through built environment, and this goal sometimes overshadowing conditions of context, climate, sustainability and authenticity.

Examples of European colonial architecture around the world.
2.5 (Top left) Church of Santo António, Portuguese church in Mozambique, built in 1498.
2.6 (Top right) Azania Front Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Built by German architect Friedrich Gurlitt between 1898 and 1902.
2.7 (Middle left) Asmara Theatre in Asmara, Eritrea. Built in 1918, designed by Italian engineer Odoardo Cavagnari.
2.8 (Middle right) National Bank of Angola in Luanda, built by the Portuguese in 1956.
2.9 (Bottom left) Supreme Court of Ghana, built by British colonizers in Accra.
2.10 (Bottom right) The main house of the Groot Constantia vineyard near Cape Town, built in 1685 by Dutch settlers.

POSTCOLONIALISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Lastly, I must discuss *postcolonialism* in order to lay the foundation for my own project. Postcolonialism is a heterogeneous field of research pertaining to literature, art, history, sociology, and humanities which seeks to question the Western traditions and education systems and how they stem from global relations built on dominance and submission of non-Western peoples and cultures (Nationalencyklopedin, postkolonialism, n.d.).

Postcolonial theory in relation to architecture and urbanism is very important to my project, since I am a white European brought up and educated within this Western canon, taking on a project placed in a formerly colonized region. I will reflect more upon my own identity, role, and responsibility in relation to the project further on in this report.

Postcolonialism emphasizes the importance colonialism has on ideas of modernity, humanism and civilization. Stuart Hall, a Jamaican-British sociologist, called it the division of "The West and the Rest," to illustrate the hegemonic system that names Western society and culture as the most developed and refined. The prefix "*post-*" signals that current societies are still informed by the colonial heritage and by a view that legitimizes the relations of superiority and inferiority that were established under colonialism, which reverberates through society to this day (Ibid.)

Postcolonial theory is important for architecture and architects as they are largely complicit in the structures of sociocultural and political hegemony, as discussed in the previous section. Architecture was one of the principal means used by colonizers to gain and maintain control and impose new political and social orders (Hernàndez, 2010).

The history of architecture has been constructed on the basis of a referential system that grants authority to European architecture. By looking at how buildings and architecture are discussed in literature and media, the Eurocentric historic narrative becomes evident. Buildings produced by non-Western architects are always historicized and theorized in relation to European architecture. Buildings produced by indigenous people in Africa, Asia and the Americas were considered inferior by the Europeans because they did not adhere to the classical canon. The same can be said for modern architecture,

Western historicity serves to strengthen the hegemony of European buildings and architects because they precede modernism in other parts of the world. In general, non-Western architecture is only celebrated by historians or critics when they reach a level of refinement in relation to the European canon. Instead of judging a building based on its intrinsic qualities or the way it responds to its context and the particular needs of the user, it is judged on how it fits into this hegemonic architectural narrative (Ibid.).

Homi K. Bhabha is a critical theorist and important figure in contemporary postcolonial studies. Felipe Hernández summarizes and explains Bhabha's theories in the book *Bhabha for Architects*. Hernández writes: "It is important to understand that Bhabha is not interested in the 'colonial condition' as a thing of the past, but on the effects that colonialism continues to have in the world today," which is how I want to approach this project, too. As an exploration into the resulting effects of colonialism and how they can be questioned, or illuminated, through architecture (Ibid, p. 15).

Throughout colonial history the colonized subjects have been represented as "the other" by Western colonizers. When attributing all that is good and pure to Western culture, "the other" has represented what is not. Bhabha refers to this as "colonial stereotyping" in which simplified cultural, historical, and racial descriptions are affixed to the colonized. According to Bhabha the problem with colonial stereotyping "is not that it represents subjects as say, black, but the fact that is implies that all Blacks are the same. In that sense, colonial cultural translation dissociates its subjects from their own history in order to introduce them in the European history as recognisable objects whose difference ratifies the superiority of the coloniser and, thereby, validates colonial intervention" (Ibid, p. 32).

The ultimate goal of postcolonialism is confronting and combating the residual effect colonialism has on culture and society. In history, and in architectural discourse, binary constructions have prevailed such as West/East, traditional/modern, natural/cultural, structural/ornamental, and this rigid division leaves little room for nuance or hybridity (Nalbantoglu & Wong, 1997).
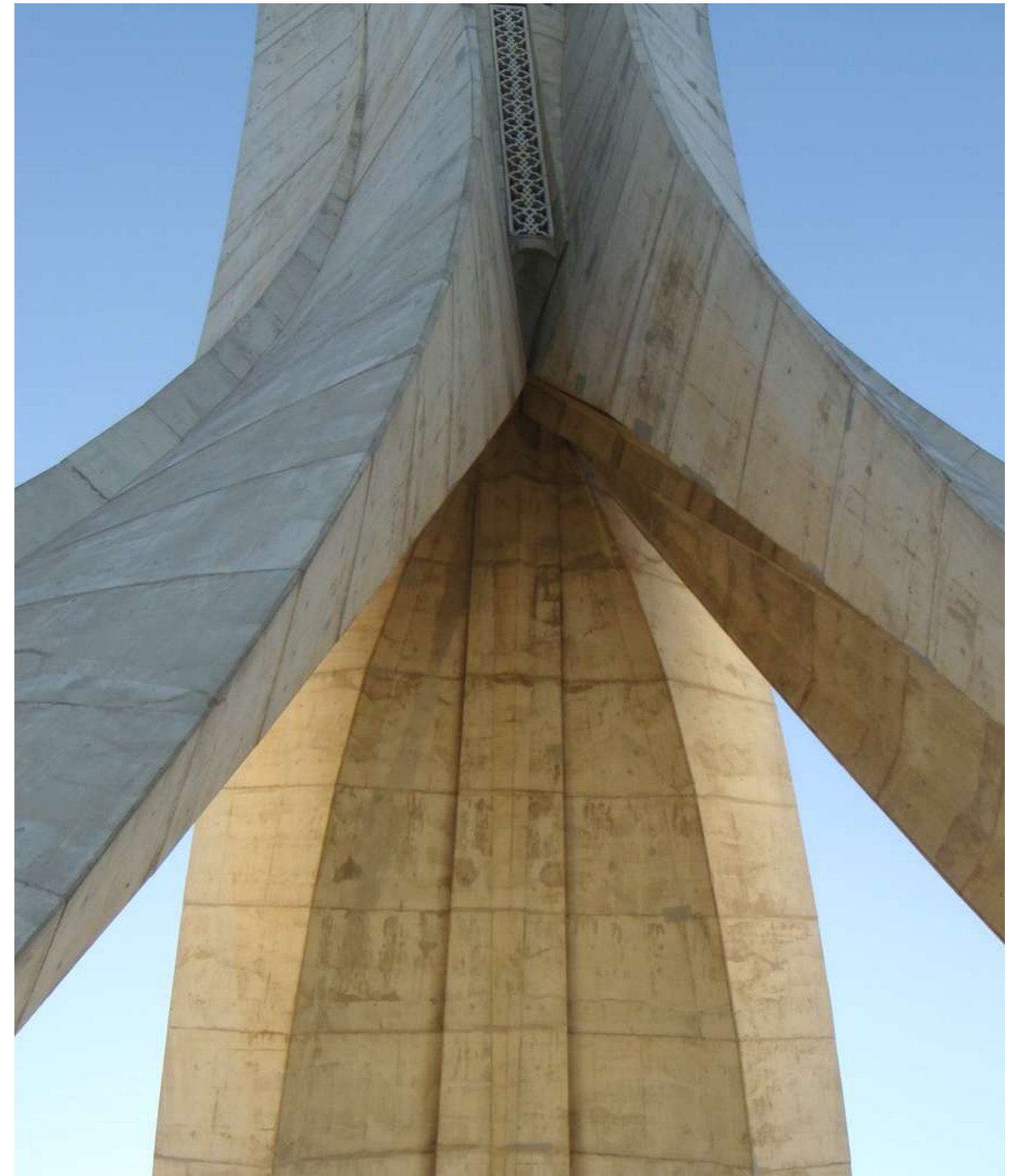
2.11 Martyrs' Memorial in Algiers, commemorating Algerian War of Independence.

THE PORTRAYAL OF AFRICA

As discussed briefly in the introduction I have chosen to place my project in Africa. Africa is the world's second largest continent, after Asia. As of 2020, over 1.3 billion people live in the continent, which is divided into 54 sovereign states (Nationalencyklopedin, Afrika).

Africa's population is predicted to grow rapidly in the next few decades. According to Rwandan architect Christian Benimana, this means that an estimated 700,000,000 housing units, 310,000 schools, and 85,000 health centers will have to be built by 2050, starting in 2018. Put into perspective, this means that seven health centers, 25 schools, and nearly 60,000 housing units will have to be built every day for the next 30 years (Benimana, 2018).

Africa is often referred to as one unit, as I have done several times in this thesis alone. It is not rare that it's portrayed in media as one homogeneous region, rather than a vast continent with people of varying culture, languages, and customs. It is also different in regard to both climate and politics. The view of Africa, at least from a European point of view, is often a very simplified one. Perhaps, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa.

When looking at Africa, images that circulate focus on poverty, war violence, and exploitation, as Manuel Herz states in *African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence*. He says, "In our general perception the African continent stands for suffering and misery. It also remains a mystery as its histories, cultures, traditions, languages, politics and economics remain outside our framework of reference. The continent is usually seen as a single entity without differentiation and without consideration of its fifty-four countries and the vast differences among its gigantic territory and diverse cultures" (2015, p. 15).

If Africa is featured in exhibitions or in media, it is usually for its masks and other traditional or ethnographic objects. Even though more than fifty years has passed since the "end" of the colonial era, Africa is still being exoticized, and seems to be judged using different metrics when looking at art, architecture, urbanism, music or fashion compared to any other region of the world. Herz goes on to say, "Africa always stands for the poor, the violent, the raw, the exotic, and the peripheral" (Ibid., p. 13).

When reading about architecture in Africa, the pattern seems to be largely the same. Slum upgrading, schools and orphanages, and refugee camps are projects that are relatively easy to find information on; especially when built or financed by Western humanitarian aid organizations. It's been a lot harder to find literature highlighting the diversity and innovation in architecture on the African continent. Two books I've been able to find that do highlight architecture from African regions are *African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence* by Manuel Herz et al. (2015), and *Adjaye Africa Architecture* by David Adjaye et al. (2011), which showcase interesting, beautiful, and sometimes forgotten architecture across the continent.

It is not hard to see the importance of portraying Africa as a complex, interesting, and beautiful continent, and showcase the parts that make up the whole. There is more to the African countries than what has been afflicted upon them by Europeans or how they measure up to Western standards. Africa's legacy of colonialism is no doubt very important in the continent's history, but according to Nana Oforiatta Ayim it is too often seen as Africa's defining chapter, "calcifying the continent into being the impassive object rather than the subject of its own definition" (Ayim, 2011, p. 20).

This is not to say that African countries don't have issues with poverty, war, and corruption. According to the World Bank's statistics from 2019 twenty-two of the twenty-five countries in the world with the lowest GDP per capita were African (The World Bank, 2019). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) compiles the Human Development Index (HDI) annually, which considers health, education and income to provide a measure of human development. Of the thirty-three countries categorized as having "low human development" in 2019, thirty were African nations (United Nations Development Programme, 2019).

However, from 2002 to 2012 Ethiopia's GDP per capita doubled, and between 2000 and 2012 Benin's economy grew every year, which is more than the U.S. and many European countries can say. Considering how young these countries are, and the systems meant to keep them dependent even after gaining independence, this is not progress to disregard (Green, 2012).
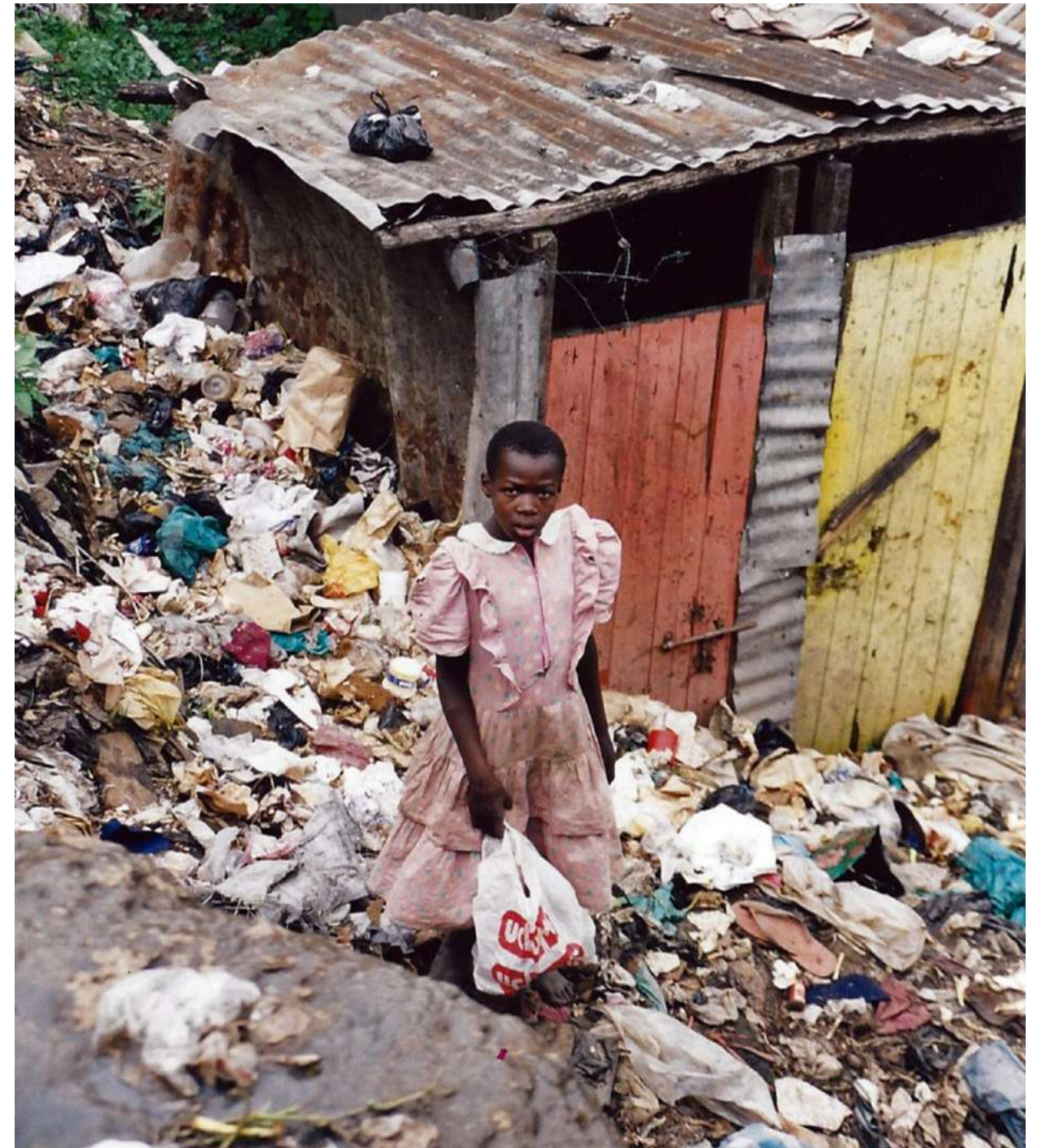
2.12 The real Africa? Are pictures like this one representative of the whole continent? Can one picture ever be? Pictured is boy in the Kibera slum or Nairobi, Kenya. While facing issues with poverty, inequality, and governance, the country is also one of the fastest growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa and has made major gains in social development, including reducing child mortality, achieving near universal primary school enrollment, and narrowing gender gaps in education (The World Bank, Kenya, 2021).

THE ARCHITECTURE OF INDEPENDENCE?

As established, architecture was used to assert dominance and as an expression of power in colonized regions by the colonizers. How then, does a country go on after colonialism to establish an architectural language of the new nation? To simplify this question, I will look at two different types of architecture: vernacular tradition and late modernist architecture. This is of course another binary that is an oversimplification of reality but will help me explore the subject.

Vernacular architecture is a built environment that is based upon local needs and defined by the availability of materials indigenous to its region. The African vernacular building tradition varies greatly depending on region, climate, ethnic group, religion, local material availability, and more. There is no one traditional African architecture. What all African vernacular architecture has in common, however, is that is was deemed as lesser or backward, by the European colonizer, as discussed previously. According to Nigerian designer and researcher Mathias Agbo Jr. there is a near consensus in Africa that colonialism has impeded the evolution of traditional African architecture. Mainly due to the colonial administrator's failure to acknowledge the architectures of the local communities they colonized, and even when they did, they often tried to standardize the indigenous styles, while ignoring the differences of each sub-ethnic group in the various tribal states. This has led to vernacular architecture being seen as unattractive by contemporary Africans, according to Agbo, and for them to associate the building tradition with poverty (Agbo, 2018).

Once independent, one could think that many African countries would want to explore their unique building traditions as a way to decolonize their architecture, as a rejection of the colonizer's claim of cultural superiority. However, following the colonial era, as established before, many newly independent African nations lacked the infrastructure and institutional buildings of more developed countries, and when setting out to build them, many European architects came to help in the endeavor.

Due to the lack of university programs teaching engineering and architecture, few of the architects that were practicing in Sub-Saharan Africa after the end of colonization were actually local to the area. It was impossible for the local population to study architecture

in their home countries and few families could afford (and were allowed) to send their children to study abroad. The first school of architecture in Sub-Saharan Africa, outside of South Africa was established in Kumasi, Ghana, in 1957. However, it took until the early 1960s for the school to gain a substantial curriculum (Herz, 2015).

The European architects brought with them the late modernist ideal of *International Style*. The idea was that International Style eschews ideology, it belongs to no specific country or culture. Therefore, it held the promise of being an architectural expression that was not tied to local history, that was free of ideological constraints and colonialism and was not inscribed into existing power structures. Nevertheless, according to Manuel Herz, Late Modernism was never neutral. It mostly originated in European and US schools and offices and was carried around the world through architectural and economic export. And the very idea of Modernism and "modernization" carries complex connotations in the African context, as it was one of the very motifs used by European powers to colonize Africa in the first place (Ibid., p. 12).

Many of the architects working in Sub-Saharan Africa following the end of colonialism were from former colonial powers such as Great Britain and France, but also Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, and Israel. Regardless of country of origin there is always a political dimension that can't be ignored. "An architect's origin was never neutral, never innocent," Herz writes, "There was always additional interests, connotations and implications. Architecture was always also a vehicle to establish networks or reinforce diplomatic relations, with interests being driven by both sides, that is the architect's country of origin and the country where the architect was practicing" (Ibid.).

The Late Modernist architecture itself, produced mainly in the 1960s and 70s, in Sub-Saharan African nations are wonderful examples of architecture. Unfortunately, they don't receive the same amount of attention as their European counterpart. It seems a zero-sum game; the vernacular tradition had been so degraded by the colonizer that it has lost its chance to develop, and when the European ideals and styles are applied with skill and success it is still not given the same acclaim and attention afforded its Western equivalent.

Examples of African vernacular architecture.
2.13 *(Top left) Dogon architecture in Mali.*
2.14 *(Top right) Traditional Tiebele house in Burkina Faso.*
2.15 *(Middle right) Masaai village in Tanzania.*
2.16 *(Bottom left) Vernacular architecture in Benin.*
2.17 *(Bottom right) Traditional round huts in Mozambique.*

2.18 Hôtel du District in Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire. Built between 1954-1956 by BEHC Henri Choumette with A. Laget.
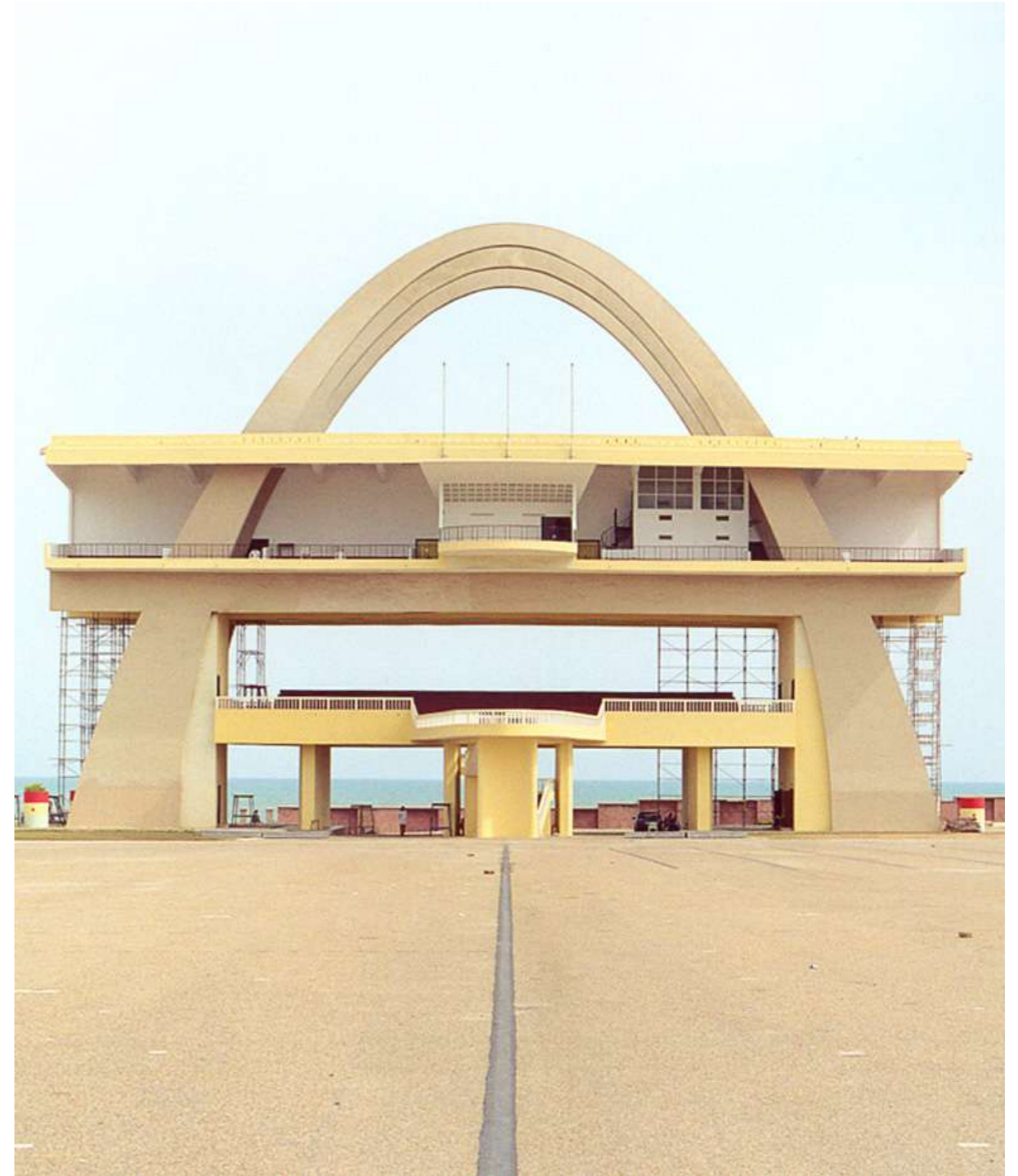
2.19 Independence Arch in Accra, Ghana. Built in 1961 by the Public Works Department.

A FEW EXAMPLES OF AFRICAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Today, there are architects working to reinvigorate the vernacular traditions while incorporating modern design techniques to push the boundaries of what is seen as "African architecture".

Architects such as Francis Kéré, David Adjaye, and Kunlé Adeyemi, to name just a few, have been getting more attention and recognition for their work in recent years.

Francis Kéré was born in Burkina Faso, went to school in Germany, and then returned to his home village Gando where he has designed and built several projects together with the community. He has tried to move focus from the standardized notion of "one size fits all" and is instead making architecture inspired and built by local people and materials, showing the beauty in simple materials and traditional techniques.

Tanzanian born David Adjaye was brought up in London to Ghanian parents. Though he has made several prestigious projects across Europe and the U.S. he has also been advocating for taking Africa more seriously, as a place for architectural innovation with emphasis on understanding individual cultures. His book *Adjaye Africa Architecture*, as mentioned before, is an extensive account of every African country and their respective largest city and took him 11 years to complete. Offering a detailed view of the entire continent and its architecture. One of his more recent projects is the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington D.C. In which he resists using the exterior of the building to explain its African ties overtly, while using many, more subtle cues from African culture and design. The shape is inspired by traditional Yoruba crafts and is clad in bronze with patterns from different African regions.

Kunlé Adyemi was born in Nigeria and is the son of the founder of one of the first indigenous architecture firms of Nigeria. Adyemi has especially focused his work on Lagos, a rapidly growing city. His most acclaimed project is a floating school in the Makoko district of Lagos. Makoko is built over the lagoon and has effectively become a self-governing settlement due to a lack of governmental presence. The school is built with the help of the UN and NGOs, and uses traditional Nigerian forms in a modern interpretation (Goodwin, 2015).

2.20 *Gando Primary School by Kéré Architecture, Burkina Faso, started in 2001.*
2.21 *Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, USA, by Adjaye Associates, 2016.*
*2.22* *Makoko Floating School, NLÉ Works, Nigiera, 2012.*

When reading of these contemporary African architectures, I notice how they all put emphasis on including traditional building techniques and materials in their work. Using these methods and materials seem to be in hope of showing both the local people who will be using their buildings as well as the world at large that there is value in African architecture. It is not inferior, it is not only for the poor or less worthy. It can be used to create beautiful and functional buildings. The goal seems to be to incorporate these African styles into "globalized" architecture.

I had the pleasure of interviewing Frida Öster from Asante Architecture & Design for this project. Öster is a Swedish architect who designed a center for orphaned children in Northern Tanzania as her degree project in architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, Sweden. The project, the Econef Children's Center, has since been built with the help of Arkitekter Utan Gränser and the non-profit Econef, and was designed in collaboration with Lönnqvist Vanamo Arkitekter.

When we spoke of her experience in designing in a completely foreign context, and how they chose to incorporate local materials and techniques – such as bricks for the facade and corrugated sheets for the roof – she spoke of a desire to show the locals their appreciation of the local building traditions. In the best of cases, an outsider can come in and shine a light on aspects that the locals might have become so used to they are almost overlooked.

Local building traditions are also mostly born from the fact that they work for the context. A tradition is born because it has proven an effective solution. Öster also mentions the advantage of using materials and techniques that local craftsmen are familiar with, because it makes it easier for them to maintain the building.

There was also a wish from Öster and her collaborators to build the center in collaboration with the people living in the area, and who would be helping in building it. It can be easier to gain their input and learn for them when using material and techniques more familiar to them (Öster, 2021).
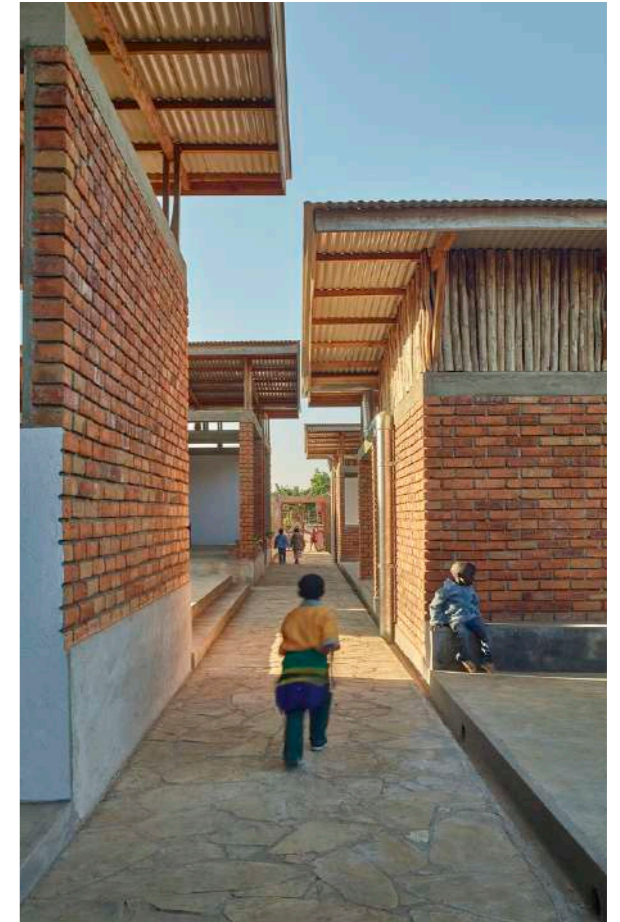
2.23 *View from the Econef Children's Center, by Asante Architecture & Design and Lönnqvist Vanamo Arkitekter, inaugurated 2018.*
2.24 *Prototype building for the Children's Center, finished 2014.*

2.4 MOVING FORWARD

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR MY PROJECT?

It is true that modern innovation in many ways has made the world seem smaller. It has allowed architects to work outside of their home countries with more ease and efficiency than ever, but to say that our current age is a uniquely global one is not entirely true. From the Portuguese colonists of the fifteenth century, to Catholic missionaries, to the slave trade, to world wars, human history is largely characterized by global phenomena. Granted, the speed at which different phenomena can become global has increased immensely over the past century. Two resulting products of modern globalization has affected this thesis enormously. First, this project would not be possible without the Internet and the many resources people have shared Online, my thesis is completely reliant on it. Second, my thesis might have been a lot easier to carry out if it weren't for an even newer global phenomena: COVID-19.

Globalization is not an equal force. Compare the corporate jetsetter, traveling across the globe, and holding international conference calls, to the refugee from Syria; both participate in the increased physical mobility of globalization, but are not equally "in charge" of it (Massey, 1994). There has also been little progress in south-south linking, and globalization largely reproduces existing power structures and favors development focused on Western society and the northern hemisphere (Mosquera, 2001). Forces of globalization allow me to do this project in the first place, but I am also in a position to take advantage of said forces mainly due to my European heritage and privilege.

As an architect, I can never approach any project and leave my own experiences completely behind. I can never undo my background or heritage. As I move on to Zanzibar and to design my own building, I will keep the research I have presented in this chapter in mind. My goal is not to decide whether the "architecture of globalization" is inherently good, or if we should learn more from vernacular tradition. I don't believe there is an easy answer to that question, there is no one size that fits all. Instead, I believe thorough research, an eagerness to learn, and a dose of humility is necessary when approaching any project. Just like I can't separate myself from my history, neither can Zanzibar, which is why I believe this broad research into globalization and colonialism is important for me as I move forward.

CHAPTER THREE   **ZANZIBAR**

3.1 WHY ZANZIBAR?

ZANZIBAR FROM A DISTANCE

Zanzibar is the location for my thesis project. I chose to work in Zanzibar for a few reasons. I knew I wanted to explore an African context. I ended up in Zanzibar specifically for a few reasons. The biggest being that I have worked with Dar es Salaam in a course before and knew a bit of the larger East African context, and through some teachers also had a better chance at getting in contact with people in the area.

As I mentioned in the introduction, this entire project is carried out from Lund, Sweden. I have never been to any African country, and I have not visited Zanzibar. At first glance, this seems like it could only put me at a disadvantage. I would say that is true to a certain extent. It would have been much easier to understand the context of Zanzibar if i could go there and spend time on the site for my project and interact with the people there.

However, I do think that there are two good things that have come from me not being able to travel to Zanzibar during my thesis. The first is that it in a way strips me of a privilege I had taken for granted. I have the financial means and one of the world's most valuable passports, I could have traveled to Zanzibar if it weren't for COVID-19. Many people in the world don't have the same access to international travel, especially in the developing world, of which many African countries are included. COVID-19 has inadvertently leveled the playing field.

Secondly, I am at a stage in my career and education where I have developed a method for how I approach a project. Many of those methods have been rendered useless by the fact that I have to work remotely. It has forced me to explore other ways of interacting with a place. It has led me to read a lot more about Zanzibar than I think I would have if I could have gone there. It has led me to seek out information in forums I've never utilized before. I have read tourist's reviews on TripAdvisor, videos on YouTube with imagery of Zanzibar City, I have read blogs and forums. Not much of this has explicitly made its way into this text but has helped me gain a better understanding for what the city looks like and hopefully some insight into what life there is like.

I hope that the fact that I have done it remotely has pushed me to find out even more details and aspects of the context I might have missed if I thought I could make any assumptions based in my own experience.

3.1 (Right) UAV imagery of Stone Town and Ng'ambo, taken in 2017.

3.2 HISTORIC BACKGROUND

ZANZIBAR FROM COLONY TO INDEPENDENCE

Zanzibar is an autonomous region of Tanzania of the East African coast. It is comprised of the Zanzibar archipelago in the Indian Ocean, the two main islands are Unguja and Pemba. The lager of the two, Unguja, is the main island and often informally referred to as Zanzibar. The largest city and capital of Zanzibar, Zanzibar City, is located on Unguja and is the site for my project (Nationalencyklopedin, Zanzibar).

The island of Unguja has been inhabited since Neolithic times, and was first populated with Bantu people from the African mainland. Archaeological finds reveal contacts with China, India, the Roman Empire, Persia, and the early Islamic world. A great number of Persian trading settlements were established along the coast of East Africa in the eighth century, which brought about more structural contacts between Zanzibar and Asia. The East African sultanates flourished between the ninth and fifteenth centuries before the Portuguese appeared in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It did not take long before the Portuguese plundered these empires and took possession of much of the coast of East Africa (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

The Portuguese went on to conquer Zanzibar in the early sixteenth century and built a settlement with a fort and a chapel on the site of a small fishing village in the western part of the island, called Shangani. However, the Portuguese lost their influence of the East African coast during the seventeenth century as the local ruler asked for assistance from the sultan of Oman, who drove the Portuguese systematically out of East Africa. In 1693 they conquered the most important Portuguese settlement in Mombasa, which temporarily marked the end of European influence in this part of Africa (Ibid.).

The sultan of Oman would go on to determine the fate of a large part of the East African coast up until the late nineteenth century. In 1828, the sultan moved his imperial capital from Muscat to Zanzibar, due to its strategic place in the middle of the empire that stretched from the Arabian Peninsula to the border of Mozambique, which was still in Portuguese hands, and because of its growing economic importance (Ibid.).

Zanzibar is also a very fertile land with rainfall throughout the year, with an abundance of fruits and vegetables, as well as valuable exotic spices, the most important and sought-after being clove. Antoni S. Folkers and Belinda A. C. van Buiten describe how Zanzibar's importance grew in their book *Modern Architecture in Africa*: "In a short time, Zanzibar developed into the center of the island empire with palaces, merchants' houses and, plantations and a port that served the world" (Ibid., p. 45).

After the death of sultan Seyyid Said in 1856, the European influence increased rapidly. Zanzibar had been an important location for the slave trade, both for the Portuguese and later for the Omani. Zanzibar was home to one of last open slave markets in the world until it was shut down by the British in 1873. Using clever policy, under the anti-slavery banner, the British were able to annex the African part of the Oman empire and Zanzibar became a British protectorate in 1890. The British soldier Gerald Portal was subsequently appointed Consul General in 1891 and took it upon himself to modernize the island. In 1892 Zanzibar was made into a free port and slavery was abolished in 1897 (Ibid.).

Zanzibar remained a British protectorate for over 70 years. It had great strategic and economic importance within the British Empire as a nodal point, which was evident in the extension of the port facilities, the construction of military factories, and the establishing of institutions like hospitals, administrative buildings, a prison, and more. During World War I the island's strategic location off the coast of German East Africa, became important as a naval base, garrison town and military depot (Ibid.)

Independence was declared in December 1963, and politics in Zanzibar developed rapidly. The British handed over the power to the sultan, but only a month later, in January 1964, a group of young Zanzibaris seized power under the leadership of the young, enigmatic Ugandan John Okello, and dispelled the Arab elite during a bloody coup. After much in-fighting, Abeid Karume emerged as the leader of the new state. Karume pacified the island and began an energetic attempt to develop the island, with the support of Julius Nyerere, the president of the newly independent Republic of Tanganyika. Shortly thereafter, Nyerere and Karume made a pact and created the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which together formed the People's Republic of Tanzania (Ibid.).

Pemba

MKOANI

*Ferry line
Mkoani - Zanzibar City*

Unguja

ZANZIBAR CITY

Dar es Salaam - Zanzibar City

Ferry line

DAR ES SALAAM

3.3 THE TWO SIDES OF ZANZIBAR CITY
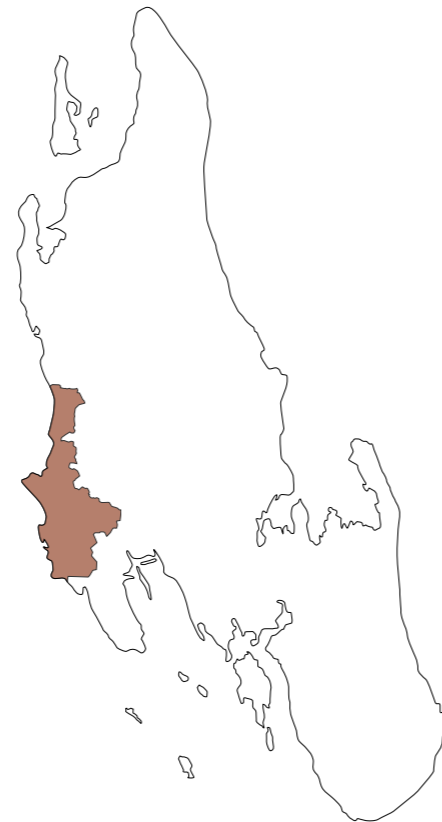
ZANZIBAR CITY

Zanzibar City is the capital of the Zanzibar archipelago. Several names are used in literature and online when referring to the city and the areas within. Throughout this project I will use Zanzibar City when speaking of the entire city, but for my project I have zoomed in on two areas, which make out the core of the city: Stone Town and Ng'ambo.

Stone Town is the old town of Zanzibar City. It is often mistaken as the name for the entire capital city, but in reality, it is only a part of it. Stone Town is located on the west coast of Unguja, on the tip of the peninsula, and stretches from the shoreline to Benjamin Mkapa Road (sometimes referred to as Creek Road).

Ng'ambo, on the other hand, is located between Benjamin Mkapa Road to the west and Felix Moumie Road to the east. Ng'ambo is sometimes called historic Ng'ambo in literature.

Stone Town was built on an old coral reef, Ng'ambo was built on the other side of a creek that was gradually reclaimed during the twentieth century (fig. 3.4). Today, what remains of the creek is the Funguni Basin to the north of the city.

According to the 2012 census Zanzibar City had a population of approximately 220,000, within the municipality. In the same census, Ng'ambo had 32,000 inhabitants, and Stone Town's was nearly 18,000. The numbers have surely changed since then. In 2016, based on research conducted by Dutch organization African Architecture Matters and the Department of Urban and Rural Planning (DoURP) of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, the population of Ng'ambo was estimated at 57,000 inhabitants (National Bureau of Statistics et al., 2012; Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar & African Architecture Matters, 2019).

3.2 *(Previous spread) Aerial view of Stone Town in Zanzibar City.*

*Unguja Island with Zanzibar city colored in.*

STONE TOWN

When the Portuguese were expelled by the Oman at the end of the seventeenth century, the city of Zanzibar consisted of a village around the fort on the Shangani peninsular. The Swahili city gradually grew and transformed into a stone city after the end of the eighteenth century. Stone Town, as it has come to be called, was inhabited by Swahili and the Oman Arabs, who were later followed by Indian and European traders. The city was characterized by narrow streets and tall buildings: merchants' houses, warehouses, palaces, schools, and mosques. Stone Town was located on a peninsula what was divided from the rest of the island by a lagoon, called the Creek, that dried out at low tide. It was a cosmopolitan city where the rich and poor lived together with a high population density on a restricted landmass (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

The architecture of Stone Town was influenced by the sober building style of the Omani. The buildings were largely introvert with flat roofs, whitewashed walls, and devoid of decoration. The influx of Europeans brought new elements and typologies. The flat roofs, which were unsuitable for the heavy rainfall and constant high temperature of the island, had since long been replaced by sloping roofs made of *makuti* (coconut thatch), and later corrugated iron. During the rule of sultan Seyyid Barghash, between 1870 and 1888, important government buildings were modernized and the famous Beit el Ajab, The House of Wonders, was erected upon his instruction. It is a palace which Folkers and van Buited describes as "a sublimated planter's house with stacked arcades of large, cast-iron columns imported from England" (Ibid., p. 48).

Eventually the unadorned, introverted building style was abandoned as the English wished to see Zanzibar as a more exotic place. The buildings became more gaudily ornamented, with classical and exotic motifs that were fashionable in other parts of the equatorial British Empire. The architect Sinclair, who arrived to the island in 1899, took on the challenge of giving Zanzibar a makeover. Before leaving in 1925 he designed several new administrative buildings, such as the Court House, Post Office, and the Residency. His masterpiece might be the Peace Memorial Museum, with its lofty dome, which conforms to his dream of reshaping Stone Town to the romanticized view of exotic places held by the British colonists (Ibid.).

3.3 *The Old Fort, built by the Oman Arabs upon expelling the Potuguese, completed in 1699.*
3.4 *House of Wonders (Beit al Ajab) built in 1883.*
3.5 *The Peace Memorial Museum*
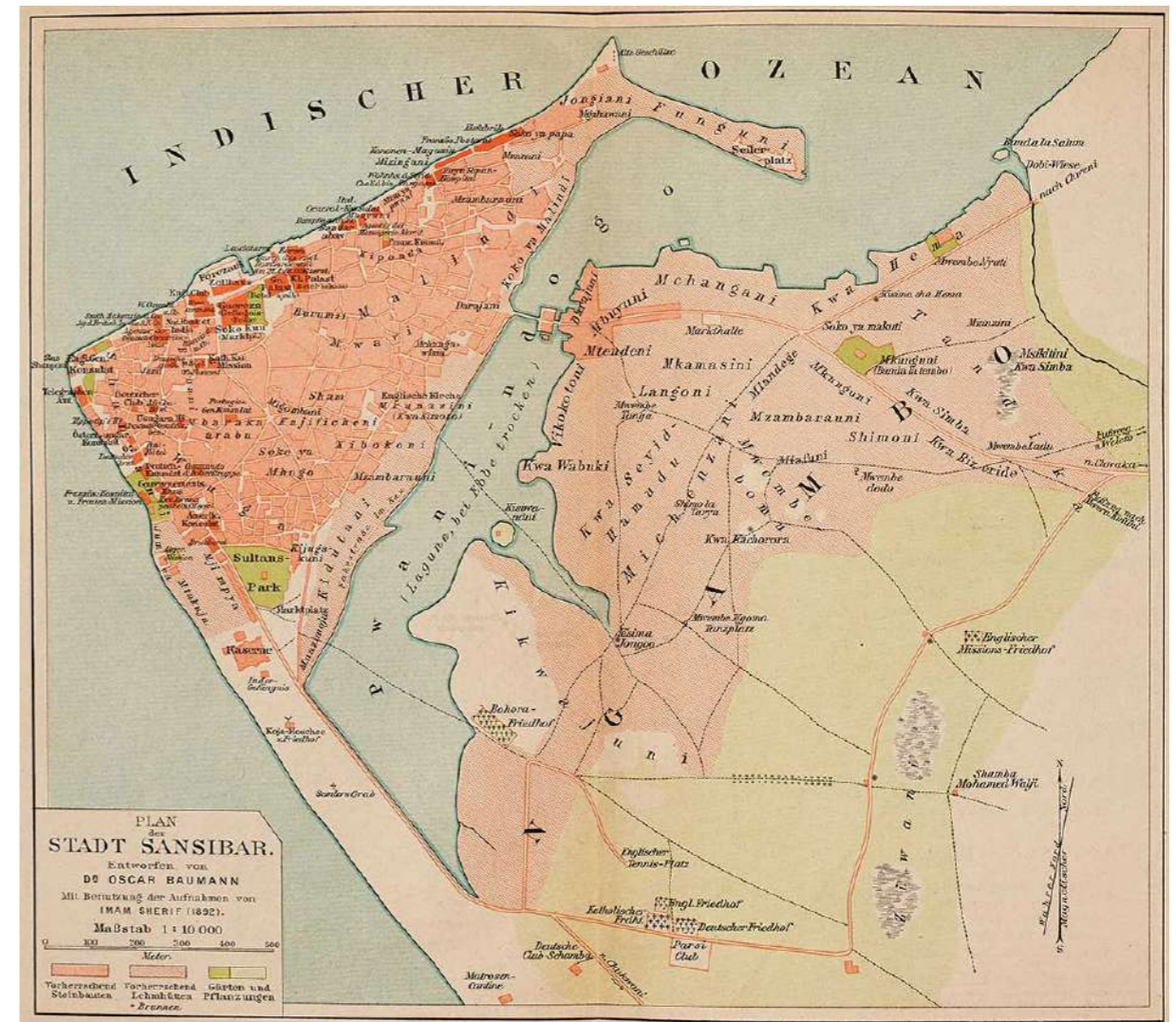
3.6 *City map of Zanzibar by Oscar Baumann, 1892.*

NG'AMBO

Stone Town became increasingly overpopulated during the nineteenth century. There was no more room for the large population explosion, which was the result of the economic boom that accompanied the new capital. In addition to the immigration of Arabs, Indians and Europeans, there was a great stream of African laborers and slaves, who worked on plantations and in the port. The other side of the creek started to become populated as early as before 1846. Ng'ambo, literally meaning "the other side" in Swahili, was laid out. By 1846 Ng'ambo was already half as large as Stone Town and by 1890 it exceeded the old city both in size and population (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

Ng'ambo in the nineteenth century was not a slum, despite its spontaneous character of origin and poverty of the majority of its population. Compared to the dirty and overpopulated Stone Town, visitors found it to be a neat suburb. Unpaved and crooked streets were lined with neat rows of coconut palms and the typical Swahili houses with steep roofs of coconut thatch (Ibid.).

Prior to Zanzibar becoming a British protectorate, there was never any formal policy of segregation. From 1890, segregation was part of the colonial politics, and the Creek became the border of Zanzibar City. Stone Town had become the formal city for wealthy Europeans, Arabs and Indians, while the "African urban proletariat" were relegated to inhabit the land on other side of the creek, Ng'ambo, and was inhabited by day-laborers, feed slaves, and impoverished Arabs (Ibid.).

In 1923 this racial segregation was cemented in an outline for a master plan for Zanzibar, by the British urban planner Henry Vaughn Lanchester. After 1923, Stone Town was virtually closed to Africans. Upon this segregation it was also decided that the legally defined "hut", associated with Africans, was banned from Stone Town. Before the master plan, the city was far more intermixed than the lines may infer, but making the creek, which had before been a natural barrier, into an actual border eventually led to people crossing the creek to partake in cultural and political activities less and less (Folkers & Perzyna, 2019).

Lanchester's master plan mainly focused on making Zanzibar City look more attractive from the sea by implementing new monumental and symmetrical designs along the seafront. For the Europeans he proposed a new residential suburb on the southeast side of the creek. He also made proposals for social housing in and around Ng'ambo, inspired by traditional Swahili houses. None of his plans for Ng'ambo were realized (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

During the following decades new plans to reorganize Ng'ambo surfaced. First, in 1943 with Eric Dutton, who commissioned a civic survey and demolished a whole neighborhood which was replaced with houses in the tradition of the English garden city, completely different to the traditional complex of the architecture of the Swahili settlements. Dutton's was the most ambitious colonial program to be carried out in Zanzibar and drew heavily on the colonial budget. It was realized between 1946 and 1955 (Ibid.).

Second, in 1958, Henry Kendall and George Mill produced the *Zanzibar Town Planning Scheme*, which proposed a rationalized road network, as well as a simple and clear zoning policy. The housing zones with homes for the wealthy (zone A, *high class*) along the beaches and homes for the middle class (zone B) in buffer zones separating them from the zones for the natives (zone C, *native-type huts*) (Ibid.).

In the final years of the colonial rule, Ng'ambo was agian excluded from plans of Zanzibar's urban development, as was the case in the period after Lanchester (Ibid.)

3.7 Huts lining the streets of Ng'ambo in the nineteenth century.
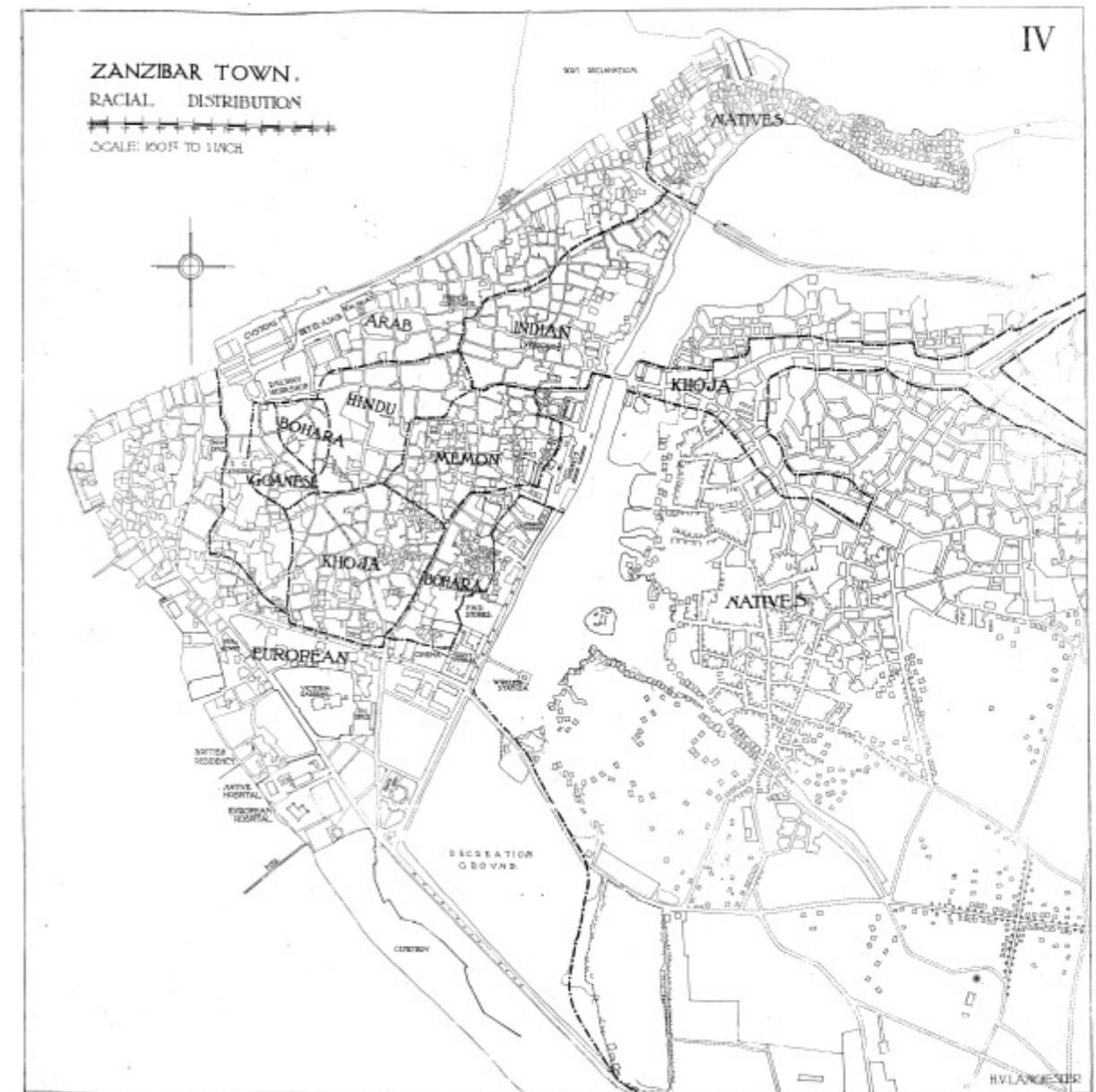
3.8 Map delineating the racial segregation In Zanzibar City by Henry Vaughn Lanchester, 1923.

3.4 MODERN DEVELOPMENT

NG'AMBO AFTER INDEPENDENCE

After Zanzibar gained its independence President Karume proposed a scheme for a socialist New Town in 1964. The New Town consisted of an all-inclusive plan for the modern socialist citizen, with comfortable buildings, sports facilities, highways, an airport, hospitals, a party headquarters, schools, recreations facilities, and a home for the elderly – and was all to be built in Ng'ambo (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

Karume's vision was to Westernize the city and received help in his endeavor from East German planners, architects and engineers. The goal was to equalize access to services and standardize all residents by providing them with Western-style apartments and establishing neighborhoods in line with the socialist ideal. All of the existing buildings in Ng'ambo were to be replaced by apartment blocks. According to Garth A. Myers in his article *Making the Socialist City of Zanzibar,* the plan focused on Ng'ambo because the East Germans considered Stone Town sufficient with amenities. Garth describes this as an expression "typical of colonial oppression" (Ibid.; Myers, 1994, p. 454).

The plan was finished in 1968 and proposed redoing Ng'ambo in five steps: building apartments for nearly all residents; implementing a new street system; installing a sewer system; constructing schools; and creating an industrial area. The apartment buildings were meant to be the tallest structures, five or fifteen stories high, centered along the main roads of Ng'ambo (Myers, 1994).

In the end, very little of the 1968 plan was implemented. Only eight of the planned blocks were erected, and instead of the planned varying heights of five or fifteen stories, they were made six or eight stories high and 300 meters long. The Ng'ambo dwellers would come to call them the Trains of Michenzani. Many people had been displaced or evicted to make room for the new blocks, and many were never properly compensated (Ibid.)

The buildings designed by the East Germans did not have the desired effect. They were met with dissatisfaction and apprehension from locals, mainly due to them being grossly out of character with local customs, especially in relation to neighborliness. The apartments were not compatible with the way of living in Zanzibar. Inter-generational families, or families with many children, did not feel they had enough room in the small apartments. Others complained of the noise and the lack of opportunity to meet and interact with neighbors. In the end, the apartments were largely occupied by single men, by married men (who used the apartments as additional homes for second wives or mistresses), and the Westernized middle-class (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019; Myers, 1994).

Karume was assassinated in 1972 before much more of his plans could be made real. 1980 saw a growing influence on Zanzibar from communist China. In 1982 Chang-Kequang delivered a new master plan for the city, in which the new city center was to be located in Ng'ambo. A number of apartment blocks and office buildings were indeed built but by the mid-1980s the planned development of Karume's New Town came to a stop (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

In the early 1990s the socialist system was gradually replaced by a neoliberal capitalist model. The growth of the New Town came to a halt, the population of the historic, organic Ng'ambo exploded, and Stone Town became gentrified. In the 2000s the city has been growing uncontrollably. In 2011 the Department of Urban and Rural Planning (DoURP) of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar was established and since then more progress on a new master plan has been made. Israeli urban planning office Shapira Hellerman Planners presented ZansPlan, a new masterplan for Zanzibar City, which again places the future city center in Ng'ambo (Ibid.; Folkers & Perzyna, 2019).

The most recent plan for the city is the *Zanzibar Town City Centre Local Area Plan.* The Dutch organization African Architecture Matters (AA Matters) initiated research in Zanzibar City in 2013, with the aim to support DoURP in outlining their planning for the future of "the other side". This cooperation led to the initiative Ng'ambo Tuitakayo (Ng'ambo We Can Do It), a pilot research and planning project initially focusing on creating awareness of the intrinsic societal and cultural values of Ng'ambo. Their research led to the drafting of the Local Area Plan as well as a book comprising all their research and findings on Ng'ambo, entitled *Ng'ambo Atlas: Historic Urban Landscape of Zanzibar's 'Other Side',* which has proven invaluable in my own research for this project (Ibid.).
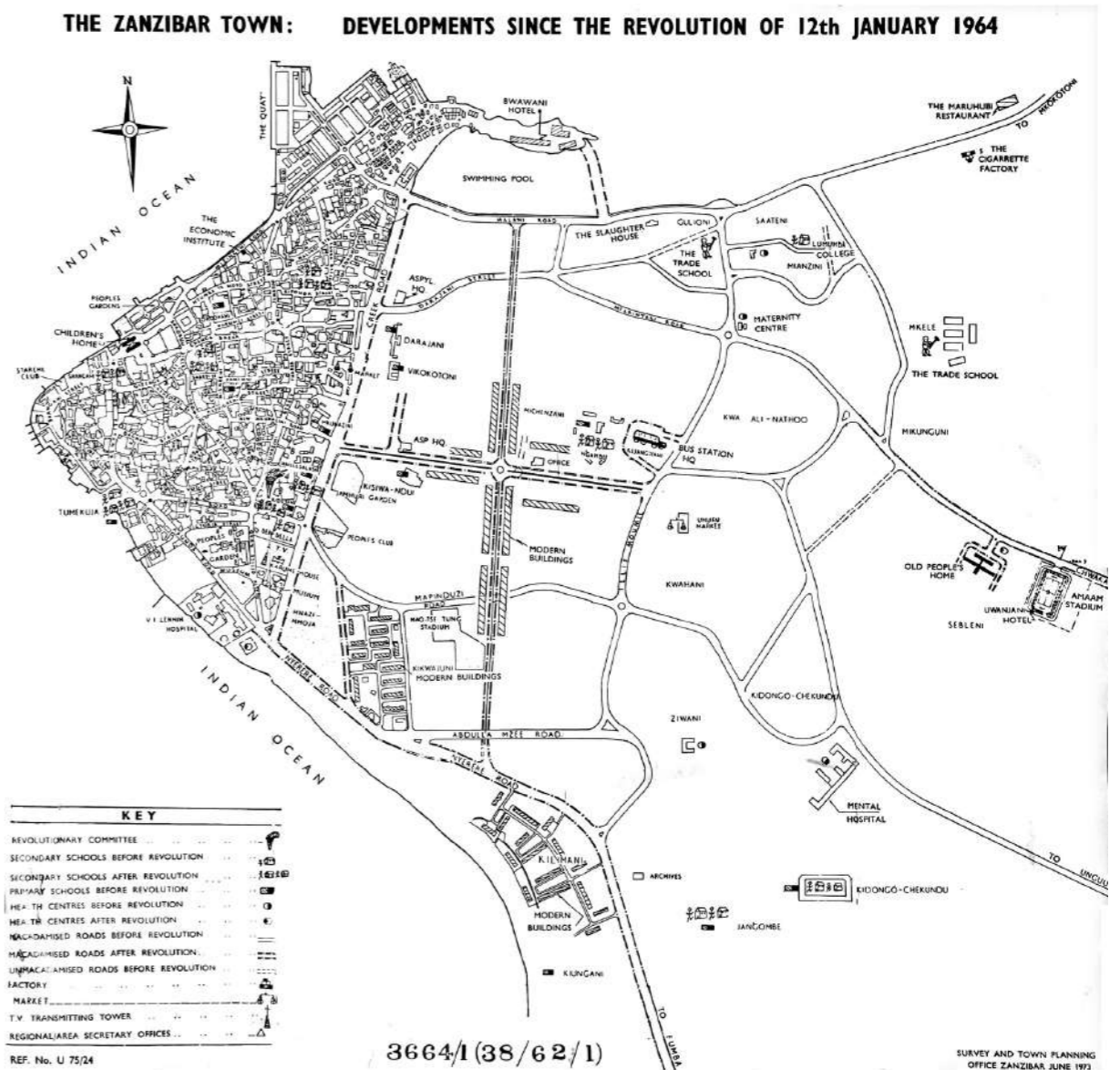
3.9 Map showing the achievements of the built environment in Ng'ambo since Zanzibar's independence, 1973.

3.10 *(Previous spread) One of the new main roads in Ng'ambo, after Karume's 1968 plan, flanked by the apartment buildings.*
3.11 *(Top) View of Swahili houses in Ng'ambo, with Michenzani blocks in the background.*
3.12 *(Bottom) View from the rooftops of the Micnhenzeni blocks.*

3.13 *Zanzibar Town City Center Local Area Plan, by DoURP and AA Matters, 2016.*

STONE TOWN: THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE

While many plans, and much effort, was afforded the development of Ng'ambo, Stone Town was largely neglected during the reign of Karume and later his successor sheik Aboud Jumbe. In the mid-1980s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sounded the alarm, pleading with authorities to ensure the city did not fall into further decay (Folkers & van Buiten, 2019).

Following the call from UNESCO, and the ensuing rise of tourism in the 1990s, Stone Town was restored bit by bit. In 1985 an independent Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority was established (STCDA received its legal status in 1994) and a separate conservation scheme for Stone Town was drafted in 1996. Ultimately, this led to Stone Town being awarded the status of World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2000. It is noteworthy that the boundaries of the UNESCO Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage Site follow exactly the 1923 racial division established by Lanchester between the Euro-Arab-Asian areas and the Native quarters. Half of historic Ng'ambo was also declared a Buffer Zone to the World Heritage Site (Ibid.; Folkers & Perzyna, 2019).

UNESCO's mission is to "encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity". To be included on the World Heritage Site list, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria. Stone Town is identified as having reached three criteria, which are: "ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design"; "iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared"; and "vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO, World Heritage; UNESCO, The Criteria for Selection; UNESCO, Stone Town of Zanzibar).

UNESCO describes Stone Town as a "fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa. It retains its urban fabric and townscape virtually intact and contains many fine buildings that reflect its particular culture, which has brought together and homogenized disparate elements of the cultures of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe over more than a millennium" (UNESCO, Stone Town of Zanzibar).

The aim of the World Heritage List is to preserve natural and cultural monuments for future generations. In practical terms, this means that sites on the list can apply for financial aid for conservation and more easily protect the site from armed conflicts, deliberate destruction, climate change, natural disasters, and economic pressures (UNESCO; World Heritage).

Stone Town's status as a World Heritage Site has had profound effects on the city as a whole. World Heritage Sites usually see an increase of tourism as a result of being on the list. This means that local entrepreneurs can see a rise in income and can lead to future economic growth, but an increase in visitors can also bring about accelerated wear and decay of the site. In 1982, Zanzibar had 7 hotels with 285 beds. In 2015 these figures were 354 hotels and 13,037 beds. Currently, tourism is the most important contributor of the foreign exchange in Zanzibar and Tanzania nationally (Juma & Turner, 2019).

The borders of the site have also helped reinforce Ng'ambo as the "other side" of Zanzibar City, and the road along which the border is drawn, Benjamin Mkapa Road (also known as Creek Road), marks the clear separation of the two sides of the city. Declaring half of Ng'ambo as Buffer Zones to the World Heritage Site also means that any future development in these areas is completely conditional on the interests of Stone Town (Folkers & Perzyna, 2019)

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITE

INSCRIBED PROPERTY

BUFFER ZONE

BUFFER ZONE

ZANZIBAR: THE TOURIST DESTINATION

Another important modern development to Zanzibar is the rapidly growing tourism sector. International tourism wasn't identified as a sector with major potential for driving economic development in Zanzibar until the late 1980s. In 1985 only 19,368 tourists visited Zanzibar, since then it has grown enormously, partly due to the increased promotion of international tourism by the government, to an estimated 219,047 tourists in 2007. Zanzibar is home to beautiful beaches and coral reefs, combined with a rich cultural heritage. The declaration of Stone Town as a World Heritage Site has also contributed to the influx of tourists. Tourism has come to account for 27 % of Zanzibar's GDP (Lange, 2015; Rotarou, 2014).

When researching Zanzibar as a tourist destination one is met with beautiful pictures of turquoise waters, white beaches, and luxury hotels right on the beach. There are quite a few videos on YouTube showing tourists on their vacations. Many spend a few days in Stone Town to look at the architecture and visit the Freddie Mercury Museum to then move on to a hotel resort along the coast on the north or south tip of Unguja.

Many studies suggest that tourism has a higher potential for reducing poverty in comparison to other economic sectors, since it's a more diverse industry where many groups can participate and gain benefits. In 2010 13 % of Zanzibar's population lived below the food poverty line, and 49 % consumed less than the level of basic needs. The World Bank estimated that over 15,000 people were employed direct by the tourism sector in 2010, and an additional 50,000 indirectly through supply chains (Rotarou, 2014).

However, tourism can also bring about negative effects, such as increase in prices, economic dependency and seasonality, as well as crime, land degradation, air and water pollution, and deforestation. While increased tourism can lead to a higher rate of employment data has shown that many people in Zanzibar haven't benefited from it because most tourists pay directly to tourism agencies in their home countries, and many of the hotels are owned by foreign investors and franchises who prefer to employ experienced managers from within their company instead of hiring locals. According to official figures, tourism contributes only 1.5 % to per capita income (Ibid.)

Tourism has also put a huge strain on the environment in Zanzibar. The majority of investors violate construction laws and damage the environment when building very close to, or even on, the beaches. Almost 60 % of the 194 hotels on the islands are built too close to the sea. These buildings are meant to be torn down but many think that it's unlikely to happen due to widespread corruption and deal-making between investors and country officials. The increased number of tourists has also led to land degradation and deforestation. Coral reefs have been damaged, and the already diminishing fish populations run the risk of being reduced ever further (Ibid.).

Tourism could be a positive influence on Zanzibar's economy, and increased interest in the islands and their culture could make it easier make sure that its appreciated and conserved. Before Stone Town was made a World Heritage site much of the old city center was falling into disrepair. Increased income from tourists could be re-invested in the city to both to ensure that the cultural heritage is preserved for future generations, but also as new infrastructure. Many tourists have expressed dimay at the state of the airport, roads, unreliable electric supply, limited waste water treatment and poor solid waste management (Lange, 2015).

My interpretation of Zanzibar as a tourist destination is that much, if not all, of the focus is on the coastal aspects, such as swimming, snorkeling, coral reefs, and lounging in the sun. Stone Town is often mentioned as a place worth visiting when going to the islands, but more focus seems to be placed on portraying it as a beautiful and relaxing beach resort.
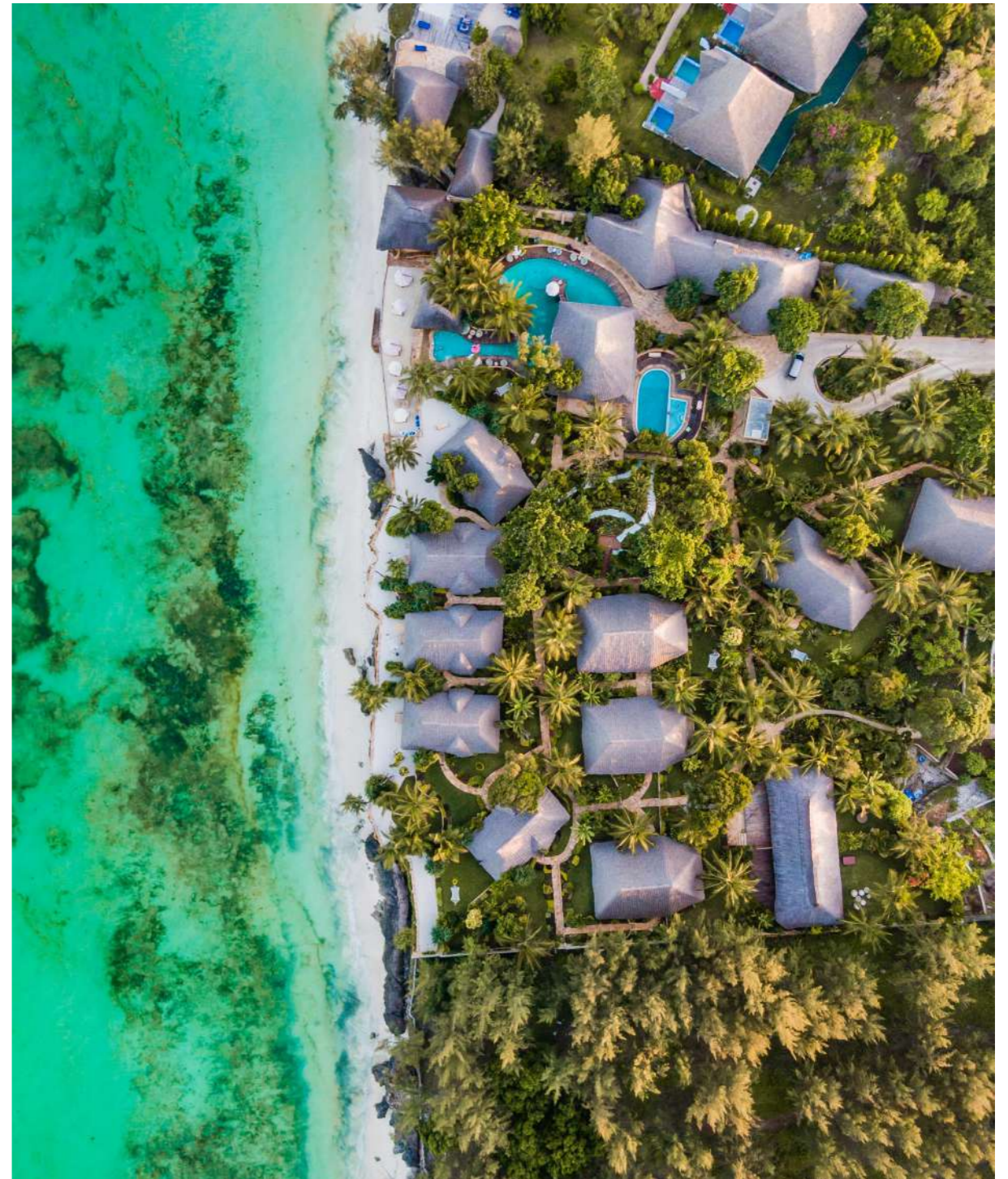
*3.14* Beach hotel resort in Zanzibar.

3.5 ARCHITECTURE IN ZANZIBAR CITY

BUILDING TYPOLOGIES

The map on the right is based on a map by African Architecture Matters in which they have mapped the different building typologies in Ng'ambo. I have found no such extensive and reliable information about Stone Town and the buildings I have assigned a typology in Stone Town are governmental, museums, hotels, or religious buildings that I have been able to find more reliable information about online.

Most of the religious buildings are either mosques or madrasas (Arabic word for educational institutions, they don't strictly need to be religious), but there are a few churches and a handful of Hindu temples.

The majority of the houses in Stone Town I would guess is either residential or mixed use, with shops or other commercial functions on the bottom floor and residences above. It is noteworthy that all museums or places of cultural interest (according to tourist websites, books, etc.) are located in Stone Town.
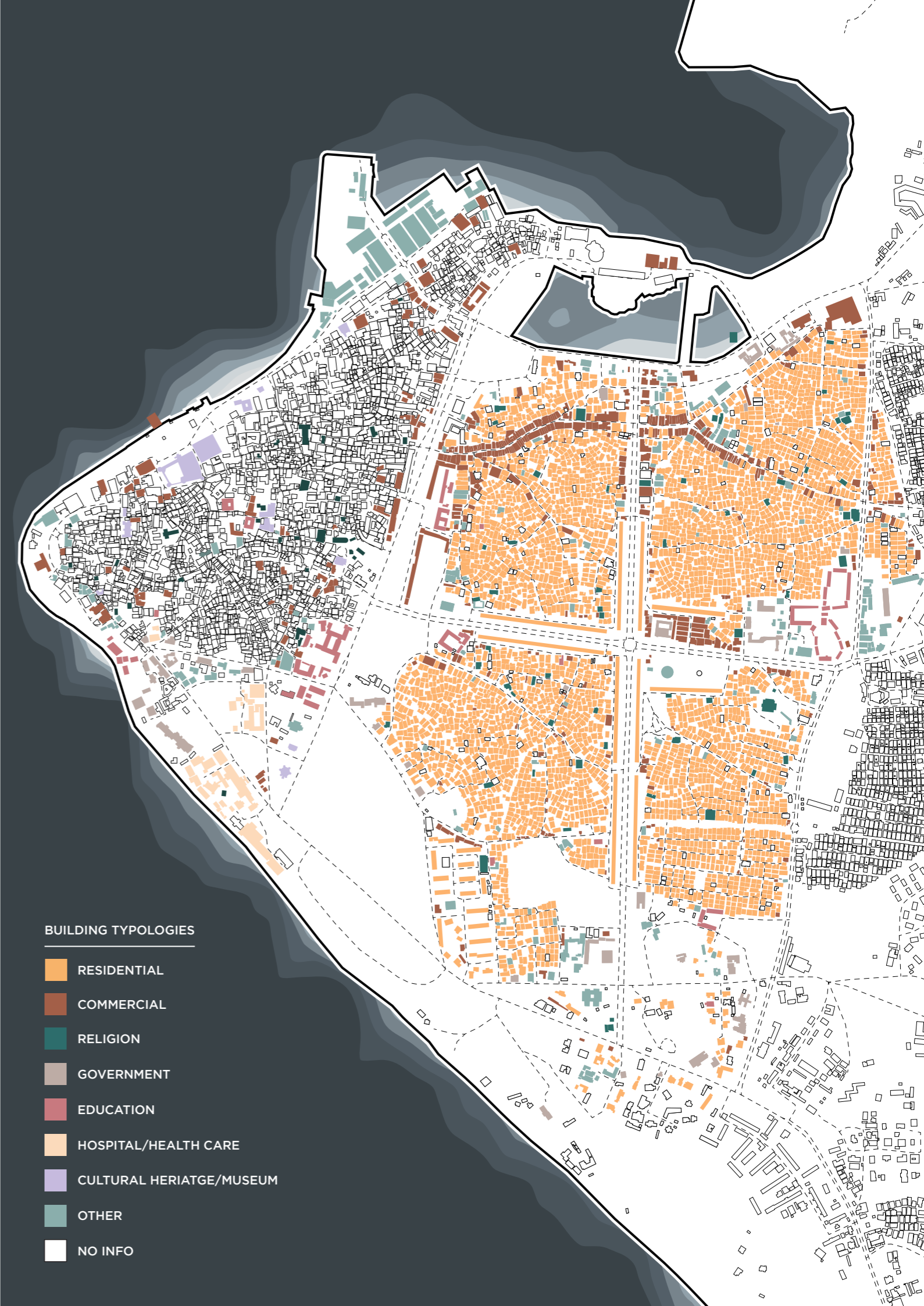
BUILDING TYPOLOGIES

RESIDENTIAL

COMMERCIAL

RELIGION

GOVERNMENT

EDUCATION

HOSPITAL/HEALTH CARE

CULTURAL HERIATGE/MUSEUM

OTHER

NO INFO

BUILDING HEIGHT

I have not found any 3D data on the buildings in Zanzibar City. The map to the right is based on a map made by African Architecture Matters, who have recorded the height of almost every building in Ng'ambo.

The majority of the buildings in Ng'ambo are one or two floor houses, juxtaposed by the Michenzani blocks of six or eight floors. The tallest building in Ng'ambo is the Bank of Tanzania in the northeast corner of Ng'ambo.

I have not been able to determine the individual building heights of Stone Town. When looking at photos, videos and street view the majority of the buildings seem to be between two and three stories.

The tallest building in Stone Town is House of Wonders (fig. 3.3) which has three stories and a clock tower. I have not found any conclusive measurements but have estimated its height at roughly 20 meters tall, including the tower.

BUILDING HEIGHT

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- NO INFO

THE ARCHITECTURE OF STONE TOWN

As mentioned, Stone Town features architectural influences from several cultures: Arab, Persian, Indian, European, and African. Many of the houses in Stone Town are sparingly decorated, whitewashed and square, often two or three stories high.

The Europeans did, as discussed before, design buildings for Zanzibar that would fit into their exoticized view of the island. They also built two churches: St. Joseph's Cathedral, built by French missionaries in the 1890s, and Christ Church, commissioned by Zanzibar's third Anglican bishop Edward Steere in the 1870s. Christ church is considered by many the most prominent example of Christian architecture in East Africa.

Indian influenced houses often feature far more decoration than their Arabic counterparts, with ornate facades and balconies. They generally include a shop on the ground floor and living quarters above. One wealthy Indian man, Tharia Topan, commissioned the Old Dispensary in 1887, which features intricately carved wooden balconies and stained-glass windows, which are of Indian influence. The main structure is coral rag and limestone, very common Zanzibari building materials, covered in stucco adornments of European neo-classical style.

Common features in houses in Stone Town are the ornate wooden doors, a symbol of wealth and status, and often the first part of a house to be built. Generally, the Arabian-style doors are square and feature carved geometric patterns or shapes, while the Indian version often have semi-circular tops and floral patterns. Doors were decorated with carvings of passages from the Quran, and some seen motifs represent items desired in the household, such as a fish (expressing the hope for many children) or the date tree (a symbol of prosperity). Some doors also feature large brass spikes, which is an Indian tradition meant to keep elephants from battering down the door. The oldest carved doorways are from 1694 (Guaita, 1999, Lonely Planet, n.d.).

A baraza is a built-in stone bench at the front of a building facing the street, and if often present in buildings in Stone Town. Much of the social interactions take place here. The baraza is originally from traditional Swahili houses but have been incorporated into the architecture in Stone Town, and is very important place for reception of guests and sociability (Rezaei, 2019).

3.15 View of roofs in Stone Town, with the church towers from St Joseph's Cathedral visible. Built by French missionaries between 1893 and 1898.
3.16 Christ Church, built on the site for the former slave market. Built in 1873 to 1879.
3.17 The Old Dispensary, comissioned in 1887 by Tharia Topan wealthy Ismali Indian.

3.18 (Top left)View of a street in Stone Town, with the typical lime-washed houses. An ornate balcony and the characteristic barazas are visible, as well.
3.19 (Top right)Decorated windows and shutters.
3.20 (Bottom left)Two men sitting on a baraza in a street in Stone town with several traditional Zanzibari doors behind them. The architraves are richly decorated, featuring floral motifs, and the door are covered in bronze studs.
3.21 (Bottom right) A typical white building in the foreground with many Arabic influences, and the clock tower from the House of Wonders in the background. The design of the House of Wonders is attributed to British marine engineer and was built in 1883 for the Sultan of Zanzibar.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF NG'AMBO

According to the extensive mapping of Ng'ambo by DoURP and African Architecture matters, 60 % of the buildings in Ng'ambo is built in the classic Swahili house tradition. Swahili houses were traditionally built with wattle and daub, but today newer materials are used. Over 60 % of the houses have cement blocks as the load-bearing structure. Only roughly 23 % utilize coral stone and lime, which is very common in Stone Town. The vast majority of roofs are constructed with a timber frame and corrugated metal sheets. The Swahili houses feature the baraza mentioned in the previous section, which are an important place for socialization and meeting neighbors. The houses are often covered in plaster or whitewashed; more color is present in Ng'ambo compared to Stone Town. Many new styles and materials have been incorporated into the Swahili typology over the years. The majority of the houses in Ng'ambo are self-built, so they vary greatly from one another in terms of style and look.

More modern development of course includes the Michenzani apartment blocks, which are constructed in concrete. There are also other apartment buildings in Ng'ambo, and suburban villas with multiple floors.

It is common for windows and balconies to be covered in some form of metal bars to protect from intruders, or window shutters. One can often find them decorative, featuring a wide array of patterns (Folkers & Perzyna, 2019).

3.22 A street in Miembeni, an neighborhood of Ng'ambo.
3.23 Bwawani Hotel, a government-run hotel in the northern part of Ng'ambo, which was a regular venue for music and dance performaces by local groups. Opened in 1976.

3.24 (Top left) A narrow street in Ng'ambo, showing the barazas of the Swahili houses, the ornamental window bars to the left, and more colorful facades.
3.25 (Top right) One of the Michenzani apartment blocks, built in concrete, with perforated walls in the staircase for increased ventilation.
3.26 (Middle left)A Swahili house in Ng'ambo, with a newer house under construction in the background.
3.27 (Middle right) Classic Swahili house with corrugated steel roof and baraza.
3.28 (Bottom left) A suburban villa, with several floors and ornamental metal bars over the balconies.
3.29 (Bottom right) A more modern apartment building.

3.6 WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT?

A CITY SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE

It is clear from my research that Stone Town and Ng'ambo have been treated as two separate entities throughout history and seemingly up to this day when looking at the future plans for the city. Few of them, if any, really seem to address both Stone Town and Ng'ambo.

Something that has struck me while doing this research is the how colonial, neo-colonial, and postcolonial structures are easily "assigned" to different aspects of Zanzibar City. I have already outlined its colonial history and would argue that Lanchester's segregation plan is the manifestation of it. Stone Town is made superior through his division of the city. It is named the home to the colonial elite and native vernacular architecture is prohibited.

Stone Town is also interesting through the lens of postcolonialism. It was named superior by the British colonizers, and at the dawn of the twenty-first century it was reinforced by making it a World Heritage Site, deeming it more worthy of conservation and of bigger cultural interest than Ng'ambo. Through making Stone Town a World Heritage Site and half of Ng'ambo its buffer zone, Ng'ambo's future development is in many ways dependent on the future of Stone Town and will come second. Worth mentioning, however, is that while the World Heritage Sites are appointed by UNESCO, the home country must submit a nomination for their consideration. This means that the Republic of Tanzania nominated Stone Town to become a World Heritage Site.

As far as neocolonial structures go I do think there might be some dangers if the tourism industry keeps growing by way of foreign hotels and tourist companies establishing in the islands and employ foreigners, instead of offering job opportunities to locals. Their business could lead to increased land degradation and less access to the coast for locals who rely on coastal activities such as fishing and seaweed farming to make a livelihood.

One can look at Ng'ambo, and especially at the development that took place there after Zanzibar's independence, as an attempt to decolonize its architecture. While the Michenzani blocks are largely considered a failure, and did not bring about the equal, socialist city of Karume's vision, it seems to me to be a bid to reclaim the power of how the city should look and function, and who it should serve.

Stone Town and Ng'ambo don't need to be two separate beings. While they are undoubtedly different in terms of look and architecture, they are only separated by one road. It is not two different worlds and appreciating one does not mean the other has to be put down. I don't know what it feels like to walk down Creek Road with the two areas on either side, perhaps this border is mostly visible in maps and area plans, and not as obvious on the ground.

What seems evident, however, is that all the plans I have found and studied for this project seem to either assign different characteristics to the two sides, such as Lanchester's segregation plan, or only address one side, such as Karume's new plans for Ng'ambo and even the Local Area Plan, which only includes a shuttle line as far as Stone Town is concerned.

It is tempting to consider how the city could have developed had Stone Town not become a World Heritage Site, which has made it harder to knit the two side back together. Would the city feel and look less fractured? And at what cost? Would it have meant that the cultural heritage of Stone Town had been lost?

The work that has been done by the Department of Urban and Rural Planning and African Architecture Matters, especially, is thorough and important and will hopefully lead to sustainable and innovative development in Ng'ambo and Zanzibar City as a whole. I had the opportunity to speak to a few of the members on the team of African Architecture Matters and I asked them what their dream vision of the future would be, to which Franka van Marrewijk answered that her hope is that the work they're doing with DoURP can help empower the people of Zanzibar, especially young people, so that foreign organizations don't have to come and try to come up with strategies on how to develop the city, they can do it themselves (Papadaki, A., Perzyna, I. & van Marrewijk, Franka, 2021).

This is a sentiment I want to linger on for a moment. Could I use the knowledge I have gathered so far in this project to facilitate this empowerment? If so, how can architecture be the tool for it?

3.30 *View of part of Creek Road.*

CHAPTER FOUR **DESIGN PROPOSAL**

4.1 THE STRATEGY

LESSONS FROM THE RESEARCH

The, quite extensive, research I have presented so far in this report leads up to the design proposal I will now present. By researching both the larger global context as well as the local context I have attempted to get to know Zanzibar as well as I can from a distance.

This has left me with a few questions that will carry me forward: How can I combine what I've learned of Zanzibar, its history and culture, with my own knowledge and education? How should I approach my design proposal in order for it to feel like I am not like a colonial architect? How much of what I've learned of the local context should be visible in the design? How do I design something grounded in the local context and culture if it is always changing?

From these queries I have developed a strategy of how I want to approach the design. I want my building to address the border and question its existence and possible consequences for the city. The architecture is meant to facilitate a visualization of the division, and help questions it.

I want to create a place that encourages people to meet, from both sides of the city. As much as I have tried to get to know the place, my view of the city is just a collage of second-hand information. I want the actual people of the city to meet and engage with one another, as they are the true representation of the city.

The design and form will be a combination of elements from both sides of the city, both past and present. This further emphasizes the collage-like view of the place that I have created but is also an attempt to use the design language I have tried to get to know in my research.

VISUALIZE THE BORDER

ENCOURAGE MEETINGS

Vernacular

Past   *Ng'ambo*

Stone Town   *Present*

Innovation
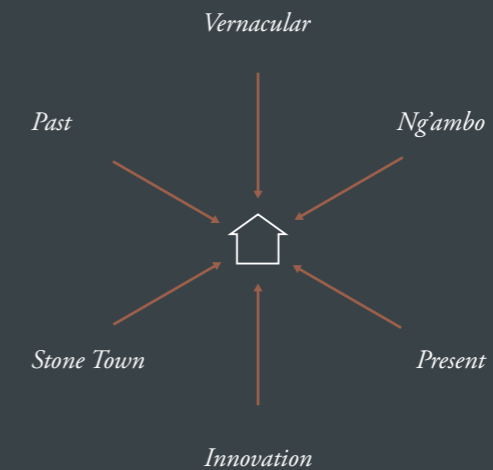
COMBINE ELEMENTS

4.2 THE SITE

ADDRESSING THE BORDER

The division between the two sides of Zanzibar City is evident. Much of the work I have studied for this project have taken one side into consideration over the other, and I would therefore like to explore another route: can the two sides be stitched together through architecture?

My design proposal has landed in an observation tower located in the Jamhuri Gardens, right next to Creek Road, on the Ng'ambo side of the border. The tower aims to lead the visitors to question the layout of their surroundings and view Zanzibar from a new perspective, physically and metaphorically.

EXTERIOR VIEW DAYTIME

JAMHURI GARDENS

Jamhuri Gardens is the site for the tower, which is located just east of Creek Road, technically on the Ng'ambo side, and part of the buffer zone for Stone Town.

While the garden is on the Ng'ambo side of the city, it is on ground that was previously under water and was thus never part of Lanchester's segregation plan. It feels to me as a no man's land. The junction of Karume Road and Creek Road (number 1 on the map to the right) appears as the entrance to Stone Town with the whitewashed houses and organic streets, but I would argue that the entrance to Ng'ambo is not here. It is further east on Karume Road, where two of the Michenzani apartment block create a portico to the other side of the city (number 2 on the map, and as seen in figure 3.10), leaving the area in between as a transition zone where one hasn't fully crossed over to either side.

The garden itself is a dense and lush with very tall trees providing shade in the heat. It is however, in a mirror image of the city, split down the middle where the east side (number 3) features a playground with jungle gyms and a merry-go-round, whereas the west side lacks any such things.

The park is hard to find any information on, and there are few photos from the site to be found online. There are however many Google reviews that describe the park as a popular place for locals to take their children to play, or meet friends and family.

Zanzibar City with Creek Road and Jamhuri Gardens noted in color.

THE NEW ATTRACTION

The tower is located on the western part of Jamhuri Gardens, and is placed over an existing footpath, leading people to the new attraction. It is placed perpendicular to Creek Road to amplify its relation to the border, making its short sides face either Stone Town or Ng'ambo. The shape and size of the footprint is inspired by the dimensions of the traditional Swahili houses. Its relatively small footprint aims to let the park mainly remain an open field where people can meet and relax in the grass.

KARUME ROAD

BENJAMIN MKAPA ROAD/CREEK ROAD

SITE PLAN 1:1000

0 10 50 m
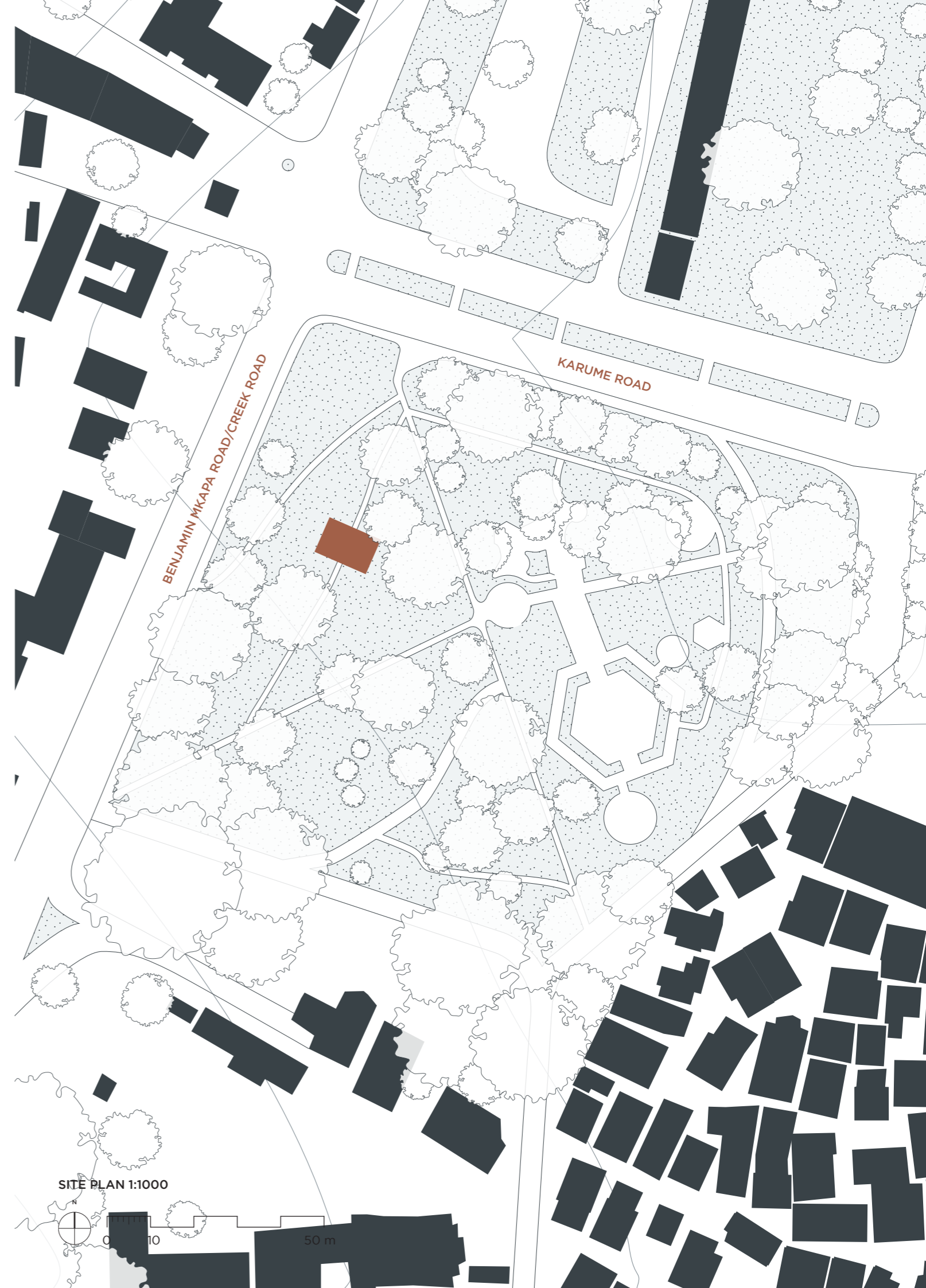
ON THE GROUND

The ground floor features two entrance stairs, symbolizing the two sides of Zanzibar, with an elevator each. The two stairs are separated allowing the traffic from the footpath to continue undisturbed.

The stairs on the ground floor also feature a baraza, allowing people to sit and socialize around the tower in a shaded place.

KARUME ROAD

BENJAMIN MKAPA ROAD/CREEK ROAD

GROUND FLOOR 1:400

N

0   4   20 m
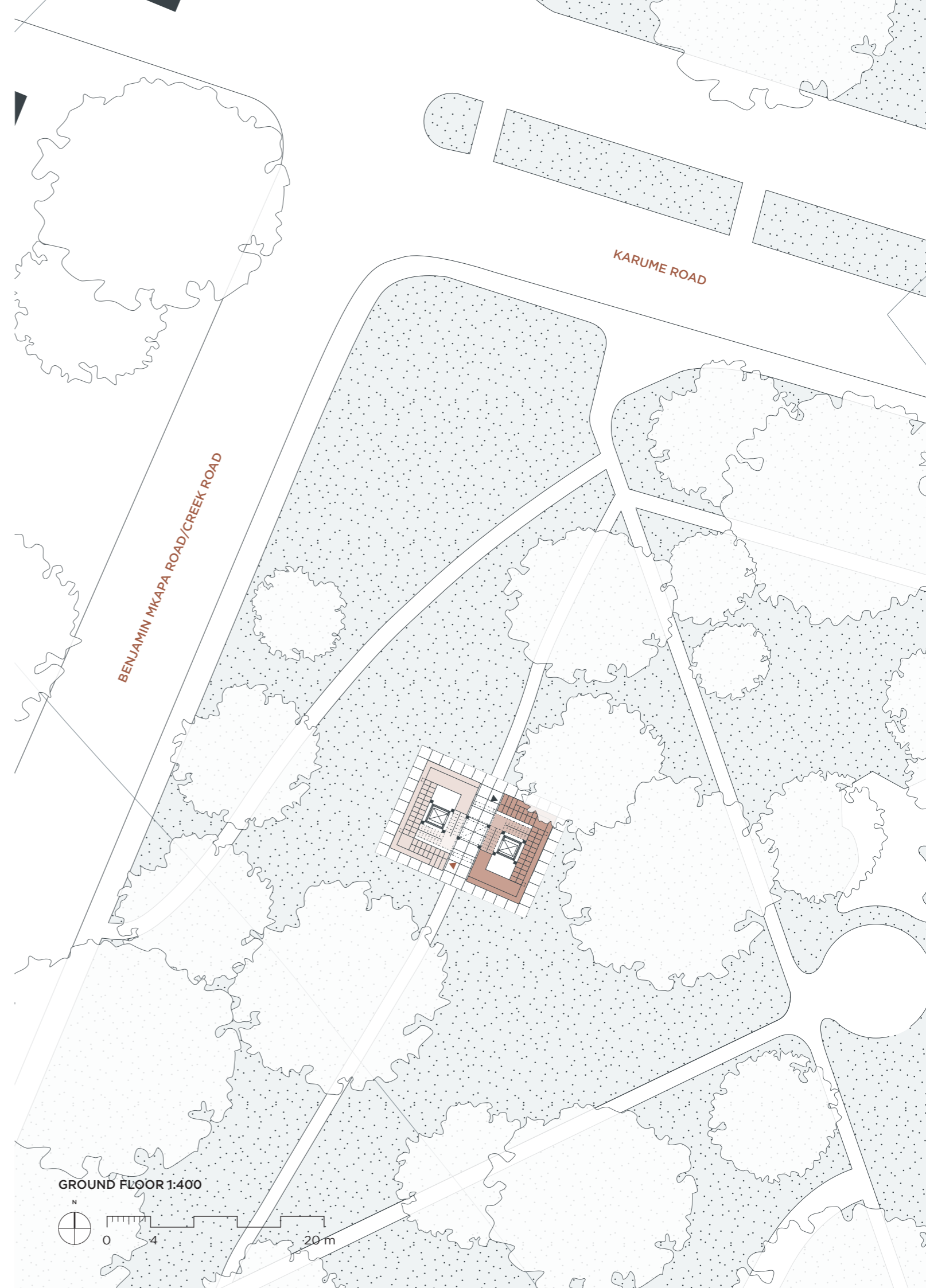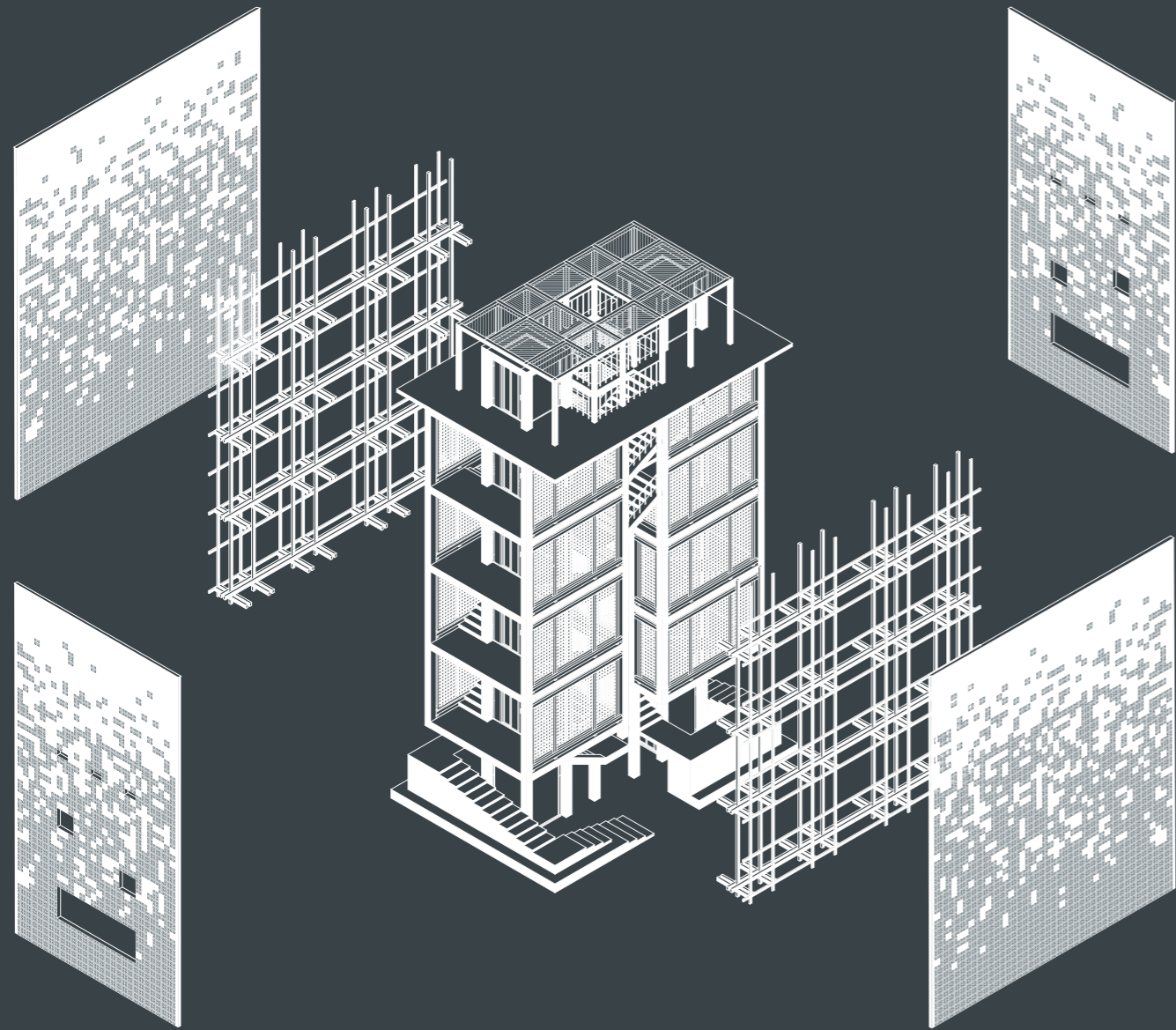
EXPLODED AXONOMETRIC

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE GROUND FLOOR

THE TWO STAIRCASES

One of the main features of the tower are the two staircases. On the ground floor the stairs are massive and compact. They start off apart separated by a void, as they wrap around their respective elevator shaft, climbing higher.

After several flights, the stairs start wrapping around each other, instead of the elevators, symbolizing the meeting of the two sides. The distance to the people in the other staircase remains constant, however, and it is not until the top floor is reached that they can finally meet, and see the city, and each other, in its entirety.

The tower has 4 viewing platforms along its way to the top, of which three are oriented to the side from which one came. The platforms are oriented either towards Stone Town or Ng'ambo, to reinforce the axiality of the building and division of the two sides of the city.

The north and south facades are held in place by trusses creating a void between the staircases and viewing platforms, and the long facades, to further limit the visitors' view.
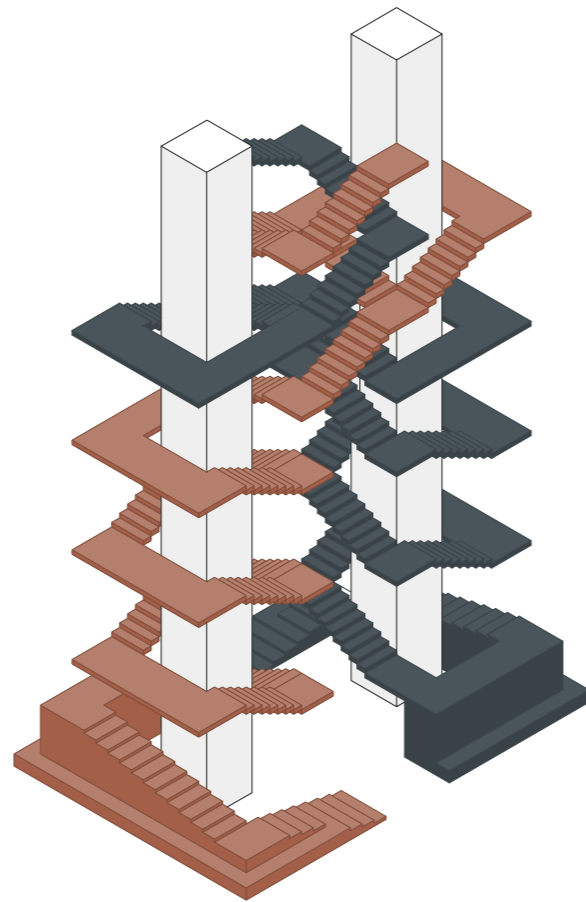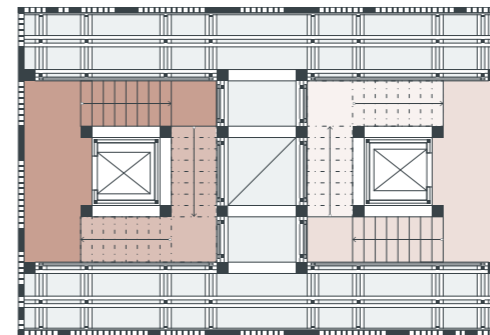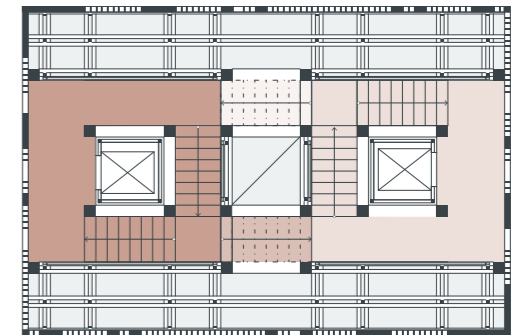

Schematic axonometric view of the stairs.
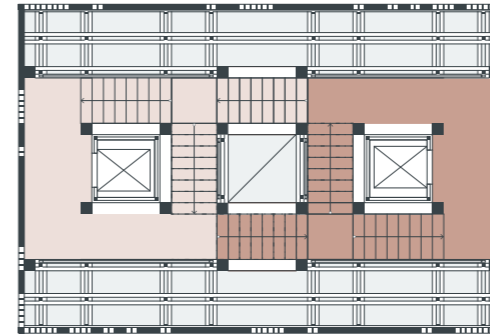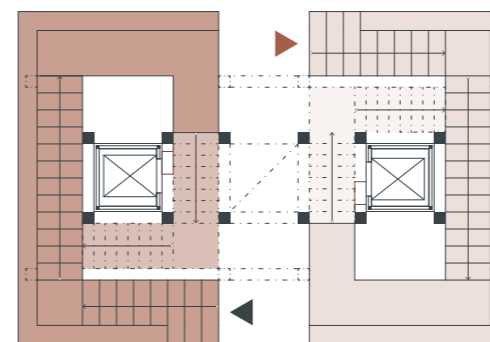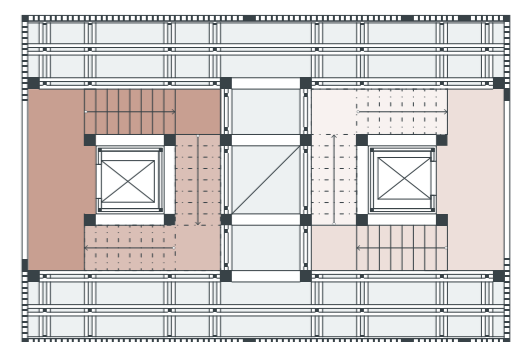

Fifth floor
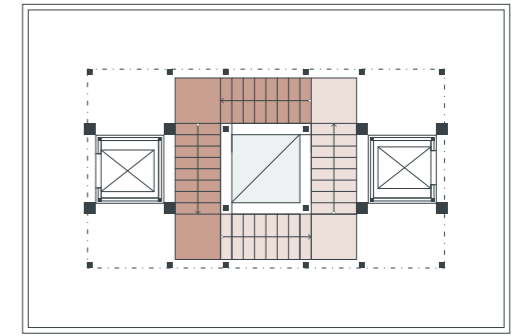
Top floor

Third floor

Fourth floor

Ground floor

Second floor

FLOOR PLANS 1:200

0   4   20 m

A COMBINATION OF ELEMENTS

The tower features a combination of elements found on both sides of the city. These elements have been included in an effort to ground the design in local traditions and expressions, to ensure it fits in the context and is appreciated by the locals. The elements are either combinations of features from either side, or ones that appear on both sides.

The plan is inspired by the Swahili house plan, which is a long rectangle, while also being inspired by the courtyard typology commonly used by the Arabs.

The largely unadorned facades of both Stone Town and Ng'ambo has inspired the facade of the tower. While being flat, it is perforated, as seen on the Michenzani block for example, to allow for better ventilation through the building, and to let in more light.

Lastly, a baraza has been included in the stairs on the bottom floor, since it is a feature in both Stone Town and Ng'ambo, which will hopefully invite people to have a seat and socialize around the tower.

Plan

Facade

Baraza
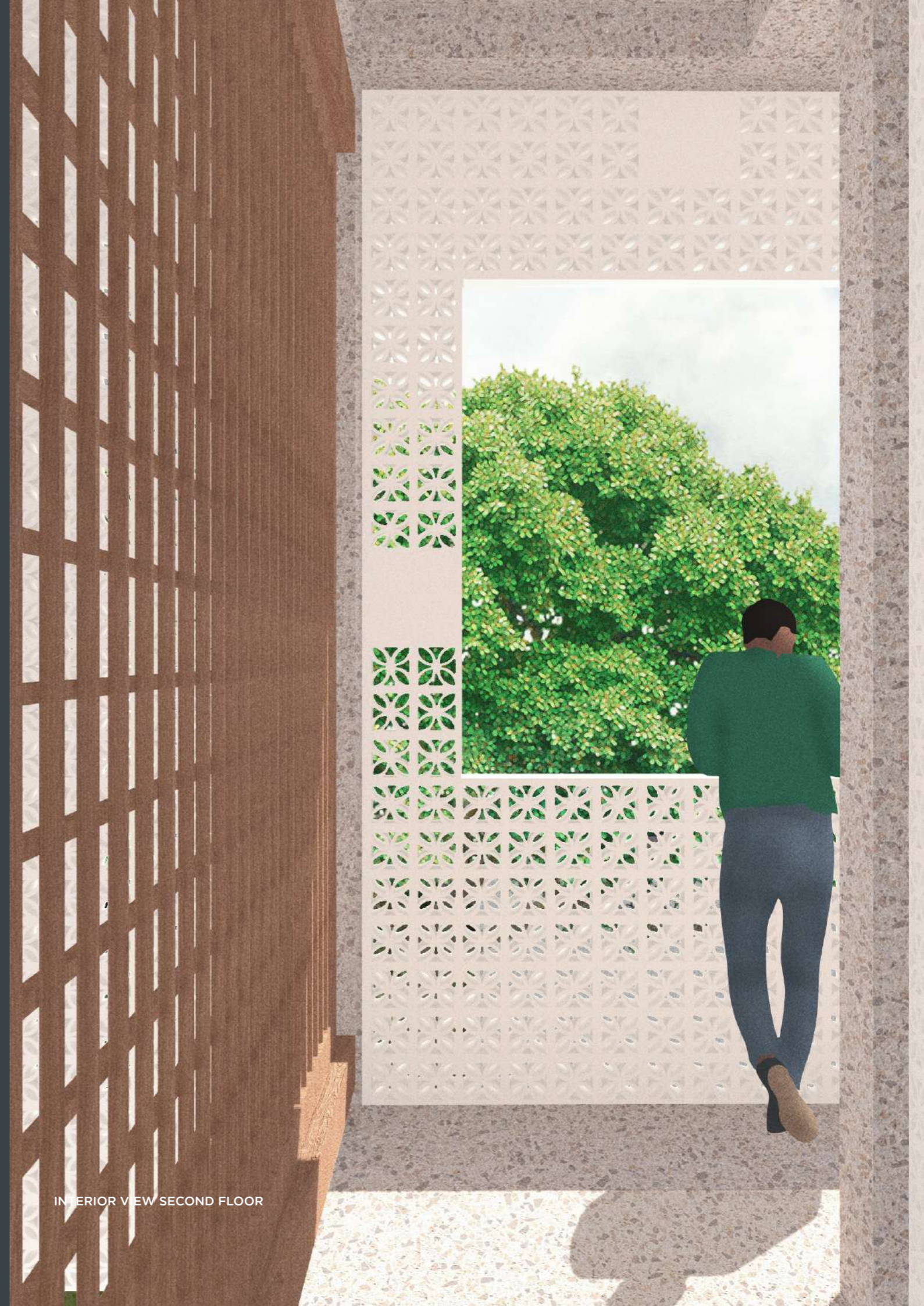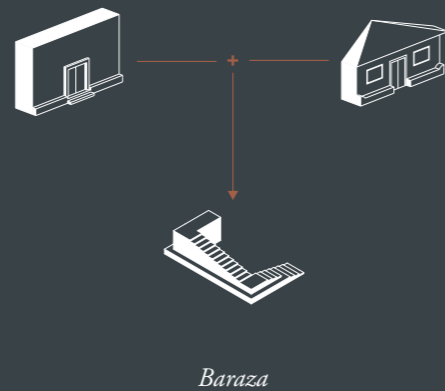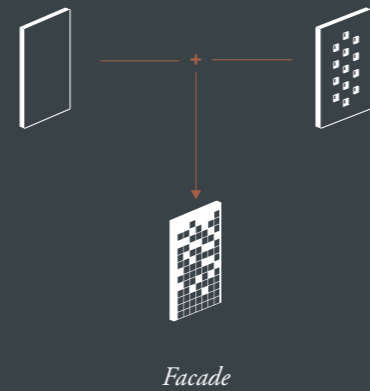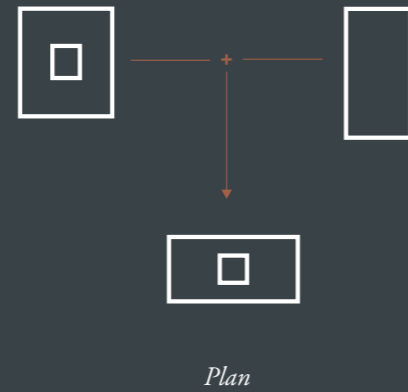
INTERIOR VIEW SECOND FLOOR

MATERIALS

The materials chosen for the tower have been determined in the same way. The main building block of the facade is a cement block with a floral pattern. Cement blocks are very commonly used to build with in Zanzibar, especially in Ng'ambo. They are often not visible in the final construction, but simply inside the walls. I have chosen to utilize a cement block with a stylized flower, which is an existing style and not an invention of mine. The floral design is inspired by the intricately carved doors, window shutters, and panels found in Stone Town. It is an attempt to elevate the simple cement block to the status of the Stone Town carvings and show that simple and commonly used materials are also valuable and interesting. The facade is then whitewashed, as it is the most common finish on both sides of the city.

The load-bearing structure: the pillars, the staircases, the ground floor stairs and baraza, is built in a terrazzo-like material made by mixing cement with rubble from deteriorating houses and construction sites on both sides of the city to create a material that quite literally binds together the two sides and carries the structure. The cement represents the younger Zanzibar, as it has become one of the main building materials, especially after independence, while the rubble from older houses represents the historic Zanzibar, to preserve that architecture and memory in cases where it can't make up the original building anymore.

Wood is also used throughout the tower. In Swahili houses, wood is often used to make the structure for the roof, while it is most often seen in Stone Town in the intricate doors. In the tower it is used for the trusses hold up the facade, rather than the roof, and for the interior panels, inspired by the grates and panels used over windows and balconies in Zanzibar City.

Finally, the details – handrails and elevator doors – are brass, a nod to the brass spikes of the Indian influenced doors.
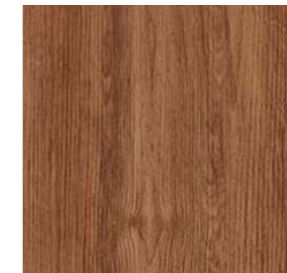
Cement block
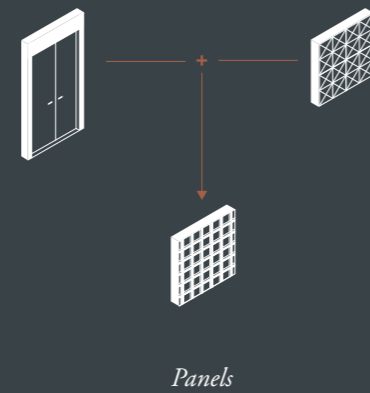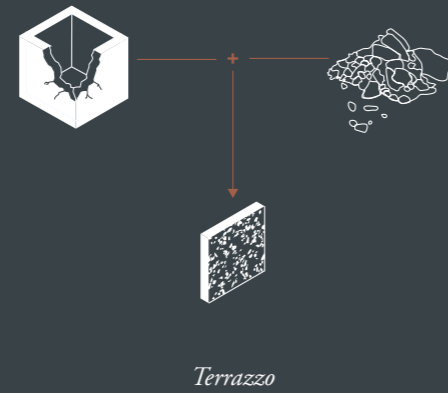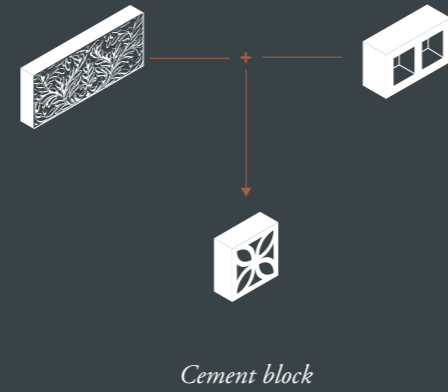
Terrazzo

Panels

Facade

Limewash

Load-bearing structure

Terrazzo

Trusses and panels

Wood

Details

Brass

SECTION 1:200

0   4   20 m

SECTION 1:200

0   4   20 m
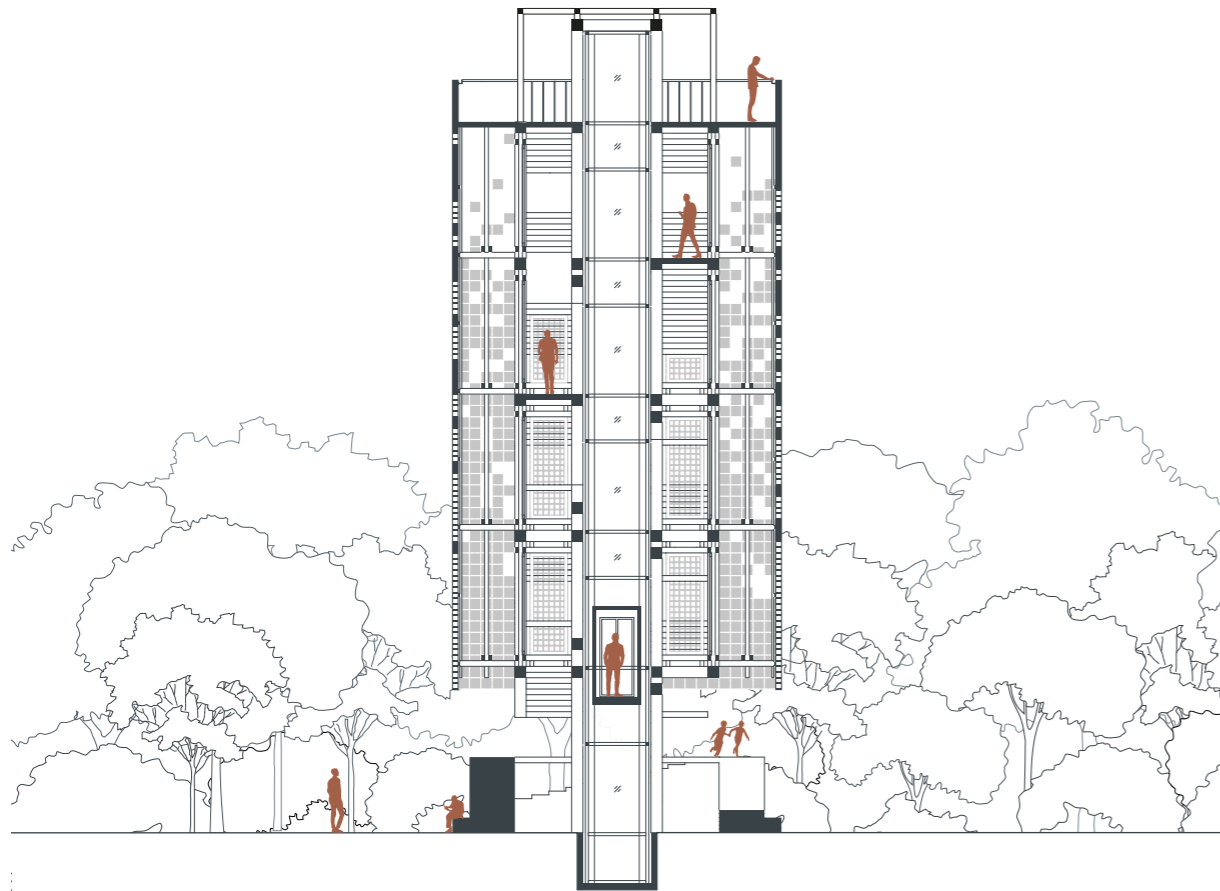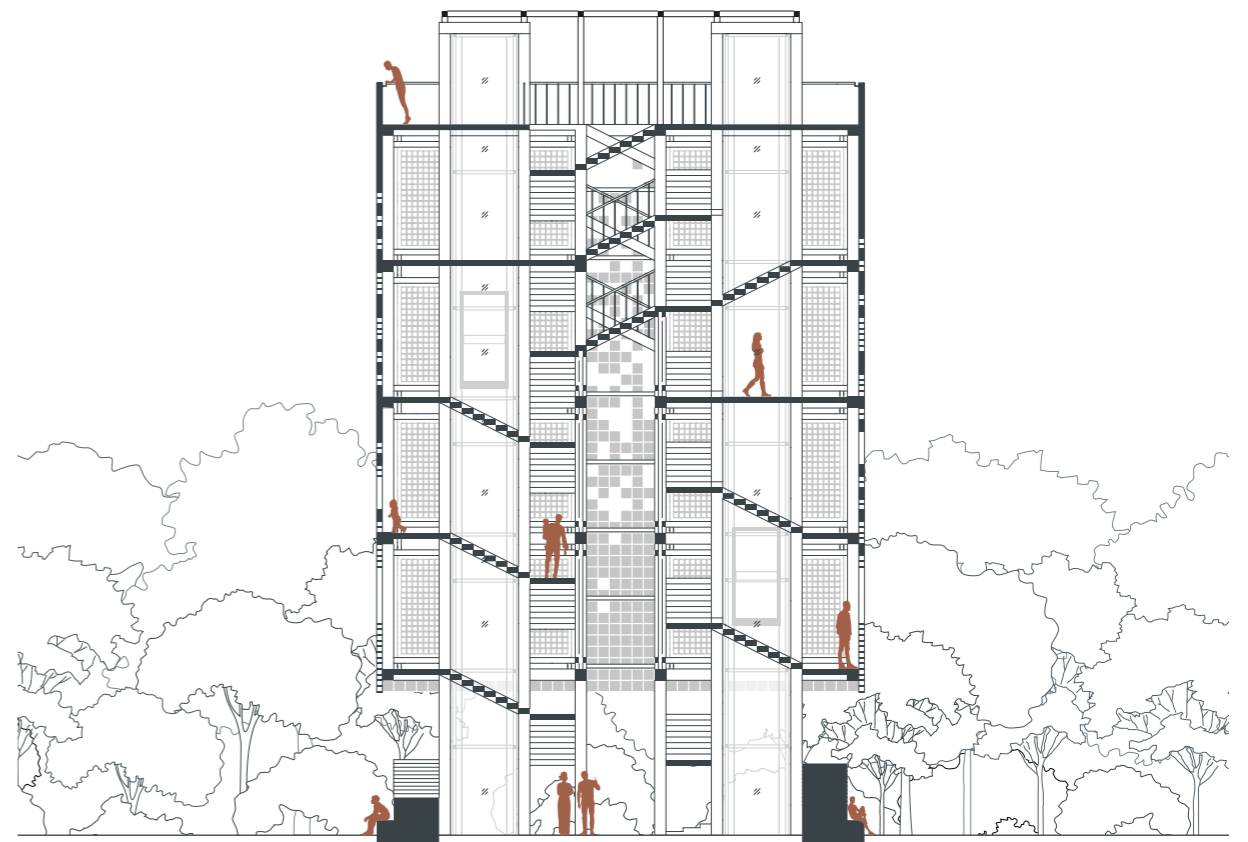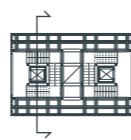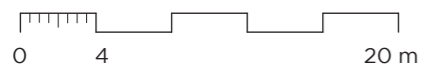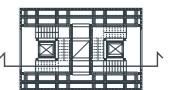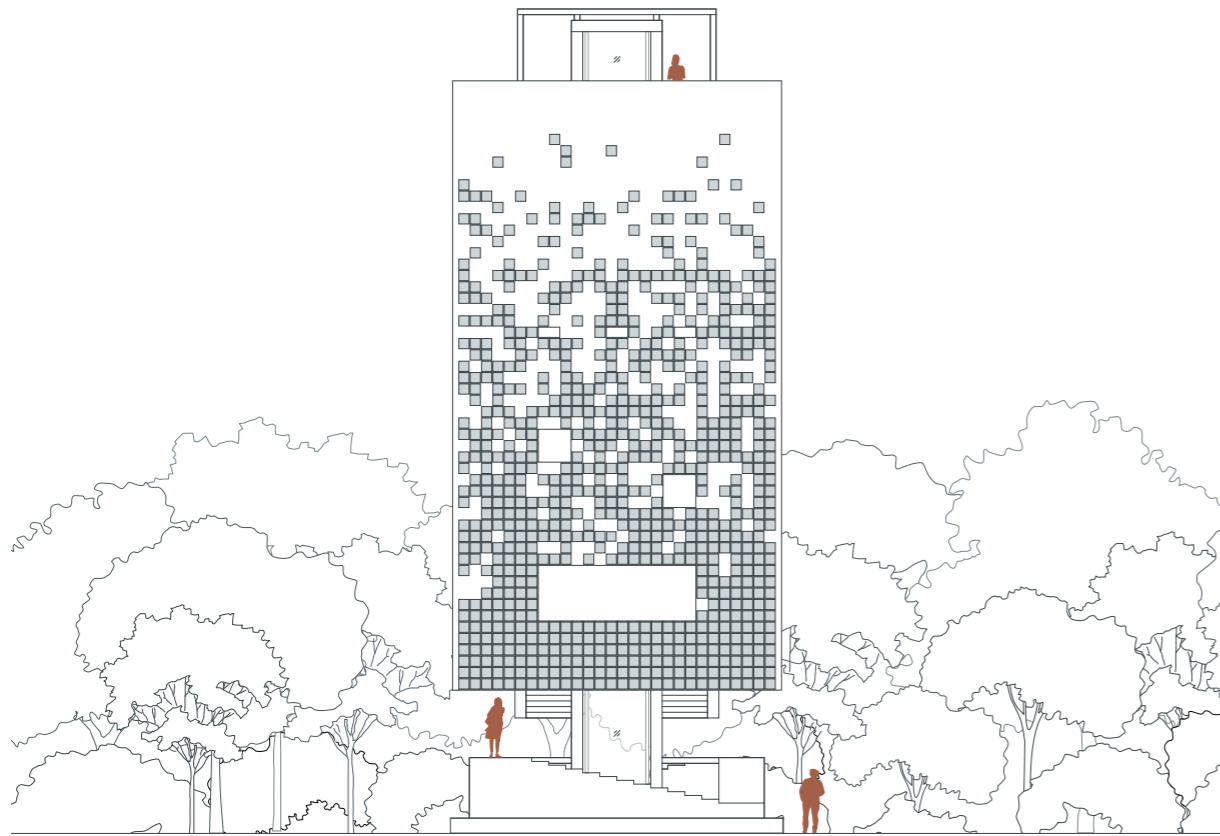
WEST ELEVATION 1:200

0   4   20 m
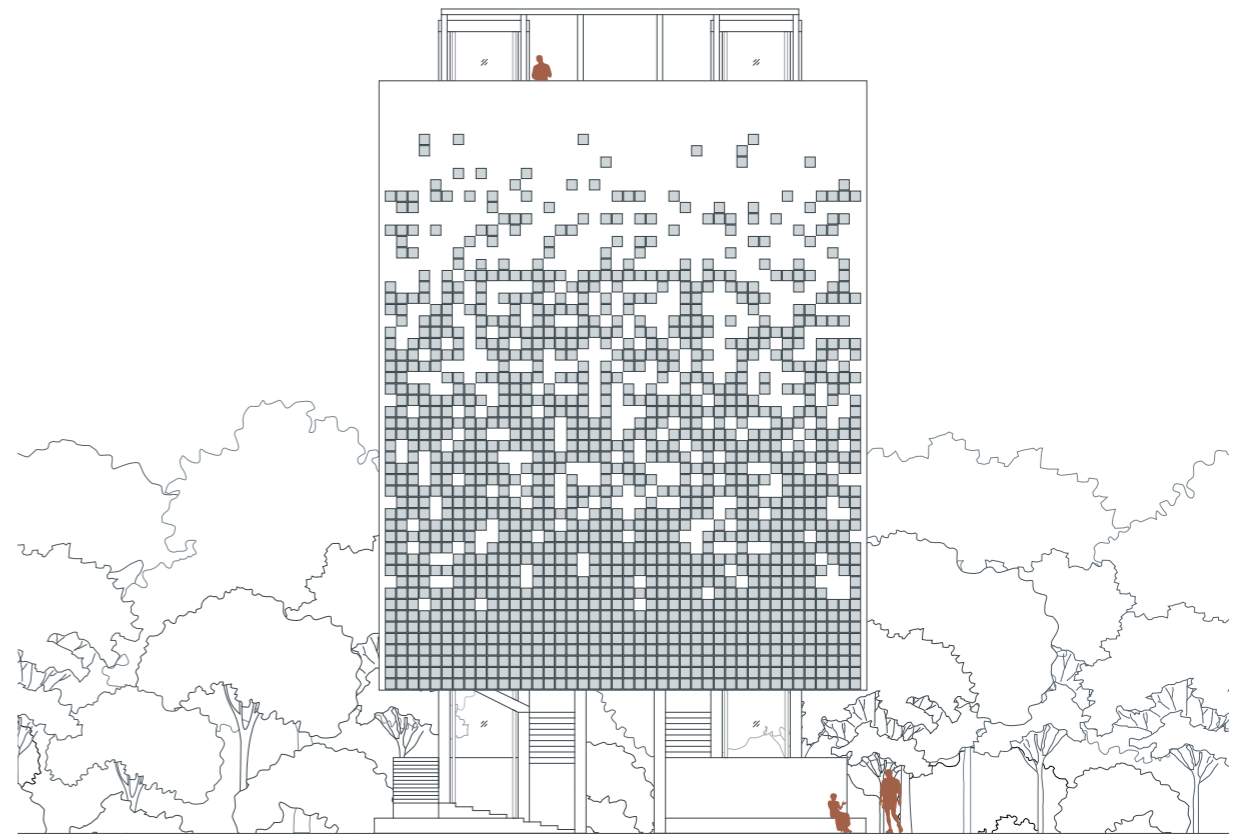
NORTH ELEVATION 1:200

0   4   20 m

4.4 THE EXPERIENCE

TRANSPARENCY

The facade can be divided into an evenly spaced grid of 300 x 300 mm squares. Some of these squares are perforated, and feature the floral design previously discussed, while some are solid. The solid squares are randomly scattered across the facade but become closer and closer together until the facade finally becomes solid at the top.

This gradient in transparency is meant to slowly limit the visitors' view more and more, creating a sense of powerlessness and frustration at not being able to see one's own surroundings, before finally relinquishing all control on the top floor. This growing control and gradual decrease in visual access to the city is meant to create a desire to truly look when given the chance.
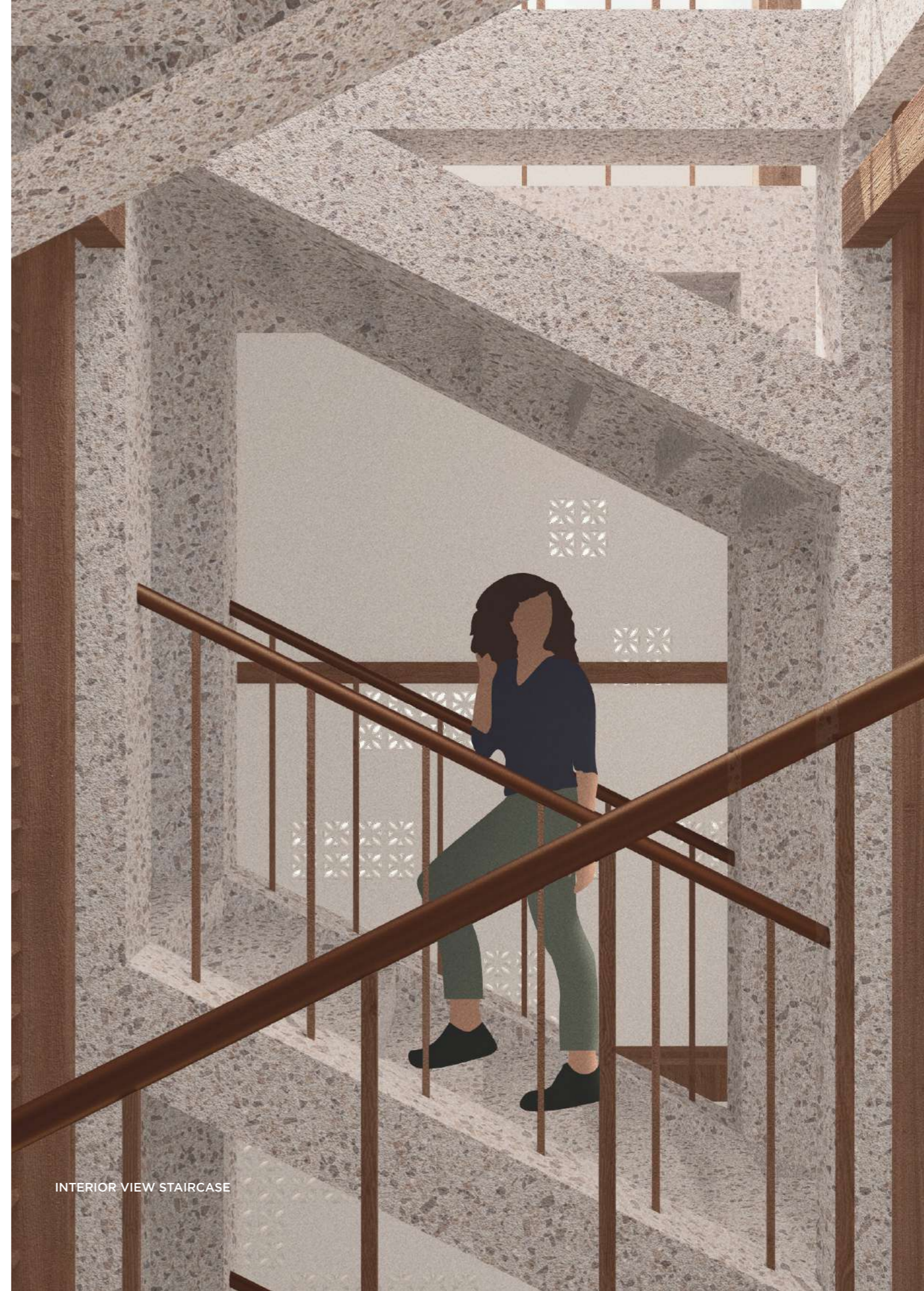
INTERIOR VIEW STAIRCASE

TO SEE AND BE SEEN

As important as seeing is to the concept of the tower, it is as important to be seen. The tower aims to help visualize the division of the city and lead the people to question why that's the case and whether or not something should be done about it.

As the facade gets increasingly more closed, and the city fades from view, the people inside the tower become increasingly more visible to one another. The two staircases start wrapping around one another and it is possible to actually see the people in the other staircase without obstacles, shifting the focus from what's on the outside to what's on the inside. The people are as much a part of the city as its architecture and landscape.

The building can be divided into three zones. The bottom zones I have chosen to call *the downward looking zone*. This zone encompasses the first two floors, while the visitors are still mainly moving within the park, as they have yet to ascend over the height of the nearby trees. This zone is meant to make the visitor engage with the people below, and they are just as much on show for the people below as vice versa.

The middle zone is the *inward looking zone*. This zone encompasses the portion of the stairs when they start intertwining, all the while the facade is becoming more closed, making the visitors instead look inward at the people they can now see, but not meet.

The final zone, the *outward looking zone*, is reached on the top floor when one's gaze and interactions are no longer controlled.

The Outward Looking Zone

The Inward Looking Zone

The Downward Looking Zone
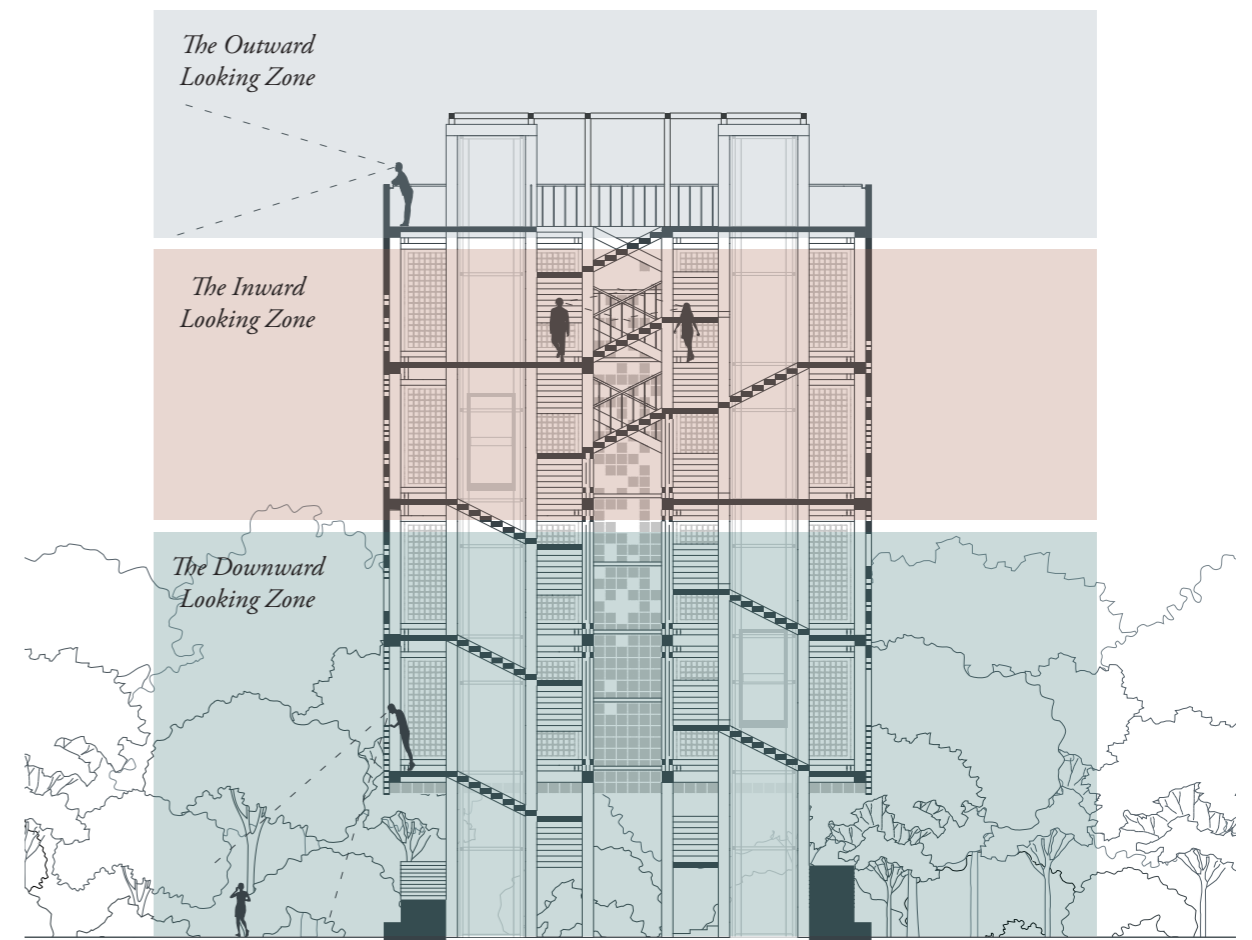
A JOURNEY OF MANY VIEWS

Each viewing platform has a different type of opening, offering different ways of viewing the city, in the hopes that even locals will discover something previously unseen as their city is re-framed.

On the first landing there is a large panorama window, in line with what you might expect from an observation tower. But the tall trees surrounding the tower don't allow the viewer to see very far. Instead, they are on display for the people walking by and can interact with the people below.

The two windows on the second landing are uncomfortably placed: one too high, one too low. On the one hand, this is to force the viewer to look in directions one might not look normally. On the other, the windows are placed so that they end up in line with the viewers sight when on the landing one half stair up and down, respectively. Meaning that you can look through the lower window on your way up to the landing, and if you turn around when ascending the next stairs the high window will line up.

The third landing offers three framed views, like snapshots of the city. Perhaps making the viewer aware of things in the landscape previously unseen or unnoticed.

The fourth landing is the first landing after the two stairs have started intertwining, and the first one to carry the viewer to the opposite side from where they came. However, instead of revealing the other side that has remained frustratingly out of sight for the entirety of the journey upwards, it only offers small holes to look through.

Finally, the whole landscape presents itself. The viewer is no longer bound to only look out in one direction or restrained by small perforations. The top floor offers a resolution to the frustration of moving in a dictated flow with controlled outlooks, and more than just the city revealing itself, one can also freely meet the people from the other side and engage with them on equal ground.

Once the viewer is satisfied with the view from the top they can choose to either go back down the same way they came, and perhaps see something they missed the first time, or take the opposite stairs to see what the people from the other side experienced, but through piecing together their journey from end to start.

Top floor: The 360
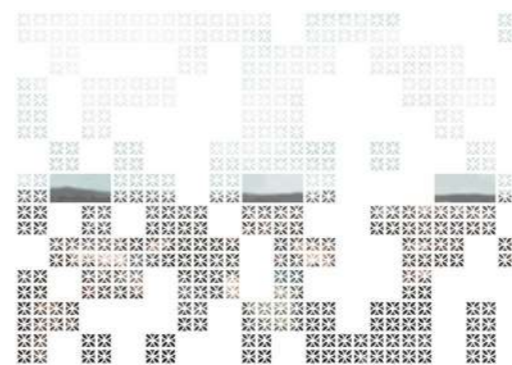
The Way Back: ?

Fourth floor: The Postcards

Fifth floor: The Hidden Other Side
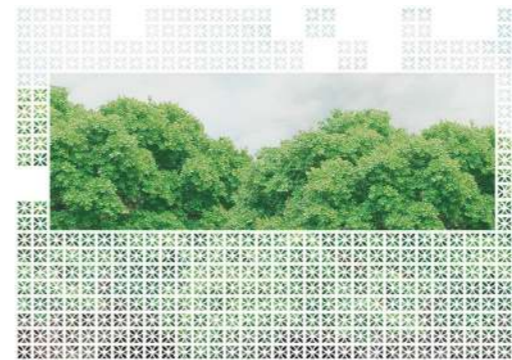
Second floor: The Panorama
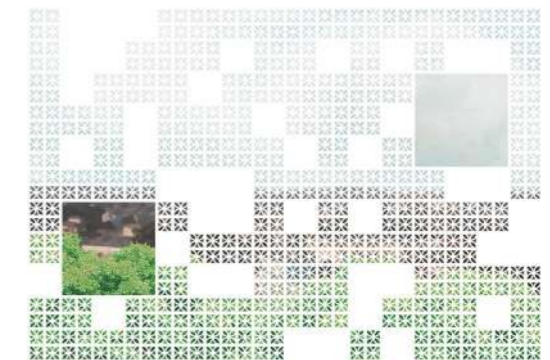
Third floor: The High-low

4.5 THE IMPACT

THE POWER OF THE TOWER?

The tower is placed in a part of the city that seems to be frequented by people often but might lack any type of activity for people who don't wish to play in the playground. It can serve as a meeting point for people of all ages, and provide a place to socialize with friends, meet new people, and view the city.

The structure peaks out above the canopy signaling its existence to people outside the park. The trusses would be fitted with electric lighting making the tower a beacon during the dark hours of the day and creating a safe and inviting environment in the park.

With its strategic position between the two sides of the city, but not quite in either one, it doesn't belong more to either side, but stands as a monument of the edge between the two, silently questioning the division, imploring the people in the city to question it too.

EXTERIOR VIEW NIGHTTIME

CHAPTER FIVE   **ON THE BORDERLAND**

5.1 ARCHITECTURE ON THE EDGE

THE TENSION OF THE BORDERLAND

My project is rooted in the border between Stone Town and Ng'ambo. I have placed my building in a zone I see as a no man's land between the two areas, even though it is technically within Ng'ambo, the side of the city that has always been seen as lesser. I have wanted to explore what a border does to a city, and how it can be affected with architecture.

Jane Jacobs writes about borders in the city in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* from 1961. She speaks of borders as exerting active influence, often they represent barriers and affect the way people in the city use the spaces directly adjacent to the border. "Borders divide up cities into pieces", she writes, and creates "ordinary" neighborhoods on either side, but as two separate entities. They hinder inhabitants from using their city and feeling ownership of all its parts, and quite often vacuums appear on each side of the border, where there's less activity, and fewer interactions between people. According to Jacobs this can be detrimental to neighborhoods and cities as "literal and continuous mingling of people, present because of different purposes, is the only device that keeps streets safe. It is the only device that cultivates secondary diversity" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 259).

There are opportunities to transform borders, urban theorist Kevin Lynch, author of *The Image of the City*, claimed that "An edge may be more than simply a dominant barrier. If some visual or motion penetration is allowed through it – if it is, as it were, structures to some depth with the regions on either side. It then becomes a seam rather than a barrier, a line of exchange along which two areas are sewn together" (Lynch, 1960, p. 100).

Transforming borders into seams through architecture is not something I am new to investigating. The architecture practice Rael San Fratello, have been working with the U.S.–Mexico border since the early 2000s and have since produced many concepts and designs meant to challenge the notion of what a border is, and how it affects the way we see the world around us. Perhaps most well-known is their *Teeter-totter wall* from 2019, an installation that despite only lasting 30 minutes, made a lasting impact. The project consisted of three, fourteen feet long see-saws being installed in the wall along the border separating the U.S. from Mexico, allowing children from both sides to come together and play. The see-saws represent the delicate balance between the two countries and aim to question how one can conceptually dismantle the wall. Ronald Rael describes their work as design aimed to solve a problem, and while it may not be the right solution the hope is that their work will "wedge its foot through the door" and allow the conversation to continue (The Museum of Modern Art, 2020).

Another example is the unbuilt project *Crossing Parallels* by Studio M.R.D.O. which was the first prize winner in an international idea competition by Arch Out Loud to design a bathhouse in the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea. Their proposal features an underground bathhouse in the shape of a traditional, Korean kiln sauna, which the visitors enter from their respective countries and move around each other in a double-helix ramp on their way to the communal pool at the bottom, where they can engage with one another for the first time.

Borders can be physical such in the case of the wall between the U.S. and Mexico, which is illegal to cross in most places, and the people on either side have different cultures, languages, and governments. They can also be less of a physical obstacle such as railroad tracks, or Creek Road, where either side is not that different from one another in terms of politics, culture or language, but have become different by the physical delineation. Borderlands create places of tension, where people, language, and culture, rub against one another in beautiful, but sometimes destructive ways. It is interesting to imagine how architecture could help illuminate these tensions and hopefully alleviate them.

This is what I have tried to do. By means of design I have tried to give people access to move more easily across a border, to visualize it more easily, and what it represents. Much like Ronald Rael I am conscious that my solution is not the only one, and perhaps not even the best one, but my hope is to set the wheels in motion to ensure that Creek Road is a seam, not a border.

5.1 Rael San Fratello's Teeter-Totter Wall on the border between the United States and Mexico, 2019.
5.2 A Visualization of Studio M.R.D.O.'s winning proposal for a bathhouse in the demilitarized zone between South and North Korea.

5.2 THE RIGHT TO SEE

THE WATCHTOWER INVERTED

An observation tower is usually designed to give the viewer a better vantage point when looking out at something. In my design it is just as important to look inward as outward, it is just as interesting what you can't see as what you can. In some ways it could be seen as the watchtower inverted.

In the eighteenth century philosopher Jeremy Bentham designed *Panopticon,* an institutional building and system of control. The concept of the design is to enable one single guard to observe all prisoners, without the inmates being able to tell if they're being watched or not. While it is physically impossible for the guard to watch every single prisoner at once, the fact that the inmates cannot tell whether or not they're being watched is meant to keep them motivated to act as if they are observed at all times.

Michel Foucault writes about Panopticon is his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* as a way to "induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power," so that even when the surveillance is discontinuous the feeling of it is constant, rendering the actual exercise unnecessary. The architecture becomes a machine for creating and sustaining this power situation, of which the inmates themselves are the bearers (1977, p. 201).

In the Panopticon the inmates are both subject and object. They are the object being watched, but in a way they inflict the surveillance on themselves. They are powerless in their constant state of uncertainty, knowing that they are always visible, without the ability to see their surveyor. In my design I aim to shift, or at least nudge, the power relations of the border between Stone Town and Ng'ambo by making it visible from a new perspective. The goal is to create a desire in the visitor to see the full picture, by consciously keeping it from them. The tower exerts its power by dictating the vantage points, the amount of landscape on display, and the direction of view. After several flights of stairs, a frustrating and increasing, lack of control of what to look at the tower relinquishes its power to the visitor, allowing them to look out at the entire city, unhindered. The architecture creates a power situation, the same way Foucault discusses Panopticon, but instead of the power coming from always being on display, it stems from the withholding of the one thing it seems to promise from the outset: the power of observation.

It's an attempt to empower the powerless. By denying them the view of a city the aim is to make them question what it really looks like, what they actually see when looking out on it. Thus, when they finally reach the top, they will look that much closer at the things that was made invisible to them, and hopefully discover things they've previously been blind to.

Another aspect of the Panopticon is the way the inmates are kept apart, they cannot see each other, they cannot interact. This way they cannot plot an escape, attempt to collectively change their situation, or influence each other in any way. "And this invisibility is a guarantee of order," writes Foucault, "The crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities" (1977).

This too is challenged in my design by the fact that the other people in the tower, coming from the other side, are always visible to one another, but frustratingly out of reach. The visitors in the two staircases start their journey isolated to their side of the city, by as they move upward ,they start to intertwine and move around one another. Just like with the view, this withholding of interaction, but knowledge of one another's existence is meant to encourage interaction on the top floor. It is not only both sides of the city that reveal themselves, but the people, too. The two sides of the city come together, and through this interaction, individuals merging together, with the power of both seeing one another and their situation, new perspectives can be acquired.

5.3 *View from inside Presidio Modelo, in Cuba, a model prison with panopticon design, in which the guard is situated in the central tower, with all cells visible, located around it.*

5.3 HYBRIDITY

MEETING THE UNSEEN

Hybridity is a term used in postcolonial studies, and according to Felipe Hernández one of Homi K. Bhabha's most powerful and evocative concepts. It is used to study the particularities of sociocultural interaction between different groups in the context of colonialism and contemporary globalization. Hybridity has multiple connotations. It does not strictly mean the mixture of two elements which form a new one, "It refers to the site of cultural productivity that emerges on the margins of culture, between cultures. As such, it is a space where cultural elements are continually rearticulated and reconstituted" (Hernàndez, 2010, p. 58).

Hybridity aims to dismantle binary systems of cultural analysis; challenging the idea that cultures are, or were, once pure and homogeneous. It illustrates the endless dispersion of cultural difference and helps to authorize cultural practices that don't strictly adhere to the hegemonic systems of cultural classification. "For Bhabha, hybridisation is the most powerful sign of cultural productivity" (Ibid., p. 59).

What then does architecture have to do with hybridity? I don't mean to say that my building is a hybrid, I don't think it is. Hybridity is not simply the combination of elements or buildings techniques, such as my combination of materials from both Stone Town and Ng'ambo. Hybridity refers to a process, "the productivity of colonial power, and to the conflicts and tensions present in that process". However, placing a building on the border between the two sides of the city will inherently have consequences for the people on either side of that border. While inanimate, buildings are not culturally static, according to Bhabha, they express the narratives of conflict between peoples, power, and social change. My building can provide a physical place where people meet, share stories, and experiences, and culture, and hybridity can be a resulting process (Ibid., p. 67)

If Ng'ambo and Stone Town are different places, with different cultures and characteristics, the goal is not to reduce any one of them or to create one over-arching Zanzibari culture, "/.../ cultures (and the knowledges they contain and represent) cannot be totalised or signified via all-encompassing figures /.../". Hybridity aims to maintain difference as an inherent characteristic of all cultures (Ibid., p. 71).

The tower is not the solution to the problem of a fractured city, but perhaps the mingling of the people is. In this light, the tower is not just a symbol or a metaphor for the border between the two sides of the city, but long term, in the best of cases, could be a site where more voices can be heard. "For Bhabha, hybridity opens up a site for the emergence of minority positions which have always contributed to the perennial hybridisation of cultures but whose presence in the national context may have been silently repressed /.../" (Ibid., p. 71).

Hybridity has however garnered a fair deal of controversy. It is the most heavily criticized of Bhabha's concepts. For example, Jane M. Jacobs criticizes Bhabha for focusing too heavily on the internal flaws of colonialism, and how they undermine the colonizer's claim to authority, rather than the subversive agency of the colonized people. Hybridization seems to Bhabha, according to Jacobs, to be something that happens *to* colonized people, who appear a passive party. Instead of the result of them struggling to retain their identities in conditions of inequity and inequality (Ibid.).

While hybridity aims to explain the resulting cultural elements on margins or borders, and how they are not lesser or impure because they have deviated from where they came, but perhaps it is not a concept that should be consciously reproduced? My intention is not to create a struggle for either side of Zanzibar to hold on to a culture that is changing against their will, as so much of our identities lie there within. As mentioned, the goal is not to erase either of the two sides of Zanzibar City, but simply to question the emergence of the division and what possible positive outcome could come from inviting both sides to partake in that conversation. The proposed tower could be a place where people, stories, memories, and ideas can mix and mingle. Hopefully creating an environment of "cultural productivity".
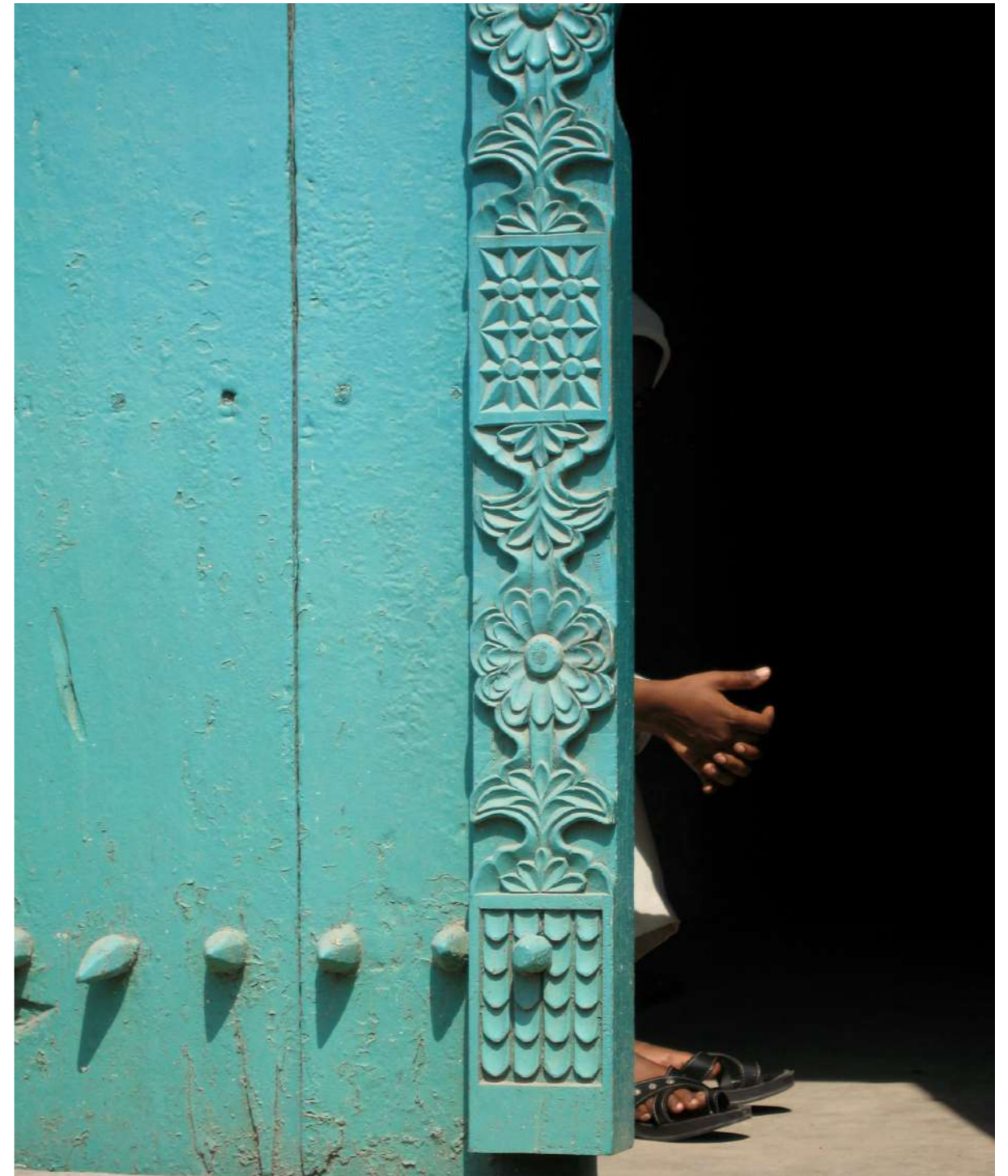
5.4 A turquoise, wooden carved door in Stone Town, a person barely visible behind it.

CHAPTER SIX **REFLECTION AND CONCLUSIONS**

6.1 ANSWERING MY INITIAL QUESTIONS

NO PLACE IS DIFFERENT, NO PLACE IS THE SAME

Setting out to answer my initial questions is not something imagined would be easy. I have questioned the very nature of my project almost daily and what right I have to do it. However, I have learned a lot about throughout this project and will summarize it to the best of my ability.

As for my fist question: *what is the starting point for an architect working in an unfamiliar context, and how is it affected by the fact that the context is a former colony and the architect is from a Western country?* I think I can safely say that the answer is research. Thorough research is key when trying to understand a place. Research can of course be carried out in different ways, and although it is not the way I did it due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I think the most successful way of trying to understand a place is to spend time there. No amount of reading, looking at photos or videos, or interviews over Zoom can make up for the fact that I have not been to Zanzibar. However, I do think that not being able to go there led me to find new types of sources I wouldn't have explored otherwise, which I think is positive. Perhaps in the future I will look into Google Reviews or try to find YouTube videos by tourists when approaching a project, even if the context is familiar to me, to try and broaden my understanding of how other people view that place, and not solely rely on my own impressions or assumptions.

Regarding the second part of my question, pertaining to Zanzibar's former status as a colony, my biggest take-away is that it doesn't change the process as much as I thought it would. Of course, it is important to be humble to the fact that it is a sensitive position and try to be as attentive as possible to one's own shortcomings and blind spots. I have to accept that I will never know what it feels like to live in a former colony and live with that heritage of oppression. Certain things, feelings, or experiences no amount of research can teach me.

On the other hand, I have also learned the complexity of place, and how dangerous it can be to try and give one aspect more power and importance than it has. When researching Zanzibar and especially when interviewing Suhayla, a woman from Zanzibar who now studies architecture in Dar es Salaam, I think I wanted clear answers on the consequences of colonialism and how Zanzibaris live with that heritage, but it never really came up when speaking about the city with Suhayla.

Instead, she told me of problems with traffic congestions, how she thought much of the city's future development would be directed towards tourists rather than locals, and the importance of taking rising sea levels and heavy rainfall into consideration when designing for a coastal town. These are issues that could just as easily be about Stockholm.

It is easy to create a simplified narrative and ask questions that will support that view, which is why it is so important to be open to other versions of the story. I don't think it is beneficial to any one place to be defined by one particular aspect. I tried to define Zanzibar City by its colonial heritage, and while it is important to the development of the city it is not the only aspect worth taking into consideration, and at the end of the day many of the problems Zanzibar is facing many other cities are dealing with, too.

This leads me on to my second question: *how have colonial structures affected the modern development in Zanzibar City's Stone Town and Ng'ambo, and what consequences do they have?* When writing this question, I was hoping to do an interview with personnel from the Department of Urban and Rural Planning in Zanzibar, which I unfortunately didn't get to do. I do think the most obvious remnant of the colonial structures is the fact that Stone Town is a World Heritage Site, which implies that it more important than Ng'ambo. This has led me to think a lot about at what cost we should protect cultural heritage, and who should decide what cultural heritage is.

Stone Town is beautiful, and an incredible example of architecture born out of a mix or cultures and people. I think it deserves protection and conservation for future generations. I don't know if I think it is beneficial that it has done so by being proclaimed superior to Ng'ambo. If Ng'ambo always comes second to Stone Town, doesn't that imply that the traditional Swahili houses of Ng'ambo are lesser than the Arabic or European or Indian archiecture of Stone Town? Will that mean that Swahili houses are at risk of disappearing as Ng'ambo develops? Perhaps not, perhaps the building tradition is so ingrained in the region that it will survive, but as the city will grow and change, one side is unprotected and thus much more vulnerable than the other. It's a shame if either side can only proser at the expense of the other.

My last question is the one I find hardest to answer: *how can I design a structure in Zanzibar City that leverages and transforms the border between the two sides to unify spaces while maintaining identity, diversity, and a sense of place?*

I have tried to achieve this through applying what I've learned from my first two quandaries. By trying to engage with the place and emerge myself in it as much as I can from a distance, I have designed a building that hopefully speaks to both sides of the city and can create a place where people can come together and see their circumstances to engage in the conversation about their environment.

I have been thinking about whether the project would have been better if done by someone from Zanzibar who is more familiar with all the aspects of the place, and better understands its identity. How am I different from the colonists coming to Zanzibar and designing buildings after an exoticized view of the islands? I have tried to use materiality, form, visibility, and symbolism to create a building that at the very least would start conversations. My understanding of Zanzibar has formed like a collage, pasting together snapshots of information and emotions as I have gathered them from various sources, and the building has emerged in the same way. Perhaps if I had gone to Zanzibar and spent more time with people from the city, my building would have appeared to me more as a whole than the sum of its parts.

I would like to think that one thing giving my project more credibility is my own humility and, frankly, hesitation. It has been a constant struggle to find a balance where I feel most informed in my decisions, while not saying something too definitively, or assuming I know the full story. The fact that it has been hard the entire way through, and still is, hopefully speaks to my good intentions and dedication to do my best.

On the other hand, this project has also been an exercise in believing in my own process and decisions. I believe that my design is good. I know that I have dedicated all my efforts to trying to understand the context. Do I believe that it is the best, or only way, to address the border between Stone Town and Ng'ambo? No, but I know how much time and effort I have put into trying to understand the context, and I believe the resulting design is the best I can do with the tools and time I was given.

If I should try to summarize my findings in relation to my questions from the start, I would like to say this: no place is different, no place is the same. Regardless of context I think architecture should be founded in thorough research, and while that research will most likely reveal very different circumstances for different places, at the end of the day many places in the world face similar challenges. Urbanization, lack of affordable housing, weather and climate change, safety, and transportation, are just a few aspects that I think will factor into most urban architectural projects regardless of geographical location. It might not always be positive to assume that other people and places are bound to be so different from oneself, when in reality we have so much in common.

With that said, while certain factors or issues can be found in many different places, how those issues should be dealt with cannot be standardized. Every place has its own identity, shaped by its history, culture, and people, and that will always be unique.

I think the fact that my project changed so much during this semester is proof of that lesson. I started off thinking I would design a library or culture center because that's what I assumed Zanzibar might be in need of. As I learned more of its history and culture, I realized that I wanted to explore other facets I couldn't even fathom before my research. I did what I felt the place called me to do, rather than trying to force my view into a place where it didn't fit.

6.2 ADDITIONAL REFLECTIONS

THE FUTURE OF THE TOWER

My project is mainly a reflective one, it is not founded on the idea that it would actually be built, but rather a conceptual exploration of design on the borderland. Now, at the end of it, I find myself stepping back to look at it, and question it in a more practical way. If the tower were to be built in the Jamhuri Gardens in Zanzibar City, it is a large physical object with tangible consequences.

Should the tower be built, and just like I hope it would, it serves as a conversation starter, a place to gather and exchange knowledge and experiences, and view one's situation, then what? Regardless of outcome, building the tower would mean depositing a large amount of building material on a formerly undeveloped site.

Best case scenario, the tower becomes a symbol not of the border running through Zanzibar City, but of the power of the people. How we can re-imagine and question our surroundings, if only we are given the power to see them clearly. In this way, perhaps the tower could become a monument, long after it has served its initial purpose, and a popular destination in the park where people come to meet up, and interact, regardless of which side they came from.

It might become an extension to the existing playground, with children running up and down the stairs and playing games with one another.

Maybe the elevator and staircases can be used as the vertical communication in an apartment building someone chooses to build on the site? Or the material could be re-used in other developments in the city in the future.

There is of course the risk that none of this happens, that it ends up being a skeleton in the park, unused and unappreciated, much like the Michenzani apartment blocks.

6.1 If the tower were to be built, would it be appreciated? Or would it be seen as the same failure as the Michenzani blocks?

TAKING MYSELF OUT OF THE EQUATION

Central to this project is the role of the architect. How should one work in a foreign context? How can one be culturally sensitive without creating a pastiche or risk appropriation? I don't know if I have a clear answer to those questions, but I do know that it is impossible to try to take oneself out of the equation.

No matter where I go, I will carry my own knowledge, memories, politics, morality, and prejudices with me. I can try to design something that only says something about Zanzibar, but I will undoubtedly also say something about myself.

I think I can once again quote Manuel Herz: "An architect's origin was never neutral, never innocent." He makes this remark in connection to the European architects coming to Africa to work after the former colonies' independence, but does it not also apply to me? No matter how I try, I will approach architecture in a certain way, predominately shaped by my education and my own world views, which in turn is shaped by where in the world, and when, I live.

I have spent much time this semester questioning who I am in relation to this project, and what right I have to do it in the first place. What right do I have to claim any knowledge of a place I have never been to, and what right do I have to ask other people to educate me about it? I have also been questioned, if not criticized, about these things by people I have encountered during the project. I don't know that I do have any right to any of it, but with that mindset it would be hard for me to do anything as an architect. It would've been easier to do nothing, but I wouldn't have learned as much if I did.

I think it is better that I am aware of who I am and what implications that has on my design rather than claim that I can create something entirely neutral, or removed from myself, because I don't think I can. And I think the field of architecture is better for it, as I think it creates a more interesting field of design with far more interesting voices and discussions that way.

I hope that my project is nuanced and humble, that it doesn't come across as insensitive, or as me learning at the expense of others. I hope that it can spark conversations and dialogue.
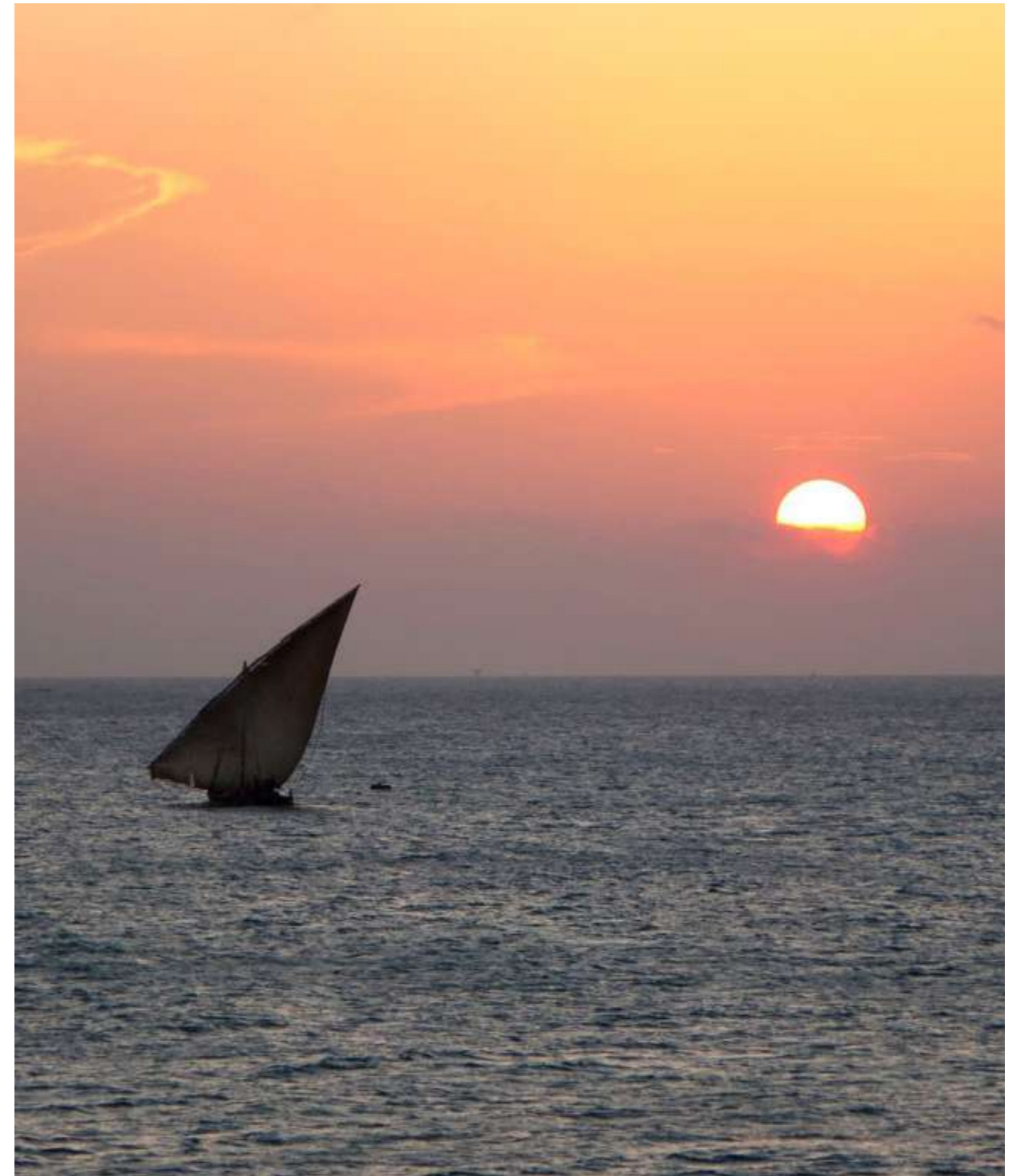
6.2 *A dhow sails off into the sunset at Zanzibar.*

ON THE ROLE OF THE ARCHITECT

In this globalized world it is interesting to think of how the architecture profession changes, and what the role of the architect is. Should architects work in foreign contexts? More specifically, should Western Architects work in former colonized regions?

In my project, these questions have been brought to a head. Since I have not worked towards a client, and have had no collaborators, all questions, answers, and decisions have come from me. In a real situation I think many of the issues I have had could have been easier to overcome by simply collaborating with people with different skills and backgrounds.

Such as in the case of the Dutch organization African Architecture Matters collaborating with the Department of Urban and Rural Development of Zanzibar to produce a Local Area Plan. AA Matters has important experience and could secure funding for part of the project, while DoURP has more knowledge of the local context and the most important issues to solve. In cases like this, I think collaborations can be hugely beneficial.

While every aspect of a project is not up to the architect – there are budgets to adhere to, clients with their own wishes and agenda, buildings codes, community opinions, among many other factors contributing – it's still important for architects to think of their role and the implications of their involvement in a project, and the resulting architecture. Maybe truly knowing a place is an illusion. As the world changes so rapidly, is there really one authentic version of a place to get to know?

If architecture should aim to respond to its context, both its tangible aspects and the more elusive ones, and the ideas on how best to do that differs so vastly, it is hard to present a concrete line of action. Is there one approach more authentic than another? One could argue that as society changes, as place changes, so should architecture. That it is more authentic to utilize new technological advances and innovative materials than to make something that risks being a historicizing pastiche. On the other hand, if we no longer use the traditional vocabulary, we risk forgetting it and losing the identity it imparts.

The architect ought to, in my opinion, always question the context. Perhaps leaving familiar context, such as in my own case, and trying to understand a completely foreign setting can reveal the things we tend to take for granted and the assumptions we base our work on. Leaving true and tested methods behind for a process with less certain factors can lead to discoveries that can be utilized in familiar settings in the future.

In my own case, more than revealing Zanzibar, I think I have revealed and questioned myself and my own processes. Much like what N.J. Habraken writes about in *Palladio's Children*, I had to leave my field, my known context, and methods, to fully see them and question them. Now I can return to the field with a clearer view of it and myself as an architect.

I think it would be beneficial for architects to get the chance to work in foreign contexts, and collaborate with people with different backgrounds, as it is a chance to learn more about the world, about architecture, and ultimately about one's own role in the profession.

As far as specifically formerly colonized regions are concerned, I don't think it should be viewed solely as a "learning experience" for Western architects, that seems insensitive to the complex history of colonialism. However, if former colonies initiate projects and invite collaborators from Europe, it can be great opportunity to learn from one another, and perhaps bridge the gap between two different contexts slightly. Western architects should not be viewed as saviors, or as instrumental to a project, the goal is of course that they are not needed in former colonized regions, but invited to exchange experiences, knowledge, and methods, and help make a better field of architecture for everyone, regardless of place.

6.3 CLOSING REMARKS

WHERE DO I GO FROM HERE?

This project has shown me that it is easy to throw your hands up and say that something is not yours to touch, or investigate, or question, and sometimes maybe that's true. But daring to push myself to keep asking these questions when it got hard, lead me to discover much more interesting things than if I had chosen to back away. In the grand scheme of things, what better time than at school to ask hard questions, dare to fail, and learn a few things along the way.

I have learned the importance of questioning my own methods and attempt to ignore some of my assumptions and take the time to do the research, because I know there is always so much more to learn and discover. There will always be more invisible borders to try to overcome, discover, and question.

Moving forward I will carry this project with me. I will remember the importance of research, the complexity of place, and the power of architecture.
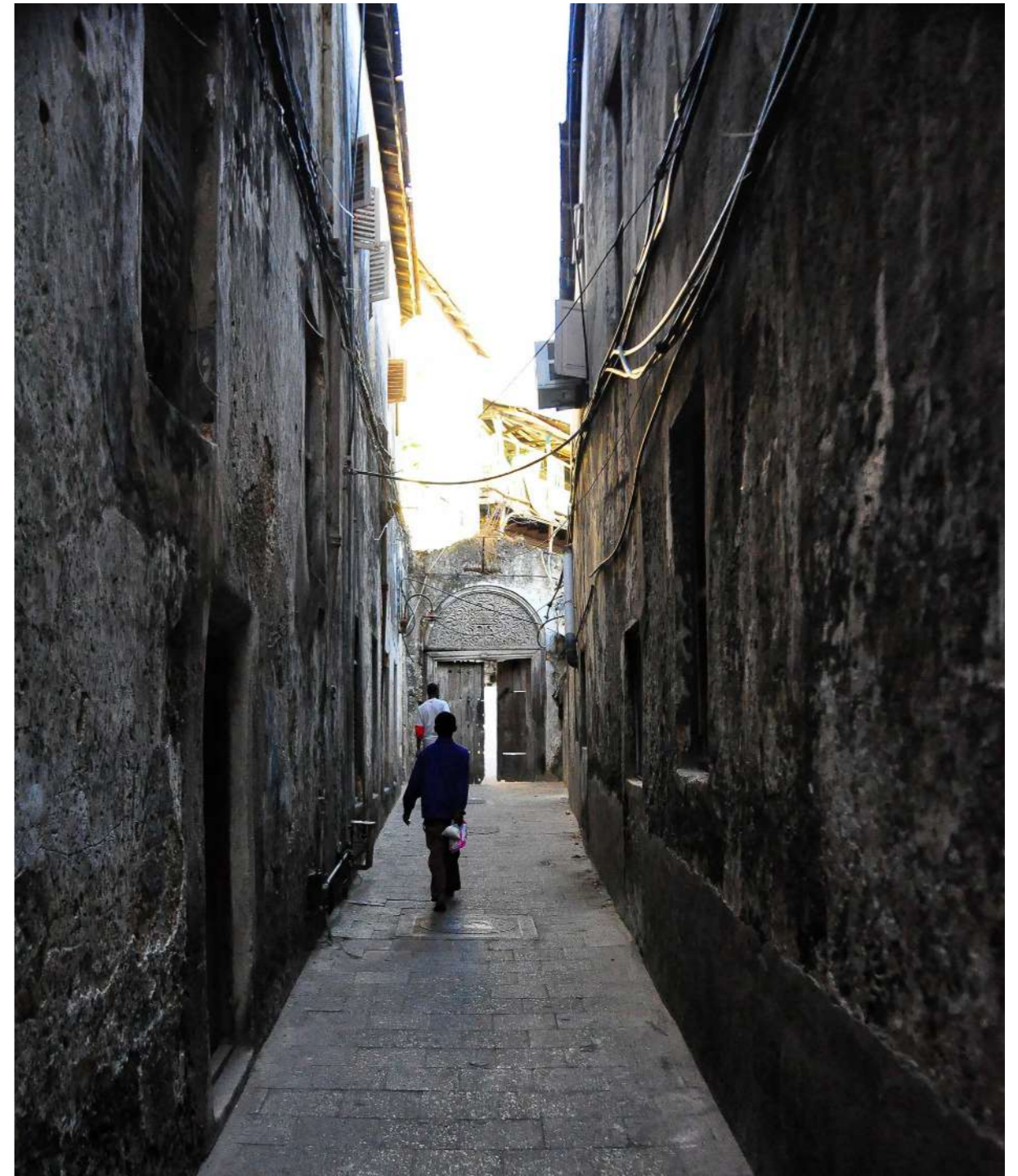
6.3 *Narrow street in Stone Town.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adjaye, D. & Allison, P., 2011. *Adjaye, Africa, architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Agbo, M. J., 2018. *Why African Vernacular Architecture Is Overdue for a Renaissance.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.archdaily.com/889350/why-african-vernacular-architecture-is-overdue-for-a-renaissance
[Accessed 8 April 2021].

Anderson, D., 2020. *Why Every City Feels the Same Now.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2020/08/why-every-city-feels-same-now/615556/
[Accessed 08 March 2021].

Ayim, N.,2015. Imagined Topographies. In: Adjaye, D. & Allison, P., 2011. *Adjaye, Africa, architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson. Essays, pp. 20-21.

Benimana, C., 2018. *The next generation of African architects and designers.* [Video] TED.
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=itLUXZnLRn8
[Accessed 08 March 2021].

Boddy-Evans, A., 2020. *Chronological List of African Independence.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.thoughtco.com/chronological-list-of-african-independence-4070467
[Accessed 22 March 2021].

Chakrabarti, V., 2018. *How we can design timeless cities for our collective future.* [Video] TED.
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hItQZfVU6-g&t=75s
[Accessed 08 March 2021]

Demissie, F., 2012. *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories.* New York: Routledge.

Folkers, A. & Perzyna, I, (eds), 2019. *Ng'ambo Atlas: historic urban landscape of Zanzibar Town's 'other side'.* Volendam: LM Publishers.

Folkers, A. S. & van Buiten, B. A. C., 2019. *Modern Architecture in Africa.* Springer International Publishing.

Foucault, M., 1977. *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison.* 2nd Vintage books ed. New York: Vintage Books

Goodwin, D., 2015. *7 Architects Designing a Diverse Future in Africa.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.archdaily.com/603169/7-architects-designing-a-diverse-future-in-africa
[Accessed 18 May 2021].

Green, J., 2020. *Decolonization: Crash Course European History #43* [Video] CrashCourse.
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FlMKqRCNX9c&list=PLWqdRaxJRcTNj71UbR23E2o0lbrAADRmq&index=18
[Accessed 24 March 2021]

Green, J., 2012. *Decolonization and Nationalism Triumphant: Crash Course World History #40* [Video] CrashCourse.
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_sGTspaF4Y&list=PLWqdRaxJRcTNj71UbR23E2o0lbrAADRmq&index=17
[Accessed 24 March 2021]

Guaita, O., 1999. *On distant shores : colonial houses around the world.* New York: Monacelli Press.

Habraken, N., 2005. *Palladio's Children.* Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.

Hernàndez, F., 2010. *Bhabha for Architects.* London: Routledge.

Herz, M., 2015. The New Domain: Architecture at the Time of Liberation. In: M. Herz, I. Schröder, H. Focketyn & J. Jamrozik, eds. *African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence.* Zurich: Park, pp. 4-15.

Ibelings, H., 1998. *Supermodernism: Architecture in the Age of Globalization.* Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.

Jacobs, J., 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* New York: Random House.

Juma, M. & Turner, M., 2019. Zanzibar: The HUL Approach Explored. In: A. Pereira Roders & F. Bandarin, eds. *Reshaping Urban Conservation, Heritage and the City, vol 2.* Singapore: Springer, pp. 529-543.

Lange, G.-M., 2015. Tourism in Zanzibar: Incentives for sustainable management. *Ecosystem Services*, Volume 11, pp. 5-11.

Lewis, R. K., 2002. *Will Forces of Globalization Overwhelm Traditional Local Architecture?.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/realestate/2002/11/02/will-forces-of-globalization-overwhelm-traditional-local-architecture/a4df29f8-7056-46ed-ad60-18be3e606323/
[Accessed 08 March 2021].

Lonely Planet, n.d. *Stone Town's Architecture.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.lonelyplanet.com/a/nar/b5b1bcef-67b6-4b6d-be40-389982e9d296/355668
[Accessed 20 May 2021].

Lynch, K., 1960. *The image of the city.* Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Massey, D., 1994. A Global Sense of Space. In: *Space, Place and Gender.* Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 146-156.

Mosquera, G., 2001. Globalization: Some Cultural Dilemmas. In: A. Tzonis, L. Lefaivre & B. Stagno, eds. *Tropical Architecture. Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization.* Chichester: Wiley-Academy, pp. 59-64.

Myers, G. A., 1994. Making the Socialist City of Zanzibar. *The Geographical Review*, 84(4), pp. 451-464.

Nalbantoglu, G. & Wong, C, eds. 1997. *Postcolonial space(s).* New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

National Bureau of Statistics; Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam; Office of Chief Government Statistician; President's Office, Finance Economy and Development Planning Zanzibar, 2012. *Population and Housing Census.* The United Republic of Tanzania.

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Afrika.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/afrika
[Accessed 08 March 2020].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Globalisering.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/globalisering
[Accessed 08 March 2020].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Kolonialism.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/kolonialism
[Accessed 22 March 2020].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Kulturimperialism.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/kulturimperialism
[Accessed 24 March 2021].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Nykolonialism.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/nykolonialism
[Accessed 23 March 2021].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Postkolonialism.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/postkolonialism
[Accessed 24 March 2021].

Nationalencyklopedin, n.d. *Zanzibar.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/zanzibar
[Accessed 26 March 2021].

Papadaki, A., Perzyna, I. & van Marrewijk, Franka, 2021. [Interview] (06 April 2021)

Prohansky, H. M., 1978. The City and Place-Identity. *Journal of Environment and Behavior,* 10(2), pp. 147-169.

Rezaei, N., 2019. Baraza, The Space of Public Life in Stone Town of Zanzibar. *World Sociopolitical Studies,* 3(3), pp. 517-549.

Rotarou, E., 2014. Tourism in Zanzibar: Challenges for Pro-Poor Growth. *Caderno Virtual de Turismo – Rio de Janeiro,* 14(3), pp. 250-264.

Suhayla, 2021. [Interview] (29 March 2021).

The Museum of Modern Art, 2020. *Transforming the Border Wall into a Teeter-Totter | Rael San Fratello | ARTIST STORIES* [Video] The Museum of Modern Art.
Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1bbeBo3te5E
[Accessed 18 May 2021]

The World Bank, 2019. *GDP per capita.* [Online]
Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?most_recent_value_desc=true
[Accessed 6 April 2021].

UNESCO, n.d. *Stone Town of Zanzibar.* [Online]
Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/173
[Accessed 19 April 2021].

UNESCO, n.d. *The Criteria for Selection.* [Online]
Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/
[Accessed 19 April 2021].

UNESCO, n.d. *World Heritage.* [Online]
Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/about/
[Accessed 19 April 2021].

United Nations, 2017. *World Population Prospects: 2017 Revision,* New York: United Nations.

United Nations Development Programme, 2019. *Latest Human Development Index Ranking.* [Online]
Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/latest-human-development-index-ranking
[Accessed 10 April 2021]

World Health Organization, n.d. *Globalization.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.who.int/topics/globalization/en/
[Accessed 08 March 2020].

Öster, F., 2021. [Interview] (23 March 2021).

FIGURES

All figures and illustrations not credited here are made by the author.

0.1 Be, P. 2014. *Zanzibar kids* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/131756310@N07/16521425344
[Accessed May 17 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

2.1 MusikAnimal. 2017. *Lower Manhattan Skyline – June 2017* [Photography].
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lower_Manhattan_skyline_-_June_2017.jpg
[Accessed 17 March 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 4.0]

2.2 Goh, Jason. 2017. *Singapore* [Photography]
Available at: https://pixabay.com/sv/photos/singapore-singapore-floden-skyline-2706849/
[Accessed March 17 2021] [License: Pixabay License]

2.3 Jungmann, A. 2019. *Frankfurt Skyline* [Photography].
Available at: https://pixabay.com/sv/photos/frankfurt-skyline-bank-metropol-5377161/
[Accessed March 17 2021] [License: Pixabay License]

2.4 Dicksonpicha. 2019. *Dar City from MV kigamboni* [Photography].
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Took_this_shot_at_Magogogni_in_Dar_Es_Salaam.jpg
[Accessed March 17 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 4.0]

2.5 Evans, S. 2005. *Mozambique n2* [Photography].
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/64749744@N00/4779235
[Accessed March 19 2021] [License: CC BY-NC 2.0]

2.6 Unknown. 2010. *Church Dar es Salaam* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/right-to-health/5225853559/
[Accessed April 03 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

2.7 Sailko, I. 2015. *Asmara, teatro d'opera* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Asmara,_teatro_d%27opera,_02.JPG
[Accessed 2021-05-18] [License: CC BY-SA 3.0]

2.8 Stanley, D. 2015. *Banco Nacional de Angola* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/19367815293/
[Accessed 2021-05-18] [License: CC BY 2.0]

2.9 Sohne, G. 2006. *Panorama of the Supreme Court of Ghana* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/wgsohne/226898998/
[Accessed 2021-05-18] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

2.10 Martinvl. 2015. *Groot Constantia homestead, Cape Town* (1691) [Photograhy]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GrootConstantiaHomestead.jpg
[Accessed 2021-04-03] [License: CC BY-SA 4.0]

2.11 U.S. Army Southern European Task Force, Africa. 2010. *USARAF Commander visits Algeria December 2010* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/36281822@N08/5282102211
[Accessed May 28 2021] [License CC BY 2.0]

2.12 Arth, M. E. 1998. *Poor African boy in pink dress Kibera slum, Nairobi, Kenya* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poor_African_boy_in_pink_dress_Kibera_slum,_Nairobi,_Kenya_by_Michael_E._Arth.jpg
[Accessed May 19 2021] [License: CC BY 4.0]

2.13 Kristensen, E. 2003. *Dogon Country, Mali* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/44504567@N00/50551457
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

2.14 Hug, C. 2012. *Traditional Tiebele house decoration, Burkina Faso* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tiebele_traditional_house_decoration_Burkina_Faso.jpg
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

2.15 Hertha, B. 2014. *Maasai Huts* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/whertha/13506702065/in/photolist-2imZLLS-RNVnKB-mzxnXx-Tr3Asy-8UfeBG-RNVLqX-6GaRw7-8mee8j-4Eta76-df5aKJ-8Uc9Ec-2dnMxMx-8Uc9Qi-28txm6-b3sCjt-3oGxL3-213jfiE-iQEdB9-8Uc9MZ-DS1Waz-2bZarmH-fyVAQR-pPFJuX-8Uc9wP-oT37R2-fzaMhE-pZrCYP-4h5Jec-2cgMLrY-fhoUbF-2aBcQN3-fz8YsL-GPVqA-7yFwfY-8Uc9HZ-4Vv8Tx-fzbu6W-fzbJQE-229sJp2-jeLpEF-qUizvq-Jz8HvX-pxoF33-fzbm3j-7cUnEi-22raqtU-22wqLA-9ryuBJ-22wqHA-715upf
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0]

2.16 ten Brink, C. 2005. *Tatasomba* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/carsten_tb/285015698/in/photolist-2dZr75Z-2ehndB1-2fojWEZ-rbMeL-rbMjq-Scf6AM-R9mDg6-R9qxmn-R6HGL9-Sor6bV-RNJxuG-S9CuAj-Scewjg-9pMDSx-Sor14k-SjQoem-RNDtfE-R9qCw2-RdUH9Z-R9iYu2-Scitfx-SotQzV-R9pP2H-R9mqfg-RNDmTG-SjPBq3-9pMCAg-Sci4SR-RNCCEo-SjJrrL-SciSQt-9bX8xx-SotTH8-9c1c4u-9c1cph-RNBEyW-RTb3c7-R9pThg-R9i4uK-SeaPg9-RbiQJS-SgMcwP-RdUQq2-SsZMWp
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0]

2.17 Rulkens, T. 2009. *Traditional round houses in Manica* [Photography]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Traditional_round_houses_in_Manica_(4419157639).jpg
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

2.18 Unknown. 2016. *Hotel de ville d'Abidjan au plateau* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AbidjanHotelDeVilleMars2016.jpg
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY 3.0]

2.19 Flowizm. 2005. *independencearch1* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/flowizm/17520145/
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0]

2.20 GandoIT. 2009. *Kere primary school extension Gando* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kere_primary_school_extension_gando.jpg
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 3.0]

2.21 Fagen, A. 2017. *NMAAHC rising* [Photography].
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/afagen/37579798346
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0]

2.22 ArchiMedia. 2013. *NLE - Makoko Floating School - construction 14.jpg* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/eager/8555385805
[Accessed May 18 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

2.23 Hayes, R. N.d. *Econef's Children's Centre.* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.archdaily.com/923371/econef-childrens-center-asante-architecture-and-design-plus-lonnqvist-and-vanamo-architects/5d5cc244284dd1662000048c-econef-childrens-center-asante-architecture-and-design-plus-lonnqvist-and-vanamo-architects-photo?next_project=no
[Accessed May 18 2021]

2.24 Unknown, n.d. No title [Photography]
Available at: https://www.asante.se/projects/econef/
[Accessed May 18 2021]

3.1 Zanzibar Mapping Initiative, 2017. *U_117_V1* [Photography]
Available at: https://map.openaerialmap.org/#/39.18548583984375,-6.1596701962364815,14/square/3001121113211123/5ae398710b093000130aff45?_k=guntj6
[Accessed March 24 2021] [License: Open Data Commons Open Database License]

3.2 Unknown, n.d. No title. [Photography]
Available at: https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/design-lovers-guide-zanzibar
[Accessed April 27 2021]

3.3 van der Horst, W. 2010. *Old Fort of Zanzibar* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=41950771
[Accessed April 16 2021] [License: CC-BY-2.0]

3.4 Moongateclimber. 2010. *The House of Wonders in Stone Town, Zanzibar* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:House_of_wonders.jpg
[Accessed April 16 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 4.0]

3.5 Stanley, D. 2017. *Peace Memorial Museum* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/34651952142
[Accessed April 16 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

3.6 Baumann, Oscar. 1892. *Map of Zanzibar (Plan der Stadt Sansibar).* Scale 1:10 000 [Drawing]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plan_der_Stadt_Sansibar_-_Map_of_Zanzibar_-_Oscar_

Baumann.jpg
[Accessed 2021-04-17] [License: Public Domain]

3.7 Zanzibar National Archive. Ca 1900. No title. [Photography]
Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/side-effects-foreign-oppression-and-otherness-in-ngambo-zanzibar-town
[Accessed May 10 2021]

3.8 Lanchester, H. 1923. *Zanzibar Town Racial Distribution* [Drawing]
Available at: https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/side-effects-foreign-oppression-and-otherness-in-ngambo-zanzibar-town
[Accessed April 18 2021] [License: Public domain]

3.9 Zanzibar National Archive. 1973. *Map with the Achievements of the Revolution, 1973.*
Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-01075-1_3
[Accessed April 18 2021]

3.10 Lingel, S. 2012. *Die von der DDR errichtete Wohnblocks in Michenzani* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wohnungsbau_der_DDR_in_Stone_Town.jpg[Accessed 2021April 21 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 3.0]

3.11 Sollien, S. N.d. *DSC_0528* [Photography]
Available at: https://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/08/02/15-ostalgie-on-the-other-side-zanzibar-part-2/
[Accessed May 20 2021] [Courtesy of Silje Erøy Sollien]

3.12 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters

3.13 Courtesy of Department of Urban and Rural Planning Zanzibar

3.14 Muleba, H. 2019. No title [Photography]
Available at: https://unsplash.com/photos/PJT_XqdyRpA
[accessed May 21 2021] [License: Unsplash License]

3.15 Liu, D. 2006. *St. Joseph's Cathedral* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/69009517@N00/332619987
[Accessed May 20 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0]

3.16 De Volder, Linda. 2018. *P1070472* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/8981098@N07/46271302541
[Accessed May 20 2021] [License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0]

3.17 Stanley, D. 2017. *Old Dispensary* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/34424119690/in/photolist-UrWBt1-7K6rZu-2jc9b7E-2dqjmq1-prqLci-EJzVXG-fPjRPv-JbkRnE-4z2ZKb-a1BNuk-LerbSn-6uvXGs-mrhRDT-mrisQc-ETzmXw-

Jehuvr-2jHK9J5-EJMwj4-LbY4Vo-HiqYFa-RjN45D-XbgurJ-J5rRXN-5iBkWP-Hrvcbb-3auUgp-5iFCQQ-
PZu4Ke-J7S48n-5iBnfD-LYSi6-b2dWA-4x311K-4u5wGW-bm6oyg-2i2n3je-2ZmKjL-55HtWs-cyU9Um-4x3Hye-
2hMwQBW-2iScefD-cyUa9m-dYQg3w-mqxT9-2hMzrUo-Ys3DzM-4x7VPh-9XY1cs-2iSf2VG
[Accessed May 20 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

3.18 Son of Groucho. 2012. *Stone Town Scenes 4* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/23401669@N00/7923410358
[Accessed May 19 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

3.19 Jones, A. 2013. *Architectural Detail - Stone Town - Zanzibar - Tanzania – 08* [Photography]
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Architectural_Detail_-_Stone_Town_-_Zanzibar_-_
Tanzania_-_08_(8841757224).jpg
[Accessed May 19 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

3.20 Edmunds, S. 2019. *Gujarati doors* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/30557460@N05/33799485218/
[Accessed May 20 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]

3.21 Jones, A. 2013. *Architectural Detail - Stone Town - Zanzibar - Tanzania - 05*
Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Architectural_Detail_-_Stone_Town_-_Zanzibar_-_
Tanzania_-_05_(8841148383).jpg
[Accessed May 19 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

3.22 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters

3.23 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters and Department of Urban and Rural Planning Zanzibar

3.24 Sollien, S. N.d. DSC_0376 [Photography]
Available at: https://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/08/02/15-ostalgie-on-the-other-side-zanzibar-part-2/
[Accessed on May 20 2021] [Courtesy of Silje Erøy Sollien]

3.25 Sollien, S. N.d. DSC_0534 [Photography]
Available at: https://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/08/02/15-ostalgie-on-the-other-side-zanzibar-part-2/
[Accessed on May 20 2021] [Courtesy of Silje Erøy Sollien]

3.26 Sollien, S. N.d. DSC_0536 [Photography]
Available at: https://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/08/02/15-ostalgie-on-the-other-side-zanzibar-part-2/
[Accessed on May 20 2021] [Courtesy of Silje Erøy Sollien]

3.27 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters and Department of Urban and Rural Planning Zanzibar

3.28 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters and Department of Urban and Rural Planning Zanzibar

3.29 Courtesy of African Architecture Matters and Department of Urban and Rural Planning Zanzibar

3.30 Hockfield, M. 2006. *The Creek Road* [Photograpphy]
Avaiable at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/hockers/339737995/
[Accessed May 25 2021]

5.1 Unknown. 2019. *Teeter-Totter Wall* [Photography]
Available at: https://blogs.sjsu.edu/newsroom/2021/virginia-san-fratellos-teeter-totter-wall-earns-beazley-design-of-
the-year-award/
[Accessed May 23 2021]

5.2 Studio M.R.D.O., 2017. *Communal Pool (Scene 8)* [Illustration]
Available at: https://www.studiomrdo.com/copy-of-one-street-thousand-destina
[Accessed May 23 2021]

5.3 Friman, I. 2005. *Inside one of the buildings* [Photography]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidio_Modelo#/media/File:Presidio-modelo2.JPG
[Accessed May 23 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 3.0]

5.4 Woodlouse. 2008. *Stone Town, Zanzibar* [Photography]
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/8830859@N04/3991504592
[Accessed May 23 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

6.1 Lawania, S. 2020. No title [Photography].
Available at: http://www.sadisticshalpy.com/2020/04/the-pursuit-of-happiness-in-zanzibar.html
[Accessed May 23 2021]

6.2 Stanley, D. 2017. *Sunset at Zanzibar* [Photography].
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/34712161421/in/photostream/
[Accessed May 25 2021] [License: CC BY-SA 2.0]

6.3 Waddington, R. 2015. *Street, Stone Town, Zanzibar* [Photography].
Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/64607715@N05/16634966579
[Accessed May 25 2021] [License: CC BY 2.0]