

Keeping the Place: Methodology for Culture-Specific Design Related to the Changing Form of Housing Compounds in Tanzania

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Places occur where forces of the natural, built, and cultural landscape intertwine to offer unique experience. Quality places generally hold meaning for inhabitants, contribute significantly to the population's cultural identity, and harmonize building with nature. Yet as building patterns worldwide shifted during the past century, designers and builders tended to forget the interconnectedness of nature, culture, and building. Our everyday environments lost many of their essential phenomenological qualities, doing little to sustain us culturally or ecologically.

Using an effective method to understand a place proves critical, especially when designing outside one's own culture. We find that design conducted without proper understanding of place often contributes to eroding our cultural fabric. We see such failure in our contemporary suburban landscape, dotted with parking lots and isolated structures. Across the globe in Tanzania, insensitive construction of drainage ditches in Tanzanian neighborhoods – provided by charitable groups – imposed Western values in detrimental ways. Research by the University of Dar es Salaam's Camilus Lekule describes how the ditches failed to honor the area directly in front of houses used for daily living and for community gathering at such events as marriages and funerals.

Research by Livin Masha, also from the University of Dar es Salaam's Department of Architecture, illustrates aspects of place that have been lost due to governmental regulations imposed without regard for traditions, values, and rituals. For instance, the Ujamaa Villagisation Program in Tanzania included a "Good and Decent House Campaign", and an "Improved or Better House Program." These campaigns proved detrimental to the regional culture in a variety of ways. The specification

of materials for construction and improvement of homes was made out of context: the fund from the World Bank saw corrugated iron sheets and concrete as the only materials that represented the image of a "good" house. Some of the house plans promoted did not comply with traditional space allocations within the localities for which they were intended (Lyamuya 1990: 68). Cultural norms and life style were neglected in this program. In Missungwi District, a good house plan should have two living rooms: females must have their separate living room from men basing on cultural values and ways of life. The daughter-in-law should never meet and stay with her father-in-law. This is what is referred as '*respect by avoidance*.' Ideally the housing campaign should have taken this aspect into consideration in order to create an appropriate prototypical house plan for members of the Sukuma ethnic tribe of Missungwi. But, alas, this was not the case. Typical house plans were drawn by the campaign's Head Office in Dar es Salaam and built in various regions throughout Tanzania.

This paper will introduce Chance's Methodology for Culture Specific Design, and then describe some of Masha's findings regarding changing housing patterns in Tanzania that have resulted from evolving national codes and property-ownership laws. Proposing meaningful built intervention that becomes an integral part of its place requires understanding the "rules" or "systems" of the existing place. To provide a healthy design response, analysis must uncover these rules that shape the specific place. Chance's methodology promotes carefully maintaining – or "keeping" the place – in order to foster cultural continuity *and* continually address society's changing needs. Used as a site-selection tool, this method can reveal vulnerable places ripe for intervention by indicating somewhat "unhealthy" sites within otherwise "healthy" living fabrics where

thoughtful change can enhance the place's identity. The process exposes areas of weakness where the built, natural, and cultural landscapes are not working in harmony.

This method offers increased consideration of the cultural landscape, as recommended by the cultural anthropologist Amos Rapoport. It also incorporates methods suggested in Christian Norburg-Schultz's *Genius Loci* and Aldo Rossi's *Architecture of the City*, two outstanding resources on the issues of "being" in a place. Although Norburg-Schultz and Rossi acknowledge the importance of social history and cultural environment, their work focuses on built and natural landscape. While Norburg-Schultz emphasizes that "the existential dimension is not 'determined' by the socio-economical conditions," he does note that such conditions "may facilitate or impede the realization of certain existential structures (6)."

Rossi also mentions the importance of socio-cultural investigations, including myth and ritual, in his focus on "the urban artifact." Rossi quotes from Tricart that "the study of social content must precede the description of the geographical artifacts that ultimately give the urban landscape its meaning. Social facts, to the extent they present themselves as a specific content, precede forms and function and one might say, embrace them. . . . The task of human geography is to study the structures of the city in connection with the form of the place where they appear; this necessitates a sociological study of place (48)." Although Rossi mentions the importance of socio-cultural investigations including myth and ritual, he leaves investigation to others (24).

"That urban artifacts should be studied solely in terms of place we can certainly admit," Rossi states. He urges an assessment of place through "objective facts," "the influence of the real-estate structure and economic data," as well "historical-social influences," indicating the important role policy and culture play in shaping places (49).

Rossi and Norburg-Schultz provide invaluable resources for analyzing and understanding place. Utilizing their methods, skillful architects often do produce culturally supportive built environments. In fact, many natural and built patterns that their methods identify are so integrally tied to the cultural environment that their work generally respects and supports the cultural landscape. However, current building trends beg further study in order to address socio-cultural conditions in increasingly healthier ways. Leaving cultural issues implied but under investigated has proven detrimental, as a pervasive obsession with the independent building-object has substantially weakened our natural, cultural, and built communities. In short, this culture-based approach is offered as a supplement to existing methods for analyzing the built and natural place. This process builds an increasingly complex understanding of strengths and weaknesses that shape the place, and helps identify issues and specific sites that warrant intervention.

This methodology encourages analyzing the qualities that make a potential building site a *place*, qualities including the natural, built, and social context. The methodology entails Theoretical Investigation, Collaboration, Document Study, Field Research, and techniques of Pattern Mapping, Comparative Analysis, and Juxtaposition.

Understanding the basic history and theory of *place* provides a foundation for analyzing places. Today, many architects treat site-specific issues as "problems" to be solved rather than opportunities that suggest ways to tie a new building to its context. Conversely, choosing to address site and place variations often leads to designs that enhance the specific qualities of existing places, prompting new structures that become integral to their places and lauded by the local and extended community—including other architects. Amos Rapoport supports shifting design emphasis "to problem understanding, clarification and definition before problem solving. There will need to be a concern with *what* is to be done and *why* (based on the best available theory and knowledge) (337)." Quick solutions weaken the place and in turn weaken the culture.

Rapoport challenges architects to support culture through design, describing "how particular environmental elements support certain cultural mechanisms which link people and environments." He recommends analyzing "instrumental aspects of activities; meaning, status and identity; institutions (family, social units, religion, etc.), tradition and continuity, temporal orientations, etc. (335)." According to Rapoport, "One can still observe effective [design] communication in certain traditional settings, spontaneous ("squatter") settlements and, to a degree, in popular environments (although partially distorted and weakened by controls, regulations, etc.). In the case of professionally designed environments this seems to work less well: frequently they do not communicate to users." He continues, "The problem of cultural responsiveness is complicated by pluralism, the presence of multiple groups and subcultures. Most traditional environments were for homogeneous groups and of much smaller scale (333)."

We will see opposing forces of vernacular society and national policies that impose ill-conceived standardization, highlighted in the case study of Housing Compounds in Tanzania. Designing in places that don't actively cultivate or record a regional identity presents challenge. Detailed documentation of existing built and natural landscapes remains unavailable in Tanzania, as in many places. The designer must find ways to collect and process information from a variety of sources, as Livin Masha is doing with his regional studies of the rural landscape of Tanzania. Without this essential research and analysis, design priorities often slip from place to object. Designs are often developed in locations far removed from the actual building site and dislocated objects evolve. Subsequent construction eventually, but quite inadvertently, diminishes the power of the original place.

Understanding this broad scope of concerns and subsequently addressing it through building design requires some period of Field Research, or dwelling, in the place. Working on projects far and wide, architects today visit their project sites briefly, relying heavily on existing documentation and generally neglecting the role of culture. (Consider that the Standard AIA Contract lists Site Analysis as an additional service!) Dwelling within the place during Site Analysis allows one to collect and analyze a wider variety of existing documents, and to discover critical relationships and collaborators. Since, clearly, inhabitants of a place have the broadest experience of their place and often understand aspects critical to maintaining the place's essence, they provide an extensive knowledge base. Collaborators from within the place can translate the meanings of various observations, and help designers define important issues and obtain critical documents. Field Research, or a period of dwelling, provides an ideal situation for discovering patterns among the oral and written histories of the place (and those embedded in stories, traditions, and rituals) that typically preserve enduring themes of the place.

Knowing a place requires understanding both its overall essence and the individual elements that work together to form it. Texts, maps, diagrams, models and photos provide translations, and isolate specific qualities of a given place . . . but they don't convey all the important aspects of being in the place, such as smell of local food, or the spirit of traditional festivals. Document Analysis reveals "knowledge" that has been recorded over time, and which can be used to build comprehension. However, a rich, multi-dimensional understanding comes through discovery that requires actually "being there."

Designers should endeavor to find and map patterns occurring within and among the built, the natural, and the cultural environments. Such patterns describe the essential themes of a place. The designer should identify categories to diagram by looking for patterns at various scales – from micro, to medium and macro scales.

In observing a place, unique features (often recognized as tourist sites) can tell us a great deal about the special and prized qualities of the place. A careful study must recognize the unique features that give a place distinction, as well as the repetitious and seemingly mundane elements that also provide identity. For instance, repeated textures (hatch, cobblestone, clapboard) often provide essential ingredients of a place. Cultural patterns also serve as powerful indicators, alerting the astute observer to critical patterns, both physical and nonphysical. Rapoport recommends that architects analyze social patterns "such as family and kinship groups, family structures, institutions, social relationships, status and other roles, rituals, food habits and many others. These can then be studied and related to the built environment, influencing the latter and being influenced by it (331)."

Understanding the cultural landscape requires a conscious study of historical, ritual, and mythical patterns of the place. This study is essential to revealing qualities most treasured by the inhabitants, and, again, understanding will be strongest when the analysis combines both second-hand (verbal and written) and first-hand (experience) knowledge. Comparative Analysis of various Patterns can spark discovery, especially when comparing patterns that occur in the natural environment (like topography) with patterns in the built environment (like street layout), and then with patterns in the cultural environment (like place names and ritual locations). Comparative Analysis proves particularly revealing when conducted cross-culturally, by individuals from *inside* and *outside* who offer a variety of perspectives and interpretations.

Pattern Mapping can utilize a system of layers at selected scales (micro, medium and macro) in order to Compare and Juxtapose (overlap and/or superimpose) various categories and scales. Studying various layers in relation to one another reveals connections between the built, natural, and cultural landscapes, and can reveal a great deal about the place. This technique is not at all new, and was in fact illustrated in many urban design project presentations described during the 2003 ACSA National Meeting. What is unique to this methodology is the call to re-emphasize cultural concerns in the search of patterns. For instance, patterns involving social gathering and rituals of preparing and sharing food reveal aspects of culture that must be addressed if we are to create effective designs.

In mapping patterns, one should remember that the built landscape exists as a cultural endeavor and usually responds to natural forces and natural forms. For instance, in cases where we find distinct vegetation or surface relief, we usually discover that the topography clearly influences building patterns. A study of the cultural landscape will additionally investigate history, place names, ritual, and myth, revealing qualities treasured by the inhabitants, as well as values held by generations of the place's people. Comparing patterns among the built, natural, and social landscapes promotes understanding the complex web of interrelated forces acting to shape a place. Comparison is particularly revealing when combined with Collaboration, which allows the designer to "see" through the eyes of many. Comparison allows us to contrast multiple places and analyze them according to multiple criteria. Juxtaposing various analyses can help identify shared patterns. Such analysis may also reveal those aspects that defy categorization because they are unusual, thus offering insight into the peculiarities of the place.

Quality site analysis results from looking at the site in a variety of ways, and from multiple perspectives. Collaborative Document Study and Field Research – combined with techniques of Pattern Mapping, Comparison, and Juxtaposition – fosters understanding, and prompts meaningful, well-considered intervention that enhances the place's strengths while mitigating its

weaknesses. Techniques to enhance existing places allow for great variations in building "style," despite accommodating important social priorities and rituals. In fact, most proponents of "place" recognize the importance of providing diversity within a framework that honors the essence of the existing place. This methodology follows suit: it does not hinge on any particular style, but rather suggests issues pertinent to enhancing places and cites a variety of successful place-specific buildings.

Livin Mosha's study of "Ujamaa Program in Transforming Countryside into Urban Landscape in Tanzania: A Case of the Missungwi District" provides a case study of this type of methodological analysis. Mosha's study reveals what historically created a sense of place in the Missungwi District of Tanzania, and how codes and zoning regulations imposed from outside the region changed settlement patterns and building construction techniques. The study traces the process whereby citizens were forced to move from traditional farming compounds into new denser and more "urban" settlements, with rectangular lots and houses oriented toward the street. Eventually, citizens modified the nationally imposed system. Many returned to their traditional settlements, and a hybrid organization exists today. Mosha's research highlights one case of the disintegration of place at the hands of ill-formed public policy that failed to recognize cultural context (such as family ritual) and natural context (including natural topography) and built context (such as traditional organization, form, material and building technique).

Mosha's paper gives historical and theoretical perspectives describing existing rural human settlements situations in Tanzania. His work focuses on potentials of the countryside by giving a case of Ujamaa Villagisation (Nuclearization of Villagers into Centralized Villages with communal services) and its associated Housing Programs. The Ujamaa Villagisation concept was launched in the early seventies in lieu of providing basic social services to rural communities. Village Settlement Schemes (VSS) and Nucleated Ujamaa Villages preceded it in the 1960s. Several pilot housing schemes and programs were integrated in VSS and Ujamaa Villagisation programs were aimed at improving housing conditions in the countryside. This paper interprets Ujamaa Villagisation Program as 'Urbanism Out of Town.'

The full paper discusses: pre-Ujamaa rural human settlement programs and policies; spatial layout concepts of Ujamaa Villagisation Program; varying expectations from policy makers, professionals and the rural inhabitants; and human settlement potentials and weaknesses of Ujamaa Villagisation Program in transforming countryside into urban landscape.

Tanzania gained her independence in 1961. The spatial organization of human settlements in pre-colonial time was quite scattered. Mascarenhas (1981:146) described some con-

centrated settlements being a result of growth of an extended family, or through the emergence of a local political figure. Traditional settlements were affected by slave trade and tribal wars and therefore forcing people to unite for defense purposes but soon the threats were over, the nucleated families disintegrated (Kjekshus: 1977). The post-independence administration was in favor of concentrated rural settlements so as to maximize the application of economies of scale during the early years of independence. Settlement schemes were established mainly to absorb landless people from the more densely populated areas and the unemployed from the urban areas. The aim of these pilot Village Settlement Schemes (VSS) was to provide experience, which would then gradually be applied throughout the country. The emphasis in these schemes was upon increased agricultural production through collective farming. Thus, these early post-independence schemes were clearly intended to form model settlements within which the level of agricultural products could have been raised and the living standard thereby improved. A rural Settlement Commission was set up to plan and implement these schemes in 1963. This Commission managed to launch four pilot settlement schemes by the end of its first year of inception, namely Upper Kitete, Rwamkoma, Lupatingatinga and Kingorongundwa. In late sixties, three more schemes Kerege Settlement in Bagamoyo District, Kabuku Settlement in Handeni District, and Mlale Settlement in Songea District were also established under this program. The village settlement schemes developed their structural mechanism. There was a manager, generally an expatriate, operational officers, and the farmers. Severe failures were noted two years after inception of these settlement schemes.¹

According to Nyerere, the first president and the architect of these schemes, the failure was attributed by the shortage of skilled manpower and lack of dedication by some settlers. In his evaluation, Nyerere concluded that the government could not provide all services and that the social services such as housing were to be left to villagers. It is fair to say housing efforts should have been left to villagers coupled with enabling strategies from the government. These strategies could include facilitation of available building technicians, materials, equipment and tools, and localized building programs within peoples' reach.

In 1967 the government through its Arusha Declaration, introduced the Ujamaa and Self-Reliance philosophy aiming at transforming scattered rural homesteads to nucleated Ujamaa Villages. Under the Ujamaa philosophy, villages were to be provided with basic services such as clean water, schools and health facilities. Nyerere in his Ujamaa essays on socialism stated that: "The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of ujamaa. Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to

contend with – the uncertainties of weather and sickness, the depredations of wild animals (and sometimes human enemies), and the cycle of life and death (Nyerere 1968: 104). Likewise, the late Mahatma Gandhi once emphasized in 1960s that independence must begin at the bottom. Thus every village must be a republic with full powers, and therefore, every village must be self-sustaining and capable of managing its own affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world (Mathur 1960). Gandhi's objectives and vision seems to be quite rational if we are to formulate strategic plans for the countryside and therefore deliberate efforts from policy makers and professionals must be exerted to achieve similar objectives.

Ujamaa Villagisation Program was enhanced by the Arusha Declaration of 1967 that introduced the Ujamaa and Self-Reliance philosophy. To hasten the Villagisation Program, a nationwide *operation vijiji* (Operation of Shifting People to Ujamaa Settlements) was launched in 1971. Later in 1973 the Government announced that living together in Ujamaa villages was mandatory to all rural community through its Tabora Declaration. This declaration stated: 'It is compulsory that by 1976, all rural families living in scattered homes should settle in nucleated villages and carry out communal farming.' In 1975, the Parliament passed an Act for Registration of Ujamaa Villages and other villages as legal entities. By the end of 1970s virtually all scattered rural communities were forcefully shifted to Ujamaa Village Settlements. Several people narrated stories to me on the issue of operationalization of Ujamaa Villagisation Program. One of them is Mzee Paschal Munyeti. His story is as follows:

We, Sukuma (members of an ethnic tribe in Missungwi District and other parts of Sukumaland) didn't at all accept the Ujamaa Villagisation Program. At the inception of the program, we resisted to shift from our customary land to the said Ujamaa settlements. We were basically worried and concerned with scarcity of farming and grazing land we were to confront. We had to vacate our developed compounds², only to be told that we were to restart new settlements without compensation! This was incredibly sour pill to swallow. Government powers forced us to shift unwillingly. However, there was enormous people's resistance to shift. . . . We were given small plots. Plot boundaries were demarcated by local government officials like ward and village officers (WEOs & VEOs) who were neither Professional Surveyors nor Regional Planners. Communal farming areas were quite at a distance. No special grazing areas were allocated. The sour pill was diluted by government promises that they were to provide us with basic services such as health facilities, primary schools, water supply, good passable roads, etc. We pessimistically listened to them and waited for realization.³

The honorable Member of Parliament for the Missungwi constituency Mr. Jacob Shibiliti was of the opinion that the

Ujamaa Villagisation Program was successful to a great extent in the provision of basic needs such as health center, clean water, and primary education in various parts of Missungwi district. However he was not in favor of the modalities used in shifting people. He argues that:

Rural inhabitants were not involved in the formulation of Ujamaa Program at the inception. Neither were they sensitized nor educated on the benefits of living in Ujamaa Villages as opposed to the scattered ones. The extent of government implementers of burning peoples' houses was inappropriate and against human rights. People's land was taken for the interest of the government to centralize people without any prior notification. And, at least a token compensation should have been given to people so as to enable them to establish their new settlements in Ujamaa plots, but nothing was given.⁴

Clauses 6 and 11 of the Land Acquisition Act No. 47 of 1967 supports Mr. Jacob's argument on Notice of intention to take lands and Government to pay compensation.⁵

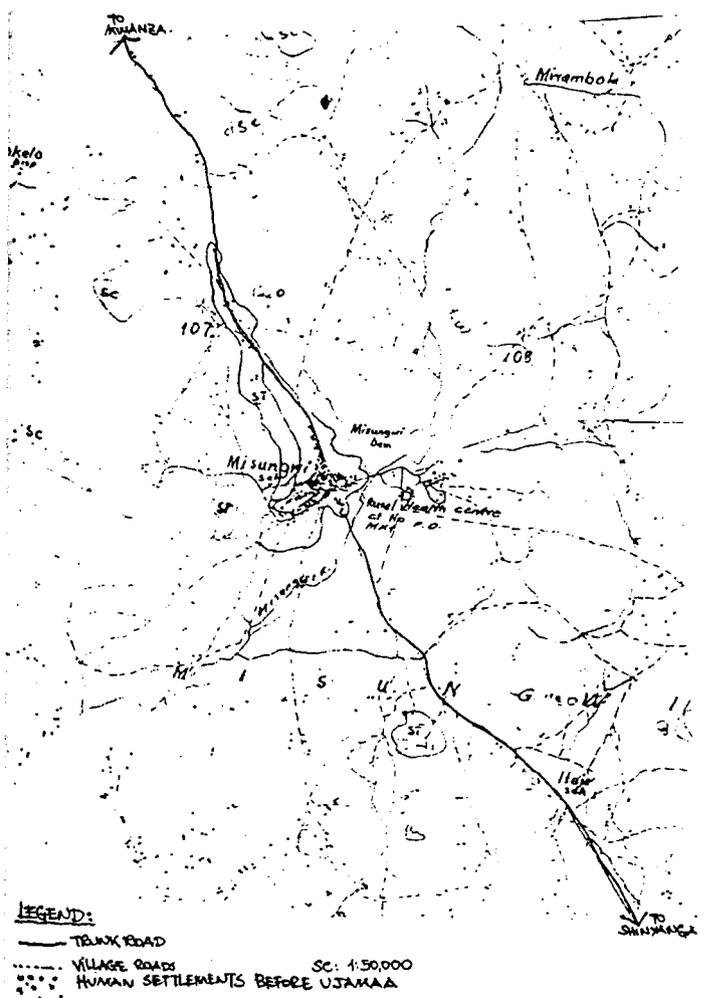


Fig. 1. Missungwi Trading Center Before Ujamaa Villagisation Program Showing Scattered Rural Human Settlement Before Plot Subdivision. (Moshia 1993, 54).

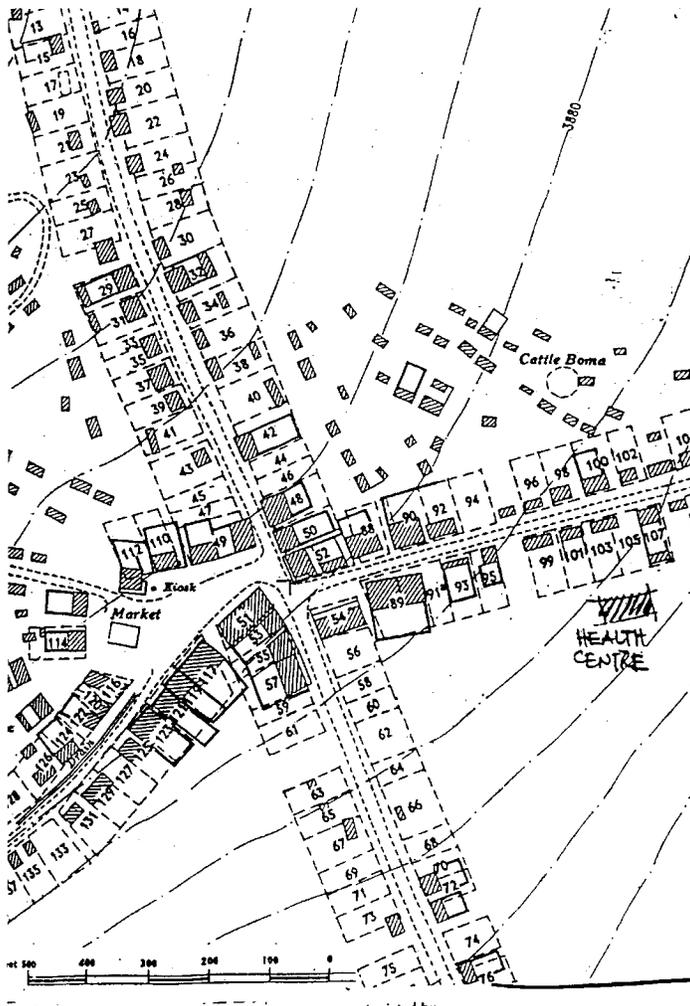


Fig. 2. Missungwi Town Center Before Ujamaa Villagisation Program Showing Urban Grid Ironed System After Plot Subdivision. (Moshi 1993, 53).

Figure 1 is a partial Missungwi District map showing the scatteredness of rural settlements before establishment of Ujamaa settlements, while Figure 2 is showing a grid ironed human settlements in an urban setting in the same geographical location. Nyerere's dream was to settle all rural people countrywide in such rural-urban planned settlements as shown in figure 2 above.

In the 1970s, Nyerere together with other politicians, played a key role in suggesting grid-ironed-urban-like-plot subdivisions in the countryside. Supposedly, these plans were planned and drawn in Dar es Salaam (then the capital of the country) without considerations of the varying people's cultures and ways of life. Tanzania has 120 different ethnic groups countrywide. Supposedly each ethnic group has its own culture and language different from the rest.

Lyamuya noted, "This policy [Ujamaa] had forgotten that in the rural areas, there is a close relationship [symbiosis] between

man and nature. As such, rural economies and life styles are adapted to the ecology conditions of the particular area. Since life and work are integrated in the rural built environment, an attempt to improve farming or livestock activities without considering other social and living practices is highly artificial. One of the promoted village plans during villagisation aimed at separating work and residence [as in urban areas] and also divorcing man from nature including livestock."⁶

The worse situation was when some families were physically separated. From Professor Bwathondi's narrative in 1993 on this subject, I noted the following: "Due to poor Ujamaa Village Planning, Bwathondi's clan was falsely divided into two segments, one belonging to Kigunga village, and the other in Masike village during the implementation of the villagisation exercise. There was no proper consideration who was to settle where. As the result, families and clans were divided, and some people were improperly located in infertile land while they left behind plenty of fertile land."⁷

Lerise (1996: 41-55) made similar observations on land use planning encountered in the operation of Ujamaa Villagisation program remarking that "spatial planning guidelines though few were given but not followed." There were many anomalies including that of separating clans and families in different Ujamaa villages. However, realization of Nyerere's dream of providing basic social services such as health facilities, schools, clean water, permanent passable roads, markets, shops, communal cereal storage facilities to these villages with his urbanistic ideas was very difficult. Hyden (1980: 118) commented as to how complicated it was to obtain Ujamaa objectives, saying "one objective was to make rural living more attractive and stop the exodus of youth into urban areas. By providing schools, dispensaries, and water supplies, rural living, it was expected, would cease to be different from urban living. Although a great expansion of these social amenities in rural Tanzania was achieved in the years after Arusha Declaration (1967), there was little evidence that the younger generation were more inclined to stay in the villages."⁸

The life style of the young generation today is highly affected by urban life and eventually transforms the rural way of life whenever they come back home. This fact is quite evident from the story given by Mr. Daudi Massanja, a primary school teacher (who holds a Diploma in Education). He narrated positive and negative impacts of the Ujamaa Program as follows:

The spatial planning of Ujamaa settlements could have been better by respecting varying proximities of customary farming lands. For instance, the intersections of these farms could have been the village centers. There was a scarcity of farming and grazing land in the Ujamaa Settlements and therefore we suffered from hunger, and associated malnutrition diseases. We experienced frequent quarrels between neighbors because we were not used to

living so close to each other. Cattle trespassing one's plot boundary was very common ending up with disputes among us. The situation was even worse in the sense that some of our good traditions started to disappear. For instance, the use of *kisukuma* (Sukuma colloquial) languages and traditional medicines started to weaken. Some of us copied bad habits like smoking marijuana and the like because of the "togetherness" in the Ujamaa Setting and the new life styles acquired in village centers. Before these centers we were used to meeting together at a compound level around the fireplace or *kikome*.⁹ But we learnt quite a number of good lessons in living in Ujamaa Settlements. This include getting primary school education to all children at the age of going to school, understanding and speaking the national language *kiswahili*, sharing difficulties with neighbors, knowledge of keeping clean environment within the compound, copying good new ways of life i.e. a boy accepting responsibility of cleaning the compound environment and working hard towards self-dependence from other economic activities apart from agriculture.¹⁰

Mosha's 2001 Survey observed three main indicators of the incompatibility of the Ujamaa Program with peoples' ways of life. The first indicator is the insecurity of land tenure. The survey showed that more than 15% Head of Compounds have paid some money to the customary owner of the land they are now occupying under Ujamaa Program so as to live peacefully. It implies that monetary value of the land was not taken in consideration by the government whereas the rural inhabitants did.

Secondly, planned compound (Ujamaa plot in this case) frontages and house entrances were oriented towards access roads, and cattle kraal located in the backyard. This was not in accordance to Sukuma's way of life. Our survey observed that more than 50% of compound frontages and entrances of house doors in Ujamaa Settlements are now turned to the rear contrary to concepts of Ujamaa's architects and planners. It was also observed that the program insisted that every family should have a pit latrine, but only 48% have these latrines today. 40% of these latrines are placed very close to the access road to signal health inspectors that the law abiding family members are using the latrine. These latrines are merely white elephants, due to indigenous belief that if one defecates into a pit it would result into life difficulties. Customarily it was even more difficult for a man to use the pit latrine because it was taken as a great shame. It was quite impossible for him to share pit latrine with women especially his daughter-in-law. The right place for him was believed to be in the bush or at riverbanks. Of recent this phenomenon is not as strong as before Ujamaa Villagisation.

Thirdly, is the fact that at the present moment, people who were shifted to Ujamaa settlements are returning back to their

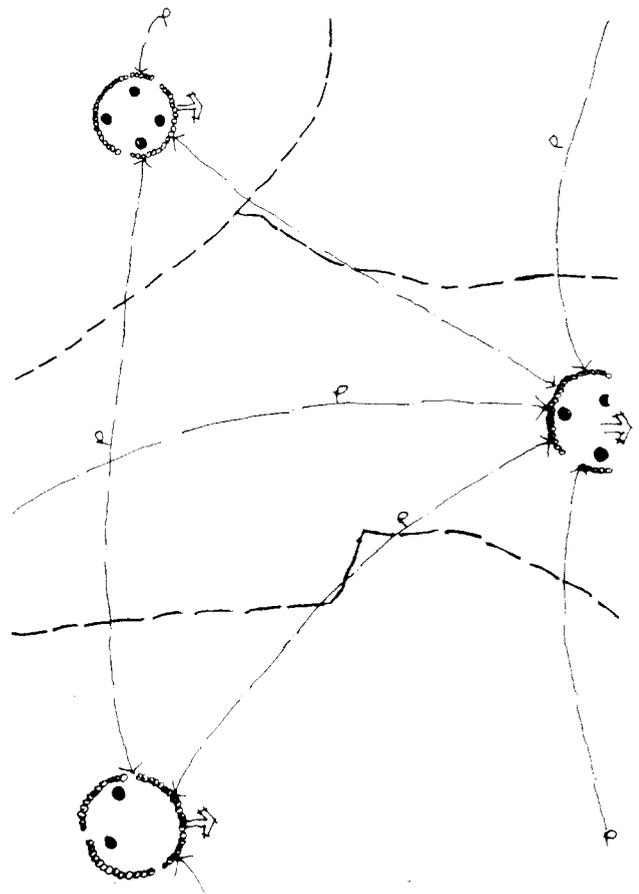


Fig. 3. Diagram of Reconstructed Traditional (Pre-Ujamaa) Spatial Human settlements in 1960s. Situation in 2001: 0%.

customary owned land or *mahame* for the life style they were used to before Ujamaa Program. This shows that there is a great need of thorough studies before launching any human settlement program so as to ensure compatibility with peoples' ways of life and culture.

Starting from the mid-1980s, new settlement patterns started to emerge. These types of settlements are commonly known as *mahame* today. According to our respondents, life was much more difficult in the Ujamaa Settlements as compared to their previous life in traditional scattered settlements. "80% of respondents have moved from one place to another and twenty six percentage in Missungwi District have returned to *mahame*."¹¹ Similarly, Stroeken (1997: 59) noted that in Missungwi "87% of respondents have moved at least once in their life. More than one third of these migrants moved within the village contours in the context of spontaneous resettlement: half of them returned to *mahame*, the land deserted by the coercion in 1974."¹² At this point a researcher may wonder if this phenomena of moving from Ujamaa Settlements to *mahame* is legal or not. Lerise (1996: 59) argues "After 1985, the government relaxed its muscle over socialism and villagisation and adopted more liberal policies. No new legislation was passed. But through speeches, villagers were allowed to de-

village, that is, to move back to their pre-village lands. The speeches gave powers and hopes to landowners. . . .¹³ Lenise's clearly point out to a tension between speeches and the legal status of *mahame* settlements. The statement, which Moshia quoted from Ex-minister for Lands and human Settlements Developments Mr. Marcel Komanya (MP for Missungwi Constituency) illustrates: "It is illegal to shift from Ujamaa to *mahame* settlements because legislation of establishing Ujamaa Villages is not yet repealed."¹⁴

Presently, the majority of villages in Missungwi District are co-existing in both Ujamaa and *mahame* settlements. However, four villages namely Nduba, Mwachombo, Wanzamiso and Mapinga in Missungwi are extreme cases recording higher population in *mahame* than in Ujamaa Settlements. Various reasons are associated with this circular movement i.e. from customary to Ujamaa and back to customary settlements.

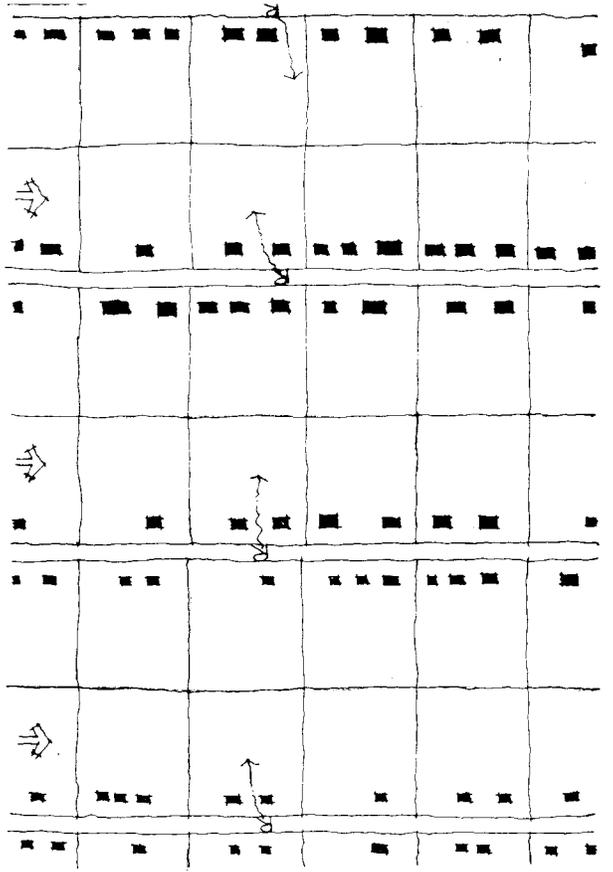


Fig. 4. Ideal Ujamaa Human Settlements (Average Plot size of 70x80m) in Early 1970s. Situation in 2001: 0%

All around our world, national policy exerts tremendous power in shaping our day-to-day environments. When national policy decisions are made without detailed study of the places or regions where they will apply, the results often prove detrimental to local culture. Examples provided throughout this paper emphasize the power nationalized policy exerts on building patterns, and call architects to become more involved in design

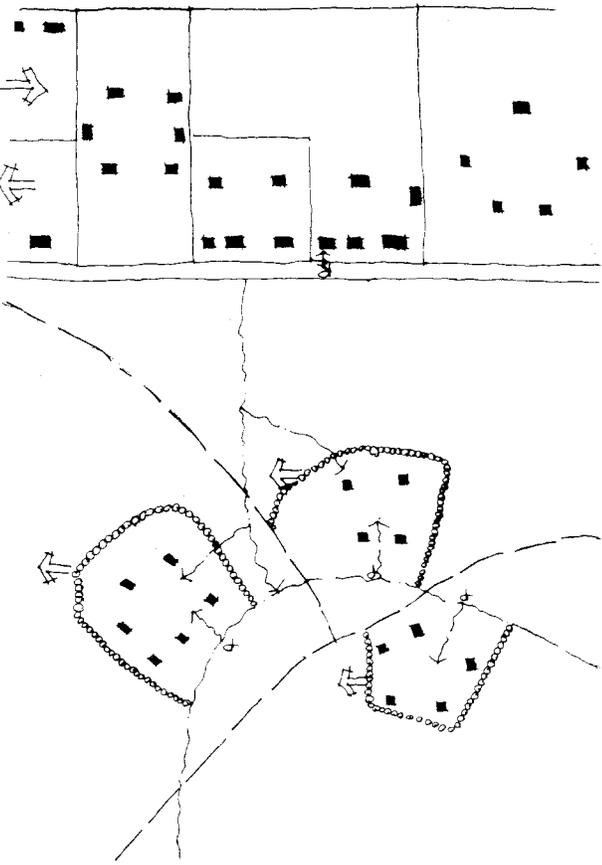


Fig. 5. Post Ujamaa and Mahame Settlements in 2000s. Situation in 2001: Co-existence of Transformed Ujamaa (74%) and Mahame (26%) Settlements.

decisions outside the scope of the individual, immediate building site. Architects, Urban Designers, and Urban Planners must unite in an effort to bridge gaps that are occurring among the various scales of designing the built environment. As place-makers, architects should offer leadership in this endeavor; we must take pro-active roles in retaining quality environments. We must broaden our scope to include the cultural context in which we design and analyze each building site's context with a variety of scales and perspectives prior to design. We must seek ways to preserve endangered places and to build with more sensitivity to existing landscapes—to promote design that reinforces, enhances, and supports existing nature, culture, and building.

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- grinding, pit latrine (sometimes), and fences with or without gates. Likewise, there are several nonc physical features such as spirits, taboos, magical unsecn fences and gates, etc.
- ³ In-depth Interview and Discussion with Mzee Paschal Munyeti (Retired Government Officer) held in Missungwi on 22nd July, 2001
- ⁴ In-depth Interview and Discussion with the Honourable Member of Parliament for Missungwi Constituency, Mr Jacob Shibiliti held in his office in Missungwi on 1st May 2001.
- ⁵ *The Land Acquisition Act, No. 47 of 1967*, pp 623-625
- ⁶ Lyamuya, P. (1990). *The Rural Built Environment in Tanzania: A study of Rural Settlements and Housing Conditions with Critical Review of Past Policies and Programmes and a Proposal for an Alternative Approach Based on Case Studies in Uchagga*. Leuven, pp 7
- ⁷ Mosha, L. (1993) *Rural Settlements in Missungwi – Tanzania*, pp 80-87
- ⁸ Hyden, G. (1980). *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. pp 118.
- ⁹ Fireplace or *kikome* is a very important space in the traditional Sukuma compound. It performs many functions. It is normally under the tree located quite close to cattle kraal so as to offer its basic use i.e. cattle's security. *Kikome* is a place for men but exceptionally women may be invited on special occasion. It is an office of the family head where he listens to family problems and issue directives. This is a place where the head gives instructions, working programmes and timetable for the following day. It is a place for initiations and punishments in case of wrongful acts. There is always a continuous burning wooden log and or cow dung through out day and night at the *kikome*.
- ¹⁰ An in-depth Interview and Discussion with Mr Daudi Massanja Held in Missungwi on 22nd July, 2001
- ¹¹ Fieldwork Quantitative Data Collected in Missungwi District in August, 2001
- ¹² Stroeken, K. (1997), *Nuclearization of Society and Space in North South Sukumaland. Report and Manual of 1997 Survey on Housing and Credit for the Mwanza Rural Housing Programme Missungwi Tanzania*, pp 59-60
- ¹³ Lerise, F. (1996). *Planning at the End of the River: Land and Water Use Management in Chekereni Moshi District – Tanzania*, pp 58-60
- ¹⁴ My Discussion with Honourable Minister entrusted for Lands and Human settlements Development, Mr. Marcelino Komanya (MP), at his Residence in Missungwi in 1992. To date the referred legislation is still enforceable.

NOTES

- ¹ The Rural Settlements Commission (1963). *Rural Settlements Planning*, pp 2-4
- ² Traditional sukuma compounds usually accommodate extended family of three generations. The built environment includes houses, ancestral/spirit huts or *numba cha masamva*, fire place or *kikome*, cattle kraal or *lubigili*, bathing place or *luba lwakogela*, utensil drying rack or *lutala*, medicine trees, trees for shades. Other compound's components are outdoor *cereal's storage cillo* or *ikolokotoo*, Chicken pen or *luzumba*, courtyard or *luba*, gardens, small grazing areas for calves and goats, grave yard inside or outside cattle kraal, stones for