PORT-CITY RENEWAL IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THE WATERFRONT AT DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA^{*)}

With 2 figures, 1 table and 11 photos

BRIAN HOYLE

Zusammenfassung: Die Erneuerung von Hafenstädten in Entwicklungsländern

Der weltweite Erneuerungsprozess städtischer Hafenviertel beschränkte sich bislang auf den Bereich der Industrieländer, beginnt jetzt aber auch die Entwicklungsländer einzubeziehen, die im Kontext von Postkolonialismus, Multikulturalismus, Bewahrung ihres historischen Erbes, der Entwicklung von Tourismus und dem Wettbewerb der Häfen untereinander sowie der Globalisierung bemüht sind, historische Stadtstrukturen wieder aufleben zu lassen. Dieser Beitrag berichtet über Erfahrungen in Daressalam, Tansania, wo die Erneuerung des Hafenviertels mit Unterstützung von lokalen, nationalen und internationalen Organisationen Bestandteil einer bewahrenden Stadtentwicklung ist. Im Rahmen des theoretischen und regionalen Kontextes werden die Bedingungen des städtischen Hafenviertels von Daressalam dargelegt wie sie sich Ende der 90er Jahre von der Land- und Seeseite bemerkbar machten. Die Fallstudie verweist auf die weitergehenden Probleme, die Politikfelder und die relevante Literatur.

Summary: The global spread of urban waterfront redevelopment, hitherto largely confined to advanced countries, is now starting to impact upon developing countries too as they seek to revive historic cities in contexts including postcolonialism, multiculturalism, heritage conservation, tourism development, inter-port competition and globalization. This paper reports on the experience of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania where waterfront redevelopment is making progress as an element in urban conservation, with the support of local, national and international organizations. Within a theoretical context and regional frameworks, the paper includes an account of the condition of the Dar es Salaam urban waterfront as observed from the landward and maritime sides in the later 1990s. The case study is related to wider problems and policy issues, to relevant literature and to experience elsewhere.

1 Introduction

The Indian Ocean shores of the East African country of Tanzania, and those of neighbouring Kenya, provide excellent examples of urban waterfront redevelopment processes at work in port cities, but in highly variegated forms (Fig. 1). In Tanzania the modern commercial capital and chief port, Dar es Salaam, is now experiencing urban waterfront renewal to a limited extent, partly in the context of the 'sustainable cities' initiative designed by the United Nations Development Programme. Founded as an Arab trading settlement in the 1860s, Dar es Salaam became from the 1890s the chief urban-economic focus and political capital of German East Africa and, after World War I, of the mandated territory known as Tanganyika and administered by Britain. Today, despite attempts in the 1970s to remove the political capital function to the more centrally-located town of Dodoma (HOYLE 1979; KIRONDE 1993), Dar es Salaam retains its inherited doorstep function as the country's chief politico-economic focus and window on the world (Photo 1). In the

*) Dedicated to the memory of CLEMENT GILLMAN (1882–1946).





This view looks south from the roof of the Kilimanjaro Hotel (18) towards the deep-water berths of the modern port

Hafen von Daressalam

1990s, with an estimated population of over 3 millions, the city began to assume "a modest prosperity ... and a vitality that many thought had been lost during the previous two decades" (McDow 1997; BRIGGS a. YEBOAH 2001).

Comparatively little attention has hitherto been paid specifically to the need for and possibilities of urban

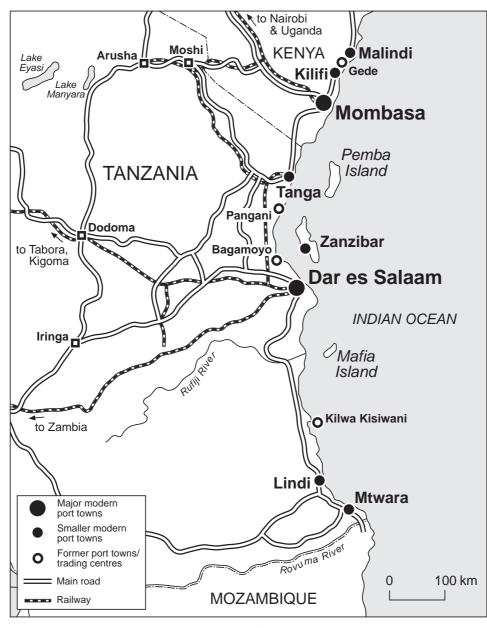


Fig. 1: The Tanzania coastal zone Küstenzone von Tansania

waterfront redevelopment in port cities in less-developed countries (LDCs), and revitalizing waterfronts have been regarded largely as a concern of more advanced countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, attention centred almost exclusively on North America and Europe and on the spread of the movement to Australasia, Japan and some newly-industrializing countries (NICs) such as Singapore. The conservation and redevelopment of the urban heritage is sometimes regarded as a luxury irrelevant to the more basic needs of poor cities and countries. Until recently the problem has been largely ignored in India, for example, and in Africa.

In the global postcolonial politico-economic context of modernization, however, urbanization is perceived as a necessary process and tool, and clear links are cultivated between urban renewal and other socioeconomic sectors: for example water supply, housing, employment and tourism. There is also an increasing awareness of the desirability of conserving architectural heritage, partly as a way of preserving the distinctiveness of individual locations. In the later 1980s and 1990s some LDC and NIC port cities began to develop new attitudes to the conservation of their colonial urban heritage and in a few cases, notably, to obtain funding for waterfront revitalization as a component of urban renewal (HOYLE 2000).

Urban waterfront redevelopment research is linked, on the one hand, with urban planning and, on the other, with port development. This research has generated a substantial literature which includes useful overviews (e.g. HALL 1993), analyses of politico-environmental and financial change (e.g. GORDON 1996, 1997a, 1997b), considerable case-study detail (e.g. BREEN a. RIGBY 1994; 1996) and analyses of ideas and trends on a systematic basis (HOYLE 1995; HOYLE et al. 1988). Most of this literature is derived from the experience of advanced countries, but newly-industrializing Asian cityports such as Hong Kong (BRISTOW 1988) have received some attention in this context. The recent transformation of the Victoria and Alfred waterfront at Cape Town, South Africa, has been critically assessed (KILIAN a. DODSON 1996). For East Africa, relevant contextual material is available in the fields of urban archaeology and conservation, architecture and urban design, the Islamic architectural heritage, and the revival of Swahili culture. Accounts of the history of East African port towns, legal frameworks affecting their planning and development, and a number of reports covering the renewal of specific urban zones and individual buildings are also available.

This paper examines the case of Dar es Salaam as a city increasingly aware of its remarkable heritage and increasingly determined to conserve that heritage in a context of modern urban planning and development. The city's layout and urban character reflect primarily the ideas of its Arab founders and German planners of the later 19th century, the policies of the post-1919 British colonial administration, and the circumstances of the postcolonial era in which modern Tanzania has tended to emphasise rural rather than urban development. The case reveals a range of problems and attitudes which turn essentially on the question of the relevance of urban renewal in general, and urban waterfront redevelopment in particular, to societies and economies in developing countries where other priorities are normally and necessarily accorded higher status.

The wider research on which the paper is based aims to locate ongoing debates in East Africa concerning redevelopment objectives, attitudes, plans and achievements in older cityports – with a special focus on their waterfront zones – within the thematic contexts of port studies and waterfront redevelopment literature. An essential objective is to situate the discussion within the specific field of waterfront redevelopment studies as a component of the wider sphere of urban renewal. The account of the Dar es Salaam urban waterfront given here is largely based on a personal field survey of the buildings that overlook the harbour.¹) This material is prefaced by an historical and contextual outline, and followed by discussion of theoretical and cultural issues arising from the cityport's experience and character. Conclusions are intended to place the case study in wider, comparative framework.

2 Historical contexts

Today the redevelopment of port cities invariably involves the re-evaluation of urban fabrics inherited from the relatively recent or more distant past, and some consideration of the role of heritage in the context of present-day societies and plans for the future (GRAHAM et al. 2000). In East African port cities such as Dar es Salaam, waterfront redevelopment today cannot be properly understood without reference to historical contexts. However, unlike many other former and present-day port towns along the Indian Ocean coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, including Mombasa (Kenya), its chief commercial rival, Dar es Salaam does not figure in the history of East Africa and the Indian Ocean before the later 19th century (HALL 1996; SUTTON 1970).

During much of that century the island emporium of Zanzibar (today part of modern Tanzania) occupied a pivotal role as the principal focus of trade in eastern Africa and the western Indian Ocean, under the dynamic leadership of Seyyid Said (ruler of Oman from 1806, and of Zanzibar from 1840, to his death in 1856). For half a century, at least, from the 1840s to the 1890s, most of the politico-economic and infrastructural change on the mainland, both along the coastal zone and in the far interior, was an outcome of the temporary regional supremacy of Zanzibar. There was some truth in the proverb, first spoken in Seyyid Said's day: "When one pipes at Zanzibar, they dance on the lakes" (COUPLAND 1938, 359).

¹⁾ I have known Dar es Salaam for forty years, but for this purpose I undertook preparatory fieldwork in 1995 which produced a substantial network of relevant sources and contacts. More extensive fieldwork in 1997, and subsequent library research, allowed the emergence of a more comprehensive view and the elucidation of many points of detail.

The Arab traders of Zanzibar, and the European explorers who followed in their footsteps, generally used Bagamoyo as their mainland terminus for interior expeditions. Dar es Salaam, the coastal trading settlement that has become the principal port city of modern Tanzania, originated as an alternative Arab settlement when Sultan Majid of Zanzibar (who reigned from 1856 to 1870) decided - for political as well as economic reasons - to try to exploit the commercial potential of a mainland harbour far superior to the open roadstead at Bagamoyo. Majid was the essential founder of modern Dar es Salaam, although his attempts to develop a new port town on the north shore of the secluded harbour, occupied earlier only by fishing villages, were initially not very successful (GRAY 1962). In the 1860s he devised an embryonic street plan, built a substantial palace and a few other buildings towards the western end of the waterfront zone, and developed a series of deep masonry wells.²⁾ Majid's trading town quickly fell into decay after his early death in 1870, however, as THOMSON (1881, 73-75) and LEUE (1903, 4-5) recorded (see GILLMAN, 1945, 3-4); his successor as Sultan of Zanzibar, Barghash (reigned 1870-1888) did not share his brother's enthusiasm for the new mainland outport.

The coming of the Germans placed the development of the port-town on firmer foundations. Already actively involved in trade and politics at Zanzibar, they perceived new opportunities on the adjacent mainland. The Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation, founded in 1884, involved the adventurous activities of Dr Karl Peters, including agreements with local chiefs, and in 1885 the Deutsch Ost-Afrikanische Gesellschaft received its charter (BEACHEY 1996, 121 et seq). In negotiation with Seyvid Barghash, the Germans obtained permission to collect customs revenues, to use Dar es Salaam as a base for inland activities, and virtually to occupy the coastal zone of the territory that shortly thereafter became German East Africa, extending almost 1000 km west to Lake Tanganyika and including the modern countries Rwanda and Burundi. Hauptmann Leue arrived in 1887 to found one of the company's new stations (LEUE 1903; GILLMAN 1945, 4), using an old Arab building on the western waterfront, and in the same year the

Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch Ost-Afrika (29)³⁾ founded its station – the first European building in Dar es Salaam – on the eastern waterfront near the harbour entrance (GILLMAN 1945, 4–5; OSBORNE 1960).

Following the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, the German Government in Berlin took over the territory from the DOAG, persuaded the Sultan of Zanzibar to cede his rights on the coast and in the hinterland, announced that Dar es Salaam was to be the capital in preference to Bagamoyo, and appointed the first German Governor, Freiherr von Soden. Dar es Salaam developed quickly into a neatly laid out, bustling little port town of 20,000 inhabitants (including several hundred Europeans), and it was from this waterfront that the construction of the central railway began in 1905, reaching Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika in 1914. "German pride in their East African colony, and the vigour with which native uprisings were suppressed, arose from a realization that it was the main jewel in the overseas possessions of the imperial crown" (BEACHEY 1996, 241-242). These first German footsteps in Dar es Salaam were, of course, only one small element in a far wider late-19th century process of interaction between Europe and Africa involving exploration, partition and colonization. Within Eastern Africa, the Portuguese maintained their authority in Mozambique, while more significantly the British pursued a parallel policy (also involving Zanzibar) from their base at Mombasa (Kenya).

This critical period of European politico-economic interest in East Africa was associated with important technological changes of global interest: the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the change from sail to steam as a means of ship propulsion, the rapidly increasing size of vessels, and the growing importance of railways. In East Africa, as elsewhere, a result of these innovations was that railways were built from port sites selected for their ability to accommodate larger steamers in a context of increasing trade with Europe via Suez, and for their relationships with potentially productive hinterlands. Along the coast a process of port concentration ensued. Traditionally fluid and largely localised port patterns, dating from medieval times and based geographically and navigationally on minor inlets and open shorelines, became crystallized in the 1890s as modern ports linked to global systems started to use more capacious, sheltered, deep-water harbours. These hitherto largely unused locations - most notably the harbour at Dar es Salaam, and Mombasa's Kilindini Harbour - were perceived as having considerable potential for port and urban growth and as influential entry-points for regional politico-economic development under colonial administration.

²⁾ According to GILLMAN (1945, 3) these wells were "scattered throughout the town, lasted during the period of German occupation and were only replaced by a modern piped water supply in the mid-twenties".

³⁾ Numbers in parentheses following the names of individual buildings refer to the buildings listed in Table 1 and shown in Figure 2.

Dar es Salaam was clearly one of the principal elements in this innovative regional port-city system, albeit in some respects atypical. Dar es Salaam was particularly fortunate at this point in time, for its general geographical location and its specific site conditions enabled the new cityport to establish and maintain a central place in the modern economic life of the Tanzanian coastal zone. Dar es Salaam became, quite quickly, the principal point of contact, in terms of modern surface transport, between local and global systems. While Mombasa (Kenya) shared a similar experience, ports favoured only by local circumstances (such as Lamu, Kilwa Kivinje and eventually Zanzibar) declined, and the development of new mainland colonial ports unable to establish sufficiently extensive hinterland links (such as Tanga) was retarded.

The incorporation of East Africa within the European colonial system with its exploitative, exchangebased economy was clearly a major step towards what we now recognise as globalisation. The British assumed control of Dar es Salaam in 1916 and, after the end of World War I, most of German East Africa became Tanganyika, a League of Nations mandated territory under British government. Political independence was achieved in 1961; and in 1964 Tanganvika became, with Zanzibar, the United Republic of Tanzania, retaining Dar es Salaam as capital (BLIJ 1963; FREEMAN-GRENVILLE 1991). The city and port of Dar es Salaam grew rapidly in the later decades of the 20th century, despite the attempted removal of the political capital function to Dodoma. Tanzanian postcolonial policies have emphasized rural rather than urban development, sometimes to the detriment of Dar es Salaam, but the port has benefitted substantially from its transport links (including the Tanzania-Zambia Railway completed in 1975) with extra-national hinterlands (HOYLE 1978; GLEAVE 1992). In the 1990s, as urban renewal began to receive increased attention, the Tanzanian port has gained considerably in a context of increasing competition with its Kenyan rival, Mombasa, for extranational traffic (HOYLE a. CHARLIER 1995). The development of a new capital city at Dodoma has proved too expensive to complete.

2.1 The search for a context for renewal and revitalization

In comparison with other East African port cities now experiencing urban waterfront redevelopment – Mombasa, Lamu (Kenya), Zanzibar (Tanzania) – only at Dar es Salaam is the traditional pre-20th-century urban waterfront also the maritime façade of a modern, thriving city (Fig. 2). The Dar es Salaam urban waterfront exemplifies, however, a pattern of decline, dissociation and neglect at two different levels. The traditional downtown core (which includes the waterfront zone) still largely retains its cultural supremacy despite extensive suburban growth and the emergence of alternative nuclei within the urbanized area as a whole. Some degree of *cultural dissociation* is perceptible, nonetheless, between modern and traditional forms of urbanism, with the emergence of numerous small-scale socio-economic and political nuclei, and modern urban growth has taken place in very different ways and to very varying degrees in contrasted parts of the city. This has involved an element of spatial dissociation between diverse urban elements, and there are signs that the centre of urban gravity is beginning to move away from the established waterfront-oriented core towards new urban nodes located at some distance from the shores of the harbour.

Tanzania has been relatively slow, for a variety of political and economic reasons, to develop policies and legislation covering urban waterfront conservation and to implement conservation plans. The Government of Tanganyika introduced an Antiquities Ordinance as early as 1935 primarily to identify, investigate, record and protect monuments of historical significance. A 1964 Amendment was a mechanism whereby the Government of independent Tanzania sought to strengthen and diversify the pre-existing legislation; and by a further Amendment of 1979 to extend the traditional concept of preservation to include the more broadly based idea of conservation. Much of this legislation has not been specifically concerned with urban buildings of historical interest and value, and the Government has until very recently appeared to take relatively little interest in the conservation of historic buildings in Dar es Salaam.

In 1994, however, twenty-six structures were gazetted as Listed Buildings, and it was later announced that, under the terms of the 1964 Antiquities Act Amendment, development of these buildings is prohibited without the consent of the Director of Antiquities. Listed Buildings within the waterfront zone are shown in Table 1. A revised cultural policy introduced in 1997 provides automatic protection for urban structures over 100 years old. This covers, notably in the context of this paper, several important but hitherto unlisted waterfront buildings in Dar es Salaam which are in danger of serious deterioration but are now given enhanced status and protection in a context of conservation.

To some extent, however, this policy, although significant, is *pro tem* an empty gesture as the provision of public finance for the rehabilitation of historic buildings is not yet, generally, perceived as a matter of high priority in modern Tanzania. This attitude is under-

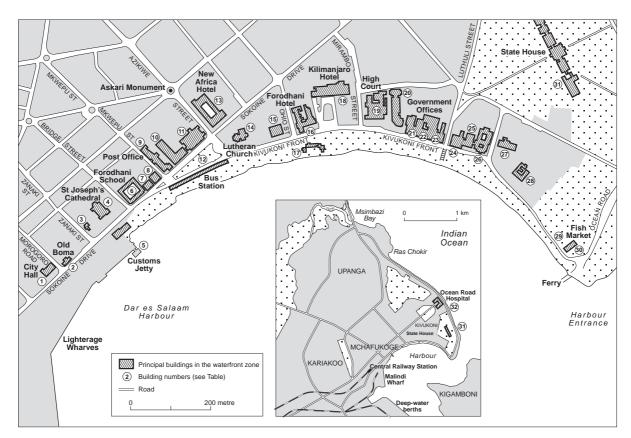


Fig. 2: The urban waterfront of Dar es Salaam harbour Städtische Uferzone im Hafen von Daressalam

standable, although unfortunate, given that the diversity of the country's architectural heritage – not only in Dar es Salaam but in many other locations throughout the country – is a tremendously valuable long-term cultural asset. This diversity – derived not only from African, Arab and European traditions but also from the cultural impacts on Tanzania of the world of the Indian Ocean – is now increasingly recognized as a major asset by a range of influential people. The longterm development of a flourishing tourist industry stands to gain enormously from the cultivation of this rich cultural heritage (ASHWORTH a. TUNBRIDGE 1990).

An important aspect of the search for a solution to current problems in this sphere involves the dilemma of reconciling competing *local* interests while simultaneously responding to *global* trends in urban waterfront redevelopment. This raises such questions as: what kinds of networks and partnerships – local, regional, national – can be formulated for waterfront redevelopment and conservation? What is the most effective role of local actors? What part can best be played by external, international sources of expertise and funding? How can opportunities and challenges inherent in *global* change be met most effectively in a *local* context? Many of these issues are clearly exemplified by and relevant to the present-day character and problems of Dar es Salaam's urban waterfront.

3 The Dar es Salaam waterfront

The idea of an attractive urban waterfront zone, facing onto the harbour and taking maximum advantage of an attractive site, was central to the original design and layout of the port city, as conceived by its Arab founders and German planners, and as maintained and elaborated during the British mandate, but this idea does not seem to be a central part of the current urban culture. Throughout the greater part of the city's short history, the harbour has formed the essential focal point, and port traffic the *raison d'être* of the cityport's existence. As cityports grow, however, there is normally a gradual separation of port-related and urban functions, as the latter become more complex and as the former serve more extensive, specialized and competitive hinterlands. This process is now happening

No	Date	Building/function	R	S	В	\mathbf{C}
1	1903	City Hall: City Council offices, originally New Boma	Mk	5	В	G
2	1870s	Old Boma: UN, Development Plan (UNDP) offices	F	3	_	R
3	1970s	Avalon House: National Housing Corporation and other offices	Mb	4	В	G
		Avalon Cinema	Т	2	_	G
4	1902	St Joseph's RC Cathedral	Т	_	_	G
	1953 - 55	Administration/residential	Т	3	_	G
5	1880s	Customs and Jetty	Т	1	_	А
6		Forodhani School (formerly St Joseph's Convent):				
	1956	modern block (secondary)	F	3	В	А
		older block (primary)	Mb	2	В	Α
7	1880s	Atiman House (White Fathers)	F	2	В	А
8	1970s	Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals	Mb	12	В	А
9	1880s	Post Office	Mb	3	В	Р
10	1880s	Toyota Building (International Motors Ltd)	Т	2	В	G
11	1970s	National Bank of Commerce	F	10	_	G
12	1927	Open space, gardens, War Memorial 1914–18 and 1939–45	_	_	_	G
13	1997	New Africa Hotel (on site of Kaiserhof)	F	10	_	G
14	1901	Lutheran Church	Т	_	_	G
	1992	Azania Front Cathedral Centre	Т	2	_	G
	1970s	Luther House and Centre	Т	7	_	А
15	1970s	Development House (National Development Corporation)	F	7	_	G
16	1880s	Forodhani Hotel (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism)	Т	3	В	G
17	1933	Police Station (Marine) (former Yacht Club)	Mb	1	_	А
18	1965	Kilimanjaro Hotel	F	10	В	Р
19	1970s	High Court of Tanzania, Court of Appeal	Т	2	_	G
20	1970s	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice	Т	3	В	G
21	1890s	Central Statistics Headquarters	Т	3	В	G
22	1890s	Pillared portico	Mb	1	_	А
23	1890s	Surveys and Mapping Division	Mb	2	В	А
24	1890s	Commercial Court (formerly Resident Magistrate's Court)	Mb	2	В	А
25	1890s	Office of the Controller and Auditor General	Mb	2	_	А
26	1890s	President's Office: Planning Commission	Mb	2	В	А
27	1970s	Ardhi House: Ministry of Lands and Urban Development	F	10	_	А
28	1970s	Ministry of Community Development and	Т	1	_	А
		President's Office: Civil Service Department				
29	1887	Berlin (Lutheran) Mission (site of)	_	_	_	_
30	2000	Fish Market				G
31	1922	State House	Т	3	В	G
32	1897	Ocean Road Hospital	Т	3	_	R

Table 1: The Dar es Salaam harbour waterfront: urban building characteristics

Hafen von Daressalam: Charakterisierung der Gebäude

Key

No = Number of plot or building as shown on Fig. 2; R = Roof: Mb = *mabati* (corrugated iron); T = tiles; F = flat; S = Number of storeys; B = Balcony or verandah on one or more levels, sometimes enclosed; <math>C = Condition: R = restored; G = good; A = adequate; P = poor; Buildings in *italic* type were gazetted in 1994 as Listed Buildings

at Dar es Salaam; as the urban economy develops new focal points away from the shoreline, the city begins to turn away from the sea and to regard the harbour as a backwater rather than as the front door it has traditionally been.

In geomorphological terms the harbour is based on a drowned river valley or *ria*, and along the north shore the urban area stands on a series of raised coral reefs derived from Pleistocene changes in sea level (HOYLE 1983, 41–3; TEMPLE 1970). The layout of the urban waterfront, along the north shore of the harbour, is shown in Figure 2, and details of the principal waterfront buildings in this area are given in Table 1. Buildings in the vicinity of the Railway Station, but not on



Photo 2: Dar es Salaam waterfront in 1905/1906 Attributed to Dr Bruckner, this photograph predates the construction of the lighterage quay but shows two jetties and other port installations, the German port buildings (left) and two similar waterfront buildings one of which, the Old Boma (centre) (2), still survives

Source: National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam

Hafenfront von Daressalam 1905/1906

the urban waterfront, are not included; but other major buildings including State House (31) and the Ocean Road Hospital (32) (see Fig. 2 inset) facing the Indian Ocean are mentioned. Shown on a map dated 1891 as 'The Strand', the waterfront road was known later in the German period as Wilhelms Ufer (Photo 2) and in the British period as Azania Front (GILLMAN 1945). After political independence it came to be known as Kivukoni Front.

Today, the architecture of the Dar es Salaam urban waterfront is diversified by a number of modern buildings as well as by the adaptation, revitalization or neglect of those inherited from earlier eras in the city's growth. In this part of the city the German architectural heritage is particularly in evidence. In 1970 CASSON remarked that: "German architecture in Dar es Salaam, as elsewhere in Tanzania, seems to portray the heavy hand of German officialdom, modified in some cases by Islamic features and the use of simple materials such as corrugated iron for roofs. It was built to last in a solid manner befitting the administrative purposes of the new German Colonial Empire. Although these purposes were defeated by the 1914-18 war, the buildings, because of their solidity and coolness, coupled with the stringent economy practised during the period of the British Mandate, are still used largely for their original purposes" (CASSON 1970, 183).

Concern has been shown in Dar es Salaam by local authorities and external observers at the demolition of older buildings that are part of the city's architectural



Photo 3: Atiman House

This building (7), one of the oldest in Dar es Salaam, dates from the 1880s and retains much of its original architectural character

Atiman House

heritage, and at the extent of financial corruption inherent in the urban expansion and development process now being experienced. The essential problem, as always, is how to fund the rehabilitation of older buildings when financial support for new buildings may be less difficult to obtain. Dar es Salaam is in danger of losing its unique identity for the sake of modernity, and is not yet doing enough to enhance the character of its urban heritage.

The overall condition of the urban waterfront zone between the harbour's edge and Kivukoni Front is variable but generally poor. Focal points in terms of urban mobility and traffic generation are the Kigamboni Ferry near the harbour entrance; and, closer to the city centre, the bus station. Both these sub-zones create substantial visual and noise pollution and create or exacerbate traffic circulation problems along the waterfront zone. Between these two points, the junction of Azikiwe Street and Kivukoni Front, marked by the New Africa Hotel (13), the recently restored War Memorial Gardens (12) and the Lutheran Church (14) is the key intersection point in terms of traffic and transport in this part of the city.

In the later 1990s the beach around the northern side of Dar es Salaam harbour was littered with rubbish and with several abandoned, rusting ships which clearly constituted not only an eyesore but also a risk to health and security (Photos 6 and 7). The steep slope between the beach and the urban area (between 5 and 10 m wide), which shows considerable evidence of gullying, was occupied by rough grass, a few trees and a considerable amount of garbage. Above this slope, numerous good trees along the urban waterfront pro-



Photo 4: The Post Office

Although much altered, this German building (9) from the 1880s still fulfils its original function

Postamt

vide shade for informal street sellers (Photo 5), but the absence of a proper paved walkway with modern street furniture means that a harbourside walk can be unattractive and potentially hazardous. There are occasional relics of German stairways (as at the junction of Luthuli Street and Kivukoni Front) that once led from the waterfront buildings to a passenger jetty or to the beach (Photo 7). There are no paved sidewalks along much of the waterfront, on either side of the road, and those that exist are often in very poor condition.

The attitude of the Tanzania Harbours Authority (THA) towards the rehabilitation of the waterfront zone on the north side of the harbour at Dar es Salaam is constructive, and the Authority has shown much concern about the removal of abandoned, obsolete rusting vessels that in the 1990s littered the foreshore and provided not only environmental pollution but also physical dangers. It was locally believed that some of these vessels were inhabited by criminals and drug pushers/users. The THA view is that the essential problem is a legal one: ship owners (sometimes uninsured) fail to pay port charges or repair bills, their crews are repatriated and the vessels impounded. In 2000 the THA took steps to remove these rusting hulks for sale as scrap metal.

Ideas on the cohesive redevelopment of the waterfront zone are generally welcomed. In detail, there is widespread agreement that the waterfront has long needed a thorough clean up, with the removal of garbage, wrecks, unsightly kiosks and unwanted vegetation, the relocation of the fish market and the bus station, and the re-creation of an attractive, paved and shaded urban walkway linking the city and the harbour,



Photo 5: Kivukoni Front

Vehicles, bus passengers, and people selling fruit and other foodstuffs, create considerable congestion in this area near the bus station. The waterfront walkway is unpaved and, to the left, the ground slopes quite steeply towards the harbour. In the distance can be seen the tower of St Joseph's Cathedral (4)

Kivukoni Uferabschnitt

sheltered by a new seawall. Some of these objectives have been achieved, or are in progress. For example, with Japanese support for cold storage facilities, the fish market has been relocated (30) (Fig. 2); and a new bus station has been opened at Ubungo on the edge of the city centre. Issues such as road improvements, the privatization of urban cleansing operations, the rationalization of urban transport and enhanced urban traffic management are all under consideration by the city's planning authorities. Additional dredging and straightening of the entrance channel has recently been completed by the port authority.

In some ways it may be fortunate that Dar es Salaam cannot at present afford to implement some of the ideas that have been put forward in recent years for example, by Japanese and Yugoslavian planning teams - for radical and imaginative, if unrealistic, urban restructuring and redevelopment programmes. As in many other cityports around the world, a key to successful waterfront rehabilitation is the enhancement of public access to the water for leisure/recreation and the reorientation of the city towards the sea. In this context, the improvement of transport facilities is essential, but this should not mean the enlargement of waterfront road or rail routes (which can create unnecessary artificial barriers between the waterfront and other urban areas) but rather the re-creation of attractive and safe pedestrian zones within the environmentally sensitive waterfront zone. Within such a planning philosophy, the urban waterfront zone could



Photo 6: The central waterfront at Dar es Salaam in 1997 A notable building on the central waterfront in Dar es Salaam is the well-maintained Lutheran Church (14), opened in 1901 and now the focus of a substantial waterfront complex of religious and secular activities. Behind the church stands the recently extended New Africa Hotel (13) on the site of the German Kaiserhof. Note the traffic congestion along Kivukoni Front, near the bus station, the abandoned vessels on the beach, and the varied uses made of the grassy slope above the beach

Zentraler Uferbereich von Daressalam 1997

regain its rightful place as an attractive, interesting and lively focal zone within the increasingly diverse urban mosaic that is modern Dar es Salaam.

3.1 The Western Waterfront

The site of Sultan Majid's palace – the most substantial building of the Arab town – was later used by the German authorities for railway and port developments (including the present-day Railway Station), and the stones provided material for later constructions elsewhere in the town including government buildings still in use today along the central and eastern waterfront. The western waterfront between St Joseph's Cathedral (4) and the Railway Station offers the greatest potential for redevelopment. The port facilities at the old lighterage wharves are rather tired and no longer in heavy commercial use. It is possible to envisage the area being redeveloped to accommodate ferry passenger facilities, associated shops and offices and a public waterfront park.

Several buildings of the Sultan Majid period survive on the waterfront, of which the most interesting is the Old Boma (2). According to CASSON, "Both in its style and construction, the Old Boma includes a number of features traditional to East African coastal architecture. The thick walls are of coral rubble set in lime mortar



Photo 7: Dar es Salaam harbour in 1997

Seen from Kivukoni Front near Luthuli Street, the view of the harbour includes abandoned, wrecked vessels that litter the water's edge (but were later removed). In the foreground are the remains of a flight of steps (of German construction) leading from the waterfront roadway to the beach. The spire of St Joseph's Cathedral (4) provides a landmark in the distance

Hafen von Daressalam 1997

and plastered white, and the floors are of coral blocks laid on cut rafters and mangrove poles. The pointed crenellations to the tower and the carved entrance door with a floral and geometrical pattern can be paralleled in other nineteenth-century buildings, notably at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo" (CASSON 1970, 181) (Fig. 2).

Together with a similar adjacent building (demolished in 1968) the Old Boma served at various times as a prison, an hotel, an administrative headquarters and also housed various government departments under the German and British administrations. Narrowly saved from demolition in the 1970s by a High Court injunction obtained by concerned citizens, the renovated Old Boma now houses a United Nations Information Office and the offices of the Dar es Salaam Development Plan sponsored by the UNDP. Nearby Atiman House (7) (Photo 3), another of the oldest surviving buildings in the city, has since 1921 been the Dar es Salaam headquarters of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers); originally this building may have housed Sultan Majid's harem, but it has been carefully restored, adapted and extended for its very different modern use.

The basic street plan of the core urban zone associated with the traditional waterfront was essentially the work of the German colonial authorities in the 1890s. Many of the most interesting and unusual waterfront buildings date from this period (SYKES a. WAIDE 1997). The Customs Jetty (5), of solid stone construction, is the only remaining pier from the early German period when – as Dr Bruckner's photograph of 1905 (Photo 2) shows – at least two jetties were built out into the harbour from the north shore. The surviving jetty served as a passenger landing and embarkation pier throughout the 20th century and still does so today, although most passengers now use catamarans, hydrofoils and other types of ferry vessels rather than passenger liners.

City Hall (1), completed in 1903, was originally built by the Germans as the New Boma, or District Office; more recent extensions have been added at the rear and the building has been partly renovated. St Joseph's Cathedral (4) was built between 1897 and 1902; more recent associated buildings house the Diocesan Episcopal headquarters and provide for other administrative and residential functions. Nearby stands the Forodhani School (6), renamed in the 1970s but originally founded by Benedictines from Germany as a school, orphanage and hospital complex known as St Joseph's Convent. The school was at first a single-storey building at the rear of the lot, with godowns and other small buildings on the water side. After World War I the complex was taken over by the Capucine Fathers from Switzerland who in 1928 added a second storey to the original school building which now serves as a primary school. Newer buildings first occupied in 1956 house the junior section.

3.2 The Central Waterfront

At a discreet distance stands the rival Lutheran Church (14) (Photo 6), built 1898–1901, "which with its profusion of little tiled roofs would be more at home in the Bavarian Alps" (CASSON 1970, 182). The open space and gardens near the Lutheran Church provide the setting for the War Memorial, originally unveiled in 1927 and later adapted to commemorate those killed in the 1939–45 conflicts (12). Nearby, modern 1970s office blocks accommodate the National Bank of Commerce (11) and, further west, the Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals (8).

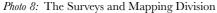
The much altered and renovated International Motors Building (10) originated as the house of a German businessman, Paul Devers, and was later bought by the Karimjee Jivanjee family of traders who arrived in Zanzibar from India in 1824 and later established themselves on the mainland. The Post Office (9), much altered and now less attractive than formerly, has fulfilled its original function since 1911 (Photo 4). The Kaiserhof, the principal hotel of the German colonial town, was built in 1906 by the Ost Afrikanische Hotel-Gesellschaft (an enterprise closely associated with the railway company); this became the New Africa Hotel under the British but was demolished in the late 1960s and replaced by a modern building which in the 1990s was substantially extended and refurbished (13).

Nearby is the Forodhani Hotel Training Institute (16), built by the Germans and later used by the British as 'The Club', which for much of the colonial period was "open only to higher grade government officials and the cream of non-official society" (GILLMAN 1945, 11). Visiting Dar es Salaam during the last years of the British mandate, the English novelist Evelyn Waugh wrote that "Whenever one finds a building of any attraction, it usually turns out to be German [...] One of these was the Club, where I was kindly lodged. It stands on the sea-front behind a broad terrace, solidly built with much fine joinery in dark African timber and heavy brass fittings on doors and windows [...] It was very much like being on board ship. In the time of the German occupation it had a beer-hall, skittle-alley and an adjoining brothel. Now there is instead an excellent library" (WAUGH 1960, 59). The Institute stands opposite the former Yacht Club (opened in 1933, and moved outside the harbour in 1965), now a Marine Police Station (17). Although the view of the harbour is not nowadays as splendid as it once was, the old European club has been carefully refurbished as a training school for students in the hotel industry, supervised by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, and many of its splendid rooms have been brought back to life.

3.3 The Eastern Waterfront

Along the eastern part of the waterfront, the Kilimanjaro Hotel (18), designed and built by Israelis and completed in 1965 during the early years of independence, occupies a commanding position on the waterfront. In 2000 the hotel was closed for radical refurbishment or reconstruction, having been outclassed by the newer hotels such as the redeveloped New Africa Hotel (13) and by the more upmarket Sheraton Hotel, the latter located in a rapidly developing urban area away from the waterfront. Other modern buildings include Luther House and Centre (partly a hostel) and the Azania Front Cathedral Centre (a modern office block on church land, partly sublet), both associated with the Lutheran Church (14); the National Development Corporation building (15); the High Court and Court of Appeal (19); the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (with telecommunications equipment in the forecourt) and the Ministry of Justice (20); and, towards the harbour entrance, the monolithic modern office block of Ardhi House (27) (Photo 10), occupied by the Ministry of Lands and Urban Development. Nearby, several interconnected smaller buildings are used by the Ministry of





Along the eastern waterfront at Dar es Salaam government buildings, originally German and dating from the 1890s, include the Surveys and Mapping Division (23). The enclosure of formerly open balconies and the introduction of air conditioning has created a more comfortable working environment without improving the appearance of the building

Vermessungsamt

Community Development and the Civil Service Department of the President's Office (28); in the grounds is an Arab cemetery dating from Sultan Majid's time.

Government office buildings dating from the German period remain along the eastern part of Kivukoni Front. This group includes, from west to east, the Central Statistics Headquarters (21) connected by a pillared portico (22) to the classic German-style Survey and Mapping Division (23) with its now enclosed balcony (Photo 8); the former Resident Magistrate's Court (24) with its pillars and open balcony, restored after a fire in 2000 as the Commercial Court (Photo 9); the Office of the Controller and Auditor General (25), a German building with some Indian influence; and the Planning Commission of the President's Office (26) (Photo 10) which was originally the office of the German Governor and later housed the Chief Secretary and Secretariat during the British period. "These offices were constructed from 1891 onwards in a simple classical style ... Their lower storeys were built of masonry ... (and) the upper storeys consisted of wide verandahs of steel joists and carved timber rafters and screens, prefabricated in Germany ... The high ceilings, large wide verandahs and white painted plasterwork with black painted joists and frames, combine with absence of ornament to give these buildings a simple dignity and coolness. The buildings originally provided offices and mess rooms on the ground floor, whilst upper floors held living quarters during the early years of German



Photo 9: The Commercial Court

The substantial Resident Magistrate's Court (24) still retains open balconies and other architectural characteristics of the German period. The building was damaged by fire in 2000 but has been restored as the Commercial Court Commercial Court

administration" (CASSON 1970, 182; see also GILLMAN 1945, 8).

Near the new fish market (30) is the site of the first permanent European building in Dar es Salaam, the Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch Ost-Afrika, also known as the Berlin (Lutheran) Mission. GILLMAN (1945, 4-5) gives a good account of the history of this building, and more detail is provided by OSBORNE (1960). The original buildings of 1887 were destroyed during the so-called Arab revolt against the Germans in 1888–89. They were replaced by a new double-storeyed stone building which was "perhaps the most brutally severe piece of German architecture with no decorative features to relieve its broad outline" (CASSON 1970, 181; see also photograph in OSBORNE 1960, 64). "With its walls $2^{1/2}$ ft thick, it was built to last, and also to withstand the fierce heat of the sun" (OSBORNE 1960, 66); and in fact the building survived a variety of uses until being demolished in 1959, having served briefly in 1891 as the residence of the first German Governor, Freiherr von Soden; as a hospital between 1891 and 1897 (when the Ocean Road Hospital was opened), as well as fulfilling its original purpose between the two world wars.

The city's waterfront continues beyond the harbour entrance to include an extensive zone facing directly onto the Indian Ocean (Fig. 1 inset). Two substantial and important waterfront buildings of German origin are located in this area. State House (31) originated as the German governor's residence but was badly damaged by British naval gunfire in 1914 and reconstructed Erdkunde



Photo 10: Architectural contrasts on the Eastern Waterfront The Planning Commission building (of the President's Office) (26) dates from the German period but shows considerable evidence of later modification. In contrast, to the right, the 10-storey Ardhi House (27) dates from the 1970s and houses the Ministry of Lands and Urban Development

Architektonische Kontraste im Bereich des östlichen Uferabschnitts

in 1922 on a larger scale and in a more ornate style. The Ocean Road Hospital (32) (now used largely for the treatment and care of cancer patients) was completed in 1897 for Europeans in a style showing both German and Arab elements "with twin square water towers, each surmounted by an octagonal dome flanked by minor cupolas" (CASSON 1970, 181) (Photo 11). The hospital's development was actively promoted by Dr Alexander Becker (1857-1918), the German colony's chief medical officer from 1891 to 1901, and from its opening was the focus of fundamental research into malaria, trypanosomiasis and other tropical diseases by a number of distinguished medical researchers including Dr Robert Koch (1843-1910) who won the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine in 1905. Streets in the German town were named after both Becker and Koch: Becker Strasse is now the eastern part of Samora Machel Avenue leading to the hospital, and Robert Koch Strasse is now Luthuli Road. The recent renovation and rehabilitation of this remarkable building, solidly constructed and ingeniously designed, was made possible by a grant of 6.8 million DM by the German government and was completed in 2000. The hospital works closely with the Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum (German Cancer Research Centre) in Heidelberg, and its rehabilitation is a significant contribution not only to Tanzania's health care system but also to the conservation of the national heritage of colonial architecture (SCHNEPPEN 2000).



Photo 11: The Ocean Road Hospital

Built by the Germans in 1897, facing the Indian Ocean rather than the harbour, the hospital (32) is shown in this photograph in its centenary year 1997 before the renovation at the expense of the German Government completed in 2000

Ocean Road Krankenhaus

4 Cultural Frameworks

It is often very difficult, not only in the developing world, to foster a culture of conservation as far as older buildings are concerned. Considerable respect is paid to indigenous structures of great age – for example in Zimbabwe, Peru and Thailand (although not in Afghanistan) – but comparatively little attention is given to the more numerous and often more utilitarian urban buildings left behind by the tides of Arab or European colonialism, as in India, Hong Kong and Nigeria. Replacement rather than renovation of buildings is obviously a normal but variable component of urban development and is a function of cultural attitudes as well as of economic capabilities.

Cultural contrasts in spatial and structural terms are apparent in any settlement with a substantial history, but they are sharper in places where a given urban environment has been utilized and developed by successive and highly differentiated societies. The core zone of Dar es Salaam, including the urban waterfront around the harbour, is in cultural terms a multi-ethnic African urban area still bearing the imprint of the British, German and Arab components of its evolution. The conservation and rehabilitation of the urban waterfront invariably highlight the cultural differences between present-day communities that inhabit or use historic buildings and communities for whom these structures were initially created or that have used them in the past as generations and systems have evolved. The demands and expectations of today's societies cannot always be easily accommodated within inherited urban frameworks, and adaptation can be very expensive.

In a wider context than that of the waterfront zone, Dar es Salaam is one of several cities in developing countries chosen by the United Nations Development Programme in 1992 for attention within its Sustainable Cities Initiative, and by 1997 the Sustainable Dar es Salaam (SDSM) project had become involved and integrated within the overall planning of the city, albeit as a quasi-independent element (HAUGHTON a. HUNTER 1994). The project was conceived to identify and promote urban sustainability in a context of rapidly rising population totals, widespread unemployment and underemployment, and infrastructural weakness. In this wider context as in the narrower field of waterfront redevelopment, there are disagreements between government departments and authorities - for example between Urban Development, Antiquities, and the Port Authority - which have different perspectives and priorities. A critical debate is the drive for modernization versus the conservation of the urban cultural heritage; in an ideal world, the goal should be the appropriate revitalization of specific zones and heritage elements within a wider context of planned overall urban renewal and growth.

Dar es Salaam needs to preserve the idea of a city that looks to its harbour (which is, after all, the basic reason for its existence on this site) and treasures the relationship between city and port. At present the city is beginning to turn its back on the water's edge, using the harbour foreshore as a garbage disposal site, a public lavatory, a low-order retail sales strip for food and basic consumer goods, and a haunt of thieves and drug-pushers. A city that descrates the essential reason for its growth and development over more than a century needs practical help in resolving the planning and financial issues involved but also needs a programme of public education designed to change the cultural attitudes within which such desceration is accepted.

5 Conclusions

The rationale that underpins the phenomenon of waterfront revitalization in port cities, and the global diffusion of this phenomenon, are now widely recognized if incompletely understood. Overall, successful waterfront redevelopment demands an understanding of *universal* processes and an appreciation of the distinctiveness of *individual* locations and environments. At the local level, a basic difficulty involved in waterfront redevelopment schemes in port cities is the reconciliation of the many inter-related influences, objectives and interests involved. In theoretical terms, an essential dimension is the changing balance between the diverse spatial components that make up the urban mosaic as a whole.

The popular success of many revitalized waterfronts brings citizens and visitors back to the water's edge, and provides a tangible sign of the continuing vitality of cities. But waterfront redevelopment is not yet the worldwide urban success story that some writers have claimed (BREEN a. RIGBY 1996). In North America it is regarded primarily as an urban renewal process. From a European perspective, it is considered ultimately to be an outcome of maritime transportation changes that have provided opportunities for urban restructuring. Experience to date in Africa suggests that waterfront redevelopment is seen as an element in urban redevelopment and conservation, but is not yet accorded a very high priority, for understandable reasons. However, as this paper shows, there is evidence that attitudes are changing.

Many factors and elements contribute towards successful outcomes as waterfront revitalization schemes are initiated, grow and mature. Such schemes should not be developed in isolation, but perceived and planned in the context of the wider urban fabric of port cities (HOYLE 1996). The reinforcement of historical identity and architectural heritage is essential: the preservation, conservation and renewal of the historical fragments of urban space; the refurbishment of buildings of character and interest, the small-scale redesign of open spaces, the introduction of appropriately signed historical and archaeological promenades, and the integration of such features into a continuous system of pedestrian public open spaces.

All of this requires substantial public and private finance, improved urban services and administrative skills, the promotion of cultural tourism, and the enthusiastic involvement of local people. In the competitive environment of the new global urban system, the geography of development at different scales suggests that it is essential to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness of individual locations. Urban waterfronts in advanced countries have developed a tendency towards similarity, in terms of the mixed-use elements they contain, and have sometimes been criticised for failure to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness and identity of place. Urban waterfronts experiencing revitalization in developing countries should make every effort to avoid any such loss of individual character.

During the 1990s Dar es Salaam experienced

substantial changes in practical terms and in terms of attitudes towards conservation and development, but the city has yet to find the means to develop and implement a well-designed policy involving waterfront renewal. Success requires an appropriate balance between external finance and local support, between the demands of modern society and respect for traditional cultures, and a widespread appreciation of short-term gains and of the longer-term value of action while there is yet time. Some remarkable buildings have been sensitively rehabilitated, including the Old Boma. Others have been lost, notably the Berlin Mission; and some irreplacable treasures are still at considerable risk. The slow pace of progress can be frustrating, but delays and difficulties - while sometimes encouraging deterioration rather than restoration - can provide opportunities to consider the wisest use of limited available funding. Decay may seem to continue largely unchecked, and the odds against conservation and revitalization may seem too numerous and weighty to overcome. But a more positive interpretation is that foundations for progress are in place, and local people of are now more favourably inclined towards conservation. Thus as the 21st century unfolds, a city founded in the later 19th century, over 130 years ago, has reached a critical and problematical stage in its development. Sultan Majid would have found it impossible to imagine the character, complexity and extent of his 'haven of peace' as we know it today. But, as the explorer Joseph Thomson claimed: "certainly, from the advantages which Dar es Salaam possesses above most places on the coast, there can be no doubt that it will, sooner or later, become all that its founder wished it to be" (THOMSON 1881, 75).

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